Oral Traditions of the Sonowal Kacharis of Assam

Pallabita Das
Assistant Professor, Department of History, Hojai College, Hojai, Assam, India

ABSTRACT: Among the states of India, Assam is the home of several ethnic groups. After the partition of India, Assam was left with 23 tribes, comprising of 14 Hill tribes of Karbi Anglong and North Cachar hills and 9 plains tribes inhabiting the plains of Brahmaputra valley. Among the various tribal groups of Assam, the Sonowal kachari is the fifth largest plains tribal group of people. They are scattered in seven districts of upper Assam, viz, Tinsukia, Dibrugarh, Sibsagar, Jorhat, Golaghat, Dhemaji and Lakhimpur. Sonowal Kacharis are the aboriginal people of Assam. They have some own traditions. The aim of this paper is to analyses the traditions, legends, and folktales, prevailed among the Sonowal Kacharis of Assam and also try to reveal some new sources which will throw light on the origin of Sonowal Kacharis of Assam. Both primary and secondary data are use in preparing this paper. Interviews, field visit are also conducted in collecting the data. The findings have given after the analysis of data to know more explicitly the tribe.

Keywords: Ahom, Folktales, legends, Oral tradition, Sonowal Kacharis.

I. Introduction:

According to Jan Vansina ‘Oral traditions consist of all verbal testimonies which are reported statements concerning the past[1]. Oral traditions become indispensable source materials to understand and appreciate the tribe’s history and culture objectively and meaningfully[2]. The notion of tribe is, in all respect, a colonial construct[3]. The term tribe is used in a different context in Europe[3]. According to historian Nihar Ranjan Ray, the so called tribal’s of India, are the indigenous, autochthonous people who had settled in India before the Aryan speaking people. In Assam the term tribes also signify those aboriginal people, who have settled in this region prior to the arrival of the Aryans. In other words, the entire North-East is a land of colorful tribe and their culture. In the narratives of ancient Indian history, mention is made about the aboriginal people of India and Assam particularly. The Vedas also speak about a group of people known as Kirata. And in the Mahabharata we find the reference of Kiratas as early inhabitants of India. And according to the social anthropologist tribal groups of North-East India are usually referred to as kiratas and popularly known as the Indo-Mongoloids. The Kacharis or Bodos of Assam are identical to the Kiratas or Mleches of ancient Indian literature. Among the Bodo-Kacharis of Assam Sonowal Kachari is also one of the sub-branches.
Among the states of India, Assam is the home of several ethnic groups. After the partition of India, Assam was left with 23 tribes, comprising of 14 Hill tribes of Karbi Anglong and North Cachar hills and 9 plains tribes inhabiting the plains of Brahmaputra valley. Among the various tribal groups of Assam, the Sonowal kachari is the fifth largest plains tribal group of people. They are scattered in seven districts of upper Assam, viz, Tinsukia, Dibrugarh, Sibsagar, Jorhat, Golaghat, Dhemaji and Lakhimpur[5]. According to the census report of 1971, ‘the Sonowal kachari constitute the third largest plains tribal group of Assam with a total population of 1, 98,619 According to the census report of 2001 the total population of the Sonowal kachari is estimated 2, 35,881. 71[6].

The Sonowal Kachari nostalgically trace their relationship with the Barman of Cachar district, Bodo Kacharis of lower Assam District and Dimasas of North Cachar Hill district. S. Endel classified the following tribes of Assam within the fold of great Kachari race, the Bodos, the Rabhas, the Mech, the Dhimals, the Konch, the Solanimiyas, the Mahaliyas, as the northern group and the Dimasas, the Hojais, the Lalungs, the Garos, the Hajongs and the Hill Tipperas. Edward Gait says that the Kacharis are identical with the people called Mech in Goalpara and North Bengal. These are the names given to them by the outsiders. In the Brahmaputra Valley the Kachari call themselves Bodo or Bodo Fisa (sons of Bodo). In the North Cachar hill they call themselves Dimasa[7].

There are some traditions, legends and folk-tales prevailed among the Sonowal Kacharis which indicate the origin of the people as a Kachari race, earlier have a kingdom at Sadia. Presently the Sonowal Kacharis of Assam have maintained a distinct identity with their culture and society. Now they have socio-political organizations among them, through which they were trying to ascertain their tribal authenticity. Some references are found about the origin of Sonowal Kacharis which is not sufficient and enough. Some recent studies about the Chutiyas of Assam also reveal some thought provoking ideas, which make us bound to think that are both of the tribes belong to same origin? Thus, this paper will try to highlight the following objectives and hypothesis.

II. Objectives of the study:
1. The paper will try to analyses the traditions, legends, and folktales, prevailed among the Sonowal Kacharis of Assam.
2. This paper will try to reveal some new sources which will throw light on the origin of Sonowal Kacharis of Assam.

III. Hypothesis:
1. Sonowal Kacharis are the aboriginal people of Assam.
2. The Sonowal Kacharis and Chutiyas are from the same origin.

IV. Methodology:
Both primary and secondary data use in preparing this paper. Interviews, field visit are also conducted in collecting the data.
V. Result and Discussion:

a. A Brief note on political Background:

The early political history of the Kachari is obscure. According to a legend the Kacharis originally lived in the land called Kamruli (kamrup) by which followed a river in a great valley; they were driven out and went to a place called Kundilo (kundil or Sadiya)[8]. The narratives of Kalika Puran, noted historians like U.C Guha, P.C Choudhary, S.K Bhuyan, Bishnuprasad Rabha, J.B Bhattacharjee, S.L.Boroua, in their writings mention that the Sonowal Kacharis of Assam earlier lived in Sadiya and might have a kingdom named as Halali. Some prominent writer and researcher of the Sonowal Kachari community also put forwarded their views on the authenticity of about a kingdom at Sadiya in the early times. The founder of this Sonowal Kachari kingdom was Manik as stated by the above mention writers and also found in the oral literature of the people. The boundary of this kingdom was extended from the mountains in the North ,the Gabru ( Naga) ranges and the river Dilih ( Dilli) in the South, the Dijao or Diju ( pronounced Teju by the Mishmis) and the Dilai(Lali) forming the eastern and the Western boundaries respectively. The kingdoms were called Halali and Hamali.

b. In search of origin of Sonowal Kacharis of Assam:

The Sonowal kacharis were regarded one of the major developing prominent tribes of modern Assam. Like the Kacharis, the origin of the Sonowal kachari people also lies in obscure. It is rightly said by Prof. D.Nath that as the tribal people did not have any written record therefore we have to rely on also the folktales, legends, and traditions. In the recent development of research in history ‘oral traditions’[9] are considered as one of the important source to collect data. In search of the origin of Sonowal Kachris these sources are applied as a tool to excavate their history.

In the traditional Bihu songs and religious songs known as Haidaang geet of the Sonowal Kachari they remember their ancestral king ‘Boli Raja’ and also recite the names of old kingdoms as ‘Hemali Oi Lalo Lalo Lalo Louya.’[10].

According to a ancient tradition, the earliest Kacharis of Sadiya came down from the northern mountains through snowy terrain and settled down in the foothills between the Dihang and the Dijao or Di-ju( literally, the Red river-the Louhitya). It is said that these Kacharis carried with them mainly smoked beef which they buried under the snow at different places all along the trail, hoping to subsist on the stored food during a probable return journey to their northern homeland.

well as worldly matters. While the three elder brothers failed to go through the discourse at the fire place at night, falling asleep, the youngest Manik sat awoke to receive the teaching. Pleased with him, Buraburi ordained Manik as the king –cum-preceptor of the Kachari’s as ‘Baiitho’ or ‘Rajaguru’, as Manik’s descendents succeeding him on the haloed seat, regarded as his re-incarnation, would be called ever afterwards. And importantly , the present Baito( Rajguru), one of Manik’s progeny( of the Baiitho clan), was installed through a coronation ceremony ( Patot Bahowa) ,is the tradition of the first day of Baitho puja [11].

There is another tradition prevailed among the Kachris which is also believed as a tradition of Sonowal Kachari also. This tradition says about the ‘prolonged struggle between
the Chutiya Kacharis and the Ahoms’ which had separated the Northern and Southern sections of the Kachari race. The story is as follows: ‘Long, long ago the Dimasa fought against a very powerful tribe (the Ahom), and being beaten in a great pitched battle, the king with all his forces retreated. But presently further retreat was barred by a wide and deep river, which could in no way be crossed. The Raja, being thus stopped by a river in front and an enemy behind, resolved to fight once more the next day, unless the problem of crossing the river could be solved. With this determination he went to sleep and had a dream in which a God appeared to him and promised to help him. The god said that early next morning the king with all his people must boldly enter the river at a spot where he would see a heron standing in the water, and walk straight across the river, but no one must look back. Next morning a heron was found, sure enough, standing in the water near the bank; and the king, remembering his dream, led his people to the spot and went into the water, which they found had shoaled enough to form a ford and allow them to wade across. In this way he crossed with a great part of his people. But still all had not crossed. There were some on the other bank and some in the middle of the river, when a man among the latter wondering whether his son was following him, looked back, with the result that the water at once got deep and every one had to save himself as best he could; while the men on the other bank, having no chance of crossing, dispersed. They who were caught in the middle of the river had to swim for their lives, and washed down to different places. Some saved themselves by catching hold of Khagris (rushes) growing on the bank, and are to this day called Khagrabaria. Others caught nals (or reed) and are thus called Nalbarias. The Dimasas are the people who crossed in safety’[12]. And the remaining is those who could not cross the river were the Sonowals. Same type of story is also found in the oral tradition of Dimasa kachari and Sonowal kachari. The story is also cited by UC Guha, but the difference is that he had mention the cause as due to the repeated attack of hill tribes; the Kachari Raja want to shift his kingdom from the south bank of Brahmaputra [13].

Another legend is prevailed among the Sonowal Kacharis of Assam which also have similarities with that of the rise of Chutiyas. According to that a settlement of twelve Kachari families in the in the vicinity of Sadiya. Manik Kachari’s wife gave birth to a black cat through the intervention of a sanyasi, who had met her while bathing after the usual days of monthly impurity. After a month the black cat became the lord of the whole territory from Sadiya to Dikhoumukh. Manik’s daughter was married to Mukuta who latterly received the golden cat as a present from his father-in-law along with the inheritance of the kingdom. Mukuta then became the Kachari king.[14] S.K.Bhuyan further mentioned another traditional story of the Kacharis [15] which is known as ‘Barir Putekor Rajya Labh’

Apart from these popular traditions, one folktale also prevalent among the Sonowal Kachari regarding the origin of the term ‘Sonowal’ attached to them. According to the tale, those kacharis who offered ‘Gold’or ‘Xun’ for conversion to Vaishnava and became the disciples of Kesab Dev, one Aoniatia Gosain, were regarded as Sonowal kacharis. [16] Moreover number of traditional bihu songs, religious songs and hymns are prevailed among the community which has also mention about the Sonowal Kachari as an aboriginal
people of Assam. In these songs they mention have been made about the Manik, Mukuta, and the stories of war with neighboring tribes and Ahom.

According to Rajani Hazarika, (a well known personality of the community, researcher, social worker and writer )'presently in the lower Nepal and frontier area of India, a group of people called Sanowar is live, who were not Nepali. It is assumed by some people that Sanowar and Sonowal is the same branch of people. And it might be possible because when these mongoloid people immigrated into Assam this ‘Badu- Sono- liyo[17]’ people have divided into two parts, one was westward and other was eastward. The eastern group entered Sadiya and also came to be known as Sadiyal Kachari[18]. Further he said that the term Sonowal is not a word of modern Assamese language. It is originated from Tibeto-Burmese word Sunubar>sunuwal>Sonowal= meaning Brightness[19]. According to another theory put forward by late Rajani Hazarika, late Subha Boroua, and Jugal Formal prominent personality of the community that the term Sonowal has its origin in the word Badu –Sono –Liyo[20] which is one of the twelve clans of the Kachari people. Badu means powerful, Sono means male child, Liyo means community. Hence Sonowal is stated to mean powerful or heroic community.[21] In the support of this view another scholar of the community Santanu das Borhazual, is of the view that there was a hero named Lapet living in Sadiya and he had continual fight with the Ahoms and Shingphoes.’ It is assumed that this hero’s family now known as Lapeti Hans and they have settled in near Dibrugarh and the place of the name came to be known as Lapetkota’[22] which is not match with the view of Sarat phukan.

Moreover different historian, academician, and researcher give different opinion regarding the prefix Sonowal attached to this branch of the Kacharis. L.A Waddel remarks “The Sonowal or Sadiyals are mostly gold washers of the Lakhimpur district of Assam “[23]. And the gold washers of Sadiya always displayed superior ability in gold collection. [24]According to Gait “Gold washing was done by a guild known as Sonowal khel. [25]Hiteswar barborua state ‘A khel of people was engaged for washing gold. They were called Sonowals. But he further says there are a few communities within the Sonowal khel like kachari, bihia, konchs, and keot…..But unfortunately, now days the term Sonowal is used to call all kacharis.[26] S.L Borua also mention that ‘In the prime of the Ahom power in the middle of 18th century, about sixteen thousand Sonowals or gold washers were engaged by the Ahom government in washing for ten thousand tolas of gold annually’[27].

c. Are the Sonowal Kacharis and Chutiyas from the same origin?

The Chutiyas are another important branch of the great Kacharis. They rose into power as S.L Boroua suggests from the middle of the 7th century. In the compiled work of S.L Boroua ‘Chutiya Jatir Buranji’ she remarks that’ Kachari and Chutiyas is descendent of same branch of Bodo people. They live together for a long period and latter on the Kacharis come towards Dikhow river and spread up to Dhansiri valley. The other branch remain in the same place latter on came to be known as Sadiyal Kachari or Sonowal kachari. There are similarities
between the Sonowal and Chutiya in observing their traditional rites and rituals.[28] These remarks are really ponderous and left some scope to think about a relationship between the Sonowal Kacharis and the Chutiyas.

Therefore some new observation and assumption is being made to search about the origin of the Sonowal Kacharis. So it is noticed that the legend related to the rise of Sonowal kachari and Chutiya kingdom is almost same, that is the reference of ‘golden cat’ as a mark of totems of both communities[29]. But writers belonged to both communities give some contradictory remarks. According to Hem Barua’ Kacharis are allied in point of ethnology to the Koches, as a matter of fact is not that. So far linguistic affinities are concerned these people are allied more to this Chutiyas, the Lalungs and the Morans than to any other groups of people’. [30] The observations made by Dr. Baruah are true no doubt, but if we noticed the political period of both communities, then again it gives us confusion. The name of the king and period of Chutiya is not match with the Sonowal Kachari. If we believed the traditional story given by Gait and Guha, than it was neither the hill tribes nor the Ahoms, for whom the Kacharis left their place, it was mainly for the mutual differences of both groups that they left the place. The comments put forward by Dr. Dharmeswar Sonowal, Director of State Archive, Guwahati, Assam, and also Bishnu Rabha that Chutiyas are the last among the fourteen clan of Sonowal Kachari ‘Chatial clan’ [31] of the Sonowal kachari community and when this clan rose into power, they named themselves as ‘Chutiya’ is also ponderous. Accordingly the religious priest should be belong to the Raja’s clan and therefore we find that Chutiyas are the followers of Kesaikhati, Bura-Buri Than, Bolia Baba Than. On the other hand one prominent writer of Chutiya community said that ‘Sonowals are branch of Chutiya’[32], which cannot be acceptable from any angle. In fact Sonowals are not Chutiya but some Chutiyas are definitely Sonowal. As we have found the reference of different communities engaged with gold washing during the reign of Ahom. S.L Boroua cited that the Chutiyas are expert in ‘tantric cult’[33] and interestingly the Sonowal Kacharis used that hymns as a blessings during a religious function[34].

Remarks of noted historian and academician in this regards are also important. Laxmi Devi, Rajmohan Nath, B.M Das, D,Nath S.Dutta, support the view of S.K Chatterjee and S.Endle about the Chutiyas. Then, Colonel Hannay is of the view that the early home of Chutiya in Assam was Suwansiri river or near passes of the hills. W.B Brown forwarded same type of remark that Chutiyas are physically same with Kacharis.[35] These are sufficient remarks which make us to rethink about a relationship between these two communities. S.L Boroua summarize that as most of the people said that the word Chutiya has derived from Shwati or Shwat …the Chutiyas adopted the title after separation from the mainstream because in the name Chutiya no group had entered into Assam…therefore in course of time according to the name of the place they came to be known as Chutiya [36].
d. The Analysis of Traditions:

   The first tradition discloses the routes through which the Kacharis had arrived in Assam. It is the Himalayan ranges and passes of the mountain, and finally settled in the river valley. Moreover the names are true and still there are descendent families of the Manik raja, who take care of the Baithou temple and all the religious practices held and observed by the people. It is to be noticed that, the present Baitho, one of Manik’s progeny of the Baitho clan, was installed through a coronation ceremony known as Patot Bahowa is the tradition of Baitho puja.

   The second tradition says about the separation of the Kachari people as a whole. It helps us to know how the Kacharis are scattered in different places of Assam and emerged with different names. The authenticity of the traditional story is lies on the history of Ahom period, which explain the wars between kachari and Ahom and also Ahom and Chutiya. We know about the history of Ahom-Kachari wars which led the Kacharis to shift their capitals.

   The third tradition itself a significant remark, as it start with the twelve Kachari family, settled in the Sadiya in the early times. There is therefore a possibility of same type of story which is still prevailed among both of the community. Moreover it also indicates the influence of ‘Totemism’ among the Mongoloid people. The cult of Totemism flourished in Egypt, and then it spread to other countries of the world. Most probably the Mongoloid people, when crossed the central Asia came into influence of this idea. It is in fact closely connected with the Dravidic culture. And Chutiyas are too believed by some historian that they were also Dravida origin.

   The fourth tradition is about the rise of a Kachari king. The story is famous as ‘Barir putekor Rajya Labh’ the story of son of a widow and how he had became the king. This traditional story in fact depicted a picture of society and culture of Kachari people. It is about a girl who has become pregnant before marriage, and how her family treats with her. The story indicate about the restrictions prevailed in the society of the Kacharis. Further it tells us the cleverness of a boy with some divine power, latter on becomes the king.

VI. Findings of the Study:

   The findings of the study are as follows:

Firstly, the traditions prevailed among the Sonowal Kacharis is not acceptable from a scientific point of view. But if we consider it as oral tradition than to a little extend it help us to explore traditional history which is a mark of their authentic identity. If the ‘One thousand and one night stories’ of Arabian literature give us a picture of Islamic society and culture of early century then the stories of Sonowal Kacharis also a barometer of understanding the early history of Kachari people. We can come into a conclusion that the Sonowal kacharis must have kingdom at Sadiya prior to 7th century, and after that the Chutiyas raised into power who were also a branch or clan of Sonowal kacharis. The similarities of the traditional stories make us too believed that might be both of the communities are same origin. Otherwise how it can be possible that same story from the same place will be circulated by two communities, supposed to be ruled once there.
Secondly, the story of Aoniati Gosain is not acceptable as it is not mention in the book ‘Aoniati Satrar Buranji’. Moreover, if the title Sonowal is attached to them after their initiation to Baishnavism then the term of ‘Sonowal’ should not be used to indicate the kacharis of Sadiya by the writer. Therefore, Sonowal kacharis were lived there prior to the coming of the Satradhikar Kesab Dev.

Thirdly, a section of Sonowals do not accept the theory that the term Sonowal is related to gold washing. To them Sonowal kachari were not professional community. If this would be true then the other communities such as Bihia, Konch, Keot must also be termed as Sonowal. But it is not, as they were not Kachari Sonowal, therefore they retain their original titles and identity. But another interesting fact is found during field visit that, there are some families (Hans) within the community who clearly assert that they were associated with gold washing. As for example the people belong to Dhaknari hansh are those who deals with lid in gold extraction process. Dhavali are those who wash the raw gold in gold extraction. The people of Barbari village at Borhola ,Titabor in Jorhat ,which is located distant away from the Subansiri river informed that once their lived a Sonowal family in their village who possessed some instrument related with gold washing. Moreover, the people of Halakbari village at Gogamukh in Dhemaji district and the people of Boginodi Senchowa village at Lakhimpur district both situated in the southern and northern banks of the Subansiri where the Sonowals were believed to have washed gold, respectively the people of both villages proudly told that once their forefathers washed gold in Subansiri.

Fourthly, the assumptions of a same origin of both communities are a subject of further research. We can say in this regard that there is much possibility of a relation between these two tribes. Probability is there that Chutiyas might be a clan of Sonowal Kachari in particular and Kacharis in general.

Finally, we can accept that Sonowal Kacharis are the aboriginals of Assam. They might have a kingdom in the name of Halali in Sadiya, before the Chutiyas. We did not have any information about the Chutiya kingdom prior to 7th century. Thus, Sonowal Kacharis might be there in the early phase. If the early researches of ‘noted historians’ accepted the term ‘Halali’ and then the term Badu-Sono-Liyo must be accepted. Probably the term Sonowal is derived from ‘Sonu-Liyo’ and became popular in latter period by the early historian during the Ahom period.

VII. Conclusion:

As a concluding remark we can say that traditions, folktales and legends are important tool to search one’s history. As oral traditions transmitted the fact visualize by the orator from the earliest to present time. We also accept the biasness and exaggerations made by the orators time to time. Therefore we should be impartial and try to draw the reality. The variations of traditional stories are because of variations of places. As the Kacharis are scattered into different parts of Assam, therefore there is an influence of local traditions. And regarding the
prefix *Sonowal*, we can say that some of them might be associated with this profession but not the entire community. Agriculture, weaving, horticulture, rearing animals are their livelihood. Like other primitive community *Sonowal kacharis* are not totally dependent on forest. As a result of acculturation and assimilation, they were too become the fellows of Assamese society and culture. Therefore, our proposed hypothesis one is proved that the *Sonowal Kacharis* are aboriginals of Assam.

References:


[4] Ibid: p-360, In Europe it is associated with a territory, a language or a common name. And in India they are known as Vanavasi, Girijan, Adivasi, Janajati etc.


[9] As cited by prof. Mita Deka in her presentation that ‘Oral traditions are recollections of the past, orally transmitted, that arise naturally within and from the dynamics of a culture. The literature of aboriginal societies was based in oral traditions best described as ‘orature’.


[16] This tale was popular among the Sonowal Kacharis from the late 20th century only. It was first started to propagate by Gagan Sonowal, who worked with Promod ch.Bhattacharyya, and was one of the prominent researcher, social worker, and teacher, of the community.

[17] Hazarika Rajani : Mongol Kachari Gupto Itihash, published by Dayal Saikia, Tinsukia,1985,pg-84-85, ( He had mention about the twelve clan of Kachari, which has relevance with the name mention by Ptolemi in his ‘Geography’)

[18] Opcit: Hazarika Rajani, p-88


[20] Farmal Jugal: Sonowal Kachari Bangsa Parchoi Matir Aoitihak Rayakhyakabas, in Mohan Sonowal edited Sonowal Sourav, Tribal Research department of Sonowal kachari Autonomous Council, Moranhat,2012, p- 299-300The Kacharis have twelve clan, these are as follows 1: Domos-yo, 2: Bodo-yo, 3: Juhulo-yo, 4) Badohoz-yo, 5) Bodo-suno-liyo, 6) Rabhakirati- yo, 7) Intorar-yo, 8) Intohujoi-yo, 9) Intomesoi-yo,10) Daona-yo, 11) Intominkho-yo, 12) Kusoi- yo. This important information has collected by the president of Asom Sonowal kachari kailyan sangha Sri Subha Borua Sonowal and Sri Jugal Farmal, in the year 1986, from one important figure belong Dimasa tribe known as Hambang Batheri. It is also mention by Rajani Hazrika in his book’ Mongol Kacahrir Gupto Itihash’ that in Ptolemis great work ’Geograpfy’ the name of these twelve clan is found which have slimer meaning ,pp84-85.


[22] Interview: with Santanu Das Borhazual, retired Principal of Dangari High School, Social worker, researcher of the Sonowal kachari, Executive member of Sonowal Kachari Autonomous Council. But his information is confronted with that of Sarat Phukan, where he mention that the name Lapetkota is imposed due to an incident of cutting down of a brave ahom soldier ‘Lapet’ by a kachari. Also See. ‘Dibrugarh’, A book on the Cultural &Socio-Economic History of Dibrugarh District, vol-1, Published by Dibrugarh Jilla Sahitya Sava, Duliajan, 2012, p-20


[27] Borua S.L: A. Comprehensive History of Assam, Munsiram Monoharlal Publisher, New Delhi, 1997, p-6

[29] Ibid pg-73, we can consider it as a mark of Totemism. As it explain by Prasanta Kumral, in ‘Sonowal Kachari: Tatwa Aru Bishlesan, published by Sonowal Kachari Autonomous Council, Dibrugarh, 2013, pp-106-109 And also see, International Encyclopedia of Tribal Religion, vol-1, Cosmo publications, New Delhi, 2000,


[31] Interview with D. Sonowal, Director, State Archive, Dispur, Assam, 4th July, 2014 and also see, opcit: Boroua S.L, p-77. Sonowal Gagan Chandra: Sahitya Sanskriti Bichitra, Published by Tinsukia district sahitya sabha, 2004, p-167 Accordingly the fourteen clan of Sonowal Kachari are as follows: Madan, Manikial, Bor-Hazuwal, Horu-Hazuwal, Hogral, Ahmal, Kumral, Formal, Dangral, Dhekial, Muktal, Lathial, Dingial, and Chatial


[33] Op cit; Boroua S.L, p-28

[34] During field visit of Sonowal Kachari village in Tinsukia district, Interview with Khiteswar Bowlery, Medhi of Namghar, Namaithong village.

[35] Op cit: Boroua S.L, P-57,

[36] Ibid: pp-79-80


[38] Sonowal Raju: Sonowal Kachari Sakalar poriyal porichoy, Koustav prakashan, Dibrugarh, 2007, pp-3-5

[39] Field visit and Interview with Tilu sonowal of Titabor, He is working in Telecommunication dept of Titabor, and writer of ‘Sudhani’ a book of Sonowal kachari, social activist And Raju Sonowal of Dibrugarh.

[40] As U.C Guha in his work ‘Kacharer Itibitta’ mention that the Sadiyal branch of Kachari once have a kingdom named Halali and J.B Bhattacharjee also use the term and Halali in his magnificent work ‘Kachari Rajayar Uthan Aru Patan’ Axom Sahitya Sabha, Jorhat, 1993, and explain the meaning of term ‘Halali’