

TIWA KINGS AND THEIR KINGDOMS IN TRANSITION

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ABSTRACT:

The Tiwas (Lalungs) are one of the major tribes of North East India, having 4, 01,830 population as per the census of India - 2011 living mainly in the state Assam and Meghalaya. They are known for their kingship and the smaller kingdoms, like - Gobha, Nellie, Khola, Sohori and the Pasorajya (five principalities - Topakushi, Baropujia, Mikir Gonya, Phuloguri and Khaigor) and Satorajya (seven principalities - Kumoi, Torani, Baghora, Tetelia, Kacharigonya, Suknagug and Ghagua) in the past. The history of the Tiwa kings and kingdoms prior to those smaller kingdoms are shrouded with many mysteries. The oral history of the Tiwas provides many versions about their past abode. There are no historical evidences to establish many facts of the Tiwas prior to the vassal kingdoms established by the Jayantias and the Ahoms. The history written tradition of the region was build up by the Ahoms who made references of the Tiwa kingdoms which were under the suzerainty of the Ahoms. The chronicles of the Jayantia kings made earlier references regarding the principality of the Tiwas on the border lands of Ahom kingdom which were under the tutelage of the Jayantia kings. On the Tiwas no systematic studies were undertaken by any ethnographer and British administrator during colonial rule. There were lots of changes on the smaller Tiwa vassal kingdoms to Ahoms and Jayantias in transition. This paper is an attempt to know the Tiwa kings and their kingdoms based on oral history, past folk traditions and the accounts of history made on vassal kingdoms of colonial Assam.

Key Words: Tiwa Kings, Kingdoms, Transition, Continuity, Changes

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Introduction:

The Tiwas, who are known as *Lalungs* throughout the courses of history are one of the major tribes in North East India. Living both in the hills and the plains, they mainly concentrated in the central plains of Assam covering Nagaon, Morigaon and Kamrup and hills of Karbi Anglong and Ri-bhoi district of eastern part of Meghalaya. A few Tiwa villages are also there in Jorhat, Lakhimpur and Dhemaji district of Assam. In the central plain of Assam, they live along the banks of four tributaries of the mighty river Brahmaputra: (i) In the river banks of Kapili which flows from the Jayantia hills with the main tributaries – the Myntang and the Amning, (ii) In the river banks of Barapani which flows from the Shillong hills with the tributaries – the Mynth and the Ummet. (iii) In the river banks of Uiam flowing as the Killing from the Shillong hills. (iv) In the Kolong river banks which flows across Nagaon and Morigaon district.

Table-1**Tiwa Population in Govt. Decadal Censuses Since-1872**

Year of Census	Population	Year of Census	Population
1872	34,859	1941	51,308
1881	47,650	1951	52,352
1891	52,423	1961	61,315
1901	35,513	1971	95,609
1911	39,213	1991	1,43,746
1921	41,033	2001	1,70,622
1931	43,448	2011	4,01,830

Source: Census of India

The origin of the Tiwas is the Tibbet region of Himalayan Mountains. The region is known to be the original abode of the Tiwas, yet their migration to the plains is unknown and shrouded with the mystery. Opinions differ regarding the period of migration and past abode among the historians, anthropologists and social thinkers.

Traditionally the Tiwas were worshipper of Lord Shiva, whom they called *Pha- Mahadeo*. The Basundhari-than on a hillock on the western of Borpani, the Dewsal-than near Jagiroad, are the holy places of Tiwas to worship *Pha-Mahadeo* even today. The tradition of worship of Lord

Shiva was started first by the king; the Tiwas called *Raja* of Sohori kingdom at Basundhari-than and the king of Gobha kingdom at Dewsal with an assistant of Tiwa priest. The places testify to the possession of kingdom of Rajas since time immemorial. Historians made many references of the kingdoms of Tiwas - Gobha, Nellie, Khola, Sohori which were under Jayantias suzerainty and Pachorajya and Satorajya was vassal kingdom under Ahom rules for a long period of time.¹

Tiwa Kings and Kingdoms:

The Tiwas in the hills believe that the first Tiwa kings were Sotonga Raja, Mallowa Raja and Lampha Raja. Based on the oral history and folk tradition the octogenarians of the Tiwas still believe that the king (Raja) of Tiphra, which was an ancient kingdom of the Tiwas, participated in the *Jagya* held by the eldest Pandava of Hostinapur. The Tiwa king ruled the kingdom Tiphra for about sixteen generations. The 15th king of Tiphra was inefficient to rule the state and during his rule the subjects were very unhappy. The king could do nothing which can provide relief of his subjects who suffered from many problems. During an occurrence of famine most of the people fled away to distant places of Kachari kingdom. During the time the seating king of Tiphra was murdered. The history of the time is silent about the name of that 15th king of Tiphra.² Most of history written tradition is build up by the Ahoms before the historical accounts made by the British historians, travelers and rulers of their time. But history provides information that Trilochan ascended the throne as the 16th king of Tiphra, who was the son of 15th king of Tiphra. There are references in the history that Trilochan established a state known as *Tribeg*, as principality of Tiphra in the year 1900 B.C. The first Tiwa king who ruled in the Kapili valley was Protyardon. The exact locality of the princely state *Tribeg* was not ascertained, but in all probability this principality was somewhere laying on the confluence of Borapani, Jamuna and Kapili.³ It was due to his efficient handling of the situation peace prevailed in the kingdom of Trilochan. For the interest of maintaining goodly relation with neighbouring Kacharis he married a Kachari princess. Out of the wedlock two sons namely Drikopati and Dakchin was born. Drikopati become the king when Trilochan was old and after his death Drkapati also become the king of the Kachari *rajya* (state). Being the eldest Drikopati claimed the throne of Tiphra. Then Dakchin objected and there was severe fighting between the two and Dakchin defeated latter.

¹ Dewri, M., 1997, *Tiwasokolor Shamadi (Dekasang Anusthan)*, pp.35, 49

² Sarma Thakur, G.C., 1985, *The Lalungs*, p.1

³ Pator, S.C., (ed), 2006, *Jenal Baro*, p.12

Accompanied by loyal subjects Dakchin proceeded towards the southern direction crossing the Boraail range and established a principality there. Kholongma was the state of his administration during the time. In course of time Dakchin descendents established a kingdom that was known as Tippara or Tripura.⁴

During the way to Tippara, who did not accompanied Dakchin hide themselves in the hilly areas and descendents were latter known as Lalungs (Tiwas). A section of the Tiwas still believe that that the word 'Tiwa' comes from the word 'Tippara'. A large section of the Tiphtras fled away to the nearby Jayantia kingdom during the time. In the Jayantia kingdom the Tiphtras lost their identity and ungrudgingly accepted the culture and way of life of the Jayantias. Gradually a lot of similarity builds up between the Tiwas with regard to administration procedure and socio-cultural processes of the Jayantias. Till the accession of the Jayantia kingdom to the British Empire, these Tiphtras (Tiwas) lived in the Jayantia kingdom extending a period of about 3000 years.⁵

The Tiphtras (Tiwas) in the jurisdiction area of the Kachari king had to obey all his orders. After the defeat of the Kacharis by Ahoms, the Jayantias extended their kingdom up to the river Kolong and Kapili on the north-eastern side of the Nagaon district. The Jayantia king established the chiefs of the Tiwas in these areas as tributary chiefs.⁶ Among the tributary chiefs the Gobha became the prominent who ruled from Marjong, a hill Tiwa village in Umswai valley of present Karbi Anglong district, where the then Gobha king established his capital.⁷ Other titular chiefs of the Jayantias were Nellie, Khola and Sohori in the foothill areas. The Tiwas called all these states in the foothill areas as *Datirolia-rajya* (state of the foothills). During the rule of Ahoms over the area the Ahom officials called them as *Dantialiyas* means the foothill dwellers. Among the Tiwas of the plains of central Brahmaputra valley, they were known as *Dantir Charibhai*, means four brothering states of the foothill border lands. Under the Jayantia king Ramsingha four brothers known to as *Charibhai* who were ruling in the Tiwa kingdoms - Gobha, Nellie, Khola

⁴ Ibid. p.2

⁵ Sarma, Thakur, G.C., op.cit. p. 2

⁶ Chattopadhyaya, S. K., (1988), *The Jaintias*, p. 9

⁷ Kakati, N.K., 2016, *History of Tiwa Kingdom*, p-19

and Sohori as tributary chiefs.⁸ There is no doubt that during the period these kingdoms of the Tiwas were vassal kingdoms of the Jayantias. The Tiwas of these Charibhai or four brother states visited the Jayantia kingdoms through four different passes extending from Gobha on the west and Amsoi (Sohori) on the east.⁹ Even today the great grandsons of these four kings maintain cordial relation with the Jayantias. The Jayantias reciprocate to attending annual festivals like *Junbil Mela*, famous for barter system and they procure Bihu delicacies needed to celebrate their own corresponding festival, Rangsi. The great grandsons of these Rajas are preserving their traditional king dress and ornaments, wooden and stone images of gods and goddesses, swords and javelins etc.¹⁰

The folk tradition of the Tiwas contains interesting details about the origin of the Gobha *Raja*. The oral history narrates that, as a result of battle between Drikopati and Dakchin the Tiwas of Tribeg, which was their state deprived of the rules of their own king. Then the depressed Tiwas prayed to Lord Shiva (Pha- Mahadeo) for having a king. Lord Shiva and his consort Parvati come to the earth, but the Lord Shiva was much excited that he could not check the sexual desire. He made small semen and threw it down which fell in a *Beel* (pond or lake) near the habitation of the Tiwas. A Mali fish (a species of fish) swallowed that semen and in course of time a human baby was born from the womb of that fish. The Tiwas took care of that baby and in course of time made him their king as he possesses certain kingly qualities. As the king was born out of a Mali fish, his descendents took the clan name of *Maloi-wali*.¹¹ But opinions differ regarding the sex of the baby. In another version Gobha Hari Khuguri (chief princes) the ancestor of the Gobha royal lineage was so born out of the womb of that fish.¹²

There is another legend about the origin of the *Raja* (King) of the Tiwas. The legend says that forefather of the Gobha *Raja* born out of the stone of *Thin Makhlong*. This Thin Makhlong, means three faces or three brothers born from a stone bearing a *Beel* in the present Karbi Anglong hills, where from the river Killing come out. The folk traditional version of the Tiwas is that Gobha *Raja*, Joyta *Raja* and Khoiram *Raja* were originated from the same stone at Thin

⁸ Bhattacharjee, P.C., 1991, *Asomor Jonojati*, p.177

⁹ Kalita, T., 2013, *Textile Tradition of the Tiwas of Assam*, pp.25-28

¹⁰ Sarma Thakur, G.C., op.cit. p.3

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Phillipe, R., 2014, *People of the Margins Across Ethnic Boundaries in North East India*, pp.143-145

Makhlong. The word Thin Makhlong combines an Assamese term, *tini* (three), with a Khasi compound, *maw-phlang* ('stone of the grass'), reflecting the different cultural contexts with which the three kings or Rajas are associated.¹³ Since then 25th Rajas have been ruled the Gobha kingdom up to the known sources, first have been Pantesar Singh and present one is Dip Singh Deuraja.¹⁴

Another source provides information that the Tiwas were lived originally in the hilly areas of *Kashi* (Benaras) on the banks of river Jamuna, near Allahabad in the hoary past. Opinions differ also in regard to their migration and reaching of the Brahmaputra valley. But a few Tiwas octogenarians believe that they were pushed out, by the Aryans from their original habitat near Allahabad on river bank of Jamuna and came towards east following the Himalayan passes. After a long sojourn they reached *Pragjyotisha* on the Brahmaputra valley, where they established a principality and ruled for several years. In the old scriptures they have been known as *Kiratas* or the tribal.¹⁵

The folk songs sung during the harvesting and purification ceremonies after child birth reveal that Tiwas once lived in the *Hillali* kingdom, the boundaries of which extended the whole of present Nagaon and Morigaon district and eastern Darrong districts. At first they were residing in the northern bank of the river Brahmaputra; but latter on their habitations spread to the other bank. As the time passed, the people referred to call themselves as subjects of *Lali*. The word *Lali* is an abbreviated from *Hillali*. On the northern side of the Nagaon district there is the dead branch of the river Lali. Probably the capital of the Hillali was on the north western side of present Nagaon and Morigaon district.¹⁶

Due to the invasion of the Kamrup and Kamata kings, the people of the Hillali kingdom fled away to the southern hilly tracts. They established villages extending up to Kathiatoli, Kondoli and Bamuni. Thus Laopani, Jokkota, Amsoi, Singimari, Sohori laying both sides of the river Kapili; were the original Tiwa villages. A section of the Tiwas proceeded towards the Rongkhoi,

¹³ Ibid. p. 146

¹⁴ Kakati, N. K., op. cit. p. 19

¹⁵ Sarma Thahur, G. C. op.cit. p. 4

¹⁶ Dewri, M., op.cit. pp. 41-42

Langkoi (Kaki), Amsi, and Marjong laying on the boundary of the Jayantia hills. During Kachari rule these Tiwas were compelled to leave their villages. They proceeded towards Gobha, Dimoria, Khaplang-khunji of the Jayantia hills and Nellie, Khola, Ouguri, Sonaikhunji and Balikhunji under Nagaon district. Latter on them came back to the foothill areas of western Nagaon district extending up to Laopani and Jokkota. As the Tiwas preferred to live in the seclude foothill areas, the contemporary Ahom officials called them as *Dantialiyas*.¹⁷

Jongal Balahu was the king of Tiwas during medieval period, which was known in the history for his name and fame. His father Arimatta become the king of Kamata; a Kachari kingdom killing the king Indranarayan in 1365.¹⁸ The sign of the kingdom of Jongal Balahu is still visible that made fort (Jongal Balahu Garh) for the protection of his kingdom presently near Raha on the way of National Highway 57.

There is no definite clue as to the migration of the Tiwas from *Joyta Khairam* (the Jayantia hills) to the foothill four brotherly states. The history of Assam is replete with innumerable battles as well as friendly relation between the Jayantias and Ahoms. Tiwa kingdom Gobha was the direct route between Jayantia and the Ahoms kingdoms of all sorts of relations.¹⁹ The history reveals that in 1716 the Kings of Gobha, Nellie and Khola came to the Jagi outpost of the Ahoms administration and the kings acted as mediator of relations between the Ahoms and Jayantias.²⁰

Another legend describes Tiwas inhabiting the Jayantia hills moved into the plains of Nagaon (Khagorijan), because they dislike the matriarchal and matrilineal systems and the human sacrifice of the Jayantias. The Tiwas were forced to offer a person per year for the sacrifice. As regards acceptance of matrilineal and Jayantia social system, the Tiwas were divided in their opinions. The two sections under the leadership of Tangura and Hura began to fight with the issue. Hura was defeated and Tangura accompanied by his followers fled away to the Ahom territory through Jagi. The Ahom officer Jagial Gohain sent them to the Rahial Baruah who deputed the Tiwa kings as chieftains in five principalities (Pachorajya), namely Topakushia,

¹⁷ Gohain, B.K., 1993, *The Hill Lalungs*, pp. 2-7

¹⁸ Pator, S.C., op.cit. p.11

¹⁹ Devi, L., 1968, *Ahom- Tribal Relation*, pp.152-153

²⁰ Ibid. p. 160

Baropujia, Mikir Gonya, Phuloguria and Khaigoria under the Raha administrative circle.²¹ Later on another seven principalities (Satorajya) were established under the Jagi administrative circle. They were- Kumoi, Torani, Baghora, Tetelia, Kacharigonya, Suknaggiya and Ghagua. The chief of these principalities was designed as *Poowali Raja* (mini kings). In return to the privilege got from Ahom rulers, these kings or Poowali Rajas paid taxes to the Ahom kings, it included bamboo shoots, kite, kanua, Sal-fish piece of the month of Fagun etc. They also assisted the Ahom king with the soldiers at the time of war.

During the British rule even no systematic study were undertaken on the Tiwa tribe of North East India by any ethnographer and administrator. But the region has been fortunate in having a number of ethnographic accounts of other tribes by the administrators and missionaries during the period. Earlier references were found in the *Jayantia Buranji* (chronicles of the Jayantia kings) regarding the principality of the Tiwas on the border lands of Ahom kingdom which were under the tutelage of the Jayantia kings. But the chieftains of the Tiwas are referred to as *Nopora Garo*, i.e. the Garos who did not come under the jurisdiction of the Ahom rule. Hamilton in his *Accounts of Assam* also mentions that certain Garo chiefs lived in the plains near the borders of the Jayantia state that retained their ancient customs but paid tribute to the Jayantia king who according to him was by birth a Garo. Probably he also made the same mistake as the Ahom chronicle in identifying the Tiwas as Garos, though Garos does not believe that they ever lived in the Jayantia kingdom.²²

In his book *History of Assam* Sir E. A. Gait gives somehow detailed account of the roles played by the kings of Gobha, Nellie and Khola, which also give evidence of the presence of the Tiwa kingdoms in the bordering areas of Nagaon district. In the region they had a traditional thought that their ancestors came from the Jayantia hills, in the reign of Jayantia Raja U Mon Gohain. Another account also says that the Tiwas were the autochthons of the Jayantia Hills. There is a reference to the migration of the Tiwas and the Mikirs (Karbi Anglong) from the Jayantia Hills to their present abode in the Nagaon district in the *Deodhai Asom Buranji* written by S.K

²¹ Kalita, T., op. cit. p. 14

²² Gohain, B.K., op.cit.7-8

Bhuyan, recounting how twelve families of Tiwas migrated to the Ahom kingdom and got settled in the plains of present Nagaon and Morigaon district of Assam.²³

The Tiwas latter featured in the records of the British rulers when in 15th March 1835 Captain Lister with two companies of the Sylhet Light Infantry took possession of Jayantiapur as well as the Tiwa principality of Gobha when the Jayantia king refused to give up the perpetrators of an outrage on four British subjects seized by the orders of Chatra Singh, the Tiwa king of Gobha under instruction of his suzerain, the Jayantia king.²⁴ But the actual subjugation was not easy. The hill people revolted. They were pacified on liberal terms. No revenue demanded and their affairs were left to themselves. Petty cases were allowed to be decided by their chiefs, who were known as Dolois.²⁵

The Tiwa people of Nagaon district especially of *Pancho-rajya* (Five principalities) played a very significant role in anti British uprisings. The Phuloguri Dhawa episode was the anti farmer role of the British Government. The Tiwas again featured in the records of the British government when on December 18, 1861, Singer, an Assistant Commissioner of Nagaon district met his death when he along with some constables went to quell the rebellious Tiwas at Phuloguri in Nagaon district who protested against the orders of the British government prohibiting cultivation of poppy.²⁶

The Tiwa people of the Panchorajya were at the forefront of the quit India movement of 1942. The Bebejia firing, Jongalbalahu firing, Baropujia firing and Barhampur firings were some notable episodes of quit India movement where they took active part.

The Continuity and Change:

It was since the time establishment of vessel kingdoms of the Tiwas by the Jayantiyas and the Ahoms the position of kings and their territory (kingdoms) began to be changed. Subsequently the changing processes like Sanskritization were started. But the process was failed in certain

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Gait, E., 1905, *A History of Assam*, p.254

²⁵ Gohain, B.K., 1993, *The Hill Lalungs*, pp. 7-8

²⁶ Pator, M., (ed), 2005, *Phuloguri Dhewa: Smarak Grantha*, pp.4-12

areas as discriminated social order prevailed, where the denial of the rights of lower strata as they believe, in the caste hierarchy is always there. The process is that in the *Varno* or caste dominated social order the people of lower strata desires to achieve the higher status by raising the caste position or cultural adaptations in the direction of recognized high castes. The process also faces the dysfunctional consequences in some Tiwa dominated areas. Contrary to the social acceptance of the process in third generation as Gait wrote is not universal for several cases of the Tiwas. There are the certain reverse processes.

Going to the historical transition of Tiwa kings and their kingdoms; the changes brought in culture, tradition and practices of the subjects; it is found that they receive first jolt of drastic transition by the imposition of Jayantia rule on them. The immigration of the Ahoms (Shan Tais) to Saumara (Eastern Asom) through the Patkai range of mountains in 1228 A.D. gave the second jolt. It was due to the efficient leadership of Sukapha; the integration process was more or less peaceful. The protesting and agitating groups were dealt with severe actions during the Ahom rule led by the *Swargadeos*.

It was Ahoms that in their six hundred years of rule over entire Assam region annexed the princely kingdoms of the Tiwas. Not only they annexed the territory of the Tiwas but had followed the *Thapita-sanchita* (establishment of their rule and culture) policy. There was good exchange of culture. The third jolt or threat was received during the imposition of Hindu faith and culture by Rani Phuleswari. The indigenous faith of Animism (Adi-Dharma) and cultural tradition got tremendous pressure and then conversion took place to Hindu of life and faiths. Fourthly, the people of Tiwa kingdoms got the revolutionary change when Srimanta Sankardeva propagated the Vainavism. In all the smaller kingdoms in plain areas-Satorajya and Pasorajya; during the time of socio-cultural turmoil was created by Vaishnavism. There was a lot of social mobility during the time. The fifth jolt was the British annexation of the kingdom Gobha in 1835. The British rule over the kingdoms of the Tiwas introduced bureaucratic administration, trade and commerce, along with the missionary culture. Thereafter many processes and relative

factors have been creating problems in Tiwa kings and their kingdoms side by side the existing culture and politics of the Tiwas.²⁷

The pre-British Tiwa kingdoms were such that the Kings (Rajas) were given the place to occupy the topmost position. It was during the rule of Ahoms that the Kacharis and the Tiwas were to follow the Thapita-sanshita principle imposed on them by the Ahoms.²⁸ This led them to have cultural changes. During Ahom rule a section of the Tiwas followed the *Brahminic* as well as *Vaishnavite* culture. For instance the Tiwa Raja of Baghara donated 400 bighas of land to the Brahmins after having praise to their *Dharma* the Tiwas given Lakheraj Grant to Batadrowa-than. Vaishnavism attracted the Tiwa Rajas to have conversion due to their close association with Vaishnavite culture in the plains. In Vaishnavism somehow after the religious conversion the caste and cultural conversion took place.²⁹ The Vaishnavite social order kept on admitting proselytes through *Saron* (religious instruction) and *Bhajan* (mode of worship) being imparted to by the *Gosain* (preacher) to the willing Tiwa: through giving up of former habits and customs, such as eating pork and other forbidden foods and drinking strong liquor; undergoing *Prayachit* (atonement) and receiving *Horon-bhajan* from a Gosain. Thus the aboriginal Tiwas could have admittance into the Hindu society with the status *Sarukoch* (low Koch). They are converted into Sarukoch as the Koch caste was remarkably open than the others.³⁰

During the time of rule of Ahom king Joydhaj Singha, the first batch of the Tiwas accepted Vaishnavism as their religion in Satrajya and Pasorajya. The Raja poowali Satuwa of Mikirgaonya Rajya and the Raja of Tupakushi Rajya (both are under Pasorajya) were the path makers to the sanskritization process. Both the Rajas were then discarded their age-old cultural and religious practices. They accepted the Hindu religion and then converted their ethnic tribalism to Sarukoch of vaishnavism. In the subsequent period the other Raja Poowalis of Pasorajya and Satorajya accepted the same path. The *Prajas* (the subjects) also converted

²⁷ Senapati, G., 1997, *Rahar Rahial Barua Aru Pas Raja Powali*, pp.108-110

²⁸ Mili, K., 2009, *Tiwa Sanskritir Reh-rup*, pp. 3, 39

²⁹ Ahmed. R., (ed) 2008, *Ethnic Conflict and National Integration in North East India*, pp.78-79

³⁰ Ibid

themselves into the same line as cleared by the Rajas. They believed as Rajas *Dharma* (religion) is their religion.³¹

A number of factors were worked in the transition. It is due to the changes, which is firstly brought by the kings of their kingdoms under certain situation; the Tiwa speaking population reduces to a large extent in the govt. censuses of latter periods. G.A. Grearsion in his Linguistic Survey of India report, found 40,160 Tiwa language speaker in 1901. The rate further reduced in latter censuses as contradicting the increase in number of population.³²

The demographic vagaries can't be explained off hand in regard to the change of tradition of the kings and subjects of kingdoms. This factor partly attributed to the cultural shifts in the Lalung (Tiwa) society. Apart from it can be said that through their age long association with the rural Hindu masses, a large number of Lalungs (Tiwas) of the plains have been absorbed in the larger framework of Vaishnavism of Hindu faith.³³

Conclusion:

Historical evidences galore of the fact; that Tiwas had their own kings or chieftains who were under the tutelage of the Jayantia kings. They were styled as *Datialia* (the people of foothills with having chieftains) of the borders by the Ahom chronicle. The kings and kingdoms have emerged as the vassal kingdoms under the Jayantia and Ahom suzerainty. It has impact on the politics and social changes of the Tiwas living in smaller kingdoms. The notion that Tiwa kings and kingdoms lose its identity under the impact of external influences is not however a groundless notion. The Tiwa people of the region always help to keep traditional political as well as socio-cultural institutions. The experience of the Tiwa kings and kingdoms in transition disrupts the traditional way of life is not totally unbelievable. But they keep existence of the kings' tradition; still the Gobha king performs symbolic functions of the kingdom. The kings' successor prevailed in other smaller kingdoms even today and Tiwa people respect the king and obey their order in many socio-cultural occasions.

³¹ Pator, S.C., op.cit. p.10

³² Pator, M. (ed) 2004, *Tiwa Sanskritir Jilingoni*, p. 3

³³ Bhagabati, A.C., *Societies and Social Formation in North East India: A Preliminary Statement* (Presidential Address) NEHA 18th Annual Session, 1997

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