

CULTURE CHANGE  
AMONG THE ANGAMI NAGA

ZHANG JIANG

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# **CULTURE CHANGE AMONG THE ANGAMI NAGA**

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*SUBMITTED IN*

**FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIRMENT  
OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN ANTHROPOLOGY OF  
NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY  
SHILLONG**

***FOR***

***MOM AND DAD***

## CERTIFICATE

I certify that the thesis entitled, *Culture Change Among the Angami Naga*, submitted by *Zhanuo Thakro*, is in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology* to the North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong. It is based on first hand investigation carried out under my supervision.

She has been duly registered and the thesis presented is worthy of being considered for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology*. This work has not been submitted for any degree of any other University/Institution.

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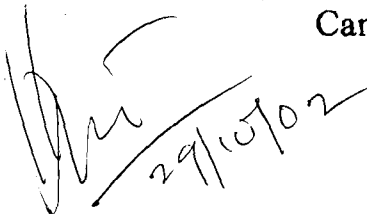
**DECLARATION**

I, **Zhanuo Thakro** hereby declare that the subject matter of the thesis is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form the basis of award of any previous degree to me or, to the best of my knowledge, to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/Institution.

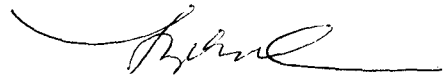
This is being submitted to the North-Eastern Hill University for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology**.



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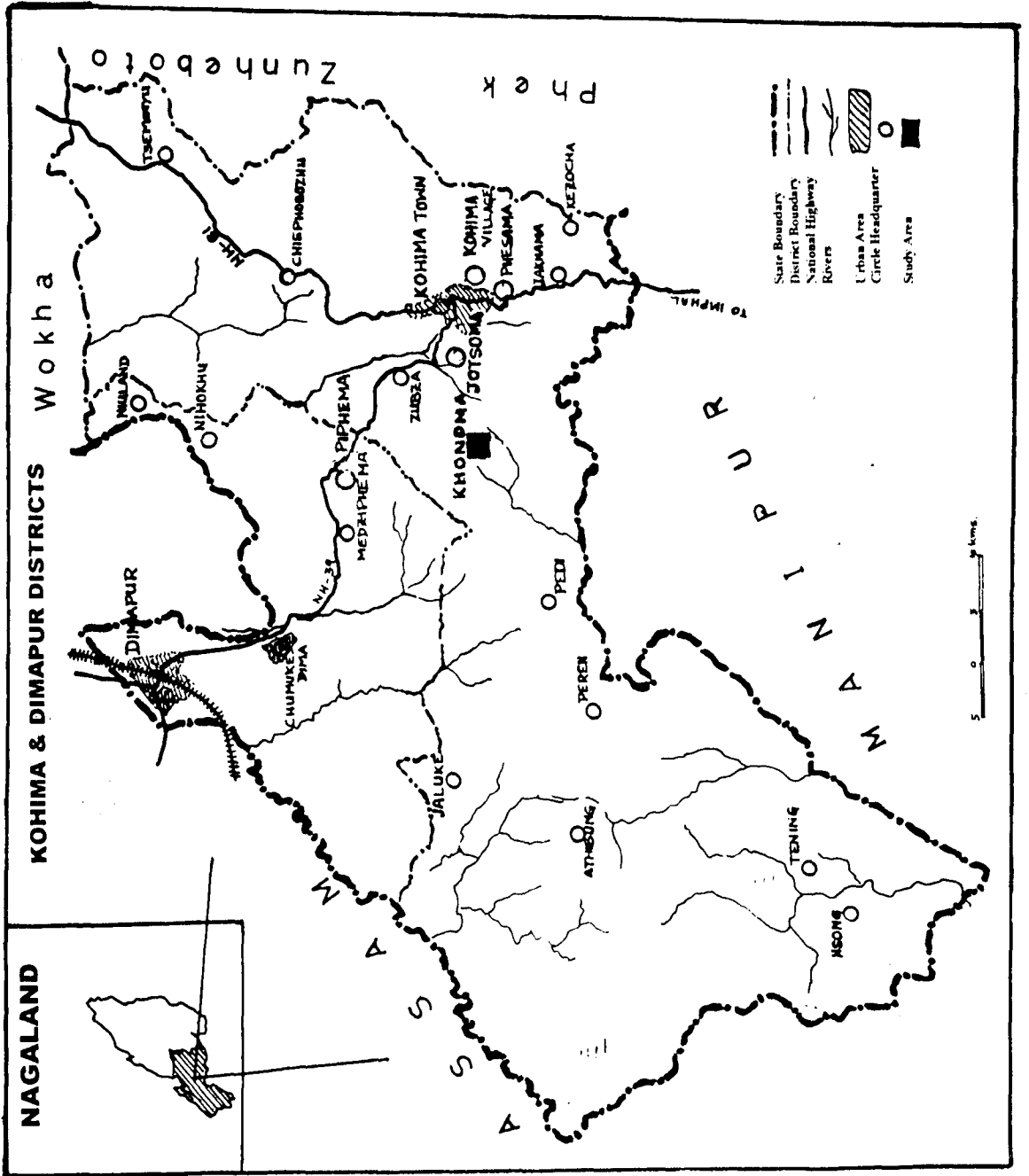
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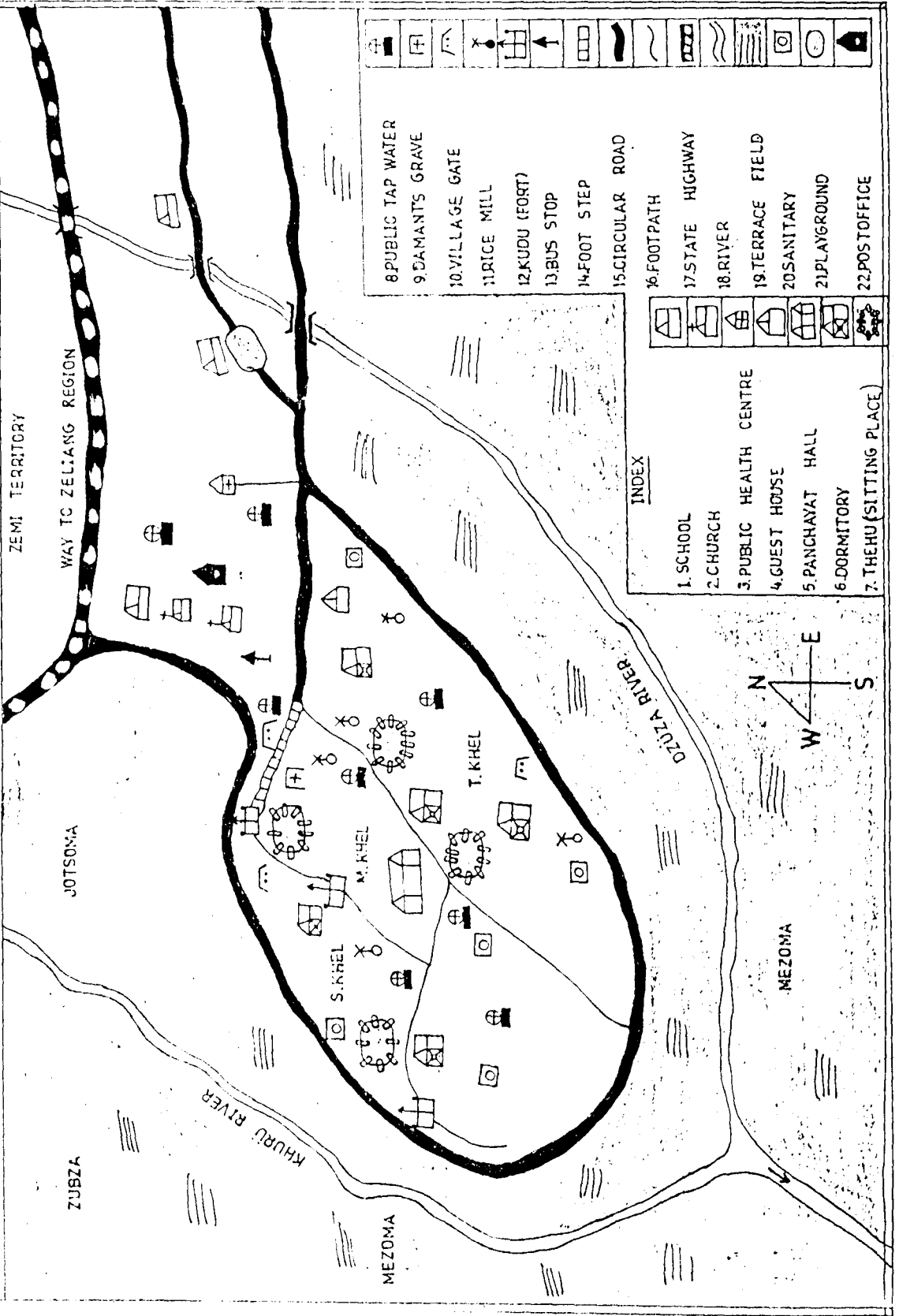
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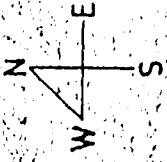


# KHONOMA VILLAGE



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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

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Anthropologists like Tylor, Morgan and Frazer studied man and his culture. Attempts by these anthropologists to explain the origin of culture they had studied, represented very simplistic attempts to understand change. The 19<sup>th</sup> century anthropologists believed that these societies had already experienced dramatic changes in the recorded past. In reaction against the tendency to interpret existing institutions as meaningless survivals of previous conditions for which there is no evidence, Malinowski insisted on looking at culture (as he called it) as a 'going concern' in which every usage has a meaning here and now.

Malinowski writes of social change. Stating that change is created primarily due to external pressure of colonial rule. He talked of the interdependence of institutions. He urged anthropologists to investigate primitive tribes as units actually functioning under present day condition and not as reflections of their own past history. Malinowski's main theoretical contribution was a functional analysis of culture into a series of interrelated aspects, and this scheme he later adopted to form the basis of a more dynamic type of study of culture contact by which it would follow the introduction into a primitive society of programmes of change.

An anthropologist must be concerned with culture. The question is – are they to stop there or go further and deal with society? It is necessary that they should describe the miscellaneous ways of behaviour and attempt to discover the resulting sets of social relationships, and thus outline the structure of the society. Radcliffe-Brown provided an answer to this when he wrote:

By any culture a certain number, larger or smaller of human being are united together into more or less complex system of social groups by which the social relations of individuals to one another are determined. In any given culture we denote this system of social grouping as the social structure. (Radcliffe-Brown: 1930: 269).

*existing in the world must be observed?*  
Redfield dealt with the increasing scale of social relationships. He introduces his theme 'Folk – Urban Continuum' by considering social relationships of increasing scale. The unit of smallest scale is the folk society, the face to face community. With the extension of relationships of the folk society, it becomes a peasant society, consisting of the people close to hand whose labours makes the city possible.

When a social anthropologist describes a social system, he tries to represent as it is called how the social system works. The anthropologist tries to create a model of the social reality. Leach has studied the change in the power structure. According to Leach:

The description of a social system provides us with an idealized model which state the correct status relations existing between groups with the total social system and between the social persons who make up the particular groups ... when we refer to structural change we have to

consider not merely change in the position of individual, but change in the ideal structure itself changes, that is power structure. (Leach, 1954: 6).

British social anthropologists seem to have been more concerned with the social consequences of change, in terms of structural adjustment, functional realignment i.e., the relationships and institutions. American anthropologists, on the other hand, were more busy with the process and agents of change. The first term to be used was perhaps, acculturation to describe what happens when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture pattern of either or both groups (Herskovits, 1948). While the British were primarily concerned with the problems of culture change due to colonial rule and trade, the Americans were involved in the study of change as an outcome of better communication and economic development. Anthropologists began to adopt new techniques suited to the investigation of changing communities. They, in the first instance, studied the contrast conditions before and after the European contact, or to search as Mair had described it, 'for a zero point' from which to reckon such changes. They illustrated changing norms by selecting sample communities which had been more or less in contact with civilization. They began to use statistical method to estimate the variations in behaviour of groups and individuals which are bound to be characteristic of a change situation.

Herskovits, Redfield and others have differentiated between the process of acculturation that takes place between two peoples. It has recently been argued that anthropologists should concern themselves with

primitive and peasant peoples all over the world and that they should abandon the term 'culture contact' for the wider concept 'culture change'.

According to Spindler, one of the liveliest problem areas in contemporary anthropology is that of culture change, it is rivaled only by interest in social structure. Mead made a break by studying the problems of mental health arising due to economic aid and the consequent technological change.

Culture change has remained to be an area in which historical, functional, materialist, structural and cognitive-symbolic approaches struggle for convincing explanations of innovation and stability, growth and decline. Internal and external causes, material and psychological factors may ultimately be seen to complement rather than to contradict one another, and a synthetic theory of change may some day be achieved. Until then it is essential to keep in mind the economic and historical processes that have led to the present unstable world situation, in which cultural change rather than stability is to be expected.

The term 'culture change' has now assumed a very broad based scope. It is the conceptual formulation that refers to 'culture process' such as growth, integration and acculturation. Briefly defined, culture change is any modification in the way of life of a people, material and non-material, whether consequent of innovation, invention and acculturation. The concept of culture is central to anthropology. It refers to the patterns of social organization, economy and belief that are learned and shared by members of a social group. Culture is traditional knowledge that is passed down from one generation to the next.

In India, the anthropologists have since late shown increasing interest in studies of culture change. The reason is obvious. Prior to the arrival of the British and Christian missionaries in state like Nagaland, the Nagas in general, and the Angamis in particular, lived a simple life as their forefathers lived in their respective villages, which were more or less like village republics. However, it was during the year 1832 the British made their first entry into the Naga Hills. The entry of the British administration brought along the Christian missionaries. The British intervened with the traditional political institution and also introduced change in the subsistence activities of the people. The missionaries on the other hand brought change in the indigenous religious beliefs and practices and many other aspects of their life.

After Independence, that is 1947, India has embarked on programmes of directed change, which in its own way has necessitated the improvement of communication channels and greater utilization of resources. In the rural areas the community development programmes were introduced. Programmes of planned development was introduced in the tribal areas also. All these provided paradise for anthropologist for field study.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

### A. Indian Tribes (General)

Some scholars have worked among the tribal societies and have provided some theoretical approaches to the study of culture change.

G. D. Mandelbaum (1941), in his article, "*Culture Change Among the Nilgiri*", highlighted the various agents of culture change. He refers to

the borrowing of culture by the tribes from the Hindu, British and the missionaries, which have influenced the four tribes of the Nilgiris, the Toda, the Kota, the Badaga and the Kurumba. He goes on to analyze change and observes that, owing to the totally different economic base, the prestige symbols, the different ritual cult, the inter-tribal borrowing have been kept to the minimum and in spite of their proximity the tribes maintain a cultural segregation and cultural distinctiveness.

C.V. Furer-Haimendorf (1942), in his article, *The Fortune of a Primitive Tribe*,<sup>1</sup> analyzes the gradual changes in the culture of the Chenchus. He enumerates the types of cultural borrowings and discusses the nature of change caused in the original culture owing to their contact with (i) forest contractors, (ii) road labourers, and (iii) the local peasant population.

H. Mohan (1969), in his book, *The Parhaiya: A Study in Culture Change*, made a full length study of the Parhaiya tribe in the Palamau District of Bihar in the perspective of culture change. As the tribe was studied in 1898 by Sunder, his account is treated as a benchmark by the author. The monograph follows the usual ethnographic model and contains details about the style of living, the means of subsistence, trade, market and indebtedness, family and kinship, the life cycle, crime and punishment, religion and magic etc. Towards the end of the book Hari Mohan examines the reasons for the failure of the resettlement scheme. According to him, the scheme did not fail because of cultural factors but because of administrative shortcomings and the suspicious of the neighbouring communities who regarded the Parhaiya as thieves.

William and Charlotte Wiser's (1970) *Behind Mud Walls 1920-1960 with a Sequel: The Village in 1970* is also one of the classic studies in this tradition. The first edition of this book was published in 1930 was based on a joint work the couple did in Karimpur, near Agra. Though they were basically missionaries, their work was complimented by American Anthropologist as 'a classic description of village India'. William died in 1961. So it was Charlotte who wrote down the changes observed in 1960 and visited Karimpur once again in 1970 to see if any further changes had occurred. According to her, the village had changed negligibly in a span of 30 to 40 years with regard to social institutions like family, caste and religion, but the changes in material culture were remarkable. They had begun to make brick houses, grow new crops and even market them. The livestock was improved and so were their farming techniques. There was better medical care and so on. In all these matters the role of the developing agencies and the government has been highly appreciated by her.

Tom G. Kessinger's (1974) book *Vilyatpur 1848-1968: Social and Economic Change in a North Indian Village*, is a diachronic study of Vilyatpur, a village in Punjab. This study combines the perspective and methods of the historian and the anthropologist in an attempt to reconstruct the social and economic history of this village. He selected a single village to study the processes of migration, commercialization, occupational differentiation, population dynamic, etc., by using the sources of information like records of census, tax and land ownership from the British annexation 1848 through the year of his field work in 1968. The unit of analysis is the family and the behaviour and decisions

of the families constituting the village during the 128 years are his principal concern. His purpose is not to show that village life in Punjab is changing today, as it certainly is, but to follow the course of its development over an extended period and to discover the factor responsible for particular events.

G. Shah (1977) in his book, *Socio-Economic Conditions of Chodhras: A Restudy*, made a restudy of the Chodhras who are now known as the Chaudhury. The benchmark for this restudy was provided by the monograph of B. H. Mehta who worked in this tribe during 1931-32. The author addresses himself to five issues, namely, (a) striking changes in some sphere of their life as against others, (b) the width separateness of the changes, (c) the impact of change on different sections of population, (d) the consequences of change, and (e) the direction of change. The author takes into account the limitations inherent in restudies. Since the two studies were made at different points of time they were different not only in scope but also in approach and methodology.

G. S. Ghurye's (1960) book, *After a Century and a Quarter, Lonikand Then and Now*, was inspired by Coats' study of Lonikand, a village near Poona in 1819. Coats made a synchronic study. Ghurye in 1960 again studied the same village to find out the aspect of change in Lonikand village. By far the greatest change that Lonikand had gone through is with regard to the facilities for education. The structure of the village community, its social organization, the change through a century

and more in bio-social life are recorded and amply commented upon. The pattern of living is brought through description of representative families.

C. V. Furer-Haimendorf's book on *The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh* was published in 1979. The book is based on field work done among the Raj Gonds of Adilabad District thirty years ago. However, the material has been revised in view of the author's restudy of the tribe in 1977. Some of the chapters on myth and ritual which had been published earlier in Vol. I of the Raj Gonds of Adilabad have been reproduced with only slight changes. However, a large number of chapters on social structure, social control and culture change have been added. In this book, we get a holistic picture of Raj Gond culture. The role of the Gond in history, their ecology and social setting, clans and phraties, life cycle rituals, the mythological foundations of their social order, their religious beliefs and practices and the changing fortunes of the tribes have received adequate attention. The traditional pattern of Gond life has been completely upset by the invasion of non-tribal settlers in their area. Furer-Haimendorf makes a strong plea for the reform of the educational system without which other welfare measures will be set at naught.

Sachchidananda (1979) in his book, *The Changing Munda* made a restudy of the Munda. The benchmark of this study was provided by the monograph of S. C. Roy published in 1912. The restudy not only took into account the themes touched by Roy in his monograph but included certain other topics which are of concern to modern social anthropologists. The restudy, however, was not a study at one point of time but took into consideration the changes in Munda life and culture as

reflected in the writings of scholars who worked a different aspects of Munda life between S. C. Roy's days and the present work. Field work for the restudy was done in three different strands of Munda culture.

G. M. Carstairs's (1983) book, *Death of a Witch: A Village in North India (1950-1981)*, studied a small village of Rajasthan between two period 1950 and 1981. He discusses how a small, tightly knit but always harmonious community of Rajput farmers in Sujarupa has reacted to the pressure of modernization. He first visited Sujarupa village in 1950, and was interested in the villager's preoccupation with supernatural causes of illness. In 1981, he restudied the same village and found that the farmers have adopted new method of cultivation, raised standards of living. But the villagers were however, suspicious about modern medicine and were slow to accept modern education also.

A. R. Walker's (1986) book, *The Toda of South India: A New Look* is yet another important diachronic study. He first visited the Todas in 1960, then he made several trips in 1969-70, and his final trip in 1984. Hence, though not intended so his study in itself could be called a longitudinal study. But since the benchmark of his study was provided by the classic work on the Todas by W. H. R. River, his study is more accurately considered as a diachronic study. His chief concern was to correct the outdated picture of Toda life based almost exclusively on River's study in the early 19th century. He also tried to update the ethnography and social change among the Todas though this was not the principal motive of his study. His purpose was to utilize a modern anthropological perspective for a new look at the Todas, revealing them

as a section of the Hindu world. He has dealt with the matrix of their society, physical and social environment, social organization, the sacred diary cult, their passage through life and finally a detailed social history of the community. Rivers examined the Toda both in historical depth and in relationship to the wider Hindu world institution made much more sense.

### B. North-East

T. C. Das's (1945) <sup>2</sup> (paper) *The Purum: An Old Kuki Tribe of Manipur*, paid several visits to the tribes of the North-Eastern Himalayas and made a special study of the Purum, an old Kuki tribe of Manipur. He studies <sup>his study</sup> about the relics of matrilineal residence among the old Kuki tribe of Manipur, and on the social organization of the Purum still remain the pioneering work on the North-East Indian tribe. He suggests measures for the improvement of the Purum, specially in relation to their health, sanitation, material comforts and education. He makes a plea that education must be village centered and the role of teachers of these village schools be pivoted in the whole scheme of development.

V. Elwin's (1957) book, *A Philosophy for NEFA*, tries to summarize the material on the life and culture of the NEFA tribes and makes a case for the people of NEFA to develop along the lines on their own choice and knowledge.

R. Burling's (1963) book, *Rengsanggri: Family and Kinship in a Garo Village*, made an intensive study of a Garo village. His first visit to Rengsanggri was in the year 1954-1956. Though the author's main

interest was to study kinship and social structure he has also devoted chapters to religion, political organization, economy and such other aspects. He revisited Rengsanggri in 1997 after a lapse of forty years. And in the final chapter of the second edition of his book he describes the element of both change and continuity in the village. According to him, there are three factors which have brought about changes on the Garo society such as, imposition of external political control, new agricultural method and Christianity.

B. Pakem's (1972) <sup>paper,</sup> *The Socio-Political System of the Jaintia Tribe of Assam*, examines the cultural continuity and change in the Jaintia tribe of Assam and refers to similar relationship between the plainsmen and the hill tribes of Jaintia. Based on secondary sources and his brief field work of two months in 1969, His work is an attempt to understand the political processes and the power structure in the Jaintia Hills and observes that the people's greatest need is participation in the governmental activities. In the light of the genius of the people he recommends for them cultural autonomy which may enable them to take their own decision without much imposition from outside.

D.G. Danda (1978), in his book, *Among the Dimasa of Assam: An Ethnographic Study*, studies <sup>on</sup> the Dimasa of Assam, one of the Kachar tribes and <sup>are</sup> concentrated in the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills. The ethnographic study makes a comprehensive survey of their economic life centred round jhum cultivation with the family as the principal unit of production, their social structure and the unique parallel bilineal descent system, the democratic village organization, the Nodrang and its role in

cultural activities, and their religion and supernaturalism. The increasing role played by the district council and the local market has brought the Dimasa into contact with the outside world.

B.K. Ahluwalia and S. Ahluwalia's (1984) book, *Social Change in Manipur*, made a monographic study in Manipur. The book brings through crisp narratives a clear picture of the state, its culture and its people. They stated that Manipur is marching towards economic prosperity and has already reached the threshold of overall development. With economic development, changes are bound to take place in social and cultural fields.

L. P. Vidyarthi (1986) in his book, *Art and Culture of North-East India* gives an account of the origin, history, rich cultural heritage, customs, traditions and beliefs of various tribes now settled in different parts of North-East. The author has paid well deserved attention to various segments of the region and concentrated on past researches, the life, economic conditions, occupational pattern, arts concept, dresses, entertainment and rapidly changing cultural and economic scene of the North-East. According to Vidyarthi, he states that one of the most important vehicles of cultural transformation has been education, Christian mission etc.

B. P. Singh (1987) in his book, *Problem of Change: A Study of North-East India* analyses the problems and prospects of change in the region in the light of its complex history and the very major socio-economic and political development that have occurred over the past four decades. He states that introduction of modern political and

administrative institution, and the innumerable changes brought by 'development' have in turn created opportunities and problems that have transformed the region into one of the most volatile in India. The main aim of his work was to penetrate the wall of bewilderment which appears to inhibit outsiders from taking an active interest in the affairs of the region. His approach towards the problems of change in North-East India is not that of a trained economist, a social anthropologist or historian. It is just the perspective of an administrator who has worked in the areas at various levels over the years.

L. Dema (1988) in his book, *Christian Missions and Colonialism* attempts to examine and evaluate the missionary movement in Manipur and Lushai Hills during the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from the colonial perspective. He analyzed that Christianity and western education brought the merging elites into contact with the liberal ideas of the west and in the process helped directly or indirectly the growth of political movements in North-East India.

B. B. Pandey's (1991) book, *Pattern of Change and Potential for Development in Arunachal Pradesh*, examines that in the face of the change that has come to Arunachal Pradesh in recent year, the traditional crafts may have to struggle a lot for survival. In the process of human progress, the change is inevitable. The department of industries has a great role to play in this transition. It has to guide the people through the complicated way of the change and a big change it is because it has come very late.

O. L. Snaitang's (1993) book, *Christianity and Social Change in North-East India*, studied about the cultural background of the Khasi-Jaintia people and the changes that was brought about by the advent of the British administration and Christianity in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. He states that among Khasi-Jaintia people, Christianity played a significant acculturative role in helping them maintain their distinctive identity while at the same time preparing them to function effectively within the new order introduced by British administration. His books also contribute to the understanding of the impact of Christianity upon tribal societies in the North-East.

S. D. Frederick's (1994) book, *Essays on Christianity in North-East India*, though he was a missionary teacher from America, but having being born, brought up and worked in North-East India, was, in an enviable position to look into the problems both as an insider and outsider. The book discusses the role of Christianity and its impact on the people of North-East India.

## C. Angami Literature

### (a) Pre-Independence

A. J. Moffat (1854) in his paper, *Angami Life and Custom*, describes the traditional culture of the Angami, both on material and non-material culture. In material culture he mentions about the house construction, type, style etc., and goes on explaining about the traditional method of cultivation, traditional dress etc. And in non-material culture he mentions about village administration and their belief system.

J. Butler (1875) in his paper, Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas, discusses the geographical and historical account of the Angamis. He mentions some myth concerning the origin and village formation. He also touches on the material culture such as traditional housing and household articles. He also mentions about their physical and character trait.

In another publication in his paper in the same year, *Angami Marriage Customs*, J. Butler has mentioned about the traditional Angami marriage and custom. He writes that the Angamis follow monogamy form of marriage and forbids to marry one's own cousin. In the case of inheritance, property is shared only among the sons. He also describes about the traditional dress. Further he goes on discussing about the social standing acquired by giving feast of merit or by garnering as many heads in war.

J. Johnstone (1896) in his paper, Johnstone on the Angami Nagas,<sup>1</sup> writes briefly both on material and non-material culture of the Angami. In material culture he discusses about traditional dress and attire, housing, food habits and method of cultivation (terrace and jhum). And in non-material culture he describes about Angami character saying that Angami are polite, courteous and hospitable. He also mentions their belief systems and the village administrative system which is headed by the village chief.

The regular flow of monographs on the tribes of the North Eastern Himalayan region suffered a set back during the first world war. It was possible only after the war in 1921 for J. H. Hutton to revive the series

with the publication of his monograph on the Angami Naga followed by the publication of another monograph on the Sema Naga.

On the account of the Angami Nagas, Hutton describes the significant aspects of traditional Angami culture. For the first time the Angamis' terms of relationships recorded in geneological table have been collected and the pattern of inheritance has been described. The nature of crime and offence and the status of women are also described which incidentally were missing in the earlier monographs. He also describes about the Angami religious beliefs and rituals, magic, witchcraft etc. A revised edition of the book, *The Angami Nagas* (1969), has been published with twenty one pages of correction. The changes are not many – addition of a new preface, a few extra notes to the text, replacement of appendix IX on the orientation of the dead and the reduction of a few photographs with these minimum changes, the book continues to give us the picture of the traditional Angami culture.

#### **(b). Post-Independence**

K. Terhüja's (1972) paper, *The Christian Church Among the Angami Nagas*, examines the impact of Christianity in the Nagas especially the Angami Nagas on the basis of her library work. She did not go for extensive (field work) study like an anthropologists do. She describes that Christian women's society has its own projects like community fields, gardens, literacy campaigns, distributes scriptures, arrange women's welfare work etc. She went on saying that the forces of change are the contacts with other faiths (Christianity), culture, education, better facilities of communications and technology, and

government policies. The most significant progress is in the educational sphere. The sense of value has changed to such an extent that a man would rather give a good education to his children than spend the amount on traditional community feasts. She also writes that medical amenities have improved, sanitations have reduced the high death rate among the Angamis. She refers to the inconsistency or the paradox of generous government grant to develop the Nagas. She also refers to the immature understanding of the whole Naga complex while attacking the Christian church which has oriented the Nagas to a wider fellowship of humanity.

G. K. Ghosh (1992) in his book, *Tribal and their Culture: Manipur and Nagaland*, wrote about the cultural life of the Angami Nagas. He describes the geographical location of the Angami Nagas during the British colonial times, origin of the Angami Naga, habit and moral values. He also mentions about the division of the Angami clan, religion, village site, village gates and housing, village politic, dress and ornaments, agriculture, weaving, blacksmith, basketry, wood carving, festival, folk music and folk dance. But all his contributions are very brief and deal with the traditional folk life of the Angami Nagas.

I. S. Marwah and Vinay Kumar Srivastava (1992) in their paper, *Khel Gate and Social Structure*, examines a material trait – the *Khel* gate – in relation with social life of the Angamis of Jotsoma village. They state that the importance of *Khel* in total social organization of the village has not diluted with the fast penetration of development programmes and modernization. They made a comparative study of the four *Khels* in Jotsoma village, and analyzed that *Khel* – 1, in comparison to the others,

has the largest survivors of the traditional religion, *Nanyü, Khel IV*, which is the most developed of all the *Khels* and people of this *Khel* are relatively more modernized and have open networks with the Kohima town. They have also discussed the processes of village gate construction and the related rituals. Before, village gates were the main entrance, and after checking arrival of all inhabitants, the gates were closed. In olden days, entry points to the *Khels* were through these gates, but now new passages and routes have come up and passing in and out through a gate has lost the sacrosanct value. In conclusion, they state that as a consequence of modernization and after the acceptance of Christianity, the ideological bulwarks of gates had crumbled. Although some traditional lores survive with the Christian beliefs and practices, gate-pulling is not needed functionally as well as symbolically anymore and has come to an end. It is precisely because of this that people have to wrestle with their memory to provide piecemeal, intermittent, and finding information about the dragging rituals and ceremonies.

K. Majumdar's (1992) paper, *An Angami Village*, mentions about the present situation of Angami Naga village. She made a field study during 1986 in Jotsoma village (Western Angami). She mentions about the present features of the Angami village, in her description of an Angami village, she states that the rapidly changing village is soon going to disintegrate all such features as mark it out as a typical Angami Naga village. Taking change to be a normal course of human life, the sudden acceleration in change makes one realize that may be after a decade one will not describe anything about Angami village because none would exist. She goes on to say that with the introduction of formal system of

education, the role of youth dormitories (*Kichuki*) as an educational institution has declined. In addition, the conversion to Christianity by a majority has deprived the dormitory of its role as the centre of social, political and ritual activities. The present generation of the village however know very little about its ancestors and its local history. This is the consequence of the decline of *Kichuki's* role as an educational institution.

N. Mathur's (1992) paper, *Religious Ethos of the Angami Naga*, is a study on the religious ethos of the Angami Naga. They believe in different spirits, some are good and some are bad. And the daily life of Angami Nagas was inseparably tuned with consultation of omens, superstitious and dreams. For several centuries Angami Nagas remained cautious and wary of the spirits and were preoccupied with making provisions of feasts of merit rearing fowl and pigs for sacrifices and executing restrictions on movements in the spacio-temporal framework. Their lives revolved around the hub of traditional religion till the interception of Christianity. He goes on to say that Christianity has, to a large extent, transformed the life of Angami Nagas. It has introduced the system of formal education. At present in Jotsoma village more than 80 per cent population are Christians. One of the important impacts which he added on economy as caused by Christianity has come about by its protest against feasts of merit. Traditionally, feasts of merits latently ironed out the disparities in wealth. The rich, in their passion to acquire prestige and accessory benefits spent a large part of their incomes in lavish feasts. Though he writes that Christianity has brought a tremendous change, he does not mention that the agricultural rituals

(*penna, genna*) has affected. At present the Christians do not observe the non-working days (*penna*) being proposed by the non-Christians themselves. And even the non-Christians have reduced the number of non-working days.

N. K. Das's (1993) book, *Kinship Politics and Law in Naga Society*, the central argument of his book is that the structuralist theory and method developed by social anthropologists in the study of kinship and social organization are helpful to examine different models of tribal organization. The major objective of this book which deals with a small Naga tribe is to provide a jural and political view of social structure by examining the principle of descent and its politico-jural implications in *Zounuo-Keyhomuo* (Southern Angami) society. The design of this book, however, is not only to present an account of Angami Naga family, kinship, marriage, economy and political systems, but also critically examine the applicability of structural principles of kinship, derived mainly from the works of descent theorists such as Meyer Fortes, Evans Pritchard and Goody, to set of data collected. While dealing with jural and normative issues he also elucidates about rules of descent, rules of inheritance, marriage rules, rules governing incest and adultery. The main purpose in doing so has been to stress the jural functions of kinship in regulating rights and duties. This book thoroughly examines the problem formation and also discusses the ethnic roots of the *Zounuo Keyhomuo* (Southern Angami) people. This book happens to be the first monograph of this tribe (*Zounuo Keyhomuo*).

Again N. K. Das's (1994) paper, *The Naga Communities: Angami Naga*, describes about the present cultural life of the Angami Nagas. He categorizes them into different aspects such as socio-cultural, economic, religion and politics. He analyzes that the main forces which brought about change in the Angami Naga society is Christianity, urbanization and various development programme. For socio-cultural aspects he analyzed that for marriage, old rules, rituals and traditional formalities have now been given up. And the main characteristic of the Angami community is the practice of nuclear family, consisting of married couple and their unmarried children. The modern statutory village council exists side by side with the traditional council in each village. Arrival of Christianity has been one of the main factors, which has caused radical, social and religious transformation among all sections of the Angami.

V. Sanyū (1996) in his book, *A History of Nagaland: Dynamics of Oral Tradition in Village Formation*, mainly deals with reconstructing the history of the Naga with the help of oral sources. His data mainly depended on the oral tradition from the historical perspective. He studied two Angami villages Khonoma and Kohima back from their migration, settlement to British colonization and also describes about modernization and its impact. Being an Angami himself, he draws on his extensive field study observation and experience to depict the Angami scene in totality.

He also briefly mentions about the traditional Angami Naga economic and social structure, but he does not touch religion. He even describes that due to the impact of modernization, economic and social structures of Angamis have also changed. Some of the forces of change

which he mentions are: British colonization, missionary, education, Naga National movement, statehood and road communication. He describes that the process of modernization can partly be attributed to the British particularly during the period from 1880-1947. But it was the Britishers who had opened the eyes of the Angami Nagas to see civilization.

L. Atola Changkiri (1999) in her book, *The Angami Nagas and the British (1832-1947)*, gives an account of the geographical, ethnological and historical background of the Angami Nagas and then goes on to present a comprehensive and critical analysis of their relation with the British during 1832-1947 A.D. as a micro study, which includes the causes of the Anglo-Angami conflict and goes right up to the administrative arrangements of the colonial government in the Naga Hills. The book further discusses the genesis of the Inner Line Regulation system and the introduction of the institutions of *Dobashis* (interpreters) and *Mouzadars* (fiscal officers) in the Angami area. It also examines the administrative development and moral and material progress of the Nagas, and assesses the impact of British rule on the social, political and economic life of the Nagas. Her work is mainly based on the magazines, journals, official records, minutes, gazetteers and memoirs as a primary source.

H. M. Bareh's (2001) book, *Encyclopaedia of North-East India: Nagaland*, writes about the people of Nagaland. In chapter six he describes about the Naga communities, and also writes about the Angami Naga community. He mentions that Britishers, Missionaries, communication, statehood, education, medical development programme

and urbanization are the main factors responsible for change. He writes that 'the history of modern inter-community linkages may be traced with the events linked with the advent of the British like the advent of and spread of Christianity in the Angami area, the spread of education, the second world war, and finally the birth of Nagaland state in 1963. These developments provided the Angami to come in close contact with other Naga and non-Naga people from various parts of India.'

There is a paucity of reliable ethnographic literature about the Nagas in general, and the Angami Nagas in particular, in the North-east India. As in other parts of India, the work of the ethnographic study of various communities of this region had started around the beginning of the twentieth century at the hands of British administrators, military officers and occasionally, Christian missionaries. The British administrators undertook such studies to enable the rulers to take stock of their charge (H. H. Risley and E. A. Gait 1903: 2). The purpose was to acquaint the government officials and private persons with classified description about the communities in India with a view to ensuring effective colonial administration and concern with the extension and consolidation of the British administration.

Hence, the first anthropological accounts were motivated by the British colonial quest, e.g., J. Johnstone (1896); T. C. Hodson (1911); J. H. Hutton (1921); J. P. Mills (1922, 1926, 1937).

Those written by the Europeans in the couple of decades after India's Independence in 1947, e.g., V. Elwin (1960); Von Furer-Haimendorf (1969) tend to adopt the paternalistic tone of their

predecessors. The Nagas are represented alternately as savage, head-hunters in need of morality and control, and as child-like, quaint being who belong to the past and who are in need of 'protection'. The Nagas are regarded as cruel, treacherous, vindictive, wild and uncivilized tribe (V. Elwin, 1960: 284), also blood thirsty and revengeful (V. Elwin, 1960: 55). According to Haimendorf, the Konyak tribes were still the 'Naked Nagas' (Von Furer-Haimendorf, 1969: 31).

The European ethnographers have at times exhibited a tendency of racial superiority complex and undermining the culture and lifestyle of the Nagas categorizing as inferior to them.

Contemporary versions tend to constitute part of Indian neo-colonialism and consistently refer to the 'Naga problem' while disregarding the impact of colonialism on the lives of the Naga people, e.g., V. K. Anand (1980); K. R. Singh (1987); S. M. Channa (1992); D'Souza (1992).

Other ethnographies are based on brief field work and the writers who attempt scientific objectivity deliver mechanical, accounts of societal 'structures' and 'customs' but bringing us no closer to understanding Naga experience (S. M. Channa, 1992; D'Souza, 1992). Furthermore, most ethnographic descriptions on Naga ways of life are drawn from the earlier sources listed above.

One account (Jacobs et al., 1991) provides perhaps the most comprehensive account of Naga history and culture. But the authors did not undertake ethnographic accounts nor provide the kind of detail and

culture change perspective that I wish to describe, while all the above publications are useful to an extent, it is apparent that there is a need for fresh study as contemporary study has no ethnographic perspective on culture change. Very few studies deal with culture change among the Angami in a contemporary situation and hence the relevant of the study.

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

J. H. Hutton in his monograph on the 'Angami Nagas' particularly in his preface to the second edition observes: 'This account of the Angami Nagas was completed by the year 1915, though on account of the war it could not be published for seven years. It is therefore out of date now by more than fifty years, and that a period of rapid change such as humanity has probably never before experienced. The account here given on the 'Angami Naga' tribe must therefore be regarded in the light of an historical document than a contemporary survey... the account here given cannot be rendered valueless by the mere passage of time ... of its fault and shortcoming, I am too conscious. I had little knowledge of Anthropology at that time.... The defects of this volume therefore, is left to those trained in a discipline of social anthropology...'

Hence, the objective of the present study is an attempt to understand the process of culture change among the Angami Nagas by taking the classic monograph of Hutton as the benchmark/baseline for the study.

The present study seeks to limit itself to some aspects of the Angami culture with reference to material and non-material culture (the patterns of social organization, economy and belief):

- (i) What changes have taken place over the last eighty eight years or so?
- (ii) What factors are responsible for the same?

## METHODS

The present study is a re-study on the Angami Nagas of Nagaland based on field work which is conducted in a purposively selected Khonoma village under Kohima district of Nagaland. The purposes of selecting this village are:

1. Hutton based his classic monograph 'The Angami Nagas' on data collected substantially from Khonoma village, and since my work is a re-study I have also based on the same village.
2. Hutton chose Khonoma for being a typical Angami village, and also stated that, even before the coming of *Sarkar* no Angamis enjoyed such prestige or levied such widespread tribute as Khonoma (Hutton, 1921: 11). It was also the most powerful and warlike village which was a centre of activities, during pre-colonial period, colonial period and post-colonial period.

Prior to starting the main work, a survey was made on the village, meeting the village council chairman, pastors, priest (*Zhevo*), elders, women leaders, youth leaders, student leaders etc., in order to get preliminary information and preliminary contacts.

After that an indepth study was made, by collecting the entire village household census. Participant observation and informal interviews were employed. My visits were of the duration of one month or less at

times depending on the occasion. The data so collected were supplemented with case study, genealogy and also biographical notes of 'who is who' was made. Besides, secondary data were collected from available literatures such as books, journals and research reports.

My first visit to Khonoma village took place in 1998. I made several trips to the village between 1998 and 2000. As regard language, I had no problem as I can use the local language in my interviews with the villagers, participate in their daily life, seasonal and other activities and as far as possible gather information in the course of such participation.

## CHAPTERIZATION

Chapter I deals with the statement of the problem, review of literatures, objectives, methods and chapterization.

Chapter II deals with land and people.

Chapter III deals with the Angami traditional culture (material and non-material culture).

Chapter IV deals with the changing Angami culture (material and non-material culture).

Chapter V deals with factors responsible for culture change.

Chapter VI deals with major findings and conclusion.

## CHAPTER II

### LAND AND PEOPLE

#### (1) Angami Nagas

##### Geographical Location and Boundaries

The Angamis during Hutton's time (1912) were roughly located in the area bounded on the north by a line running from a point slightly south of where the Doyang river issues into the plains through the peaks of Thevūkepū and Mutuhu (on the edge of the Sema tribe) to the junction of the *Loi* and *Tizu* rivers between *Kivekhu* and *Chipokitema*. On the south the Angamis were bounded by the Barial range and the Diphu river on the west by Nambar forest. And on the east the boundary coincided with the eastern boundary of the Naga Hills District.

The Angamis, one of the Naga tribes, are the principal inhabitants of the Kohima district of Nagaland state in the Indian Union. They inhabit the central and northern portion of the Kohima district. The Angami dominated total area is 7,209 square kilometres. It is bounded on the north by Wokha and Zunheboto districts, on the east by *Phek* (all districts of Nagaland) on the south by Manipur state and North Cachar district of Assam, and on the west by the Mikir Hills (Karbi Anglong district of Assam). It lies between 25°4' and 27°4' North latitude and between 93°20' and 95°15' East longitude. The altitude varies approximately between 110 and 3000 metres.

The Angami tribe was divided into two main groups – the eastern Angami and the western Angami during Hutton's time. The western Angami consisting of four sub-groups such as Khonoma group, Kohima group, *Viswema* group and *Chakhroma* group. The *Khunomia* (*Khonoma*) group consisting of six villages – *Khonoma*, *Secitma*, *Mezoma*, *Kiruphema*, *Jotsoma*, *Kigwema*. The *Chakhroma* groups were those villages nearer the plains, such as *Razaphema*, *Chimukedima*, *Kabvoma*, *Piphema*, *Medziphema*, *Chowuma* (*Choloma*) and *Seteikiema*, which seem to be derived principally from the Khonoma and Kohima groups. The Kohima group, consisting of Kohima and the neighbouring villages, and the *Viswema* or *Zounuo-Keyhomuo* group to the south of it, differed slightly, but not very much, in dialect from the *Khonoma* group, and from one another, and might be regarded as a link between the genuine Angamis or *Tenyimia*, and the *Chakrima* (at present with the *Chakhesang*) Angamis who inhabit the villages north-east and the east of the Kohima group. East of the *Viswema* group and wedged in between the *Chakrima*, *Tenyima*, and *Memi*, several villages known as *Kezami* or *Kezama*, of which *Khezhakenoma* and *Kezebama* were the principal villages. These *Khezama* villages, like other Angami villages, had a language and to some extent customs of their own, they speak Angami as well as *Khezami* language. According to Hutton, the term 'eastern Angami' had been used in his monograph to signify generally the *Chakrima*, *Khezama*, and those of the *Memi* who lived on the borders, who were distinct from the *Tenyimia* proper or western Angamis, of the *Viswema*, *Kohima*, *Khonoma*, and *Chakroma* groups of villages. *Chakhroma* means 'road-below men', the name of the villages with regard to the old *Samaguting* (*Chimukedima*) Kohima bridle path.

At present the eastern Angamis as referred by Hutton, maintain a separate identity and are now known as Chakhesang under the Phek District of Nagaland. The Memis today identify themselves with the Mao tribe under Senapati District of Manipur. Hence, the western Angamis (*Tenyimia* proper as called during Hutton's time) are known as proper Angami, which have been divided into four zones such as, Southern Angami, Northern Angami, Western Angami, and Chakhroma. But today Chakhroma group falls under Dimapur District.

Today, the Angami areas broadly form the present day Kohima district of Nagaland. Kohima, the district headquarter and the state capital is situated on a saddle, north of the *Japfü-Barail* intersecting *Japfü* and *Ezupu* which are eminent peaks of the Angami area. The streams are being intelligently used for terrace cultivation by all sections of the Angami Naga and the Angami are known for their terrace cultivation.

### Myth of Origin

The history of how the Naga tribes came precisely to occupy their present position had, of course, passed into the dim obscurity of vague tradition (Hutton, 1921: 6). According to the legend, the Angamis sprung from two ancestors who emerged from the bowels of the earth, not in Angami country, but in some other land to the south. And all the weight of tradition points to migration from the south, except in the case of the Kacha Naga (Zeliang) who believed that ancestors came from the direction of *Japfü* mountain, where they spread towards the south, which indeed would be the natural course if they came through the Mao gap and spread south where the other Naga tribes spread northward. The Angami

villages trace their root of migration towards Mao. And those days the priest of the Angami villages waited for the priest of Mao and *Maikhel* to give the word before appointing the day for the celebration of any regular village festivals, and point to the ceremonial of the Mao village of *Mekhroma (Maikhel)* as the type of Angami ceremony par excellence. The legend recounts that a person named *Koza* came from the East and after reaching *Mekhroma (Maikhel)* in Manipur he rested for sometime and pondered on which way his steps should lead him next. Ultimately, he prayed to his God for guidance. Suddenly a bird flew by and alighted on the horn of his mithun and then flew off again in the direction of *Khezhakenoma*. In order to doubly check this guidance from above, he placed his walking stick on the ground and the stick fell down, pointing in the same direction towards which the bird had flown. *Koza* took this to be direct guidance from the spirits to continue his journey in that specific direction. He set off for *Khezhakenoma* and upon reaching his destination, legend has it that he saw the same bird that had appeared to him earlier resting there upon a stone. Later on, *Koza* found that a frog had brought a grain of rice and left it on the stone where it multiplied into two. *Koza* also brought a basket of rice which doubled when placed on the stone. He then decided to settle down in *Khezhakenoma* along with his cattle wealth. *Koza* was blessed with three sons in course of time.

Every day they used to spread paddy to dry upon a great flat stone, and at dusk a single load spread to dry had become two loads, as the stone was inhabited by a spirit. The three sons used to take turns to spread their paddy on this stone, but one day they quarrelled bitterly as to whose turn it was, and their parents, fearing bloodshed, broke eggs on the

stone, covered it with bushwood, laid faggots about it, and set it on fire. The stone burst with a crack like a thunder, the spirit went up to heaven in a cloud of smoke, and the virtue of the stone departed. The three sons then separated and became the ancestors of the Angami, Lotha, and Sema tribes, while from the parents who remained were descended the Kezami villages. Variant details of this story were sometimes given; the name of the village was only known to the Angamis, who still point out the great cracked stone, a flat slab opposite the house of the *kemevo*, who was supposed to occupy as a general rule the site believed to have been occupied by the original founder of the village. With this exception substantially the same story was told by the Memi, Lothas, Semas, and Rengmas.

It is interesting to note that the traditions of the Rengmas, Lothas, Semas, and Angamis all ascribe a common origin to these tribes.

### Language

The Naga languages had been differently classified by different philologists, but the classification of Sir Grierson is now generally accepted (vide Census of India, 1911). According to this classification, Angami Naga belong to the Tibeto-Chinese family, Tibeto-Burman sub-family, Assam-Burmese branch (group Naga), sub-western Naga. The Angamis were originally known as *Tenyimia*. The word Angami is a distortion of the Manipuri word *gnamei*. Angamis were called *Tsungumi* by the Semas, *Tsungmung* by the Lothas and *Mour* by the Aos. Even the modern Angami still trace the place of migration to *Maikhel* and *Khezhakenoma* and from there they scattered to different directions. At

present the four sections of the Angami, speak their own distinct forms of dialect at home, but the common Angami language in which a vast printed literatures have been produced, is based on the *Tenyimia* dialect. Written in Roman script, Angami language is used both in secular and religious field. At present Angami language has been introduced at the post-graduate level. Angami dialects belong to the Tibeto-Chinese family. But the official language is English and Nagamese is the *lingua franca* of this region. Hindi is now understood and spoken by the urbanized sections of the Angami.

### Climate

Angami enjoys monsoon climate with a difference. The difference is this; that unlike the plains of Assam, here the winter is quite severe and the summer months are also rather cold. In winter the night temperature comes down to even  $1^{\circ}$  Celsius in some places in January and February which are the coldest months. But the average may be accepted as  $3^{\circ}$  Celsius or more. In summer it is not at all hot but cool, and the highest summer temperature on the average of minimum temperature is  $6^{\circ}$  Celsius or  $43^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit and the average maximum summer temperature is  $34^{\circ}$  Celsius or  $85^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit.

Rainfall on the average ranges from 200 cm to 250 cm. It covers a period of nine months of the year, greatest concentration being in July and August and more rainfall is experienced in the northern area of the state than in the south. The climate is neither too hot nor too cold.

## **Education**

The introduction of colonial education, however, disrupted the indigenous system of learning and redirected them to the new pattern of modern education. Undoubtedly, with the increasing acceptance of colonial education, indigenous system was gradually relegated. Thus modern education has substantially influenced on the socio-cultural life of the Nagas. The Angami Naga education which the British rulers largely entrusted to the American Baptist Mission had a revolutionizing impact on their society. It affected their religion, demeanor, customs and habits. With the progressive dissemination of modern education, the outlook of the people which formerly remained narrow significantly developed and along with it, appreciation of modern education also received further momentum. The development of broader and healthier outlook of the people enabled them to accept the new trends of change in their society. As a consequence of the growth of modern education the people witnessed gradual tendency of social cohesion the characteristic feature which was conspicuously lacking among them in pre-colonial period. It was the education of Angami Nagas which spearheaded the formation of Nagas Club, Tribal Council and Naga National Council.

Prior to the coming of the Mission, a few schools were opened by the government. A school at Chumukedima headquarter, in 1876-97 was attended only by the officials' children as the local Angamis then were apathetic to any system of education. In 1878-76, three more schools (government) were started.

In 1884, C. D. King with his efforts had begun to meet success when a first school was opened at Kohima. He put down Angami script to the Roman alphabet and taught school children to read and write in their language. C. D. King left Kohima in 1886 and the Mission was taken over by Dr. Rivenburg. He was a highly qualified medical man, but nevertheless he was gifted as an orthographer and educationist. It was he who successfully adopted Angami alphabets, arithmetic and some versions of the holy scriptures for the use of school children. When administration had become settled, opposition to the Mission also became mitigated and later on, village people extended their cooperation to the mission in respect of school buildings. It was the valued cooperation of non-Christians, to a great extent, which was held responsible for the success of the earliest mission educational enterprises. As elsewhere the Christian missionaries were harbingers of western education. When their effort had borne fruits, they were emulated by the government which started to open schools and educational institutions. An instance was exemplified by the fact that, in 1911-12 out of 22 schools, 12 belonged to the mission, while in 1913-14, 14 schools were managed by the mission against 13 which were government. After 1910 one mission training centre was opened at Kohima upgraded from the mission M.E. School which was the only highest school institution in the Kohima Sadar Sub-division before Independence which became government managed school later. In 1931, mission M.E. school of Kohima had 180 pupils on its roll. The Government M.E. School at Kohima had in October 1930, 142 pupils. In 1937, a government hostel was also opened at Kohima.

Many more schools were started after Independence, and rapid strides were made in the field of educational development. Institutions ranging from primary to high school till college had existed in the Kohima district by 1961-1962. Up to 1963, Kohima district had one science college, 11 high schools, 50 middle schools, 225 primary schools, 1 basic training centre and 1 polytechnic school. In 1967, there were 3 colleges, 26 high schools, 66 middle schools and 268 primary schools. According to 1971 census, the literacy rate was 33.78%. In 1981 Census, the literacy rate was 41.99%, according to 1991 census, the literacy rate increased rapidly to 70.19%. In 2001 Census, the literacy rate was 74.28%.

Education opened up the mind of the Angami Nagas into a new world, new ideas and change. This provides a common language for communications and enhances the sense of unity. Education redeems the Angamis from a world of ignorance into a world of knowledge. Christianity also leads in the education particularly for women, giving them opportunity of acquiring knowledge. At present in the Angami Naga society there is no bar whether a boy or a girl, they can take up education and we see that in the field of academic girls are almost reaching boy's level. The Angami Naga adopted the western life style, music, clothes, and traditions which affected the traditional life style.

Again, education is not only increasingly reaching out in revolutionary pace to embrace the entire life-span of the individual and the whole Angami society but also holds the key to a large number of their living problems. Even the most illiterate and poor are beginning to

send their boys and girls to schools and colleges because they want them to be well educated children so that they would get opportunities for government jobs and other avenues which would improve their standards of living.

A massive adult education programme was launched in 1978 in an effort to educate the illiterate adult population in the age group of fifteen to thirty five years within a period of five years. So this programme also really helped the public to a great extent at least how to read and write. To encourage young people to take up higher studies, the government provides assistance to the deserving students in the forms of scholarships and grants. The first post graduate course in the state, M. A. in education was introduced in Kohima in September 1978 under the North-Eastern Hill University. And later on many new disciplines were introduced. At present the Nagaland government has set up its own University (Nagaland University).

### **Population**

According to 1961 census, the total population of Kohima district was 108,924 out of which 57,704 were males and 51,220 females. The population which hitherto was 57,692 in 1901 increased to 108,924 in 1961, increased almost twice in number. Up till independence, the increase was due to a gradual expansion of the administration. One of the factors for the increase of the population could be attributed to the growth of Kohima as the state capital and Dimapur as an economic centre, where the rate of population density had quickly increased. According to 1961 census, the total population of the Angami tribe was 33,687. In 1971

census, the total population increased to 43,994. In 1981, the total population of the Kohima district was 2,50,105, and the total population according to 1991 census was 3,87,581. In 2001 census, the population density of Kohima district was 101.

## (2) Khonoma

### Introduction

Khonoma village is derived from the word *Khwuno*, a native plant which grows wild in the hills. The original name, *Khwunomia*, meaning 'men of *Khwuno*' has come to be called Khonoma in more recent times. It is believed that the original name was given by settlers who preceded the present inhabitants who moved out because they found the climate 'too cold' to grow rice.

The oral history says one of the descendants of *Koza* (according to legend he was the first person who came and settled in Khezhakenoma from far east) by the name *Mekhu* lived in Kigwema village. He had two sons – *Merhu* and *Pfukha*. *Merhu* also had two sons *Khwukha* and *Khate* who were among the founding members of Khonoma. The oral tradition says *Khwukha* and *Khate* discovered Khonoma during their hunting expedition. Both of them went to Jotsoma and invited *Ratsa* and his brother *Vokha* to form a new village. Before they set out for Khonoma there was an agreement between them: they were to travel together and each member was to carry a load consisting of exactly the same number of belongings so as to ensure that they all started on an equal footing materially in the new village. However, they stopped on the way and checked each other's luggage, and it was discovered that *Khwukha* had

hidden an extra skin of goat's hair in his shield. The presence of this led to a prophecy that *Khrukha's* descendants would be blessed and that out of his clan would arise the heroes of the new village.

The early settlers also believed that they were led by the Spirits in their selection of a new home. As they approached Khonoma, one of the members of the party lost a packet of salt. A search ensued and the culprit was found. It was then foretold that there would be cases of theft in the village, but in each case the culprit would not escape undetected. The settlers brought chickens to sacrifice during the consecration of a new village. But when the chickens were let out of their basket, they began fighting with each other, signifying that there would be enmity and inter-clan feuds within the village. Tradition also tells us that the leader of the group first arrived at the spot and unearthed a stone under which they found numerous crabs. This led them to foretell that the people would multiply in this land.

According to the Angami tradition and religion, people from one moiety alone could not form a village. Participation of the other moiety was a must. So, although *Khrukha*, *Khate* and *Ratsa* were regarded as the founding fathers of Khonoma, we have no definite evidence because all three of them belonged to *Thekrunoma* moiety. The presence of the *Thevoma* moiety in the present structure proves that the formation of the village was completed only when the members of that moiety came to the village.

## Geographical Location

Khonoma is situated in the extreme west of Angami country. Although most of the area is mountainous, Khonoma is built on the summit of a hill or on the ridges. The houses are dotted all over the hill slope. Khonoma also has considerable stretches of valleys within the hill tracts. The various hills determining the nature and topography of Khonoma are *Ho Phera*, *Mhoziekha*, *Nikriba*, *Sikhri*, *Virhiecha*, *Gagidzuthi*, *Thekhwecathi* and *Kradi*. The northern side faces Zubza, and (in) the east is the village of Jotsoma while the village of Mezoma to the west. (In) the south of the Khonoma borders, the Zemi territory and the romantic *Dzükou* valley which stretches to Manipur.

## Flora and Fauna

The village land stretches to over 20 km in length from east to west. The whole area is rich in forest resources and has innumerable varieties of trees. The forests are of a mixed innumerable varieties of trees. The forests are of a mixed deciduous and evergreen type, with vast areas of jhum-stands predominated by *Anus Nepalensis*, locally known as *Rupo*. Among the varieties of forest products, *Rupo*, is popularly known as alder. The tree plays a very important role in the economy of Khonoma. It has a unique capacity for regeneration. The alder plays an important ecological role in maintaining the balance of the fertility of the soil. Its leaves serve to form a rich natural layer of top soil. Almost all the hills have a young sedimentary rock formation and there is a possibility of coal and uranium in some areas.

In Khonoma village a great number of animals are on the brink of extinction owing to the indiscriminate hunting; they are valued not only for its meat but few people earn their livelihood by hunting. Deer's meat is highly valued in the local markets. Earlier even wild elephants were found in the foothills, but today there is no trace of elephant in the dense jungle. Tiger, leopard and lion have their lair in the dense jungle. The deer family comprises the barking deer, sambar and serow.

The monkey and jackal are also available but sparsely distributed. Other species comprise ~~of~~ wild buffaloes, wild pigs, wild bears, wild dogs, antler, squirrels, bats, otters, musk, rats etc.

Snakes comprise ~~of~~ vipers, kraits, rat-snakes, grass-snakes, cobra, lizards, toads, monceters and pythons.

Some of the birds which are found in the forest are partridge, night jar, warbler, robin, quail, woodpecker, hornbill, pheasant, porcupine, swift, hawk, crow, swipe, wag-tails, myna, cuckoo, sparrow, sun-bird, parrot, parakeet, tragopan etc.

At present in Khonoma the Village Council has banned the killing of wild animals for commercial purpose except for self consumption. If they killed them they have to finish the whole meat within the village, and no one is allowed to carry away even a small piece of meat to other towns or village. They have even set up an organization called 'Tragopan Sanctuary' with the aim to preserve this endangered species which is found only in Nagaland.

## Resistance against the British

Khonoma people are known for their bravery and courage and there were many great warriors. Many times they fought with their neighbouring villages. And they even used to fight with the Manipuri several times. There still stands three forts in each of the *Khels* in the village, which were used as their defence during wars.

During the British invasion in the Naga Hills, Khonoma fought with the Britishers several times, because they were basically courageous, firmly determined and well-organized. The village of Khonoma has played an unparalleled role in the history of Nagaland. It has long been considered to be the most powerful and feared village in the Naga Hills.

The reasons why they rose against the Britishers were, they did not want any alien people to rule over them. The warfare continued to the colonial times when Khonoma stubbornly and valiantly resisted the British advent into the Naga Hills. Khonoma was attacked under the Captainship of Elds in 1844. The guns seized by Khonoma were returned but the culprits were withheld, in consequence of which, the village with 500 houses were burnt. As the expedition returned, Mezoma was attacked by Khonoma because of the assistance rendered to the expedition. Khonoma fought with the British several times, and many a times they defeated the British. One of the worst wars was that which was fought between the Khonoma and the Britishers on October 13, 1879. It was at this juncture that the British political agent, G. N. Damant, who sought to impose British authority by forcing collection of taxes, became the victim

of Khonoma. While attempting to enter Khonoma village, without proper security, he was shot dead by *Zakiesielie* (age: 25). Even the regiment escorting Damant comprising 80 persons including military and police suffered a toll of 35 killed on the spot and 19 wounded. The ones who survived faced great difficulty but managed to escape secretly to Kohima and delivered the news of Damant's death. This created a great sensation among all the British outposts located in the entire North-Eastern region and it was finally decided to launch a final attack on Khonoma. The killing of Damant and his men had encouraged the Angamis to a great extent and they had decided to immediately attack the British stockade at Kohima. It was only on the 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1879 that the Khonoma warriors along with those from many other villagers reached Kohima and attacked the British stockade. It was perhaps the only time in the entire colonial history that an army general was involved in fighting against a single village. Not only a general but a number of other officers with 3000 soldiers were involved in that 'bloody fight' in order to capture Khonoma village.

The prolonged war of the resistance that the little known village of Khonoma in Nagaland offered to the military might of the arch imperialist of the west has earned its people an enviable position to all freedom loving peoples ... the blood, sweat and tears of the people of Khonoma, the martyrdom of those who laid their lives, their sacrifice and suffering will continue to inspire our present and future generations with the spirit of patriotism and love for freedom. (J. B. Bhattacharjee, 1987: 18-22).

The final attack on Khonoma village was fought under the charge of affairs under Brigadier General Nation (V. Sanyü, 1995: 108). He

commanded the forces brought from Assam, Manipur and North-Eastern region. Finally, Khonoma was defeated in 1879. So during that time Khonoma's wonderful terraced cultivation was confiscated and its clans were dispersed among other villagers. The result was that the dispossessed villagers found themselves not only deprived of their homes, but of their settled cultivation. For one whole year they were reduced to the condition of homeless wanderers, dependent to a great extent on the charity of their neighbours and living in temporary huts in the jungle. The result was widespread sickness and mortality.

Khonoma was reconstructed after the war, in spite of the fact that, severe punishment was meted out and Khonoma was razed to the ground and its inhabitants dispersed. It now flourishes as of old, however, the sword has been exchanged for the pen and the old barter system began to be displaced by currency for trade. Once cash economy was introduced, their world and perspective began to change. Another important change in the social and political life of the village was the introduction of *Dobashis* and *Goanburas* popularly known as D.B. and G.B.

Perhaps the most important contributions made by Khonoma during the British rule was the rise of Naga Nationalism which was born during this period – a movement which continued to gain momentum after the departure of the British. And undoubtedly Khonoma played her role in nurturing the movement. A. Z. Phizo, President of NNC and T. Sakhrie, General Secretary from Khonoma contributed their best for the Naga Nationalism.

After the Britishers left Nagaland, people got exposed to the outside world in the field of trade with East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), Burma, Nepal, Thailand, and Southern China. Khonoma people were comparatively more enterprising and adventurous than the other Naga villagers. Khonoma people used to import precious stones, cowries, conch shells, ivory and beads from these countries, and they often travelled to various distant places and they were exposed to varied cultures and civilizations. Thus endowed with vision beyond the horizon, fortified by high morale, political consciousness and better economic prosperity at that time, Khonoma took upon its shoulders the responsibility to provide the required leadership. (Golden Jubilee, *Khonoma Rüffino*, 1994: 54). Meanwhile, the little flicker of hope of liberation from alien domination after the ten year period of the 9 Point Agreement extinguished when Sir Akbar Hydari died of a sudden stroke at Loktak, near Imphal on December 28, 1948. The next year, the then Chief Minister of Assam, Gopi Nath Bordoloi informed a Naga delegation that the Government of India no longer considered the agreement valid. This made the Nagas realize that the Indian occupation of Nagaland had to be resisted with resolute opposition.

Back home, the Khonoma thinkers felt the urgency of taking up a definite political stand. They felt they must play a pivotal role to awake and organize the Nagas, and that it had to start from home – Khonoma itself. *Khonoma Rüffino* well fitted into this task.

*Khonoma Rüffino* is a pan-Khonoma organization in which each and every Khonoma is, by citizenship, a life member. *Rüffino* literally

means 'army', hence *Khonoma Rüffüno* stands for Khonoma legion. This pan-Khonoma organization took upon its shoulders the task of educating the people of Khonoma and surrounding village about modern civilization and the art of self-governance. Discussions were held, seminars organized, and debates took place in various forms. *Khonoma Rüffüno* emerged from its cocoon of being a mere organization for social and educational advancement. It became a useful tool in planning and organizing political strategy and socio-economic programmes. Many of the student activities and the Naga Youth Movement activists of that time were from Khonoma. Zasinihu Zinyü had the distinction of being recognized as the first President of Naga Students' Federation, and Mowu Gwizan was a prominent leader of NYM.

In as much as the two world wars had tremendously changed Khonoma's outlook, also the Indo-Naga conflict had completely altered Khonoma's social life and outlook. In 1956, Khonoma village was burnt to ashes by the Indian Security Forces who persisted their expedition with crude atrocity on the people. Khonoma people had to desert their village and took shelter in the deep woods and caves. A lull in the storm had prevailed as the state administration came up since 1963 to take control of the situation from the hands of the Indian Security Forces. Half of its people had returned to village, but half of the Khonoma people have settled in various places.

Khonoma was more conspicuous as a progressive, revolutionary, and an enterprising village during the period 1945-1975. They participated in almost every walk of life in Nagaland in politics, society,

religious fields, and administration. There was indeed a time when something seemed missing without the adventurous people of Khonoma.

Khonoma, however, became less conspicuous after 1975. This may perhaps be attributed to the waning interest of Khonoma in politics and administration. Khonoma has been concentrating more in the field of education, medicine and religion during the last two decades. Besides, with the change of time, other Naga tribes have come up at par with Khonoma, many even surpassing her in certain fields.

### **Population and Literacy Rate**

Khonoma village is divided into three different *Khels*, viz., *Merhima*, *Semoma*, and *Thevoma*. Each *Khel* consists of several clans. And all these clans had some common ancestors. After they fought for Naga sovereignty there was a dispersion. And also seeking for education, jobs, trades and commerce people started settling down in towns and plain areas permanently. Many have settled in Kohima and Dimapur regions. The total number of households permanently settled in the village is about 416, the total population is 1640, male 882, female 818. And the number of people who are above 80 years is 23, the literacy rate is about 78.89%. And the total number of households who are settled outside is 760. Their total population is about 3607, male 1755 and female 1842, and their literacy rate is about 80%. Hence, the over all total number of Khonoma households including those people settled outside is 1176, and the total population of the Khonoma village is about 5241, male 2577 and female 2664. The literacy rate is about 80%, matriculate - 508, graduate - 254, and postgraduate - 135, LLB - 10, B. Engg. - 8,

Medical Doctor - 40, BVSc - 5, M. Phil - 7, Ph.D. - 10, IFS - 1, IAS - 4, Teachers - 121, Headmasters/Principals - 13, College Lecturers - 23, University Lecturers - 5, Gazetted Officers Class I - 52.

Analyzing the population census from field work sources it is found that more than half of the population stay outside the village. And they are exposed to the outside world and culture, and have adopted the modern way of living. But they are not completely cut off from the village. During special occasions they used to come to the village and interact with the villagers.

### **Khonoma Village at a Glance**

Before the colonial period the village did not have any proper road which led to the village. And even during the colonial period there was only bridle roads for Britishers to pass through with their horses. But after Nagaland got its statehood the government started constructing proper roads. At present the State Highway that leads to Zeliang side passes through Khonoma. The distance from Kohima to Khonoma is about 20 kms. Khonoma people are changed in many aspects. Khonoma people have a strong creative and artistic ability, and they are known for their exquisite quarry works. These ingenious works are reflected in the use of massive slab of stones in the recent road construction within the village. Once the levelling of the ground is done, these stones which are chiseled out into square sizes are symmetrically laid half buried on the ground that will last for centuries to come. This construction work was carried out with an aid from the government and are mostly done by the peer youth groups. Many people have taken up various kinds of

occupations ranging from agriculture, business, government jobs, NGOs etc. The village is well developed with established community hall, playground, regular supply of drinking tap water, regular supply of electricity and also many daily private bus services are available between Khonoma to Kohima and vis-a-vis. The Village Development Board (VDB) also looks after the welfare and upliftment of the village where the allocated funds from the Centre are directly handled by the Board. There are six schools in the village, three government primary schools, one government middle school and two private high schools. There is one primary health centre. There are three denominations viz., Baptist about 1005 members, Roman Catholic about 710 members and the traditional religion with about 55 members, (only those who reside permanently in the village). Including all the other members who stay outside the village, Baptists are about 3765, Roman Catholics - 1210, Christian Revivals - 227 and animists - 260.

Khonoma village has already celebrated its centenary (100 years of Christianity) in January 1997. Nisier was the first person who accepted the Gospel in Khonoma village, who converted to Christianity through the American Baptist Missionary in 1896 and was baptized in 1897. He was the one who first laid the Christian mission in Khonoma village.

### **Some Khonoma Pioneers in Various Fields**

As the dawn of western civilization shown upon the Nagas in the later half of the nineteenth century, a few from Khonoma village made it through to become the 'first' in their own fields. Some of them are as follows:

### 1. Rev. Nisier Meru

Rev. Nisier Meru (father of A. Kevichiisa) was the first Khonoma to have obtained formal education and the first to become a Christian in 1879. He served in D.S.W. Rivenburg's Mission School in Kohima, as a teacher and later as the Headmaster.

### 2. Rev. Kekhulhu Sakhrie

Rev. Kekhulhu Sakhrie, son of Dosielhu Sakhrie, was born in the year 1885. After reading up to the sixth standard in the Mission School, Kohima, he went to Cherrapunjee and did his theological studies there. He was the first among the *Tenyimia* to have made a systematic study of the Bible.

### 3. Dr. Khosa Zinyii

Dr. Khosa Zinyii, who became the first Assistant Surgeon among the Nagas, was born in 1894 at Khonoma. He did his studies in Dibrugarh Medical School. He died on 15th August 1949.

### 4. Dr. Sevilie Iralu

The third Naga to become a medical doctor, Dr. Sevilie Iralu was born on the 15th May 1898. He obtained his Licentiate Medical Practitioner (LMP) degree from Medical School, Dibrugarh (Assam), in 1918.

### 5. A. Kevichiisa

Son of Rev. Nisier, A. Kevichiisa was born in 1903. He passed his matriculate in 1919 and Bachelor of Arts in 1924 at Calcutta. A.

Kevichiisa was the second Naga matriculate and the first Naga Graduate and IAS among Nagas.

#### **6. Rusokhrienyu Sakhrie (Mrs. R.S. Lungalang)**

She was born in 1916. Received her early education from the Mission School, Kohima, and passed her matriculation from Welsh Mission Girls' High School, Shillong. She passed her B.A. from Cotton College, Gauhati, in 1939. She was the first Naga lady to have passed Bachelor of Arts degree.

#### **7. Dr. Vichazelhu Iralu**

The first Naga to win a doctorate in scientific research. He was the son of Dr. Sevilie Iralu born in 26<sup>th</sup> July 1924. He obtained his Ph.D. on the thesis, 'Properdin and its Relationship to Parasites' (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill). He became Professor and Head of Department of Microbiology and Public Health at the Philadelphia College at Osteopathic Medicine, Pennsylvania (USA).

#### **8. Mrs. Khrieleno Terhüja**

Daughter of Dr. Sevilie Iralu, Khrieleno became the first Naga lady to have passed Bachelor of Divinity (B.D). She did her B.Th. from Eastern Theological College, Jorhat, in 1960, and passed B.D. from Union Theological College, Bangalore in 1966.

## CHAPTER III

### TRADITIONAL ANGAMI CULTURE

It is desirable here to reconstruct the traditional Angami culture on the basis of the accounts given by J. H. Hutton.

Hutton was interested in everything he saw and noted them down in the true spirit of ethnography, but I probably do not subscribe to this tradition. Besides, my objective were clearly defined.

#### (1) Material Culture

##### Housing

According to Hutton, the housing patterns of the Angami Nagas were very simple. One had to simply level the ground that formed the floor. Thatch was used for roofing. They used post made from trimmed trees. The post usually consisted of eight in numbers, four on each side. The posts were notched at the top, a hole bored below the notch and cane thongs were used for tying. On the roof massive wood horns (*kika*) were erected. Sometimes a pair of horns were erected even at the back of the house. The sides and the back walls of the house were generally of bamboo matting. The front wall was made of big boards of wood, while the partition was made of smaller planks. Those in front were often carved with the heads of men, mithun, pigs, etc., usually represented by more or less conventional designs. These planks were dug into the ground at the foot and kept in place by cross pieces formed

of two smaller beams, placed on two different sides, tied at intervals with cane thongs, and resting on the side beams connecting the corner posts.

The building of a new house was initiated by certain ceremonies. When a site had been selected, the man who was going to build goes and places two flat stones on the site; that night he would dream, and if the dreams have been favourable, the next day, which must be a working day (*lichu*), he went in the evening with his wife, taking fire, fuel, a fowl and other food, and built a fire place with three stones and made a fire. The couple sat for a few minutes and took their food and returned and dreamt again that night. If they did not dream of copulation, excretion, or any other ill-omened thing, the site was definitely adopted. When the house was finished, fire must be brought from the house of a *Kika Kefūma*, that is, a man who had performed the *lesū gema* and had horns on his house. First of all, two pieces of thatching grass and little leaf of rice beer were put where the hearth was to be, and on the day that this was done, the *Kemevo* and a *Kika Kefūma* must remain on the site. The middle post was erected, and all those present, which includes all who would help in the building, partake of rice beer at the expense of the builder. Then the house is built with the exception of the roof, and the thatch for the roof is made ready. Then the owner of the new house, dressed in ceremonial dress, entered the house carrying a spear and fire brought from the house of the *Kika Kefūma*, who must be a man of his clan. After three more days of *gema* have expired the thatch was put on. Including the first day, five days are

observed as *germa*, and during those days the man and his wife may take rice beer only.

The interior of the house was divided into three compartments. The front room *kiloh*, comprising half the length of the house, for storing paddy, wooden frame for rice pounding. The second compartment *niphu-bou* was separated from the first by a plank wall in which there was an unclosed, or usually unclosed, opening by a way of doorway. It contained the hearth, composed of three stones embedded in the earth so as to form a stand for a cooking pot set over the fire which burns between them. On two of the inner sides of this fire place were rough planks raised above two feet from the ground and laid level so as to form beds. Behind this compartment there was usually a third *kimutse* of three or four feet only in depth, but extending the whole width of the house. Here was kept the liquor vat, a hollowed section of a tree with three legs hewn in one block. The third room was sometimes furnished with a bamboo door which affords a second entrance and exit to the house. The door in the front of the house was made of solid wood and was fastened on the outside by a couple of large sticks of bamboos crossed through a fibre or hide thong that passes through the middle of the door and was supported against the wall on either side by the weight of the door itself – sometimes a wooden socket of a piece with the door was provided to take a cross bar. When inside, bars were fastened to the side on each side. Since there were very rare cases of theft and robbery they never used locks.

Firewood only was burnt in it, and if possible it was not allowed to go out. It was regarded as *gemma*, or at least as a serious offence to put out a man's fire, though there seems to be no definite reason for this, except that it was contrary to their custom and unlucky for both parties. There was no chimney and the smoke was allowed to find its own way out of the house, nor was there any extra covering hung over the fire. The method of lighting fire was by the ordinary fire stick (*segomi*) used throughout the Naga tribes. Torches were made of bundles of split bamboo or *ekra*. The only other artificial light in use was that of cheap tin kerosene lamps which were frequently to be found in Angami houses. The surrounding of the house was not maintained nor was it hygienic. Mithuns were kept in the porch, cows in the front room, pigs, hens and dogs were let free to roam around. So there were no sanitary or drainage system in the village.

### Household Articles

The indigenous utensils were: (a) earthen pot for cooking rice, meat, for boiling water, making liquor etc. Viswema and Khuzama village were the main manufacturing villages. (b) Baskets for straining and mixing liquor. This type of basket was closely woven with four legs. (c) Vats, troughs, and jars were used for fermenting liquor. (d) Gourds were used for storing and carrying liquor. They were locally grown. (e) Horns of mithuns were also used for drinking purposes. The colour preferred was black at the lower and merging into a transparent yellow on the top. Some people used even buffalo horns. (f) Cups and drinking vessels were made of bamboo which were of several shapes and sizes. A handle was made of plaited cane. Plantain leaves were also

used for drinking purpose. Also they were used for wrapping up cold rice taken to the field. (g) Wooden spoons were also made into various shapes and designs for different purposes. (h) Wooden plates were also used as plates from which to eat. (I) *Jappas* or large baskets were used for storing clothes and other possessions. (j) Earthen jars were used for fetching water instead of bamboo.

### **Food and Drinks**

Rice was the staple food of the Angamis. Various domesticated animals were eaten except few of the wild and domestic animals which were regarded as taboo. It was forbidden for women to eat tigers' and leopards' flesh, kite and monkey. It was to be cooked outside the house. The meat was never to be eaten near the hearth. They also prohibited he-goat for women. They did not take mouldy rice but were given to old man. Rotten eggs were also given to old man, meat and vegetables were cooked together. Chillies were indispensable ingredient. A large number of wild plants were used as vegetables. Large bee hornet, white ants, large grasshopper, frogs, crabs, snails, dragon flies were eaten. Dried fish were imported from Cachar hills. Animals' blood were sometimes cooked alone to form a kind of soup. Large pieces of meat were smoke-dried that would last for years. Food was served on large dishes where rice and curry were served together. Pickled bamboo was very popular too. Even between meals and when one is not engaged in any work the Angami would have appetizers and thirst raisers made of roasted beans or boiled with salt and chillies. Children were forbidden to eat cow's brain, pigs, dogs, kites, spider, white head forktail, animals born dead.

Meals were generally taken thrice a day while rice beer (*zutho*) was drunk whole day. Earthen cooking pots were nominally rinsed with a little water after use. Rice beer was the staple drink, the stuff of life could be reckoned more as food than drink. Rice beer was of three types among the Angamis: *zutho*, *rohi* (*dzil-zu*), *Saka madhu* (*Zu-tseh*). Distilled liquor (*Zuharo*), was made notably by Khonoma. The yeast for preparing *zutho* was brought in cakes from Manipur. Sometimes it was made of jungle plants and paddy.

### Medicines

Although not a few substances were used by the Angamis as medicines, magico-religious ceremonies formed the chief antidotes for ills of all sorts. Panjies were used freely, being put up in a split bamboo so as to point in all directions, and also being stuck in singly over the door. When this was done a fire was also frequently lighted in the doorway, and faces, made out of bamboo bark or some such material, were stuck up on each side of the door and above it, particularly in the case of infectious diseases. Sacrifices were performed for illness with fowls or pigs. In the former case the fowl's head was cut off with a dao in the middle of the village path, and the village burier placed both head and body in the path and left them there. Fowls were also killed in this way by a man who has had an unusually heavy sleep. For pains in the heart or chest a live fowl was impaled on a stake in the middle of the road, a purpose for which half-grown chickens were usually used. When a pig was sacrificed, its tongue, nose, ears, tail, and feet were cut off and placed outside the village in the path, while small pieces of the animal's flesh were given to the *kemevo*, and to the first reaper and first

sower, etc. In cases of a lasting illness a man dug where there was no water visible on the surface until he finds water. This he fenced over. He then killed an unblemished cock, washed it and cooked it with this water, and when eating he also drank of this water, which he used exclusively until well. To find the water a hole was generally dug close to a spring or stream, so that water was found with very little delay. There were other ceremonies as well as these for causing the cessation of illness, but a considerable number of medicines were prescribed as specifics in certain diseases. A list of the principal medicines used in the village of Khonoma was given. They were probably fairly representative of what was known to the Angamis of medicine, though a certain amount of variation undoubtedly existed from village to village. The plants *chipfu* and *püpü-u* were used for headache while for stomachaches, the roots of thatching grass (*zoga*) and raspberry (*romvü*) were used as well as the *pirü* plant, and water in which iron had been rubbed. For eye-ache *chethodzü*, the brine from a Naga salt-well was used, while if the eye received injury, urine (*pezu*) was applied. For itches, soot (*migo*) and a sort of creeper called *mpe* were used, and for burns earth that had been made muddy by urine (*zupfa*) and the raw gourd (*pfürhe*). For thorns that cannot otherwise be extracted the brain of certain fish (*khokhe*) or the bile of the toad (*thewü-these*) was applied, and wounds were treated with the plant's *thevo-vase* and *nhana-ü* with the bark of the tree *sochü* or with the casts of earthworms (*zochü-bo*). For intermittent fever the crab (*sego*) and root of the plant *nyeke* were used, and the plant *nutu-prü* for spleen. Rheumatism was treated with the leaf or root of the *mezi* tree, and the antidote for poison was to pluck out the eyes of a living dog and swallow them. When a

gland in the groin swelled the big toe should be tied round very tight at its root to relieve the swelling, on a thread tied round the ankle. To relieve pain from a cut the spear or dao which caused it should be lashed, while the severity of a wound was greatly enhanced if it be touched by one who had recently had sexual intercourse or even the wounded person be spoken to by such persons. The old adage 'a hair of the dog that bit you' held good among the Angamis as elsewhere. The hairs should be pulled from the dog's moustache and burnt, the ash being applied to the bite.

A fractured skull was treated with a raw egg and chicken's blood, and it was believed that, provided the inner skin over the brain was not broken the man would live.

The Angamis except perhaps the Chakhromas seemed to have had little knowledge of poisons. The only narcotic known was tobacco. The leaf was half dried, pounded or stamped on and dried again. It was chewed as a rule in the western Angami villages while the eastern villages smoke it through water. Each man used his own pipe, though one man would pass his pipe to another for a pull or two. The bowl was made of a softish grey stone found in several localities, while the rest of the pipe was made of bamboo. Plain pipes of bamboo consisting merely of a bowl and a stem in one piece were also used. Cheap cigarettes were everywhere popular.

## Dress and Ornament

The Angamis have a peculiar dress of their own. They have their own significance and meanings as a result there are dresses for various occasions, age group, sex, social status etc.

### (a) Dress and Ornament for men

Black wool, bits of real paper or cloth, brass rings, cog-wheel or flowers etc. were worn as earrings. Various kinds of beads were worn around the neck such as the white beads made from the inside of conch shells, cornelian and black beads. On the same the principal ornament worn is the ivory armlet beside the brass armlets. On the legs below the knee rings of cane dyed black *Phisoh* were worn. Besides, the black kilts were worn as the outer garment which were generally embroidered with cowries in three or four lines. Four lines of cowries were worn to signify that the wearer has taken a head. Over the kilt a belt was tied round the waist. With regard to clothes there are many varieties. The predominant pattern was black with red and yellow strips down the two sides. The Angamis have only one shawl distinctive of social status *Phichü P Ashe* worn by the priest (Hutton, 1921: 26).

### (b) Dress and Ornament for Women

The dress of Angami women consists of sleeveless bodies formed by cloth crossed under one arm and fastened on the opposite shoulder, and of a petticoat made by wrapping a cloth round the waist and tying it or tucking it in so as to keep it from falling, and covering a smaller petticoat called *nikhro* (loincloth). They wore no ornaments on their leg or feet. They wore single-shaped bracelet on the upper arm and

brass wristlets. They also wore plain brass bracelets, sometimes in large numbers. Earrings were not worn by women except the brass rings and the white shell. Wives who have performed the requisite number of *genmas* were allowed to carry an iron staff with an ornamental wooden top. They also wore different types of necklace (*Ketsi*) such as red beads, yellow beads, black beads and white beads. The cloth worn by women on the occasion of ceremonies in which women took part differed from their everyday clothes only in the addition of two long scarlet tassels of dyed goats' hair worn hanging down from the ears in front, a thread fastening them together running round the back of the head over the hair, which was worn hanging down the back.

### **Agriculture**

Since 1912 till today the main occupation of many of the Angami Nagas is agriculture – both jhum and terrace cultivation. They have been practising terrace cultivation since time immemorial and brought this system from their original home. It is said by the elders that suitability of the land for terrace cultivation in the Kohima district made the area their home land. It is also stated in the Gazetteer of India, Nagaland, Kohima District, 1970.

The Angami terrace system is as old as the tribe itself, the system is believed to have been brought from its ancient home. (Gazetteer, 1970: 100).

The most striking difference between the Angami and their neighbours on the north is their cultivation of wet rice. While the Lothas, Semas, Aos and trans-Dikhu and trans-Tizu tribes cultivate only by *jhuming* ... the Angami has an elaborate system of terracing and irrigation by which he

turns the steepest hill sides into flooded rice fields, and in dealing with his cultivation, this terraced cultivation and *jhuming* must be treated separately. All the Angamis, however, do not practise this wet cultivation, as the Chakroma Angamis living nearer to the plains have so much *jhum* land that they are able to live on these alone, and good *jhum* land, cleared once in twelve or fifteen years, say, is said to produce a better crop than the *panikhets* or terraced fields (Hutton, 1921: 72).

The method of preparing land for wet cultivation was to dig and build the sides of the hill into terraces of from 2 to 20 feet broad – 200 feet broad if the ground was level enough. The stones taken out of the soil were used to bank up the walls of the terraces. The terraces were irrigated by channels which carried water from the streams or torrent for a distance that may sometimes be measured in miles, many fields being fed on the way. Each terrace, of course, could not have its own channel, but usually obtained water either from the next terrace above it or from one of the terraces in the same row, the terraces being so carefully graduated that the water may flow from terrace to terrace round a whole spur and back again to a point little below that from which it started. Water was also often carried from one terrace to another terrace in a hollow bamboo passing over the other terraces and channels in between.

The rainfall in the Angami areas being very heavy, many terraced fields could, if necessary, be flooded at almost any time of the year. These were usually the most valuable lands. On the other hand, of course, many fields could not be put under water at will, and a spring drought, on dry spring winds lasting later than usual, may cause a delay

in flooding terrace which considerably impaired the yield of the crop. Water was regarded as property and very valuable property. The water that was drawn naturally became in the course of time itself the subject of all sorts of rights, right of purchase, of custom, and of inheritance. The overflow, for instance, from the field of one man may be utilized by another who had no connection with him, and may even be of a different village.

Ownership of terraced fields was not communistic but strictly individual, and sales, divisions between heirs, and similar circumstances had made the water rights in an Angami village a very complicated affair. Water was divided up, by tapping the channels or by partitioning them into two or more tunnels, and rights of overflow, tapping etc., may be transferred. It may, thus, happen that one man's fields would be dry while those immediately adjoining would be flooded, or a field at the end of one line was dry while that immediately was full, but the water had to go right away round the spur of a hill and back again before the dry field gets its share. The owner of the dry field then not frequently resorted to the obvious device of running the water off the field above to his field below, to the intense annoyance of the water and of those entitled to prior use of the overflow.

Though no manuring of *jhum* land is ever attempted, manure in the form of cow dung collected by the owners of cows outside (and inside) their house is frequently applied to terraced fields, and cattle often turned into the terraces to graze in the cold weather with the same end. In addition to manuring, the only preparation of the fields for the crop consists of digging them over with the Angami spade. When the fields have been flooded, or puddling them. The

flooding of the fields drowns the weeds already overturned in the surface soil, and when they have sufficiently decomposed and the mud is well puddled, the field is ready for transplantation. In the task of digging and puddling, a man is usually helped by his friends or kindred, he in his turn going to work on the fields of those who have helped him. The owner of the field on which is being done is expected to provide those who come to work on his land with meal at mid-day which is cooked in the small field house which every owner of land erects. (Hutton, 1921: 74).

Meanwhile, the seed paddy has been sown thickly on a patch of dry ground late in March or in early April, and the seedlings were ready for transplantation about the beginning of June. The seasons naturally varied in different villages according to the altitude and climate. At transplantation the seedlings were never planted in bunches, as in the plains, but separately by one or twos. After transplantation the fields need cleaning two or three times – the usage varies in different villages, and as the grain begins to ripe scare crows were put up.

The varieties of scare crows were legions and some of them very ingenious. Perhaps the commonest form was that of the human figure – occasionally, a solid stuffed British-looking scare crow on sticks, but usually made of basket work with a rag or two and a gourd for a head, and swinging on a string at the end of a bamboo. Basket work hawks were also made and woven cane circle open at the circle was used, as well as other patterns of various sorts down to mere strings tied across the field, to which strips of cloth and barks were fastened.

The harvest was usually ready about the end of October and the first-half of November, and was reaped with a saw-edged sickle. Usually the head only of the plant was severed and thrown into a basket on the bearer's back, but sometimes the whole stalk was cut. Before it was brought up to the house the grain was trodden out by foot, and after being brought home for storage it was dried gradually in small quantity on bamboo mats in the sun, a process to which it was subjected at intervals until consumption. It was stored in a large baskets, and husked as required for use by pounding on a paddy husking bench, when the grain was separated from the husk by winnowing on basket-work trays. The stalk of the rice was left standing until the whole crop had been cut. It was *gemma* to cut the straw before all the grain had been harvested.

The rice grown in wet rice-fields is of in number of varieties, some sorts being suitable to low and hot situations and others doing better in cold and high fields. The varieties differed also in the time taken to mature. The principal kinds of rice used in the Khonoma terraces were the following: *Teverr* (white), *Zugarr* (white; only grown in cold condition), *Mocha* (white; grown in hot situation), *Perrhi* (red; hot situation), *Tsorenungo* (red), *Ngoba* (red; only sown in temperate situations and unsuited to extreme heat or cold), *Zivi-chango* (white), *Thekwerr* (white with black husk; cold situations), *Ngoseno* (red); all varieties are used for consumption in the ordinary way, *Soppa* (white; hot situations), *Makrirr* (red large grain), and *Yeponya* (grown particularly for the manufacture of rice beer, to which they are more suited than other grains. Two varieties, *Nyaseno* (white) and *Nyami* (red) are grown in small quantities for consumption as parched rice. (Hutton, 1921: 76).

For dry rice, terracing was not ordinarily employed, but when the hill side was very steep logs were placed at irregular intervals to keep the earth from slipping down hill. These dry terraces were plentifully supplied with pollarded alders, which were doubtless saved when the field were first cleared of jungle. A *jhum* field was cultivated for two successive years, when owing to the excessive multiplication of weeds it was allowed to lie fallow for from five to fifteen years, according to the amount of land available for cultivation. It was usual to sow rice in a *jhum* which was newly cleared following the crop by millet, maize, or Job's tears in the second year, unless rice was sown again.

Among Angamis *jhum* land is cleared by first felling the trees and then burning the low jungle and as much of the trunks of the trees as possible. The land is then cleaned, and before sowing, the fresh weeds which may spring up again are cleaned away at least twice. After sowing, the land is cleaned from three to six times before reaping. The crop is ready in October the rice in the wet fields is ripe. The principal kinds of rice grown in the dry fields round Khonoma are *lakarr*, *kethorr*, *rihawü*, *chakrau* (white varieties grown in hot situations), *thekeh* (red; hot situations), *ketsorr* (red; cold situations), *mezhar* (white grain suited to cold situations and grown in wet terrace as well as in *jhum*-fields. (Hutton, 1921: 77).

In addition to the main crop, whether of rice or of millet, other crops of an incidental nature generally grown in small quantities and sprinkled here and there among the main crop. Little lines of Job's tears or occasional stalks of maize (when these do not constitute the principal crop), *menitessa*, beans, oil gap seeds, gourds, cucumbers, chillies, spinaches, mustard, kachu, etc., may be found along the edges of the

fields. Cotton and a species of jute used for making coarse cloth were grown in patches.

The implements used in agriculture were: (1) the axe (*merre*); (2) the spade or hoe (*kejü*) an implement in the shape of a flat spoon shaped blade, the handle of which was bound with thongs of cane or bamboo to a crooked stick, making an implement in the shape of an inverted V, the blade was about 6 to 8 inches broad in the broadest part; (3) the mattock *sivü* a T-shaped wooden hammer, the head being about a foot or a foot and a half in length and the handle 3 to 4 feet: it was made in one piece and in two; (4) the rake (*paro*), made of bamboo split at the end into four or five spikes which are bent at a right angle to the handle and bound with bamboo thongs and a cross piece into this position; (5) the hoe (*saro*), used as a hoe for *jhum*-fields by some of the eastern Angami villages; it was made of a simple piece of bamboo bent into a small hoop, the crossed ends forming the handle and the blade, if it may be so-called, being formed by cutting away the thickness of the bamboo, so as to make it more pliable and to prevent breaking; seven of these may be used in a day; (6) sickle (*zupfino*), consisting of a light curved iron blade about a foot long set by a tang in a wooden handle, and having a rude saw edge, one other accompanies, needs mention. This was the stake and panjies called *kethi-thedi*, which was set up to mark jungle, thatch, etc., chosen by some person or family for cutting, or in an elaborated form, to preserve crops from the unlucky results of someone's too favourable comments on their condition. In its simple form the *kethi-thedi* was just a cleft stake with two roughly pointed cross-pieces at right angles to one another like the points of the

compass on a vane. In its more elaborate form it had a series of such cross-pieces, made of carefully pointed and trimmed bamboo tied one below the other in a bamboo up-right, the top of which was split in four.

### Animai Husbandry

Hutton has mentioned that the domestic animals of the ordinary Angami household were restricted to a few varieties. Though not the most numerous, the principal of these was the mithun (*Bors. Frontalis*).

This magnificent animal is a form of wealth in which men invested what are for the Angamis large sums of money, but except for trading purpose and for consumption at feasts the mithun is of no particular value, and the breeding of mithun for trade is always a speculative undertaking, as losses from tiger, wild dog, and cattle diseases were considerable. The mithun varied in value according to size, length of horn, and colour, the colour preferred being black with four white stockings and a white blaze, which in point of fact is the predominant colour. Colour, however, would seem to tend to vary according to the method of keeping the mithun, for where mithun are allowed to roam at their will in the jungle and grazing lands round the village, black predominated. (Hutton, 1921: 79-80).

The animals lived almost in a wild state and were merely visited from time to time by their owner, to whose call they came in order to get salt, and when once accustomed to be given salt in a certain place they rarely strayed very far.

Cows were kept in large quantities for their meat and for sale, for the Angami, though by no means refusing milk when offered to him, did not care about it particularly, and never attempted to milk his cattle.

The reason was that he did not know how to do it. "Occasionally one was told that it was *genna* to drink milk, but most Angami took it readily." A separate cowshed was sometimes built for cattle near the owner's house, but more often the cattle lived in the porch and front part of the house itself. They were taken daily to grazing ground in the charge of a cowherd, who was frequently a child, sometimes an idiot. In some villages a proper cowherd was kept who did no other work, but got two baskets of paddy per annum per cow kept from the owners of the cattle in his charge. Wooden cow-bells were tied to the necks of mithun and cows. This bell was made of box cut from a single piece of wood or bamboo, and having one to three wooden tongues.

Hutton wrote, even in the case of a *genna* conferring to social status a number of cattle; more or less fixed according to the particular *genna*, are sacrificed and the whole clan, or at least the kindred is feasted. Even during the time of death, a cattle was killed and distributed to all the clan and kindred and well-wishers.

Pigs were reared in the past both for consumption and ceremonial purposes.

Pigs are kept by all but the very poorest Angamis. They are allowed to roam at will, and though regularly fed on paddy husks and the waste rice that remains as refuse after making rice beer, pick up the greater part of their substance by scavenging round the village. On pigs alone, of their livestock, did the Angami practice castration. The extraordinary thing about this is that all the males are castrated, and that before they are more than three months old, by which time they are mature enough to have begotten offspring. (Hutton, 1921: 81).

Sacrifices are performed for illness with pigs .... When a pig is sacrificed its tongue, nose, ears, tails, and feet are cut off and placed outside the village in the paths, while small pieces of the animals flesh are given to the *Kemevo* and to the first reaper and first sower. (Hutton, 1921: 99).

Even in the time of marriage pigs were considered as marriage price (two pigs). Even during adoption ceremony they killed pigs, and divided it to all the clansmen. The eldest member eats first, followed by other in order of seniority. Hutton again writes that *Zhatho* (giving feast to the villagers) was performed, by those who have completed *thesa*, (feast of merit) with three *dhulis* of paddy, eight bulls, and four pigs. During head hunting times, when a warrior came in victory, a pig is killed and celebrated, the meat of which must be consumed that evening. And also during the *Sekrenyi* festivals while performing *germa*, platters of pork, sprinkled with salt, were carried in procession and given to each married woman taking part to promote the fertility of the crops and of newly married couples.

There is a contradiction in Hutton's writing. He stated that only the poorest of the poor kept pigs. But in all the important occasions, pigs were always killed, that was a must. They considered as one of the most important stocks in olden days, and they really relished pork meat than other meats. On the one hand, he says that pigs were the livestock of the poor and at the same time he also says that pig was priced highly as an important livestock that was killed in all the festivals.

Dogs were kept under much the same circumstances as pigs, except, perhaps, that they were better fed. They shared with the pigs the

scavenging of the village, and like them were used for food. Dogs were eaten in great numbers at the *Sekrenyi genna*, probably on account of a belief in the medicinal properties of dogs' flesh. The eating of dogs at the *Sekrenyi* was not compulsory.

Dogs used for hunting are treated much better than the ordinary cur. They are it is true, sometimes sold for food when past work, but are never killed or eaten by the man who has trained or kept for hunting purposes, and when they die a natural death are buried with a cloth, in recognition of the services they have rendered their owners. Indeed a man who kills a hunting dog has to leave the village for five days, and on the day of his departure and again on the day of his return the whole village observes *perma*. (Hutton, 1921: 81).

Hunting dogs were not of any distinct breeds, but an attempt was sometimes made to ensure that both sire and dam were of a hunting strain, as the usual method of training a puppy was to take it for hunting with its dam, from whom it learns what was expected of it. Good hunting dogs were never punished, and were distinguished from the ordinary dog by their fearlessness of men. All male dogs had their tails docked and their ears cropped close to the head. No clear reason was given for docking or chopping. Some said that the ears of the dogs are cropped so as to distinguish them from the bitches.

Cats were not kept in large numbers, but there were usually a few in most villages, and their possession was sometimes valued. They were subject to certain superstitions, and it was usually regarded as *genna* to sell cats for gain, though a man transferring a cat to another man was at liberty to receive the actual amount. It was not, however, at any rate in

most Angami village, forbidden to kill cats, and they were sometimes, but rarely, eaten as food, though these were formerly *genna*. It was not usual to kill cats for any magico-religious purpose. Once the villagers found the body lying in the path on their way to their fields later in the morning, and were exceedingly disturbed. They observed a *genna* that day, returning to the village instead of going on to their field and although the sacrifice of the cat proved to have been made at the suggestion of the village priest (*phitsu*), punished the sacrificer by keeping the non-working day on account of his action, a proceeding which would perhaps cause his death, saying that such a thing had never been heard of and was contrary to all custom and tradition. Cats, however, used to be sacrificed at the making of peace between hostile villages, and were employed as a sacrifice in a *genna* for the cursing of an unknown thief.

The fowls in all Angami villages were usually smellish and in type/resemble the local jungle fowl, which was of the red, not the grey variety. The domestic fowls were said to inter-breed occasionally with the wild ones. Fowls were fed by their owners, not liberally, but enough to keep them from straying to different houses.

Hutton described about the sacrifices which were performed for illness with fowls. The fowl's head was cut off with a dao in the middle of the village path. For pains in the heart or chest a fowl was impaled on a stake in the middle of the road, a purpose for which half grown chickens were usually used. During the *Sekrenyi* festivals an unblemished cock was killed by throttling it with his hands alone. The

position of the legs at death was watched, and if the right leg was passed over the left and excreta passed, the omen was good. If however, the omen was bad another cock was killed until one dies with its legs in the right position. The cock killed was cooked on the fire made, and eaten by the man who killed it.

Bees (*mekwi*) were kept by a good many Angamis. They were hived in a broken pot, a cracked gourd, or some similar receptacle placed in the roof, and the honey was taken either by smoking the bees to a stupor, or after smearing the hands and arms with honey, when the bees are said not to sting. The variety of bee which was usually kept *kevi* did not, however, give a very severe sting, and may sometimes be taken in a wild state without any aid but a dao to cut the tree down, and with absolute immunity to the robber provided the day was cold and misty. The variety known as *kwidi*, a large dark blue hornet with a red head, was kept for the sake of its grubs, which are eaten with great relish.

In addition to the livestock mentioned above, Angamis occasionally kept goats, but it was the exception rather than the rule, and very rarely they kept buffaloes obtained from Nepali graziers. In one or two of the villages near the plains, ducks could be seen now and then, probably recent purchases merely awaiting the stewpot. In short, domestication of animals was more of socio-cultural reasons than for economic ones during 1912.

## Non-Agricultural Economy

### (a) Weaving

Hutton cites that Angami clothes were originally made of entirely local materials. The villagers cultivated cotton for making clothes. The traditional method of weaving begins with the seeding out of seeds. The real Angami method of extracting the seed was by rolling with a stick on a flat stone. After seeding the cotton is spun onto a spindle, the spindle being spun with the right hand against the thigh and the cotton held in the left. Both hands are used in twisting the cotton. From the spindle the thread is wound on to a sort of T-shaped stick, called *Tsaki*. From this it is unwound and steeped in hot rice-water hardening as it dries and when dried it is wound on to a light bamboo frame made to spin readily round a central upright. And from the *dulo* it is wound into a ball. For warping, the equipments are stuck upright in the ground and laying out the warp round them from two balls of thread, one at each end. After the warping is finished the warp sheet is set up horizontally and the beam is fastened to two upright stakes of from 2 to 3 feet in height or to the wall of a house or anything else that comes in handy. The weaver, sitting at the other end, fastens each end of one of the two small *dzippa* to a plaited cane band *chepvü* that passes round her waist. The warp is shed with a single heddle, and the shuttle (*jirr*), a sort of wooden needle of *sago* palm wood with two or three notches at the top for the attachment of the woof, is shot by hand. The woof is tied round the notches at the end of the shuttle and then rolled up on it, leaving just enough free to shoot it twice or thrice, more yarn being let out as required. The pick is beaten up with a sword (*dzükri*) made of a flat piece of wood of the *sago* palm pointed at both ends. On this loom, of

course, only the plain, or chequer, textile pattern can be woven. Lines of colour are introduced into the warp by laying out threads of different colours on to the *jizyeh*, but the woof is always of a single colour, either white or black.

In the past the whole operation was performed by women, among the Angamis, but there was no prohibition against the touching etc., of the implement by men. The only embroidery (*khwekhu*) worked on the cloth was done by working little patches of colour design into the cloth as it was woven by a hand with a bamboo needle and a fine pick of hard wood, which was also used to beat up the stitches. The pattern was always one of the triangles and *Lozenge* forming a small rectangular patch. The material used was either the same cotton thread as that used for weaving, or wool brought from the plains.

Besides cotton the fibres of species of nettle (*wiive*) and a species of jute (*gakeh*), were used in making cloth. The nettle fibre obtained was spun in fairly fine threads and made a very durable drab-coloured cloth in which black lines are woven at broad intervals. The jute plant on the other hand was tripped from the green plant, twisted by hand into tout twine, and rolled on to bits of stitches. It was then spun into a very coarse and rough cloth, which was however, very durable. This cloth was seldom worn, but was for bedding. In dyeing only five colours are known to the Angamis – black, blue, scarlet, pale terracotta and yellow. Those dyeing materials were extracted from the plants only according to Hutton, but they used even black soil and flower seed. They made varieties of shawls. Some of the main shawls they usually weaved were,

the dominant pattern being black with red and yellow stripes down the two sides. There was one cloth white with a black and red bordering which may only be worn by men who had reached a high social standing owing to the number of *gennas* of a semi-public nature performed by him. The Angamis have only one cloth distinctive of social status – this was the *phichii khwe* worn by the priest. Besides shawls, they even weaved men's kilts, women's skirt, apron, men's belt, wrist and sash, etc. All these were woven from cotton material except people who were rich enough to buy fine threads from Manipur and Myanmar side.

#### (b) Blacksmithy

After weaving, which is practised by all Angami women, the most important industry, other than cultivation, is blacksmithy. This is practised by individuals (there are usually two or three or even more in most large villages) who either live on it alone or combine it with the cultivation of whatever fields they have. Spearheads and butts, daos, axe and spade-hoes and knives are their principal productions; sickles and a few awls and drill points are also made. (Hutton, 1921: 63).

Hutton further points out that the iron which was used for making the spearheads, etc. was brought from the plains in the form of head spades (in olden times it was brought from Manipur) and wrought by the smith into weapons of soft steel easily kept sharp by whetting with water on a stone. It was tempered by cooling with water mixed with salt and particularly with chillies, bamboo pickles, or with all three. The water evaporates, leaving a sediment on the blade, which is again heated and the process is repeated a number of times. Old weapons were treated in

these ways to renew them. A spearhead was sharpened on one side of its edge. The sickle had a serrated edge, the edge being notched with a dao after the blade was cold. The only other form of metal work was the making of brass earrings from brass. These were usually in the form of a plain coil on a stem, or are merely a plain brass ring.

### (c) Basketry

Hutton states in his book that basketry was very important, as baskets were needed for a variety of uses. Baskets were made for carrying purposes. Of the carrying baskets the principal were baskets for carrying firewood, for carrying miscellaneous articles, and for carrying husked rice. The first *thekrakor* was a loose basket with a broadish bottom, though broader at the top. It was woven of cane in an open lozenge-shaped or quadrilateral mesh cross-warped and twined at the top and the bottom. The other two were pointed at the bottom and woven in the chequer, twilled or wicker, pattern.

In the case of the basket *Khodi* for carrying husked rice the mesh was so fine as to make the basket virtually water-tight. For the coarse basket *Khola* cane was employed while the third kind was made of bamboo split and peeled into very fine thongs (Hutton, 1921: 65). Those for storing rice were woven in the twill, chequer or wicker patterns, and stand, with their pointed lids from 5 to 8 feet high and measured as much as 4 feet in diameter. Another very large basket *Lithi*, woven as a rule in the twill pattern so closely as to be water-tight, is used for mixing rice beer. It runs 3 or 4 feet in height and about the same in width, and more or less square, having bamboo stays at the four

corners. Another kind of small baskets were also made with the twilled pattern for mixing and straining rice beer, and numbers of small baskets were used for various purposes like for transferring paddy or for keeping vegetables, fruits etc.

Mats were made of split bamboo, usually in the twilled pattern, and some of them very finely woven. Head-bands for carrying loads also were plaited, usually in the chequer pattern, from cane or finely shredded bamboo thongs. Necklets, armlets, and leggings were also woven from fine strips of dyed cane.

#### **(d) Trade**

The Angami Nagas remained outside the influence of modern civilization for a very long time. They lived a simple life completely isolated even from their immediate neighbours mainly due to the practice of head-hunting. Their needs were few and they could manage to be self-sufficient in matters relating to their basic needs like food, shelter and clothing. This was the condition even towards the end of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, in villages. However, salt and agricultural implements were acquired through barter system with the plain people of Assam. Before the introduction of the British administration in the Angami Naga Hills, they exchanged commodities such as salt, dried fish, ginger, cotton, chilly, agricultural implements, yam, ornaments, cattle etc. They also exchanged goods for goods within their own village or with neighbouring villages and tribes. They were very popular in making

pots. So they exchanged pots among villages and with neighbouring tribes like Chakhesang, Zeliang etc.

Trade was carried on through barter system. The barter table in general are as follows:

1 male slave	= 1 cow and 3 conch shells
1 female slave	= 3 cows and 3 conch shells
1 cow	= 10 conch shells
1 pig	= 2 conch shells
1 goat	= 2 conch shells
1 fowl	= 1 packet of salt
1 day's wage	= 1 fowl or 1 packet of salt or a small piece of iron or brass disc or a blade of worn out dao, or a small basket of paddy equivalent to one fourth of mustard oil tin or four kgs of paddy.

In fact, there was no standard monetary system but trade was carried on with a kind of currency *chabili*. Narrow blade of worn out dao, brass disc, small piece of iron, salt packet, conch shells, beads, spearhead and even a cock were used as a medium of exchange. The value of each of these items were equivalent to one day's wage of a man. They used this as coins for payment of a marriage price, that is brides price in addition to paddy and cattle etc.

Hutton has mentioned that the trade in shells, beads and the making up of shells into forms was popular among Nagas and was

almost entirely in the hands of the village of Khonoma. A number of villagers went down to Calcutta to trade and would come back through Myanmar and Manipur on foot for months. Krusietso was the first merchant who visited some south-east Asian countries for trade purposes in the beginning of the twentieth century. One among the group perhaps being able to speak a little bit Assamese or Hindi. Even iron which was used for making the spearheads etc., was brought from the plains in the form of cheap spades, and were wrought by the smith into weapons of soft steel easily kept sharp by whetting with water on a stone. According to Hutton, salts were also manufactured from a brine well which formed an important article for commerce. It was said to have medicinal properties denied to ordinary salt and was used as a thirst-raiser, a cake being nibbled at intervals of draught of rice beer. Manufactured salts were also brought home from the plains of Assam for sale. One popular food for which a considerable trade was carried on with the plains was the fermented small dried fish imported from Cachar and Sylhet to Kohima and it was here Khonoma villagers came to buy. Before the coming of the British and the rupee system, barter was undoubtedly the principal method of trade, but a currency of a sort existed in conch shells and iron in length equal to the breadth of eight fingers, was said to have been worth a cow, and small iron hoes brought from Manipur were also used as currency, it being possible to make Angami hoe from three of those Manipuri hoes, which were about six inches long and three inches broad.

## **(2) Non-material Culture**

### **Family**

A family is a social and economic unit consisting minimally of one or more parents and their children. Members of a family always have certain reciprocal rights and obligations toward each other, particularly economics, but common residence is not a defining feature of families (Ember and Ember 1993: 183).

A family is a domestic group in which parents live together and in its elementary form it consists of a couple with their children (Mair 1972: 74). The family as an institution is the most permanent and universal one in the human society. The traditional definition of the family is a unit made up of two or more people who are related by blood, marriage or by adoption, who live together to form an economic unit and bear and raise children. Such definition has recently been challenged because they include a multitude of diverse group who also consider themselves families; lesbian couple with or without children or three elderly sisters living together.

A family helps in preserving customs and conventions and sees that these safely pass from one generation to the other. Family helps the young members in marriage and selecting life partner, family also performs various religious functions. In the field of education it is the responsibility of the family that it should teach the children and give them good education. The children get their first lesson in the family. Family is the centre of culture and all cultural activities.

Among the Angami, *Kikru* stands for family. This very word *Kikru* in itself contains the idea of a group that is formed under one roof, where the father, the mother and unmarried children, together form this group or unit. The Angami family is characterized by both nuclear and extended type of family. The nuclear type consists of a father, mother and their unmarried children, whereas the latter or the second family occupied part of the house, a separate space being fenced off and a separate hearth provided. This usually happens when a son, newly married, is unable to build his house at the prescribed time and has to remain where he is till the following years.

### **Father's Role**

The Angami society follows patriarchal form of the family where the father is the head and authority of the family. Hutton appears in his writing (p. 398) to have taken for granted the prevailing patriarchal form of family as the norm in the Angami society. The position of the father in the family carries the greatest authority, prestige and responsibility. Once the couples were married the father assumed the leadership over his wife and children. The father had certain rights and obligations towards the family. In any decision relating to family matters both the wife and husband may deliberate on the issue together, however, the father's decision became final. He also helped his wife in cooking, agriculture work, household works like splitting firewood, fetching water, sometimes even cooking etc. The father was also responsible for the well-being of the wife's health. Whenever the wife was sick his utmost duty was to look after and extend every possible care for her. In the past since there were no educational (school)

facilities, the father's main responsibility towards his sons was to train them in agriculture works, basketry, blacksmithy etc. He also taught them good virtues in life including social values, moral values etc. He would also take them for demarcation of field. The family property whether it was self-acquired or ancestral was owned by the father. The father had absolute power over the family property. He employed absolute and unconditional ownership over whatever he owned. One major role of the father was to divide the bulk of his property during his life time to his sons. His greatest obligation was to see that all his children are married and settled well before he dies.

In the past the main occupation of the father was agriculture, his main duty was to provide food for the family. He would sometime go for hunting. During leisure time the men would assemble and spend time together.

In the cold weather the men (fathers) assembled in the verandah of houses, where they sat on planks round a wood fire made on the ground and tell stories or talk scandal. (Hutton, 1921: 105).

The father presided over the social and religious ceremonies. The presence of the father during the burial of his children's death was very important.

If the children died in their father's absence the family kept waiting for the father. (Hutton, 1921: 216)

During child birth too, the father had to perform all the rituals. The ceremonies connected with marriage and death were celebrated and performed together with the entire villagers.

### **Mother's Role**

The mother carried the entire burden of the household work. The mother usually did the household work such as cooking, weaving, carrying firewood and looking after their children as well as looking after the domestic animals. She kept herself busy right from the morning before sunrise till sunset. She did most of the agricultural work though she was helped by her husband. During agricultural off season she would engage herself in weaving for the whole family. She also welcomed, served and entertained the guests. She was expected to look after the well being of her husband providing the best food and wine. This was so because of head hunting for which every husband or males members in the family were expected to be healthy and fit for war any time.

The mother taught her children particularly her daughters the household matters like the art of keeping their house and surroundings neat and tidy, weaving, cooking etc. at home. She also guided the children to obey the elders and parents. Even moral values were to be taught by the mothers.

The mother also played important ritualistic roles during agricultural operations and sicknesses in olden days. Even at home she was the first person who took out paddy for drying in the sun from the barn for the family's consumption.

In regard to economic position of women, they did not enjoy considerable economic right. At the time of marriage her parents would give her *Mhanya* and *Mengu* (both movable and immovable property). Once a movable and immovable property was given, it would continue to be passed down from daughter to daughter as long as daughters continue to be in the family. In some cases they would give her property purchased by both the parents. However, ancestral property could not be given to the daughter.

### Children's Role

In olden days the main role of the son was to help his parents in the field. But during non-working days the children would roam about the village, drink local wine *zutho* and gossip (Hutton, 1921: 105).

The strangling of cocks and the *Sekrenyi gema* generally was the occasion in which male children would leave the 'women's side'. In Khonoma the boy old enough to strangle a cock may no longer sleep on a third bed but would sleep on his father's (Hutton, 1921: 204). On reaching the adolescence stage they would form their own peer group of around 30-40 in numbers and sleep in the youth dormitories till they were married.

In olden days the primary role of the daughter was to help her parents in the field as well as in household matters. She was more confined in the house than her other brothers. All the grown up girls were expected to know weaving. She was also responsible in looking after her younger brothers and sisters when her parents were away for field work.

## Marriage

All societies known today have the custom of marriage, which is socially approved and which is a social and economic union between a man and a woman that is presumed to be more or less permanent and that subsumes reciprocal rights and obligation between the spouses and their children. The way marriage is socially recognized varies greatly from society to society. Much variation is seen in different societies as to how one gets married, how a spouse is selected, whom one marries, how many persons one marries etc. The only cultural universality about marriage is that no society permits people to marry one's own parents, brothers or sisters. In some societies traditional way of marriage is still continuing though, it may add some modern ways like – in the dress, gifts, ornaments etc. But in some societies this traditional way of marriage is completely lost. In Khonoma village their traditional marriage is no more with the coming of Christianity. However, while collecting data there were some people who had experienced the traditional way of marriage.

### Selection or the mode of acquiring spouses

In the past before the coming of Christianity the marriageable boys and girls slept in their respective dormitories (*Kichüki*). The boys' dormitories were known as *Thepfuko Kichüki* and the girls' were known as *Themuko Kichüki*. *Kichüki* besides being the centre of learning and socializing with friends, it was also a place of courtship between the opposite sexes. It was here where specially the boys made frequent visits to their counterparts for wooing and courting them, which gave them an occasion to know each other. And later on if their liking for

each other grew and if the boy intends to get married with a particular girl, his desire was expressed and conveyed to his parents or aunts. Now it was the turn of his parents or aunts who will give their final decision with regard to selection of the spouse. In the case of boys who were not able to choose a girl, it was the parents who played a major role in the selection of their son's spouses. Therefore, in this regard marriage was completely an arranged affair and in this case the boy and the girl would not know each other till the actual marriage ceremony.

### **Rules and Regulations of Marriage**

The Angamis practiced monogamy very strictly. They were also forbidden to get married with the members of the same clan. If such things happened they were excommunicated from the village, and it was also regarded as a great misfortune, believed to cause sterile or would result in the birth of an idiot or diseased offspring.

Village endogamy was very prominent in the past, this was due to lack of contact with the outside world and due to rivalries between villages, tribes etc.

It was *Kenna* to burn the wood of a tree called *mela* at weddings, because if burnt at wedding or touched by the bride or bridegroom it caused barrenness and necessitated a divorce (Hutton, 1921: 191). This kind of superstition do not exist in the contemporary society. In the olden days the Angami Nagas strictly maintained a distinction between a married and unmarried men and women. So by their appearance people could identify them. For men, in the front a fringe was kept without a parting by the unmarried men, while the married men brushed

their hair back from the forehead and often parted in the middle. For the women, the married women grew their hair long, while unmarried women were not allowed to grow hair, until they were married.

### Marriage Ceremonies

The Angamis believed that marriage should not be celebrated in the month in which the swallows came, for girls married in that month would not stay with their husbands, but would run away back to their parents' house. So marriage usually took place after the harvest and during winter.

Hutton observed two types of marriage that existed in the Angami Naga society: (1) Informal, and (2) Formal (ceremonial one).

The informal marriage consists merely in a man's taking a girl to his house, where they remain *kenna* for one day. Where it takes place it was usually the outcome of an intrigue between the two, or is necessitated by the poverty of the parties. The ceremonial marriage was very much formal. A man who intended to get married employs or gets his father to employ an old woman as a go-between with the girl's parents. She makes all the arrangements and there is no intercourse between the parties. First, omens are taken by strangling a fowl and watching the position assumed by its legs as it dies. If the right leg crosses over above the left the omen is good. Then both the man and the girl must note their dreams on the same night. Dreams of weeping, of excretion, or of the sexual act are bad, but if the man's dream have been good, the old woman goes and asks the girl what hers were like. If hers have also been good, the marriage price is discussed by the old woman with the girl's parents. The marriage price consists normally of a spear, two pigs and fifteen or sixteen fowls. The man will buy a spear, pigs, chickens and keep them in

his house, while the girl starts making rice beer in readiness for the ceremony. At this point in the proceedings there is frequently some delay, but when everything is satisfactorily and finally arranged, young men of the girl's family and of her own age go on the day fixed to the bridegroom's house and carry off, as though by force, the spear and the pigs and chickens, which they kill and eat at the bride's house, and all the girl's kindred go and eat and drink there. One basket is filled with small pieces of flesh; one leg of pork is set aside; and four or five gourds are filled with liquor and set aside. At dusk two men took this meat and drink and take their places in a procession which goes to the bridegroom's house. This procession is thus composed: First the bride, next one boy and three girls from among her companions, then the two men carrying meat and drink, and finally a number of young men of the bride's kindred and clan, singing. Inside the bridegroom's house are the bridegroom and his parents, no one else. When the procession arrives the first seven persons mentioned as composing it go inside, but only the first-five of these remain, and all talking had to be in a whisper. First of all the bridegroom eats of the meat and drink brought by the men, while the bride eats a little piece of liver and of rice, which she has brought with her, in a little '*lao*' and poured into a small leaf cup likewise brought by her. Then the bridegroom's parents eat and drink, and then the rest; after they have all eaten the bridegroom goes to the '*Morung*' house and sat on the '*machan*'. Next the bridegroom's kindred present the bride's escort with a big fowl and gave one fowl each to the two who brought the meat and drink, after which all go away to their houses except the one boy and three girls, who spend the night in the bridegroom's house, the groom staying in the '*morung*'. Next morning one of the bridegroom's kindreds gives a fowl each to the boy and to the three girls. Then the bridegroom's mother gives the bride liquor in a leaf cup, which she drinks up. The bride must not leave the house before sunrise, after which she took a pitcher and fetches water and cooks for the household. (Hutton, 1921: 220-221).

This day the household is '*Kenna*', but on the following day the bride and the bridegroom go to the fields and work together on the part given to them by the latter's parents. They eat together in the fields. For the next three days they were confined to their own village and its lands, not being allowed to visit other villages, but after these three days the ceremony is completed. There is usually however, no consummation of the marriage for at least two or three months, and it is said that this is delayed sometimes for as long as a year 'for shame', during which time the bridegroom slept at the *morung*. (Hutton, 1921: 221-222).

### Marriage Gift

The marriage price was discussed by the old women with the girl's parents. The marriage price consisted normally of a spear, two pigs, and fifteen or sixteen fowls. The man would buy a spear, pigs, chickens, and kept them in his house, while the girl started making rice beer in readiness for the ceremony. (Hutton: 1921, 220).

### Divorce

Hutton points that divorce was allowed and was common. Incompatibility of temperament was the chief reason. There was no ceremony. A woman, however, could not leave her husband until more than five days after – the marriage had elapsed. If she did so her husband could keep all her property. Otherwise the woman took her property away with her, unless she was faithful and made arrangements to marry another man, while under her husband's roof, in which cases she forfeited the property brought with her. Infidelity on the part of the man was not a ground for divorce, but if a man arranged to marry another woman, before divorcing his wife, the latter was entitled to a cow and a *dhuli* of dhan as compensation. When a man wished to take a

second wife without having divorced his first wife, he must first obtain the latter's permission. Divorced persons could remarry, the ceremony being the same as that for the widowed persons (Hutton, 1921: 225).

### **Remarriage**

Remarriage was possible for both man and woman. A man could remarry if he divorced the first wife and he could still divorce the second wife and further remarry too as the social rule does not put any restriction in this matter. Woman could also remarry after she divorced her husband. However, in case of the death of her husband, a widow could not remarry as long as she stayed in her husband's house. She was also not allowed to remarry from her deceased husband's house. But after she leaves her husband's house she could remarry. In which case, she will not be allowed to inherit her husband's property.

### **Kinship**

Kinship is one of the universals in human society and therefore plays an important role in both the regulation of behaviour and the formation of social groups. Kinship systems depend on the social recognition and cultural implementation of relationship derived from descent and marriage and normally involve a set of kinship terms and an associated set of behavioural patterns and attitudes which together, make up a systematic whole. All societies distinguish various categories of relationship by descent or consanguinity, and most societies distinguish various categories of relationship by marriage or affinity as well. The system of human relationships derived from the marriage and descent plays an important part in all societies. It is a major factor

regulating behaviour between individuals and affecting the formation of social, political, and territorial groups. In modern society the domestic family is the most obvious example of an institution based on kinship. In tribal societies kinship is of even more significance, having far-reaching effects on the social and economic life of the community. The kinship system exists in its own right, and a child who is born into a family is born at the same time into a kinship systems. Kinship occupies a very prominent place in the study of social organization which has a direct bearing on the issue of inheritance, marital alliance, political office etc.

In the Angami Naga society the nature of kinship relation is very strong and prominent. The Angami Naga society has got two kinds of kinship relationship that arises about and which cement people's bond together. Relationship which originates through birth is known as *Kikrupuo* (consanguineal) bond and the second that develops through marriage is known as *Kiya nu Kepero* (affinal). The Angami Naga kinship relationship is an imperative one that the interacting individuals basically belongs to a family like, a family of orientation, in which he/she is born and consist of his/her parents and siblings. Then in a family of procreation which means, an individual marries, he and his spouse may establish a new family of procreation or may establish a new family. Normally in the Angami society one acquires a new set of relatives by marriage, but those cases where marriage is specified in terms of a particular category of relatives, his affinal relative may also be his consanguineal ones. The Angamis practice patrilocal residence till today. After marriage the couple will reside in the groom's house.

The main function of kinship is to regulate marriage and prevention of incest. Till today the Angamis trace their descendants only through the father's side, which in fact covers the agnatic relations on the father's side covering any generation ascending or descending with whom genealogical relationship can be traced through the known ancestor. The Angami clan organization has been divided into several division. The larger group are the *Seyies* (Moieties). They believe that the Angami race descended from two men, described as brothers. From the elder of these two sprung the division of two *Seyies* (Moieties) known as the *Kepezoma*, and from the younger the *Kepepfuma*. And marriage is allowed between the two *seyie*. Then follows the small group known as *Kelhu* (Phratry) having one common ancestor may be either of the two *Seyie* having a very large kin group which consists of some linked clans and marriage is not restricted within this same phratry. Then follows the smaller group *Thino* (clan), consist of a kin groups that consists of members who are the unilineal descendants of a common ancestors, whose identity is forgotten, and hence remains fictitious, whereas marriage is not allowed within the same group. Then follows the smallest group *putsa* (lineage), a kin group that consist of members who are the unilineal descendants of a common ancestors, whose identity is traceable, does not include members belonging to more than five generations.

In the past the nature of kinship relation was prominent and manifested in the form of help rendered to each other among the same clan, kin and relatives. In the case of marriage, Hutton states that it was compulsory for the groom's kinsmen to contribute hen or cocks. So that

the burden is shared by all the kinsmen, and this bride price is given to the bride's family when asked for.

There existed a special kind of relationship between two individuals (both males) of two different kin groups, which Hutton has not mentioned anywhere in his writing. This relationship is called *kina*, and the uniqueness of this relationship is expressed and manifested in certain ways. During any special occasions he would be the one to be honoured first by receiving gifts from his special friend. Also when one of them goes for group hunting and if they killed an animal the other friend's share would also be there. If one of them died the other friend would cook meat and give to the bereaved family. If there was a fight among their kin groups each of them would try to rescue one another. The presence of this inter-relationship between the different kins group was to widen a relation beyond the kins group. Today this practice is not seen any more and the younger generations are not even aware.

Another mark of kinship recognition was during the house construction, starting from the cutting of timbers till the construction was over, the kinsmen would help each other and the family would cook meat and offer them.

In the past kinship recognition played a very important role in agriculture. During the transplantation time:

In the task of digging and puddling a man is usually helped by his friends or his kindred, he in his turn going to work on the field of those who have helped him. The owner of the field on which work is being done is expected to

provide those who come to work on his land with a meal at midday which is cooked in the small field house which every owner of land erects. (Hutton, 1921: 74).

Another mark of kinship recognition was through the common sharing of the sacrificial meat during the death of one's close kins. The kinsmen killed mithuns, cows, and pigs and distributed to all the kin groups. And until the meat was distributed to each and every member they did not bury the dead body. The kin members would come and console the bereaved family members and also would help in digging the grave, distributing the meat and arranging all the necessary things. The husband's close relatives would cook meat and rice and the closest kin groups like brothers, sisters would bring shawls and place over the dead body as a mark of their last respect. In the past whenever any renowned warriors or great persons died in the village, there would be blank firing by the kins and relatives of the deceased. This firing was an indication that someone important from their family or clan has died. Hence, it was a sign of homage and due respect.

### **Belief and Practices**

The traditional Angami religion is animism in nature and depends on certain beliefs which enslaved them under the domain of superstitions. Though animism as a faith is neither systematic or organized in the true sense of the term, because of the fear, the dominant feature of animism - the practice of appeasement is developed. This fear is the basis of worship, fear of harmful spirits gives the feeling of insecurity. Hence, they try to appease them whenever possible. But in times of adversities and natural calamities

they seek the help of a Supreme Being whom they believe is harmless and helpful.

In approaching a subject such as the religious beliefs of the Angami, so vague was his idea of the deities and spiritual beings in which he believed, that he made no attempt whatever to reproduce in carving or picture the mental image which he formed of them if indeed any clear formation took place in his mind. He had a very clear idea of how God should be served and that who so served them otherwise, should die, if not physically, at least socially. And this, although much of the service which he offered seemed to be proffered to no God in particular, to no definite personal beings, but it was merely associated with such supernatural forces as might influence his destiny or his daily life.

At the time, while he does not, like the civilized man, naturally classify and departmentalize his notions of the supernatural, he does recognize some sort of distinction between, on the one hand, souls of the dead (and perhaps of the living), and on the other, deities (*Terhoma*) of a more or less definite nature, ranging from deities with certain functions and individual names to vague spirits of the jungle, stone and stream. All these latter are clothed to his mind with some hazy cloak of unity, but have no much entity as to be capable of propitiation, singly or collectively, or, if occasion warrant it, of challenge and defiance. (Hutton, 1921: 177-178).

Although *terhoma* were, generally spoken invisible and intangible, they, or their jealous, or malicious influences, may be arrested by the use of panjies set up as a *Kethi thedi*. Ordinary panjies were put up over

the door of the house together with the mask, and a fire was lighted in the centre of the door way. These precautions were believed to prevent from those who went in and out from taking infection from sick man. Evil spirits and bacteria seemed to be much the same thing. In any case they could be deterred from attacking the person by the device of carrying in the hand or licking and sticking on the forehead, a bit of wormwood (*chena* or *pina*) leaf which was apparently most obnoxious to the spirits of disease. Children were particularly susceptible to attack, and a woman travelling with an infant in arms protected it by carrying a reaping hook held in front of her to the haft of which a bit of wormwood also was often tied as a sort of disinfectant, in fact.

Disease might also be averted by offering a substitute in the form of old cloths, live chickens, eggs etc.... Chickens freed and driven them away in the jungle to serve as a substitute for the person turning them out (or perhaps merely as an offering for the spirits of the jungle, or, it may be, to carry away the element of sickness or misfortune that attaches to the person who devote them to this purpose) are called '*chesü*' and regarded as accursed. (Hutton, 1921: 179).

Hutton has pointed out the mistake of the early missionaries who taught the Angamis that their belief in their traditional gods had to be completely given up since the missionaries did not exactly make a detail study about their gods and their characteristics. So he states:

Of the spirits revered by the Angami there are a number, both of persons and of kinds. Nor are their qualities by any means so malicious as they have been painted. The missionaries in their blindness teach the Angami convert to regard all '*Terhoma*' as evil, and Mission taught Nagas are

in the habit of translating the generic '*terhoma*' into English or Assamese as '*Satan*'. All these '*Satans*' as they called them are however very far from having those qualities which we traditionally associate with the Devil and the qualities of some of them are definitely benevolent. Chief of all these is '*Kepenopfü*', usually spoken of with the possessive suffix as '*Ukepenopfü*'. This spirit is sometimes spoken of as a creator, but it would seem that this is rather in the sense of the creator or living beings than as the creator of the universe. The word '*Kepenopfü*' literally means 'birth spirit', and '*Kepenopfü*', indeed is the ancestress (or ancestor) of the human race, and since the time ancestors of the '*Terhoma*' and tigers were of one birth with the ancestor of man, '*Kepenopfü*' might also be regarded as the ancestress of all spirits and the larger cats .... Many Angamis, ... think and speak of '*Kepenopfü*' as a male being, but the termination '*pfü*' is a feminine termination, and always carries a feminine sense ... (Hutton, 1921: 180-181).

The Angami conception of godhead being such as it was, we should hardly expect to find any definite code of morals depended upon it; morals, of course, there were, even a code of morals, but the sanction on which it rests was social, not religious. Theft, for instance, as also homicide, while very serious offences when perpetrated by an individual against another of his community, were proper if not praised worthy actions when perpetrated against a member of another community. At the same time, there was a vague idea in Angami eschatology of a distinction between the sheep and goats, for whereas the former went to a heaven, located somewhere in the sky, to dwell with *Ukepenuopfü*, the latter went down beneath the earth, where they passed through seven existence. The first of these was usually butterflies, bees, ants, and other insects etc., and the conclusion of the

seventh state become extinct, leaving the rib on (the roof of) the house. The rib in these cases was said to be the rib of whatever being the soul inhabited in the seventh state. It was probable, however, that, until asked to explain, the mental image formed was one of a human being and a human house.

Hutton has further noted that the ideas of existence in heaven by the soul which qualifies for the domains of *Kepenuopfi* were considerably vague than those on the future existence already described, which must await the vast majority of Angamis. The principal qualification for the abode of *Kepenuopfi* is that one should have performed the *Zhatho* (merit feast) *genna* and should have thereafter eaten no unclean meat. Unclean meat was usually described as the flesh of monkeys, dogs, frogs and birds whose flesh was of unknown quality.

Worship and ceremonial practice were carried out under their spiritual leader called *Kemevo*. Hutton states:

The worship an Angami village renders to its deities, if worship it could be called, is directed by certain officials, who, though in some cases of no importance socially, perform functions which from the Angami point of view are extremely important to the community. The most important of these, at any rate in most villages, is the *Kemevo*. *Kemevo* must be an occupant of one of the original house sites of the village, and is normally a descendant in the direct line of the founder of the village or of the founder, in the village, of the clan for which he acts as *Kemevo*. The *Kemevo* directs all public ceremonies and fires the days for them, and as the office is hereditary, he is also the repository of the genealogical and historical

traditions of his village, clan, and kindred. The office while descending from generation to generation, remains however, in the hands of the old men of the family, so that the second brother will succeed the elder, and the third perhaps the second, the office going back in the next generation to the eldest son of the eldest brother, to the eldest son's brother after him, and back again as before to the eldest son's son. (Hutton, 1921: 186-187).

It should be noted that the term *Kemevo* had a treble significance as a part from the magico-religious functions of the *Kemevo* and his hereditary office, the status of *Kemevo* might be acquired by a man performing in completion the full series of personal *gemmas* which determined social standing. Another important personality was the *Zhevo* who is indispensable to the personal *gemmas* performed by the Angami, and he directed this *gemmas* much as the *Kemevo* directed the *gemmas* of the community. He would go to the house of any person performing a *gemma* and blessed the man and tasted before anyone else the liquor and the meat used, and received from the person doing the *gemma* a large piece of raw meat and some of the blood of the animal killed. He was thus almost always called upon in the case of sickness to advise as to what sort of *gemma* should be done.

The word *Kenna* (*Kenyü*) stands for prohibition. This word *kenna* was used without any reference whatever to the sanction on which the prohibition rested. That it might refer not only to the breach of the strict rule of a magico-religious observant or to the breach of a social law, theft for example, but to the most trivial matter of pure utility.

It should be added that by the word '*kenna*' used hereafter without specifying any particular act prohibited is meant a prohibitions laid on persons or households from holding intercourse of any sort by word or by deed with others .... '*Kenna*' in this sense is, however, subject to degrees. It may refer merely to speech, though it usually refers to all communication whatever. '*Kenna*' is the prohibition laid on a unit of the community, '*Penna*' is the prohibition laid on the whole community. It includes the idea contained in '*kenna*' and goes further. Besides entailing on the community a '*kenna*' towards strangers in a greater or less degree and for a longer or shorter period, '*penna*' entails entire abstention from work in the fields by the community as a whole, when such abstention is proclaimed by the '*Kemevo*' or '*Pitsu*'. The essence of it is that the individual should not leave the village to go to his fields or cultivate. It did not necessarily prevent the man's going out hunting or his wife's weaving or performance of household duties .... '*Penna*' really is '*Kenna*' applied to the community instead of to the individual. (Hutton, 1921: 192-193).

Supplementary to *kenna* and *penna* in magico-religious observances we find in some degree or other *Nanyü* the whole rite the active side of the observance as well as the negative and passive sides exemplified in *penna* and *kenna*. *Nanyü* was also used as the term for a whole *genna* in which *penna* was observed by the community or by the individual (accompanied by *kenna*) and followed by a period of similar abstention from work in which *penna* had not been actually proclaimed by the priest. At its maximum *Nanyü* consisted of sacrifice of flesh, part of which was set aside for the spirits, wearing a ceremonial dress, dancing, singing, and the pounding of rice, together with the total abstention from work in the fields involved by *penna* and complete *kenna* to intercourse with strangers. Animal killed were given to the

*Zhevo* and sometimes also to the *Kemevo*, *Tsakro* and *Lidepfü*. Different villages attached varying degrees of importance to different *gemma*s, and it thus happened that a *gemma* kept with great ceremony at one village was comparatively insignificant at another village which a great deal of *gemma* barely observed in the first. Dancing, singing and rice pounding as a rule went hand in hand with ceremonial dress.

The songs sung included both particular songs traditionally associated with the occasion, and sometimes in archaic language not fully understood except by those skilled in them, as well as songs in common use which might be fancied by the singers.

The idea of prayer, as we understand it, is perhaps not foreign to the Angami mind, as witness the prayer offered to *Tsikho* and *Dzurawü* by persons going out hunting: 'In your name have I come out, and in hope of your aid, I pray that ye will discover and give unto me of the animals in your keeping'. In some cases, however, what would seem at first to be a prayer had probably degenerated and is repeated rather as a charm, and as such the traditional formula must be observed. (Hutton, 1921: 196).

Particularly connected with agricultural operations were the *Tsakro* and the *Lidepfü*. The *Tsakro* was the old man whose duty was to begin the sowing; until he had formally inaugurated the sowing of the crop it was *gemma* for any man to sow. Whereas the *Lidepfü* was the old woman who in a corresponding manner inaugurated the reaping of the crop. For both the *Tsakro* and the *Lidepfü* it was *gemma* to work in their fields for thirty days before the ceremony of first sower or reaper as the case might be. Each of them received a sort of payment in paddy and at

the appointed time sends four or five men of the clan to which he or she belongs to collect a contribution of a small basket of paddy from every house in the clan. The *Tsakro* collected his after the *Terhenyi*, the *gemma* which followed the harvest, the *Lidepfü* would collect hers after the *Sekrenyi gemma* which preceded the sower. Both were forbidden to eat or even to touch rats, mice, squirrels and animals killed by birds or beast of prey. This *gemma* was also extended to the *Pitsu*. Majority of the *gemmas* were calendrical rituals making significant events in the agricultural circle.

## Festivals

Hutton listed out a number of festivals like *Sekrenyi*, *Thekranyi*, *Thezukepu*, *Titho* and *Terhanyi*.

### 1. Sekrenyi

Falls on the second day after the full moon of the month *Kesei* (February) or of the month *Kera* (March). Five days *kenna* and *perma* and five more *nanyü* only are observed, ceremonial dress are worn at any rate in the Khonoma group. The ceremony is to ensure the health of the community during the coming year. The men had to eat separately, taking their food away from the hearth and remaining chaste for at least three days. Dogs are eaten in large numbers. The first day *gemma*, is followed by a visit as the part of all men to the village spring, where they wash themselves, their weapons, tools and clothes in fresh water, the spring having been watched on the eve of the *gemma* by boys, no doubt to prevent defilement. On returning, every male who is old enough to do so kills unblemished cock, but must kill it by throttling it

with his hand alone. During the whole of the first two days of the *Sekrenyi genna* all men are *kenna*. They have to eat separately and the women may not approach them and may not even draw water for them as on other days. On the fourth day of the *genna* the young men put on ceremonial dress and go to the jungle, from which they fetched in pith, sticks and wood, from which they made gigantic reproductions in the traditional colours and type of the largest kind of bead necklaces worn by men. The village was strictly *penna* for the first five days of the *genna*, work at any sort being forbidden, and, of course, all coming and going to or from the village. It was at the end of this *genna* that the *Lidepfu* collects her fees for opening the harvest, sending four or five men of her clan to collect paddy – a small basket of paddy from each house. The fact that the first reaper collects at this *genna* while the first sower collects after the harvest *genna* was noticeable.

## 2. Thekranyi

*Thekranyi* falls on the day of the full moon of the month *Cadi* (June) or else twenty days later, according to the state of the rice crop: marks the transplantation of the paddy seedling into the irrigated terraces; three days *penna*; ceremonial dress worn by Khonoma for rice pounding, singing and dancing performed. The *Thekranyi genna* was marked by dancing and singing on the part of the young men, boys and girls who were unmarried or married but who had no children. In the afternoon of the second day, they turned out in full dress and pounded rice and sang in the *theka ki*, the girls and men being on opposite sides of the pounding trestle and singing staves alternately. This festival was

intended to promote the fertility of the crops and of newly married couples.

### 3. Thezukepu

Celebrated by Khonoma with the *Tsurnyi*, has for its object the preservation of the rice crop from field mice and rats. One day's strict *penma* is observed on which no work is done.

### 4. Titho

Kept by Khonoma five days for the protection of the ripening crop from hail. *Penma* was observed for five days.

### 5. Terhanyi

The *gemma* lasts for ten days. Khonoma wears no ceremonial dress for this *gemma*, celebrates the harvest home for the year.

### Social Genna

Hutton states that *Gennas* which confer social status among the Angamis formed, as it were, a series of steps, each one more costly than the preceding one. It did not seem to be obligatory upon anyone to perform these *gennas*, but in point of fact they were usually performed by anyone who could afford them, and in the case of the first three may be and were repeated at any time. The first-three, in fact, formed a sort of preliminary series to which comparatively small importance was attached. The first step was *Kreghaghi*, performed by any one who reaps a harvest more than usually plentiful, who obtains from his fields a hundred or more loads of paddy. It was not performed once only, but whenever occasion occurred. It merely entailed the killing of a cow and

the feasting of friends on the flesh, a portion being set aside for the *Zhevo*. The second feast consisted *Kinoghe* consisted in the sacrifice of a cow, shares of which were given to all the members of the clan, house by house, and to personal friends outside the clan. The third feast *Pichiprele* consisted merely in feeding four *Zhevos*, who blessed the votary. The fourth feast was *thesa* with two *dhulis* (large basket for storing grain), four bulls, and two pigs sufficed for this. Ceremonial dress was not worn. Before proceeding to the next *genna*, *Thesa* must be performed thrice. The fifth feast was called *Zhatho* performed by those who had completed *Thesa*, with three *dhulis* of paddy, eight bulls and four pigs. Ceremonial dress was worn while pounding the paddy. As a sign of the celebration of this ceremony two planks were placed as barge-board (*fisi*) on the front *gable* of the house and the cloth called *Zhavakhwe* was assumed. This *Genna* must be performed twice before proceeding to next. The sixth feast was *Lesii* performed with six *dhulis* of paddy, ten bulls and five pigs. This was the minimum, but the *genna* need only be performed once. Ceremonial dress worn while pounding the paddy and while dragging through the village two wooden posts, one of them formed, named with the names of the husband and wife performing the *genna*. The performer of this *genna* was entitled to replace the plain barge-boards of the performer of *Zhatho* by a pair of great horns which were usually pierced with one or more large round holes called *Kika* (House-horns). The final seventh feast is *Ketseshe* (stone pulling) was performed by those who have done *Lesii*. Eight *dhulis* of paddy, twelve bulls and eight pigs were required. Ceremonial dress was worn for pounding paddy and for the pulling of stone from the jungle of a large stone, which was set up to commemorate the *genna*

in some conspicuous place. This stone pulling was performed by all the young men of the clan, or by the whole villagers. The performer of the *gemma* may not cut his hair for thirty days after it was finished and was never allowed to make pots.

## CHAPTER IV

### CULTURE CHANGE AMONG THE ANGAMI

Eighty eight years after, Khonoma village is not the same village as studied by Hutton. An attempt has been made here to go beyond a mere description of the change and continuity, to depict the processes of change.

#### (1) Material Culture

##### Housing

After the Second World War people started using corrugated and galvanized iron (CGI) sheets for roofing instead of thatch roofing and timbers for making beams, posts and for making super structures. The walls are made of bamboo splits and the floors are plastered with mud and cow dung. As the population in the village increased, settlement pattern in the village has spread out, hence houses are built with large spaces in between. Besides, Christianity has driven away all kinds of superstitions, so people are able to build houses even in the places where earlier it was not possible. People today prefer building their houses in a spacious sites because they want more privacy, fresh air and a clean surrounding. The art and style of building houses have changed drastically and this includes the materials they use and also the builders involved in building. The house designs have become more complex and at the same time more durable, for which a huge amount of expenses are involved. In the past houses were constructed with the help rendered by

the relatives and the clan members. As houses were simple, it required very less time for finishing. But today, for building houses they hire architects and contractors from outside who take months or years to complete a house. The houses are mostly made of bricks or timbers.

Even today families who follow the traditional religion offer sacrifices and perform rituals before the construction work is undertaken so as to invoke God's blessing upon them. As for the Christians they invite the pastor to come and pray over the site of the new building to invoke God's blessings and the work begins. In earlier times relatives and neighbours used to help each other in levelling the ground, carrying wood etc. But in the present day almost all the works are being done by hired labourers. Traditional houses had no proper windows, no chimney, no ceiling, except attic, no separate kitchen, and there was only one main door. However, gradually houses made of timbers had several rooms for different purposes. The first room at the entrance is usually the sitting room where the men sit around the fire or chullah (charcoal), have tea and spend time chatting and gossiping particularly in the evenings, the room next on entering is the granary or even could be used as store room, and here in this room they kept the mortar and pestle. The next room is the living room which is partitioned for kitchen and for bedroom purposes. The floor is either plastered with mud or has wooden floorings.

Gradually, in course of time, the Angami Nagas started building various types of modern brick houses. Today there is no problem in getting housing materials and also there are even local architects and builders so that as long as one has money they can build any type of

house. The materials mostly used are: bricks, rods, cement, sand, stones, glass, chip stones etc. Kitchen too have proper chimney. People use mostly glasses for windows. A large common room is made for multi-purposes. Many families prefer having attached bathrooms and toilets. Drainage systems are maintained around the house surroundings. One remarkable change is with regard to the village sanitary system – the construction of public toilets after every ten houses have improved the sanitary condition of the village. For locking the house they use varieties of locks. Most of the houses have been electrified.

They no longer decorate the front door of the house like before, nor do they perform rituals before and after the house construction. However, during students' and Christian conferences in the village the conference hall is built in the traditional style without involving any rituals. Another significant change one can notice is the total abandonment of erecting house horns (which is still practised by other villages). This resulted due to the frequent confrontation with the Britishers and the Indian army during which several times their houses and the whole village was razed down to the ground by fire.

Nowadays, after the completion of house construction instead of performing rituals the family invites the pastor, deacons and the church elders and also the relatives to pray for the new house. During which a dinner is prepared for them. And when they have blessed the house, the family members will start living in that house. Today, people use metal locks for house safety in contrast to the traditional method of a simple way of locking the door with crossed wooden bars.

## Household Articles

Almost all of the household articles have been replaced by the modern articles. They seldom use earthen jars, pots, wooden plates, bamboo cups, vats, spoons and most of these have been replaced by modern types of utensils. Before aluminium and steel utensils came, the first thing they used as pots was iron containers which were used by the British soldiers for storing kerosene oils. Soon after, they started buying different types of aluminium utensils and this was recently followed by introducing steel products. For cooking purpose they use various types of pots made of aluminium, steel, brass etc. They also use pressure cookers, frying pans, grills etc. The introduction of LPG gas stoves in the present day is the greatest relief for the contemporary house wives.

Today, the Angami Nagas seldom use wooden plates, earthen plates and bamboo cups. They have been replaced by modern cups, plates and spoons. They are made up of glass, ceramics, plastics, aluminium, brass etc. Different spoons for various purposes are also used. Big spoons for serving curry, dal, and meat, while table spoons are used for eating, and tea spoons for making tea. They also use different sizes and types of trays for serving tea. Hot cases are used for retaining hot and warm food for longer time. Flasks are also used so that they could keep hot waters for a long time. When farmers go to the field they carry hot water or tea in flasks. For boiling water they use aluminium or steel kettles, and sometimes they use big aluminium pots.

For fetching water from the taps and streams they no longer use earthen jars, instead they use aluminium and steel pitchers which they

carry on their backs in baskets. They also use steel, plastic and aluminium buckets that come in various sizes for fetching water. For storing water they use big iron drums, big aluminium pots, huge buckets having a lid or cover and people who can afford go for syntax. Some people construct big tanks for storing rain waters just near by their kitchens. For washing and shining their utensils they no longer use ashes and coals but use steel wool and soaps.

For carrying firewood and vegetables they use the same type of bamboo baskets which are not closely knitted. But for carrying rice, wheat, maize, millets and other smaller corns, they use closely knitted bamboo baskets and also baskets made of canes. For storing rice and other food crops they use barns made of bamboos but unlike some of the other Naga tribes they do not construct separate granaries for storing the grains, but they store inside their living room. Some use even big wooden boxes for storing paddy. People still keep curved out logs for pounding paddy but they seldom use them since the introduction of the rice mills. They use a tray shape flat basket woven of bamboos for winnowing rice and other things. They dry rice and corns in bamboo mats and even during harvesting they carry them to the field. They also use synthetic cloths for the same purpose.

For storing cloths in the past they used bamboo woven box called *jappa*. But today they have been replaced by wooden trunks, iron trunks and in the present day they use all sorts of suitcases and briefcases that come in various designs. They also use cupboards and tables for keeping

cloths. They keep them in wooden and steel almirahs which are free from rats and insects.

It is traditional for the Angami Nagas to always keep two to three benches in their kitchen near the fire place for visitors who come to their home and chat around in the evening time. The hearth is erected by bricks placing at two ends few centimetres apart and two iron rods of about three foot each are placed in parallel manner. Like in the past an attic is erected just above the hearth for hanging baskets, mats, gourds, dry meat etc.

For making fire they no longer use the traditional methods. All have been replaced by match sticks, kerosene, candles etc. Also at present people no longer practice *genma* to put out the main fire like before.

Before, the villagers used split bamboo sticks as torch lights at night, later when kerosenes were available they made kerosene burners with a wick fixed to the oil container. But today almost all the houses of the village have been electrified. They also use candle, petromax, gas lamp, cell torch, petrol lamps etc.

Life of people in the village have been affected much with the advancement in electronic goods. Rich people have started keeping all sorts of modern goods and electronic products such as radio, television, tape recorders, compact disc players, sewing machines, and all sorts of home appliances which make life more easier and comfortable.

## Food and drinks

The staple food of the villagers is rice. Rice was used both for eating and for making drinks. Rice was used by every household for making a special drink called *zutho*, but nowadays only those who follow the traditional religion brew rice beer (*zutho*). Many have given up the habit of drinking after converting to Christianity on the ethical, moral as well as health grounds. The practice of giving feast to the whole villagers also have been stopped. And even those non-Christians who still make drinks for themselves do not make much because they have come to know the negative effects of excessive drinking. They do not grow millets and corns like in the past because they are not used much for making rice beer as before. Maize is cultivated specially for feeding pigs but millets are hardly grown.

The Angami Nagas in general have food twice a day, sometimes thrice; once in the morning and another in the evening. In the afternoon they take tea along with bread, biscuits etc. Before they take meal they will offer prayer to God. Prayers are offered either by one person for the whole or each individual prays for himself/herself. Food is served by spoon and the mother does serving, but in her absence the eldest daughter in the family will serve.

Meat is highly relished and was considered a luxury as they did not kill animals except at the time of sacrifices or when giving a feast. However, today the consumption of meat is so high as meats are available in the market.

Unlike in the past the present generation eat all sorts of meat by every age group, sex and there is no *gemmas* and prohibitions like before during pregnancies, menstruation and child birth. All meat can be eaten any time by anyone. They eat varieties of wild animals' meat such as tiger, lion, leopard, bear, deer, stag, wolf, jackal, wild cat, wild rats, snakes, all types of birds, frogs, snail, fish, tortoise, crab, grasshopper, dragonfly etc. Elephants are no more available in the present day. They no more observe *penna* when they kill a tiger since majority of them are Christians.

In the past the ways and methods of cooking was very simple. A very small amount of vegetables and chillies along with dry fish were used in cooking. Soyabeans were fermented and used as taste maker. Sometimes fermented pork fats were used in the same way. Today they have learnt the art of cooking various dishes including frying, boiling, steaming with all sorts of modern accessories for cooking. One of the commonest ways of cooking is to cook meat and vegetables separately. When they do not cook meat they have fry dal and other vegetables. Sometimes they cook smoked meat along with potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the time they prefer pork cooked with bamboo shoot. They still relish beef or pork cooked along with its blood. During weddings it is a tradition that is followed to this day, to cook large pieces of beef and pork called *moudi* about five inches long with blood wrapped in banana leaves which is distributed to all the people who come to the wedding. They also know how to bake cakes, prepare puddings and desserts. They also like Chinese dishes.

The Angami Nagas are great lovers of vegetables. They usually take green vegetables daily as a part of their daily food habit. Some of the common vegetables which they include in their diet are – potato, cabbage, mustard leave, tomato, ginger, garlic, spring onion, pumpkin, squash, chilly, yam, pudina, cucumber, beans, pea, seasam, soyabean, sweet potato etc. Besides all these they also eat wild vegetables including mushrooms and grow them too.

They are also known for their local rice beer (*zutho*) from the past till today (those who still follow the traditional religion). Christians from the time of their conversion have been taught not to drink rice beer, but even today the nominal Christians continue to drink occasionally. For others *zutho* has been replaced by tea. Even the non-Christians have come to know the negative effect of excessive drinking and instead of brewing and keeping the *zutho* for themselves they sell out.

Besides, today some people have come to know the art of making fruit juices and jams from fruits locally available such as plum, pineapple, peach, mango, orange, banana, lemon, gauva, apricot etc.

### Medicine

Traditionally, it was believed that sicknesses are caused by evil spirits. However, things changed with the coming of Christianity. The missionaries taught them the habit of cleanliness and hygiene. They also taught them the value of medicines and even hospitals were opened for them. One of the missionaries by the name of S. W. Rivenburg who worked in Kohima mission field for so many years could not at first convert even one person. So he went back to USA to study medicine.

After completing his studies he came back to Kohima and started treating the sick people and slowly people turned to Christianity. The life-style of the early missionaries influenced the people so much that even the local people were impressed to study medicines. Dr. Khosa Zingü who hailed from Khonoma village, became a medical doctor during the Britishers' time. He began his schooling at the Rev. Dr. S. W. Rivenburg Mission English School in Kohima. Dr. Khosa joined Dibrugarh medical school after passing out from the mission school in the sixth standard. He served as a medical officer in the British Naga Hills where he was promoted to the rank of Assistant Civil Surgeon in the Civil Hospital, Kohima. He became the first Naga doctor.

Next is the case of Dr. Sevilie Iralu who is also from Khonoma village who became the third Naga medical doctor. He obtained his Licentiate Medical Practitioner degree from medical school Dibrugarh in 1918. The life of these people became a great asset to the Angami Nagas when they served their own people who in turn started reposing their faith on medicines and in God, so that whenever people got any kind of sickness they learnt to visit the doctors and the missionaries. Today, with the coming of the medical facilities, people's health have improved very much.

In the past the traditional medicines were not as efficacious as the modern medicines because though they could cure and heal certain sicknesses and diseases, they could not cure dreadful diseases such as malaria, leprosy etc. It was because of this reason there was high mortality rate in the past as compared with the present mortality rate.

Moreover, the healing processes are slow with the indigenous medicines though it could have less side effects. Because of this people prefer modern methods of treatment as it ensures more accurate diagnosis of various diseases, and moreover the healing process is also faster.

### Case I

Mr. Jūhiezo in 1932 was the first person who suffered from cancer. He suffered for five years and died. During his time there were no medical facilities available except the traditional methods. It was with the coming of the Britishers and Christianity that brought about many changes with regard to promoting the health status of the people.

### Case 2

Mr. Zhakwele suffered from leprosy. First he performed many rituals and also went to the traditional practitioners but he was not cured. The British doctors took him to Kangpokpi for treatment and from there he was healed. Slowly people began to realize the efficacy of the modern methods of treatment and started using modern medicines.

Earlier, people were not aware of family planning methods and couples used to have many children which were considered to be a blessing from God. But today most parents have started adopting family planning methods. In the village there is dispensary where different kinds of common diseases are being treated such as: smallpox, chicken pox, diarrhoea, malaria, fever, cold, cough, headache etc. People in the village are today aware of AIDS too.

With regard to certain serious cases such as bone fractures they still follow the traditional methods of treatment, however, this is done without any rituals. So when people get their hands, legs and other portions of their body fractured or dislocated they go to those experts. People prefer going to them because in the case of serious fractures of bones the affected portions used to be amputated in hospitals. Almost all types of fractures are treated except fractures that occurs in the skulls. The traditional method of treatment is being handed down orally. The practitioners hesitate to teach any one because it is a source of their livelihood.

### Case 3

In Khonoma village there is one good practitioner Rūlie, who heals various kinds of sicknesses with the traditional methods who also keeps all the secrets to herself without letting even her own children to know. She has been practising for more than twenty five years. She started practising at about the age of thirty years. She collects medicinal herbs from the jungles and cliffs. She also grows some herbs by herself. When a patient visits her, the first thing she does is, to identify the sickness which is troubling the patient, after that she gives the right kind of medicine for that particular sickness. Sometimes she massages the whole body with the herbal medicine. She claims to have healed impure bloods, stomach problems, intestine, liver etc.

However, with the coming of the modern medical knowledge and methods of treatment, the traditional methods are becoming not very

popular in the present day. Also as it is practiced only by few people secretly, it is almost at the verge of extinction.

### Dress and Ornament

Regarding dress and ornament one can notice many changes over the last eighty eight years. Today one will hardly find a modern man or woman dressed in full traditional attires at all time. Except few aged people in the village will be seen wearing kilts, necklace, earrings and more rarely seen with *phisoh* (calf covering) except during the festival dance. The girls and boys from village will hardly be seen wearing the traditional dress or ornaments. However, they wear during festivals and cultural programmes or during important social gatherings. But both men and women do not wear full traditional dress any more. Aged women continue to wear the traditional skirts whereas the younger generation prefer modern dress. There are many reason for the preference of modern dress over the traditional dress. Some of the reasons are:

- (1) The younger generations feel more comfortable to wear modern clothes as there are various dresses for various seasons, weather conditions, unlike the traditional.
- (2) The availability of second hand clothes for all seasons in abundance at cheaper rates.
- (3) The demand for conformity with the accepted social living standard and this applies even to dress norms. For example, in schools, school uniforms are compulsory and this is one such example where there is no place for traditional dress.

- (4) Westernization is another formidable factor. Those Angami students who leave their state to study in colleges all over India, are once again confronted by western and non-western lifestyles. Western clothes, language and mannerism are considered necessities and have discarded their indigenous clothes and accessories except during students' meet, cultural functions and gatherings.

### Dress for men

In the past the men dress was very complicated one and it took long time for wearing a full dress. From the dress one could identify the existence of class and hierarchical system. There are dresses that could be worn only by warriors or those who had given the feast of merit to the whole village. However, today there is no such distinction made. Anyone can wear any type of modern dress and shawls.

The present generation prefers western clothes. Majority of them prefer jean pants, shirts etc. Most of the educated one, during any social gathering, student conference, church service etc., instead of wearing traditional dress, prefer formal dress such as coat, necktie, pant, shoes etc., with a shawl known as *Lohe*. Besides this, they wear casual dress such as shirt, sweater, jacket, pant, shoes, socks, sneakers, cap etc. The youngsters prefer the latest outfits and dresses available in the markets. Men go for western dress rather than wearing the Indian dhotis or kurtas or their own traditional ones.

The Angami Nagas have learnt how to keep their clothes neat and tidy. They maintain separate clothes for formal, informal and for other

various occasions according to which they wear them. Before, they used to keep traditional cloth in a bamboo box called *laboo*. But this have been replaced by other modern boxes, suitcase, etc. They never used iron for pressing, they used to fold clothes and keep under their bed and used them the next day. The present generation use good quality of electric iron, instead of the ordinary iron.

Regarding ornaments, at present no one bothers to wear except on special occasions. Old people in the villages still wear earring and necklace, but the present generation feel even odd to wear them. Some boys wear earrings, keep long hairs imitating those heavy rock singers.

#### Case 4

Mr. Vitho, age 30, a post graduate from Khonoma village on being asked the reason for his preference of the modern cloth over the traditional one said: 'I prefer wearing the modern cloth due to various reasons. For example, I can choose the kind of clothes that is to my taste, liking which are fitting and comfortable to me. Once I went to attend one social function held in Kohima playground dressed in full traditional attire. It was in winter season so I really had a hard time reaching Kohima by bus in semi-clad clothes.' This same person said that it would be unthinkable for him to go to college in traditional dress, for people would mock and regard him as insane. When I asked the reason why this would happen, he said the present society has adopted the western lifestyle and if one does not go along with them he or she is out of place. The above case is a clear indication of how the individual's life is

affected very much by the social force and the environment in which they live.

### **Dress for women**

In the past the Angami Naga women dress consisted of such as apron, skirt etc. Besides these they wore necklace, bangles, bracelets, armlets and earrings etc. Throughout the year they wore the same type of dress, whether in cold or in hot season, cotton cloth was very common. But in course of time after World War II and specially after Nagaland got her own statehood in 1963 there came about many changes. The means of transport and communication improved and made it possible for the business men to open cloths shops and easier for the people to get all kinds of dresses. So slowly people of all ages began to wear different types of dress regardless of whether they are educated or not.

The Angami Naga women wear different types of modern dresses for formal as well as casual occasion. The Angami women still wear *Mekhala* in any occasion like while going for church service, marriage party, markets, office etc. They wear latest modified *mekhalas* some of which costs more than rupees two thousand and above. Sometimes they wear full suit and sometimes they put on coat and *mekhala*.

The educated girls wear various western outfits, such as pants, shirts, blouse, sweater, jacket, coat etc. Most of the younger girls prefer wearing jeans, pants, shirts and sneaker because they feel comfortable in them. They also wear coat and skirt during any special occasion. None of them are seen wearing *Mekhala* while going to school and college. But during Sundays most of them wear *mekhala* and skirts.

The Angami women prefer western dress than the traditional dress. Some women also wear *salwar* and *charidar* but again one will hardly find Angami women wearing saris. They go for all the latest cloths, dress and foot wears available in markets. At home they usually wear *mekhala* and sometimes they also wear pants. In every household if they are not seen wearing *mekhala* majority of the ladies wear pants except in the case of those who are not educated and those who are from a very conservative background. They hardly wear traditional ornament except on special occasion. The present Angami women wear varieties of earrings made of gold, pearl, silver, brass, copper etc. And for necklace they prefer gold more, but people who cannot afford them wear cheaper ones which are readily available in the markets. At present most of the ladies are seen wearing finger rings, whether married or not but they hardly wear bangles and in place of that they wear wrist watch. For tying their hair they use variety of clips, hair bands, ribbon etc., which were not known and available before.

From the above description one can see almost a complete shift with regard to dress and ornaments from the traditional to the modern western attires.

### **Agriculture**

At present many changes have taken place in agriculture. But still then there are some elements of continuity that prevailed as in 1912. The Angami Nagas still largely depend on agriculture for their economy like most of the tribals in India. Hence their economy can be rightly called as agro-based economy. At present they mostly practice terrace cultivation,

however, still some villagers practice jhum cultivation in which they clear forests for cultivation of rice and other crops; some still hunt, collect mushrooms, roots, wild fruits, herbs, wild honey, orchids, forest manure and wild vegetables as their economic sources. According to Sharma,

The tribal economy is simple, non-structured and self-contained. The community draws its sustenance from the natural environment. The structure of local economy depends on the natural resource availability, pressure of population and the level of individual. (Sharma, 1978: 89).

The main crop they cultivate is rice; beside this they cultivate varieties of vegetables, fruits, etc., for their daily needs. Whatever type of crops they produce themselves is self-sufficient for the whole season. They sell off the surplus in towns and to other needy ones.

With the advent of western education which provides job opportunities the present generation is slowly disengaging themselves from agricultural works. Everyone is after easy life except those old people who are not educated have to still resort themselves to agriculture. Therefore, today we hardly see youngsters indulging themselves in the field works daily. The only time they engage themselves is in helping their parents during transplantation and harvesting times, during which regardless of whether a person is educated or uneducated, a boy or a girl, young or old, they all take part during the cycle for agricultural operations. The farmers in the village hardly take rest. The only day for rest is on Sundays, otherwise throughout the week they are busy. Some non-Christians who still follow the traditional religion refrain themselves

from works during *germa* days (prohibited days). The method of terrace is almost the same as observed during Hutton's time. In the past most of the agriculture works were done through mutual help rendered to each other among the kindreds and relatives. Whosoever took the relatives to his field provided the best food, rice beer (*zutho*) etc. to the workers. But nowadays, many people employ labourers on daily wage basis. So instead of asking help from the kindreds and relatives those who can afford money employ people on daily wage basis. Student organizations, church youth organization and youth clubs also raise fund during transplantation. The rituals connected with agriculture operation are not strictly followed any more even by the non-Christians.

In the past no insecticides were used because they were unknown to them. The only manure they used was cow dung. However, with the advancement in science and technology, many new things have been introduced even in the field of agriculture. Farmers today use various kinds of insecticides, pesticides, fertilizers, and good yielding seedlings supplied by the government through agriculture department. Some people sell out the surplus rice in towns or to other villagers.

### Case 1

A farmer named Khole from Khonoma village during 1970, was reluctant to use fertilizers when his friends from agriculture office introduced to him. He was afraid that it might cause harm to the crops instead of yielding more crops. At the persuasion of his friends he agreed to use them on one condition; he would apply only on one-third of the area of his field and if there was a damage to the crops their friends had

to repay him the cost and labour that was involved. Finally, to his surprise those areas yielded better. And since from that time onwards he and others from the village started using fertilizers.

The terrace cultivation mostly depend on the availability of many facilities, such as water, road communication, irrigation, rain, labours, etc. Unlike in the past the present day farmers connect water from its source through large rubber pipes either supplied by the government through the agriculture department or they buy themselves, otherwise the farmers have to spend their time and energy even just repairing channels every working season. Even today, water is regarded as property so that the water that is drawn and divided becomes itself the subject of all sorts of rights. Fortunately, the Angami Naga areas have facilities required for terrace cultivation as mentioned above. As such the Angami Nagas are considered more experienced in terrace cultivation processes than the other tribes of Nagaland.

The variety of paddy which are still cultivated are: *Thevurü*, *Ngoca*, *Tsorienyü*, *Ngoba* and *Thekhwerrü*, so nine species are already extinct. At present there are about twenty five species of new rice, they are: 1. *Ketsariü*; 2. *Yamongo*; 3. *Ngodi*; 4. *Chünino*; 5. *Shami*; 6. *Perhi*; 7. *Nyücieno*; 8. *Dzükou lha* – grows in cold water; 9. *Dzükounya* – sticky rice that grows in cold water; 10. *Rhiemyinya* – sticky rice; 11. *Yeponya* – sticky rice; 12. *Abor* – this is the only rice that grows in coldest water. 13. *Ngoba* – the shortest rice that grows in the stagnant field; 14. *Akalha*; 15. *Gokelha*; 16. *Pfürokolha*; 17. *Krumevinya*; 18. *Rüsolha*; 19. *Mekrü-rüü*; 20. *Khenyü*; 21. *Siezunonya* – sticky rice; 22. *Nyabou*; 23. *Nyape*; 24.

*Sopa, 25. Kenyonya* – sticky rice. The reason why they have given up cultivation of old paddy is because they do not yield much crops. Moreover, they cannot withstand against strong winds and rains making harvest very tedious.

The Angamis consider terrace cultivation as a better means of cultivation than the jhuming or shifting method of cultivation as it produces better harvest. It is also believed that, the paddy of the terrace fields can be preserved for longer period of time. The Angamis consider the terrace cultivation processes as the most dependable one for survival and hence they take up terrace cultivation more seriously than any other ways of living. Although terrace fields are used mainly for rice cultivation, it has been found out that some of the Angamis use some terrace fields for potato cultivation prior to the plantation of paddy seedlings. These fields are used for growing potato before the rainy season.

The Angamis not only practise terrace cultivation but also practise jhuming. The jhum cultivation usually depends on the fertility of the soil and human labours. The jhum cultivation generally requires more labour and hard work to clear the initial forests. In the Angami area, jhum lands are selected on the basis of fertility and kept for ten years or so specifically for the purpose.

The most tenable reason for people opting terrace more than jhum cultivation is because of the shift in people's mindset. Today people have become aware of the negative effects of deforestation involved in jhum cultivation. This awareness is being inculcated and created in the mind of

people by the NGOs, government representatives, student organizations etc. Another reason for preferring terrace cultivation more than jhum cultivation is that, once the terrace fields are prepared they are much easier to maintain. They also have the advantage of being closer to the village site. Today only 1/4<sup>th</sup> of the land is used for jhum cultivation out of the total area of land used both for terrace and jhum cultivation. And 3/4<sup>th</sup> of the area is used for terrace cultivation. Excluding the villagers who have been settled and scattered outside, ninety nine percent (99%) of the villagers still practise terrace cultivation. This includes even people who are job holders, who take leaves from office during the main working season of transplantation and harvesting. Earlier, even jhum cultivation was equally practised, but today it is found that only 45% of the total household practice jhum cultivation and out of 45% only 5% grow paddy. Because at present educated people are discouraging shifting cultivation, it has been observed and brought to people's awareness that the system engages lots of human resources and also destroys the green forest every year causing environment problems. Not only that it also needs labours to work in the jhuming cultivation from time to time. Jhum cultivation is considered to be the most primitive form of agriculture, without using technology and scientific methods of cultivation. The Government of Nagaland, therefore, introduced a new system to replace jhuming cultivation. The State Government helps bringing settled agriculture in areas of jhum cultivation. So 40% grow variety of cash crop in the form of settled agriculture such as potato, tomato, radish, carrot, garlic, spring onion, sweet potato, beans, cabbage, tomato, sweet peas, cucumber, mustard leaf, yam, soya bean, maize, pumpkin, squash, sesam, ginger, chilly, tea, coffee, elachi, passion fruit

etc., and sell them in towns. A good amount of money is made by growing elachi, because they can sell it Rs. 200 per kilogram. Even in one day a person can sell upto Rs. 700/- when he goes down and sells in Dimapur. Passion fruit has become another very important cash crop because there is a high market demand. Today even from neighbouring villages they come to collect seedlings from Khonoma village. Crop rotation is also practised even in some terrace fields which was not there in the past because only rice was grown, however, today the villagers grow one crop after another in the same field such as garlic, followed by potato and sweet peas which are grown together and then comes the season for growing rice. Besides agriculture, they have even learnt the art of tree plantation and they have started afforestation programmes, planting varieties of trees, such as pine, teak, camari, cherry, etc., for timber used in house construction, furniture and also as fuel. They also cultivate varieties of fruits like plum, peach, pears, banana, gauva etc. They sell their surplus enhancing their economy. They collect even wild apple every year during its season and prepare juices or else dry them and sell in the market.

Regarding land ownership even the poorest family in the village have their own share of land for agriculture that has been passed down from their ancestors. The share of land people get today is less than they got in the past with the increase in population. People who stay outside their hometown and villages let their relatives or kinsmen to cultivate their land and 1/3 of the produce goes to the owner. Due to selling and buying of land it is difficult to maintain how much a person owns the area of land.

In the buying and selling of the field even today they do not measure land in terms of acres, metres or feet but the price of the land and field is measured in terms of how many baskets of paddy can be harvested in the case of terrace field, and in the case of jhum field it is asked in terms of how well and how much trees grow in that area.

### **Animal Husbandry**

In the following paragraphs, I shall highlight the changes that have taken place regarding livestock. The Angami Nagas are considered meat eaters. They keep various types of domesticated animals. All these animals are mostly kept for eating purposes.

The Angami Nagas still keep mithun. But today they do not keep in large number as compared to the olden days (1912). This is all because they invest more time in other works and they have given up buying and selling of mithuns for commercial purposes. Mithun is regarded as half wild and half domesticated animal, because, most of the time they prefer living in the jungles. They live on salt and green plants. They are very fond of salt and can consume large amount at a time. When they give birth the owner should go and feed the young ones before they become nine days old otherwise they will not get acquainted with the owner and it will become difficult to tame them. Therefore, when the owner comes to know that the mother mithun is pregnant every care is taken to make sure that they know the probable date of their birth. They identify their own animal by marking with paints on the animal's body. Mithuns are killed during important festivals and occasions. In order to trap the animal, first a salt is placed above the ground for enticing them and when

the mithun comes the owner stands near the salt with a rope and hooks them on their neck and when this is done, he calls other members and they will jointly kill the animal and carry the meat home.

As mentioned earlier, in the past mithuns were kept for ritualistic performances which were slaughtered during important festivals or marriage ceremonies or death ceremonies etc. They were highly prized and fetched around rupees one hundred per mithun. The Sema tribes were the main customers from the past till today. Therefore, people still keep mithun both for commercial purposes and for important occasions, festivals etc. However, the price of mithun has gone up so high and nowadays a single mithun's price ranges between ten thousand to fifteen thousand. Around twenty five households rear mithun.

As observed by Hutton in his time the Angami Nagas tamed cows by keeping them in front of their house when they were brought back from setting free the whole day. But today they no more keep near their living place because they know that it is unhygienic to do so. The owners make cow sheds in the jungles outside of the village and every care is taken to make sure that they do not loaf around the village, for which herdsman is kept who takes care of the animals. They fence around the cowshed, for this reason the herdsman lets them out for grazing to far off places and he brings them back home in the evening. In Hutton's time the herdsman was given some baskets of rice for looking after the cows, but today most of the herdsman get money as their monthly salary and some owners offer them rice and other vegetables too. The Angami Nagas regard cow today as the most important of all animals because cows

provide all the human necessities such as: meat, milk, cow dungs for manure and also they are used for ploughing the field. Beef becomes the favourite meat during festivals, meetings, weddings and other special occasions during which many cows are slaughtered.

### Case 1

Zakielie was the first person who introduced dairy farm in the village during 1980's in Jülakie area. He went from place to place for which he got enough exposure and knew the value of dairy farm. He sold away some plot of land to establish his own dairy farm.

In the beginning people did not know the value of milk, but slowly they began to know its value and today many people have started dairy farms in their own villages, through government aids and subsidies. However, even these facilities are grabbed away by the people who are on the top and are given to their own close ones without reaching the deserving people. Cows are kept for multi-purpose but they are not kept as numerous as before because of the fact that people have changed their methods of farming replacing the cows by modern tractors and also for consumption purpose, large numbers of cows are brought from other states outside of Nagaland, Assam, Manipur and Myanmar. During the death of a person the non-Christians slaughter cows but feasts are no more given to the whole village since majority have become Christians.

The Angami Nagas also rear pigs especially for eating and selling purposes. Unlike in Hutton's time they no more keep pigs in their homes nor let them roam about the village. All the villagers build sheds somewhere in the corner of the village. They feed them with rice and

wheat chaff, yams and other wild leaves. They keep local breeds as well as hybrids. Many have piggeries usually located in the places where there is availability of water, proper sunlight, availability of green vegetables etc. Pork has become the favourite meat of each and every household today for which they keep both for consumption and commercial purposes. Even the government gives grant-in-aid and loans to the villagers as piggery schemes.

The present generation do not sacrifice pigs any more for one's sickness even among the indigenous religious followers nor do they practice or perform ceremonies of adoption of children. If there is any child adoption they call the Pastor who prays for the child. However, pigs are slaughtered in large number during Christmas, Sekrenyi and marriage. Almost each and every household rear pigs and are highly in demand.

Cats and dogs are also reared even today by the Angami Nagas. Cats are kept especially for keeping away rats at home and also for eating purposes which is highly valued and is believed to be therapeutic for different kinds of sicknesses.

Dogs are kept for guarding the house, for hunting, and to accompany man while they go to the field and at home. The Angami Nagas even relish dog meat, so they consume a lot. Even dog meat is believed to have some medicinal value. At present there is no prohibition for the dog owner not to eat as before, but the owners can also eat their own hunting dogs if they wish. Whereas for some people their dogs and cats are loved and cared so much by them so that they cannot eat their

meat. Therefore, they sell away to other people who are interested in them. Today, they keep varieties of dogs including mixed breeds that come in different shapes, sizes and colours. Even small puppies cost around five hundred to one thousand rupees, however, they are in great demand. They look after their pet giving them proper food, bathing them, taking them for vaccination, shampooing etc.

The Angamis also keep large numbers of domesticated fowls. Each and every household keeps at least three to four cocks and four to five hens with their chicks. They relish chicken, kill any time they want as long as they have. The best ones are kept for Christmas and other festivals. They build small shed for them. Some people simply let them stay near their verandahs. Some people have their own poultries and they sell in markets. They also keep ducks along with chickens but not many people keep ducks because ducks are available in large number in the market.

At the time of marriage the non-Christians still sacrifice fowls for the omen. But the present generation are almost all Christians so they no more perform in a traditional way. During the *Sekremyi* festivals they still kill an unblemished cock and perform omen by watching the position of the cock's leg.

Bees are kept for eating purposes which is also believed and proved to have medicinal value. Many people collect wild bees and sell them in the markets. For rearing them they keep inside the wooden box, while some rear in underground and others keep in hollow wooden posts or hollow trunks.

Some people keep rabbits mainly for eating purposes. Their house is built in such a manner that it can protect them from extreme heat and cold. They hardly keep goats and sheep because pork and beef are preferred more for consumption.

The Angamis during Hutton's time used tower muskets, guns for hunting. Hunting was more of a sport and people went mostly in groups using hunt dogs. Pitfalls, snares, traps, running-snoozes and various method were employed in hunting. There were omens performed before any undertaking for hunting, which were believed in when performed by some one who had gained a reputation for producing correct result.

Till 1980's for many villagers hunting was an important occupation, whereby these villagers killed animals and were brought to Kohima market for sale. But since 1990 the government of Nagaland has banned poaching of wild animals. Villagers are not seen any more selling wild animals. However in spite of the ban many villagers still keep on hunting and poaching as a sport and for their own consumption.

Poisoning fish was an interesting practice and method of fishing, by using various intoxicants. Fishing with rope and line was also practised in rich worms, grasshoppers or crickets were used as bait basket traps, cast nets like ell or lobster trap were also used.

Fishing is no more the present practice, because varieties of fishes are available in the markets that comes from outside. Some families keep fishery ponds both for their consumption and for sale.

## Non-Agricultural Economy

### (a) Weaving

In the present generation women hardly grow cotton due to availability of various types of materials in markets. Apart from the apparent discontinuity, there are certain differences in weaving between earlier and now. At present, ready made threads of varying quality, colours and shades are available unlike the earlier days when threads were not easily available.

For warping the present women do not fix the warping sticks on the ground any more, rather they fix them on well furnished timber-frame where holes are made keeping the exact distance as desired by the operator. The timber stand is usually one foot raised above from the level of the ground. After fixing the sticks on the stand the warping is done, the weft yarn is transferred to the pirn for weaving. Weaving takes almost one whole day for one piece. It takes two pieces to form one shawl. These two pieces after being woven are cut into two equal halves and eventually all these four pieces are stitched together for one shawl. The traditional shawls are simple without much designs and patterns. However, the present modified shawls have various patterns and designs which are more complicated and they look more gorgeous too. There is one particular shawl called *khwemhou* which people still continue to weave without any modification. Today there are very good qualities of silk threads which are used for various patterns. Even for stitching they use the same weaving thread. With the improvement in their living standard, jute and nettle material shawls are not to be seen any more. For bedding they use mattress, quilt, blankets, etc. Today, it is observed that

only few women weave as most of the villages wear clothes bought from the nearby towns. Though they use modern threads the methods of warping and weaving still remains the same. Small scale private as well as government aided handlooms are coming up in almost all the villages owned by the women societies. They weave all types of modern shawls and *mekhalas*. In the Angami society, weaving is done by the women. However, many women do not know the art of weaving after the advent of education. Only few girls today know the art of weaving. Earlier weaving of clothes was for domestic consumption, today it is more for commercial purposes. Some women (illiterate women) take up weaving as a profession because there is a market demand. Even the government gives grant in aid and schemes from time to time providing them raw materials and assisting them by giving loans.

Today, most of the traditional dresses have been modified and the present Naga fashion designers make all sorts of dresses with the traditional patterns, designs and colours and this include neckties, waist coats, shawls and *mekhelas* in various designs and patterns. Some popular shawls range their prices between Rs. 1000-2000. While others may range between Rs.600-800, whereas, the handloom shawls range between Rs.300-600. All these have created avenues for some uneducated women to earn their living, while on the other hand there is a danger of completely doing away with the original traditional dresses and attires by introducing every time the modified ones. Earlier weaving was done during agricultural off season but today people weave cloths any time not only during the day but even at night due to availability of electricity. However, most of the young weavers have forgotten the

meaning and significance of the various colours which they use, and many designs and motifs. It is seen that the younger weavers weave just because they are taught to by their mother and because they feel that it is a part of their culture. They do not make an effort or simply are not interested in the meaning of the various designs. Many of the young girls are greatly influenced by the western culture. They prefer good education and more comfortable life than their parents as weaving involves a lot of hard work, dedication and physical discomfort.

### **(b) Blacksmithy**

These days, people do not depend on blacksmithy for their livelihood as in the past. People take it up as a secondary source of income, because agriculture is still the primary source of their economy. At present they do not make weapons. Today people get good quality of iron equipments and tools such as: daos, spades, sickles, knives, etc., which are readily available in the market. Another reason why they have given up blacksmithy is because of migration from the village for better education to towns and cities like Kohima, Dimapur, Shillong, Delhi, Mumbai etc., and later on after studies, young people strive for white collared jobs or even that of an LDA's job in Kohima.

### **(c) Basketry**

Till today, basketry is a very important means and source of their economy. But only old people are expert in these works. While few youngsters have learnt the art of basketry, majority of the younger generation hardly know the art of making even simple basketry works. However, the Angami Nagas continue to use varieties of baskets. So

basketry still exists in the Angami Naga society. Materials which had been used before are the same even today.

#### (d) Trade

For the Angami Naga, transition in coins began with the arrival of the British at Samaguting (Chümukedima) in 1832. And gradually cash nexus was popularized among them when they were largely involved in the district developmental activities and their wages paid in cash. Hence the Angamis barter system has been transformed to the monetization form.

One of the significant changes that has come about among the Angami Nagas is with the establishment of Kohima as the headquarter of the district and its subsequence development as a civil and military station. The development of the district headquarters opened opportunities for the Angami Nagas to further get involved in cash economy through their earnings and labours.

With the dawn of twentieth century, economic position of the Angami Nagas changed considerably. Significant changes took place during the first world war when two thousand Nagas participated in the war as labourers for the allied forces. The return of the labour corp personnel from Europe with cash remuneration reinforced the cash economy in Naga Hills. And the Angamis are one who took initiative parts to change the economic patterns. Even the employment of the various government services as *Dubashis* (interpreters), school teachers, coolies, etc. helped accelerate the spread of cash economy.

Although the presence of a stable administration enabled the Angami tribes to develop trade to a certain extent, facilities for it remained limited. With the exception of the few Marwari shops at Kohima, Dimapur, trade and commerce remained largely one way traffic. They could go to the plains to sell their products and buy articles of their choice. However, trade in the districts was not open to the outsiders by the terms of the inner-line regulation of 1873.

With the approach of the second world war, developmental works specially of road communications enabled the Angamis to earn more cash. Many of them participated in the second world war as guerillas, spies, guides, interpreters, porters, workers on road and as members of the regular fighting forces. Thus apart from their active participation in the war, their earnings as government employees significantly changed the economy of the Angami Naga society. The introduction of the settled government in the Naga Hills has been followed by the development of trade, the cessation of inter-village wars, and extension of cultivation and marked improvement in the condition of the poorer classes. A taste for luxuries of civilization has also been engendered, and Angami Nagas invested in umbrella, tobacco and sugar.

During the late nineteenth century there was some brisk internal trade with Manipur in handloom products. The Manipuris improved upon all patterns of Naga cloth in their looms and sold them at much cheaper rates. The improvement of communications not only helped in trading facilities but also had positive impact on market prices, with the opening of cart road between Manipur and Dimapur the price of imported rice and

other commodities from the latter became comparatively cheaper at Kohima. It was then from here that all other Angami villagers came to Kohima to buy their necessities such as rice, salt, dry fish etc.

Although there was some progress in local activities, it appears that its volume remained insignificant during the colonial administration. The statement precisely revealed the lack of avenues for economic activities and the consequent plight of the people in the district. As a consequence, there was no trace of notable commercial activities in the district during the British rule.

Many avenues were opened up when Nagaland got its statehood. Kohima being the capital of Nagaland, was a paradise where contracts and concessions were easily awarded by politicians who could give licences and permissions for trade and commerce and which also had a ready market for more expensive products. Since the process had increased tremendously, some of the new rich went in for constructing houses for rent and hotels which provided temporary refuge for travellers both from rural as well as urban areas. At present many shops have been opened, run by the locals and non-locals. In the main super markets foreign goods are sold which are imported from other countries. In Phoolbari locality there is a big complex where most of the foreign goods are sold. Tibetans run the whole complex.

Wide accessibility of markets and improved communication, have led to the import of variegated fares – all up-to-date cosmetics and outfits for girls: gay coloured latest shirts and t-shirts, jeans, jackets, sandals, and various kinds of formal and casual shoes.

Dimapur district is the main railway and air services. National Highway No. 39 has connected Dimapur with Kohima. The 74 kilometre long pitched road is the main connecting road between Kohima and the rest of India. It goes up to Imphal through Kohima, the total distance is 216 km. The road is famous as Dimapur Manipur Road – Netaji Subhash Chandra had made advancement with his 'Azad Hind Fauz' on this road. Dimapur is the main commercial centre of the state. Some industries are also been established here. The city is the gateway of Nagaland. Most trade in Dimapur is controlled and operated by Marwaris and North Indians. All the necessary commodities are available in Dimapur. So most of the Angamis go down to Dimapur for trading where they get things at a cheaper rates and start business in their own villages or native places. Some affluent Angami Nagas are finding it more and more difficult to continue to live in villages like Khonoma which have no modern amenities. And because of these reasons many villagers have migrated to the plain areas (Dimapur) to set up small business, where life is more comfortable and less expensive. So without any much effort they can live up to their expectation with others.

## **(2) Non-Material Culture**

### **Family**

Nuclear type of family is still observed from Hutton's time. The type of residence which the Angamis follow after marriage is both patrilocal and neolocal.

**Table I - Types of Family**

Nuclear type	Extended type	Total number of households
396	20	416

Source: Field work.

At present out of 416 households, 396 households are of nuclear type and 20 are of extended type as shown by Table I. The typical Angami family is therefore nuclear type even today.

During Hutton's time the size of the family was not as big as today. A man with his wife and perhaps two or three children due to high rate of infant mortality. In the present situation the infant mortality rate is low, due to availability of medical facilities, and hence, the composition of the family is bigger than compared to the past. So majority of the families have 6-9 children as shown in Table II.

**Table II – Family Size**

No. of Children	No. of Households
0-3	45
3-6	111
6-9	240
9-12	20
Total	416

Source: Field work.

The Angami family system is patrilineal. They trace their descent through the men line exclusively which gives in the patrilineal character. The rule of residence after marriage is based on patrilocal principle. Thus the women after marriage come and live with the husband's families. The basic family structure of the Angami Nagas remains unchanged.

## **Father's Role**

The Angami family, being patriarchal, the father assumes the headship of the family even today. The father continues to carry the greatest authority. In any decision relating to family matters still his decision becomes the final. His duty towards his wife like helping her in cooking, agriculture work, splitting firewood, fetching water etc., are done not as his assigned daily routine but on voluntary basis out of his love and care for his wife. The husband is also expected to take care and look after his wife whenever she becomes sick.

With the change of time and their occupation the role of the father is also assuming different kinds of responsibilities. Today the duty and role of the father towards his children has taken a new direction. The modern father has geared his interest and priority towards a new value in giving education to his children unlike the traditional fathers who emphasized more in training his children how to become good agriculturists.

### **Case 1**

Mr. Rülhou, age 60, a resident of Khonoma village has three daughters and the three sons. Though he is illiterate he knows the value and importance of education, thereby, he has even sold his terrace field for his children's education. This is a clear indication of a modern father who takes up new challenges and responsibilities for his children knowing the value of education. The result of which is now that, two of his daughters are lecturers in two different colleges and two of his sons

are in technical line, and the remaining son and daughter are in the college.

### Case 2

Mr. Medo, age 50, is a government servant, has seven children, five sons and two daughters. He stays in Kohima town, while his wife is an agriculturist. Most of the time the husband stays in the town, so the wife is the one who looks after the children. The husband provides only monetary help because of the distance between his work place and home. So the responsibility and the role of the father has been affected.

Today, the fathers may know or may not know the works of arts, crafts or basketry. Some of the fathers also take their children for fishing, hunting, etc., and all these are done only during leisure times. However, today most of them in spite of their busy schedules have to teach their children their school lessons. He is also expected to make known to his children the land demarcation of their field with their neighbours or with other village. Even today he is expected to teach the social and moral values. As the father owns the family property whether self-acquired or ancestral property he has absolute power over them. Therefore, the father continues to discharge the responsibility of dividing all his properties to his children (sons) during his life time.

Even today the main occupation of the father is agriculture in general in spite of the fact that a good number of fathers are government servants, businessmen, carpenters etc., as shown in Table III.

**Table – III: Main Occupation of Fathers**

Agriculture	Business & Agriculture	Labourer & Agriculture	Carpentry & Agriculture	Employees & Agriculture	Employees – Govt. & Private
126	20	10	50	20	194

Agriculture – 226 + Employees – 194 = 420

Source: Field work.

The father is expected to provide all basic necessities including food, cloth and shelter for the whole family. Today, the greatest concern of the father is searching economic resources since his top most priority is his children's education.

The traditional role of the father performing rituals for the family is no more practiced. This has been replaced by the Christian way of life.

### Mother's Role

In the Angami society, mother continues to play an important role in the household works, child care, agriculture and animal husbandry. Some mother today help the family by earning from daily wage or weaving, business and some go to office or schools as teachers etc., as shown in Table IV.

**Table IV – Main Occupation of a Mother**

Agriculture	Business & Agriculture	Labourer & Agriculture	Weavers & Agriculture	Employees & Agriculture	Employees – Govt. & Private
200	10	25	90	10	92

Agriculture – 335 + Employees – 92 = 417

Source: Field work.

The above table shows that many mothers have taken up more than a single occupation, to meet the need of the family.

However, the main occupation is agriculture and the mother is the one who does most of the agricultural work. The mother has the authority over the disposal and consumption of the agricultural products. A man owns and controls the use of dwelling and inheritable properties, but men and women have equal rights in utilization of their fruits of labour. In the case of an agriculturalist the mother's role slightly differs from that of the working women.

For a working mother the responsibility is more than in the olden days, because they are involved in many other activities both inside and outside the house. In other words, she works at home, helps in agriculture, goes to office or school or do some other businesses.

### Case 3

Mrs. Kevino, a school teacher in the village, has five children whose husband is a businessman. She keeps herself busy from morning till evening. She rises up early in the morning at around 5.00 to 5.30 a.m. First she will have morning devotion and after that only she does her other routines, such as, brushing her teeth, washing face, cleaning the floor, fetching water, making fire and preparing tea for the whole family. After that she prepares food, helps her children wash up, arranges their dress and books, polishes their shoes and finally sends them to school. After all these are completed she goes to work. After coming back from work, she helps in the children's homework, and again starts preparing dinner, and finally after dinner they will have a family prayer and retire

to bed. Besides being a school teacher she also takes part during the cycle of agriculture operation which is marked by such activities as preparation of harvesting etc.

Besides being responsible in looking after the well-being of her husband, she is to look after his cloths (suits, shoes, pants, shawls etc.), so that he does not face any embarrassing situation wherever he goes.

Till today the mother has the obligation to teach her children and specially the daughters the art of keeping their homes and surroundings neat and tidy, the art of weaving, cooking and besides this, works of embroideries, stitching, knitting, maintaining gardens etc. Not only the father but even the mother teaches the social and moral values including biblical teachings about the Christian ways of life.

Till today the non-Christian wives perform rituals relating to agricultural operations. But not as rigidly as was done in the past, while the Christians on the other hand, do not perform any rituals, rather they pray before any work is undertaken.

Like in the past women do not inherit ancestral properties, however she gets a sizeable movable properties during her marriage known as '*Mhanya*'. Rich parents even give land for cultivation known as '*Mengu*' to their daughters during her marriage and this particular field is not to be passed on to her husband for in case she dies first the land would be passed down to her daughters.

## Children's Role

At present the role of a son has changed to a great extent. Instead of only helping their parent in the field, they have taken up education as their main priority, and spend most of their time in schools, colleges and universities. But when holidays come they also help their parents in the field. But the son is not expected to help his mother in the household work, rather he spends his free time in carpentry works, sometime roams about and socialize with friends. At present due to change of time when the son is old enough he sleeps in a different bedroom, without observing any formalities. These days most of the youngsters do not have time to sleep in the youth dormitories like before. Though there are youth dormitories in all the *Khels* even today the change that one can notice is the fall or decrease in the number of youths that sleep in dormitories and this fall is due to the impact of education where most of the village youths have to go out of their native village for pursuing higher education elsewhere in Kohima, Dimapur, Shillong, Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and even abroad.

Regarding inheritance, as a tradition till today, the eldest son gets the lion's share of the ancestral property such as land, terrace fields, forest etc. He is the head among all the sons. He takes the responsibility to teach his younger brothers and sisters in many areas. After his father expires he is considered to be the head of the family, and all the final decision will be taken by him. Moreover, the eldest son will be given the first privilege to get married. When there is family problem, other sons will always consult the eldest brother for his advice and suggestions. The youngest son is entitled to inherit his parent's house, the reason is, it is

the duty of the youngest son to look after his parents when they become old. Generally the youngest is more attached to his father than his elder brothers. Here is one case study.

#### Case 4

Mr. Meru (age 40) the youngest son in the family who is already married has settled in Dimapur. He has two elder brothers who are settled in Kohima. Their mother expired early and the father stayed alone in the village. But when the father became old, the eldest son looked after him till his death. When the father expired, he was buried in the youngest son's place because when the father was alive, he instructed his children to bury his dead body in the youngest son's place.

At present the role of daughters have changed since girls are also given the opportunity for education. Still then whenever, she gets holidays she helps her parents more than her brothers. In olden days it was a disgrace for a woman who could not weave. But at present most of the daughters do not even know the art of weaving, perhaps they are rather interested in knitting, stitching and embroidery works. All these are expected from the girls. She also helps in maintaining the household chores, gardening, looking after the guests, keeping the surrounding neat and tidy. All these create an atmosphere where the daughter becomes more closer and attached to her mother in all respects.

The eldest daughter is expected to look after her younger brothers and sisters in many aspects. She looks after them, teaches them their lessons and also trains them how to wash, cook etc. She also takes initiative in choosing her brother and sister's life partner. And it is her

utmost duty to look after her parents when they are sick. The daughters are not entitled to inherit ancestral property, once they are married they become more attached to their husbands' side.

### **Case 5**

Miss Sieno, age 30, from Khonoma village has been given a big plot of cultivable land by her parents in Dimapur area though she is not yet married.

In short, significant changes have come about even in the family due to factors like education, Christianity and changing economy.

### **Marriage**

#### **Mode of Acquiring Spouse**

Today, with regard to selection of one's spouse since youth dormitories do not function (*Kichuki*) the occasion and place of courting have changed. The villages still continue to have dormitories for boys whereas girls' dormitories exist no more and even these boys' dormitories are hardly used. Therefore today's boys and girls know each other through other means of contact and socialization such as through students activities, youth activities, church activities, in schools, colleges, work places, etc. This way young boys and girls come to know each other and if they intend to get married they go and express their feelings with their parents. If both the parents agree, a formal proposal of marriage will be brought by the boy's parents. In case the parents do not agree, cases of elopement also occur.

In the past, selection of spouse was based on qualities such as whether a person had taken any head or whether a person is hard working, and particularly weaving was a quality which every woman was expected to know. Today, the standard and criteria that people use are different. People emphasize more on education, wealth, beauty, chastity etc. Further, people who are educated prefer educated partner and feel that one should first be financially stable before one plans to get married.

### **Rules and Regulations of Marriage**

Till today in the Angami Naga society there is not much change regarding rules and regulations of marriage. They still practice monogamy, although strictly monogamous both the sexes can marry and remarry as they please. They still strictly maintain clan exogamy (incest taboo). But in rare cases – if it happened, today they are not excommunicated as before from their clan or village. This form of marriage is however still forbidden by societies and church. However, some rare cases have been reported.

#### **Case 1**

Mr. Bao, age 33, and Mrs. Nino, age 28, both are from same clan (*Punyü*), though they are aware of the incest taboo and prohibition of marriage within the same clan they could not live without each other. So both of them ran away from home and are now settled in Medziphema.

Today, with the coming of Christianity, education and modernization people do not practice village endogamy. Rather, intermarriage between villages, tribes etc., are becoming more popular.

The advent of Christianity into the Angami land has brought changes in their way of life. Unlike in the past there is no restriction regarding hairstyle for married and unmarried women. They can keep any type of hair style depending on the personal liking. Women do not shave their hairs. So there is no mark of distinction between married and unmarried. However, today the mark of identification for being married or unmarried women is by wearing the rings that are exchanged during the weddings, which is an influence of the western culture. It has become a part of their life style and they feel more comfortable and at home with the new culture that is slowly creeping into their way of life.

### **Marriage ceremonies**

With the coming of Christianity, education and modernization traditional forms of marriage are almost dying out. At present people can get married at any time of the year except during transplantation and harvesting season. Even today we find both informal and formal forms of marriage. Informal form of marriage is without any ceremony whereas formal form of marriage is with ceremony (Holy marriage). There are no more non-Christian girls in the village except one or two bachelors who still follow the traditional religion. One of them, Mr. Phitsole, age 34, on being interviewed with regard to marriage said he would first have to convert to Christianity if at all he gets married. The last traditional form of marriage that occurred in the village was in 1987 when Mr. Neikhosa at the age of 21 got married to Ms. Neila.

At present most of the marriages are conducted in the Christian way basing on Christian teaching and principle. When a boy proposes to

a particular girl, the consent of his parents have to be obtained. Next, the parents will inform one of his aunties as a mediator which is still practised as before, and an aunty will in turn discuss the matters with the girl's parents. If the girl's parents accept the proposal, the aunty will inform the pastor. Now it is the pastor who will visit both the parents along with some of his staff members and have prayer with them. Next, the pastor will arrange a no objection service usually held on Sunday evenings before the actual service begins. When no objection is put forward both the parties in consultation with the pastor will fix the wedding date and specially according to the convenience of the to-be-bride. This is followed by sending one person from the groom's side to the bride asking the girl's family how much the '*Thema*'\* will be. This *Thema* should reach the bride's family on the eve of the wedding. In case the intended animal could not be caught on the eve of the wedding, a replacement of the animal was always possible. Wedding cards are sent out to all the friends, close relatives and well-wishers of both sides. The to be bride and bridegroom select their bridesmaid and the best-man respectively well in advance and they also arrange their clothes etc. For the bride and bridesmaid bouquet are also arranged. Flower girls and ring boy are also arranged for the wedding occasion and they also wear western dresses. An expenditure of around 40-50 thousand is involved for an average group, whereas, the rich ones spend 2 to 4 lakhs. The bulk of this amount is spent for the feast. Kinsmen, relatives,

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\*A '*Thema*' is neither a dowry nor a bride price. It is a gesture of uniting two families which is given in the form of animals by the groom to the bride's family. Example, 1 cow, 1 mithun or 1 pig, it depends on the groom's financial position.

well-wishers and all villagers help in the preparation for making of stage, reception hall, cooking, serving etc. And it is a must that two stages have to be made, one in the bride's place and the other in the groom's place. A lot of money is spent for stage decoration, church decoration, dress and for ornaments too. Both the bride and the groom go for the western dress such as coat, pant, tie for the groom, gowns, veil, bouquets for the bride and bridesmaid. However, there are some women who prefer wearing traditional Mekhala for the wedding occasion. Nowadays it has also become a tradition to make wedding cake and rings which was not there in the past. Men in general wear formal suit.

On the wedding day the ceremony is conducted in the church usually taking half an hour or a little more than that. When the first bell is rung, the groom and his best-man will arrive at the church. After few minutes when the second bell is rung, the bride and her bridesmaid will arrive. The bride is usually accompanied to the church by the bridesmaid, her brothers, sisters, parents, the ring boy, flower girls, relatives and her close friends. On entering the church the whole congregation will stand up and usually a musical piece is played by the pianist. After reaching the seat arranged for them and when the music is over, the Pastor, usually an ordained official will carry out the solemnization ceremony according to the rules and principles laid down in the scripture. The most important part is the oath taking where both parties promise to be committed and faithful to each other till death do part them. That is why marriage becomes a holy sacrament, because the promise is not just between two individuals but they take their vows both in the presence of God and man. After the solemnization ceremony in the church, they will proceed to the

bride's house where a feast is to be held. A reception stage is also constructed where the couple will be seated for the evening. By evening the newly wedded couples will be sent off by the parents of the bride. The bride's parents prepares a food for their daughter, usually one pot of rice and one pot of meat. Also one leg of an animal is given which is usually carried by one of the bride's cousin brothers. This signifies that she is not going empty handed to her husband's family. The cousin brother who fetched the leg is given one chicken which is taken home and killed for his whole family. When both couples are seated on the stage a '*Thesa*'\* is asked by the peer group of the bride from the husband. A blameless chicken and some amount of money will be given to them. A representative from the group will come forward and bless the couple pronouncing:

- May you live a happy life together
- May you bear many children like crabs and spiders.
- As long as there is water in the well may you also drink from it.
- As long as smoke comes out from other's hearth may your hearth also keep burning.

In the mean while the wedding cake is brought forth and shared with everyone. When the food is ready, the Pastor will bless the food and it will be served to all.

After the marriage has taken place, leg of cow, pig or mithun will be distributed to all the groom's clan females and his sisters who are already married.

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\* '*Thesa*' (money or animal) is given by the groom to the bride's peer group as a sign of outstanding friendship. This practice is followed up to date.

## **Marriage Gift**

Marriage gifts are common and conventionally practised in Khonoma village. Usually the girl's side will ask two cows, one pig or a mithun from the boy's side. This is mainly because the main feast used to take place in the bride's place.

Friends and relatives present the newly wedded couple with various gifts such as shawls, baskets, cups, plates, pots, bed, chairs, dressing tables, almirah (steel almirah), suit case, water container, rice, money and other household articles. All these are given in view of running the new household since they will begin a new life.

Giving gifts to wife's parents is very common. It is a sign of bond. Whenever the husband goes to the house of his in-laws he gives some gifts to the parents. This practice is continued till the first child is born. It shows the binding relationship they have with each other. This bond is based on love and not on money.

## **Angami Marriage - types**

The following types of marriage takes place in the Angami Naga society such as, (a) arranged marriage, (b) marriage by elopement, (c) marriage by one's choice. The following are the case studies which elucidates this types of marriage.

### **Case 2**

From the past till present the Angami Nagas practice arranged marriage.

Mr. Nikhozo (age 40) and Mrs. Sano (age 30) from *Thevoma Khel* on being interviewed about how they got married said that after the husband got a government job it was his parents who immediately arranged for their marriage.

### Case 3

There are always cases of elopement (informal marriage) due to the different reasons such as:

- (a) Financial problem
- (b) Opposition from parents
- (c) Stress and strain.

#### Case 3(a)

Mr. Mego (age 45) and Mrs. Vikuno (age 35) both of them are farmers. They fell in love when they were young, since both of them are Christians they planned to get married in the church. But due to financial problems they eventually ended up eloping.

#### Case 3(b)

Mr. Razu (age 35) and Mrs. Rulie (age 29). The husband is a government servant who drinks a lot. When he proposed Rulie her parents adamantly opposed. However, they decided to face any circumstances and eloped and are now settled in Kohima.

#### Case 3(c)

Another factor responsible for eloping is due to the conflict between different denominations, where the boy and the girl belongs to two different denominations opposition from the parents are likely to

flare up. This happened to Mr. Vile age 30, a Baptist, and Mrs. Avono, age 26, a Catholic. Because of their parent's opposition they finally had to end up eloping.

**Table III – Age of Marriage**

Sl. No.	Age Interval	Male (%)	Female (%)
1.	0-15	Nil	Nil
2.	16-21	5	4
3.	22-27	26	30
4.	28-33	50	45
5.	34-39	20	10
6.	40-45	2	Nil
7.	46-50	0.01	Nil

Source: Field work.

In the olden days people had their own ways of interpreting whether a person had already attained marriageable age. Both for boys and girls after reaching puberty and when they were able to handle the agriculture implements, specially spades without any difficulty, they were said to have attained the age for marriage.

Today, with regard to the age of marriage, boys and girls generally get married late comparing to the past. This is because most of them opt studies as their first priority and then take time to look for a job, without which there is no financial security. Later when they have procured a job they will plan for marriage. In the past since agriculture was their main occupation they naturally got married at an earlier age.

#### Case 4

Mr. Iralu the youngest son in the family, has three sisters and two brothers. All his brothers and sisters are already married. Two of his sisters got married late due to higher studies. He also got married very late, only around mid-thirties because he also went for further studies. Even his wife went for higher studies and they met each other while undergoing their studies. They got married after finishing their study career and at present they have one son and a daughter.

#### Case 5

Miss Kevi, the second daughter in the family, still her elder sisters are not married, her father expired few years ago. She has to look after all the father's business and take up all the family responsibility. So she does not want to get married at an early age. At present she is a lecturer in a college. But she is already engaged to a man, not from her tribe. Both of them are likely to get married after crossing 30 years of age.

Nowadays, most of the boys get married after the age of twenty eight and the girls after crossing twenty five. Some girls get married even after thirty. In most cases they marry men of their own choices.

#### Divorce

Today, divorce is not encouraged and allowed on certain conditions. Incompatibility of temperament is the chief reason. The cases of divorce are less compared with the past. This is due to Christian principle and teaching. On the wedding day, both the bride and the bridegroom take oath before God and before the congregation to be faithful and not to leave each other until death and they regard the church

marriage as sacred. They will sign a bond of commitment. So for the Christians, once they are married there are very few cases of divorce. Even if they are at the verge of divorce, the pastor and the church leaders will counsel them and try to bring about settlement before the problem and the situation becomes difficult to handle. If both the couples agree not to live together on the ground of having extra-marital affairs, then both of them will be excommunicated from the church. But if only one of them is infedile he/she will be excommunicated from the membership and if the other spouse decides to leave his wife or her husband they will be allowed. In the case of mutual agreement for divorce the couples will divide all the properties equally.

#### **Case 6**

Mr. Beile (age 50) is a policeman. He is posted in other district. He had extra-marital affair with a young lady and they were living together like wife and husband. Later on, his wife came to know about them and she got divorced with her husband. She took the youngest daughter, and left two sons with the father.

#### **Remarriage**

#### **Case 7**

Mr. Khate, age 50, whose wife met an untimely death remarried another woman. He has five children, two boys and three girls from his first wife. When asked why he remarried, he said that it was very difficult for him to bring up all the children alone. Moreover, he is a church worker who is always busy in Christian ministry. Even his friends and

relatives kept on advising him to remarry. So finally, he proposed one woman who is much younger to him and they got married.

The Angamis give due importance to marriage and marital life. They practice monogamy. Love and care between the spouses is of paramount importance and that calls for a stable union. The Angami society is undergoing a tremendous transformation. The spread of Christianity and education and the exposure to the world have changed their life style. New ones are replacing the old ones. As more and more people are embracing Christianity; the traditional form of marriage is losing its ground. However, they do value the institution of marriage.

### **Kinship**

Regarding kinship system there is hardly any change in the Angami society. Incest taboo is strictly prohibited within the same clan. Such marriages are believed to be sterile or to result in idiot or diseased offspring. In spite of the prohibition even today marriage between the same *thino* or *putsa* occurs. However, they are looked down by the society.

### **Case 1**

There is one case, Mr. Neisa, age 40 and Mrs. Kevichū, age 35. They are from the same *putsa* (lineage), their parents and clan members were against their plan for marriage but in spite of the opposition they got married. They have settled in Medziphema village. At present they have 4 kids, two boys and two girls. There is another taboo that a son should not indulge in sexual advances towards his father's sister's daughter, because there is a clear cut chain of wife giving and wife receiving line in

the kinship structure. Uncle-niece marriage are also not allowed. But marriages between father's sister's son and mother's brother's daughter is considered to be the most preferred one of all.

In the Angami Naga society there is not much change in the kinship system. Some of the limited changes which can be observed are in kinship recognition. But today this practice has taken a new form. Today, the kinsmen do not give cocks or chickens during marriage of their close brides or bridegrooms, they assist financially or give other animals such as pigs, cows, mithuns and other household articles or home appliances. Another kinship recognition practice was the common sharing of the sacrificial meat during the death of one's close kins. Hutton states that the kinsmen killed mithuns, cows, and pigs and distributed to all the kin groups. And until the meat was distributed to each and every member they did not bury the dead body. However, with the coming of Christianity ceremonial meat distributions are not practiced any more among the Christian. However, the relatives and the kin members may come and show their last respect to the dead person. Tea and snacks are provided to all who come and pay respect to the deceased. The deceased's family may kill pigs or chickens for the relatives, friends and well-wishers who have come from distant places. But this killing will not signify fulfilling of any ceremonial rites or performances.

The present society is such that everyone is busy in their own world because of which they cannot render help to each other even in times of needs, so people hardly render their help to their kinsmen during

their house construction, which was an important mark of kinship recognition.

This practice of mutual help among kindreds during agriculture season is being replaced, to a certain extent by employing labourers after money as a currency was introduced.

## Case 2

Mrs. Leno, age 45, a farmer when interviewed why she employs labourers rather than asking her kindred's help said; after monetary system was introduced people are interested in earning money as well as the farmers are relieved to a great extent from their heavy labours. This is the reason why a bulk of her work is given out to labours to work on daily wage basis.

With the coming of Christianity ceremonial meat distributions are not practised anymore among the Christian. The relatives and the kin members may come and show their last respect. They give refreshments to the workers. The close kins may also bring shawls with them as a mark of respect but not denoting any ceremonial rule as such. However, in helping for digging the grave, arranging the seats and making refreshments the close kins are the first to do so, whereby other strangers would identify them as their close kins and relatives. Whenever any important person dies in the village the non-Christians still do blank firing. For Christians regardless of a person's status a bell is rung for every one who passes away.

The Angami clan organization has got two moieties viz., *Thekrunoma* and *Thevoma* also known as *Thepa/Thevo* or *Kepepfuma* and *Kepezoma* respectively. Because of this reason there are slight differences in the kinship terminology even within one village. For example, in Khonoma village out of three *Khels*, *Thevoma Khel* belongs to *Kepezoma 'Kelhu'* (phratry) and address their father as 'apuo', whereas the other two *Khels Semoma* and *Merhüma* belong to *Kepepfuma 'Kellhu'* (Phratry) and they address their father as 'apfü'. The following are the kinship terms where these differences can be noticed.

**KINSHIP TERM**  
(Relationship with ego)

<u>Thevo (Kepezoma)</u>	<u>Thepa (Kepepfuma)</u>
Father - <i>Apuo</i>	<i>Apfu</i>
Mother - <i>Azuo</i>	<i>Apfo-ü</i>
Brother - <i>Uprümuo</i>	<i>Uprümuo</i>
Sister - <i>Uüpfümuo</i>	<i>Uüpfümuo</i>
Son - <i>Anuo</i>	<i>Anuo</i>
Daughter - <i>A nuopfü</i>	<i>Anuopfü</i>
Elder bro - <i>A dzürieu</i>	<i>A dzürieu</i>
Younger bro - <i>A siezeu</i>	<i>A siezeu</i>
Elder sis - <i>A dzüriepfü</i>	<i>A dzüriepfü</i>
Father's brothers - elder than father - <i>Apuo</i>	- <i>Apfu</i>
Younger than father - <i>Ania</i>	- <i>Ania</i>
Father's sisters - elder - <i>Azuo</i>	- <i>Apfo-ü</i>
- younger - <i>Anie</i>	- <i>Anie</i>

Mother's brother – <i>Amei</i>	- <i>Amei</i>
Mother's sisters – <i>Azuo</i>	- <i>Apfo-ü</i>
Father's bro's wifes-elder – <i>Azuo</i>	- <i>Apfo-ü</i>
- younger – <i>Anie</i>	- <i>Anie</i>
Mother's bro's wifes – <i>Anie</i>	- <i>Anie</i>
Father's sis's husband – <i>Ania</i>	- <i>Ania</i>
Mother's sis's husband – <i>Ania</i>	- <i>Ania</i>
Husband – <i>Npuo</i>	- <i>Npfu</i>
Wife – <i>Nzuo</i>	- <i>Npfo-ü</i>
Wife's father – If the wife's parents is elder	
- <i>Apuo</i>	- <i>Apfu</i>
If the wife's parents is younger	
- <i>Ania</i>	- <i>Ania</i>
Wife's mother – depends on the relation (bit close related)	
- <i>Azuo</i>	- <i>Apfo-ü</i>
(not related)	
- <i>Anie</i>	- <i>Anie</i>
Husband's father – If the (hus)parents is elder	
- <i>Apuo</i>	- <i>Apfu</i>
Husband's mother – depends on the relation (bit close related)	
- <i>Azuo</i>	- <i>Apfo-ü</i>
(not related)	
- <i>Anie</i>	- <i>Anie</i>
Daughter's husband – <i>Unyamuo</i>	- <i>Unyamuo</i>
Son's wife – <i>Umiepfü</i>	- <i>Umiepfü</i>
Wife's brother – by name	
Sister's husband – if the sister is elder	



Brother's daughter (m.s.) -- <i>Umuonuo</i>	- <i>Unuomuo</i>
Brother's child (w.s.) -- <i>Umuonuo</i>	- <i>Unuomuo</i>
Husband's brother's son -- <i>Umuonuo</i>	- <i>Unuomuo</i>
Husband's brother's daughter -- <i>Umuonuo</i>	- <i>Unuomuo</i>
Wife brother's child -- <i>Puonuo (Umuonuo)</i>	- <i>Puomuo (Umuonuo)</i>
Sister's child (m.s.) -- <i>Umuonuo</i>	- <i>Unuomuo</i>
Sister's child (w.s.) -- <i>Supfinonuo (Umuonuo)</i>	- <i>Supfinonuo (Umuonuo)</i>
Father's sister's son -- <i>Utsunuo</i>	- <i>Utsunuo</i>
Mother's brother's son -- <i>Uniamuo</i>	- <i>Uniamuo</i>
Father's sister's daughter -- <i>Utsunuo</i>	- <i>Utsunuo</i>
Mother's brother's daughter -- <i>Utsunuo</i>	- <i>Utsunuo</i>
Father's brother's son -- <i>Uprünuomia</i>	- <i>Uprünuomia</i>
Father's brother's daughter -- <i>Uüpfumomia</i>	- <i>Uüpfumomia</i>
Mother's sister's son -- <i>Uprünuomia</i>	- <i>Uprünuomia</i>
Mother's sister's daughter -- by name/ <i>Uüpfumia</i>	- <i>Uüpfumia</i>
Grand children -- <i>Atsumuoko</i>	- <i>Atsumuoko</i>
Grand father -- <i>Apuotsa</i>	- <i>Apfutsa</i>
Grand mother -- <i>Atsa</i>	- <i>Apfüttsa</i>
Father's father's brother -- <i>Apuotsa</i>	- <i>Apfutsa</i>
Father's mother's brother -- <i>Apuotsa</i>	- <i>Apfutsa</i>
Father's father's sister -- <i>Atsa</i>	- <i>Atsapfü</i>
Father's mother's sister -- <i>Atsa</i>	- <i>Atsapfü</i>

Kinship groups are usually classified into two broad groups, viz., classificatory kins group and descriptive kins group. In a classificatory type of kinship system, one single term is used for a set of persons standing in different types of relation to the ego and among themselves.

In the second type of kinship system, single kinship term refers only to a particular individual and specific kind of relationship. The kinship group found in Angami Naga society is that of classificatory. For example, even the father's elder brothers are addressed as *apuo* (father) also even other male elders who are older than one's father. Mother's sisters are also called as *azuo* (mother), also the father's brother's wife if she is elder to one's mother, she is called *azuo* (mother). To one's sister's husband if his/her sister is elder, then he is addressed as *athi*. The same term is also used in addressing one's wife's sisters including all the wife's cousin sisters who are elder to the wife. This is also applicable to one's brother's wives if they are elder.

Analysis of kinship terms allows to draw the following:

The Angami Nagas have a common kinship terms applied to both the collateral and lineal relatives. Because of the presence of two moities the addressing terms differ but their basic relational characteristics are the same in their usage so that in addressing someone each moiety (*seyie*) could use different terminology but the referral addresses or the person to whom it is addressed could be the same. For example, the *Thevo* address their father as *Apuo* whereas the *Thepa* use *Apfu*. Also the *Thevos* address their mother as *Azuo* and the *Thepa* use *Apfo-ü*. But the main analysis is based on the *Thevo* because majority of the Angamis use terms of the *Thevo* moiety.

(a) In the Angami society, especially the husband and wife address each other with specific terms. If they have children the husband would

be addressed as *Npuo* and the wife would be *Nzuo*. And they mostly use pet names.

(b) Brothers and sisters have got a particular term to address each other in the form of more closeness, the brothers are addressed as *Uprimuo* and the sisters are addressed as *Uiipfimuo*. They mutually respect each other on the age basis. The elder brothers are addressed as *Adzürie-u* and the younger brothers are addressed as *Azieze-u*, and this applies equally to the sisters, the elder sisters are addressed as *Adzürie-pfi* and younger sisters are addressed as *Asiezepfü*.

(c) In the Angami society age distinction is maintained by kinship lines. For father's brothers if they are elder then they are addressed as *Apuo* but uncles younger to the father are addressed as *Ania*. The term *Ania* is also applicable to the father's sister's husband. The mother's sisters are addressed as *Azuo*. For the father's sister if the sister is elder than the father they are addressed as *Azuo*, but if younger to the father then they are addressed as *Anie*. The mother's brother is addressed as *Amei*. And the father's brother's wife, if the brother is elder than the father then they are addressed as *Apuo*, but if the father's brother is younger, the brother's wife is addressed as *Anie*.

(d) In the Angami family a distinction is made for in-laws by age and relation. And also they give respect to their in-laws. For husband and wife in order to show mutual respect to their in-laws, if either of the husband or wife's father are elder than his or her own father, they are addressed as *Apuo* and if either of their parents are younger they are addressed as *Ania*. But in case of their mother-in-laws it depends on their

relations, if either of the husband wife's mother is related to their in-laws, for example, (if the husband and the wife's mothers are from same clan) she is addressed as *Azuo*, otherwise she is addressed as *Anie*.

(e) The husband is addressed by his mother-in-law and the father-in-law as *Unyamuo* and the wife is addressed as *Umiepfü* by her in-laws. The wife's brother, son's wife's father and wife's sister's husband are generally addressed by name only. Sister-in-laws are addressed as *Anei* (by her sister-in-laws) and *Athi* (by her brother-in-laws) but if younger it is addressed by name, and the brother-in-laws are addressed by their sister-in-laws as *Athi*, but the man addresses his brother-in-law by name.

(f) The Angami being patrilineal family trace their descendants from the male side. And the father's side plays a major role in any occasion. The children are more closer to their father's side than the mother's side. However, to distinguish the closer kin from the general group the prefix *Unuomuo* is used in the case of having a close blood relation such as father's brother's son, brother's sons etc.

(g) The Angamis also give the status of recognition to the father or grand-father, mother or grand-mother to all elderly people even if not related. The genealogically appropriate terms of addressing grand-father is *Apuotsa* and grand-mother as *Atsa*, and the grand-children are addressed as *Atsunuomuo*.

(h) In the behavioural pattern, juniors should not address their seniors by name. If a person addresses his senior by name it implies that he does not respect his elders.

## The Advent of Christianity in the Angami Naga Area

The first group of American Baptist missionaries made their appearance in the Naga country in 1830s. In the beginning the attitude in the Naga areas towards the missionaries was very hostile. Those who got converted to Christianity were persecuted or excommunicated by their Naga brethren from their clan or village. Hence, conversion was initially very slow.

Christianity came to the Angamis with the British rule. American Baptist mission had started its mission with the headquarters at Sadiya, Assam in 1832. This later became the Assam mission. In 1872, the work among Aos was started, before the British annexed their area. In 1878, the mission board decided to start the work among the Angamis, and that year Mr. C. D. King came to Chümukedima. But during that time the Angamis were preparing themselves to drive back the British, who had established their headquarters at Kohima in 1878. In 1879, when the Angamis rose up against the British, Mr. C. D. King fled to Sibsagar. Only when the revolt was completely put down, was Mr. C. D. King able to come to Kohima on 25<sup>th</sup> February 1881. He started his mission by opening school in Assam with the help of Henry Goldsmith and Sarbay. But soon his school was taken up by a certain 'Babu'. In March 1883, the first church in Kohima was organized with six members, but without any convert. But till 1885, there was no single convert. The effort of C. D. King soon brought forth fruits in the form of the first converts in the Kohima field. It was on record that Lhousietsü, the first Angami Christian convert was baptized by C. D. King at Kohima on 21.6.1885. He later became a *Dubashi*, those days a prized post. And being a

government servant his first priority would have been his loyal service to the government he served. However, it was clear that he used whatever spare time he could get to help in the spread of the gospel. He was from Kohima village belonging to P. Khel, died in 2.2.1908. Lhouseslie was the second man who had been baptized in the second week of July 1885. This man also became a government interpreter after leaving the School. C. D. King had pinned much hope on this man for his future works among the Angamis. He learned both Assamese and Bengali and because of this he was of much more use to C. D. King in his translation work. Sieliezhu studied in the mission school at Kohima and was baptized by C. D. King on 30-8-1885. His dedication and sincerity in late part of his career had earned confidence and appreciation of all the missionaries who had served in Kohima field.

The first man to bring the gospel to the Angami area was Rev. C. D. King. After the departure of Rev. C. D. King, Rev. Rivenburg and Mrs. Rivenburg (Hattie) worked among the Angami. They arrived on February 2, 1887, to Kohima and stayed at C. D. King's dwelling. After learning the Angami language for many years Rev. Rivenburg decided to use 'Roman' letter to write. He also started the work by starting a school, reducing the Angami language into written form by using the Roman script, organizing a church and also doing some medical works. He ran the school in Angami medium, his early converts were from the school. A convert of Rivenburg was Nisier the first to accept the gospel from Khonoma village and also the first Christian convert to receive his education. He became a teacher in mission school Kohima. In the year 1896, he converted to Christianity and in 1897 he was baptized by

Rivenburg and that same year the Church was established in Khonoma village. Rivenburg and his wife Hattie also did a remarkable work for the Angamis in translating books of Mathew, John and Acts in Angami.

The church had already been established in 1897, however, many people were just nominal Christians and many could not give up drinking *zutho* (rice beer). Only when Rev. Kekhulhu came to the scene people were taught how to behave themselves physically and spiritually. The Christian way of life was quite different from the others who followed the animistic religion. They were not allowed to participate in the festivals, ceremonies, rituals etc. Only the Christians formed their own groups and organizations.

It should be noted that here the early converts associated themselves with the British *Sahebs* as they had adopted the religion of these *Sahebs* and were highly prone to imbibe the western model of life, fooding, clothing, naming, manners and attitudes in comparison to the non-converts. as a result they felt themselves superior from the traditional religion followers. They condemned the traditional heritage of the latter. Here it will not be out of place to examine certain views relating to Christian missionaries' attitude towards the Angami Naga culture, tradition and the manner in which the former condemned them or caused them to be eliminated by Christian converts at the beginning of conversion. K. M. Panikar holds that:

Christian missionaries' work in the field of conversion has been on the whole sterile in the beginning. He attributed the reason of its failure to the virulent attack of the missionaries on everything that pertained to Hinduism and their

insistence on a clean break away from the family relationships and the surroundings of the Hindus. (K. M. Panikar, 1963: 47-48).

Mankind is now in a fast changing world and as such their mode of thinking of animism is also undergoing changes. So the people of this age are sensitive to religious thoughts. And it is therefore, imperative to know the animists in the light of their original religious background in order to understand how they cling to the new faith that is Christianity.

Next to Nisier, Krusietso Dolie became the second Christian convert from Khonoma village, who abandoned the traditional system of beliefs and embarked on new faith. This marked a new beginning in their spiritual journey. He was a multitalented person who played the multi roles, as a government servant, teacher, businessman who travelled extensively to Bangladesh, Myanmar and other parts of India. He also attended Assam Bible School and later on he took active part in mission work. He even rendered his house to be used for worship service because at that time they were not able to construct a church.

Among the first Christian converts Vizekho Terhüja was the first person to become a recognized pastor from 1921-1926. He became sick after he converted to Christianity and his family members suggested him to perform rituals, however, he refused and said that he would not perform rituals even if it would cost his life. Later on his sickness was gone due to his staunch faith. He was paid Rs. 3 as his monthly salary which was increased to Rs. 7/-. However, the church could not continue paying him for long so they bought a terrace field for him. He went about

from village to village preaching the good news of the Gospel. He had to carry himself all the basic necessities including, bedding, cups, plates, pots, rice and even salt wherever he went, which at present people do not usually carry all those stuff.

Rev. Kekhulhu Sakhrie was another convert who became the first person to study theology. He was a pastor from 1926-1930. During his tenure, he strongly opposed nominalism and excommunicated all the members who continued drinking *Zutho* (rice beer) and all those people who did not keep and follow the Christian principles faithfully. As a result of this the number of church member decreased to six only. But gradually, the number increased year by year.

The first Christian converts experienced themselves a period of transition from their traditional lifestyle to the new belief system. Therefore, at times they even faced identity crisis.

### Case 1

Rhichatsü-ü on being asked why he wanted baptism replied back to the Pastor Vicha that since all the youngster from his *Khel* (*Merhüma*) have been converted to Christianity, he also wanted to take baptism. He was not even aware of the assurance of 'salvation'. So when the pastor asked him whether he knew anything about 'salvation', he said he did not. Later on, on the request of the church elders he was given baptism.

The first converted Christians were branded as *Ihova* for being the follower of Jehova. In fact, they faced lots of persecution from the non-believers. In the past no one dared to go to one particular place called

*Peleryü-dzüyebo* which is believed to be spirit infested due to the dire consequences (usually death) which people really had to face if they went.

## Case 2

One day Visazo (non-Christian) asked Gopulhu, a new convert to go to the same place to see what would happen to him. However, nothing happened to Gopulhu. So he was convinced that this God of the new faith was a powerful God. There is a place called *Kijüthosurü* where no one dared to clear jungles for cultivation. Since it was regarded to be an unclean place the same person Gopulhu was threatened and sent to cultivate crops in this place. Surprisingly, he got a bumper harvest from that area. Henceforth, all the non-Christians came to know that Christians are not afraid of anything. So all the villagers started cultivating in that area.

## Case 3

Once a pond was cleansed for conducting baptism, but some non-Christians came and polluted the pond so they had to look for another pond. In spite of all the persecutions and ill-treatments the Christians never retaliated nor wavered in their faith, so slowly people accepted the gospel and the Christians grew in number.

Some of the main reasons why the non-Christians accepted the Gospel were:

- (1) Christians do not observe all the *pennas* (non-working day). For them they can work for the whole week except on Sunday.
- (2) Some group of people simply became Christian, because the children of the Christians were educated. Some parents allowed their children to become Christians, while they remained non-Christians.
- (3) The Christians preach the doctrine of salvation which is not known or taught in the traditional religion. So in order to get salvation some of them said they converted to Christianity.
- (4) In olden days when a person harvested more than hundred baskets of rice, it was compulsory for that particular person to give feast to the villagers, then followed by bigger feast, for which they had to spend a bulk of their wealth. Also they had to perform many rituals which was tedious and time consuming. Many villagers came to realize that giving feast was just a wastage of wealth and moreover they found it difficult to follow all the rituals and ceremonies.

Even today there are some people who still follow the traditional religion. Some of the main reasons given by them as to why they do not want to become Christian are:

1. Some said that they cannot give up drinking rice beer (*Zutho*), because once they become Christian they are not supposed to take drinks any more.

#### Case 4

2. There is another case where Mr. Thehievizo, age 70, is a non-Christian and the reason why he did not become a Christian is that, he promised his first wife that he would never become a Christian, whereas at present strangely his second wife and his children are Christians.

#### Case 5

3. Mr. Viralhou, age 68, said that he cannot become a Christian because the post of priest (*Zhevo*) is hereditary and he is the only elderly non-convert from his clan (*Yalie*). And there has to be always someone to hold this post hence he has decided to remain as non-Christian.

Presently, majority of the Angami Nagas in Khonoma village (96%) are Christians and the remaining 6% are non-Christians. In Khonoma village, the Christians are divided into two main denominations, (1) The Baptist, and (2) Roman Catholic. The Baptists far exceeds the Catholics. The trend is also reflected in the relative grandeur of the church. Normatively, Christians should attend church at least on Sunday, however, adherence to the norm is only partial.

In the present Angami society when any one gets sick instead of performing the sacrifices even the non-Christians straight away go to the doctors and as for the Christians they invite the pastor or the deacons to pray for them. This is due to the fact that the old superstitions of the

sicknesses being caused by evil spirits have been driven away ever since the coming of Christianity and modern medicines.

### **Case 6**

Mr. Zevitso was an ardent follower of traditional religion before he converted to Christianity. At first he promised never to change his belief. However, one day it so happened that he got a terrible stomach pain and he thought he would succumb to it. However, his granddaughter who had become a Christian went and called the pastor to pray for him. At first he mocked at the pastor and was not willing to allow him to pray for him, but since he could not bear the pain any longer, he let the pastor pray for him. After the prayer there was no more stomach pain and finally he got converted to Christianity and became a good believer thereafter.

The stage of coexistence and transition of the two religions is mirrored in the persistence of polar theories. While some people still cling to the age of old doctrines and cure of diseases others rush to dispensaries and hospitals for medical examination. Nurses and doctors are replacing the shaman. There is a primary health centre in Khonoma in which medicines are supplied by the government.

The role of church in the life of Angami Nagas is remarkable. Quite importantly, the church provides a code of ethics and levies sanction which reign their daily lives. The church prescribes absolute abstinence from rice beer to which they had been addicted for several years. The converts do not brew rice beer in their houses now, but some

purchase it from the non-Christian. There are no shops or agencies that manufacture or distribute rice beer.

In the olden days before the advent of Christianity singing and dancing were essential qualifications which an Angami Naga boy or girl had to acquire and this was taught by parents to their children and also by seniors in the dormitory. Few musical instruments were used in the Angami Naga society in the past. The missionaries did not give much importance to their traditional songs etc., and were being replaced by the western songs. So especially the Christians are out of touch and the present generation hardly knows their folk songs too. The Angami Nagas have now embraced the western form of music and yet the fact remains that music too is a vital part of people's identity, and it cannot be replaced without an effect on the individual and the society.

The American Baptist missionaries at first did not allow the Christian converts to wear their traditional dress in the church. So slowly people started wearing western and modern types of dress.

Christianity has to a large extent transformed the life of Angami Nagas. It has introduced the system of formal education. In fact, Christianity and percolation of literacy are advantageably linked. Education helped the people to develop a modern outlook and thus, made them more susceptible to the forces of modernity. It was particularly conservatism. Once they, or whoever among them were able to do it, found the modern ideas and things to be more attractive and useful, as it would be also seen from various other instances. In the past, unmarried girls were required to shave their hairs regularly. But, today, with the

coming of Christianity and education even the non-Christian girls shave their hair no longer.

### **Impact of Christianity on Angami Traditional Belief and Practices**

The traditional life of the Angamis were full of superstitions, fears which ultimately resulted in hampering human progress since there was no free movement, wherever they went they had to follow several precautions, they also used panjies for prevention from evil spirit. Fear increased due to the appearance of demons in the form of man. Whoever becomes the victim of this evil spirits was regarded as the most harmful demon. The traditional life is thus, dominated by fear of evil spirits and instead of overcoming superstitious life and beliefs, they were subjected more and more to these fears.

No doubt Christianity is an important factor to a certain extent for expelling all sorts of superstitious fears from the mind of man, but in reality it is the spirit of Christianity, that actually uprooted fear and superstitions. The life of the Christians is quite different in their beliefs and practices. People were not allowed to touch certain things in the olden days. But the Christians have overcome and now those things are fearlessly touched and moved or removed by them. The places like rivers, mountains and forests revered or feared by the ancestors are now used for active occupations. All this also happened when the Christians healthily resisted devils and faithfully obeyed God. The concept of Gospel in the mind and the lifestyle of the Angami Nagas led to the ultimate victory in setting all the animists free from bondage of

superstitions and fears. This message brought drastic change from polluted human environment into a creative helpful society.

The practice of averting sickness by substituting chickens or eggs has been replaced by the Christian teaching of Jesus who became their substitute and who not only took away their sins but also even their infirmities. With this teaching came medicine which proved to be more efficacious for treating various kinds of sickness and diseases and this resulted in slowly doing away with the traditional rituals and practices for treatment of diseases.

Even in the past people acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being *Ukepenuopfü*, who was believed to live above or beyond the blue skies. No doubt they had the idea of God, but their knowledge does not prove to be a creative factor. If at all they feel the need of the human creation, the animistic religion of the Angami Nagas does not prove out the relation between the created and the creator. Non-Christians have little sense about creation of human being, the fact that there is almighty God. The idea of God beyond the blue skies is common among the Angamis. He is supreme one but he is too far away, thus he has less to do with human affairs. But the idea of God beyond the blue skies is dying out due to the indoctrination of the Christian beliefs. In fact, it is too old an idea not fitting the present concept.

According to the Christian doctrine it states that, God is omnipresent, which means that God is present everywhere and He sees all things. He is self existent which cannot be hidden by those who know it and it cannot be completely obscured to the heathen. As the self

existent God, He is not only independent on Himself, but also causes everything to depend on Him. This self-existent of God finds expression in the name of Jehovah. It is only as the self-existent and independent one, God can give the assurance that He will remain eternally the same in relation to His people.

At first when the missionaries tried to communicate to the animists in the Angami area about God as understood in the Christian way using Jehovah the name of God, it was difficult for the Angamis to understand the Supreme Being through such unfamiliar foreign name which had no meaning in any of their languages. However, in course of time they began to understand the term Jehovah, The Supreme Being, according to their own usage, in their religion. So till now Jehovah is commonly used as their proper name for God.

Another major belief is in life after death which says that human soul undergoes seven stages of transformation and after which the soul is believed to extinct. Diametrically opposed view of the life after death is being taught by the Christian doctrine, because the Christians believe that the soul does not undergo any change in any circumstances after death. Rather the soul of each individual would be identifiable even in life after death in their future and this belief falls under eschatology. The soul is believed to be immortal and will never undergo any changes though there could be changes in the human body when a person was alive.

For the animists salvation in terms of their physical life is not a new idea though its teachings are vague. Physical salvation is their daily concern. And the principle qualification for the abode of *Kepenopfü* is

that one should perform *zhatho* (merit feast), eat no unclean meat and follow several other precautions. But the Christians have done away with this kind of beliefs and practices. Beyond the physical salvation which also includes life on this earth and which is only for a short span of time, they believe in spiritual salvation and whosoever believes in Jesus Christ and accepts Him as their personal Lord and Saviour. And for them heaven would be their abode in their next life.

Since the belief in the life after death is vague and has no future or proper life to anticipate except the transformation of souls into various insects, they give no importance to the spiritual teachings. And as such there is no proper teaching even about the concept of sin. Whereas the Christians give a very big importance to their spiritual life and the consequences of sins are taught in the Bible. Also Christians are very clear about their concept of God., His love for the world, and His purpose of creating every human beings on this earth and their destiny. He does not want that even a single soul should perish even though all have sinned against Him. His plan to save mankind was carried out by sending His only son Jesus Christ who came to redeem mankind from eternal damnation. It is because of this redemptive act that whosoever believes in Him shall be saved even on this earth and in the life to come.

Worship occupied an important place in the traditional society of the Angami Nagas. The whole of the religious activities is being conducted under the direction of a village priest called *Kemevo*. He directs all the public ceremonies and fixes the days for them. His office is also hereditary who is the official repository of genealogical and

historical traditions of his village, clan and kindred. Besides *kemevo* there is another priest usually the oldest in the village who is also sometimes called to officiate on some special occasions. The Christians on the other hand worship their God at any time, any where and at any occasion even by themselves without even the aid of the pastors and the church workers, and this is in the theological term called universal priesthood of all believers which has been established by Jesus' death on the cross sanctioning the liberty and freedom of worship in season and out of season. Whereas this is not so in the case of the animistic religion. The place of *kemevo* is being replaced by the office of pastor and associate pastors who is nominally the organizational head of the church, but theologically Christ is acknowledged as the head of the church (the members are part of His body). The difference between the office of the *kemevo* and that of the pastor is that whereas the office of *kemevo* is hereditary, the office of the pastor is not. Any spiritually trained person who is deemed as fit for the office is chosen for the sacred office and thereby the pastor is not the repository of the genealogical and historical traditions of the village, clan and kindred. Beside *kemevo*, *zhevo* was indispensable for performing the personal *gennas*. But in the case of Christians each individual believer is responsible to invoke, confess, or worship God at any time whenever he feels the need of drawing closer to God. The pastor besides conducting the Sunday service is actively involved in granting membership to the church, baptizing, excommunicating and accepting confessions.

Presently, majority of the Angami Nagas are Christians and they constitute 94% of the total population and non-Christians constitute 6%.

So the Christians no more observe *kenna*, *penna*, *nanyü*, *genna* all of which are a magico-religious observances observed by the animists to this day to some degree, though all the ceremonial rules such as wearing of the ceremonial dress, dancing, singing may be there. They still follow abstention from going to field during certain *pennas* but have reduced the days for observing *kennas* and *pennas* in the present day. The present generation has very little knowledge about the religious practices of their forefathers and even those old folks who still follow their traditional religion follow them nominally except some few ardent followers.

The function of *Tsakro* and *Lidepfü*, who perform agricultural rituals for sowing, transplantation and reaping are nominally followed. Today, the office and function of *Lidepfü* (first reaper) does not function properly. Therefore, one can say that non-Christians also do not strongly adhere to their old practices.

Among the Angami, *Sekrenyi* is considered as one of the most important festivals. At the time of *Sekrenyi* like before (1912) the non-Christians still celebrate it with great zest and delight. Still they practise the same *genna*, but the number of *genna* days have been reduced according to their convenience. Regarding the fourth day *genna*, since only very few of the youngsters are non-Christians, no one is there to go to jungle wearing ceremonial dress to collect pith, stick etc. Majority of them are Christians, so they cannot impose strict *penna* for the whole village. The Christians are loyal to their beliefs and doctrines, they disobey even when *genna* is imposed by the non-Christians.

At present regarding *Thezukepu*, *Titho* and *Thekranyi genna* all the necessary formalities are no more prevalent because majority of them are now Christians. Further, some old people who knows all the details of performing and rules of observing the *genna* have been converted to Christianity.

### Case 7

Mr. Keriu Mor, age 70 years, former Pastor in Khonoma village said that only few village old folks remain non-Christian. And even those who still follow the traditional religion do not know all the rituals and religious ceremonies in detail. Among the village he is the only person who knows in detail about the rules of *perma*, *genna* etc. So at times even the non-Christians used to come for consultation. But he is reluctant to reveal and share what he knows since he is already a Christian. Almost all the *gennas* are forgotten and even the number of days to be observed as *gennas* has been reduced to few days only. Before, they wore ceremonial dresses in all the *gennas*, but at present they wear just ordinary clothes and perform *gennas* nominally.

Regarding the social *genna* today we can say that none of them are observed. In the village no one observes or even seems to care due to the change of lifestyle. Today many families get more rice grains and other crops compared with the past however, giving feast to the villagers on account of reaping great and bumper harvest is no more practiced. Moreover, Christians are more well established even in their economic life, so the non-Christians hesitate to give feast in the present day context.

## Case 8

Mr. Khrielie, age 71, who was once a deacon in the village said that his father was an ardent follower of animism who used to give feast to all the villagers. He knew that he had to follow his father's example and retain the family pride, however, he also felt that it was a wastage of wealth, energy and time to give feast during which many *gennas* are followed. He said for this reason he converted to Christianity. However, his clans men and relatives were not happy with him but they could not help. He said after he got converted to Christianity slowly many people also got converted. Another reason on being asked why they have left all the *gennas* to be observed is that; throughout the year the villagers had to perform lots of *gennas* and *pennas* for which there was little time for working and doing other things. And after getting exposed to the outside world they realized that they were spending their precious time in fruitless things. Even today whenever they construct modern house type in order to preserve their forefather's pride they erect house horn on the roof of the house, but without any *gennas* or rituals. And this is done even by the Christians without any religious significance just a part of appreciating their culture.

Traditionally, feasts of merit latently ironed out the disparities in wealth. The rich, in their passion to acquire prestige and accessory benefits spent a large part of their incomes in lavish feasts. The elimination of these feasts destabilized the system initially. It was realized that Christianity only changed the order of expenditure. Instead of spending money on feasts of merit, the church claimed a definite share in the harvest and income to Christians. The reserves so generated are

used for the mission work and used as provisions for the economically weak and wanting section of society.

## CHAPTER V

### FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR CULTURE CHANGE

Before the arrival of the British in Nagaland, the Angamis lived a simple life. Their way of living including food habits, dresses, house patterns, customs and traditions were strictly observed and maintained as their forefathers. Since the past society practised head-hunting, there used to be a constant fear of losing one's head. Even with regard to their belief system the fear of evil spirits gripped them wherever they went.

In the past the Angamis never had a unified system of administration and their past history had a long story of hostility with one another. Every Angami village has been a republic, having its own popular government, the council of the village even today is represented by every clan in the village. The council is the parliament of the village. Under the village government, every citizen enjoys political stability, social justice, religious freedom. Economically, they were self-sufficient, beggars were unknown. Every family lived in the village on its own land. They paid no land revenue, no property tax, no wine tax and no income tax. The rivers, the forests and the woodlands belonged to the people. The cases of theft, if any, were exceedingly rare, there was no police, no armed forces, no jails, no prison. No family had even been left by their fellowmen to the mercy of circumstances. Such were the conditions of societies where the

Angamis lived till they came in contact with the so called civilized world. Today, we find that the culture of the Angamis particularly their material culture are changing remarkably. The factors responsible for such changes operating among the Angami Nagas are (a) Colonialism, (b) Christianity, (c) Education, and (d) Modernization.

The first British contact with the Nagas was established in 1832 when Francis Jenkins and R. B. Pamberton travelled through the Angami territory in search of a route between Manipur and Assam (A. Mackenzie, 1884: 129). Thus the territories inhabited by the Nagas, which first came into contact with the British were those of the Angami tribe. The Angamis opposed them determinedly and even burnt their own houses to destroy any provision. This was the first time the Angamis met an enemy equal to contend with them, and who were with superior arms. Since then Angamis continued to fight the British and their allies. In 1839, when Mr. Grange came, there was also a force of Manipuris, the Angamis suspected as conspiracy and became hostile. To put down their hostility Mr. Grange burnt down their villages. During November 26, 1840 and January 1841, Lt. Briggs came. This time he made the boundaries between the Angamis and the British, and the division of the Nagas was started before they were even united. It was also decided that a road would be opened to Chūmukedima from the plain, and the Angamis were made to pay tributes in 1844, but they refused to pay. This was followed by Angami raid in the plains. So the first expedition against Khonoma village was led by Captain Eld and Brown. Khonoma village was burnt down. The Khonoma, fearing British invasion, put up a tough resistance in the beginning and fought

with whatever weapons they had. After this Captain Butler came to Mezoma in November 1845, and again from 5<sup>th</sup> November 1845 – 17<sup>th</sup> January 1846. There was no hostility that time. As a result, a new market was established at Chūmukedima, and a detachment of Shan Police Militia was stationed there under the charge of Mr. Bhogchund. But in 1845, Bhogchund was killed by the villagers of Mezoma. To avenge his death Lieutenant Vincent came twice (once) in November 1849 and next in March 1850. In the second visit he captured Mezoma, set up a stockade there. This raid also included Khonoma village, part of which was burnt down and destroyed the strongest fort in the North-East at Khonoma. But they did not easily give up, so the raid continued to the plains. In 1854-1865, the Angamis raided the plains at least 19 times, in which 233 persons were killed, wounded or captured (Asoso Yonuo, 1974: 85). Thus the Angamis were claimed to be under British Rule without their knowledge, the Nagas were divided by boundaries unknown to them. Their freedom was taken away because it was not 'acquired', though it was their birth right. To guard the British interests and to protect their subjects, the Naga Hills district was formed in 1866 with its headquarters at Chūmukedima, '... however divide and rule policy was put into operation at the bottom and pushed its (British) political boundary step by step to the hills' (Asoso, Yonuo, 1974: 9a).

It was during the year 1877 that a thorough topographical examination of all the hills inhabited by the Nagas was made and Kohima was worked out to be the most suitable centre from the point of view of a British outpost. And they thought of controlling the Angamis on a more permanent basis. In November 1879, Damant occupied

Kohima to be as the new headquarter. The last and final resistance of the Nagas to the British resulted in the last battle of Khonoma on November 22, 1879. The British considered this as the severest fighting ever known on the hills. The British gathered their men and equipment and organized 3000 soldiers, cannon and the best weapons to capture a village of 500 houses. As the British fought with their superior weapons the villagers evacuated and fled to the jungles. The Khonoma people were deprived of their homes and fields. In the following year 1880 peace was made between the chiefs of Khonoma and the British representatives at Mezoma. They were punished by having to pay fines in grains, cash and unpaid labour. Also they were forced to pay a revenue of one maund of rice and one rupee per house in a year, and to provide labour for government works. Later the revenue was made Rs. 2/- without rice.

The British rule in the Naga Hills was a period of silence, except the two world wars. During their early rule the British divided the Naga Hills district into two divisions, Kohima and Mokokchung, and Tuensang division was converted into third district. Accordingly, along with the extension of active administration to the district, the British introduced a number of measures but it had not affected the life of the Angamis (Khonoma in particular). Colonial administration could be carried out only with proper communication. So they started building roads, linking all important outlying areas with the administration headquarters to strengthen their foothold. This, the construction of strategic link roads closely followed the extension of political and administrative control. In 1885, an important system of communication

was carried out by constructing a bridle path through Khonoma to Henuina outpost, and from the latter across the Cheluni river to Semchar and Gunjong. These hill paths were constructed with impressed labour for which the workers were paid the minimal wage of five annas and four paise per head per day. Due to road construction the Khonoma was able to link itself with the other surrounding neighbours.

The impact of colonial rule was felt in every sphere of Khonoma life that initiated a series of changes. Inter-village raiding and head-hunting was prohibited in the administered area. The administration sought to work through indigenous people, in which may be seen the combination of the two policies of no-intervention and administration in compromise of indirect rule. This policy functioned through two mechanisms: at the village level; Gaonburas (village elders/headmen) were appointed from among the various clans of the village as per the traditional customs, who worked as mediators between the village and the British rulers. The *Gaonburas* or G.Bs, as they were more popularly known, were incorporated into the village council that continued to function in as much as in the traditional system. The British continued their hold over the independent village through the *Gaonburas* who were given power to arbitrate any local disputes on behalf of the British. They were given a red shawl as a symbol of their position.

At the district level, *Dobashis* (interpreters) were appointed and attached to the district officers courts. The *Dobashis* assisted the British officers by interpreting the customary laws in arbitrating the disputes and issues brought to them. They wielded much governmental powers and proved to be the pillars of the British administration. They were

given arbitrary powers to act on behalf of the British officer, through whom they could extend their powers and authority even to the unadministered area to some extent.

British colonial administration followed both a policy of suppression and attraction. They did not lose sight of the welfare aspects of their rule. To win over the people, not only coercive means were used but equally humanitarian services were sought to be provided. With the formation of the hill district, a civil surgeon was placed in charge of the public health of the district. The initial reaction of the Angamis was that of reluctance to come to the dispensary because of reliance on and faith in their indigenous medicine. But gradually more patients were treated.

Initially, the Britishers were the one who inculcated the spirit of modern education in the minds of the Angamis. It was used as an instrument of pacification as well as civilization. The objective of introducing modern education in Naga Hills area was to train them for the service of colonial administration (Piketo Sema, 1992: 44). With this purpose the administration encouraged the establishment of schools in Naga Hills. Although the administration was keen in opening schools, initially they did not directly shoulder the responsibility.

It should be noted that in the interest of smooth administration, government took coercive measures for the suppression of certain evil social customs; it also modified some of them. However, with a view to maintain cultural status quo, the administration also took adequate measures to preserve the unique culture of the Khonoma. In keeping

with the policy, they were not permitted to have a Roman hair cut, hair bopping for the girls and the use of short pants. They were not allowed to come to the schools putting on half pants and petticoats. What the authority desired was that they should put on only their traditional dresses. One of the important measures taken by colonial administration was the protection of the Angamis from the influence of Hinduism. The gradual extension of British control over them, the propagation of the Gospel by the American missionaries and the introduction of inner line regulation together effectively checked Hindu influence on them.

Perhaps equally, if not, more important progress was made in the fields of education and economic development. The old barter system began to be displaced by currency for trade.

From the evidence of the practical measures taken by the British, it is clear that the colonial policy in Angami areas was guided by the zeal to preserve traditional culture rather than to promote change in it. The modification of certain custom was made in the interest of colonial administration and not as a part of the policy of change.

The British administrators found that the Nagas who were deeply religious in their animistic faith could become good Christians as much as they had been brave fighters, once they were converted. So it was Captain Johnstone (later Maj. General Sir James Johnstone) who actively encouraged bringing missionaries to Naga Hills without much further delay. The British military expedition in this area and missionary activities commenced almost simultaneously. In 1832, the first military expedition to Naga Hills was undertaken and the first band

of missionaries made their appearance in the area in 1836 (Sanyū, 1996: 115).

The first group of American Baptist Missionaries made their appearance in the Naga Hills in 1830s but their main mission work was only in 1881. And in the year 1897 Christianity came to Khonoma village. In the beginning the attitude towards the Gospel was very hostile. Those who got converted to Christianity were persecuted or excommunicated by their brethren from their clan or village. Therefore, conversion was initially very slow. And possibly, the presence of certain British civil servants who did not get along with the missionaries impeded the process of conversion to some extent. In addition, the Angamis (Khonoma) were proud of their culture and religion and resistant to change. But the march of time waits for none and the activities of the missionaries were not merely confined to conversion. K. Terhūja has rightly pointed out when she said:

If one responsible dynamic factor were to be singled out for an overall change in the life of the Nagas, it would undoubtedly be the introduction of Christianity among them. (K. Terhūja, 1972: 294).

Christianity was for that matter a more organized and reasonable religion and it carried in its work other social activities and benefits as well. It was due to the process of this 'Christianization' that the traditional and vague animistic beliefs gradually started eroding away from the society. When the concept of one God was taught to the Angamis, who believed in a number of spirits and had accompanying set of elaborate rituals, they responded to the simplicity and logicity of

the new religion. The so called glory that the Angamis derived by hunting the heads of their fellow men was replaced by a cause for the service of humanity.

Before Christianity came to the Angami villages, they did not have the sense of being a tribe. When the church was established, and the first association was held, for the first time the Angamis came together as a tribe. The association provides the structure for tribal unity, they have become a people through Christianity. Christianity also brought rich religious literature.

Acceptance of the new religion demanded total abandonment of the 'old' way. A way of life, which had sustained and nurtured generations after generations, suddenly became 'taboo'. Thus, the traditional form of belief and worship, observance of the various festivals and rituals, chanting of traditional songs which contained not only religious elements but also much of the literature and history of the people became 'taboo'. Food and dress code too had to undergo changes according to the 'new' ways. What remains today is the legacy of those who remained faithful to their memory and managed to transmit to the younger generation. However, in spite of the loss of this aspect of the tradition, the principles of self governance and customs were so intricately woven into the social fabric that even today, the people of the village are governed by them. The actual educational activities were started by the Christian missionaries but not without impediments from the forces within. They opened up the facilities for educating the Angamis and stressed medical care, but the Anglo-Naga

struggle which lasted for half a century did not permit the Baptist missionaries to register appreciable progress until the twentieth century.

C. D. King was the first missionary to the Angamis and started a school which was followed up by his successor, although with great difficulties in the beginning of 1887 the small primary school he started became extinct. It was revived by Rev. Rivenburg in 1889. It continued up to 1895 with the same forty six students on the roll. The mission school at Kohima was started by the mission in 1924 and was run by the mission with grant-in-aid from the government. Khonoma people availed their education opportunities from the time it first came to Nagaland once they came to know the value of education. They knew no geographical or communication hurdles. Khonoma people had to carry their food stock along with other necessities for the schooling in Kohima.

Adult literacy campaign was started by the church in 1945, and by the women society in 1959. The British government took over the village schools leaving the missionaries incharge of the training schools which were to supply village schools with masters. Nevertheless, Christian missionaries still continued to establish school with the grants-in-aid they received from the government. It was in 1890 when Rivenburg took the initiative to organize a school as a middle English school and run till 1932 when the present Government High School had its beginning. At the same time the British Government gave Nagas permission to read and learn in their own dialects. Rivenburg had written the first Angami primary reader, a maths primer, a book on health and a few translation from the Holy Bible. A High school in

Kohima upgraded from the mission M. E. School was the only highest school institution in the Kohima Sadar Sub-Division before independence which became government managed school afterward. It was recognized as High School Institution about 1939-1940.

Apart from the High School the missionaries encouraged higher education. Khosa and Sevilie from Khonoma village were sent to Dibrugarh to study medicine in 1913 and 1914 respectively. Likewise, Hucha Savino became the first Angami veterinary doctor in 1917. The advancement of medical education also certainly increased the life span and decreased the mortality rate. In such remote areas the Angamis were naturally prone to many kinds of natural diseases which could not be cured in those days. The dependence on herbs and other indigenous types of remedies was not always reliable in early times. The growth of educational institutions increased the mobility of the Angamis and brought them into constant touch not only with non-Nagas but also with some European during the first world war. This exposure created an impact on their minds especially in relation to their awareness of their own emerging identity. (V. Sanyū, 1996: 123). After acquiring a good education a number of Khonoma people entered the civil services in the British India Government. Mr. A. Kevichusa from Khonoma village became the first Naga graduate. Entering various professions not only provided an impetus to shift to the new religious outlook and impressed the need of education for all but also gave them employment opportunities to supplement their resources from agriculture. This exposure to the outside world broadened their outlook and they carried

new ideas of developing their cultivation, various arts and crafts and exploitation of the forest resources.

The introduction of colonial education, however, disrupted the traditional system of learning and redirected them to the new pattern of modern education. Undoubtedly, with the increasing acceptance of colonial education, traditional system was gradually relegated. Thus modern education has substantial influence on the social-cultural life of the Angamis. The Angami Naga education which the British rulers largely entrusted to the American Baptist Mission had a revolutionizing impact on the Khonoma village. It affected their religion, demeanor, customs and habits. With the progressive dissemination of modern education, the outlook of the people which formerly remained narrow significantly developed and along with it, appreciation of modern education also received further momentum. The development of broader and healthier outlook of the people enabled them to accept the new trends of change in their society. As a consequence of the growth of modern education, the people witnessed gradual tendency of social cohesion the characteristic of which was conspicuously lacking among them in pre-colonial period.

Moreover, the living standard of the people changed notably as a result of the effect of modern education. It played the role of renaissance in the Khonoma society for it came to them with Christianity as bread and butter, consequently, most educated Nagas were also converted. As a matter of fact though there were initial persecution and opposition there was no notable events where this class of people opposed or renounced Christianity or questioned its belief on

the other hand, it was they who readily accepted it and were largely responsible for the local conversion, for they acted as pastors, school teachers and local evangelists.

Education opened up the mind of the Khonoma people into a new world, new ideas and change. This provided a common language for communications and enhances the sense of unity. Education redeems the people from a world of ignorance into a world of knowledge. When the world was changing fast, Christianity through its educational work and the moral teaching, prepares and trains the leaders of the society, to lead the people to face the changing situation. Christianity also leads in the education of the women giving them opportunity. Again education is not only increasingly reaching out in revolutionary pace to embrace the entire life span of the individual and the whole Angami Naga society but also holds the key to a large number of their living problems. Even the most illiterate and poor in the village are beginning to send their boys and girls to schools and colleges because they wish them to be well educated persons. Generally, they know that the educated children will get better opportunity for government jobs and in other avenues, improving their standards of living etc. Those students who leave their village or state to study in college all over India, are once again confronted by western and pseudo-western trends in terms of western clothes, mannerism, food, liquor, and luxuries of yesteryears are now considered necessities. A massive adult education programme was launched in 1978 in an effort to educate the illiterate adult population in the age group of fifteen to thirty five years within a period of five years. This programme has helped the villagers to a great extent

at least how to read and write. To encourage young people to take up higher studies, the government provides assistance to the deserving students in the form of scholarships and grants. The first post graduate course in the state, M.A. in Education was introduced in Kohima in September 1978 under the North-Eastern Hill University. And later on many new disciplines were introduced. At present the Nagaland Government has set up its own University (Nagaland University).

Another main reason for the phenomena of people's migration to other places is due to people's quest for education. Today many students pursue both technical and non-technical. This has resulted in the increase even in the literacy rate and a great many people have gone away from the village to different parts of the cities in India as well, seeking for good education and white collar jobs. These people who get jobs outside the village are hardly willing to come back.

After independence, it became obligatory on the part of the government to integrate all the peripheral and minority groups into the national mainstream through socio-economic and political developments. Article 46 of the Constitution provides the Directive Principle of State policy, which says: The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes, and shall protect them from all social injustice and all forms of exploitations. Such constitutional safeguards provided to the scheduled tribes along with other backward groups include constitutional protection of their rights, political safeguards, educational and economic interests. Such provisions have tremendously raised the

status of the state machinery as a major resource pool for development of the Angami area.

With the formation of the Nagaland state (1963), the government made conscious efforts to set up the development process with the purpose of integrating the Nagas into the national mainstream. Through development, modernization came about in the Angami Naga society. Consequently, huge financial assistance was given to the state government from the centre which had a tremendous impact on the socio-economic landscape of the Naga society, that set into motion the process of social transformation. The level of modern economic development of a community had been gauged by the extent of urbanization which are closely related to the level of education and literacy. No doubt the rise in the literacy rate according to 2001 Census is 74.28%, indicating socio-educational development to a certain degree. A new phase of development in Nagaland commenced on two levels – the government level and the private or individual level. A lot of these resources got concentrated at Kohima, which is the state capital. However, this new phase of development had grave repercussion on the Angami society.

Today, transport, communication and other construction activities are carried out. The state PWD has also begun road constructions within the state roads which lead to all villages, so at present even the remote villages have been linked by roads. Today, the Nagaland State Transport operates passenger bus services on all important routes. These bus services have brought tremendous benefit to the people. The Angamis even run private buses between different

destinations. Due to transport and communication facilities at present the Angami Nagas can easily carry all the essential goods like food grains, salt, cement, medicine and machinery to the village. Even the village which is situated on high ridges, can be reached by jeep on steep winding roads.

The agriculture department have intensified various programmes like irrigation, land reclamation, plant protection, supply of improved quality seeds and fertilizers and training in order to give maximum benefit to the farmers. Khonoma being popular for terraced cultivation since time immemorial, has been benefited much by all these schemes and developmental programmes. These measures have resulted in a substantial increase in the production of food.

Many kinds of fruit, especially excellent pineapple, plum, mandarine-oranges, lemon, passion fruit, guavas and bananas are cultivated by the villagers both for their own consumption and marketing purposes. Later they even started selling all those of fruits in the daily markets.

The government has also taken up far reaching measures to recognize the department of animal husbandry and veterinary. The existing livestock farms like piggery and poultry have been strengthened. Even the Angamis, Khonoma in particular, have set up their own farms which have benefited them for their own consumption and trading.

Another remarkable progress has been achieved in terms of electrifying the villages. At the time, when Nagaland attained statehood, only three towns had electricity provided by generators. Nowadays hundred of kilometres high tension electric transmission lines can be seen spanning over the Naga Hills, one of the most difficult terrains of the world. Electricity is now reaching out not only to the interior town but even to far off villages.

After Nagaland attained its statehood, there has been a great expansion of medical services and public health facilities. In every Angami villages and even in Khonoma at least there is a health centre. Since Nagaland has no medical colleges, boys and girls are being sent to different medical colleges in the country with adequate stipends.

The impact of these developments around Kohima capital indirectly benefited Khonoma people. Because Kohima being the capital received more than its due for developmental activities. This enabled the people of Khonoma to settle down in Kohima which became a paradise where contractors and concessions were easily awarded by politicians. Slowly all the facilities such as electricity, water supply, dispensaries, schools, animal husbandry and the like have come up in the village easing the life of the people in general.

## CHAPTER VI

### MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The objective of this chapter is to present the resume of the preceding chapters.

The change in Angami culture has come about as a result of factors such as colonialism, Christianity, education and modernization. Changes in both material and non-material culture have taken place. However, in aspects of non-material culture, change is not very tangible, whereas in material, culture changes are more apparent. These changes are so phenomenal that it would strike any visitor if he/she revisited this village after such a long duration, eighty-eight years, for Khonoma is certainly not the same village today as was studied by Hutton. Some of the changes that have come about in Khonoma village are:

1. The replacement of bridle road by the motorable black-topped road. Horses used for transportation purpose have been replaced by buses, trucks, small vehicles etc. A very remarkable road lay out with the use of only stone slabs around the village, reflects their innovative and inventive ability.

2. Another striking change that has taken place in Khonoma village is the emergence of shops, schools, primary health centre, community hall, rice mills, churches, regular water supply, electricity,

playground, societies such as V.D.B., women society, Khonoma *Rüffino* etc.

3. As far as the settlement pattern of the village is concerned the most remarkable change is that the villagers have started living in a more spacious areas. The main reason for this is, they want more privacy, freedom and a clean surrounding. Another observable change is that most roof of the houses are not thatched but are of the corrugated and galvanized iron (CGI) sheets. One significant change is the total abandonment of erecting house horns (which is still erected by other Angami villages). This resulted due to the continuous confrontation with the Britishers and the Indian army during which several times their houses and the whole village was razed down to the ground by fire. One remarkable change is with regard to the village sanitary system. The construction of public toilets after every ten houses have improved the sanitary condition of the village.

4. Traditional household articles were locally made (such as: earthen pots, wooden plates, bamboo cups, spoons, earthen jars etc.) for their daily use. But at present all these things have been replaced to a great extent by the modern articles made of aluminium, steel, glass, brass, plastic and foreign products. The Angami Nagas continue to use the traditional basketry items and there is also market demand for articles like baskets, mats, winnower also including arts and crafts work for which it has become a source of their economy. However, basketry work is not an art that interests much of the younger generation, for they are preoccupied with other works.

5. Rice continues to be the staple food of the Angamis. Meat was highly relished and was a luxury, as they did not kill animals except at the time of sacrifices or when giving a feast. However, today the consumption of meat is so high as meats are readily available in the markets. In the past the methods and ways of cooking were very simple. For taste and flavour they used dry fish, fermented soyabeans, pork and beef fats. But today drastic change has taken place in their food habit. People have adopted the modern ways of cooking, frying etc. Many people like to prepare Indian dish, Chinese dish and western delicacies like cakes, pudding, custard etc. The time consuming traditional methods of brewing *Zutho* (rice beer) has been replaced by tea, fruit juices and various types of drinks locally prepared which has a market demand today.

6. No doubt there is a remarkable change with regard to the methods of treating sicknesses and diseases. It was indeed a big leap from the traditional to modern medicines which was due to advancement in science and medicine where the traditional medicines and methods of treatment have been relegated to the back seat because modern medicines can fight various sicknesses and diseases more efficaciously. However, the traditional medicines and methods have its own place even today when it comes to treating bone fractures.

7. With regard to dress, the educated boys and girls are, in fact, quite westernized. Even male members of the older generation are often found wearing shirts and trousers. Between the males and the females it is the former who are more westernized than the latter in respect of dress.

8. With regard to agriculture, it is seen that importance have been given today to settled and terraced cultivation than jhum cultivation for which credit is given mainly to the government of Nagaland and NGOs. There is a significant shift from consumption oriented crops to cash crop such as tea, coffee, elachi and passion fruit, to improve their economy. The present farmers have been benefited by using good seedlings, chemical fertilizers, tractors and other modern implements. All these have reduced manual labour and along with it kinship obligation. There is even better yield of crops which have augmented their economy.

9. With regard to animal husbandry, in the past, keeping animals (mithun, cows, pigs, hens etc.) was mainly for food and sacrifices. Mithuns from before till today are used for commercial purposes, food and sacrifices. Today, through developmental plans and schemes the government provides opportunities for establishing piggeries, poultries, dairy farm, fisheries etc. But in most cases these subsidies and schemes are not utilized properly and there are very less tangible result.

As regard to non-agricultural economy the most important to be mentioned is the growing popularity of the service (government) and business sectors.

10. In olden days weaving was done mainly for personal use, for one's family. And it was rich people who gave feast of merit, had the maximum number of various clothes. Today weaving is done both for self needs and commercial purposes. Earlier weaving was done

during agricultural off season, but at present, the womenfolk can weave any time and not only during the day; but even at night due to availability of electricity.

However, most of the young weavers have forgotten much of the meaning and significance of the various colours which they use, and the many designs and motifs. It is seen that the present youngsters just weave because they are taught to by their mothers and because they feel that it is a part of their culture. They do not make an effort or simply are not interested in the meaning of various designs. Many of the young girls are greatly influenced by the western culture. They prefer good education and a more comfortable life than their parents as weaving involves a lot of hard work and dedication.

11. The present educated generations are not interested in agriculture or in learning the art of basketry or blacksmithy as in the past. The main reason is because of migration from the village for better education or job opportunities to towns. Some villagers are found to own shops in the village or houses in towns which are let out on rent and are considered to be an important supplement to their economy. Besides, men and women have also taken to white collared jobs and other similar professions (as shown in Chapter III, p. 10).

12. Traditionally, Angami Naga economy has been self-sufficient one. Their economy was based on simple barter systems and cowries (white shells) were used as a mode of exchange. However, with the advent of the British, money as currency was introduced. Hence, the Angami barter system has been transformed to the monetization form.

Changes in non-material aspect of Angami culture are less tangible as compared to the material aspect.

1. According to Hutton, a typical Angami family is nuclear type, patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal in form (Hutton, 1921: 5, 398). The present study reveals that the family structure remains the same while the role of a father, mother and children have undergone changes with the spread of Christianity, education and the changing economy.

2. In the village it is found that late marriage mainly after twenty five are growing popular and accepted as a normal feature. Angami are a patrilineal tribe. They follow rules of patrilineal residence after marriage. The rule of clan exogamy, monogamy and incest taboo are strictly adhered by all. Divorce and remarriage are allowed from the past till present. Again, in earlier times wedding was a simple affair. Today there is a great preoccupation with physical arrangement which tend towards extravagance involving lots of money and the slaughtering of a large number of animals for feasting.

In the past, one selected one's spouse basing on individual qualities such as whether a person was hard working or brave etc. But now besides such qualities, educational qualification, wealth, beauty, chastity etc. of a person are considered important. Through Christianity, education and modernization, people are coming in contact with others, thereby marriage with outsiders is also increasing and village endogamy is not strictly observed.

3. As far as kinship is concerned there is more of continuity than change. It appears that kinship is really the core of the Angami social organization, because changes seem to have almost failed to affect. The role of kinship today seems to be more confined to the regulation of marriage and avoidance of incest.

If anything about kinship has changed it is its relationship with agriculture. The need for approaching the kins for labour is not there anymore. Those agricultural works which can be done by the family members themselves is being continued, but labour as part of kinship obligation has lessened.

However, in times of crisis, social or material, the help is always expected of and extended by the member of one's own clan and such helps are often obligatory.

4. The traditional religion known as *Nanyü* is characterized by belief in various spirits. The daily life of the Angami was inseparably twined with offerings of gifts, sacrifices to different spirits (both malevolent and benevolent), consultation of omen, superstitions and dreams. Hence, the Angami life is punctuated by a number of *genmas* and *penmas*. Majority of the *genmas* are calendrical rituals marking significant events in the agricultural circle. And so an Angami life is full of fear due to their superstition but the message of liberation from the bondages of superstitious life through Jesus is preached as the animists desire to get rid of the evil spirits, insecurity and fears. Due to the message of freedom in Jesus they became responsive to the new religion and Christianity. The greatest reason for people converting to

Christianity was the assurance and hope of salvation which Christianity taught them. There were also too many *gennas* which hindered their economic life which is a factor that attracted the Angamis to Christianity.

Christianity also has no restriction or taboo in food, movement and communication with outsiders. Adopting Christianity appeared to be a profitable bargain for them. It carried them away from ritualistic demands of the *Nanyü* involving unprofitable expenditure. Christianity in general among the Angamis have removed hatred, head-hunting and a constant war waging (even *Khel*-wise) and have built unity to a great extent.

Presently, majority of the Angami Nagas are Christians and they constitute 94% of the total population and non-Christians constitute 6%. Normatively, Christians should attend church at least on Sunday. The Pastor represents the authority of the church. The duty of a pastor falls in a broad spectrum. Besides conducting the Sunday service, he is actively involved in granting membership, baptizing, excommunicating and accepting confession. The post of *Zhevo* is hereditary. The pastor is trained personnel of the church. Christianity has to a large extent transformed the life of the Angami Naga. It has introduced the system of formal education and along with it came medicine. In fact, Christianity and percolation of literacy are advantageably linked.

In the span of eighty eight years changes in the material culture are more remarkable as far as the analysis goes. The emergence of modern RCC houses, household articles, change in food habit, drinks,

dress and ornaments, the shift in cultivation methods with improved techniques, improvement in animal husbandry etc.; all these changes testify to the fact that changes in material culture are more apparent and noticeable.

Whereas changes in non-material aspects of culture such as family, marriage and kinship are less phenomenal and less tangible. However, greater degree of change has taken place in their belief systems.

Under the changed circumstances, tradition manifests itself as a synthesis of the old and new. With regard to dress and ornament, there is an element of synthesis between the traditional and western dress. For example, though more of the western dress and outfits are preferred by the modern men and women, they still continue to wear their traditional dress in all the important functions and festivals.

The Christian marriage is conducted in the church. During marriage both the bride and the groom wear the western dress. Even the bestman, bridesmaid, flower girls and the ring boy, all of them wear western dress. In some cases though the groom wears western dress the bride may wear traditional outfit (*Mekhala*) etc. There are some elements of continuity such as, the traditional practice of the groom giving one chicken to the bride's cousin brother, the bride's peer groups demanding a blameless chicken from the groom and the practice of giving leg of animals slaughtered for the wedding feast to all the married women of the groom's clan and his married sisters.

In olden days when a person died, in order to convey a message to the villagers and neighbouring villages that a rich/good warrior/good leader has died they used to shoot gun (blank firing). Till today in the village the non-Christians follow this practice and even some Christian practice this blank firing for the sake of upholding their forefather's tradition.

The observation of Sunday is similar to that of traditional taboo (*penna*) day. Because during taboo days one is prohibited from going to the field. In a similar way the prohibition from going to the field on Sunday is strictly followed by all the Christians. The belief in the existence of evil spirits still continues and so exorcism is a must for the revivalist. The family is still the centre of Christian worship, as it is with the non-Christians. Christianity has also taken the name *Ukepenuopfü*, for God. This is an identification of the non-Christian God and the Christian God.

The change in Angami society has veered both into a positive and negative directions. However, when all the changes are taken together the direction is towards the positive. Some of the negative results of change are; people seek easy money and easy life which involves less labour and dedication to work. So the work culture has been weakened. It is no exaggeration to see most of the government employees reaching the office only after 11.00 a.m. and the average working hour in a day is 3-4 hours. People are not honest and truthful as in the past. In the past, people never used to lock their house doors or gates, but today there is no safety at all without a house being locked, a

garden without properly being fenced or any other belonging without being guarded properly.

Also with the coming of education the younger generation (children) move out of the village for education and they in return have very little opportunity to get to know about their traditional culture for which there is a cultural deracination.

The positive changes may be summed up as follows:

Life of the Angami Nagas have never been the same after the coming of modern medicine. Earlier life span of the people was short. But ever since modern medicines reached this part of the land, even the health condition of people have been improved to a great extent. Premature deaths were frequent in all the age groups whenever any kind of epidemics or plaques broke out in the village. Today preventive measures are taken to curb any unwanted impending seasonal or common sicknesses.

Abolition of head hunting has been the greatest positive change. This is a change toward recognizing the value of human life. Cultural diffusion that has taken place with regard to dress can also be said to be a change towards good. The traditional dress which covered just scantily and barely part of the body was insufficient for rough weather conditions.

Abandonment of feast of merit through the teaching of Christianity is another positive change, because this practice incurred

heavy expenditure of one's wealth and today it is invested for children's education.

Transport and communication is another boon for the people. Christianity and Education has been the two most powerful agents in driving away people's ignorance and giving them a new form of economy as it creates job opportunities.

Before the missionaries came, people were living in poor squalid conditions with no knowledge of health and hygiene. Foods were cooked without properly washing the utensils, meat, vegetables etc. Even plates and cups were not washed believing that it would wash away their wealth and the intake of food from such cups and plates compounded their health problem making susceptible to disease and sickness. Ever since missionaries came to them they have improved on how to keep themselves and their surroundings neat and tidy.

In conclusion, we can say that the culture of Angami Nagas shows the dynamics of the society and the capacity of adaptation to a new way of life. These culture changes are the resultant of its cultural contact with the outside world in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. With the advent of Colonialism, Christianity, education and modernization many changes have occurred. New ideas have began to sweep the society and the culture of the Angamis particularly their material culture are affected. These cultural changes have made life more comfortable and good for the Angamis in general and the individual man, woman and children in particular.

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