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 Kefüma*, that is, a man who had performed the *lesi* *genna* 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 Kefüma* 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 Kefüma*, who must be a man of his clan. After three more days of *genna* 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 *miphu-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 *kinutse* 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 *genna*, 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 plaitted 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 (dzü-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 (romwü) were used as well as the pirü plant, and water in which iron had been rubbed. For eye-ache chethodziü, 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 (pürhe). 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 mutu-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 liched, 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 eggs 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 Pfhe 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 *gennas* were allowed to carry an iron staff with an ornamental wooden top. They also wore different types of necklace (*Ketsül*) 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
\textit{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 \textit{jhum} land that they are able to live on these alone,
and good \textit{jhum} land, cleared once in twelve or fifteen
years, say, is said to produce a better crop than the
\textit{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 genna 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, rihawā, chakrau (white) varieties grown in hot situations), thekeh (red; hot situations), ketsorr (red; cold situations), mezharr (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-piece, 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.

**Animal 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 *gemma* 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 *gemma* conferring to social status a number of cattle; more or less fixed according to the particular *gemma*, 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 genna, 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 penma. (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 or 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
kevī do 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 (jurr), 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)
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 (Kichuki). The boys' dormitories were known as Thepiko Kichuki and the girls' were known as Thenuko Kichuki. Kichuki 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 (consanquinal) 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 consanquinal 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 sevie. 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 'chesu' 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 'Kepenopfū', usually spoken of with the possessive suffix as 'Ukepenopfū'. 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 'Kepenopfū' literally means 'birth spirit', and 'Kepenopfū', 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, 'Kepenopfū' might also be regarded as the ancestress of all spirits and the larger cats .... Many Angamis, ... think and speak of 'Kepenopfū' as a male being, but the termination 'pū' is a feminine termination, and always carries a feminine sense ...

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 Ukepenuopfū, 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 Kepenuopfiu 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 Kepenuopfiu 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 gennas which determined social standing. Another important personality was the Zhevo who is indispensable to the personal gennas performed by the Angami, and he directed this gennas much as the Kemevo directed the gennas of the community. He would go to the house of any person performing a genna and blessed the man and tasted before anyone else the liquor and the meat used, and received from the person doing the genna 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 genna should be done.

The word Kenna (Kenyū) 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 Nanyii the whole rite the active side of the observance as well as the negative and passive sides exemplified in penna and kenna. Nanyii 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 Nanyii 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 Lidepfi. Different villages attached varying degrees of importance to different gennas, and it thus happened that a genna kept with great ceremony at one village was comparatively insignificant at another village which a great deal of genna 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 Tsükho and Dzirawü 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 Lidepfi. 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 genna for any man to sow. Whereas the Lidepfi was the old woman who in a corresponding manner inaugurated the reaping of the crop. For both the Tsakro and the Lidepfi it was genna 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 genna which followed the harvest, the Lidepfu would collect hers after the Sekrenyi genna 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 genna was also extended to the Pitsu. Majority of the gennas 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 penna and five more nanyu 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 genna, 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 genna 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 Tsunyi, has for its object the preservation of the rice crop from field mice and rats. One day's strict pennais observed on which no work is done.

4. Titho

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

5. Terhanyi

The genna lasts for ten days. Khonoma wears no ceremonial dress for this genna, 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 Kregaghi, 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 (flisi) 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 *genna* may not cut his hair for thirty days after it was finished and was never allowed to make pots.