CHAPTER IV

CULTURE CHANGE AMONG THE ANGAMI

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

(1) Material Culture

Housing

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

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

Gradually, in course of time, the Angami Nagas started building various types of modern brick houses. Today there is no problem in getting housing materials and also there are even local architects and builders so that as long as one has money they can build any type of
house. The materials mostly used are: bricks, rods, cement, sand, stones, glass, chip stones etc. Kitchen too have proper chimney. People use mostly glasses for windows. A large common room is made for multi-purposes. Many families prefer having attached bathrooms and toilets. Drainage systems are maintained around the house surroundings. One remarkable change is with regard to the village sanitary system – the construction of public toilets after every ten houses have improved the sanitary condition of the village. For locking the house they use varieties of locks. Most of the houses have been electrified.

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

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

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

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

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

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

For storing cloths in the past they used bamboo woven box called jappa. But today they have been replaced by wooden trunks, iron trunks and in the present day they use all sorts of suitcases and briefcases that come in various designs. They also use cupboards and tables for keeping
cloths. They keep them in wooden and steel almirahs which are free from rats and insects.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Meat is highly relished and was considered a luxury as they did not kill animals except at the time of sacrifices or when giving a feast. However, today the consumption of meat is so high as meats are available in the market.
Unlike in the past the present generation eat all sorts of meat by every age group, sex and there is no *gennas* and prohibitions like before during pregnancies, menstruation and child birth. All meat can be eaten any time by anyone. They eat varieties of wild animals' meat such as tiger, lion, leopard, bear, deer, stag, wolf, jackal, wild cat, wild rats, snakes, all types of birds, frogs, snail, fish, tortoise, crab, grasshopper, dragonfly etc. Elephants are no more available in the present day. They no more observe *penna* when they kill a tiger since majority of them are Christians.

In the past the ways and methods of cooking was very simple. A very small amount of vegetables and chillies along with dry fish were used in cooking. Soyabean was fermented and used as taste maker. Sometimes fermented pork fats were used in the same way. Today they have learnt the art of cooking various dishes including frying, boiling, steaming with all sorts of modern accessories for cooking. One of the commonest ways of cooking is to cook meat and vegetables separately. When they do not cook meat they have fry dal and other vegetables. Sometimes they cook smoked meat along with potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the time they prefer pork cooked with bamboo shoot. They still relish beef or pork cooked along with its blood. During weddings it is a tradition that is followed to this day, to cook large pieces of beef and pork called *moudi* about five inches along with blood wrapped in banana leaves which is distributed to all the people who come to the wedding. They also know how to bake cakes, prepare puddings and desserts. They also like Chinese dishes.
The Angami Nagas are great lovers of vegetables. They usually take green vegetables daily as a part of their daily food habit. Some of the common vegetables which they include in their diet are — potato, cabbage, mustard leaf, tomato, ginger, garlic, spring onion, pumpkin, squash, chilly, yam, pudina, cucumber, beans, pea, seasam, soyabean, sweet potato etc. Besides all these they also eat wild vegetables including mushrooms and grow them too.

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

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

**Medicine**

Traditionally, it was believed that sicknesses are caused by evil spirits. However, things changed with the coming of Christianity. The missionaries taught them the habit of cleanliness and hygiene. They also taught them the value of medicines and even hospitals were opened for them. One of the missionaries by the name of S. W. Rivenburg who worked in Kohima mission field for so many years could not at first convert even one person. So he went back to USA to study medicine.
After completing his studies he came back to Kohima and started treating the sick people and slowly people turned to Christianity. The life-style of the early missionaries influenced the people so much that even the local people were impressed to study medicines. Dr. Khosa Zingū who hailed from Khonoma village, became a medical doctor during the Britishers' time. He began his schooling at the Rev. Dr. S. W. Rivenburg Mission English School in Kohima. Dr. Khosa joined Dibrugarh medical school after passing out from the mission school in the sixth standard. He served as a medical officer in the British Naga Hills where he was promoted to the rank of Assistant Civil Surgeon in the Civil Hospital, Kohima. He became the first Naga doctor.

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

In the past the traditional medicines were not as efficacious as the modern medicines because though they could cure and heal certain sicknesses and diseases, they could not cure dreadful diseases such as malaria, leprosy etc. It was because of this reason there was high mortality rate in the past as compared with the present mortality rate.
Moreover, the healing processes are slow with the indigenous medicines though it could have less side effects. Because of this people prefer modern methods of treatment as it ensures more accurate diagnosis of various diseases, and moreover the healing process is also faster.

Case I

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

Case 2

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

Earlier, people were not aware of family planning methods and couples used to have many children which were considered to be a blessing from God. But today most parents have started adopting family planning methods. In the village there is dispensary where different kinds of common diseases are being treated such as: smallpox, chicken pox, diarrhoea, malaria, fever, cold, cough, headache etc. People in the village are today aware of AIDS too.
With regard to certain serious cases such as bone fractures they still follow the traditional methods of treatment, however, this is done without any rituals. So when people get their hands, legs and other portions of their body fractured or dislocated they go to those experts. People prefer going to them because in the case of serious fractures of bones the affected portions used to be amputated in hospitals. Almost all types of fractures are treated except fractures that occurs in the skulls.

The traditional method of treatment is being handed down orally. The practitioners hesitate to teach any one because it is a source of their livelihood.

Case 3

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

However, with the coming of the modern medical knowledge and methods of treatment, the traditional methods are becoming not very
popular in the present day. Also as it is practiced only by few people secretly, it is almost at the verge of extinction.

Dress and Ornament

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

1. The younger generations feel more comfortable to wear modern clothes as there are various dresses for various seasons, weather conditions, unlike the traditional.

2. The availability of second hand clothes for all seasons in abundance at cheaper rates.

3. The demand for conformity with the accepted social living standard and this applies even to dress norms. For example, in schools, school uniforms are compulsory and this is one such example where there is no place for traditional dress.
Westernization is another formidable factor. Those Angami students who leave their state to study in colleges all over India, are once again confronted by western and non-western lifestyles. Western clothes, language and mannerism are considered necessities and have discarded their indigenous clothes and accessories except during students' meet, cultural functions and gatherings.

Dress for men

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

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

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

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

Case 4

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

**Dress for women**

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

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

The educated girls wear various western outfits, such as pants, shirts, blouse, sweater, jacket, coat etc. Most of the younger girls prefer wearing jeans, pants, shirts and sneaker because they feel comfortable in them. They also wear coat and skirt during any special occasion. None of them are seen wearing Mekhala while going to school and college. But during Sundays most of them wear mekhalas and skirts.
The Angami women prefer western dress than the traditional dress. Some women also wear *salwar* and *charidar* but again one will hardly find Angami women wearing saris. They go for all the latest cloths, dress and foot wears available in markets. At home they usually wear *mekhala* and sometimes they also wear pants. In every household if they are not seen wearing *mekhala* majority of the ladies wear pants except in the case of those who are not educated and those who are from a very conservative background. They hardly wear traditional ornament except on special occasion. The present Angami women wear varieties of earrings made of gold, pearl, silver, brass, copper etc. And for necklace they prefer gold more, but people who cannot afford them wear cheaper ones which are readily available in the markets. At present most of the ladies are seen wearing finger rings, whether married or not but they hardly wear bangles and in place of that they wear wrist watch. For tying their hair they use variety of clips, hair bands, ribbon etc., which were not known and available before.

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

**Agriculture**

At present many changes have taken place in agriculture. But still then there are some elements of continuity that prevailed as in 1912. The Angami Nagas still largely depend on agriculture for their economy like most of the tribals in India. Hence their economy can be rightly called as agro-based economy. At present they mostly practice terrace cultivation,
however, still some villagers practice jhum cultivation in which they clear forests for cultivation of rice and other crops; some still hunt, collect mushrooms, roots, wild fruits, herbs, wild honey, orchids, forest manure and wild vegetables as their economic sources. According to Sharma,

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

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

With the advent of western education which provides job opportunities the present generation is slowly disengaging themselves from agricultural works. Everyone is after easy life except those old people who are not educated have to still resort themselves to agriculture. Therefore, today we hardly see youngsters indulging themselves in the field works daily. The only time they engage themselves is in helping their parents during transplantation and harvesting times, during which regardless of whether a person is educated or uneducated, a boy or a girl, young or old, they all take part during the cycle for agricultural operations. The farmers in the village hardly take rest. The only day for rest is on Sundays, otherwise throughout the week they are busy. Some non-Christians who still follow the traditional religion refrain themselves
from works during *genna* days (prohibited days). The method of terrace is almost the same as observed during Hutton’s time. In the past most of the agriculture works were done through mutual help rendered to each other among the kindreds and relatives. Whosoever took the relatives to his field provided the best food, rice beer (*zutho*) etc. to the workers. But nowadays, many people employ labourers on daily wage basis. So instead of asking help from the kindreds and relatives those who can afford money employ people on daily wage basis. Student organizations, church youth organization and youth clubs also raise fund during transplantation. The rituals connected with agriculture operation are not strictly followed any more even by the non-Christians.

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

**Case 1**

A farmer named Khole from Khonoma village during 1970, was reluctant to use fertilizers when his friends from agriculture office introduced to him. He was afraid that it might cause harm to the crops instead of yielding more crops. At the persuasion of his friends he agreed to use them on one condition; he would apply only on one-third of the area of his field and if there was a damage to the crops their friends had
to repay him the cost and labour that was involved. Finally, to his surprise those areas yielded better. And since from that time onwards he and others from the village started using fertilizers.

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

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

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

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

The most tenable reason for people opting terrace more than jhum cultivation is because of the shift in people’s mindset. Today people have become aware of the negative effects of deforestation involved in jhum cultivation. This awareness is being inculcated and created in the mind of
people by the NGOs, government representatives, student organizations etc. Another reason for preferring terrace cultivation more than jhum cultivation is that, once the terrace fields are prepared they are much easier to maintain. They also have the advantage of being closer to the village site. Today only 1/4th of the land is used for jhum cultivation out of the total area of land used both for terrace and jhum cultivation. And 3/4th of the area is used for terrace cultivation. Excluding the villagers who have been settled and scattered outside, ninety nine percent (99%) of the villagers still practise terrace cultivation. This includes even people who are job holders, who take leaves from office during the main working season of transplantation and harvesting. Earlier, even jhum cultivation was equally practised, but today it is found that only 45% of the total household practice jhum cultivation and out of 45% only 5% grow paddy. Because at present educated people are discouraging shifting cultivation, it has been observed and brought to people’s awareness that the system engages lots of human resources and also destroys the green forest every year causing environment problems. Not only that it also needs labours to work in the jhuming cultivation from time to time. Jhum cultivation is considered to be the most primitive form of agriculture, without using technology and scientific methods of cultivation. The Government of Nagaland, therefore, introduced a new system to replace jhuming cultivation. The State Government helps bringing settled agriculture in areas of jhum cultivation. So 40% grow variety of cash crop in the form of settled agriculture such as potato, tomato, radish, carrot, garlic, spring onion, sweet potato, beans, cabbage, tomato, sweet peas, cucumber, mustard leaf, yam, soya bean, maize, pumpkin, squash, seasam, ginger, chilly, tea, coffee, elachi, passion fruit
etc., and sell them in towns. A good amount of money is made by growing elachi, because they can sell it Rs. 200 per kilogram. Even in one day a person can sell up to Rs. 700/- when he goes down and sells in Dimapur. Passion fruit has become another very important cash crop because there is a high market demand. Today even from neighbouring villages they come to collect seedlings from Khonoma village. Crop rotation is also practised even in some terrace fields which was not there in the past because only rice was grown, however, today the villagers grow one crop after another in the same field such as garlic, followed by potato and sweet peas which are grown together and then comes the season for growing rice. Besides agriculture, they have even learnt the art of tree plantation and they have started afforestation programmes, planting varieties of trees, such as pine, teak, camari, cherry, etc., for timber used in house construction, furniture and also as fuel. They also cultivate varieties of fruits like plum, peach, pears, banana, gauva etc. They sell their surplus enhancing their economy. They collect even wild apple every year during its season and prepare juices or else dry them and sell in the market.

Regarding land ownership even the poorest family in the village have their own share of land for agriculture that has been passed down from their ancestors. The share of land people get today is less than they got in the past with the increase in population. People who stay outside their hometown and villages let their relatives or kinsmen to cultivate their land and 1/3 of the produce goes to the owner. Due to selling and buying of land it is difficult to maintain how much a person owns the area of land.
In the buying and selling of the field even today they do not measure land in terms of acres, metres or feet but the price of the land and field is measured in terms of how many baskets of paddy can be harvested in the case of terrace field, and in the case of jhum field it is asked in terms of how well and how much trees grow in that area.

Animal Husbandry

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

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

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

As observed by Hutton in his time the Angami Nagas tamed cows by keeping them in front of their house when they were brought back from setting free the whole day. But today they no more keep near their living place because they know that it is unhygienic to do so. The owners make cow sheds in the jungles outside of the village and every care is taken to make sure that they do not loaf around the village, for which herdsmen is kept who takes care of the animals. They fence around the cowshed, for this reason the herdsman lets them out for grazing to far off places and he brings them back home in the evening. In Hutton’s time the herdsman was given some baskets of rice for looking after the cows, but today most of the herdsmen get money as their monthly salary and some owners offer them rice and other vegetables too. The Angami Nagas regard cow today as the most important of all animals because cows
provide all the human necessities such as: meat, milk, cow dungs for manure and also they are used for ploughing the field. Beef becomes the favourite meat during festivals, meetings, weddings and other special occasions during which many cows are slaughtered.

Case 1

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

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

The Angami Nagas also rear pigs especially for eating and selling purposes. Unlike in Hutton's time they no more keep pigs in their homes nor let them roam about the village. All the villagers build sheds somewhere in the corner of the village. They feed them with rice and
wheat chaff, yams and other wild leaves. They keep local breeds as well as hybrids. Many have piggeries usually located in the places where there is availability of water, proper sunlight, availability of green vegetables etc. Pork has become the favourite meat of each and every household today for which they keep both for consumption and commercial purposes. Even the government gives grant-in-aid and loans to the villagers as piggery schemes.

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

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

Dogs are kept for guarding the house, for hunting, and to accompany man while they go to the field and at home. The Angami Nagas even relish dog meat, so they consume a lot. Even dog meat is believed to have some medicinal value. At present there is no prohibition for the dog owner not to eat as before, but the owners can also eat their own hunting dogs if they wish. Whereas for some people their dogs and cats are loved and cared so much by them so that they cannot eat their
meat. Therefore, they sell away to other people who are interested in them. Today, they keep varieties of dogs including mixed breeds that come in different shapes, sizes and colours. Even small puppies cost around five hundred to one thousand rupees, however, they are in great demand. They look after their pet giving them proper food, bathing them, taking them for vaccination, shampooing etc.

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

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

Bees are kept for eating purposes which is also believed and proved to have medicinal value. Many people collect wild bees and sell them in the markets. For rearing them they keep inside the wooden box, while some rear in underground and others keep in hollow wooden posts or hollow trunks.
Some people keep rabbits mainly for eating purposes. Their house is built in such a manner that it can protect them from extreme heat and cold. They hardly keep goats and sheep because pork and beef are preferred more for consumption.

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

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

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

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

(a) Weaving

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

For warping the present women do not fix the warping sticks on the ground any more, rather they fix them on well furnished timber-frame where holes are made keeping the exact distance as desired by the operator. The timber stand is usually one foot raised above from the level of the ground. After fixing the sticks on the stand the warping is done, the weft yarn is transferred to the pirn for weaving. Weaving takes almost one whole day for one piece. It takes two pieces to form one shawl. These two pieces after being woven are cut into two equal halves and eventually all these four pieces are stitched together for one shawl. The traditional shawls are simple without much designs and patterns. However, the present modified shawls have various patterns and designs which are more complicated and they look more gorgeous too. There is one particular shawl called *khwemhou* which people still continue to weave without any modification. Today there are very good qualities of silk threads which are used for various patterns. Even for stitching they use the same weaving thread. With the improvement in their living standard, jute and nettle material shawls are not to be seen any more. For bedding they use mattress, quilt, blankets, etc. Today, it is observed that
only few women weave as most of the villages wear clothes bought from the nearby towns. Though they use modern threads the methods of warping and weaving still remains the same. Small scale private as well as government aided handlooms are coming up in almost all the villages owned by the women societies. They weave all types of modern shawls and *mekhalas*. In the Angami society, weaving is done by the women. However, many women do not know the art of weaving after the advent of education. Only few girls today know the art of weaving. Earlier weaving of clothes was for domestic consumption, today it is more for commercial purposes. Some women (illiterate women) take up weaving as a profession because there is a market demand. Even the government gives grant in aid and schemes from time to time providing them raw materials and assisting them by giving loans.

Today, most of the traditional dresses have been modified and the present Naga fashion designers make all sorts of dresses with the traditional patterns, designs and colours and this include neckties, waist coats, shawls and *mekhalas* in various designs and patterns. Some popular shawls range their prices between Rs. 1000-2000. While others may range between Rs.600-800, whereas, the handloom shawls range between Rs.300-600. All these have created avenues for some uneducated women to earn their living, while on the other hand there is a danger of completely doing away with the original traditional dresses and attires by introducing every time the modified ones. Earlier weaving was done during agricultural off season but today people weave cloths any time not only during the day but even at night due to availability of electricity. However, most of the young weavers have forgotten the
meaning and significance of the various colours which they use, and many designs and motifs. It is seen that the younger weavers weave just because they are taught to by their mother and because they feel that it is a part of their culture. They do not make an effort or simply are not interested in the meaning of the various designs. Many of the young girls are greatly influenced by the western culture. They prefer good education and more comfortable life than their parents as weaving involves a lot of hard work, dedication and physical discomfort.

(b) Blacksmithy

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

(c) Basketry

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

(d) Trade

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

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

With the dawn of twentieth century, economic position of the Angami Nagas changed considerably. Significant changes took place during the first world war when two thousand Nagas participated in the war as labourers for the allied forces. The return of the labour corp personnel from Europe with cash remuneration reinforced the cash economy in Naga Hills. And the Angamis are one who took initiative parts to change the economic patterns. Even the employment of the various government services as Dubashis (interpreters), school teachers, coolies, etc. helped accelerate the spread of cash economy.
Although the presence of a stable administration enabled the Angami tribes to develop trade to a certain extent, facilities for it remained limited. With the exception of the few Marwari shops at Kohima, Dimapur, trade and commerce remained largely one way traffic. They could go to the plains to sell their products and buy articles of their choice. However, trade in the districts was not open to the outsiders by the terms of the inner-line regulation of 1873.

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

During the late nineteenth century there was some brisk internal trade with Manipur in handloom products. The Manipuris improved upon all patterns of Naga cloth in their looms and sold them at much cheaper rates. The improvement of communications not only helped in trading facilities but also had positive impact on market prices, with the opening of cart road between Manipur and Dimapur the price of imported rice and
other commodities from the latter became comparatively cheaper at Kohima. It was then from here that all other Angami villagers came to Kohima to buy their necessities such as rice, salt, dry fish etc.

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

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

Wide accessibility of markets and improved communication, have led to the import of variegated fares – all up-to-date cosmetics and outfits for girls: gay coloured latest shirts and t-shirts, jeans, jackets, sandals, and various kinds of formal and casual shoes.
Dimapur district is the main railway and air services. National Highway No. 39 has connected Dimapur with Kohima. The 74 kilometre long pitched road is the main connecting road between Kohima and the rest of India. It goes up to Imphal through Kohima, the total distance is 216 km. The road is famous as Dimapur Manipur Road – Netaji Subhash Chandra had made advancement with his ‘Azad Hind Fauz’ on this road. Dimpaur is the main commercial centre of the state. Some industries are also been established here. The city is the gateway of Nagaland. Most trade in Dimapur is controlled and operated by Marwaris and North Indians. All the necessary commodities are available in Dimapur. So most of the Angamis go down to Dimapur for trading where they get things at a cheaper rates and start business in their own villages or native places. Some affluent Angami Nagas are finding it more and more difficult to continue to live in villages like Khonoma which have no modern amenities. And because of these reasons many villagers have migrated to the plain areas (Dimapur) to set up small business, where life is more comfortable and less expensive. So without any much effort they can live up to their expectation with others.

(2) Non-Material Culture

Family

Nuclear type of family is still observed from Hutton’s time. The type of residence which the Angamis follow after marriage is both patrilocal and neolocal.
At present out of 416 households, 396 households are of nuclear type and 20 are of extended type as shown by Table I. The typical Angami family is therefore nuclear type even today.

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

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

### Table I - Types of Family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuclear type</th>
<th>Extended type</th>
<th>Total number of households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>396</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field work.

### Table II - Family Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Children</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-3</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-6</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field work.
Father’s Role

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

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

Case 1

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

Case 2

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Business &amp; Agriculture</th>
<th>Labourer &amp; Agriculture</th>
<th>Carpentry &amp; Agriculture</th>
<th>Employees &amp; Agriculture</th>
<th>Employees – Govt. &amp; Private</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Agriculture – 226 + Employees – 194 = 420
Source: Field work.

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

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

Mother’s Role

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

Table IV – Main Occupation of a Mother

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Business &amp; Agriculture</th>
<th>Labourer &amp; Agriculture</th>
<th>Weavers &amp; Agriculture</th>
<th>Employees &amp; Agriculture</th>
<th>Employees – Govt. &amp; Private</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Agriculture – 335 + Employees – 92 = 417
Source: Field work.
The above table shows that many mothers have taken up more than a single occupation, to meet the need of the family.

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

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

Case 3

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Case 4

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

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

The eldest daughter is expected to look after her younger brothers and sisters in many aspects. She looks after them, teaches them their lessons and also trains them how to wash, cook etc. She also takes initiative in choosing her brother and sister's life partner. And it is her
utmost duty to look after her parents when they are sick. The daughters are not entitled to inherit ancestral property, once they are married they become more attached to their husbands' side.

**Case 5**

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

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

**Marriage**

**Mode of Acquiring Spouse**

Today, with regard to selection of one's spouse since youth dormitories do not function (*Kichüki*) the occasion and place of courting have changed. The villages still continue to have dormitories for boys whereas girls' dormitories exist no more and even these boys' dormitories are hardly used. Therefore today's boys and girls know each other through other means of contact and socialization such as through students activities, youth activities, church activities, in schools, colleges, work places, etc. This way young boys and girls come to know each other and if they intend to get married they go and express their feelings with their parents. If both the parents agree, a formal proposal of marriage will be brought by the boy's parents. In case the parents do not agree, cases of elopement also occur.
In the past, selection of spouse was based on qualities such as whether a person had taken any head or whether a person is hard working, and particularly weaving was a quality which every woman was expected to know. Today, the standard and criteria that people use are different. People emphasize more on education, wealth, beauty, chastity etc. Further, people who are educated prefer educated partner and feel that one should first be financially stable before one plans to get married.

Rules and Regulations of Marriage

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

Case 1

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

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

**Marriage ceremonies**

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

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

*A ‘Thema’ is neither a dowry nor a bride price. It is a gesture of uniting two families which is given in the form of animals by the groom to the bride’s family. Example, 1 cow, 1 mithun or 1 pig, it depends on the groom’s financial position.
well-wishers and all villagers help in the preparation for making of stage, reception hall, cooking, serving etc. And it is a must that two stages have to be made, one in the bride's place and the other in the groom's place. A lot of money is spent for stage decoration, church decoration, dress and for ornaments too. Both the bride and the groom go for the western dress such as coat, pant, tie for the groom, gowns, veil, bouquets for the bride and bridesmaid. However, there are some women who prefer wearing traditional Mekhala for the weeding occasion. Nowadays it has also become a tradition to make wedding cake and rings which was not there in the past. Men in general wear formal suit.

On the wedding day the ceremony is conducted in the church usually taking half an hour or a little more than that. When the first bell is rung, the groom and his best-man will arrive at the church. After few minutes when the second bell is rung, the bride and her bridesmaid will arrive. The bride is usually accompanied to the church by the bridesmaid, her brothers, sisters, parents, the ring boy, flower girls, relatives and her close friends. On entering the church the whole congregation will stand up and usually a musical piece is played by the pianist. After reaching the seat arranged for them and when the music is over, the Pastor, usually an ordained official will carry out the solemnization ceremony according to the rules and principles laid down in the scripture. The most important part is the oath taking where both parties promise to be committed and faithful to each other till death do part them. That is why marriage becomes a holy sacrament, because the promise is not just between two individuals but they take their vows both in the presence of God and man. After the solemnization ceremony in the church, they will proceed to the
bride’s house where a feast is to be held. A reception stage is also constructed where the couple will be seated for the evening. By evening the newly wedded couples will be sent off by the parents of the bride. The bride’s parents prepares a food for their daughter, usually one pot of rice and one pot of meat. Also one leg of an animal is given which is usually carried by one of the bride’s cousin brothers. This signifies that she is not going empty handed to her husband’s family. The cousin brother who fetched the leg is given one chicken which is taken home and killed for his whole family. When both couples are seated on the stage a ‘Thesa’* is asked by the peer group of the bride from the husband. A blameless chicken and some amount of money will be given to them. A representative from the group will come forward and bless the couple pronouncing:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Angami Marriage - types

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

Case 2

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

**Case 3**

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

(a) *Financial problem*

(b) Opposition from parents

(c) Stress and strain.

**Case 3(a)**

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

**Case 3(b)**

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

**Case 3(c)**

Another factor responsible for eloping is due to the conflict between different denominations, where the boy and the girl belongs to two different denominations opposition from the parents are likely to
flare up. This happened to Mr. Vile age 30, a Baptist, and Mrs. Avono, age 26, a Catholic. Because of their parent’s opposition they finally had to end up eloping.

Table III – Age of Marriage

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

Source: Field work.

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

Today, with regard to the age of marriage, boys and girls generally get married late comparing to the past. This is because most of them opt studies as their first priority and then take time to look for a job, without which there is no financial security. Later when they have procured a job they will plan for marriage. In the past since agriculture was their main occupation they naturally got married at an earlier age.
Case 4

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

Case 5

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

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

Divorce

Today, divorce is not encouraged and allowed on certain conditions. Incompatibility of temperament is the chief reason. The cases of divorce are less compared with the past. This is due to Christian principle and teaching. On the wedding day, both the bride and the bridegroom take oath before God and before the congregation to be faithful and not to leave each other until death and they regard the church
marriage as sacred. They will sign a bond of commitment. So for the Christians, once they are married there are very few cases of divorce. Even if they are at the verge of divorce, the pastor and the church leaders will counsel them and try to bring about settlement before the problem and the situation becomes difficult to handle. If both the couples agree not to live together on the ground of having extra-marital affairs, then both of them will be excommunicated from the church. But if only one of them is infedile he/she will be excommunicated from the membership and if the other spouse decides to leave his wife or her husband they will be allowed. In the case of mutual agreement for divorce the couples will divide all the properties equally.

Case 6

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

Remarriage

Case 7

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

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

**Kinship**

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

**Case 1**

There is one case, Mr. Neisa, age 40 and Mrs. Kevichû, age 35. They are from the same putsa (lineage), their parents and clan members were against their plan for marriage but in spite of the opposition they got married. They have settled in Medziphema village. At present they have 4 kids, two boys and two girls. There is another taboo that a son should not indulge in sexual advances towards his father's sister's daughter, because there is a clear cut chain of wife giving and wife receiving line in
the kinship structure. Uncle-niece marriage are also not allowed. But marriages between father’s sister’s son and mother’s brother’s daughter is considered to be the most preferred one of all.

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

The present society is such that everyone is busy in their own world because of which they cannot render help to each other even in times of needs, so people hardly render their help to their kinsmen during
their house construction, which was an important mark of kinship recognition.

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

Case 2

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

With the coming of Christianity ceremonial meat distributions are not practised anymore among the Christian. The relatives and the kin members may come and show their last respect. They give refreshments to the workers. The close kins may also bring shawls with them as a mark of respect but not denoting any ceremonial rule as such. However, in helping for digging the grave, arranging the seats and making refreshments the close kins are the first to do so, whereby other strangers would identify them as their close kins and relatives. Whenever any important person dies in the village the non-Christians still do blank firing. For Christians regardless of a person’s status a bell is rung for every one who passes away.
The Angami clan organization has got two moieties viz., Thekrunoma and Thevoma also known as Thepa/Thevo or Kepepfuma and Kepezoma respectively. Because of this reason there are slight differences in the kinship terminology even within one village. For example, in Khonoma village out of three Khels, Thevoma Khel belongs to Kepezoma ‘Kelhu’ (phratry) and address their father as ‘apuo’, whereas the other two Khels Semoma and Merhüma belong to Kepepfuma ‘Kelmi’ (Phratry) and they address their father as ‘apfu’. The following are the kinship terms where these differences can be noticed.

KINSHIP TERM

(Relationship with ego)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thevo (Kepezoma)</th>
<th>Thepa (Kepepfuma)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Apuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Azuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>Uprümuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>Uüpfnuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son</td>
<td>Anuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>Anuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder bro</td>
<td>A dzürieu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger bro</td>
<td>A siezeu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder sis</td>
<td>A dzüriepfü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s brothers – elder than father</td>
<td>Apuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger than father</td>
<td>Ania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s sisters – elder</td>
<td>Azuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- younger</td>
<td>Anie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Apuo
- Azuo
- Uprümuo
- Uüpfnuo
- Anuo
- Anuo
- A dzürieu
- A siezeu
- A dzüriepfü
- Apzü
- Ania
- Azuo
- Anie
Mother’s brother – Amei

Mother’s sisters – Azuo

Father’s bro’s wives-elder – Azuo
  - younger – Anie

Mother’s bro’s wives – Anie

Father’s sis’s husband – Ania

Mother’s sis’s husband – Ania

Husband – Npuo

Wife – Nzuo

Wife’s father – If the wife’s parents is elder
  - Apuo

If the wife’s parents is younger
  - Ania

Wife’s mother – depends on the relation (bit close related)
  - Azuo
  (not related)
  - Anie

Husband’s father - If the (hus)parents is elder
  - Apuo

Husband’s mother – depends on the relation (bit close related)
  - Azuo
  (not related)
  - Anie

Daughter’s husband – Unyanuo

Son’s wife – Umiepfü

Wife’s brother – by name

Sister’s husband – if the sister is elder
- *Athi*  
If the sister is younger  
- by name

Wife’s sister – If the sister is elder

- *Athi*  
If younger  
- by name

Brother’s wives (w.s.) – if the brother is older

- *Anei*  
if younger  
- by name

Brother’s wives (m.s.) – if the brother is older

- *Athi*  
if younger  
- by name

Husband’s sisters – if the husband’s sister is older

- *Anie*  
if younger  
- by name

Wife’s sister’s husband – by name

Husband’s brother’s wife – if the husband’s brother is older

- *Anei*  
if younger  
- by name

Son’s wife’s father – by name

Brother’s son (m.s.) – *Unuonuo*  
- *Unuonuo*  
Brother’s son (w.s.) – *Unuonuo*  
- *Unuonuo*
Brother’s daughter (m.s.) — *Unuonuo*  
Brother’s child (w.s.) — *Unuonuo*  
Husband’s brother’s son — *Unuonuo*  
Husband’s brother’s daughter — *Unuonuo*  
Wife brother’s child — *Puonuo (Unuonuo)*  
Sister’s child (m.s.) — *Unuonuo*  
Sister’s child (w.s.) — *Supjib1onuo (Unuonuo)*  
Father’s sister’s son — *Utsunuo*  
Mother’s brother’s son — *Unianuo*  
Father’s sister’s daughter — *Utsunuo*  
Mother’s brother’s daughter — *Utsunuo*  
Father’s brother’s son — *Upriinuomia*  
Mother’s sister’s son — *UpriJnuomia*  
Mother’s sister’s daughter — by name/*Uupfumia*  
Grand children — *Atsunuoko*  
Grand father — *Apuotsa*  
Grand mother — *Atsa*  
Father’s father’s brother — *Apuotsa*  
Father’s mother’s brother — *Apuotsa*  
Father’s father’s sister — *Atsa*  
Father’s mother’s sister — *Atsa*  

Kinship groups are usually classified into two broad groups, viz., classificatory kins group and descriptive kins group. In a classificatory type of kinship system, one single term is used for a set of persons standing in different types of relation to the ego and among themselves.
In the second type of kinship system, single kinship term refers only to a particular individual and specific kind of relationship. The kinship group found in Angami Naga society is that of classificatory. For example, even the father’s elder brothers are addressed as apuo (father) also even other male elders who are older than one’s father. Mother’s sisters are also called as azuo (mother), also the father’s brother’s wife if she is elder to one’s mother, she is called azuo (mother). To one’s sister’s husband if his/her sister is elder, then he is addressed as athi. The same term is also used in addressing one’s wife’s sisters including all the wife’s cousin sisters who are elder to the wife. This is also applicable to one’s brother’s wives if they are elder.

Analysis of kinship terms allows to draw the following:

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

(a) In the Angami society, especially the husband and wife address each other with specific terms. If they have children the husband would
be addressed as *Npuo* and the wife would be *Nzuo*. And they mostly use pet names.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(h) In the behavioural pattern, juniors should not address their seniors by name. If a person addresses his senior by name it implies that he does not respect his elders.
The Advent of Christianity in the Angami Naga Area

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

Christianity came to the Angamis with the British rule. American Baptist mission had started its mission with the headquarters at Sadiya, Assam in 1932. This later became the Assam mission. In 1872, the work among Aos was started, before the British annexed their area. In 1878, the mission board decided to start the work among the Angamis, and that year Mr. C. D. King came to Chümukedima. But during that time the Angamis were preparing themselves to drive back the British, who had established their headquarters at Kohima in 1878. In 1879, when the Angamis rose up against the British, Mr. C. D. King fled to Sibsagar. Only when the revolt was completely put down, was Mr. C. D. King able to come to Kohima on 25th February 1881. He started his mission by opening school in Assam with the help of Henry Goldsmith and Sarbay. But soon his school was taken up by a certain 'Babu'. In March 1883, the first church in Kohima was organized with six members, but without any convert. But till 1885, there was no single convert. The effort of C. D. King soon brought forth fruits in the form of the first converts in the Kohima field. It was on record that Lhousietsü, the first Angami Christian convert was baptized by C. D. King at Kohima on 21.6.1885. He later became a Dubashi, those days a prized post. And being a
government servant his first priority would have been his loyal service to the government he served. However, it was clear that he used whatever spare time he could get to help in the spread of the gospel. He was from Kohima village belonging to P. Khel, died in 2.2.1908. Lhouselie was the second man who had been baptized in the second week of July 1885. This man also became a government interpreter after leaving the School. C. D. King had pinned much hope on this man for his future works among the Angamis. He learned both Assamese and Bengali and because of this he was of much more use to C. D. King in his translation work. Sieliezhu studied in the mission school at Kohima and was baptized by C. D. King on 30-8-1885. His dedication and sincerity in late part of his career had earned confidence and appreciation of all the missionaries who had served in Kohima field.

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

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

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

Christian missionaries' work in the field of conversion has been on the whole sterile in the beginning. He attributed the reason of its failure to the virulent attack of the missionaries on everything that pertained to Hinduism and their
insistence on a clean break away from the family relationships and the surroundings of the Hindus. (K. M. Panikar, 1963: 47-48).

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

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

Among the first Christian converts Vizekho Terhúja was the first person to become a recognized pastor from 1921-1926. He became sick after he converted to Christianity and his family members suggested him to perform rituals, however, he refused and said that he would not perform rituals even if it would cost his life. Later on his sickness was gone due to his staunch faith. He was paid Rs. 3 as his monthly salary which was increased to Rs. 7/- . However, the church could not continue paying him for long so they bought a terrace field for him. He went about
from village to village preaching the good news of the Gospel. He had to carry himself all the basic necessities including, bedding, cups, plates, pots, rice and even salt wherever he went, which at present people do not usually carry all those stuff.

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

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

Case 1

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

The first converted Christians were branded as Ihova for being the follower of Jehovah. In fact, they faced lots of persecution from the non-believers. In the past no one dared to go to one particular place called
*Pelenyi-dziyebo* which is believed to be spirit infested due to the dire consequences (usually death) which people really had to face if they went.

**Case 2**

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

**Case 3**

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

Some of the main reasons why the non-Christians accepted the Gospel were:
1. Christians do not observe all the *pennas* (non-working day). For them they can work for the whole week except on Sunday.

2. Some group of people simply became Christian, because the children of the Christians were educated. Some parents allowed their children to become Christians, while they remained non-Christians.

3. The Christians preach the doctrine of salvation which is not known or taught in the traditional religion. So in order to get salvation some of them said they converted to Christianity.

4. In olden days when a person harvested more than hundred baskets of rice, it was compulsory for that particular person to give feast to the villagers, then followed by bigger feast, for which they had to spend a bulk of their wealth. Also they had to perform many rituals which was tedious and time consuming. Many villagers came to realize that giving feast was just a wastage of wealth and moreover they found it difficult to follow all the rituals and ceremonies.

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

1. Some said that they cannot give up drinking rice beer (*Zutho*), because once they become Christian they are not supposed to take drinks any more.
Case 4

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

Case 5

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

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

In the present Angami society when any one gets sick instead of performing the sacrifices even the non-Christians straight away go to the doctors and as for the Christians they invite the pastor or the deacons to pray for them. This is due to the fact that the old superstitions of the
sicknesses being caused by evil spirits have been driven away ever since the coming of Christianity and modern medicines.

Case 6

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

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

The role of church in the life of Angami Nagas is remarkable. Quite importantly, the church provides a code of ethics and levies sanction which reign their daily lives. The church prescribes absolute abstinence from rice beer to which they had been addicted for several years. The converts do not brew rice beer in their houses now, but some
purchase it from the non-Christian. There are no shops or agencies that manufacture or distribute rice beer.

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

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

Christianity has to a large extent transformed the life of Angami Nagas. It has introduced the system of formal education. In fact, Christianity and percolation of literacy are advantageably linked. Education helped the people to develop a modern outlook and thus, made them more susceptible to the forces of modernity. It was particularly conservatism. Once they, or whoever among them were able to do it, found the modern ideas and things to be more attractive and useful, as it would be also seen from various other instances. In the past, unmarried girls were required to shave their hairs regularly. But, today, with the
coming of Christianity and education even the non-Christian girls shave their hair no longer.

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

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

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

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

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

According to the Christian doctrine it states that, God is omnipresent, which means that God is present everywhere and He sees all things. He is self existent which cannot be hidden by those who know it and it cannot be completely obscured to the heathen. As the self
existent God, He is not only independent on Himself, but also causes everything to depend on Him. This self existent of God finds expression in the name of Jehovah. It is only as the self-existent and independent one, God can give the assurance that He will remain eternally the same in relation to His people.

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

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

For the animists salvation in terms of their physical life is not a new idea though its teachings are vague. Physical salvation is their daily concern. And the principle qualification for the abode of *Kepenopfu* is
that one should perform *zhatho* (merit feast), eat no unclean meat and follow several other precautions. But the Christians have done away with this kind of beliefs and practices. Beyond the physical salvation which also includes life on this earth and which is only for a short span of time, they believe in spiritual salvation and whosoever believes in Jesus Christ and accepts Him as their personal Lord and Saviour. And for them heaven would be their abode in their next life.

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

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

Presently, majority of the Angami Nagas are Christians and they constitute 94% of the total population and non-Christians constitute 6%. 
So the Christians no more observe *kenna, perna, nanyi, genna* all of which are a magico-religious observances observed by the animists to this day to some degree, though all the ceremonial rules such as wearing of the ceremonial dress, dancing, singing may be there. They still follow abstention from going to field during certain *pennas* but have reduced the days for observing *kennas* and *pennas* in the present day. The present generation has very little knowledge about the religious practices of their forefathers and even those old folks who still follow their traditional religion follow them nominally except some few ardent followers.

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

Among the Angami, *Sekrenyi* is considered as one of the most important festivals. At the time of *Sekrenyi* like before (1912) the non-Christians still celebrate it with great zest and delight. Still they practise the same *genna*, but the number of *genna* days have been reduced according to their convenience. Regarding the fourth day *genna*, since only very few of the youngsters are non-Christians, no one is there to go to jungle wearing ceremonial dress to collect pith, stick etc. Majority of them are Christians, so they cannot impose strict *perna* for the whole village. The Christians are loyal to their beliefs and doctrines, they disobey even when *genna* is imposed by the non-Christians.
At present regarding *Thezukepu, Titho* and *Thekranyi genna* all the necessary formalities are no more prevalent because majority of them are now Christians. Further, some old people who knows all the details of performing and rules of observing the *genna* have been converted to Christianity.

**Case 7**

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

Regarding the social *genna* today we can say that none of them are observed. In the village no one observes or even seems to care due to the change of lifestyle. Today many families get more rice grains and other crops compared with the past however, giving feast to the villagers on account of reaping great and bumper harvest is no more practiced. Moreover, Christians are more well established even in their economic life, so the non-Christians hesitate to give feast in the present day context.
Case 8

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

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