Chapter 2

Angami and Chakhesang Tribes: History, Society and Economy

The Angami and the Chakhesang are the two tribes among the ‘seventeenth tribal inhabitants’\(^1\) of the State of Nagaland. With the enactment of the Constitutional Act of 1962 (Thirteenth Amendment), the state of Nagaland\(^2\) became the 16\(^{th}\) State of India on 1\(^{st}\) December 1963 inaugurated by the then President of India, Dr.S.Radhakrishnan. The state is surrounded by Assam in the west; Myanmar on the East; Manipur in the South; and Arunachal Pradesh and part of Assam on the North. It lies between 25º6' and 27 º4' northern latitudes and between 93 º20' and 95 º15' eastern longitudes. Nagaland is a land of tribals covering an area of 16,579 sq. km divided into eleven Districts: Kohima, Mokokchung, Tuensang, Mon, Wokha, Zunheboto, Phek, Dimapur, Longleng, Kiphire and Peren. These tribals groups are defined by common cultural and linguistic traditions. It is the ‘only predominantly Baptist ethnic state in the world’ (Olson 2003:258). According to the 2011 Census, Nagaland had a population of 19, 80,602 (Rural- 71.03% and Urban- 28.97%) with 10, 25,707 males and 9, 54,895 females. The literacy rate is 80.11 percent viz. male 83.29 percent and female 76.69 percent. Its sex ratio is 931 and showed a negative trend of population growth, i.e., -0.47% from 2001-2010.

2.1 Socio- Cultural Profile of Kohima and Phek Districts

This section will begin with the geography and demography of the two districts of Nagaland viz. Kohima and Phek Districts. It will examine the historical events in Kohima and Phek districts in order to draw some conclusions about the impact on the Angami and Chakhesang societies.

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\(^1\) Seventeenth major tribes in Nagaland are: Ao, Angami, Chang, Chakhesang, Khiamniumgan, Kachari, Konyak, Kuki, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sangtam, Sumi, Yimchunger, Zeliang and Rongmei.

\(^2\) Nagaland was part of the Assam and North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) in 1947 and till 1963 part of Assam.


2.1.1 Kohima District and Phek District

Kohima, the capital of Nagaland is the second largest district of Nagaland boarded by Dimapur district on the west; Wokha district on the north; Peren district on southwest; Zunheboto and Phek districts on the east; and the State of Manipur on the south. The District covers an area of 1,041 sq. km. The name ‘Kohima’ is a British version of Kewhira. Kohima is famous in the history of World War II. It became the headquarters of the Naga Hills under the British, with G.H. Damant as the first Political Officer, on November 14, 1878 (Kohima District Human Development Report 2011:1-8).

The Angami and Rengma tribes known as Tenyimia are inhabitants of the District. However, the capital town Kohima has a cosmopolitan outlook. People of different Naga tribes and people from various states of India live in Kohima. Tenyidie is the main language. According to the 2011 Census, Kohima District had a population of 270,063 with 140,118 males and 129,945 females. The literacy rate is 85.58 percent viz. male 89.28 percent and female 81.56 percent. Its sex ratio is 927. The main occupation of the people in the district is agriculture. Most villagers are agriculturists and medium farmers. Some of the common occupations of the urban inhabitants are floriculture, dress designing and dress-making, small-scale industries, and running shops and hotels. Apart from these traditional occupations, people from all walks of life also work in Government and private institutions. The important festivals of the District are Sekrenyi or Phousanyi and Ngada. Various festivals and celebrations characteristic of different tribes and communities of Nagaland are celebrated at the capital town with the help of Kohima Tribal or Ranges Union. Amongst the most popular are the ‘Naga Wrestling’ and the state level ‘Hornbill festival’. This festival and games attracts many tourists to Kohima.

3 ‘Kew-Hi-Ra’ is an Angami term which means ‘the land where all travelers are welcome.’
4 A decisive battle was fought on the tennis court of the British Deputy Commissioner’s house that finally stopped the Japanese entry into Indian territories in 1944. It was the chosen seat of the British Administration and served as the headquarters of the then Naga Hills District under Assam.
5 Sekrenyi or Phousanyi is the annual festival of the Angami’s, which is celebrated for ten days during the month of February. Sekrenyi literally means sanctification festival. Sekre means sanctification; nyi means feast and thenyi means festival (See Lanunungsaung and Ovung 2012: 21-26). Ngada is the festival of the Rengma Nagas, which is celebrated during November.
6 Naga wrestling is an indigenous game of the Tenyimia Nagas. A village-area-district-state level Championship of Naga Wrestling Tournament is held once in three years.
7 Hornbill festival is the most important cultural carnival highlighting the traditional and cultural heritage of the Nagas in its diverse splendor is celebrated every year in the first week of December.
Some of the important historical sites are: the War Cemetery, Kohima Village, Khonoma Village, Dzükou Valley, Dzülekie, Japfü Peak, Tuophema Village, State Museum and Naga Heritage Village.

Phek District is situated in the south-east of Nagaland with its headquarters at Phek Town. The district is bounded by Myanmar in the east, Zunheboto and Tuensang in the north, Manipur in the east and Kohima in the west. The District covers an area of 2026 sq.km. Phek got its name from the word *Phekrekedze* meaning ‘Watch Tower.’ Earlier it was part of Kohima District but on 21st December, 1973 Phek was turned into a separate district. The district is inhabited by tribal communities called the Chakhesangs and the Pochurys. The people speak five different dialects namely, Chokri, Khezha, Pochury, Pomai and Sümi (Phek District Human Development Report 2011:5-18) According to the 2011 Census, Phek District had a population of 163,294 with 83,684 males and 79,610 females. The literacy rate is 79.13 percent viz. male 84.53 percent and female 73.50 percent. Its sex ratio is 951.

Phek is a mixture of cultural ethos adorned by vivid natural beauty. Shilloi Lake shaped like a footprint is believed to be the abode of spirits. Khezakenoma village, where most of the southern Naga tribes live, is believed to have originated from this place. It has launched two Community Based Programmes: the first was the Village Development Board (VDB) initiated at Kütaspo village in 1976 under the Rural Development Department, which was implemented later in 1980 throughout Nagaland; the second was the Communitisation of Public Institutions and Services launched from Phek District. Its important rivers are Tizü, Lanye and Sedzu which are main water resources besides Shilloi, Chida and Dzudu lakes contribute to the water reserve of the district. Pfütsero is considered the coldest place in Nagaland with an altitude of 2,133.6 meters above sea level. Agriculture is the main occupation with 80.84 percent of its inhabitants engaged in terrace rice cultivation. Making salt (in Meluri, Phek district), weaving, bamboo and wood carving, and making fruit juice are supplementary occupations. The most important
festivals of the district are Sükränye and Tsükhenye⁸. The most popular games are: Wrestling, Dzūha Dzūwe, Khutade, Kepiye, and Lorhiketshe⁹ (Lohe 2011:31-32).

2.1.2 Historical Events in Kohima and Phek Districts

The history of Kohima and Phek is filled with instances of numerous encounters with the non-Nagas. In modern history, it dates back to the arrival of the British in the region. Ever since the departure of British, the face of Kohima and Phek started changing. It is worth mentioning that both Kohima and Phek District have made remarkable progress in the fields of education, transport and communications, trade and business and linkages to other neighbouring states.

The British were the first foreigners to come to Nagaland. Their travel progressed with their takeover of Assam in 1826. In 1845, Captain John Butler was deputed to the Naga Hills as the Principal Assistant of the then Nowgong District of Assam. The British entry in the Angami and Chakhesang territory had a far reaching impact on the lives of the people. They entered the Angami territory in search of a route to Manipur from Assam and explored the Chakhesang area in 1902. In 1874, Captain John Butler erected two stones in Chizami village (Lohe 2011:66). They opened an outpost in Chakhesang area to protect and stop the Kuki⁻ encroachment into the area. By 1923 some of the Chakhesang villages were brought under direct British control (Das 1994:11).

The British administration connected the Naga with the outside world. For instance, during World War I (1914 -1918) many Nagas were recruited to join the allied forces in Europe. Thirteen Chizami¹¹ warriors were sent as coolies during the expedition of Abhor by the British (Lohe 2011: 66). The British entry into the land was not a major threat to the Nagas but it meant a beginning of more life threatening change to come

⁸ Sükränye or festival of sanctification is celebrated for six days every year on 15th January and Tsükhenye is celebrated for four days to welcome a new fruitful life and year which takes place every year on 6th May (See Lamanungsang and Ovung 2012: 35-44).
⁹ Chakhesang games: Dzūha Dzūwe - kicking each others leg; Khutade - catching and beating each other; Kepiye - raiding each other and Lorhiketshe - training young people for head hunting.
¹⁰ Kukis are the neighbouring tribes.
¹¹ Chakhesang village
Though the Angamis were the first to experience these changes the British rule also gave the Chakhesangs an opening to the outside world.

Following the outbreak of World War II (1938-1945), the Japanese invasion into the Angami and Chakhesang territories had disastrous consequences. The Japanese occupation of Kohima village led to an outbreak of fire destroying the entire barn and their houses. Similar incident took place in Chizami village where most of the houses were burnt down and many lost their lives (Lohe 2011:67) also in Chedema\textsuperscript{12} village another scene of total destruction. Angami villages like Kezoma, Kidima, witnessed a scene of prolonged and bitter fighting while Khuzhama\textsuperscript{13} villagers had to evacuate their village during the battle. In the initial stage, the Japanese maintained order and treated the Nagas with dignity by paying for all their supplies but later they changed their strategy mainly because of the lack of food supplies. They began to forcefully appropriate the village poultry and domestic animals and took away even the stock of rice from the Naga villages. This affected the village economy pushing the villagers to the brink of poverty. However, the battle between the Japanese and the British had a positive fall out. It helped the emergence of Naga Elites who could think beyond their village and look forward to a brighter future (Das 1994: 63-75).

The Angamis and the Chakhesangs were never isolated nor were they entirely independent as they shared varied levels of social, political and economic existence with their neighbours like the Manipuri’s, the Kachari’s and the Ahom’s. The Angamis learnt the methods of hunting, cow-herding, sowing techniques and the use of guns from the Kuki’s, Gurkhalı’s and the Manipuri’s (Das 1994: 72). Due to their socio-political mobilization and affinity, the Angami’s established a closer contact with the other Naga tribes of Nagaland and Manipur (Das and Saha 1994: 185). Before the Japanese, many Burmese had also entered the Chakhesang region. The Burmese used the Chakhesang villages as a passage to Dimapur. It has been reported that during the Second World War, many Chakhesang’s from the Chizami village helped the Burmese soldiers during the

\textsuperscript{12} Northern, Angami village
\textsuperscript{13} Southern, Angami village
Japanese attack (Lohe 2011: 66). Traditionally, the Chakhesang’s were specialised in handicrafts. That helped them to enter into barter trade with others. Many Angami’s from Kohima, Khonoma, and Viswema villages also had extensive trade relations with the neighbouring regions. Though in the initial stage, both the tribes trading relations with the neighbouring states were not friendly nevertheless these trade relations led to the development of better means of transport and communication and exchange of ideas.

The history of the Nagas is a history of wars, struggles and conflicts. The onslaught of colonial intrusion into the Angami and Chakhesang territories in the 19th century led to several revolts against the British. The most violent revolt was that of 22nd November 1879 known as ‘The Battle of Khonoma.’ This battle brought major changes in the social, economic and political lives of the Angami and Chakhesang tribes. It was so decisive that their lives were never the same after it. These battle awaken many minds, one such was legendary Zhapu Phizo of Khonoma village who played a leading role in the Naga ethnic movement which led the Angami men to face numerous confrontations with the Indian Army in the 1950s and 1960s. Among the Naga tribes, the Angami’s were the first to raise the banner of revolt in the hills against the British (Bhaumik 1996: 40-50).

The British entry into the Angami and Chakhesang territories had both positive and negative impacts. On the positive side, the British divided the tribal groups mainly to stop inter-tribal feuds and to stop their traditional superstitious practices; the British also helped in the form of relief measures by supplying food, medicines, house building materials, and money during the post-battle period. Apart from introducing the art of building houses with sanitary facilities, the British introduced western education, road connectivity, the use of iron and spade, mechanized systems in place of simple dibble, hoe etc. On the negative side, the British officials had their own motives in these reforms. The construction of roads, introduction of new types of cash crops, modern western education and religious policies were meant to serve their own purpose. So they showed no further interest in uplifting the regional economic activity.

14 Western Angami village
Whatever the motive, it is important to note that with the advent of the British, World War I, World War II and the birth of Nagaland State in 1963, the Angami and Chakhesang territories witnessed great changes. Spread of Christianity, introduction of modern education and better means of transport and communication, ultimately opened new avenues of economic and social upliftment for the Angami and Chakhesang villages. For example, many dispensaries like the Kohima Civil Hospital were opened; a Village Development Board was introduced under the Integrated Rural Development Programme; one of the most significant changes was the spread of education under the American Baptists which actually eroded the power of the chiefs and discouraged the fictitious traditional customs and beliefs including the ‘Great Feast of Merit and Headhunting’ (Chasie and Hazarika 2009: 3).

2.2 Social Organization of the Angami and Chakhesang Societies

This section examines the traditional practices and culture of the Angami and Chakhesang societies during the pre British and the post British period to see whether there had been any changes on their traditional practices. This necessitates an information on the village and its organisation; family; property, succession and inheritance; marriage and divorce; birth and death; religion; politico-juridical administration and economy.  

The Angami’s known as Tenyimia are the fourth largest Naga tribe. They distinguished themselves as a distinct group. Their distinctiveness can be seen in their cultural practices which they believe is not shared by any other tribe. The Angamis were called by ‘different names’ by the Naga tribes. However, during the British rule, the name Angami was officially adopted to differentiate it from the Chakhesang tribe who were referred to as the Eastern Angamis before 1946 (Iralu K 1965). Since then the name Angami has been in use to distinguish them from other Naga groups. The traditional habitat of the Angami Naga corresponds to the present Kohima District and part of

15 Data collected in this chapter is mostly based on the secondary sources besides observations, conversations with knowledgeable persons noted in the field diary have been used, mention of which is made in between the text.
16 Tenyimia is derived from Angami word ‘Tuonyümia’ which means ‘swift walker’
17 The Sumis called them Tsungumi; the Lothas called them Tsungung; the Aos called them Mour; the Zeliang called them Hagamei meaning thieves because of their frequent raids into the Zeliang territories.
Dimapur District. The Angamis were divided into four distinct groups: namely, the
Khonoma, the Kohima, the Viswema and the Chakroma groups (Hutton 1969: 15). At
present, they are identified by their geographical location into four groups18: namely, the
Northern, Southern, Western and Chakroma groups19. The Angami is of Tibeto-Burman
origin and the spoken language Tenyidie20 is written in the Roman script. According to
the Grierson classification,

“...the Angami dialects belong to the Tibeto-Chinese family belonging to the
Tibeto-Burman subfamily of Assam- Burmese branch” (quoted in Das 1994: 64).

J. H Hutton (1969:15) called the Chakhesang tribe ‘Eastern Angami’ but they had
their own distinct features and cultural practices, which differentiated them from the
Angami’s and other Naga groups. The traditional habitat of the Chakhesang’s
corresponds to the present Phek District. The Chakhesang tribe consists of various sub-
tribes speaking different dialects. The sub-tribes are Chakräi, Pomai, Khezha, and Sümi
(Lohe 2011:21). The Chakhesang dialects belong to the Tibeto-Burman subfamily and
the language spoken by them is Tenyidie written in the Roman script. The Chakhesangs
were a part of the Angamis till 1946; therefore for any historical records of the
Chakhesang, reference must be made on the Angamis. There is no historical reason to
justify how the two tribes were distinguished from each other. However one can see in
the works of Davis, Johnstone, Grimwood, Woodthorpe and Butler that differences
among the two tribes existed (cited in Vitso 2003:19-22). These differences are seen in
their language, stature, physical appearances and nature. The separation between the two

18 The four groups: The groups living in Kohima and the villages surrounding it are known as the Northern Angami; those living in the west are called the Western Angami; those living in the south are the Southern Angami; and those who have established themselves in the plains and slopes along the national highway, from Kohima to Medziphema and around Dimapur, are known as the Chakroma group.
19 Northern Angami - Kewhima, Chedema, Meriema, Chiechama, Nerhema, Chiephobozou, Tuophema, Garihema, Dihoma, Rusoma in the north of Kohima. Southern Angami or Japfüphiki- Viswema, Khuzama, Kidima, Kigwema, Jakhama, Phesama, Mima, Mitelephe, Pfuchama, Kezoma, Chazuba, Chakhaba, Kezo Town in the south of Kohima on the foothills of Mt Japfü. Western Angami - Jotsoma, Khonoma, Mezoma, Sechuma, Sexü-zubza, Kiruphema, Peducha, Mengoujuma, Threkjü, Dzülake in the West of Kohima. Chakhra Angami - Medziphema, Chumukedima, Sovima, Razaphe, Piphema, Tseipama, Kirha, Pherima, etc around Dimapur district.
20 Tenyidie language teaching was first introduced by C.D King in 1884. Later in 1988, Tenyidie was recognized by North Eastern Hill University (NEHU) Shillong, to be introduced in the pre-university level. Nagaland University introduced Tenyidie in 1977 till post-graduate level. Kohima college was the first among other colleges to introduced Tenyidie at pre-university and degree level. (See Liezietus 2009:1-10).
groups on December 1945 also intensifies these differences. It follows that the then Acting Deputy Commissioner of Kohima, called a public meeting in Phek District in order to form a tribe that distinguishes them from the Angami. All the representatives from the six Chakhesang areas attended the meeting. This public meeting indicates that the relations between the two tribes were good and their separation was not due to an internal conflict but a mutual understanding. During the meeting, the name “Chakhesang” was proposed by Goyepra Kenye (Weyiepe) who was a native of Chizami village. After a lengthy debate, the meeting resolved to use this name for a separate identity from the Angami and in 1946, the Chakhesang became one more major tribe of Nagaland (Lohe 2011:21).

The word "Chakhesang" so derived is the amalgamation of the names of three sub-tribes - "cha" from “Chakrü ”, "khe" from "Khezha (Kuzha)" and "Sang" from "Sangtam (Pochury)." The Chakrü, Khezha and Sangtam had similar dress pattern and socio-cultural practices. These similarities brought them under a common name called “Chakhesang” (Das and Saha 1994: 180). However, in 1993 the Sangtam gained their separate tribal identity.

2.2.1 Village and its Organisation

Both the Angami and Chakhesang villages are divided into Khels (Kedo or Thinuo) on clan lines which are clustered together and surrounded by fields outside the residential areas. Each Khels represents the territory of a particular clan Chienuo that consists of at least two segments or moieties such as Tepo and Teva among the Angamis and Chazho and Thevo among the Chakhesangs. Each moieties performs different rituals for the well being of the village and therefore, the presence of both the members of the moieties was considered essential in the village (Sanyu 1996:68). Within

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21 The six chakhesang areas - Meluri, Phek, Chizami, Pfütsero, Chietheba and Chazouba
22 Khel is a definite area with clear boundary where the villagers live together. Kedo is a Chakhesang term and Thinuo an Angami term that refers to Khel.
23 Clans form the backbone of the village social structure. Clan members are linked with all the socio-economic activities such as administration and marriage ceremonies in the village (Lohe 2011:87).
24 Chienuo is an Angami term which means clan.
25 Tepo and Teva are names of the two moieties who were brothers according to Southern Angami legends (Zuonuo-Keiymu group). Chazho and Thevo are names of the two moieties of the Chokrü Chakhesang tribe.
the village, a clan was an autonomous unit named after an apical ancestor. Each Khel were surrounded by walls and gates known as Kharu or Ketsamvü\textsuperscript{26}.

Prior to British rule, the Angamis had a distinct political unit, a sort of sovereign state but with no village chief. There was no sense unity in the village because of the segmentary nature of its organisation. A village is considered an alliance of several clans (Singh 1993: 6). Due to frequent inter village feuds and headhunting practices, the internal arrangement of the village is done meticulously for security reasons. The Angami villages are usually situated on the top of a hill. The residential area is on the summit surrounded by terrace fields. Each village has a defined territory and the boundaries of villages are demarcated by tradition. Entry of outsiders into the village is strictly prohibited (Kharutso 2002). The Angami villages are segments divided into four Khels namely: Tsütuonomia, Pfüchachumia, Dapfütsumia and Lhisemia (T, P, D, and L Khel)\textsuperscript{27}. The traditional Chakhesang villages were sub-divided into Chisomi Khel, Zipfemi Khel and the Kumuno Khel\textsuperscript{28}. A village guard known as Rikhu or Runa Kephe\textsuperscript{29} from each khel was arranged to guard the village (Lohe 2011: 51). It is said that the first settlers occupied the Kumuno Khel and then spread out to the Chisomi and Zipfemi Khel (Vitso 2003: 27).

Runa or Netho\textsuperscript{30} is an excellent example of Angami and Chakhesang villages. Its history is carved in their customs and traditions. In the past, many subordinate villages paid tribute to Runa or Netho in exchange for protection (Chase Roy 2004: 32). The Angami and Chakhesang villages witnessed several raids and wars for territorial gains, for security reasons and to secure power and prestige over other villages. This war-culture gave birth to the patriarchal society. Men protected the village from enemies. That made them superior to women. Though inter-village feuds existed; good inter-village relations also existed in the past among the villages of Angami and Chakhesang. Each village maintained its territorial integrity and mutual respect for each other. Trade existed

\textsuperscript{26} Kharu refers to the Angami village gate, Ketsamvü refers to the Chakhesang village gate

\textsuperscript{27} Lhisemia is the biggest Khel. This division is among the Northern Angami villages.

\textsuperscript{28} Chisomi was the biggest khel; Zipfemi was the middle khel and Kumuno was the lower and the smallest khel. It refers to the Chakrü Chakhesang villages.

\textsuperscript{29} Rikhu is a Chakhesang term and Runa Kephe is an Angami term that refers to village guard.

\textsuperscript{30} Runa is an Angami term which refers to village; Netho is a Chakhesang term which refers to village.
between villages in the form of Barter. Even war or head hunting between villages was carried out in accordance with fixed rules and regulations. If such rules and regulations were violated, their won villages punished the offenders (Lohe 2011: 63; Das 1994: 72).

Though both the Angami and Chakhesang villages differ in many aspects the most prominent for both the tribes were the functions of the Morung known as Kichuki or Lüzüì and Tehuba or Khrožüì31. The morung was under the control of the Khel and their function was to impart formal education in the village for both the boys and the girls. Usually girls were members of the morung before their marriage and learnt about their culture, traditional practices such as cultivation, trade skills, skills of warfare etc. Different clans resided in one Khel and helped each other in all the activities of the village (Lohe 2011: 42; Chase Roy 2004: 41-42).

Angami and Chakhesang society has exogamous patri-lineage in the village which was administered by the clan representative. They framed laws or rules and for executing them in the form of Gennas32 known as Menyi and Kenyi among the Chakhesangs, Kenyü and Penyie among the Angamis. The village, under the customary law, strictly observed the Gennas particularly in the case of health and wealth for the progress of the individual or the community. The penalty for violation of the Gennas especially Kenyü and Penyie was severe. The fear of being ostracized from the village or being held responsible for any misfortune in the village in case of violation of the laws made it possible to maintain the customary law without flaw in the village (Lohe 2011: 116-117; Chase Roy 2004: 51-62).

31 Morung is the name given by ethnologists and anthropologists for dormitories. The Angamis used the term Kichuki for the female and Tehuba for the male dormitories. The Chakhesang used the term Lüzüì for female and Khrožüì for male dormitories.

32 The word Genna is used in the Assamese lingua franca of the Naga Hills Districts to refer to restrictions and taboos. Menyi and Kenyi are Chakhesang term and Kenyü and Penyie are the Angami term. Kenyi and Kenyü refers to restrictions applied to the individual. Menyi and Penyie refer to taboos (forbidden) applied to the community.
2.2.2 Family

In the traditional society, family played an important role for the Angami and Chakhesang society, as it was the only source of imparting moral values and social co-existence. Both the societies were patriarchal in structure where the man plays a dominant role in every aspect of life. Their social organisation is patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal. Descent is traced from the male lineage. That naturally paved the way for the establishment of a male authoritative and male dominant social structure. In the past during wars, man protected their women and children whose role shrunk almost to nothing. Male dominance became an established way of life and women began to look up to men for existence and subsistence. Thus, in course of time women accepted the subordinate position assigned to them.

Though generally the Angami and Chakhesang families were nuclear in size, there were also some traces of joint family system in the Angami and Chakhesang communities. There was a system of division of labour based on sex and age among the family members. Household work, field work, child-rearing, food gathering were female work while hunting, warfare, administration, trade and business, cutting firewood, and clearing the jungles were men’s work. Age of the children played an important role too while the young girl child were taught to do household work the young boy child were taught the method of hunting and warfare. Although the role of the family was biased towards the male child, their main role was to socialize both the younger ones. The family took responsibility to nurture and mould their children into a respected and committed person according to the accepted norms and values. Such values includes: honesty, respect to elders, and compassion to the sick and needy, obedience, politeness, competitive spirit and social prohibition (Chase Roy 2004: 43-44; Lanunungsang and Ovung 2012:36).

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33 The patriarchal structure established the father as the head of the family. He is considered the breadwinner and takes all the major decisions, is the custodian of the family property and the guardian and protector of the family.
34 Joint family existed in cases- if their parents were ill, family related problems, differently-able parents, children, or the couples.
35 This information was collected during conversation with an elderly Angami and Chakhesang women of Kohima and Kikrüma village in 2009.
36 It was told by the ancestors that the family took great responsibility in orienting their young ones.
2.2.3 Property, Succession and Inheritance

In both the Angami and Chakhesang tradition, the clan owns the land. Since the Angami and Chakhesang are patriarchal the right to inheritance and the line of descent are considered a male prerogative. Singh (1994:69) says,

“Every individual in the community has his/her own property, thus they are basically a landowning tribe in which landlessness is not found.”

That is to say, all, regardless of any gender consideration, live a life centered around the land, its products and by products. In both the Angami and Chakhesang traditions, women use their ancestral land for agriculture but do not inherit it. The right of inheritance allows the Angami men to trace their ancestors up to fourteen generations but they keep trace of their mother’s lineages only up to four generation (Hutton 1969:167). This system, according to Hodson (1925:174), was the “complete merger of the women in her husband’s exogamous division by and on marriage.” The Angami Customary law bars women from inheriting ancestral land and property but there is no bar on a widow or a divorcee purchasing own land. However, the Angami traditional law give rights to the individual owners to use their land according to their wish, to sell, mortgage, rent it to others, or give it to their daughters during marriage or upon parents death called as Pozephü\textsuperscript{37} land (Das 1994:68). Siephru\textsuperscript{38} can be owned only by the male child. In the absence of the male child, the ancestral property is handed over to the immediate male relatives. The possession of such ancestral property by the next of kin is called Kayie\textsuperscript{39} (Kelhou 1988:55).

In the Chakhesang societies too, all the male members inherit the clan land and family property. However, there are differences between Khezha and Chakrü\textsuperscript{40} with

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{37} Pozephü land is the land bequeathed to the Angami daughters during marriage or upon parents’ death. It is the land owned by the parents and not the ancestral land. This practice is followed by Viswema and Kedima from the Southern Angami villages (Zuonuo-Keyhnuo group).
\item \textsuperscript{38} Siephru is the ancestral property like land, house etc of the Angami’s.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Angami term ‘Kayie’ refers to the ancestral property i.e. Siephru handed over to the next kin (male) in the absence of male child in the family.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Khezha and Chakrü are sub-tribes of the Chakhesang tribe.
\end{itemize}
regard to property distribution: among the Chakrü it was the custom for the youngest son to receive the largest share of the family property while it was the eldest son who owned the largest share of the property among the Khezha group (Das and Saha 1994: 181). The ancestral property is owned by men and in the absence of the male child the ancestral property goes to the deceased brother’s family or the clan or the adopted son (Lohe 2011:168-169). Women had no natural right to share clan land nor did she have the right to own the ancestral property but she could receive a share in the family property called Lüna\textsuperscript{41}. There is no bar on a widow or a divorcee purchasing own land.

\subsection*{2.2.4 Marriage and Divorce}

Marriage was an important phase of life for the Angami and Chakhesang societies. However the rituals associated with marriage differed from village to village and the taboos associated with women were built on the concept of their ‘purity, chastity and innocence’. Observation of such taboos was rigid and closely monitored. In the Angami and Chakhesang tradition, marriage takes place with the consent of both the man and the woman\textsuperscript{42}. In the past, a man or the husband was applauded and highly respected with honour if he had many wives (applicable only to Chakhesang) or had extra marital affairs (applicable to both Angami and Chakhesang). This was indicative in the type of dress an Angami man wore and the stones or statues erected besides the main foot path of the Chakhesang man (Kelhou 1988:56; Lohe 2011: 43).\textsuperscript{43} But such practices were not allowed in the case of Angami and Chakhesang women. They were expected to be pure so as to safeguard the integrity of the community as a whole (Chase Roy 2004: 55). Traditionally, woman could marry only once and it was a taboo for her keeping long hair before marriage. Unmarried women were seen as unlawful and abnormal and so, women were compelled to get married whether they like it or not. Shaving the heads of the Angami girl child was associated with the concept of purity as growing hair by unmarried women was prohibited.

\footnote{\textit{Lüna} land both moveable and immovable property is bequeathed to the Chakhesang daughters during marriage or upon parents’ death. It is the land owned by the parents and not the ancestral land.}

\footnote{This type of meeting arrangement is done in the Morung where the boy and the girl choose their partners, interact and spent time together and decide whether to get married or not.}

\footnote{If a man had an illicit relations to indicate their male prowess: An Angami men wore a lion cloth decorated with four lines of cowries while a Chakhesang men would erect stones or statues designed in the form of the head of the tiger, deer, pig or cow.}
women was considered as *Kemetho Tha*\(^{44}\) (Chase Roy 2004:36) while shaving the head of the Chakhesang girl child was to protect them from warriors of the other villages when they go out to fetch water or in the fields (Vitso 2003:52). The only way to grow their hair was to get married. That shows the importance of the institution of marriage in both the tribes.

Although women were allowed to choose their partners, the final decision was taken by the father or the clan man. Usually, Angami marriages were monogamous. There were two kinds of marriages: ceremonial and non-ceremonial.\(^{45}\) Similar to the Angamis, the Chakhesangs too followed the traditional and informal\(^{46}\) types of marriage (Vitso 2003: 46). However, the Chakhesang’s marriage rituals were more elaborative.\(^{47}\) Among the Angami’s, the practice of trial and cousin marriages existed, but polygamy was not allowed (Hutton 1969:168) and sororate marriage were forbidden (Hutton 1969:219) while among the Chakhesang’s, trial marriage, polygyny and cross cousin marriage existed however junior sororate and levirate marriage were generally accepted by the community (Das and Saha 1994: 180-81)\(^{48}\). Within the Chakhesang sub-tribal groups\(^{49}\) endogamy was maintained, but it was a taboo to marry within the same clan (Vitso 2003: 82).

The Angami and Chakhesang traditions allow widow remarriage though these were rarely practised and not appreciated by the community. Widow could get married to any men and had the freedom to select their mates except under certain conditions. For instance: In the case of the Angami, her (widow) mate should not be deceased

\(^{44}\) *Kemetho Tha*’ is an Angami word that refers to meaningless life.

\(^{45}\) The ceremonial marriage was performed according to the rituals and was highly respected. The non-ceremonial marriage was performed without any ceremonies. Both the type of marriages were accepted and socially approved though ceremonial marriage has greater respect and honour than the non-ceremonial marriage (See Hutton 1969: 219-221).

\(^{46}\) The traditional marriage was arranged marriages which were ritualistic and religious in character; whereas, informal marriage was religious and secular in character. Both the type of marriages were accepted and socially approved but the arranged marriages were highly appreciated and performed with great ritual pomp and celebrations.

\(^{47}\) For more information on the Angami and Chakhesang marriage rituals (See Hutton 1969:219-221; Lohe 2011: 80 - 81).

\(^{48}\) Not all the villages followed this type of marriage. For instance: trial marriage had existed among the Pfütseromi village (Zehol K and Zehol L 1998:63).

\(^{49}\) For instances, *Chakrü and Khezha* cannot maintain marital relations within their tribes while the Sangtam prefer to marry within their own sub-tribe (Das and Saha 1994:13). During the pre-independence period, village endogamy was maintained even at the sub-tribal level as a general rule.
(husband’s) eldest brother but can be the youngest brother. This was possible only if the deceased family gave their approval (Hutton 1969:224). Among the Chakhesang too widow remarriage was possible however, it was a taboo to get married to their first cousin from both the parent’s side (Vitso 2003:67).

In both the societies, the practice of *Kekhawa or Kokhota*\(^{50}\) (divorce) was rare but if divorcees wanted to remarry, they were allowed to do so for instance: separated couples could reunite even after been divorced for several years. However, no rituals could be performed for remarriage. The punishment for divorce was biased against women. If divorce was due to husband’s infidelity, then the properties were equally distributed between the husband and wife. But if divorce was due to wife’s infidelity, punishment was severe wherein the wife had to leave the husband’s house with only a skirt (lungi) and a shawl (Zehol K and Zehol L 1998:74; Kelhou 1988: 57). After divorce, it was the responsibility of the father to look after the children and if the mother insisted to keep the children then the sons goes to the father and the daughters to their mother.

### 2.2.5 Birth and Death

Birth of a child was a significant event in the Angami and Chakhesang communities. There were no discrimination or *Gennas* associated to birth of a child among the Angamis and Chakhesangs. Usually the birth of a male child was celebrated by killing a cock and a hen for the female child. However, the rituals connected to the birth of a boy child and a girl child differs from one tribal group to another. For instance among the Angamis, women after giving birth stay at home for nine days unlike the Chakhesangs (usually *Khezha*) women who had to sleep for three days on a plank after giving birth and they cook and eat using a new oven and utensils. After completion of the three days, she would preserve the utensils in a particular place (Zehol K and Zehol L 1998: 62).\(^{51}\)

\(^{50}\) *Kekhawa* (Angami term) or *Kokhota* (Chakhesang term) refers to divorce.

\(^{51}\) For more information on birth and death rituals among the Angamis and Chakhesangs (See Hutton 1969:224-229; Zehol K and Zehol L 1988: 62-73)
In the past, the Angamis believed that death was an unfriendly act of *Terhuomia*\(^{52}\) and that it would happen at old age. Death was the end of everything and so it was deeply mourned by the family, relatives and friends. In the words of Hutton (1969: 229), for the Angami’s, death was “*the abhorrent end of everything*”. Death of a person among the Chakhesang tribe is highly mourned and honoured if the deceased was a respectful person. If the deceased had been tarnished with bad reputation or misconduct, the bereaved family, even the whole community whom the ill reputed had belonged to was blamed.

The body of the deceased among the Angamis and Chakhesangs was usually buried in the family or clan land with their ornaments, dress or the image or effigy of the dead made of wood. Certain *Genna* (taboo) were associated with the death and burial of the deceased. The burial ceremony among the Angamis and Chakhesangs depended on the nature of death. If death was unnatural such as persons killed in war, by wild animals, suicide, dying in childbirth- it was buried outside the precincts of the village so as to avoid misfortune or bad luck to the entire village (Hutton 1969:229; Vitso 2003:50). In case of normal death, the dead body was washed by a child of the same sex and then the body was wrapped in his own (the dead) clothes to be buried in the country yard. Rituals of death were performed by observing taboos for four to five days among the Chakhesang (Das and Saha 1994: 182) and five to ten days among the Angamis (Hutton 1969:228). Usually on the fourth day of the burial, the Angami family members come together and eat the cooked flesh of the cock marking the end of the long death ceremonies (Chase Roy 2004: 63).

The Angamis did not believe in life after death. The one aspect of life after death that worries them was the unnatural death of the young especially the ‘headless ones’\(^{53}\), the Angami’s believed that the headless ones would not get to the abode of *Kepenuopfü*\(^{54}\) and so “*unnatural death was all more lamented and mourned*” (Chase Roy 2004:61). However, the Chakhesang believed that the soul of a person is immortal and so even after

\(^{52}\) ‘*Terhuomia*’, an Angami term refers to spirits

\(^{53}\) During headhunting days those whose head were cut off includes men, women and children.

\(^{54}\) ‘*Kepenuopfü*’, an Angami term refers to God
death, the soul continues to be active and goes to a village called Ketshimikie$^{55}$ where they share a life similar to their life on earth and so, all the necessary weapons, and tools were buried along with the dead. They believed that the dead would reincarnate through flies, bees and stars (Lohe 2011: 120). Ceremonies related to death and beliefs in reincarnation are still prevalent among the Chakhesang Nagas$^{56}$. Also among the Angamis, even after conversion to Christianity many families still follows the traditional death rituals.$^{57}$

2.2.6 Religion

The Angami and Chakhesang’s traditional path of faith was the belief in Animism ($Pfüstana$ or $Medanyi$)$^{58}$ i.e. belief in spirits. Their God ($Kepenuopfü$ or $Nunupi$)$^{59}$ was considered as the omnipresent creator and protector of the universe. The spirits were of two types: the benevolent spirits and the malevolent spirits who were responsible for guarding and protecting the human beings from natural calamities and all kinds of misfortunes. Both benevolent and malevolent spirits were worshipped and offered sacrifices. It was essential to offer the right kind of sacrifices at right times as to avoid annoyance of the benevolent spirit. It was feared that if the spirits were annoyed, the villagers would not get protection from the spirits. It was also believed that the malevolent spirit was dangerous and would cause destruction to all human affairs.$^{60}$ So, in order to avoid such distresses, countless sacrifices were made. Usually, a priest ($Zievo$ or $Mewu$)$^{61}$ who specialized in performing sacrifices conducted the rituals such as sacrificing the animals to seek favours of the spirits or to placate them (D’Souza, Kekhrieseno and Nokhwenu 2002; Lohe 2011: 121).

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$^{55}$ *Ketshimikie*, a Chakhesang term that refers to a place where the soul lives after death

$^{56}$ Conversation with Sarah Nuh, Vice President of Naga Mother’s Association (NMA) and President of Family Planning Association of India (FPAI) at her residence, Dimapur on July 10, 2010.

$^{57}$ Conversation with Salhoutonuo Kruse, President Kewhimiapfü Mechü Khirotho (KMK) earlier known as Angami Women’s Organisation (AWO) at her residence, Kohima on August 7, 2012.

$^{58}$ *Pfüstana*- an Angami term and *Medanyi*- a Chakhesang term refers to traditional religion (Animism)

$^{59}$ *Kepenuopfü*- an Angami term and *Nunupi*- a Chakhesang term refers to God

$^{60}$ Conversation with Sarah Nuh, Vice President of Naga Mother’s Association (NMA) and President of Family Planning Association of India (FPAI), at her residence. Dimapur on July 10,2010.

$^{61}$ *Zievo*- an Angami term and *Mewu*- a Chakhesang term refers to village priest
The concept of *Gennas* (restrictions or taboos) associated to festivals, crops, diseases and seasonal changes were strictly observed by both the communities. Certain days of the year were set aside to observe such rituals wherein the communities restrained themselves from doing normal works in the field. The concept of *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* was observed to control the people from doing evil acts. It was said that disrespect to *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* would lead to unnatural death, diseases and can even lead one to deformities like dumbness and blindness (Lohe 2011: 116, Chase Roy 2004:58 ). Some of the *Menyi* or *Penyie* (*taboo*) observed by the Angami and Chakhesang community were: if someone in the village is burnt to death by fire, attacked by wild animals, accidents, if rats eat the paddy plants in the field, if someone is washed away in a river or due to landslides.. Some of the *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* were as follows: It is *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* to offend God, Spirits, to cut sacred trees, to give birth to illegitimate child and to insult orphans. To sow seeds before the observance of *Menyi* or *Penyie* also was *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* (Lohe 2011: 117; Chase Roy 2004: 58-59).62

2.2.7 Politico-Juridical Administration

The village was the centre of traditional Angami and Chakhesang political organizations. Historically, administrations of justice in the villages were the responsibility of the priest known as *Zievo* or *Mewu*. He has authority to maintain law and order in the village. Assisted by a council of elders he framed secular and as well as religious laws. The headman system, which entrusts a single senior member of the society with supreme authority over the people, was alien to the Angami villages owing to the segmentary nature of their society. The male members were given their chance to voice their opinion. Prior to British rule, the Angami constituted a distinct political unit - a sort of sovereign state in which the clan men selected an elder, with the art of diplomacy, as their chief (Kharutso 2005). The traditional assemblies of the people could be found existing even today, where the elder male members participate, share, and

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62 The researcher during field visit observed that Christianity among the Angami and Chakhesang societies has stopped many of these rituals however both the societies still have a strong believe in *Menyi* or *Penyie*, *Kenyi* or *Kenyü* related to agriculture even today. Though it would be bias to conclude that traditional religion had disappear however it was observed that christian prayers, rituals were performed on the day of *Menyi* and *Penyie*. This shows that traditional religion and gennas functions together with Christian religion. The Sekrenyi or Sükrüntye festivals of the Angami and Chakhesang tribes are examples of traditional rituals functioning along with Christian doctrines.
express their grievances in the presence of everyone. Maintaining peace and harmony in the village depended on the proper functioning of the administration of justice.

In the village the matters of dispute regarding life and death, war and peace, social and economic matters were brought to the chief and were settled democratically in a meeting where all the male members of the clan gathered. The same procedure was followed for settling cases at the village level. In the absence of a village headman, a leader skilled in the art of fighting was chosen to preside over the meetings (Lohe 2011:210-212). The Angami villages too followed the same democratic system in which every male member participated in the meetings and the decisions were taken by the leader with the consensus of people (D’Souza, Kekhrieseno and Kharutso 2002). Even today, the traditional court of councils continues to be influential in the maintenance of social, political and juridical order. The absence of women’s participation in the democratic practices and in the decision-making process was a serious limitation in the Angami and Chakhesang political organizations. Male dominance was predominant as women were not selected as chiefs nor did they have a role in the selection of the chiefs. The Angami villages endowed with traditional village councils exist along the modern statutory council.63

The British introduced the Goanbura and Dobashi64 systems in the Angami and Chakhesang villages. They were paid salary in the form of money and in kind. After the introduction of Goanbura, the judicial power from the village priests was transferred to the Goanbura. Christianity also caused changes in the functioning of the Zievo and Mewu (village priests) regarding religious matters. Many Christian believers rejected the traditional religion and subsequently two societies emerged: those with Christian doctrines and those with Pfiitsana or Medanyi doctrines. However, customary laws and practices are still in use even among the Christian believers, which integrated the traditional practices of the Pfiitsana or Medanyi with that of the Christian doctrines. The

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63 Conversation with Salhoutomo Kruse, President Kewhimiapfü Mechi Khothro (KMK) earlier known as Angami Women’s Organisation (AWO) at her residence, Kohima on August 7, 2012.
64 Goanbura are non-governmental agents and Dobashi are interpreter-cum-political agents in the village. Though the Dobashis receive regular salaries, the Goanburas have much power and prestige in the village.
village council was introduced which further promoted democratic values of voting and electing the right representative from among themselves to carry out the executive and judicial functions of the village. Today, the highest authority in the village is the village council. The Angami and Chakhesang villages are headed by the village chairman, who is the head of the Village Council and organizes the affairs of the village. The Village Council is the apex body of the village administration. Though many changes in the village organization have taken place, the traditional customary law still plays an important role in the village. In a study on the Angami and Chakhesang, society it mentions that such practices still finds relevance in the life of the Angami and Chakhesang people (Vitso 2003: 31-56; Kelhou 1988: 55-61). The introduction of Village Welfare Forum, Women Society, Students Union, Youth Society and Village Development Board (VDB) further changed the functions of the Angami and Chakhesang villages and their social structure. The various social organisations present in the villages contribute in maintaining social harmony of the various communities (Lohe 2011: 57; Das 1994: 74). Many villagers have entered the fields of politics and they engage in socio-political activities of the mainstream India for instances, the formation of the Angami Public Organisation (APO) in 1972 and Chakhesang Public Organisation (CPO) in 1999.

2.2.8 Economy

The main economic resources of the Angamis and Chakhesangs were land, forest and water. Land was an important asset for the communities not only in terms of cultivation but also for high status and prestige. A person was looked upon with high respect if he was the owner of big lands. Therefore, in the past, families big or small, rich or poor must own land, either as individual property or as clan/community land. Land is divided into: i) Village lands i.e, set apart for public use, a portion of it is set apart for forest used by the residents of the village under the control of the village council, ii) Clan land used only by the clan members, iii) Individual i.e. inherited or acquired land that is privately owned and can be sold (Saikia 1987:202). Community land is set apart by a

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65 Conversation with Sarah Nuh, Vice President of Naga Mother’s Association (NMA) and President of Family Planning Association of India (FPAI), at her residence, Dimapur on July 10, 2010.
tribe for the use of its members without the right of private property. It is separated into residential area where the individuals and family houses are built. Land lying in the vicinity of the residential area is set aside for public purposes and land located at a distance is meant for economic activities (Nongkynrih 2007 cited in Fernandes and Barbora 2008: 16-37). Most of the land belonged to the communities and so, there was demarcation between virgin forestland and cultivable agricultural land. The virgin forestlands were reserved for the village and it was prohibited to cultivate in the forestland. The cultivable land was divided into: wet terrace field, dry terrace field, jhum land, agro-forestry and kitchen garden (Lohe 2011: 176-187).

Terrace cultivation continues to be the dominant and most preferred form of the land used among the Angamis. The Chakhesangs practice shifting cultivation since time immemorial. In the past, agriculture was the main occupation of the communities. Rice, Maize, millet, chilly, cotton, banana, plum, pineapple etc. were their main crops. Other practices besides cultivation were black smithy, local drinks, weaving, pottery, basketry, carving and woodwork, musical instruments, hunting, fishing, domestication of animals and salt making. The village priests along with the communities performed all the rituals associated to agriculture in both the communities. Some of the Angami rituals are: Sekrenyi or Phousanyi, Kreghaghi, Kinoghe, Terhüni, Gnonyi and Pichepeli (Hutton 1969: 196-230). Similarly, among the Chakhesangs the rituals are: Sükrünye, Khuno, Khushe, Etseboukepfü, and Eloshemerí (Lohe 2011: 171).

In the Angami and Chakhesang culture, involvement of women was limited to household work and agriculture within the limits of the patriarchal ethos. Women were free to decide on agricultural practices but men took precedence in the selling of

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67 For more information on local manufacturer (see Hutton 1969)

68 Angami rituals associated to agriculture: Sekrenyi or Phousanyi (purification of the body), Kreghaghi (reaping the harvest); Kinoghe (sacrificing an animal), Terhüní (completion of the agricultural year), Gnonyi (beginning of agricultural operation) and Pichepeli (feeding the priests for their blessings).

69 Chakhesang rituals associated to agriculture: Sükrünye (purification of the body), Khuno (ploughing the terrace field); Khushe (transplantation of paddy); Etseboukepfü (beginning of cultivation) and Eloshemerí (to please God for good health and weather).
agricultural produce and appropriating the money it brought. Women assisted men in trade and business; but their role was confined mostly to entertaining guests and to being good hosts. Agriculture was the soul of Angami and Chakhesang life. Even during wartime, women and children worked in the fields. From a very young age, both boys and girls were trained to work in the field as ‘Peli’ group as practiced by the Angamis. This system, according to Hutton, was helpful in the planting season. It not only assigned an identity to the group but also made them aware of their sense of belonging. Hutton (1921:78) says,

“….the owner of the fields on which work is being done is expected to provide meal at midday. There is also the practice of reserving some special trees like timber trees as individual property, casualties of its damages is made to pay for destruction or injury.”

Among the Chakhesang too various social organizations among the Chakhesangs were formed to assist people especially the young ones in agriculture. They were: a) Lezekro group to train the youth to sing traditional songs on different agricultural processes; b) Tekhrukeha group which was organized for digging or ploughing; c) Edelekewu group formed for agricultural works and feast; c) and the Kekhruiha group organized to help the sick clan members in agriculture. All these groups were organized from their Kedo, peer groups, clan members, relatives or neighbours (Lohe 2011: 175).

Traditionally the major role of a woman (Angami and Chakhesang) was to look after her children as a mother and take care of her husband as a wife. She worked in the fields and spent her free time weaving shawls, making bags etc. If she wanted, she could go to the Kichuki or Lüzhü for learning but she hardly spent time in the Kichuki or Lüzhü because she had to get back home and prepare food. There was division of labour between the male and female depending on the nature of works. Usually, women took all

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70 Conversation with Salhoutono Kruse, President Kewhimiapfü Mechü Krhotho (KMK) earlier known as Angami Women’s Organisation (AWO) at her residence, Kohima 7 Aug 2012; and Sarah Nuh, Vice President of Naga Mother’s Association (NMA) and President of Family Planning Association of India (FPAI) at her residence, Dimapur 10 July 2010.

71 The Peli system is the most remarkable feature of the Angami culture and a unique feature of their agrarian life. It was a group activity, where each peli group worked in the fields in rotation giving ample opportunities for its members to mingle with each other. It helped them to identify themselves with their peer groups and provided freedom for the youth to socialize in a manner approved by their society (See Chase Roy 2004: 45-47).
major decision regarding agriculture, but when money was involved, the controlled economy went to the male member of the society. As all family members took active part in agriculture, women could manage to work without hiring anyone.

Prior to the advent of the British, the village had a subsistence economy characterized by barter system. A sort of currency made of iron and conch shell was the principal method of trade with the neighbouring people. However, with the arrival of the British and introduction of modern education, barter system was replaced by monetary system. During the Second World War, the Japanese currency was in circulation for a few months, which was replaced by the British currency when the Japanese withdrew from the Indian frontiers (Hutton 1969:71; Lohe 2011: 191). The Angami’s followed the barter system to exchange goods for services, gifts and rewards. The barter system has given way to the monetary system as trade practices in the region developed. At present, the restrictions regarding the exchange and selling of the ancestral land in the Angami and Chakhesang villages forced many families to encourage their children to seek government job than to engage in agricultural activities. The early government interventions to implement developmental plans in the village without creating awareness among the people had upset the traditional village system.

It is now apparent that the advent of the colonial rule had far reaching impact on Angami and Chakhesang society. The advent of the British, introduction of modern educations, mechanization of agriculture and modernization of tools and instrument of works gave way for gradual decline in the use of handicrafts, which poses a serious threat to the village economy. Previously, there were no iron and steel utensils; pots and utensils were made either from bamboos or from woods. The old technique of agriculture was changed and machines replaced labour intensified agricultural practices. During the British rule, the first salaried persons were the Dobashis (interpreter-cum-political agents)

72 For instance, one cone shell was equal to the worth of a cow. Iron hoe bought from Manipur was used as a currency (See Hutton 1969:71-72).
and Chowkidars (gate keeper). As the time passed, more and more people started looking for government jobs. The encounter with the outsiders had undoubtedly changed their attitude towards commercializing the agricultural products.

The family life also changed. The traditional role of imparting education to the children had been formalised with the introduction of schools and modern education. The tribal religion “Animism” began to diminish in most of the village except some families where it still practised. Various tribal rituals such as observing certain taboos, marriage rituals, agricultural rituals has been altered with the arrival of Christianity. Christian marriages became prominent and the rituals associated with marriage are no longer practiced by the Christians. Unlike the traditional marriages, the celebrations in the Christian marriages were held on the actual day of the wedding. The Christian marriage, which was usually solemnized by a priest in the church, had no further celebrations once the feasting was over on the day of marriage; whereas, in the traditional marriages, the celebrations would start only after the ceremonies are over. The role of the priest changed from administrative functions to religious functions. Taboos or Gennas associated to birth and death is hardly observed. The village economy that depends on the barter exchange is now producing goods from agricultural products. Trading and marketing economy developed. Another important practice of the Angami is weaving which is done by women. Domestication of animals, fowls, fishing, black smithy, basketry, woodcarvings and manufacturing salt especially by Viswema villagers are some of the important practices for commerce among the Angami’s (Hutton 1969: 43-71). In this context Hutton (1969: 48) rightly remark that for the Angami’s, “salt is too precious to be in general use as a medium of exchange”. The forest, agricultural land and water were and still remain as the main source of livelihood for the Chakhesang community. Hunting, fishing, horticulture and animal husbandry are their main economic activities. Besides, Chakhesang communities are efficient in the practice of shifting cultivation on the wet terraced land (Das and Saha 1994). A remarkable feature of the Chakhesang agriculture even today is the non-use of fertilizers to promote environment friendly atmosphere, which encourages many people to prefer vegetables and fruits from Phek District.
Poultry farming and domestication of animals, which was considered as a source of several epidemics and contagious diseases, had been stopped. For instance, domestication of dogs in the village restricted to contain rabbis and related anomalies. Maintaining livestock like pigs was controlled that it could be reared only outside the townships and far the village residential areas. Cutting firewood from the forestland by the community was done. Important trees such as bamboo, teak, cane and alder trees were planted. The practice of tree plantation could be seen even at present. The Angami and Chakhesang communities along with the Village Development Board are promoting the practice of tree and bamboo plantation and horticulture. Earlier fruits were meant for self-consumption and flower plantation was almost absent. However, with the introduction to western education, Christianity and medical facilities, most of the communities are planting fruit trees and flowers plants for economic returns. The land was commonly owned, which could neither be divided nor sold by community or clansmen. Though community lands such as Jhum land, agro-forestry and forestland could make drastic improvements in the village economy, many individuals refrain from working hard on the land since they do not have the ownership of the land (Lohe 2011: 186).

Thus, the Angami and Chakhesang societies witnessed a shift in the village social, religious, political and economic life. However, this shift or alteration is external while the culture, the tradition, the mind set which are internal to the community has not changed much. Though we can observe remarkable changes in the religious observances of the two tribes after converting to Christianity, many traditional rituals like the rituals connected to death are still prevalent among the Angami and Chakhesang communities. This analysis is further seen in the next chapter.