

NAGA-BURMESE TRADE RELATION FROM PRE-COLONIAL TO COLONIAL PERIOD



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Supervisor

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis '*Naga- Burmese Trade Relation from Pre-Colonial to Colonial Period*' bearing Regd. No. 421/2010 has been prepared by L.J. Neken Jamir under my supervision. I certify that L.J Neken Jamir has fulfilled all norms required under the PhD regulations of Nagaland University for submission of thesis for the Degree of Doctorate of Philosophy of History & Archaeology. The thesis is original work based his own research and analysis of materials.


To the best of my knowledge this work has not formed part of any such work for award of any research Degree of any university or Research Institute.

Prof. N. Venuh
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DECLARATION

I, Shri. L.J.Neken Jamir (PhD/421/2010) do hereby declare that the thesis entitled '*Naga- Burmese Trade Relation from Pre-Colonial to Colonial Period*' submitted by me under the guidance and research supervision of Professor N.Venuh, Department of History & Archaeology, Nagaland University is an original and independent research work. I also declare that, it has not been submitted in any part or in full to this university or any other university or institution for the award of any degree


The thesis is being submitted to Nagaland University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History & Archaeology.



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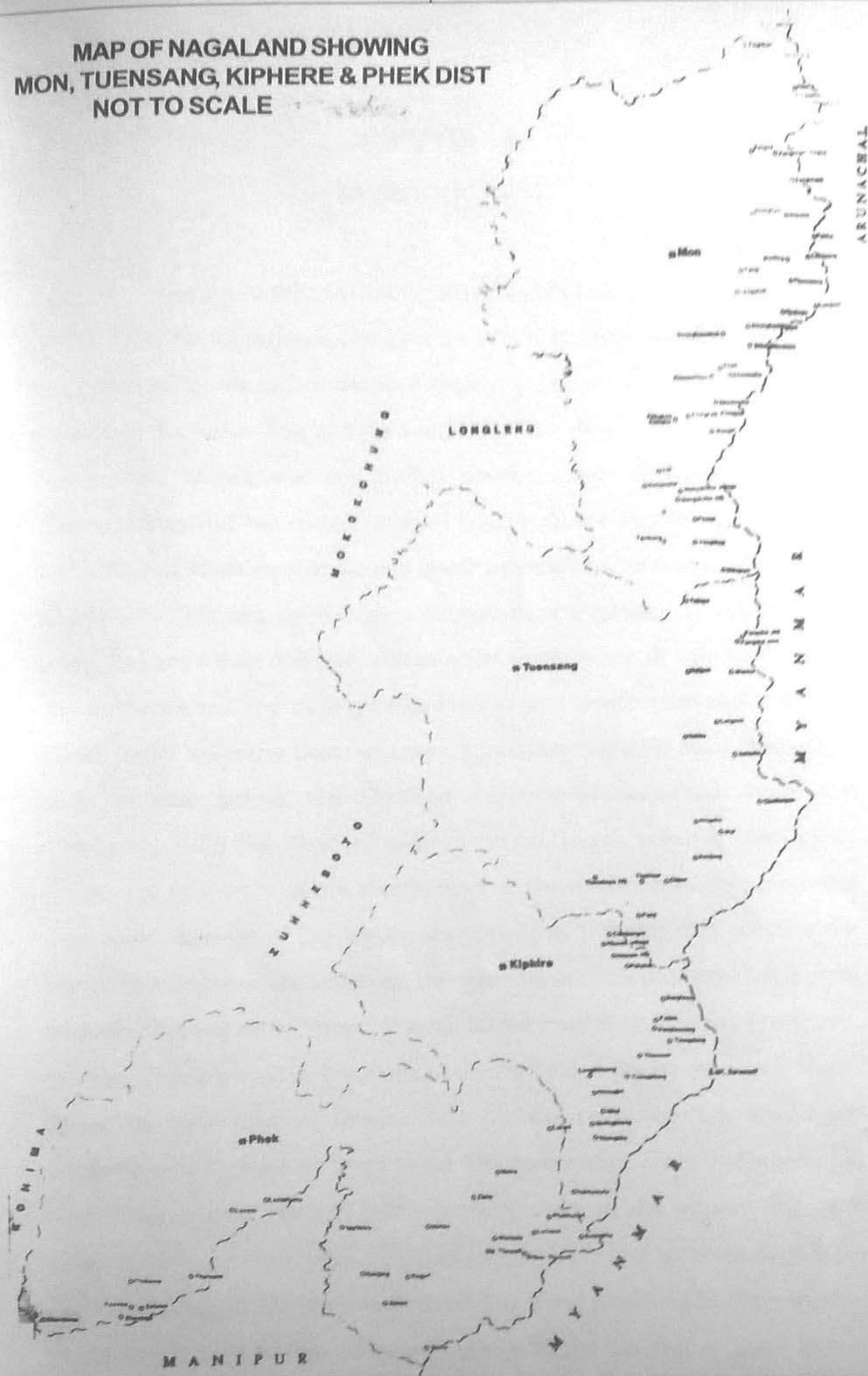
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L. J. NEKEN JAMIR

95° 00'

MAP OF NAGALAND SHOWING
MON, TUENSANG, KIPHERE & PHEK DIST
NOT TO SCALE



26°
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Nagaland, the sixteenth state of Indian union, is located between 93°21' to 95°15' E longitude and 25°6' to 27°6'N latitude (Sanglir, Chubala, 9) and bordered by the Indian states of Assam in the north and west, Arunachal Pradesh in the North- East and the South-East boundary is shared between the Indian state of Manipur and India's eastern most neighbour-Myanmar (Burma). Nagaland has a total area of 16,579 square kilometres (Hargovind Joshi, 2001:4). Nagaland has sixteen major tribes with a total population of 19, 80,602 (2011 census). Each tribe is comprised of a number of villages. Each village has more than one clan. Village is the smallest unit of administration as well as the society. The state is divided into eleven districts and each district is placed under a Deputy Commissioner as the administrative head. Nagas had been animists before the Christian missionaries converted them into Christianity. With the dawn of colonial period, Nagas began to convert to Christianity as a result of the tireless work of the missionaries. By now, more than ninety percent of the Nagas are Christians. Hitherto, the scholars are unable to maintain a consensus on the meaning of the word 'Naga'. It is most probable that the name "Naga" is given by her neighbour Ahoms¹. Previously, the Nagas were known by the name of their tribe and not by the name 'Naga'. Owing to their physical feature and cultural characteristics, Nagas are predominantly Mongoloid. Most of the Mongolian traits are found among the Nagas. Nagas were nomads before settling down in the present site. It is generally believed that Nagas migrated from the present south-eastern Asian countries and settled in the present land. The history relating to the migration of the Nagas is definitely unknown, but with the survival of their myths, legends and oral traditions, the Nagas traced

¹ A branch of Shan tribe migrated from Upper Burma and poured into Assam valley in 1228 A.D.

their origin of migration route from Mongolia, China and South-East Asia (A.Nshoga:576-77). Their migration was not simultaneous .They came from different directions at different intervals.

From time immemorial, Nagas were leading an independent life and never been under a king or monarch. Nagas are basically tribal people. Nagas had contact with the Ahoms right from their entering into present Assam valley in the first half of the thirteenth century. However, their contact with the Ahoms did not have much impact on their way of life. They were never disturbed by anyone till the British intruded and established their administration over some parts of Naga Hills in the later part of nineteenth century. With the coming of the British in the second half of the nineteenth century, the area was brought under British administration and the Nagas began to taste a new and superior civilization which was completely different from theirs. This contact between the Nagas and the west has brought tremendous changes to the Naga society. The changes resulted from the 'Naga-West contact was far more than the Naga-Ahom contact though the time of contact was much lesser in regard to the former. The political fate of the Nagas was left with India after the British left India in 1947. Some of Naga inhabited areas were put together and made a centrally administered area in 1957 under the governor of Assam and named as the Naga Hills Tuensang Area. Under such realisation the government of India soon to grant the Naga a separate political unit namely the Naga Hills Tuensang Area (NHTA) to please the moderates. It was creation of the NHTA which ultimately culminated in a full fledged state of Nagaland under the Union Republic of India (T.Amongla,2004:142). As such, Nagaland, the sixteenth state² of India came into being on the 1st, December 1963.

Topographically, Nagaland is a hilly terrain and most of her villages and towns are located on the hill slopes. Nagaland has a temperate climate.

² Nagaland is granted the first statehood after the formation of Indian Union.

Nagaland has eleven districts populated by different tribes. Naga tribes are not only found in Nagaland but also scattered and settled in the Indian states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and neighbouring country Myanmar (Burma). Every Naga tribe has more than one language which is belonged to Tibeto-Burman language family. Nagaland is blessed with rich flora and fauna, minerals, abundant rainfall, fertile soil and moderate cold climate. Nagaland is a natural paradise for nature lovers, conservationists, botanists, zoologists and environmentalists. Nagaland has a number of mountain ranges. Saramati is the highest mountain peak with 3,840 meters above sea level followed by Japfu, Barail, Patkai, etc. In the midst of hilly terrain, Nagaland has a good number of valleys between the hills. Dimapur, Tuli, Baghty, Tsurang, Tizit and Merapani are the notable valleys which are very suitable for agriculture and human settlement. The Tizu, Dikhu, Melak, Dhansiri and Doyang are the major rivers of the state which feed the Brahmaputra in Assam and Chindwin in Myanmar (Burma). Tizu is the longest and Doyang is the biggest rivers of the state. Lacham (Shiloi) is one of the notable lakes of the state which is located on the east of Meluri sub-division under Phek district. Most part of Nagaland is fertile and can produce varieties of both agricultural and horticultural products. Nagaland has rich bio- diversity. Trees and plants which are found both in hot and cold climate can be found in Nagaland. Nagaland is rich in minerals. Coal, Limestone, Petroleum, etc are mostly found. Majority of the Naga population is engaged in cultivation. Small number of the Nagas is employed in the salaried jobs. Handloom weaving and handicraft industries yield considerable profit to the Nagas but there is no big industry worth the name. There is a vast potential for hydro-electric power generation and tourism development to add to the economy of Nagaland.

Till the pre-colonial period, there were no towns in Naga Hills. It was only from the colonial period, township began to grow. The Naga villages were sovereign independent democratic republics and every village was economically

self-sufficient. Their needs were limited and most of their needs could be met within the village itself. Most of the villages were located on the hill tops mainly because of the security reason. Naga villages began to change with the dawn of the colonial period. It was only from the colonial period the district headquarters began to grow into township. More than seventy percent of the total population of Nagaland is living in the villages. Naga society is a patriarchal society, where male plays a dominant role. However, it does not mean that woman has no role or right in Naga society. Naga woman has its own role to play in the society and Naga society is not complete without women's participation. In the traditional Naga village administration, woman did not take part. But in religion, festivals, family matters, Naga woman plays a big role. Agriculture has been the main occupation of the Nagas especially up to the pre-colonial period. The Nagas did not have much idea or knowledge about business but they did buying and selling where unhusked rice, packed salt, dao, etc. served as the medium of exchange in the village or in inter-village or inter-tribal trade. Barter system was prevalent in the external trade of the Nagas with the Ahoms, Burmese. With the dawn of the colonial period, Nagas began to taste a new and different system known as money economy in which, value of the commodity is measured in terms of money. Money was very scarce to get and as such it had high value. Even in our administered districts, there are areas where coin is so scarce that in order to obtain Rs.2 for their house tax. Crowds of Nagas wander about in the plains every cold weather looking for odd jobs they can do (Sir Robert Reid in Dr. Pekito Achumi 2012: 135 & 137). Naga trader could get eighteen kilograms of salt at Sonowal in Assam for one rupee during the last part of colonial rule in India. Again in the same period, one had to work sixteen days to get one rupee (Ayimnien)³. It was very difficult for the Nagas to get money especially in the initial years of the colonial period. However, with the introduction of the western education and with the contact with the west,

³ Ayimnien 80 years interviewed on 10 th. January 2010.

the Nagas began to taste the salaried service and also began to change their economic condition by employing them as coolies, primary teachers and Dobashis (interpreters), etc. The return of the labour corps from Europe after First World War with cash remuneration reinforced the cash economy in Naga Hills. Moreover, the employment of the Nagas in various government services as Dobashis(interpreters),school teachers, coolies, etc. helped accelerate the spread of cash economy(Dr.Piketo Achumi,2012:129). The Naga barter economy was gradually changed into money economy when coins, as medium of exchange, were introduced by the British-India government during the colonial period. W.W.Hunter remarked,"Prior to the formation of Samaguting into a civil station, the Nagas were entirely ignorant of the value of money. Accordingly, all the trade was conducted by barter."(Ibid:128).

The land border of India is about 17,700 km and of this length, North-East region shares approximately 5200 km with China, Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh (N.N.Bhattacharyya,2000:103). This region shares only 2 per cent of her border with the mainland of the country and the rest 98 per cent is linked with international border (Gurudas Das,2000:24). The North-East region is connected with mainland India through a narrow land mass with just 32 km which is commonly called as Siliguri corridor/chicken neck. The North-East region has a total area of 2,55,037 sq.kms (B.Datta Ray Ed., 2002:58). The influence of geography on the history and culture of any society or community is immense. The North-eastern region of India is bordered with four foreign countries i.e. China, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Burma {Myanmar}.The people of North-East India has a close contact and relation with those neighbouring countries since long time. Their contact was more often and closer than the mainland India. They influenced each other culturally and socially. Consequently, in due course of time, the people of Northeast India could develop rich culture and tradition which contributed immensely to the unity in diversity of India. Being land locked and far away from the mainland market

places, the developmental interest of North-eastern region lies on border trade with the neighbouring countries. In fact, the cross-border markets are far nearer in terms of both cost and distance than the mainland market places (David R Syeimleih et.al. (Ed), 2006:342). The people of North east India traded their surplus products with their neighbouring countries mostly through barter. All men are producers and at the same time all are consumers. As one cannot produce all his needs, he had to depend on other's produce thus paved the way for trade either through barter or medium of exchange. Trade enabled to exchange one's produce with other's produce which satisfies their desires and needs.

Trade is essential for economic development of any society or country. Trade plays vital role in the upliftment and advancement of any community as one cannot produce all his requirements and needs, he has to buy or exchange from or with others. As such, he has to partly depend on others' produce which paves the way for trade relationship between the persons, communities or countries. Trade is a device or means that leads the society to economic development and growth. D.A.Robertson observed, "Trade is an engine of growth" (Alokash Barua Ed, 2005:429). It is difficult to say when trade began in human society. It is believed that when one cannot produce enough to his needs or wants, trade began to take place through barter or otherwise. All persons living in the mundane surroundings perform economic activities for the satisfaction of their wants...they felt an urgent need for the organization of institutional arrangement, leading to the development of trade and commerce (S.K.Srivastava, 1972:1). All individuals are not equally suited to produce all goods, either because they are differently endowed or for other reasons. Nature has distributed the factor of production unevenly on the surface of the earth. All the lands and the peoples are endowed with different natural resources, climatic conditions, labour, skills, etc. which determine the capacities to produce goods and services. All these differences in production possibilities

lead to situation where some people or country can produce some goods and services more efficiently than others. Because raw materials and productive capabilities are unevenly distributed around the globe, trading between regions has flourished since the dawn of civilization (John Faryer Weather, 1997:5). Trading between/among two or more nations is called as International Trade. It is the exchange of goods and services between countries. If a country is unable to efficiently produce an item, it can obtain that item by trading with other countries, as some countries use their resources, labour; technology and capital more efficiently and therefore sell more cheaply than other countries. This type of trade gives rise to a world economy, in which prices or supply and demand are affected by global unrests⁴. Trading globally gives consumers and countries the opportunity to be exposed to goods and services not found or available in their own country. In international market, almost every kind of product can be found.

History of trade reveals the insights about trade. It is difficult to say precisely when trade begun. Man practised trade right from the ancient times. Trade is a form of helping each other in fulfilling one's needs or wants. Trade not only helps the individual but also leads to the economic growth and development of the society as a whole. Trade centres are not only centres for economic transactions but they are centres of learning new ideas, techniques, way of life, etc. Trading centres and the port cities were developed much faster than the remote places even during ancient times. Trade provide market where different people come together and shared not only goods but also ideas and techniques with each other. When trade began in human society, is not known exactly but it is believed that when one could not satisfy his wants, trade began to take place both internally and externally. External trade between the ancient civilizations took place. Evidences show that the people of Harappa (India) had external trade relation with the people of Mesopotamia (Iraq) through its port

⁴ strike, demonstrations, boycotts, wars, etc.

city of Lothal, presently located in the Gujarat state of India during ancient period. The evidence of a circular button seal found at Lothal strengthens the foreign trade because seals of this kind belong to a class of Persian Gulf seals found at Bahrain and occasionally at Ur in Mesopotamia (V.Rami Reddy, 1991:101).

The trade route is the most important means without which no trade can take place. Of all the trade routes, waterways have been the cheapest and the first trade route between long distances which facilitated trade between different peoples and places and led to the growth and development of civilizations. The river valleys were the places where the first human civilizations began. The backbones of early civilizations were the Nile, Tigris and Euphrates, Indus and Yellow Rivers (wikipedia, History of Trade: 1). As coastal trade extended, human contact increased and promoted economy. The eastern Mediterranean was the first region to develop extensive maritime trade. A maritime link, of enormous commercial potential, opened up between India and China. Silk Road was one of the first land routes that facilitated trade between Asia and Europe. The caravan routes of the Middle East and the shipping lanes of the Mediterranean have provided the world's oldest trading system, ferrying goods to and fro between civilizations from India to Phoenicia (Wikipedia, History of Trade:1). By about 1000 B.C caravans of camels, man's first employed animal for transportation, brought precious goods up to the west coast of Arabia, linking India with Egypt, Phoenicia and Mesopotamia. To ease the transport goods to Greece and beyond, Seleucus, the Greek ruler, founded a new city Antioch in 300 BC. Here goods were put on ship on arriving caravans from Mesopotamia and then to Seleucia, a famous Greek port city which was perfectly placed for trade, at a point where a canal from the Euphrates links with the Tigris. (Wikipedia, history of trade: 2). Africa did not lack behind in trade. Trade routes run through north to south passing Sahara. African gold was the most sought after item of trade. Ghana is placed in the right place in the

Saharan trade and controlled African trade. The Saharan caravans link the Mediterranean markets to the north with the supply of African raw materials to the south. Slave was the second most valuable African commodity next to gold. Zaghawa tribes raided their neighbours and the captured slaves were sold to the Arabs purchasers to the north. Other African products in demand around the Mediterranean were ivory, ostrich feathers and the cola nut. Salt, dates, weapons, armour and copper were brought to the south by the caravans. The caravans, with various goods, travelled some twelve hundred miles unloaded and packed on different stations. The traders hardly travelled single caravan for the whole distance from one end to the other (wekipaedia, history of trade: 3).

The rivers of Eastern Europe flowing north and south, made easy for the traders to travel between the Baltic and the Black Sea. Europe's noted rivers Dvina, Dnieper and Volga are close each other near Lake Ilmen, which developed a trading centre around ninth century AD. Those rivers flow into the Baltic, the Black Sea and the Caspian. Goods ferried by water between these important trading regions converge on this area. By the early ninth century Viking tribe known as the Rus had a base on the side of Novgorod. Their development of trade, particularly down the river Dnieper laid the foundation of the Russian nation. The Russian ruler negotiated commercial treaty with the Byzantine Empire. Consequently, Kiev became a trading centre of Byzantine in the south, wild forests in the north and Russia in the middle. Gold, cloths, wine, fruits from the Greeks, silver and horse from the Czech and Hungarians; furs, wax, honey and slaves from the Russians were the main items of trade among them. By thirteenth century, Europe's prominent trading centres were the coastal Italian cities, in which the Mediterranean played the key role. Venice was particularly become prosperous and important. The cities of Netherlands were important trade centres for England, France and Germany. The Hanseatic towns played key role in the trade through Baltic (wikipaedia, history of trade:6).

Chinese were one of the first people from Asia to carry out trade with the outside world. The Silk Road was opened when the first caravan left China in 106 B.C and travelled through to Persia without changing hands on the way. That road was exposed to marauding bands of nomadic tribes, but the Han dynasty in China gave protection. The goods were unloaded on the way and continued their journey westward where the rich customers around the Mediterranean were eager for the luxury products of the east. The Chinese silk was in high demand in Asia as well as in the west. Chinese trade increased much with the increase of sea trade. Zheng He sails far and wide with a large fleet in the early part of fifteenth century. Chinese exported porcelain, lacquer, silks, and items of gold and silver and medicinal preparations. In return, the Chinese brought herbs, spices, ivory, rhinoceros horn, rare varieties of wood, jewels, cotton and ingredients for making dyes (wikipedia,history of trade:9).

India is looked upon as a land with immense resource right from the ancient times. She was famed for her fabulous wealth. There was free trade till the establishment of British rule in India in the second half of the eighteenth century. Indian goods were in high demand in Asia and in Europe. Despite the frequent political upheavals up to sixteenth century, India was prosperous and towns grew into trade and industrial centres. During the Sultanate period, sound currency system was established based on the silver tanka and the copper dirham. Ibn Batuta the fourteenth century Moorish traveller, who visited India during the Sultanate period, described the growing markets in the Gangetic plains, Malwa, Gujarat and Southern India. The important centres of trade and industry were Delhi, Lahore, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sonargaon and Jaunpur. The coastal towns also developed into booming industrial centres with large populations (Padma Mohan Kumar: 1). Mughals ruled India from 16th to 18th century. Mughals could establish a strong and stable government which maintained peace and security in the country. Consequently, trade and commerce flourished. The burgeoning foreign trade led to the development of

market places not only in the towns but also in the villages. The production of handicrafts increased in order to keep pace with the demands for them in foreign countries. The important trading centres during Mughal period were Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Tatta and Srinagar in the north; Ahmedabad, Bombay, Surat, Ujjain and Patan in the west; Dacca, Hoogli, Patna, Chittagong and Murishidabad in the east; Cochin, Malabar, Golconda, Shaliat, Pulicat, Masulipattam, Vijaynagar, etc. in the south (Padma Mohan Kumar: 2). It was true that agriculture was the dominant occupation of her people but the products of Indian industries enjoyed a worldwide reputation. The muslin of Dacca, the calicos of Bengal, the sarees of Banaras and other cotton fabrics were known to the foreigners. Egyptian mummies dating back to 2000 B.C were wrapped in Indian Muslin. Similarly the Muslin of Dacca was known to the Greeks under the name Gangteka (Rudder Datt and other, 2004:16).

Indian textiles were famous abroad and it was one of the chief items of export. It was especially popular and in high demand in Arab countries, Malaysia, Indonesia and Philipines. Gujarat was a leading cotton trade centre. Patola, a kind of silk dyed in natural colours, was highly popular in South-east Asia. Kasimbazar in Bengal was an important trade centre for cotton and silk. Sirbund, a type of cloth used for tying turbans was in great demand in Europe. Malabar in Kerala was famous for coloured and printed cloth material. Shaliat and Pulicut were important trading centres which produced wide variety of cotton. Port city of Masulipatnam exported finely painted cotton fabrics. Indian textiles whether from Bengal, Gujarat or South were highly appreciated abroad for their fine texture, elaborate design and brilliant colours (Padma Mohan Kumar: 2). The trade history also shows hardwood furniture, embellished with inlay work was a very popular item for export. Although the expensive carvings and inlays were inspired by the ornate Mughal style, the furniture was modelled on the European design. Carpets were used both in ancient and medieval India. But the skill of carpet making touched new heights only during the Mughal era

in the 16th century. A large variety of ornamental work in cut stones, ivory, pearl and tortoise shells were produced in south India. Pearl fishing was a major industry. Indian arts and crafts patronized by the Indian ruler, were unmatched for their beauty and skill and were very popular in the European countries (Trade promotion.com:1). Rubies and sapphire were imported from Ceylon and Pegu. Diamonds were obtained from Deccan. Pulicut, Calicut and vijaynagar were the centres for cutting and polishing stones.

India's exports far exceeded her imports both in number of items as well as in volume. The chief articles of import were horses, dry fruits and precious stones from Kabul and Arabia. India also imported glassware from Europe, high textiles like satin from West Asia, while China supplied raw silk and porcelain. Foreign luxury goods were highly popular among the royal and the nobility. These included wines, precious stones, corals, scented oils, perfumes and velvets (Padma Mohan Kumar: 3). During the medieval period, the goods like silk, gold-embroidered cloth caps, exquisitely designed clay pots, guns knives. Sugar, indigo, oils, ivory, sandalwood, spices, diamonds and other precious gems and coconuts, iron, wax, gold, bronze, wool, etc. Red Sea and Mediterranean ports were the chief ports through which the Arab traders shipped Indian goods to Europe. India exported her goods to China, Africa, Far East and Malaya. Indian goods were also exported to Persia, Afghanistan and central Asia through land route via Kashmir, Quetta and Khyber Pass. Indian as well as foreign merchants handled India's foreign trade. Many foreigners settled in the coastal and port cities like Lombardo, Bhatia, Calicut, Cochin, Khambat, Quilon, Mangalore, Dacca, Vijaynagar, etc. India's Asian trade was mainly carried out through eastern coastal ports. All those port cities and towns became rich through maritime trade. Vijayanagar became the richest and most extensive state in mediaeval India. She had maritime trade link with Persia, China, Burma, Arabia, Africa, Malaya Archipelago and the islands of Indian Ocean. Middleman in any kind of business is very essential. They are the agents between the

producer and the consumer. The Marwari and Gujarati were the most noted businessmen who controlled the trade between the coastal towns and North India. The Multanis and Khurasanis were other noted groups of businessmen who controlled India's foreign trade with the central and west Asia. The products from the Indian indigeneous industries, upto pre-colonial period, were in high demand and her industries could compete with others. The Industrial Commission of 1918 remarked on the condition of the Indian industries during the pre-colonial period," At a time when the west of Europe, birth place of modern industrial system, was inhabited by uncivilised tribes, India was famous for the wealth of her rulers and for high artistic skill of her craftsman. And even at a much later period, when the merchant adventurers from the west made their first appearance in India, the industrial development of this country was, at any rate, not inferior to that of the more advanced European nations." (Ruddar Datt, et al 2004: 16). Indian products were high quality and as such very famous abroad. India had a very favourable balance of trade in the international trade up to the colonial period. With the weakening of the Mughal power and the establishment of British power, India's external trade went under the control of the British. The monopoly of Indian foreign trade by the English East India Company was the fatal blow to India's favourable balance of foreign trade. From the second half of the eighteenth century, India's foreign trade went gradually under the control of the colonial power. India's favourable balance of foreign trade became a thing of the past. Both the Indian export and import were for the benefit of the colonial ruler and not for the Indians. Consequently, millions of Indians suffered. The native Indian industries, agriculture, both external and internal trade, etc. were the sectors which felt the pinch most.

Besides the favourable balance of foreign trade, there was active internal trade in India. The whole of India was connected by roads. There were roads from North to South and also from east to west besides innumerable smaller roads that connected different towns and villages. Different Indian rulers

realized the importance of road for security and doing trade which led to the economic prosperity of the country. Internal trade was never neglected and actively done which not only brought monetary benefits to the traders but also made the goods available to the needy. Trading has been practised by the Indian since ancient times and in due course of time, trading class and community emerged. Besides other factors, religion played an important role in the emergence of the trading/business community in India. After the foundation of Buddhism and Jainism during the sixth century B.C, the followers of those religions were compelled to do business. One of the main teachings of those religions is Ahimsa or non-killing of living being. If the Jains or the Buddhists are engaged in agriculture, they may intentionally or unintentionally kill living beings while working in the field and by doing so they may commit sin. Doing business or business profession became first option for the followers of those religions. Today, we can see the Jains in every nook and corner of India. They became very successful businessman. The trading class or the community contributed immensely to the growth and development of trade and commerce in India. The credit for the spread and development of trade in India should go to the trading community which has been in existence since ancient times. India is a vast country and due to the active participation of the traders in internal trade, India's foreign trade was favourable till the pre-colonial period.

India and Burma (Myanmar) are immediate neighbours. These two neighbours have 1643 Kilometres long international boundary. Right from ancient times, India and Burma have been in good relation. India's influence on Burma can be seen very clearly even today. Hinduism and Buddhism came to Burma by the seventh century. Burma received the foundation of its legal system from India...Linguistically, Pali, which originated from India, was the source of many Burmese words. Trade relationships between the two countries were also established from ancient times and Indian traders established permanent settlements along the coast of Burma. Politically too, the connection

between India and Burma began well before the British conquest. Arakenese kings had close contact with India (Thin Thin Aung & Soe Myint, India-Burma relation: 1). There was trade relation between India and Burma both through land and sea routes since ancient time. When Burma was conquered by the British, India and Burma were under the same administrative umbrella till 1937 when Burma was separated from India for the sake of administrative convenience. The India-Burma mutual relationship can be more clearly understood from the speech of the first Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on the day of Burma's independence, "As in the past, so in the future, the people of India will stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of Burma, and whether we have to share good fortune or ill fortune, we shall share it together. This is a great and solemn day not only for Burma, but for India, and for the whole of Asia". (Quoted in Thin Thin Aung & Soe Myint: 3). The Indian states of Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland share the Indian land boundary with Burma. People of all those states had traded with the Burmese since ancient times. Their trade with Burmese was informal. Barter trade was mostly prevalent. They mostly traded the items of daily requirements. As those eastern-most states are far from mainland India, the people of those states had more contact with the people of Burma bordering India than the mainland Indians. The people of eastern-most Indian states had not only frequent contact but there is close cultural affinity with the Burmese bordering India. It is natural that the people living in the close proximity became more closely related no matter to which community or country they belong to. Trade is bound to occur between the people of two borders, for both the borders lie on the periphery of the respective country, far from the mainland production centres. Therefore, the trade activity between people of adjacent borders helps them to get things of their requirement from each other (Gurudas Das and R.K.Purkayastha Ed.2000:131). There was neither cart road nor wide road between India and Burma, unlike the Silk Road connecting East and West Asia or other trade roads

connecting different parts in mainland India, the trade route between Burma and India was hilly and narrow bridle paths. No cart or animals were employed in India-Burma trade. The trader carried the goods to be bartered and visited different neighbouring border villages on foot. In spite of difficulties and hardships, the traders did not fail to trade and continued their relation since long time. The trade was very limited due to certain reasons. Trade mostly took place during winter season as it was more convenient for the trader. During winter, people became free from rain and it was the agricultural lean season that they could afford to go for trading.

Nagas did both internal and external trade. Internal trade took place among the different villages and tribes. Nagas' external trade was mostly with the Ahoms and the Burmese. Naga society was predominantly an agricultural society. Their produce was limited to agricultural and horticultural products only. Nagas' internal trade was inter- village and inter- tribal. Most of their daily requirements could be met internally. However, all their wants and requirements could not be met internally. They tried to satisfy all their needs and wants. The Nagas were compelled to go outside of their village or tribe for trade to substantiate their own produce and internal trade. Nagas' other requirements were made from their external trade with the Ahoms, Burmese, etc. The north- western Burma bordering India is mostly populated by the Nagas of Burma. There was close trading relation between the Nagas and the Burmese since long time. They not only traded in goods but also influenced each other in their way of life, technique of making tools, implements, etc. Burma (Myanmar) shares her North -western border of 1643 kms (Dilip Gogoi 1210:25) with the eastern Indian states of Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh. Nagaland shares its eastern boundary of 280 km (Gurudas Das 2000, table 3.1-1:47) with Burma (Myanmar). Apart from the internal trade among the different Naga tribes, Nagas had trade relation with the Ahoms in the west and the Burmese on the east. The Naga trade with the Ahoms during pre-colonial period

is recorded in the Ahom Buranjee⁵ and also by the British officials and writers during the colonial period. Though there has been brisk trade between the Nagas and the Burmese since long time, there is hardly any record about their trading activities. It becomes very pertinent to study the Naga-Burmese trade and their social relation scientifically. During ancient period, the North-east India served as intermediary between the mainland India and other Asian countries. After seeing the trading opportunities, the Mughal ruler repeatedly tried to conquer this part of India. Mughal's repeated attempts to conquer this region was guided by the sole interest to look eastward for growth in trade and expansion of the empire (Alokash Barua Ed., 2005:433). In spite of many obstacles like the inaccessible terrain, stiff cleft, thick jungles, etc. which are the characteristics of topography of most part of the North-East India, the Nagas and the Burmese carried on trade by carrying the trading goods on their heads and visited the villages exchanging goods. The Konyaks, Khiamniungan, Pochury and Yimchungru are the easternmost Naga tribes who bordered Burma. The Burmese bordering Nagaland are mostly Nagas who belong to the same family. Their custom, culture and tradition are very similar which lead them to be more closer to their economic and social lives.

The bordering Nagas and the Burmese have been doing trade since long time. They used to exchange their surplus goods with their neighbour and by doing so, they satisfied their daily needs. They were socially and economically more related than the mainland people in both the countries. The objectives of the present study are to unearth and identify the trading pattern, items of trade, trade route(s), trading centre(s), their social relation, to study whether there was/were any trading community/middleman in the Naga-Burmese trade or not, to find out whether the trade was carried out through barter or through any medium of exchange, or both, to examine the growth and continuity of the trade and to suggest ways and means for

⁵ Ahom government official record document.

further trade. Present work also aims to unearth the impact of trade on the Naga village economy especially the Burma bordering Naga villages. The present study is to be conducted mostly from the Naga point of view. One of the principal objectives of the present work is to see the effect(s) of the Naga-Burmese trade on the Nagas.

A number of scholars have done a commendable work on the Nagas and the Burmese. Most of those scholars worked on the society, culture, tradition, religion and traditional polity. For instance, C.V.F. Haimendrof, in his book, 'The Naked Nagas', describes the society, culture, custom, tradition and the political life of the Konyak Nagas, but left out their trade relation with the Burmese, which was a very important economic pursuit of the people. The Naga – Burmese trade once begun left its impact on their lives and the society. The absence of a qualified study on the Naga- Burmese trade relation necessitate thorough research in this field. Trade was an important aspect of Naga economy. One important aspect of the Naga economy which is a neglected part in Naga history, yet which cannot be overlooked is the trading activities (Chubala Sanglir, P.hD Thesis: 116). Trade is essential for the growth and the development of any society or Country. Trade was a supplementary economic activity of the Nagas. It satisfies the economic needs of the Nagas up to certain extent. Trading is an important economic activity of the people throughout the world and its importance cannot be ignored to the Nagas. It is difficult to say when trade began in human society. However, one thing is clear that when one cannot produce enough to his needs, trade began to take place through barter or a medium of exchange. Trade helps in the economic growth of any society, so trade cannot be ignored in any society if it wants to grow strong economically and therefore, it can rightly be called as an engine of growth.

HYPOTHESIS : In order to examine the set objectives, it is proposed to test the following hypothesis .

1. There has been trade relation between the Nagas and the Burmese since long time.
2. Trade played a significant role in the economic life of both the Nagas and the Burmese.
3. Both the Nagas and the Burmese influenced each other on their socio-Economic life.
4. Trade is a major contributor to the strong Naga-Burmese relation.
5. Trade is an important economic supplement of the Nagas and the Burmese besides cultivation.
6. Colonial rule enhanced Naga-Burmese trade.

DEFINATION OF THE TERM USED : The word “NAGA” is called to the people of the Indian state of Nagaland and its surroundings both under India and Burma. The scholars are yet to arrive to a consensus on the meaning of the word ‘Naga’. The name Naga is most probably given by her neighbour, as Naga tribes were known by the name of their tribe only. From the position of contiguity of Naga Hills to Assam, the mention of Nagas in Ahom Buranjee, the medeaval court chronicle, is of significance. The first reference to the Nagas has occurred in the 9th. Century Ahom Buranjee, who fought with the Ahoms. Further, it is interesting to note that each tribe has its own name hardly having anything to do with the word Naga (Nonleh Chohwanglim, 2014: 82). The use of the word ‘Naga’ became more prominent from the colonial period. The Nagas are Mongoloid people as all the Mongolian traits are found among the Nagas. People of Burma (Myanmar) are called Burmese. They are bordered in the North- west with the Indian States of Manipur, Arunachal, Nagaland and Mizoram. North-Western region of Burma is mostly populated by the tribal people who have been in cordial relation with the tribes of North-East India. Both the Nagas and the Burmese are belong to the Mongolian stock of human race. The simple meaning of ‘Trade’ is a way of traffic, a course or a way of livelihood. Here, ‘trade’ means the

activity of buying and selling or of exchanging goods or services between people or countries. The way in which two or more people, groups or countries are connected or deal with each other may be called as 'Relation'. As such, "Trade Relation" denotes, the connection of two people, groups or countries for trading purpose. The term "colonial" refers to the domination or control of a country by another. In the present study, 'pre-colonial to colonial period' refers to the period before and up to the British domination of India.

DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY : This study is delimited to the trading activities of the Naga villages in the border trade between the Naga villages bordering Burma and the North-West Burmese villages, bordering Nagaland from pre-colonial to colonial period. The study is delimited to the border informal trade between the said Nagas and the Burmese who have been living in the close proximity since long time. The present study is delimited to the border trade that carried out between the immediate neighbours of the Nagas and Burmese who traded mostly for their daily requirements. This study is also delimited to the daily exchange of goods between the immediate Naga-Burmese villages which was very limited as the goods were carried by man alone. The present study is delimited to the trade between the Naga-Burmese bordering villages only as the traders from the interior villages could hardly involve in the border trade as trade between the unknown persons did not take place due to the fear of losing life. Present study is delimited to the trading activities of the Naga villages bordering Burma, who actively traded with the Burmese since long time.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY : This study would focus on the trading activities between the bordering Nagas and the Burmese. This study will also highlight whether they carried out the trade through barter or through any medium of exchange. Trading route(s) and centre(s) if any, will

be highlighted through this study. Item(s) of trade and their importance will also be discussed. This study will also see whether there was/were any trading class or intermediary in the Naga- Burmese trade. This study will look into whether Nagas and the Burmese were influenced each other technologically or not , apart from trading . If so, what technique(s) learned from whom? The trading pattern will also be highlighted. The factors why the trade could not flourish in spite of long time of their social and trading relations will be studied. By learning from the past, it will provide valuable suggestions which would be useful for the policy makers, planners and the traders for better, extensive and improve trade in the future.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE : It is important to study the work done earlier by others in the related areas so as to provide ideas , explanation and theories which are valuable in formulating the problems and to locate comparative data useful in the interpretation of results. On the importance of the review of literature in research, George Mouley Wrote, “the review of the literature is an exacting task calling for a deep insight and clear perspective of the overall field. The review of the literature promotes a greater understanding of the problem and its crucial aspects and ensures the avoidance of unnecessary duplication. The published literature is a fruitful source of hypothesis.”(George J Mouly: 115). By studying the related literature, the researcher is guided and leads to a not go astray and commit plunder. The following much related literatures are studied by the scholar for the present work.

1. Das, Gurudas and other, Ed. of the book, “ Border Trade-North-East India And Neighbouring Countries “ contributed a number of topics on border trade of North-east India with its neighbours of China , Bhutan, Burma (Myanmar) and Bangladesh by a dozen of learned contributors. The book begins with the historical perspective of border trade in North-east India. Right from the ancient times, North-east serve as the meddle man in

the trade between India and the South-east Asian countries. There were number of trade routes passing through this region which linked India and other Asian countries. This region controlled India's trade with the East. Consequently, The Mughal rulers repeatedly tried to conquer this region solely from the economic point of view, though their wishes could not be materialised. This book highlighted the trade relation between the North-East India and neighbouring countries. It exposed the items of trade , balance of trade, trade centres/border haats, etc. in detail. This book also mentions about the infrastructural position and appeal for its improvement for enhancement for better border trade. It laid emphasis on the hurdles and obstacles faced by the traders especially from Indian side. This book discusses the challenges and the prospects of the trade between the North-east India and its neighbouring countries. This book put forth very valuable suggestions for better and extensive trade between the North-east India and its neighbours.

2. Sanglir, Chubala's unpublished PhD Thesis, "Society And Economy Of The Nagas From Pre-Colonial To Colonial Period," is a very related literature to the present study. It has ten chapters beginning with the Land and the People. It is a deep study into the Naga society and economy up to the colonial period. Every chapter of her book reveals the treasures undiscovered so far. The sixth chapter-The Naga Trade, is especially related to the present study. In this chapter, she thoroughly discussed the Naga inter- village, tribal, inter - tribal and border trade particularly with Assam. In this chapter, she also mentions about the nature of Naga trade. The border trade was mostly carried on barter, whereas most of the Naga tribe had their currency which served as the medium of exchange within their tribe. The brass disc, medal spear-shape object, conch shell, gong, iron pieces such as worn out daos/knife, etc. are currencies, called by different names. Most of the Naga currencies were

equivalent to eight annas during the colonial period. Articles which were rare or could not be produced by them were considered as currencies. For instance - salt, iron, unhusked rice, worn out dao, etc. Those currencies were not issued by any sovereign or government but by themselves. The Nagas used to exchange cotton, betel-leaves, ginger, salt, chillies, mats, gourds, etc. for daos, rice, cattle, dried fish, poultry, etc. at Golaghat, Nagora, Kacharihat, etc. Salt was exchanged by the Konyaks in the plains and again exchanged by the Aos and carried back to the hills. Apart from the trade with the plain people, the Nagas traded among themselves. The Kalyo-Kengyu (Khamniungan) traded their conical cane hats to the Aos, Changs, Phom, etc. The Aos traded salt with trans-Frontier tribes. This book also reveals that though there was brisk trade between the Nagas and the Ahoms, trade did not become professional for any Naga and no one lived on it. In spite of many years of trade, Naga's trade with the Ahoms and other neighbours did not become extensive. This book highlighted that the reasons for retarding the trade were religious, superstition, socio-economic and the introduction of Inner Line Permit in Naga Hills by the British India government which restricted the free trade in Naga Hills.

3. Ganguly, Jalad Baran's book, "An Economic History of North East India 1826-1947", is an extensive work on the economic life of the whole North east India up to the colonial period. It begins with the geographical and historical backgrounds of North east India. It deals with the pre-colonial land distribution system and the genesis of colonialism in Northeast India. It devoted a whole chapter on the tribal economic formation in North-East India in the Pre-colonial period. Economic history of the North-Eastern states are thoroughly presented in this book. It also says that Assam served as the centre for all the trading activities in North-East India. Almost all the neighbouring hill people

brought their products into border markets/border haats and exchanged with rice, salt, cattle, dried fish, etc. It discusses the economic changes and continuity in North-East India up to the colonial period. There were weekly border markets where hill people descended down to the plains with their agricultural and horticultural products. Those markets were initiated by the English. However, whenever the hill men committed raids into the British territory, those markets were closed to those offending tribes till they surrendered themselves and made good terms with the government.

4. Gogoi, Dilp (Ed.) ,” Beyond Borders Look East Policy & North East India”, is a related literature to the present study. Learned contributors have presented thoroughly researched topics which made this book very interesting and challenging. The writers concentrated on the opportunities and the challenges of India’s trade with the South-East Asian countries through North-East India. This book highlighted the pros and cons of India’s Look East policy. This book presents the importance of India’s relation with the South-Asian countries. It also discusses India’s realization of the importance of maintenance of cordial relation with her immediate eastern neighbour- Burma. India’s Look East Policy is an offshoot of the economic liberalisation, initiated by Congress government at the centre headed by Narashima Rao. India has been in contact with the South-East Asian countries mainly through Burma since long time. The road project of India-Myanmar Friendship road was inaugurated in 2001. The Indian intention was to bring development to the landlocked North-eastern region through the gateway of Burma to other South-East Asian countries. This book also mentions about the importance of India’s relation with Burma (Myanmar) from security as well as economic point of view.

5. Ganguly, J.B, (Ed.) "Marketing in North-East India (Problem of Rural Market)", is a related literature to the present study. This book is divided into four parts where a good number of authors contributed valuable and very informative topics on rural marketing. The problems faced by the traders and the problem of marketing in the North-eastern region are thoroughly discussed. Good road to the market and common medium of communication are lacking in tribal areas which hamper marketing.

Part one of this book deals with the problem of agricultural and horticultural marketing. In this part, the problem of marketing faced both by the plainsmen and the tribal people are reported. The marketing problem due to the partition of India is also highlighted. It says that rural people do not always bring their surplus products but they are compelled to sell their products to the merchants/middlemen in cheap price in return for the money they borrowed. It also highlighted the communication barrier for extensive marketing in tribal areas. Road and language play a vital role in marketing. Good roads are lacking in North-East India which hamper marketing. In part two, the problem of marketing handicrafts and the handloom is discussed. Handicraftsmen and handloom weavers are known for their skill and capacity but marketing problem is a hindrance for future endeavours. Part three of this book contains the case studies of rural markets in North-east India. Number of scholars have studied some eminent and well known rural markets in North-east India some of which are more than hundred years old in existence. Those rural markets are held weekly on an appointed day where more than thousand traders are assembled and do business. Most of those traders are cultivators who brought their agricultural and horticultural products and exchanged for goods/cash for their daily requirements. Those rural markets have been

playing a very important role in the economic life of the rural people. Part four, the last part of this book, highlighted, in detail, the role played by those rural markets. It also mentions that rural market occupies a pivotal role in the economic and social life of the people. It is the place where men and women from different background gather and share social ideas. Here people exchange improved scientific methods of production and distribution as well as the proper use of resources. Market place is a place where people learn many things as different types of people meet. In the rural market, communication or exchange takes place between different people irrespective of their caste, creed, sex and language. They communicate face-to-face and learn each other's language and also the art of communication. One of the most advantages of the rural market is the exposing of the rural people to the outside world.

6. Syeimleih, David R et al. (Ed). discuss the basic causes for border trade in the book, 'Challenges of development in North-East India.' Availability of certain goods in one side of the border and their non-availability in the other of the border. It also lies emphasis on the flow of trade through land borders has tremendously boosted two-way trade. Being land locked and far away from the mainland market places, the development interest of the North-eastern region lies on border trade with the neighbouring countries. In fact, the cross-border market is far nearer in terms of both cost and distance than the mainland market place.
7. Heakal, Reem, in the book, "What is International Trade" discuss about the role of the international trade. It says that international trade allows us to expand our markets for both goods and services that otherwise may not have been available. This literature is a closely related literature to the present study. This book highlighted the importance of the international trade that the exchange of goods and services between the countries. This

type of trade gives rise to a world economy. Trading globally gives consumers and countries the opportunity to be exposed to goods and services not available in their own country. Global trade allows wealthy countries to use their resources more efficiently because countries are endowed with different assets and natural resources. It also speaks about the benefits of the international trade which not only increases efficiency but also allows countries to participate in a global economy, encouraging the opportunity to foreign direct investment.

8. Sahu, A.C in his book, "Some Aspects of British Trade Policy in India", discusses about the trade policies of the British government in India from time to time. He began with the history of British trade policy up to 1858. The English came to India as a trader and subsequently got the right to do trade in India from the Mughal ruler. India goods like silk, calicos, etc. were in great demand in England as well as in Europe. A good number of English gold drained away in the exchange of Indian goods. After studying the unfavourable English trade with India, the British parliament began to adopt different trade policies over India especially after the battle of Plassey (1757) for their favourable trade with India. The period from 1760 to 1860, during which rapid industrial development took place in England, was a dark period for the traders, producers and India as a whole. British parliament made different trade laws which were imposed through English India Company in India for their benefit. Consequences of those laws had direct bearing on the Indian artisans, traders, industries, farmers, etc. Indian agriculture was commercialised and the Indian workers worked for the English capitalists. Traditional Indian industries were shattered and many lost their job as a result of which, many turned as agricultural labourer as a last resort. Welfare schemes like development of ports, introduction of railway, etc. were introduced mainly to suit their industrial policies in India. India became a big market for the English machine made

finished goods and a good supplier of raw materials to feed the factories in England. As England was a great supporter of free trade, free trade was experimented in India. However, the idea of free trade was abolished saying that it created an unprecedented financial crisis of the government. The forward policy adopted by viceroys like Lord Dufferin and Lord Landsowne caused the mounting expenditure. The British policy towards Burma was highly aggressive. The expansionist policy of Lord Dufferin led to the Third Anglo-Burmese war in 1885 and finally annexed Upper Burma to British dominion in 1886. The British government in India encouraged a good deal of foreign monopolies and adopted a policy of protection towards them. Tea and indigo were the foremost among the foreign enterprises that took the character of protected monopolies. The British India government initially took up the tea plantation in India but handed over to the European tea planters. The trade policies adopted by the English in India were to suit their business motive of getting maximum profit from the Indian trade.

9. Singh, Thingnam Kishan (Ed), "Look East Policy and India's North-East, politics and Perspectives", is another related literature to the present study. It is divided into four sections. Section one deals with the trends and backgrounds – origin and conceptualization and mapping India's look east policy- shifting alignments. This section projects the origin and the concept of look east policy and the trading policies. Section two titled 'The North-East Perceived Threat' discusses the development and discontentment, imagining the North-East through Look East Policy and the environmental impact on the North-East by the look east policy, under different chapters. Section three is concentrated purely on Manipur state. Colonial articulation of Manipur, redefine Manipur through look east policy, Manipur economy through look east policy and understanding the underdevelopment of Manipur are grouped under different chapters. The

last section – section four deals with the Myanmar factors and global dynamics. Under this section, the prospects and challenges of the trade relation with Myanmar are thoroughly discussed under number of headings such as Indo-Myanmar relation in greater perspective; Trade, security and strategic concerns; look east policy and its gaze and danger in north-east India and India's look east policy and the political.

10. Brunner, Hans-Peter (Ed). "North-East India – Local Economic Development and Global Markets". This book deals with the economic prospects and challenges of the entire north-east India. In chapter one, trade related prospects of the north-east region of India is discussed. In the chapter two, the overall economy of the north-east India mainly dealing with the economic growth, development of industries, structure of output, unorganised sectors, problem faced by the entrepreneurs, etc. Chapter three deals with the north-east India trade and investment and comparative advantage. Under this chapter, the discussions are mainly based on the topics like India's trade policy regions, India's national trade policy, India's look east policy, India and north-east region's connected export profiles, north-eastern pattern of trade, export potentials, etc. Logistic development, creating values through logistics, nature of logistics security and implications for improvements, public sector initiatives for improving logistics, improving logistics and creating value for logistics of the north-eastern region- road, aviation, storage infrastructures, etc. are highlighted in the fourth chapter. Economic governance in the north-east region, vision 2020- catching up with the rest of the country, development strategy, decentralised governance system in north-east region, governance reforms in panchayati raj areas, reforms in non-panchayati raj areas, grassroots planning and services delivery, trade and investment sector reform, trade, technology and institutions for economic progress, are mainly discussed in the fifth chapter. Business environment and

industrial policy for north-east region and new industrial policy for the north-east 2007 are highlighted in the sixth and the last chapter.

PROCEEDURE :-

In view of the nature of study, the scholar adopted survey type of research to collect required data. The following procedures are followed so as to arrive at the study to a logical conclusion.

1. POPULATION OF THE STUDY:

All the Naga villages bordering Burma, who traded actively with their eastern neighbour-Burma, are taken as the population of the present study. All the Naga villages bordering Burma trade with the Burmese. They are far from the mainland markets of India. It was far more cost effective and nearer in terms of distance for the Nagas living in the Indo-Burma border than the Indian markets. Though Naga-Assamese trade was more extensive and flourished than the Naga-Burmese trade, the trade between the Bordering Nagas and the Burmese could deliver daily requirements to both the parties. Some neighbouring villages not only traded for their requirements but also served as intermediary between the Burmese and the other Nagas. As such, all the neighbouring villages actively traded with the Burmese and so the scholar has taken all the bordering Naga villages bordering Burma as the population of the study. It is believed that the Nagas migrated from South -East Asian countries, though the wave of migration may be different. The custom, tradition, belief and the culture of all the Naga tribes are similar and those similarities give a general idea about all the Naga tribes. It is also believed that the trading pattern of all the bordering Naga villages with Burma is similar.

2. SAMPLE OF THE STUDY:-

The scholar has chosen seven bordering Naga villages as the sample of the study representing all the villages and communities involved in the trade with the neighbouring Burmese. Those villages have been actively trading with the Burmese since long time. The pattern of trade of all those villages is same, though there may be slightly difference in the items of trade. Their nature of exchange, conveyance and the trade route are almost same. The ratio of the sample of the study to that of the population are approximately 5:1. The investigator believes that the sample would provide valuable information/ raw data to the problem. The sample was selected randomly. The investigator chose three elderly persons above seventy years of age from each sample villages and interviewed to gather data.

3. SOURCES OF DATA COLLECTION:

Data collection is the most tedious job in any research work. It is the most important part of the research. The source to gather the required data is very important and to find the source is time consuming and tiresome. The research scholars are struggling in finding the sources to gather data. The scholar collected data from various primary and secondary sources. Firstly the scholar studied the general history of the review of research literature on the basis of which a conceptual framework was drawn. Primary sources include the unpublished documents, tour diaries, interviews, oral history as supplementary source, etc. The Published literatures, articles, journals, unpublished thesis, periodical reports, records, etc. are grouped into secondary source.

4 .RESEARCH TOOL USED:

The scholar used the research tool of questionnaire to collect data from the respondents. The questionnaire is so constructed to get the desired information from the respondents. Questionnaire is an effective tool in the social science research which is adopted in the present study. Both open and close ended questions are constructed so as to get the data for logical

conclusion. Research tool is as important as the tool used to work in any field. As going to field to work without tool has no meaning, so also to do research without tool would not bear any fruit.

5 .STATISTICAL TECHNIQUE USED:

The statistical technique of percentage is used to analyze and interpret the raw data collected through questionnaire. The statistical technique is adapted to the present study is to give fair treatment to the data so collected from the respondents. Valuable information so collected from respondents is to be treated scientifically through this technique to arrive at a logical conclusion. Oral tradition collected from the respondents would be the main base of the present study. Scientific method of statistical technique would give a logical conclusion to the present work.

6 .TOOL CONSTRUCTION:

The scholar constructed a questionnaire to collect data relating to (a) Naga-Burmese trade during the pre-colonial period,(b) Naga-Burmese trade during the colonial period,(c) items of trade, (d) trade route(s),(e) their social relations, (f) the medium of exchange if any, (g) trade centre if any, (h) Their political system, (i)technique(s) learnt from each other, (j) means of conveyance if any, (k) along with other items of trade, whether slave trade was prevalent or not, was inquired through questionnaire, etc. The respondents were given the liberty to express their opinion and suggestions to the problem. The questionnaire has twelve broad queries. The scholar felt that with those questions, required data could be retrieved.

7 .TOOL ADMINISTRATION :

The investigator met the respondents and took permission for interview. The respondents willingly consented to answer the queries. The investigator and the local interpreter went to the house of the respondents and narrated them about the purpose of their interview and assured them to keep their response and opinion in confidential and it is purely for research purpose.

The language in the questionnaire was interpreted item by item to the respondents by the local interpreter employed by the scholar. The respondents were explained all the queries in detail in their language. The respondents were given enough time to answer all the questions put forward by the scholar. During the interview, the investigator recorded in the format. The opinion and the suggestion expressed by the respondents were recorded properly with great care. After the interview was over the investigator kept the questionnaire after thanking the much valued respondents.

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CHAPTER 11

TRADE DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

Naga Hills, during the colonial period, was located at 24.42* and 25.48* N Latitude and 93.7* and 94.50* E Longitude and occupied an area of 3070 Sq.miles (B.C.Allen, et al. 2001:468). However, some changes were made in the creation of the present Nagaland state. To know the history and culture of a country, it is pertinent to study the history and culture of its communities. History and culture of a country is built up by various communities and so for its proper study, a knowledge of the origin, migration and composition of those communities is essential (K.K. Bhattacharjee 1983:3). The pre-Colonial Naga history is shrouded in mystery. History of the Nagas is shrouded in obscurity more so in respect of the origin and migration because there is no written account. This makes it extremely difficult to write any history of the origin and migration of the Nagas (Kenelo Kath, 2005:1). Except very scanty information concerning the Ahom-Naga relation recorded in the Buranjee maintained by the Ahom ruler, we have no record about the Nagas during the pre-colonial period. The first time the Nagas are noticed in history is through the Ahom “buranjis” (L.W.Shakespear, 2004.210). We have no written record about the most part of Naga history. To reconstruct the history of the Nagas during the pre-colonial period, we have to seek the assistance of Archaeology or oral history. Archaeology and oral history play very important role in reconstructing the history of a community or society in the absence of written records. These are also employed to substantiate the fragmented records in reconstructing the history. Archaeology and oral history are the dominant sources to reconstruct the history of the pre-literate societies like the Nagas, who did not have a script till colonial period. It is believed that the Nagas have settled in the present place earlier than her close western neighbour –Ahoms. It is recorded in the history of the Ahoms that while entering in to the present location, the Ahoms fought

against the Nagas on the way and finally entered and settled in the present place. For thirteen years he wandered about the hilly country of the Patkai, making occasional raids on Naga villages, and in A.D 1228 he arrived in Khamjang...Some Naga attempted to resist his advance, but he defeated them (Sir Edward Gait 2004:78).The Ahoms entered and settled in the present place in the first half of the thirteenth century. As per the evidence supplied by archaeology, the Nagas migrated to the present settlement about the later Neolithic period .The investigation carried out by archaeology revealed the age of the ancient site of Laruri⁶ to circa Cal.AD 690-1000, Chungliyimti⁷ to c. AD 920-1116, Kezhakeno⁸ to c. AD 1320-1350(Chubala:19). It is believed that the Nagas migrated to the present site from different directions at different intervals though they might have been living in the same locality. Agriculture has been the primary occupation of the Nagas. They had to struggle hard for their economic survival as their terrain is not conducive for cultivation and the method of cultivation was primitive that the production was very low compared to their hard labour.

The Nagas brought their own culture, tradition, custom, religion, economic activities, etc. while entering to the present site, though those were changed along with the changing times which suited them. As other pre-colonial tribal societies of North-east India, the Nagas developed their own custom, culture, tradition, religion and economic pursuits independently. It is wrong to say that Nagas do not have history. There are many unrecorded Naga histories which are equally important to the recorded history, as we learned them from oral history. The recorded Naga history begun only with the occupation of Naga Hills by the British. But it is wrong to say that there is no Naga history before the coming of the British. The scholars are yet to come to a consensus conclusion regarding the original home of the Nagas. Some believed that the original home

6 An early Naga settlement site presently under Phek district, Nagaland.

7 An early Naga settlement site presently located under Tuensang district, Nagaland, It is believed that number of Naga tribes including the Aos, Phoms, etc. migrated from here.

8 An early settlement site presently located under Phek district, Nagaland. It is believed that number of Naga tribes are migrated from here.

of the Nagas must have been somewhere in China and migrated to other South-east Asian countries and thence finally reached the present site and settled permanently. While migrating, they did not abandon their custom, tradition, culture, etc. Rather; they developed and enriched those practices after reaching the present site. The cultural similarities between the Nagas and the other south-east Asian people are a strong testimony that they lived together at one point of time. Nagas were warrior tribe. The warriors were highly respected and placed in high position in Naga society. To bring or to take a human head from raid or war was the most coveted achievement for a Naga, till the colonial period. Nagas were head hunters and always been in constant fear of losing one's head. The danger of losing head, limited their activities outside the village and even going to the field was moved in group. The Naga villages were strongly fenced and always guarded by the watchmen day and night. Earlier it was the practice that number of able-bodied men had to guard the village day and night for security reasons (S.W.Robinson cited in Dr.Piketo Achumi, 2012: 133).

Agriculture has been the chief occupation of the Nagas. The other trades like handicraft, weaving, trading, animal rearing, etc. were supplementary and mostly done during the agricultural recess. The pre-colonial economic life of the Nagas was confined to their own village. Its economy was local and self-sufficient (Venuh, N, 2006:17). Naga villages were economically self-sufficient villages as their demands were limited and almost all their needs could be met within the village except few very basic daily needs like iron implements, salt, etc. When their wants could not be met within the village or nearby villages, they were compelled to go in search of those items, which must be a strong factor that contributed to the development of trade in different societies. Trade, through barter or a medium, plays an important role in human civilization and it was no exception to the Nagas. Not only the Nagas villages but also the Indian villages were self-sufficient and independent villages upto pre-colonial period. Sir Charles Metcalfe commented on the pre-colonial Indian villages, "The village

communities are little republics having nearly everything they want within themselves and almost independent of foreign relations. They seem to last when nothing lasts. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state by itself... is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.”(Sir Charles Metcalfe quoted by Jawarharlal Nehru in Rudder Datt et.al 2004: 15). It was the colonists, who shattered the self-sufficient Indian villages and brought about great changes especially, in economic life. The self-sufficient Indian village economy changed into commercial economy for the benefit of the colonists.

Apart from the inter-village and inter-tribal trade, the Nagas had external trade relation with the Assamese in the west, Manipuris in the south, Arunachalese in the north and the Burmese (Myanmar) in the east. As their demand increased with time, their trade increased which gave way to more outside contact. Trade with the outsider or the non-Nagas gave them an opportunity to come out of the age old village confinement. All the Naga pre-colonial villages were like the Greek city states, which were independent to each other. All the villages had their own system of administration which mostly followed the modern day democratic principles. Their economic and religious life was almost same as all the Naga village economy was agrarian based and animism was their religious belief. Trading was a supplementary occupation due to certain reasons but it became a necessity in due course of time. There were no cart or vehicle roads that connected the village. There were only bridle paths on the hills leading to the village as almost all the Naga villages were founded on the hill tops due to security reason. The Nagas remained outside the influence of the modern civilization for a long time. Their simple life was completely isolated even from their immediate neighbouring villages mainly due to the practice of head hunting. Their needs were very few and they could manage self-sufficiency of their basic requirements like food, shelter and clothing in their own way within their limited resources (Thong, Joseph, 1997:102). Trading

with the outsiders opened up the outlook of the Nagas and got a chance to contact with the outside world shedding off the age old conservative and rural centric outlook. Trade not only widened their outlook but also served as a centre for learning of so many new things. Nagas' external trade was mostly with the Ahoms in the west and the Burmese in the east. Assam was the trading centre not only for the Nagas but for all the hill peoples of north-eastern India. It was the meeting point of different cultures of north-east India. Assamese culture, being the most refined and advanced, influenced and put deep impression on her innocent and preliterate neighbours, which could be noticed even today. Goalpara, Gauhati, Jorhat, Golaghat, Dibrugarh, Habiganj, Balaganj, Sylhet, etc. were the prominent trading centres in Assam and Surma (Imperial Gazetteer of India-Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1989:86). Valleys where the neighbouring hill people descended down and bartered their agricultural and horticultural products for rice, salt, iron implements, brassware, etc. Nagas had trade relation with their close neighbours especially with different tribes of present day Tirap and Changlang districts of Arunachal Pradesh. The salt from the salt wells located in Tirap and Changlang districts was supplied to Assam and to the Burmese as well. People in the plains of Assam and even in Myanmar depended upon the supply of salt extracted from different salt-wells located in the Tirap valley, banks of Dissing and several villages within the territory of the Tirap and Changlang districts (Rao, Narayan Singh, 2002: 140). The Membas, Mishimis and Khamtis had direct access to Tibet and this contact was linked up with the Angami traders for internal circulation among the Nagas (Qadri, F.A, 2006:118). However, with the coming of the Shans (Ahoms) from upper Burma changed the trading scenario of the Nagas. The entry of the Shans into northern Assam brought about a change in the Naga trading links with the Tibetan trade, which were maintained through the inhabitants of present Arunachal Pradesh (Qadri,F.A,2006:118)). The Ahoms had not much knowledge of the Naga villages and tribes. They knew them mostly by name of the duar or pass through which

the Nagas came down for trade. The different Naga tribes engaged in trade with the Assamese were known by the Assamese names which had originated from the names of the duars or passes through which the hill men used to come down to the plains of Assam for trade. Hatigorias, Assiringias, Dupadarias and the Namchangias are the examples of such names attributed to the Aos (Qadri, F.A, 2006:150). When the Nagas' contact with the outsider became more often, their wants and demands increased. Consequently, trading became a necessity as the Nagas became habituated of using or eating things which were new and beyond their capacity to produce. For instance – dried fish, tea, etc. became household commodities, especially of the Assamese bordering Naga villages, which commodities were beyond their capacity to produce. Trade made them possible to get the things which they could not produce. Nagas did external/border trade mostly during agricultural lean season and during winter. Winter, being the dry season of the year, was very convenient to travel on the hilly bridle paths carrying heavy head loads. In most of the Ao villages, the Village administration declared a particular period, twice a year, usually about twenty days- firstly, within the months of February and March and secondly within September and November to go for trading to procure necessary things for the whole year. During that particular period, the village administration would not initiate any village public work like the cleaning of bridle paths linking neighbouring village(s), public well and village cleaning, etc. which involves all the male adult citizens of the village. Should the village administration call an emergency meeting or work involving all the adult citizens during that period, the absentee(s) would not be fined (Imnamakla)⁹. Again during winter, Naga as well as other hill traders could meet their Assamese counterparts without any hindrance from weather and got their desired goods in the trading centres. If the Naga trader could not barter their desired goods in the trading centres, they visited Assamese houses bartering goods. The Naga traders went down in

⁹ Imnamakla 86 years interviewed on 11th.April 2012.

groups and pitched-up their make shift camp in the open space (Bendandsungla)¹⁰. Winter was the convenient time to do all these as there were no hindrances from rain, storm, sun's heat, etc to do their business. The duars for the tribesmen to inter into the plains areas, on all the border regions of the Brahmaputra valley served as seasonal market places during the winter months (M.C. Goswami.1984:22).The bordering villages were more active in the border trade than the interior villages. Those bordering villages served as intermediaries between the Naga- Assamese, Burmese, etc. border trade. By doing so, the bordering village/tribe got profit.

The Nagas did border trade by barter. However, Nagas introduced and circulated medium of exchange among different tribes by different names. It is indeed amazing that a tribe living in the most difficult terrain with a primitive organization, could introduced a currency more or less of standard weight (Qadri,F.A,2006:146). some of the circulated Naga currencies were-conch and cowrie shell, Laya, Brass gong, Jabili, Unhusked Rice, salt, used and worn out Naga dao (Machete), etc. Those currencies were not introduced through a royal sanction or approved by a parliament but it was accepted by the people and popularly circulated during the pre-colonial period. It is believed that those materials which were rare and useful to the Nagas were used as currency or medium of exchange. Those Naga mediums of exchange ceased to circulate when the British introduced and circulated money Coins in Naga Hills. Even after the introduction of the British coins, some of the Nagas refused to accept the coin; instead, they demanded red cloth and other kind for the service they rendered to the government during the colonial period. Unhusked rice and salt were mostly used as the medium of exchange among the Ao Nagas internally. Jabili was mostly used when the rich man bought Mithun (*bos frontalis*) for

¹⁰ Bendandsungla 83 years interviewed on 2nd.May 2012.

sacrifice and giving community feast or used as medium in the big transactions (Imnamakla)¹¹.

Naga border trade with the Burmese was the second most active trade next to the Naga-Ahom trade. The Naga- Burmese trade relation has been carrying out since long time. But unfortunately, we do not have any written records regarding this trade during pre-colonial period. To reconstruct the history of the Naga-Burmese trade relation, we have to seek the assistance of oral history and traditions. The people of eastern Nagaland like the Konyaks, Khiamniungans, Yimchungru, Pochuri, etc. were the active traders with the Burmese. They were the middlemen in the Naga-Burmese trade. The Naga-Burmese traders visited different villages carrying their goods to be bartered. The bordering Nagas as well as the Burmese villages were more active than the interior villages, and they mostly controlled the trade, as they were more familiar and known each other. During the pre-colonial period, visiting an unknown village was a question of life and death as head hunting was popular among the Nagas. However, some traders especially from dominant and powerful villages in the area like the Konyak village Longwa travelled long distances to get the desired goods. The traders from those powerful villages were afraid to be killed or hurt both by the Nagas and the Burmese (Khamo)¹². Traders often moved far afield: Khiamniungan from the border area travelled as far as Amguri in the plains of India in one direction and as far as Zingkaling Hkamti in Burma in the other, despite having to traverse hostile region in between (Soul, J.D:133-34). Those traders travelled on the hilly bridle paths carrying heavy loads.

There was no particular class or community of traders in the Naga-Burma trade. Everyone was a consumer as well as a seller. Trade was not controlled by any particular class or people; though, immediate border villages served as middleman for the interior villages. No trading class/community emerged from

¹¹ Imnamakla 86 years, daughter of the last Mithun sacrificer - Longrinungba of Aliba village, interviewed on 11th. April 2012

¹² Khamo 60 years Deputy Angh, Longwa village. Interviewed on 4th. December 2012.

the Naga-Burma trade in spite of a long period of trade relation, unlike the Marware, Khurasani, etc. in India. Trade did not become a profession either by the Nagas or the Burmese. Trade was a part time occupation of all the able men and women. Whenever need arose, they traded. Since there was no money or any medium of exchange, the trader loaded their produce in the basket and carried them visiting Burmese or Naga villages exchanging goods he or she needed. The non-emergence of trading class or community might be due to the lack of knowledge of trade and its importance in their economic life or might be due to their living condition or trading system did not allow to emerge a business class who would devote whole time in business alone. There was no accepted medium of exchange like money in the Naga-Burmese trade though; there were some articles which used as the medium of exchange among some Naga tribes during pre-colonial period. However, those articles were not generally accepted as a medium of exchange even among the Naga tribes. Due to the absence of the medium of exchange in the Naga-Burmese trade there arose a number of problems. As there was no medium of exchange, the Naga-Burmese traders carried on trade by barter. There are number of demerits in the barter system which was prevalent in the Naga-Burma trade. Secondly, people had not much knowledge about business and they did not realize that they could survive by doing business. Another factor was the means of conveyance and the road condition for trade. Infrastructures were not encouraging to take up trade as a profession. The absence of a trading or business class or community, was one of the factor that the Naga-Burma trade could not expand in spite of a long period of trade. Low production of the people was one of the major factors that did hampered extensive trade. Everyone worked for an immediate need and that was all. Thus the precolonial economy had not progressed appreciably from the subsistence level (J.H.Hutton in Dr. Piketo Achumi 2012:132). Like most of the North-east hill people, trading between the Nagas and the Burmese was a winter affair as this region receives

high rainfall during summer which hindered their trading activities. Most of the traders bartered goods for the whole year. The trading activities was at the highest during the period between harvesting one year's crop and cleaning land for the next year's planting (J.D.Soul:133). Agriculture has been their principal occupation, but trading was a necessity to satisfy their wants. They had to surmount all the problems and difficulties, for instance- hilly terrain, long distance, risking life, etc. to obtain their desired goods. Naga-Burmese trade was a border trade where people mostly traded their daily needs. Both the Naga and the Burmese traders visited different neighbouring villages to exchange their goods.

Social Relation: Good and mutual social relationship between two trading communities are a must to carry out trade. There should be congenial and peaceful atmosphere among the people and the communities so that trading can prosper mutually. Trading cannot take place between warring communities. Nagas' trade relation with the Burmese was with the people of Sagaing Division of north-west Burma. Sagaing Division in North-west Burma (Myanmar), located between latitude 21*30' north and longitude 94*97' east. It is bordered by Indian states of Nagaland and Manipur to the north, Kachin state, Shan state and Mandalay Region of Burma to the east, Mandalay Region and Magway Region to the south and chin state and India in the west. Sagaing Region consists of 8 districts divided into 34 townships. In August 2010, three former township of Sagaing Region were transferred in accordance with the 2008 constitution, to a new administrative unit the Naga Self-Administered Zone. Those townships are Lahe, Leshi and Nanyun (Wikipedia). This division is one of the biggest divisions in Burma. It is mostly populated by Bamars, Kachin, chin, Naga, etc. Chindwin River is the biggest and the most notable river of the region. It originates from the north and flows to the south. It is navigable. It has a number of tributaries of which, Tizu, the longest river of Nagaland, is one of

them. The northern part of Sagaing Division is a hilly region which is sloping towards south.

There are many Naga villages comprising konyak, Khamniungan, pochury, Thangkul, etc. who grouped into Naga family, a major population in Sagaing Division. Their culture, custom, etc, are very similar to their brothers under India. Most of the villages do not speak the same language but they can understand each other. There were marriages between the Nagas and the Burmese. However most of those marriages took place within their own tribe (Indogamy). There was no bride's price and the marriages were mostly love marriage though, arrange marriage was not unknown. Both the Nagas and the Burmese are patriarchal society where male plays a dominant role and inheritance is on the male line. Their dressing and ornaments were almost same which facilitated to more trade. All the Naga Villages both under India and Burma were more or less independent villages where the village authority took the final decisions by themselves in all matters. All the Naga tribes have rich culture and tradition. They are very strong in cultural practices. Politically, Naga villages were governed by the chiefs and the elders. There were no written laws. Customs, traditions and the decisions of the chief and the elders were the law of the land. Naga society has been a classless society from time immemorial. Wealthy and the warriors enjoyed certain privileges in the society no doubt, but they were not classified as a class. Every Naga village is divided into certain clan/phratry vertically, but it is not class division. Traditionally, women were inferior to men but they were treated with great compassion and it was the responsibility of the man to protect the woman and the children from their enemies and they even sacrificed their life in protecting the woman and children. Women are inferior to men only that they were denied the right to become a member of the decision making body and also denied the right to inherit the ancestral property or land. Though, there have been some traditional restrictions on Naga woman, yet their position in society is far better than the

Muslim and the Hindu women, even from the distant past. C.V.F.Haimendrof remarked," Many women in more civilized parts of India may well envy the women of the Naga Hills their high status and their free and happy life; and if you measure the cultural level of people by the social position and personal freedom of its women, you will think twice before looking down on the Nagas as 'savage'."(C.V.F.Haimendrof:101). Though, husband/father is the head and the final authority of the family; generally, wife/mother controls and manages the economic affairs of the Naga family. Most of the economic activities of the family were done under her initiatives. Woman had no political right in the traditional Naga society. However, her influence and advice could be manifested in the village political affairs through her husband.

Religion plays a big role in man's life. Religion is an effective social control in any society. Religiously, Nagas and the Burmese were animists. Like the other ancient tribes, they, too worshipped nature which was beyond their capacity to comprehend. They believed that those incomprehensible objects had a spirit which was detrimental to their life. For instance, big rocks, trees, streams, etc. were worshipped believing that the spirits live in those objects. However, Nagas were not dearth of the idea of the existence of a Supreme Being, who is the creator and the master of the whole universe. Nagas believed that there is a life after death and the fate of that life would be decided by the good or bad work of the present life. Religion, as a social control, plays a big role especially in the pre-literate societies. There were a number of religious taboos and restrictions which controlled the individual as well as the society as a whole. Animism had great influence on social, political and economic life of the Nagas and the Burmese. Thier religious similarity upto pre-colonial period was a strong factor for the demand of different items of trade.

The Naga-Burmese trade had a humble beginning with the exchange of goods between the immediate neighbouring villages. The scarcity of goods in one border village was substantiated with the goods from the other border

village through barter. It is difficult to give a date to the beginning of the Naga-Burmese trade due to the unavailability of the records. However, it is believed that the exchange of goods between the Nagas and the Burmese began out of the necessity and scarcity of goods, mostly essential goods, in both sides. In due course of time and with the understanding of the benefits of trade among the people, trade began to expand and became an important economic practice. The Naga-Burmese trade mostly limited to border trade upto the pre-colonial period due to number of constraints. However, with the ushering in of the colonial period, the Naga-Burmese trade expanded and traders could go even into the interior villages bartering/selling/buying goods. Though, the Naga-Burmese bordering villages were placed under unadministered area and treated as 'Excluded Area' by the British India government, the government did not hesitate to interfere in the internal affairs for good of this area. The British India government did philanthropic works so as to civilize this region. The government even used force to stop headhunting and raiding of village which facilitated wider Naga-Burmese trade from colonial period. The introduction of money was another major factor that facilitated more trade. The British India government also encouraged trade between different tribes, people, etc. The introduction of machine made goods and new items of trade made the Naga-Burmese trade more active and wider from the colonial period.

Naga border trade with Burma was carried out by the people of four Burma bordering easternmost districts of Nagaland- Mon, Tuensang, Kiphire and Phek. People of those four districts, mostly the immediate Burmese neighbouring Naga villages, have been actively trading with the Burmese. People of those bordering villages play a major role in supplying the Burmese goods to the Nagas and vice versa. Nagas have a very rich culture. As the Nagas are related with the south-east Asian people culturally, the culturally important items like hornbill feather, dyed goat's hair, cowries, beads, bangle, necklace, conch shell, etc., which were not available in their disposal had to be imported

from Burma or other south-east Asian countries. In supplying those items, the contribution of the bordering villages, both under India and Burma, is commendable.

Language is the most important medium of communication. To facilitate the trading easier, a common language is essential for the traders to communicate between them. All the Naga languages are belonged to Tibeto-Burman language family. However, all the Naga languages are different from each other, though there are some similarities of the word and meaning among some tribes. The Naga and the Burmese traders could communicate between them as they could understand each other's language due to their long association. The Konyaks, Khiamnuingan, Yimchunger and the Pochury Nagas of Nagaland are the immediate neighbours and bordered Burma. The Burmese who are bordered Nagaland are also belonged to the same Naga tribes mentioned above. There was not much communication problem as they are all belonged to the same tribe but living under different political jurisdiction. The Konyaks under Nagaland traded with the Konyaks of Burma. The same case is also in regard to the Khiamnuingan, Yimchunger and the Pochury though; there are differences in their languages. The Naga-Burmese traders bartered mostly with their respective tribe. Direct trade relation was possible only between the immediate border villages up to pre-colonial period. The familiarity of the people, the likings of the common goods among the people of the same tribe and living in the close geographical proximity were some of the major factors that related them in trade since long time. The similarities of food habit, religion, way of life and the cultural dresses of all the Naga tribes and the bordering Burmese boosted trade between them.

Mon Division: Mon district under Nagaland state is bordered by the Burmese in the east, Indian states of Arunachal and Assam in the north and west respectively and the Nagaland districts of Longleng and Tuensang in the south. Mon district is wholly populated by Konyak tribe. Konyak is a major Naga tribe.

There are Konyak villages both under Burma and India. They are found in Wancho, Khonsa and Changlang districts of Arunachal Pradesh, Mon district of Nagaland and Khamti and Tanglang under Burma. They are divided by the international and state boundaries. The Burma bordering Konyak villages under Mon district of Nagaland which have been doing active trade with the Burmese are Chen, Longwa, Wangti, Munyakshu, Peshao, Yangkao, Shenyu, Angphang, etc. Longwa, a prominent Konyak village in Mon district, played a dominant role in the Naga-Burmese trade relation during the pre-colonial period. Longwa village has about eight hundred households at present. It is located at the tri-junction of the Indian states of Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Burma (Myanmar). This village is widely popular in the area that the konyak villages around this village both under India and Burma had been called as Longwa Area. Now, the nomenclature is changed into Eastern Konyaks. These days, the Eastern Konyaks hold annual conference representing all the federating villages both under India and Burma. Besides visiting different villages for selling and buying, the eastern Konyaks organise a sale day in a particular place either under India or Burma in the middle of January every year (Yawang)¹³. The legend has it that Longwa village is migrated from present Arunachal Pradesh. During the clearing of the jungle for the foundation of the village, the people used to cut the trees with axe. But a particular axe was too light that it was not very effective, so the user tied stone to that axe so that the axe would become more effective for cutting. People asked the person what was that. The man replied, "Longwa" meaning, stone axe (Khamo). From then onwards, the village has been called as Longwa. Presently, half of the Longwa village is Under Burma and the other half is under India. The international boundary line between India and Burma {Myanmar} is in the middle of the chief angh's house. The joke is that the Angh dines at Burma and sleeps at India. It is one of the biggest villages among the Konyak villages. There are more than hundred Konyak villages under

¹³ Yawang 70 years Longwa village. Interviewed on 4th. December 2012.

Burma and fifty of them are paying tribute/taxes to Longwa village. Those satellite villages gave hornbill feather, pig, dao (sword) headgear, salt, gong and many more kinds including agricultural products, as tribute or tax every year. If any village failed to pay, that village was punished. In return to their recognition and allegiance, the Longwa village gave protection to those villages from external attack. Not only protected, but also assisted materially and physically in times of crises (Amao)¹⁴. Longwa village was the most fearsome village in its area. It was not only feared by the Konyaks but by the other nearby tribes also. Longwa citizens could roam freely doing trade in more than hundred villages under Burma (Khamo). There was active border trade between the Konyaks and the Burmese. Border area trade is the exchange of locally produced goods and services across the international border between two countries. There are certain criteria for border trade. The availability of certain goods in one side of the border and their non-availability on the other side of the border (David R Syiemlieh et.al. ed. 2006:335).

There are two prominent trade routes from Longwa to Burma: The left side route is to Khamoi- Langkho- Longkai- Kumka. The right side route is to Chen- Koniya- Yinchung- Longki- Chuniyi- Ketsa- Ketnyu- Thiak- Longjen- Mujam and thence to Taklang town under Lahi sub-division of Khamti Division, North-West Burma. It takes four days to reach Taklang town from Longwa on foot (Yawang). Those routes have been widely used since long time. It has been the tradition of the Nagas that the road/path passes through a particular village jurisdiction; it is cleared and cleaned every year by the concerned village. Sometimes traders from both the Naga and Burmese sides assembled at Longwa and exchanged their goods. As such, Longwa served as a trade centre. However, the traders were at their sweet will whether to go to Longwa or visiting other villages bartering goods. The Naga traders brought traditionally important items like gong, wild boar tusk, long sword, hornbill feather, necklace,

¹⁴ Amao 60 years Deputy Angh, Longwa village. Interviewed on 5th.December 2012.

cowries, sets of brass human head, armlets, etc. from Burma (Akah)¹⁵. The traders from both sides exchanged their daily needs and the agricultural and horticultural products like taro, rice, millet, ginger, maize, jelly, soyabean (dwarf lentil), jobstear, etc. Among the Naga tribes, Konyak tribe is one of the first to use gun (muzzle loader). The tradition of the Konyaks have been that every male must own a gun. In the later stage, the Konyak Nagas learned the art of making a gun. The Konyaks learned the skill of making muzzle loaders (Gun) from the Myanmar in pre-colonial times (Aditya Arya et.al. 2004: 101). Almost all the Konyak Naga royal family (Angh) members know how to manufacture a gun (Konyak, Rev.Y.Chingang, 2008:63). During the pre-colonial period, the Naga-Burmese traders had to encounter a number of hurdles to get the desired goods. The trade was not extensive in spite of a long period of trading. Trade during the pre-colonial period was mostly confined to the close neighbouring border Naga and Burmese villages. By doing trade they helped each other.

The following items were mostly traded between the Burmese and the Konyak Nagas:-

Items Brought from Burma	Items from the Konyak Nagas
1. Gong	1. Raw cotton
2. Wild Boar tusk	2. Agricultural and horticultural items.
3. Long sword.	3. Domesticated animals.
4. Hornbill feather.	
5. Necklace.	
6. Cowrie.	
7. Conch shells.	
8. Sets of brass human head.	
9. Armlets.	
10. Gun (muzzle loader).	
11. Agricultural and horticultural items.	

¹⁵ Akah 65 years Chairman, Longwa Area Constituency, Burma side. Interviewed on 5th.December 2012.

The social relation of the neighbouring Konyak Nagas and the Burmese villages had been mostly cordial. As the bordering villages are all Konyaks, their social, tradition and the customary practices were almost same, though their village administrative system differs in some respects. Kachin (Burma)¹⁶ and Naga Hill areas share a similar kind of organization. Kachin and Konyak Naga share basic class structure (Julian Jocab, 1990:73). Konyak Nagas have been broadly divided into two clans- Wangsha/Wangno and Pensha. Wangsha is the royal clan to which Angh and his descendants belong. Pensha is the clan of the common people. The Konyak Nagas practise both endogamous and exogamous forms of marriages and at the same time, polygamy and monogamy are also prevalent among the Konyaks. The principal wife of the Angh of any Konyak village has to be from the same clan i.e Wangsha, usually the daughter of the Angh from other Konyak village. She is accompanied by a slave girl to serve her. The chief Angh is permitted by the Konyak tradition and custom to marry more than one wife. Except the principal wife, the other wives can be from the Pensha clan. Apart from Angh, the marriages of other konyaks are between different clans i.e Wangsha and Pensha (exogamous). The commoners were permitted only monogamous marriage. Traditionally, Konyak women were not equal to that of man in the society. She is not permitted to enjoy all the rights enjoyed by man, especially in the village administrative system (Longkhong)¹⁷. However, she is treated well and defended by man. The Konyak Naga village administrative system is distinct from the other Naga tribes. A Konyak village is somewhat like a kingdom. The village chief is called Angh¹⁸, who acts and performs more than just a village chief. Angh is the final authority in all matters relating to public importance. People offer in kind to the Angh. If the hunter(s) kill a four legged animal, one hind leg is belonged to Angh. So also the fisherman/men keep a portion from their catch for the Angh, as all the animals,

¹⁶ A Naga Tribe in North-West Burma.

¹⁷ Longkhong Chairman, Longwa village council. Interviewed on 6th.December 2012.

¹⁸ Konyak village was like a republic where Angh was the overall ruler upto pre-colonial period. Anghship is hereditary which survives till date.

fishes, land, etc. belong to the Angh. In return, the Angh secures his authority for the safety and the welfare of his subjects. The power and prestige of the Angh depends on how big is the village, how much its area or how many villages pay allegiance, tribute and recognise his suzerainty. Anghship is hereditary. Only the son(s) from the principal wife can succeed their father and become Angh. The son(s) from the lesser wives are not permitted to succeed their father, though they belong to wangsha clan. The konyak village had been ruled by the Angh along with some elders as his helpers/assistants from different morongs. However, with the passage of time, the village administrative system has become more democratic and changes take place for a better administrative setup. Presently, the power and the duty of the Konyak Angh is much reduced (Longkhong). The responsibility of the village administration is vested on the chairman and the Gaon Boras (village elders), who are elected/nominated from each morong of the village. Nowadays, the Konyak Angh acts more as an advisor than the actual ruler of the village.

Another Konyak groups who have been in border trade with the Burmese are the Tobou area villages. Angphang, Jakpang, Monyakshu, Changlangshu, Pesao, Tobou, etc. under Nagaland and more than forty villages under Burma speak the same language. They have the same culture, tradition and social system (Lampha)¹⁹. They are closely related. Apart from the trade in the daily needs, Naga cultural items, mainly cowries, were transported from this area to other parts of the Naga Hills. The untreated cowries are said to reach Angfang from the Burma side (Elwin, verrier, 1969:47). The Burmese bordering Naga villages served as the middle man in the Naga-Burmese trade. The traders travelled very difficult hilly bridle path carrying heavy loads for barter. There were no cart or vehicle roads. The traders faced a lot of problem due to the absence of a medium of exchange. The demerit of the barter system was that both the seller and the buyer should have the goods required by both the

¹⁹ Lampha 55 years, Angphang village. Interviewed on 7th. December 2012.

parties for mutual benefits. Konyaks are the only Naga tribe that had border trade relations on three sides-Burmese, Arunachalese and Ahoms.

Tuensang Division: Noklak sub-division, under Tuensang Division, is populated by the Khamniungan Nagas²⁰ who are also active border traders with the Burmese. Khamniungan Nagas are settled both in India and Burma. Though, they do not speak the same language, they can communicate and understand each other. Pangsha, Wonshai and Langnyak are the closest villages under Noklak sub-division with the Burmese. All those bordering villages have close contact with their counterpart under Burma. All the bordering villages traded, mostly their daily needs, with their counterpart. However, the contribution made by the bordering villages to the Naga-Burmese trade was not same. The bigger and powerful village had more influence and command over the trade, as the powerful village(s) was/were feared and seldom attacked even if roamed in the interior villages bartering goods. Pangsha village, under Noklak sub-division, Tuensang, was one of the most powerful villages. It was a prominent and active village in border trade with Burma. Its previous name was 'Wulan'. They speak wulan dialect which is different from other Khamniungan languages under Nagaland. It is spoken by a number of villages under Burma. 'Pangsha' is a name given by their immediate neighbour- Chang Naga, meaning, 'warrior village' (Thanghoi)²¹. This village was burnt down by the British India government in 1937 as a punishment for not complying to the government order to stop head hunting by raiding and attacking other villages. In 1936 when Pangsha, a Kalo Kenyu village outside the area of control, repeatedly raided villages under control and carried off over two hundred heads and many captives as slaves, not only an expedition had to be sent against the offending village but the area of control was extended to include Pangsha, Sanglao, Nokluk and a few other villages near Burmese border in which slave raiding survived (H.K. Barpujari

20 During the British Raj the Khamniungan Nagas were called 'Kalu-Kenyu' or the "Slate-house dwellers". (K.S.Singh Gen.Ed.1994:96).

21 Tanghoi 73 years Pangsha village interviewed on 10th.October 2012.

1981:223). This village was the most feared by the neighbouring villages both under India and Burma. As Pangsha is located on the international border between India and Burma and also the most feared village, it played a dominant and important role in the Naga-Burmese border trade. During the pre-colonial period, trade was confined to the close bordering villages due to the prevalence of the head hunting. But unlike other Khamniungan villages, the Pangsha people went up to Khamti and Lahi towns in Burma to obtain the required goods (Thanghoi). Pangsha village served as the middleman in the Naga-Burmese trade. The bridle path from Pangsha-Hempu-Chio-Chip-Lahi has been the main trading route since long time. It takes one day to reach Lahi town, the nearest Burmese town from Pangsha on foot. It takes three days to reach Khamti town from Pangsha on foot passing through a number of Burmese villages (Chea)²². Every year, the road and bridges are cleared and repaired by the respective villages through which the path passes. The trade during the pre-colonial period was very limited due to a number of reasons. Both the Naga and Burmese traders could not move freely especially in the interior villages as they were not known each other and due to the practice of head hunting.

In spite of some differences, social and political life of the Khamniungans both under India and Burma, are similar. Both are patriarchal societies. They observe and celebrate the same pre and post sowing and harvest festivals invoking God's blessing and thanksgiving. Their method of cultivation was primitive using crude agricultural implements. Their customary and cultural practices were almost same. Marriages took place between the Nagas and the Burmese, more often among the bordering villages. Villages were independent to each other. Those villages were small republics, ruled and administered by the chief, elders or both. In most of the villages, the elders were nominated/selected from different morong, khel or clan as per the convenience or convention of the concerned village. Morong (bachelors' dormitory), was an

²² Chea 68 years Dan village, Pangsha village. Interviewed on 12th. October 2012.

important social institution of the village. Boys from certain age became the member of the Morong till marriage/adulthood. It served as a school of modern days. The boys were taught and trained for their future life. Their life was at constant danger of head hunting, so the boys were trained by the seniors to defend themselves and the village from the enemies. Boys were not only trained for the war but also trained them to be responsible citizen. The position of the woman was inferior to that of man but it did not mean that they were ill-treated. Women were respected. Except in the village administration, the woman enjoyed equal rights with that of man. Woman played bigger role in the family economy than man.

Like all Naga villages, the Khamniungan villages are also divided into number of clans and sub-clans like Lam, Shio, Meya, etc. Khamnuingan Nagas are one of the hardest working Naga tribes. Like other Naga tribe, the primary occupation of the Khamnuingans was cultivation. Being hilly terrain and the primitive method of cultivation, their produce from the cultivation was low comparing to their investment of labour. However, raw cotton was produced abundantly. Consequently, one of the major items of trade from the Khamnuingans to the Burmese was the cotton handloom cloth. The Khamnuingan were self sufficient in cotton and every village produced enough cotton. Thus, readymade clothes could be supplied to the Nagas of the Burmese side, the important items of export being, a male cloth called 'nechet' (K.S. Singh Gen.Ed.1994:101).

Nagas, as hill dwellers, had to struggle a lot to get daily subsistence. Their principal occupation have been slash and burn type of shifting cultivation (jhum), which is more labourious and cost intensive than the wet and terrace cultivation. Their needs and wants could be supplied through cultivation and collection from the jungle to a large extent, yet trade was essential to fulfil their needs which were beyond their capacity to produce. They were therefore, compelled to

involve in trade so as to obtain those locally unavailable goods. The Naga-Burmese trade was done through barter during pre-colonial period. They could not produce much surplus and whatever surplus they had, they bartered for the goods they needed. Usually, the trader visited village(s) bartering goods. However, the trader did not go to all villages, but to the friendly and neighbouring villages. Sometimes the traders from bordering villages of both sides met at Pangsha village, at present Dan village location. Dan village was founded about eleven years ago under Pangsha village jurisdiction. The population of Dan village is a combination of Pangsha and other Khamniungans of Hemptu, Khingpu, etc. villages from Burma. They speak different dialects but can understand each other. All of them are Christians and have a common Baptist church. The church service is conducted in Pangsha dialect and if anyone is requested to say invocation, benediction, etc. he/she prays in his/her own dialect which can be understood by every worshipper (Khamo)²³. The Dan village council is comprised of five Gaon Boras (village elders). There are three gaon boras from Pangsha village and one each from Hemptu and Khingpu villages. The head gaon bora is from Pangsha village. In spite of differences in language and way of life, the Khamniungans both under Nagaland and Burma, are living together under the same village administrative setup and the church. The hope and aspiration of all the Khamniungans, both under India and Burma is that one day all of them will be united under a single administrative umbrella. They claim that Khamniungans are settled up to Khamti town in Burma. Sometimes, Pangsha village served as a trade centre especially, on the eve of their festivals to barter goods. Man's apron and handloom cloth from the Nagas were in great demand by the Burmese on the eve of their festivals. The cultural items like dyed goat's hair, headgear; necklace, hornbill feather, etc. were brought from Burma. The other items brought from Burma were- dao, spear head, salt, besides the exchange of agricultural goods and tools. The Burmese exchanged those goods

23 Khomo 55 years Head Dobashi, Noklak. Interviewed on 13th.October 2012.

with beeswax and agricultural goods. (Chea). After the introduction and the spread of Christianity among the Khamniungans of Nagaland, the demand of the cultural items which were mostly supplied from Burmese side, reduced considerably. The American Christian missionaries taught the new Naga converts to discard the cultural practices and dresses. They condemned the Naga cultural practices and items as heathen. Consequently, the demand for culturally important items like headgear, dyed goat's hair, beads, cowries, conch shells, hornbill feather, armlet, etc. were declined. The celebration of Naga festivals began to decline as the converts to the new religion were taught to abstain from joining all those festivities and celebrations which, according to the Christian missionaries, did not conform to the Christian teachings (Khome).

The mostly traded items between the Burmese and the Khamniungan Nagas are shown below:-

Items from Burma

1. Dyed goat's hair
2. Headgear.
3. Necklace.
4. Hornbill feather.
5. Cowrie.
6. Conch shell.
7. Spearhead.
8. Dao.
9. Salt.
10. Armlet.
11. Agricultural goods.
12. Domesticated animals.
13. Beads.
14. Dyed goat's hair.

Items from Khamniungan Nagas.

1. Man'apron/cloth.
2. Raw cotton.
3. Handloom cloth.
4. Beeswax.
5. Cloth made from nettle plant fibre.
6. Agricultural goods.
7. Domesticated animals
8. Cane basket.
9. Slave.

The trader faced a lot of problem due to the non-availability of a medium of exchange during the pre-colonial period. When there is no currency or medium of exchange, business transaction becomes complex. The parties involve in the barter transaction should possess the good(s) needed/wanted by the opposite party to exchange. There was no particular trading group or class among the Khamniungans. All the able adults, mostly men, were traders. The bordering villages played bigger role than the interior villages. The interior villages had to travel long distances carrying heavy loads on the hilly bridle paths was not an easy task. Moreover, they were less acquainted with the opposite party than the bordering villages. In such a way, the bordering villages on both sides served as middleman and contributed more in the Naga-Burmese trade. In case, the trader of both sides could not return back on the same day, they used to spend the night at their friend's or relative's house. The trader carried their food/rice for the whole journey. Sometimes war broke out between villages due to trade related incidents. If a trader was killed or lost in a particular village's jurisdiction, his relatives or the whole village would seek a chance to take revenge against that village. Such case was a cause that led to the battle between the villages. Though, Nagas were called as head-hunters, battles between the villages did not take place without any strong cause. Traders play a very important role in the advancement and development of the society. The traders exchanged their local products/goods with others which encouraged and realized the villagers to innovative ideas and also to plant new crops which were not available with them. The traders also learned new techniques and ideas from others which they introduced in the village and gradually changed the orthodox mindset of the villagers and allowed to set in new ideas of change and broaden their outlook. The traders were the first to go outside of the village which gave them the opportunity to contact with others and that contact was responsible for the beginning of change from the village centric to wider outlook. The Naga-Burmese traders played a big role in the social and economic life of their respective

societies. The contribution of the trader cannot be ignored and should appreciate that the way of life of the villagers began to change gradually. The mind set and the understanding of the villagers changed which brought changes in their social as well as economic lives. Their methods of cultivation, agricultural tools, introduction of new crops, etc. were influenced by each other's techniques and ideas. The traders were the first to influence the villagers through their new experience. As such, the Naga border traders may be called as an agent of development and change. **Kiphire Division:** Kiphire sub-division was under Tuensang division till recently. Unlike most districts of Nagaland, its indigenous population is a conglomeration of a number of Naga tribes such as Sema, Sangtam, Yimchungru, etc. The beauty of this division is that in spite of their cultural and other differences, there is communal harmony and the people are living peacefully for centuries. Kiphire district is one of the mineral rich districts of Nagaland. Here, huge limestone block lays awaiting industrial use which would benefit its area people in particular and Nagaland state in general. There are number of yimchungru, Makhure and Chir villages under Pungro sub-division of Kiphire district which bordered Burma. These villages have been trading with the Burmese for a long time. Thanamir, Longkhimong, Khongjire, Lopukhong, Mimi (Longpfur), Khongka, Hakkumati, etc are the immediate Naga villages that bordered Khikikha, Khola, Lakti, Yupami, Methong, Chishika, Kechika, New Amimi, Temati, etc. villages of Burma. These villages have been actively engaged in trade. Those bordering villages both under India and Burma are economically and culturally more related than their far away countryman. Due to geographical proximity, these people share and exchange their daily requirements. Among the Burma bordering Naga villages under Pungro sub-division, Mimi village is one of the most active trading villages with Burma, which sometimes served as a trading centre. The earlier name of Mimi village was "Longpfur" (moving rock in Longpfur dialect). The present name "Mimi", meaning as active and as fast as a cat in Longpfur dialect, is given by the Kuki chief after he lost the war with the Longpfur

people. The present name is popularly called only from the last part of the colonial period (Yalathang)²⁴. Mimi is a prominent village in the area. The villages like Hakkumati, Khongka, etc. under Nagaland and New Amimi under Burma are migrated from Mimi village. The whole Mimi area is a lime stone block. There are four natural caves under Mimi village jurisdiction. Among the four caves, Raneak Khun is scientifically explored and the rest three still await scientific treatment which would reveal the link between Nagas' present and the past. Natural caves are formed in the lime stone as a result of chemical reaction. Those caves are big enough for human habitation. Whenever the cave area is cleared for shifting cultivation (Jhuming), people used that as shelter (Tangtsu)²⁵. Mimi village is noted for honey, beeswax, pottery and maize sheath. The beeswax was in great demand from the Burmese. Honey and beeswax from the lime stone cliffs has been a very good source of income for the Mimi village. Those beehives are owned by different families being inherited from their forefathers and thus an ancestral property. Those beehives become a property which can be sold or bought. The Mimi villagers not only collect honey and beeswax from their village jurisdiction but also own the cliffs with beehive outside of their village jurisdiction even under Burma. About 70 portions of cliffs in Yawpami (Burma) area were bought by Longpfur (Mimi) village long time ago. They collect honey from these cliffs every year (Maj.Hmingliana).

The art of pottery was known only in Mimi village in the area and it had been in great demand of the people in its area for a long time. Before the coming of the aluminium pots and utensils, clay pots were the only cooking pots usually used in the Naga kitchens. Bamboo tubes were sometimes used to cook rice, fish, meat, etc. in the jungle. However, clay pot was most popularly used utensil for cooking by the Nagas for a long time till it was gradually replaced by the aluminium pots beginning from the colonial period. Though clay pot was one of

²⁴ Yalathang 58 years Dobashi, Pongru Sub-Division. Interviewed on 17th.March 2012.

²⁵ Tangtsu 56 years Chairman, Hakkumati Village Council. Interviewed on 24th.March 2012.

the most important household articles, the art of pottery was not a trade for everyone. Among the other tribes too, there was/were very few clay pot making village/villages. Mimi was the only village in its area that made the clay pot since long time. The legend has it that the Wee, a Khiamniungan Naga village under Nagaland and the people of Mimi village had been living together for some time. They decided to separate and agreed that the Mimi people would make pottery and the Wee would do black smithy as raw iron was brought from Burma to Wee village for making different kinds of agricultural tools, implements and weapons (Alimong)²⁶. They do their respective profession with great dedication till today. Their products are among the finest of the Naga products. The iron products like dao (machete) and agricultural implements from Wee village are sold in the area even today. Iron was one of the most valuable things for Nagas for a long time. It was very rare for the Nagas that even the worn out iron daos were used as a medium of exchange by some Naga tribes. Iron and its tools and implements produced from the Wee village were not sufficient for its surrounding areas and as such the raw iron and iron implements and tools were brought from Burma (Alimong). The pottery made in Mimi village was in great demand by the people of the present Kiphire area and also bartered to Burma. Mimi village became economically sound due to the selling of boiled and dried beeswax, pottery and corn sheath (Alimong). Boiled and dried beeswax was in great demand by the Burmese to smear the wax on the cane mat to prevent rain from leaking which was used for roofing for their house (Chea). Mimi people were not bee keepers. Beehives have been a natural gift to the people and those beehives have been a blessing since long time. The limestone cliffs occupy a large area and the cultivation is impossible in that area. However, those cliffs have been a blessing in disguise for the people. Beeswax had very little usage for the Nagas but it had been very useful for the Burmese. Instead of exchanging other goods, beeswax was mainly exchanged for the Burmese goods which in turn, saved many Naga

²⁶ Alimong 78 years ex.Gaon Bora Mimi village council. Interviewed on 25th.March 2012.

goods which would be exchanging away for the Burmese goods. In other words, the Mimi group of the Nagas under Nagaland had a very favourable balance of payments over the Burmese. Mimi village cultivated maize every year. Climatic condition and soil of the Mimi area are more suitable for maize than the rice cultivation. Maize was used as an important food item. The inner layer of the corn sheath was in great demand from the Burmese. It was used to roll the bedi (local tobacco for smoking). Corn sheath had hardly any usage for the Nagas but became valuable after the Burmese put forth the demand for it. Honey, beeswax, maize sheath, clay pots agricultural products, etc. comprised the main items of trade from Mimi group of Naga villages to the Burmese. Agricultural products, iron and its implements and tools, domesticated animals; cultural articles that include ornamented spear and long sword, necklaces, bangle, cowrie, conch shell, hornbill feather, brass gong, etc. were the trading items from the Burmese (Alimong).

Longpfur dialect is spoken by a number of villages under Burma. Mimi village played a big role in the Naga-Burmese trade. Besides their products, Mimi village bartered the goods brought by the Burmese to the Kiphire area people and again bartered the goods brought by other Naga in to Burma, as such, played the part of the middleman. Sometimes the trader gathered at Mimi and exchanged goods and thus acted as trade centre in the Naga-Burmese trade. Mimi village got profit from that trade. The bridle path from Mimi to Yubami and thence to Leshi town crossing some small villages was the main trade route apart from the routes from Khongka to Khikikha or to Kholā and from Hakkumati to Chisikha. It takes two days to reach Leshi town from Mimi on foot. Mimi dialect is spoken by the people residing up to the Leshi town in Burma. However, trade was mostly confined to the bordering villages due to the fear of losing head. Marriages took place between the Mimi and the neighbouring villages, especially with the Para people in Leshi (Alimong). In spite of some differences, their social practice and the village administrative system were very similar. Traders from both sides, visited

villages and even went house to house bartering goods. Winter was the right time to go for trade. The trading was most convenient during dry season. There was no cart, vehicle or any other means for transportation of goods. All the goods had to be carried by man on headload on the hilly path; rainy season was an odd time for trade. Trader had to confront number of hindrances so as to obtain desired goods. In spite of difficulties and obstacles faced by the Naga- Burmese traders, they carried on trade since long time.

The mostly traded items Between the Burmese and the Mimi Group of Nagas are shown below:-

Items from Burma

1. Long sword
2. Ornamented spear.
3. Agricultural iron tools.
4. Necklace.
5. Bangle.
6. Cowrie
7. Conch shell
8. Hornbill feather.
9. Gong.
10. Armlet.
11. Salt.
12. Domesticated animals.
13. Agricultural goods.

Items from the Mimi Group of Nagas.

1. Beeswax.
2. Honey.
3. Maize sheath.
4. Clay pot.
5. Cane basket.
6. Domesticated animals.
7. Agricultural goods.

The social and political system of Mimi village and its adjoining areas, under India are very similar. The traditional social and political system of the neighbouring Burmese villages and Mimi were almost the same system. However, after the independence of Burma, the political system became

different which affected down to the traditional village administrative functioning. Mimi village has three clans i.e Mirr, Pumrr and Whurr. Marriage can take place among the clans (exogamous) and not within the clan (indogamy) (Koraktsu)²⁷. Marriage within the same clan is against the Naga customary law which invites penalty resulting to excommunication from the village and its citizenship. Family is the most important and the smallest social and political unit of the Naga society. Upto pre-colonial period, village administration mostly centred around the village chief who was usually a warrior who led and commanded the village fighting force in the war or a rich man of the village who was usually an influential person. Gaon bora system was introduced only from the colonial period (Koraktsu). In the Gaon bora system elder people are selected/nominated from every clan/khel/morung of the village and sent as their representative in the village council. In some village, the bigger clan/morung/khel selects more gaon bora and vice versa. Mirr clan of Mimi village has the highest number of families which sends three Gaon Boras (village elder) to the Village council at present. Whurr and Pumrr, the other two clans, send two Gaon Bora each (Alimong). Among the Gaon Bora, one is nominated/selected as the Head Gaon Bora. Unlike the Sema Naga, the Head Gaon Bora ship is not hereditary among the villages of Mimi area. The tenure of Head gaon boraship is usually till retirement or death of the incumbent. The village administration in Mimi area is solely vested on the village council of the concerned village. Village council administer the village mostly basing on the customary laws and practices and traditions handed down from generation to generation. Convention plays a vital role in the decision making of the village council.

Phek Division: The indigenous inhabitants of Phek district are mostly the Chakesang Nagas and the Pochury Nagas. The Chakesang Nagas outnumber the Pochury Nagas in population. The eastern part of the district is the home of the

27 Koraktsu 52 years Gaon Bora, village council, Mimi. Interviewed on 25th.March 2012

Pochury Nagas. The easternmost villages like Avakhong, Pokhongri, Old Tewati, Zepfu, Nazupfu, etc are the nearest Naga bordering villages with Burma under Meluri sub-division of Phek district. Like other Naga villages bordering Burma, those Pochury Naga villages were also active border traders with the Burmese. Avakhong is one of those closest Naga villages to Burma. 'Ava' means bamboo. 'khong' means hill 'Bamboo Hill' in Pokhongri dialect. Avakhong village is migrated from Pokhongri village. Pokhongri village is a premier village in the area. A Number of villages like Avakhong , Tewati, etc. are founded under its jurisdiction and the Nagaland's noted lake 'Sheloi' ('Lacham/Litsam' body of water/pond in the Pokhongri dialect) is located in their land. The name 'Sheloi' is given by the British. The English met some local people doing duty near the lake and asked the name of the lake. The local people replied 'Sheloi' meaning duty, thinking that the Englishmen were asking what they were doing. Thenceforth, Sheloi was popularly used (Akumong)²⁸. Pokhongri dialect is spoken of by a number of villages both under India and Burma like Avakhong, Laruri , Settsu, etc. under India and the Burmese village Shera. The bridle path from Avakhong and Pokhongri to Shera- Meloklang- Saphia- Tenewa and then to Leshi town in Burma is a widely used trade route by the Naga-Burmese traders. It takes about four hours to reach Shera from Avakhong on foot.

The social setup of the bordering villages of the Nagas and the Burmese are same in many aspects, despite of their long isolation. Both the Nagas and the Burmese are patriarchal societies. Like other Naga tribes, Pochury Naga society is not divided into class. But both the Naga and the nearby Burmese villages are divided into a number of clans vertically. One's clan is pre-determined by birth. One has become the member of his/her father's clan right from the time of his/her birth. For instance, Tavori, Pichungri, Changteri, Lazuri, Chapfuri, etc are the principal clans which are mostly found among the pochury and nearby Burmese villages. The Raja of Shera village under Burma is from

28 Akumong 75 years, Head Gaon Bora, Pokhongri village. Interviewed on 22nd April 2013

Jangphuri clan (Tosangchu)²⁹. Marriage takes place outside of one's clan (exogamous). However, marriage takes place not always on one's own sweet will or free of cost. Love between the two love birds alone does not guarantee their marriage. Customary practice and social norms has the final say to tie their knot. Without following the customary practice and fulfilling their social norms, marriage can not take place no matter how much they love and committed to each other. Payment of Bride's price by the bridegroom to the bride's parent had been in practice. If the bridegroom could not pay the price for the bride, their love and commitment to each other became meaningless for tying their knot. Livestock like Mithun (*bos frontalis*) and the kinds like shawl, dao (machete), agricultural tools, wooden plate, cup, etc, were demanded but if the bride's parents were not willing to give their daughter, they demanded beyond one's capacity to pay. In return for bride's price, the bride's parents used to give handloom materials and yarns to make cloth for the new family (Tsolimong)³⁰. Pochury women were respected and treated well though, traditionally, they were inferior to man. Family is the smallest social unit of the village. There was cordial social relation between the Nagas and the Burmese and there were instances of inter marriages between the Bordering Pochury Naga and the Burmese. The village administrative system of both the bordering Naga and Burmese village were similar in many respects in which the elders in the village shouldered the administrative responsibility. During the pre-colonial period, the safety of its citizen and the village from the enemies was the main concern of the village administration and the men folk. The village is the basic unit of administrative setup of the Nagas and the Burmese. The village administrative system is changing, especially after independence. Presently, there is a village political institution called 'Raja' apart from the Head Gaon Bora, Gaon Bora and the village council chairman among the Pochury Nagas which is distinct from the rest of the Naga tribes of Nagaland. Rajaship is hereditary. It is usually given to

29 Tosangchu 74 years Gaon Bora Avakhong village. Interviewed on 23rd April 2013.

30 Tsolomong 73 years Raja of Avakhong village. Interviewed on 23rd April 2013.

the founder of the village and his descendants. Unlike the Sema Nagas, Head Gaon Bora and the Raja of Avakhong village and also other Pochury villages, are not the owner of the land. Unlike the Sema Head Gaon Bora, the Raja and the Head Gaon Bora of the Pochury Naga villages are not entitled to work free of cost by the villagers for a certain number of days in a year. The system is one of family adoption and of land tenure combined, but its important principle is that the chief (Sema Naga) himself distributes his land among his villagers reserving certain portions for his own cultivation and a recognised right with its corresponding duty has grown up on both sides, so that while the villager is entitled to have allotted to them by the chief, the chief is likewise entitled to a certain number of days work in the year from each villager cultivating his land. The number of days work varies from 5 days in some cases as much as 30 days, but normally from 10 to 15 days in the year (J.H.Hutton,1916:323). Among the Pochury Nagas, the land is owned by private and the Raja has no say on that. All a Raja can say on the village land is that he declares which portion of the land to be cleared for cultivation for the ensuing year. His is not getting any assistance from the village public like the cutting of jungle for cultivation, sowing, cleaning/weeding or in harvesting the field (Tsolimong)³¹. The village administration is carried out by the Raja, Village council Chairman, Head Gaon Bora, which is also hereditary, and other Gaon Bora, who are nominated/selected from clan/khel.

The Naga-Burmese trade during the pre-colonial period was mostly confined to bordering villages. Upto the pre-colonial period all the transactions between the Nagas and the Burmese were by barter. They mostly transacted daily needs of which, agricultural and horticultural products occupied the major items of exchange from both sides. Salt was produced by the Pochury Nagas from the salt springs. It was the main item of trade from the Pochury to the Burmese. Salt had a very high value that it could fetch a good amount of

31 Tsolimong 70 years, Raja of Avakhong. Interviewed on 25th April 2013.

Burmese goods. Beeswax and corn sheath were another items that were supplied by the Pochury Nagas to the Burmese. Those items were in great demand from the Burmese. Raw iron, readymade dao, sword, spearhead, hornbill feather, necklaces, cowrie, conch shells, bangle, domesticated animals like pig, mithun, dog, chicken and other items like handloom cloth, akar wood, etc. were exchanged for the Naga goods. It was not extensive in spite of many years of trade.

The following items were the mostly traded between the Burmese and the Pochury Nagas.

Items from Burma

1. Readymade Dao
2. Raw iron.
3. Cowrie.
4. Conch shell.
5. Spearhead.
6. Hornbill feather.
7. Necklace.
8. Domesticated animals
9. Akar wood.
10. Agricultural goods.

Items from the Pochury Nagas

1. Salt.
2. Beeswax.
3. Maize sheath.
4. Domesticated animals.
5. Agricultural goods.

It is seen during the pre-colonial period that the import of the number of Burmese goods was more than the Naga's exports to the Burmese. If we look at the number of items transacted, the Naga's balance of trade with the Burmese was unfavourable. However, all the transactions were done in barter; the question of favourable or unfavourable balance of trade does hardly arise. The demand of the Nagas for cultural items from the Burmese was one of the main reasons for the entering of more number of Burmese items. As the Nagas have

close cultural affinities with the Burmese and also her next door neighbour, all the cultural items were brought from and through Burma. Cultural attires were very much connected to the lives of the Nagas which boosted the demand for the cultural items from Burma.

There was no fixed rate of exchange in the Naga-Burmese trade during the pre-colonial period. All the transactions were done in barter. One commodity was exchange for another with a certain amount acceptable to both the parties involved in the trade - say a handful, basketful, plateful, bushellful, etc. There was no generally recognised unit of measurement of commodity among the Nagas and the Burmese. The exchange of commodities mostly depended on the value of the particular commodity. If the value of a particular commodity was higher, the amount of the exchanging commodity was more and vice versa. In the absence of a medium of exchange, the Naga-Burmese traders faced problem in their trade up to the pre-colonial period.

There are number of factors which hampered extensive Naga-Burmese trade. Firstly, it was due to the absence of a medium of exchange which could be genuinely acceptable to both the parties. The Naga-Burmese trade was carried out through barter as there was no accepted medium of exchange. The disadvantage of barter system was that the good(s) one required to exchange could not be exchanged unless the buyer or customer needed those goods. Another disadvantage of barter trade was that the trader had to carry goods to and fro which was a difficult job for the weak and the old. Sometimes, the traders found difficulty for smaller transactions in the barter system. Non availability of the medium of exchange made the trader difficult to buy their choice. There were sort of a medium of exchange/currency among some tribes, for instance, Jabilee, among the Ao Naga, Brass Gong/Laya, among the Konyaks and the Chang Nagas etc. in the later years of pre-colonial period. H.C Cantlie Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills commented on the use of Gong as a medium

of exchange among the Chang Nagas,"Many Trans-frontier Chang chiefs came in, one brought a specimen of the money used before the British introduced coinage. It is a plain circular copper plate, a foot in diameter bellied like shield, polished in surface, quite symmetrical and immensely heavy. Three to five were worth a mithun." But those currencies could not do the function of currency or the medium of exchange outside the tribe or across the border. Currency/medium of exchange makes the transaction easy and fair and trade without currency/medium of exchange would be very difficult and the trader would face number of problems. Absence of currency or an accepted medium of exchange was a major hindrance to the extensive Naga-Burmese trade.

Secondly, headhunting was one of the barriers to the extensive trade between the Nagas and the Burmese. Headhunting was a very popular and heroic practice among the Nagas. Headhunting was considered the most important thing in the social life of Konyak Naga forefathers (Rev.Y.Chingang). Taking other's or enemy's head was the highest achievement in a man's life. It was an act of valour and pride. Warriors were highly respected and placed in the highest pedestal in Naga society. If a man had no man's head to his credit, he had no right to wear coveted traditional warrior's dress. Moreover, he would not leave any eponymous name to his son/descendants to be called in honour of heroic deeds if he did not take any enemy's head. Taking of human head brought prestige and honour. Among some Naga tribes, the young woman flatly rejected the marriage proposal from young man who did not have any human head in his account (Yawang). The young warrior, who had taken a `head, had a great advantage over his fellows in attracting the most beautiful girl of his village for marriage. Indeed, it is said that a youth who had not taken a head found considerable difficulty in obtaining a wife at all (Verrier Elwin1997:11). Again some tribes believed that bringing human head into the village would prosper harvest. The dao which had severed off the enemy's head was not brought directly inside the house. It could be brought inside the slayer's house

only after thanks giving prayers were offered and washed by the village priest (Lampa)³². Those were the few factors among number of factors which popularised headhunting among the Nagas. Due to the fear of losing one's head, people confined to their own village and the village was well fenced. Visiting an unknown village was risky. As a result, trade during the pre-colonial period was restricted to neighbouring border and friendly villages and in due course of time, border villages acted as middleman. Headhunting was the most barbaric and inhuman practice which hampered freedom and consequently, hampered development. Except some renowned and powerful villages, Naga-Burmese traders did not go to interior and unknown villages and the trade was limited to the bordering villages, inspite of long period of trade relation. Some of the Inter-village conflict and feud occurred among the Nagas and the Burmese due to the trade related incidents (Akhah)³³. Trader from a small village visiting an unfriendly village was a risky endeavour. As such, headhunting was a key player that hindered free and extensive trade between the Nagas and the Burmese. It not only hindered free trade but also discouraged free contact and mingling of the people which distorted advancement and development.

Thirdly, Lack of proper road communication was one of the factors that discouraged extensive trade. Road is the lifeline of any community and if there is no proper road, that community would face multiple problems belying development. Not only in the border area but in all the Naga Hills, there was no road except bridle paths and it was one of the reasons why the Nagas were lacking behind others for so long. All the goods were carried by man on headloads. Small hilly bridle path was not ideal for carrying heavy load on foot. It was very difficult to climb up and down carrying heavy loads especially, during rainy season. Traders now usually travel by a more circuitous and difficult path through the Naga Hills, passing from one Naga Village to another, so as to

³² Lampa 68 years interviewed on 5th.2012

³³ Longwa Area Constituency Chairman, Burma.interviewed on 6th.December 2012

obtain supplies (Manas Publications, 1988:253). It was a difficult job for the weak and old to journey on such path carrying load and such type of trade could be performed by the strong and energetic people. No matter how strong or energetic one may be, the goods carried by man would be very limited and the scope for extensive trade had a bleak future. Road and means of conveyance are the strong determinants of border trade. If there is no road and the means of conveyance is primitive, then the trade tend to be very limited. There was no appointed day weekly market between the Nagas and the Burmese like those markets in Assam duars (Passes) bordering hills where hill people descended down and exchanged goods. Market is an important place where the traders not only exchanged goods but ideas, techniques, etc. Markets in North-East region have been playing a vital role in social and economic life of the people. They were the place where agricultural and other produces were being exchanged and sold. They served as information centres and means of communications. They are also the centres where political ideas and views are being propagated (Mawnai, F.L, 1984:31). Naga- Burma border trade was not a trade-control market place. The traders visited villages and houses exchanging goods. Their goods were limited to daily and basic needs. If there were roads and means of conveyance, Naga-Burmese trade could have been more extensive involving more traders.

Fourthly, less surplus production of agricultural and horticultural goods was one of the reasons for not extensive Naga- Burmese trade. There was hardly any idea or knowledge to cultivate and produce more for business. Business motive was lacking in their production. Of course, handicrafts like basket making, blacksmith, etc. were sometimes driven by business motives, but in general, the Nagas and the Burmese had less knowledge to produce for business. The Nagas and the Burmese traded whatever small amount left after keeping for their consumption/use. Sometimes, they exchanged a particular good which was not surplus (Lampha). Generally, trade is tended to be limited

when there is less production. The business understanding and knowledge of the people was very meagre during the pre-colonial period. They had very less knowledge about the benefits of business and the Naga-Burmese trade was mostly done out of necessity, though trading of some goods on business motive cannot be ignored. Trading was a supplementary engagement which was pursued mostly on winter and dry season only. As the Naga- Burmese trade was carried on barter, both the Nagas and the Burmese should have the proportionate goods to be bartered. Both the Nagas and the Burmese mode of cultivation and the other modes of production were primitive. They worked in agriculture whole year, but the harvest was very low compared to their investment as hill area jhum cultivation (shifting cultivation) is usually labour intensive and low return. It was therefore natural that the surplus production of both the Nagas and the Burmese were very limited and it was one of the factors why Naga-Burmese trade was not extensive. To explore and extract minerals was never dreamt off. What the Nagas and the Burmese produced were mostly their agricultural products and handicrafts. The pre-colonial Naga-Burmese trade was mostly limited to border trade.

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Koraktsu G.b, Mimi Village.

Lampa, Angphang Village.

Tangtsu V.C Chairman, Hakkumati Village.

Thangoi, Old Pangsha Village.

Tosangchu Head G.B, Avakhong Village.

Tsolimong Raja, Avakhong Village.

Yalathung D.B Pungro.

Yawang Longwa Village.

CHAPTER -III

TRADE DURING COLONIAL PERIOD

The history of North-East has changed tremendously with the coming of the British. The people of this region are comprised of a number of ethnic groups which have different tradition, custom and culture of their own. This region is the easternmost part of India. It is isolated from the mainland India for a long time. The North-East region has a total area of 255037Sq.Kilometres of which 4200 kilometres covers international boundary with Bangladesh, Bhutan, China and Myanmar (B.Datta Ray:2002:20). People of this region had their own administrative set-up and governed themselves and was never occupied and ruled by any Indian ruler till the British occupation. Most of the hill tribes were not under any kingdom or ruled by any king or monarch. Their villages were small republics where the will of the chief or the village elders had the final say to decide the fate of the village. Their social, political, religious and economic life was mostly confined to their respective villages. Traditional Naga villages were sovereign and independent institutions (A.Nshoga P.hd Thesis: 10). Their outside contact was very seldom. Consequently, outside knowledge was very meagre and clung to their own traditional way of life. They were reluctant to change and embrace other's civilization. Most of their needs could be met from the village. The Nagas remained outside the influence of modern civilization for a long time. They lived a simple life completely isolated even from their immediate neighbour mainly due to the practice of headhunting. Their needs were few and they could manage to be self sufficient of their basic requirements like food, shelter and clothing in their way within their limited resources (Joseph S Thong, 1997:102). Geography plays an important role in human history and it is no exception to this part of India. The very geography of this region contributed to independent development of this multi-lingual society

in the eastern hills (Gun Devia: 1975). North-East India is mostly peopled by Mongolian race. During its long isolation, it has developed a rich culture and tradition which is distinct from the mainland India. The people of North-East India are so diverse and speak a number of languages and dialects which are mostly grouped under Tibeto-Burman language family. Due to its close geographical proximity, the people of this region had been frequent contact with the neighbouring countries than the fellow countryman far away. They had hardly any contact with the mainland India or the outside world for a long time. This isolation has naturally led to variations in dress, custom, tradition and practices, no less marked than in language and dialect, not only between the tribes, but often enough between groups of villages within the same tribe (Y.D.Gundevia, 1975:6). However, they could not withstand the onslaught of the outsiders, and their isolation finally, gave in to the western invasion.

The Treaty of Yandaboo of 1826 which was concluded between the English and the Burmese after the First Anglo-Burmese war is a landmark in the history of the whole North-East India. It ushered in the colonial period in North-east India, though colonial period began in India long before. The Treaty had an immense impact on the tribes of North East India with no evidence of any knowledge of these tribes; the British became the de facto guardians of the whole region by the terms of the peace treaty (Dr.Piketo Achume, 2012:1). Despite number of demerits of colonial rule, there are some merits of colonial rule in North-east India. For instance, introduction of money as a medium of exchange or money economy, controlling and cessation of headhunting among the tribal, opening of roads and schools, etc. to mention a few. The British rule and their interest in Bengal were threatened, when the Burmese occupied Assam. The British were content so long as Assam was under a strong local ruler as the North-East India was treated as a buffer state between British India and Burma. Assam had been under the Ahom rule for nearly six hundred years, one of the longest reigning dynasties in the history of the world. The Ahoms were

Shan tribe, who migrated from upper Burma led by Sukapha and entered into Assam valley in 1228 A.D and established their kingdom. The Ahoms consolidated their power and ruled the whole of Assam and even the neighbouring hill tribes recognised their rule. The Brahmaputra Valley or Assam proper was ruled by the Ahoms- a branch of the Shan race for nearly six hundred years. The Ahoms were a hardy race fond of meat-eating and addicted to wine-drinking. They migrated from the Shan regions of upper Burma and poured into the north-eastern extremity of the Brahmaputra valley in the thirteenth century A.D under their leader Sukapha (1228-1268) and gradually established themselves as conquerors of the entire valley (R.M.Lahiri, 1975:1). It was the most powerful and the biggest kingdom in the North-East India. The Ahom power dashed down the Mughal dream of capturing North-East India. The Ahoms maintained a strong government for many years. Consequently, neither hill tribes nor the local chiefs could stand against their rule. However, weakness of the rulers, internal dissensions, Moamaria uprising, etc. which surfaced from the second half of the eighteenth century, led to the downfall of the nearly six hundred years old dynasty and once the mightiest kingdom in the whole North-East region. From the middle of the eighteenth century the Ahom monarchy was on the decline. The throne was occupied by a number of weak and unscrupulous rulers whose only ambition was the preservation of their own lives and powers regardless of interests of the state. The court became the hot-bed of intrigue and conspiracies, and this was followed by political assassinations and insurrections (H.K.Barpujari, 1970:18). The Moamarias, Bhutias, Khamtis, Duflas, Singphos and the Burmese took the advantage of the internal dissensions in the Ahom dynasty. Ahom court was divided and was unable to suppress the opposition led by his Burgohain; king Chandrakanta invited the Burmese to solve the internal problem. Under Chandrakanta the court was divided into two hostile camps: the king and the members of his family on one hand, Purnanda Burgohain and his followers on the other. The

royalist being unable to oust the domineering Burgohain from power, had not the least hesitation in inviting foreign aid and succeeded in persuading the Burmese monarch to send a force into Assam (Ibid:20). Burmese got the opportunity to spread their sway in Assam and the north-east India. Their endeavours in North-east India were very dangerous for the English. They threatened the English set-up in Bengal. The English were compelled to involve in the Ahom political crises in Assam for the security and the defence of her interest in Bengal. The British India government wanted a strong government and a strong ruler in Assam. Lord Cornwallis was anxious to avoid political and military commitments, and he was more than occupied with dangers in Southern India; but he could not remain altogether indifferent to the growing chaos in a neighbouring state, which was separated from British territories by a small river only, and connected with Bengal by commerce, religion and tradition. Thus British intervention in Assam began as an attempted solution of an urgent and difficult frontier problem (S.K.Sharma and Usha Sharma, 2005: Vol-1.77). Assam became a battleground of the English and the Burmese which resulted in the defeat and the flushing out of the Burmese from the interference in Ahom political crises. The English were compelled to occupy Assam and North-east India and finally annexed to British India dominion from the defence point of view. The British province that came to be known as Assam took shape more or less by 1873 (Analendu Guha, 1988:34). After the occupation of Assam, the hill areas that neighbouring Assam were gradually influenced or affected. Some of those hill areas were brought directly under their control and some were left as excluded area. The entire hill people of North-East India began to test the western civilization. The consequences of the British occupation of North-east India are manifold and can be seen in every field. There are hardly any field which was not influenced or touched by the western civilization. The most notable impact of the British rule was the amalgamation of all tribes and communities of North-east India into a single unit of administration under them.

They did not interfere in the traditional practices of the people but worked to establish the rule of law and to bring them under the same administrative umbrella. Every tribe or community of North-east India saw great changes in their political, social and economy once brought under British administration. The impact of the west on the Nagas is manifold. The change of mind set, their way of life, nature and the coming out of the centuries old village confinement of the Nagas towards a new civilization with the establishment of British rule was the beginning of a new era in the history of the Nagas. Having settled in their present homeland, the Nagas gave up their nomadic nature and developed their own civilization. Their contact with the outside world was very limited and majority of people were completely ignorant and remained cut off from the rest of the world for many centuries. With sporadic forays in the plains of Assam and occasional ventures for trade, by and large, though, they lived in tranquil isolation in rhythm with the seasons, the focal point of existence was being the village. The turn of the 19th.century, however, was to usher in an era of change with far reaching effects (Dr.Visier Sanyu, 1990:5). The introduction of a settled government into Naga Hills has been followed by the development of trade, the cessation of inter village wars, an extension of cultivation and marked improvement in the condition of the poorer classes.{McCabe in Dr.Piketo Achume,2012:133). Along with the Christian missionaries, the British India government baptized the innocent North-eastern tribes into new western civilization.

The British never forgot and abandoned their sole aim and objective of coming to India. True to their devotion to commercial interests in the colonies, the British did not spare even the remotest parts of the empire from the working of their economic policies (Dr.Piketo Achumi, 2012:94). The occupation of North-east India was driven by the security reason and the commercial motif. Wherever the colonial rule established, it was mostly due to the commercial interest. The English saw the commercial benefits on the cultivation of tea and the extraction

of petroleum from this region. After securing their power firmly in Assam valley, the English began their commercial activity. They encouraged trade between different tribes and plain people. There has been a marked development of internal trade, and considerable improvement has been effected in the opening up of communication. Improvement in communication not only afforded the administration the means of access to the villages, but also fostered internal trade in the district.(Piketo:2012). They initiated and opened weekly border haats³⁴. Those border markets were held near the duar (pass) through which the hill people descended down to the plain for exchanging and buying goods. The duars or gateways for the tribesmen to inter into the plain areas, on all the border regions of the Brahmaputra valley served as seasonal market places during the winter months (M.C.Goswami:1984). The political and economic policy of the Ahom rulers towards the Nagas preceded the British policy of economic relation of the Nagas and the Plains. During the reign of Ahom king Susenpba, to maintain a cordial relation and to strengthen their ties with the Nagas, Susenpba opened markets on the duars (pass) in the Ahom-Naga border. The reign of Susenpba (1603-1641) is very significant in the Politico-economic relationship between the Ahoms and the Nagas. As far as history goes, it has been found out that the Ahom Raja was very diplomatic who wanted to maintain a friendly atmosphere with the neighbouring Nagas so that both sides got the benefit from one another, especially in regard to economic necessity. He is credited to have opened markets at the Dobdariakhat, the Hatigoriakhat and the Saringkhat for the Ao Nagas. Dobdariakhat which is located at the Amguri Tea Estate was a very famous trading centre for the Ao villages (Chubala Sanglir, PhD Thesis: 120). With its occupation, the English not only facilitated border between the Hills and the Plain people but also introduced money coin as a medium of exchange which facilitated business. For the first time, the coin money was a useless thing for the hill people but after sometime, the British Indian currency was accepted as the

³⁴ markets

medium of exchange. Prior to the formation of Samaguting into a civil station, the Nagas were entirely ignorant of the value of money. Accordingly, all trade was conducted by barter...For the Nagas, transactions in coins begun with the arrival of the British at Samaguting (W.W.Hunter in Dr.Piketo Achume, 2012:128-29). With the introduction of money economy transaction became easy. However, it was very difficult to earn money. However, they were compelled to earn money. No matter how odd or difficult the job might be, the Nagas did not mind if only they were paid money. However, the people from far flung areas from Assam plains were ignorant of the value and usage of money coin so they preferred in kind than the coin for the service they rendered as the carrier (coolie)³⁵ for the government officials. To quote J.H.Hutton,"there we let the Hakchang and Maksha carriers go after paying them in red wool-rupees do not run here".(J.H.Hutton:1923:53). Barter and the local medium of exchange dominated the business transactions in the eastern Naga Hills for quite some time even during colonial period. The eastern Naga Hills was not directly brought under British rule. However, the British government tried its best to control and stop headhunting and did philanthropic works.

The impact of British rule in North-east India is immense. The impact of the west on the Nagas is so immense and fast that the sons and daughters of the person who narrated the traditional and cultural practices of the Nagas to the Whiteman, which was properly recorded, had forgotten their own traditional and cultural practices which were very enthusiastically practised by their fathers. Among the North-eastern tribes, Nagas are one of the fastest races who imbibed western/modern civilizations. For the last few decades, the more the Nagas imbibed western culture, the more the distance created from their own culture. J.H.Hutton says,"It is barely forty years since Captain Butler wrote, but many customs of the Angamis at war which he records are almost or entirely forgotten by the sons of those from whom he learnt them. With the Aos and the Lothas

³⁵ porter who carried goods during the official movements.

matters have gone even further. Old beliefs and customs are dying, the old traditions are being forgotten, the number of Christian or quasi-Christian, is steadily increasing, and the spirit of change is invading and pervading every aspect of village life.”(W.C.Smith:2002:179). It was not only the Nagas but the whole North-eastern people were affected by the new civilization. The western impact can be seen in every field. Impact on the Political, economic and religious life of the people of this region, especially the hill people, is immense. The credit for humanising and shifting from semi-savage to modern life of the hill tribes of North-east India should go to the tireless work of the Christian missionaries and the British Indian government, without which, the condition of the people would have been different. The task of bringing all the primitive and independent Naga villages into a civilized and modern governance system, where the rule of law is supreme, was a challenging task for the English. The cost of administration was much higher than the returns from the Naga Hills. Working into the resources of the Naga Hills, one feels convinced that the subjugation of Naga Hill was more important to the British from the strategic point of view than the dominant interest in British colonization of extracting revenue, draining away the raw materials and marketing the goods, although it is true that a number of tea gardens were transferred from Naga Hill to Assam (Visier Sanyu, 2003:110).The changing of age-old practices of the Nagas was not an easy task. Sometimes, government used force in civilizing the hill tribe.

Trade and commerce was enhanced by the English after its occupation of North-east India. Border weekly markets were opened in the plains bordering hills. Those markets were provided security guards by the government and the hill men were prohibited from bringing their weapons like spear, dao, etc. into the market area on security reasons. The establishment of weekly markets at the foot of the hills, opening of accessible roads to connect the hills with the plains, the postings of police guards near the markets and the abolition of all vexatious duties imposed by the Ahom government were some of the important steps

taken by the government to facilitate Naga trade with the inhabitants of the British of Assam (G.M Godden, 1989:p-72). The holding of border markets had a number of advantages. It served as a place for socialization of different people and communities. The fairs would also promote close contact among the people in the hills and the plains and ultimately result in infusing civilising influence over the tribes (Sudatta Sikdar, 1980:159). The traders learnt new ideas and experienced new things. Transmission of some technological skills took place as trade relations developed amongst the different tribal communities themselves and also amongst the tribal and non-tribal trading partners (Jalad Baran Ganguly, 2006:91). There was no particular language which could be understood and spoken by the traders who assembled in the markets of Assam. However, Assamese became the common language of the traders from different parts of North-East India who met in Assam valley, and in due course of time, Assamese became the lingua franca between the hill people and the Assamese and also between the hill people. Assamese became the Lingua Franca for a number of communities in North-east India. Assamese has been useful to the Nagas for the purpose of trade and to promote unity between the different tribes (Verrier Elwin, 1997:13). By encouraging trade and the holding of weekly markets, it opened up the outlook and changed the mindset of the people of this region. The people now found the opportunity to roam and mingle freely. The market place remains an arena of free inter- mixing of people of different ethnic groups; economic compulsion of buying and selling necessitates the inter-mixing. This leads to assimilation of language and ethnic identities.(G.R.Biswas in J.B.Ganguly,1984:205).

Samaguting was made the first headquarter of Naga Hills in 1866. However, government decided to abandon Samaguting as it was a low and unhealthy site and also located on the extreme edge of the Angami country. Headquarters of the Naga Hills was shifted to Kohima from Samaguting in 1879 to be in the midst of a group of powerful villages which was necessary to control (Dr.Piketo Achumi,

2012:18). After settling down, the English encouraged Nagas to trade with the neighbouring Assamese or among themselves. They opened vehicle and cart roads and bridle paths both for administrative and trade and communication purposes. In 1903-04, 73 miles cart roads and 470 miles of bridle paths were maintained in the district (B.C. Allen et al. 1993:478). The British India government and the Christian missionaries were the harbinger of modern civilization in Naga Hills. In the year following the incorporation of Naga Hills within the British system of administration and the establishment of peace and order in the district, the Nagas significantly enjoyed relative freedom from fear of losing their lives (Dr.Piketo Achumi, 2012:126). With the introduction of the British administration, the law and order situation was improved to a great extent which further regulated easy movement of the people from one place to another. The colonial rule saw the construction of link roads which facilitated easier and faster communication. Also the introduction of money economy through various developmental activities made way the transactions in cash and further gave impetus to rudimentary trade (Chubala Sanglir: 13). With the dawn of the colonial period, the self-sufficient Naga villages became more and more dependent on other's produce.

Comparatively, Nagas' trade with the Assamese during the colonial period was higher than the pre-colonial period. The development of the district headquarters opened opportunity for the Nagas to further get involved in cash economy through their earnings as labourers. Further, trading activities were facilitated by the improvement of law and order situation. This was testified by the increased volume of imports in 1881-82 at Rs.32,000 and at Rs.35,612 in 1882-83 (Dr.Piketo Achumi,2012:129). When the Nagas were brought under the British control, they were liberated from many traditional evil practices and set free to roam anywhere they like. Consequently, border trade with the Assamese and the Burmese increased. British rule transformed the Naga head hunters to active traders using a currency as a medium of exchange. It was not an easy task

to stop the practice of head hunting of the Nagas which brought immense glory, prestige, social status, gallantry decorations, etc. to the warrior who brought enemy's head from the war. The finest cloth could be worn only by the head-hunter or the donor of Feast of Merit (Verrier Elwin, 1997:8). Cessation of headhunting by the colonial ruler enabled the Nagas to shed the old primitive skin which wrapped the Nagas for so long. With the dawn of the colonial period in North-east India, the Nagas began to taste the western civilization and emerged from the age old traditional cocoon. Colonial rule ushered in a new chapter in Naga history.

The Naga-Burmese trade during the colonial period was more active and extensive compared to pre-colonial period. There were number of factors that facilitated wider Naga-Burmese trade during the colonial period. The contribution of the British India government and the Christian missionaries to the Naga-Burmese trade cannot be ignored. The use of force by the government that stopped the headhunting and slave trade, the introduction of western education and preaching of Christianity- a religion of love, by the Christian missionaries infused a new understanding and mind set into the primitive minds of the Nagas and the Burmese alike. The control and cessation of headhunting in the Naga Hills was one of the factors for wider trade. During colonial period, as there was no more headhunting, the Naga traders roamed up to Khamti town in Burma for trade. It took three days to reach Khamti town in Burma on foot. The Burmese traders also reached up to present day Noklak area villages (Thangoi)³⁶. Both India and Burma were under the colonial rule of the British; there were no restriction of human movement. The trader visited different villages both on the Naga Hills and inside Burma without any fear. Headhunting was the most feared and the stumbling-block for development. It restricted the human contact which was the worst enemy of advancement of any society. The bordering Nagas and the Burmese were confined to their respective villages during pre-colonial period.

³⁶ Thangoi, old Pangsha village interviewed on 10th.Oct.2012.

Even going to the field to work, people moved in group led and guided by the warrior equipped with weapons. During pre-colonial period, to do cultivation, the primary occupation of the hill people, was not free due to the prevalence of headhunting. To quote W.C.Smith, "Under British control headhunting has been stopped. This has made it possible for them to grow crops in safety and to cultivate lands farther from their villages" (W.C.Smith, 2002:182). It was very difficult to enter into other's village, as the village was heavily fenced and its gate was always closed and guarded by the village watchmen. Entering into an unknown village during pre-colonial period was a question of life and death (Yawang, Longwa village)³⁷. All those fears, restrictions, obstacles, etc. of the Nagas during pre-colonial period were dashed to the ground by the British government; they even used force whenever necessary. For instance, Pangsha, the most fearsome village in its area, under Tuensang district, was punished in 1937 by capturing and burning down the village, for not complying with the government order not to practice headhunting and raid other village (Chea)³⁸. British India government did its best to stop headhunting both under administered and unadministered areas. Cessation of headhunting not only enhanced trade but also liberated from bondage and also opened up new avenues for advancement. With the establishment of British rule in the Naga Hills, the improvement of law and order between the villages and especially the ban on headhunting had a direct bearing on agriculture. Earlier it was the custom that able bodied men guarded the village but as headhunting was stopped and there was peace, they could now concentrate on agricultural production and they go farther afield to cultivate rice (Jongmayangla Longkumer, 2009:214).

Introduction of coin money, as a medium of exchange in North-east India, was one of the most important contributions of the English to the people of this region. Introduction of money was another factor which contributed to wider Naga-Burmese trade. People faced difficulties in the barter system, which

³⁷ Yawang, Longwa village. Interviewed on 4th.Dec.2012.

³⁸ Chea, D.B, Dan International Trade Centre. Interviewed on 10th.oct.2012.

was the only option for transaction among the people up to the pre-colonial period. However, with the introduction of money, as the medium of exchange, the North-east India began to taste the fruit of modern age. Earning money was difficult for the people as one had to work for sixteen days for one Rupee. Rupee had a very high purchasing power during the colonial period. Sixteen kilograms of salt, the most important trade item, could be obtained for one Rupee. (Temjankaba)³⁹. Through money, transaction became very easy and money became more and more important. With money, any material could be bought. People began to feel the value of money and they became more and more used to, to the usage of money. With the introduction of money, people could go to the market without carrying heavy load but money. Ushering in of money economy in North-east India, the hill people became more involved in trade and more people became middlemen through which they got profit. Much of the salt so obtained is sold to Phoms and Changs across the Dikhu for pigs, fowls, etc. An Ao selling to trans-frontier tribes in this way expects to make about 300 % (J.P.Mills, 2003:103).

With the introduction of money during the colonial period, the Naga-Burmese trade became easier and wider. Transaction became easier and the value of the commodity was measured in terms of money. The trader chose the goods of their likings and paid in cash. The price system about the adjustment between wants and resources having alternative uses (Jalad Baran Ganguly Ed, 2006:9). The Naga traders carried money and went up to Burmese towns near Naga Hills, like Khamti, Leshi, Lahi, etc. to buy goods and livestock. Livestock like Mithun (*bos frontalis*), Buffalo, Pig, fowl, etc. were bought from Burma. The price of the Mithun depended on the length of its horn. If the horn was long, the price was higher and vice-versa. Rupees 300 for a Mithun and Rupees 20 for a Buffalo was usually the price of the matured ones of those animals. It took six to seven days to reach Mimi from Khamti town in bringing those animals (Alimong, Mimi

39 Temjenkaba 83 years. Served as a soldier under government of India during Second world war.

village)⁴⁰. In some cases, barter was also prevalent alongside with money during colonial period. Three bushels full of bee wax, i.e. about 80 kilograms, was exchanged for one Burmese Mithun (Yalethang, Mimi village)⁴¹. Pig was exchanged for dao, raw iron, and also bought by Rupee one in Burma. Supply of iron from Burma became more after the Second World War when the Japanese Camps were abandoned. Brass Gong, mixture of Copper and tin was made in Mangyuo village in Burma. The price of the gong depended on its size; the bigger the size, the higher the price and vice-versa. The size was measured by finger span. The small gong could be bought by rupees five. The big gong was worth one Mithun (Lampa, Angphang village)⁴². In the record of Adi (Arunachal) trade and barter, one Mithun was equivalent to one danki⁴³ (S.H.M.Rizvi and Shibani Roy, 2006:9). Possession of gong was a sign of richness and prestige. Gong was struck on the death of a family member, on festivals or on any emergency, like fire. It served as a medium of exchange mostly during pre-colonial period. Gong was an important article for the Konyak Nagas (Yawang, Longwa village).

There was slave trade among the Nagas and the Burmese. It was prevalent till colonial period and it was stopped by the English. Of the three Pesu slaves, the baby captured on the 2nd November 1937 from Waphorr was made over to father at Sanglao almost as soon as she was handed over to us. One 9 year girl was given to her father, another girl to her parents (C.R.Pawsey, 1937:494). The slaves were mostly the captured young ones from the raids. The slaves were usually kept by the warrior and the rich men in the village. Slaves were usually prisoner of war, who might be sold or presented by their captors to other villages or be retained as servants (J.H.Hutton,1916:323) The slave was kept as a domestic servant. The treatment was not harsh. The so called slave in the unadministered areas usually lived in the house of the family for which they work, though occasionally they have separate houses of their own. Their clothing,

40 Alimong, ex Gaon Bora interviewed on 23rd March 2012.

41 Yalethang Dobashi, Pungro, interviewed on 22nd March 2012.

42 Lampa interviewed on 7th Dec. 2012.

43 Danki a bell-metal cauldron used as currency.

Food, house accommodation and general domestic equipment do not differ in any way from that of the ordinary Hillman (B.C.Allen, 1916:126 pol.). The slave was considered as a property of the owner and it could be sold or bought. The price of the slave was not equal. The price of the boy slave was higher than the girl slave. The price also depended on the capability to work and the maturity of the slave. If the slave was a girl and could able to carry one bamboo cistern, the price was one Buffalo and if the slave was a boy, the price was two Buffaloes. The slave could also be exchanged with one necklace and one pair of brass spike bangle. Money also could buy the slave. The slave was traded both by the Nagas and the Burmese (Thanghoi, old Pangsha village). Slave was traded and if it was a minor it was worth one Mithun and if it was a grown up and matured, it was worth two Mithuns (Khomoh Head D.B.Noklak)⁴⁴. The captured enemies served as domestic servants and could be released only on the payment of dao, salt or any other valuable things by the relatives of the slave (Rupongtsu)⁴⁵. Reporting on the release of a slave who was captured by Bume, a khamniungan village near Noklak, after paying ransom, C.R.Pawsey wrote, "the slave was redeemed this year(1937) for one cow, one pair of ivory armlets, one pair of woman's bracelets, one pair of tiger's teeth and seven clothes decorated with cowries- a very heavy ransom". The British stopped the slave trade among the Nagas and Burmese. The possession of slave was, not only useful in agricultural as well as domestic works but also considered as a prestige in the society.

The Naga-Burmese trade during colonial period also saw the entry of machine made goods especially cloths. After the discovery of tea in Assam by Robert Bruce in 1823, its plantation and production began in large scale. The credit for the first knowledge of the existence of tea plants in Assam should go to Robert Bruce, who was there in 1823 (R.C.Majumdar Gen.Ed., 1963:1099). In 1837, Mr. Bruce packed forty-six boxes of tea, but owing to defective packing, much of it had been damaged by damp before it reached Calcutta and only a

⁴⁴ Khomoh Head Dobashi(interpreter) Noklak sub-division, Tuensang interviewed on 11th.Oct.2012.

⁴⁵ Rupongtsu Head Gaon Bora interviewed on 18th.March 2012.

small portion was sent to England (Sir Edward Gait, 2004:407). The Nagas too became habituated of drinking tea and it became a household drinks. The Nagas who were living in close proximity with Assamese earlier became addicted to tea than the interior villages or tribes. They usually exchanged tea with agricultural products like ginger, chilly, rice, etc. Tea got from Assam was further shipped to the Burmese especially by the Konyaks. It became a new item of trade between the Nagas and the Burmese from the colonial period. Introduction of tea in the North-east India was a new development under colonial period. Once begun production, tea industry became a major profit generating industry to the government as well as to the propagators. The impact of the introduction of tea in Assam by the British during the colonial period was so immense that it became the household drinks and can be testified by almost every household in North-east India till date.

With the establishment of the border markets between the plains and the hills during the colonial period, most of the iron tools and implements were brought from Assam. And in due course of time, iron products became available and the Nagas and other hill people became more and more dependent on the supply from the plains. The cookery utensils of aluminium and brass were also started available from the colonial period. The earthen pots were slowly and gradually replaced by aluminium and brass utensils among the Nagas from the colonial period. The demand for earthen pottery became subsided. The Nagas bordering Assam were the first to supply the goods from the plain to the interior villages or tribes. During the colonial period, business transactions were carried out both through barter and money. Introduction of money as the medium of exchange during the colonial period, made the transaction much easier and convenient. The entry of machine made goods into the North-east India from the colonial period led to the decline in the demand for locally produced goods gradually. Entering of machine made cloths was a new development that brought tremendous changes to the life of the hill people of North-east India. The semi

clad hill people were clothed with the machine made finished cloths. With the clothing of their body, their way of life also began to change. The red wool cloth was introduced by the English by giving to the Gaon Bora⁴⁶ for the service they rendered as an agent to the British India government under the administered areas. They were entrusted the responsibility of administration and to collect annual house tax. The chiefs received red blankets once in three years and that too at the time of the submission of annual house tax. In 1891 alone, the government bought 600 yards of red broad cloth for presentation to the Naga Hill Tribes (Deptt.Extl-B, June1891, nos.62-68). The Nagas considered the wearing of red wool shawl as a sign of higher status and power in the village. The people under unadministered areas were also after the red wool cloth than the money in return for the service they rendered as carrier during expedition and survey (Chea). Gaon Boraship is a creation of the British India government during colonial period to act as an agent between the government and the village which is still widely accepted practice among Naga tribes. As the British India government did not want to interfere in the village administration or did not like to shoulder the village administration directly, they appointed Gaon Bora as their agent and link between the district and village administration. The government orders and directives were conveyed to the village through the Gaon Bora (s). At present, in some cases, Gaon Boras are the sole administrator of the village, who are elders chosen by the people from different Khel/Morung/Clan, etc. and become the member of the village council. However, in some cases, one Gaon Boras is chosen from each Morung/Khel/clan as a government representative in the village council. Their main duty is to collect yearly house tax and submit to the government. The other members of the village council are chosen/nominated through traditional norms which mostly involved modern day democratic practices, from different Khel/Murong/clan, etc. of the village. Village council is vested with all the three powers- Legislation, Judiciary and the Executive to

⁴⁶ village elder

govern the village. It is the most powerful and the final authority of any Naga village.

Machine made cloths like pantaloons, vest (baniyan), blanket, etc. were the first and the widely used machine made cloths. The Naga traders took those machine made cloths to the interior villages and tribes. For instance, the Konyak Naga traders brought those goods from Assam and exchanged with the Burmese. Man's apron and cloth made from the bark of the nettle plant were exchanged with the Burmese before the machine made cloths became available. All the Nagas made cloths from cotton. However, the Khiamniungan Nagas were very expert in making cloth from the bark of the nettle plant along with the cotton. Naga cloth was in great demand from the Burmese side (Chea). Tea was another important item that became popular from the colonial period (Khamo). Tea was not known to the Nagas or the Burmese. The drinking of tea became popular after its production in Assam by the English. Tea became an important household item among the Nagas especially, among the Konyak Nagas. The workers in tea factory exchanged tea with ginger, chilli and other agricultural products of the Nagas even after the introduction of money during the colonial period (Chapha). The readymade dao also became available from Assam from the colonial period. Agricultural products like chilly, soya bean, millet, etc. coloured goat's hair, gong, dao, spear heads, bangle, etc. are brought from Burma. Dao and spear heads were made in Lao and Menjung villages in Burma. Those products were exchanged with bee wax, corn sheath, cane carrying basket and sometimes bought by money (Chea).

Comparatively, the Naga-Burmese trade during the colonial period was more extensive, easier and free than the pre-colonial period. Cessation of headhunting made the traders to roam freely and enter into any village for exchanging goods. The traders visited not only the friendly and neighbouring villages but even went to the interior and far flung villages. The fear of losing head was gradually subsided from the colonial period which contributed immensely to the free

contact of the people belonging to different villages on both sides. The introduction of money by the colonial government contributed to the easier business transaction. The demerits of the barter system became a thing of the past. Though, both barter system and money continue to operate the business transaction, money had upper hand and most of the big transactions were done through money. The entering of machine made finished goods and the opening of border market between the plains and the hills during the colonial period increased the item of Naga-Burmese trade. Salt, which was the most sought after item, became easily available from the colonial period. The connection of administrative headquarters and other important places by cart road and bridle paths during the colonial period made the traders easy accessible to different places. The government officials toured and surveyed both the direct controlled and excluded areas. The Nagas and the Burmese were opened up to the outside world with the coming of the English. Gradually, they emerged from the traditional cocoon that wrapped them for centuries. They stepped out from their village and began to see the outside world which consequently, changed their outlook and mindset from the colonial period. True to their objective of colonization, the colonial ruler encouraged trade wherever they went. They not only encouraged the trade between the plains and the hills but also facilitated their smooth trading. Consequently, the machine made goods could reach the Burmese through the Naga-Burmese traders and the Burmese goods like raw cotton, teak wood, rice, etc. became important trade items of the English.

The mainly traded items between the Nagas and the Burmese during the colonial period were:-

From Burma to Nagas

1. Raw cotton.
2. Cowrie.
3. Conch shell.
4. Hornbill feather.

From Nagas to Burma

1. Machine made cloths.
2. Aluminium utensils.
3. Tea.
4. Agricultural goods.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 5. Bangle. | 5. Kerosine. |
| 6. Necklace. | 6. Safety matches. |
| 7. Dyed goat's fur | 7. Salt. |
| 8. Domesticated animals. | 8. Beeswax. |
| 9. Gong. | 9. Honey. |
| 10. Armlets. | 10. Maize sheath. |
| 11. Raw iron. | 11. Cane baskets. |
| 12. Agricultural goods. | 12. Dried fish. |

The problem of the rate of exchange of the commodities was greatly relieved with the introduction of coin money. Coin money was introduced by the British India government as the medium of exchange under their administrative areas from the colonial period onwards and that money was also accepted as the medium of exchange in all the excluded and unadministrative areas as well. The introduction of coin money as the medium of exchange also effected the Naga-Burmese trade from the colonial period. Though, money was used, barter was continued to involve in the Naga-Burmese trade. Three bushellful of beeswax, about eighty kilograms, was exchanged for one matured buffalo during the pre-colonial period. One matured buffalo and mithun were bought for rupees twenty and three hundred respectively in Leshi town of Burma during the colonial period. Money was mostly used for big transactions and in the far flung areas- to avoid atleast one way headload. The smaller transactions were mostly done in barter. The problem of transaction was greatly solved with the introduction of money in the Naga-Burmese trade from the colonial period.

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Interview:-

1. Alimong ex.Gaon Bora, Mimi village.
2. Chea Dobashi, Dan.
3. Chapha Village Council Member, Longwa Village (Burma Side).
4. Khamo Deputy Angh, Longwa Village.
5. Khomo Head Dobashi, Noklak Sub-Division.
6. Lampha, Angphang Village, Mon.
7. Rupongtsu Head Gaon Bora, Mimi Village.
8. Thanghoi Gaon Bora, Meya Khel, Old Pangsha Village.
9. Yalethang Dobashi, Pungro Sub-Division.
10. Yawang, Longwa Village.

CHAPTER IV

TRADE ITEMS AND MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE

Trade takes place out of necessity or wants among the people. It is one of the oldest practices in human society. When one cannot produce enough to his needs, he seeks to satisfy his wants/needs through other means. The more the one is advance in the way of life, his needs become more. No country is self-sufficient and has to depend on other countries for the import and export of raw materials and other essential goods for the proper development of its country (Prem Arora: 295). Trade is a channel through which different people and countries can be related. Almost all the countries of the present day's world are related through trade, as one cannot produce everything one needs; one is compelled to depend on other's produce or service to fulfil all one's needs. Present world is greatly controlled by trade. Every country wants to be economically strong and developed and that can be achieved largely through trade. Unless there is peace, congenial atmosphere and mutual understanding between the communities or countries, trade cannot be carried out. Trade cannot take place between the warring communities or countries as there would be no security to life and property. To maintain good trading relation, every country tries to be peaceful with all the countries. Consequently, present world is comparately peaceful, the credit for which largely goes to the trading interests of different countries. However, if there is conflict of trading interests, war is imminent. History has evidence to show that the war broke out between countries on trading interests. For instance, the Anglo-French war in India was a conflict of trading interests of England and France to control Indian trade with Europe. After the formation of United Nations Organization following the Second World War, it adopted a resolution to set up a world body to facilitate trade easier among the member states. That resolution was known as General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). Now GATT is changed into a new

nomenclature called' World Trade Organization (WTO). The aim of WTO is to make trade easier by ensuring protection the interests of its members. Throughout modern history, countries have secured and strengthened their trade relations through various agreements. For instance, trade agreements like Most Favoured Nation, Preferential Trade Agreements, etc. were concluded for trading purposes between nations.

Trade items, capital and the services play the most important part in trade relation between communities or nations. Trade cannot take place between two parties if there is/are no item(s) wanted by the buyer. At the same time, the seller should possess the item (goods) to be sold and the services ready to be lent. Human wants have increased tremendously with the advancement in science and technology. The more the world advanced in technology, the wants and needs multiplied. During the ancient times wants were limited so the demand for items was limited too. History shows that trade was limited to few items like silk, precious metals and stones, cotton, scented oils, perfumes, etc. However, in the present day international market, numerous items are available for trade. All the countries want to become economically strong in which trade plays a vital role and as such, every country tries to sell her goods and services in the international market and maintain a balance of trade.

The trading items of Naga-Burmese trade were very limited. Their products were mostly limited to their daily needs. The items in the Naga-Burmese trade were mostly comprised up of agricultural products. They had not much idea of surplus production for trade. Moreover, as the cultivation was usually labour intensive and low harvest in the hilly areas, their agricultural products were limited. Absence of the medium of exchange and the lack of means of conveyance and good trade road were major factors that prompted limited demand and supply of items of trade in the Naga-Burmese trade. There was trade in non-agricultural items but its items were far lesser than the

agricultural items. The non-agricultural items like iron and its implements, cultural items, salt, cane basket, etc. were traded though, it was less frequent than the agricultural items

The medium of exchange plays a major role in trade. It measures the value of the commodity. It makes the transaction easy between the parties involved in trade. Medium of exchange also makes the trade convenient. Different things were used as the medium of exchange by different communities/countries at different times before money was invented. Precious and semi precious metals were usually used as the medium of exchange by most of the states before money was put into regular circulation as the medium of exchange. Where there was no currency as medium of exchange, trade was compelled to be carried out through barter system. Trade through barter system had a number of constraints for fair, free and easy transaction. Barter was the first and the only means through which trade was carried out between different communities in the beginning of trade in human society. Today's business transactions and trade through money as medium of exchange has its roots in barter system.

The Naga-Burmese trade during pre-colonial period was entirely done through barter. The trader used to exchange their goods for goods. The trader went to their friendly village and visited different houses exchanging their goods for the goods they needed. It was common to both the Nagas and the Burmese. The trader sometimes walked long distances carrying the goods to be exchanged. The load of the return journey was no lighter than the one he carried from his village for bartering. The Naga-Burmese trader had tedious journey to exchange their goods and to obtain their desired goods from their counterpart. The trader sometimes had to spend the night on the way or at other times in their friend's or relative's house of the visited village (Khamo, Longwa). Trading was a job meant for energetic man and woman. During the pre-colonial period, the Naga-Burmese trader solely depended on

barter and it was the generally accepted trading system prevalent at that period of time. Some Naga tribes had their medium of exchange which was circulated among themselves. Jabilee⁴⁷, Brass Gong, worn out Dao and Axe, Conch shell, Cowrie shell, etc were used by the Nagas as the medium of exchange. Rice and salt were also used as mediums of exchange by most of the Naga tribes. Sometimes any scarce commodity was used as a medium for exchanging other commodity. However, those mediums of exchange did not cross the border. All the border trades of the Nagas with Assamese, Burmese, Manipuri, etc were done by barter. While the border trade was mostly carried by barter, the Nagas had their own currency in circulation among themselves (Chubala Sanglir: 123). Those Naga mediums of exchange were not recognised by her neighbours and therefore the exchange of goods for goods was the only possible way, if Nagas and the Burmese wanted to carry out trade. Barter had dominated the Naga-Burmese trade for a long period of time and it even made its practice felt even after the colonial authority introduced money economy.

Coin money, as the medium of exchange, was first introduced by the British during the colonial period. As both India and Burma were British colonies, the British controlled both the economies. As money economy was new to the people, initially, they were reluctant to accept the coin as the medium of exchange. Rather, they preferred goods than money. Introduction of money economy during the colonial period was the beginning of a new era both for the Nagas and the Burmese alike. In course of time, money economy was spread into the remotest corner of the British colony. However, for smaller transactions between the Nagas and the Burmese were carried out through barter; though, bigger transactions were always done through money. During the colonial period, headhunting was stopped and congenial atmosphere was created for trade. Free human contact was made possible and the trader could go into the interior villages of either side. The traders carried money and did

⁴⁷ Iron made arrow shaped medium of exchange used by the Ao Nagas

transactions from the colonial period. Transaction became much easier and convenient after the money was introduced. Apart from other goods, cattle such as cow, Mithun and Buffalo were bought from Burma. Big and matured Buffalo and Mithun were bought at the rate of Rupees twenty and three hundred respectively. Those animals were sold to Pungro area under present Kiphire district, Nagaland. Even after the introduction of money, bartering of goods was still prevalent, as it was very difficult to get money. Cane baskets of different types and sizes of the Nagas were exchanged for Burmese dog, piglet, Chicken, etc. Three bushel full of beeswax, about eighty kilograms, were exchanged for one Mithun before the Whiteman came to our land.(Alemong).

Medium of exchange in the Naga-Burmese trade have been playing major role, though it was introduced very late compared to the long span of trade relation between the two. The two immediate neighbours were less bothered about the medium of exchange, though money, as the medium of exchange, became more and more popular and important among the people, from the colonial period. Up to pre-colonial period, Naga-Burmese traders had hardly any idea or knowledge about money or any other medium of exchange but concerned more to satisfy their needs. The Nagas and the Burmese had been exchanging goods for goods since long time. Their trade was not extensive and mostly confined to border villages inspite of long period of trade before colonial occupation of India and Burma. However, with the establishment of colonial rule and the usher in of the money economy, the Naga-Burmese trade was enhanced to wider area and it was no more confined to neighbouring villages alone. Money, as the medium of exchange, not only made the trade easy and convenient but also gave the Naga-Burmese trader wider scope for expansion of trade and the circulation of the same money instilled a feeling of oneness and fraternity among the Nagas and the Burmese.

Usually, trade centre takes place in any border trade. A particular place, village, township, etc. became a trade centre due to its naturally convenient

geographical location. Trade centre is usually a place of easy accessibility from both sides. Trade centre may or may not be an officially chosen one. Its geographical location and the people are the most important determinants to be a trade centre. History has testified that the trade centres had developed rapidly and became big cities and towns. Those centres were not only economically developed but also became learning centres. Industries were set up in those trading centres as the cost of transportation was cheaper and easy accessibility to raw material. Dacca, Quilon, Calicut, Cochin, Vijaynagar, etc. became rich and important port cities in India. Both Ahom and British governments opened trade centres for Naga-Ahom border trade. Those trading centres provided immense service to the traders. However, whenever the Naga trader could not exchange their goods, they visited different houses so as to exchange and get their desired goods (Pangitsula). Sometimes, some bordering and prominent Naga villages like Longwa, Mimi, Pangsha, Pokhongre, Avakhong, etc. served as trade centres in the Naga-Burmese trade. The people of those villages often acted as middlemen in the Naga-Burmese trade. Those centres were not opened under the initiative of the village administration or any other body but just took place naturally as those villages were located in such a convenient position for a meeting place for the two neighbours (Khamo). The Naga-Burmese traders had the liberty whether to go to the trade centre or to visit houses exchanging their goods. The traders mostly visited different houses especially, during pre-colonial period. From colonial period, the trader carried money and visited different localities and markets both under Burma and India searching for desired goods. Many Naga traders went even up to the west bank of Chindwin River in search of goods which took six/seven days to reach there and it was possible due to the cessation of headhunting and the introduction of money during the colonial rule (Alemong).

TRADE ITEMS DURING PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD:

Up to pre-colonial period, the direct contact between the Naga-Burmese traders was mostly confined to neighbouring border villages. The goods to and from interior villages were passed through those bordering villages and as such those bordering villages sometimes served as intermediary in Naga-Burmese trade. Pre-colonial Naga-Burmese trade was intensive and mostly agricultural and daily needs items were exchanged. Based on the availability and the taste of the people, the trade items were slightly varied from place to place. During the pre-colonial period, apart from other factors, perpetual fear of head-hunters and the absence of the medium of exchange, made the trade very limited. Traders did not go to a village unless it was a friendly and properly known village. The taste and likings of the konyaks, who had been doing brisk trade with their distant brothers in North-West Burma, were little bit different from the rest of the Nagas bordering Burma. Longwa, Chen, Wangti, Maknyakshu, Phesao, Yangkao and Shingyu are the immediate Konyak border villages with the Burmese. Their food habit, cultural items, costumes, etc. are not exactly the same to that of the other Eastern Naga tribes and as such, their trade items differ little bit from other Nagas. The Konyak Nagas exchanged their agricultural products with rice from Burma. Besides rice, one of the main foods of the Konyaks is taro, which is widely cultivated. It was one of the agricultural items for trade. The agricultural items that were mainly cultivated and exchanged for Burmese goods were rice, chilli, ginger, taro, millet, yam, jobs tear, pepper, soyabean, lentils, etc. Though, they cultivated almost all the food plants they require, whenever the yields of the harvest of a certain crop fell short of their requirements in order to make good of the shortfall, they exchanged some other items with the Burmese. Same thing happened to their eastern brothers-the north-western Burmese across the border. They exchanged their surplus food items for the one which they could not produce. The agricultural items were a regular feature of Naga-Burmese trade. Like other

Naga tribes, agriculture had been the principal occupation of the Konyak Nagas too. Trading was a part time engagement which was mostly done during agricultural lean season, but it was a necessity without which all their needs and wants could not be met.

Apart from agricultural items, the Konyak Nagas traded a number of other items. Those non-agricultural items were mostly secondary needs. However, those secondary items played important role in the life of the Nagas. Those non-indigenous items were brought from Burma or Assam. Salt was an important non-agricultural trade item. Some of the Wakching area Konyak villages could produce salt from their brine wells. The salt produced by the Konyak villages was sold to the Assamese and to the neighbouring Konyak villages. From the records of 1840 it appears that the Nagas living near Jeypore, the Namsan, Pani Dwar and Bor Dwar Nagas, lived chiefly by manufacturing salt, which they retailed to the people of the plains (A.Makenzie, 1995:92). Sometimes, the Burma bordering Konyak Nagas exchanged Burmese salt (Yawang). Salt was equally important to everyone and as such, some tribes used it as a medium of exchange locally. The salt from Tukimi area (Sema area) was used in small flat cakes, to serve the purpose of currency to some extent (Chubala Sanglir: 124). Packed salt was used in buying land and in giving tribute among the Ao Nagas (Tatongchaba)⁴⁸.

Iron was a rare and very important commodity among the Nagas especially up to pre-colonial period. All the Naga weapons, agricultural implements, and tools were made from iron. The importance of iron to the Nagas is evident in the use of iron as the medium of exchange in the form of Jabilee, worn-out daos, axes, etc. The tribes who lived in Tuensang district also used iron pieces such as worn out daos as their currency (Chubala Sanglir:124). Iron was not available among most of the Nagas and had to procure from outside without those tools and implements Nagas could have faced lot of

⁴⁸ Retired head Dobashi, Mokochung. Interviewed on 16th.Jan.2011.

problems for cultivation. The Assam bordering Konyak Nagas obtained iron from the trading with the Assamese where Konyak village Wakching played a key role. Wakching was involved in a number of trading activities. It was the local centre for iron tools, producing daos and chisels for at least twelve villages without their own smiths (Jacob 1990:39-40, cited in Chubala Sanglir: 122). The other Konyak Nagas bordering Burma obtained raw iron from the Burmese though, it was expensive. It was difficult to get iron and thus regarded as high value by the Nagas. A small piece of raw iron was worth a matured pig (Yawang). Conch and Cowrie Shells were another important trade items between the Nagas and the Burmese. Conch and Cowrie shells have been playing an important part in the traditional attire of the Nagas. The shells reached Konyak villages through middlemen. Angfang village was noted for its trade in cowrie shells. The untreated cowries were obtained from Burma and they were rubbed down to a rectangular shape so as to lie flat on the cloth (Rev. Y.Chingang Konyak). Naga traditional costume is not complete without those shells which can be obtained only from the sea. It is generally believed that Nagas brought their traditional practices and usages while migrating to their present site. Conch and Cowrie shells are not available in the Naga area and as such, had to procure from outside. Those shells were rare for the Nagas and considered as valuable and some of them used those shells as the local medium of exchange. The medium of exchange among the Chakhesang was a conch-shell equivalent to one cow. They also reckoned value in terms of hoes. They also used spearheads and daos as currency (Venuh 1988:50 cited in Chubala Sanglir: 124). As those shells not locally available, eastern Nagas obtained those shells through trade with the Burmese. Those items were considered highly important in the Naga-Burmese trade.

Bronze gong, made up of tin and copper, was an important article for the people of Tuensang and Mon in general and Konyaks in particular. Gong has different sizes. The bigger the size, the higher the value and vice versa. The

possession of gong was a preservation of wealth and a sign of richness. The possession of more the number of gongs, the richer one was. Gong was stricken whenever there was a death or during the festivals. People could differentiate death or the festival from the sound of the gong. Gongs were mostly brought from Burma. The big size gong was worth one Mithun (Yawang). Gong was a household article for almost all the Konyak houses and in many houses, more than one gong of different sizes can be found. Gong was used as currency especially for big transactions. The Chang Nagas and some other eastern tribes used gong as the medium of exchange. It is also used as a wealth to repay old debt of like rice borrowed from rich man (Wongto Chang)⁴⁹. Gong was brought from Burma. Mangyuo in Burma was famous for the production of gong (Akkah).

Hornbill feather has been an important ingredient of the Naga traditional headgear. Naga headgear is mostly worn during traditional dance. Hornbill feather is stuck on the headgear not only to beautify and for the grand of the wearer, but also it signifies the achievements of the wearer. It had been the practice of the Ao Nagas that Hornbill feather was stuck only on the headgear of the warrior and the rich man who did Mithun sacrifice and given Mass feast to the villagers. For the warrior, the number of Hornbill feather is stuck as per the number of enemy head(s) taken and for the rich man, the adding of Hornbill feather depended on the number of Mithun sacrifice and the Mass feast he had given to the villagers. If a man did not take any enemy's head or not given any mass feast, he deserved no Hornbill feather on his headgear (Tatongchaba). Among the Nagas the dress and ornaments to a large extent, indicate the wealth and social standing of the wearer (W.C Smith, 2002:25). Hornbill feather was brought from Burma. It was an item of tribute annually given to Longwa village by its subdued and satellite villages both under Burma and Nagaland (Khamo). As Hornbill feather is not indigenously available in the

49 Wongto Chang 86 years retired Head Dobashi, Noksen, Tuensang. Interviewed on 25th.Feb.2010,

Naga areas, they solely depended on the outside supply and the Burmese took the lead in the supply of Hornbill feather to the Nagas. Another important ingredient of Naga traditional headgear is wild boar's tusk. Many Naga tribes stick wild boar's tusk on their headgear and some tribe use it in the traditional male necklace. Wild boar's tusk was brought from Burma. It is found in Naga area also but rare and thus could not meet the demand. Another item brought from Burma was the traditional woman necklace. Beads for making necklace and bangles were mostly brought from Burma. Konyak women were very fond of wearing necklace but they could not able to make or produce beads. To satisfy the desire for owning a necklace, they had to seek Burmese's assistance. Necklaces were popularly worn. Necklace was not only worn during traditional dances or festivals but also a part of normal dress of the Naga woman. Long sword from Burma was one of the traded items. The Nagas bordering Assam mostly used short dao which was produced in Assam. However, the long sword from Burma was different in size, shape and longer than the Assamese one. The people of Mon and Tuensang districts of Nagaland bordering Burma have been using the long sword since long time. Dao was the most important tool and weapon for the Nagas. The Nagas bordering Burma mostly used Burmese dao and axe as tools. The axes are evidently of Burmese manufacture (B.C Allen, 1981:269). Dao was the tool to work for their livelihood and a weapon both for defensive and offensive. It had been the practice that every matured Naga male should possess a dao. Going to the field or to the jungle to work without dao had less meaning. Whether one uses the dao or not one had to carry it and if there is no dao one is not confident enough going to the field or jungle. Spear-head was another item brought from Burma. Spear had been one of the most important weapons of the Nagas. Like dao, every matured Naga male should possess a spear. It was an effective weapon in the war and to kill or to fight against wild animals. Gun (muzzle loader) and gun powder were used by the Konyak Nagas since long time and those were brought and learnt to use and

make from the Burmese. The Konyaks learnt the skill of making muzzle loader (gun) from Myanmar in pre-colonial times (Aditya Arya & Viba Joshi, 2004:101).

Besides agricultural and cultural items, the Konyak Nagas brought livestock, especially mithun, from Burma. Mithun had been an important animal for the Nagas. Some of the Naga tribes have been rearing mithun since long time. Burma neighbouring Nagas exchanged Burmese mithun. The importance of mithun to the Nagas was to sacrifice by the rich men. Mithun sacrifice was a form of sharing one's wealth by giving mass feast to the villagers. By doing so, the host earned eponym and prestige in the society (Tatongchaba). The skull and the horn of the sacrificed mithun were preserved with much value and care and adorned their houses by displaying on the entrance of the house. The other livestock like buffalo, cow, dog, pig etc. were also exchanged for other goods. Like their Burmese neighbours, Nagas also domesticated animals which were not only a source of food but also a source of income and considered as wealth to rely upon in times of difficulties.

Burmese bartered their goods with the Naga agricultural products. The Nagas could not produce or make other item sufficiently. They exchanged their agricultural surplus products for their scarce items. Besides agricultural items, the Burmese exchanged other Naga items too. Naga cloth, made of cotton and nettle fibre, was an important item for the Burmese. Naga cloth was not for stitching pant or shirt but for wearing. Another item the Burmese exchanged from the Konyak Nagas was clay pot. Konyak village Oting has been a noted clay pot making village among the Konyak Nagas. The Oting pottery reached the Burmese through Konyak middlemen (Longkhong). The Burmese bordering the Nagas mostly used the clay pot made by the Nagas.

The Khamniungan Nagas, bordering Burma have been trading with the Burmese since long time. Though, their trade was confined only with the neighbouring villages for a long time, there was brisk trade between the two. The active trade between the Khamniungan Nagas and the Burmese helped

them to fulfil each other's needs, mostly their daily requirements. The Burmese bordering Khamniungan Nagas of Nagaland are belonged to the same Khamniungan tribe though there are some differences in their languages and way of life. There are 44 Khamniungan villages under Nagaland and 167 villages under Burma (P.Longon). Their social, economic, food habit, culture, etc. are similar and those similarities have been a strong binding factor for the development and the continuity of trade relation between the Khamniungan Nagas of Nagaland and Burma. Both the Nagas and the Burmese traders could not go in to the interior villages on both sides up to pre-colonial period though they are belonged to same tribe. Head-hunting was the biggest stumbling block for free trade between the Nagas and the Burmese. The bordering villages on both sides mostly played the role of middleman in the Naga- Burmese trade. The agricultural products from both Naga and Burma sides were a prominent feature in their trade. Crops like rice, ginger, millet, taro, yam, chili, jobs tear, lentils, dwarf lentils, pumpkin, sesamum indicum, perilla ocimoides, etc., etc. were cultivated and traded. Cultivators could not produce all the crops enough for one's family every year, which led to the exchange of different items. Both the Nagas and the Burmese exchanged their surplus items for their scarce ones.

Apart from the trade in agricultural products, the Khamniungan Nagas and the Burmese traded other items. Salt was an important trade item from Burma to Khamniungan Nagas. As the Khamniungan Nagas could not produce salt, the Burmese came for their rescue by supplying salt, as salt is a universal and primary food item. Small cake of salt wrapped by plantain leaves were brought by the Burmese. The water from the spring where the mithun drank was collected and boiled. After evaporating the water, salt remained as residue fit for human consumption (Chea). Another noted item came from Burma was dao. Wie, a Khamniungan village, has been doing blacksmithy since long time. However, its products could not satisfy all the demands. The long dao from Burma was popularly used. Lao and Menjung villages of Burma made dao

(Chilleo)⁵⁰. Spear head, an important weapon of not only for the Khianiungan but also the Nagas as a whole, was also an important trade item brought from Burma. Gun (muzzle loader) and gun powder were brought from Burma. In due course of time, the Khamniungans learned the technique of making gun and gun powder from the Burmese (Thanghoi). Among the Naga tribes, the Konyak and the Khamniungan were one of the first to use gun. By using gun, they had the advantage over their enemies. Possessing a gun by every adult male was a must for the konyaks and the Khamniungans. The Burma bordering Khamniungan Nagas acted as middleman in exchange of Burmese gun to other villages. The Khamniungan were noted among the Nagas as distributors of weapons acquired from their Burmese relatives (Aqlaja Stirn & Peter Von: 29). Another item Khamniungan Nagas exchanged with the Burmese was necklace. Not only the Khamniungans but all the Naga tribes were after the different kinds of traditional necklaces coming from or through Burma. Those necklaces were a part of traditional costume of the Nagas. The woman's bracelets and armlets were other items from Burma. The bordering Khamniungan villages played active role in the distribution of traditional goods to Khamniungan and other Naga areas coming from Burma. There were no professional traders or the middlemen between Naga-Burmese trade. The bordering villages acted as the go between the Naga-Burmese trade. However, trade or business was not their profession but was done as part time job mostly during agricultural lean season. Necklace, cowrie and conch shells, Hornbill feather and bangle were also brought from Burma. Though, those items were secondary needs, Naga traditional costume is incomplete without those items. Those items were not available with the Nagas. Coloured goat's fur was also brought from Burma. It was stuck in dao and spear handle for decoration (Chea). Apart from agricultural and cultural items, there was slave trade between the Nagas and the Burmese. The slaves were mostly war captives. Slaves were usually prisoner of war, who

50 Chilleo 75 years of Nokhu village interviewed on 10th.Nov.2012

may be sold or presented by their captors to other villages or may be retained as servants (J.H.Hutton, Gen.1916, no.323). Slave was exchanged for mithun and sometimes for buffalo. The price of the slave depended on the capability of the slave to work. If the slave could carry one water carrying bamboo cistern, it was exchanged for one mithun. The more matured the slave was, the more the price and vice versa (Chea and Thanghoi). Human sacrifice was not practised by the Nagas. The purpose of keeping slave was to do domestic work as well as to work in the field and the slave was treated well. The treatment of slave among the Nagas was not harsh but mild. After attaining maturity, a slave could marry to his or her choice but always remained recognising his or her master. The so-called slaves in the unadministered areas usually live in the house of the family for which they work, though occasionally they have a separate house of their own. Their clothing, food, house accommodation and general domestic equipment do not differ in any way from that of the ordinary Hillman (B.C.Allen, Pol.1916, no.128). Head hunting and Slave trade were linked and could be stopped only by the strong hand of the British during the colonial period. To prevent head hunting and to stop the practise of slavery, Nokhu, a Khiamniungan village near Noklak, was attacked on 13th.November1937 by the government forces led by C.R. Pawsey, the then Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills. The 11th.November was spent in visiting Noklak, a most friendly and interesting village, and in having a good look at the approaches to Nokhu... the column moved to Nokhu. On the way up to the village four slaves were produced (C.R.Pawsey, Expedition 1937 no.494). The price for the redemption of the captives was very high. The slave was redeemed this year for one cow, one pair of ivory armlets, one pair of woman's bracelets, one pair of tiger's teeth and seven cloths decorated with cowries-a very heavy ransom (C.R.Pawsey, Expedition 1937 no.494).

The items sent from the Khiamniungan Nagas to the Burmese were not many but those items were also equally important to the Burmese as for the

Nagas. The food habits of the Khamniungans under Burma were almost same with the Khamniungans under Nagaland. Almost all the agricultural crops cultivated by the Nagas were also cultivated by the Burmese and they traded all those agricultural items. Besides agricultural items, some important Naga items were exchanged by the Burmese. Beeswax was one of the mostly traded items from the Nagas to the Burmese. Beeswax was needed by both the poor and the rich alike. Beeswax was smeared on the mat to prevent rain from leaking as mat was used for roofing of the Burmese houses (Chea). Bee was available on the cliffs and it was a very good source of income both for the Khamniungan Nagas and the people of Mimi group under Pungru sub-division. Beeswax was in great demand from the Burmese and as such, the Nagas exchanged Burmese goods by Bees wax. Beeswax was equally important to that of the honey for the Nagas as it was one of the chief items to exchange Burmese goods. For the Nagas, it was used as a medium to exchange for the Burmese goods. Apart from smaller transactions, it was used for bigger transactions like the exchange for Burmese cattle like mithun, buffalo, cow, etc. Man's apron was an important Naga item of trade with Burma. The Burmese came for the man's apron especially, on the eve of the festivals. Sometimes, the traders from both the sides assembled at Pangsha village and exchanged their goods (Chea). The Khamnuingan were self-sufficient in cotton and every village produced enough cotton. Thus, readymade clothes could be supplied to the Nagas of the Burmese side, the important items of export being, a male cloth called nechet. In exchange of such items the Khamnuingan procured iron-pieces or Santop and salt (K.S.Singh and others Eds.1994, 101). It was common to both the Nagas and the Burmese. Man's apron was the only man's dressing on the whole body. Though it covered a small part, it defended the whole body from terming 'naked'. It was an indigenous Naga male dress. Maize sheath was another Naga item to Burma. Maize had been a major food item of the eastern Nagas. It was a widely cultivated crop. The Burmese exchanged their items for maize sheath. The inner

maize sheath was used to roll tobacco for smoking (Khome). Though, it was not an essential commodity, it was a very useful commodity for the Burmese who came in search of maize sheath and exchanged. Carrying basket made of cane was one of the items demanded by the Burmese from the Nagas. The Khamniungan Nagas have been an expert in basket making. All the Naga tribes make basket but the workmanship of the Khamniungan Nagas in basketry is excellent. The workmanship of the Khamniungan Nagas in basketry is one of the finest among the Nagas. The art of making beautiful basket is an inborn quality of the Khamniungan Nagas. Carrying baskets of different types and sizes for carrying different items were very important household items of the Nagas and the Burmese. Every Naga woman going to the field should carry a basket for carrying fire wood, vegetables, working tools, etc. A woman without carrying basket was considered as a shameless, lazy and worthless woman. All the necessary things in the house especially, the agricultural goods were carried in the basket. There was no vehicle or cart to carry things, all the things were to be carried by man and every household had to keep carrying basket. Burmese were no different from the Nagas. The use of basket was equally important and useful to the Burmese too and therefore exchanged for cane basket with their commodities. The Khamniungan Nagas made cloth from cotton and sometimes cotton mixed with the nettle fibre. The cloth made by the Nagas was an important item of exchange for the Burmese goods. Food, shelter and cloth are the basic needs of man. Man has been toiling to possess those needs right from the time of its existence. Up to pre-colonial period, cloth was a very limited commodity for the Nagas as well as the Burmese. The cloth from the Khamniungan Nagas could solve the problem of clothing of the Burmese to a great extent. Pig from the Nagas was exchanged for Burmese rice. The livestock were exchanged from both sides. However, mithun, buffalo and goat were procured from Burma (Chea).

The people of Pungro sub-division under Kiphire division, is comprised up of number of villages who speak different languages though their official language is Yimchung. The villages under Pungro sub-division are Mimi, Khongka, Hakkumati, Kongjire, Lobfukhong, Mutlankong, Zhimkieur and Lothor, etc. are grouped under Mimi group. They speak a different language but for all official matter, they use Yimchung language. Chomi and Pungro villages are belonging to Makawre. Salomi, Fakkim, Tanamir, Khongsa, Longkhimong, Khong are the Chirr villages. They are all grouped under Yimchungru tribe. The trade items between the Yimchunger Nagas and the bordering Burmese were little bit different from the trade items of the Konyak and the Khiamniugan Nagas with the Burmese. The Burma bordering Naga villages under Pungro sub-division are Mimi, Khongka, Hakkumati, Lopukhong, Thanamir, Lonhkhimong and Khongjeri. Most of the bordering Burmese villages are belong to Mimi group. They speak the same dialect as is spoken by the Mimi group under Nagaland. Their social, culture and custom are almost identical. However, there are differences in the political system and in the village administration. The demand for goods are greatly depends on the habits, culture, tradition, custom, etc. of people. As both the neighbouring Naga and the Burmese belong to the same tribe; their taste, needs and wants were similar and as such, exchange of goods took place since long time between them. Mimi, a Yimchunger Naga village, has been playing prominent role in the Naga-Burmese trade under Pongro sub-division. The Burmese, up to Lishi town in north-west Burma and the people of Mimi belong to same family and all of them speak the same dialect. Most of them were migrated from Mimi village (Yalathang). Agricultural products were a regular item in the Naga-Burmese trade. As the trade between the other Naga tribes with the Burmese, agricultural products like rice, ginger, millet, taro, lentils, chilly, etc., etc. were regularly traded between the people of Pungro area and the Burmese. Agricultural products were exchanged by both parties as one is not suited to produce enough of all the required food. They exchanged their

surplus items for the required ones. Apart from the agricultural goods, Nagas exchanged cultural items and livestock from the Burmese. Salt was an important Burmese item exchanged by the Nagas (Yalathang). Much of the Burmese salt came from Yubami (Alemong). All the traded items were important for one reason or the other but salt was the most sought after commodity. Due to its usefulness, people tried to accumulate more than they could consume. Salt was not only consumed but used as a medium of exchange. Almost all the Cultural items like beads, cowrie, hornbill feather, armlet, conch shell, etc. were exchanged with the Burmese by the Nagas as the production or the making of those items were beyond the capacity of the Nagas. The Burmese did not produce all those items and must have been imported from somewhere and finally reached the Nagas. Raw iron was brought both from Wee, a Khamniungan Naga village and from New Temandi in Burma to Pongro area. Makawre people made dao and spear head and sometimes finish iron tools and implements were supplied to the Burmese through Mimi village. Dao was brought from Burma (Alemong). Makawre is the tribe found only in Pongro area in India. More members of this tribe are in Burma, on the border of India...Good dao, good spears, hats, bangles and other ornaments being used here are generally taken from Makawre (Lalthuama Sailo, Tour Dairy: April 1958). Another Burmese item came to Pongro area was cloth. Weaving was not known to Pongro area people (Rupongtsu). Unlike the Konyak and the Khamniungan Nagas, Pongro area people were not very expert in the technique of making cloth, a basic need and thus they had to depend mostly on the Burmese product. Burmese mithun, cow and buffalo were exchanged for beeswax. Dog, pig and fowl were exchanged for corn sheath (Alemong).

The Burmese supplied their goods to the Nagas but it did not mean that they had everything they needed and did not need anything from other. They did exchange the Naga agricultural products with their surplus products. The essential commodities, mostly the agricultural products, were bartered regularly

between the Nagas and the Burmese. Bartering of the agricultural goods between the Nagas and the Burmese helped each other in times of need. The driving force of individual requirement was much more than the business motif of the Naga-Burmese trade though, business motif of trade by few bordering villages could not be ignored. Besides agricultural goods, Burmese exchanged other goods from the Nagas. Beeswax was one of the most common and needy items of the Burmese from Mimi area. There are number of limestone cliffs in the area especially under Mimi village jurisdiction. Those cliffs are congenial place for making beehives. The people of this area have been enjoying the blessings bestowed by nature and by exchanging honey and beeswax with the Burmese; Mimi village became economically better than other villages in the area. Three bushel full of bee wax was exchanged for a matured buffalo. Beeswax was not only smeared on the cane mat for house roofing but also smeared on the traditional wooden loom especially on the shuttle to smoothen (Alemon). Mimi village acted as middleman and sometimes as trade centre in the Naga-Burmese trade. The need to have good camp here is obvious. It is the last village bordering Burma and the state in the south. A reasonably good path goes to Burma from this village...About 70 portions of cliffs in Yawpami (Burma) area were bought by Longphurr (Mimi) villagers long time ago. They collect honey from these cliffs every year (Maj.Hmingliana, Tour Diary: 1956). Another item exchanged by the Burmese was earthen pot from Mimi village. Mimi village has been a noted pottery making village in Pongro area. The legend of the Mimi village pot making says that the forefathers of Mimi and Wee, a Khamniungan village, had been living together at one point of time. People of that village produced iron and made dao and other iron implements and earthen pot. A time came to part that village. Before departure, it was decided that the forefathers of Wee village would continue to produce dao and other iron implements and the forefathers of Mimi village were continue to make pot (Rupongtsu). Pots were made in all sizes. They were made not only for cooking

purposes but for other usages also. Large size pots were made to keep water, grains, soya bean, etc. Large pots were also made to put bones of the dead body and kept inside the natural caves. It was the traditional burial practice of the Mimi village. The traditional burial practices in the Pungro area were different from village to village. The traditional practice of Mimi village was that the dead body was buried inside the house. Now they (Mimi village) bury the dead body inside the house (Maj.Hmingliana Tour Diary: 1956) After decaying the flesh, the bones were taken out and again put in a clay pot and kept inside the cave (Alemong). Some other villages in the area also buried the dead body inside the house beneath the bedstead. I was shown a house in which a man had buried his wife who had recently died of influenza. The grave was under the man's bedstead. I did not like to make too particular enquiries but I gathered that the man slept on it nonetheless every night...Primi has the same burial custom as Phozanagwomi, except that old bones are re-entered inside the house in an earthen ware pot (H.C.Barnes, Tour Dairy 1920:903-925). The neighbouring villages, both the Nagas and the Burmese, had been using Mimi pot for a long time. The neighbouring villages had been fully depending on the Mimi village for pot. It was one of the principal items the Burmese exchanged for their goods. Maize sheath was another item exchanged by the Burmese from the Nagas. Maize has been cultivating extensively by the Pungro area people since long time. It is one of the principal food items of this area. The Burmese exchanged the inner maize sheath with their goods from the Nagas. Though it was not an essential commodity, it was useful for them to roll tobacco for smoking. The exchange of Nagas' maize sheath with the Burmese was very profitable as the maize sheath had nothing to do with the Nagas. Its cultivation was for its corn and once the corn was harvested the rest was laid waste. What the Nagas did not want and threw away, was useful to the Burmese. The Carrying basket made of cane was another item the Burmese exchanged with the Nagas. The Burmese gave dog, piglet, fowl, etc. for the basket (Tangtsu). Carrying basket

was one of the most useful household articles of the Naga and the Burmese. Most of the goods, especially the agricultural goods, were carried in the basket. Every household kept enough carrying basket for all the matured members of the family as there were no other means of transportation, all the goods had to be carried by headload. War captives were kept as slave. Sometimes slave was traded from both the Naga and Burma sides. To redeem a slave the ransom was very heavy. The ransom and the price for the slave always include mithun, dao and other valuable objects (Yimthura).

Like other Nagas bordering Burma, the trade between the Pochury Nagas and the Burmese was also very active and has been carried on since long time. The cordial relation between the Nagas and Burmese neighbours could be witnessed through their trade relation. They exchanged their produce with immediate neighbours and in such a way they helped each other. As there was no any recognized medium of exchange, barter system was the only option between the Pochury Naga and the Burmese trade. Like other Naga villages bordering Burma, the Pochury Nagas and the Burmese traded their agricultural products regularly. Though, their primary occupation was cultivation, most of them could not produce their annual requirements of rice and other agricultural products for their family. Scarcity and needs compelled them to involve in trade between the two neighbours. Trade during the Pre-colonial period was confined to immediate neighbours. In due course of time, goods from the interior villages crossed the border through the intermediaries. The border trade benefited all the parties involved in the Naga-Burmese trade. Besides the agricultural products, pochury Nagas actively traded with the Burmese in cattle, salt, cotton, etc. Infact, the Pochury have been the most enterprising in cattle trading, in all their neighbouring tribal area. The climate of the Pochury area also helps to rear a variety of cattle. The Pochury continue to buy mithun and other cattle from the Burmese people and do cattle trading in winter. In the past, trade was based on barter system and it worked remarkably well, because different villages had

specialized in different spheres, such as production of salt, cattle trade, spinning, wooden work, iron work, stone work and leather work. It was with the Shazu community of the Burmese side, that the Pochury had a long tradition of trade by barter system (K.S.Singh et.al (Ed), 1994.130).

Raw iron and finish iron tools and implements were exchanged from the Burmese by the Nagas. Iron was a very scarce item for the Nagas. Iron tools and implements were very important both for the Nagas and the Burmese alike. Without those iron tools and implements, it would be too difficult to work for their survival. Due to its scarcity, even the worn out daos were used as medium of exchange by some Naga tribes during the Pre-colonial period. Iron has contributed a lot to human society. After the discovery of iron, human society experienced a lot of changes and progress. The Nagas and the Burmese are also no exception to that. Nagas' handicap in iron was substantiated from the iron brought from Burma up to Pre-colonial Period. Besides raw iron, iron tools and implements; readymade dao was also exchanged from Burma. Cultural items like bangles, hornbill feather, necklace, beads, armlet, etc. were exchanged from the Burmese (Tsalemong). Cotton cloth was another item exchanged from Burma. Livestock like mithun, pig, chicken and dog were brought from the Burmese (Akumong).

Goods from the Pochury Nagas to the Burmese were also equally important as that of the Burmese goods to the Nagas. The agricultural goods were regular items of trade from both the Naga and Burmese sides. The Nagas and the bordering Burmese are living in the hilly terrain which is not very suitable for cultivation. Cultivation in the hills is labour intensive. The harvest was not very rewarding. Consequently, they could not produce enough to their annual requirements. The reason being trading in agricultural goods was a necessity between the Nagas and the Burmese. Agricultural crops like rice, chilli, lentils, dwarf lentils, ginger, cucumber, millet, jobstear, etc. were mostly cultivated and traded (Tosangchu). Salt was an important item the Burmese

exchanged from the Pochury Nagas. The Pochury Nagas made salt from the brine springs by way of boiling the water collected from the brine springs. The salt remained after evaporating the water was collected and wrapped in the leaves (Tosangchu). The Nagas did not produce salt except some Konyak Naga villages bordering Assam and some Pochury Nagas. To Phozonagwomi stopping on the way to watch the salt working at the brine wells. The woman adulterate the salt with earth which is added just before the evaporation is complete. It adds weight and bulk to the salt and it is a quite open swindle (H.C Barnes, Tour Diary, 1920: pol.no.903-925). The salt so produced by the Nagas was bartered by the Burmese with their goods. Another item the Burmese bartered their goods was the maize sheath. The inner maize sheath was an important Naga item for the Burmese. Maize sheath, which Nagas had hardly any usage, could exchanged a number of Burmese goods (Akumong). Maize has been one of the widely cultivated crops of the Nagas. Maize was a staple food of the Burma bordering eastern Nagas. It is more suited to the climate than rice.

TRADE ITEMS DURING COLONIAL PERIOD:-

There are differences in the items of trade between the Pre-Colonial and Colonial periods. With the dawn of the colonial period, changes are noticed in every sphere of Naga life. The stopping of the practice of headhunting and the introduction of money economy among the Nagas and the Burmese during the colonial period were the major contributors that changed the trading activities between the Nagas and the Burmese. The feeling of insecurity of life was gradually subsided and stopped by the end of the colonial period. Though, the eastern Nagas were put under unadministered area of the British India government, the British were determined to stop the inhuman practice of headhunting with a strong hand. The deviant villages to the government order were severely punished. For instance, attack and burning of Pangsha village in 1937, as an exemplary act to other villages. Cessation of headhunting enabled

the traders to move freely and consequently, the interior villages, who could participate only through intermediary villages, could participate directly in the Naga-Burmese trade by visiting different villages on both sides exchanging, selling and buying goods without any fear. Introduction of money, as a medium of exchange, by the British India government during the colonial period was another factor that enhanced trade between the Nagas and the Burmese. Nagas experienced the first money economy from the colonial period. Coin money introduced by the British India government was accepted by all and consequently, trade became much easier.

The Treaty of Yandaboo {1826} was an important event not only in the history of Assam but also in the history of the whole North-East India. It ushered in a new civilization. After bringing Assam under their direct rule, the British gradually expanded its sway to the hill areas of north-east India. The traditional society, political and economy of north-east India were affected and changed partially or wholly. The trade between the Assamese and the hill people was mostly carried through barter till pre-colonial period and even during colonial period; barter system was still practised to some extent along with money as the medium of exchange. From the colonial period, machine made goods began to enter into the north-east corner of India. The People began to test the machine made goods. The first major industries set up by the British in north-east India were the tea industry and the oil refinery in Assam. After the production of tea in Assam, the people of north-east India were introduced to a new drinking which gradually became a household drink in north-east India in general and the Nagas in particular. Till then, Nagas had no particular drinks apart from the locally prepared rice beer. However, rice beer was not available in all the houses all the time. It was a drink which could be afforded all the time by the economically well to do family only.

The trade between the Konyak Nagas and the Burmese during the colonial period was more extensive than the pre-colonial period. Human contact

between the Nagas and the Burmese was much increased during the colonial period. Besides, the traded items of pre-colonial period, the tea became an important item in the Naga-Burmese trade from the colonial period. Tea was brought from Assam by the Konyak Nagas and sold to the Burmese (Chapha). Tea has been a favourite drink of the Konyak Nagas and the neighbouring Burmese. Salt became cheaper and available from the colonial period. Salt was also brought by the Konyak Nagas from the border markets from Assam and sold to the Burmese. Machine made blanket and cloth and aluminium utensils were sold to the Burmese. Sample of human head made of brass and raw iron was bought from the Burmese (Yawang). Gongs were bought by money. The size of the gong was measured by finger. The smallest size was bought by rupees five from Burma. Copper plate was also bought from Burma. Livestock like buffalo, mithun, pig, goat, etc. were bought by money. Price was depended on the size of the animal. It was much easier to trade during the colonial period due to the introduction of money (Lampa). With the establishment of colonial rule, machine made goods gradually replaced the hand made goods as manually manufactured goods were more expensive and less available.

Trade between the Khiamniungan Nagas and the Burmese during colonial period had much difference in comparison to the pre-colonial period. The cessation of head hunting and the introduction of money as the medium of exchange were the major factors that contributed to free trade between the Khiamniungan Nagas and the Burmese as in the case of the Konyak Nagas and the Burmese. Salt brought from Assam was again sold to the Burmese through the Khiamniungan Nagas. Salt became plenty from the colonial period, though it was difficult for the faraway places from the border markets in Assam. Bangles were brought from Burma. Brass bangles were made from the empty case of the bullet collected during and after the Second World War. Supply of raw iron from Burma became more after the Second World War. Iron was left by the Japanese after the Second World War. With the introduction of money,

transaction became easy from colonial period (Chea). Both traders and the goods increased from the colonial period. The traders from both sides became free to roam from village to village. Machine made cloths from mainland India slowly intruded into the bordering as well as interior villages of Burma through Naga traders. Aluminium utensils and other cookery articles replaced the traditional ones. Gradually, the other traditional household paraphernalia were also replaced by new machine made goods. In course of time, the Naga potters declined their supply to the Burmese as well as at home. Livestock like mithun were bought by money and the transaction became much easier than the barter system. Slave trade was banned. For the first time, some dominant Naga village were not happy with the British for banning of headhunting and the slave trade. With the decline of their dominance, their tribute from their subjects and satellite villages also declined (Thanghoi).

The volume of trade during the colonial period was increased between the Pungro area Nagas and the Burmese. Agricultural items were constantly traded from the pre-colonial till date without any interruption. The traditional attire items like coloured goat's hair, hornbill feather, brass armlet, bangles, wild boar's tusk, necklaces, etc. which had been exchanged from the Burmese continued during the colonial period. Bison head to adorn the house was also brought from Burma. Livestock like mithun, dog, pig, etc. were traded. Rupees three hundred could buy a big and matured mithun. Buffalo was bought by rupees twenty. Mithun and buffalo were mostly bought from New Temandi in Burma and reached Mimi village in about six or seven days (Alemong). Though it was very difficult to earn money, it made the transaction very easy. From the colonial period most of the transactions were made by money though, barter was still practised mostly for agricultural items (Rupongtsu). Salt was an important item from the Nagas to the Burmese. Salt became more available from the colonial period. Salt brought from border markets of Assam by other Naga tribes was retailed to the Burmese through the Pungro area people. The

machine made finish goods begun to inter into the Naga-Burmese trade. Slowly, those goods became indispensable for the people. Matches, kerosene, cloth, etc. were new items brought by the Nagas from Assam and crossed into Burma from the colonial period. Slowly and gradually, other new items like sugar, thread, soap, etc. also begun to cross the Burmese border through the Naga and the Burmese traders. British rule wiped out the fear of losing head from the minds of the people and ushered in a sense of security among the people which enabled free trade between the two neighbours. (Alemong). The items of trade became more during the colonial period. The traders had to walk longer distances and also had to cover bigger area with wider scope for trade from the colonial period. With the introduction of the machine - made finish goods and Christianity, the handloom and some handicrafts began to lose its ground. Christian missionaries and the preachers considered all the Naga cultural practices and activities as heathen which did not conform to the teachings of the Bible and as such, advocated the new converts to give up all the cultural practices and to keep away from their earlier practices. Consequently, the observance of Naga festivals and other traditional practices became unpopular as Christianity spread rapidly in the Naga Hills and the demand for cultural dresses were discouraged and became less. On the eve of the festivals, the Burmese came and exchanged man's apron from the Khamniungan Nagas and they also invited each other to their festivals. However, those practices were stopped after the spread of the new religion (Chea). Another factor that led to the less demand for indigenous and hand made goods was the flow of machine made finish cloths. Indigenous goods could not compete with the machine made goods. The price of the machine made goods was cheaper and readily available from the border markets of Assam. The introduction of the finished goods reduced the demand of the local products (J.B Bhattacharjee, 1980:186).

The trading items between the Pochury Nagas and the Burmese during the colonial period were more than the pre-colonial period. Trade between the

Pohury Nagas and the Burmese during the colonial period was different from the pre-colonial period. Money was introduced and the headhunting was stopped by the British government. Besides other government actions, those two government undertakings created a congenial atmosphere for free trade and easy transaction in the Naga-Burmese trade. The prevention of raiding and other forms of violence facilitates inter-village and inter-tribal contacts (C.V.F.Hamendrof, 260). Agricultural items have been featured in the Naga-Burmese trade. Agricultural items were subsistence items for both the Nagas and the Burmese. Both the Nagas and the Burmese could not produce all the necessary food items enough to their annual requirement of the family. Agriculture as it is practised at present does not yield a surplus (C.V.F. Hamendrof, 253). They were compelled by their requirements that the exchange of their produce took place. Both during the pre-colonial and colonial periods, the agricultural items were the primary items of trade. They always needed each other's produce for their subsistence. The trade items which were traded during the pre-colonial period were continued to trade during the colonial period also especially, the cultural items though, the demand for those items became lesser from the colonial period. Pochury Nagas and her Burmese neighbour began to taste the machine made goods from the colonial period. The value and the usage of money as the medium of exchange begun to experience among the Pochury Nagas and the bordering Burmese from the colonial period. Transaction through money began to replace the barter between the Pochury Nagas and the Burmese. Slowly and gradually, machine made finish goods set to replace the hand made goods. Machine made cloth was one of the items that brought by the Nagas from Assam and sold to the Burmese during the colonial period. Iron tools and implements became available brought from Assam by the traders. Salt, once an expensive item and sometimes served as medium of exchange, became cheaper and more available from the colonial period (Akumong). Matches, kerosene, cotton vest, yarn, etc.

brought from Assam markets were sold to the Burmese. Sometimes those items were exchanged by the Burmese for pig, chicken and dog. Those livestock was again sold to Meluri area People (Tsolimong). Both money as well as barter was employed in the Naga-Burmese trade during the colonial period. Mithun, buffalo and cow were bought from Burma with money. Money made the transaction very easy. Money was rare and difficult to get. Its value was high, even rupees ten was a big amount. More than ten kilograms of salt could be bought by one rupee in nineteen forties (Tosangchu). Money was not only rare in the border areas but also in the whole of Naga Hills, especially in the initial period of the colonial rule. There was very less avenue to earn money for the Nagas. Cash in the Sema country is a scarce commodity, much of the trade being still carried on by barter (J.H.Hutton, 1916: Gen.323).

Though, the present eastern Nagaland was an unadministered area and outside the direct control of the British India government, the benefits of the new government and the western civilization were always shared and enjoyed along with the people under administered area. Their social, economic and political life was greatly affected and changed for good. Western civilization was slowly intruded into that area. Not only that area was affected by the new civilization but also the border Burmese villages could not escape from the advanced western civilization. Their traditional social and cultural life began to disrupt from the colonial period. When the western Nagas and the Assamese were experiencing tremendous changes under the colonial rule, the eastern Nagas, who are their immediate neighbours and with whom they had regular contact, could not remain unaffected by the new civilization from the colonial period. With the introduction of money as the medium of exchange and the machine made goods brought tremendous changes in their economic life. When their traditional economy was changed into money economy gradually, inspite of exchanging goods for goods, first they had to earn money to obtain their desired commodity. Money became very important in their lives. From the

colonial period, they began to experience and appreciate the merits of money economy. Money made the trading easy. The trader could go to the interior villages just carrying the money with them which minimized the problem of carrying goods on headload at least one way. Money also minimized a number of other trading problems of the Naga-Burmese traders. As the money introduced by the British government was acceptable to both the Nagas and the Burmese, there was no transaction problem between the two groups of traders of the Nagas and the Burmese.

The traditional society of the Nagas was disrupted with the coming of the British to Naga Hills. The different policies of the government and the work of the Christian missionaries greatly contributed to the change of Naga society to modern from the colonial period. The opening up of the schools, the first of its kind and very new to the Nagas, had brought tremendous changes in the Naga society. The traditional Morung or bachelors' dormitory was somewhat similar in some way, was replaced by the modern school. It was a slow start but was one of the biggest contributors to the change of the traditional Naga society to modern. The foundation of Christianity in the Naga Hills played a major role to the change of traditional Naga society and culture into modern. After the conversion to Christianity, the believers were taught to keep up traditional practices and if they continued to involve in the old practices, they were to be excommunicated from the church membership. The traditional Naga religion which was commonly termed as 'Animism' was a part of their traditional practices and with the conversion to new religion after giving up of animism, lost many practices and traditions. Gradually, the traditional practices and culture of the Nagas began to decay. The observance of traditional festivals, which was once celebrated with much preparation, gaiety and popularity; became obsolete and considered as heathen from the colonial period. The mithun sacrifice and other feast of merit practices or prestige economy according to Herskovits (Herskovits 1955:164 cited in Chubala Sanglir: 85), was

ceased to exist as it was discouraged and strongly opposed by the preachers of the new religion. Even participating in such traditional practices was enough reason for excommunication from the church membership (Tatongchaba). In performing such sacrifices and feast, there involved many traditional practices and with the stopping of those mass welfare activities many Naga traditional practices faded. The traditional Naga Morung institution and the girls' dormitory, which was called by different names, where boys and girls were trained for their future lives, were decayed. Those institutions trained the young boys and girls the art of singing their folk songs, dance, story of their village and tribal migration and foundation, art of fighting in war, Naga mannerism, etc., etc. In other words, those institutions made the life of the boys and girls whole for their lives. It certainly a boys' school, an agent and centre of socialization and a perfect learning institution...it serves the needs of society such as security, promotion of culture and training centre of master craftsmanship (Jamir and Lanunungsang cited in Chubala Sanglir: 34). After spending their youthful years in those institutions, they came out well equipped to face the challenges, responsibilities and hurdles in their life tracks. The decay of those institutions is a major factor for the decaying of rich Naga culture beginning from the colonial period. Morung and other traditional social institutions played the lead role in moulding and shaping the life of the youth and with the decay of those institutions many good Naga culture like honesty, hardwork, straightforwardness, etc. which were the benchmark of the Nagas, have been disappearing from the Naga society. Modern schools or any other institutions could not replace the traditional institutions, at least in moulding the cultural life of the Naga youth. No doubt, the colonial government and the Christian missionaries had done away with some bad traditional practices like the keeping the dead body on the raised platforms in the open air, headhunting, etc. along with those good practices and traditions. They did away with many good legacies of the forefathers which conformed to the Christian teachings and did

not contradict to the government rules and business. The introduction of the western civilization greatly affected the Naga traditional society and religion. It consequently, affected the Naga-Burmese trade. The Naga demand for cultural items was greatly declined. The cessation of traditional and cultural activities like the Mithun sacrifice, Feast of merit, traditional festivals, etc. led to the decline of the Naga demand for Mithun, Buffalo, cow and pig from the Burmese. It also led to the decline of cultural relationship between the believer and the non-believer of Christianity. The traditional Naga society mentioned above have undergone great change from the colonial period. That change affected the demand for certain items of trade from the Burmese. The new converts to Christianity were prohibited from practising and participation in the traditional and cultural activities and if violated, they were excommunicated from the church membership. The introduction of western education among the Nagas brought about tremendous changes. The western education has changed the traditional Naga society into modern society. The early educated Nagas were the harbinger of modern society among the Nagas. They played tremendous role in ushering in the modern society among the Nagas. The educated Nagas became less interested in observing and participating in the traditional or cultural activities. They were rather engaged more in the new learning or teaching of western education. Gradually, traditional practices declined. For instance, morung⁵¹, once a very popular institution for moulding the Naga youths, could not withstand the invasion of the western civilization and became a piece of history. In such a way, the change from the traditional to modern society did affect the Naga-Burmese trade to some extent.

The traditional administrative system of the Nagas was handled by the government carefully. The government considered the Naga administrative system delicate and did not want to interfere in their traditional administrative set up at least not to annoy the Nagas. However, in due course of time, the

⁵¹ Bachelors' dormitory. It was popular among most of the Naga tribes. Here the Naga boys were taught and trained for future life.

British India government realized the importance of the relation between the government and the local administration. The government started appointing Dobashis (Interpreters) to act as intermediary between government and the Naga villages. Their duty was to relate with the villages and to convey government policies to the villages. Initially, these representatives of the Khels and villages were known as delegates. Ostensibly, apart from their representative character, the government had less choice as to their appointment. However, with the retention of its system in 1881, it appears that ability to interpret one's tribal language to the British officers and vice-versa became a requisite qualification for the representatives. The native representatives to the government were thus known as interpreters. As a matter of fact, the Hindu words, 'Dobashias' which literally means 'a man of two words' became a popular usage for the Nagas as 'Dobashis' (G.R.Ghosh:152 cited in Dr.Piketo Achumi,2012:34). The Dobashis were the first salaried Nagas who acted as the intermediary between the Nagas and the British government. They not only acted as interpreters but also acted as the judge for pity cases which were mostly related to Naga custom. With the appointment of Dobashi as the intermediary between the Nagas and the government, the Naga villages went under the British government though; maximum restraint was maintained in order not to directly interfere in the day to day administration of the Naga villages. Cases like village boundary involving two or more villages, criminal, etc. were trailed and decided by the administrative officers of the area from the colonial period. Such practices were new to the Nagas. Their cases were never ever been trailed and decided by others, as all the cases were trailed and decided by the village chief or the elders. Nagas experienced new judicial and administrative system from the colonial period. Salaried service was first tested by the Dobashi. Through them, money was poured into the Naga society though; it was a very small amount. Levying of house tax of rupees three, two and one respectively on the Nagas by the colonial government was completely a

new thing for the Nagas. The Nagas had never paid house tax to any one or to any government before. Payment of salary, wages and levying of house tax by the government made the Nagas very conscious on the importance of money. With the dawn of the colonial period, Nagas came across a number of changes in their social, political and economic life. Those changes were new and with those changes, whether for good or bad, modern Naga history began from the colonial period.

Trade Difference between Pre-Colonial and Colonial Period:-`

The Nagas and the Burmese have been doing border trade since long time. Their border trade did not notice any remarkable changes up to the pre-colonial period. They exchanged their necessities for their goods and in such a way, they helped each other. The bordering villages on both sides were in good relation even in the time of headhunting. The bordering villages were neighbours who were more intimate than their own countryman far away. There was no particular trading community or professional trader in the Naga-Burmese trade. Every matured male was a trader and all the traders had to carry goods to and fro and as such, to go for trade was not an easy job. Carrying goods and visiting other's village and houses was a difficult job and was not meant for everyone.

Practice of headhunting during the pre-colonial period, prevented the free movement of traders. Trade was confined only to neighbouring and friendly villages. Traders could not risk their lives for trade. Raids against a village did not resort to without having valid reason(s). An unpardonable offence committed was the reason for a raid. Even in the absence of such a reason, people were afraid of going into interior and unfriendly villages as anything could happen anytime. Headhunting was the biggest hindrance that prevented free movement and contact of traders of both the Nagas and the Burmese up to pre-colonial period. In spite of long trade relation between the Nagas and the Burmese, trade could not flourish and extend beyond the bordering villages on

both sides. However, with the beginning of the colonial period, the government decided to wipe out the ugly face of headhunting by using any means and no matter what came in the way. Practice of headhunting was difficult to give up as the champions in headhunting were rewarded with high position and honour in the traditional society. Aspire to be powerful, dominant over others and killing of enemy in the war were not particular to the Nagas alone. It was being practised in many parts of the world. However, taking and bringing of enemy's head to the village was too much adorned in the traditional society of the Naga, though, it was an inhuman practice. The British government was very much against the inhuman practice of headhunting and as such served orders to both under administered and unadministered villages to stop headhunting. The non-compliance villages to government order were severely punished and only with that strong hand of the government, could stop headhunting. Such action of the British government could be considered as the greatest philanthropic work and was a blessing for the Nagas. With the eradication of headhunting, thick and strong Naga village fencing was dislodged and opened up the Naga villages to the outside world. The cessation of headhunting made the free human contact possible. People's mind set was changed and the fear to loss of head was erased from the people's mind. Free human contact enabled free and more trade between the Nagas and the Burmese from the colonial period. Not only trade was increased through free human contact but also learned new ideas and skills as the traders could go many more interior villages enabling to contact with more people (Alemong). Trade always takes place between different people and if there is no free contact between men, the scope for trade becomes narrow. The colonial period widened the scope for trade between the Nagas and the Burmese.

There was no medium of exchange in the Naga-Burmese trade up to pre-colonial period. Barter was the only option. They faced difficulties in trading due to the absence of the medium of exchange. The scope for the expansion of

trade was limited in the barter system. Barter was one of the factors that limited the Naga-Burmese trade in spite of its long period of trade relation. One of the limitations of the barter system was that a particular goods willing to be sold by the seller should be an essential requirement of the buyer. Unless the desire or the willingness of the seller and the buyer for the particular good is met, goods cannot be exchanged. Due to the absence of the medium of exchange in the Naga-Burmese trade, the trader faced a lot of problems up to the pre-colonial period.

However, money as the medium of exchange was introduced by the British India government in the administered areas which automatically became the medium of exchange in the unadministered areas too. Money was readily accepted by the people of both administered and unadministered areas. The coin money issued by the government was scarce and it was very difficult to get that, as a result, its value was very high. Even to earn one rupee, one matured man had to work sixteen days (Ayimniken). With the introduction of money from the colonial period, the transaction became easy not only in the Naga-Burmese trade but also in the entire Naga Hills and in the trade with the Assamese in the west of Naga Hills. Money was used both for small and big transactions. In due course of time, people realized the value of money and it became a very important thing to them. The Naga-Burmese traders were greatly relieved of carrying goods at least in one way journey. From the colonial period, the traders carry money to buy things especially, going to the interior villages. With the introduction of money, the volume of Naga-Burmese trade was increased. The middlemen saw their profit in cash which again encouraged them to do more though, business did not became their profession. The problem of transaction was made easy not only in buying and selling goods but also for paying wages and other economic activities. Slowly and gradually, money as the medium of exchange became dominant and replaced the barter system in the Naga-Burmese trade. The advantages of the use of money as the

medium of exchange was tested and appreciated by the Naga-Burmese traders from the colonial period.

Consequent upon the work of the government, Christian missionaries and with the introduction of the western civilization, gradually, people's mind set began to change and started adopting the western civilization. Fear of losing one's head and the fear to meet strangers began to diminish from the people's mind. In due course of time, their traditional society could not withhold the onslaught of the western civilization and gave way to the new civilization. The innocent traditional Naga society was opened first to the western culture and then to the Indian culture which resulted in the loss of a number of beautiful Naga cultures. However, the western and Indian cultures are not dearth of good cultures and practices. The Introduction of money economy, an important contribution of western civilization, had revolutionized the Naga economy with the use of money in all transactions from the colonial period. From the contact with the west, the attitude and the understanding of the Nagas changed. Trading between the Nagas and the Burmese became easier with the understanding of the importance of trade.

Another change in the Naga-Burmese trade from the colonial period was the introduction of new machine made goods. Tea was a new drinks introduced after the production of tea in Assam from the colonial period. Tea became a popular trade item especially, in the Konyak sector. The Konyak Nagas brought tea from Assam and sold to the Burmese traders (Changlem Konyak). Tea became a popular drink among the Nagas. It has become a household item both for the rich and the poor alike. Naga traders exchanged tea for chilly, ginger, rice, etc. or bought by money from Assam (Imnamakla). Tea became popular not only among the Nagas but also in the entire North-east India. The Nagas transported the machine made tea from Assam to the Burma from the colonial period. Though, tea is not a food item, it has become a habitua drinks among

the people. Whenever a stranger or a friend pays a visit to a house, the first thing the host to offer is red tea. Another new and important item traded between the Nagas and the Burmese was machine made cloths. Different types of machine made cloths were bought from Assam by the Nagas. Those cloths were again sold to the Burmese. Cloth is a basic need. The first machine made cloth bought by the Nagas were the blanket, vest, half pant, etc. (Ayimniken). Those were the first popular cloths for the Nagas. Gradually, the machine made cloth replaced the hand woven cloth. Machine made cloths were brought from the traders belong to the Assam bordering Naga tribes or sometimes directly from the Assamese border markets and shops and sold or exchanged to the Burmese from the colonial period (Alimong). The fruits of industrial revolution in Europe were begun to be tested by the Nagas from the colonial period. Machine made cloths were cheaper and more user friendly than the hand woven ones, and as such, its demand was increased.

Different types of Aluminium pots slowly replaced the earthen pots in the Naga homes from the colonial period. Those aluminium pots were available in the markets and shops in Assam. In due course of time, the bordering Burmese were not unaffected by the new changes for better. The clay pots made by the Nagas were mostly used by the Burmese up to the pre-colonial period. After seeing the durability and the quality of the aluminium pots, the Burmese also began to imitate the neighbouring Nagas and replaced the clay pots by new aluminium pots. The Naga traders did the job of the middleman in supplying the new cooking pots to their Burmese neighbours. The change of cooking pots from the earthen to the aluminium was a sign of advancement from the ancient to the modern. Cooking pot is one of the basic human needs. Uncooked or not properly cooked food may lead to the health problems.

Iron and its implements became cheaper and available from the colonial period. Readymade dao and other iron tools became available from the border markets of Assam. Those tools reached the Burmese through the Naga traders.

Iron tools and the implements were very important for the agricultural economy where the production was mainly depending on the agricultural tools and implements. Iron had been the most important article for the Nagas not only for their economic survival but also for the protection from the enemies. During the pre-colonial period, iron had been a rare thing and considered as very valuable and some tribes used iron as the medium of exchange. However, with the cessation of headhunting from the colonial period, the traders roamed freely visiting different villages and markets consequently, goods became available.

Salt, which was rare and once employed as the medium of exchange by most of the Naga tribes, became available from the colonial period. Nagas had to travel long distances to Assam to procure salt, it was readily available in the border markets. One of the merits and the blessings of the colonial rule was the availability of salt. Salt is a basic and common food item. It is taken by all. Gradually, salt from the markets and shops of Assam was mostly bought by the Nagas from the colonial period. The Naga traders sold salt to the Burmese. Most of the bordering Burmese villages bought salt from the Naga traders. Kerosene was a new item of trade from the colonial period. Kerosene is used for lighting the house. It was brought from Assam by the Naga traders and consigned to Burma after realising their profit. Nagas had no knowledge about kerosene before it became available in Assam from the colonial period. The Naga houses were lit just by the fire of the hearth. Fire from the kitchen hearth was the only source to light in the entire house at night. Some Naga tribes used the pine wood to light the house or used as the torch. There was no other means to light the house at night except by burning of wood. It was only from the colonial period that the houses began to lighten up by using oil (Khome). It was the first the Nagas experienced of lighting the house apart from burning firewood. The useful items like matches, soap, yarn, needle, etc. also began to enter Naga homes from the colonial period. Those items were brought by the Naga traders from Assam and sold for money and sometimes exchanged with Burmese pig,

chicken, dog, etc. (Tsolimong). The Naga-Burmese trade became more active and extensive during the colonial period compared to pre-colonial period due to a number of factors as mentioned above. The new and machine made goods introduced by the colonial government satisfied the people's desire and the demand for those goods increased in due course of time. Once tested or used, the people wanted to continually use those goods. The colonist found a new market in the North-East India. The entering of the machine made goods into the Naga and the Burmese economy disrupted some of the traditional industries. For instance, the black smithy, ceramic, handloom, etc. From the colonial period the Nagas were baptized into machine made goods. The machine made goods were very new to the Nagas but once introduced, they could not run away from that and rather they wanted to possess those goods. The machine made goods were more advantageous than the handmade goods. Once the machine made goods were tested and used, gradually, almost all the goods sold in the Assam markets began to enter the Naga Hills and thence to the neighbouring Burmese villages. The neighbouring Burmese were no exception as to the case of the Nagas. Once they tested the machine made goods, they also continued to demand the same and their demands were satisfied through the Naga traders.

Naga-Burmese trade during the pre-colonial period was a balanced trade as the goods were exchanged for goods only. There was not much difference in the balance of trade between the Nagas and the Burmese in the pre-colonial period. However, there were differences in the balance of trade between the Nagas and the Burmese during the colonial period. The goods supplied from the Burmese side were less in quantity and value than the goods supplied by the Nagas. However, it did not mean that all the supplied goods were of Naga goods. They brought the machine made finished goods from Assam and sold to the Burmese. The trade was much increased in the colonial period than the pre-colonial. The Burmese became dependent on the machine made goods from the

markets of Assam through the Naga traders from the colonial period. The traditional goods like hornbill feather, coloured goat's hair, traditional dancing dresses, cowries, conch shell, beads necklace, armlets, bangles, wild boar's tusk, etc, were continued to be supplied from Burma side to the Nagas. The machine made goods brought from Assam played a vital role in civilizing and advancing the traditional societies into modern society. The Assam border markets played a big role in civilizing the hill people of North-East India. It transmitted new ideas to the ignorant people. The contact with the more civilized Assamese in the market places from the colonial period was a blessing for the Nagas. While doing business, the Nagas learned the Assamese way of life, their workmanship, language and the western way of dressing and left its impact on the Nagas as the wishes of the British government. It appears that the colonial perception of trade in the Naga context was to utilise it as a means of civilizing them and thereby to promote good relation between the inhabitants of the settled districts and the Naga tribes (Dr.Piketo Achumi, 2012:126). The government was hopeful of making the Naga civilized through the promotion of their border trade (For.DEptt.Pol-A, May 1846, no.32 cited in Dr.Piketo Achumi, 2012:126). Apart from buying and selling goods, the traders learnt many things from the market places. From time immemorial, markets in North-east region have been playing a vital role in social and economic life of the people. They were the place where agricultural and other produces were being exchanged and sold. They served as information centres and means of communications. They are also the centres where political ideas and views are being propagated (F.L.Mawnai cited in J.B.Ganguly, 1984:31).

NAGA-BURMESE TRADE ROUTE : -

Trade route is the backbone of trade. No trade is possible without route. Trade plays an important role in the economy of the world. No nation or country is endowed with all the necessary goods and services. Every nation cannot produce all its wants or necessities and therefore has to buy from others

through trade. Trade with other countries enables a country sufficient. Trade has been playing the lead role in the economic progress of the country. The trade route has been contributing to the economic growth of the nations since ancient times. Roads were opened passing through different lands for trading purpose long time before Christian era. For instance, the Silk Road from China to the Middle-East was one of the vastly used trade road through which scores of loaded caravans plied long distances consuming many days. The trade with the distant people was mostly in imperishable goods. With the changing times and with the change and improvement in means of transport, present trade routes are much improved and became much faster. The road or path between the neighbours is a sign of good relation. All the Naga villages have been linked by bridle paths since long time. There was no vehicle or cart road in the Naga Hills up to recent years and the only connection between the neighbouring villages was bridle paths. Not only the Naga villages were linked by bridle paths but also the Nagas had been linked by bridle paths with their neighbouring people. The Nagas had related with the Ahoms through bridle paths since long time. The Ahoms had not much knowledge about the Naga tribes and therefore called them prefixing the name of the duars (pass) through which the Nagas came down to the plains. The people of the plains identified the different Naga tribes engaged in trade by Assamese names given to them after the names of the 'duars' or passes through which the hills men used to come down to the plains of Assam for trade.

The trade route between the Nagas and the Burmese has been doing an important job in the economic upliftment of the people. The trade route between the Nagas and the Burmese is not long. Both the perishable and the imperishable goods have been carried by the traders. The Nagas has been linked with the Burmese through bridle paths with the neighbouring villages. Both the Naga and the Burmese villages are located on the hills. The neighbouring linking paths are hilly circuitous paths. The Naga-Burmese trading paths are the

shortest possible paths that linked the bordering villages. All the goods have been carried by man and it is one of the hindrances that the trade could not expand in spite of long time of their trade relation. As the goods were carried by man alone, traded items were very limited. Almost all the bordering villages both under Nagaland and Burma are linked with bridle paths and those paths are cleaned and maintained by the respective villages under whose jurisdiction the path passes through. Every year the trading path has been cleared and the bridges were constructed or repaired by the concerned village within the respective jurisdiction (Alemong). The trading paths have been the life line for the Naga-Burmese traders and the bordering villages as their produce could not meet their annual requirements they had to depend on trade with their bordering villages. Sometimes the trading paths were closed down whenever there was misunderstanding between the border villages (Khamo).

Every Naga and bordering Burmese villages are linked by bridle path across the border. However, all the bordering villages are not equally important from the trading point of view. Some villages became more important than others due to some factors. Location of the village, vastness of the village, productivity of the village, friendliness, etc. made some village more important and trading friendly than the others. Longwa, the most prominent and the biggest village in its area, has been one of the most active traders among the Konyak Nagas and the Burmese. Half of the Longwa village is under India and other half is under Burma. Half of the Chief Angh's house is under India and the other half is under Burma. Longwa village subdued a number of villages both under India and Burma. A good number of villages both under India and Burma recognised the superiority of Longwa village and paid allegiance to Longwa. Longwa people could move freely in about forty villages under Burma even during pre-colonial period (Khamo). Longwa village enjoyed a dominant position both politically and economically. The path between Longwa village and the bordering Burmese villages was one of the widely used bridle paths by the traders. There are two

trade routes from Longwa to Burma. One goes from Longwa to Khamoi, Langkho, Langkai, Kumka and thence to Taklang Township, the other one from Longwa to chen, Koniya, Yinchung, Longjen, Mujam and to Taklang township. It takes about four days to reach Taklang town. The Burmese villages that were subdued and owed allegiance to Longwa village came not only for trade but also for paying annual tribute. If anything happened to Longwa citizen while visiting other village in doing trade or otherwise, Longwa did not spare that village but punished severely by raiding and burning down the village. Such incidents were the causes for the wars between the villages (Khamo). Longwa maintained trade relation not only with the Burmese but also with the present Indian state of Arunachal since long time. Pongchao town (Wancho Tribe) is the nearest town from Longwa. It takes two to three hours to reach Pongchao town from Longwa. Among other goods, rice was the most important goods brought from Arunachal in times of shortage. Apart from the benefits from trade with the Burmese, the trade with the Arunachalese had also greatly benefited the Longwa people (Longkhong).

Khiamniungan villages bordering Burma are linked by bridle paths with the neighbouring Burmese villages since long time. The border villages from both sides are mostly well known and friendly to each other. The bridle paths between the border villages are used for any purpose and those paths are as old as the village itself as when a Naga village is founded, it is usually linked with its neighbour through bridle path. The trade route from the Khiamniungan village Pangsha is a popularly used route by the traders from long time. Pangsha, formally known as 'Wolan' is one of the dominant villages in its area. It has defeated number of village and feared by its neighbouring villages of both the Nagas and the Burmese. It is a renowned village in headhunting and war. Pangsha village was severely punished by the British government in 1937 as it defied the government order to stop headhunting. The route from Pangsha to Burma is called 'Danyam' in Pangsha dialect meaning 'way'. The nearest

Burmese village from Pangsha is Hempu. The bridle path from Pangsha goes through Hempu, chio, chip and then to Lahi Township. It takes one day to reach Lahi Township and three to four days to reach Khamti town the most popular town towards the Nagas (Chea). The exchange of goods was confined mostly with the neighbouring villages during the pre-colonial period. Going into the interior villages was risky as headhunting was prevalent even up to some years after the government issued orders to stop headhunting. There was not only trade between the border villages but also marriages took place. Pangsha and Hempu villages speak different dialects but for marriage it was not a hindrance (Thanghoi). The bridle path between the borders or the Naga neighbours was cleared repaired and constructed the bridges annually by the respective villages through whose jurisdiction the path passes (Khamo). All the paths are small and hilly. The goods to be exchanged have been carried by man on headload as there was no means of other transportation, that constrained the scope of wider trade. The people of Pangsha and other bordering Khamniungans became middlemen in the Naga-Burmese trade. Though, the trading paths between the Nagas and Burmese were small and hilly, trade has been carried on since long time and benefited both of them. It has been the tradition that the path passes through a particular village is to be maintained by the respective village (Thanghoi). The trade relation between the Nagas and the Burmese must be one of the longest in the history of border trade. Their trade have been carried on without many changes except that the barter was replaced by money and the increased in the items of trade. The same trade route have been using since very long time till date. Differences in trade are noticed between the pre-colonial and the colonial periods. However, the trade route and the means of transportation did not see much change between the pre-colonial and the colonial periods. No changes in the trade route and the means of transport were the hindrances, among others, to the extensive Naga-Burmese trade. In spite of a number of hurdles especially in the trading route and the means of

transportation, the Naga-Burmese traders put their efforts and maintained the trade relation from time immemorial till date.

The fate of the trade route between the Nagas of Pungro area and the Burmese is almost the same to that of the trade route between the Konyak and the Khiamniungan Nagas and the Burmese. The Yimchungru, Chir and Makhure Nagas of Pungro sub-division under Kipheri division, Nagaland, are bordering the Burmese. They have been neighbours for a long time. As neighbours, they are known to each other very well and friendly. There has been regular contact between them and even marriages took place. Their social and economic lives are almost same (Alemong). All the bordering villages are linked by bridle paths and they are the life line of communication between the bordering people from time immemorial. Those bridle paths between the bordering villages mainly serve as the trade route apart from other usage. Goods are carried only through those paths, no matter how hilly or difficult the paths are. Some Naga border villages became more prominent than others in the Naga-Burmese trade. Mimi village has been a prominent trading village in the Naga-Burmese trade relation. Due to its location and the availability of demand goods like beeswax, corn sheath, pottery, etc. a good number of Burmese traders visited Mimi village annually (Rupongtsu). Mimi area villages harvest a good amount of honey every year and maize is a widely cultivated crop. Maize sheath was an important item of trade for the Burmese though; it has hardly any value for the Nagas. Beeswax was in great demand by the Burmese. Apart from exchanging agricultural goods, the Mimi area people were largely benefited from the exchange of beeswax and maize sheath with the Burmese. The trade route from Mimi, Khongka and Hakkumati to Khikikha, Khola, Yubami and then to Leshi town in Burma. The bridle path from Mimi to Leshi has been popularly used by the Naga-Burmese traders. It takes two days to reach Leshi town in Burma passing through a number of villages. Leshi town is the biggest and the most popular Burmese town towards Pungro sub-division (Yalathang). There has been

no restriction in the human movement except that the headhunting hindered the visit to the interior and unknown villages. There are bridle paths from Khongjeri, Tanamir, etc. villages to Burmese villages which facilitate trade and other purposes. The social and the economic lives of the bordering Nagas of pungro area and the bordering Burmese are similar. The Burmese upto Leshi town speak the same Mimi dialect and marriages take place between the Mimi people and the Para people of Leshi town (Alemong). Their similarities in social, tradition, custom and economic shaped their likings which enabled the trade easier. It has been the tradition that both the Nagas and the Burmese maintain the bridle path under their jurisdiction (Rupongtsu). With the cessation of headhunting and the introduction of money as the medium of exchange, the traders as well as the volume of trade increased manifold from the colonial period, which also resulted in the increased usage of trade route. The bridle paths between the Naga and the Burmese villages have been using since long time in spite of a number of difficulties. Those paths delivered more benefits to the people than the bridle paths between the villages of the same area. Those bridle paths not only served as the trading routes but socially and culturally linked the Nagas and the Burmese.

The trade route between the Pochury Nagas and the Burmese played a vital role in the Naga-Burmese trade relation. The bridle paths that linked Naga and the Burmese villages have been the only means of communication. All the Burma bordering Pochury Naga villages of Meluri sub-division under Phek district, Nagaland, are related with the Burmese villages through bridle paths which are the only means of communication between the neighbours. Those bridle paths have been used mainly for trade route between the Nagas and the Burmese since long time. The bordering villages of the Nagas and the Burmese are known to each other and are friendly. They have been neighbours for a long time and they understood each other's culture, tradition, custom, etc. which is essential for peaceful co-existence. The immediate neighbours of the Pochury

Nagas and the Burmese had close social relation. There have been active trade between them though; they were restricted going into the interior villages due to the prevalence of headhunting (Tosangchu). The Burma bordering Pochury villages like Avakhong, Pokhongre, old Tewati, etc. are linked by bridle paths with the Burmese villages since long time. There were no cart or vehicle roads. The only possible link between the bordering villages was the bridle path through which human contact was made possible. Like other bridle paths that connected the border villages of the Nagas and the Burmese, the paths between the Pochury villages and the Burmese are hilly and small. Guided by the necessity and perseverance, the traders carried on trade despite many hurdles since long time.

The bridle path from pokhongre and Avakhong to shera, Tamandi and to Leshi town in Burma is one of the popularly used trade route between the Pochury Nagas and the Burmese. It is one of the oldest paths that connected the Nagas and the Burmese (Akumong). All the goods were carried by man through that path and it was the only line of communication between bordering villages. Bridle paths have been maintained by the respective villages through which the path passes. Those paths have multipurpose utility. Traders despised all odds and strove to exchange the desired goods from their counterpart. Though no noticeable or big developments took place, but changes were brought to the lives of the people through those border bridle paths. The needy people were made contented and the limited wants of the pre-modern people were satisfied through those paths. Though the paths are hilly and difficult to travel, the traders continued to travel and served the purpose of the day to day needs and if those paths are not there, trading could not have taken place between the Nagas and the Burmese.

The hilly bridle paths are the trade route in the Naga-Burmese trade through which all the goods are routed since long time. The traders ignored the difficulties of the path to travel but to satisfy their needs and wants through

trade were their concern. There is no improvement of the trading paths worth the name till date. However, there is no dearth of traders. Rather, traders and the items of trade are increasing since the colonial period (Alemon). The border paths not only made the goods exchanged but also made possible to exchange different skills and techniques between the Nagas and the Burmese. Border villages of both the Nagas and the Burmese maintained the border paths under their respective jurisdiction annually. Through those border paths, the bordering villages are exposed and made possible to access to the outside world through the border paths consequently, the bordering people became more acquainted and related to each other than their countryman far away. They were also influenced each other socially, culturally, economically and politically. The border villages became intermediaries in the Naga-Burmese trade as the border path passes through their village and the interior villages could not directly trade with the people across the border up to pre-colonial period. Border paths between the Nagas and the Burmese served as the trade route and played the most vital role in the Naga-Burmese trade relation from time immemorial.

TRADE CENTRE IN THE NAGA-BURMESE TRADE:-

Trade centre played a vital role in the border trade. Here the traders assembled and exchanged their goods for money or goods. In other words, it is the border market or Haats where the people or the traders meet for buying and selling goods. In some places, such markets are organised on an appointed day of the week which is called as weekly border market. Border market plays an important role especially on the social and economic spheres of the life of the bordering people. A market has an immense value upon the pattern of livelihood of a community, especially, in a tribal or rural setting. In a tribal setting, a market provides a meeting place for economic and cultural specialists of different tribes and functions as a centre not only of economic but also of social, religious and political activities in the region (G.R. Biswas cited in J.B

Ganguly, 1984:182). Different hill tribes of North-East India had been trading with the Ahoms. The border markets were opened on the mouth of the duars (Passes) through which the hill people descended down for trade. With the dawn of the colonial period, the British government encouraged border trade between the plain and the hill people. The policy of the government in encouraging the border trade was not only to trade but also to civilize the hill people enabling them to contact with the more advanced plain people. It appears that the colonial perception of trade in the Naga context was to utilize it as a means of civilizing them and thereby to promote good relation between the inhabitants of the settled districts and the Naga tribes. The government was hopeful of making the Nagas civilized through the promotion of their border trade (For.Deptt.Pol-A, May 1846 no.32 cited in Dr.Piketo Achumi, 2012:126). The establishment of weekly markets at the foot of the hills, opening of accessible roads to connect the hills with the plains, the posting of police guards near the markets and the abolition of all vexatious duties imposed by the Ahom government were some of the important steps taken by the government to facilitate Naga trade with the inhabitants of the British districts of Assam (Dr. Piketo Achumi, 2012: 126). The border trade not only facilitates economic growth and served as civilizing agent for the Nagas but also learned Assamese which became the lingua franca among the different Naga tribes. The Assam bordering Naga tribes like the Lotha, Ao and the Konyaks were more active traders than the interior tribes or the villages. Those tribes or the villages acted as the middlemen between the Assamese and the Nagas as well as the Burmese. The items of trade with the Assamese increased from the colonial period with the flow of the machine made goods to the North-eastern India. The Naga –Assamese trade especially from the colonial period, enhanced the Naga-Burmese trade. Not only the indigenous products but also the machine- made goods became a part of items of Naga-Burmese trade for exchange.

The trade centre or the border market in the Naga-Burmese trade was not like the border market in the Naga-Ahom border trade. The Naga-Burmese traders did not assemble in a particular place on an appointed day to exchange the goods. The traders did not pay any tax to anyone. The Naga-Burmese traders usually visited the border villages exchanging goods. Some traders even went on visiting houses to exchange the goods (Alemong). However, some of the bordering villages sometimes served as the trade centre due to its location, production, etc. but those cases are very few. There was no appointed market day in the Naga-Burmese trade. The Naga villages like Longwa, Chen, Avakhong, Pokhongre, Pangsha, Mimi, etc. and the bordering Burmese villages like Hemptu, Khamoi, Hoilan, Lakti, Kholi, Leshi, Tamanti, Shera, etc, sometimes acted as the border markets. As the whole region of the Naga-Burmese border is hilly terrain, all the bordering villages of both sides are located on the hills. The traders from the other side of the border disposed their goods in those villages. The bordering villages acted as middlemen especially up to pre-colonial period. Headhunting prevented free movement and therefore trade was limited only to the immediate bordering villages up to pre-colonial period. The border villages on both sides were the destination for the traders from the interior villages. The border villages exchanged the goods brought from both sides and again exchanged those goods to the interior villages in their respective areas. (Rupongtsu). However, with the cessation of headhunting from the colonial period, the human movement became free and the fear of losing life was done away with. Consequently, the traders moved from village to village exchanging goods. Coupled with the cessation of headhunting, money was introduced as the medium of exchange which facilitated the trade easier and simple. Introduction of money and the cessation of headhunting made the trade centre of the Naga-Burmese trade less important. Traders could visit the interior villages on both sides exchanging and buying or selling goods. However, the bordering villages did a yeoman's service in the Naga-Burmese trade especially

up to the pre-colonial period. The traders not only exchanged their goods in the bordering villages but also rested there and from their contact, the traders learned different techniques such as dao and other agricultural tools making, gun- making, basketry, cultivation of different crops, etc. Apart from learning those techniques, the traders also learned cultural practices, customs and traditions of their counterpart (Khamo). The trade centre in the Naga-Burmese trade also served as a place for socialisation of people from different villages. The bordering people hardly met each other though they lived in a close proximity especially up to pre-colonial period. Trading provided the opportunity to meet physically. Trade was mostly carried on during agricultural lean season and winter when they were free from rain and daily engagement in the field. Winter is the ideal time to travel on foot especially on the hilly bridle path. During summer, travelling up and down the bridle path carrying heavy loads is risky as the path became slippery as rain is an almost everyday's occurrence in that region.

The Naga-Burmese trade saw the increase in trade items and expansion from the colonial period. The traders went further into the interior villages taking not only their indigenous items but also machine made finish goods brought from Assam. The early trade centres of the world were mostly the town or the cities located on the sea coast or the big river banks which facilitated easy transportation. Those towns or cities became prosperous and developed rapidly. Goods brought by the caravans or the ships were unloaded in the trade centres which were sent to different places in its areas. Again the goods brought from the nearby places were collected in those towns or cities and sent to far flung lands. However, the trade centres in the Naga-Burmese trade were not as that of the trade centres in the other parts of the world, yet the economic condition of the people of intermediary villages, who served as the trade centres in the Naga-Burmese trade, became better off than the interior villages (Alemong). Unlike most of the trade centres of the world, the Naga-Burmese

trade centres are located on the hills and also did not grow into towns or cities. The Naga-Burmese trade centres served as the link between the people of two countries and also linked the interior villages of the Nagas and the Burmese through the trade centres. The trade centres offered opportunity to the interior villages of the Nagas and the Burmese to exchange their goods. The Naga-Burmese trade centres acted both as trade centre and also as border market. However, those trade centres could not develop into township in spite of long period of trading. The reason for not growing or developing the trade centre like other trade centres in India or in the world could be manifold. There was no particular rich trading class or community. All the matured men were traders. Rich trading community or class is essential for trade. The trading community or the class takes care of the goods bringing to and distributing from the trade centre. The absence of the merchant or the business group in the Naga-Burmese trade was a major factor which did not contribute to the growth of the trade centres. There were no roads connecting the trade centres and no means of transportation of goods. Good road is the most important for a successful trade. Unlike the trade centres of ancient India or the world, the trade centres of the Naga-Burmese are not located on the river banks or valley for easy transportation of goods. The trade centres are located on the hill tops which were very difficult for easy transportation of goods. Goods were very limited especially, upto pre-colonial period. Agricultural goods and the implements, some cultural items like necklace, bangles, cowrie, shells, etc. and some household items like the pottery, iron tools or implements, etc. comprised the trading items during the pre-colonial period. Their needs or wants increased gradually from the colonial period when the different machine made goods entered Assam. The machine-made goods began to supply by the other Naga tribes, who are bordered Assam, to the Nagas bordering the Burmese. There was no warehouse or store house in the trade centres of the Naga-Burmese trade. Warehouse or the store house plays an important role in the trade and

commerce. Collecting trading goods in the warehouse for further shipment to other places makes the trade centre important. It develops and makes the trade centre improved economically. Due to the lack of big amount of trading goods in the Naga-Burmese trade, the keeping of warehouse/store house in the trade centres was not feasible. The goods brought by the traders were exchanged for goods and carried to their villages. Absence of a medium of exchange up to the pre-colonial period could have been a major reason for not developing the trade centres into townships or becoming important economic centres as barter system had a number of demerits for transaction. In the barter system, the value of particular goods cannot be determined especially when there was no specific standard exchange medium. In a money economy, one cannot buy if there is no money. Without the medium of exchange or money, active trade and big business would be difficult. Trade centre could be developed with the constant use. The above mentioned factors can be considered as the reasons why the trade centres of the Naga-Burmese trade could not develop, advance or became important places like the trade centres of the other parts of India or the world. However, the trade centres of the Naga-Burmese trade did play its part in the Naga-Burmese trade relation; although, its contribution was very negligible compared to the other trade centres of the world.

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Akkah Chairman, Longwa Area Constituency, Burma.

Akumong Head Gaon Bora, Pokhongre village

Alemong Ex. G.B. Mimi village.

Ayimniken, Aliba village.
Changlem Konyak, Chen village.
Chea Dobashi, Dan, Pangsha.
Chapha village council member. Longwa village.
Chilio Nokhu Village.
Imnamakla, Aliba village.
Khamo Deputy Angh Longwa village.
Khomom Head Dobashi, Noklak.
Lampha, Angphang village.
Longkhong Chairman village council, Longwa.
Pangitsula, Aliba village.
Rupongtsu Head G.B Mimim village.
Tangtsu Chairman, Hakkumati village.
Tatongchaba Head Dobashi, Mokokchung.
Thangoi G.B. Pangsha Village.
Tosangchu G.B Avakhong village.
Tsalimong Raja Avakhong village.
Yalathang Dobashi, Pungro.
Yawang Longwa village.
Yimthura G.B. Hakkumati village.
Wongtho Chang Retired Head Dobashi Noksen Town, Tuensang.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Trade has been one of the earliest economic practices of man. Though its invention is not certain, it is one of the best methods ever invented by man to satisfy his economic wants or necessities. It not only serves as a means to satisfy one's wants which were beyond the capacity to satisfy himself but also serves as a link between/among the peoples, communities, countries, etc. It relates different peoples, communities, etc, who have the same interest and desire in spite of so many differences or inequalities. It brings together the different peoples or communities. Trade plays the major role in the economic development of the people in the different parts of the world. Both external and internal trade equally do their function by delivering the goods and services to the needy. Trading took place in human society since long time. The authors of the great ancient civilizations like the Harappa, Egyptian, etc. did actively practise trade. Nature has gifted different things to different lands and people. Man can not satisfy all his wants and needs by himself. To satisfy all his wants and needs, he has to depend partly on other's produce and that could be made possible through trade. With the advancement in science and technology, the way of life changed; consequently, wants and needs multiplied which can be met through trade only. Trade gives the opportunity to both the seller and the buyer. The seller sells his surplus products and the buyer satisfies his wants/needs from other's produce, as such, both are benefited.

Trade makes the people closer to one another. People who want to sell and who want to buy are become related through trade. Trade can take place only in a peaceful and congenial atmosphere. Goods and services cannot be sold forcefully unless there is mutual understanding and agreement. Those who are related through trade always try not offend the sentiments of the trading partner(S). By doing trade, the trading partners are assisting each other in their

economic development. A favourable balance of trade makes a country economically strong and an economically strong country is recognised by everyone and her voice becomes louder in the world bodies. In the present day world, it is a must for any country to maintain good trading relationship with other countries. As a country cannot satisfy all her wants by herself, she has to satisfy by other's produce through trade. One sells her produce to others through trade and in such a way every country tries to maintain a balance of payment in the international trade. When the importance of trade become prominent, the economically and scientifically advanced countries began to compete to trade especially with the new worlds which finally led to trade wars. For instance, the Anglo-French conflict was to control the Indian trade. Different theories of trade like the Mercantilism, protectionism, Liberalism, etc were developed to get the maximum benefit from trade and also to develop free trade among the different countries. With the foundation of the world's highest body-United Nations Organisation, a separate department was created and designated as the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), later on rechristened as World Trade Organisation (W.T.O), to regulate the trading guidelines for the welfare of the member states. So far, hundreds of agreements are concluded among the different nations for smooth trading among them. Trade becomes increasingly important in today's world as trading is the only solution to the problem of scarcity and to dispose one's product. Market place is a part of trade, especially during the ancient times. The buyer and the seller assembled in the market place. There people from different background gathered. They not only did material transactions but also exchanged ideas, techniques and knowledge among the traders. They learned from each other and influenced each other and in due course of time, such influence could be manifested in the way of life and the society. Market place became a very important place for learning new things and ideas as there, the Physical contact of the traders take place. The traders were one of the first agents that brought

changes in any society as they learn new things and ideas. Consequently, their outlook becomes wider.

Trade developed in India since ancient time. The Harappan civilization, which is considered as the earliest Indian civilization, had developed not only internal but also external trade as well. India had been envied by the others as she was famed for her wealth. She had trade relation with both the east and the west through land as well as sea routes since ancient times. Indian trade with the west was mainly carried out by the Indian and the Arab merchants. India was considered as a land of fabulous wealth. Despite political upheaval, India up to the establishment of the British Empire was a wealthy nation. Everyone wanted to have trade relation with India and everyone wanted to control Indian trade. The land route from India went through Kashmir, Quetta and Khyber Pass to Afghanistan, central Asia, and Persia and reached ports of Red sea and Mediterranean Sea. Indian goods were exported to both the east and the west. China, Malaya, South East Asia and the Far East were mostly the destinations of Indian goods in Asia. East Africa, Central Asian countries and the Europeans were the high consumers of the Indian goods. The European explorers tried their best to discover the sea route to India mainly for trade. As the land route between India and the west was dominated and went under the control of the Ottoman Turks by the middle of the fifteenth century, the Europeans had to discover a new route if they wanted to have trade relation with India. Consequent upon which, India was discovered in the last years of the fifteenth century in 1498 through sea route. Indian goods like the spices, silk, cotton, Kashmiri carpet; wooden furniture, etc. were in great demand from the different parts of the world. Up to the pre-colonial period, India maintained a favourable balance of international trade.

The Nagas are bordered by the Assamese, Meitis, Arunachalese and the Burmese. With all those neighbours, Nagas have been related in trade since long time. Nagas's trade relation with her neighbours has been cordial although,

uncongenial situations for trade occurred sometimes due to misunderstandings. Up to pre-colonial period, barter system was the only means for transaction of goods. Naga's trade with her neighbours up to pre-colonial period was very limited due to number of reasons. Absence of a medium of exchange, prevalence of headhunting, limited production, etc. were some of the hindrances to the limited Naga's trade with her neighbours. Naga trade with neighbours was mainly with the Assamese and the Burmese. Though the Ahoms, who came from Upper Burma, were late comers in Assam, yet the Nagas established trade relation with them easily and the Ahoms became a major trading partner of the Nagas. Border markets were opened in Assam near the mouth of the passes through which the Nagas descended down for trade. Those markets were held on certain days of the week. However, the Nagas went on visiting the Assamese houses for exchanging goods apart from participating in the weekly markets. Weekly markets not only served as a place to dispose, buy, sell, exchange goods but also played a very important role in socialization of the Assamese and the Nagas, learning new ideas and techniques, learning other's culture, etc. Markets were a meeting place of different cultures. The weekly market or Haats were not only held on the Assamese-Naga border but also on the Assamese borders with the other hill peoples surrounding Assam. Different hill tribes brought their products to those markets and exchanged for salt and other Assamese goods. As the Assamese were more civilized and advanced than the hill tribes, their influence was more than the influence of the hill people on the Assamese. In the market place, the traders learned from each other and in due course of time, the effect(s) of that contact is manifested in the society of the Hill people. In the case of the Nagas, they not only traded with the Ahoms but also learned new ideas, techniques, etc. and even influenced by the Assamese culture. The broken Assamese called the 'Nagamese' became the lingua franca among the different Naga tribes. The Nagas had no common language. It seems that Assamese is learnt by the Nagas while doing trade and

in due course of time, the Nagamese, the lingua franca of the Nagas, is developed mainly taken from the Assamese. Though, Nagamese is the common language of the Nagas, ironically, there is no Naga word in Nagamese. Emergence of a common language of the Nagas was a major outcome of the long Naga-Ahom contact. Assamese became the medium of communication between the Naga and the Assamese traders, as the Naga traders learned some basic Assamese in the course of their trade relation. Assamese was not only become the medium of communication between the Naga traders and the Assamese but it also become the medium of communication between the other hill people who were living surrounding Assam and had trade relation with the Assamese. Assamese influence on the other hill tribes of North-east India cannot be ignored, though the impression left after the contact of the innocent North-east hill people with the western civilization is much bigger and effective.

Another neighbour, with whom the Nagas have been closely related since long time, is the Burmese. The Burmese and the Nagas belong to the same Mongolian stock of human race. They not only belong to the same Mongloid family but also some Naga tribes have blood relation with the immediate Burmese neighbours. A good number of Naga tribes like the Konyaks, Khiamnuingan, Tangkhul, etc. live in the North-west Burma. It is believed that all the Mongolians had been living together at one point of time and in due course of time; they migrated to different parts of the world. The Nagas and the Burmese happened to settle at the present site. The Nagas and the bordering Burmese are similar in many aspects. Their looks and physique are almost the same. There are many similar cultural practices among the Nagas and the Burmese. Their festivals, traditional marriage system, traditional religious practices, economic pursuit and other social practices are very similar. It is natural that the trade was first begun between the close neighbours, no matter to whatever country or race they belong to. It was much easier, nearer and cost effective both for the Nagas and the Burmese, who are bordered, than to trade

with their own countryman far away. There is no definite chronology about the beginning of the Naga-Burmese trade relation as there is no written record available to ascertain the beginning of the Naga-Burmese trade relation. Naga-Burmese trade was carried through barter for a long time. It was the British-Indian government that first introduced the money as the medium of exchange from the colonial period. From then onwards, Indian rupee became an accepted medium of exchange. The Naga-Burmese trade has been carrying out since long time. However, their trade was confined mostly to the immediate neighbouring villages. Prevalence of the headhunting and the absence of a medium of exchange were the major hindrance to the extensive Naga-Burmese trade in spite of a long period of their trade relation. Their trading items mostly comprised up of the agricultural and cultural items. Their productions were meagre as they had hardly any idea for extensive and larger trade. Moreover, the agricultural productions of the Nagas were very low as the cultivation on the hilly terrain was labour intensive with low return. The factors for the low agricultural production were manifold. The soil of the hilly terrain was less fertile than the valley. The method of cultivation was primitive coupled with no idea for larger production for trade. The surplus production of the Nagas and the Burmese was meagre. However, the Nagas and the Burmese have been trading for centuries despite many odds. The traders carried a basketful of goods and went on exchanging for the goods he desired. The Naga-Burmese traders carried the goods on the hilly bridle paths taking so much trouble in transporting the goods to exchange. If there was good road linking the Naga-Burmese border villages, then the trade between the Nagas and the Burmese could have been much improved. The Naga-Burmese traders went to other's village taking their goods and on reaching the village; they visited the different houses to exchange the goods and if the trader could not finish his business on the same day, he spent the night in his friend's or clansman's or relative's house. Both the Nagas and the bordering Burmese are hospitable. Headhunting

was prevalent no doubt, but most of the time Nagas did not attack a village at their sweet will. Fighting between the villages occurred due to misunderstanding, though ambushed or way laid the individual or small number of passers on the way, was sometimes practised. The Naga-Burmese trade which have been carried on since long time did not remain static throughout. It gradually changed with time. The pattern of Naga-Burmese trade was primitive, yet it did contribute to the economic welfare of the people.

There were differences in the Naga-Burmese trade between the pre-colonial and the colonial periods. Due to unavailability of sources, it is difficult to arrive at a specific time when the trade relation began between the Nagas and the Burmese. However, it is believed that Naga-Burmese trade relation began long before the colonial period. It is also believed that like the people of the other parts of the world, the Nagas and the Burmese too began to trade when they could not satisfy all their wants by themselves. The people of the easternmost districts of the present Nagaland state-Mon, Tuensang, Kipheri and Phek, are the immediate neighbours of the north-western Burmese who are mostly comprised up of Naga tribes. There are similarities in many aspects. Both the Nagas and the Burmese have rich culture and tradition. Apart from being immediate neighbours; their food habits, traditional religious beliefs, economic pursuits, etc. are very similar which brought them more closer than with their own countrymen far away. Trade relation between the Nagas and the Burmese developed as they are the natural and immediate neighbours. Besides that there are similar likings, especially the cultural items which made them closer.

The Naga-Burmese trade during the pre-colonial period covers a long time. The Naga-Burmese trade was an informal trade. Barter system was the only option for the Naga-Burmese traders as there was no accepted medium of exchange up to the pre-colonial period. Barter system was the medium of transaction of the world before the invention of money as the medium of exchange. The immediate neighbours of the Nagas and the Burmese exchanged

goods for goods of their needs till the pre-colonial period. There was no medium of exchange. Absence of a medium of exchange sometimes made them difficult to transact their business. They exchanged their daily and other needs. The Konyak, khiamnuingan, Yimchungru and the Pochury are the easternmost Naga tribes of Nagaland who are actively involved in trade with the Burmese. They are the intermediaries between the other Naga tribes and the Burmese. They traded agricultural and horticultural products, raw iron, salt, bee wax, dao, spear head, dyed goat's hair, hand woven cloth, cotton, hornbill feather, cowries, conch shell, necklace, bangles, long sword, brass gong, pottery, corn sheath, etc. and the animals which include goat, Mithun (*bos frontalis*), buffalo, cow, pig, chicken and dog. Agricultural implements and tools, the cane baskets, mats and other handicrafts and gun (muzzle loader) were also traded between the Nagas and the Burmese. Besides trading in goods, they also learned different making techniques from each other. Among the Konyak Nagas, Longwa village has been a prominent village in the Naga- Burmese trade relation. Most of the Burma bordering Naga villages could roam hardly in the immediate bordering Burmese villages for trade. However, Longwa village was influential and suzerainty over not less than fifty Burmese villages besides the surrounding villages under the present Nagaland. Unlike others, the citizens of Longwa village could visit those fifty Burmese villages without fear and did business. Goods brought from the Burmese villages were again exchanged with the goods from the other Naga villages, which made them economically sound and also the other interior village got the opportunity to dispose their goods and to satisfy their wants. The Konyak Nagas played a major role especially in the Naga-Burmese and the Ahom-Naga trade. They played the role of the middleman. What they obtained from the Ahom and the Burmese trade, they further exchanged with the other interior Konyaks and with the other Naga tribes.

Another Naga tribe who played a prominent role in the Naga-Burmese trade is the Khamniungan Nagas who are occupying present Noklak sub-division under Tuensang district, Nagaland. The Khamniungan Nagas are active traders with the Burmese since long time. They play a big role in the Naga-Burmese trade. There are a number of Khamniungan Naga villages bordering Burmese. Among them Pangsha, which was previously known as Wulan, had been the most prominent village in the area both under Burma and the present Nagaland. It was the most fearsome village and nobody dared to attack or offend that village. The Pangsha traders were free to visit any village for doing business or for any other purposes. Pangsha villagers went deep into the Burmese villages exchanging goods. Pangsha village contributed much to the Naga-Burmese trade. The Burmese goods brought by the Pangsha villagers were disposed to the other Khamniungan villages and thence to other Naga tribes in Tuensang district. The other Khamniungan villages bordering Burma too did not remain passive. Though they were not as privileged as Pangsha, they did contribute to the enhancement to the Naga-Burmese trade. The Khamniungan not only satisfied their wants through the trade with the Burmese but also supplied the Burmese goods to the other Nagas mostly the cultural items including the necklace, bangle, dyed goat's hair, dao, long sword, hornbill feather, shell, etc. There are more Khamniungan villages in Burma than under India. They speak different dialects but somehow, they can communicate and understand each other.

Mimi group of some Yimchungru villages are bordered with the Burmese under Pungro sub-division, Kipheri district, Nagaland. They have been living together since long time though they are under different political jurisdiction. Socially and economically, they are more closely related than their own countryman. They understand each other's culture and tradition and also assisted one another in times of crises. They can also understand other's dialect which is a major contributor to the successful trading relation since long time till

date. Mimi village is a premier village in the area. It has been a centre of business of the Nagas and the Burmese. Besides the trading in agricultural products for daily requirements, the people of Pungro area Nagas mainly supplied to the Burmese the bee wax and corn sheath and the clay pots. There is good number of limestone cliffs in Pungro area which is an ideal place for the bees for making bee hive. The exchange of honey, bee wax and corn sheath and the pottery with the Burmese goods contributed much to the economy of the people of the Mimi area. In the whole area, pottery is made only by the Mimi village. Mimi pottery was an unavoidable and an important kitchen item of every household in the area. Their economic condition was better than the interior villages in the area. The Burmese livestock such as pig, buffalo, Mithun, chicken, etc. exchanged for bee wax, corn sheath, pottery, etc. were again exchanged to the Pungro area people. All those transactions augmented the economy of the Mimi area people. Those Yimchungru villages acted as the intermediary in the Naga-Burmese trade relation. Their effort and contribution to the Naga-Burmese trade should be appreciated as besides other goods, most of the Naga cultural items are made available through the Burmese and also the continuity of the Naga-Burmese trade till date could not have taken place if, not only the Yimchungru but also the whole bordering tribes, neglected the border trade with Burma.

The Pochury Nagas, another Naga tribe who share her boundary with the Burmese, have started trade relation with the Burmese many years back and could continue till date. They have occupied the present Meluri sub-division of Phek division, Nagaland. The exchange of goods between the Pochury Nagas and the Burmese began long time back which is still very active. The Pochury Nagas manufactured salt from the salt spring. Their salt was in great demand not only by the fellow Nagas but also by the Burmese neighbours. The Burmese mostly exchanged the Pochury salt with their livestock. The goods and the livestock got from the Burmese were again disposed to the interior Nagas. The

salt produced by the interior Pochury villages was again transported to the Burma through the bordering Pochury villages such as Pokhongri, Avakhong, old Tewati, Nazupfu, Zepfu, etc. Pokhongri dialect is spoken by a number of Burmese villages some of who were migrated from Pokhongri village. It is also believed that all of them had been together at one point of time before occupying their present sites. Defying many hindrances and difficulties, the Pochury Nagas have been carrying on active trade with the Burmese since long time. The involvement of the Pochury Nagas in the trade with Burmese is significant in the economic life of the people of its area. Both the Nagas and the Burmese have benefited. The problem of wants and the scarcity of the Nagas and the Burmese could be solved to a great extent through trade. Their trade upto pre-colonial period had a number of obstructions for free and extensive trade. Those obstructions for instance- headhunting, absence of medium of exchange, road condition, etc. hampered the free flow of trade and mingling of people.

The social relation of the immediate bordering villages of the Nagas and the Burmese were mostly cordial. Their custom, tradition, culture, etc, were similar. Marriages took place between the neighbours. Good social relation and the peaceful social atmosphere between the neighbours are the prerequisite conditions for the development and the continuity of trade between them, without which, not only trading but also sharing of techniques, ideas, etc. is not possible. By trading they helped each other. Cultural affinities between different communities play important part. Cultural affinities bring the people of different communities closer and the feeling of oneness develops. The Nagas and the Burmese are not only immediate neighbours and belong to the same human family but also culturally related. There were similarities in the traditional religions of the Nagas and the bordering Burmese. The Naga-Burmese neighbours used to invite each other to their festivals which made them to rededicate their relationship. However, with the dawn of the colonial period,

the Nagas gradually converted to new religion- Christianity which was very much opposite to their contemporary belief. The difference in the beliefs of the Naga-Burmese neighbours from the colonial period, slightly affected their trade and social relation. The demand for cultural items by the Nagas reduced after their conversion to the new religion as the Christian missionaries asked the new converts to give up all their cultural and traditional practices. The Christian missionaries thought that anything Naga traditional or cultural items or practices were considered as heathen and unconformity with the Christian teachings. Again invitation of the neighbours to their religious festivals by both the Nagas and the Burmese gradually ceased with the conversion of the Nagas into Christianity.

The Naga-Burmese trade from the colonial period saw some changes. The Treaty of Yandaboo which concluded between the English and Burmese in 1826 cannot be erased from the history of the North-east India. That eventful treaty was the harbinger of changes whether good or bad, in the history of the whole North-east India. This treaty also ushered in an era in the history of North-east India. After the Anglo-Burmese war in Assam, the whole of North-east India went under the control of the English. With the strategic point of view coupled with the economic interest, the English occupied Assam in the first half of the nineteenth century and they became the master of the whole North-east India. The English did not take much interest on the hills surrounding Assam. However, they were compelled to occupy directly or indirectly the hills surrounding Assam. The British system of administration and governance were different from the indigenous systems and for most of the North-eastern people it was the beginning of the historical period. The contact of the people of North-east India with the west has brought tremendous changes. The people of North-east India were exposed to the outside world and at the same time they were ushered into a new civilization- the western civilization, brought by the English. The British occupation of north-east India has brought changes in their

contemporary social, economy, political, religion, etc. In the political sphere, the English changed and took over the administration in Assam valley. However, in the hills, the English took over the overall administration but maximum restraint was maintained not to interfere in the local or village administrative system. In the religious sphere, evangelization of the non-Christians by the Christian missionaries was very successful especially among the hill people. Their way of life began to change after the contact with the west. With the introduction of western education, the traditional society of the North-east India could not withstand against the forces of the western civilization and made way to modernity. Many traditional practices and institutions faded away. The people of North-east India tested a new economy-the money economy after the coming of the English. The coin money was introduced by the British-India government. The barter system was replaced by money as the medium of exchange. The economic transactions were done through money, though in some areas, barter system existed sometime along with money. Gradually, the Naga-Burmese trade was also benefited by the introduction of money, though; it was very difficult for the Nagas to get money. The traders did their business through money and sometimes through barter. Buying and selling through money was very convenient especially for the hill people. It reduced the burden of carrying of goods to and fro. It also made easy to transact between the traders.

The Naga-Burmese trade from the colonial period became more extensive with more trading items. The British -India government did their best to stop headhunting among the tribals in North-east India whether it was under their direct control or not. Side by side, the Christian missionaries also contributed to the cessation of headhunting. The discouragement and the stopping of headhunting improved the Naga-Burmese trade. The traders could visit the interior village on both sides without fear and hindrance. They roamed freely for exchanging or buying or selling goods not only in other's country but also in

their own land. The items of trade were also increased between the Nagas and the Burmese from the colonial period. The machine made finish goods was made available on the Naga-Assamese border. After the establishment of tea industry in Assam, tea became a popular household drinks among the people of North-east India and it became a trading item between the Naga-Burmese traders. The machine made cloths - clothing and shawls, aluminium pots, salt and other household items from Assamese border markets were transported by the Naga traders to Burma. In due course of time, kerosene, soap, matches, agricultural iron implements, medicine, etc. were also shipped by the Naga middlemen to the Burmese trader. During the colonial period the British India government encouraged and initiated border trade between the Assamese and the hill people by organising weekly market on the mouth of the duars or the passes through which the hill people descended down to Assam for marketing. To encourage the border trade, the government did not levy any tax unlike the Ahom government during the Pre-colonial period. The intention of the government for organising weekly market was to win over the minds of the hill people and also to familiarise the hill and the plain people. The holding of weekly border markets made the machine made goods easily available to the non-Assamese traders. The Naga- Burmese traders were benefited by such weekly markets. From the colonial period, the hill peoples including the Nagas and the Burmese were increasingly depended on the machine made goods and began to discard the traditional dresses and other things. The British Indian government imposed house tax to be collected from every household annually from the areas under their direct control. It was a new practice imposed by the government. The Nagas never paid any form of tax to anyone before, except that the defeated village in the battle used to pay tribute to the victorious village. To pay annual house tax to the government was a big problem for the Nagas as it was very difficult to find the means to earn money. Almost everything was affected and there was hardly anything left which was not

unaffected by the colonial rule. With the introduction of money, trading became easier and convenient. People learned the value and the usage of money which was very new to them. Many changes took place in North-east India during the colonial period. This period is taken as the beginning of the modern and historical period for a number of communities of this region. Both the Nagas and the Burmese were under the same colonial ruler which made the traders free to visit either side without any government restrictions. Besides the stopping of headhunting, another important humanitarian work done by the colonial ruler was the prohibition and the total control of the practice of slavery and the slave trade among the Nagas and the Burmese. The slave trade, though not very common, was a lucrative business that was prevalent during the arrival of the colonist. Slave was treated as a commodity which could be sold or bought. The future of a slave was at the hands of its owner. The primary objectives of the invader of a village were to bring human head and to capture the enemy mostly boys and girls alive. Slave was treated as very valuable whether to serve the owner or to sell. Besides that, keeping slave added to one's prestige in the society. The price of a slave was very high. The lowest price was not less than a Mithun and some valuables like brass gong, copper bracelets, dao, necklace, spearhead, bangle, ivory armlet, etc. The stopping of the practise of slavery and the slave trade during the colonial period contributed to free movement of the traders and mingling of the people which boosted to wider Naga-Burmese trade. The government not only used force in stopping the practise of slavery but also some slaves were redeemed by paying money to the captor. The Naga-Burmese trade during colonial period was remarkable. From this period, free movement and the mingling of the traders were made possible. Introduction of money ushered in easy and convenient system of transaction. It also enlightened the primitive people about the value and the usage of money. Machine made goods were first introduced to the North-eastern region in the colonial period. The Naga-Burmese traders did not lag behind and became the

agents of the machine made goods. The usage and the popularity of the machine made goods became more and gradually, handmade and traditional ones were replaced by the machine made goods. It was the beginning of the invasion of the indigenous culture by the western culture which finally gave way to the latter by the former. The onslaught of the western culture was too strong for the indigenous culture of the hill people of North-east India to be resisted, which left long lasting impressions.

Not only had the Naga villages but also most of the Hill villages of North-east India been linked by the bridle paths. Wide motorable roads are the works of the government of the post-colonial period. Bridle paths were the only line of communication through which the villages were linked. The Naga and the Burmese villages were linked by narrow bridle paths only. The Naga-Burmese traders travelled on the hilly bridle path carrying basketful of goods to and fro. The bridle paths are narrow and hilly. The traders faced a lot of hardships in transporting the goods. Those bridle paths are the linking paths between the neighbours and those paths are the only line of communication that connected the villages. There were no changes or improvement on the condition of the trade route till recent times. Maintenance and the cleaning of the linking path was the responsibility of the respective villages through which the path passes. The respective villages repaired the path and the bridges every year. Most of the Naga-Burmese villages are located on the hill tops, mostly due to security reasons. Path leading to the village is steep and to travel on such path carrying heavy load is so tiresome and risky especially on the rainy season. Though the paths are steep and narrow but the Naga-Burmese traders have been using these since long time and all the goods are carried through these paths bearing the difficulties of climbing up and down. There was no cart or vehicle for transportation. All the goods are carried by man alone. In spite of all those difficulties, the traders have been carrying on trade till date. Narrow and steep

trade road is one of the hindrances for not expanding Naga-Burmese trade despite long period of trade relation.

Trade centre is important in the border trade. Trade centre is the place where the traders from different places or across the border assembled and do trading. Trade centre is usually located on the border and convenient place where trader from both sides can meet easily. Trade centres in other parts of the world are usually located on the river bank or the sea shores which is a convenient place for transportation of goods. Those places became port cities and populated mostly by the business community. Those trade centres are more developed and economically better than the other cities. However, there are number of differences between the other trade centres and the trade centres of the Naga-Burmese trade. There are some Naga villages which serve as the trade centres of the Naga-Burmese trade. Those villages are not mutually selected or agreed upon by the trading parties to be the trade centre but those villages became trade centres naturally in due course of time. Some natural criteria must have played its role in making those villages as a trade centre. The ideal location of the village, easy accessibility, availability of the trading goods, relation of the village with others, etc. must have been the natural criteria for making a trade centre. Unlike the border markets between Assam and the Nagas, the Naga-Burmese traders did not assemble in the trade centres on the appointed day. The trader visited border and friendly villages exchanging goods. The trade centres were visited at their will. The villages like Mimi, Longwa, Chen, Avakhong, Pokhongri and Pangsha, were mostly visited by both the Burmese and the Naga traders and in course of time, those villages became more popular and familiar with the traders than other villages. The traders brought their goods and exchanged for other goods. Some of those goods were again exchanged to interior villages. The trade centres of the Naga-Burmese trade are not located on the river banks or there is no sea port. All the centres are hilly villages. There are no storehouses for keeping goods for further

transportation to other destinations. The economic condition of the people of the trade centre villages are little bit better than the interior villages though, their economic life is incomparable to the economy of the people of other trade centres of the world. The trade centres of the Naga-Burmese trade did contribute to the welfare of the trade though; its contribution may not be much. Whenever the traders visited the trade centres, they became familiar with their counterpart's dialect, culture, custom, etc. which is essential for understanding each other. The trader spent the night at the trade centre or at the village they visited if they could not finish exchanging all their goods. In such a way they mingle and share different ideas and techniques each other. The trader carried a basketful of goods to be exchanged and visited a village in which the trader expected to get his desired goods. The trade centre or the border market provided a good platform for socialization of different people, community, tribes, etc. which contributed to the social harmony among different communities. The trade centres rendered yeoman's service to the traders. Besides looking after the welfare of the trader's stay in their houses, the people of the trade centre kept the unexchanged goods for further exchange to the interior villages. After the cessation of headhunting, the importance of the trade centre has lessened. The trader could go even to the interior villages from the colonial period without fear. The trader visited any village doing business. The dependence on the border village or the trade centres for the exchange of goods by the interior village on both the Naga and Burma side has declined.

The Nagas and the Burmese have been trading since long time. Their needs and wants are shared and helped each other in the form of trade by exchanging goods for goods. The people, geographical setting, the climatic condition, etc. of the eastern Nagaland and the North-west Burma are same in some respect and very similar on the other. The similarity of all those factors made them closer besides their geographical close proximity. They have been sowing and

cultivating almost the same agricultural crops. The soil and the climatic condition are similar which is suitable and ideal for particular seeds or crops. There are similarities in their food habits and cultural life which drag them closer. Their cultural practices and the religious festivals are all similar which are responsible for their long and strong relationship. Cultural affinities play an important role in the relationship of different communities. The similarities of the food habits and the cultural practices lead to the demand for the same food or the cultural items. Cultural items are important trade items in the Naga-Burmese trade. Those cultural items are a major component of the Burmese trading items exchanged with the Nagas. The agricultural products of the Nagas and the Burmese are a daily item of their trade. All the crops are not harvested enough to their needs every year which necessitated trade between them. All the agricultural products were the items of trade. All were equally important to someone or the other. Trading in the agricultural products saved them from scarcity as they exchanged their surplus or the secondary crops to that of the primary crops like rice, taro, etc. which are the staple food for them. Trading in the agricultural products also helped them each other especially in times of famine or during less harvest as harvest of all the crops are not same to all the cultivators every year. The agricultural products have been the first and foremost item of the Naga-Burmese trade.

The domestic animals were Mithun (*bos frontalis*), cow, buffalo, dog, pig; chicken and goat has been a non-agricultural item of trade. Those animals were mostly brought from Burma and exchanged for other goods like salt, bee wax, corn sheath, etc. The livestock from Burmese were further exchanged to the other interior Naga villages by the Naga intermediaries for other goods. Along with the agriculture, both the Nagas and the Burmese domesticate animals. Animals are domesticated not only for its meat for the family but also to sell or exchange and also for any family emergency to fall on. The rearing of animals substantiates their family income besides their main income from agriculture.

Another non-agricultural item of trade was the iron tools and the raw iron. Iron had been very important to the people. Iron tools and weapons played the important role in their daily life. Without iron implements or tools, they could not do their economic activities. The slash and burn method of cultivation is impossible without iron tools/implements like dao, axe, hoe, sickle, etc. The survival of life depended on the iron implements. Another important usage of iron was the making of iron weapons like dao, spearhead, etc. Their life was at constant danger of attacking from the enemies and without weapons; they could not defend their lives and properties. Upto the pre-colonial period, the iron implement, tools, raw iron mostly came from Burma. However, from the colonial period, readymade iron implements became in abundance in the border markets in Assam. Iron was very valuable to them and as such it was even used as the medium of exchange by some Naga tribes before the introduction of money. After the war, the victorious village demanded certain number of daos, salt, besides other valuables, as tribute from the defeated village. It was the practice of some Naga tribe which was prevalent upto pre-colonial period. It was stopped by the British India government during the colonial period. Iron had been the most important material without which their survival could have been threatened. Clay pottery, beeswax, honey, corn sheath, cane baskets, etc. were also non-agricultural noted items the Nagas and the Burmese traded. The usefulness of a good differs from community to community. For instance, even among the agricultural products, some products are more useful than another from community to community. Again, beeswax and corn sheath were available with the Nagas but less useful to them. Whereas, corn sheath and bee wax are not available with the Burmese which were very useful to them. In this way, the Nagas and the Burmese helped each other through trade. Slave was also an item of trade though it was very seldom featured. The slave was not a commodity which was always available at hand. Again, the price of the slave was very high. It was not meant for any ordinary

person. Only the rich could afford to buy slave. It was outrightly prohibited by the colonial government and gradually decayed and vanished from its existence.

It is believed that the Nagas and the people of South East Asian countries were migrated from the same place and descended from the same ancestor. The cultural practices, traditional religious belief, custom and tradition, method of cultivation, etc are similar between the Nagas and the people of South East Asian countries. Their culture and tradition could withstand the ravages of time. In spite of long separation, they could still keep alive at least some common cultural practices and dresses. Due to cultural affinities, the Naga cultural items were brought from the east through Burma. Those cultural items like the dyed goat's hair, hornbill feather, bangle, cowrie, conch shell, bracelet, necklace, traditional head care, wild boar tusk, decorated spear, etc. were exchanged by the Nagas from the Burmese. All those items reached the Nagas through the Burmese. Though the cultural items were not essential commodities, yet those items were popular among the Nagas upto the pre-colonial period. However, the demand for those cultural items decreased steadily from the colonial period with the conversion of the Nagas to Christianity. Nagas had a very rich culture and tradition. The Christian missionaries considered the Naga traditional practices and keeping of cultural attires were considered as heathen and insisted the new converts to throw away the cultural objects and also to keep away from cultural and traditional practices. The Christians were also prohibited to participate in the traditional religious festivals and if violated they were excommunicated from the church membership. With the increase of the members and the expansion of the Christian church, the demand for the cultural items declined. The introduction of Christianity was a direct challenge to the indigenous culture and tradition of the North-eastern hill people of India. The primitive societies of this region were unmatched defender for the strong cultural invader of the west and allowed to mingle the west and the indigenous cultures, consequent upon which, the west became dominant. Nagas' once rich

culture and tradition began to fade away when the bachelors' dormitories both for boys and girls, the main agent for handing down the oral tradition and culture, were replaced by the modern schools. The declaration and the prohibition of the indigenous cultural practices as being heathenism by the American missionaries, greatly contributed to the decline of cultural and traditional practices which reduced the cultural values of the new converts. Conversion from animism to Christianity itself was the greatest contributor to the decline of Naga culture, as the Christians gave up all the indigenous cultural practices. One's culture and traditional practices are vital for the individual and the society as a whole. This not only enriched the individual life but also acted as a social control in the society. The feeling of the importance of keeping cultural dresses or attires was doused after converting to Christianity consequently; the demand for cultural items of the Nagas from the Burmese was reduced. Some of the cultural dresses and the attires were made in Burma and some were brought from other parts of the South-East Asian countries, as culturally, all the communities of this region are very similar and related. Almost all the cultural items of the Nagas were imported from the Burmese up to the pre-colonial period. Though the cultural items were a non-agricultural item but these were also a regular feature of the Naga-Burmese trade and the cultural items were an important item of trade from the Burmese side to maintain a balance of trade. However, its demand was declined gradually after the introduction of Christianity among the Nagas.

Differences in trade, social relation, trading items, medium of exchange, etc. of the Naga-Burmese trade are noticed between the pre-colonial and the colonial periods although, some remain constant. Trade between the Nagas and the Burmese became more active and wider from the colonial period. More traders were involved in the trade due to the cessation of head-hunting. The items of trade were increased from the colonial period. Those new items of trade were mostly the factory and industrial products supplied from the border

markets of Assam. The new items include the machine made cloths, aluminium pots, kerosene, readymade iron tools and implements, tea, salt and in due course of time; medicine, soap, sugar, matches, etc. were added to the already traded items. The Naga-Burmese trade became not only wider and free but also increased in the item of trade from the colonial period. There were no changes in the means of conveyance and the road condition between the pre-colonial and the colonial periods. The means of conveyance and transportation between the border villages were not affected with the change from pre-colonial to colonial period. Introduction of the medium of exchange by the British India government during the colonial period greatly made easier and convenient for the traders. It was the first of its kind of a medium of exchange between the Naga-Burmese traders. For the first time, the people hesitated to accept the money and preferred the exchange for goods for goods yet, in no time, money became popular as it has a number of advantages over barter system. Transaction became easier for the traders from the colonial period. In course of time, the Nagas and the Burmese became conscious about the money and its value. The people became aware about the usage of money day by day and gradually, the barter economy was replaced by money economy from the colonial period. Headhunting, a popularly inhuman practice of the Nagas and the neighbouring Burmese was stopped. The people were liberated from the constant fear of losing life. The British India government strongly enforced the prohibition of headhunting and even used force to stop headhunting. With the decline and the cessation of headhunting, traders could visit any village and went deep into the interior villages. The social relation between the Nagas and the Burmese became better and cordial from the colonial period. Stopping of headhunting was the major factor for the more socialization of not only between the Nagas and the Burmese but also among the Nagas. The people of the border and the interior villages befriended which enhanced trade. They are closer and more intimate to each other than with their countryman far away.

They share their problem and ideas with the people across the border. Marriages also took place between the Nagas and the Burmese and that have been a practice from the pre-colonial period till date. The mingling of people was possible with the eradication of headhunting. Consequently, people to people contact increased which resulted in the sharing of different ideas and established cordial social relationship. One of the major contributions and merits of the colonial rule was the prohibition and the eradication of headhunting among the communities who were enslaved by headhunting. The stopping of headhunting was a new beginning for the Nagas and those communities who practised headhunting. The people of those communities freed from constant fear and hindrances after the cessation of headhunting. The people experienced a new life by enjoying liberty in reality. Every village was confined under the fencing. The village usually had a fortified stockades and palisades around the village. The village security was largely depending on the toughness of the fencing. The movement of the people was very much restricted and the opening of the village gate was also limited due to the fear of the enemies. Going and coming from the field was always moved in group led or guarded by the warriors. Solitary goer was mostly ambushed on the way by the enemies who mostly hide on the road side bushes. The village fencing became a useless and a thing of the past once the headhunting was stopped. The movement for economic activities became easy and free which improved the economic life of the people. Although the eastern most part of the present state of Nagaland was an excluded area of the British India government, yet it did not lagged behind in enjoying the benefits of the colonial rule. Although the colonial officials used force to contain the practice of headhunting, it was for the good of the community which practised it. Stopping of headhunting was one of the noblest contributions of the colonial rule in the Naga Hills. Had it not been stopped by the colonial power, no one knows how long would the inhuman practice of headhunting would continue. After the stopping of headhunting, the

primitive society gradually began to change into modernity. The Nagas and the Burmese have been neighbours since long time. In their long association, they influenced each other in different ways of life and also learnt from each other.

IMPACT OF NAGA-BURMESE TRADE ON THE NAGAS: - Trade takes place out of the necessity in any human society and the same is no exception to the Nagas. The Nagas and the Burmese have been trading since long time. As there was no generally accepted medium of exchange, their trade had been carried out on barter system for a long time. Many of their necessities and wants were satisfied/fulfilled through trade no matter how primitive their trading activity was. Due to their similarities in many respects, the Naga-Burmese trade have been doing successfully since long time.

The impact of the Naga-Burmese on the Nagas is manifold. The Naga cultural attires are not complete without importing from Burma. Naga cultural attires are similar to that of the people of the South-east Asian countries. It is believed that the Nagas are migrated from South-East Asia to the present site. There are many similarities among them. The Naga-Burmese trade enabled the Nagas to procure their cultural dresses which were beyond their capacity to produce or make. Without importing from or through Burma, Nagas had no other options. Cultural dresses are mostly worn during their respective festivals. In such festivals, status of a person was displayed through his dresses among the masses. The person who had given mass feast through mithun sacrifice or through other means and the warriors who took enemy's head in the wars were clearly displayed through their dress. Wearing of such dresses encouraged the people to become warrior or richman and as a result of which, people worked hard to achieve their aim, as a person was not simply allowed by the society to wear such dresses without taking enemy's head and giving mass feast to the villagers. That practice encouraged in evolving the pristage economy to some

extent. The wearing of those rich cultural dresses could be made possible only through Naga-Burmese trade.

Upto the pre-colonial period, most of the iron tools, implements, weapons, etc. were brought from Burma. Iron was the most important thing for the Nagas for their survival. Iron products were used for cultivation, defence from animals and enemies, construction for shelter, etc. In short, Nagas depended solely on iron for their survival.

Trade in agricultural products with the Burmese greatly helped the Nagas. Exchanging of surplus agricultural items with the Burmese goods substantiated their scarcity of certain goods. The greatest benefit of the Naga-Burmese trade was the reduction of scarcity in food stuffs. Salt, one of the most essential food items, could be obtained through trade. The bordering villages, who served as the middleman, became economically better off than the interior villages. Those villages made good profits from exchanging/selling goods to both the Nagas and the Burmese.

Both the Nagas and the Burmese learned different techniques and ideas from each other while doing trade. When they came into contact, they influenced each other in different ways. The traders befriended each other which related them more closely. The social relation, especially between the immediate neighbours, became stronger through the practice of trade. Consequently, marriages took place in due course of time between the Nagas and the Burmese. The Nagas learned the gun (muzzle loader) making technique from the Burmese. The other techniques like the dao making, spear, agricultural tool and implements making, etc. learned from the Burmese. On the whole, the trade made the Nagas and the Burmese closer. They helped each other by doing trade.

DATA ANALYSIS : - The analysis of the data collected through interview from the field is analysed using the statistical method. The data collected from the seven sample Naga villages bordering Burma are analysed and most of the respondents are consensus on most of the queries. The questionnaire is prepared on twelve different areas with a number of queries in a particular area to extract the required data from the respondents. The first area was on their social relation. There were three queries under this heading. The first query was whether inter-marriages took place between the Nagas and the Burmese or not. The reply from the much valued respondents was 100% affirmative. The second query was whether the social systems of the Nagas and the bordering Burmese are almost same or not. The answer to this query was also 100% affirmative. The third query was whether their religious life upto colonial period was almost same or not. The answer relating to the third question was also 100% 'yes' reply.

The second area was the political system of the village. It has three queries. The first query was posed whether the village is headed by a village chief, head gaonbora, or others. 100% respondents replied that an influential person like a warrior, rich man, Angh, etc. became the leader of the village up to pre-colonial period. However, from the colonial period onwards, the political system in the village began to change. 80% replied that village is headed by head gaonbora and 20% replied that village is headed by a village chief. The second question was the decision for governing the village is taken collectively involving all the citizens of the village or by a few. 100% said that most of the decisions were taken by a few for the whole village upto pre-colonial period. However, 75% of the respondents said that mass involvement in village decision making began from the post colonial period, although modern democratic practices were not unknown to the Nagas long before the colonial rule. 20% say that the village local government functions basing on the decision of the few. 5% of the respondents replied that they do not know. The third query was

whether trade was done with the formal permission from the village government or on one's own will. 100% replied that trade was carried out at one's will and no prior permission was needed for the same.

The third area on which queries are made was on trade relation between the Nagas and the Burmese. There were five questions. The first query was on the beginning of the trade. 100% of the respondents replied that Naga-Burmese trade relation began since long time. The second query was that the trade began only from the colonial period. 100% respondents replied in negative. The third question was an open question inviting the respondents to express their experience in one or two sentences to answer why trade took place between the Nagas and the Burmese. 100% of the respondents expressed their experience and said that trade began in the form of exchanging their daily needs with one another. The fourth query was asked whether trade was confined to limited villages or open to all the villages. 75% of the respondents said that the trade was confined only to limited villages up to pre-colonial period and the rest 25% said that trade was open to all the villages. The fifth question on the trade relation was the significance of the trade. 100% replied that trade was a solution to their needs and wants.

The fourth area on which queries were put to the respondents was on trade items. The first query was on the trade items during pre-colonial period. There was fractured reply. The exchange of agricultural items was little bit different from area to area depending on the taste and food habit of the people. 100% replied that agricultural items were exchanged both by the Nagas and the Burmese. Regarding the non-agricultural items, the reply to the query relating to the import of iron and its tools and implements from the Burmese was 80% affirmative. However, 20% said that iron and its tools and implements were procured from the Nagas. 100% of the respondents replied that all the cultural items were brought from Burma. 100% of the respondents replied that those

Burmese animals, iron, cultural items, etc. were exchanged for the Naga goods like the bee wax, honey, corn sheath, pottery, cane baskets, salt, man's apron, handloom cloth, etc. during the pre-colonial period. The second question was on the trading items during colonial period. There were no changes of the agricultural and other items and the same practice was continued during colonial period. However, 100% of the respondents disclosed that new trade items like machine made cloth, tea, kerosene oil, soap, medicine, matches, tea, etc. were added which were supplied to the Burmese through the Nagas.

The fifth area where queries were raised was on the slave trade. The first question was whether there was slave trade or not. There was 100% affirmative to the first query. The second query was whether the slaves were war captives or others or both. 70% of the total respondent said that the slaves were war captives only. However, 30% of the respondent replied that the slaves were both the war captives and others like the boys and girls captured during peace time. The third question on the slave trade was whether slave trade was stopped by the colonial rulers or through other means. 100% respondents unanimously agreed with the latter and said that it was the colonial ruler who stopped slavery as well as slave trade. They even punished the village who practised slave trade. The fourth question was whether human sacrifice was prevalent or not. Human sacrifice was not practised, was the 100% consensus reply from all the respondents.

The sixth area of enquiry was the medium of transaction in the Nagas-Burmese trade. Firstly, the respondents were asked what the medium of transaction during the pre-colonial period was. "Barter" was the 100% reply from the respondents. What was the medium of transaction during the colonial period was the second query. 100% of the respondents replied that both money and barter were used side by side as the medium of exchange from the colonial period. In the third, the respondents were given the preference to choose

between the barter system and the money as the medium of exchange from the colonial period onwards. 100% of the respondents preferred money as the medium of exchange. However, they said that it was very difficult to get the means to earn money.

The seventh area of enquiry was on the different techniques learned from or influenced each other. The first query was the technique of making gun (muzzle loader) is self technique or learned from the Burmese or from others like the Assamese or other Naga tribes. 100% of the respondents replied that gun making technique was learned from the Burmese. The second query was on the iron tools and implements making technique. 70% of the respondents said that the bordering Naga and the Burmese villages were using almost the same agricultural iron tools and implements. However, 30% said that there are little differences in their tools and implements. 100% of the respondents said that dao (long sword) making technique is of Burmese origin. The third query under this area was on the house building technique. 25% said that house building technique was learned from the Burmese. 75% of the respondents were not sure who influenced who on the house building technique. However, they believed that the Nagas and the Burmese influenced each other as both the neighbouring Naga and Burmese houses look alike. The fourth question on this area was on the cultivation technique. 100% of the respondents said that the cultivation technique was same. The neighbouring Nagas and the Burmese villages are founded on the hilly terrain. There is no much difference in their soil and the climatic condition. Most of the major agricultural crops are same. The fifth question on this area was the technique of making weapons. 100% of the respondents agreed that the technique of making major weapons like the spear, buffalo skin shield, bow and arrow except gun and dao (long sword), were brought along while intering into their present site.

The eighth area on which the queries were raised was the trade route. The first query on this area was the nature of the trade route. The reply was 100% for bridle steep path. The second question was who maintained the trade road linking the border villages. 100% of the respondents replied that the bridle path which served as the link path as well as the trading path and the only line of communication had been maintained by the respective villages through which the path passed. The third question was whether there were any changes/improvements on the trading route from the pre-colonial to colonial periods. The answer was 100% negative. The fourth query was whether the steep and difficult path was a hindrance to the wider/extensive trade between the Nagas and the Burmese or not. 100% of the respondents replied that steep and difficult path was a hindrance to the wider extensive trade. Number of respondent said that the difficult path was not the only hindrance to the wider Naga-Burmese trade.

The ninth area on which the questions were posed was on the trade centre. The first query on this area was whether trade centre was existed or not. 65% of the respondent gave affirmative reply. 35% gave negative reply. The second question was whether there was weekly markets were held in the trade centre or not. 100% respondent replied that there were no such markets in the trade centre. Third query was whether the trade centres played the role of middleman or not. 70% of the respondent appended their approval to the statement whereas, 30% did not agree. The fourth question was whether any tax was levied from the traders in the trade centre or not. 100% of the respondent replied negative.

The tenth area on which the queries were raised was the means of transportation of goods. Firstly, the respondents were asked whether there was/were any means of transportation besides carrying by man. 100% reply was that there was no other means except carrying by man on headload. Secondly,

the respondents were asked whether there were any changes in the means of transportation from pre-colonial to colonial periods. 100% of the respondent did notice any changes in the means of transportation from the pre-colonial to colonial periods. Rather, the same practice is still in existence till date. Thirdly, the respondents were asked whether the burden of transportation was reduced after the introduction of money as the medium of exchange or not. 65% of the respondents agreed with the statement whereas, 35% replied that there was not much changes in the transportation of goods as both barter and money were involved in the transaction.

The eleventh area of enquiry was why Naga-Burmese trade did not expand/could not become extensive inspite of a long period of trade. The respondents were given some of the factors to tick that hampered the expansion of trade. 100% of the respondent ticked the headhunting, poor and primitive means of transportation, road condition, illiterateness of the people, less surplus production, lack of inertia among the people and the absence of business community/class who acts as middleman are responsible for not growing and developing the Naga-Burmese trade wider.

The twelfth and the last questionnaire was an open ended one that invited the much valued suggestions from the respondents for the improvement for better and expansion of the Naga-Burmese trade. The respondents suggested the improvement of the link road between the border villages, free movement of the trader and the Indian and the Burmese government should jointly formulate policies and act actively for wider and better trade.

FINDINGS: - The Nagas and the Burmese have been trading from the pre-colonial period till date. The Naga and the Burmese neighbouring villages are socially and economically closely related. Their relation is closer than their own

countrymen far away. Their closeness is due to their long association, similar social setup, similar culture, tradition, religious life and economic pursuits. Trading is very advantageous for both the Nagas and the Burmese. It solves their daily needs and their surplus agricultural products did not go waste as it could be exchanged for any other goods they needed. Exchange of different goods fulfilled their needs and wants upto certain extent. Like many communities of the world, the Nagas and their neighbour Burmese also practised slavery and slave trade. The slaves were mostly war captives. With the cessation of headhunting, the slave trade gradually declined and by the end of the colonial rule, slave trade finally stopped. Headhunting, barter system, steep narrow bridle path, no means of conveyance; less surplus production, etc. were the major hurdles for wider Naga-Burmese trade inspite of a long period of trade relation. Use of gun by some bordering Naga villages was a very significant outcome of the Naga-Burmese contact. Colonial rule has brought significant changes in the social, political and economic life of the Nagas and the Burmese.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT:-

1. Better road and communication is the foremost Prerequisite for better and extensive trade. Narrow bridle steep paths are never expected to play lead role in the extensive/wider trade. Motorable road should be opened for easier journey and conveyance of goods.
2. Both Indian and the Burmese governments should involve actively. Movement of traders across the border should be relaxed upto certain geographical limit for better trade.
3. People should be given proper education. Ignorance of the benefits and the importance of trade in the economic life hampered extensive trade. Those should be made known and channelized proper education to the local people.
4. Free trade should be allowed especially on local agricultural, horticultural and other products.

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ANNEXURE 1

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

A. BIO-DATA

DATE :

NAME :

AGE :

NAME OF THE VILLAGE:

B. QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Social Relation:-

- (1) Inter-marriage took place between the Nagas and the Burmese. (Yes/No)
- (2) Social setup of the Nagas and the Burmese is similar. (Yes/No)
- (3) Traditional religious belief was same. (Yes/No)

2. Village Administrative System:-

- (1) Village was headed by a traditional chief/head gaonbora during the pre-Colonial period and traditional chief/head gaonbora/Chairman during Colonial period.
- (2) Village was governed by the decision of the masses/few/chief.
- (3) Formal permission was needed from the village chief for trading. (Yes/No)

3. Trade Relation:-

- (1) Naga-Burmese trade relation began since long time. (Yes/No)
- (2) Naga-Burmese trade began from the colonial period. (Yes/No)
- (3) Why Naga-Burmese trade took place? Comment your view
.....
- (4) Trade was confined to limited villages/open to all the villages upto Pre-colonial Period.
- (5) What was/were the significance of the trade ?
.....

4. Trade Items:-Pre-Colonial period.

- (1) What was / were the trade item/items during the pre-colonial period?

Comment

- (2) Were the iron tools/implements imported from Burma?

Comment.....

- (3) All the cultural items were brought from Buma. (Yes/No)

- (4) What were the Naga items of trade that exchanged for the Burmese goods?

.....

Colonial Period:-

- (5) No changes in the agricultural trade items during the colonial period.

(Yes/No)

- (6) New items of trade were added from the colonial period.

(Yes/No)

5. Slave Trade:-

- (1) There was slave trade among the Nagas and with the Burmese. (Yes/No)

- (2) Slaves were war captives/captured during peace time or both. (Yes/No)

- (3) Slave trade was stopped by the colonial rulers/other authority. (Yes/No)

- (4). Human sacrifice was practised. (Yes/No)

6. Medium of Business Transaction:-

- (1) Barter system was the medium of transaction during the pre-colonial period. (Yes/No)

- (2) Money/Barter/Both was/were the medium of transaction from the colonial period.

- (3) Money/Barter was more preferable medium of exchange from the colonial period.

7. Technical Influences:-

- (1) Gun making technique was self invented / learned from the Assamese / Burmese.

- (2) Iron tools/implements making technique is same. (Yes/No)

- (3) House building technique of the Nagas and the Burmese is influenced by the Nagas / Burmese / both.

- (4) Cultivation technique is same. (Yes/No)

(5) Technique of making major weapons is same. (Yes/No)

8. Trade Route:-

- (1) Trade road is bridle steep path/wide plain road.
- (2) Trade road was maintained by Government/neighbouring villages/village through It passes.
- (3) There was improvement on the road condition from the colonial oporiod. (Yes/No)
- (4) Steep bridle path was a hindrance to the Naga-Burmese trade. (Yes/No)

9. Trade Centre:-

- (1) There was trade centre in the Naga-Burmese trade. (Yes/No)
- (2) Weekly Border Markets were held between the Nagas and the Burmese. (Yes/No)
- (3) Trade Centre played the part of a meddleman. (Yes/No)
- (4) Taxes were paid in the trade centre. (Yes/No)

10. Means of Coneyance:-

- (1) There was/were other mean(s) of transportation other than man. (Yes/No)
- (2) There were changes in the means of transportation of goods from the Colonial Period. (Yes/No)
- (3) Burden of transportation was reduced from the introduction of money. (Yes/No)

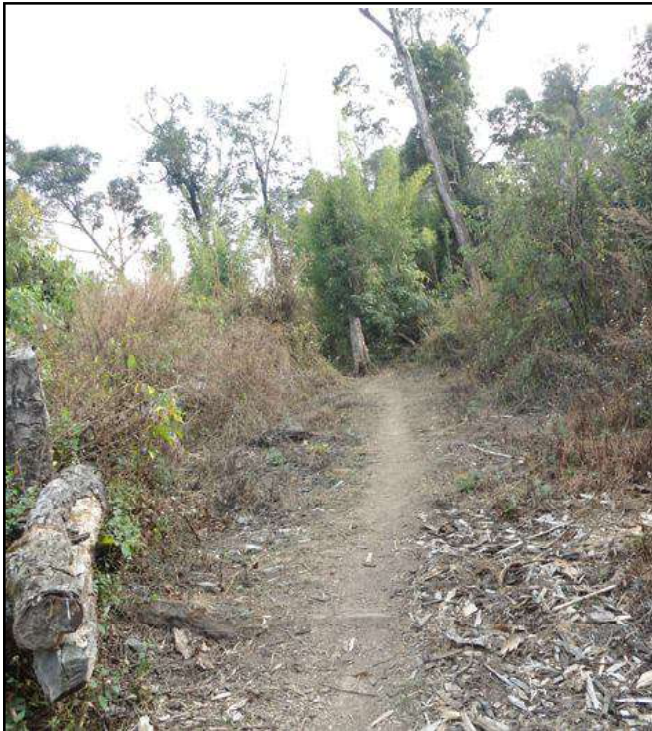
11. The Naga-Burmese trade could not expand inpite of long period of trading. (Yes/No)

Reasons: - (1) Headhunting. (2) Road condition. (3) Poor and primitive means of Transportation. (4) Illiterateness of the people. (5) Less production. (6) Lack of inertia among the people. (7) Absence of business class / Community, etc.

12. Sugestions from the Respondents for Improvement



ANNEXURE II PLATES



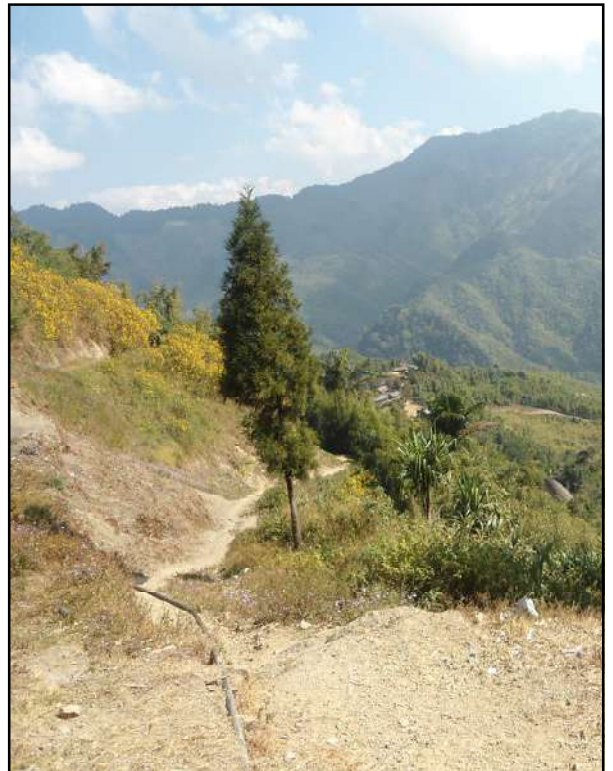
Trade road to Burma from Hakkumati village



Jabili-Ao Naga Medium of exchange pre-colonial period



Trade road to Burma from Mimi Village



Trade road to Burma from Longwa Village



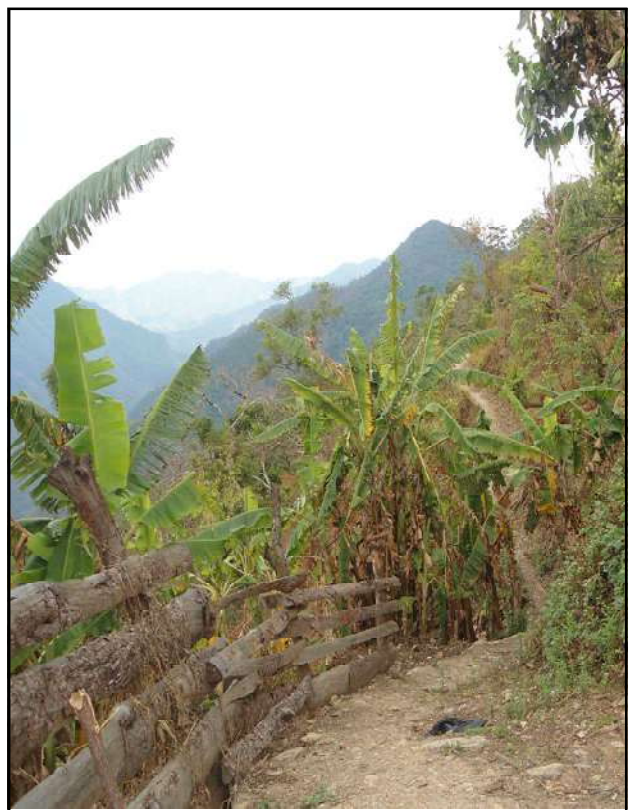
Brass Gong in Longwa Village



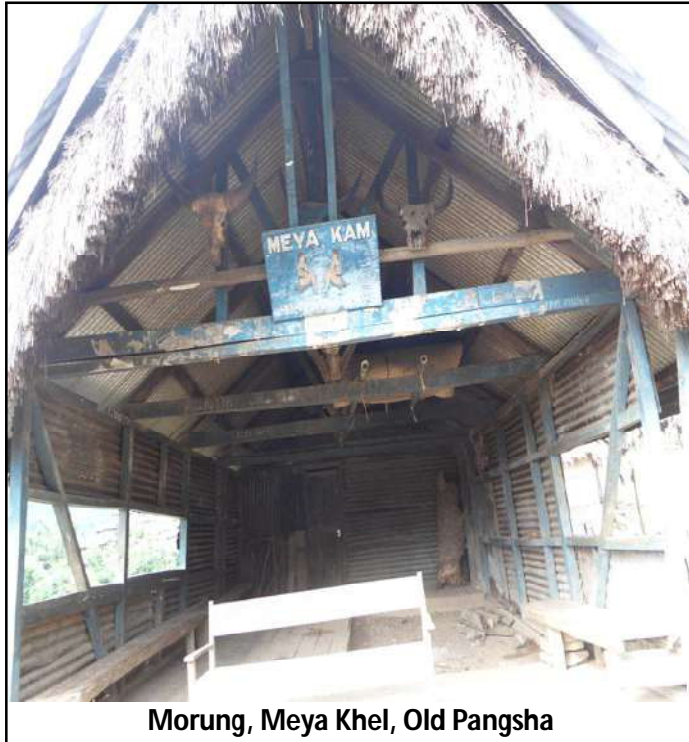
Boiled and dried beeswax, Mimi village



Trade road to Burma from Dan, Pangsha



Trade road to Burma from Avakhong



Morung, Meya Khel, Old Pangsha



Selling necklaces and other items brought from Burma, Longwa Village.



Big clay pots, Mimi village



Cooking clay pot, Mimi village.



Clay for making pot, Mimi village



Natural cave, Mimi village



Different sizes of gong, Nagaland state archive, Kohima



Shiloi lake (Litsam), Pokhongre.



A house adorn with different animal skulls, Longwa village



Tizü river



Limestone cliff, Mimi village



Present marketing shed at Dan, Pangsha



Present marketing shed at Avakhong village



Ao Naga Morung, Mopungchuket village, Mokokchung



Chea D.B displaying the decorated long sword, headcare and dao shed brought from Burma, Noklak



Chief Angh's house, Longwa village



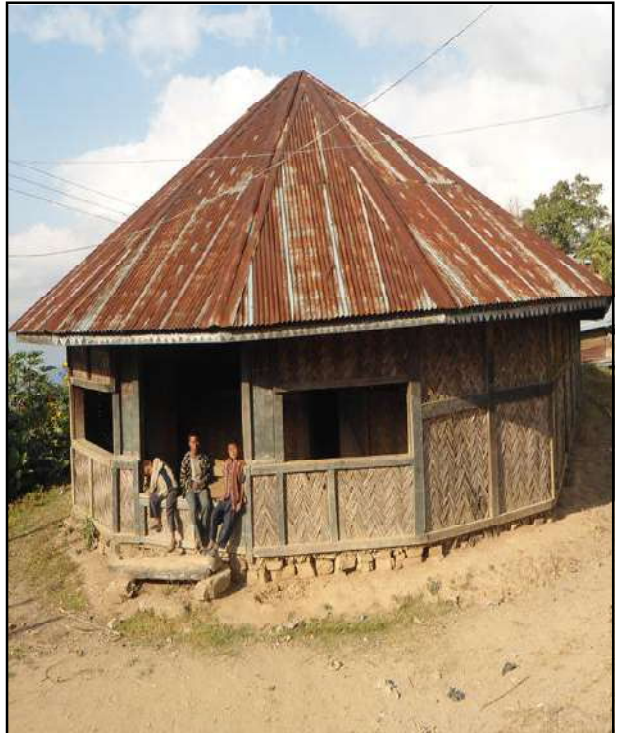
Stone slabs for roofing, Mimi village



Pounding mortar with pestle, Chief Angh's house, Longwa village



Human skulls are buried under this and erected those stones to mark the end of head hunting, Longwa village.



One of the Morungs in Longwa village.



A worker hewing out a bed from whole log.



A miniature log drum



A Burmese returning home after shopping in Noklak.



International boundary pillar between India and Burma



This road divides India and Burma, Longwa village.



This animal picture represents Longwa village locating in two countries- India and Burma.



Jobstear, Taro, Lentils and Gourd are still under cultivation by the people of Burma bordering Naga villages.