

THE IDENTITY OF THE PAKANS

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BY

S.R. TOHRING

**CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI – 110067
INDIA
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जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067


20th July, 2001


CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled '**THE IDENTITY OF THE PAKAN TRIBES**' submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this university or any other University and is my original work.

S.R.TOHRING

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before examiners for evaluation.


Prof. DILBAGH SINGH
CHAIRPERSON
(Chairperson)
Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067


Dr. BHAGWAN JOSH
(Supervisor)

DEDICATED TO
MY LATE BROTHERS
SR CELEB
AND
WS REMEMBER

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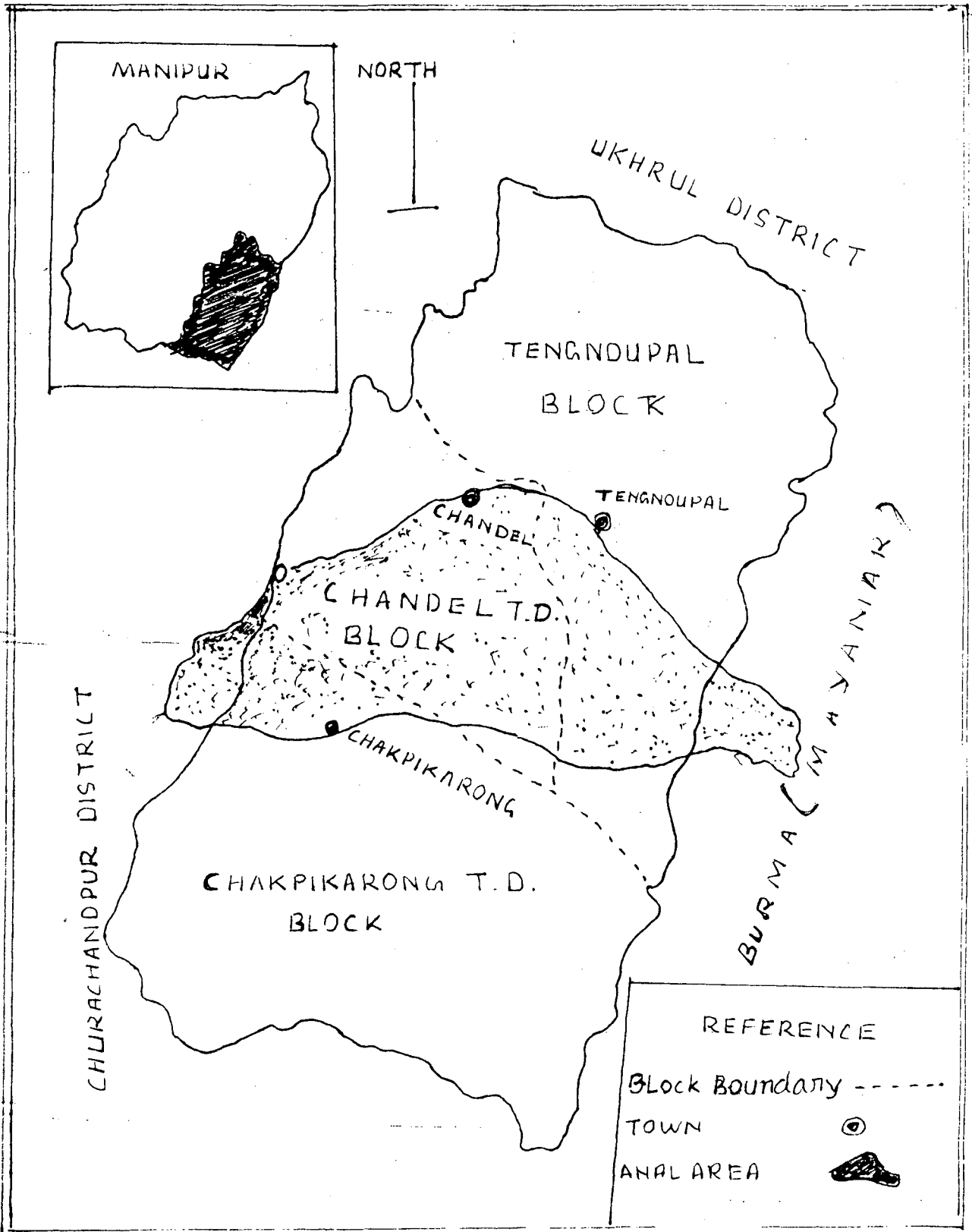
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INTRODUCTION

Before the advent of British control, a major part of Northeast was unknown to any ruler of India. This land of mystery and hills was occupied by various tribes. The time of their origin and their existence is still a matter of debate among scholars. With the coming of British rule these tribes came under their administrative control. For the Britishers, they were primitive people on the lower stage of evolution and the criteria of '3Cs' i.e., Christianity, Civilization and Colonization . In ruling the tribes they follow a cautious policy. The North-Eastern areas were uniformly administered until 1937 as a backward tract exclusively under the chief commissioner. In 1937, on 1st April, the areas were bifurcated into excluded areas and partially excluded areas. Thus, there was a special kind of identity bestowed upon the tribes. After India's independence the areas has been further divided into seven states. According to B. Datta Ray, the study of tribal identity of the north -east is important because it is related to many problems of community -relations, regional stability and socio-economic developments¹.

In the case of Manipur, the tribes had been conquered and annexed by the Manipuri kings, but at the local level the autonomy of the tribes still prevailed. It was only with the arrival of the British rule that the integration of

¹ B.Datta Raj, *The Tribal Identity and The Tensions in the North East*, Omsons Publication, New Delhi, 1989.

the tribes into Manipur was completed. The merging of Manipur, into the Indian union was signed by Maharaja Buddha Chandra on the 21st of September 1949, which was officially announced on 15th October 1949, and it became a part 'C' state of India. It was in 1972 that the government of India conferred statehood on Manipur.

The state of Manipur territory is composed of hills and valley. Hills are a country of tribes and the valley is the home for non-tribals.² The geographical division necessitates a sort of territorial identity in Manipur. The rift between the hill people and the valley people at times created problems particularly when a group of people from hill areas resided in the valley or vice-versa.

Another problem of perception of identity in Manipur is the existence of multi-cultural groups both in the hills as well as in the valley. According to Rajiv Bhargava, "in multi-culturalism need to have a stable identity is strong."³ This implies that each group stresses the importance of cultural belonging and legitimises the desire to maintain difference from others. In the hill areas of Manipur or the tribal areas, there were residing, on the basis of earlier records, two ethnic groups- Nagas and Chin-Kuki-Mizos. But now it is not less than five ethnic groups namely Nagas, Kukis, Mizos, Zomi, Komren etc., who are struggling to evolve a peaceful co-existence.

² The usage of "hill and valley" is based on T.C.Hodson, *The Meiteis*, Neeraj Publishing House, Delhi, 1984, and *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, Neeraj Publishing House, Delhi, 1981.

³ Rajiv Bhargava, Ed., *Multiculturalism, Liberalism and Democracy*. Oxford Press, Delhi.

According to the official list there are three groups:⁴

1. The Naga group of tribes
2. The Chin-Kuki-Mizo group of tribes
3. The intermediary groups of tribes.

The further division of ethnic groups does not end the process of identity formation. There is the following question of identity: Should we use the name “Thadou” as an identity or “Kuki” or “Thadou-Kuki” for non-Naga tribes of Manipur⁵. Is it applicable to use the word “Chothe” as an identity? Or should we use both “Purum” as an identity for the “Chothe” or should we use both “Purum” and “Chothe” to identify them?⁶ The official records of Manipur list some of the tribes as intermediary groups, namely - I)Aimol II)Chiru III) Koireng IV) Anal V) Kom VI)Chothe VII)Lamkang VIII) Thangal IX) Purum X) Monsang XI) Moyon.

The designation intermediary tribes imply that their belongingness to any of the two groups namely Nagas and Kukis is disputed. But these intermediary groups of tribes on the official list do not exist one cohesive group. In fact, it will be erroneous to attribute such homogeneity to them. Out of this category, seven tribes maintain their identity as Nagas namely Anal,

⁴ The Government of Manipur, Directorate for Development of Tribal and Backward Classes, Imphal, 1981.

⁵ B.Datta Ray, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

⁶ The 1931 Census Record show Purum population as 303. In the 1971 census the population of the Purums was classified as “not applicable (NA).” In 1985 a book *Purum (Chothe) Revisited*, published under the Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta was published raising questions of the Purum identity again.

Chothe, Lamkang, Koireng, Monsang, Moyon and Thangal. Purum is believed to be merged into Chothe tribe.⁷ The rest three tribes are maintaining their identity as Komren. Four tribes out of the above -mentioned tribes, namely, Anal, Lamkang, Moyon and Monsang will be discussed under the name Pakan.

In 1951, the government of India recognised 29 tribes, which are:⁸

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| 1. Aimol | 2. Anal |
| 3. Angami | 4. Cheru |
| 5. Gangte | 6. Hmar |
| 7. Kabui | 8. Kacha Naga |
| 9. Kairao | 10. Koireng |
| 11. Kom | 12. Lamkang |
| 13. Lushai | 14. Maring |
| 15. Mao | 16. Moyon |
| 17. Monshang | 18. Maram |
| 19. Paite | 20. Purum |
| 21. Ralte | 22. Sema |
| 23. Simte | 24. Rahlte |
| 25. Tangkhul | 26. Thadou |
| 27. Vaiphai | 28. Zou |
| 29. Chothe | |

⁷ Lucy Zehol, *Ethnicity in Manipur*, Regency Publication, New Delhi, 1998, p. 114.

⁸ The government of Manipur, op cit., 1981

Besides these recognised tribes, there are number of unrecognised tribes and Sub-tribes. The population of tribes in Manipur are shown in the table.

Population Census 1991.⁹

Name of district	Total Populaioon	Schedule Tribes	% of ST to the Population
Manipur	1837,749	632,173	34.4
1. Senapati	208,406	175,206	84.07
2. Tamenglong	86,278	83,332	96.59
3. Chandel	71,014	60,729	85.52
4.Churachandpur	176,184	164,709	93.49
5. Thoubal	293,958	2,844	0.95
6. Bishnupur	180,773	9,575	5.30
7. Imphal	711,261	33,900	4.77
8. Ukhrul	109,278	101,878	93.23

The question of a fixed or stable identity in the valley revolves around two points: The first being, the identity of Manipuris occupying the valley and they are generally called as 'Meiteis'. But the term 'Meitei' is considered for the followers of Hindu religion and 'Sanamahi' term is used for the worshipper of the indigenous god.¹⁰

⁹ Population Census of Manipur state, 1991.

¹⁰ Lucy Zehol, op.cit., pp. 4-6.

Should the identity be 'Meitei' or 'Sanamahi', that is a big question. Secondly, should the identity of Bishnupriya be 'Bishnupriya -Manipuris' as advocated by the Bishnupriyas in Cachar (Assam) and Agartala (Tripura)? This is strongly protested by the meiteis and they are against suffixing Manipuris to Bishnupriyas. But 'Manipur-Bishnupriyas' prefer to maintain their identity as 'Meities'.

Therefore this of identity problem is specific to Manipur which is the result of the existence of numerous tribes, sub-tribes within the tribe, 'minority' within minority' and also because of other multi-cultural groups that exist in the state. In this background of identity problems of Manipur I introduce my study regarding the identity of the 'Pakan' tribes.

The problem, which I intend to explore, is regarding the problem of identity of four tribes namely - Anal, Lamkang, Moyon and Monsang. I used the word 'Pakan' here to cover these four tribes, deriving their name from their folktales, legends and myths.

In their quest to fix the identity of these tribes, some scholars have given different names by taking into consideration geographical location and political beliefs. Prof. Gangmumei in his studies of the Anal gave the name a 'trans-border' to these tribes.¹¹ And Roy Burman used the word 'bridge-buffer communities.'¹²

¹¹ *Census of India 1991 India*, primary Census abstract Scheduled tribe population, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, New Delhi, 1995.

¹² E. H. Carr, *What is History*, Penguin Group Publishers, England, 1961, p. 30.

The word 'Pakan' seems to be a reasonable and convincing term, which is supported by their legends, folksongs and folktales, etc. The 'Pakans' here is used to identify the four tribes mentioned above within the Naga identity. This word should also not to be taken as revitalization of the Unification Movement but as, an attempt to apprehend their identity. The problem of fixing their identity arose due to the British administrators and ethnographers' unsure attitude towards their position and the sources that they had consulted. The Britishers classified the tribes in Manipur into two groups: namely Kukis and the Nagas. The 'Pakan' tribe whose identity could not be determined by their criteria created a problem for them. Thus some grouped the 'Pakan' tribes as 'Nagas'.

These were quoted and re-quoted by the later scholars. These tribes, today, maintain their identity as a tribe of Nagas. The 'Pakans' under my study are found in two administrative units of Burma and India. In India, these tribes are scattered in the fringes of Manipur State but are mainly concentrated in Chandel district. In studying these tribes, one could not exclude any of them as they share similar origin, cultural memories, geo-political setting, etc.

The populations of these tribes are shown in the following table:¹³

Name of the Tribe	1981	1991
1. ANAL	9349	10,642
2. LAMKANG	3452	4,031
3. MONYON	1642	2,081
4. MONSANG	1139	1,803

Chapter two of this study will survey a few definitions of tribes given by anthropologists, sociologists, and the Constitution of India, in order to assess their relevance to the 'Pakans' as a tribe. Then I proceed to the explanations of tribe identity given by the social scientists as a background to the study of the identity - problem of the 'Pakan' tribes.

Secondly, the usage of the word 'Pakan' is historical and the usage of the word is based on their legends, folktales and folksongs. In this Chapter, it is attempted to analyse in brief the movements for 'Pakan' unification. The third chapter deals with how the identity -problem emerged during the colonial era which was unheard before. Are 'Pakans' Nagas or Kukis? The explanations here considered have their long existence. Here, it is pointed out that the Britishers who made references as to the tribes as whether they were Nagas or Kukis seems to have led to the creation of identity problem.

¹³ Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner 1991, Home Ministry.

The fourth chapter emphasises on the past of the 'Pakan' tribes. The study begins with the narratives of origin of the tribes from the mythical cave, which is narrated, in their legends, migration from their epi-center, their departure from Chei and Poi hills and to their present settlements in Manipur. This chapter also discusses the social and political life of the 'Pakans' from olden days to the present

E.H. Carr writes "the historian and the facts of history are necessary. The historian without his facts is rootless and futile, the facts without their historian are dead and meaningless".¹⁴ This implies that historians select their facts and only then the facts become facts.

Both primary and secondary sources have been used. The method of collecting primary facts involved collecting legends, folksongs, interviews and discussions etc. The secondary sources include records, documents, published and unpublished materials. In the second chapter, both primary and secondary sources have been used. But in the third chapter the records, documents and references to the British era formed a major part. Of course, the work of later social scientists, and anthropologists has also been quoted. I have attempted to collect as much information as possible on the tribes, particularly, from their folksongs, folklores and legends.

¹⁴ E.H. Carr, *What is History*, Penguin group Publication, England, 1961, p.30

CHAPTER II

DEFINING TRIBE, TRIBAL IDENTITIES AND THE WORD 'PAKAN'

This chapter will deal with a few definitions of 'tribe' in order to connect its relevance to the 'Pakan' as a tribe. The concept of tribal identity is briefly discussed as a background to the study of the Pakan's identity -problem. Further, the word Pakan is explained and the various movements under the banner of 'the Pakans'. The definition of a 'tribe' has been attempted by anthropologists, sociologists and administrators. But all definitions on 'tribe' do not lead to an agreement. In the colonial era, a different nomenclature, like "aboriginal" or depressed class, appeared in the census. It was only in 1941, the term 'scheduled tribe' or 'adivasi' was adopted. This has, however, not solved the definitional dilemma. To an extent it has only narrowed down the scale of its ambiguity.

Following are a few definitions of what a tribe is. Oxford dictionary defines a tribe as a "group of people in a primitive or a barbarous stage of development, acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding themselves as having a common ancestor." Chottapadhyay describes the tribe as "a social group usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organisation."¹ Dube says most of the definition on tribe

¹ K.Chottapadhyay, *Tribalism in India*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1978, p. 1.

tended to follow certain characteristics.² First, original inhabitants or at least oldest inhabitants of the land. Secondly, they live in isolation of the hills and the forests. Thirdly, their sense of history is shallow and a history prior to five or six generations tended to merge into mythology. Fourthly, they have a low level of techno-economic development. Fifthly, in terms of their cultural ethos, language, institutions, beliefs and customs, they stand out from other sections of the society. And finally, they are either egalitarian or non-hierarchical and undifferentiated. The rough indicators of the tribes in various definitions are not applicable to define tribes, says Dube. He defines tribe as “having a common descent, holding a collective self image, possesses a distinctive cultural ethos, many elements which are shared collectively.”³

Due to ambiguity of a definite definition on the tribe, Aiyappan says “if anyone wants a clear-cut definition we should tell him that we don’t have it just as the zoologists is not in a position to give a clear-cut all purpose definition of species.”⁴ Nadeem Hassan also says that “in the Indian context the term tribe has never been defined precisely and satisfactorily.”⁵ Article 342(1) of the Indian Constitution states that “the President may with respect to any state or Union Territory and where it is a state, after consultation with the Governor, there of, by public notification, may specify the tribe or tribal

² S.C.Dube, *Tribal Heritage of India*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1977, P. 2.

³ Ibid., p.3.

⁴ This point made by Aiyappan is quoted in Nadeem Hassan, *Tribal India Today*, Harnam Publishing, New Delhi, 1983, p. 17.

⁵ Nadeem Hassan, *Tribal India Today*, Harnam Publishing, New Delhi, 1983.

communities, which share for the purpose of this constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribe in relation to that state or Union Territory, as the case may be. The next clause of Article 342(2) enumerates that “the Parliament may, by law, include in or exclude from the list of scheduled tribes, specified in a notification issued under clause, any tribe or tribal community or part of or group within any tribe or tribal community but same as aforesaid, a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification unlike scheduled castes, who can belong only to the Hindus or the Sikh religion, scheduled tribes may belong to any religion.”⁶ As of now a clear-cut definition has not emerged. There are numerous tribes unrecognised by the government. This in a way is due to the problem of definition and the criteria to determine the tribes.

Defining ‘identity’ is as difficult as defining tribe. According to some social scientists, ethnic groups have distinctive sociological identity, in which culture is the core understanding. This means that ethnic groups stress culture to mark themselves as having a distinct identity. Parson defines identity as “the pattern-maintenance code system of the individual personality” and a group identity as “an organisation of several persons into distinctive group advocating integrity and loyalty by individual members to that group.”⁷ Paul

⁶ Extracted from O.P.Sharma, *Scheduled Tribes (1991): Population and Literates*, Delhi: Kar Kripa Publishers, pp. 2-3.

⁷ Talcott Parson in Glazer and Moynihan, Ed., *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1976, pp. 52-53.

Brass notes that “in the formation of ethnic identity the elite in competition advocate cultural differences and convert it into political differentiation between the people or the group.”⁸ Rajeev Bhargava, says that the concept of identity has to do with sameness.⁹ This sameness has to be retained throughout or at any given time. Some features according to him must be relevant and enduring to have an identity. And if these features are not lost the problem of identity does not arise in the first place.

In the Indian context, Kanak Mital notes that “the scheduled tribes are a separate group outside the Hindu caste system but they have an identity, which is quite different from caste groups of India.”¹⁰ This means that the identity that the tribals have should be looked at from different perspectives. Datta Ray says that the quest for an identity is basically motivated and connected with other economic aspects.¹¹ To him, tribal identity is a community level consciousness and solidarity and the consciousness emerging out of sharing a common habitat and culture give the tribals the resources for developing a common identity. This view, however, does not hold true for the Naga identity in general and in particular the tribes under my study. Laldena views the origin of the identity problem in Manipur should be traced to colonial administration:

The Britishers created the problem of identity and the people of Manipur

⁸ Paul Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*, London: Sage Publications, 1991, pp.13-15.

⁹ Rajiv Bhargava, *Multiculturalism, Liberalism, Democracy*, Oxford Press Delhi. p. 4.

¹⁰ Kanak Mital, *Tribal Identity in Changing Industrial Environment*, Metropolitan Book, New Delhi, 1986, p.2.

¹¹ Datta Ray, *The Tribal Identity and the Tension in Northeast India*, Omson Publication, New Delhi, 1989, p.47.

accentuated it.¹² Thus identity problem in the region has much to do with the colonial ethnographers and administrators. A critical analysis of this will be attempted in the third chapter.

EXPLAINING 'PAKAN'

The derivation of the word 'Pakan' will be focussed upon. The larger objective of this exercise will be to point out a clearer perspective on the usage of the term. There are two opinions on the term 'Pakan'. While for some it implies the name of the forefather (or the first ancestor), to others it means 'hill people'. From the migration patterns, legendary folklores and folksongs, the use of the word 'Pakan,' however, seems most appropriate in the identification of four tribes, namely – Anal, Lamkang, Monong, Monsang.

Capt. Rajendra says that the word 'Pakan' is an amalgamated name for these four tribes. In the course of their migration, the Pakan tribe broke up into four tribes that is the Anal, the Lamkang, the Moyon and the Monsang".¹³ G. Kabui also points out that the identity of Pakans cover not only the Anals but also Moyon, Monsang and Lamkang and they were originally called as Pakan".¹⁴ These tribes were once one group named as 'Pakan' till they

¹² See Laldena, Ed., *History of Modern Manipur (1826 – 1949)*, Orbit Publishers, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 80-81.

¹³ Capt. Rajendra Singh, *The Anals of Manipur*, Publication of Directorate for Welfare of Tribals And Backward Classes, Manipur, 1981.

¹⁴ Gangmumei Kabui, *Anal: A Transborder Tribe of Manipur*, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1985.

separated from the Chin and Poi hills.¹⁵ This argument is substantiated by the remains of stones that they erected at the side of Burma and India, generally known as 'Pakan Patha' meaning Pakan's memorial stones in the Anal dialect. One of the folklores among many mentions that a human like animal, which fed on men could smell Pakan men (*Pakan Pa Panin Panamka* in Anal language) in ancient times, indicating that these tribes were known as 'Pakan'.¹⁶ There are number of folksongs and legends using the word 'Pakan' to mean these four tribes. On the basis of customs and tradition one can argue that these four tribes are grouped as one tribe called the 'Pakans'. Ruwndar in his dissertation on the Anal tribe notes that "the evidences of a simple shirt called *Pakan Lungam*" which was made by the women was popular till recent times.¹⁷ They also have the similar practices of social division into two clans, inter clan marriage, political organisation, law of inheritance, the ornaments and the clothes they use, etc. which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

The Pakans, as pointed out above seems to have broken up into these four tribes after Chin and Poi Hills, which is indicated in the folksongs of the different tribes. The reason of the separation could be that after staying together for a long period of time, their population might have increased and

¹⁵ Capt. Rajendra, *The Anals of Manipur*, op cit., p. 6.

¹⁶ This story was narrated by Wurngam Semgul of Lambung, Chandel, Manipur.

¹⁷ Kanthung Ruwndar, *The Social and Political Life of the Anal Tribe in Manipur*, Unpublished dissertation submitted to the Manipur University, 1995, p. 13.

many differences within themselves might have led to the division of the groups into sub-groups. These sub-groups as a different group must have reached the present settlements in the course of their migration. Coming into contact with the Meiteis and other tribes may have accentuated their differences due to different influences they received.

Today, these Pakan tribes maintain a separate and distinct identity from each other, though they share the same geo-political conditions. Some of them have improved their earlier practices to suit the changing scenario. The division of the social structure is also retained in all the tribes except the Lamkang tribe, which has a further division into four clans, based on the earlier two clans. Inter-clan marriage as the only permissible way has been relaxed for the Lamkang, Moyon and the Monsang tribes. The Anal tribe however still retains the old practice of exogamous clan marriage. The day to day customary practices has also been diluted in all the tribes that move them away from each other. In earlier times one could comprehend the language of one another but now the similarity is lost and it has become difficult to understand the language of each other. Most importantly, the mindset of the people as a distinct tribe is very strong. This is further enhanced by the government's recognition of each tribe in 1951 as separate among the 29 tribes of Manipur.

In the recent past, there were movements to unify the tribes under the banner of 'Pakan'. In 1947, the initiative came from some students and they

formed the 'Pakan Union'. The leadership was provided by Ch. Berang (Moyon), Ng. Mano (Monsang), Bechung (Anal), S. P.Thampal (Anal). The 'Pakan Union' was making progress and it was decided by the Union and its leaders to make Anal language as common one for all tribes due to it being spoken by the highest percentage of the population.¹⁸ It seems elders of the Anals however felt threatened over this idea and refused to endorse it.

In the late 1960s, When Naga nationalism penetrated into the Anal country, the Anal Naga cadres saw the necessity of unifying the tribes, under the banner of 'Pakan' and tried to revitalize the earlier movement. But at this point of time, the Moyon and Monsang no longer showed their interest though they were keen in the initial stage.¹⁹ Thus, the movement for 'Pakan' unification received a severe blow.

For now, a parochial and communitarian thinking is deep rooted in the minds of the leaders. The culture and norms that all the tribes shared in the beginning are now drifting away from one another. The strong political consciousness based on particular communitarian tendencies has also been a cause of this drift among the different tribes of the 'Pakans'. It is feared that this tendency will grow stronger and stronger as the years roll by. The idea of bringing these tribes under 'Pakan identity' may be a hard task for the leaders in the future.

¹⁸ This point is made on the basis of the data given by S.R.Tourngam.

¹⁹ Kabui, *The Anal: Transborder Tribe*, op.cit., p. 11.

Originary claims: The Cave Theory

The Pakans point their origin to the cave, which is believed to be somewhere in Mongolia. The 'Cave' as a Centre of origin is common among the Nagas.²⁰ Among the Pakans, the same story with a degree of variation in narration, as a result of modification, have been repeated in the course of their migration. Following is an enumeration of the legend that describes the mythological origin of the Pakan.

The Anal legends tell that they originated from a '*khul*' (cave). The mouth of the cave was watched by a tiger. Any one who dared to come out was killed by the tiger. This went on for a long time. However, one fine day Hanshu and Hantha befriended the '*pari*' birds who were promised free feeding in the fields in return for their help. The *pari* birds agreed and hovered around the tiger's eyes which made him unable to see. In the meantime, Hanshu and Hantha emerged from the cave and killed the tiger. Then Anal people started living on the surface of the earth.

The legends of the Moyon and Monsang tribes say that people lived for generations inside the cave. They were unable to venture out because a tiger waited at the gate of the cave. But *Thumpugpa* escaped from the cave and sought help from the weaverbirds and the hornbills. The weaverbirds beat a drum and hornbills danced in front of the tiger. He was so engrossed with the

²⁰ M. Horam, *Naga Polity*, B.R. Publishing House, Delhi, 1975, p. 30.

dance that in the meantime the men emerged from the cave. The Lamkang legend narrates a similar story. Men lived in a cave and when there was a flood people wanted to leave the cave but the tiger guarded and every man who came out was eaten by the tiger.

They had a meeting among themselves. *Benglam* had an arrow and a bow and also he made an agreement with ‘*parit*’ birds that if they come out alive in return for their help they could freely feed on their fields. All the birds came out in a large number and the tiger was distracted by this and during this confusion a good number of them escaped from the cave. Then *Benglam* played a trick by pulling in and out, the only one arrow and threatened to shoot the tiger. In the meantime the remaining men emerged from the cave.

Each tribe has folksongs to support this version of the folklore. Here is the Anal folksong sung by the people even to this day.

Khol . . .O nahang sanpe

Hnakhal . . . O Langdal pathu Singnu. . . o

Hedum patel Sinnu . . . O

Khehluwng . . .O Limsor pathusino . . . o

Hedum Patel Sinnu . . .O

Hari . . .O , Hari . . . ae.

Hari . . . O , Hari . . ae.

The following is the English version of the folksong given above:

Oh Olden days
When we ventured out from the cave,
We used leaves for our protection,
Grasshoppers became our domestic animals ...etc.

The cave story is fascinating and the days thereafter seem more interesting as they tell us that those were the days when men and animals could communicate and how they began to use the plants and animals for their survival. If further research on the cave theory is done it will throw valuable information about the pre-historic period.



Migration

After emerging from the cave the people are believed to have wandered for sometime in Mongolia. The time period when their migration began is not known. According to the folksongs and legends, from Mongolia they passed through China, Tibet, present-day Arunachal Pradesh and proceeded to upper Burma. They crossed the Irrawady, Chindwin and Nin gthi rivers. It seems they settled for a longtime in China and later in Chin and Arakan hills which is also mentioned in the folksongs. An Anal folksong which substantiates the above folklore is given below:

Nhaleral Ki Katu. . . o
Arkan Lengna Kachang . . . Ae
Dah . . . Hang . . . o Khu Pajowl . . . Ni
Domo . . . Ae.

The English version of the above is as below:

I am from Nhaleral
I settled down in Arkan hills,
As I went from place to place
How will my village prosper?

The trail of the sources based on legend and folksongs has a gap point on this early migration. However, at the later stages that begun from Chin and Poi hill has a fairly good account. In Burma and this side of India a good number of '*patha*' memorial stones, erected on 'Pakan' group burial are found. The Pakan entered into Manipur from southeast. The following is believed to be the sequence of their settlements till they reached Manipur:

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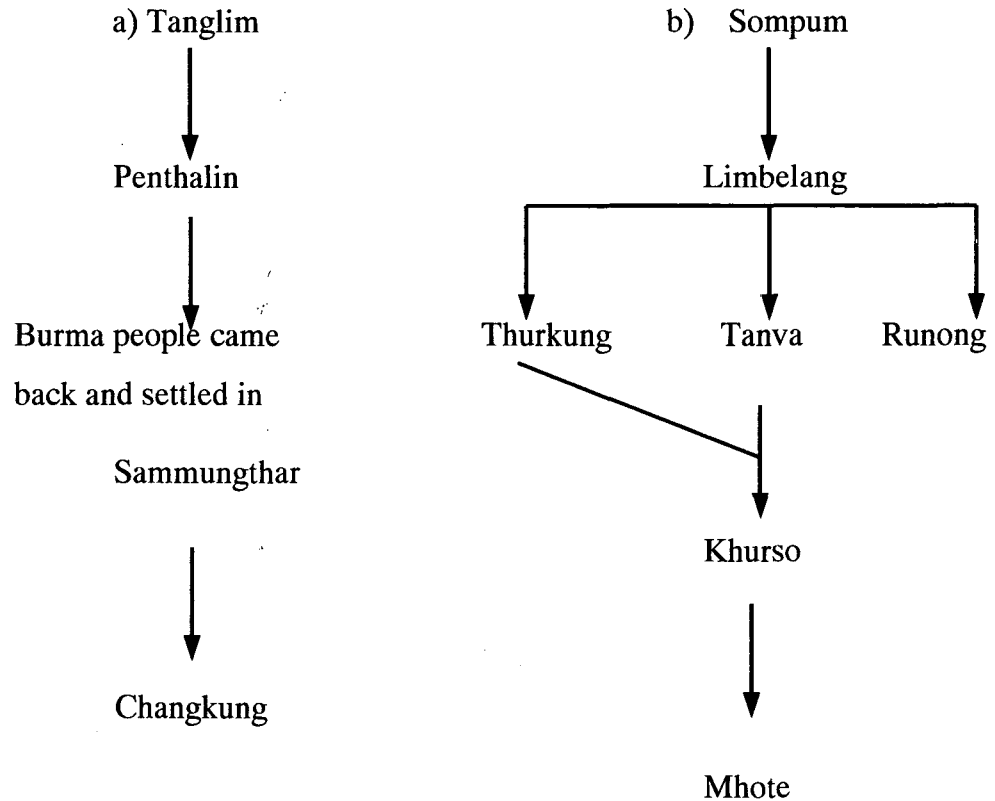
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Monsangs²¹

Tunphejuur ► Tetejuur ► Kalembung ► Heikaching ► Ruwngputing

From Ruwngputing, Monsong people were divided into two and settled :



People of Tanva, Changkung, Runong founded a village called Milin.

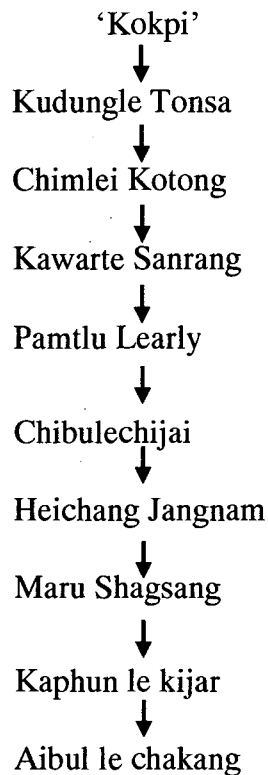
Mhote and Milin branched out into seven villages, which are settlements of today. They are :

²¹ The sources of early settlements of Monsang is collected from *The Glimses of the Monsang Culture and History*, 1978, by Monsang Historical and Customary Research Committee, and the sources of later settlements is from the *District Election Office*, Government of Manipur, 1998.

- Japhou
 - Monsang pantha
- } *From Mhote*
- Liwa Changning
 - Liwa Sarai
 - Satiching
 - Liwa Khullen
 - Heibung
- } *From Milin Origin*

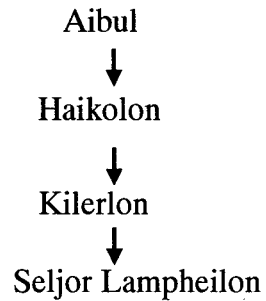
Lamkang²²

From cave upto the present settlement of the Lamkangs are:



²² Sources of the early settlements is from Janvei Darhot, *The Border Area: Lamkang History and Folksong*, 1990. The modern settlement of the Lamkang tribe is taken from the *District Election Office*, Government of Manipur, 1998.

The above settlements were Lamkang villages in Burma. After this, they moved to India in the following pattern:



Today, Lamkangs are found in 28 villages in Chandel district of Manipur.

They are:

- Thumtam - Chakpi-Subdivision
- Anbrasu - Tegnoupal - Subdivision
- Lamkang Khunjai
- Purum Lamkhaiching.
- Kongpe
- Sek-Taikarong
- Betuk Shenglereng
- Kotal Kunthak
- Leingangching
- New Chayang.
- Angkhel chayang
- Charangching Khuntha
- Charang Ching Khunou
- Charang Ching Khunou
- Charangching Khullen.
- Mantri pantha.

- Kurnuching.
- Komsen.
- Nungkanching
- Challong
- Paraolon.
- Keithelmanbi.
- Purum Pantha.
- Thamlapokpi
- Leipumgtanpa
- Thamlakhuren
- Lankang Khunov.
- Lamkang Kunthak
- Lamang Khunkha.

Moyon²³

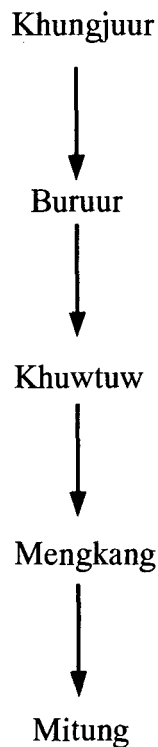
The Moyons settlements are as follows:

- Siijuur
- ↓
- Tung Suwjuur
- ↓
- Tung Phaejuur.
- ↓
- TungPhaejuur
- ↓
- Miklaan ge
- ↓

²³ The source of the early settlement is taken from N.G. Ringhow, *Impact of Christianity on Moyan Society*, unpublished article and the present settlement is taken from Gina Shangkham, *A brief Account of the Moyons*. In Manipuri, past and present, Vol. III.

- Inkanphar
- ↓
- Resakhuw
- ↓
- Kalaangphae

After reaching Manipur, the first village of the Moyon was 'Khungjuur' where they came into contact with the Meities.



At present Monyons are found in villages namely Komlathabi, Khungjuur, Mithong, Mangkang Mangkang Khunkha, Thangbung Minou, Moyaon khullen, Lamrii, Khongjon Khunthak, Khongjon Khunkha, Khukthar, Penaching Heigrutampak, Khontong, Khuuring, Nyanggong and Napalun (Burma).

Anals²⁴

The Anal settlements are as follows:

1. Atunjol
2. Ranajol
3. Aijol
4. Kalemburg
5. Abunl,ong
6. Phalbung
7. Tein Suwng
8. Thanlon
9. Kamkinlow
10. Kupibung
11. Dutejol
12. Keka here it divided into three waves
 - a) Anal Khullen founded by the first Wave
 - b) Khubung Khullen
 - c) Lamphon

The above three villages were the original Anal villages. The Anals now have over 75 villages in Chandel district, 3 villages in Churachandpur district, one village in Thoubal district and three villages under the Burmese administration unit.

²⁴ Sources of early settlement include Capt. Rajendra Singh, *The Anals of Manipur*, op.cit. and the modern settlement is from *A Brief History of the Anals*, unpublished article.

The Anal villages of Chandel district of Manipur are as follows:

- Anghthi
- Anal Khullen
- Anal Khunou
- Akaphe
- Anal Khutha
- Bullok
- Beru Khudam
- Beru Khullen
- Bethel
- Baula
- Betuk Sangkreng
- Chandel Khullen
- Chandel Christian
- Charongchirg.
- Chakrpikarong
- Chakpi Khuso
- Chandel Khubol
- Darku
- Duthang
- Dalchol
- Gelngai
- Havalon
- Huatham
- Haleral
- Sangkel Ching

- Kutha
- Kana Ralven
- Kanan
- Kana Khubung
- Khubung Khunou
- Kana Khudam
- Khubung Khunov.
- Kambathel
- Libung
- Larong Khullen
- Lambung
- Lamphou Pashna
- Lanphou Charu
- Modi
- Maribung
- Misu
- Nungpan
- Nungphura
- Ngankhu
- Okhu
- Panchai
- Peleng Khudam
- Phiran Leinao
- Phiran Khullen
- Phiran Machet
- Ruwng Chang
- Salluk

- Simla
- T. Bethel
- Thorcham
- Thanghlon
- Thungcheng
- Tampi
- Toupokpi
- Topaching
- Thangbung Minou
- Unopat
- Wankhera
- Yulbang Ching

Under Thoubal Dist.

- Hongbiban

Churachandpur

- Kolen
- Duetejol
- Warkhu

Under Burma Administration

Unit

- Ngakala
- Napalun
- Haika

The immigration of these tribes, all the way from Mongolia to settle down in Manipur (India), seems to have been for the following reasons. Firstly,

due to wars that pushed them out. The Pakans at war with larger tribes resulted in their migration. Secondly, the tribes shifted their settlements when the area under *jhum* cultivation got exhausted and wet cultivation practice started in the late period. Thirdly, they have a strong belief in omens which could be another important thing to be considered. If too many deaths, diseases and wars occurred in one place they left for a new place. Fourthly, natural resources could have played a vital part. If the waters dry up, and the forest resource can no longer support them they left for another favorable settlement. Lastly, natural calamities could have contributed to their migration.

CHAPTER III

IDENTITY OF THE PAKANS

No other tribe has faced problems of identity as the 'Pakans'. Identity problem was unheard before the advent of the Britishers. The writings and references made by the British administrators and ethnographers, who were unsure of their position and thus their sources created problems for the identity of Pakans. Subsequent or post independent social scientists quoted the Britishers, thus adding to the identity confusion instead of providing a solution to the problem. To this confusion of nomenclature has been added the geographical location of the Pakan tribes, who today live not only in the Chandel district of Manipur but also in other parts of India and even in Myanmar. Their settlements are in such a way that they are surrounded by the Meities in the west, Nagas in the north and Chin - Kuki in the South. Because of geopolitical considerations social scientists like Roy Burman Dev and G. Kabui attributed them as "bridge-buffer community".¹ Politically, the Pakans are found in the state of Manipur composed of Meities, Meitei-Pangal, Bishnupriyas, Bengalis, Kukis, Lushais, and Nagas. However, they share political aspirations and platform with the other Nagas found in Nagaland, Assam, Arunachal and Manipur. One of the chief reasons for the problem of

¹ Gangmumei Kabui, *Anal: A Transborder Tribe of Manipur*, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1985.

identity has also been the influence from other tribes and communities with whom the Pakans have been living together. The subsequent pressures for modification of the culture of the 'Pakans' has led to the problem of identity.

The identity problem of the Pakans created by the Britishers remained an academic dispute until it turned out to be a sort of a newspaper war during the Naga-Kuki ethnic clash between 1992-1998, particularly in 1996. It was during this period that identity of the Pakans became a matter of dispute between the Kukis and the Nagas, especially in the context of an ethnically motivated conflict situation. To illustrate the point the text of three newspaper clippings during this period is given below:

Naga Charges Against Kukis: Imphal: MAY 16

Nagas have accused the Kukis in Manipur of renewing the ethnic clashes between the two communities. In the aftermath of Yesterday's attack at Beula, Anal Naga village of Chandel district, the Zeliangrong Youth Front while condemning the incident said it was only an instance to prove that the Kukis always renew ethnic disturbances. Four persons including a woman were killed and 15 houses burnt down in yesterdays attack suspected to be the carried out by Kuki militants. The Naga Students Union, Chandel, carried out an on the spot assessment of the affected village. They paid gratitude by keeping two minutes silence in respect of the departed souls. Stating that the state govt. army and the local MLA did nothing about it, they demanded the development of a neutral army column in the district according a hand out issued here today. Meanwhile, the COPPAI today strongly condemned the recent outbreak of ethnic clashes between the Nagas and the Kukis.²

² *The Freedom*, Imphal, Manipur, Friday, 17 May 1996.

Anals May Live as Anals Only: KNF³, Imphal: MAY 18

The information and publicity wing of the Kuki National Front today issued a press release seeking clarification from the Zeliangrong Youth Front (ZYF), Imphal and the COFPAI regarding their statement published on May 17 in some of the local newspapers, regarding the attack on the villagers of Beula Anal Naga village, in Chandel district, last Wednesday. Among others the KNF asks the ZYF to clarify whether the Anals are Nagas on the basis of linguistic classification, customs, dialects and historical aspects of their origin. The Anals are more akin to the Kukis who are entitled as 'Kukis' in 1821 much earlier to that of the Nagas as the 'Nagas' in 1948 in Manipur. Are the Nagas campaigning by adding Naga as suffix to the Anals? The Nagas have always been aggressive in invading against the Kukis. Why JZYF takes the name of COFPAI in their statement of condemning the Beulah incident? Was it a pretention of love for Manipur? The ZYF must clarify through newspapers before May 27. The KNF also reminded the COFPAI for their good deeds for peace and integrity but pointed out that the KNF was only demanding Kuki land. The KNF say that there is not a single Naga in Chandel district but the Anals were killed only as the Nagas since they used the word Naga as suffix under the instigation of seven or eight tribes. The Anals will be forgiven only when they stand as the Anals even if they do not wish to be the Kukis. The press release also stated that the KNF will support COFPAI by extending help but the COFPAI should clarify through the newspapers if it should be able to fulfil the demands of the KNF. The said demands pleaded:

1. for safe resettlement of the Kukis to their earlier settlement areas peacefully,

³ KNF stands for Kuki National Front.

2. adoption of an agreement between the Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagalim, NSCN (I-M) and the KNF,
3. extension of Sixth schedule in six districts of Manipur for a peaceful co existence between the Nagas and the Kukis and
4. conversion of Sadar hill district as full-fledged revenue under one DC.⁴

Analns Cannot be Assimilated As Kukis: ANSU, IMP: MAY 21

The president of the Anal Naga Students Union (ANSU), Mr. David Hulang today issued here a press release with reference to the Information & Publicity wing of the Kuki National Front (KNF) press release in *The Freedom* dated the 8th may 96. The excerpts:-

The Anal tribe, is one of the Pakan Naga tribes consisting of the Anal, Maring Lamkang Monsang, Chothe and Tarao. The above seven Naga tribes of indigenous inhabitants of the region have been living together in peace and harmony since time immemorial. Time and again, the ignorant, landless, barbaric, cultureless, nomadic, Makheng Kukis have tried to woo the Pakan tribes to join Kuki group by quoting Gazetteer and records of some ignorant alien/half educated foreign personnel. This clarification is issued by the information and public city wing of the Anal Naga Students Union (ANSU) to enlighten the ignorant KNF regarding the true identity of the Anal Naga tribe.

I. Customs:

The Analns have no customary affinity or similarity with the Kukis proved by marriage, land law, village administration, dress, family inheritance and ancestral property. The KNF without any authentic knowledge of the customary laws of the Anal claims that the Analns are akin to the nomadic Kukis. The

⁴ *The Freedom*, Imphal, Manipur, Wednesday, 19 May 1996.

publicity wing of the KNF is asked not to confuse the people of Manipur by blatant lies, without any research and knowledge.

II. Dialect: All the Mongoloid tribes living in the Indo-Burma belt from South-East, Tibet in the North and Chindwin river in East, Brahmaputra in the West down to the Chittagong Hill tracks have common food habits, similar physical feature/ structure, way of living, similar names, a few common words, example: - *mit, na, sam, dui, tui, thing* and *mei*, etc.

III. Historical Aspect: (a) the Identity of Anals (Pakan tribe) cannot be determined by Gazette/ records of the British aliens of the 18th century. (b) The Anals are the indigenous people of Manipur, History of Moirang (a Meitei kingdom) and the Anal traditional songs/ tales proves our existence in the present inhabited areas since the beginning of the first century A.D or much earlier. (c) The Anal cultural & traditional relationship with the Meitei brethren dates back to 33 A.D, the marriage alliance of the Meitei king Wangbarel (Pakhangba) with an Anal lady belonging to the Wanglum clan of Anal Khullen village proves it. (d) The barbaric nomads/ gypsy Kukis invaded the Pakan areas during the mid 840's. As per the Anal records the present villages occupied by the Kukis - HAIKA, RALVEN, AIBUL, LAMPHAI, KHANGBAROL, AISI, etc. were wrested by the numerical

Makhengas Khonjasis or the so-called Kukis. All the Pakan Naga group have many similarities/ affinity with the other Naga Tribes in culture and traditions-rituals/ customs, ancient ornaments, marriage, inheritance, land ownership etc. Therefore, the Anals can never be akin to the so-called Makheng (Kuki) who are the recent invaders of our motherland. The above points prove our identity as Nagas and no forces or argument can confuse the Anals as regards to our identity.

The words and points used in the above exchanged shows how the earlier work was quoted particularly that of Grierson and J. Shakespeare. Here is an attempt to appropriate the writings and references of administrators and ethnographers as well as later social scientists suffixing the Pakans identity as either 'Nagas' or 'Kukis'. Then the differences and similarities between them will be drawn to point out the fact that Pakans cannot be fully accommodated in the 'Naga' or 'Kuki' category.

Review of Literature

In 1874, R. Brown wrote, "the people in large tract in the south east are called by the name Anal Namfow. In personal appearances they are much like Khonjais, with whom, though they are at deadly feud, they appear to have an affinity."⁵ The affinity to him was, the practice of hereditary chief which is no

⁵ R. Brown, *Statistical Account of The Native State of Manipur and Hill Territory Under Its Rule*, Sanskaran Prashasak, Delhi, 1874.

longer practiced. Interior villages, however retain this old custom of hereditary heads. Secondly, the houses of the Pakans are made like the K hongais. Thirdly, social customs like marriage also have an affinity to the Khongais. M.C. Culloch also finds an affinity between Kukis and Pakans. He notes, “though hereditary chief (in general) is no longer practiced, the interior villages continued to hold on to it.”⁶ The major works which consider the Pakans as Kukis come from Grierson in his Linguistic Survey and J.Shakespeare on Lushai Kuki clans.

Grierson classified the Nagas and Kukis under two heads as distinct from the linguistic point of view. ⁷ Besides languages, he also makes three points on ethnic basis. Firstly, the Kukis who are closely related to the Chin and Lushais are migrating, shifting their village sites every 4 or 5 years and never taking to permanent irrigation and terraced rice cultivation by means of irrigation. Their cattle are invariably ‘Methan’. Nagas, on the other hand have almost invariably permanent village sites and permanent irrigated and terrace rice fields and they keep ordinary Indian cattle.

The second point is that the Kukis have hereditary chiefs who are greatly respected. While the Nagas lived in domestic communities and their headman, if any, have little or no influence in the village. Lastly, the Kukis wear their hair long and cover the head with a *Pagri*. The Nagas have their hair

⁶ Maj. Mc Culloch, *Account of the Valley of Munnipore and the Hill Tribes*, pp. 41-45.

⁷ G.A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol.3, Part III, Calcutta, 1904, p. 23.

short and used no head covering accepting occasionally during festivals or war-period. Grierson on the basis of linguistic classification grouped the Pakans under Kuki as 'old Kuki' and adopted the term 'new Kuki' to identify the Thadous. He agrees to the influences of Meiteis on the Pakans. He also says "the Anal and Lamkang shows a closer connection with the Naga languages than the other dialects of the Kuki -Chin group".

The most important identification of the Pakans as an old Kuki clan was made by John Shakespeare.⁸ In his book titled *Lushai-Kuki Clans* he says, "it appears practically certain that the ancestors of old Kuki are related to the Lushai-Kuki". He attributed the relation between them as having common ancestors and asserts that "they are the descendants of couples claiming that they have come out from the earth hole".⁹ Secondly, the way their houses are made by raising a post off the ground also suggests similarity. Thirdly, the customs of burying their dead in special cemeteries outside the village while those who die unnaturally or unfortunately are buried outside the cemetery without ceremony. Fourthly, the celebration of festivals. There are many later researchers who follow the above views. A few of them have been referred below. Chakravarti writes that "originally Myon -Monsang, Anal, Lamkang, belonged to old Kuki clans but they have changed their affiliation and are now included in the Naga sub-nation." G.K. Ghosh says that the Thadous have

⁸ John Shakespeare, *The Lushai-Kuki Clans*, London : Macmillan, 1912, pp. 148-188.

⁹ Chakravarti, Rana, *People of Manipur*, B.R publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1986.

much affinities with other tribes like Anals, Kogs, Aimols, Lushais, Chirus, Marings, Moyon, Gangte, Paites, Pois, Suctes, Chins, Khotlangs, etc. and are undoubtedly all connected through languages.”¹⁰

G. Kabui writes, “the Anals were already described by the British administration and writers before J. Shakespeare as Nagas. There are also enough documentary evidence including, officials records, in support of this. But it must be clearly understood that the Anals are ethnically linked up with Kuki Chins, and their tradition points to such a conclusion. However, there are strong Naga traits among the Anals. But political aspirations are a determining factor to decide the identity of a tribe and the Anal have common political aspiration with the other Naga tribes.”¹¹ All the above arguments point to various opinions describing the Pakans as Kukis or having affinities with them.

However, there are many British writers and social scientists who identified them as Nagas. Capt. R.B. Pemberton in his analysis of the Eastern Frontier of the British in 1835 identified the ‘Pakans’ as Nagas. He specifically mentions that “ the Anals and Moyon tribes of Nagas are settled in the South - Eastern part of Manipur.”¹² Carry writes that “there is a small clan called ‘Haul’ on the Manipur southern borders consisting of the Phiran, Okhlu,

¹⁰ G.K Ghosh, *Tribals and Their Culture*, Ashish Publishing, Delhi, Vol. III. 1992.

¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 10-11.

¹² Capt. R.B. Pemberton, *The Eastern Frontier of British India*, Calcutta, 1835, p. 60.

Kabbung and Angnal, called Nagas.”¹³ The official records like revenue records also identified the Pakans as Nagas. The legends also tell us that “the ancestors of the Anal were among the primitive Nagas who came out of the immemorial cave or earth hold situated in the north-east beyond the Naga hills.”¹⁴ “The culture and traditional ways of the Anal have slightly been modified in course of their long association with Lushai-Chins during their migratory stage through the Lushai and Poi Hills.”¹⁵ “Like other Nagas, the Anals erect the curved beams on the front part of their Morung”.¹⁶ “No Naga tribes is of pure blood. Each tribe has combined elements due to immigration from, at any rate, three directions: north-east, north-west and south, the people having been pushed up from the plain of Assam and Burma.”¹⁷

The Pakans in Manipur:

An analysis of the above views of the settlements of the Pakan points out that they have been living in the present habitation before the Christian era. This notion is supported by R. Shemmi and A. Horam. The archaeological remains found at Chakpikarong belonged to the Paleolithic period. Excavation of the site will be a great help in the study of the ‘Pakans.’ According to the

¹³ Carry, *Military Report on the Chin-Lushai Country*, Shimla, 1893.

¹⁴ Y.L Roland Shemmi, *Comparative History of the Nagas*, India Publication, 1988, p. 63.

¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 64.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.64.

¹⁷ M. Horam, *Naga polity*, BR Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1975.

legends of the Pakans, their existence in Manipur is as old as the Meitei mythology. This is shown by the important role played by Meitei god Wangparel in their legends. One of Anal legends tell that the Meitei god Wangparel and Anal hero Thumkhel contested in stone throwing and the winner was to marry a beautiful girl called Sanglon. God Wangparel won the contest and eloped with the girl. As they ran, Shanglon spun the thread behind her so that her mother would find her. In the morning her mother followed the thread which ended at the junction of Chakpi and Manipur rivers. When the mother entered the water, to her surprise found a golden palace. On her return, god Wangparel gave her a gift of bamboo tube with a promise that she should open it on reaching home. But owing to her curiosity she opened it on her way and all that was contained inside, turned into wild animals. She then went back to god Wangparel who gave her another bamboo tube that had to be opened in the middle of her house. When she did this, it became all kinds of domestic animals. Till today the Anals believe that god Wangparel acts at times of war against their enemies.

According to Moyon and Monsang legends, there was a king who had a beautiful daughter named Shangnu. Many claimed for her hand but amongst them all Wangparel was most suited for the girl. Wangparel tried to win the hearts of Shangnu and her parents by presenting a jewel called 'Mani' to the family. It is believed that the word 'Manipur' is derived from 'Mani'. Wangparel and Shangnu married with a great deal of gaiety. But the god of

east, Kundang was not pleased with this marriage. Out of jealousy he set fire in the east of Manipur. To extinguish the fire, god Wangparel caused rain which flooded Manipur and killed animals and human beings in the plains. King Wangparel cut the southern hills to drain the water out into Burma. Shangnu also tried to dry up Manipur by using her walking stick. To make it quicker, she threw her clothes into the water, which reduced to a great extent the flood but the water could not be drained out completely. She said to her niece and nephews that she would jump into it to absorb the water and she would turn herself into a stone idol. She requested her niece and nephew to get married and multiply themselves and jumped into the water and dried up the whole area. Shangnu was turned into a stone which is found at Keimaton peak and is worshipped by the Tarao tribe till this day. The river where she jumped is believed to be Chakpi river and the mountain where she settled is called Sangkhuching.

The above legends as narrated shows the origin of settlement and existence of the Pakans in Manipur. If our legends have a core of historical truth then the settlements of Pakans are definitely as old as the Meities and other Nagas in Manipur. However “the term ‘old Kuki’ appeared by the end of 18th century in Cachar. The old-Kukis who appeared in Cachar about 1780 are described by Lieutenant Steward as being divided into three clans called

Rangkhoh, Khelmal, and Betch.¹⁸ “The term ‘new Kuki’, which appears so often in the records of Cachar and Sylhet in the middle of the last century (1830-1840) and which has been adopted by Dr. Grierson in the Liuquistic Survey of India, may be taken as synonymous with the Thadou clan”.¹⁹ Soppith says that “the designation ‘Kuki’ is never used by the tribes themselves nor by their neighboring tribes like Kachuris and Kacha Nagas but when addressed to it they used to answer it”²⁰ The word ‘Kuki’ seems to have originated from the plain people and a “great stumbling block has been the term ‘Kuki’” and “the term ‘old’ and ‘new’ should not have been used” instead “they should have retained their regular appellation”.²¹ Thus, the appearance of the term ‘old Kuki’ is a late 18th century and 19th century phenomenon and the application to the Pakans has no historical basis by considering their long existence in Manipur. In fact, much before the emergence of the term ‘old Kuki’ the Pakans had been called as Nagas in the Royal Chronicles of Manipur and other histories of Manipur. The Royal Chronicle of Manipur which started recording history dating back to 33 AD describes the Anal or Anan as Nagas in the mid 16th century.²²

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 185

¹⁹ ibid., p. 189

²⁰ Soppit, *A short History of the Kuki Lushai Tribes on the NEF District: Cachar, Sylhet, Naga Hills and North Cachar Hills*, shellow, 1887, p.2

²¹ ibid., p. 8.

²² L.Joychandra Singh, *The Lost Kingdom*, Royal Chronicles of Manipur, Prajanta Publishing House, Imphal, 1995, p.5.

Language

The language affinity as a basis to group the Pakans under 'Kuki' was made by Grierson in his Linguistic survey.²³ Grierson's survey of tribal languages was one of a major work that contributed to the study of various tribes and sub-tribes. However, the division of tribes into two heads namely Naga-Kuki on the basis of language has a major flaw. Therefore, it could not be adopted as a yardstick to differentiate the tribes. Grierson has grouped the 'Pakans' as 'old Kuki' for their language affinity but he further says that "the Anals and Lamkangs show a closer connection with the Naga languages than the other dialects of the Kuki-Chin group."²⁴ This shows a contradiction in the position of Grierson. The languages of the Pakans are unintelligible to the Kukis and vice versa. Further he agrees to the influences of Manipuri language on the Pakans but failed to see the over all affinities that prevail among the tribes under his study. The sources of Grierson for his survey, particularly regarding the tribes in the interior areas was based on information provided by the district magistrate of that area, so the limitations particularly smaller and interior tribes is great.

Another thing that needs to be considered is, the absence of established literature as language could be modified and remodified or influenced in the

²³ *ibid.*, p.23

²⁴ Capt. Rajendra Singh, *The Anals of Manipur*, Delhi, 1981, p.100.

course of their migration, particularly from dominant communities living in the surrounding areas. In the Pakan society, the tradition of literature or written records begins only with the advent of the Britishers and Christianity. Prior to this, many neighbouring communities influenced the Pakan languages to a great extent. Language as the main criteria to group the Pakans as Kuki is insufficient.

Organisational Criteria

The internal organisation of the various tribes have been used as a criteria by most of the administrators, ethnographers of the colonial period and the anthropologists and historians of recent times to study the distinction between the Nagas and Kukis. The political organisation of the Kuki tribes is based on hereditary chieftainship. The chieftainship passed on from the father to the eldest son. The post of the chief has a great command and respect in their society. Whereas, the Nagas generally have a democratic system and the chief of the village has no influence and is a mere nominal head. Cullouch a political agent turned ethnographer describes the Pakans as having hereditary chief custom which is no longer practiced but the interior villages still continue to practice.²⁵ In contrast to what Culloch says, oral history of Pakans, based on legends, folk tales and folksongs indicate that the society was not strictly

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 41-75.

organised under a chief and hence there was no question of hereditary chieftanship. Usually the hero of the village, after proving his merit became the head of the village. What follows is a folktale that makes this point.

According to one legend Thumkhel was the hero (Phethe) of the Anal as he was the strongest man. Phetha used to live near the gate of the village. He protected Analkhullen (oldest Anal village) from their enemies. He also contested with Meitei god Wangparel in stone throwing over the beautiful Shanglon. After him came Bongjampa, who had skilled himself in warfare. His younger brother Khagemba was ruling the plains and is believed to be the forefather of the Meiteis. Because of his skills he was requested by the Chinese king to kill a man-eater. But Bongjampa was too busy to go personally. So, he sent a special spear to the king by which they killed the monster and the happy Chinese king wanted to reward him for this. Bongjampa told the king to make a bridge. The arch-bridge in Imphal is believed to have been built by the Chinese King. After this event Bongjampa sang a song which is as follows:

A Khu ho, Hangkhn fol.
achureng mo kierengmo Hungrashja
achureng mo kirengno Hungrashu ja
Hrangkan Choka kara le hungradim.

Translated into English, it reads:

Where are you?
Come out, who will be killed, let's see,

Come out, who will be killed let's see,
I have killed him, my enemy's man eater.

Many heroes followed in his footsteps. Each has folksongs about himself which are still sung by the people.

When the need for political organization was felt, the Pakans adopted a democratic system. The chief called Kholpu was elected or nominated by the family heads of the village. The main criteria for the post was that he has to be well versed in customary laws and should be able to provide for the guests.

The chief of the Pakans has no right over lands except what he had acquired from his father. His main functions were:

- 1) to prevent customs and tradition from disintegration,
- 2) to settle disputes and regularise the social system,
- 3) and to look after the general welfare of the people.

In administrative functioning he was assisted by village councils. Dopu was the physician of the village and being a gifted person in this field he held the post. In the same manner, a naturally skilled blacksmith became Tholpu. The participation in the village assembly was open to all the villagers.

The above analyses of Pakans internal organization shows contrasting features to Culloch's description. Therefore, an indepth study is necessary to draw an identity picture for the Pakans.

Cave Theory : “The Nagas at first lived in stone caves or in the womb of the earth.”²⁶ The legends of Pakans varies, but the common belief of the orig in from the earth hole/caves like other Naga tribes is there. John Shakespear in his Lushai-Kuki Clans says that “all the clans assert that they are descended from the couples who issue out of the earth i.e. great hole.” So they are related. The point is, cave or earth hole theory as epicenter of human origin is shared by many tribes. As mentioned earlier, the ‘cave’ theory is common to many tribes and all the Nagas share this. Secondly, Shakespeare misses the inclusion of Moyon-Monsang hero ‘Thungpumgpa’ and Lamkang hero Benglam. The Anal legend used Hanshu and Hantha to attribute equal contribution of two major clans of the society.

Social System

The social system of the Kukis can be easily discerned in their practice of Tucha-Songgao relationship based on matrimonial alliances, which is distinctive and peculiar. However in the Pakans, marriage between mother’s, brother daughter and an aunt’s son is a taboo. They are considered first or close cousins whereas in the social institution of Kukis, it is mos t preferred marriage so that the line of Songgoa relative can continue in a single family. The structure of the Pakan society itself is different from the Kuki society. Society

²⁶ Ibid., p.30.

as a whole is divided into two major clans. Each clan has a number of sub-clans. The marriage system permits only inter-clan marriage. Intra-clan marriage is prohibited and if anyone is found practicing this, social ostracism is a common method of punishing the outlaws.

R. Brown and J. Shakespeare find the affinity in the construction of the houses which is done by raising of the post from the ground.”²⁷ However, one finds this practice in the Naga tribes as well.

To look at the similarity and differences in all Naga tribes, and elements of heterogeneity prevailing within a broad homogeneous structure, W.C. Smith enlisted 13 characteristics of Ao Naga tribe. He notes that “these characteristics do not appear uniformly in the various Naga tribes for, though there is little doubt that they originally came from the same stock, they have since their separation, from their primeval cradle land’ come under different influences.”²⁸ Y.L.R. Shemmi says that “the culture and traditional ways of the Anals have slightly been modified in course of their long association with Lushai-Chins, during their migratory stage through the Lushai and Poi hills.”²⁹ Thus slight variation has to be within the Naga tribes which equally applies to Pakan tribes.

²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 148-188.

²⁸ W.C. Smith, *The AO Naga Tribes of Assam*, 1925.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.37-38.

Characteristics of the Pakans

Borrowing W.C. Smith's criteria of 13 characteristics and M. Horam's analysis of Ao, Angami and the Tanghul tribes the relation between the Pakans and the Nagas is given below:

1. Head-hunting was practiced by the Pakans like all other Nagas.
2. According to R. Shemmi the Anals erect the curved beams in the front part of their 'morung' or the 'bachelor's dormitory' which is the most important characteristic of the Nagas.³⁰
3. Pile-dwelling is also found among the Ao and the Pakans Nagas.
4. Platform-burial: The Pakan do not practice this but like Angamis and Tangkhuls bury their dead.
5. Trial marriage: It is not practiced among the Pakans.
6. Betel chewing: The Pakans are fond of tobacco chewing
7. Aversion to use of milk: was prevalent in Pakan tribes like other Nagas.
8. Tattooing by pricking was prevalent among the Pakans
9. Absence of any powerful political organization: "democratic system" was practised by the Pakan tribes like all other Nagas excepting the Semas and some Konyaks, which have hereditary chiefs.
10. The Pakans have two type of spear,

³⁰ Y.L.Roland Shemmi, *Comparative History of The Nagas From Ancient Period Till 1926*, Inter-India Publication, New Delhi, 1988, p. 64.

- One end is tapering, other end is Lancet.
- Curve with only one finger.

11. The loom of the Pakan is like all other Nagas.

12. The Shield is rectangular or quadrilateral in shape.

Therefore, the Pakans' identity problem was created by the British administrators and ethnographers by using their own yardstick like physical appearance, language, village administration, construction of houses, etc, which are historically incorrect. The Pakans who had been identified as Nagas before their-arrival should remain as they are and the writings of colonial rulers need to be critically assessed so that the problem of identity will cease to exist.

CHAPTER IV

A History of the Pakan Tribes

The history of Pakans is endowed with rich customs and traditions. But the memory of this history must have been modified with the changing times.

Village Organisation

The unit of political organisation is confined to the village level, which is an independent unit. Thus the study of Pakans' political system is based on village administration. At first, the principle of 'might is right' prevailed among the Pakan tribes prior to the dawn of political organisation. There is a long list of heroes in each tribe. In the Anal tribe there were heroes such as Hanshu and Hantha, Wolhlung and Thumkhel, Bongjampa, Kungthu, Tisung, etc.¹ The Lamkang tribe had heroes like Benglam, Setnoi, Thansen, Thamnok, Khalshon, etc.² The Moyon and Monsang hero was Thumpungpa.³ These heroes protected their territory. The hero or heroes used to live near the gate of the village and signaled when the enemies attacked the village. They were responsible for the settlement of all disputes that arose within the territorial jurisdiction of their village. These heroes were not nominated or elected but

¹ Capt. Rajendra Singh, *The Anals of Manipur*, Published Under the Directorate for Welfare of Tribal and Backward Classes of Manipur, Imphal, 1981, pp. 16-35.

² Robert Sheitkintong, *Minorities in the Political Life of Manipur: The Transborder Tribes*, Dissertation (Unpublished) 2000, Jawaharlal Nehru University, p.47.

³ Ng. Ringhow, *Impact of Christianity on the Moyon Society* (Unpublished Articles) 2000 and The Monsang Historical and Customary Research Committee, *The Glimpses of the Monsang Culture and History*, 1978, p.8.

because of their strong physique, skill in the art of warfare and their prudence rose to become heroes of their respective communities.

Among the hill people of Manipur two types of traditional political systems prevailed - the authoritarian type and the republican type. The authoritarian type is found among the Nagas. Sir James Johnstone notes that “the Kukis are monarchist but the Nagas are republicans, and their chiefs are elected, and though they often have great influence, they are in theory only *primus inter pares*, and are liable at any time to be displaced”.⁴

Once the need for a political system was felt, the Pakans had ‘Kholpu’ as the village head. He was elected by the heads of the families in the village. The criteria to hold the post were that he should be well-versed in customary laws and economically sound. The Chief could receive gifts from the villagers but it was basically unpaid service. Instead he was to entertain guests to the village and help the needy. The functions performed by the Chief were to keep the customary laws intact, settle disputes and to look after the people in general. The Chief could be removed from his post if he violated customary laws and incompetence but usually he remained the chief until death. In certain cases, the sons also succeeded their fathers mainly because of their ability and capacity and not because they were bound by hereditary laws. Thimpu or Dopu and blacksmith assisted Kholpu in every function of the village. Unlike

⁴ James Johnstone, *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills*, London 1896, p.7-15

Kholpu, they held the post due to their natural gifts. Dopu was the physician cum priest who had inborn talent. They need not be elected by the people but on recognition of their talents they held the post. The political system of the Pakans was in such a way that every head of the family had a voice and had free participation in the village functioning though headed by the chief and his Councils. The Pakan political system was a republican type in its functioning much like the other Naga tribes. The remarkable feature in the Pakan political system is clan. Each clan of the village had a privilege in any political functioning and absence of any one of the clans was considered serious. There were certain clans who were considered unfit for the post.

When the Pakan country was annexed by the Manipuri kings, the age old village system was abolished and new person were appointed in each of the conquered areas. Many new names like Khulakpa, Senapati, mantri, etc. emerged. However, the Maharajas of Manipur did not interfere in the tribe's customary laws and allowed them to continue their village administration in accordance with their own laws.⁵

With the introduction of the Manipur Hill Peoples (administrative) Regulation Act of 1947 and the Manipur Village Authorities in Hill Areas Act 1956 brought fixity and the gave legality to their age-old practice. The Manipur Hill Peoples Regulation Act of 1947 necessitated a village authority in each village of 20 tax paying houses or over. The power of the chief,

⁵ Capt. Rajendra Singh, *The Anals of Manipur*, op cit., p.42.

however, was not absolute. Though the power to govern is in the chief, he rules with the aid of the elected councilors (who are generally representatives of clans residing in the village). The village Council keeps a fair, effective and constitutional check on the powers of the chief.

The Manipur Village Authorities in Hill Areas Act, 1956 provided that a village of 20-60 tax paying houses shall have five members or a village comprising of 60-100 tax paying houses shall have seven members or a village with 100-150 tax paying houses shall have ten members in the village authority Councils respectively. The office of the village authority was filled by election. It provided legality to the practice.

The acts of 1947 and 1956 reduced the village authorities' responsibilities to watching and reporting all the happenings within their jurisdiction or beyond and collecting house taxes for the government from the people.

The different posts of the village authorities in the Lamkang tribe are given below:⁶

- 1) Khullakpa
- 2) Luplakpa
- 3) Ningthou
- 4) Senapati

⁶ Lamkang National Council, The Lamkang Customary Law, p. 28, 1996.

- 5) Mantri
- 6) Chin Sanglak
- 7) Khulchal
- 8) Yupal
- 9) Pakhanglak
- 10) Meitei Lanbi
- 11) Lanching
- 12) Naharale
- 13) Ningol Lak
- 14) Shelling
- 15) Thougai
- 16) Changloi
- 17)

In Moyon and Monsang the list of the posts of village authorities are:⁷

- 1) Eruwng
- 2) Senapati
- 3) Khullakpa
- 4) Lulakaopa
- 5) Mantri
- 6) Jupar

⁷ The Moyon Historical and Customary Research Committee, *The Glimpses of the Monsang Culture and History*, 1974, pp. 109-114.

- 7) Wangkherak.
- 8) Selling
- 9) Ahara
- 10) Lanching
- 11) Keirung
- 12) Palihanglakpa
- 13) Meitri Lambu.

Every lineage in the tribe, should atleast get one post each. If Eruwng goes to Simputi clan then Rinhe will get Senapati or vice versa.⁸

In Anal village, the village Council posts consist of :⁹

- 1) Khullakpas – Khuruwng
- 2) Luplakpa – Duruwng
- 3) Mantri – Donpu
- 4) Senapati – Hlamval
- 5) Meitri Lambu – Rosel
- 6) Secretary – Tangshel
- 7) Treasures – Minpu

⁸ Ibid7. p. 3

⁹ Kanthung Ruwndar, *The Social and Political Life the Anal Tribe of Manipur*, Dissertation, (Unpublished) Manipur University, 1995. p.124.

The chief is the head of the village authority who has more power than the other councilors. However, the chief could not overrule the collective decision of the council. The mode of selection of the council or the village authority is based on vote by voice.

Each tribe today has prescribed qualification for the village authority posts. In Anal, a person aspiring to a village authority seat should fulfill certain qualifications. They are:¹⁰

- (a) He should be a man of pure Anal blood.
- (b) A man who has been in the village duly listed (included in list of house tax to the govt.).
- (c) A man of 25 years and above.
- (d) Non violation of a customary law.
- (e) Non-involvement in any kind of criminal case.
- (f) He should not be a drunkard.
- (g) He should be a man of a noble character.

In Moyon and Monsang tribes the rules that apply are as follows:¹¹

- (1) He should be a person who is economically sound.
- (2) He should be well versed in the customary law and tradition.

¹⁰ Anal Customary Committee, *Anal No (The Anal customary Law)*, 2000, p. 105

¹¹ The Monsang Historical and Research Committee, *The Glimpses of the Monsang Culture and History*, op cit., p. 116.

(3) He should be a man of statesmanship.

In the Lamkang tribe the qualifications of the village chief are as follows: ¹²

- (a) He should have property within the village.
- (b) He should be a man actively involved in the village
- (c) He should be economically sound and possess the art of statesmanship.
- (d) He should 'command respect in the society'.
- (e) He should be 35 years or above and the whole villagers should approve his election.

Mode of selections of village authority of the Pakans is a simple procedure and is based on equality. For example in the Moyon and Monsang society, which is divided into Simputi and Rinhe clans, the two clans should be given equal opportunities in holding posts in the village authority. If Eruwng goes to Rinhe then Simputi gets Senapati or vice versa. The idea behind this is that all the lineages have equal participation as well sharing of power in the village. The village authorities are elected by the male members of the village by voice vote.

In the Anal tribe, the selection or nomination of chief and assistant chief have to consider two clans – Mosum and Murchal. If Mosum gets the post of chief, the assistant Chief has to go to Murchal or vice versa. Even in the case

¹² The Lamkang National Council, *The Lamkang Customary Law*, 1996, p. 22.

where a village is inhabited by the clan of Murchal, Mosum of other village has to be nominated for the post of assistant chief.¹³

The Lamkangs choose the chief from any one of the four various clans. The chief who belongs to a particular clan has to work for all the clans.¹⁴

The main function of the village authorities are:

- (1) To preserve the customs and traditions of the tribe within their jurisdiction.
- (2) To look after the village property.
- (3) To settle disputes in a just way.
- (4) To develop the culture and other socio-economic aspects of the village.

There is no fixed term for the village authorities. They could remain in their positions until their death and also as long as they enjoy the confidence and support of the people..

Theoretically, the Chief who heads the village council has extra-ordinary powers but he cannot go against the collective decision of the council. In case of his absence or early death, the assistant chief could take his place. One remarkable thing in the Pakans' political system is the equal importance given to the clans. This led to the equal participation of sub-clans and the families in any political functioning of the village. This may be one reason why clan consciousness is strong in the Pakan society. The village authorities are

¹³ Anal Customary Committee, *Anal No*, op cit., p 118.

¹⁴ The Lamkang National council, *The Lamkang Customary Law*, p. 24.

immediately removed from their post on violation of customary law. For the authorities the regulations to check their conduct are as follows: ¹⁵

1. Misappropriation of village funds/money without reasonable ground.
2. Any part (or whole) of the village land, trees or property is/are sold away without the knowledge and consent of the public or against the customary laws.
3. If installation function of authorityship is not celebrated within two years from the date of assuming the charge.
4. Whoever violates any one of the terms and regulation under section 98 of the Anal customary laws is immediately removed. ¹⁶

The Monsang customary laws say that the following laws are prescribed for the village authorities, and the violation of any one of them could bring about removal from the post of a village authority: ¹⁷

1. Corrupt practices and bribery.
2. Acceptance of bribe or wasting of village property.
3. Unauthorized selling of village products or forests for personal gains.
4. Selling /alienation of village land for personal end.
5. Consumption of fowls /wine contribution made by the villagers without the notice or consent of the council members.

¹⁵ Anal Customary Committee, *Anal No*, op cit., p. 106-107.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.107.

¹⁷The glimpses of Monsang Culture and History, op cit., pp. 119-121.

6. Leasing out of village land to some person for his personal gain.
7. Breach of Monsang traditional customs.
8. Non-observance of collective decision. The above rules are applicable to all members of authorities. Any person or group who makes an apology for his /her fault to the public may be pardoned with a fine.

The customary laws of the Lamkang authorise the removal of village officials on the basis of the following:¹⁸

- 1) Misappropriation of positions.
- 2) Misuse of positions.
- 3) Irresponsibility in the welfare of the village.
- 4) Unpopularity with the people.
- 5) Of dubious lifestyle and habits.
- 6) No respect of the traditional laws and customs.

The Village Court:

In olden days, the Pakans had a simple system of judgement. Justice to the people in a dispute was delivered by the village court. The Court was instituted by the authority and the elders of the village. The Judgement of the court was final and could not be challenged. The trial of cases was carried out through 'negotiations' then 'testimony' and finally 'water testimony'. Any disputes over land, property, cases of adultery and claim of husband for unborn

¹⁸ Lamkang Customary Law, op cit., pp. 7-10.

child, etc. should be submitted to the village court. The court will 'negotiate' and a final verdict will be passed. If negotiation failed to reach any conclusion than the court resort to a swearing.'

There are two types of testimony:

(a) out side testimony

(b) Water testimony

In outside testimony a person who claims to be right was asked to drink water mixed with a chant that if he or his family is wrong he accepts being killed by thunder, tiger or being eaten up by asses and blown away by the wind. Any one who could not do this is considered wrong. Any one who could do this is regarded as the right one. The Pakans believe that this type of giving testimonies have great effect. If one performs it wrongly misfortune throughout his generation would follow.

The other type of testimony is the water testimony. The two people or one each from the group was asked to dive into the water. The one who came out from the water first is consider as wrong and the other as the right.

However, today this ancient practice is somewhat neglected though it still exists as part of the village administration despite the advent of the chief association, Naga Council and the government courts.

The most practiced method at present is negotiation between the two groups and where compromises are worked out with some fines on the wrong

party. If this is not satisfactory to any one of the groups, they approach the Chief Association or Naga Council or government courts.

Cases related to marriage

As noted earlier the Pakans practice exogamous clans marriage. This rule is strictly followed. If any one breaks this prohibition and practices incest and intra-clan marriage the customary laws of each tribe take its own course. The Lamkang customary laws impose fines of a pig of five feet or wai and a pot of rice beer on the guilty. Secondly the boy and the girl are to be separated, in case of living together it should be outside Lamkang inhabited areas. For Moyon, Monsang and Anal there is no trial at all. They are driven out from the village and in case of separation of the couples, they will be allowed to return but socially ostracised.

In Anal custom¹⁹, legally married husband and wife can dissolve their marriage. The ex-husband has to pay his wife half of the materials acquired during their married life and the gifts given on her marriage day will be returned except a paddy field received from her parent. But if the husband divorces the wife, the woman is empowered to take it back. Divorce of invalid marriage means when a man did not bring this union into valid marriage nor performed any of the customary laws on marriage. The divorcing husband,

¹⁹ Sources, *Anal No*, op cit., p. 62-73

gives Rs. 12,000/- to the divorced wife and one pig along with one pot of wine to the village judges. Dissolution of marriage assented by both man and woman before village court is effected through a fine of a pot of wine and Rs.100 to the judges and the marriage is declared null and void. Adultery, extra marital affairs, incest etc. are prohibited. Anyone who commits these are punished with a heavy fine and this sometimes leads to social expulsion.

Lamkang customary laws on marriage;²⁰

There is preliminary engagement and if anyone breaks this the following fines are imposed:

(a) Rs. 2600.00 in money (b) Rs. 2800,00 or a pig of 5ft. (c) Rs. 100.00 or a pot of rice beer.

If divorce comes from the male side, he has to pay

- (a) A gong of 5ft.-----2
- (b) A gong of 7 ft.-----2
- (c) A pig of 5 ft.-----1
- (d) A pot of rice beer-----1

If divorce is from female side :

- (a) Gong of 8ft -----(4)
- (b) Gong of 7 ft. -----(2)

²⁰ Source, *Lamkang Customary Law*, op cit., pp. 7-8.

(c) Pig------(1)

(d) In cash Rs. 100.00

A man caught in adultery is fined with

(a) Gong, 4 ft in radius -----(1)

(b) Pig 5 ft. in Circumference---(1)

(c) Rice beer------(1)

(d) In cash Rs. 100. 00

Monsang: ²¹ There are two types of Divorces;

(a) initiation from male side

(b) female side

Male side: (1) If a man slept with a girl but do not want her to be his wife the fine is a pig (5ft) or equivalent amount in cash.

It a man wants to divorce his wife of valid marriage;

(a) the wife is entitled to receive what was given to her on her marriage.

(b) All the properties acquired during the married period will be equally shared between them.

(c) The husband will take the children except small babies who will be looked after by the mother till the child is able to eat solid food and able to stand on its own but the father will pay the expenses for the baby.

²¹ *Glimpses of Monsang History and Culture*, op cit., pp. 71-78.

(d) The divorce which takes place after 'Juha' (preliminary engagement) the boy gives Rs. 30/- to the village and to the girl, a pig along with a pot of wine.

Female side:

- I. If a woman breaks the engagement she has to give Panjithar cloth to the man, and one Rs. 1000 along with a pot of wine to the village.
 - II. If a woman had an extra marital affair, which led to divorce, she gives Rs. 1000/- to her former husband, one pig along with a pot of wine to the village. She will not receive any properties nor bride price.
 - III. A woman who divorces due to her husband's extra -marital affair will get the property she brought and half of their acquired properties.
 - IV. If the woman seeks divorce with no reasons, She gives (a) Rs. 150 /- to the man (b) A pig and a pot of wine to the village. (c) She should refund all that was spent on her by the man then only all the materials both movable and immovable will be returned to her. Or else she will return empty handed.
- (e) If a man failed to stay for three years in her parent's house she could take all her belongings.
- (V) If a man illegally marries for the second time, he will pay a fine of one cow or equivalent amount to his first wife's brother.
 - (VI) For Adultery, the adulterer should pay Rs. 1000/- to the partner. A pig and a pot of wine to the village.

Law of property inheritance

All the Pakan tribes have a law of inheritance. The property in a family is passed on to the youngest son with a responsibility that he should look after his parents. If the parent desired to part some property among the sons it could be done so. However, the major portion and ancestor heirloom has to remain with the youngest son. In case of no male issue by the couple the closest male relation inherits the property. However, the couple has a choice of parting some to their female children. In the custom of Pakan no woman has ever inherited the family property like her brother/borthers. However she could receive gifts both movable and immovable from her parents during the marriage. With the spread, of education and modern ideas into the tribes, some women and intellectuals of the society are demanding equal rights of property inheritance like the mal

Social Life The Pakan social life is very profound and each individual and the tribe is guarded by norms, tradition and customs. The social unit is a family and a group of families have a name called a 'family name'. But in Moyon, Monsang and Lamkang it forms the sub-clans. In Anal two or more family names form sub-clans.

The Anal Lineage:

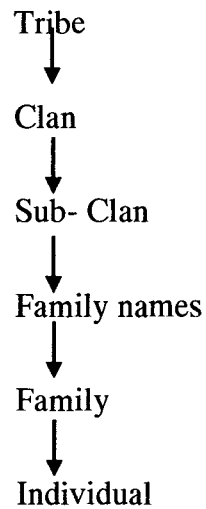
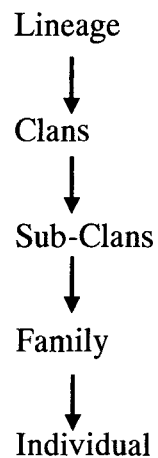


Chart of Monyon, Monsang and Lamkang:

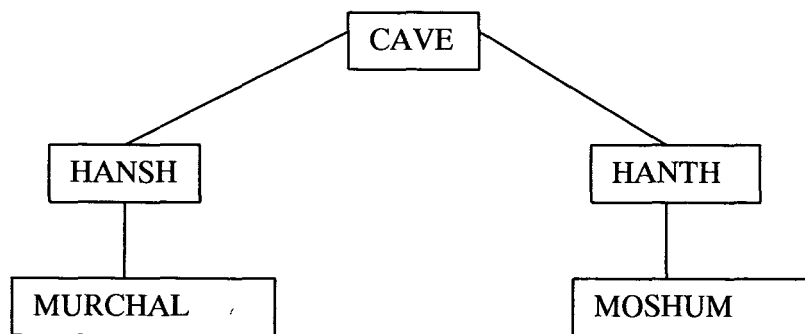


In these tribes, the bond based on clan is strong and clan consciousness is remarkable in every field of one's life. This also marks the difference from other tribes. The clans consist of sub-clans. These sub-clans are believed to have shared the 'graveyard' when the joint burial system was practiced by the tribes. For example, any dead body belonging to Sintaruwung of Anal sub-clan was buried in one permanent grave erected for the said sub-clan. This was the

same with all the sub-clan of the tribes. The notion was that they shared kinship. Thus, the relation of sub-clans based on kinship could be identified by the joint grave system.

The society of each tribe is divided into clans. Each clan's name is derived from heroes or an ancestor. For example, the Anals trace the names of two exogamous clans to that of cave heroes, Hansu and Hantha. The Moyons and Monsangs believe that Thumgpungpa was the primogenitor of the clans.

Anal Social Structure:²²



Subclans of the Anal are formed by a group of a 'family names'.

²² Source, *Anal Naga Taangpi*, The Brief History of the Anal, 1999

They are as follows:

I. Under Murchal Clan:

1. Hranghlu Sub-Clan:	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Abbreviated Form</i>
a) Nula	N.L.
b) Hranglim	R.L.
c) Paya	P.Y.
d) Ruwnlel	R.L.
e) Jasa	J.S.
2. Mate Sub-Clan	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Abbreviate Form</i>
a) Wangsol	W.S.
b) Khumlo	K.L.
c) Daljal	D.Y.
d) Wango	W.Ng.
3. Turiim Sub-Clan	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Abbreviate Form</i>
a) Sengul	S.n.G.
b) Tongsin	T.S.
c) Chaltung	C.H.
d) Ruwnglal	R.L.
e) Khuwnghe	K.H.
f) Bungsong	B.S.
g) Phangsong	P.h.
4. Kholthu Sub-Clan	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Abbreviate form</i>
a) Hulang	H.L.
b) Hutem	H.T.
c) Ruwngtol	R.T.
d) Kanthuwn	K.T.
e) Khaltal	K.T.

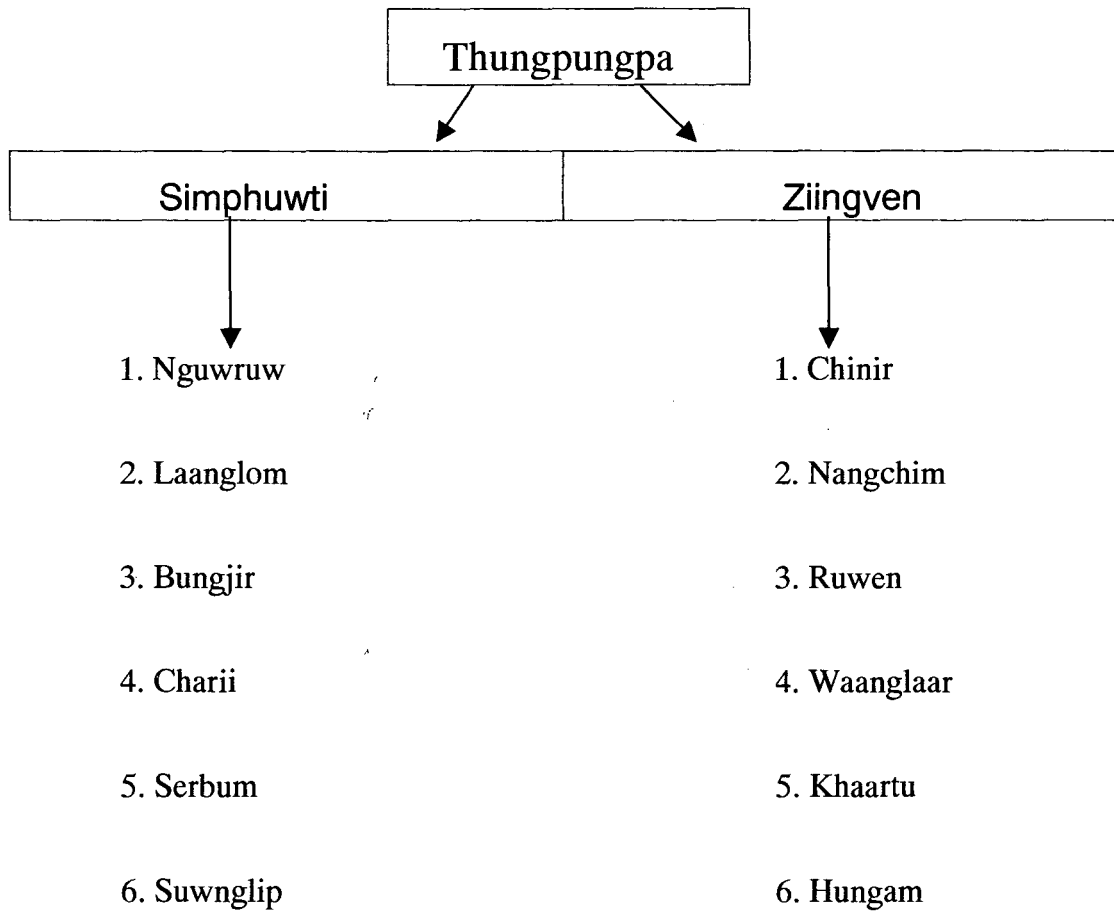
II. Under Moshum Clan

1. Pano Sub-Clan	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Abbreviate form</i>
a) Sumpi	S.P.
b) Hrangbung	H.B.
c) Bungdon	B.D.
2. Sintaruwng Sub Clan	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Abbreviate Form</i>
a) Pahrang	P.G.
b) Sinruwng	S.R.
c) Wanglum	W.L.
d) Wangmathun	W.T.N.
e) Langhu	L.H.
f) Ruwndar	R.O
g) Rituwn	R.T.
h) Setol	S.T.
i) Rangang	R.N.G.
j) Lukhuh	L.K.
3. Sello Sub Clan	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Abbreviate Fom</i>
a) Pashel	P.S.
b) Seltun	S.T.

The above list of Anal social structure shows a complex division of the society. Nevertheless this is simple comparing with olden days. In early days, there was over forty (40) family names for each clan but as years elapse some families extinct and some merged to the other families. Many sub -clans of Moshum and Murchal also disappeared due to migration, inter -tribal war and absence of male child to carry on family name.

The chart of Moyon social structure.²³

Old Form:



New Form : To widen the marriage between only two exogamous clans, in

1950 Simphuwti clan was divided into two exogamous clans.

1. Nguwruw and Laanglom
2. Bunjir, Chara, Serbum and Suwnlip

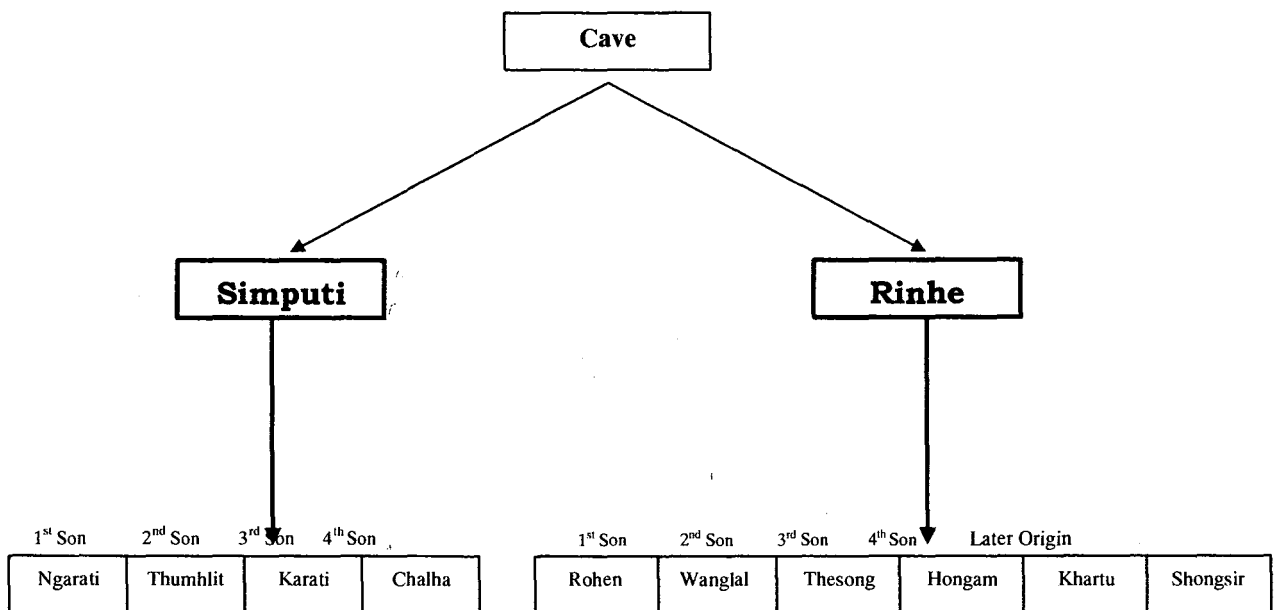
²³ Source Gina Sangkham, *A brief Account of Moyons in Sanajaoba* (ed.), Manipur; Past and Present Vol. 3. Mittal Publication, New Delhi, 1995, pp.440-456.

This was followed by ziingven, which divided itself into two clans in 1978 namely

- 1) Chinir and Nungchim
- 2) Roel, Waanglaar, Kohartu and Hungam.

Thus at present, there are four clans in Moyon tribes

Monsang Social Structure:²⁴



Thungpungpa was a promogenitor of Simputi clan. He had four sons, which became the names of sub clans after the tribe emerged from the cave. The Rinhe clan failed to fulfil a promise made to weaverbirds and out of anger the birds destroyed the fields of the tribe. Simputi clan was enraged and an intra -

²⁴ *The Glimpses of the Monsang Culture and History*, op cit., 1978, pp. 57-61.

clan war was fought, in which the population of Rinhe was wiped out except a small boy, a grandson of Thungpumpa. Thungpumpa protected and looked after the boy. When he grew up, his grandfather advised him to join shooting competition of the village. And if he won, he should run shouting 'Rinhe Thursha' (meaning Rinhe has hit). When he did all the villagers ran after him to kill him. At this Thungpumpa reminded them of a treaty that no more bloodshed will flow.²⁵ Thus, Rinhe Clan was saved from extinction.

The Rinhe boy had four sons, which formed the sub-clans of Rinhe. Later two sub-clans were added to the clan, Khartu and Shongsir. Khartu parted from the Hongan to become a separate, sub-clan. Rohin branched out to form another sub-clan, Shongsir.

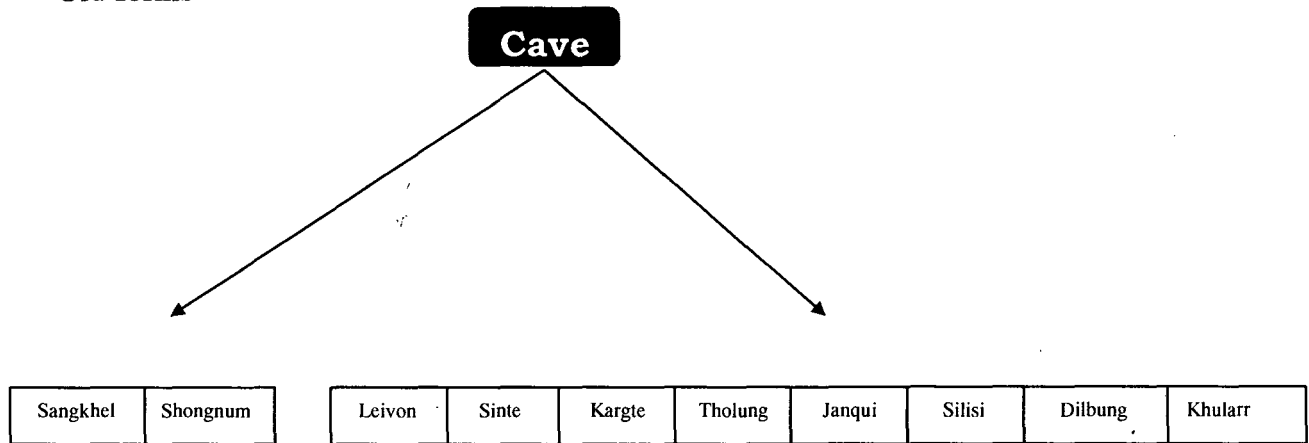
Lamkang²⁶

The social division of the Lamkangs was divided into two major clans. But they have improved it to suit the changing times. For now, they have four clans. The chart is as follows:

²⁵ Ibid24, pp. 16-24.

²⁶ Sources, *The Lamkang Customary Law*, op cit., pp. 2-3.

Old forms



New Forms

- a) Leivon, Sinte and Kargte
- b) Tholung, Janqui, and Silisi
- c) Shongnem, Shankhel.
- d) Dilbung and Khular.

Marriage System:

The marriage system in the tribes could be called as restrictive. As the tribes advocate the two clans as exogamous and inter -clan marriage is the only way of practice. However, the Lamkangs and Moyon have divided the society into four clans as exogamous clans and marriage can take place among these clans.

If any violation of exogamous clan marriage is found, the outlaws receive not only material fines but also social ostracism. Secondly, a boy belonging to one clan could not marry a girl of his mother's relatives, for example, a mother's brother's daughter. The same case is for a boy who could not unite with a father's sister's daughter. Thirdly, a marriage between relations tracing back to two generations is not permissible. These points mentioned above are strictly observed particularly in Anal tribe.

The reasons may be due to the influences on the tribes and also the increase in its population. The tribes under my study follow a rule of marriage on seniority basis. If a younger daughter surpasses her elder sister she pays some 'fine' as a mark to say sorry. However, with the advent of modern education which require a time to complete the goal, most parents adopt conventional method of getting their daughter married.

There are two types of marriage:

Arranged marriage: It is arranged by the parents with the consent of the boy and from a Christian perspective, this is regarded as 'Holy marriage'

Love marriage: In this, a boy and a girl involved in a relationship elope if parents of either the boy or the girl do not agree to the marriage. If parents agree to it their marriage can take place. This marriage does not become a holy marriage.

The process leading to marriage differs according to the types of marriage. The stages under arranged marriage are as follows:

The first stage is called 'Juha' (in Anal and in Lamkang) 'Junktuw' (in Moyon) 'Juwɪ Ikhɯw' (in Monsang). It is a sort of proposal made by boy's parent. They bring wine and meat along with them. If the girls parent agree then it is considered a preliminary engagement.

The second stage is called Jumpam (in Anal), Juti (in Moyon and Monsang). This stage is to confirm the engagement where the boy's parent offer a wine and a hen to the girl's family. In case of disagreement then the girl's family offers a pot of wine and cancels the marriage. If everything goes well the boy resides in the girls house for 3 year as a husband to the girl. In the first year, the boy's parents perform Chahla (in Anal) and 'Chara' (in Monyon), 'chathla' (in Mongsang) which is a feast of rice beer and a cooked chicken brought by the parents. On completion of three years the boy's parents perform a feast called 'Thungphan' (in Moyon) 'Thangphung' (in Anal), 'Men' (in Monsang). In this feast, the boy's parents offer an oxen or a pig or methan, etc and wine. In the case of love marriage, the boy's parent has to inform the girl's family and request her to give their daughter for their son. If agreed then the marriage process will take place. After the couple set up their own family, they give a feast called 'Hmarsha' or 'Mharsha' to the girl's parents.

The process of marriage was strictly piously followed by the tribes. The complex nature of the process shows that women are important members of the community. The amount of material spent to get the hand of a girl should not be interpreted as 'buying a bride". However, it should be looked at as a valuable member of a family. As a result of this practice divorce rate is minimum in the society and respect for women is higher as compared to other communities.

CONCLUSION

In the last four chapters, I have discussed the problems of the 'Pakans' identity, its history in order to bring out a better understanding of the tribes' identity. In this chapter, I move towards drawing a conclusion of this study.

The term 'Pakan', as a section of the tribes claim covers not only Anal, Lamkang, Moyon, Monsang, but also Maring, Chothe and Tarao. However, this study used the term 'Pakan' for four tribes namely Anal, Lamkang, Moyon and Monsang. The usage of 'Pakan' for the four tribes has been supported by Capt. Rajendra Singh¹ and Gangmumei Kabui².

There had been movements to unify the tribes under the banner of the 'Pakans' but this study is not about revitalizing movements. It is about studying their identity problems. When one talks about identity of the 'Pakans' it means these four tribes and any argument of identity ultimately affects all these tribes of the 'Pakans'.

According to R. Shemmi, tribes or sub-tribes Anal, Moyon, Monsang, Lamkang, at times are collectively known as the Anal tribes.³ This view however is not acceptable, as we have tried to argue that Anal tribe itself is one of the off shoot of the 'Pakan' tribes.

¹ Capt. Rajendra Singh, *The Anals of Manipur*, op cit., p. 3.

² Gangmumei Kabui, *Anal: A Trans-Border Tribe of Manipur*, op cit., p. 11.

³ Y.L.R.Shemmi, *Comparative History of the Nagas*, from Ancient Period till 1926, Inter-India publications, New Delhi, 1988. p. 63.

Identity is one issue that every individual needs for social location. The tribals who have been identified as primitive people or indigenous inhabitants etc, does not mean that they have one identity for all the tribes. Each tribes in India has its respected identity such as Gonds, Nagas, Bhils etc. To determine the identity of the tribes many Anthropologists, Social Scientist have employed various methods. K.N. Sahay, used a method such as tribals name, legend associated with the name, biographical studies, their slogans, tribal writings etc.⁴ Mehra, studied tribal identity under creation and origin theory, man - supernatural relationship, man -nature relationship and man-man relationship.⁵ However, a clear cut methods to study tribals identity has not been established.

For the Pakan tribes identity, this study has looked beyond colonial era. Colonial rulers adopted their own yardstick to determine the identity of these tribes. This created an identity problem for many of the tribes, particularly, the tribes whose identity could not be determined by their criteria such as nature of land, physical appearance, law of inheritance, village administration etc. Secondly the sources of the Britishers were primarily based on the information provided by district magistrates or based on the hearsay of anyone . This means they mobilised inadequate sources for the study of tribes identity.

⁴ K.N. Sahay, "Tribal Self-Image and Identity in Tribal Hertiage of India", in S.C. Dube, Ed., *Tribal Heritage of India*. Vol.I

⁵ J.D. Mehra, "The World View of India Tribes", in S.C. Dube, Ed., *Tribal Heritage of India*, Vol. I, p. 58-117.

As a result of this, the tribes particularly, in interior of the area as well as the small tribes had suffered from 'wrong identity'. Therefore, it is insufficient to base the study of tribes' identity exclusively on the British records, writings, etc. The problem of the Pakans' identity arose during the colonial period created by political agents and administrators etc.

It has been pointed out in Chapter III, how G.A. Grierson and John Shakespeare, classify the tribes into Nagas and Kukis and divided the Kukis into 'Old Kuki' and 'New Kuki'. For the later Social Scientists classification between 'Old Kuki' and 'New Kuki' became a term. The word Old Kuki to be a term is not only inadequate but also has no historical basis. This may be one of the reasons why there is so much complaint against the usage of the term 'Old Kuki' and 'New Kuki'. These terms 'Old Kuki' and 'New Kuki' are 19th century and 20th century phenomena, perhaps their avoidance can restore more acceptable identity.

The Pakan tribes have been regarded as one of the earliest inhabitants of Manipur. The legends of the tribes inter-overlap with the meiteis and other neighbouring tribes. The earliest records of Manipur date back to 33 A.D., and also one of the most authentic sources of Manipur history, the Royal Chronicle of Manipur, mention this Anals from the mid 16th century. This establish that the tribes are one of earliest inhabitants and the application of the word Old Kuki, of late 19th century and 20th century, coined by the Britishers, has no justification for their labeling so.

The colonial records related to land cases, since 1909, show the rights of the Pakan tribes over the land as of original inhabitants. The records are show below:

1. In the Court of the Vice-President, Manipur State Darbar vide Mise, Case No. 664 of 1909-1910, dated 15th April 1910, in which Mr. Beyon, Naga Luplakpa of Anal Basti (Anal Khullen) complained that the accused/defendant, Mr. Langhaw Ningthou (Kuki) and other's Koihung Village made a new village in his land. So, he prayed that the defendant may be ordered to go back to his former villages. The Court order reads as follows, "The Kukhis to leave place as soon as they reap their present crop."
2. Secondly, in the Court of the Vice-President, Manipur State Darbar under Mise. Case No. 470 of 1911-1912 in which Ngairou Kuki of Kuibung village refused to pay land tax which he previously paid to Marphen g (Anal) Khullakpa of Maribung Village. But he was defeated and asked to continue his payment as usual as the land belonged to Anal and Maribung Village. The Court Order reads as follows: "Dft. Absent Lambu reports that the Gong and pigs were paid to both anal and Maribung for this land. The Kukis will not be driven out but must pay lousal (Land tax) as ordered" dated 5/7/12.
3. Thirdly, apart from the Naga Villages, the oldest Kuki villages are Mombi, Gobok and Lungja in Chandel District. But it so happened t hat Mr.

Ngulkhup, Chief of Lamkanghang-Mombi and Leothang, Chief of Lamphou-Gobok Khuman filed a case to the Court of the President, Manipur of State Darbar under Civil case No. 208 of 1929 -30 against Mr. Ni. Kanlun, Chief of Thorcham (Anal) Village and Mr . Sp. Monal Chief of Khubungkhunou (Anal) Village. These two Kuki Chiefs claimed that all land in which the Anals and the Kukis lived belonged to the Kukis. But rightfully enough, the Kuki Chiefs were defeated in the Court on the ground that “the Anals certainly have a better right to claim the land”. The Court further aptly declared their (Kukis) appeal as “Impudent attempt to establish their right” over the Anal land.

4. Fourthly, again in 1934 the Court of Tax Sub -Divisional Officer East Area, Ukhrul vide Mise. Case No.6 of 1934-35 pronounced in favour of the Chief of Khubung Khunou that “Gobok Leothang’s claim that all the land and every blade of grass in that is his is nonsense”. The Court further declared that “There is no denying the fact that the land was Anal land and when Kukis were in power they came and occupied the land of the weaker Anals by force”.

It may be pointed out that the very two villages named Lamkanghang-Mombi and Lamphou-Gobok Khunman clearly spelt out the fact that the Lamkang and the Anal Nagas were the first occupants and owners of these two villages. The above land records also showed that the land belonged to the tribes, because it was they who have been living there for

centuries. If there had been any affinity between them, the Anals would have supported the Kuki rebellion of 1917, against the Britishers. But they extended their support to the Britishers. The point is that, in any tribal rebellion against colonial ruler or Zamindar of Indian history, the source of support for the tribes came from their neighbouring tribes. In the case of Kuki and the Pakan tribes, they showed neither support nor affinity with each other. Instead they maintained differences with each other. So, Grierson and John Shakespeare, grouping them under one category does seem to be satisfactory even in their day-to-day life.

Most importantly, the identity of the Pakan tribes has been recorded as Nagas in the Royal Chronicle of Manipur. It clearly mentions 'Anal Nagas Villages' in all the events between the Maharajas of Manipur and the Anals. Thus, distorting the identity of the Pakan tribes as Nagas would mean destroying the authenticity of the Royal Chronicle of Manipur, which is the most important and the most valuable source for establishing the history of Manipur.

Looking at the writings of the Britishers, Capt. R.B. Pemberton in 1935, concluded that Anal and Moyon are Nagas. This was much before R. Brown, M.C. Culloch, Grierson and John Shakespeare. There are land records which identify the tribes as Nagas. Therefore, the writings of the Britishers need to be carefully scrutinized and the identity of the Pakans should be satisfactorily addressed to it as Nagas.

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