

Living On The Margins: A Study Of The Rongmei Of Imphal Valley

Golmei Jenthui Rongmei

Research Scholar, Assam University

Abstract: This article portrays the perspective of the Rongmei Naga of Imphal Valley, Manipur. Majority of the Rongmei people concentrated in the state of Manipur and Tamenglong district of Manipur is the core home town of the Rongmei. In their traditional habitat in Manipur they had the security and comfort of a large community who not only provided them the numbers but also the strength. They had land handed over by the previous generation, knowledge and experience of food gathering from the older generation and the security of knowing the surrounding well. They had familiarized the environment fairly well and were by now well equipped to survive. But once they decided to leave that familiar surroundings and settle in a new place, they had lost the advantage of knowledge and familiarity of their old habitat. They were completely cut off from their main habitat in Manipur and consequently from their kinsmen. As a result they found it hard to reproduce and perpetuate their traditions, religion and culture. Having been forced to abandon their traditional habitat and settle themselves in a new area, the Rongmeis encountered a new challenge. They were new to the Imphal Valley; the surroundings were new, the environment were new as well and the neighbours unfamiliar. The data is based on secondary sources and field work. It also attempts to set the present process of changes that are taking place in the Rongmei society.

Keywords: Rongmei, Imphal Valley, Socio-economic, Effects and Transformation

I. INTRODUCTION

The Rongmei Naga is one of the oldest indigenous tribe of the Naga fragmented into the different states of North-Eastern Region part India. Racially, the Rongmei Nagas belong to the Tibeto-Burman family of the Mongoloid race who at the present day inhabit in the states of Manipur, Assam and Nagaland in India. G.A Grierson in his monumental "Linguistic Survey of India" has identified that the Rongmei Tribe belong to the Naga-Bodo Sub-Family Tibeto-Burman group.(1) Majority of the Rongmei people concentrated in the state of Manipur and Tamenglong west district of Manipur is the core home town of the Rongmei. Rongmei is a combination of two words 'Rong' and 'Mei' meaning 'South' and 'People' respectively. The Rongmei stands for the southerners or the people of the southern country. According to the census of India Manipur has a total population of 28, 55,794 as per 2011. Out of which the Hills district population is 12, 22,122 and of that the Valley districts population is 16,

33,672.(2) There are 16 districts in Manipur. Like any other Naga tribe, the Rongmei do have a rich folklore, myths and legends, folk songs, folk tale and ballads and oral traditions which have passed down from generation to generation but remained unwritten for a very long time.

Their legends, folklore, and folktales revealed the Rongmei tribe came out of a mythical cave known as Mahou Taobhei at Makhel, Senapati district in Manipur which is not yet identified so far. The first man came out of the cave was known as Pokrei and the woman was named Dichalu. They left Makhel and came to a deep gorge called Ramtin Kabin. N.B (3) describes the life Ramtin Kabin, "Ramtin Kabin may have been safe from the wild beasts, but it was not suitable or human settlement and it is said, in that place, people hardly saw star. Imaginably, Ramtin Kabin, therefore was like a cave with single gate. This may be the reason why some said that the Zeliangrong people came out of a cave. They settled down at Changwang Phungning also known as Guang-phungning and then they further moved to Makuilongdi (meaning 'big

round mountain') then they isolated towards different regions, the South, the West and North. From this place the Zeliangrong culture marked as the beginning. According to the Rongmei oral tradition, Zeme, Liangmei and Rongmei and including Inpuimei scattered from Makuilongdi to different direction. The Zeme to the far west upto Assam, the Liangmei in the Northern, and the Rongmei to the South, till Lushai Hills in Mizoram.

According to the tradition, during its glory days Makuilongdi had a total of 7777 households. Makuilongdi became the frame of Zeliangrong culture. It became quite prosperous with enough land for agriculture. They developed shifting cultivation and harvest plentiful in the village and had surplus in food production. According to the tradition say that in a single year thirty ceremonies of Taraang Kai (ornamented ritual house) was performed at Makuilongdi. The village was under the leadership of a Chieftainship. It was a continuation from Chawang Phungning. The Rongmei migrants towards the south settled down at Kajinglong village for many generations. Far and wide the Rongmei Naga tribe is now dispersed in different part of North Eastern region of India such as Manipur, Nagaland and Assam. This group is believed to be more scattered yet they are most adventurous. The Rongmei are popularly known for their rich cultural tradition, which is associated with each and every activity. Their cultural practices, ritual, rites performance, religious practices, socio-economic, polity etc. their cultural identity and the cultural practices of the Rongmei are immensely influenced by the social contexts found in places where they settle and the way they live.

The Rongmei settlement in the valley had been slow but continuous in three successive periods of the history of Manipur pre-history period, British period (colonial period) and post British period. Manipur valley is mainly populated by the Meiteis who are mostly Vaishnavites, to be specific. They are more advanced than the other communities of Manipur. Then there are other sizable communities like the Muslims who are referred to as 'Pangans' Mayangs (outsiders, non-Meiteis) and the tribes like the Rongmeis. The entire state has an area of about 8,629sq.miles of which the valley has only 700sq.miles and the rest belongs to the hills. In the Imphal Valley, they are found in many settlements. There are more than seventy settlements of the Rongmei Naga in the Valley. They have a great respect for their traditions handed down through the ages.

II. UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEM

Although the Rongmei had a long relationship with the plains people and a relationship of amity, mutual exchanges and peaceful co-existence was a historical tradition, settlement in the Valley posed some serious challenges to them. Firstly, they were completely cut off from their main habitat and consequently from their kinsmen. They become small demographic group living amidst the non-tribal community. They are finding it hard to express freely as they are considered to be generally backward by the predominant community. Secondly, living amidst non-tribal population who were mostly Hindu practicing a Brahmanic ideology with

its accompanying caste structure, the animist beef eating Rongmei were threatened of being treated as untouchables. Pushed thus to the territorial as well as social margins, the Rongmei are fighting for survival as an ethnic groups as well as cultural groups. Comparatively, they are considered backward in almost all walks of life. They are considered to be on lower stage of development. They have generally been treated and regarded as belonging to the lower position ritually by the majority group of population. Most of the tribal characteristics and similar assimilation of such communities as are called plains tribal is continuing. This brought to the fore the threat to the indigenous Rongmei identity. After migration of Rongmei into Valley they remain the same as a result they found it hard to reproduce and perpetuate their traditions, religion and culture.

III. LOSS OF TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION

Migration was the natural phenomena of people from one place to another, from time to time in order to search a safety place for settlement as well as the purpose of their cultivation. In the same way the ancient forefather of Rongmei too perhaps went to different places in group to find of vacant land or forest lands in the mountain ranges occupied by none, as a practice the group of people who first occupied the fallow land became the master of the land. The traditional occupation of the Rongmei Naga has been agriculture in their original habitat in Manipur. The tribes of North East India depend mainly on cultivation. The method of cultivation is based on the old age system of slash and burn cultivation; this cultivation method is called shifting or Jhum.

In the earlier stages of evolution people did not develop close attachment to their habitat and therefore, they were in the habit of migrating from one place to another. The Rongmei migrated to Imphal Valley many centuries back through many reasons in order to search for a safety place for settlement as well as for the many causes. The traditional method of occupation of the Rongmei was the primitive and superficial shifting cultivation, known as *Jhumming*, (slash and burn) burning the forest and sowing their seeds in the fertile ashes. For which they did not required plough animals until fairly recent times. The common tradition agricultural implements used by Rongmei are daos, spears, sickle etc. They used stick only for digging purpose. The method of cultivation involved cutting down of the jungle of a particular plot of land and cut down trees and other vegetation to dry in the subsequent three to four dry months. In the jhum lands they cultivated mixed crops. Besides paddy they also raised, maize, millets, sesame, ginger, brinjal etc. In the past, method of wet cultivation was totally not known by the Rongmei as a result they generated their resources exclusively from shifting cultivation. In the olden days, forest played vital role of the Rongmei people and closely connected with their daily life style. Both men and women are engaged in labour work. The method of wet cultivation was widely practice by most of the plains dweller in the valley. In the traditional economy system, they worked in the jhum field and produced to meet their domestic needs. The Rongmei Naga tribe dependence on forests as their primary sources of livelihood since the earliest period

however they not only had to give up their agricultural pursuit due to the non-availability of land, they began to be displaced from their traditional habitat.

IV. SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEM

Economic transformation is a change in the mode of production and consumption of a community. The process of transformation is reflected in the manner of organization of the factors of production and consumption adopted by a community. The transformation is caused by the internal growth of the economy and the external pressure on it.⁽⁴⁾ In the past their economic activity carried on through the clan and lineage when there was scarcity of food or any natural calamity occurred. Their kinsmen and relatives stood by their side through cooperative efforts. But after migrated to the Valley they were outnumbered by the plains people and far away from their kinsmen. Materially and intellectually rather advanced plains people of the valley were obsessed with a notion of superiority in the behavioural ways has since been acting as a gap between the tribal and non-tribal folks in the valley.

The tremendous explosion of non-tribal population not only threatened the small demographic strength of the Rongmei people, the pressure on the land resources which forced them to engage in different kind of jobs to earn their livelihood. This has affected the traditional economic life of people adversely. The adopting non-agricultural occupations by gradually increasing the number of people, particularly near the urban areas are another decreasing yield of the practice of shifting cultivation. The encroachment of many outsiders has threatened on the earlier habitats. The process of the gradual displacement forced them to abandon their traditional agricultural methods.

The migration and settlement of Rongmei in the Imphal valley from their ancestral land particularly from Tamenglong district in different period of historical times. They usually migrate from one place to another or from one particular region in search of better life or amenities. Thus in those ancient days, it also happened now and then, that sometimes man was forced to move out of a particular place under the pressure of certain very unfavourable circumstances where life became miserable due to repeated inter-village feud or inter tribal feuds. According to T.C. Hodson says that "A Kabui, owes no duty to the tribe; he enjoys no rights as a members of the tribe; it affords him no protection against an enemy, for as often as not his worst enemies are those of his own village or tribe".⁽⁵⁾ There was no unity in those days' anti-social activities against weaker villagers by the stronger villagers so called inter-village feud 'sangnav ric'(in Rongmei dialect) was prevalent among the Rongmei. This gave an advantage for the aggressor to exercise their influence firm and steady. The inter-village enmity or in inter-clan feuds was a great obstacle to the development of a peaceful relation between the villages. This unhealthy atmosphere provided an opportunity for the invaded Kuki clans to ashes and many lives were lost and killed mercilessly.

Generally the movements of the Rongmei people can be explained as migration from the hills to the valley and

migration from the hills or villages to the cities or other commercial centres. The life in the valley was better economic advantages and security. Migration from the hills to the valley was due to several causes; among them economic factors, better job opportunities in the urban areas or commercial centre's, and lack of security for life in the hills were among the most important causes.

During the British rule and also both before and after Kuki rebellion of 1917-1919 when there was no security for life. And also the Kuki incursions into that region became continuous and blood feuds between the people became very frequent. Moreover, the influx of new immigrants into the region was also very high; pressure on land became the main problem. The hostile activities Naga underground movements was widespread and was so insecure for the people to move around and thus it was also one of the causes of migration from hill to valley.

The economic situation of the Rongmei was rather unsatisfactory; they do not work what is necessary to earn enough for their daily needs. For their livelihood they rear livestock like, pig, chicken, dog and cow etc., these are reared mostly in order to meet the family requirement of meats for domestics' consumptions, observance of religious rituals and socio- economic festivals in the village, which is still a common feature in many of the villages. They remain economically poor. In the olden days the main source of income to maintain was agriculture which becomes threat to cultivation. They were aware of the difficulties arising out of the shortage of food. They engaged themselves in many other jobs to supplement their income.

Majority of the urban settlers depend on employments in menial job particularly in Municipality, and Medical mostly in low grade job such as caretaker, peons, sweepers, drivers etc. As reported the Rongmei did took up the job just because they were paid. It is also reported that it was easily available as the majority population belonging to the Hindu community who were more advanced in terms of education were not willing to take up.

In the traditional Rongmeis society, there was no caste system in their society but in the Indian social context the problem of backwardness has arisen on the account of the defective Hindu social order. The Rongmei came into close contact with majority non-tribal population in Imphal valley which is predominantly Hindu many centuries back. Though the Rongmei Naga is not a caste based society and no associated evils system like untouchability or social inequality but with the influence of the majority group they are to some extent pushed to the backward class. This change has been clearly brought about by the alterations in the demographic pattern of Rongmei society affected by the unabated influx of Manipuri-speaking Hindu and Muslims who, in the course of a few years, seek and gain entry into the Majority fold. The Rongmei have been living with the non-tribal population side by side for centuries. They have friendly relation with the plains people but in this relationship, they always remained losers and suffered in one way or the other. Eating of meat beef and pork and various other foods ridicule their customs and beliefs and discourage the use of the tribal language. This eating habit are treated as outcaste and impure and debarred from the mainstream. This forces them to observe the social

and religious habits in order to avoid lapse that could create among the majority group. Gradually acculturation leads to tribal disintegration. They become a part of Hindu society and they were to be absorbed in the larger Hindu system with the help of the process of sanskritization. As the Rongmei in Valley are minority community and they are to be strongly influenced by majority.

Uneven distribution of deprivation, feeling of alienation leads to mal-development in an unequal society that is unequal opportunities in the competition for jobs, services, education and social facilities etc. On the other hand frustration, unbalanced personal relationship etc challenges civil society.

V. EFFECTS AND TRANSFORMATION

The transformation and progress of development came into the tribal society with the British conquest and their colonial rule for about half a century. Their administration resulted in a process of social change among the tribes. The tribes in the valley areas have been living with the other non-tribal communities since time immemorial and there has been a great amount of cultural give and take between the tribes and other neighbouring communities. (6) The dominant caste could be a local source of sanskritization or barrier to its spread. (7) The term sanskritization was used M.N Srinivas to describe the process of cultural mobility in the traditional social structure of India. It brings a pattern of various cultural aspects of the Rongmei Naga tribe. Sanskritization is the process of cultural and social mobility during these periods of relative closure of the Hindu social system. (8) In the process and advancement of the modern technology in today's world where old system is being replaced by new trend, the old practices do not hold much relevance now. The traditional society changed with the changing passage of time. Transformation into more advanced technology brought changes in the social system and tradition due to more contact with the outside world. With the introduction of the western culture and education the traditional social and culture brought major social change and considered to be the following lines. Mazumdar H.T says that "Social change may be defined as a new fashion or mode, either modifying or replacing the old, in the life of a people or in the operation of a society". (9)

Before the coming of the British and the subsequent spread of Christianity the Rongmei were confined to their own world. The tradition religion of the Naga is called animism by foreign missionaries and conventional anthropologists. Every ethnic group or communities had their own traditional religions. This traditional religion had been in existence since time immemorial. The most common tribal traditional religion is term as animism by the western writers, though it is not the appropriate or acceptable name for this traditional religion. Unlike the other religions, the traditional religion has no founder or no names as well. They lived in a basically closed world which no outsiders were allowed to enlightened they rarely ventured out of their territory.

McCulloch pointed out that the Rongmei people (the Koupoi) enjoy good health, he had no anxiety, but if struck by the sickness for any length of time he would not go for medicine for a cure of disease but he would go for sacrifices to

be offered to God as decided by the priest to certain deities. (10) They attribute all kinds of sickness to the design of evils, whether it is a mysterious sickness. They consider all these the inevitable consequences of breaches of the genna prohibitions and so by the outcome of spirits anger. The priest sacrifices the animals besides performing the duties of prayer and rites.

The Rongmeis are extremely superstitious and independent in their religious pre-deposition. After the colonial conquest in Assam in 1826, commissioner of Assam, Major Francis Jenkins made effort to bring the missionary society to take charge of the North East Region. Coming of Christianity the ancient practice was liberalized. The missionaries aim to convert the native. As already mentioned earlier that the Rongmei Naga were very superstitious and religious the new converts had to face a number of tortures, accusation and opposition from the villages and as well as from their families. They thought that the white missionaries are trying to pollute their people and customs and being ill luck to their people. In the modern world of today gradually many of the Rongmeis those converted to Christianity have given up all animistic rites and rituals and it is replaced by the Christian way. They now no longer observe the traditional religious sacrifices. They are cut off from their traditional worship and no longer give offerings associated with the traditional village festivals. Though some of the traditional religion follower still follows the rites and ritual but not very strictly observed like in the olden days.

With the introduction of Christianity in the society the prohibition of offering sacrifice does not observe any formal restriction. Now people cope up with the modern way of life and as they are also have close contact with the other majority society have greatly resulted in change. With the coming of Christianity have discarded their age-old customs and traditions and have embraced a new culture which is totally alien to them. Indeed in the Rongmei society today mostly among the young people and Christian dominated villagers have forgotten their customs and traditional values. The Christian converts slowly became estranged from their traditional way of life; they were prohibited by their new adopted religion from taking part in the ritual and ceremonies practices which were associated with the worship of spirits. Thus Christian missionaries have brought transformation in the Rongmei society.

Education has a great role in bringing about social, cultural and economic condition changes but due to lack of education the Rongmeis are lacking behind many remain not only uneducated but illiterate. Thus they do not keep pace with the changing modern development. Education and literacy have been close relationship with the individual activities in the modern days. But with the Christian Missionary coming to Northeast India in the nineteenth century seem to flourish with the result that the people have been converted to Christianity have higher rate in literacy. With frequent contact between the Christian follower and foreign missionaries, their world-view and mental outlook had been broadened. They accepted the modernity with economic development in the form of schools, hospitals, water supply, good road and transportation system. Most of the Rongmei were illiterate the other majority group were more advanced in terms of education.

There has been a great leap in the field of conventional education.

The growth of Christianity among the Rongmei was very slow and at the same time their acceptance with the outside culture was comparatively slow. Before the coming of Christianity was purely oral but now they have a script besides translation. The people became moderate in their ways of living. They were neither too much modernized nor too much orthodox in their ways of approach. Their earlier inhabitants are mostly cultivators. Lack of initiative was taken to education. In the earlier days children stay away from the school when they are needed at home or on the field work. Many of them utilize their children for their supplement. Children were frequently discouraged by the parents and villagers from going to school. In those days they thought that the Christian missionaries were trying to pollute their people and customs and bring ill-luck to their people. The significant took place among the Christian boys and girls who attended the mission school stopped using their traditional attire was replaced by the foreign garments. Many rich and educated parents sent their children outside their region for education. Sudden exposure to the outside world has made them see, think and act like their counterparts, and they have less or little contacts with their people at home. The newly educated girls do not conform to their traditional way of life and there was gap between the educated boys and girls in the village. After spending in the mission school they refused to demean themselves in their native villages working in the field, fetch water, weave cloth and have the community life, this has resulted rapidly losing their identity of their culture.

R. Brown in his statistical account of Manipur rightly says that the Rongmei believed in one Supreme Deity whose nature is benevolent. Rongmei religion is characterized by polytheism with an element of Henotheism and thus one finds worship of one supreme God out of many gods. (11) Which worship multiple gods in different categories though it gives great emphasis to the worship of Tingkao Ragwang. In the recent times the indigenous Rongmei society has reacted to protect their old traditional culture. They viewed the accord as a move aimed at protecting the identity while totally ignoring and overlooking the grave dangers that were being posed to their tradition culture identity. The traditional religion of the Zeliangrong is polytheism. The Rongmei people had the idea of a supreme god who is believed to be the creator of the universe, dispenser of good and prosperity and who lives in heaven. (12)

The western culture and civilization was accepted as the superior civilization. When the foreign missionaries were given freedom to launch their activities, the traditional religion was threatened by the new faith. The coming of the new reformed of religion threatened the Rongmei traditional religion. It was Haipou Jadonang who revived and reformed the traditional Rongmei religion in 1925. The reform was a synthesis of Christian monotheism and Hindu idolatry and temple culture. He rediscovered the ancient holy cave of Lord Bisnu in the Bhuvan Hills and worshipped the Tingkao Ragwang there. As the Rongmei people are in close contact with the non-tribal which has to some extent influenced by the more economically advanced group like Manipuri Hindu. Though they have learned better way of life but have

threatened their tradition socio-economic life tremendously. They have to compete with the more advance group in every walk of life. Tribal society faces problem in the context of Indian society. The small demographic people could not find space to voice their views openly thus led to disparities in civil society in the region. There is first of all the problem of discriminating among related and overlapping modes of tribal organization. There is also problem of drawing clear lines of demarcation between tribal and non-tribal society. The tribal backwardness is often term as 'primitive' as they are considered to be on lower stage of development.

During the 20th century Haipou Jadonang, the prophet first introduced reformation in their traditional religion. He worships Tingkao Ragwang through prayer and he abolished irrational taboos and genna. He composed many religious hymns to be sung in the worship of the supreme god Tingkao Ragwang. During his last pilgrimage in Bhubon cave in 1931 a new cult was revealed to Haipou Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu. After his death Rani Gaidinliu, his disciple organised the new cult and introduced in the Zeliangrong society and it came to be known as Heraka. The word Heraka literally means pure. 'Hera' means smaller deities and 'ka' means fence or to give up. Abolishing of tradition animal sacrifice and with it the restrictions on physical movement did good respond. Due to economic hardship among the Zeliangrong it adopted a new god who no sacrifices. Now the Rongmei society is in process to protect their culture and religion.

Thus through this study, it is learnt that there has been progress in the society before and after the arrival of the western culture and religion. It is also possible that the advent of Christianity and influence of the neighbouring community contributed a major share to the changes and transformation in the Rongmei society. Christian Missionaries have played a vital role in bringing transformation of the Rongmei Naga society as a whole.

VI. CONCLUSION

It is learnt that the non-tribal intervention has created certain problems like pauperization, land alienation and seasonal migration. The changes emerge because the basic tribal attitude to the environment changes with the change in environment. There are at times a new set of impulses that come into play as the conditions call for a new response or a modification of the old response partially to cope with the changed circumstances. Land-holding system has brought many changes in the economic development of the Rongmei. Education came quite late and very slow to them. The natural resources of the tribal dependence as a means of survival were deprived due to deforestation. Taking the tribals as isolated from the mainstream of culture is identified as the problem in every walk of life. If they are considered as equals they can participate in their development programme. Individual tribal is too weak to stand as equal against non-tribal. The spread of education among the Rongmei had also changes in the society. The greatest changes took with the coming of Christianity. The traditional way of life of the Rongmei people had undergone a great transformation

Before the advent of the Christian Missionaries the Rongmei were cent percent illiterate and there was no written language of their own. Through the sincere efforts of the Christian Missionary the indigenous system of communicating their views through oral communication was replaced by the written form. It also changes with the pattern of the modern world. With the coming of Christianity the people have more or less continuous contact with the outside world. Their way of life has been affected. Through this study, it is clearly stated that, the traditional and modern institution play important among the tribal societies. So, the various steps of development programmes and awareness at the grass root level should be implemented so that indigenous institution along with the modern institution could be preserved effectively. It can also be seen that there has been progress in the society before and after the arrival of the Christian missionaries in many ways, if not all. It played the vital roles to the changes and development.

The struggle for promotion and protection of human rights inevitably requires in some measures, a challenging of entrenched attitudes that are opposed to the proper respect of such rights. In terms of economic, socio-cultural and political there is need for equal courage to deal with the challenges faced by the small demographic groups, which can repair the inequality feeling among the society.

REFERENCES

- [1] Dr. G.A Grierson, (1994). Linguistic survey of India Vol-III part-II, Delhi: reprinted p.423.
- [2] According to the Report on the census of Manipur 2011.
- [3] Namthiubuiyang Pame (2001) Trail of Makuilongdi, Shillong: Goronta Charitable Foundation P.p 7-8.
- [4] Gangmumei Kamei (2004) The History of the Zeliangrong Nagas (From Makhel to Rani Gaidinliu) Delhi: Spectrum Publication p.334.
- [5] T.C Hodson (1984). The Naga Tribes of Manipur, Delhi: Neeraj Publishing House.
- [6] S.T. Das. (2006). Tribal Life of North-Eastern India, New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House p.20.
- [7] Yogendra Singh, (2007). Modernization of Indian Tradition, Jaipur: Rawat Publication p.6.
- [8] M.N. Srinivas, (2009). Social change in modern India, Delhi: Orient black Swan p.160.
- [9] Mazumdar H.T, (1966). A Grammar of Sociology, Delhi: Asian Publishing p.473.
- [10] McCulloch W, (1980). An Account of the Valley of Munnipore and of the Hill Tribes, Delhi (reprinted): Mittal Publishers p.53.
- [11] R. Brown, (2001 reprinted). Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur and the Hill Territory under its Rule 1873, New Delhi Mittal Publications.
- [12] Gangmumei Kamei, (2004) op.cit p.148
- [13] Horam, (1975) Naga Polity, New Delhi: Br. Publishing Corporation.
- [14] G. Makuga, (1994) Introduction to the Rongmei Nagas, Imphal: J.M. Printing Works.