

# **POCHURY NAGA POLITY AND SOCIETY: IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONISATION.**

Thesis is submitted to Nagaland University in partial fulfilment for the award of the  
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

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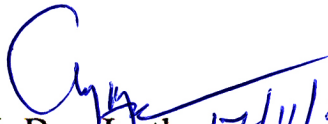
**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGY**  
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**CERTIFICATE**

Certified that the subject matter of this thesis is the record of work done by Mr. K. Chukhapa and the contents of this thesis did not form a basis of the award of any previous degree to him, or, to the best of my knowledge, to anyone else and that the thesis had not been submitted by him for any research degree in any other University.

In habit and character Mr. K. Chukhapa is fit and proper for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
Prof. Y. Ben Lotha 17/11/21  
Supervisor




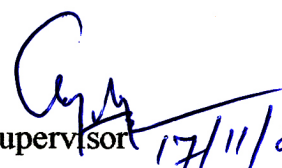
## DECLARATION

I, Mr. K.Chukhapa hereby declare that the thesis is a record of my original research work and is submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History and Archaeology Department, Nagaland University.

I further declare that the content of the thesis has not been submitted for award of any degree to me or any other to the best of my knowledge in any other University/Institute.

  
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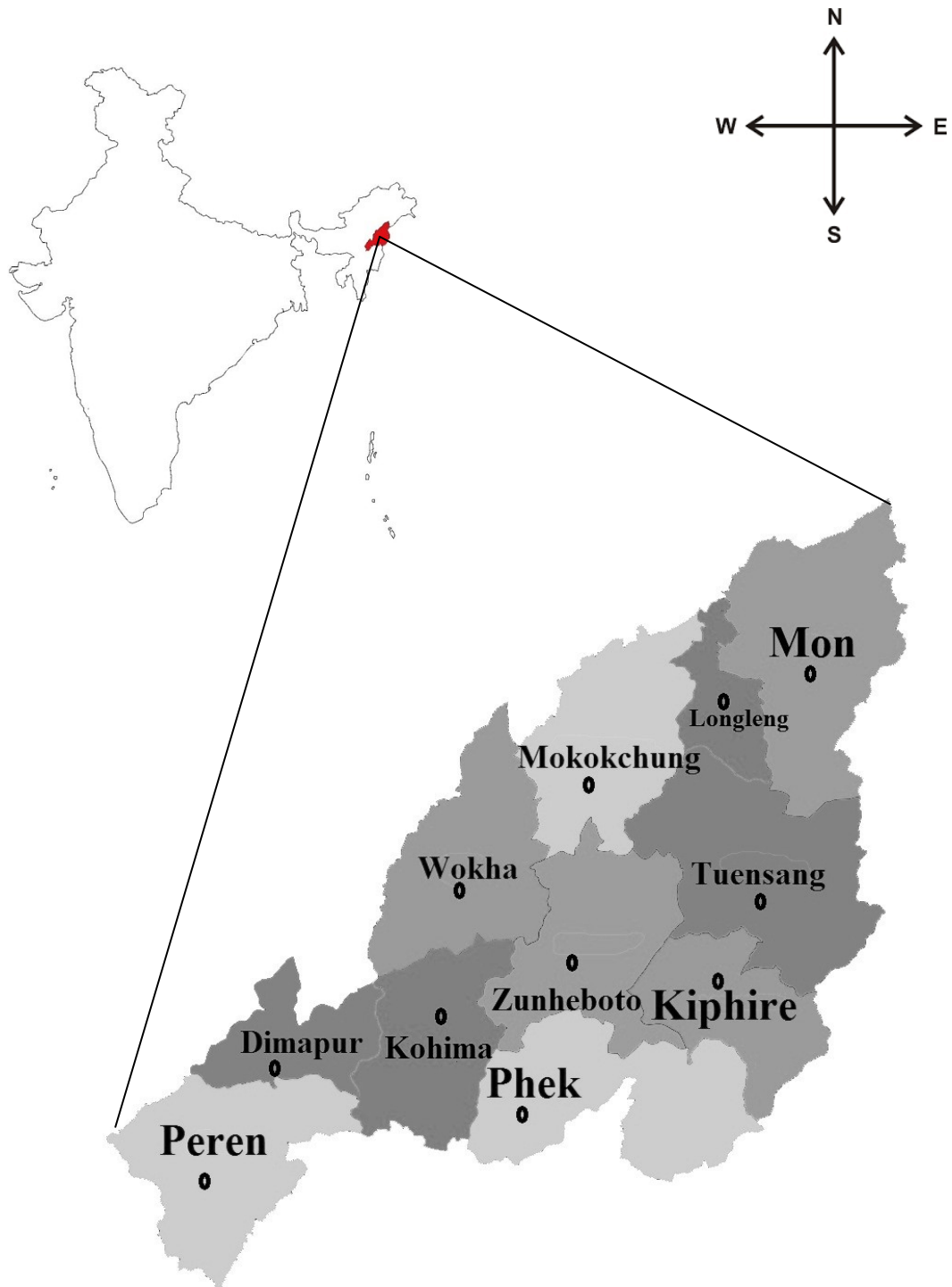
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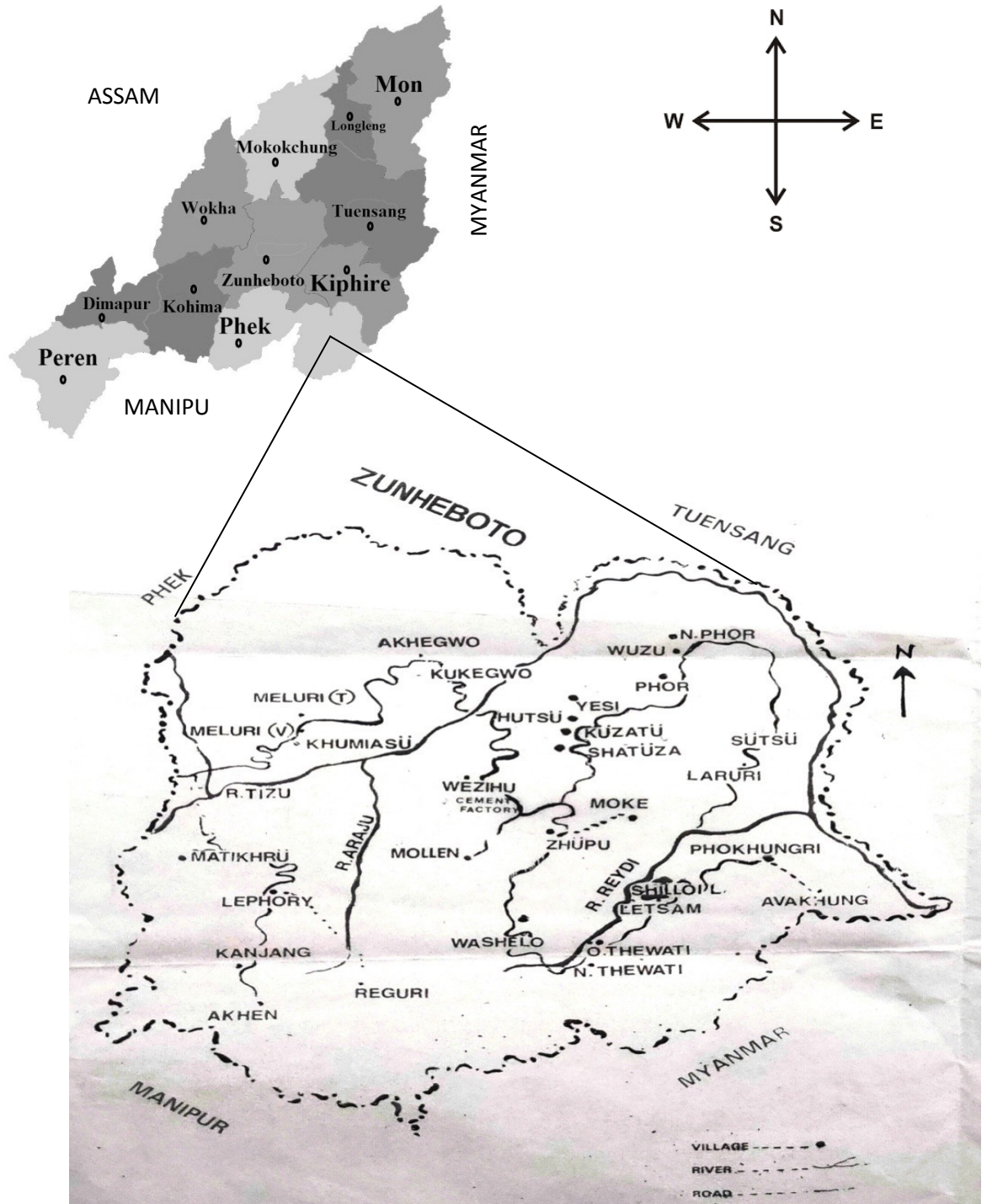


MAP NO. 2.



Map of Nagaland and the Districts.

MAP NO. 3.



Map of the Pochury Naga (Courtesy: Souviner on the occasion of blessing service by the Chakhesang Public Organisation, 11<sup>TH</sup> Dec. 96).

NOT TO SCALE

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

In the case of the tribal societies of North-East India, oral tradition has been part and parcel of the lives of the people. In the absence of writing, oral stories about the origin, life and culture have been passed on from one generation to another by word of mouth. But do oral traditions constitute history? Some scholar have pointed out with excitement that all history was oral before the advent of writing (Thakur, 2010, p.25). Even today, among the North-East Tribes, oral traditions are prevalent and are yet to be indentified and documented.

Various diverse viewpoints related to the origin, migration and nomenclature of the Nagas has been produced by different scholars. The facts that nothing can be ascertained who the Nagas are, why they are called the Nagas and when did they arrive to the territories they are occupying presently.

The term 'Naga' includes the various tribes of the present state of the Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur and Somra tract of Myanmar, sharing certain common socio-cultural components which distinguish them from Kuki and Mizo constellation of tribes. The origin of the term 'Naga' is still shrouded in mystery and it is difficult to state accurately when the word 'Naga' came into existence. Many theories regarding the etymology of the term have been given at various times by different scholars. Johnston (1896) suggests that, the word Naga may have been derived from the Assamese word 'Noga' meaning Naked.

The different tribes of Nagas occupy the hills between the parallels of longitude 93° on the west to longitude 96° on the East (Barpujari, 2003, p.1). Originally Nagas were not known by the names of the tribes as they are known now, but by the names of a group of villages. Gradually, they have settled down to the names as are found now, but still than the process of amalgamation or separation is going on (Ghosh, 1982, p.20).

The Nagas are a group of tribes belonging to the Mongoloid race, speaking Tibeto-Burmese languages. They inhabit the mountainous region of India-Burma frontiers (Syiemlieh, 1990, p.27). The Nagas are an agglomeration of tribes living in present Manipur, Nagaland,

South-Eastern Arunachal Pradesh and South-Western Cachar of Assam sharing certain common-cultural components (Rizvi and Shabani Roy, 2006, p.1). Probably the great Naga communities were merged together by groups of different ethnic, linguistic and culture identities for holding themselves against the infiltration and pressure of Thai, Kachin and Chin races (Bareh, 1970, p.11). The Nagas comprised of about 40 tribes (Sanyu, 1996, p.2).

The word “Naga” have been given all sorts of derivations (JHutton, 2003, p.5) “...have been given for the name Naga, some supposing it to come from the Bengali word ‘Nangta’, in Hindustani ‘Nanga’; ‘naked’. Others think that the Kachari (Cachari) word Naga; a young man a warrior, supplied the name; while others again derive it from ‘Nag’ ‘a snake’ (Elwin, 1969, p.47).

The problem of ‘Naga’ identity has been a topic of continual debate among Scholars, who have used either linguistics or culture to bolster their claim. Saul, quoting of Burling; “part of the problems is that any two languages or dialect always have some similarities and always have some differences. You can emphasize either on depending on your political agenda”. In the main there are very few clear-cut lines of differentiation between groups, and any allocation to one group or another is generally based on the majority recognized linguistic component of the village (Saul, 2005, pp.18-19).

There are also theories propounded by Naga Scholars who claim a different origin of the word. Some opined that the word ‘Naga’ was derived from Burmese word ‘Naka’ meaning pierced ears, as the Nagas had the tradition of making holes in the ears for decoration. Phizo, the most prominent leader of the Naga people, believed that the word ‘Naka’ was the origin of the word Naga. In the Burmese language ‘Na’ means ‘ear’ and ‘Ka’ means pierced-one whose ears are pierced or those who bear earring. Since the Naga people during olden period used to pierce their ears for wearing flowers, the term Naga is closely related to the Burmese word ‘Naka’.

## **1.2. Review of literature**

The Naga history was constructed, reconstructed and documented by various foreign, India and Naga historians, in books, journals, magazines, seminars and articles. The writers, writes about their origin, migration, society, economy, coming of the British, Christianity, education, national movement etc. Here are some of the important books noted.

The Rengma Nagas, (reprinted, 1982) written by J.P. Mills, mentions that as early as 1910-12, the British came to the Pochury (Meluri) and made their camp, when they were at war

with the Burmese-Naga. It was in the 1920's J.P. Mills visited the Pochury tribe. In his book, he has related the Rengma of Kohima district as western, Assam Regma as Northern Rengma and the people of Meluri, Lephori and Sohemi (now Chakhesang) as 'Eastern Rangma'. He has compared the culture, tradition and religion of the western, Northern and Eastern Rengmas.

The Angami Naga, (reprinted, 2003) by J.H. Hutton describes the language, law and customs, domestic life, religion and folklore of the Angamis. He describes the terracing which is an excellent mode of cultivation and they were never short of rice. They are toughest among the Naga tribe who gave a prolonged struggle against the British in 1879.

History of the frontier areas bordering on Assam from 1883-1942, (reprinted, 1983) written by Sir Robert Reid describe the little known Indo-Burma tribes after the first Anglo-Burmese war of 1824-26. This is an authoritative book, who himself was the Governor of Assam from 1937-42 and made best use of official documents and consulting with expert British India Civil Service (ICS) officers in their respective areas, wrote with causes, events and places and annexation of the Naga tribes.

The Gazetteer of India Nagaland Kohima district, (1970) written by H. Bareh, deals about the Kohima district (present district of Dimapur, Kohima, Peren and Phek), its people, land economy, festivals, trade activities and developmental works like roads, schools, hospitals and welfare works.

A brief historical account of Nagaland, (1970) written by M. Alemchiba presents a general historical account of Nagas, their relation with the Ahoms, British occupation of Naga Hills, hostility between the Nagas and India and the state formation.

Tribes of Nagaland, (1987) by Sipra Sen describe the Naga tribes from pre- and post-independence period from 1800 to 1986. It also says about the aspects of geography, agriculture, forest, geology, historical and political administration of the village and tribal council and anthropological and sociological aspects of the Naga tribes and many other features.

Emergence of Nagaland, (1981) by Hokishe Sema traces the origin of the Nagas, relation with the British, the coming of the missionaries, the state formation and the political, social and economic transformation after the statehood.

Naga old ways new trends, (1988) by M. Horam, state the transaction phases of the Naga society with the coming of the education and the influence of modernization. In his other book, Naga insurgency, (1988) M. Horam, presents the beginning of armed conflict between the Nagas

and the armed forces (India). The author has also deals the traditional political institutions and their introduction into modern democratic system.

The Naga in the nineteenth century, (1969) by Verrier Elwin is an Anthology how outsiders looked at the Nagas at that time. The book is a collection of documents and diaries of British Indian civil servant and British army's who serve in the Naga Hills from 1827-1896, edited and foreword by N. K. Rustomji.

Return of the Naked Nagas, (1976) by Christophe Voon Fiiver-Haimendort discuss the Pre-literate Naga tribes, and says that they are simple hearted and hard working, and also deals about their megalithic culture and feast of merit.

Naga tribes of North-East India, (2006) written by S.H.M. Rizvi and Simbani Roy, states that the Nagas are brave and daring yet simple and innocent. It also highlights the Naga tribes, seeking self-respect in the modern complex society.

Naga politics - A critical account, (2004) written by Chandrika Singh, presents a critical and analytical account of Naga political, right from the arrival of the British till date. It also deals with the church authorities to resolve the Naga issue. The Naga society, (2008) written by Chandrika Singh, highlights the painful and internecine factional fighting. The book also mentions the political and economic development, despite of corruption and anti-social elements.

Naga peace process and media, (2012) written by Kh. Kabi, here the author pointed out the importance of the media in highlighting the Naga issue, which is the oldest ethic movement in South Asia.

Nagaland and India: The blood and the tears, (2000) by Kaka Iralu, emphasis on the struggle of Naga Sovereignty and the contribution of the various Naga tribes. Here he also explains the odious journey of the Nagas to China and Pakistan.

The Naga Chronicles, (2002) by V.K. Nuh stress in the migratory routes of the Nagas to their present places. The book also talks about the unification of the Nagas under the British and Naga freedom struggle with India.

The Encyclopaedia of North-East India, volume vii Nagaland, (2001) written by H.M. Bareh, describe the Naga culture, religion and tradition society.

India-The land and the people, (1972) written by Prakash Singh says that Meluri and Primi (Akhegwo) were included in the Naga Hills district in 1922. The book talks about the political aspect with limited study on society.

Social-culture heritage of Kuzhami Chakhesang Nagas, (2010) written by Kewepfuzu Lohe, says that the Kuzhami are losing their cultural values in the process of social change, thus trying to revive their cultural values, social harmony and solidarity.

A brief history of the Catholic Church in Nagaland, (1990) by David Syiemlieh describes the spread of Catholic Church and the catholic institutions in various parts of Nagaland.

History of Naga Anthropology 1832-1947, (2007) written by Abraham Lotha, is an attempt to understand the growth of Anthropology in the Naga Hills. Here the author describe the British rule in the Naga hills into three phases (a) Military (b) Political and (c) administrative.

British policy and administration in Nagaland 1881-1947, (1986) written by Piketo Achumi describe the British administration in Naga Hills, its impact on economy, Culture and Society.

The North East Frontier of India, (Reprinted 1979) written by Alexander Mackenzie, describe the political relation of the British Government of India with the hill tribes of Assam, Cachar and Chittagong. The prefatory introduction written by Prof B.K. Roy Burman's own words: "Mackenzie was a chronicler of events which were relevant from the point of view of colonial administration of the time.....He has provided materials which no historians or even no ethno-historian interested in the region can afford to ignore".

The Angami Naga and the British, 1832-1947, (1999) by L. Atola Changkiri, gives an account of the geographical, ethnological and historical background of the Angami Nagas. It also deals the causes of the Anglo-Angami conflict, Inner line regulation system and introduction of Dobashis.

Customary law and women-The Chakhesang Nagas, (2003) by Adino Vitso emphasis, how and to what extent the customary laws define the status of women in general and Chakhesang women in particular (special reference to Khezhakeno village).

Head-Hunters culture- historic culture of the Nagas, (2012) by Josephs Thong, describes how head hunting appease their god and increases fertility to men, cattle, crops and recognition in the society.

The Naga of Burma. Their festival, customs and way of life, (2005) by J.D. Saul with photography by Dominique Viallard discuss the Naga people of far western Burma, who practise headhunting until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It traces their origins and examines their society, custom, warfare and ornament, now rapidly being lost to the forces of modernity. Dr .Dominique Viallard

a medical doctor by profession and a photographer, where she took a deep interest in the country( Burma) and its people, travelling to remote corners and contributed photographic record of the region in this book.

Pochu Waza. The monthly magazine on socio-political, economic, history and literature in Pochury, (2010) by S. Akho Leyri highlight the past and present of the Naga in general and Pochury in particular. To learn and study their society, economy, costume and dialect, it is a good magazine for research work. But reasons best known to them, the magazine cease to publish since 2010.

### **1.3. Statement of the problem**

The state of Nagaland covers an area of 16,579 sq. km and lies between 25° 6, and 27° 4' latitude North of Equator and between the longitudinal lines 93° 20' and 95° 15' East. The state is bounded by Manipur on the South, Assam on the North and West, Arunachal Pradesh on the North-East and also shares a common international boundary with Myanmar on the East. Topographically, the state is mountainous and the altitude varies approximately between 194 meters and 3048 meters above sea level. Mount Saramati is the highest peak in the state, measuring 3,840 meters above sea level (Statistical Handbook of Nagaland. 2013, n.d, p.2).

Nagaland comprises of twelve districts viz, Kohima, Mokokchung, Tuensang, Wokha, Zunheboto, Phek, Mon, Dimapur, Peren, Longleng, Kiphiri and Noklak. The state has a total population of 19,78,502 and density of 119 per.Sq.km, according to the census of India 2011. The state of Nagaland is inhabited by major tribes like Angami, Ao, Cachari, Chakhesang, Chang, Khiamniungan, Kuki, Konyak, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sumi, Yimkhiung, Zeliang and other sub-tribes. There are 1428 recognized villages in Nagaland (Census of India 2011. Nagaland Series 14, p.viii).

Phek District was created out of Kohima District in 1973 (www.census2011.com.in>.....>District List. Nov.05:2015). The District covers an area of 2026sq.km and is bounded by Zunheboto in the North, Manipur in the South, Myanmar in the East and Kohima in the West. There are more than 95 recognized villages in Phek district, with a total population of 1,63,418 and density of 81 per Sq.km. Phek the district Head-quarter is 145 km away from the state capital Kohima (Statistical Handbook of Nagaland. 2013, n.d. p.27). The district is inhabited by two major tribes, the Chakhesang and Pochury and other sub-tribes like

*Chokri, Kheza, Poula and Sumi* (The Khuzha/Kheza committee. 75 anniversary. 1939-2014, 2014, p.1).

The 'Pochury' Naga tribe is one of the major tribes of Nagaland. Much has been written about them in books, magazines, seminar papers, journals and souvenirs, since the British. They are interchangeably called as 'Eastern Rengma' or 'Sangtam', 'Chakhesang' or 'Pochury'. There is confusion in the mind of the readers, whom they are referred. It was after the formation of the Naga National movement, the visionary leaders of the area formed a new identity called 'Pochury' in the 1950's.

There have not been extensive and intensive studies of 'Pochury' Naga tribe, their migratory routes, polity, society and economy, their relation with the British, growth and impact of the Christianity and education and their contribution to Naga National movement. Studying the 'Pochury' Naga Polity and Society and the impact of the British Colonialism, will contribute to the comprehensive understanding of the tribe, thus inspiring the younger generation to know their glorious past and embedded a sense of unity and fraternity among the 'Pochury' people in particular and 'Nagas' in general.

#### **1.4. Area of study**

The area of study is focused on the 'Pochury Naga', of Phek district covering 45% of the district land area. The 'Pochury' is bounded by Phek, sub-division in the north-west, Zunheboto in the north, Kipheri district in the north-east, Manipur in the south-west and Myanmar in the East and south. The entire Pochury Naga Tribe is under the Meluri Sub-Division. The tribe comprise of thirty recognized villages within its jurisdiction, Meluri as its Head-Quarter and with a population of little more than twenty thousand. Meluri, Phor, Laruri, Akhegwo and Kanjan are the area selected for the study purpose.

#### **1.5. Objective of the study**

To study the Pochury Naga, Polity and Society: Impact of the British Colonisation. The following objectives are placed before the study.

- (1) To study the Historical origin of the 'Pochury' Naga Tribe.
- (2) To study the customary laws and practices of the community.
- (3) To study the impact made on the community by the British Colonisation and modern education.

- (4) To place on record the old values and changes for future generation.

### **1.6. Hypothesis**

- (1) The British administration has both negative and positive impact on Pochury Naga culture and society.
- (2) The coming of the Christianity and education has changed the Pochury Naga society.
- (3) The Pochury Naga society is challenged by the modernization and westernization/Globalization.

### **1.7. Methodology**

To achieve this objective, both primary and secondary sources of information will be used. To gather the primary data, various techniques like, interview and questionnaires will be applied. Interview schedule will be applied for rural areas especially for the uneducated selected few group of people (elders, story tellers, Rajas and priest) and of both the sexes and different age group and will be interviewed and recorded (sound and visual). Questionnaires will be distributed to various sections of educated people like teachers, pastors, students, village development board secretary and church workers. Direct participation in their activities (rituals, cultural and festivals) and Observation method will be followed. The village community hall, morung, monoliths, and other historical signification will be visited, photograph and recorded.

The secondary data will be collected from various sources such as books, magazines, booklets, personal files, diaries, village customary records, church records and any record related to the problem of the study. To achieve the goal the following stages will be followed:

Stage-i: Data collection (visit library/archives/collect journals).

Stage-ii: Field visit (visit village/conduct interviews).

Field visit will be done on several occasions, especially on days of important religious and festivities like the *Nazhu*, *Yemshe* and other festival related with Jhum and terrace field cultivations. Apart from these, individual and group interview will be conducted during the field visit.

### 1.8. The Pochuries

The Pochury tribe was recognized by the Govt. of Nagaland, Notification No. Home//SCTA/3/4/83 April 19, 1990. (Appendix 1.1.) The Pochury is numerically a small tribe, with a population of 22,618 souls according to the census of India 2011 (Richard Dawman /others. Sept. 26, 2015. www.pochuryhoho.org) and is situated in the East of Phek district occupying, 1,011 sq.km which is more than 45% of the Phek district total area.

The Pochury Naga tribe is almost entirely confined to Meluri Sub-Division of Phek district in Nagaland; It lies between 25° 28'-25° 49' North latitudes and 94° 35'-94° 43', East longitudes, bordered by Phek Sader in West, Zunheboto district in the North, Kiphiri district in the North-East, Manipur state in the South-West and Myanmar in the South-East (Riepetho, 1993, p.10). The Mol-Len peak which is 3066 meters above sea level is higher than Japfü peak which is 3048 meters above sea level, is situated at *Ngazüpfü* range in Pochury, bordering Myanmar (The Morung Express, 2015, October, 27, p.2).

Meluri constitutes the Headquarters for the Pochury Naga. Meluri is 240 km. away from Dimapur the nearest rail head and airport of Nagaland, Kohima the State Capital is 166 km. away and Phek the District Headquarters is 66 km. away (Statistical Handbook of Nagaland, 2013, n.d, p.18). The Pochury Naga tribe, have 30 recognized villages and four towns namely Meluri town, Akhegwo town, Wuziho town and Phokhungri town.

Table 1.1. Range and the establishment of the village.

Sl.no	Range- <i>Suo</i>		Village	Village establishment year	Distance (in km.) from Meluri H.Q. to Village	Remark
1.	<i>Ngazüpfü</i> range	i.	Laruri	No record	117.0	690 A.D. as per archaeological record
		ii.	Phokhungri	No record	117.0	-----

		iii.	Phokhungri town	-----	122.0	-----
		iv.	Mokie	1930	88.0	-----
		v.	Zhipu	1931	75.0	-----
		vi.	Old Thewati	1947	104.0	-----
		vii.	New Thewati	1948	101.0	-----
		viii.	Sütsü	1948	112.0	-----
		ix.	Washelo	1952	88.0	-----
		x.	Avakhung	1970	133.0	-----
		xi.	Liitsam	1974.	108.0	-----
2.	<i>Kamalay range</i>	i.	Lepthori	No record	35.0	-----
		ii.	Molen	1919	80.0	-----
		iii.	Kanjang	1919	49.0	-----
		iv.	Akhan	1951	60.0	-----
		v.	Reguri	1965	72.0	-----
		vi.	Matikhrü	Re-estd. 1963	33.0	-----
3.	<i>Möluori range</i>	i.	Meluri HQ.	-----	00.0	-----
		ii.	Meluri	No record	00.2	-----
		iii.	Khumiasü	1978	03.0	-----
4.	<i>Apoksah range</i>	i.	Akhegwo town	-----	29.0	-----
		ii.	Akhegwo	No record	30.0	-----

		iii.	Kükegwo	1957	31.0	-----
		iv.	New Akhegwo	1990	29.0	-----
5.	<i>Zhupuhu</i> range	i.	Phor	No record	95.0	-----
		ii.	Yisi	No record	82.0	-----
		iii.	New Phor	1931	96.0	-----
		iv.	Shatüza	1947	76.0	-----
		v.	Wuziho town	-----	62.0	-----
		vi.	Wuziho	1950	62.1	-----
		vii.	Wuzu	1953	94.0	-----
		viii.	Küzatü	1957	80.0	-----
		ix.	Hutsü	Re-estd 1964	84.0	-----
		x.	Yisisohta	2010	57.0	-----

Source: Pochury day silver jubilee 1990-2015, n.d, pp.45-46 and Rural Development Nagaland, n.d, p.83.

### 1.9. The Topography of Pochury Territory

The area inhabited by the Pochury Naga is rich in flora and fauna. C.R. Pawsey, the then Deputy Commissioner of Kohima visited the Pochury area from 23<sup>rd</sup> to 27<sup>th</sup> January 1947 and visited the *Sangtam-Kuki* Reserved Forest and found that the reserved forest had been encroached and settled by *Mokie*, *Theya* (Now deserted) and *Thewati*. Consequently the villages were burned and the people displaced. He reasoned, his Doabashi P. Leshimo Nyusou, “The Govt. will change; the reserved forest will not be taken to London by the British, it will benefit the future generation to come”, - *Government, hama khaphrü-khale teru neveh*. Reserved forest *küsa hama hiri British rinü* London *vü vite kühu wanyu, loküsü nyutü loküsü nü, aküze hama maküzü kümühie mame nori ken akünyie shuna* (Leshimo Nyusou, n.d, p.4). This *Sangtam-Kuki* reserved forest ceased to exist once the British left the Country in 1947 and is encroached by the neighbouring villages. The Govt. of India, through the village council and village development board and other agencies

are creating awareness about the importance of reserving natural resources and almost every village had a reserved forest for regaining the natural habitats of the land.

### 1.10. Climate

The topography of Pochury area is characterized by rugged and hilly terrain. The altitude varies from 2000 feet above the sea level along the *Tizu* valley to 8000 feet above the sea level in the *Ngazüfü* and *Zhupuhü* ranges (Riepetho, 1993, p.13). The climate varies from warm summer to cold winter. Heavy rain occurs from June- *Ziitsa* to August- *Tsate* and is called summer season- *müzhü zale*. Occasional rain from September- *Khuthe* to October- *Mahwie* and is called autumn season- *marakhu zale*. Dry cold foggy season start from October- *Mawie* last week to February- *Zheprie* and is called winter season- *agie zale* and dry windy and spring season start from March- *Buotsa* to May- *Tüthse* and is called spring season- *tshethe zale* (Nyusou, 2012, p.20).

### 1.11. Rivers and Streams

The natural resources such as timber, rope, bamboos, water, stone, etc are the sources of livelihood to the people. The river *Tizu* which flows right in the middle of the Pochury land, initially flowing west to North-East, diverts its course toward south to meet river Chindwin. (Pl.32). There are numerous streams and rivulets that flow into *Tizu* River (Riepetho, 1993, p.13). The important tributaries of the *Tizu* River are *Jiji*, *Araju*, *Zungki* and *Luyaukde*, which are fed by sufficient springs. The streams, rivulets and *Tizu* River, provided fertile land for wet paddy and Jhum cultivation.

### 1.12. Lakes

The *Shilloi (Lütsam)* lake, the largest lake in Nagaland is situated at *Letsam* Village. It is 0.25 to 0.30 sq.km and resembling the shape of a human footprint. The average dept of the lake is 4 meters (Desktop/blog 2005-15. About Shilloi lake. Nov. 8: 2015 From: m.holidayiq.com>....> lake in Phek). Besides this, there are other small lakes like, Star lake near Reguri, *Longcham* Lake at *Mol-Len* Peak and *Khreetu* Lake at Meluri. These lakes and rivers provide different kinds of fresh fishes like *Angünya*, *Amüsi*, *Aküüh*, eel- *Angüsuö*, eel- *Adzükhü*, *Amüsa*, etc (Nyusou, 2012, p.24). The fishes caught from *Tizu* river and its tributaries are dried and supplied to neighbouring tribes and as far as Kohima town, which are considered tastier than sundry fish of Manipur (Bareh, 1970, p.124).

### 1.13. Flora

The Pochury area is characterized by series of mountain ranges and intervening valleys. The evergreen vegetation covers most of the areas in the region. The most common trees are Pine- *Aküla*, Oak- *Anguozhe*, Walnuts- *Akha*, Bamboo- *Aphoh*, Mango- *Amüzho*, Wild Apple- *Ashohlo*, Wild Jack Fruit- *Akhutie*, Bonsum- *Amkrie*, Hollock- *Ariüwa*, Bhola- *Ache*, Jatipoma- *Atetsoh*, Khokon- *Ariüwa*, Alder, etc the trees are used for the construction of houses and some commercially supplied to the other part of the region, resulting in the destruction of virgin forest (Riepetho, 1993, p.20, Nyusou, 2012, p.20 and souvenir: Lepthori Student Union. 1965-2015, n.d, p.53). The Govt. agencies such as Nagaland empowerment of people through energy development and land Resources Department have introduced different (new) species of trees like Teak, Eucalyptus and Gamari to regain the natural vegetation.

The region is also gifted with varieties of floral species and ferns. Different flowers blooms throughout the year. Rhododendron- *Luoshüthorü*, *Akhevi*, *Wimüji*, *Bojihthorü*, *Niwuthrü*, *Züwathorü*, *Jiza Küwu*, *Atevü*, *Odibo*, *Künyokhu*, *Sihna küwu*, *Labasuo küwu*, *Jerü küwu*, *Rüni küwu*, *Sanü küwu*, *Khubie küwu* and varieties of Orchids and ferns are found (Nyusou, 2012, p.24). Today exported varieties of flowers are found in the flower gardens.

Cane- *Arüh*, Palm- *Alüphi*, *Kawurüzüh*, *Akhriha*, *Atsathsü* and *Ahlou* are the common thorny creepers and shrubs. *Ahkeshi*, *Amürü*, *Ahezi*, *Kuorüwih*, Gooseberry- *Suohrüzüh*, Nutgall tree- *Athoma*, Soap Nut- *Achoka*, and *Azhi* are used for healing wounds and making traditional medicines (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication).

The region is very rich in mineral resources. According to the department of Geology and Mining, the minerals found in Pochury area are Limestone, (Pl. 33) Decorative Serpentine, Brine/Salt Water, Chromites, Magnetite, Tale, Slate, Asbestos, Marble, Base Metal and Copper Molybdenum (Nagaland: Basic facts, 2009, n.d, p.62). To exploit the natural resources, roads were constructed and a mini cement factory was set up at Weziho by the Government of Nagaland in corroboration with the North-East Council.

### 1.14. Fauna

The thick vast forested area and suitable climatic condition, different types of animals and birds are found in abundance. Animals and birds like Barking Deer- *Amüsü*, Stag- *Akhruo*, Bear- *Awia*, Wild Mithun- *Sülasüsü*, Boar- *Asüji*, Sow- *Asüchou*, Tiger- *Amia*, Serrow- *Anguozuo*, Rhinoceros- *Asühpri*, Porcupine- *Aküprü*, Wild cat- *Anyukrie*, Palm civet- *Ashühphru*, *Achih*,

Palm civet- *Aphitsou*, Otter- *Ajühreh*, Flying fox- *Alo*, Himalayan Squirrel-*Kuzhidhuokre*, Flying squirrel- *Aprih*, Squirrel- *Adhuoke*, Striped Squirrel- *Adhuotse*, Rat- *Amükhruo*, Bamboo Rat- *Azhushu*, Bamboo Rat- *Ahjürü*, Monkey- *Ashügi*, Peacock- *Arah*, Hornbill- *Aruochih*, Wild Fowl- *Aro*, Eagle- *Ahluomö*, Hawk- *Ahluozah*, Crow- *Ahwuo*, Owl- *Khuchorü*, Pigeon- *Mükhriatü* and Woodpecker- *Tsotüwa* (Nyusou, 2012, p.24 and Souvenir: Lephori Student Union. 1965-2015, n.d, pp.58-59) are some of the animals and birds found in the area. Only male folks are involved in hunting and fishing with crossbow, spear, dao and guns are commonly used (Riepetho, 1993, p.23) these days. With the increase in population and excessive hunting not only for local consumption but for commercial purpose, the animals and birds have greatly decreased. Snakes like Cobra- *Arechi*, Python- *Asuomia*, *Akhükümüruwa*, *Amawa* and *Asuoke* are common.

The insects such as glow-worm, Mosquito- *Jhikhrovüh*, beetles, Grass-hoppers- *Ashukhria*, etc. are also found. Besides these, different kinds of Caterpillars, Butterflies- *Nodhaküchuvüh*, Dragon-flies- *Huoküsho vüh*, and amphibians like Frog- *Awuh*, Crab- *Azhie*, Snail- *Jakuthe*, *Azhikhuo*, *Awudhü*, *Bojuzo*, *Juhmvüre*, *Azuolah* and *Tsütsüvüh* (Nyusou, 2012, p.25) and some of these are eaten as great delicacies.

Traditionally, the names of trees, animals, birds and insects are given in relation to their utility, the sound they make or their odour or the way they behave, dance and act. It is important to note that there are flora and fauna that do not possess local names as they are not used by the people (Lohe, 2011, p.29).

### **1.15. Mountain Ranges**

There are five ranges running parallel to each other where most of the settlements are situated. They are (i) *Ngazüpfü* range (ii) *Kamalay* range (iii) *Riejisuo* range (iv) *Apoksah* range and (v) *Zhupuhu* range (Riepetho, 1993, p.67). The people's migratory routes and settlement divided them on the ridges and mountains of the area. (Each range or area is almost similar in their migratory oral tradition) The Pochury Naga ranges was occupied by six villages namely (i) Phor, (ii) Yisi, (iii) Laruri, (iv) Akhegwo, (v) Lephori and (vi) Meluri, (Souvenir: Lephori Student Union. 1965-2015, n.d, p.52 and personal diary of Riekhuotho, n.d.) and the other villages established in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 1.16. Origin and Integration

The word ‘Pochury’ was obscure till 1950s. They were referred as ‘Eastern Rengma’ or the ‘Southern Sangtam’ (Saul, 2005, p.21). In actual fact the name ‘Pochiri’ had been around a lot longer, and appears in a map of circa 1910, on the area where the Pochury now live, as a tribal designation for the villages of this area (Pochury Naga, n.d).

Among the Pochury Naga tribe, the people of Meluri were the first to have contacted with the British on 26<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1874 (Elwin, 1967, p.364) by then the Meluri had link with the Angamis (present Angami and Chakhesang) and other Pochuries in terms of trade and social interaction. Cotton, pottery and Salt were bartered for coloured wool and woolen cloths. In the process, people of Meluri learnt Angami and acted as indirect interpreters to the British and Angamis. The people of Meluri who could speak Angami would interpret to Angami and an Angami who spoke English, in turn, translated to the British. This fact is very evident at Akhegwo- *Primi* where the British had managed in a way by translation from *Primi* to Meluri, to Angami, to Assamese, to English, and vice versa (Elwin, 1969, p.364).

The word ‘Pochiri’ means brethren living downstream (river) and does not denote ‘Pochury’ but referred to the whole of present day Pochury, Pungro area, Longmatra area, Longfüri area, Somra area, Para and Koki who all live downstream. J.H. Hutton was of the view that, the so called “....Southern Sangtam includes Akhegwo- *Primi*, Phor- *Photsimi*, Yisi- *Phozami*, and probably, Samphuri-*Thachumi*, and Thanamir- *Thomami* all which adjoin the Meluri- Rengma. Laruri -*Karami*, Mimi- *Niemi* and other villages to the east belong to the Kalyo-Kengyu tribe and not the Sangtam (Hutton, 2003: p376). The 1961 census of ‘Pochury’ includes the Laruri area (Bareh, 1970, p.57).

As early as 1910 there was a move for recognition of ‘Pochury’ as a distinctive tribe of its own. In 1946 they join the Eastern Angami village, to become known collectively as a ‘Chakhesang’ tribe, out of the Angami tribe, an arrangement made by the British for the administrative purpose. The Eastern Angamis made an alliance with the Rengma-Sangtam group and coined a new terminology ‘Chakhesang’ the unity of the ‘*Chokri*’, ‘*Kheza*’ and ‘*Sangtam*’ into one tribe (In diliciis: Chakhesang Students Union, 2008, n.d.). However, this arrangement was never very satisfactory and in 1990 the group split up again with the ‘Old *Sangtam*’ village forming their own group along with the same former ‘Eastern Rengma’ villages of the Meluri group and villages belonging to the Laruri group (Pochury Naga, n.d.).

P. Leshimo Nyusou coined the word ‘Pochury’ and integrated into one identity called Pochury Naga, who was also greatly influenced by the advice- *shikekütsü* and motivation- *sosie kütsü* of C.R. Pawsey, the then Deputy Commissioner of Kohima (Leshimo Nyusou, n.d, p.57). During the initial formation of Chakhesang tribe in 1946, at Phek Village Mr. Tarachu/Dachu and Mr. Lesumo/P. Leshimo Nyusou are the two Rengma-Sangtam representatives. It may also have influenced his thought in the formation of Pochury Naga Tribe. He coined the word ‘Pochury’ from the acronym ‘Po’ from ‘*Sapo-Rüwu*’, ‘Chu’ from ‘*Rengma-Küchu*’ and ‘Ry’ from *Khwiry* (Leshimo Nyusou, n.d, p.8).

In 1951, (Leshimo Nyusou, n.d, p.13) the former Rengma and Southern Sangtam villages formalized their relationship by creating the first Pochury Tribal Council, following an earlier arrangement ratified. The word ‘Pochury’ and ‘Meluri’ dialect as lingua-franca of Pochury was formalized on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1957 at Hutsü (Leyri, 2010, p.5). The meeting was attended by 35 village representatives of the Pochury Region Official (Federal Government of Nagaland) and Woman Department of the Federal Government of Nagaland (Leshimo Nyusou, n.d, pp.18-25).

With the declaration of Federal Government of Nagaland on 22<sup>nd</sup> march 1956, (Appendix 1.2.) the first Pochury Local Self Government held a meeting on 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> August 1958 at camp Lephori village and created the administrative division of the Pochury area such as (i) *Riejisuo*, (ii) *Zipusuo*, (iii) *Ngazüpfü Suo*, (v) *Thachüri Suo*, (vi) *Tsathi Suo*, (vii) *Layshee and Makweri Suo (Mekuri)*, (viii) *Somra* and (ix) *Sapo Suo*. The 23<sup>rd</sup> Nov. 1959 meeting at camp Thewathi reaffirmed the camp Lephori resolution of 1958. It is clear that the Pochury Naga consisted of the whole present day Pochury tribe, Longmatra, Pungro, *Lonpfüri*, Para, Koki and Layshee areas constitute the people of ‘Pochury’. It is a fact that they remain ‘Pochury’ and was signatories of camp Lephori (1958) and camp Thewati (1959) meetings (Leshimo Nyusou, n.d, pp.8-9). Even though they were divided by the state and international artificial boundary, their social and cultural bonds of brotherhood exist even today. (Appendix. 1.3)

The division of Pochury took place when statehood was granted to Nagaland on 1<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1963, where areas like Longmatra and Pungro Sub-Division were ceded to Kiphiri (Tuesang) and Tizu area (*Formal recognition of the Pochury tribe is not likely to diminish or out date the meaning of the name of Chakhesang tribe since four villages namely (i) Sowhemi, (ii) Kotisü, (iii) Kizari and (iv) Tezatsü formerly included in the Eastern Sangtam tribe will continue to remain within the Chakhesang tribe even if the Pochury tribe is recognized. E.T. Sunep, Deputy*

*Commissioner of Phek: to Commissioner Nagaland. Kohima: 15<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1984, p.3*) to Chakhesang tribe (Souvenir: Pochury Day Silver Jubilee, 1990-2015, n.d, p.3). (Appendix. 1.4.)

### **1.17. Migratory Routes**

Each immigrant groups has its own legends and folktale to provide some clues of their route from where they migrated. However, it is not easy to identify the first settlers of the region, because the successive immigrants have assimilated their culture with early settlers (Riepetho, 1993, pp.44-45).

The oral history of the Pochury's tells that their ancestors migrated from *Sapo, Küchu, Khwiry, Rengma, Sangtam, Seyochong, Samphuri, Yimchungür* and *Kuki* from where they claimed to be their migratory home. One oral tradition narrates that the *Khwiry* and *Küchuri* settlers dispersed/migrated because of tribal feud and assimilated their culture and tradition with the neighbouring villages. These people have lost their languages and culture, yet their melodious folksongs still continue to be very popular throughout the Pochury Naga tribe. Thus linguistically and culturally found to be diverse, still they have one common trait of folksongs, *Pochu Waza*, which was composed by *Küchuri* and *Khwiry* people (Riepetho, 1993, pp.45-46).

The *Küchuri*, migrated from South-East (Myanmar) and settled at *Tsiküzo* (Nyusou, 2012, p.32). No oral traditions exist why the *Küchuri* settlers dispersed all over Pochury area. However it is quite probable that it might be because of head-hunting, diseases, famine or pandemic that led the people to migrate to other places. They are mostly found in the Phor area (*Zhupuhu* range) and few are said to have migrated to Akhegwo, Meluri, Lephori, Laruri and Myanmar.

#### **a. Laruri group**

The Laruri group who love to call themselves as *Lüruri* or *Lürathvü*. The ancestors of Laruri made their passage into the present settlement from Chindwin-*Darati* invading and conquering during the head hunting days. The oral tradition of Laruri tells that the Laruri and *Lünuri* (*Khwiry*) quarreled over the claim of Northerners. Northerners are considered more powerful and the Southerners have to pay tribute to the Northerners. Through the trickery of *Nathringthow*, the *Lünuri* were defeated. Another oral tradition tells that, the *Pansat- Sosari* and *Somra- Sezari* group almost destroyed the *Lünuri* village (Souvenir: Lüruri Student Union, 1978-2002, n.d, pp.27-28). The remnants of this village went all over the Pochury land, the chief *Phoso* migrated

to Laruri village; majority went and founded the Koki village in Myanmar (Pochury Naga, n.d). One group founded the *Mimi/Longfüri* village and the other Para Naga Villages. According to the Laruri dialect '*Para*' means 'new settlers' an indication of their migration from Laruri area (Leyri, October 5, 2015, Personal communication).

The Koki, Pansat and Somra also point to the North that is Laruri area as their migratory route (Pochury Naga, n.d). Their customs, culture, tradition, physical features and dialect have affinities with the Pochury Naga tribe of India. The age old tradition also tells that they had cultural exchange (dance group were hosted during the feast of merit) between Laruri, Yisi and Pansat (Souvenir: Rengma and Pochury day commemoration. 2010, p.43). The Koki generally believed that they came from North-West of *Layshee* and West of *Shera* from the Indian side and state that their chief village was formed about 280 years ago. These origin would tend to link with the Pochury story that the Koki and Para moved East from the Laruri area, although the Koki themselves, possible under Tangkhul influence, do not whole heartedly accept this relationship. In general terms, the Koki do acknowledge a Northern origin and this is exemplified in their traditional songs.

J.D. Saul (2005) has stated the military report of A.E. Wood of 1915 recognized the individuality of the Laruri dialect from those of its neighbours (p.23). The Laruri language spoken by the eight villages is said to have affinities with the Ao and Sangtam language. So the Laruri migrating from the North cannot be ruled out. Legend also tells that they followed the river downstream. The Sangtam also called *Arorü* referring to Laruri (Leyri, October 5, 2015, personal communication).

#### **b. Apoksah Group**

The Apoksah claim that they are the original settlers of the area. The oral tradition of Apoksah claim that they came out of the hole at *Montsükhujü* near Akhegwo, to which they have preserved till today. Their legend says that *Keayanchu*, *Yanju*, *Metsenju* and *Kianghutsen* were the first people to come out of the Hole (Mepingthü, 2014, p.6). The village is divided into four khels namely *Yantseggho*, *Mechughho*, *Tsontseggho* and *Kükegwo*. Akhegwo has since founded two villages namely *Kükhegwo* and new Akhegwo (Niecha and Junte: January 9, 2015, Personal communication).

### **c. Phosisha Group**

The people of Phor group called themselves as *Phosisha*, who believed that they are the original settlers emerged at a place called '*Buraka*'. The Department of Art and Culture in collaboration with Nagaland University Department of History and Archaeology excavated the site and have dated Circa 50 B.C (Souvenir: Pochury day Silver Jubilee, 1990-2015, 2015, p.45) vindicating their claim of origin.

Yisi is the offshoot of Phor village, migrated many centuries ago, by two hunters *Waghiechu* and *Wotüchu* who found the place suitable for human settlement where resources like trees for construction of houses, clean stream water, Salt spring and most importantly an ideal place for defense in case of warfare and head hunting. *Waghiechu*, *Wotüchu* and his followers established a new village called Yisi. Yisi is combination of two words, 'Yi' 'Village' and 'Si' 'New'. Thus, literary '*Yisi*' means 'new village'. Latter on the groups like *Khwiry- Khwisha*, *Samphuri- Kübüsha*, Myanmar- *Süsha*, *Sangtam- Thriyosha*, *Küchuri- Küchusha*, Myanmar- *Lükhrasha* and *Yimkhium- Thütasha* migrated to Yisi and assimilated their culture and tradition with them. Villagers like Weziho, Zhipu, Shatüza, Hutsü and Küzatü are the offshoot of Yisi village. Yisisotha is an offshoot of Weziho village. These offshoot villages of Yisi called themselves as *Yisisha* (Nyusou, 2012, pp.40-43).

### **d. Matikhrü- Sapori**

*Sapori* area included Matikhrü, Reguri, Vahong (now Tankhul) and surrounding village-Somra area (Pochury Naga, n.d). They inhabit present day upper Reguri and dispersed to Myanmar, Lephori, Akhegwo, Phor, Lüruri and Meluri. Matikhrü village is the only village in the present day 'Pochury' tribe, the rest ceded with the Myanmar (Somra) and Tangkhul Naga (Pochu Waza: vol-1, issue No.4. July, 2010, p.5). The settler of present Matithrü village was called '*Nokhombo*', which means 'Brine Stream People'. According to their oral tradition, a Mao Naga hunter was led astray to the *Nokhombo* village, by the melodious sound of the Flying Lizard- *Unga* and saw the villagers making Salt (Brine) from the Salt Water. Thereafter, the village was called 'Matikhrü', a combination of two words '*Mati*' 'Salt' and '*Khrü*' allude to salty. Thus Matikhrü, means 'Salty' according to the Mao Naga dialect (Nyusou, 2012, p.48).

### e. Meluri Group

The oral tradition of the ‘Eastern Rengma’- Meluri (Müluori), Lephori (Mipfüri) and Sohomi (Tüphuri) tells that they migrated from Rengma area. It was from the Northern section that the Eastern Rengma, who called themselves, split off. It was from Kithagha (Kitagha) that the Eastern Rengma set off on their long journey (Mills, 1982, pp.2-6). In 1935, a group of Meluri on deputation was well received at Therugu hill (Bereh, 1970, p.18). An old man addressed them and said “welcome, you are our brethren. We are of same stock. We know that you left us long ago; but the field, the rocks and the trees of our land are still yours as well as ours. It is only because you live so far away that you cannot use them. Eat with us and drink with us now, and when you return to your country go in peace” (Mills, 1982, p.8).

The Eastern Rengma speaks a dialect of Rengma, *Nthini*, (Souvenir: Rengma and Pochury Day commemoration, 2010, p.44) a language allied to Angami, (Pochuri Naga, n.d.) which is an evidence that they came from Rengma area many centuries ago, to the present places. Mills was of the view that, “this foundation is said to have taken place sixteen generations ago, but the Eastern Rengmas always seem to me to be particularly weak in genealogical memory, and it is common to find men who do not know the name of their own grandfathers” (Mills, 1982, pp.8-9). This remark of Mills is very evident in the oral migratory legend of Meluri, Lephori and Sohomi; they all agree that, they migrated from Rengma area but have contradicting views of their migratory story. In the course of my interview, I was told by the elders that, fifty (Kuoritho Poji, December 17, 2014, personal communication and Nyusou, January 10, 2015, Personal communication) generations ago they migrated to the present place. It cannot be ascertained, how far it is true because, they could manage to put claim only twenty five Chiefs- *Kajiwa* (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lashipha, 2003, p.4).

Table 1.2. List of the chief and second chief of Meluri village.

Sl. no	Chief name- Kaji ra nyo	Year - Mavi	Sl. no	2 <sup>nd</sup> Chief name- sehshi ra nyo	Year Mavi	Sl. no	1 <sup>st</sup> Sower Kùshephie kuwa	Year- Mavi
1	NYURHIETHA	-----	1	POMPHA	-----	1	LUOZHIES Ü	-----

2	NYUTÜNY URHIE	-----	2	NYUMPHA	-----	2	NYORHIE THSÜ	-----
3	LEKHA	-----	3	SAPHE	-----	3	SILETHSÜ	-----
4	RIETHOSIE	-----	4	KHUNYUOV O	-----	4	NYOSHIET HSÜ	-----
5	TSUOSEKH U	-----	5	NYUTHA	-----	5	THOSHU	-----
6	RIECHUSIE	-----	6	SITSIMO	-----	6	JULETHSÜ	-----
7	NYOKHAP E	-----	7	VITHOSIE	-----	7	LATÜTHÜ	-----
8	NYUMÜRH II	-----	8	ZUSÜPA	-----	8	TSITHE	-----
9	WUTHOPA	-----	9	KÜNYUOTH O	-----	9	TSIKHATH SÜ	-----
10	SHELEPA	-----	10	KÜSHOPA	-----	10	TERÜTHS Ü	-----
11	SENIPA	-----	11	LÜKHIETHO	-----	11	HITÜTHSÜ	-----
12	NYUSÜTA	-----	12	CHECHATH O	-----	12	LEPHRAT HSÜ	-----
13	LEKHA	-----	13	KUOTHO	-----	13	ZHETHOT HSÜ	Till date
14	NYOJÜTHO	-----	14	SITSIMO	-----	14		
15	CHETHOPA	-----	15	KÜSHOPA	-----	15		
16	NYIERÜWU	-----	16	NYUTHA	-----			
17	BOTIRISHI	-----	17	NYUWHUO	-----			
18	NATSÜTHO	----- -	18	TSAMATHO	UP to 1972			
19	KÜMASOU		19	SIERÜTHO	1973 -			

					2011			
20	KÜMATHA		20	WAMATHO	2012 - 19			
21	KUOSUVO		21	VITHOSIE	2020 till date			
22	ZUSIIPA	1950						
23	MÜZAZHI	1951 -73						
24	RIETHOSIE	1974 - 2002						
25	TSUOSEKH U	2003 - 2015						
26	ZHIZHUTH O	2015 - 2019						
27	RIESUOPA	2019 Till date						

Source: Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lashipha. 2003, p.4

The word Meluri is a combination of two words “*Müluo*” means ‘abundance’ or ‘plentiful’ or ‘bountiful’ and ‘*Ri*’ means ‘people’, so literally *Müluori* means land of abundance/plentiful (Souvenir: Rengma and Pochury day commemoration. 2010, pp.38-39). Latter other groups of people like *Saporüwo*, *Küchury*, *Khwiry* and *Zahtshüthonari* (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lashipha, 2003, p.1) joint them and assimilated their culture and tradition.

It is generally accepted that from Rengma, the Eastern Rengma group of Meluri, Lephori and Sohomi migrated to the present places, but here the elders could not point to the exact place of their migratory home (Siariitho, December, 21, 2015, personal communication) but Mills have

pointed at Kithagha. One day, some women were drying paddy, a white Stag- *Akhruo* stamp over it. As men folk were busy in the field, few of them could not kill it. Tradition tells that the party was led on and on by a white Stag- *Akhruo* they were hunting, till they came to a wonderful site called *Sajiezuoji* and here the white Stag- *Akhruo* was killed (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lashipha, 2003, p.1). The *Mipfüri* legend tells that the white Stag- *Akhruo* was killed at *Mitsale* (Souvenir: Lephori Students Union. 1965-2015, n.d, p.50). A bamboo was cut to contain the blood of the Stag- *Akhruo* and to their amazement rice and rice beer oozed out. This particular bamboo was named Paddy- *Atsuo*. Thus, a message was spread among the hunters that, this place will be a land of ‘plentiful’ or land of ‘abundance’. As they returned home, their families came searching for them with foods and wine and met them on the third day. On reaching home they packed their belongings and started their journey to the land that they have seen. They stopped at a place called *Miatsaluo* (present day in Chakhesang tribe-Mütsale) for rest and food, but they found the ants- *amiatsa* in their food and wine. So they named the place as place of ants- *mütsale*. They carried on their journey and again stopped at *Kütsape*. (Present day in Chakhesang tribe-Kutsapo) Here difference of opinion cropped up among them, some wanted to keep on marching to the land that they had seen and the other group with children and nursing kids refused to move ahead. Oral tradition says that it was here that they had their last feast together slaughtering a buffalo and dispersed to different directions. The people who migrated to Sohomi ate the tip of the tongue and their pitch is higher- what? - *Tsuwale?*, Meluri the middle and their pitch is middle-what?- *Mowalo?* and Lephori the base and their pitch is lower-what?- *Tuwale?* (Souvenir: Lephori students’ union.1965-2015, n.d, p.50) and this is how the pitch of their dialect deferred with the same word.

After dispersing from Ketsapo (*Kütsape*) the Sohomi settled down at the present place, but the other two groups followed the river downstream. The Lephori group stopped at *Süpouküthou* and then moved to *Pfüwe*. (Present place) They were the first to make fire, (smoke) so they were considered the eldest among the three groups and also named the village as *Mipfüri* (Souvenir: Lephori Students union. 1965-201, n.d, p.50). The name ‘*Mipfüri*’ is derived from the word ‘*Mi*’ represent ‘fire’, ‘*pfü*’ alludes to lighting fire and ‘*Ri*’ refers to ‘people’. Thus *Mipfüri* means the people to light the fire first (Souvenir: Rengma and Pouchery day commemoration, 2010, p.39).

The Meluri group carried on their journey and halted at *Lokrüju*. A few men were left behind with *Sühhlah* who fell ill and died. He was buried and the place is called ‘*Sühhlahküwou*’. From *Lokrüju* they passed through *Zheprousou* and reached the site that they had marked for the new settlement. *Hiezüh* (Species of tree) was grown along with *Akhutso* (Species of tree). Here they settled and the place is called *Khutso- Hiezüh*. Today the people living in this area are called *Khutsori Khel- Khutsori Aphru*.

Among the emigrants of Meluri, the elders are (i) *Nyurhietha*, (ii) *Nyutünyurhie*, (iii) *Pompha*, (iv) *Saphe*, (v) *Nyumpha*, (vi) *Nyusoudho*, (vii) *Sarakhu* and (viii) *Shorakhu*. *Nyurhietha* was made the first Chief-*Kajiwa* of Meluri village. It is assumed that *Nyurhietha* was the eldest or he might be an influential person among the group and that *Nyutünyurhie* might be his younger brother, who succeeded him as the chief of the village. *Pompha Nguori* was the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief- *Kaji Sehshi* and was succeeded by *Nyumpha*, who might also be his younger brother. Among the women folk *Luozhiesü Nyuthe* might be the eldest, for she was made the first Sower-*küshephie khuwa* of the seed (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lashipha, 2003, pp.1-2). The following are the chronology of the Chief- *Kajiwa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief- *Kaji Sehshi* and first Sower- *küshephie khuwa* of seeds. (Table 1.2.)

The emigrants might be marching in columns. Oral tradition tells that, the first column to Meluri carried small basket making narrow footpath. The successive column took the narrow path thinking that fewer people have taken the route and might get bigger share of land (property). It is how Meluri was larger in size, among the three.

The second groups of emigrants are from *Saporüwu*, a place between *Sapiya* and *Tinglinaway* now in Myanmar. They migrated to the present day upper Reguri village, and the settlers of this place are called *Saporüwu*. Again they migrated and formed two new villages namely *Nyuza* and *Tsütsari*- both deserted (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lashipha, 2003, p.2). The village might be deserted because of head hunting, inter clan dispute, inter village dispute, diseases, etc. They dispersed to Meluri, Lephori and nearby villages which are well settled and bigger in size, for security.

The third group of emigrants is from Myanmar- *Küchury* and they settled between *Weziho* and *Molen*. Here they spread all over ‘*Pochury*’ area. One group founded *Tsikrisuo* village and again divided into two villages, namely, *Chüruoju* and *Dzükrüleke* (both deserted) and then to Meluri, carrying small basket- *khodia*, climbing up the steep village path. The people

of Meluri mistook them for a Wild Boar- *Asüchi*. They entreated the Meluri, “we have come to live with you, will you allow us”? That year Meluri jhum field was *Ngarasü* and paddy was booting and about to flower, so Meluri, replied, “the Chief- *Kajiwa* have made a ceremonial rite (*atso zha müdhuo*) for the cultivation- jhum land cleared, burnt the field, sowed the seeds and already sprouted, heading and about to flower; “You cannot cultivate with us” They replied, “We have marked (seen) our field “.Meluri replied, “OK, if so, yes”. They were allowed to live in the disk like curve area and are called *Zhiehkuri Khel*. They were followed by *Dziakrüleke* group and allowed to live in a sloping area- *Küzhiehsü* and are called *Zhithsüri khel*. That year Meluri and the two groups (*Zhiehkuri* and *Zhithsüri*) cultivated the jhum field separately. Meluri had plentiful harvest and for the other two new khels, the harvest was very poor. So they said “*Müluori* are Faithful/Strong -*Müzhoshe* in their belief and tradition”. Till today, *Küchu* song- *Küchu zah* are popular among the two khels (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lashipha, 2003, p.2).

The fourth groups migrated from Myanmar -*Khwury* and settled near old Thewathi and are called *Lünuri* and *Khwury* by other Pochuris (Souvenir: Lüruri Student Union. 1978-2002, n.d, p.28). The *Lünuri* was almost destroyed by Somra-Tangkhuks from Pansat. The remnants of this village went all over Pochury land. (Pochury Naga, n.d) The Meluri immigrant was led by *Yujumo*. To keep track of their migratory rout *Yujumo* named his son *Khuru*.

The fifth and the last group to have migrated to Meluri are from Seyochong-*Zahtshürithonari* of Sangtam area. Some of the elders of this group are *Lükhewu*, *Tsuonipa*, *Sienipa*, *Mürüsou* and *Tsatsasou*. They are so handsome and beautiful, that the people of Meluri praised them through the song, “*Sosia* girls, *Sosia* boys, bad heart (impassive) and good heart (passion) have come here”- “*sosia rüleri*, *sosia vizari*, *alossüri alohieri*, *hala tsekhe dhuo*. *Sosia rüleri*, *sosia vizari*, *louve kümühieri*, *louve kümüsüri*, *nga hala tsekhe dhuo*. (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lashipha, 2003, p.2).

#### **f. Kuki group**

Manipur was annexed by the British in 1891, after the battle of Khongjom and the Kuki, who were ally of the Meitei, were forced to migrate to the North-East to Vahong area and Somra tract in Myanmar. They stayed up to 1919 (Brief life sketch of Shri Chengjapao DOUNGEL. 02:05 09/12/2012. Kukünpimegh.webnode.com). This Aishan Kukis are called *khuotsari* (Taxman/Imposture) by the Meluri group, because of the forced taxes they collected with dire

consequences with their superior arms/guns (Wamatho, December 19, 2014, personal communication and Chinasü, December 21, 2014, personal communication).

The Kanjan Kukis are the last group of migrants to the Pochury area. They came to the Pochury area in 1894 (Kanjan Baptist Church Golden Jubilee, 1942-92, n.d, p.8). The oral tradition tells that the Kanjan Kukis set on their journey from Manipur (North) of Tamenglong district and lived in Tenning area for some years (P. Pochury, October 24, 2015, personal communication) defending the local (Tenning) against raiders from Khonoma (Hutton, 2003, p.14). Here they made an alliance with their neighbour the Angamis-Khonoma village who guided them on their journey to the east. The two Angami guides namely *Visale* and *Kheluo* of Khonoma of *Samuma* clan guide them on their journey towards the East and reach Jessami. Again they set on their journey to an unknown place and reached Lephori whom they called Nungphung and lived with them for some years.

By the time the Kanjan Kukis reached Lephori, the Aishan Kukis had already setup eight villages at the present day Weziho area namely *Mollen* the chief village, *Mollen*, *Jangnoi*, *Thonghao*, *Namthi*, *Haijang*, *Taithangpa* and *Phang*. The Aishan Kukis belong to Doungel clan, the Chief clan of the Kukis. The chief of Kanjan Kuki, *Paujalut* died in *Mipfüri* village and his three sons (*Nguljalén/Pali*, *Lelkholal* and *Sutmang*) and his followers left the place and marched back to their ancestral home Tamenglong (Manipur) because they could not make an alliance with the Aishan Kukis. (Sekholal Singson, January 12, 2020, personal communication)

During their (Kanjan Kuki) stay in Manipur, the Anglo-Kuki war broke out and *Nguljalén/Pali* Chief remained neutral but sent his second brother (*Lalkholal*) to Europe as Labour corps and the youngest (*Sutmang*) allowed to joining the rebellion. After the First World War, the Kanjan Kuki, set on their journey back to the area earlier they have sojourn in from Manipur, led by *Nguljalén/Pali* son of *Paojalut*. They reached Jessami on 28<sup>th</sup> march 1919 and stayed, for six month and in the month of October they settled at the present place Kanjan, after the Patta was issued by the Deputy Commissioner (Hutton) of Kohima – Patta which could not be produced by them as proof and with the consent of Lephori village {Lethao (L. James), Lengsei, Jonlet and Hemin, October 25, 2015, personal communication}.

The word Kanjan is a combination of two words, ‘*Kan*’ a species of ‘tree’ and ‘*Jang*’ ‘plain’ area or a ‘plateau’. Thus Kanjang means, a plateau, where *Kan* (trees) is grown. Within 20 years, Kanjan became a prosperous village. During the Second World War (1943-44) they

were taken to camp Bhokhajan as refugees by the British. However, they returned to the village in 1945 and settled permanently {Lethao (L. James), Lengsei, Jonlet and Hemin October 25, 2015, personal communication}. Akhen is an offshoot of Kanjan village, established in 1951 (Souvenir: Pochury Day Silver Jubilee 1990-2015, n.d, p.46).

### 1.18. Conclusion

The 'Pochury' Naga tribe is one of the major Naga tribes, recognized by the Government of Nagaland on 19<sup>th</sup> April, 1990. Pochury is a diverse tribe, each village having its own peculiar customs, tradition, culture and dialect. The visionary leaders of Pochury during the 1950's have united the diverse villages into a major tribe "Pochury". Today 'Pochury' is divided, within the state and international boundary, and only 1/6 of the tribe formed the present "Pochury" tribe. They are the proud tribe of Nagaland, with a population of 22,618 and 30 recognized villages with 'Pochury' a dialect of their own and 'Yemshe' their premier festival. (Appendix. 1.5.)

On 21<sup>st</sup> April, 1992 P.K.T. Marütho, have rightly pointed out that, "Pochury is an agglomerated tribe"- "*Pochury thuoji virüguo,*" and goes on to state that, "Where dialect exists, tribe also exists; where tribe exists, dialect also exists"- "*Azhü be thuoji Aguo beve; Aguo be thuoji Azhü beve*" (Leyri, 2010, Pochu Waza, Vol.1, issue No.1, April, p.2). As many as eight (8) dialects are spoken by the Pochuris. The dialects are *Apoksah, Phoyisha, Khezha, Kuki, Samphori, Laruri, Avakhung* and *Meluri* (Riepetho, 1993, p.46). Besides these dialects, the dialects of *Khwiry, Küchuri, Sapor, Seyri,* and *Lünuri* also exist, but today these dialects have ceased to exist, because in the course of their migration, their culture and tradition may have assimilated with the other groups. One such example is the *Sapor* of Matikhrü villages where a *Sapor* dialect is long forgotten and *Khezha, Phoshisha, Samphori* and *Meluri* dialect are spoken. The 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1957 meeting at Hutsü has adopted *Meluri* dialect as the official dialects of Pochury. (Appendix 1.5.)

Today there is no *Meluri, Apoksah, Sapo, Küchu, Khwiry, Phoyisha, Samphori, Laruri, Kuki* and *Avakhung* but only Pochury and *Pochury* dialect. That does not mean the other smaller speaking groups are discouraged and to make them extinct, but have to be encouraged along with the mother tongue *Pochury*. It is the mother tongue, which unite a tribe (Leyri, 2010, Pochu Waza. Vol.1, issue No.1, April, pp.2-3).

## CHAPTER 2

### ADMINISTRATION

#### 2.1. The Village Administration

In the past, village was their country and its organization was their Government for the Nagas. There was no other organization either social or religious beyond the limits of the village. A very loose form of political relation among some villages existed but there was more or less in the nature of peace treaty (Proceeding of the seminar on Naga customary laws. Kohima, November 21-23, 1974).

##### a. The Village set-up

Almost all the Naga villages are situated on the hill top and the reason for this may be because of the practice of head hunting. These villagers are sovereign and self-sufficient in itself (Mepingthü, 2016, p.18). The Pochuries never built stone walls, but they dig ditch-like wall, where at the raised area a bamboo palisading and timber stockades are built and can only be entered by lifting up a notched log of the gate. The Houses, Granaries and the gardens are built inside the village wall. The gap between the houses and granaries are utilized for gardens and human need. The gardens are carefully fenced to keep the pigs out, with narrow paths left between the fences to access to the granaries. The paths are twisting and turning at the right angles, according to the garden plots, with bamboo fence on either side (Mills, 1982, p.48). In the garden they grow vegetables such as sweet potato, pumpkin, sugar-cane, beans, fruits such as orange and peach and some herbs like garlic, ginger- *aso*, mint- *arhesa* and chives- *asina* for their daily needs (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication).

The Pochury Naga villages are divided into Khels- *Aphru*. There is no marked boundary but, one knew in which Khel- *Aphru* his house is situated (Mills, 1982, p.55). There are some instances where one or two households live in the other Khel's land. But all his daily activities are in tune with his Khel- *Aphru* members. There are four khels among the big villages like Meluri and Akhegwo and the smaller villages have two or three khels. The khels are a mixture of different clan members. Each khel built its own morung. The Akhegwo group does not have a village common property, but each khel have their own demarcated land boundaries and Jhum

circles owned individually (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication).

### **b. Inter-Village relationship.**

Since time immemorial, the Pochury people are socially related. They hosted each other in the feast of merit. This social relation is evident, whereby the Meluri called the Akhegwo people as *Priri*, the Phor people as *Phochiri*, the Yisi people as *Phozari* and the Laruri people as *Kürari*. They also have trade and social links with each other. They have special relation with each other (neighbor villages) by adopting individual families in each village. Whenever they visit the village for trade, feast of merit or travelling they are welcomed as a family member, such a relation they called *Eshapu* to the Chakhesangs, *Elokhea* to Phor, *Eküzeri* to Yisi and *Enyu-Lepori* to Lepori and *Echünü* to Akhegwo (Poji, January 5 2018, Personal communication and Siariitho, December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015, personal communication) so do, the Laruri called the people of Meluri as *Shanri*, Akhegwo as *Priri* and Phor as *Phangü* (Khouzing, January 8, 2015, personal communication).

## **2.2. The Pochury Naga Chief- *Kajiwa***

Each Naga village was a distinct self-sufficient and self-administering unit (Horam, 1977, p.76). The Pochury Naga village functions as a sovereign state under the guidance of the Chief- *Kajiwa* (Mapingthvü, 2016, p.20). He is non replaceable at any circumstances and is selected soon after his death. The Chief- *Kajiwa* is assisted by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Sheshi/Anyuziawa*, Elders of the village, Season Observer- *Sarünyi küchiewa*, taster-cum-priest and peace maker- *aleri*. The Pochury Chief- *Kajiwa* is a nominal head of the village. No tax is paid to the Chief- *Kajiwa*, except that he accepts the offering of vegetables which are offered to seek his blessings. The Chief- *Kajiwa* gladly accepts such offerings and blesses the givers- *Saza wiza anyuwa nüñ akütsia vinta akhuo lovü tsüve, thi mata müsa, thitü kümünga ta sana*. In all the festivities and social gatherings the Chief- *Kajiwa* gave his blesses on such occasion. The disputes or cases in the village are settled by the gathering of the Village Elders- *Müzaluo* in the presence of the Chief- *Kajiwa* (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.14).

The Pochury Naga villages Chief- *Kajiwa* is hereditary among the Laruri, Phor, Akhegwo and Kukis of Kanjan, but among the Meluri group the Chief-*Kajiwa* is hereditary in the leading *Tsuori* clan, but not in the family alone. It does not necessarily pass from the father to son, but to

the most suitable man in the leading *Tsuori* clan-*Tsuokaji ahrü* (Mills, 1982, p.138). The Chief-*Kajiwa* is selected by the Village Elders- *Müzaluo* taken into consideration of his mental and physical capabilities and above all his stature in the society. The Chief- *Kajiwa* once selected remains the Chief- *Kajiwa* for life, he is to be adored and respected by the people (Kuorütho Poji, Kümatho, L. Silatho, Shethotshü, Chitetshü and Meshotshü, February, 2016, personal communication). He is the first citizen of the Village- *Kajiwa dhu08oji azhie lovü anyi apowa* (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.13). The Pochury Naga Chief- *Kajiwa* plays a pivotal role in administering his people, even though he has limited powers, the rites, rituals and disputes brought up in the village court- *müzaluo* cannot be settled without his consent.

The Chief- *Kajiwa* and 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Sheshi/Anyuziawa* houses are no different from that of the ordinary citizen of the village. Only the rich men who have thrown the 8<sup>th</sup> Feast of Merit- *Aküzü küza* and above, their houses are elaborately decorated in unique design of curved wooden posts, beams and poked buffalo heads in front of the house- *Atsühne zhepo-nüh zanü mazhe-küke tewa na dhuo* (Müluori nyushu nyusho Lasipha, 2003, p.19).

The Chief- *Kajiwa*, who is the head of the village, observes strict do and don'ts, makes personal sacrifices, rites, rituals and abstinences for the well being of his people. Certain meats such as pork-innards, monkey, cow, frog, wild rat and squirrel are not eaten by the Chief-*Kajiwa*. These animals are considered as inert. He makes a ceremonial sowing of the seeds for the paddy field- *manöh tsetsö matsö/ manöh rüthü wukhu na*. Eagle and seeds-eating birds are also not eaten to prevent these birds from eating seeds sowed in the field (T. Azüzü Thurr, April 10, 2016, personal communication).

He does ceremonial rite for clearing the new Jhum field- *kajiwa nüäh atsho zanave*, (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.14) or he parcels out cultivable land to the villages in consultation with the village councilors (Horam, 1977, p.77). Early morning on the sixth day of *Nazhu* festival he makes a ceremonial rite on the way to the new jhum field by chopping a ceremonial tree- *ashidho tsho* saying, "Almighty God, like the shrub be its growth, weed thou shall parish, grains thou shall sprout in abundant in heaps of chest and plentiful be ours"- "*Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa, souruohu mürhu, luodihu mürhu, prasöke chosözu, shunyie shuyi, tenyi tenyi, juju tinyinöh tsouseluo, mökötsakhe möközukhe saluo*".

During festivities, hunting, fishing and sowing of the seeds he drinks from a plantain leave cup-*arunga huo -Nazu khu, rüdhü küwu, retserezhü vü Kajiwa dhouji arunga nü ahuo*,

*müchhi nü zhuna*. The plantain leave cup-*arunga huo* signify its freshness and plentiful of his people. The Chief- *Kajiwa* cup and plate are not shared with anyone nor does he share the cup and plate of others- *Kajiwa ahuo, akhu, nyuri vü kürüzhiwa nyu*. At home he placed his half drunk cup in a small chest-*ateh* where all sougths of seeds are kept (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). He never entirely consumes the drink in his cup and the food in his plate and never washes it and the meal is served on the remains of the old ones (Mills, 1982, p.140). He never keeps his cup, plate and utensil empty for his people will not go hungry- *Kajiwa ahuo, akhu thi aköfv shete veh*. He does not eat or drink the left-over food of the people- *Nyuri kütsadu zudu kütsawa nyu*.

He speaks with caution and never speaks loud- *Ma azhü nga kiji küphra wanyu, anyu mümühie nüeh sanaveta azhü zhüsheve*. The words that come out of his mouth are with authority, the wrath of the Chief- *Kajiwa* is a curse and a person may felt sick or even death so he is never to show his anger (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.14 and the concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practices codified references of unwritten laws, 2006, p.4).

The Chief- *Kajiwa* is consulted on all important matters of the village-*Anyulovü müsaji mü kümühiewa avah kajiwa kümüshe viluo nü sawave*. The gatherings of the village elders decide all the important matters in the village in the presence of the Chief- *Kajiwa*. It is the Chief- *Kajiwa* who executes the decision by decimating to the general public through his deputy the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Sheshi/Anyuziawa* of the Village.

He is the first to perform the rites and ritual on all occasions. He makes a ceremonial rite for the new jhum field, first to sow the seed for the paddy field, first to eat the new harvest (offering offered to him by the people for his blessing), make sure he is present in all the public meets and administer oath. He is not to refuse the gift (vegetables) of his people but gladly accepts it and blessed them.

He does not take fire nor gives fire to anyone- *Nyuri anyih nga küviwa nyu, thi manyih nga nyuri kütsüwa nyu*. The fire at the Chief- *Kajiwa* hearth is never to die down. If the fire dies, he has to make new fire by rubbing a bamboo or cane fibre against the dry wood- *Kajiwa anyi netewa thuoji anyi thuoaveh*. His wife who is the guardian of the house or hearth is never to sleep in the field nor in others house, she is to keep the kitchen burning (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). Chief- *Kajiwa* does not make love with anyone else other than his wife- *Ma dhuoji müsarüla müsadhuo* (Müluori khonyo thi wule, n.d, p.14).

It is said that the Chief- *Kajiwa* of Meluri, who once drank all his drinks and ate all his food, and waited to see how the people react, to his amazement there was great discomfort in the village and everyone complained they were hungry how much they drink and eat. He hurriedly ate another meal and left a little and instantly the villagers felt their stomachs comfortably full again as of yore (Mills, 1982, p.140). This oral tradition can be vividly explained by the elders, but none could tell who the Chief- *Kajiwa* was.

### **2.3. Function of the Chief- *Kajiwa***

#### **a. Judicial administration.**

The case- *ashih* is decided by the gathering of the whole village- *Müzaluo* in the name of the Chief- *Kajiwa*, according to the prevailing customary laws of the land. As far as possible, the disputes are settled, between the complainant and respondent, with the help of their respective clan elders, only when the disputes cannot be settled among themselves, than the case is taken to the Village Court- *Müzalou*. One's the case is taken to the Village Court- *Müzalou*, the Chief- *Kajiwa* Chief, 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Sheshi/Anyuziawa* and Elders fixed a date for the settlement of the dispute (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication and Chinasü, December 21, 2015, personal communication). Very few cases are brought to the Village Court- *Müzaluo* (Mills, 1982, p.140). In the Village Court- *Müzaluo* any person can give their views and opinions. The final judgment is pronounced by the Chief- *Kajiwa* in consultation with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Sheshi/Anyuziawa* and Elders (Wamatho, December 19, 2014, personal communication and Tsuosekhu, January 24, 2015, personal communication).

#### **b. Land disputes**

Before the coming of the British till the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were only six villages in the Pochury area. These villages started to spread out rapidly and founded new villages in the 1950s. The people might have started new villages because of the new system of administration introduced by the British and the coming of Christianity, increase in population, relative peaceful condition and search for greener pastures in life. This new villages were established with the consent of the village land owner within a well demarcated land boundary. In the passage of time the increase in population and the land used, let to inter village land disputes. The inter-village land disputes are settled by the Chief- *Kajiwa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Sheshi/Anyuziawa*, Elders and able bodies in the village (Lohe, 2010, p.91). The Chief- *Kajiwa* or the Eldest man of the Village takes Oath on behaves of the Village in case of inter-village disputes.

The land disputes are the most common types of cases in the village. The elders, relatives, the disputed parties and the adjacent land owners bear witness to the dispute. It is generally accepted that land boundaries are demarcated by ridges, footpaths, streams, rivers and small stone slabs aligning the land boundaries. The elders and adjacent land owners bear witness to the disputed land boundary and settled the disputes on the spot by erecting a new stone pillar, which is always accepted by both the parties, in whosever favour it may be. But if, not accepted, than the case is taken to the Village Court- *Müzaluo* and ended up in taking of Oath- *Güküşhe* (Chinasü, December 21, 2015, personal communication, Siariitho and December 21, 2015, personal communication).

### c. Oath- *Güküşhe*

Oath- *Güküşhe* is administered by the Chief- *Kajiwa*. The cases are heard at anytime of the year, but oaths is administered only in the month of November after the harvest are over, for they fear bad omen, poor harvest and may cause famine and drought. It can be verbal or both verbal and action. Oath- *Güküşhe* is taken inside the ring of cane, swearing upon thunderbolt and rivulets, eating of soil (land disputes), biting of tigers tooth and biting of property for which disputes arose (The concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practices, Codified references of unwritten laws, 2006, p.6). The respondent repeats after the Chief-*Kajiwa*, “I..... (Name) swears that, (not guilty) as I take oath that my family and relative shall die un-natural death” - “*Hi..... (anyo) nyutsa, (mürü whutsa/müsamie tsah) nyuthoji he güküşhe küveh kümüjie ehtsapa dharuori, thi ehjienü ri ave mükhestüna*” (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.7). The Oath-*Güküşhe* is final and binding and is honoured by all. Rarely oath is administered.

### 2.4. Second Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi/Anyuziawa*

The Pochury Naga 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi/Anyuziawa* assists the Chief- *Kajiwa* in the day today activities of the Village. The Chief- *Kajiwa* and 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi/Anyuziawa* are not from the same clan. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi/Anyuziawa* are hereditary among the Akhegwo, Phor, Laruri and Kukis of Kanjan. Among the Meluri group the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi/Anyuziawa* is hereditary in the clan, but not in the family. It does not necessarily pass from father to son, but to the most suitable man in the leading *Nguori* clan- *Nguo kaji arhu*. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi/Anyuziawa* is selected by the village elders in consultation with the Chief- *Kajiwa* and holds the post till death.

### **Dos and Don'ts of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi/Anyuziawa*.**

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi /Anyuziawa*, also observes strict dos and don'ts, makes personal sacrifices, rites, rituals and abstinences for the well being of his people. He also restrains the same restriction of dos and don'ts as the Chief- *Kajiwa* except the judicial, land disputes and Oath- *Güküshe* cannot be administered by him. He is the subordinate of the chief- *Kajiwa* and functions under the Chief's- *Kajiwa*'s direction.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi/Anyuziawa* is also called as the village Crier-*Anyuziawa* for he makes all announcements to the village, what the Chief- *Kajiwa* wanted to make known to the people- *Kajiwa nüñ küthsü kütsü aveh manüh ziatsüna* (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.14). The villagers make sure that no one repeats the village Crier's- *Anyuziawa*'s announcement. It is taboo to imitate his action or respond while in the process of making announcement which may cause sickness, accidents and even death. He also makes sure that no mistake is made while decimating the information to the people (The concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practices, Codified references of unwritten laws, 2006, p.5).

He does ceremonial rite for the new Jhum field in the afternoon along with the youth of the village- *kaji Seshi wanüh sheföri sienö azhe jönave* (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.14). The resting place- *azhe* for the new Jhum field is constructed under his guidance. On the sixth day of *Nazhu* festival in the afternoon he takes the youths and makes a ceremonial rite by cutting a tree- *Ashidho*, on the way to the new jhum field saying, "Almighty God, like the shrub be its growth, weed thou shall parish, grains thou shall sprout in abundant in heaps of chest and plentiful be ours"- "*Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa, souruohu mörhu, luodihu mörhu, prasöke chosözu, shunyiye shuyi, tenyi tenyi, juju tinyinöh tsouseluo, mökötsakhe möközukhe saluo*". The others followers follow suit cutting a ceremonial tree. He is assisted by the blower of the fire, who assists in making fire by rubbing the bamboo/cane fibre over the dry wood and the observer of the fire who foretells/predicts the year harvest observing the torn bamboo/cane fibre- *Azhe Küjü rüloa manüh anyih dhuona thi masenyiri nga mampa nüñ sierana thi masenyiri nüñ anyih dhuo mükijüna, atshodhuo künowa nga anyi bena*.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi/Anyuziawa* accept the offering of vegetables which are offered to seek his blessings. He gladly accepts such offerings and bless the givers-*Saza wiza anyuwa nüñ akütsia vinta akhuo lovü tsüve, thi mata müsa, thitü kümünga ta sana* (Müluori

khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.14). The 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi /Anyuziawa house is no different from that of the ordinary citizen of the village.*

At home he keeps the cup in a small chest- *ateh* where all sougths of seeds are kept. (Kuorũtho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication) He never entirely consumes the drink in his cup and the food on his plate and never washes it, and the meal is served on the remains of the old ones (Mills, 1982, p.140). He never keeps his cup, plate and utensil empty for his people will not go hungry- *Kaji seshiwa ahuo, akhu thi akũfũ shete veh.* He does not share his cup and plates with others- *Kajiwa ahuo, akhu, nyuri vũ kũrũzhiwa nyu.* He does not eat or drink the left-over food of the people- *Nyuri kũtsadu zudu kũtsawa nyu.*

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi /Anyuziawa*, speaks with caution and never speaks loud- *Ma azhũ nga kũji kũphra wanyu, anyu mũmũhie nũh sanaveta azhũ zhũsheve.* He does not take fire nor gives fire to anyone- *Nyuri anyih nga kũviwa nyu, thi manyih nga nyuri kũtsũwa nyu.* The fire at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi /Anyuziawa* hearth is never to die down. If the fire dies, make new fire by rubbing a bamboo or cane fibre against the dry wood. He does not make love with anyone other than his wife- *Ma dhuoji mũsarũla mũsadhwo* (Mũluori khonyo thi wule, n.d. p.14).

## **2.5. Season Observers- *Sarũnyih kũchiewa***

Normally one or two persons are assigned as the Season Observers- *Sarũnyih kũchiewa* of the village. The post is neither hereditary nor fixed. They enjoy the status as long as the Chief- *Kajiwa* and Elders have faith in his prediction. So normally the Chief- *Kajiwa* and Elders consult the Observers- *Sarũnyih kũchiewa* about the coming weather and climatic condition, selection of Jhum circle, sowing of seeds and harvest. He observed the celestial bodies, flora and fauna and informs the Chief- *Kajiwa* and Elders of the coming season, weed, locust and year harvest. The Chief- *Kajiwa* then consults the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/Crier- *Kaji Seshi/Anyuziawa* who then announce to the general public (Wamatho, December 17, 2014, personal communication).

The Season Observers- *Sarũnyih kũchiewa* maintains the monthly calendar by the bamboo notches or stones or rope or leave tied in a row depicting days, months and season of the year. On a fixed spot of his convenience, he keenly observed the movement of the sun, the moon and the stars early in the morning and evening. The Season Observers- *Sarũnyih kũchiewa* also

grows a shrub- *atuorie* at his backyard who observed its growth and predicts the timing of sowing and harvest.

## **2.6. Taster-cum priest**

The Taster-cum priest is the official taster of the village on all occasions. He is the first to taste food on occasions like feast of merit and public feasts which is an act of blessing upon the food. This office is prevalent in some villages only. He also performs rites and rituals for the new Jhum field, which are believed to be an abode of an evil spirit. Each individual family supplies the animal for the sacrifices' as per the demand of the spirit of the field, failing which misfortune may befall upon the family (The concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practices, Codified references of unwritten laws, 2006, p.5).

## **2.7. Peace maker- *Aleri*.**

A person of high stature of the village is designated as a peace maker. He is a mediator of the village in times of war and peace. It is taboo to harass or kill the peace maker in a fight or war. The dance troupe obtains the consent of the peace maker to enter the village and have food, drink and dance during the feast of merit- *Wiekhu siezhu*, if hosting the neighbouring village khel (The concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practices, Codified references of unwritten laws, 2006, p.6).

After the coming of the British, they appointed local agents-Gaonburah and Dobasis, who started to replace the Chief- *Kajiwa* in the administration of the village (Lohe, 2010, p.91). The Gaonburah's or headman who were the agents of the British Government, were paid a small sum yearly as commission on their collection of house-tax (Hutton, 2003, p.143). Dobasis or interpreters who were in the regular pay role of the Government also help the British in the introduction of new system of administration, which was very alien to the people, because they pay no tax and is not accountable to any authority except a conventional customary law of the village. They have replaced the duties of the Chief- *Kajiwa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief- *Kaji Seshi* and peace maker of the village.

The Panchayati Raj Act of 1959 [Panchayati raj (India)] had relegated the Chief- *Kajiwa* to the back stage, where the Village Council Chairman (V.C.C) and Village Council Members (V.C.M'S) came to the fore front in the administration of justice in the village. These new agents of the Government became influential in the society. The Chief's- *Kajiwa's* influence and functions in the village administration is replaced by the village council and religious functions

by the Christian leaders, where by the animist are on the verge of complete annihilation by the alien religion. For the continuation of the legacy of the age old tradition, the Chief- *Kajiwa* is selected even today, but left with no powers and functions.

## Chapter 3

### SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

#### 3.1. Society

The Pochury Naga is one of the major tribes of Nagaland, having their own distinct dialects and rich culture and traditions. They are known for their amicable nature, honesty and hospitality. The Pochuries, being an amalgamated tribe, it has no distinctive character of their own. Different areas have their own distinctive looks and culture, where resemblances of their neighbouring tribes in each area are noticeable, Meluri group to that of the Rengma's, the Phor group to that of the Sangtam's, the Laruri to that of the Para Nagas of Myanmar, the Kangjan to that of the Kuki and the Akhegwo group very distinct of their own. Balfour was of the view that the people of Akhegwo were shy and nervous, while in Phorr (Phor) some men had very Jewish looking features, while the women were very refined looking (Balfour Henry, Diaries, Pitt Rivers Museum manuscript collections. 24<sup>th</sup> Oct. 2015).

By the formation of the Pochury tribe in the 1950s, the process of integration of culture and tradition of the Pochury Naga began and this is an ongoing process similar to other Naga tribes. J.D Saul has pointed out that, there is no definitive 'Naga' look, they are mixture of peoples who have moved into and through the hills over the centuries, and there is very little to differentiate the inhabitants of this area (Saul, 2005, p.31). It is generally accepted that they are of Mongoloid race, which is evident from the dark greenish birth marks on the buttocks of every new born which is identical with the Mongolian (Lohe, 2010, p.19).

##### 3.1.1. Houses

The houses are built facing in any direction. The grounds are levelled first for the construction of the house. The houses are constructed so near that the thatches almost touch each other and are dark and narrow. The streets are straight and cut each other at the right angles. All the houses have front door let to the street (Mills, 1982, p.56).

The Pochury Naga houses varied from village to village. Among the Meluri group the houses are semi-circular at the back and about 25 feet long and 17 feet broad, which are divided into two rooms, the outer room- *Awiepalatela* and the inner room- *Azhelo*. Almost all the house

has a front door letting to the street and a back door. The houses are partitioned into two rooms but no door is made except the wooden beams that are placed across not to led the domesticated animals into the inner room. In the outer room- *awiepa/atela* stack of firewood are placed against the wall on one side, pounding blocks- *ashela* and pounding sticks- *ariüne* on the other side of the wall. Shelves- *Aratsah* is constructed all around the room. Domestic animals are fed in the outer room and are let out during the day and are kept enclosed for the night (Mills, 1982, pp.59-60 and Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication). The inner room- *azhelo* is the living room of the family, which is both a place for cooking- *anyithü* and for sleeping- *aze*. The cooking place or the hearth- *anyithü* is made of three stones, usually volcanic rock, where firewood can be burnt from all three sides and the bed- *aze* near the fire place. Stools of single wood curve and bamboo are also placed. A bamboo tray- *Arhetsa* is suspended over the fire from the ceiling-*akhuruo*, which is built half the living room, at the level of post beam. Here the family keeps for drying yam- *aphe*, beans- *rhüjivi* and maize- *akhuozhi*. The room is lighted by a splinter of pine- *aküla* which is placed over the lamp stand- *aladi*.

The splinters of pine- *aküla* are carried by young boys and girls accompanied by the elders. On the first day of carrying the splinters of pine- *aküla* a special meal is prepared for the occasion. According to their beliefs and tradition a male has six nerves- *ariitha* so they are given six pieces of flesh of meat and girls are one less and are given five pieces of flesh of meat. The flesh of the meat represents the rich oil- *aküla kümüzoh* of the pine. The semi-circular part of the house which is the part of the living room, a split bamboo of knee high is placed and here the earthen pots are kept for storing rice and wine, the gourds for containing wine, bamboo cups and plates are kept in the shelf- *aratsah* or hung from a bamboo branches (Chinasü, December 21, 2015, personal communication).

The houses in Laruri are similar in design to that of Meluri group, but are larger in size and have three rooms. The houses varied from 40-50 feet long and 20-30 feet broad. In the front room, rice is pounded and pigs are domesticated. The middle room, which is usually smaller in size, Chicken is kept; sometimes pigs are also kept here. The third room which is the living room is by far the biggest. Fire is lighted here. Besides, bed- *aze* for sleeping, rice, wine and other household goods are stored here. The rooms are so big that even dance troupes are hosted inside the living room of the host during the feast of merit (Khouzing, January 8, 2015, personal communication).

The houses in Akhegwo are also similar to that of the houses in Meluri and Laruri. The house varied from 20-40 feet long and 12-15 feet broad, generally dividing into three rooms, rarely four rooms are constructed. The front room is used for stacking of firewood, domestication of animals, pounding of rice, the second room is used as sleeping room- *aze* and hearth- *anyithü* and the third room is used for storing of wine, rice and other household goods (H. Niecha, Z. Junte and Temung Acgupa, January 9, 2015, personal communication).

The house in Phor and Yisi also followed the same plan arrangement to that of the other Pochury Houses. Here no curved posts are seen but the heads of Mithun and Buffalos are fixed to the front of houses together with sambhur, barking deer, pigs and other animal heads as hunting and sacrificial trophies (Balfour Henry, Diaries, Pitt Rivers Museum manuscript collections, 24<sup>th</sup> Oct. 2015).

#### **a. Method of Construction of the House**

Soon after the harvests, men folk are busy collecting materials for the construction of houses and granaries. Males who got engaged for marriage are also busy collecting construction materials for the new houses. Relatives and friends help a man in the collection of building materials and construction of the house, he in turn, supplies sufficient food and drink. Usually, it takes one day to construct the house. The construction of the house is simple. First, the ground is leveled then three toll middle posts are firmly fixed to the ground and six posts aligning the middle posts which are shorter in height are also firmly fix to the ground. A long purlin is placed on the side and middle posts. Then two long bamboos or pieces of wood are tied in the shape of 'V' and placed on the top purlin down the lower purlins. Three to four pieces of split bamboos are fastened, where thatches are tied. The wall bottoms are also constructed around the whole structure. In the mean time some group prepare the thatches- *asüpuo* by three special moulded bamboo- *ashüre* of the thumb size are used to weave the thatch- *asüpuo*. One moulded bamboo is placed at the bottom and thatches are placed. The second moulded bamboo is placed over it and the thatch are folded into half and placed the third moulded bamboo at the top and are tied together by a small split bamboo- *ashüzüh* of one notch. This woven thatch is laid course by course working upward. At the top, half folded thatch- *asüvo* is placed and tied by a half split bamboo. Simultaneously the walls and partition are constructed (Mills, 1982, pp.59-63, and Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication). Generally the methods of the construction of the Pochury Naga houses are similar, except the thatch roofs are low with angular

gables at Akhegwo, Phor and Laruri. Balfour mentions that a few houses have stoned-slab roofs with bamboo walls in Phor and Yisi.

The rich men's houses among the Pochury Naga are decorated with elaborate curved wooden beams- *Acühne* and curved buffaloes head on the post and many heads of buffaloes, a few mithun, head of Sambhars, barking deers and pigs are fixed on the front walls (Balfour Henry, Diaries, Pitt Rivers Museum manuscript collections. 24<sup>th</sup> Oct. 2015). Among the Meluri group, the head of the Buffaloes and Mithun are fixed at the front wall of the rich men house, after giving the eight feast of merit- *aküzü küza* (Müluori nyushu nyusho lashipa, 2003, p.19).

**a. The Setting Platform- *Aleshuo*.**

A bamboo platform is built in front of the house. Almost all the houses built one such bamboo platform for the family recreation. Meals are often eaten here, which is an ideal place to chat with their neighbours and people passing by the street. It is an ideal place for sipping rice-beer-*akha* and chatting (Mills, 1982, pp.59-61). At the heat of the summer season, after the day's hard work they gather at the platform to cool-down and rest (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication).

**b. Disposal of the waste- *Dzöneza*.**

The disposal of the waste in Meluri is arranged systematically for the whole village. They never dispose of their waste any place they please but disposed at three designated places called *dzöneza*. The *Khutsori* and *Phrötheri* Khel have one each of their own but the *Zhiekhuri* and *Zhitshöri* Khel disposed off their waste in one common designated place. The system of disposing the waste was practice since time immemorial that three huge mounds are created at the south, west and north-east end of the village area.

**3.1.2. Dress.**

Traditionally, the Pochury Nagas have their own distinctive cloths, aprons and shawls to cover their body. (Pl. 19 and 24) Different age groups and statuses wear different shawls. The man's body cloth is white- *alothü/anyirü*. The man who gives the first feast of merit wear a cloth called *Kajithsü* and after the eight feast of merit wears *Lüphuthsü*. *Lüphuthsü* which might have brought by Sapo immigrant group or by the traders, which only the rich could afford to buy it, thus might have become the exclusive right of the rich man of the Village.

The *Amiathsü* is dark blue with a narrow white band every two inches and a red band one inch broad every third band (Mills, 1982, p.23) is worn by the warriors who had got an enemies head as trophy. It is genna for woman of *Tsuori* clan to weave this shawl (Colours of Pochury. n.d, p.7). The legend tells that, the *Tsuori* clan and tiger- *amia* are good friends, so its genna to weave Tiger Shawl- *Amiathsü*. This is to keep the sanctity of the Chief- *Kajiwa* post and friendship with the tiger- *amia* (Lomatshü, 6<sup>th</sup> February 2016, personal communication).

*Nozütshü* is worn by unmarried boys, which are discarded for white cloth-*alothü* on marriage. The body cloths are worn in the presence of strangers; otherwise they are stark naked (Mills, 1982, p.2.3). In dance a strip of cloth- *ashile* black embroidered in red (Colours of Pochury. n.d, p.12) is worn one end hanging down in front of the private part and one behind covering the buttock (Mills, 1982, p.21).

The men of Akhegwo, Yisi and Phor wore a very small apron, which was taken between the legs and had a bag at one end for the testicles, formed by folding the end come into the centre, and a plated cloth string at the end of this pouch which was taken up to the narrow belt behind. The front apron was taken over the top of the belt in front and hung down (Balfour Henry, Diaries, Pitt Rivers Museum manuscript collections. 24<sup>th</sup> October, 2015). These aprons were commonly of dark blue colour with two red lines vertically down the centre but could also be plain black or dark blue with rows of horizontal embroidery in various colours on the front. Round the waist a broad bond of cloth like a cummerbund was worn by Phor, Yisi and Laruri men, the Laruri men wearing theirs higher up.

The men's body cloths, usually taken around the back with the ends knotted together at the front of the chest in an 'X' fashion when travelling or working and like a toga with one end thrown over the shoulder for keeping warm. These cloths are plain, white with a thin line of red stitching round the fringe or indigo with four broad lines running parallel to the length at each side, (Pochury. n.d) which is slightly modified and called *Ghoochuh/Rungcheüm/Avashong* worn by both men and women (Colours of Pochury, n.d, p.8).

In hot and wet weather they wear rain coat- *künyüwa* on their backs, which they brought from Eastern Angami/Chakhesangs. They also wear rain cap- *alüweh/akhotia* which they make themselves of pandanus leaves between two layers of bamboo basket-work and are conical in shape, short peak in front and long peak projecting over the nape behind (Mills, 1982, pp.25-26).

### 3.1.3. Women Mekhalas/Shawls.

The Pochury woman wears different types of mekhales and garments. One can identify their age group and status from the type of mekhalas and shawls they wear. (Pl. 23) Generally, young girls below twelve years of age wear *Shukrieji*, a red broader on the white background and embroidered small black lines with red in the middle. Another mekhala is called *Rhüzü münyi* (Colours of Pochury. n.d, p.1). The women folk wear a shawl called *Kümürhüthsü*. The wife of a man who has advanced up to *Amünyi küza* (fourth feast of merit) wears *künyi münyi*, (Pl. 22) the top half is white and red strips and the bottom half narrow red and blue bands, and a strip of red embroidery down the posterior middle line. The skirt which proclaims the completion of the feast of merit is called *küle menyü*, red and blue lines embellish the white at the top and a line of white stitches between the lines of red in the centre portion. The white stitches/cowries embroidered indicate the number of feast- *Akhüzü küza* her husband offered (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication).

### 3.1.4. Ornaments.

The Pochuries are fond of various ornaments and both the male and the female have their own decorative ornaments depending on their status in the society. Man's ornaments, generally include head-gear- *akuorhie*, lops- *anaha*, broad bead necklace- *azhoka*, brass earring- *anarüh* (Pl. 12), shoulder slash- *arorie*, belt- *suochili*, *ashile*, (apron for protection of private part for male) knee shield- *ajihruo* and hand shield- *akeruo*.

During festivities and dance, a man usually wears a tall red hat cane cap- *Akuorhie*, ornamented with orchid skin and red goats' hair over the crown, with thin strips of horn projecting from each side (Mills, 1982, p.30) and boar tusks- *Süchiha* which are tidely woven by cane on both sides of the hat, sometimes supporting string of the head-gear are attached with the nails of the wild Bear downwards in decending order. Only the warrior and a man who have taken an enemy head wear a necklace of Boars tusks- *Süchiha* and Tiger's Canine- *Amiaha*. The head gears are imported from their neighbouring Eastern-tribes by the traders, otherwise they wear a simple thinly fresh split bamboo, folded and projecting upwards on the forehead called *Asuoni* (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication).

Broad Bead Necklace- *Azhoka* (Pl.21) is exclusively worn by the rich man (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication). The necklaces are brought from Kohima bazaar or by the Angami peddlers. Usually man's ear rings- *anarü* are made of brass and loves to

decorate with flowers. Red colour flowers are favoured and bachelor's bottom- *Pochitorr*, canna- *zūwatorr*, hibiscus- *Niwuthorr* and cockscomb- *atorr*, bending flower- *Kükūshowa* are specially grown at home for the purpose. In the summer a wild white Lily- *Shanila* is also worn. A small circle of cotton and red hair- *anaha* is hung round the ear (Mills, 1982, pp.30-31). Only a successful head- hunter have the exclusive right to wear red hair- *anaha* round this ears (Chinasü, December21, 2014, Personal communication).

Like their male counter-parts, the Pochury women are also fond of various ornaments. Conch Shell- *Asakrü* is worn along with Beads- *Asithe* of different shades around the neck. These beads are handed down from generation to generation to their daughters (Tsüzatshü, December 26, 2016, personal communication). Women wear ornaments like, *akhizah*, beads- *asithe*, silver bracelet- *akhi*, brass bracelet- *akusa* and ear rings- *asuna* (Mills, 1982, p.36). Rich men who have provided the eight feast of merit- *aküzü küza* his wife have the right to wear mekhala- *aküzü münyi* with white strings lines of embroidered cowries, indicating the number of feasts he has provided (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication). But to these days by the advancement of modern educational system, the educated women embroidered lines of cowries on their mekhala depending on her qualification/standard.

The womenfolk also wear various ornaments like head-gear- *Asieti*, lops-*Anaha*, *Ashuna*, (earring of different shades) necklace- *azho* and strings of beats- *achukhria* won round the waist (Colours of Pochuri. n.d, p.12). Both male and female Beads- *Asithe* wear necklace like *Nisazo*, *Atüsü*, *Aphose*, *Künyi vüh*, *Anyi vüh*, *Sanyichi*, *Akhurie*, *Azhiazho*, *tüchizho* and red beads- *khamüru*. Women carries no weapon except a well-to-do have long iron staff- *mürü kütsüh* (Mills, 19982, p.41) which is a walking stick and symbol of her status in the society (Chinasü, December 21, 2014, Personal communication).

### **3.1.5. Music and Dance.**

The Pochury Naga are fond of singing and dancing on occasions like festivities, feast of merit, after the successful head hunt and while working in the field. Different songs and dances are performed on different occasions, like praising the host, lovers, enemies, nature and even the strangers are also depicted. The male and female sing and dance separately. *Topito* is the only musical instrument accompanied while singing.

Mills have mentioned three musical instruments, Jews Harp- *Atakhu*, the flute- *pilechu* and the trumpet- *Atütü* and had rightly pointed out that these musical instruments never

accompany while singing. Jews harp- *Atakhu* resembles and played the same way as the Angamese, a bamboo is cut to leave a tongue in the middle (Mills, 1982, p.124) and placed between the lips and blows it. As the bamboo vibrates she taps the vibrating bamboo and produces different sounds (Nyuletho, April 8, 2016, personal communication). The Jews Harp- *Atakhu* is played only by women in Autumn- *Marakhu* early in the morning before dawn and at the death of the night to enchant their lovers. This instrument is also called lovers instrument.

*Topito* is the only instrument used while singing by women. Flute- *Pilechu* is played both by men and women. The Trumpet- *Atütü* is of two types-the bamboo trumpet and horn of buffalo (Kuorütho Poji, Kümatho, L. Silatho, Shethotshü and Meshotshü, February 8, 2016, personal communication). The bamboo Trumpet- *Atütü* is about fifty inches long and consists of short lengths of bamboo of graded diameter fitted into each other and terminating in a thin bamboo mouth-piece at the narrow end and a gourd mouth at the broad end (Mills, 1982, pp125-126). It is from a single bamboo pole, so that they are fitted and evenly aligned. The Trumpet- *Atütü* is blown only by the male (L. Silatho, February 8, 2016, personal communication). The bamboo Trumpet- *Atütü* is blown in the month of July- *Lesa* and August- *Tsate* at home and in the Jhum field by the morung boys to awake/enchant the people working in the field and wade away the birds and animals from destroying the paddy (Nyuletho, April 8, 2016, personal communication). The buffalo horn Trumpet- *Atütü* is blown in the month of November- *Kate* to February- *Zheprie* the blowing of the Trumpet- *Atütü* is also an act of guarding the womenfolk who go to the granary for *Arüngu Küzhe* (act of plentiful/blessing) after the millet and paddy harvest (Kuorütho Poji, Kümatho, L.Silatho, Shethotshü and Meshotshü February 8, 2016, personal communication).

The Pochury Nagas are fond of the spirited dances (Mills, 1982, p.126). Different songs and dances are performed depending on the feast and occasion of the events. The *Küsiezu zha* like *Enyu ka-a-ka*, *Hera taso*, *Hi lia*, *Rapuo Razhipuo*, etc. are sung and danced in the feast of merit. On festive occasions songs like, *Holie holi*, *Aza motie*, *Sora lo*, *so ji so* are sung and danced with great joy and gaiety. There are songs and dances depicting love, hate, departure, head-hunting and seasonal change (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha, 2003, pp.46-62).

Among the Akhegwo group the *Chujung zha* (Venuh, 2014, p.403) is the most popular song sung during the festival of *Chanyathakhu*, which is equivalent to the *Nazu* festival of the Meluri group (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal

communication). The song is sung by the selected khel of the village, who goes dancing and singing to all the khels of the village with full traditional attire (Venuh, 2014, p.403). The Phor and Laruri group also sing and dances on different occasions like feast of merit, festivities and after a successful head hunt (Khuozing, January 8, 2015, personal communication and Thurr Azüzu T, April 29, 2016, personal communication).

### 3.1.6. Games and Sports.

The youth plays various types of games and sports to test their skill and strength on their way to and from the fields or during the mid-day rest (Mills, 1982, p.119). Yet there are types of games and sports that are exclusively played by male and female and some played by both the sexes. Some games and sports are strictly adhering to the seasons for it may bring bad omen to the village and some games to be played throughout the year.

The Top- *Aphru* game is played once the paddy begins to flower. In the beginning they use only the old tops and from the month of September- *Khuthe* new Tops- *Aphru* are made and played (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha, 2003, p.27). It is an exclusive game of the male among the Meluri but in Lephori little girls are also allowed to play it (Mills, 1982, p.123). The shrub throwing competition- *thürüvi küwu* is played in the month of September- *Khuthe* by small boys- *vizanguori* and Morung Boys- *Vizari*. Spot jump- *Rhie rhieh jü* is a very popular game of men. The game is played anytime of the year and is played during festivities, hunting and fishing (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha, 2003, p.27). The jumping place is marked by a flat stone or stick in the village or village gate or path leading to the field. Everyone can have as many turns as he likes, but if he falls backwards on landing, the jump does not count. The spot being marked, any person can try anytime of the year to lead in the game.

The Tug of War- *Khaloli Küsholuo* is more a ceremony than a sport. It is held on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of *Nazu* festiva (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication). Each khel, held its own contest on the same day (Mills, 1982, p.120-121). The Tug of war- *khaloli küsholuo* is played until it is broken. The broken creeper are cut into pieces and taken home and woven the base of earthen pot for bountiful blessing and some pieces are kept for tying the Girls Dormitory- *Alashia*.

Like their male counterparts who play the top game, the female plays sward bean game- *akhalo* when the paddy is starting to flower. There is no restriction that a male cannot join the game (Siarütho, December 21, 2015, personal communication). There are more than ten stages

for the completion of the game. At the seventh stages, each player flicks ten fingers one after the other, on completion of this stage, give life to her partner, by completing the stage she failed. Thereafter, on the completion of every stage they can complete her partner stage and give her life (Mills, 1982, p.124).

Soap Nut Ball- *Achoka* is another popular game of young girls. In this game five or six piece of Soap Nut Balls- *Achoka* are used and as many number of players can play dividing into two groups (Siarütho, December 21, 2015, personal communication). Besides the said games, they also play High Jump- *Küjorieh*, Shot-Put- *Aloh Küve*, *Kühunye*, *Awachusie*, *Arietanyu*, *Tsethomari*, *Lurüluo*, *Ejihnü Phozalari Kümjie eke nü kuori lari kümjie*, *chie-o*, *khupie lili* etc (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lasipha, 2003, p.27).

### 3.1.7. Tattoo.

Tattoo is widely practised by the Phor-Yisi, Akhegwo and Laruri group. Tattoo is done for both man and woman and almost the entire exposed part of the body like, forehead, chin, arms and legs. The Tattoo patterns are of 'X', 'V', swastika sign, horizontal and vertical lines with no uniformity. The meanings of the pattern have been long forgotten. The Akhegwo tattoo pattern on the chest have three to four vertical lines and followed by three horizontal lines, repeating four and three times, on both sides of the chest. The women tattoo their forehead of the sign 'X' and five vertical lines on the chin. They tattoo the back of their legs which are six inches long vertical of 5-6 lines. As they reach the age of puberty both hands are tattooed, a sign of maturity.

Tattoos are done in the month of December- *Müthuo* to February- *Zheprie* by women who are skilled in this art. They used black residues of the kitchen for colour. For tattooing, three to four sharp thorns- *kawurüzü* are attached to the root of the Plantain Plant- *Zhüwathorü küwu*. The designs are drawn with the black residues of the kitchen and tapped by a stick. The tattooed portion is washed by *Tsonmüshokching* water (juice extracted from *tsommüshokching* tree) for colouring the marks. They charge no fee for tattooing but have to work one day in her field (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication).

The tattoo of Phor-Yisi and Laruri group is done on the forehead, chin, arms and legs. Tattoo is done, when they are still very young. Nearly all women in Laruri were tattooed on the legs, arms, shoulder and forehead (Pochury. n.d). Among the Laruri group, tattoo is done by women of *Thevüri* clan who excelled in the art. The tattoo on the forehead, resemble the swastika and a 'V' on the chin. Tattooing is done in the month of March- *Buotsa*. The practice of tattoo

was prohibited by the Naga National Council (N.N.C) and encourages weaving, which was genna to their tradition (Khuozing, January 8, 2015, personal communication).

### 3.1.8. Weapon.

The Pochury Naga uses the same weapon as those of all other Naga tribes like the dao- *anyuh*, spear- *avih*, crossbow- *alawia*, axe-shaped dao- *tsetsehyuh* and long Sema dao- *Müzürrah nyuh*. (Pl. 20) The long Sema dao- *Müzürrah anyuh* is slightly bigger and longer than the ordinary dao. They are imported from their Sema neighbours which might have been uses for warfare. They are elaborately decorated with red-dyed goat hair, broader, lengthier and a handle banded with interwoven red cane and yellow orchid skin. The axe-shaped dao- *tsetsehyuh* or older axe dao (Mills, 1982, pp.36-40) is an all metal dao made from a single piece of iron or the handle wrapped around a wooden peg (Pochury.n.d.). It is not a common dao and is posses by a well-to-do and warriors of the village. These days the axe-shaped dao- *tsetsehyuh* is being used by the leader and the last person of the dance group. The ordinary dao- *anyuh* is used for domestic works like cutting of fire-wood and clearing the jungles. The handles are wrapped by design rings of fine cane work (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication).

The Pochury carried the dao- *anyuh* over the buttocks in a dug out wood of single block called dao box- *asuochih*, which is suspended round the waist by a narrow woven cotton belt- *suochihli* (Mills, 1982, p.37) and the dao hold inside the already dug out hole and the outer side a thin piece of polished bone (Pochury.n.d) or thin design bamboo for decoration are placed (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication). The other type of dao box used by the Pochury is *Phoza Suochih*, which is widely used throughout Pochury area. It is 10-12 inches long by six inches broad, enough space to hold the dao. The dao is retained by pieces of thin bamboo slates or small plates of bone cut from buffalo's ribs (Mills, 1982, pp27-28). It is believed that white buffalo's ribs are the best in shape and colour. Warriors and head-takers decorated their dao boxes- *phoza Suochih* with red goat hair or enemy's hairs.

The Pochury Nagas own spears- *avih* for every male member in the family (Siariitho, 21<sup>st</sup> December, 2015, personal communication). The leave shaped blade- *shatavih* and leave shape- *kütshüvih* with half to one inch cross-piece is the most common spear of the populace. The decorated spear which has two sections of red goat hair decorated with a handhold in between (Pochury.n.d) is owned by a head taker (J.P. Mills, 1982, pp.38-39) and rich man of the village.

The Phor and Laruri areas were noted for their cross-bows (Pochury. n.d.) which are made in various sizes, according to the purpose for which they were used. War cross-bows are bigger in size than those of hunting (Saul, 2005, p.74). The cross-bows are made by all the people of the village. The best cross-bows are made from *Laksign* tree, even though other woods like *Chinaksign*, *Zewuosign* and *Shawusign* are used. The arrows are of iron heads and plain bamboo. (Khuozing, January 8, 2015, personal communication) The crossbows are loaded for firing the bows by supporting the stock against the hip (Bareh, 1970, p.44), pulling the string to the trigger. The arrows are carried in a quiver made of bamboo with a woven cane-top which narrowed towards the tip (Saul, 2005, p.74).

The Pochuries used shield- *achohuo* for defence (Mills, 1982, p.40). The shield- *achohuo* is of animal hide and bamboo woven work. The shield- *achohuo* is of 40-45 inches long, fourteen inches broad at the top and 10 inches broad at the bottom. The animal's hide's shield- *achohuo* is used for warfare and the bamboo woven is used for dancing purpose (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). To carrying the shield- *achohuo* a u-shaped cane handle at the back is attach half-way down (Saul, 2005, p.74).

### **3.1.9. Feast of Merit- *Azhie***

Hosting a Feast of Merit- *Azhie* is a social obligation, where family members and relatives force the other to host such a feast. The Pochury society was intact despite the coming of Education and Christianity. The tradition of feat of merit continued till the 1980's and the social obligation forced them to host such feast and the norms, rites and rituals are still fresh in their mind. Thus every individual is forced by the circumstances to offer the feast and maintain their status in the society. The feast of merit ranges up to nine and above which the couple provide during their life time. The feast of merit is an honour and status, one earns in the society. The sequences of the feast are followed strictly that over lapping is a genna and may face consequences of misfortune by means of physical disabilities and death. There was no restriction on providing a maximum number of times as it was determined by his wealth and physical ability. The feasts performed by some of the primary villages are mentioned below (Venuh, 2014, p.379).

#### **a. Meluri.**

Among the Meluri group the feast of Merit- *Azhie* ranges upto 9<sup>th</sup> and beyond (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha, 2003, p.19). The Meluri group last hosted the feast of merit in the 1980's and

still the rites, rituals, norms and activities are fresh in their minds (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). It is a lifelong process, hosting when he could afford, without skipping the sequence and proceed to the next. For the Meluri group, the feast involves hosting of one's own clan members, except the 9<sup>th</sup> and above where a Khel or neighbouring village are hosted and accord no special status to the Chief- *Kajiwa* in the feast of merit.

The feasts of Merit- *Azhie* are held only in the month of January and February before the *Nazu* festival (Wamatho, December 19, 2014 personal communication). The feast of merit is a hosting of one's family members, clan and Khel, where enough food, drink and animals are slaughter for the occasion. One could host the feast of merit only once in a year. The feasts are elaborate and it strains one's wealth that only well to do families hosted the feast every year, otherwise the general populace hosted once in two to three years. To host such a feast he takes steps one year ahead and an elaborate preparation is done for 10-15 days before the actual feast. The relative's help in the preparation by pounding and husking rice, preparing wine, carry water and search for cattle's. Once the preparations are over, the host fixed the date for feasting (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication).

In the days of yore, the first three feast of merit (*awuhsheh*, *azhilawa* and *athehthuo*) no animals are killed for the occasion but he offers only wine to his relatives and clan members. In the third feast of merit- *Athehthuo* a pig is slaughtered if he could afford. The host eats no meat for fear of misfortune. He eats only dry fish and ginger (Wamatho, December 19, 2014 personal communication and Chinasü, December 21, 2014, personal communication). But in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century during the Chieftainship of *Müzazhi*, a new feast of merit was introduced, where animals are slaughtered from the first feast of Merit- *awuhsheh* onwards and the hosts also eat the meat. The *Johuo Khorö* (taking of the meat in the feast of merit from the host. Every clan has an upper and lower clan- *wiehri* and *lahri* or *müsülü* and *akhruolü*. The division of the clan is based on descendant and not on hierarchical or landed property) (Pl.6) is given to one's own clan in the feast of merit. In case the host is from the upper clan- *wiehri* he gives *Johuo Khorö* to all the lower clan- *lahri* and vice versa, provided the receiver himself had hosted the 4<sup>th</sup> feast of merit- *Ajuküju*. In *Johuo/küjohuo* they brings their own basket- *akhora* and every part of the meat is distributed equally (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication) and the distributor makes sure that he misses non if he misses, the meats are sold off, for it is taboo to eat the meat. No meats are dropped for it is genna- *tsöna* to pick-up such meat (Müluori nyushu

nyusho lasipha, 2003, p.20). With the introduction of the new feast of merit, the *Johuo/kijohuo* is given from the *Awuhshéh* or first feast of merit onwards.

In every feast of Merit- *Azhie* two persons (*Anasükütu*) are selected to perform rites and ritual. The host selects a young boy from his clan and an elderly man from another clan. The elder venerates the heaven- *dhajuwu jüle naveh* and both perform rituals for purification of the feast. They abstain from doing any kind of work and even stamping of a chicken by mistake would compel them to fast for a day. They offered food at the front door- *aluoji* and middle door-*asüsuo* wrapped in a plantain leave- *tuoringa* with addition of pig intestine and at the back door- *ashütsa* in a plantain leave- *chhilonga* adding a small piece of meat of a pig's stomach. Equal pieces of meat are given to both of them (*anasükütu*) but bigger pieces are given to the one who could consume more. No meat is shared and the left over are thrown into the fire. The *anasükütuwa* calls the relatives for a drink at the host's house in the evening saying '*Huotsa neji*'. If they meet the other party, they shouts in unison, '*thuorie thuorie*' and dispersed. The feast of merit lasted for five to eight days and they drink as long as the wine last.

The first day is feasting- *satsa*, and *johuo khorü* are distributed and 'Y' post of Oak tree is curved and rituals is performed by the *Anasükütuwa* on this day (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha, 2003, pp.19-20). The second day is head feasting day- *Alükhutsa* where the close relatives are called to part take in the meal. Small pieces of innards are wrapped in a plantain leave- *ariüngu* is given to the girls and ladies for identification-*atseanyi kümüchü*. The third day is *Phrusi*. On this day the *Anasükütuwa* calls the relatives for a drink and songs are sung in praise of the host- '*Phrusi küsi khi sana*'. The fourth day is *Juhkre* both the husband and wife (host) go and bath in the well. After the sanctifical bath, a bamboo cup is cut into two halves and comes back home (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). The fifth day is called *Nyuo-a* end of the feast. On this day the host is hosted by the *anasükütuwa* (elder) at his place.

The rituals and ceremonies are the same in all the stages of the feast of merit. The feasts of merits include the following: *Awuhshéh*- only wine is offered, *Azhilawa*- only wine is offered, *Athethuo*- here he could slaughter a pig if he could effort, in *Ajuküju*- one cow and one pig is slaughtered and *johuo khorü* is given and 'Y' post (Pl. 5) of Oak- *athuohtse* is put up, *Atsalie*- same as the *Ajuküju*, *Münyiza*- same as the *Ajuküju* but here he earns a Mekhala- *Künyi münyi* for his wife, the man earns the distribution right of meat and fishes in the hunting and fishing game and also earn the right to construct the ladies' Dormitory- *Alashia* in his house.

The fifth feast is called Buffalo Sacrifice- *Rülitsathe*, from this feast onwards the buffalo are sacrifice with the addition of pig. Here the ‘Y’ posts of *Amüwu thsoh* and pine tree are fixed in honour of the host. The buffalo head is poked on a pole in front of the house. In the 8<sup>th</sup> feast of merit- *Aküzü küza* the ‘Y’ post is made of *Azhü* and a long carved beam- *atsühne* is put up in front of the house. The wife will have the right to embroider her mekhala with cowries and the man will have the right to own *Lüphuothsü* and *Awiekhuh Siezhu* here he host one khel of his village or the neighbouring village. Here he slaughters as many buffaloes, cows and pigs as his wealth permits. The people come and dance praising the host and are fed with good food and wine. Meat is also given to the dance party to be taken home. The ‘Y’ post of *azhü*, pine tree and decorated bamboo pole- *akuohkhrüh* (Pl. 3) is put up at his home (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha, 2003, pp.19-20). He host 25 men but later on it was increased to 60 men. Now he will have the right to wear broad Necklace- *Azhoka* and the right to say ‘*Ah hu*’ in the community feast and gatherings (Chinasü, December 21, 2014, personal communication).

#### **b. Akhegwo.**

Among the Akhegwo group the feast is upto the 10<sup>th</sup> stage to complete the series (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication). The Chief- *Kajiwa* and the second Chief- *Kaji Seshewa* is invited to every feast of merit hosted in the village. They are feed with special wine in a long Bamboo-mug called ‘*Phopi*’ and a basket full of cooked meat and food are given and send home accompanied by a group of people. The meat for the feast is arranged according to his capacity (Venuh, 2014, pp.378-380), making sure that enough food and meat are provided.

- i. *Chatsüzu/ Chatsüzuni*. It is the hosting of one’s own clan members and lasted for two days. A pine tree is erected at the courtyard of the host one day ahead. *Chatsüzu* literary means chicken sacrifice; ‘*cha*’ means ‘*chicken*’. On the first day a chicken is placed inside the basket- *akhora* hung upside down, under the pine tree erected. All the clan members young and old gathered at the host courtyard with a dummy spear. As soon as the host comes out of the house, an elderly man/priest performs a ritual and the chicken is pierced to death by all the clan members (Venuh, 2014, p.380). Only the priest and elderly men who performed the ritual eats the slaughtered chicken, for it is genna for others to eat. The clan members take the meat, food and wine to the village gate- *ashieku*

- and feasted (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication).
- ii. *Achupada*. The feast is the hosting of one's own clan or another clan of his village and the Chief's- *Kajiwa* is the main guest and special food and wine are prepared for him and the Second Chief- *Kajisheshe* of the village, it is also called 'feast to the Chief' (Venuh, 2014, p.381).
  - iii. *Fuchok*. In this feast all the clan members of the village give pot/vessel and rice to the host (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication). Thus the word '*Fuchok*' is derived from '*Fu*' means 'Pot/Vessel/ewer/pitcher' and '*Chok*' means 'offer/provide' (Venuh, 2014, p.381). Literary '*Fuchok*' means 'pot receiving'. The clan members give the host any size of the pot along with rice. In these feast not less than 12 pots of wine is offered to his clan members for feasting.
  - iv. *Tsansan*. The *Tsansan* means 'distribution of three ball of cooked rice to all his fellow villagers who have hosted the feast of merit. The ladies of the host clan help in cooking and distribution (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January31, 2016, personal communication).
  - v. *Khiayvo I*. It is the ceremonial placing of the stone at the resting place on the way to the field. The strongest man of the host clan is selected to carry a basket filled with cooked rice and meat to a resting place leading to the field. On this day, the men folk go to the river and only four men will bring a flat stone to the resting place and feast by all.
  - vi. *Khiayvo II*. The feast is hosted in honour of his best friend with wine, cooked rice and meat; in return they have to give the same during their circle of *Khiayvo II*. If the friend, failed to host the *Khiayvo II*, half the pig or one cultivable land is taken as fine.
  - vii. *Honzu*. It is the biggest feast of merit, where a bamboo pole- *awuphrü* is erected and a stone wall is build around it. Mithun is slaughtered and the meat is carried to the river side and feasted by the youth of the clan. On their return back home, the youth collect one stone each of their choice and return home in queue, chanting traditional tunes (Venuh, 2014, p.382) and construct the stone wall in front of the host house.
  - viii. *Shezu*. The feast is an offering of wine forcefully to any passerby. The travelers are also offered food and wine (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January31, 2016,

personal communication). '*Shezu*' means 'forceful offering of wine to the people' (Venuh, 2014, p.383). For the occasion enough food and wine are arranged by the host.

- ix. *Azüzu*. It is a feast signifying that he is fit enough to host the whole khel of the village. It is also an announcement of his impending to host the whole khel. *Azüzu* literary means 'mass drinking' (Venuh, 2014, p.383) a show of reserved wealth for the future host (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication). In the feast fat eating competition is held and a piece of fat is distributed by the host to his clan members.
- x. *Züshu*. A person who hosts this feast completes the full circle of the feast of merit. In *Züshu* he first hosts his whole Khel members, then other khel of his village and Khel of his neighbouring village. Enough food and wine are arranged with the help of the clan members. Dancing, singing and feasting are the events of the day. All type of songs is sung and dances on the occasion (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January31, 2016, personal communication). On completion of the feast, the man will have the right to use *Lüphutshü* and the wife the right to use *Chishong* shawl and iron stick-*Zingnunwi* (Venuh, 2014, p.384).

### c. Laruri.

The feast of merit among the Laruri extend up to twelve or beyond as long as he could effort. Their houses are so big that the dance parties are hosted even inside the house. In all the feast of merit pig and mithun are slaughter and the head of the animals head are fixed at the front door. (Pl. 4) The various series of feast are briefly described below:

1. *Nozazü I*. The feasn is hosted in honour of the birth of a child and is also known as the small feast. In this feast only wine is offered in a new bamboo cups.
2. *Nozazü II*. The second feast is also called *Nozazü*. Here the old cups are used for drinking wine. In this feast the host peer groups is invited and meat of the pig and mithun are distributed. The first two feast of merit are called as 'small feast of merit'.
3. *Tsanzhie*. This feast is a one day affair in which all the households' members of the family who are invited gets the share of the meat. The travelers are also offered wine and food.

4. *Thezhemsang/Thithiketsö*. This feast is dedicated to the blessing of the home or for the good of the house. The hosts send his son-in-laws to the jungle for the collection of pine and frog. The pine and frog are brought home and dried. On the day of Thezhemsang feast the dry frog and Mithuns are slaughter and feasted.
5. *Longtrum/Panaröh*. The feast is hosted in honour of the sowing and harvesting of the crops. The people who help in the sowing and harvesting are feed with good food and wine. In the feast the husband and wife eats and drink from the same plate and cup.
6. *Pothampa*. The feast is a three day affairs depending on the wealth of the host. The first day is the collection of the new bamboo cups and feasting. On the second day of the feast old cups are used for drinking. The feast continued on to the third day if the host has enough wine and food.
7. *Longling/Lena*. This is a stone pulling feast or ceremony. The stone monolith is erected on the way to the field by the villagers in honour of the host.
8. *Tüsa*. This feast is the hosting of one khel of his village. Pig and Mithun are killed for the occation. The dance party comes and dance and sing in praise of the host.
9. *Thezhiesang*. The feast coincides with *Yemshe* festival. The whole village is invited for the feast and animals are slaughter according to the wealth of the host.
10. *Mieyetsö*. This feast is also the hosting of the whole village.
11. *Mökhutsö*. This feast is hosted in honour of the house wife. The feast lasted for three days and the host makes sure that the food and wine does not run short.
12. *Lethangrö*. This is the biggest of all the feast of merit. The feast is the hosting of the neighbouring or friendly village. They come and dance in praise of the host. They are fed with good food and wine. This is the top feast of merit but anyone whose wealth permits he repeats this stage over and over again (Khouzing, January 8, 2015, Personal communication and Lotsa, March 10, 2017, Personal communication).

### **3.2. Economy.**

The Nagas are an agrarian society; essentially they grow their own food supply and their energies (Saul, 2005, p.126), rites, rituals and religious ceremonies are designed to protect and increase his crops. Every man owns a land and works in his own field and rarely worked for other for a living (Mills, 1982, p.75). Every season is set aside to perform different jobs like

sowing, weeding, harvesting, and making of utensils, (pottery) weaving, basketry and construction of houses. Each job is to be completed in each season for they will lag behind and some social gennas are attached to certain activities to be done for the season. For example, weaving and basketry are stopped during ploughing period and houses are constructed between December- *Müthuo* and February- *Zheprie* otherwise it is genna (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication).

### 3.2.1. Jhuming.

Agriculture was the main occupation of the people. Jhuming/Shifting Cultivation- *Azula* was an old traditional system of mixed cropping like maize, millets, jobs-tears and yam- *apia* (Venuh, 2014, p.370). The Jhum circle varies from area to area depending on the size of the land the village possesses. Among the Meluri group they have 12 jhum circles- *rhuotsa*, namely *Khunyuo*, *Rhözhzu*, *Jijirö*, *Ngarahsö*, *Kötsönachi*, *Lozö*, *Krieji*, *Sienyisö*, *Möröközhe*, *Zahu*, *Rohzalesö* and *Köröwusö* (Müluori Nyushe Nyusho losipha, 2003, p28). Rarely, there is a cross-over of the Jhum circle- *rhuotsa* and the age of a person are determined accordingly (Kuorütho Poji, Kümatho, L. Silatho, Shethotshü and Meshotshü, February 8, 2016, personal communication).

The Jhum field- *Azula* is cleared in the month of March- *Buotsa* and burned down in the month of April- *Zuwie* and the huts (*Aphrötsa* and *Tsolophrö*- Pl. 25 and Pl.26) are erected (Saul, 2005, p.127). Seeds are sown in the month of May- *Tüthse* weeding in the month of June- *Zutsa* and harvesting of millets in August- *Tsate* and Jhum paddy- *Suomütha* in the month of September- *khuthe* and October- *Mahwie* (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication). The Jhum being a mixed cropping, they grow maize, millet, (two varieties of millet non sticky such as *Athechi*, *amüphuo* and *anekütsawa* and sticky millet like *Athatsüh*, *kanya alükückuwa* and *kuolükü vüwa*) oil seed- *Aküso/müchowuo*, yam, (Pl. 28) job's tears- *azhetha*, red giant millet- *khuozi kürümia kümüruwa*, white giant millet- *khuozi kürümia kümüjiwa*, (Pl. 26) red leaf millet- *Arhüh*, climbing tentil- *Akügha*, bottle gourds- *asüza*, red gourds- *achisho*, white gourd- *arünyi*, cucumber- *amüzi*, ginger- *asotsa/asora* and chillies are grown in patches in the Jhum (Mills, 1982, pp.86-87).

The Akhegwo village is divided into four khels namely *Yantseghe*, *Mechughe*, *Tsontseghe* and *Kükegwo* and each khel have their own Jhum circle- *rhuotsa* and varies from 8-15 circles. A khel can lease out/rent the Jhum land to the other khel provided they pay tax to the

khel that lease the Jhum land. The rent collected is given feast to the travelers during the festival of *Apethakhu/Hankhekhu*, which is celebrated in the month of November- *Kate* (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication). Among the Laruri group, the village area is so vast that they could not keep tract of the Jhum circles (Lotsa, April 30, 2017, personal communication). The Phor groups have more than 10-15 Jhum circles (T. Azüzu Thurr, April 29, 2016, personal communication) and traditionally they have no terrace field and started only after the 1950's (Lotsa, April 30, 2017, personal communication).

They also depended on irrigated terraces- *akhuzu* for their rice- *amütha* (Mills, 1982, p.86) where water is channeled- *achule* from the tributaries of the Tizu River. They grow two varieties of wet paddy non stick rice- *küzuo* and sticky rice- *künya*. The non stick rice- *küzuo* varieties are *shupe mütha*, *thoma mütha*, *tsüsariü*, *atünga*, *ngachizah*, *shurimari* and *kuotsari*. *Shurimari* is said to be the best in taste. The sticky rice- *künya* varieties are *matükhürüri*, *apachiwa*, *taserüh* and *asüpa*.

### **3.2.2. Granaries- *Aluo*.**

The Pochury Naga builds separate granaries- *aluo* for storage of their harvested crops. The Granaries were raised on piles (Pochury .n.d.) built outside the village (Mills, 1982, p.148) in groups at Meluri, Akhegwo and Phor. The granaries are 10-15 feet long and 8-10 feet wide, where barns are placed for containing the harvested crops and seedlings for the next season (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). The granaries of the Laruri group are built on the ground and they used pots for containing the paddy and an average pot could contain as much as 10-15 tins and the bigger pots could contain as many as 20 tins of paddy. (Pl. 15 and Pl. 16) The granaries are 20-30 feet long and 14-20 feet wide (Khouzing, January 8, 2015, personal communication). The doors are closed by putting across a bamboo poles.

### **3.2.3. Kitchen Garden- *Aphari*.**

The Pochury Naga village is surrounded by their kitchen garden- *aphari*. Every household owns a kitchen garden, fenced by split bamboo to keep away the pigs, with narrow foot paths cutting each other at the right angles for access to the granaries- *aluo* built outside the village. They grow all sorts of vegetables' like garlic (Mills, 1982, p.48), sugar-cane beans, maize, gingers, oranges and medicinal herbs for their daily use (Lomatshü, February 6, 2016, personal communication).

### 3.2.4. Food and Drinks.

The Nagas almost eat everything; they eat dogs, rats, elephants, tigers, rhinoceroses, cows, pigs and fowls (Elwine, 1969, p.614). Meats are eaten with great delicacies by the Pochury Naga. The meat is boiled with little addition of salt and chilly (Mills, 1982, p.109) for pot making making was known by them. All types of animals meat are eaten accept tiger and snakes, and some portion of meat which are prohibited to the young and womenfolk (Wamatho, December 19, 2014, personal communication). Birds and animals like nightjar- *küzowah*, parrots- *akütsüh*, cardinal- *akükrü*, monkeys- *ashüki*, dog- *ashuh*, flying squirrels- *aprie*, flying fox- *alooch*, squirrels- *athuoke*, bamboo rats- *azushu* and otter- *achüria* (Mills, 1982, pp.110-111), animal's snout, ears, tail, testicles and uterus are eaten only by old men. But these days the prohibited meats are considered to be testier and are eaten by all. It's an old saying, 'if children eat the meats of the old men (prohibited meats/food of the old- *kühuora shia*), your hairs will grow gray faster- *asa mükü- tsale wa tsa thuoji, alüshe proonitah* (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). This meat are said to make a person inert and makes the hair grey.

The staple food of the Pochury is rice (Mills, 1982, p.108) maize, Job's tears and millet. Rice was grown in Jhum field- *suomütha* and wet terrace field- *khuzu mütha* in small quantity. Jhuming was the main occupation of the people. They grow large quantities of millet that an average house-hold gets 40-50 tins and the big landed families get more than 100-150 tins. Millets is considered as a poor man food. It is said that millet can be stored for half a century which served during famine and drought (Tsuosekhu, January24, 2015, personal communication). Today with the commercialization of agricultural, maize is grown in large quantities in Ahkegwo, Phor and Meluri area. They are traded down to commercial hubs like Kohima and Dimapur for exchanges of rice and other commodities.

The rice beer- *akhah* is brews and drinks by young and old. Drinking boil water was not known to them. They brew two types of rice beer- *akhah*: *akhahtsah* and *mütseachuh*. The *akhahtsah* or ordinary rice beer is made by soaking in the water for 20 to 30 minute to soften it and pounded up into flour. The boil water is poured on it and it is well mixed to get the lumps out (Mills, 1982, p.112). The lump is cool and is mixed with pounded red leave millet- *arhöh* and fermented rice beer- *khakütse* and let it diluted for two to three days (Lomatshü, February 6,

2016, personal communication). *Mütseachuh* is a fermented rice beer. The rice or grain is cooked and spread on a mat. After cooling, yeast is thoroughly mixed and kept for four to five days. The liquor exudes is collected into a vat. The red giant millet- *khuozi kürümia kümürüwa* is said to be the best of all Naga drinks (Mills, 1982, pp.113-114).

### **3.2.5. Domestication of Animals.**

They keep a range of domestic animals like Mithun, Buffalo, cow, pig, dog, cat and chicken for meat. The Pochury Nagas are good cattle traders' with the surrounding areas and they still buy mithun and cattle from Myanmar for trade (Pochury. n.d).

Among the Meluri group mithun and buffalo are of the same value and mithun is not reared by them. In Lephori a few mithuns are kept for trade and funeral feast (Mills, 1982, p.91). Almost all the household keeps buffalo or cow. Well-to- do families have dozens of them. The buffalo and cow are let to roam freely in the jungle soon after harvest and are herded together just before the sowing season (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication). Henry Balfour in his diary, states that, "outside the village of Meluri (Melori) a lot of water buffaloes were huddled together in a mud-pool wallowing in the mud, the sun glistening off their backs. No mithun are kept here" (Balfour Henry, Diaries, Pitt Rivers Museum manuscript collections. 24<sup>th</sup> Oct. 2015). Buffaloes and cows are slaughtered in the feast of merit and fresh supplies of buffaloes are traded from Myanmar as required (Mills, 1982, p.91). The Villagers assigned two or three men as cowherd to look after the cows and buffalo, who are paid in terms of paddy per cow/buffalo or in cash by well to do families. The cow herders are full timers and are from the poor landed families. They herded the cattle to the jungle during the day and are herded back home to the village in the evening and the cattle go to their respective houses, which are tied to the front post of the house (Chinasü, December 21, 2014, personal communication). Bamboo clappers are tied round the neck (Mills, 1982, p.92) specially the mother cow or buffalo. Rope loops are inserted into the nose, when the calves are one year of old, for easy handling of the animal (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). Milk was never drunk by them (Mills, 1982, p.92).

Mithuns are reared by the Akhegwo, Phor and Laruri group, along with buffalo and cow. The buffaloes and mithuns are kept in the jungle-semi wild; occasionally salts are fed (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication). Pigs- *Awu* is domesticated by the Pochury Naga. They are allowed to roam freely in the village and clean the

human waste. Yam- *Apia* and leaves are cooked and fed along with mash rice husks. Only well-to-do families fed the waste fermented rice beer, after the liquid is squeezed off. They cooked it so that the pig does not get drunk (Mills, 1982, p.92). Uncooked and cooked maize are also mixed and fed. The pigs are kept at the porches of the front house at night and are fed here. They are chased out of the house soon after feeding in the morning, so that they defecate outside and forage the whole day in and around the village kitchen garden. The pigs give birth outside the village gate. The piglets are brought home only after a week old. In most cases the owner brings home the piglets as the mother pig is being fed at home or the nest of the pig is burnt down and are chased back home with the mother pig (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication). The piglets are castrated when they are three months old. J.P. Mills wonders why the breed does not come to an end (Mills, 1982, p.93). The Sow comes back to heat two to three months after birth and is even crossed by her own piglets. Dogs- *Ashuh* and cats- *amimi* are kept as pets at home. Only male members of the family eat the dog meat. Cats- *Amimi* is kept to keep the rats away by few and is considered pet for all. So they are not to be harmed even if they steal dry meat and fish (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication).

Domestic Fowls- *Awi* is plentiful and resembles that of the Jungle fowl- *aro*. They rarely feed and are expected to live on what they can pick up (Mills, 1982, pp.94-95) of human waste. The fowls- *awi* is kept at the front porches of the house above the ground. The little chicken and hen are kept in a cage- *akhora* (Lomatshü, February 6, 2016, personal communication). It is strange to note that snakes are reared in Akhegwo by rich families for plentiful harvest (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication).

### **3.2.6. Spinning.**

The Meluri group grows enough cotton for their needs (Mills, 1982, p.64) and the surplus are traded to the Eastern Angamis in exchange for coloured thread and spindles (Chinasü, December 21, 2014, Personal communication). “The process is exactly the same as in other tribes for the production of thread from the cotton. It is expected that every woman to know the art of spinning and weaving” (Mills, 1982, pp.64-65). On marriage the bride is expected to bring enough shawls- *anyirüh* she had woven in her youth and also expected to weave for the family. The coloured shawl called Tiger shawl- *amiathsü* is woven by the women whose husbands had killed a tiger or are good head hunters. For the *Tsuori* clan women it is genna to weave *Amiathsü*, for the tiger and *Tsuori* clan are said to be friends. The husbands have to buy, if he had to use one.

*Khalachu* is the shawl of unmarried youth. *Lüphuothsü* the shawl of the rich-man (right to use it after the eight feast of merit) are not woven but are imported from Tangkhul Naga tribe (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication). The rich-man of Akhegwo group also used '*Lüphuothsü*', who traded through Meluri (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication).

The Akhegwo, Phor, Yisi and Laruri group weave no shawls. Weaving is genna, for Phor and Yisi Villagers. They imported shawls from Sangtam and their neighbours (T. Azüzu Thurr, April 29, 2016, personal communication). Even though it's not genna for Akhegwo and Laruri group, weaving was not known. They imported *Lüphuothsü* from Meluri group and other shawls from Khiamnungan and neighbouring tribes (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, 2016, personal communication).

### **3.2.7. Pottery making.**

Meluri, Akhegwo and Phor groups make no pottery. Laruri village was one centre of production and produced a variety of pottery for cooking, urns and large ones for containing paddy. Pottery was made anytime of the year, except during rainy season (Panratsü Jungtsüri, April 8, 2015, personal communication), but it is said that it is a 'genna to make pots until the harvest are over (Balfour Henry, Diaries, Pitt Rivers Museum manuscript collections. 24<sup>th</sup> October, 2015). The pottery making was an exclusive job of the women. Small children help in carrying the clay home. But its genna for boys, once they enter the morung for it makes them sluggish in war.

The clay moulds are collected from outside the village where there is a rich deposit of sherds and mica schest. The clay mould is pounded into tiny particles and water is added for easy moulding of the clay to different shape (Panratsü Jungtsüri April, 2015, personal communication). The method and technique of making pot at Laruri are like those found elsewhere in the Naga areas. The moulded clay is patted into shape with a flat mallet against a smooth stone held inside as resistance. The moulded pots are left in the sun to harden a little and patterns were worked on the pot by hand or cane or fiber string and then the pots are fired by placing them on a low bamboo platform (Saul, 2005, p.158) or on the ground by piling dry *thomatsoh* (Species of tree) outside the house. More than 10 pots are backed together in cases of small and medium pots and only one pot is baked if it is very large (Panratsü Jungtsüri April 8, 2015, personal communication).

### 3.2.8. Pipe and Smoke.

The Pochury Nagas chewed and smoked tobacco- *azhi*. The tobacco is grown in the field and kitchen garden. The fresh leaves are rubbed in hot ashes and rolled up into balls to preserve the freshness for months (Mills, 1982, p.119). The Meluri group used bamboo pipe- *arhiakhu* for smoking (Nyuletho, April 8, 2016, personal communication) while at Laruri clay is moulded and fried (Panratsü Jungtsüri, April 8, 2015, personal communication). J.P. Mills observed that they are “heavy smokers and rarely to be seen without a pipe-*arhiakhu* in their mouths”. Health hazard of the use of tobacco is not known to them (Mills, 1982, p.119). Men smoked tobacco to the field which helps them to make fire (Nyuletho, April 8, 2016, personal communication).

### 3.2.9. Trade in cattle, salt and pottery.

The Naga villages were self-sufficient for their daily needs and only few items are obtained from outside, generally during winter or dry season (Saul, 2005, p.133). The Pochury Naga, trade in cattle and buffalo, which are brought from Myanmar, especially for the feast of merit. Every village monopolised the cattle and buffalo trade and they hardly trespasses the other. Enough cattle and buffalo are available in the neighbouring village, so they don't go beyond their neighbourhood.

The chief trade of the Pochury Naga was the salt trade. They have numerous salt brine well for the village. The Meluri group produces no salt cakes but the Akhegwo, Phor, Yisi, Laruri and Matikhrü produced salt cakes for trade. It is said that the Laruri group stopped making salt for the Phor group did not allow them to use the salt well, where they have non for themselves. So they took to pot making as their trade (Panratsü Jungtsüri, April 8, 2015, personal communication). In Phor and Yisi the main salt producing wells are *Miüwhu*, *Troshi*, *Kupa*, and *Faghwi*, *Krutsipu* and *Giyie* and other smaller well numbering hundreds of them in the area (Hutsü Baptist Church Golden Jubilee, 1996, n.d).

The salt making process is a tedious job, where four or more persons are involved. The salt is made near the salt spring. Four to five pots are placed over the fire. When the first pot reaches the boiling point, it is poured to the next and it keeps on pouring until the water evaporates. What is left of the evaporated salt water is poured on a leave and left to dry. The salt cakes are brought home for consumption and trade (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication). The salts of Phor area are traded with neighbouring tribes of Khiamnungan (*Salomi*) and as far as the Chakhesang villages. They barter salt with any

material (T. Azüzu Thurr, April 29, 2016, personal communication). The Meluri groups are the middle-man in salt trade, who traded in cash and coloured threads.

The pots they trade are of different sizes and shape depending on the use and demand of the people. They traded the pot in cash, salt and shawls, it was only the traders who come to the village (Laruri) to buy pots (Khouzing, April 8, 2015, personal communication). Another important item of trade is the dry fish. The Fishes are obtained from river Tizu and its tributaries by means of traditional methods like *Achchi*, *Achhiza*, *Ajie*, and *Akheh* (Nyushu Nyusho Lasipha. 2003, p.12) and are dried over the fire and traded as far as Kohima, where they are considered tastier than the Manipuri sun-dried fish. (Mills, 1982, pp.73-74)

The trading activities are done during the dry season soon after the harvest before the *Nazhu* festival. The cattle, buffalo and pot trade are done specially before the feast of merit which is held in the months of January-February- *Wiethuo-Zheprie*. The cattle and buffalo are specially traded for the feast of merit and pots for storing wine, water and cooking.

### **3.2.10. Basketry.**

Basketry is exclusively the work of men. *Atsuo* (a type of bamboo) and cane are used for making basket. The bamboos are collected from the jungle owned by individual, clan and *khel*. The bamboos are collected in the month of December-February and woven as soon as they are brought home. The owner first collects the bamboo and then others can also collect (*amüseh*) thereafter. It is often that bamboo poles are stolen and if known, ended up quarreling but no case is put up at Village Court- *Müzaluo*. (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication)

Baskets are of all shapes and sizes. Men and women have their own distinct baskets. The different baskets are *Piachikhu*, *Akhuotsa*, (Mills, 1982, p.71) *Asüra*, *Akhuora* and *Mülokhuo*. They also make different containers or trays- *Amüloh* (*Alakkhu*, *ashüthü*, *sütsarükhu*, *alialo*, *aloka*, *alokheh*, (Pl. 13) *atsaphra*, *aphara*, *atezhi* and *arüzhi*). These *Amülohs* are woven in different designs- *nyineh*, *chineh*, *sarülia*, *Phoza mülöle* and *mürarale*. The bamboo mat- *apho* and winnowing fan- *amüra* (Pl. 14) are made in Autumn- *Marakhu* and Winter- *Agie* seasons (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication).

### **3.2.11. Metal Work.**

The pochury Nagas are not experts in metal work and no iron was extracted, but metal work was being done at Lephori and in Phokhungri village where the last black-smith died long time back

and how the metal work is done was forgotten (Lotsa, April 30, 2016, personal communication). Leather/hide work was never done by the Pochury Naga. Their shields- *achohuo* is sun dried and scraped clean of hair and fats (Mills, 1982, p.69).

### 3.2.12. Loan.

Rice/Paddy and not money was lent by the Pochury Naga (Mills, 1982, p.74). Well-to-do families give paddy loan to his fellow villagers. The paddy loan lent out in the month of June- *Zutsa* and July- *Lehsa/Rasa* are to be paid double but the paddy loan lent out in the month of August- *Tsate* is paid the same quantity.

### 3.2.13. Hunting.

Hunting is done for leisure and meat, community hunt or hunting expeditions of the khels is the common form of hunting among the Meluri group. All the khels hunt the same day, going to the direction of their khel area/land. But they also criss-cross each other in the course of their hunt. Hunting is done to commemorate the coming of the festivities like *Nyitsokhu* and *Mawie*. The hunting party is divided into two groups-the chasers- *küzheri* and ambusher- *küthuori*. The former group (*küzheri*) consisted of youth led by leader- *azhezhi* and the latter- *küthuori* may be fifty years and above, led by leader- *athuozhi*. The meats are distributed by younger group of ambusher - *küthuori* in cases of a kill or hunt.

The head- *alü* of the animal is given to the one who injured or spears first (even if not death) the second person gets the tail- *anürü*, the third person gets the private part/uterus- *amüja/azaguo* and the rest of the meat is distributed according to the age and marital status. The elderly bachelors are placed next to the youngest married man, even if they are younger in age. The head of the animal killed is shared (cooked and shared) among the male members of the clan. The tail- *anürü* and private part/uterus- *amüja/azaguo* are given to the eldest member of the clan, who blessed the youngsters for good health and plentiful hunt (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication).

The innards are distributed equally from the oldest to the youngest in descending order. The five main parts of the animal body namely two hind leg/thigh- *Amügu*, two upper portion of the front leg- *arhahveh*, four inner joint bone of the four legs- *asusu*, four knee bone of hind and front leg- *khonyarü* and four the four legs- *adiüwuo* are given to the 16 oldest of the hunting party. The oldest gets the right thigh, the second the left thigh and so on. The rest of the meat is

shared equally according to their age in descending order (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, pp17-18).

The women never go for hunting expedition. If a hunting party kills an animal and the women folk are in the field and comes to the spot where the animal is killed, their share are also distributed but placed next to the youngest of the male irrespective of her age (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication).

### **3.2.14. Fishing.**

The river Tizu flows almost right in the middle of Pochury area and drained into the River Chindwin. There are numerous streams and rivulets that drain into Tizu River, the largest tributary being the *Zunki* and the other three smaller tributary are *Jiji*, *Araju* and *Reydi-Tsekhung* (Riepetho, 1993, p.13). These rivers and streams provided sufficient fresh fishes for consumption and local market. They have different technique for catching fishes and river Tizu is being too big they never use creepers for poisoning (Mills, 1982, p.107). The most common traditional methods for catching fishes by the Pochury Naga are through their physical strength using woods, rope and bamboos.

#### **a. Achhi.**

Traditionally fish trap- *achhi* is the most common method for trapping fish by the community. The trap- *achhi* is the trapping of the fishes that move up-stream during the monsoon. It is constructed in the month of January- *Wiethuo* or February- *Zheprie*. The trap- *achhi* is of two types *Chhipruochhi*- at the splitting of water into two parts where an island is created and *Wuohtochhi*- at a convenient place (Müluori nyushu nyusho lashipha. 2003, p.13).

The Tizu River and its tributaries within the Meluri boundary are divided among the four khels (*Zhiekuri*, *Zhitshüri*, *Khutsori* and *Phrütheri*). Each khel construct the *Achhi* in their own jurisdiction. The khel youths, who are expert in the site selection, first survey the site and informed the khel members about the suitability of site, availability of woods, bamboos, stones and rope (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). The khel members are called for a meeting at the *Aluoji*- khel meeting place. If they agreed for the construction of *Achhi*, then they decided the Announcer- *Ziatsiwa* and Sacrificial touch of *Achhi*- *Amüiri küpawa*. The Announcer- *Ziatsiwa* announces to the people at an appropriate time (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha, 2003, pp.12-13).

All members of the khel can join the construction of *Achhi* with some restrictions attached to it. A newly married male, touching of animal and chicken by any member of the family member, elopement of children and sick member of the family who seek the help of medicinemen- *dühmari* are prohibited to take part in it, for they may bring misfortune or bad luck (Müluori nyushu nyusholasipha. 2003, p.14). Young unmarried orphans are allowed to join the group for they are the heir to the family property but an elderly unmarried are not allowed to join the group (Siariiitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication). Strict restriction is observed on the first day of the work. As soon as they reach the spot, Announcer- *Ziatsiwa* brings a ceremonial tree (*Shetothsoh*) and fixed it on the ground, where the *Amüri* is to be constructed (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.13). Here, it is a perfect example of work distribution among the peer groups. The youngest peer group and the chaser- *küzheri* in the hunting collect the woods, poles and ‘Y’ shape post, ambushers- *küthuori* in the hunting collects bamboo and makes bamboo nets- *akhra dona* and distributors- *souhyia küsouri* collect the ropes- *ali*.

Once the collections of materials are done, the Announcer- *Ziatsiwa* and Sacrificial touch of *Achhi*- *Amüri küpawa* construct the bamboo flippers- *anga küshupe* and the rest construct the main fish pond for trapping. The protection fence- *ajole* across the river is constructed later. The construction takes 5-6 days. On the last day of the construction, before heading home the Announcer- *Ziatsiwa* climbs at the top of *Achhi*- *Asihlü* and makes a ceremonial call of water and fishes waving ,”Come the water (facing up stream), wu-u, come the fishes (facing downstream), wu-u”- “*wiavü aju raluwo wu-u, lahvü anga raluwo wu-u*”. A day is fixed for the ceremonial catching of fish- *kümüjia müta rülo*. On this day, the youngest in the group brings stones for the fire place- *Nyithüloh* and the second eldest makes fire place- *nyithü* and light up the fire. The Eldest- *Kükhruohtewa* fixed the first post of the hut- *aphrü* and the rest follow suit. There after the trap- *achhi* is being watched in groups of 2-3 everyday (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.13) before it is washed away by the flood or is destroyed by them (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication).

When enough fishes are trapped, the Announcer- *Ziatsiwa* announces and all the members go to the *Achhi*. The trap- *achhi* is dried by placing thatch- *aluosü* and mud/sand. The ambushers- *küthuori* dug the mud/sand, *suohnyia küsuori* (distributors are drawn only from ambusher- *küthuori* group, provided they had given the fourth feast of merit) help to carry the

basket and chasers- *küzheri* carries it. After drying, the fishes are collected by all and the youngsters sort the fishes in sizes and the biggest ones are cooked. In the meantime the rest collect woods, bamboo and ropes for strengthening the trap- *achhi* (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.13).

Always there was sufficient time for leisure after the work, so they involve in sports like high jump, shot-put, spot jump or even go for hunting. Lectures are given by elders on all sorts of topic, while having their lunch. The fishes are arranged in descending order and distributed by distributors- *suohnyia küsuori* from the eldest to the youngest and the circle keeps on. The members who could not make for the day, the share are placed next to the youngest. One day wage is collected from the absentees and if continuously miss-out for three days, then he is ousted from the group automatically and no wage is collected. The elders lead back home, at their pace and the basket of the elders are carried by the youth of his clan.

A day is fixed for destroying the trap- *achhi* if not destroyed by the force of monsoon flood; which is a day for grant feasting (Siarütho, 21<sup>st</sup> December, 2015, personal communication). On this day the elders bring basket full of cooked rice (sticky and non sticky rice) and dry fish heads and tails for the youth to feast, so also distributors- *asounyi kusouri* (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.14). The other members also brings cooked rice and fishes for the feast. The food is collected in one place and feasted. The left-over are equally distributed.

#### ***b. Ajie.***

*Ajie* literally means chasing of the fishes to the shallow water. *Ajie* is the real show of manhood and fixes his status in the society. The *Ajie* are constructed in the month of January- *Wiethuo* or February- *Zheprie* when it is biting cold and the fishes are in their heave. If the khel members agreed for *Ajie küse*, two to three person of the khel are send to the river to survy on (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication) the Hunting Ceremony- *Vihguo Küphrüh* (Barah, 1970, p.77) day. The *Ajie* is a continues and tiring job for 8-9 days or even more till the fishes are caught. Like *Achhi*, in *Ajie* the work distribution is in peer group- *shepe shepe*. The construction materials like wood, bamboo and ropes are collected on their way to the river. Split bamboos are thrown into the deep water and wires/fence is constructed layer after layers. The youths dive into the deep water, tying the split bamboos on their head, wrists and legs chasing the fishes to the shallow water and also mend the holes in the wires/fences. The young boys

climb over the weirs/fence taping the wood or bamboo. The expert observers watch the movement of the fishes from the tree (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.15) and report the movement of the fish. New wires or fences are built one after the other till the shallow water (Mills, 1982, p.108).

At the shallow water, a platform is build covered with leaves. Shrub- *Souhruohzhu* is inserted to know the movement of the fish, which shakes the shrubs. The fishes are catch by a huge bamboo tray- *akhra*. The big fishes are selected and given to the divers and wire/fence workers. In case of first time divers his share is ceremonial, the second year he takes but are to be sold off and thereafter he can keep the share for consumption (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.15).

Unlike *Achhi*, even the young boys and all able bodies joint in the construction of the *Ajie*. They sleep in groups in the house of the elders and very old men are allowed to sleep in one's own house, for sex is considered as pernicious (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). It is here the elder teaches and narrates the folk-tale, folk-lore, folk-songs and heroic deeds are learned and many songs are composed (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.15).

### **c. Akheh.**

*Akheh* literally means trapping of fish in an 'enclosure. In this method, a group of 5-10 men build a fence by the corner of the deep river in the shallow water. Once it is built, roasted and pounded maize, oil seeds, millets, etc. are fed to the fishes inside the enclosure. They observed for a few days the timing of the feeding of the fish. A day is fixed and at the death of the night as the unsuspected fishes are busy feeding, the door suspended by a long rope is cut and closes the door. The fish's trapped inside the fence are catch by a net or killed by a dao or spear by lighting big fire- *ahula*. The process continues for a few times and stops once the fishes refused to inter the *Akheh* (Kuorütho Poji, Janaury 5, 2018, personal communication).

Fishing nets and hooks are used throughout the year. Safety-pins or any iron are used as hook and *rünali* and *mürili* as stings. Besides this, the other lesser conventional methods of catching fishes are *Asouh küjü*, *Arü küzeh* and *Achhiza küsa* (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.15). The Tizu River provides abundant supply of fishes throughout the year. They apply different methods for catching fishes, in winter *Achhi*, *Ajie*, *Akheh* and *Asuo kütie*, in the dry hot days they poison the fishes by the bark and roots of thorny creeper- *aluoh* (Mills, 1982, p.108),

drying the river bed- *Anga kühri* and *Achhi* are made. During monsoons season net is widely used and as the monsoon recede *Asouh* is build (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.12).

## CHAPTER 4

### LAWS AND CUSTOMS

The Pochury Naga law and custom of addressing is very elaborate. They seldom call others by name for it is an insult or uncultured. It's an old saying, "it is I who first saw the dung of the dog and pig"- '*He nöh ashu thi awu sō nga ngukhu*'. It means to say that it is the elders who first came into this world or the wisdom of the elders is not to be contested. So it is the duty of the elders to teach the young how to behave in the society.

The parents play an important role in molding the children of the mannerism in the society. They are taught to respect the elders, who their relatives are and how to address them. The customs of addressing is not to be mistaken for it may mislead the society. It is this custom that identifies the social behavior of the society. The call of a person by name, by the young ones is an insult. Even the unknown person is also addressed as uncle, brother, sister, etc (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication and Siarütho, December 21, 2015, personal communication).

The following are the Pochury Naga laws and customs of addressing each other of all age and sex:

#### 4.1. Men address - *Nyimpari Kölö*.

1. Grant father- *Ehnyi*                      - To the person whom one's father addresses as uncle- *Ehpüza*, uncle- *Ehpaji* and any elderly person.  
- To father's and mother's father.
2. Father elder brother/uncle- *Ehpaji*.  
- To the person whom the father address as Elder brother- *Ehjie*  
- To the persons who are elder to one's father.
3. Father younger brother/uncle- *Ehpüza*.  
-To the persons whom one's father addresses as Younger brother- *Ehnü*  
-To the persons who are younger to ones father.

4. Uncle- *Ehnyitho /Ehnyisie.* - To mother's elder and younger brothers
5. *Ehku.* - To one's wife's father and brothers.  
- To father sister's husband.
6. Sister-in-law- *Ehtsü.* - To Elder brothers wife.  
- To the elder ladies of the wife blood relatives.
7. Sister-in-law- *Ehzüvie.* - To younger brother's wife.  
- To young ladies of the wife blood relatives
8. *Ehjüpa.* - To the clan peer group.
9. *Ehnyoka.* - To the peer group of different clan.
10. Brother-in-law- *Ehnyopa* - To wife younger, elder and other male relatives.  
- To the wife clan/relatives.
11. Elder brother/sister- *Ehjie.* - To elder member of the family.  
- To the elder persons.
12. Younger brother/sister- *Ehnüh.* - To the young sibling.  
- To younger persons.
13. Son-in-law- *Ehdümüo.* - To daughter husbands.  
- To brothers/sisters daughters husband.
14. Wife- *Ehzhiekha.* - To one's wife.
15. Father- *Ehpa.* - To one's father.  
- To the adopted father.
16. *Ehpra.* - To girls of the same peer group of the clan.

#### **4.2. Women address- *Nyimzari Kölö.***

1. Grant mother- *Ehla.* - To fathers mother and mothers mother.  
- To persons whom the mother address as aunty-  
*Ehzakhruo* and aunty- *Ehzathsü.*  
- To all elderly women.
2. Aunty- *Ehzakhruo.* - To people whom the mother addresses as  
elder sister- *Ehjie.*  
- To persons who are elder to the mother.
3. Aunty- *Ehvühkhruo.* - Same as *Ehzakhruo*, but to the mother of

- Tsuori* clan only.
4. Aunty- *Ehzathsü*.
    - To mother younger sisters.
    - To young female relatives.
  5. Mother- *Ehza*.
    - To one's mother.
    - To the adopted mother.
  6. Mother- *Ehvüh*.
    - Same as Mother- *Ehza* addressed to *Tsuori* mother only.
  7. Grant mother- *Ehvüh*.
    - Same as Grant Mother- *Ehla*, to *Tsuori* elderly mother only
  8. Aunty- *Ehnyithsü*.
    - To father sisters.
    - To the same clan women.
    - To mother brothers wife.
  9. Mother-in-law- *Ehnyi*.
    - The husband to the wife mother and sisters.
    - The wife to the husband mother.
    - The wife to the husbands father sisters.
  10. Sister-in-law- *Ehyo*.
    - To the peer group.
    - To husband sisters (young and elder)
    - To husband clan members (younger and elder)
  11. Brother-in-law- *Ehzüpa*.
    - To the husband young brother or relatives.
  12. Brother-in-law- *Ehtsü*
    - To husband elder brothers or relatives.
  13. *Ehvüle*
    - To the peer group of the same clan.
  14. *Ehjia*
    - To the older ladies.
  15. Daughter-in-law- *Ehjünyi*.
    - To the son's wife.
    - To the wife of the Grandsons.
  16. Mother- *Ehza*.
    - To one's mother.
    - To an adopted mother.
    - The ladies in their Dormitory- *Alashia* also make such relations (See *rülari külü*, page 111).
  17. *Ehpra*
    - To boy of same clan peer group.

### 4.3. Dormitory- *Alashia* made relation- *Rülari Külü*.

With mutual understanding among the Dormitory Girl- *Rülari* the addresses are made. “*Akülü küsa leri alashia vünüh kürü chienüh save*” (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lashipha. 2003, pp.11-12). On the fourth day of *Tsate Khu/Khuwi* in August the Dormitory Girls- *Rülari* exchange- *Kükaluo* cooked rice and meat and finalized how to address each other (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.26). The address- *Akülü* made in the Dormitory- *Alashia* is honoured till death whatever the situation and circumstances may be (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication).

The Addresses- *Akülü* made in Dormitory- *Alashia* is not of superfluous expression of their relation but is a sense of their deep affection among themselves which are honoured for life.

The Addresses- *Akülü* made in Dormitory- *Alashia* are as follows;

1. *Ehniwa* – The one, whom she likes the most.
2. *Ehlona* – Best friend among all friends.
3. *Ehsavi* – To a person born on the same day.
4. *Rhiejüle* – To a person who is always willing to talk.
5. *Ehsuose* – To a person of different age group in the Dormitory- *Alashia*.
6. *Leserü* – To a person of the same peer group of different *Khel* whom she met at the junction.
7. *Ehlawa* – To a person who enters the Dormitory- *Alashia* the same year.
8. *Ehkrufü* – To a person of her peer group in Dormitory- *Alashia*.
9. *Etsa* – The Dormitory- *Alashia* elder girl will address *Ehtsa* to the young.
10. *Eza* – The Dormitory- *Alashia* young girl will address *Ehza* to the elder.
11. *Ehlozhi* – The one whom she loves the most.
12. *Ehzüwa* – To one’s own relatives in the Dormitory- *Alashia*.
13. *Ehpranyie* – To a person of the same clan but elder to her.
14. *Ehjiengü* – The one whom she likes to be.
15. *Ehzüvi* – To a person of the same clan whose father offered a feast of merit during their Dormitory- *Alashia* days.
16. *Ehlovi* – The one whom I love.

#### 4.4. Formation of a New Village- *Anyu Küsate*.

Most of the Pochury Naga Villages are established in the 1940's and 1950's as heading hunting and inter Village feud came to an end with the coming of the British, Christianity, Education and the emergence of Naga National Movement in the Pochury Naga area. The land was vast and only six (6) Villages existed in the whole of Pochury area for the past many years (Souvenir: Lephori Student Union. 1965-2015. n. d. p.52 and personal diary of Riekhuotho, n.d). The Aishan Kukis who intruded into the area in 1890's were expelled by the British in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, thus reserving the area as Sangtam-Kuki reserved Forest in the heart of the Pochury land, where the area forcefully occupied by the Aishan Kukis. This reserved forest ceased to exist once the British left India in 1947. The Pochury Naga Nationalist encouraged for the establishment of new Villages in the Sangtam-Kuki reserved Forest.

According to the Pochury Naga tradition, no individual or family established a village, but a leading man (influential /rich man) always takes the lead. New Villages are set up for reasons such as proximity to Jhum field, suitability of land for cultivation, availability of drinking water, strategic place for warfare, etc. The Kükhegwo Village was established by the whole Khel (*Kükhegwo* Khel) for the suitability and availability of cultivable land (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication). The Village is established with the consent and blessing of the Parent Village and is in conformity with the Parent Village of their daily activities (Concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practice-codified reference of unwritten laws, 2006, p.3).

To establish a Village, the warriors or elders survey the land after which the jungles are cleared for the construction of the houses. The Chief- *Kajiwa* first chooses the plot and the rest choose one's own plot. The Villagers first constructs the Chief- *Kajiwa* house and followed by the others. After the completion of the construction of the houses, the Eldest man of the Chief- *Kajiwa* clan erect three stone at the hearth of the Chief- *Kajiwa* and the Second Chief- *Kajisheshi* light a ceremonial fire (Concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practice-codified reference of unwritten laws, 2006, p.2-3). It is tradition that the Chief- *Kajiwa* of the parent Village blesses the new Village and chants for good health, longevity of life, prosperity and multiplying of population (Müluori Khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.3). The Village boundary is demarcated by the parent Village by the streams, rivulets, rivers, mountain ranges, stone-pillars

and slaps or heap of stones (Concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practice-codified reference of unwritten laws, 2006, p.2-3).

#### **4.5. Division of the Pochury Village.**

The Pochury Naga village is divided into Khel- *Aphru* of 2-4 depending on the migratory routes and size of the village. The boundaries are not marked but it is known in what Khel- *Aphru* his house stand. The big villages like Meluri and Akhegwo have four Khel- *Aphru* and the small villages are of 2-3 Khel- *Aphru*. Rarely one or two household lived in the other Khel- *Aphru* area but his activities are in conformity with his Khel- *Aphru* for he have a real bond with his fellow Khel- *Aphru* members (Mills, 1982, pp.55-56) for they share one Morung- *Awiekhu* and Girls Dormitory- *Alashie* a learning and sleeping place for the youth of the Khel- *Aphru*. Among the Akhegwo group the land is individually owned but each Khel- *Aphru* have their own Jhum circle and are cultivated independently (H. Niecha, Z. Junte and Temung Achupa, January 9, 2015, personal communication).

#### **4.6. Inheritance- *Zhezhuh kü-zhiluo*.**

Land the most important property is owned by Individual, Family, Clan and Khel- *Aphru*. (Mills, 1982, p.142) Among the Meluri and Akhegwo group the majority of the lands are owned by the individual and a small portion of the land is owned by the clan and Khel- *Aphru*. The Pochury Naga, being a patriarchal society, the properties is divided among the sons in the family and the eldest gets the best share of land. On the death of the father, the eldest son heads the family who also inherit the father's debt if any and is responsible for the repayment of the debt. Its tradition that the landed properties are divided among the son's once they get married. The family or clan land, are those lands which are kept aside for cutting fire woods- *atsohza* (Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication). The Khel- *Aphru* common properties are rivers, mountains, deep valley and river bed- *akule*. Such lands are common inheritance of the Khel- *Aphru*, no matter what their clan may be (Mills, 1982, p.143).

A common paddy field- *Asuoh Zhuh* is given to the daughters of the family, it reverses back to her brothers after their dead. The daughters gift Shawl- *Athsü*, Bracelet- *Akhusa*, Sash- *Arorie* and Ear loops- *Anaha* on her father and mother's death and take a Jhum land provided there is no heir to the father's property. The youngest daughter inherits the mother's Necklace- *Azho*. The woman who marries till death, the eldest of her brother takes one Jhum land- *Amüta*,

so also the eldest of the brother share of land are parted if the sisters commit theft, robbery or adultery (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, pp.5-6).

#### **4.7. Adoption- *Siega*.**

Adoption is accepted among the Pochury Naga family. Adoption is done for two reasons (1) addition of more family member/ want of large family and (2) for want of continuity of family lineage in case of no son in the family. In the first case during the yore days big family means more work force and prestige. So well-to-do adds more members to the family for security and economic purposes. Thus large family means more secure and helpful in the mobilization of resources and agricultural works. In the second case, the Pochury Nagas being a patriarchal society begotten a son for continuity of the lineage was the goal of every family. So adoption was accepted in the society. A son to be adopted is to be consent by the clan members, for he will have the right to inherit the family and clan property. The adopted son gets the last share- *ariepe suopewa* of the property among the sons (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.4). Adoption is also done in cases of a married couple not have an issue/heir. Adoption is always preferred from one's own clan members and rarely from other clan

#### **4.8. Fostering- *Noküje*.**

An orphan child is often looked after by the male relative of the clan member till they get married (Mills, 1982, p.145). Fostering is of two types- temporary and permanent fostering. In the temporary fostering, a child is looked after by the relative's of the family. It is done so that the child does not lose his identity and property. Here he gets no property from his foster family/clan (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.4). In the permanent fostering, the child becomes the family member of the fosterer and will have the right to inheritance of property (The concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practices-codified references of unwritten laws, 2006, p.16) along with his ancestral property.

#### **4.9. Oath- *Gököshe*.**

Oaths- *Gököshe* is very rarely taken (Mills, 1982, p.151) for misfortune may befall upon the family, clan or Village. Oath- *Gököshe* is administered for theft, land disputes, adultery and other criminal acts both verbally as well as with action (The concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practices-codified references of unwritten laws, 2006, p.6). Verbal oath is

administered in cases like adultery and theft and oath with action are biting the mud or article in cases of land dispute and theft. In most cases the accuser land up in taking the oath (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). The Meluri group realizes a fine for theft by taking his property after his death (Mills, 1982, p.148) making sure that he comes and claim at the funeral or make a formal declaration that day.

Oath- *Gököshe* is administered when disputes could not be solved between the disputed parties (The concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practices-codified references of unwritten laws, 2006, p.7). Oath- *Gököshe* is not to be taken very lightly; it is the most threaded and fearful even in the society. Cases are heard at anytime of the year but oath is administered after the harvesting of the crops. The day is fixed and the Chief- *Kajiwa* of the village administered the oath, the accuser repeats after him saying, “I..... (Name) commit no mistake (Thief/adultery, etc) as I take Oath, my family and relative will meet a dreadful death”, - “He.....nyutsa, (*mürüwhutsa tsah/ müsamie tsah*) nyuthuoji he küshie kümüjie ehtsahpa dharuori thi ehjienü ri ave mükhesüna (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, pp.5-6). The cases settled is binding and enforced by means of social sanction, fine, abstaining of each other food- *ashumütsah luo* and even expulsion from the village (The concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practices-codified references of unwritten laws, 2006, p.7).

#### **4.10. Status of Women.**

The Pochury Naga Women status is inferior to that of the men. They are considered as subordinate to a man, who is the guardian of the family granary and kitchen. As a house wife she is expected to manage food grain to last for a year or do. She is also expected to perform multiple roles as mother, house wife, look after the domesticated animals, weave for the family and do farming works. There exist no social taboos for Women attending the public meetings and can express her views. The widow can remarry but she has to forfeit her former husband property. The Pochury Naga being a Patriarchal society the women cannot inherit the ancestral landed properties.

The widow heads the family before her son’s marriage and she divide the properties to her children on their marriage and she cannot be evicted out of her house as long as she does not remarry. Once the widow remarries she is evicted out of the house and forfeits her former husband property. The daughters receive her mother’s belonging like shawls, *mekhala*, ornaments and weaving equipments. The father also gifted her daughters a landed property-

*Asuohzhuh*. The well to do families gifted the properties to the daughters they have acquired. The daughters also gifted shawls, ornaments and gives bath to the death parents and takes a Jhum land in lieu of it (Müluori Khonyo thi wule, n.d, pp.15-19).

#### **4.11. Morung- *Awiekhuh*.**

Traditionally, Morung- *Awiekhuh* is the most important house in a Naga village. It is a men's club house or dormitory (Saul, 2005, p.89). (Pl. 1 and Pl. 2) The Morung-*Awiekhuh* plays an important role in the village. The Morung Boys- *Vizari* coordinates with the Chief- *Kajiwa* and Elders of the Village. They make announcements in the village about thread, death, festivities and genna by running- *gadia* round the village. It was here that the Naga culture, customs and traditions are transmitted from generation to generation through folk music and dance, folk tales and oral tradition, carvings of figures on stone and wood. This teaching-learning process took place at the men's and women's dormitories.

Almost, all the Pochury Naga villages built Morungs- *Awiekhuh*. It is observed that, decaying Morungs- *Awiekhuh* means a decaying village and, well-kept Morung- *Awiekhuh* indicates a vigorous community. This was the case during those head hunting days, where they live in constant fear for head trophies. The Morungs- *Awiekhuh* were constructed at the village entrances or in an ideal spot where the village can be guarded most affectivity.

The Pochuries never depict their house to that of the Morung- *Awiekhuh*. The Morung- *Awiekhuh* is very unique in their design and structure. They are elaborately curved and ornamented; figures of the heads of buffalo, tiger, dog and human heads are often carved or crafted. The Pochury Naga Morung- *Awiekhuh* are never to be repaired, but are built afresh. Morung- *Awiekhuh* is built afresh, whenever the state of the house demands it (Mills, 1982, pp.49-53). Genna is observed for the construction of Morung- *Awiekhuh*. All able bodies of the Khel along with the Morung Boys- *Vizari*, the Morung- *Awiekhuh* are constructed. Division of labour exist; for putting up the carved wooden post and beams only the head takers are allowed to put up/touch it (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication and Tsuosekhu , January 24, 2015, personal communication).

The Pochury Naga Morung- *Awiekhuh* is a sacred place, where no women and girls are allow inside. A boy as young as 6-7 years old goes to the Morung- *Awiekhuh* to sleep, for he feels ashamed to sleep in the same room with his parents. Here he fags for the Morung Boys- *Vizari* and is taught his duties in life (Mills, 1982, p.50). These young boys are not Morung

Boys- *Vizari* but only errand the morung boys- *vizari*. To be a member of the Morung- *Awiekhuh* (morung boys-*vizari*) the khel elders decide, as they reached 12 or more years. The Morung Boys- *Vizari* are the most active member of the village for they take part in all the activities of the village: announcement of festivities, *genna* and guarding of the village. No one gets married until he/she entered the Morung- *Awiekhuh*, -“*müjie küviza nüü avüvüh müsa*”. One remains a member of the Morung- *Awiekhuh* for four years and ceases to be its membership and there after sleeps no more in the Morung- *Awiekhuh*. The father constructs a new house for his son as he ceases to be a member of the Morung- *Awiekhuh* and had to live as a widower unless married (Kuorütho Poji, Kümatho, L. Silatho, Shethotshü and Meshotshü, February 8, 2016, personal communication).

Among the Pochury Naga, the Meluri and Akhegwo group built four Morung- *Awiekhuh* one each for the Khel. The Phor, Yisi and Laruri built only one for the whole village. They are elaborately carved; the front wooden pillar is carved with buffaloes' head at the top, the figure of dog- *ashuh* at the bottom and the figure of a tiger in the middle. The horizontal beams over the doorway are carved with numbers of human heads with *asuonyi* an ornament made of split bamboo worn round the head (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication, Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication, Thurr Azüzu T, April 29, 2016 personal communication and Ngotho, Kiangong, Sapung and Nyikho, January 31, 2016, personal communication).

The Morung- *Awiekhuh* is broader than they are long; 20 feet broad by 15 feet long of an average measurement. The two curved weather-broads are extended over the porch till they cross like the house horn- *tsetse-nyu*. The wood curves motif is a simple pattern, dividing each group of pairs. The huge grass tassels hangers from the eaves of Pochury Naga Morung- *Awiekhuh* (Mills, 1982, p.51). The posts are carved with a buffalo head at the top, a dog at the bottom (Hutton., n.d.), and four rows of the buffalo horn placed at the middle of the post. The herring-bone patterns at each interval are for decorative purpose. The Morung- *Awiekhuh* is a big hall where no partition is made. At the centre is the fire place. Every Morung Boys- *Vizari* brings their own wooden bed, which are fasten together to make a big platform round the fire place and are shared with young boys. Morung Boys- *Vizari* sleeping in the Morung- *Awiekhuh* of the other khel has no restriction. Here no important discussion and decision are made, but it only acted as the agent/messenger or guard of the village. All meetings and decision are taken at the gathering

of the elders- *müzaluo* in the big opening space- *Aluoji* in the village and are decimated by the Morung Boys - *Vizari* in the evening running- *gadia* round the village (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication and Tsuosekhu, January 24, 2015, personal communication).

There is a close co-ordination among the Khel Morungs- *Awiekhuh* of the village for the Morung Boys- *Vizari* disseminates the coming of the festivities, gennas, death and threat by running- *gadia* around their own Khel. The running- *gadia* shows the vigourousity of their physics. If any Morung Boys- *Vizari* misses out the running- *gadia*, their names are call-out at every stoppage of their announcement. Always there is a rush in the running- *gadia*, because as they assembled at the Morung- *Awiekhuh* a ceremonial tail is burned who runs the last in the race.

#### **4.12. Women Dormitories- *Alashiah*.**

The Pochury Naga built a separate Dormitory- *Alashiah* for the girls. The girls enter the Dormitory- *Alashiah* as early as 12 years of age or as decided by the khel elders. A person gets married only after entering the Dormitory- *Alashiah*. They remain Dormitory Girls- *Rülari* for four years, after which if not married, they goes back home and stay with their parents unlike the male counterpart. The young girls also go to Dormitory- *Alashiah* as young as 6-7 years but are not called Dormitory Girls- *Rülari*. These young girls are not member of the Dormitory- *Alashiah* but sleeps in the Dormitory- *Alashiah*. Their heads are shaved until they are member of the Dormitory- *Alashiah* (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication).

The Dormitory- *Alashiah* is built on a raised platform under the roof (Mills, 1982, p.52) of rich men's houses (a person who had given the fourth feast of merit- *Ajuküju*) on rotation every year, as the khel elders decide inside whose house to build. The girls entered the Dormitory- *Alashiah* in peer groups of one to two years gap. It is here that they come to know each other and address-*akülü küsa* are finalized and addressed each other for life (Kuorütho Poji, Kümatho, L. Silatho, Shethotshü and Meshotshü, February 8, 2016, personal communication).

The elders and Dormitory/Morung (girls and boys) *Rülari- Vizari* talk to the death of the night at the fireplace of the owner of the Dormitory- *Alashiah*. But the elders and *vizari* never dares to go up the girls sleeping platform- *aze*. The elder tells stories of the yore days and folktales. They also compete in traditional games and sing in praise of each other and songs are composed. The girls' spins their yarns at night chatting in the house of the newly married

couple's- *Müsouri* but not in the Dormitory- *Alashiah* (Lomatshü, February 6, 2016, personal communication and Rüşotshii, 20<sup>th</sup> February 2016, personal communication).

The Morung- *Awiekhuh* and Dormitory- *Alashiah*, is a place where the boys and girls mingle and learn many things in life and prepared their life for the future. The Youth- *Sheföri*, Morung Boys- *Vizari* and Dormitory Girls- *Rüleri* construct the Dormitory- *Alashiah*. The Dormitory Girls-*Rüleri* brings their own wooden bed-*aze* for building their sleeping platform. They take back home the wooden bed once they cease to be a member of the Dormitory- *Alashiah*, which is taken down in the month of November. After the construction of the Dormitory- *Alashiah*, girls- *rüleri* and the house owner provides feast to those who helped in the construction (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication and Tsuosekhu, January 24, 2015, personal communication).

#### **4.13. Family.**

A typical Pochury Naga family generally consists of the father, mother and their unmarried children. The Pochury Nagas are a patriarchal society where the father is the head of the family and the final decisions are made by him. Among the sons, the eldest enjoys special status in the family and he is respected by all. He gets the best cultivable land and terrace field. After the death of the father, the eldest son heads the family with the guidance of the mother and disputes are settled in his name (Kuorütho Poji, Kümatho, L. Silatho, Shethotshü and Meshotshü, February 8, 2016, personal communication). The father divides the properties among his sons as they get married. Naturally the married son sets up a new home, where he also becomes the head of the family (Lohe, 2011, p.77). Generally they preferred nuclear family, but joint family system is also favoured and practiced (Concise of Pochury Pochury customary laws and traditional practices-codified references of unwritten laws. 2006, pp7-8). In Laruri, every household had at least two living families in occupation, owing to the custom where the eldest son fall heir to his father's house on his marriage (Pochury, n.d).

The father is the head of the family and the mother is the subordinate (Lohe. 2011, p.78). There is a division of labour based on sex and age to reciprocal rights and obligation, particularly economic activity (Pochury, n.d). The wife and the daughter enjoy lesser rights, but are not treated inferiorly. In the absence of the husband, the wife heads the family. The daughters help and assist her mother in household chores and she weaves cloths for the family (Concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practice-codified references of unwritten laws. 2006,

p.8). The daughters are respected and honoured in the family, but are denied inheritance of property. The father can gift even ancestral property to the daughters as a common gift- *asuoh zhuh* which they cultivate as long as they live. It is reversed back to her brother/relative after her death, only by payment in cash or kind – “*atsa nyiemüzari küümüze vü nüeh asuoh zhuh küssü tsüra mühie veh. Thitü matsa nyiemüzari sükhemü dhuoji, juma azhuh mapa kütsoküzhi/arhu ri vü shele teru na*”. A well to do, parent gifted their daughters the property they have acquired, “*mapa thi maza mpa nüeh zhezhuh/künyü rhie nüeh küsüwa dhuoji atsa nyiemzari vü, müto vü nüeh tsüra nadhuo*” (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, pp.5-6).

Polygamy is accepted in the society. The first wife is considered the eldest irrespective of the age. They can live under the same roof provided they could live in harmony. But in most cases a new house is built for the second wife and the husband stays wherever he likes. The sons of the first wife get the first share- *kükruozu* of the landed property. The sons born of the illegal relationship also gets the fathers landed property.

#### **4.14. Birth and naming of the child.**

The birth of a child is welcome. It's a great honour for the family. No rituals are performed before and after birth, but if the labouring mother finds it difficult in delivery a ritual is performed for early delivery. A bean- *akiirha/Naga dal* is sprinkled on her head and a cock head is chopped and let it fleeter between the legs saying, “be it a boy or a girl, we are eagerly waiting for your arrival, come out fast” (Concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practice-codified references of unwritten laws. 2006, p.9). The delivery is attended by some experienced women, usually her mother or mother-in-laws, as mid wife. The cord is cut with a bamboo knife. The cord and uterus are buried by the mother or mid wife anywhere near the corner of the house (Mills, 1982, p.200).

The Meluri group named the child after a few days, with no ceremonies “*Rülo pieke sevü atsa nyo dhotüve, tsotho rülo kü-teke münyie, thi kühnakhe nazi münyie* (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.17). Among the Akhegwo, Phor and Laruri group, the child is named on the 6<sup>th</sup> day after birth (Concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practice-codified references of unwritten laws. 2006, p.9).

The hair of the child cannot be trimmed until the ears are pierced (Mills, 1982, p.203). The Pochury Nagas pierced the child's ears irrespective of the sexes for they are found of wearing ear ring- *asuna* and red dyed hair- *anaha*. A special ceremony is performed for piercing

of a child ears in the month of November- *Kate*, January- *Wiethuo* or March- *Buotsa/Basü*, by an elderly person. On this day the infant hair is shear off and the parents invite friends and relatives to grand feast (Elwin, 1969, p.522), honour of it-‘*Atsa nyiemüzari thi nyiempari nga Basü, wietho thi Kate vühüh anyu kükhrouri jitaji mütsikhüna küweshie satsave*’. The ears can be pierced by an old lady but she cannot trim or shave the child’s hair-‘*Akhüna küwe dhuoji krevü kükhrouri nga nüw werana thitü amütsi dhuoji müshira*’ (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.7). A boy is allowed to suckle for three years and a girl for two years. From a very tender age of six month or so, rice is chewed by the mother and is fed. When a child pulls out a loose milk-tooth they bury it at the foot of a house-post (Mills, 1982, pp.204-205), saying, “let the growth of the teeth be first, as the months comes by,”-“*Aha nüw apo, asa nüw ase, shishia küshonyi was saluo* (Kuorütho Poji, Kümatho, L. Silatho, Shethotshü, Chitehshü and Meshotshü, February 8, 2016, personal communication).

#### **4.15. Marriage.**

Among the Pochury Naga, marriage partners are determined by exogamous relationships between clans (Pochury. n.d), they practiced monogamy (Concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practice-codified references of unwritten laws. 2006, p.12). Strict endogamy is enforced and it is a social taboo to marry from one’s own clan-“*kuo küpapari küchie nüw kuo küssü lovü müzza luo*” (Müluori khonyo thi weleh. n.d, p.23). Marriage from the same clan are expelled from the village for life; such illegal relations are said to be noticeable when the rats, pets and insects are plentiful and causing destruction to the crops (Concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practice-codified references of unwritten laws. 2006, p.13). This illegal marriage is believed to cause famine and draught. They also believe that the child will be born handicapped, so their houses are destroyed not to cause any misfortune upon the village.

A boy or a girl is said to be marriageable as they entered the Morung life. The marriage takes place once they enter or have completed their Morung/Dormitory life of four years-“*Rüla-Viza wuhle kücheju dhuoji münyutera nadhuo*” (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.23). Marriages also take place in the first year of their Morung/Dormitory life. Marriage proposals are always initiated from the boy’s family and proposals take place in the month of September- *Khuthe* and Autum season - *Maraku zhale*.

Among the Akhegwo, Phor and Laruri the custom of bride-price- *alame* is paid in the form of Dao, hoe, spear and even mithun or buffalo and the rich adds cattle’s (Pochury, n.d). The Phor

group follows two types of child marriages. In the first case when a child is born, with mutual understanding, the parents are engaged- *shiete* by exchanging a piece of cloth- *anyuowi*. This act of binding/ engage- *shiete*, if not married in the future, it is consider as divorce and are tried as divorce cases. In the second case the child is engaged as they grow older. Here the bridegroom parents gifted the bride a necklace- *löpho sisi*.

Before the marriage ceremonies the bride price are paid and the bride family host a wine drinking feast- *thritötöyi* which is called Mithun drinking water- *asi aju közhu* for the bridegroom clan. On the day of marriage the eldest of the bride clan lead the group and the bride carrying one gourd of wine and food in the basket to the bridegroom house. The wine and food are served to the bridegroom. The next day early in the morning the bride and the bridegroom go and carry the salt water from the salt brine and during the day they carry pine wood which is an act of blessing for a new beginning of their life together (Nyusou, 2012, pp.44-46).

In most cases of marriage an old woman of the clan acts as a Go-between-*Tsüna* (Mills, 1982, p.214) but of latter years, any elderly person who have a sweet tongue mediate for the marriage-“*Apo kümüluori nüeh, vüvüh- vüpa küna veh*” (Lomatshü, February 6, 2016, personal communication). Once the marriage proposals are settled, they exchange wine as a sign of acceptance and address each other as in-laws- *Azhü kadamü dhuoji, akhah tsetsü luo naveh, thi akülü nga satewa nadhu*. The marriage ceremonies take place on fifth day of *Nazu festival (Rühla müloa)*, for those who are still members of the Morung- *Awiekhuh*, however a person who is no longer a member of the Morung- *Awiekhuh* gets married before the announcement of the *Nazu* festival (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, pp.23-24).

Marriage ceremonies are simple. It is customary for the boy’s father to build a new house for his son (Pochury. n.d). The bride goes to the house in the evening accompanied by the go-between- *Tsüna* and her friends. The bride carried nothing but one of her friend carries five pieces of wood (Mills, 1982, p.214), spade, axe, dao and her belongings. At night the food is prepared by the bridegroom’s family. The food is also taken to the Morung- *Awiekhuh* by go-between-*müshuawa/tsüna* for the morung boys-vizari. Rice, meat and wine are given to the go-between- *müshuawa/tsüna* in a big bamboo vessel- *abhara* (Müluori nyüshu nyusho lashipa.2003, p.24). On the first night the bridegroom goes and sleeps in the Morung- *Awiekhuh* and the bride and her friend’s sleeps in the new house for the night (Lomatshü, February 6, 2016, personal communication and Chinäsü, December, 21, 2015, personal communication). The bride

family gives a stack of fire-wood- *zhiesüveh* to tide-over, during her nursing period (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lashipa, 2006, p.14).

Monogamy is the most common form of marriage, although a rich man can have more than one wife under the same roof. The first wife is considered as the eldest irrespective of age and is the house keeper, the second and third are her subordinate (T. Azüzu Thurr, April 29, 2016, personal communication). Among the Meluri group a separate house is built for the second wife and he stays wherever he likes (Tsuosekhu, January 24, 2015, personal communication and Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication).

No marriage price is paid among Meluri (Mills, 1982, p.213) and Lephori (Mepinthü, 2016, p.25). The bride family takes one Jhum field- *Amüta* only after her death (Müluori nyushu nyusho Lashipha. 2003, p.23).

#### **4.16. Divorce- *Kükörüsou*.**

Divorce- *Kükörüsou* occurs and is accepted by all human society. Divorces are common and are allowed even for misconduct or incompatibility of temperament (Mills, 1982, p.215). It usually leads to the wife being expelled from the house. In all types of divorce, it is the wife who suffers the most (Pochury. n.d). To the Pochury Naga, marriages are planned and arranged by the parents, but it is not easily broken (Mepingthü, 2016, p.26). Divorce mostly occurs because of adultery, polygamy, robbery and incompatibility for reasons such as woman not knowing how to weave and slow in house-hold work.

Adultery is a serious crime and it often leads the husband and wife to divorce if one of them commits such crime. If husband commits adultery and the wife is turned out of the house, all joint property (property acquired after marriage) is equally divided (Mills, 1982, p.215). However, the ancestral landed property will be retained by the husband. But if the wife commits adultery and have an issue (child), she leaves the house empty handed, the joint properties are kept for her children. The man with whom the adultery is committed a fine of one buffalo is imposed (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d pp.7-8). The children can stay with either of them. If the mother remarries, the child can still stay with the mother but remain the child of the former father. In cases, the wife is driven out of the house- *sazu müthuoji* by a woman, she is held guilty of the crime and her family is taken into account. The woman family acknowledges the crime and one wood-land- *atsoza* and one Jhum field each for twelve jhum circles is taken by the first

wife's family (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication and Tsuosekhu, January 24, 2015, personal communication).

A man can marry two or more wives provided he can support them. They can live together or a separate house is built for the second wife. In case the husband divorces his wife for reason such as robbery and theft, she has to go empty handed and a fine is paid by her father, if not divorced the husband is also held accountable and the fine is paid by both of them (Müluori khongo thi wuleh. n.d, p.9).

#### **4.17. Death- Sü.**

The deaths are believed to live in the land of the death. So they bury all the belongings that the living uses. They perform rites, ritual and ceremonies after death. The deceased family observed genna until the animals are slaughter and during this period they cook and eat only dry fish and ginger. The spirit of the death is believed to live with them until the death ceremonies are over. It is after the sacrificial rituals the spirits goes to the land of the death.

On the death of warrior and rich man (giver of the fourth feast of merit- *Ahju* and above) a cock is slain and placed on the side of the head before the funeral ceremonies. The warriors are buried in their warrior dress. The whole village observed one day mourning the following day (The concise of Pochury customary laws and traditional practices-codified references of unwritten laws, 2006, p.10). On this day animals such as pigs, buffaloes and cows are slain according to the wealth of the deceased and the meats are distributed to the villagers (Müluori Khonyo thi wule. n.d, p.18). The meats are to be consumed in a day and rarely for two days. The left over meats are thrown away, for it is genna to eat the next day.

The Meluri and Kanjan group bury their death. They perform no ceremonies for the burial of the death. The deaths are buried as soon as possible. Soon after death they start necessary arrangement for the burial. Only the clan members and relatives bury the death. There is no common burial site; they buried in the family garden outside the village, in the street i.e. in front of the house and the young children under the bed or any corner within the house (Mills, 1982, p.219). The eldest member of the clan makes a ceremonial digging of the grave- *ariuku* and is given one Jhum land (Kuorütho Poji, Kümatho, L. Silatho, Shethotshü, Chitehshü and Meshotshü, February 8, 2016, personal communication). The grave- *ariuku* is cut in a slanting direction, so that it is undisturbed immediately above the corpse (Mills, 1982, pp219-220). The graves are hardly four to five feet deep. The corps is laid on the bamboo mat and half split

bamboo or wooden plank- *awia* is placed as protection and filled with earth. The grave is fenced immediately.

The Phoyisha, Phokhungri and Apoksah group bury the dead inside or near the house , which was later dug out and the bones collected in the pot and disposed off, determined by the timing of the sowing of the crops under a big tree or cave outside the village.

Traditionally the desiccation of the death corpse is followed by the Laruri (Mepingthü, 2016, pp.26-27), Sütsü and the people of Phokhungri a colony of Laruri who might have followed the custom, who now bury the death (Pochury. n.d). The corpse was smoked for about two months until they are completely dry. They placed the death corpse in a dug-out timber coffin on trestle in the front room of the house, with a mat covering it, and a slow fire lit underneath (Saul, 2005, p.121). A small drainage hole is made in the coffin to allow body fluids to escape (Pochury, n.d). The corpse is surrounded by a lattice fence and is smoked. After smoking had finished the corpse is left in the house or slung outside under the eaves, at the part nearest the hearth, it remained until the festival for the next sowing of the crops was held (Saul, 2005, pp.121-122). During this period, periodic offerings are made to the spirit of the deceased on the foot path leading to the field at the out skirts of the village. A mat is spread and portions of every type of grain, fruits, vegetables, food and drinks, miniature crossbows and shields, wooden daos and spears are offered for the death (Pochury n.d).

The corpses are taken down during the festival of sowing of crops, (Saul, 2005, p.122) including even those just passed away, by skinning of the flesh and taken to the jungle outside the village (Asietsü and Adanglow Jangri, January 8, 2015, personal communication). The bones are carefully removed and counted by a specific number of persons of both sexes, to ensure all were included. For a woman, five people count the bones, while for a man, the number was six (Saul, 2005, p.122). The bones are collected in an earthen pot, which is then taken to the family granary and left there until the granary crumbles to dust (Pochury, n.d). The remains of the flesh and organs were placed in the coffin (Saul, 2005, p.122) and disposed in the jungle at the edge of the village or placed under the stone cave (Mepingthü, 20016, p.27).

The close relative woman trims the hair and bathes the corpse. A bead-*Akeküchü* is tied to the left wrist, so that water may be bought/barter on the way to the land of death. Two gourds of rice-beer are placed at the head of the corpse (Mills, 1982, pp.219-220). They placed everything in the grave-dao, axe, spear, spade, walking stick, etc that the living uses for they believed life

after death is a repetition of life and they come to meet the living but something struck them and they turn into Hawk/Kite. The death lives in the west- *Nyusouri* the unknown place (Chinasü, December 21, 2015, personal communication). In the death of a warrior, a dog is killed the next day; for it will go ahead and frighten away from his path the spirit of men and animals he had killed (Mills, 1982, p.220).

#### **4.18. Offering for the Death- *Asüthe*.**

An Offering for the death- *asüthe* is constructed in honour of the death the next day. (Pl. 7 and 8) The Offering for the death- *asüthe* is constructed outside the Village gate, at ones' own khel designated places- *Ashiakhu* (Chinasü, December 21, 2015, personal communication). They believe that the spirit of the dead watches and blesses the crops. A tiny house on a very high pile is built and all edible grains are pile inside for their use in the next life. Bamboo pole with branches is stack to the ground and they hang little of everything the living uses like yam, gourd of rice-beer, maize, etc. The *Asüthe* is maintained for a year and little of every new harvest crops are hung and there after no more offerings are kept. The deceased who have thrown the fourth feast of merit (*Ahju Kÿju*) a circular platform of stone about one and half feet is build (Mills, 1982, p.220). The head of the buffaloes and cows are poke at *Asüthe*, killed in honour of the death (Müluori khonyo thi wule. n.d, p.18). Also the head of the animals sacrifice in honour of the death are poke at the *Asüthe*, a sign of his wealth at the time of his death.

#### **4.19. Reed- *Ashüre* for the death man.**

The Reed- *Ashüre* is stuck on the ground in the *Asüthe*. Each reed- *ashüre* represents the women with whom he had love affairs. The reed- *ashüre* represented each woman and the branching reeds a mother and daughter (Mills, 1982, p.221). A man tells the right of his reeds to his close friend, wife or children's but never disclosed the woman's identity. The reeds erected with cotton on top represent the Angami-Chakhesang- *Arari* the red thread the Pochuries and the plain reeds his fellow villagers (Chinasü, December 21, 2015, personal communication). A woman has only one reed for her own husband. (Pl. 9) These reeds do not signify a silly boosting of immorality, for no race of people display flattering on graves. They indicate how thoroughly a man has fulfilled his purpose in life (Mills, 1982, p.221). It is an indication of his manliness and gallantry in violating the modesty of women. The Reed- *Ashüre* stuck in the *Asüthe* would run into as many as 30 or 40 and even more (Pochury women Organization, Kohima, 2017, p.40).

A basket- *akhodia* and a flipper- *Awunö* is hung at the *Asöthe*, who had kill's a tiger (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.18). Fire is kept alight over the grave for they belief that the spirit feel cold and can be lighted as long as they feel alright. They also construct a cylinder shape by a split bamboo, where baskets of rice and millet are emptied inside for the death spirit (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication).

## CHAPTER 5

### BELIEF AND PRACTICES

The Naga religion is the worship of a plurality of god. They believe in the existent of good and evil spirits, to whom sacrifices are made and his conducts are guided by the Genna- *Tsüna* (Elwin, 1969, p.102) means “forbidden” or “prohibition” or “Taboo”. Genna- *Tsüna* is a strict rule for breach of social law and for religious purposes.

The Pochury Naga Religion- *Anale* is Animist or Primal in nature. There is no written dogma about the idea of God and faith (Lohe. 2011, p.115). Their religion- *anle* does not have any place of worship, scripture, no uniformity of rite and ritual but a kind of continuity among man, nature and supernatural forces (Mepingthü, 2016, pp.28). They simply believe in the existence of God known as ‘Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa’ who is the creator of the universe, all powerful and omnipresent. They believe in the existence of good and evil spirit. The good spirits are believed to help human and the evil spirit causes destruction and death.

#### 5.1. God or the Supreme Being- *Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa*.

The belief and practices of the Pochury Naga’s are almost similar to that of the other Naga tribe. They belief in the existence of ‘God’ the ‘Supreme Being’ or ‘Creator’, who is called ‘Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa’ (Mepingthü, 2016, pp.30-31), who lives in the nine skies and his image cannot be explain. Their religion is without a priest, the ceremonies are performed by the head of the family, as qualification is age and member of a clan where no formula is followed to offer prayers. The only uniformity is the time and date of performance of the rites, ritual and ceremonies set aside specifically for the purpose. Spirits are believed to be present everywhere. They believe that everything that happens are by the ‘Supreme Being’- ‘Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa’, whether good or bad (Mills, 1982, pp.164-65). They simply addressed the ‘God’ or ‘Supreme Being’ as ‘Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa’, who is the creator of heaven and earth. They offer prayer by offering a small portion of the food and wine- *akha* before every meal saying, you be the first to taste and may your blessing be upon it.

The swearing or oaths are administered taking the blessing and guidance of ‘God’ or ‘Supreme Being’- ‘Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa’. If a person does wrong and swear, ‘God’ or ‘Supreme

Being‘ - ‘*Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa*’ curse will be upon him and his family for generations. Therefore swearing or oaths are feared to be taken if not certain (Lohe. 2010, p.70) for fear of the wrath of ‘God’ - ‘*Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa*’ which is sure to cause bodily injuries or death.

They believe in the existence of ‘Evil Spirits’ - ‘*Nyieza Kümösöwa*’ who is the destructor of all things (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication) so they offered gifts to the spirit to divest them so that no harm is cause to human. The spirit is believed to exist in rocks, mountains, deep gorge, thick forest, valley, lake, rivers and streams (Venuh. 2014, p.392).

They believe that everything has a soul or spirit. In order to please the spirit rituals are performed. Having no priest of the village, every individual perform the rituals to their own convenient time and places (home and fields) which is handed down from generation to generation. The rituals involved to please the spirit are in places like Jhum field- *mörö deküja*, household ritual- *nyieza khuo köthuo* and granary ritual- *röngu küzhea*.

### **5.2. Household ritual- *Nyieza khuo köthuo*.**

They offer rituals, for the spirit of the house on festivities. The offering is made early in the morning before they does any other house chores. An offering is made at the front door, middle door, back door and earthen pots for bountiful blessing. (Pl. 17 and 18) A plantain leave- *arunga* wrapped with small pieces of meat and rice is offered.

### **5.3. Spirit of the death- *Kössöri rözhe*.**

The human spirit/soul are said to go the land of the death before their actual death and the spirit of the death relatives and friends comes to accompany the soul to the land of the death. The spirit of the death- *Kössöri rözhe* is belief to stay in the house with them until the sacrificial rituals are over. They believe in the life after death, who live and works as human in the next life that is why, they sacrifices animal and offer gifts at the *asöthe*.

### **5.4. The forest spirit.**

The forests are believed to be the abode of the spirit. Sometimes they are said to take human to the jungle to play and bring back home. They believe such a person if lucky becomes very rich or influential in the society and the unlucky ones becomes very poor or even causes temporary or permanent madness. They also believe in the existence of good and evil spirits. The good spirits are said to cause no harm but they acted as the guardian of human. The sudden sickness and

death are belief to cause because of the holding back of the human soul by the evil spirits. In such cases they go and call the soul to come back and while doing so they are not to talk or look back till they reach home (Husca, 2017, pp.38-39).

### **5.5. The Red Cock- *ami/achuarea*.**

The Red Cock- *ami/Achuarea* or a big Snake appear as a gleaming and then disappear (Mills, 1982, p.167) which symbolized evil, if seen or meeting causes sudden death or sickness. They are believed to live in the deep forest and valleys.

### **5.6. The catcher- *ashöpuo*.**

They believe in the existence of the catcher- *ashöpuo* (Mills, 1982, p.169) which is owned by a particular family line of *Nyuwiri* clan, the immigrant of *Nyuza* settlers who abandon the village and merge with the villages like Meluri, Lephori and Jessami (Kuorütho Poji, Kümatho, L. Silatho, Shethotshü and Meshotshü, February 8, 2016, personal communication). The catcher- *ashöpuo* catches anyone who tries to steal anything from his owner it is protecting (Mills, 1982, p.169). Once the owner was on to the field, forgot a spade- *amökhu*, sent the maid to fetch it at home. On reaching home the strong aroma of the smash oil seed cake- *müchowu* dried over the fire place, the maid stretches his hand to taste it. To his surprise the catcher- *ashöpuo* got hold of him, who was to be freed only after the owner says so (Kümatho, January 8, 2018, Personal communication).

### **5.7. *Amöze*.**

*Amöze* is an unpleasant night mare, where one feels one cannot move or suffocating (Mills, 1982, p.166). They believe that it is cause by the spirit seating over him, where he cannot move but moan and feels that he is in his sense and could feel like a hairy animal which suddenly disappears (Kuorütho Poji, Kümatho and L. Silatho, January 8, 2018, personal communication).

As stated earlier ‘God’ the ‘Supreme Being’ or ‘Creator’, who is called ‘*Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa*’ and the ‘Evil Spirits’- ‘*Nyieza Kümösöwa*’ are the two hierarchical structure of God. They are belief to live in the sky. They are not worship but offerings are made to appease them for their bountiful blessings and grace upon human race. The other lesser spirits are secondary spirits that causes sickness, death and destructions. The Pochury Naga offers the rites, rituals and ceremonies where the spirits are believed to exist

### 5.8. Social Restriction- *Tsüna*.

Their daily life is controlled by the rites, rituals and ceremonies. Thus specific activities are set aside for specific purposes. They do things almost at a uniform manner in each season; doing differently is considered as *Genna- Tsüna*. *Genna- Tsüna* might be a word derived from the Angami word “*Kenna*”, means “forbidden” or “prohibition” or “Taboo”. *Genna- Tsüna* is a strict rule for breach of social law, theft and for religious purposes. (Hutton, 2003, p.190) Any breaches of the rules have to undergo a self-purification depending on the social norms. It is *Genna- Tsüna* to accept a stranger or travelers in certain festivities and make a wrong counting of enemies head; otherwise misfortune may befall upon the family members’ or even death. It is *Genna- Tsüna* to make mistake in the rite and rituals otherwise may causes sickness, accident and may go blind.

They know nothing about the natural phenomena like hailstones, drought, famine and storm that they simply offered *genna- tsüna* for a day or two. There are two types of *genna- tsüna* an individual and village *genna- tsüna*, in both the cases the work and contact with the outside world is strictly prohibited (Mills, 1982, p.165). An individual *genna- tsüna* is observed for personal purification of sickness and travelling during *Nazhu* festival and village *genna- tsüna* are for pandemics- *asana küduvö*, natural calamities, and community fishing and mistakenly pounding paddy- *asuokhe römia mia möthuoji* on the day of the construction of the *Morung- Awiekhu*. The whole village stops for the day work, for accident is bound to happen. On the seventh day of the *Nazhu* festival no stranger and travelers is allowed to enter the village (Mills, 1982, p.176) and if any they are to go out of the village gate, for it’s a purification day for the village.

On the day of the observation of *genna- tsüna* at night only dry fish and ginger are cooked and eaten. The *Genna- Tsüna* is also a social norm for corrective measures of the people to lead an honest, truthful and purity of life.

### 5.9. Life after death.

They belief in life after death and the death soul are believed to live in an unknown ancestral place of the tribe. The life after death is an exact repetition of this life and marries the same women and the same children are born. The rich are rich and the poor are poor in the next life (Mills, 1982, pp.170-171). They also believed to marry the first wife in case of second marriage. The death fetus- *atsa közuori* are belief to be so beautiful and handsome who never get married.

They believe in the second death and it was only in the third and fourth death they turn to flies, lizards and insects (Chinasü, December 21, 2014, personal communication).

#### **5.10. The Healer/medicine-man- *Dömari*.**

The traditional Nagas believe that the cause of all illness was because of the possession of the soul by the evil spirit. In case of illness the Healer- *Dömari* is called in to appease the evil spirit who offer sacrifices and rituals for the sick (L. Atola Chankiri. 2015, pp.12-13). They abstain from eating meat killed by the tiger, lion or dead carcasses- *amiase mötsa* for they may lose their supernatural power (Mills, 1982, p.172). The sick offers rice, dry fishes, money and even jhum land is offered to the healer- *dömari* (Chinasü, December 21, 2014, personal communication). The *thomatsho* and its fruits are used in all rituals and ceremonies by the healer- *dömari* (Lotsa, April 30, 2016, personal communication).

The healer - *dömari* are many in the village; they are also keen observers of the movement of the sun, moon, and weather condition and believe to even predict the future or fortune tellers. Here the observers of ecclesiastical bodies- *sarönyi köchiari* are not all healers or *dömari*. The competition among the observers of ecclesiastical bodies- *sarönyi köchiari* is so furious that they landed up in a heated argument in the public meeting- *mözaluo* wanting them to follow his calendar year. They try to influence the Chief- *Kajiwa* and Elders of the village by predicting the weather condition, which Jhum circle, will be suitable for cultivation, right time for sowing, harvesting, and observation of genna. But the chief and elders are not bound by their advice. No one is appointed as the official observer of the ecclesiastical bodies- *sarönyi köchiawa* of the village.

The healer- *dömari* are said to be hereditary in the gene. They appear in the same family line in a consecutive generation or after a gap of two to three generation (Tsuosekhu, January, 24, 2015, personal communication). The healer- *dömari* has epileptic tendencies (Mills, 1982, p.171) as they reach 12-15 years of age. The epileptic period is when they are believed to be in a state of transition. During this period, they believe that the unknown spirit teaches and takes his/her soul to an unknown place, and becomes the spirit soul mate (Lomatshö, February 6, 2016, personal communication). After the epileptic stage a senior (already a healer- *dömari*) guides - *Sheketsü nah* in the art of healing for a period of one year. In this transitional period the gifts and presents given by the people for the services are collected and given to the guide- *Sheke Kötsöwa*. They believe that the cause of illness was the possession of human spirit by the evil

spirits- *nyieza kömüsöwa* who takes away the soul of the human causing sickness and death. The human spirits are recall back by the healer healer/medicine man- *dūmari* with the help of their spirit mate fighting the evil spirit- *Nyieza Kömüsöwa* who causes sickness. The death cases are said to be hidden or too late in the rescuing of the human spirit (Wamatho, December 19, 2014 personal communication).

#### **5.11. Tiger-men- *Amiajeri* (Lyconthropy).**

The Pochury Nagas believe that certain men and women are mysteriously connected with tiger, leopards (Mills, 1982, p.228) or snakes (Mepingthü, 2016, p.33). They believe that a person connected with tiger, leopards and snakes have no life after deaths for the soul is transformed to such animals and turn to flies, lizards and insects. The movement of the animal from place to places and injuries is said to be felt by the human and even injury marks are said to be visible in the human bodies exactly the same spot as that of the animals (Mills, 1982, p.228) and even cause's death to human (Mepingthü, 2016, p.34). Among the Pochury Nagas, the transformation might have taken place many years ago since no one could tell how the sprit turn into animals and snakes nor could remember the names of such persons. The Meluri group knows nothing about the witchcraft, but believes in the existence of love charms which are said to exist in the deep jungle high up in the big trees or in the cliff of the rocks (Mills, 1982, pp.235-238).

#### **5.12. Dream- *Amo*.**

The Pochury Naga merely says that some individual are habitually granted truer dreams than most people. They don't believe in dreams during the merging period from winter into summer and summer into winter (Mills, 1982, p.239). The dreams of the first sleep are considered real dreams and they take it very seriously, but the dreams after the first wake-up are said to be unreal dreams (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). Dreams are interpreted by symbolism. Drinking rice beer in a dream means that rain is sure to fall (Mills, 1982, p.239) and dreaming fishes means a hot day (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). They believe that dreaming of a pig is sure to waste his time in laziness the whole day and the fall of a person tooth is sure to get injuries (Mills, 1982, p.241). The collection of sand or mud signifies a good harvest and dreaming of stampede or falling down is a sign of bad days ahead (Lotsa, April 30, 2016, personal communication).

To dream of sexual intercourse is said to bring shame to oneself, dreaming of human shit, climbing up the tree or cliff brings good luck or achievement in life. Dreams are said to determine the luck of the dreamer the next day, so the connotation of good and bad names are said to bring good and bad luck. They believe in a special leaf called the dreamer leaf- *amo kömowa* the leaf are plucked and placed underneath the pillow for the night expecting good dream or one's life partner to appear in the dream (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication).

### 5.13. Natural phenomena.

The Pochury Nagas believe that the Sun- *Arönyi* and the Moon- *Asah* rise and sink below the earth. When the sun sets they are said to light the land of the dead. The Sun- *Arönyi* and the Moon- *Asah* once had a fight and the sun smeared ashes on the moon face (Mills, 1982, pp.243-244) and that is why the moon does not give out heat. Even though the moon does not give out heat, the moon light is said to brighten evenly everywhere, but the sun could not penetrate its light everywhere- *arönyi nöh ashia thi achichi sa, thitö asah nöh ashia-chichi mösa*. The stars are countless, once a man decided to count the stars and came out with a big bowl of climbing tentile seeds- *akögha* and started counting the stars with every piece he eats. Before he could finish counting the stars, the tiger came and devours the man before he could finish counting the stars.

The milk-way is called the Spirit Morung- *Nyieza wiekhu*, which could be seen on a clear night across the sky. There are believed to have seven Pleiades, but the ordinary man can see only six. Anyone who could see the seventh will live ever happily with his wife. The belt is called enemies- *arrhi*, the top star of the dagger is the first attacker- *apökösawa* and others as followers- *ase köniwa*. Venus the morning and evening star is believed to have influence the crops (Mills, 1982, pp.244-245). They interchangeably called Venus as *Kurchu* if appear in the west and called *Lokhrochu* if it appears in the east (Siarötho and Vithosie, January 5, 2020, personal communication). The patches of clouds in the sky are said to be *tsop-lepe saveh* an indication of clearer days ahead.

The solar and lunar eclipse are said to be divorcing by the tiger (T. Azözu Thurr, April 29, 2016, personal communication). They believe that eclipse on a clear sky signify late monsoon season and eclipse on a cloudy day signify early monsoon/rainfall (Lotsa, April 30, 2016, personal communication). The rainbows are believed to rise from places where evil spirit

lived and no one point finger for a child would be born with extra fingers (Mills, 1982, p.245), the curse of pointed finger at the rainbow could be averted by licking the ten fingers immediately (Chinasü, December 21, 2014, personal communication). They also believe that the rain and thunders are caused by the spirit in the sky pouring water from the wooden vats (Mills, 1982, p.245) and the spirit rolling a big wooden logs and the lighting- *atsorie* the falling of the spirit axe- *anyieza mhüvö küzhove*.

#### **5.14. Earthquake.**

They believe that the earth layers are hook together like a chains and when one link becomes weak and slip off the hook that causes earthquake (Siarütho and Vithosie, January 5, 2020, personal communication). The earthquake that splash out the water or wine from the pot or gush out new springs are said to be good sign and the earthquake that spilled out no water and dry up the springs are considered a bad omen like famine and drought (Mills, 1982, p.247). They also believe that earthquake causes the eggs infertile and pregnant mothers will give birth to an insane child.

#### **5.15. Luck-Stone- *Alozu*.**

The luck-stone- *alozu* are said to be roundish and smooth. It makes its nest under a big stone or at its own convenient place. The luck-stone- *alozu* is believed to be very powerful, for eve the wild fire could not burn its nest as a little patch is left unhurt around it (Mills, 1982, p.235). If found they are kept near the pot- *athafv* (Pot containing rice). They are said to make a piping sound from time to time. They might have possessed it; long time ago for no one could tell who possess it and how it is rear at home. But they simply believe the stone brings prosperity to the owner.

#### **5.16. Stone monuments.**

The Pochury Nagas put up no stone monuments for their achievements but a long beam- *ajöne* and ‘Y’ post are put up in their house after the 5<sup>th</sup> feast of merit onwards (Siariitho, December 21, 2015, personal communication). A small circular stone platform is erected in connecting with the funeral ceremonies where the paddy and heads of the animals’ sacrifices’ are poke up here. One legend tells that, *Morosie* a rich-man of the village who had completed all the stages of the feast of merits, decided to erect a monolith (Mills, 1982, p.199), it was soon after the erection, is

believed to have killed by a tiger for erecting the stone up-side down, which is still visible at the southern gate of the village. A pile of stones at the western gate of the Meluri village is said to have collected by a person for every affair or marriage he had with a women (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication).

### **5.17. Festivals.**

The Nagas believe everything that happens has a meaning and it is an element of spiritual importance. Their daily life was centered on the agricultural season, so do the festivals, rites, rituals and ceremonies are in tune with it to apprise the spirit for good crops, good health and general prosperity (Saul, 2005, p.173). The *Nazu* and *Yemshe* are the two most important festivals celebrated by the Pochury's. The festivals are celebrated with great joy and gaiety. It is the time that they enjoy leisurely of their monotonous work, with good food, meat, drinks, singing and dancing.

#### **5.17.1. *Nazu*.**

*Nazu* is one of the most important festivals of the Pochury Naga tribe. It is celebrated in the month of February-March- *Zheprie-Buotsa* for ten days (Kuorötho Poji, 5<sup>th</sup> January, 2018, personal communication). It is equivalent to the Angami Sekrenyi, the dying of an old year (Bareh, 1970, p.77) and starting of the new Jhum circle or year. The heralding- *Nyote* of the festival is probably on 20<sup>th</sup> February- *Zheprie* and the next three days are preparatory days, where rice are husked, wine brewed and the water fetched.

##### **a. *Küssüshie*.**

On this day animals are slaughter and small pieces of the inner organs of the meats are offered to the death. The best friends- *awietsa* is chosen by the young and foods are exchange and dine together. Bamboo poles- *awuphrü* is put up in every household in honour of the young boys- *vizanguori* of the family (Müluori khongo thi weleh. n.d, p.40) who has not earned the warriors title in his name. In the yore days when the head is victoriously brought home, they sung victory songs- *arie zha* on their way back home. The villagers welcome them at the village gate. The male members give a spade or dao to the head hunter and he earns his pride or title the shoulders slash- *arorie* and ear-loop- *anaha* (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lasipha. 2003, p.16). Offering to the spirit - *nyizakhuo* are tied to the bamboo pole- *awuphrü* in a bamboo cage, a mixture of sticky

rice and pork-lard wrapped in plantain leave- *arunga*. Sticky millet cake- *adiashu* is prepared at night to be eaten the next morning.

**b. *Nyiempa khu.***

On this day the cakes- *adiashu* is eaten but only by the females and young boys. After this day, no hair will be trimmed until the festivals are over. Food and wine is offered to the dead and the shawls and ornaments are also displayed for the spirit of the dead. The food and wine offered to the dead are eaten but they say it's tasteless as the spirits had eaten it.

**c. *Khuji.***

On this day men folk go to the jungle and find a creeper called *khaloli* (Pochury n.d) marked by the Morung Boys- *Vizari* in advance is brought and kept at the village gate-*ashiaku* (Tsuosekhu, January 24, 2015, personal communication), which the villagers will be playing tug-of-war (Bareh, 1970, p.77). Early in the morning the Dormitory Girls- *Rülari* and young girls goes to the village well for ceremonial bathing- *ajuh kükre*. They dropped a ceremonial leaf on their way to the Village well saying, "Oh!!! Let the misfortune be not ours"- "*tue-eh!!! Kümüsü münga ave wa khelo*". On reaching the well they wash their cloths and fire is lighted and water is heated for bathing. Special foods are prepared for the girls in a separate hearth. Only the females are allowed to part take the food. Men do not eat the food for they may not have luck in their hunt. New dresses brought for the occasion is worn on this.

**d. *Akhaküzhu khuh/Akha khuh.***

This day is the grandeur day of the festivity. The young boys, with their tiffin go to the village gate, to guard the creeper- *khaloli* from destroying by any passer-by or travelers. Two eldest male and female of the khel collect wine for their respective dance troupes or Khel for the night. Meat and money are given to them in every house they enter. In the afternoon, all male members of *khutsori* khel, with their traditional attires gather at the southern part of the village and heralded (welcoming the new spirit)- *Rüzhemüngu Siezu runah* and comes dancing to all the khel open space- *aluoji /müzaluo*, the members of that khel join in the dance. The heralding troupe ends their march at *Khutso Hiezhü/Khutso Luoji*. A lady, whose husband expired the preceding year, stacks a spear, shield and other materials used by him, yelling and weeping and simultaneously offering wine for her dead husband, for they belief his spirit is present among the

dancing troupe. Wines are served and they continue their merry making till late at night. These days, the 28<sup>th</sup> of February- *Zheprie* is officially accepted as *Akhaküzhu khuh/ Akha khuh*. In olden days, they observed the movement of the sun and the moon and *Nazhu* festivals are fixed by pushing front or backward accordingly (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication).

**e. *Rüla mülo-a.***

On this day, the engaged couples are married off in the evening. The bride is taken to the bridegroom's house, by the go-between- *atsüna*, friends and relatives (Lomatshü, February 6, 2016, personal communication). The food is prepared by the bridegroom's family for the occasion and cooked rice and skin are given to the morung boys- *vizari* for feasting.

**f. *Azhechü/Arüna chöna.***

Very early in the morning, the Chief- *Kajiwa* makes a ceremonial rite- *atso zana* on the way towards the new Jhum field. The Chief- *Kajiwa* informed the Second Chief- *Kaji Seshiwa*, who takes all the youth male members of the Village in the afternoon for the construction of resting place- *arüna* on the way to the new jhum field. On this day the leaves of *Atüchi*, *Ashidho* and Creeper- *Anierüh* are put up on the newly wedded couple's home signifying their marriage. Pine tree and *Ashidho* tree are brought and put up at the centre of *Khutso Hiezhü/Aluoji*. At night they observed genna and only ginger and dry fish are cooked and eaten (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.41).

**g. *Khar Nezhü***

Early in the morning the Creeper- *Khaloli* for the tug-of-war is brought home and kept at their respective khel. During the day Morung Boys- *Vizari* and Dormitory Girls- *Rülari* bring the wooden poles and beams for the construction of girl's Dormitory- *Ashie/Alashie*. The young boys with bamboo spear- *ashüre* speared the creeper- *Khaloli* saying, "The meat and fish are mine, and luck will be ours in the hunt"- "*asa nga esa, anga nga enga, kününgawa sana*". The adult males too go to the village gate with bamboo spears and plays javelin targeting a tree, for good luck in the new Jhum circle. New pots and rice are given to the newly married couples. On this day onwards the young boys and girls go and sleep in the newly married couples' house and sleeps even for months (Siarütho, December 21, 2015, personal communication). In the evening

the tug of war is played until the creeper- *khaloli* is broken (Bareh, 1970, p.77). The rope is cut into pieces and distributed. The rope pieces are woven into pot support base-*afütshü* and some pieces are kept for binding the Girls Dormitory- *Ashie/Alashie*. In the evening they gathered at their respective khel public space- *aluoji/müzaluo* and they dance and drink till late at night (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication).

**h. Zhula Küju.**

On this day pieces of iron are offered in the new Jhum field to divest the evil spirit plight (Bareh, p.77), before the actual clearing of the Jhum field. They offered three pieces of iron in the springs, six pieces of iron in *Asünü kümüchie* and twelve pieces of iron in deep valley- *arüh kümüsü*. If they fail to divest the spirits who are belief to live in such places, they may get sick or causes death or may cause destruction to crops. On this day the Dormitory- *Alashie* are constructed by the Morung Boys- *Vizari* and youth- *shefüri* of the khel.

**i. Münyikhu/Ashiene tsanave.**

The owner of the house in whose house the Girls Dormitory- *Alashie* is constructed hosts the Morung Boys- *Vizari* and Youth- *Shefüri*, who help in the construction (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.41). The Dormitory Girls- *Rülari* helps the host in the preparation for the feast. It is tradition that Morung Boys- *Vizari* had to ask for more food- *akhu küshi nave* and are collected and shared with the young boys in the morung. The Guard Huts- *Riehuo Phrü* is build at the village gate on this day. In the evening, Morung Boys- *Vizari* is offered wine and sticky rice-‘*ane küya küka naveh*’ by the host. After this, married women and men who helped in the construction of Girls Dormitory- *Rülari Ashie/Alashie* are also given wine to drinks and they sing and disperse for the night.

**j. Khaji.**

The young boys and Morung Boys- *Vizari* take a specially prepared food and wine to the Guard Huts- *Riehuo Phrü*. They collect together the food they have brought and are cooked again and shared among themselves. On this day the Morung Boys- *Vizari* boils the skins of animals and brings to the public place- *müzaluo*, to compete for who brings the most. The skin is mixed and redistributed equally. No one goes for the work for the day is a genna for clearing the Jhum field.

**k. Münyi khe/achuh netsa.**

This day is genna again for the whole village to work in the field, but hunting and fishing are allowed. The men folk go to the river and build Wooden Bridge- *Amüle* across the river towards the new jhum field. The next day all the villagers are busy clearing the Jhum fields (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication).

**5.17.2. Nyitsokhu/Shephie Khuh.**

The festival is celebrated in the month of April- *Zuwie* after the burning of the Jhum field, if not disturb by the rain. These days *Shephie Khuh* is celebrated on 13<sup>th</sup> April- *Zuwie* whatever the circumstances be (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho lashipha. 2003, p.42). *Shephie/Nyitsokhu* is related to the burning of the Jhum and it is three day long festival (Bareh, 1970, p.75). The first day is *Tsate* and observed genna. Relatives gather and passed the time in leisure together (Pochury. n.d). The second day is *khuj* and the Jhum field is burnt on this day and the male members of the village go on a hunting (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.42). The next day is called *Shephie*, a day on which ceremonial sowing is done by the womenfolk of the village. The eldest woman of the *Nyutheri* clan sow the first seed early in the morning before food and comes back home. The other womenfolk will follow suit after their morning meal, carrying only *biejükhuh* and *akhuotsa* (type of basket), so that no seeds/grain spills on the way to the field (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.7). The next day is called *münyikhu* and on this day brewing of wine is prohibited but can go to the field and work as usual. The animals' head are eaten on this day by the members of the clan, killed on the second day of the festival- *nyitsokhu/shephie*.

**5.17.3. Nyiezakhuo küdhuo/Arüthü küwu.**

This festival is held in the month of May- *Tüthse* when supplications are held to the spirit and sacrifices are offered (Bareh, 1970, p.75). The first day is called *Tsath*, a grand feasting- *Baji kürie*, the grand feasting is held by two khels on rotation, i.e. one year by *Zhiekü-Zhithsüri* khels and the next year by *khutso-Phrütheri* khels (Muluori khonyo thi wule. n.d, p.42). Animals are slaughtered and feasted on the way to the jhum field. Only the male members take part in the feast.

The next day is *Nyiezakhuo küdhuo*. Early morning rice and curry are cooked to be offered to the house spirit. In the front door six pieces of pork-lard and handful of sticky rice is wrapped in plantain leave- *arunga* and hung. At the back door, five pieces of pork-lard and

handful of sticky rice is wrapped in plantain leave- *arunga* and hung. In the middle door plain plantain leave- *arunga* is hung and wine is offered in all the doors of the house and an offering is also made to the Orphan- *Mürawa* (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). The third day is called *tsathele* a preparatory day for sowing the seed of terrace field. The fourth day is called Sowing day- *Arüthü küwu*. This day's 1<sup>st</sup> May- *Tüthse* is fixed as the sowing day. The Village chief- *Kajiwa* is the first to step out of the house early morning and the men folks follow him to the field for sowing, carrying the seeds in their shawls. No one should eat or drink until the father returned home and makes a ceremonial fire and then only the family can eat their food (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lasipha. 2003, p.7). At night ginger curry is cooked and eaten. The next day is *münyikhu*, on this day no one goes to the field and the people leisurely sip out wine in their mug and eats meat (Bareh, 1970, p.76). The sixth day is *khaji* and on this day the windows sow the seed and the other women plant the cotton seeds- *akükhie zhona*.

#### **5.17.4. Rasa.**

The festival is celebrated in the month of July- *Lesa* after the trans-plantation of the terrace is over and the farmers go to the jhum field to see that the millet are starting to flower and ripening. Then the announcement is made for the festival (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.43). The festival is a ceremonial plucking of the young crops (Bareh, 1970, p.76). The first day is *tsathe* a purification day for the festival. The second day is called *khuji*. On this day before dawn Morung Boys- *Vizari* goes to the hill (jungle) to collect Bamboo Sticks- *Arühzho* to be given to the Dormitory Girls- *Rülari*. They hum and chant traditional tunes on their way (Pochury. n.d). The third day is *Khaküzhu khuh*. On this day Morung Boys- *Vizari* designs the bamboo stick- *arühzho*, with the help of the elders who had accompanied them to the hill (Kuorötho Poji, January 5, 2018, Personal communication). The Bamboo walking sticks- *arühzho kötsöh* are given to Dormitory Girls- *Rülari*, who in turn offer them wine (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.43).

The fourth day is *Rasa*, on this day all the household of the village boil maize, skin of animals, dry fish and the whole pot of wine are taken outside the village, leading to the Jhum field and feast the whole day. Corresponding to the location of the khel area the Jhum field is cultivated occupies the first spot, followed by the other khels towards the jhum field. Dormitory Girls- *Rülari* also competes in who bring the most boiled animal skins. The boiled animal skins are put together and given to Morung Boys- *Vizari* and Youth- *Shefuri* who help in the collection

and designing the Bamboo walking sticks- *arühzho kötsöh* (Müluori Nyushu Nyusho Lasipha. 2003, p.8).

The fifth day is *Tsaza Kürhü*, the infant crops extracted from the ripening and green stalks are brought (Bareh, 1970, p.76) and dropped on the main foot path. On this day to make sure that no one brings home any vegetables and edible on this day transparent basket-*asüra* is carried to the field (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.43). The last day is *Miinyikhe* and the Morung Boy- *Vizari* guard the village gate to make sure that no one goes to the field. The Morung Boys-*Vizari* goes to the jungle to collect Plantain Leaves- *Arunga* and it is genna for them to fish or kill any animals on this day (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.8).

#### **5.17.5. *Tsate khuh***

This festival is celebrated in the month of August- *Tsate* and last for four days (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.44). It is a harvest rite of the Jhum field. Thereafter millet, fruits, maize and vegetables of the Jhum field are harvested and taken home for consumption. The first day is *tsathe*. On this day, the house-wives go to the Jhum field and collect sheaves of millet (H. Bareh, 1970, p.76) and they bring home two bamboo notches for the preparation of the Spirit Wine- *Nyieza khah* at night (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.44). The second day is *khujji*, early in the morning the house-wives will perform ritual for Plentiful Harvest- *Rühngu küzhea*, they packed a piece of fresh fish in a plantain leave- *arunga* and suspended to the main post of the house (Bareh, 1970, p.76). Women are forbidden to drink wine for the day.

The third day is *Vizari Kübe*. On this day, Morung Boys- *Vizari* tie a rope- *rünali* joining all the houses in the village and hang on this rope the plantain leave-cup- *arunga huo* and banana leaves and they compete in who brings the biggest plantain leave- *arunga* and also compete in drinking ginger soup- *aso juh* and rohi- *ajijuh*. The men flock drinks till late at night. The last day is *Khuwi* and animals are slaughtered on this day. Young boys and girls of peer groups eats together and addresses- *akülü* are made on this day. The theft of chicken and sugarcane are the order of the night, for the act are done in secrecy by young boys and Morung Boys- *Vizari*, to be notice only the next day. This act is to show how secretly they could act in times of need.

#### **5.17.6. *Küzüleh zah.***

The festival is celebrated in the month of September- *Khuthe* only for a day. On this day the villagers clean the footpath to the salt well- *küzü leh* and bring home sticks for climbing tents-

*akürha* which is grown in the kitchen garden. At night meats are cooked and eaten (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.8).

#### **5.17.7. *Khuthe*.**

This festival is also celebrated in the month of September- *Khuthe* for six days. After the festival, materials for the construction of houses and granaries are collected (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.44). The Heralding- *Nyote* of the festival is done five days ahead. The first day is the preparation of rice/millet cake- *küssüshie shu/adieshu* for the spirit of the death at night. The next day is *Nyimpa khu* and the cakes- *adieshu* are eaten by women and small boys- *vizangori*, but it is genna for men to eat. At night yam-*abia* are boiled and eaten (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, pp.8-9). The third day is *khuji*, a day for the womenfolk to collect the cotton- *akükhie* who carries in their shawls only (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh.n.d, p.45). The fourth day is *Ahuowu kühu khuh* which is a day for molding new bamboo tubes for carrying water (Bareh, 1970, p.76). The fifth day is *küla kïvü khu* a day for collecting of pine and fire wood. The pines are collected from the hills (jungles) and fire-woods are collected for the newly married couples by their relatives and friends. The pines are collected for lighting/burning to the field during harvest, for they go to the field before dawn (Chinasü, December 21, 2015, personal communication). A special meal is prepared for the young boys and girls who carry the pine. The sixth day is *münyikhe*, on this day, Dormitory- *Alashie* is taken down and everyone stays back home (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.45). The first harvester (*Nguori* clan) does a ceremonial harvest on this day and the next day on words the general populace starts the harvest.

#### **5.17.8. *Yemshe*.**

*Yemshe* is one of the major festivals of the Pochury Naga. The people await the arrival of the festival, which is celebrated with gaiety, by the young, and old, rich and poor alike. It is a pre-harvest festival for plentiful crops of the year's hard work (The Pochury Women Organization, Kohima, and Twenty-fifth anniversary, 2017, p.84). Dancing and feasting are the main events of the festival (<https://www.tourmyindia.com>). No one harvest before the festivals is over, for fear of misfortune of lesser harvest.

The festival is celebrated in the last month of September- *Khuthe* and culminated on 5<sup>th</sup> of October. The word ‘*Yemshe*’ is derived from the word ‘*thüyem*’ or ‘*yem*’ which means ‘house’ and ‘*lüshe*’ or ‘*she*’ or ‘*alüshe*’ means ‘aroma’ or ‘odour’ which emits from the best

foods cooked by the villagers. The word ‘*Yemshe*’ literary means ‘aroma’ of the house. The village elders observe the paddy and tell the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/ *Kaji Seshe*/Village Crier for the heralding of the coming of the *Yemshe* festival to the villagers (Meingthü, 2016, p.35).

On the announcement of the festival by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief/ *Kaji Seshe*/Village Crier the very next day, the festivities start with elaborate preparation. The youth clean up the village, wells, footpaths, and granary and construct the resting place on the way to the field which is also a place for basketry (The Pochury Women Organization, Kohima, Twenty-fifth anniversary. 2017, p.85). *Yemshe* is also a time for leisure, interaction and merry making. Every head of the family performed the necessary rituals. The ritual involved tying the offering to the main post of the house. The engaged couples exchange food and wine renewing their bond of relationship. The young boys and girls also come to know each other and get engaged. This festival is also a joyous occasion for the farmers as their yearlong hard work and perspiration will fill their granaries which they expected a bountiful harvest (Meingthü, 2016, pp.36-37).

#### **5.17.9. *Kate*.**

The festival is celebrated in the month of November- *Kate* which clashes the harvest season (Bareh, 1970, p.76). The first day is *tsathe*. On this day the Morung Boys- *Vizari* brings Oak Tree- *Anguzhe Thsoh* to signifying the tail and head which was put across in front of the Morung- *Awiekhu*. In the afternoon, Morung Boys- *Vizari* runs- *gadhia* round the village and identifies the first/head- *alü* and tail/last- *anürü* runners. On reaching the Morung- *Awiekhu*, they burn the Oak Tree- *Anguzhe Thsoh* signifying the tail of the last runner (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, p.9).

The second day is *Khuji*; a day for the blessing of the granary. This act of bountiful blessing- *arüngu küzhea* is done only by the housewives, early in the morning they go to the granary and perform ritual by placing a special leaf called- *Atüchi* inside all the baskets- *ashu* (big bamboo basket for containing paddy in the granary) in the granary. They will not talk or wish each other on the way, till they reach back home. They also do an act of bountiful blessing- *arüngu küzhea* at home by tying the leave around the rice pot neck- *athafü* (Rüshothsü, February 20, 2016, personal communication). It is genna to drink or even smoking is abstained for the day by men and women. Thereafter, the new harvested paddy can be eaten and store in the granary. The third day is *luosa*, on this day onwards wine can be brewed in a Bamboo container- *Alokhe*.

Job's tears can be sheaved and the new *Ashu* and seeds brought for the next year are taken to the granary for storage (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha, 2003, p.9).

Six days after *luosa*, Shrubs throwing competition- *Suonyiene* is played by small boys- *vizanguori* and Morung Boys- *Vizari* and at night a special meal is prepared for the occasion. This is also a day for Morung Boys- *Vizari* to repair and beautify the Morung- *Awiekhu*.

#### 5.17.10. *Alaka*.

This festival is celebrated in the month of November- *Kate* before the harvesting of job's tear crop. The men folk will make miniature bow- *müzhüla* and shrub arrow- *suoruoh shujhu* and makes a ceremonial shot in the air from their respective garbage site- *dzüneza* in the evening (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.46) shouting in unison:

- a. *Shupa notha kaphu.*  
Shupa eye be blinded.
- b. *Riespa notha Kaphu.*  
Riespa eye be blinded.
- c. *Phrathe phrawa notha kaphu.*  
Obstruction/obstacle eye be blinded.
- d. *Jijira küpote notha Kaphu.*  
The South end eye be blinded.
- e. *Tüzhüira küpewa notha kaphu.*  
The west end eye be blinded.
- f. *Pochira küpote notha kaphu.*  
The East end eye be blinded
- g. *Thachuwu küpote notha kaphu*

The sky end eye be blinded (Kuorötho Poji, January 5. 2018, personal communication).

It's a symbol of chasing away the bad omen from the village. The whole village shouts in unison, starting from their respective Morung- *Awiekhu* (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.46). They bring home stinging shrub- *akushu* and hang by the door. At night ginger is cooked and eaten. It is genna to drink wine on this day. Job's tears are harvested the next day onwards (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha, 2003, p.9).

#### **5.17.11. *Vikhou kübrü.***

The festival is a one day celebration in the last week of December- *Müdhuo* (Kuorütho Poji, January 5, 2018, personal communication). It is a common hunting Day or ceremony (Barah., 1970, p.77), for the whole village. On this day, all the village youth and able-bodies go for a hunt. The young boys carry the water for cooking and washing the weapons that are taken for the hunt (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh. n.d, p.47). On returning home, their weapons are kept at the verandah before they are washed with the fresh water brought by the young boys. The water is shared among the villagers. The washing of the weapon is to signify, the end of the year and begins afresh for plentiful hunt for the coming year. At night the animal killed are cooked separately for male and female-the male cooked at the outer room of the house and spoons-*adhoma zhiekhuh* are specially made for the occasion, which are discarded after use. The females used the family hearth for cooking. The left-over food is buried under the family hearth (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. 2003, pp.9-10).

#### **5.17.12. *Khuthe Küshi.***

The festival is held in the month of January- *Wiedhuo*. It is a one-day celebration and called *Akha Küzhu Khu*. On this day a ceremonial hair cut and ear piercing are done for the newly born child (Müluori nyushu nyusho lasipha. n.d, p.10). No one goes on a journey from *vikhou kübrü* till *khuthe küshi* festivals are over. The next day onwards Thatch- *Alouosü*, palm leaf and straw are collected for the construction of the houses (Barah, 1970, p.77) and granaries.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

#### IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIZATION

##### 6.1. Administrative Impact

The Pochury Nagas had been living independently with little or no contact with the outside World for centuries. The village social structure was so stable that hardly any external influences could change the system. When an external force tries to penetrate into their system they resisted with all their forces. The Anglo- Naga relation met the same fate, when the British enter into their territories, they were met with arm resistance and so do the Christian missionaries. Taking this view into consideration the British restrain themselves to maintenance of law and order and not interfering in the internal affairs by maintaining cultural status-quo while administering them (Sema, 1992, pp.58-60).

Even though the British stationed at Meluri as early as 1910-12, they did not administer or try to convert them to Christianity but left to their own ways. It was only after India's Independence in 1955 the Pochury area was put into regular administration by stationing a circle officer in 1960, upgraded to Extra-Assistant Commissioner in 1962 (Berah, 1970, p.219), S.D.O. (civil) on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1981 and to Additional Deputy Commissioner on 27<sup>th</sup> May 2008.

The Nagas came into direct contact with British in 1832 (Sema, 1992, p.3). The Pochury Nagas came into contact with the Europeans in 1874, when a British survey party under Dr. Brown, who extensively explored the Pochury area. He reached Meluri on 26<sup>th</sup> January then to Akhegwo (Primi) on 27<sup>th</sup> January, who had to return back because of the lack of interpreters, who had to interpret from Akhegwo (Primi) to Meluri, to Angami, to Assamese to English and vice versa (Elwin, 1969, p.364).

The second contact with the British was on 31<sup>st</sup> January 1884, when a survey party under J. Johnstone reached Meluri and then to Lephori on 3<sup>rd</sup> February 1884 (Elwin, 1969, p.493). During all this period the British were trying to demarcate the boundary between British-India and Myanmar which was still to be explored by them. As early as 1895 there was a correspondence between Government of India, Myanmar and Assam for the demarcation of

boundary. But since the Government of India is following the policy of no interference, they were unwilling to step in as long as they don't raid or trouble her subject, but if the need arises they would not hesitate to take action (Reid, 1983, p.127). Since then the British Government had been sending survey party to these unexplored areas between the Naga Hills and Myanmar and the survey parties had been recommending the inclusion of the area to their domain.

The Aishan Kuki entered into the Pochury area after 1890's and settle in patches and who had been troubling the people of Meluri, Akhegwo, Lephori, Yisi and Phor by means of coercive tax with their superior weapon (gun). They were intimidating and collecting tax, which was alien to them. The taxes were paid in paddy and live stocks. The people of Pochury being hard pressed appealed the British to expel the Aishan Kukis from their land. *Mesighu* of Yisi (Leshimo Nyusou, n.d, p.2) and *Thorupa* of Lephori are the leaders of the Pochury Nagas to seek the British help (Lephori students' union, golden jubilee 1965-2015, n.d, p.51). That was the reason; the Chief Commissioners in 1903 stated that, "he decided not to include Meluri or Lephory though they have applied for annexation" (Reid, 1983, p.134).

Major Howell in 1904, had emphases in his report on the menace of the Aishan Kuki villages to the east who were 'a terror to the country side', especially as they were estimated to be armed in the proportion of a gun a piece for 200 houses. As early as 1907, the British wanted to annex the Pochury area, where Mr. A. W Davis the then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills in his letter NO. 584-G, dated the 6<sup>th</sup> July, stated that, "we shall have no real peace until we have absorbed the whole hill area between this and Chindwin". But the Govt. taking no note of it, the Eastern Bengal and Assam again wrote in the letter NO. 2450-j. Dated 18<sup>th</sup> may 1908, was that they wanted to extend the area of control on Eastern frontier from the Dikhu down to Meluri in the south east corner, where the Kukis oppression of Angami village on our border had been particularly troublesome (Raid, 1983, pp.135-140).

The expedition of 1910 against the Aishan Kukis, a tribe who had been continually oppressing the local Nagas on the border areas in the most brutal way originated in the murdered of two British subject of Kizari villager at Meluri from Kanjan the un-administered territory was reported by Major Howels on 8<sup>th</sup> June 1909. The expedition was approved by the Government of India letter NO. 4079, dated the 5<sup>th</sup> August 1909, on a large scale consisting of 150 Naga Hills Military Police under the command of Major Bless, Captain G.F Porter and Lieutenant Hardcastle and Assistant commandant of police Mr. Cosgrave from Manipur who joint them at

Meluri. They reach Kanjan on 19<sup>th</sup> February 1910 and the Chief was arrested. Colonel Wood proposed and carried out disbanding the Aishan Kukis who surrendered 116 guns, they (Kukis) must return to their original home in Manipur and to station a guard at Meluri until the order are carried out. Next he decided to keep seven prominent men, as well as the Aishan “Raja”, a semi-imbecile boy, as hostages until the fine was paid and the order carried out and lastly the Kanjyong and his Chasad Kuki to restrict them to their own territory in Myanmar and Manipur. One point which they did make was that Meluri and Akhegwo had rendered Government the fullest assistance and that “it would be impossible to abandon them to the revenge of this bloodthirsty savage” (Reid, 1983, pp.143-144). In September of that year the chief commissioner received proposal from the Commissioner for the inclusion of political control area of village to the south of the Tizu River, Laruri, Phor, Yisi, Lephori, as well as Meluri and Akhegwo on the north. The guard at Meluri was withdrawn in March 1912.

Colonel Woods in 1910, had confirmed to Meluri and Akhegwo that they are annexed, for they have rendered great help in suppressing the Aishan Kukis. Despite the assurance by Colonel Woods and confirmed by the Chief Commissioner, it was neither approved nor disowned by the Eastern Bengal and Assam Government. In September 1913 the commissioner again proposed for the inclusion of their political control over the areas like Laruri, Yisi, Phor, Lephori as well as Meluri and Akhegwo (Reid, 1983, p.149).

In the early days of the Kuki rebellion of 1917-19 in Manipur there was a great deal of alarm and unrest among the Angamis and Kacha Naga in the Naga Hills. Deputy Commissioner Dr. Hutton had kept the peace in the Naga hill and taught Kukis a lesson. The Deputy Commissioner report stated that, “an expedition in April 1918 to the area between the Somra tract on the south and the Tizu on the North, to take action against Kukis who had come in there and was oppressing the local Naga in their customary way. He expressed the hope that the effect would be to make this ‘act of robbery’ clear out of the Naga hills District and go off into the cross batched area or into Burma” (Reid, 1983, p.165).

After so many letters for the annexation of Pochury area, finally in December 1918 Mr. Barnes, Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills was sanctioned to assess Meluri and Akhegwo for house tax and the Chief Commissioner (Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell) in February 1919 again referred Sir Archdale Earles letter NO.1544-P the 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1914, again nothing happened for various reasons and again a reminder was sent on the 4<sup>th</sup> October 1920. Finally the Government

of India on the 29<sup>th</sup> March 1921 leaves the matter to Sir William Marris the Governor of Assam to examine the matter. Mr. Hutton an experienced in the Naga Hills prepared a demo-official letter NO.5550-AP dated the 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1921 to the Foreign Secretary of the Government of India, who gathered together and reviews the Government policy since 1884 (Reid, 1983, pp.152-153). He was of the view that whatever orders are passed by the Government of India for area of political control beyond the borders of the Naga Hills, the Villages of Meluri and Akhagwo dealt in the letter NO.2931-P dated the 18<sup>th</sup> June 1913 should be definitely included in the British territory without delay. But with much hesitation and reluctance in 1922, the Government of India dispatch NO 11, dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1922, put into effect that the measures advocated by the Assam Government are: a. The inclusion of British territory of the Village of Meluri and Akhegwo with area surrounding them, and b. The area of political control will be exercised by the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills District to which it was added to their control on humanitarian grounds and have no strategic danger on movement of troops on the last border areas. Thus Meluri and Akhegwo tract will be included in the map within British territory. Thus the Secretary of State accepted in principle for the inclusion of Meluri and Akhegwo in his telegram NO.4901 dated the 19<sup>th</sup> December 1922 and formally included in the revenue in the year 1922-23. The final demarcation of boundary was accepted by the Secretary of State in March 1925 based on Dr. Hutton's report NO-337-G, dated the 9<sup>th</sup> May 1923 after a tour of East of Tamlu and between Yangnyu River and Patkai range supplemented by a further report NO.2168-G, dated 30<sup>th</sup> November 1923(Reid, 1983, pp.156-158).

Kamyang and Tonghu is the two powerful Chief of the Kukis in the Somra tract. It was only during the Anglo-Kuki war of 1917-19 they were finally disbanded from the area. The British gathered together the Kuki Chiefs in 1915 and strict orders were given not to raid, rule or exact tribute from the Naga Villages (Saul, 2005, pp.196). On the Indian side of Naga Hills Dr. Hutton conducted two expeditions against the Kukis one in January-March 1918, of Henima in the South-West of the Naga Hills and was able to keep peace with a show of force and the second expedition in April 1918 in the area between Somra tract and Tizu, who were oppressing the Nagas in their customary way, who are were settled at the present day Wuziho area. The armed force of 50 strength was stationed at Lephori to check the aggression of the Kukis. The British conducted large scale operation in the winter of 1918-19 (Ried, 1983, pp.165-166). The Kuki Chief Chinchapao was arrested at Vahung on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 1918 and disbanded from the

area (Sehkhohal Singson, January 12, 2020, Personal communication), except Pali, the Kanjan Kuki Village Chief (Bareh, 1983, p.43). Had the British not come to the rescue of the Pochury Naga, the area might have absorbed or they might have driven them out of their own land by the Kukis.

The Pochury Nagas were called Eastern Rangma or Southern Sangtam by the British. Even though they are brought under the British administration they were hardly administered by the British except on occasional tour by the Deputy Commissioners, who were empowered to settle the cases on the spot in case of any dispute. As early as 1921, before the Pochury Nagas were brought under the British administration a political case No. 25 of 1921 between Litkhulal of Kanjan village Naga Hills verse Gaonbura and Villagers of Vahong, Manipur was heard by J. H. Hutton Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills Kohima and C. Ginson, I.C.S Political agent of Manipur. (Appendix 1.6.)

Soon after the administration of Pochury area, the political case No. 25 of 1924 between Shri. Phrutho G.B of Meluri Village Naga Hills verse Sil G.B and Mezalho Jessami (Manipur) for crossing of the boundary was settled in the court of Extra Assistant Commissioner of 4<sup>th</sup> June 1925. The judgment is about the Meluri took oath on the life of their villagers and the Jessamis were allowed to reap the crops and paid Rs. 9/- (nine) as rent to Meluri. (Appendix 1.7.)

Another judgment order passed by Mr. C.R Pawsey, Deputy Commissioner Naga Hills, Kohima of political case No. 75/38 of 29-10-1938 between Matikhru of Naga Hills and Jessami of Manipur, states' that the salt well which is  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile on the Matikhru land, the Jessami can take salt only with permission. The judgment orders passed by the Deputy Commissioners of the Naga Hills and the Political Agent of Manipur are settlement/ judgment of Inter-state dispute between the Government of Naga Hills and Manipur, where each Government's trying to defend their stand over the disputed land. (Appendix 1.8.)

The British soldier under Captian William set up a camp at *Louthso* (a paddy field of Meluri) in 1943-44 with and air base. The British army who were withdrawing from the Laruri and Myanmar area had entrenched themselves at *Louthso* which is 15-20 kms South of Jessami. The Japanese were marching from the South-East from Kangjan towards Jessami. To preventing the rapid march of the Japanese forces towards Kohima the British attack the Japanese at Jessami-Imphal road in 1944 in February-March, delaying their march for five days. Both the forces marches towards Kohima and met again in the famous battle of Kohima. In their stay at

*Louthso*, the British accidentally injure *Tsivötho*, *Nyuketho* and *Jethopa* while air dropping their arms, ammunition. They were paid Rs, 50 and Rs, 25 as compensation (Meluri Village Baptist Church, Platinum Jubilee, 1938-2013, 2013, pp.10-11).

The Pochury Naga area came under the control of the British but they took no interest in administering them. The British appointed an influential or person of high stature as Gaonburas of the village to infuse in the mind of the people of being administered by them. The Gaonburas are the lowest tier of the British administration. They are the liaison between the Government and locals for correspondence. Their responsibility was limited to the collection of house tax and assisting the Government officers in their tour of the area. The Government officers on the tour were empowered to settle the cases if any on the spot otherwise they were left free to administer according to their respective customs and traditions with only loose control by the Government (Rustomji, 1983, p.26). The gathering of the Elders settled all the disputes and village as a whole enforces the law. Even after the annexation of the Pochury Nagas, no formal administration was imposed upon them.

The British also appointed Dobashis who are literate or linguist who interprets to the British. The word ‘dobashi’ means a person who is expert in two or more languages (Ghosh, 1982, p.152). The Pochury Nagas who served the British as Dobashis’ are,

Retsachu Dobashis of Phor village

Kurangchu Dobashis of Samgphore

Nyushiji Dobashis of Meluri

Lashupa Vaccinator Meluri

Nalkhobao Dobashis of Kanjan

Siatho Dobashis of Lephori -1932

P. Leshimo Dobashis of Meluri-1945 (Leshimo Nyusou, n.d, p.7). It was the Gaoburas and the Dobashis who help the British in running the administration of the village.

The British bringing the Meluri, Lephory, Akhegwo, Phor, Yisi and Laruri areas under their control gave the people a sense of brotherhood and oneness among the Pochury’s. Before the coming of the British these villages live in isolation and were in constant warfare with each other for want of head. One such instance was when the Meluri Village had asked a special favour to the British to allow them to raid or burn an enemy village, in-return for supply of coolies to which the British refused to grant such favour (Mills, 1982, p.29). Head-hunting and

inter-village feuds came to an end and an era of friendship and mutual understanding began with the British controlling the Pochury Naga area. This eventually led to matrimonial alliances between clans, village and tribe. This matrimonial alliance made the people to give up their difference and come together as one people (Khrieriezhünoo Dzüvichü, 2010, unpublished Doctoral thesis Nagaland University, p.75).

Between 1926-29 the British constructed bridge paths and Inspection Bungalows at Meluri, Akhegwo, Yisi and Laruri for exploration of Patkai range (Pochury day silver jubilee. 2015, p.25). This bridge path also served as a means of connectivity and cohesion among them. This connectivity gave the people a sense of unity, which later on merged with the Eastern Angamis (Chakhesang) to form a distinct identity called Chakhesang in August 1946 (In delicus, C.S.U, 2008, n.d). Later the Meluri, Akhegwo, Yisi and Phor and Laruri group formed their own distinct identity called 'Pochury' in 1951 and the Government of Nagaland recognized as a separate tribe on 21<sup>st</sup> April 1990. The Inspection Bungalows grew into administrative heads and towns.

The defect of the British administration is the random demarcation of the inter village land boundary to their administrative conveniences, marked by water shed and mountain ridges. This legacy of British still persists even today and is the major contention of boundary between Nation, State and village. The demarcation of boundary also divided the people of the same linguistic and tradition to different International and States boundaries letting to the assimilation of the linguistic and tradition of the smaller group to that of the dominant group. (Appendix 1.9 and 1.10.)

## **6.2. Religious Impact.**

The British Government took many measures to bring about the changes in the Naga Society. The most powerful agencies were Christianity and Education which brought about many changes in the society. The British considered the Nagas as backward and uncivilized and assumed the role of 'Whiteman's burden; to civilize the backward people (Sema, 1992, pp.67-69).

The Pochury Nagas primal Religion- *Anale* is animist which was handed down from generation to generation by their fore-fathers, which was practical in nature. Their religion was full of rites and rituals in different season directed to different spirits for blessing and for appeasement (Mepingthü, 2016, p.29). The primal religion- *anale* of the Pochury Nagas doesn't have religious head to perform the rituals but every 'man is his own priest' (Mills, 1982, p.164). They believe in the Supreme Being or Great Grandfather- *Nyi Nyieza Küjiwa*, who is the creator

of the Universe (Mepingthü, 2016, p.31) and all powerful who lives in the sky (Mills, 1982, p.164). It is through his name; people swear/ take oath to settle the dispute in the Village.

They also believe in the existence of Evil Spirit- *Nyieza Kümüsiüwa* who lives in the deep forest, stream, big stone, rivers and mountains who causes sickness and death. They offered sacrifices by offering chicken or iron pieces to appease the spirit. The Medicine Man- *Düinari* cures the sick who is believed to possess' supernatural power. The sick in return gives gifts like rice, money, dry-fish and even jhum land are given for serious illness (Wamatho, December 19, 2014, personal communication).

The Pochury Nagas were brought under the British control but they were left alone to administer themselves. Even the Christian missionaries were not sent to the Pochury Naga area. Rev. J.E Tanquist and Sülühü visited Meluri in 1937 and he happened to be the first and last foreign missionary to visit Pochury Naga before Independence and what transpired in his visit were unknown (Müluori Baptist Church Platinum Jubilee, 2013, pp.37-39). They hardly had any contact with the outside World for they are self-sufficient and contented with their daily activities like, farming, seasonal trade with neighbouring Villages, festivities, observation of gennas and other social activities.

It is observed that through trading contact with the Angamis and Chakhesang they might have come into contact with Christianity, but could not embrace this new faith for fear of ostracizing, lack of motivation and strong prevalent of the Primal Religion. By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a few groups of people venture out of their Villages for greener pastures. It is this group of people, who are the first converts and evangelist in the Pochury area. Lashupa was one such, who migrated to Kohima for education. After completing his V standard in 1932 he was employed as vaccinator and converted to Christianity (Rachikhu Po, January 3, 2020, personal communication). On his official tour to the present day Phek and Kiphiri districts, he preaches Christianity in 1936 (Müluori Baptist Church Platinum Jubilee, 1913, pp.36-37) at his native village Meluri. P. Leshimo Nyusou was one among the first Pochury Christian convert in 1938 from mission Baptist School, Kohima (Khuosatho Pochury, 2015, p.14) and lost no opportunities in sharing the Gospel of Jesus Christ back home. He even did evangelical work along with Neisiecho to Akhegwo and Hutsü on 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> June 1941 (Müluori Baptist Church Platinum Jubilee, 1913, p.32). It was on 24<sup>th</sup> February 1946, P. Leshimo Nyusou and seven families

migrated to the present site to found the Meluri Village Baptist Church (Khuosatho Pochury, 2015, p.8).

The other pioneer evangelist to the Pochury is Vitoulie-ü Iralu of Khonoma Village who visited Meluri several times from 1939-40. Thsirü Tsuhah (Sare) of Chizami Village was the pioneer of many churches in Pochury area from 1940-59. It is through his tireless evangelical work he could convert many first Christian among the Pochury Villages and founded Churches in places like Hutsü in 1946 (Souvener, Hutsü Baptist Church. n.d), at Phokhungri in 1948 and church established in 1953 (Phokhungri Village Baptist Church Golden Jubilee, p.13), at Lephori Village in 1947 (Lephori Student Union 1965-2015. Celebrating fifty years, 2015, p.51) at Shatüza in 1947, at New Phor in 1947, at Akhegwo in 1949, at Zhipu in 1951, at Weziho in 1954 and Akhegwo Lower Baptist Church in 1958 (Mepingthü, 2016, p.59).

Mr. Tongkhosei Thomasong was the pioneer in the spread of Christianity in the Kanjang Village in 1941. The first prayer meet was held in the house of Tongkhosal Singson, was then the Dormitory- *Awiekhu* of the boys (The Kanjang Baptist Church Golden Jubilee. 1991, pp.6-10). It was here at Kanjang Village the first Church was setup in Pochury area in 1941.

The early Christian converts of Pochury Nagas, in their new found faith started evangelical works in their neighbouring Villages and found new Churches in the Pochury Villages. One such evangelist was Daüchu of Shatüza Village who could convert Ralipong Thevüry of Sütsü in 1948 (Mepingthü, 2016, p.59).

The primal religion, that is a wisdom in the expression, 'it is said by our ancestors' is handed down from generation to generation by our forefathers (Chakhesang Church Council Golden Jubilee. 2000, p.55), which is of practical reality is decaying because of the on slaughter by Christianity, education and western culture. The educated and Christians converts who refused to accept the primal religion, condemn it as blind faith and dogmas. They care little or no care, letting to collapse the hardy nature, honesty, fear of making mistake, crime, shame, etc of the forefathers. Today 'individualism' had replaced 'we' which was the central concept of the society. They refused to take part in the festivities; feast of merit and rituals (practices) of the primal religion, many elements of cultural institution is gradually fading away (Khrieriezhünuo Dzüvichü, 2010, unpublished Doctoral thesis Nagaland University, p.172).

The coming of Christianity also destroyed many age old traditions of the people. The Christian missionaries and Christians felt that every rites and ceremony like feast of merit,

festivals and genna- *tsöna* should be abolish. The liberal Christian teaching of love, peace, compassion and sharing had profound effect. The Christian group themselves in communion, give less regards to tradition. They refused to part-take in the social activities of the animist considering as anti-Christian. The loss of ‘fear’ and ‘shame’ is the destruction of the coming of Christianity for traditional society was build on ‘fear’ of omission/commission and ‘shame’ of committing mistake, crime, thief and robbery (Nyuletho Nyuthe, April 8, 2016, personal communication).

However the positive aspect of the coming of Christianity was the abolition of head-hunting (Khrieriezhüno Dzüvichü, 2010, unpublished Doctoral thesis Nagaland University, p.171) and superstitious believe. Today hosting of Christmas feast had replaced the stone-pulling ceremony (Chakhesang Baptist Church Council, 2000, p.45) and feast of merit. The coming of Christianity had also reduced the inter-Village and tribal feud.

The coming of Christianity to the Pochury area also gave a sense of unity and tribal identity. The Pochury Christian leaders as early as 1952 had been contemplating for the formation of an association. It was in 1957 by the unanimous decision the Christian Endeavor Union was formed by the churches of the Pochury Christian leaders and its first session was held at Lephori in 1958. The Christian Endeavor Union was renamed as Council of Pochury Baptist Churches and after the golden jubilee celebration in 2008 the nomenclature was changed to Pochury Baptist Church Council (Mepingthü, 2016, pp. 63-64). Today the Churches had grown form strength to strength with the establishment of church in all the Pochury villages.

Of late the other Christian denominations like Roman Catholic in 1974 (Shiekhutho Nyusou, December 20, 2020, personal communication), Seventh Day Adventist in 1975, United Pentecostal Church in 1981 and the Nagaland Christian Revival Church in 1983 makes its way into the Pochury land (Mepingthü, 2016, pp.71-73). The rise of the other Christian domination is the frequent cases of internal division and tension among the Christian faith.

The coming of Christian also clashes with social institution of the people. The primal religion is always associated with their agricultural life. So the Christian refused to take part in the rites and ritual associated with it. Thus the Christians and non-Christians cultivating the jhum land their separate ways (Meluri Village Baptist Church, Platinum Jubilee, 1938-2013, 2013, p.13). The coming of Christianity also suffered immense social, cultural and architectural loss.

The folk music, folk-lore, folk dance, festivals and many other social activities were considered to be part of the animistic society and purposely undermined (Ghosh, 1982, p.135).

The missionaries do not differentiate between animism and culture. This mixing together of the animistic beliefs and culture resulted in the extinction of culture. The Baptist missionaries like the other missionaries throughout the world were in the habit of translating the animist gods into English as ‘Satan’. The animist gods are far from having the qualities of Satan and rather than being malicious are definitely benevolent (Khrieriezhünuo Dzüvichü, 2010, unpublished Doctoral thesis Nagaland University, p.176). The Christian missionaries were responsible for the adulteration of the native culture. The discontinuance of the feast of merit, the loss of the knowledge of wood carving as an art and means of subsistence, replacement of the rice-beer with tea, were all negative developments (Furer-Haimendorf, 1934, pp.51-55).

The spread of Christianity gave rise to the development of local languages. The first translated books to the vernacular (Pochury) are the Bible and Christian hymnal by P. Leshimo Nyusou in 1961. The *Küchiepha Apowa* and *Zhöle Kümhie Zapha* were published on January 1, 1961 by U. Manng U, Red: 0216 and printed in Rangoon at the Burma Union Press, Regd:Rgn.008.NO. 26, 35<sup>th</sup> Street, Rangoon (Meluri Village Baptist Church, Platinum Jubilee, 1938-2013, 2013, p.35). These two books are the primer of the future growth of the language and unity of the people. The foundation laid by the leaders bear fruits in 1994 by launching the New Testament and the Old Testament on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2014 in Pochury (Mepingthü, 2016, p.68).

### **6.3. Educational Impact.**

The Nagas did not have a script of their own. The tradition says that once they had their own script written on the animal skin which was devoured by a dog (Alemchiba, 1970, p.156). Having lost the written script, reading and writing was not known to them. The Morung-*Awiekhu* and Girl’s Dormitory- *Alashia* plays an important role in molding the young boys and girls for their future; it was a kind of formal education before the coming of the British. Here they learn the art of courtship, warfare, craft, weaving and the skills of life. But the coming of Christianity and Education, replace the Morung- *Awiekhu* and Girl’s Dormitory- *Alashia*. With the replacement of Morung- *Awiekhu* and Girl’s Dormitory- *Alashia*, now the boys and girls were send to school for education.

It was after coming into contract with the British; the outside world was open to the people of Pochury. They come to realize the importance of reading and writing. Thus a few

people ventured out of their villages. In the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century persons like *Nyushietsi*, *Lashupa* and *Mütosü (Doss)* migrated to Kohima and took up education. They are the first converts and educationist.

As early as in 1930 a school was established at Meluri village, *Dikhamo* of Phek village was appointed as the first teacher. The school had to close down for lack of enrollment in 1933 (Khuosatho Pochury, 2015, p.2). During the British rule there were only three schools established in the whole of Pochury area, one at Kanjan in 1940, at Meluri in 1941 and at Hutsü in 1946. It was only after India's Independence, schools were established in the Pochury villages.

Table 1.3. The establishment of schools in the early years

Sl. NO	Name of the Village	Name of the School	Established	Remark
1	Kanjang	Primary	1940	
2	Meluri	Primary	1941	
3.	Hutsü	Primary	1946	
4	Lepthori	Primary	1952	
5	Sütsü	Primary	1954	
6	Wuzu	Primary	1956	
7	Weziho	Primary	1957	
8	Akhegwo	Primary	1958	
9	Zhipu	Primary	1959	

Pochury day silver jubilee, n.d, pp.48-49.

The coming of education shed the superstitious belief of the people. Today the Pochury have 30 recognized villages and every village is covered with at list one Government Primary school at its door step for education and education has transformed the face of Pochury socio-economically (Nyekha, 2000, p.5). It is education that had shed the superstitious belief in spirits, blind faith, rites and ritual of the people. Thus the education plays an important role in the development and transformation of the society.

With this few schools, established in the Pochury Naga area in the early part of 1940's, the people were very apprehensive of sending their children to schools. Sending the children to school is embarrassing to the family and not to think of sending a girl child to school for they

think she may become a harlot. The fear of conversion and corruption of the mind also made many animist and conservative to hold their reservation against sending their children to school (Khrieriezhüno Dzüvichü, 2010, unpublished Doctoral thesis Nagaland University, p.128). Those days the primal religion was the realms of the day. The society was such that social status had to be earned through feat of merit and physical strength or richness not necessary through education.

Despite of the social forces that prevented the spread of modern education, few took up education and converted to Christianity and it was they who provided leadership in the society. It was the leaders (especially the early Christian converts) and educated few, gave shape to a single identity called 'Pochury'. They become educators and evangelist in their respective villages and neighbouring areas. They even gave political leadership in shaping the future generation. The traditional system of settling disputes by the Chief- *Kajiwa* and elders were replaced by modern laws under the Dobashi court. However, the Dobashi courts are the new form of traditional system of justice with modern inputs or modifications.

#### **6.4. Economic impact.**

The Pochury Nagas produce everything for self consumption; they import nothing from the outside world. Their land is fertile for jhum and terrace cultivation. It is rare to find a man making his living by working for others (Mills, 1983, p.75) for their sustenance, since time immemorial every household owns a land in the village and landless was unknown. However, less landed families exist, who leases the land for cultivation for a year or two without any charges. There was no standard monetary system in the Naga village economy. Barter played a dominant role in the economy (Bareh, 1970, p.123).

Terracing was the main source of paddy cultivation of the Pochury Nagas. The gentle slopes and bank of river Tizu (Mills, 1983, p.86) and its tributaries provided fertile land for irrigation. Jhum cultivation was widely practice by the people. Jhuming or Shifting cultivation is a labour intensive form of agriculture that involve selection of land, clearing of forest, burning, sowing, weeding, harvesting and planting for one or two years and the jungle is left to fallow for years depending on the availability of the land (Saul,2005, p.126). Prof. Sapu Changkija has pointed out that, "jhum cultivation was practiced only in a demarcated area", and further went on to say that, "Jhum has all been about a democratic and traditional mode of farming for the Nagas. If we discard this, it may disrupt our culture" (Longchari, 2017, p.1). Jhuming is a well

organized and regulated social system of cultivation ensures the involvement of the whole Village community in a participatory manner, building a bond among various social group in the society creating social cohesion that has with stood the ravages of time and modernism (Singh and Tiwari, 2002, pp.45-46).

The Government considered Jhum as a wasteful mode of cultivation decided to restrict it. As a measure of restricting jhum, the Government proposed to take gradual steps in popularizing terraced method of cultivation (Foreign department Pol. Administrative Jan, 1882, NO. 135). The Assam Agriculturist's Loan Act XII of 1884 was introduced by the British in the Naga Hills, with the objective of advancing financial assistance for promoting cultivation. Accordingly, annual loan were given to the cultivators (Assam Agricultural Department Report, 1886). This yearly advance of loan, stated in the regular annual reports of the agricultural department of Assam is to encourage the tribes to extend terraced cultivation (Assam Agricultural Department report, 1934-35, 1935-36). Despite of the effort of the Government the progress of agriculture during the British was being 'practically nothing or very little' (Ghosh, 1978, p.93).

The coming of the new system of administration and education there was a decrease in Jhum cultivation. The opening of Administrative offices and Schools, people took up Government jobs and Education, letting to shortage of worker, thus less land was brought under jhum cultivation.

The other reason for the decrease in the Jhum cultivation might be the coming of the Christianity. The Christian ideals could not accept the old social obligations and 'Genna,' (Do's and Don'ts while making offerings to the spirit) making it difficult to co-exist and co-cultivate with the animist. Thus jhuming which is labour intensive and less productive have to look for an alternate means of agricultural practice, without affecting the social and cultural fabric of the society.

Landlessness is never heard off, except of small land holding. Every household have sufficient to sustain for a year, in rare instances the supply run short the relatives and neighbours helps in such dire straits (Lhousa, 2020, pp.1-2). The poor families also labour for the rich in exchange for paddy. For one day labour, they are paid one tin- *amiilia* of un-husked rice (Mills, 1983, p.319). Paddy loan are given to the poor families in times of needs. The paddy loan given out in the month of March to June is paid double the amount of paddy he loans and the loan

taken from the month of July to August is paid the same amount he loans. The money came into circulation after the coming of the British and now the wages are paid in cash.

The British annexed the Pochury Naga area in 1922-23 and assessed Rs, 2/- as house tax. The house tax was collected by the Gaonbura who are the agents of the British Government. The money circulation was limited to only few traders who hold money and still barter system was prominent. To pay the house tax the poor villagers were at the mercy of the rich and resorted to money lending. The rich taking advantage of the precarious situation of the poor families, the poor were forced to part their land and do labour work in lieu of the money.

Since time immemorial the Pochuries had trading relation with their neighbouring villages specially the Chakhesangs (Eastern Angamis) and Angamis who exchanged cotton with coloured thread. The Pochury Nagas traded salt, pot and dry fishes. Salts are produced by Akhegwo, Phor, Yisi and Matökrö. The people of Meluri acted as middleman making a profit of 25 to 50 percent (Mills, 1983, p.73). The salt making process is a toilsome work involving five to six persons for two to three days. Being labour intensive and the easy availability of salt in the market the trade is declining at a fast pace today.

The Laruri who are expert in pot making produce varieties of pots (cooking and container pots) and are traded all over Pochury areas, but who never go out of their village to sale their products but they preferred her neighbours to come and buy it from their village. Pot making is the considered as the work of the women folk and is made at any time of the year (Jingtsüri Panratsü, January 8, 2015, personal communication). Today the pot trade have decline due to the introduction of iron and steel pots which are easily available in the market.

Another important trade of the people is dry fishes which are obtained from the Tizu River and its tributaries are traded as far as Kohima which is considered tastier than the Manipur sun-dried fish (Mills, 1983, pp.73-74). The fishes are catch through the traditional methods like *achhi*, *ajie*, *asouh köjü*, *achhiza*, etc. But today with the advancement of modernity fishing net, fishing hook, explosive and chemical is used for fishing. The use of explosive and chemical which are not only harmful to the health but causes also causes destruction to the marine life.

The Pochury Nagas are considered experts in buffalo trade. The buffaloes are rear by the people and are kept semi-wild in the jungle during the winter season and are herded by the cowherd during the other seasons for they may destroy the crops. The cowherds are of less landed families of the village. They are paid in cash and paddy. Of late the rearing of the animals

have decline with the increase in the terrace cultivation. Today their need of meat supply is traded from Myanmar.

## Discussion and Conclusion

The traditional Pochury Naga polity, society and its practice have become almost obsolete due to the coming of Christianity, Education and Modernization. The Christianity and modernization did not give sufficient alternate ethical principles compatible to the community. In this transitional period, the old pattern of social, customs and tradition faded away. Thus the scholar works; on the traditional polity, society and economy and how the transitional period from tradition to modernity is changing the social and cultural pattern of the tribe.

The Pochury Naga villages were settled by the different groups migrated from different places, assimilating their culture and tradition to the dominion groups. For instances the Meluri, Phor and Laruri groups migrated from *Rengma*, *Sapo*, *Küchuri*, *Kwury*, *Sangtam*, *Seyochong*, *Samphuri*, and *Yimkhiung*. Some of these groups have lost their culture and tradition in the course of their interaction with the dominion groups.

The Pochury Naga being an agglomerated tribe, there is no distinct feature, culture and tradition of their own and is still evolving and assimilating. Taking advantage of this diversity, the society it is to be woven into a beautiful cultural mosaic.

The Chief- *Kajiwa* tradition still exist and is selected or elected among the Pochury Naga society but his powers and functions are curtailed and limited to economic activity which is also ceremonial in nature. The Chief- *Kajiwa* who is hereditary in the clan among the Meluri and Lephori group, but it's hereditary in the family line among the Laruri, Akhegwo and Phor group. The selection of the Chief- *Kajiwa* varies from village to village. To maintain the sanctity of the post of the 'Chief- *Kajiwa*' he make personal sacrifices so that his people don't suffer of hunger, famine, pandemic and droughts. Today all the Pochury Naga selects or elects the Chief- *Kajiwa* for the guidance of the village.

The society is patriarchal in nature, where the father is the head of the family and in the absence of the father the mother is the head of the family. The eldest son gets the best share of property. The daughters are also gifted landed property called *asouzu*. For the continuity of the family lineage the inheritance is through the male line.

The social set-up was such that hosting the feast of merit was an obligation, for it fixes one status in the social strata. Before the coming of the British, Christianity and Education, the people were busy earning their prestige (status) in the society by giving the feast of merit. The

top giver of the feast earns a prestige and advice or lecture the people in public gathering, fishing and hunting, where the poor feel ashamed to speak out. Today the feast is being replaced by Christmas feast.

The Pochury Naga community feeling was broken by individualism, western ideals of pride and wealth. It is the village that gives an individual his identity in the society. However with the intrigue of the modern administration and ideals, the social fabric and ethics of the society was completely broken down. Today individualism had replaced the communitarians and the goal of an individual is personal achievement and gains guided by selfishness, greed and self-centeredness. It resulted in mutual tension, disintegration, discrimination, injustice, corruption and oppression (Marhu, 2006, p.69)

Jhum cultivation was the main occupation of the people. Each month was marked by a particular economic activity and everyone had to finish the work during the specific period. They followed mixed farming of yam, beans, maize, millets and jobs-tears. The jhum circle various from village to village depending on the land they possess. Traditionally, the more irrigated terrace fields' one possessed the wealthier he is and the poor are at the mercy of the rich. So wealth was power and might was right (Khrieriezhüno Dzüvichü, 2010, unpublished Doctoral thesis Nagaland University, p.108). Today the jhuming had decline to some extent because of the extended wet cultivation, orchard farming and white collar job.

Animals such as buffalo, cows, pig, dog, fowl and mithun are domesticated. These animals are domesticated for meat only for they don't use buffalo, cow and mithun for plough and the dung as manure. Milk was never drunk by them. The buffalo and mithun are kept semi wild and occasionally salt was given

The handicraft was their secondary profession. Men make different types of basket and wood carving. The women grow their own cotton for weaving cloths for the family. The art of dyes was not known to them and they barter coloured thread with cotton or traded with the neighbouring tribes. This secondary profession of the people is seasonal, for doing things differently is a taboo. Thus the works have to be completed within the specific time frame. This cohesiveness of the people has to be sustained for social harmony and unity of the people.

Pot making was known to them. They produce varieties of pots for cooking and storing purposes. Laruri is one centre of pot making and is traded all over Pochury area and neighbouring tribes. This art of pot making is fast declining because of the easy availability of aluminum and

steel vessel. The pots are in great demand as souvenir and for daily use. The loss of the art of pot making, may have lost the relevance of the place, their trade and industries. The art of pot making is to be revived, before the art is forgotten by the people.

The British brought new process and procedure for settlement of dispute. In the past, the cases were tried by the gathering of the elder in the presence of the Chief- *Kajiwa* in an open space- *aluoji*. If the case cannot be settled for want of concrete evidence, they are directed to swear oath. At present cases are settled at the village council hall by the village chairman and its subordinate according to the customary law with modern inputs, eroding the traditional laws and customs weakening the village administration. They cannot try cases dealing with death. Anyone who is not satisfied with the settlement can appeal the higher court such as Dobhasi Court, Civil Sub-Divisional Court, Additional Deputy Commission Court, Deputy Commission Court, High Court and Supreme Court (Lohe, 2011, p.242).

The inter village feud and head hunting was stopped by the coming of the British. In one of the instances where the people of Pochury asked the British for a special favour of head hunt in exchange of free coolies for a punitive expedition in the future (Mills, 1982, p.29). The mere presence and show of strength by the British were enough to stop the head hunt.

The coming of the British to the Naga Hills brought Christianity, Education and a new system of Administration had a profound impact on the Pochury Naga tribe socially, politically and economically. The advent of Christianity and Education was initially not welcome by the people. There was a strong resistance against the new social norms by the whole community and they are ostracized in the society leading to the establishment of new colonies and villages. The establishment of Meluri Christian Khel in 1946 and Sötsü village in 1948 are such examples.

The infusion of Christianity and Modern Education into the society, had affected the primal religious practices. Today almost all the villages are Christians by faith and the few traditional believers who hardly practice their faith for want of man power. There are instances of the father and mother who practice traditional faith and the children's are Christians by faith and the time is not long by their death, the primal religion and its legacy will come to an end.

Lashupa was the first to preach Christianity in Pochury Tribe in 1936 (Meluri village Baptist Church, Platinum Jubilee, 1938-2013, 2013, p.9) but could not find any convert. In 1938 P.Leshimo Nyusou was converted to Christianity at Mission Baptist School, Kohima (Khuosatho Pochury, 2015, p.2). There after Christianity started to spread rapidly among the Pochury tribe

and was then under the Angami Baptist Church Council and Chakhesang Baptist Church Council till 1957 (Lhousa, 2020, p.47), they are the one who gave immense support in initial growth of the Churches in the Pochury area by sending missionaries and evangelist.

The Pochury area was under the Chakhesang Baptist Church Council till 1957. In 1958 they hold the first convention under the name Christian Endeavor at Lephori. Latter they change the nomenclature to Council of Pochury Baptist Churches (Mepingthü, 2016, p.63). The other Christian denomination like Roman Catholic in 1974 (Shiekhutho, December 20, 2020, personal communication), Seven Day Adventist in 1975, United Pentecostal Church in 1981 and Nagaland Christian Revival Church in 1983 (Mepingthü, 2016, pp.71-73) also started to penetrate into the Pochury area.

The Christian converts and educated group, refused to take part in the primal religious practices, leading to the decay of the rite, ritual, festivities, feast of merit and Morung life replacing by the Christmas feast and Church gathering. This Christian converts and the educated took up services under the new administration as teachers, educators, dobashis and other government jobs, became influential in the society. Thus a new type of self-sustenance or salaried class emerges in the society.

The construction of bridle path and bungalows (rest houses) which developed into an important route for connectivity and gave rise to new towns, administrative and commercial centers. It makes the movement of the people easier for communication and culture link within the neighbourhood, developing a sense of brotherhood and oneness. This sense of community feeling developed into a common identity called Pochury in the 1950's. Today they are one of the major tribe of Nagaland, striving to be at par with the rest of the other Naga tribes.

**APPENDIX 1.1.**

GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND

HOME DEPARTMENT :.....

Kohima, the 19<sup>th</sup> April, '90.NOTIFICATION

No.Home/SCTA/3/4/83: The Governor of Naga-Land is pleased to recognize “POCHURY” as a separate Naga tribe in the State of Nagaland with immediate effect.

This supersedes Govt. Notification of even number dated 28th March, 1990.

Sd/-

(T.C.K. Lotha)

Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Nagaland.

Meme No.HOME/SCTA/3/4/83 Kohima, the 19th April, '90.

Copy to:

1. The Special Secretary to the Governor, Nagalng, Kohima.
2. The Secretary to the Chief Minister, Nagaland, Kohima.
3. The P.S. to the Speaker and Deputy Speaker, Nagalng, Kohima.
4. The P.S. to all the Ministers and Ministers of State, Nagaland, Kohima.
5. The Sr .P.S...to Chief Secretaries, Nagaland, Kohima.
6. All the Commissioners and Secretaries, Nagaland, Kohima.
7. The Commissioner, Nagalng, Kohima.
8. The Secretary, Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Kohima.
9. All the Branches in the Nagaland Civil Secretariat.
10. All the Heads of Departments.
11. All Deputy Commissioners/ADCs/SDO(C) /EACs.
12. The Publisher, Nagaland Gazette, Kohima.
13. Guard File

(Binod Kumar)

Home Commissioner

## APPENDIX 1.2.

Nagaland Federal Government Declared *Kösa thi* Administration *Kövi*.

Federal Government of Nagaland *ta* declared *kösah* 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1956. Naga tribes *köpa pa ave vö* Local Self Government *kösou daji administration vi köro*. Hiri Pochury *nga* Local Self Government *wa ha kömüjie ahsou kösou daji administration vi*.

1. *Riejisou* Range
2. *Zipusou* Range
3. *Ngazöpfung* Range
4. *Möraho* Range
5. Thachuri Range
6. *Tsathisou* Range
7. *Leysi and Makweri* Range
8. *Somra* Range
9. *Saposou* Range

Pochury Local Self Government first general meeting *kösa rölo* 15-16 August, 1958 Lephori *Village*. Meeting *jöla* area *vönöh köru anyi* representative *rivö* agreement *kötsathuo sah*. Second general meeting 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1959 Thewati camp *vö* resolution *wa review sataji jüma müzhe nö köro wa wie naveh ti zhödhuo*.

**APPENDIX 1.3.**

GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND  
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, PHEK

NO.GA/RCT-83/

/Dt. Phek, the 15<sup>th</sup> Sept/84.

To,

The Commissioner,  
Nagaland, Kohima.

Sub: - **RECOGNITION OF POCHURY TRIBE.**

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith my detailed comments and views with finding in connection with the above for the Govt. future necessary action.

Sd/- E. T. SUNUP

Deputy Commissioner, Phek

MEMO. NO.GA/RCT-83/

/Dt. Phek, the 15<sup>th</sup> Sept/84.

Copy to:-

1. The Home Commissioner, Nagaland, Kohima.
2. Sri, N.I. Jamir Minister (Planning) Member.  
Sub-committee on Pochury tribe recognition.
3. Shri, Khehoto, Minister (Agriculture) Member,  
Sub-committee on Pochury tribe recognition.
4. Dr. V. Sakhrie, Minister (medical) Member  
Sub-committee on Pochury tribe recognition.
5. The –Divisional officer (Civil) Meluri for information.

Sd/- E. T. SUNUP

Deputy Commissioner, Phek.

## Forwarding of Pochury Tribe Recognition.

### 1. Land Boundaries:

- i. East- Burma
  - ii. West- Phek sadar Sub-Division.
  - iii. North- Kiphiri Sub-Division
  - iv. South- Manipur
2. Number of Village- 27(Twenty Seven)
  3. Present Population- 8,118 (Eight thousand one hundred eighteen)
  4. Administrative set up- Meluri Sub-Division
    - C.O. – Phokhungri Area Superintendent Circle at Phor,
    - Area Superintendent at Lephori

### 5. Composition of the tribe.

The tribe is a concretization of elements of (1) Rengma speaking Rengma dialect (2) Laruri speaking Larathvü dialect (3) Akhegwo speaking Akhezu dialect (4) Kuki speaking Kuki dialect (5) Maos speaking Kheza (6) Phor, Yisi class speaking Phoyisha dialect.

### 6. Language

The common dialect of the tribe is the Pochury dialect, originally of Meluri group, now commonly spoken and understood by the entire tribe.

### 7. Derivation of the Tribe Name Pochury

During the British days, the Chakrö and Kheza Sub-Tribe of this District were Known as Eastern Angami, whereas the Pochury were known as Eastern Sangtams.

In 1946, in the meeting held at Phekrokedzma (present Old Phek) the people of Phek area were re-name as 'Chakhesang' with the following derivation:

Chakru- Cha I

Kheza- Khe I Chakhesang

Sangtam-Sang I

The Tribe name 'Chakhesang' was approved by the Government. However as early as 1929 it is continued that there was a move for recognition of Pochury tribe as a distinctive tribe of its own.

The first Pochury tribe meeting was held in 1954, where in the tribe name “Pochury” was formally accepted by the people. This was followed by Mission of Memorandum to the Govt. for recognition of tribe.

This tribe consists of three main Clans, from whose name the tribe name “Pochury” is derived follows:-

Sapo	-	Po	I	
Kuchuri-		Chu	I	Pochury
Khury-		Ry	I	

The term ‘Pochury’ was referring to the three tribal Clans occurs in the traditional victory song of the tribe which is sing to this day.

The representation were submitted by the representative of the tribe to the Chief Minister of Nagaland on 12<sup>th</sup> June 1979, followed by another memorandum by Shri, Chiekhutso M.L.A. to C.M. of Nagaland, submitted on 3<sup>rd</sup> Sept/79, each demanding among others recognition of ‘Pochury’ as a scheduled tribe (the copies are enclosed for ready reference). It appears that another memorandum was submitted to the minister for Agriculture, Nagaland, on 19<sup>th</sup> May 1983. The memorandum copy is not available with us.

#### Comments and Views.

In view of the points indicated in the foregoing paragraphs the plea for recognition of the tribe as a schedule tribe appears to be justified.

It is a misnomer to call this people Sangtam. They also seem to differ in language, custom, facial features hair-cut and dress from Chokris and Khezas of the District.

The people are generally poor and backward. Formal recognition of the tribe would perhaps instill in them a sense of pride and bolster their growth and development as a distinction people with/ a culture and their own.

They have their own Church Council, recognized by the N.P.C.C. on 10-10-1974.

The land and therefore the people, has considerable potential for economic development, endowed as it is with rich natural forest and mineral resources. The Govt. Mini cement plant at Weziho occurs in this territory. The full content of Mineral deposits would completion of Road surveys are conducted on through N.E.C. funding.

Formal recognition of the Pochury tribe is not likely to diminish or out date the meaning of the name of Chakhesang tribe since 4 (four) Villages namely (1) Sowhemi (2) Kotisü (3)

Kizari, formally inducted in the Eastern Sangtam tribe will continued to remain within the Chakhesang tribe even if the Pochury tribe is recognized.

Recognition of the tribe need have no administrative or political implications. The present arrangement can continue.

Sd/-- E.T. SUNUP

Deputy Commissioner

Phek.

## APPENDIX 1.4.

### Pochury Local Government meeting Resolution *Kösa*.

Pochury *Agou* General *Kömöhu* 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1957 Hutsü Village *kömöhu thuoji* Federal Government Authority (Pochury Region) *thi* Pochury *anyuh anyu vö sierhö rih ti kömöhu sah.*

*Möhu köwa vözazhö köka, kömöshe kömöhie vönöh hiri kömöhu wa vi köze.*

Sessional Chairman: Tv. P. Leshimo Nyusuo

Sessional Secretary: Tv. Yeshito

*Kömöhu rüne bafe 9 a.m vönöh sate köwa sah, tsa-a luo taji möhu köwa vö zhönyo wouri zhödhuo. Közhvdhuo zhönyo hamari:-*

1. Anyiri kösü kömo zhelo nyula vöküchowu wanyu.
2. Akömo anyisa kü-awa müsänöhchowu naveh.
3. *Kömözhi* (poison) *köse kötsokhröwa nyu*
4. *Pochury aguzhö Mülüori zhö vitsokrö anthuo ta körathuom dhuo.*

*Zhöthuo kösa kömöjie müköna wa, nyido nyijö kömöna (fine) köthsü kötsü zhönyo hakömjie:-*

- a. *Akömo zhelo-nyula köchowu nyutö anyih nö kö-awa Rs 100/-*
- b. *Kömözhi* (poison) *kötsokrö lövö Rs 1000/- jömpa mükönyu ma körholi köju kökrö pena veh.*
- c. *Awule sakösa rügi vö Naga Home Guard rinöh mavi kösü vö lekha küche (3) keria no whuo na.*

*Kömöhu hala köru 34 anyu sierhöri thi Pochury Region Officers riti kösa chia 300 köluo sezu taji möhu.*

**APPENDIX 1.5.**

GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND  
HOME DEPARTMENT  
GENERAL, ADMINISTRATION BRANCH-II

ORDER

NO.GAB/GEN/7/27/97: The Governor of Nagaland is pleased to declare the days specified in the Annexure-I and II as General Holidays and restricted Holidays respectively under the Government of Nagaland during the Calendar year 2003.

Further, in pursuance of the explanation to Section-3 of the Negotiable Instrument Act. 1881 (Act XXVI of 1881), the Government of Nagaland is pleased to declare the days specified in the Annexure-III as Public Holiday in Nagaland during 2003.

Sd/-

(H.K. Khulu) IAS  
Home Commissioner

No. GAB/GEN/7/27/97 Dated Kohima, the 28<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2002

Copy to:-

1. The Special Secretary to the Governor of Nagaland, Raj Bhavan, Kohima.
2. The Special Secretary to Hon'ble Chief Minister, Nagaland, Kohima.
3. The P.S to Hon'ble Speaker, Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Kohima.
4. The Sr. P.S. to all Minister/Minister of State, Nagaland, Kohima.
5. The P.S. to Deputy Speaker, Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Kohima.
6. The Sr. P.S. to Chief Secretary, Kohima.
7. The Addl. Chief Secretary & Commissioner, Kohima.
8. The P.S. to Home Commissioner, Kohima.
9. All Commissioner & Secretaries/Secretaries/Addl. Secretaries in-charge of the Department.

10. The Deputy Registrar, Guwahati High Court, Kohima Bench.
11. All Heads of Department, Nagaland.
12. All DCs/ADCs/SPs in Nagaland.
13. The Secretary, Nagaland Legislative Assembly, Kohima.
14. The Secretary, Nagaland Public Service Commission, Kohima.
15. The Manager/Branch Manager/Agents of the Bank, Nagaland.
16. The Chairman, Town Committees in Nagaland.
17. The Director, Information & Public Relation, Kohima.
18. The RC, Nagaland House, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.
19. The DRC, Nagaland House, 11 Shakespeare Sarani, Kolkata-71.
20. The DRC, Nagaland House, Guwahati, 6<sup>th</sup> Mile, Sachal Road, Khamapara, Tzepur, Guwahati.
21. The ARC, Nagaland House Shillong.
22. The Accountant general, Nagaland, Kohima.
23. The Station Director, All India Radio, Kohima.
24. All Central Govt. Offices/establishment in Nagaland
25. The Chief Secretaries of all State/Uts/govt. of India
26. The Director, Govt. of India/Positional Astronomy Center, India/Meteorologists Department. P.546, Block-N (1<sup>st</sup> Floor) New Alipore, Kolkata-700013.
27. The Secretary to the Govt. of India. Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances & Pensions Department of Personal & Training, New Delhi.
28. The Station Director, Doordarshan. Kohima.
29. Guard life.

(A. HILLARY)

Deputy Secretary to the Govt. of Nagaland

**ANNEXURE-I**LIST OF GENERAL HOLIDAYS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF NAGALAND DURING  
THE CALENDAR YEAR 2003.

(26 days)

Sl No.	name of festival	No of days	Date in Gregorian Calendar	Days of week
1.	New Year Day	1	1 <sup>st</sup> January	Wednesday
2.	Republic Day	1	26 <sup>th</sup> January	Sunday
3.	Idul Zuha	1	12 <sup>th</sup> February	Wednesday
4.	Holi	1	19 <sup>th</sup> March	Monday
5.	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Birthday	1	14 <sup>th</sup> April	Monday
6.	Good Friday	1	18 <sup>th</sup> April	Friday
7.	Easter Saturday	1	19 <sup>th</sup> April	Saturday
8.	Independence Day	1	15 <sup>th</sup> August	Friday
9.	Janmastami	1	20 <sup>th</sup> August	Wednesday
10.	Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday.	1	2 <sup>nd</sup> October	Thursday
11.	Durga Puja	3	1 <sup>st</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> & 4 <sup>th</sup> October	Wednesday Friday & Saturday
12.	Diwali	1	25 <sup>th</sup> October	Saturday
13.	Guru Nanak's Birthday	1	8 <sup>th</sup> November	Saturday
14.	Idul-Fitr	1	26 <sup>th</sup> November	Wednesday
15.	State Inauguration Day	1	1 <sup>st</sup> December	Monday
16.	Christmas	9	23 <sup>rd</sup> -31 <sup>st</sup> December	Tuesday to Wednesday

26 days

## ANNEXURE-II

## RESTRICTED HOLIDAYS FOR THE YEAR 2003.

(56 days)

Sl. No.	Name of Restricted holiday	No. of days	Date in Gregorian Calendar	Days of week
1.	Paonglum	1	12 <sup>th</sup> January	Sunday
2.	Maghabihu	1	14 <sup>th</sup> January	Tuesday
3.	Sekrenyi(Chakhesang)	1	15 <sup>th</sup> January	Wednesday
4.	Tsukam	1	16 <sup>th</sup> January	Thursday
5.	Minkut (Kuki)	1	17 <sup>th</sup> January	Friday
6.	Shree Panchami	1	10 <sup>th</sup> February	Monday
7.	Totonio	1	18 <sup>th</sup> February	Tuesday
8.	Skrenyi (Angami)	1	20 <sup>th</sup> February	Thursday
9.	Mileinyi (Zeliang)	1	11 <sup>th</sup> March	Tuesday
10.	Muharram	1	25 <sup>th</sup> March	Tuesday
11.	Kundangluna (Chang)	1	11 <sup>th</sup> April	Friday
12.	Holong Monglangshi	1	3 <sup>rd</sup> April	Thursday
13.	Manipur New Year Day	1	13 <sup>th</sup> April	Sunday
14.	Aoleng	3	13 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> April	Sunday to Tuesday
15.	Bengali New Year Day Hahang Bihu	1	15 <sup>th</sup> April	Friday
16.	Wungtsuneo	1	16 <sup>th</sup> April	Wednesday
17.	Pochury (Commemoration) Day	1	21 <sup>ST</sup> April	Monday
18.	Moatsu (Ao)	1	2 <sup>nd</sup> May	Friday
19.	Woplong	1	3 <sup>rd</sup> May	Saturday
20.	Miu (Khiamiungan)	1	5 <sup>th</sup> May	Monday

21.	Tsukhenyi (Chakhesang)	1	6 <sup>th</sup> May	Tuesday
22.	Milad-un-Nabi	1	25 <sup>th</sup> May	Sunday
23.	Budha Purnima	1	26 <sup>th</sup> May	Monday
24.	Phom Day	1	5 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> June	Thursday to Friday
25.	Naknyulum (Chang)	1	13 <sup>th</sup> July	Thursday
26.	Tuluni (Sema)	1	8 <sup>th</sup> July	Tuesday
27.	Tsungremong (Ao)	2	1 <sup>st</sup> -2 <sup>nd</sup> August	Friday to Saturday
28.	Biam (Khiamuniungan)	1	7 <sup>th</sup> August	Thursday
29.	Metemneo	1	8 <sup>th</sup> August	Friday
30.	Martyr's Day (Manipur)	1	13 <sup>th</sup> August	Wednesday
31.	Onam	1	21 <sup>st</sup> August	Thursday
32.	Mongmong	1	3 <sup>rd</sup> September	Wednesday
33.	Black Day (Pochury)	1	6 <sup>th</sup> September	Saturday
34.	Tsokum (Khiamuniungan)	1	5 <sup>th</sup> October	Sunday
35.	Yemshe Day (Pochury)	1	5 <sup>th</sup> October	Sunday
36.	Langsimnyi (Zeliang)	1	14 <sup>th</sup> October	Tuesday
37.	Laxmi Puja	1	25 <sup>th</sup> October	Saturday
38.	Chaga Gadi (Liangmai)	2	30 <sup>th</sup> -31 <sup>st</sup> October	Thursday to Friday
39.	Apikimthi (Sema)	2	4 <sup>th</sup> -5 <sup>th</sup> November	Tuesday to Wednesday
40.	Ningoil Chakouba (Manipur)	1	5 <sup>th</sup> November	Wednesday
41.	Bhai Bij	1	6 <sup>th</sup> November	Thursday
42.	Tokhu Emong (Lotha)	1	7 <sup>th</sup> November	Friday
43.	Ahuna (Sema)	2	14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> November	Friday to Saturday
44.	Wangla (Garo)	1	21 <sup>st</sup> November	Friday
45.	Ngada (Rengma)	2	27 <sup>th</sup> -28 <sup>th</sup> November	Thursday to Friday

46.	Guruteg Bahadur's Martyr's Day	1	28 <sup>th</sup> November	Friday
47.	Terhünyi (Angami)	1	9 <sup>th</sup> December	Tuesday
48.	Terhünyi (Chakhesang)	1	15 <sup>th</sup> December	Monday

-----  
56 days  
-----

N.B: A Government employee may avail 3(three) days only he/she chooses from the above list as restricted holidays during the calendar year 2003.

**APPENDIX 1.6.**

POLITICAL CASE NO. 85 OF 1921.

LETKHULAL OF KANJAN VILLAGE, NAGA HILLS.

Vrs

GAUNBURA AND VILLAGE OF VAHONG VILLAGE, MANIPUR STATE.

**SUBJECT OF COMPLAINT.**

Land dispute.

**ORDER.**

The northern boundary of the corse hatched area is the stream marked as Rio Khong on the map. In the present condition that is as far north as the Manipur State boundary can be considered to go. The Vahong wet rice cultivation is to the North of the Rio Khong and to the South of the Rio Leng River, as shown on the case map. These streams have other names, but there is no dispute about them. Between those streams the Kukis of Khanyang have no justification for cultivating. They have been told now that they may not cultivate either jhum or wet rice to the South of the salt well on the Rio Leng River. That salt well belong to Vahong and the Kukis may not interfere with it Vahong claim. Other salt well to the North; but over those they have no exclusive right. They may make salt there if they wish and so may the Kukis.

This order does not in any way attempt to settle the Manipur-Naga Hills boundary. There is no reason why that boundary and the Village boundaries should coincide.

Sd/J.H. Hutton,		Sd/ C. Gimson, I.C.S
D.C. Naga Hills,		Political Agent in Manipur,
Kohima.		Imphal.
		13/5/22.

Memo No.3189/Hill.

Dated Imphal, the 26<sup>th</sup> February 1923.

Copy forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, Kohima with reference to his letter No.3014. dated the 29<sup>th</sup> February 1923, to the address of the Political Agent in Manipur, Imphal.

Sd/ C.Ginson I.C.S.  
President, Manipur State Darbar.

**APPENDIX 1.7.****POLITICAL CASE NO. 25 OF 1924.**

15/10/24

SRI. PHRUTHO GB OF MELURI

VS

SIL GB &amp; MEZALHO OF JESSAMI (MANIPUR)

FOR CROSSING OF THE BOUNDARY.

Salhu and Songkholal, Dobashi report that Meluri took oath on the life of their Villagers. It has been that this year Jessami will reap the crops but that next year the land will go to Meluri. Jessami has paid rs, 9/- as rent to Meluri for the land this year. If either encroaches they will be fine Rs,50/- The river Pheechoromi is the boundary between the Villages.

Sd/- E.A.C.

4.6.25

-----  
**READ WITH POLITICAL CASE NO. 25 OF 1924-25 AND 11 OF 1940.**  
**POLITICAL CASE NO.44 OF 1947.**

MELURI NAGA HILLS

VS

JESSAMI (MANIPUR STATE).

**BOUNDARY DISPUTE.**

The boundary was marked by stone and Jessami is fined Rs, 20/- for cutting the Jhum and will be allowed to take one crop (1948)

Sd/- (A. Kevichusa)

E.A.C.

9/12/47.

**APPENDIX 1.8.**

NO.75/38. JUDGEMENT ORDER POL CASE.

The Salt is  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from Matikhru on their land and Jessami can take salt only with permission.

Dated Kohima.

Sd/- C.R pawsey.

29.10.38.

Deputy Commissioner,  
Naga Hills, Kohima.

NO.62/41.

**JUDGEMENT ORDER POL CASE.**

The Thechu river is the boundary but between the line demarcated by stone and the river both villages can out trees for fishing purposes. Similarly on the Jessami side of the stream both villages can do the same.

CONTINUATION:-

Tha and others of Matikhru and Gewemoso GB of Jessami and others appear today.

Gewemonso and his village agree not to cut wood in future from trees grown near the Panikheti of Matikhrumi. A dobashi and a lamb will jointly demarcate a boundary of such reserve round the Panikheti. The Thechu river is boundary but between the line demarcated by stone and the river both village can cut trees for fishing purpose. Similarly on the Jessami side of the stream. Both villages can do the same.

Dated Kohima.

Sd/- C.R. Pawsey.

21.6.43.

Deputy Commissioner,  
Naga Hills, Kohima.

Certified true copy:-

(I. Alienba Ao)

E.A.C. Meluri

**APPENDIX 1.9.****POCHURY PUBLIC FORUM**

H.Q. MELURI TOWN, P.O.BOX-24, MELURI-797114: NAGALAND

**MOTTO: UNITY PROSPERS**

Estd. 1988-09-14

Regd. No. RS-14483 dt. 13.02.91

**DECLARATION**

We, the undersigned leaders on behalf of our concerned communities hereby declare that we shall maintain brotherhood and thereby protect one another's interest on both sides. We realized that since the time immemorial our forefathers were living as one people. To keep in tune with the same fraternity we shall continue to live in unity, fraternity and in co-operation. This will be followed by our posterity even in the days to come.

We sign this declaration on this Thursday, the 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2003.

(HTAM THAW)

Para Leader.

(PENTHU POCHURY)

President.

Pochury Public Forum.

(CHU-SI THAUNG)

Mekuri Leader.

(S. SÜPONG)

Political Committee, PPF.

(YAPOH)

Pansat Village Chief.

**APPENDIX 1.10.****POCHURY PUBLIC FORUM**

H.Q. MELURI TOWN, P.O.BOX-24, MELURI-797114: NAGALAND

MOTTO: UNITY PROSPERS

Estd. 1988-09-14

Regd. No. RS-14483 dt. 13.02.91

**DECLARATION**

The Consultative of the Pochury Public Forum and Western Layshee Usoos (Areas) leaders solemnly declared the following flamboyant point in order to correlate with each other in moral up gradation, economic promotion activities and better relationship henceforth.

1. Nagas are one. There is neither class nor colour among the Naga society.
2. We declared ourselves as one people in principal and spirit and bind into one family.
3. We will assist each other physically and financially to boost road communication, Village developments, human resource development etc.
4. To harness barter and trade system for better economic growth.
5. To co-operate with each other in body, mind and soul for moral up gradation.
6. To extend full confidence and safeguard for better development of cultures.
7. We signed on behalf of our communities on this Tuesday, 13<sup>th</sup> April 2004 at 13.00 hrs.

**1. POCHURY PUBLIC FORUM  
OFFICIALS**

- a. (PENTHU POCHURY)  
President  
Pochury Public Forum
- b. (RHOSIE JOSHOU)  
General Secretary

**2. WESTERN LAYSHEE  
USOOS (AREAS) LEADRES**

- A. PANSAT USOO
  - i. (LUPOH)  
Village Secretary
  - ii. (SÜKRON)  
Secretary, VDB.

c. (T. NYUPUCHU)

Finance Secretary

d. (S. SUPONG)

Convenor

Political Committee, PPF.

e. (TSOLEMONG)

Member

CEC,PPF.

iii. (WELSO)

Ex. Chairman, Village Council

#### **B. KUKI USOO**

i. SÜTHA

VCM

ii. (CHILAND)

VCM

#### **C. KONGKAILONG USOO**

i. (LUPOH)

Village Secretary, Kongkailong

ii. (SEPHRO)

VCM-Meyelong

iii. (SEKHROK)

VCM- Meyelong

#### **D. NIMIYUNGPI USOO**

i. (KHIMOLAH)

VCM.

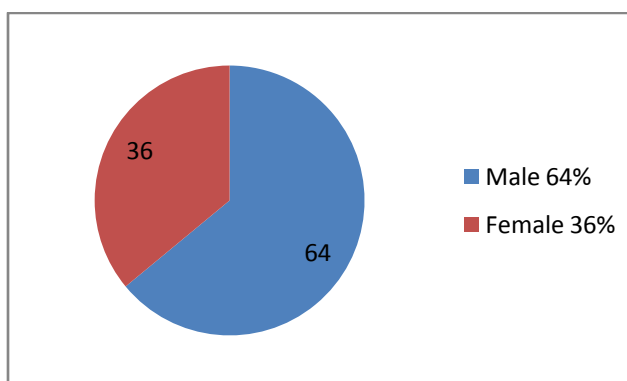
### APPENDIX 1.11.

#### A BRIEF OVER VIEW OF THE POCHURY NAGA POLITY AND SOCIETY: IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIZATION.

To study and explore the rich culture of the Pochury Naga Polity and society and the impact of the British colonization, the questionnaire method was also followed. The questionnaires are distributed to senior students, public leaders and few senior citizens. The analysis of the respondents is given below.

Table 1.4. Basic profile of the respondents

Sl.no	Respondents	Age	Percentage
1	Age Group	24-87 years	
2	Total Male Respondent	45	64%
3	Total Female Respondent	25	36%
	Total Number of Respondents	70	100%



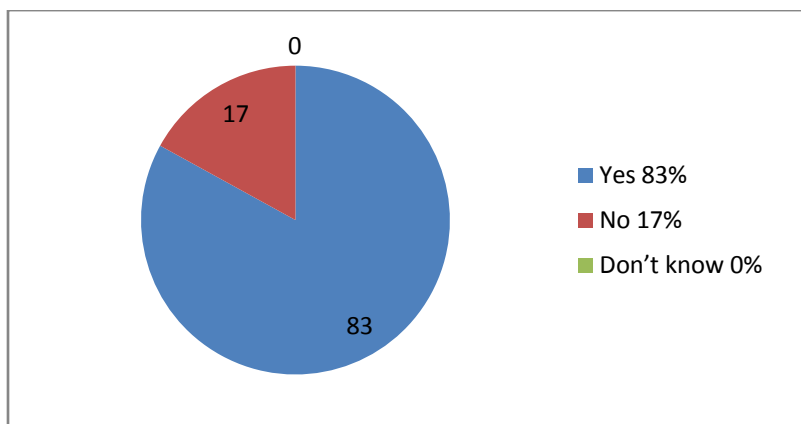
Number of Respondents=70

Table 1.5. Survey sample profile of the respondents

Sl.no	Age(in years)	No. of respondents	sex	
			Male	female
1	24	10	6	4
2	27	4	2	2
3	28	2	1	1

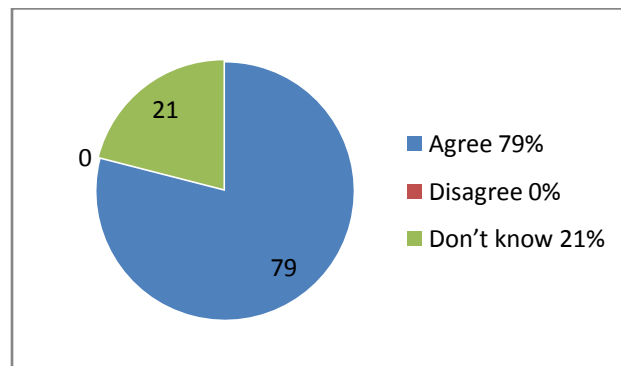
4	29	4	3	1
5	30	6	5	1
6	32	8	6	2
7	35	8	4	4
8	36	4	1	3
9	39	2	1	1
10	40	4	3	1
11	46	6	4	2
12	47	5	3	2
13	53	3	2	1
14	60	2	2	-
15	75	1	1	-
16	87	1	1	-
	Total	70	45	25

Do you agree the Pochury Tribe is a mixture of Sangtam, Myanmar, Rengma and Kuki?  
Based on the Pochury Naga oral history the question was asked is the Pochury Tribe a mixture of Sangtam, Myanmar, Rengma and Kuki? 83% of the respondents responded 'Yes', zero % 'no' and 17% 'don't know'. It is clear indicative that the Pochury Naga Tribe is a mixture of Sangtam, Myanmar, Rengma and Kuki. Being a diverse tribe of recent origin the process of assimilation is going on among the tribe.



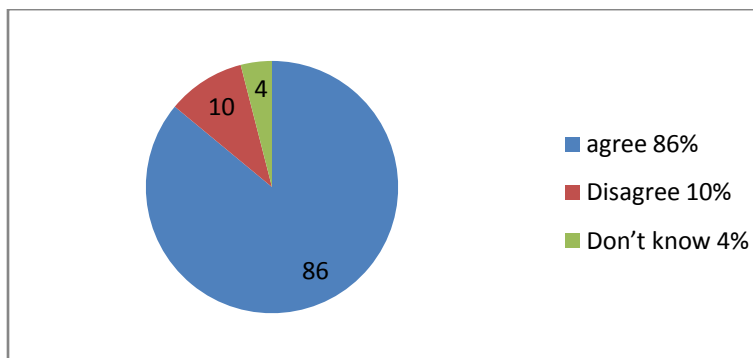
The word Pochury is a combination of three words *Shapori*, *Köchuri* and *Khwuri*.

The question asked is on the origin of the word ‘Pochury’, which is a combination of three words *Shapori*, *Köchuri* and *Khwuri*. 79% of the respondents agree that Pochury is a combination these word from the area where they had migrated and formed themselves a distinct tribe called Pochury. 21% of the respondent ‘don’t know’ the origin of the word Pochury. The Pochury Tribe was recognized by the Government of Nagaland in 1990, the tribal have to play a pro-active role for the inclusion in the school curriculum in decimating to the younger generation.



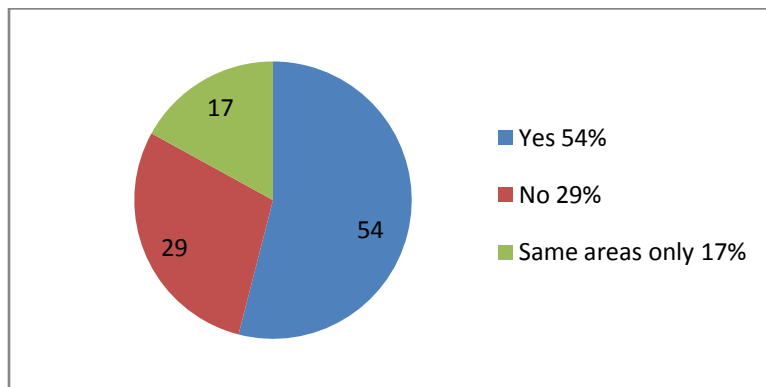
P. Leshimo Nyusou is the brain behind the word ‘Pochury’.

The respondents to the question who coin the word ‘Pochury’ 86% ‘agree’ 10% ‘diagree’ and 4% ‘don’t know’. It is clearly an indicative that the word ‘Pochury’ was coined by P. Leshimo Nyusou. It is under his statesmen and visionary leadership the people of Pochury is united as a tribe.



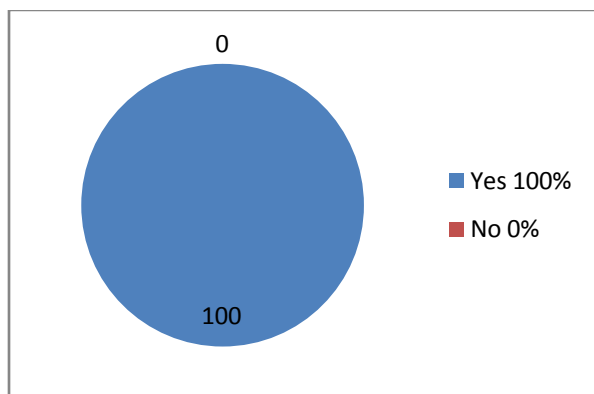
On being asked is the Pochury tribe administered (controlled) by the British?

The respondents responded with 54% ‘yes’, 29% ‘no’ and 17% ‘some area only’. It is clearly indicative that the Pochury were under the British control. After the Pochury area came under the administrative control of the British in 1922 (Mills. 1982, p.4) bridle path and Dak bungalows were constructed at Meluri, Akhegwo, Yisi and Laruri for the occasional tour of the British Officers for exploration of the Patkai range (Souvenir, Pochury day Silver Jubilee, 2015, p.25).



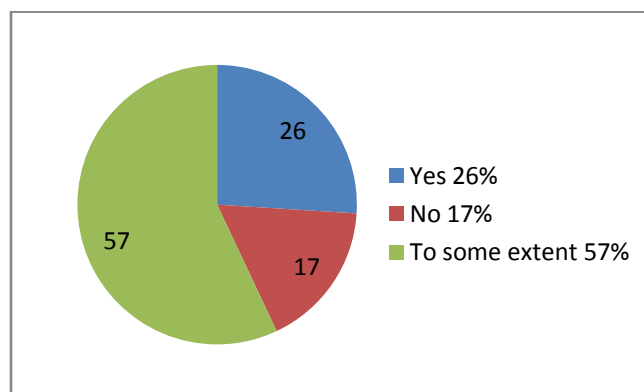
Do you have a Village Chief?

On being asked do you have a Village Chief? The respondents responded by 100% ‘yes’ and 0% ‘no’. The Pochury Naga tribe still retains the Chieftainship of the village. Despite the coming of Christianity, modern Education and new administrative system, the Chief status and position still withstand the ravage of modernity.



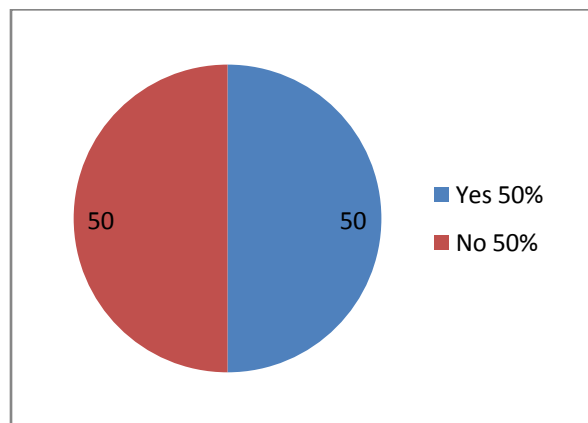
### Is the Chief still functional head of the village?

The respondents to this question, is the Chief still functional head of the Village? 26% are of the view that the Chief is still the functional head of the village. He makes a ceremonial rite for the new jhum field (Müluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.14). 17 % of the respondents responded 'no'. Today the Chief are converted to Christian and does no such rites and 57% responded 'to some extent'. Even though the Chief function and power are taken over by the village council and its members the chief presence are very necessary in the public gathering and festivities which are celebrated even today.



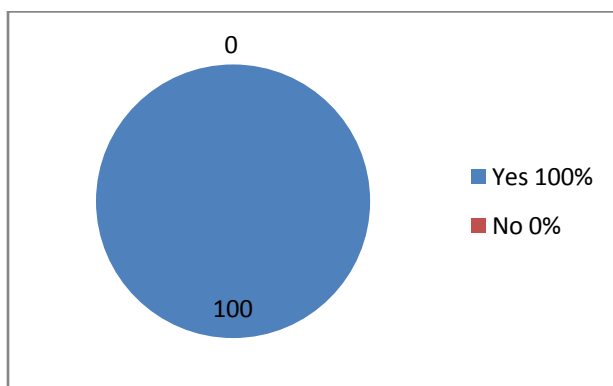
### With a new administrative setup are the women having a say in the society.

On being asked with a new administrative setup are the women having a say in the society, the respondents responded with 50% 'yes' and 50% 'no'. Today with the advancement of the society in all spheres of life, the women status has improved. The coming of Christianity and modern education had greatly improved the status of the Pochury women.



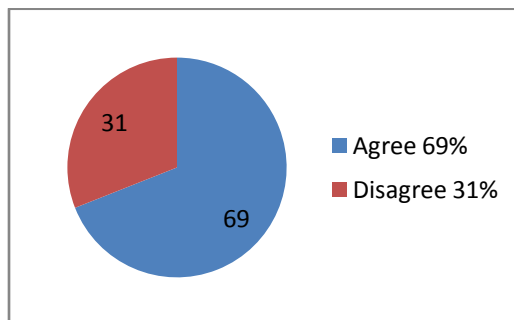
The law of inheritance is through the male line.

On being asked the respondents responded with 100% 'yes' and 0 % 'no'. The Pochury Naga is a patriarchal society where the father is the head of the family and the property is handed down from generation to generation through the male line. The father can gift acquired property to the daughters (Möluori khonyo thi wuleh, n.d, p.11). The sudden change in the land holding system may affect the social structure of the society and may lead to anarchy.



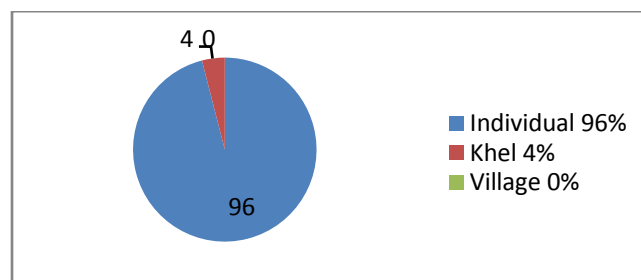
The coming of British, Christianity and Modern Education de-generated the age old customs and practices.

The respondents on the question asked how the coming of British, Christianity and Modern Education de-generated the age old customs and practices, 69% responded 'agree'. According to their view, the coming of British, Christianity and Modern Education are the factors responsible for the decay of honesty, truthfulness and hardy nature of the people. 31% responded 'disagree'. It is by the coming of the coming of British, Christianity and Modern Education that brought new administration, new hope and aspiration.



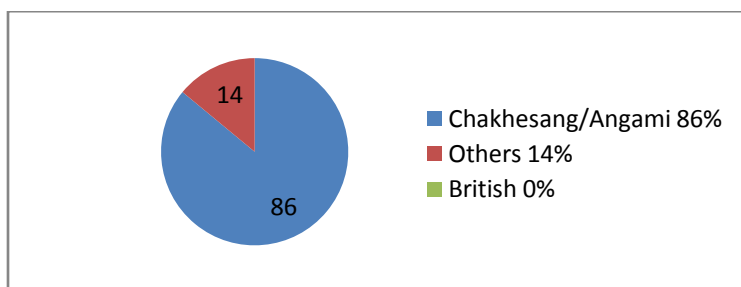
### What is the type of land holding system in your village?

The respondents to the question what is the type of land holding system in your village; 96% responded 'individual', 4% by the Khel and 0% 'village'. Every Naga own a land and it is rare to find someone making a living working for others (Mills 1982, p.75). The deep valleys, rivers and mountain (deep forest) are the khel land.



### Who brought Christianity to your village?

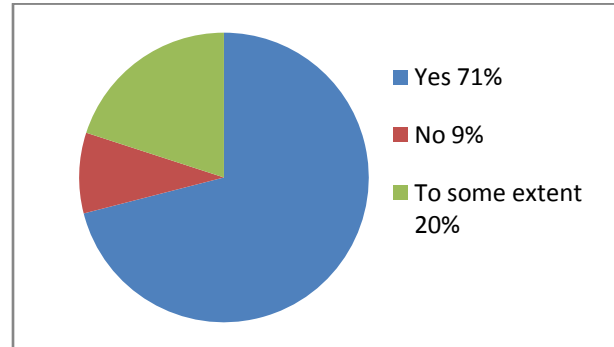
On being asked who brought Christianity to your village the respondents responded with 86% 'Chakhesang', Angami and British 0% and 14% 'others'. The British administer the Pochury area but no Christian missionary were sent nor do they try to convert them to Christianity. It was the Chakhesang and Angami mission field who sent a number of evangelists to the Pochury area (Mepingthü, 2016, pp.45-46). The early Pochury converts also contributed to the growth of Christianity in their own areas.



### Do you agree the Pochury society is experiencing a rapid social change?

When asked do you agree the Pochury society is experiencing a rapid social change. The respondents responded with 71% 'yes', 9% 'no' and 20% 'to some extent'. It is clearly indicative

that they are experiencing a rapid social change in all aspect of life. The opening of schools in every village had given them better education and ample opportunities for jobs and businesses. Today electricity, water supply and road connectivity have reach even the remotest village.



**Glossaries.**Advice- *Shikekütsü*Akhegwo- *Primi*Angami-Chakhesang- *Arari*April- *Zuwie*August- *Tsate*Aunty- *Ehnyithsü*Aunty- *Ehvühkhruo*Aunty- *Ehzakhruo*Aunty- *Ehzathsü*Autumn- *Marakhu Zale*Axe-Shaped Dao- *Tsetsehyuh*Bamboo Mat- *Apho*Bamboo Rat- *Ahjürü*Bamboo Rat- *Azhushu*Bamboo Sticks- *Arühzho*Bamboo Tray- *Arhetsa*Bamboo- *Aphoh*Barking Deer- *Amüsü*Beads- *Asithe*Beams in front of the house- *Atsühne*Beans- *Rhüjivi*Bear- *Awia*Bed- *Aze*Belt- *Suochili,*Bhola- *Ache*Boar- *Asüji*Boars Tusks- *Süchiha*Bonsum- *Amkrie*Bottle Gourds- *Asüza*Boys- *Vizanguori*Brass Earring- *Anarüh*Bride-price- *Alame*Broad Bead necklace- *Azhoka*Brother-in-law- *Ehnyopa*Brother-in-law- *Ehtsü*Brother-in-law- *Ehzüpa*Buffeloe Sacrifice- *Rülitsathe*Butterflies- *Nodha-küchuvüh*Cage- *Akhora*Cane- *Arüh,*Cap- *Aliüweh*Cardinal- *Akükrü*Case- *Ashih*Catcher- *Ashöpuo*Cats- *Amimi*Ceiling- *Akhuruo*Chakhesangs- *Eshapu*Channeled- *Achule*Chest- *Ateh*Chiefs- *Kajiwa*Chives- *Asina*Climbing Tentil- *Akügha*Cobra- *Arechi*Conch Shell- *Asakrü*Cooking Hearth- *Anyithü*Crab- *Azhie*Crossbow- *alawia*Crow- *Ahwuo*Cucumber- *Amüzi*Dao- *anyuh*Dao Box- *Asuochih*Daughter-in-law- *Ehjünyi*Death- *Sü*December- *Müdhuo*Divorce- *Kükörüsou*Dog- *Ashuh*Domestic Fowl- *Awia*

Dormitory- <i>Alashia</i>	Grant father- <i>Ehnyi</i>
Dragon-flies- <i>Huoküsho-vüh</i>	Grant mother- <i>Ehla</i>
Dream- <i>Amo</i>	Grant mother- <i>Ehvüh</i>
Dream Leaf- <i>Amo Kümowa</i>	Grass-hoppers– <i>Ashukhria</i>
Eagle- <i>Ahluomu</i>	Grave- <i>Arüku</i>
<i>Echüniiri</i> - <i>Akhegwo</i>	Guard Huts- <i>Riehuo Phrü</i>
Eel- <i>Adzükhriü</i>	Hand Shield- <i>Akeruo</i>
Eel- <i>Angüsuo</i>	Hawk- <i>Ahluozah</i>
Eight Feast of Merit- <i>Aküzü küza</i>	Head- <i>Alü</i>
Elder brother/sister- <i>Ehjie</i>	Head-Gear- <i>Akuorhie</i>
Engaged- <i>Shiete</i>	Healer- <i>Dömari</i>
Evil Spirits- <i>Nyieza Kömösöwa</i>	Hearth- <i>Anyithü</i>
Father- <i>Ehpa</i>	Himalayan Squirrel- <i>Kuzhidhuokre</i>
Father elder brother/uncle- <i>Ehpaji</i>	Hind leg- <i>Amügu</i>
Feast of Merit- <i>Azhie</i>	Hollock- <i>Arüwa</i>
February- <i>Zheprie</i>	Hornbill- <i>Aruochih</i>
Festival- <i>Akhuh</i>	Hut- <i>Aphrü</i>
First Sower- <i>küshephie khuwa</i>	Inner Room- <i>Azhelo</i>
Fishes- <i>Angünya, Amüsi, Akülüü, Amüsa</i>	January- <i>Wiethuo</i>
Flute- <i>Pilechu</i>	Jatipoma- <i>Atetsoh</i>
Flying Fox- <i>Alooh</i>	Jews Harp- <i>Atakhu</i>
Flying squirrel- <i>Aprih</i>	Jhum paddy- <i>Suomütha</i>
Frog- <i>Awuh</i>	Job's Tears- <i>azhetha</i>
Front Leg – <i>Arhahveh</i>	July- <i>Lesä</i>
Garden- <i>Aphari</i>	June- <i>Zutsa</i>
Gate- <i>Ashiaku</i>	Jungle Fowl- <i>Aro</i>
Gathering of Village Elders <i>or</i> Village Court- <i>Müzaluo</i>	Khel- <i>Aphru</i>
Genna- <i>Tsäna</i>	Khokon- <i>Ariüwa</i>
Ginger- <i>Aso,</i>	Khonoma- <i>Samuma</i>
Ginger- <i>Asotsa/Asora</i>	Knee Shield- <i>Ajihruo</i>
Go-between- <i>Tsäna/müshuawa</i>	Kutsapo- <i>Kütsape</i>
Gooseberry- <i>Suohrüzüh</i>	Lake- <i>Khreetu</i>
Granary- <i>Aluo</i>	Lake- <i>Longcham</i>
	Lake- <i>Shilloi/Lütsam</i>

Lamp Stand- <i>Aladi</i>	Oil Seed- <i>Aküso/ müchowuo</i>
Laruri- <i>Kürari</i>	Otter- <i>Ajühreh</i>
Lighting- <i>Atsoria</i>	Outer Room- <i>Awiepa/atela</i>
Lops- <i>Anaha</i>	Owl- <i>Khuchorü</i>
Luck-Stone- <i>Alozu</i>	Paddy- <i>Atsuo</i>
Maize- <i>Akhuozhi</i>	Palm civet- <i>Aphitsou</i>
Mango- <i>Amüzhö</i>	Palm civet- <i>Ashühphru</i>
March- <i>Buotsa</i>	Palm- <i>Alüphi</i>
May- <i>Tüthse</i>	Pandemics- <i>Asana</i>
Medicine men- <i>Dühmari</i>	Pansat- <i>Sosari</i>
Miniature Bow- <i>Müzhüla</i>	Somra- <i>Sezari</i>
Mint- <i>Arhesa</i>	Parrots- <i>Akütsüh</i>
Minter Season- <i>Agie Zale</i>	Peace maker- <i>Aleri</i>
Monkeys- <i>Ashüki</i>	Peacock- <i>Arah</i>
Moon- <i>Asah</i>	Peak- <i>Mol-Len</i>
Morung- <i>Awiekhuh</i>	Phor- <i>Elokhea</i>
Morung Boys- <i>Vizari</i>	Phor - <i>Phochiri</i>
Mosquito- <i>Jhikhrovüh</i>	Pigeon- <i>Mükhriatü</i>
Mother- <i>Ehvüh</i>	Pigs- <i>Awu</i>
Mother- <i>Ehza</i>	Pine- <i>Aküla</i>
Mother-in-law- <i>Ehnyi</i>	Plantain leave- <i>Arunga</i>
Motivation- <i>Sosie kütsü</i>	Plantain Plant- <i>Zhüwathorü küwu</i>
Moulded Bamboo- <i>Ashüre</i>	Porcupine- <i>Aküprü</i>
Mütsale- <i>Miatsaluo</i>	Pounding Blocks- <i>Ashela</i>
Myanmar- <i>Khwüry</i>	Pounding Sticks- <i>Arüne</i>
Myanmar- <i>Küchury</i>	Python- <i>Asuomia</i>
Nerves- <i>Ariitha</i>	Rain Coat- <i>Künyiwa</i>
Nightjar- <i>Küzowah</i>	Rat- <i>Amükhruo</i>
Ninth Feast of Merit- <i>Wiekhu siezhu</i>	Red Giant millet- <i>khuozi kürümia</i>
November- <i>Kate</i>	<i>kümüruwa</i>
Nutgall tree- <i>Athoma</i>	Red Gourds- <i>Achisho</i>
Oak- <i>Anguozhe</i>	Red Leaf Millet- <i>Arhüh</i>
Oath- <i>Güküshe</i>	Reed- <i>Ashüre</i>
October- <i>Mahwie</i>	Religion- <i>Anale</i>

Reserved Forest- <i>Sangtam-Kuki</i>	Squirrel- <i>Adhuoke</i>
Rhinoceros- <i>Asühpri</i>	Stag- <i>Akhruo</i>
Rhododendron- <i>Luoshüthorü</i>	Striped Squirrel- <i>Adhuotse</i>
Rice- <i>Amütha</i>	Strong – <i>Müzhoshe</i>
Rice-Beer- <i>Akha</i>	Summer Season- <i>Müzhü Zale</i>
Rohi- <i>Ajijuh</i>	Sun- <i>Arönyi</i>
Ropes- <i>Ali</i>	Supreme Being- <i>Nyi Nyieza Kajiwa</i>
Samphuri- <i>Thachumi</i>	Tail- <i>Anürü</i>
Sangtam- <i>Arorü</i>	Taxman/Imposture- <i>khuotsari</i>
Season Observers- <i>Sariünyih küchiewa</i>	Terraces- <i>Akhuzu</i>
Second Chief- <i>Kaji Sehshi</i>	Thanamir- <i>Thomami</i>
September- <i>Khuthe</i>	Thatch- <i>Alouosü</i>
Serrow- <i>Anguozuo</i>	Tiger's Canine- <i>Amiaha.</i>
Setting Platform- <i>Aleshuo</i>	Tiger- <i>Amia</i>
Seyochong- <i>Zahtshürithonari</i>	Tiger-men- <i>Amiajери</i>
Shelf- <i>Aratsah</i>	Tobacco- <i>Azhi</i>
Shield- <i>Achohuo</i>	Trumpet- <i>Atütü</i>
Shifting Cultivation- <i>Azula</i>	Uncle- <i>Ehnyitho/Ehnyisie</i>
Shoulder Slash- <i>Arorie</i>	Village Gate- <i>Ashieku</i>
Shrub Arrow- <i>Suoruo Shujhu</i>	Village- <i>Anyu</i>
Sister-in-law- <i>Ehtsü</i>	Walnuts- <i>Akha</i>
Sister-in-law- <i>Ehyo</i>	White Giant Millet- <i>khuozi kürümia</i>
Sister-in-law- <i>Ehzüvie</i>	<i>kümüjiwa</i>
Snail- <i>Jakuthe</i>	White Gourd- <i>Arünyi</i>
Soap Nut- <i>Achoka</i>	Wife- <i>Ehzhiekha</i>
Son-in-law- <i>Ehdümüo</i>	Wild Apple- <i>Ashohlo</i>
Sow- <i>Asüchou</i>	Wild Boar- <i>Asüchi</i>
Spade- <i>Amökhu</i>	Wild cat- <i>Anyukrie</i>
Spears- <i>Avih</i>	Wild Fowl- <i>Aro</i>
Species of tree- <i>Hiezüh</i>	Wild Jack Fruit- <i>Akhutie</i>
Spirit Axe- <i>Nyieza Mhövü</i>	Wild Mithun- <i>Sülasüsü</i>
Spirit Morung- <i>Nyieza Wiekhu</i>	Wine- <i>Akha</i>
Spirit of the Death- <i>Kössüri rözhe</i>	Winnowing Fan- <i>Amüra</i>
Spring Season- <i>Tshethe Zale</i>	Winter- <i>Agie</i>

Wooden Bridge- *Amüle*

Wood-land- *Atsoza*

Woodpecker- *Tsotüwa*

Yam- *Aphe*

Yam- *Apia*

Year- *Mavi*

Yisi- *Eküzeri*

Yisi- *Phozari*

Younger brother/sister- *Ehniüh*

Youth- *Shefuri*

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 Hemin, 44, Graduate Teacher, Kanjan Village  
 Jonlet, 45, Village Leader, Kanjan Village  
 Khouzing, 79, Retired Teacher, Village Elder, Sötsü Village  
 Kiangong, 73, Village Elder, Kükegwo Village  
 Kourütho Poji, 76, Village Elder, Khumiasü Village  
 Kümatho, 72, Village Elder, Khumiasü Village  
 L. Silatho, 68, Village Elder, Khumiasü Village  
 Lengsei, 55, Village Leader, Kanjan Village  
 Lethao (L. James), 58, Village Leader, Kanjan Village  
 Lotsa, 89, Village Elder, Phokhungri Village  
 Lt. Azözu T. Thurr, 91, Ex. Kilonser, Federal Government of Nagaland  
 Lt. Chinasü, 86, Village Elder, Khumiasü Village  
 Lt. Lomatshü, 87, Village Elder, Khumiasü Village  
 Lt. Lomatshü, 84, Village Elder, Khumiasü Village  
 Lt. Rüşhotshü, 80, Village Elder, Meluri Village  
 Lt. Tsuosekhu, 75, Village Chief, Meluri Village  
 Lt. Wamatho, 78, Second Chief, Meluri Village  
 Lt. Zerüsie Nyusou, 60, Retired Government Servant, Meluri Town  
 Lüşhipa, 89, Local Medicine Man, Meluri Village  
 Meshotshü, 65, Village Elder, Khumiasü Village  
 Ngotho, 80, Village Elder, Kükegwo Village

Nyikho, 69, Head Deacon, Kükegwo Village  
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 Rachikhu Po, 79, Retired Government Servant, Meluri Town  
 Riesuopa Tsori, 70, Village Chief, Meluri Town.  
 S. Akho Leyri, 59, Public Leader, Sütsü Village  
 Sapung, 80, Village Elder, Kükegwo Village  
 Sekhholal Singson, 60, Government Servant, Kanjan Village  
 Shethotshü, 72, Village Elder, Khumiasü Village  
 Shiekutho Nyusou, 53, Government Servant, Khumiasü Villag  
 Siarütho, 84, Villager Elder, Meluri Village  
 Temung Achupa, 80, Village Chief, Akhegwo Village  
 Vithosie, 74, Second Chief, Meluri Village  
 Vitsüsie, 55, Government Servant, Meluri Town  
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Plate 1. Pochury Naga Morung- *Awiekh*  
(Photo courtesy: Black and white photographs taken by J.P. Mills. Refnum: 64/JPM/JPM).



Plate 2. Pochury Naga Morung- *Awiekh* at  
Kisama.



Plate 3. Bamboo pole- *Akhukhrü* put up for  
the feast of merit.



Plate 4. Animal heads fixed after the feast of  
merit: Phokhungri village.



Plate 5. 'Y' post in honour of the feast of merit  
(Photo courtesy: Photo courtesy: Black and  
white photographs taken by J.P. Mills.  
Refnum: 78/JPM/JPM).



Plate 6. Meat vessel: *Johuokhorü* of Meluri  
village.



Plate 7. Offering for the death spirit- *Asüthe*:  
(Photo courtesy: Photo courtesy: Image  
number R.041. J.P. Mills photographic  
collection).



Plate 8. Offering for the death spirit- *Asüthe*:  
Male *Asüthe*.



Plate 9. Offering for the death spirit- *Asüthe*:  
Female *Asüthe*.



Plate 10. Pochury Naga man having a hair cut:  
(Photo courtesy: Photo courtesy: Image  
number R.050. J.P. Mills photographic  
collection).



Plate 11. A typical Pochury Naga hair cut.



Plate 12. Pochury Naga man's earring- *anarü*



Plate 13. Pochury Naga bamboo vat- *alokhe*.



Plate 14. Pochury Naga winnowing fan-  
*Amüra*.



Plate 15. Granary at Laruri



Plate 16. Pots for containing paddy at Laruri.



Plate 17. Offerings for the spirit of the house-*rüngüküzhe*.

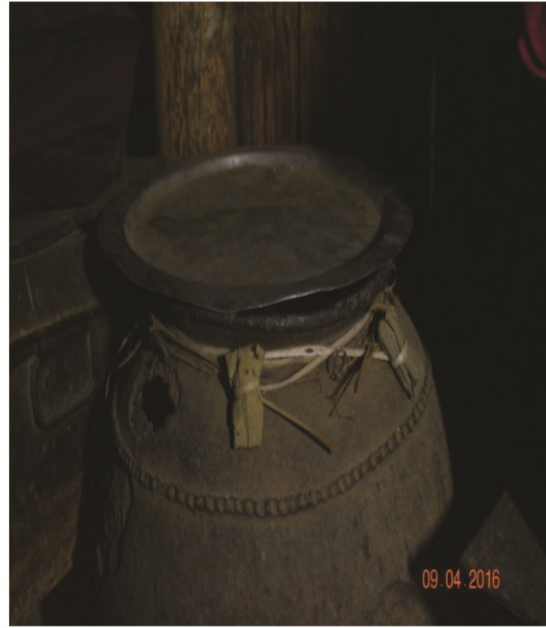


Plate 18. Offering for bountiful blessing-*rüngüküzhe*.



Plate 19. Pochury Naga showls.



Plate 20. Pochury Naga weapons.



Plate 21. Pochury Naga man wearing broad necklace- *Azhoka*.



Plate 22. Woman wearing strings of dark blue beads- *Ajhukrea* round the waist and narrow skirt- *Künyimünyi* (photo courtesy: school of Oriental and African studies, London. 67/JP/JPM)



Plate 23. Women in traditional dress.



Plate 24. Men in traditional dress.



Plate 25. Jhum hut- *aphrütša*.



Plate 26. Giant white millet- *Khouzhi kürümia kümüjiwa*



Plate 27. Jhum hut- *tsolophrü*



Plate 28. Yam field- *Abiaza*.



Plate 29. Millet- *Atsetha*.



Plate 30. Scholar interviewing at Phor village.



Plate 31. Scholar interviewing at Phokhungri village



Plate 32. River Tizu.



Plate 33. Limestone/White stone- *Longmüsingpa* at Zhipu village.