

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN ANGAMI CULTURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR FESTIVALS AND ATTIRES

Thesis submitted to Nagaland University in partial fulfilment for the award of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History

KEDIVONU KHARUTSO



Department of History and Archaeology

Nagaland University

Kohima Campus, Meriema

Kohima, Nagaland-797004

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**FOR
MOM & DAD**

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**Department of History & Archaeology
Nagaland University
Kohima Campus, Meriema**

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the research data presented in this accompanying dissertation titled, "CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN ANGAMI CULTURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR FESTIVALS AND ATTIRE" has been carried out by Ms. Kedivonu Kharutso bearing Regd. No. 663/2015 under my guidance and supervision. The present work is original in its content and has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree or diploma in any other University/Institute.

It is further certified that the candidate has fulfilled all the conditions necessary for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy under Nagaland University.



(PROF. TIAFOSHI JAMIR)

Supervisor

Department of History & Archaeology
Nagaland University, Kohima Campus
Meriema, Kohima, Nagaland.

Date: 17/11/2021



**Department of History & Archaeology
Nagaland University
Kohima Campus, Meriema**

DECLARATION

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

This is being submitted to Nagaland University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Candidate

Head
Dept. of History & Archaeology
N.U Kohima

Supervisor

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CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study

Every human society has its own culture. It is the culture that distinguishes one culture from other cultures, which speak about the people as one in evolution. Oxford Dictionary defines culture as, “The arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively, customs, civilization and achievements of a particular time or people.” According to Tylor, culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor, 1871). In the words of Sapir, culture includes those attitudes, views of life and specific manifestation of civilization that give a particular people its distinctive place in the world (cited in Thong & Kath, 2011).

According to Rapport & Overing (2000), culture pertains to a specific, historically contingent, way of life, which is expressed through its specific ensemble of artefacts, institutions and pattern of behaviour. It also pertains to that huge proportion of human knowledge and ways of doing things that is acquired, learned and constructed, that is, not innate to a newborn child (Rapport & Overing, 2000). Culture is both material and non-material. Material culture includes tools, implements, costumes, household objects, buildings, medium of transportation, ornaments etc., and non-material culture refers to system of ideas, polity, beliefs, rituals, taboos, value system and morals. Therefore, culture is both concrete and conceptual that is expressed in tangible objects as well as in ideas and philosophy (Nekha, 2015, p.10). In simple words, culture is a way of life and is the essence of communication for knowledge and understanding. It is that invisible bond that ties the people of a community together. Therefore Naga culture means the way of life of the Nagas, their religious beliefs, ideas, knowledge, values, ideals, attitudes, rituals, customs, music, arts, myths, symbols, language, food habits, manners, dances etc., that are transmitted from one generation to another.

Every culture has an underlying system of values and it is manifested in the way an individual or group of people live, think, feel, organize, celebrate and share life. These are

further marked by languages, gestures, symbols, rituals, life-styles and relations which inclusively govern the life, the thing and the actions of people. According to Kunnunkal, culture manifests itself through rituals, symbols, festivals, food, dress and celebrations which give the group a common identity (cited in Momen, 2010, p.40).

Festival is the sign of culture of any society. They are the outward manifestation of the identity of the community and provide a distinctive identifier of place and people. Devi (2004) observed, through the organised worship of deities the individual shares in the unity and harmony of the social order. Festivals reflect the dynamic value systems of individuals united by the same customs, images, collective memory, habits and experiences. Festivals can be replicated and each generation can pass on something of its experience to the next. They perform the vital role of connecting the present with the past while inculcating the spirit of communal solidarity and cooperation to work towards common goals. Similarly, attire display, express and shape cultural identity, imbuing it with a directly material reality. The silent language of dress plays a pivotal role in describing the culture of a group of people. The language of dress communicates the beliefs, norms and values of a community. Dress language has been seen to be a mirror of their culture and positively affects their culture in that it is used as a tool to transmit their cultural values and norms to the next generation.

Like many other tribal culture of the world, the Nagas have distinctive and diverse cultural heritage which is reflected through various traits, patterns and complexes. It is the rich unique culture which distinguishes them from other cultures. Festivals are very important part of the Naga people's life. Festivals are being observed by all the Naga tribes which their traditional history and practices are recounted and the traditional attires exhibited. The major Naga festivals are linked to agricultural cycle and there are special songs, dances, rituals and feasts at each stage of the cycle. These festivals highlight the rich cultural values and tradition cherished by their ancestors. Through these festivals, the values and beliefs of the people are demonstrated; they give meaning to the social, political and religious life of the people celebrating them. They are vital source of the Naga traditional education and culture. But, with the decrease in number of non-Christians and under the influence of Christianity, most of the traditional rituals and ceremonies are either forgotten or transformed.

Modernization and westernisation have made such an impact on the Nagas that the current generation is not strong enough to resist other foreign cultures; they have already adapted to new way of life and also adopted other forms of dress. In the traditional Naga society, every tribe had its unique traditional attire. Each tribe had distinct colours and

designs on their shawl which highlight the tribal identity and the status of a person in that society. Today, such identities are diminishing since it is only during ritual ceremonies and other special occasions where dress is used properly to communicate their identity. The way of life of the Naga people have been destroyed by contact with the West. The traditional way of life which remains has become increasingly difficult to maintain in the face of globalization. Today, Naga culture has become a mixture of various cultures resulting in the neglect of one's own traditional culture in favour of a foreign culture. The rich, unique culture and tradition of the Nagas are already at high risk of being erased by and assimilated into multi-cultural entities. These indigenous art and customs are caught in the crossfire between the need to protect and project the Naga unique cultural heritage and adoption of a perceived modernity which are key factors in creating identity for Nagas as an ethnic group.

Change is inherent in the nature of culture and it is a permanent factor of human civilization, which goes on everywhere and at all times. Malinowski (1945) maintains that culture change is the process by which the existing order of a society, that is, its social, spiritual, and material civilization, is transformed from one type into another. Culture change thus covers the more or less rapid processes of modification in its domestic institutions and its mode of territorial settlements; in its beliefs and systems of knowledge; in its education and law; as well as in its material tools and their use, and the consumption of goods on which its social economy is based (Malinowski, 1945, p. 1). Every society undergoes change. Some changes originate from and are promoted by innovators from within the cultures whereas some are inspired directly or indirectly by outside agencies (Dube, 1992). However, despite change, some cultural elements continue to exist in their original or modified form. Tylor rightly stated that when a custom, an art, or an opinion is fairly started in the world, disturbing influences may long affect it so slightly that it may keep its course from generation to generation (Tylor, 1871, p.62).

In the light of this, an attempt has been made to present the traditional festivals and attires of the Angami society and also to trace their persistence of change through the ages in the process of acculturation. By studying the traditional festivals and attires, we may be able to understand the way of life of the people and the way in which changes have taken place. Keeping all these in view, the Angami traditional culture and the existing state of affair are discussed. The present study therefore, examines how traditional festivals and attires manifest the culture of the Angami Nagas and also identifies the changes that have taken place in the Angami culture in recent times.

1.2. Review of literature

There is a vast amount of literature on the study of tribal festivals and attires in different parts of India, most of it in the form of essays and articles in academic journals. Therefore a brief survey of some of the more significant writings is referred for the present research. We shall first examine some of the writings on this subject in general and then examine those writings which deal with the Nagas and Angami tribe.

Singh (2010) in his book *Festivals of India* writes that Indian festivals speak of India's rich cultural and traditional wealth. The colourful festivals are an integral part of every Indian. Every region celebrates their festivals according to their regional customs and rituals. He further points out that every celebration centers around the rituals of prayer seeking blessings, exchanging goodwill, decorating houses, wearing new cloths, music, dance and feasting. The festivals reflect the vigour and lifestyle of the people. Chugh (2008) observes that festivals play a dominant role in the society. They have deep links with the customs, beliefs and traditions. Festivals bring about a sense of religious unity among the communities. According to Chandra (2011) festival has two main aspects-1) Magico-religious covering sacrifices and offerings to deities for appeasement and 2) Recreational through drinking, dancing and singing.

In the book *Indian Costumes* (1985), Biswas gives a brief survey of Indian apparel through the ages as well as in different regions of the country. In this book, the author states that costumes are cultural visual of the people. It provides a vital clue to their socio-economic conditions, their mood and taste, their aesthetic temper, their love for beauty and refinement, their art and skill to adjust to the material and geographical environment, their resourcefulness, their resilience to influences, external and internal, in short, their way of living. A historical pageant of costumes of a community or a nation is an essential aspect of its cultural heritage. Governed by time and clime, they play multiple roles as they provide adornment and maintained modesty; while at the same time indicate the status of a person in society.

Costumes of Indian Tribes, edited by Metha (2011) gives an account on the traditional costumes of the tribals. He asserts that the tribals are an intrinsic part of our national life with their rich cultural heritage. The costumes of every tribal group are different and give them special identity. According to him, clothing is an expression of the person, reflecting personality, way of living, way of thinking and especially, pride in self or family. It is a reflection of one's taste, personality, life and values. Costumes conveys more than mere

clothing. It also includes coiffure and ornaments. Whatever might be the origin of the costume it provides the visible index of the homogeneity and the unity of people. Added to this view, Ramchandran (2011), in one of the essays, points out that, costumes ensure a certain degree of modesty and affiliation to a group. The traditional pattern of costumes identifies a person to a particular cultural unit and most often highlights his or her position within that unit. In short, it is a symbolic representation of gender, status, designation and perspectives with some role of communication.

One of the important general works dealing with Naga Culture is the book *Naga Cultural Attires and Musical Instrument* edited by Ao (1999). This book describes about the material cultural aspects of the Nagas associated with festival, ceremony, head hunting, song and dance. The writer, not only meaningfully presents the socio-cultural beliefs and practices of the Nagas, but also outlines the trend of changes that are taking place in Naga society. Further describing the dresses of both men and women, and ornamental items, the author writes that man's ingenuity is clearly manifested in the dresses he creates to cover his body, while his sense of aesthetics is reflected in the ornaments he adorns.

Naga Society and Culture by Lanunungsang and Jamir (2005) also provides information on Naga culture. The study describes the traditional cultural values, socio-cultural beliefs, practices, customs and traditions etc. of the Naga society. Further, it examines the impact of Christianity on culture of the Nagas. This work is tribe specific and deals only with Ao Naga tribe. In the book *Naga Identity*, B.B. Kumar (2005) discusses at length the migration, culture, social structure, ethnicity, religion, languages and village polity of the Nagas. Beside the description of the role of *morung* among the Nagas, the author has also mention briefly about the dresses and ornaments of the Nagas.

Shimray (1986), in his book, *Origin and Culture of the Nagas*, observes that though different tribes have different timings for different festivals, the motive and the modes of festivals are similar for all the Nagas. The common features of all Naga festivals relating to sowing, transplantation and harvesting etc. is that there is always an appeal to the Supreme Spirit to allow the crops grow abundantly and to protect the crops from birds, pests, rats and natural calamities such as hail storms. In token to the Supreme Spirit, all the Nagas observe festivals.

Similarly Nshoga (2009), in his book, *Traditional Naga Village System and its Transformation* notes that the festivals of the Nagas vary from tribe to tribe. There are some Nagas, who celebrate the festival before the ensuing of agricultural operation, to appease the

deity to control the natural calamities and maximize the crops, while the other Nagas observe the festival after the harvest to give their gratitude to the deity for bumper harvest. Festivals are often a culmination of thanksgiving, reconciliation, purification and sanctification of the people, and also they mark the beginning or welcoming the New Year.

Maitra's (1991) work *Nagaland: Darling of the North-East* presents a comprehensive picture of Nagaland with its historical and socio-geographical accounts. It also includes interesting description of the various Naga tribes, their customs, rites, social systems, head-hunting, art and crafts etc. laying special emphasis on their colourful festivals. Describing the festivals of the Nagas, the author writes that the Nagas are fond of festivals, dance and music and of course, feasts. Every tribe takes a meticulous care in observing the details connected with a festival. The details are considered sacrosanct. Before the commencement of the festival, villages are given a lift-up, approach roads are cleared and repaired, wells cleaned, departed souls remembered, feasts given. The participation of young ones is very significant. They learn the rituals and customs so that they can take over in future. Festivals bring equality and unity among all the villagers. Haksar (2011) also expresses similar view on celebrations of traditional festivals and adds that festivals celebrate the unity of the community and affirm the social relationship that formed the basis of the community. However, their works was more of a general discussion on festivals and did not discuss in detail the Angamis traditional festivals.

Thong & Kath (2011)'s work, *Glimpes of Naga Legacy and Culture* describe the cultural life of the Nagas. According to them, festivals means-agricultural season of feasting of meat and rice-beer, accompanied by songs and colourful dances, display of ceremonial dresses and ornaments, community works, games and socialization, ritual sacrifices for fertility of crops and good harvest, observation of certain *genna*, remembering of the beloved departed soul and transmission of cultural heritage to the young generations.

Karmakar (2008) in the book, *Where the Warriors Waltz: Festivals of Nagaland* writes that the festivals of Nagaland, marking the sowing or harvesting season, are more than just singing, dancing and making merry. They are about valour, vitality and veritable customs inspired by nature, about sacrifice, sharing, caring, friendship, kinship and community bonding.

Assumi (2009) in his book, *The Sumi Ahuna* writes that , festivals days are a period of time set aside to commemorate, celebrate or anticipate events or seasons, agricultural, religious, or socio-cultural that identifies and gives meaning to an individual and to the

community. They have religious, political and socio-economic implications that usually include sacred community meals and feasts. Depending upon the central purpose of a feast or festival, the celebration may be solemn or joyful, merry and festive, often including not only feasting but also dramatic dancing and athletic events.

Nagi (2018) in her book *Traditional Festivals of Nagaland, Volume – I*, gives a comprehensive description of festivals of the various Naga tribes with their associated rituals and performances. She describes the festivals as events staged by a community not only for entertainment but also to reinforce the identity of the group and disseminate the important values of the community. It reflects a sense of unity between the physical and the spiritual and also serves to offer a sense of belonging for the religious, social or geographical groups. However, her work does not discuss the changes that have taken place in recent years.

Vidyarthi (1993) in the book, *Art and Culture of North-East India*, observes that the Nagas are famous for their shawls. Different Naga tribes have different shawls of their own design. The motifs, designs and pattern are quite complex and their symbolic meaning and usages are rather significant. Haksar (2011) points out that by looking at the shawl of a man or woman was wearing you could tell which tribe the person belonged to and what status he or she had in that society. Shimray (1986) describe the shawls as the forms of art on which the finest minds of the Nagas have applied. Alemchiba (1968) states that, these shawls are not only for wearing but unwritten books because the Nagas have woven their history in these shawls.

Enie (2014), in his article *Interpreting Traditional Male Warrior Attires of Kyon Nagas* describes the attires of men. He states that, the traditional male dress is colourful and is looked upon with much regard according to the different meanings and significance the attire represent. The dresses indicate his achievement and status in the society. It serves different purpose for every occasion and has its impact in the society. Such attires also allowed him to make decisions and speak on behalf of the village. The traditional attires give different status to every individual, thus identifying them on the basis of the motif and design on the attires. Brave warriors usually had the best and most decorated motifs. They were given the highest regard and were at the top of the social ladder. Traditional attires also signify their bravery and act of gallantry in wars and other feats. Most accomplished warriors would be often seen with complete attires and would be highly regarded by the society. Ganguli (1984) also points out that a person who could provide a feast of merit was highly

respected and honoured. He was entitled to wear beautifully designed ornaments and colourful shawls.

Thong & Kath (1997) states that the traditional ceremonial attire of each tribe is in itself, an awe inspiration sight to behold; the multi-coloured spears and daos decorated with dyed goat's hair, the headgear made of finely woven bamboo interlaced with orchid stems, adorned with boar's teeth and hornbill's feathers, elephant tusk armlets. In the days of yore, every warrior had to earn each of these items through acts of bravery, to wear them. The finest of cloths could be worn only by the head-hunter or the donors of the feast of merit. It would be hard to beat a Naga in his ceremonial fineries and his natural skill and taste in making use of the cowries, feathers, goats hair dyed red, shells, bones and ivory.

According to Stirn & Ham (2003), every traditional piece of Naga wear is an expression of the Naga philosophy of life, world-view and traditional values. Naga cloth and traditional Naga attire express a great aesthetic sense embedded in and shaped by the natural environment. Julian Jacobs (1990) in the book, *The Nagas: Hill People of Northeast India* writes, appearing to be both one people and many tribes, the Nagas displayed both unity and diversity in their dress and ornament. For the Nagas, dress and ornament are more than a matter of aesthetics. They help make statement about and to define, the identity of individuals and groups.

N. Venuh's (2004) book, *Naga Society: Continuity and Change* focuses on the scenario of social and cultural change that is taking place in the Naga society today. In one of the essay in the book *Beliefs and Practices: A Perspective Change*, Babu (2004) refers to the old tribal beliefs and practices and their transformation with the coming of Christianity. According to the writer, some practices underwent a radical change, however, most beliefs continued with some modifications. Aier's (2004) article *Cultural change among the Nagas* looks into the dynamics of cultural change among the Nagas with special reference to festival, dress and the transformation that took place when Christianity was introduced. However, she maintains that the basic cultural framework of the Naga society has not been drastically changed. In her article, Aier describes the Nagas as a colourful people with a creative sense of colour combinations, graphic designs. The various motifs of the traditional clothing are drawn primarily from their everyday environs as well as their ritual life. The use of cowrie shells in their dress is one of the distinctive features of the Naga dress and ornaments. Most importantly, for the Nagas, dress and ornaments are more than a matter of aesthetic and decency but the symbolism it plays that are significant in their culture and

social life. They make unspoken clear statements that define the identity of the wearer, their social status, and the group to which they belong.

Change in the Naga culture has been observed in the writings of some scholars and writers. Horam (1990), states that Christianity, while giving the Naga people new things, damaged the old image and cultural values of the Naga people. It destroyed Nagas religious and cultural values, threatening family norms, social ethics and cultural religious meanings in the name of modernisation. Added to this view, Chasie (2004) in his essay, *Administrative and Social Factors: The Change in Naga Society*, observes that with the advent of Christianity, the world of the Nagas was now truly turned upside down as beliefs and value systems changed, traditional institutions and practices on which depended the fabric of society were undermined and relegated to the background, lifestyles changed, new habits formed etc. All Naga beliefs and cultural practices were looked upon as pagan and to be shunned. They introduced change but this change threatened to completely sever all vital links to the Naga's cultural and historical roots.

Mehrotra (1992) opines that with the advent of Christianity, education, modernization and westernization, the Nagas have discarded their ethnic lifestyle, clothes and tradition to adopt alien culture. Similarly, Singh (2008) points out that the impact of modernity on the Naga people as a whole has not only transformed the society affecting the old cultural values and traditional institutions but also changed the character, habits, behaviour and mind of the Nagas.

Although there are no studies specifically on Angami festivals and attires as such, there are a few works on the Angami tribe that provide important information. The monograph on the Angami tribe written by Hutton (1921) is the first comprehensive account of the tribe which provides a basis for understanding the changes that have taken place in the Angami culture. Suri's *The Angami Nagas* (2006) is another book which gives us an in-depth study on the Angami Nagas from the Physical Anthropology point of view. The study provides a comprehensive account of the physical characteristics of the Angami Nagas. The study attempts to reflect on the ethnic position of the Angamis by comparing their physical traits with those of the other Naga tribes of Nagaland and other major tribes of North-east India.

Sanyu (1996), a prominent Naga writer in his book *A History of Nagas and Nagaland (Dynamics of Oral Tradition in Village Formation)* provide us detailed information on the

early history of the Angami from early village formation to British colonization. He used oral tradition in tracing the pre- British history of the Angami Nagas.

Traditional Culture of the Angami Nagas and *The Angami Nagas under Colonial rule* (2014) authored by Zetsuvi are two important books which provide valuable information about the Angami Nagas. His first book gives us information about the social structure, religion, customary laws and practices, art and culture of the Angamis while the other book gives detailed information on British colonization and the Angamis, under the colonial rule.

The work of Changkiri (1999) is also another important source for the study of the Angami. Her work gives an account of the geographical, ethnological and historical background of the Angami Nagas and then goes on to present a comprehensive and critical analysis of their relation with the British government. Further, it also examines the administrative development, and moral, and material progress of the Nagas and assesses the impact of British rule on the social, political and economic life of the Nagas.

There are some other books which also provide information on the Angami culture with reference to their festivals and attires. In *Religious ethos of the Angami Naga*, Mathur (1992) gives a brief description of the cultural and traditional life of the Angami people. Her main focus was on the indigenous religion practiced by the Angamis. Maitra (1991) points out that the festivals present an intimate picture of the culture and social life of the Angami Nagas. On Angami traditional attire, Maitra writes that their dress is indicative of their valour and social position. They make lavish use of cowries, feathers, goat's hair dyed red, shells, bone, coloured cane, ivory etc. in their dress.

Shimray (1986) in his book *Origin and Culture of Nagas* gives a brief description of the Angami attire. He writes that Angami Nagas have varieties of shawls of which *Lorupfhe*, *Lohe*, *Kenyifhe*, *Pfhememhou*, *Meyha*, *Loramhoushu*, *Phoukuonuo* are the popular ones. The shawls which indicate social distinction are *Phichüpfe* worn by village priest and *Zathopfhe* worn by those who have performed stone dragging ceremony for feast of merit. Further, he observed that for the Angamis, the kilts called "*Meshunei*" are indicative of social status rather than the shawls. Three lines of cowrie shells on the kilt show that the weaver is a warrior and the four lines a warrior of repute.

Added to this view, Kumar (2005), points out that the chief article of attire of the Angamis, and one which distinguishes him from most other Nagas, used to be, and still is during special occasions, a kilt of blue or black cotton cloth of home manufactured, decorated

with three, and sometimes, though very rarely, with four, horizontal rows of small white cowrie-shells.

Butler (1875) writes, as regards to the dress of the Angami, “I do not think that we can easily find a more picturesque costume anywhere than that of the men, but it requires to be seen to be understood and I am afraid no amount of description can adequately represent the vivid colours, and general get-up of a well-dressed Angami warrior, flashing about in all his gala war-paint”. Similarly, Haskar (2011), Maitra (1991) and Nshoga (2009) have collected some information on festivals and attires of the Angami society. But it is sketchy and needs to be further elaborated.

All these studies show that festivals are a very important part of the Naga people’s life and hence Nagaland is no doubt known as the land of festivals. The studies also indicate that attires with all its symbolic significance form an indispensable ingredient of Naga festivals, making the culture of the Nagas unique. Moreover, some scholars and writers has also pointed out that Naga society is undergoing changes and this has its impact on the cultural life of the people.

While these studies are mostly tribe specific and limited, they give us a general idea about the festivals and attires of the Nagas. As Venuh (2004) has rightly stated, the Nagas belong to multi ethnic group and subgroups with varied languages and dialects, cultures and customs and traditions and legends. However, there is similarity in physical features and affinity in culture and their habitats are contiguous.

Although Sanyu (1996), Changkiri (1999), and Suri (2006) works is tribe specific because it deals primarily with the Angami tribe; they provide very limited information on the culture of the Angamis. Zetsuvi’s (2014) work provides a comprehensive account of the Angami traditional culture but the author did not provide the kind of detail on festival and attires. Similarly, while Nagi (2018) has given a comprehensive study of Angami festivals, the study did not examine issues pertaining to changes and continuity in Angami festivals. The above literature review suggests that no study was conducted with regards to traditional attires. Moreover, the literature is also scant with very few studies dealing with culture change among the Angamis in contemporary situation. There are thus gaps in our knowledge that this study aims to primarily achieve with reference to the Angami festivals and attires and their continuity and change.

1.3. Objectives of the study

From the survey of literature, it is apparent that there are now many scholarly works on Naga culture, including those studies on the festivals and attires. But one fail to notice any study specifically directed towards the festivals and attires of the Angami. There is, therefore, a gap in the studies on the culture of the Angami. The present study is an attempt to fill this gap to some extent with several objectives in mind:

1. Investigate the nature of the festivals, its celebration in Angami society with the view to determine how festivals, as part of the Angami society reflects their culture i.e., religious beliefs, social and economic life, education as well as other artistic forms and aesthetics.
2. Examine how traditional attires and its symbolic significance reveal complex notion of social identity relating to group, village, clan etc.
3. Examine and analyse the nature of changes taking place in Angami society and culture.
4. Determine the factors and forces of change and the effects of these changes on Angami society.

1.4. Statement of the problem

The Angami Naga society is apparently undergoing a process of transition. It is true that no society can remain isolated in this globalised world and the Angamis are no exception. In the past, the Angamis took great pride in celebrating festivals and adorning themselves in their traditional attire. Today, the trend has changed. The current generation of the Angami society are gradually losing interest in the knowledge, true meaning and value of traditional festivals, and to the extent of losing the cultural values of traditional attire. They are adapting to a new way of life and in certain cases disregarding their old traditional values and way of life. The traditional festivals and attires are going through changes to fit the changing times and these changes have affected the Angami people and their culture.

Modernisation has brought in changes within their traditional society, cultural norms, its values and attitudes. Furthermore, westernization has taken its toll on the Angami society, and is being absorbed into the cultural life of the Angami people. The rich cultural tradition which made life so colourful and attractive is almost completely neglected thus threatening the traditional culture. The challenge facing the present and the future generation is the threat of losing one's cultural identity. With the gradual decline in elderly populations who could

preserve their oral tradition it is felt that the traditional knowledge system are lost. Moreover, with very limited written record, the Angami culture and tradition are at high risk of being erased completely. Therefore, the task now is to ensure that the best of the old tradition and culture does not disappear in the midst of the new changes. The need of the hour is therefore to retrieve and preserve the deteriorating cultural values and tradition for posterity.

1.5. Significance of the study

Festivals and attires play an important role in the cultural development of an individual as well as provide us with healthy rejuvenation. Studying the celebration of festivals and attires would help educate Angamis in particular and the Nagas in general. It will also help them to understand how the celebration of festivals and traditional attires reflects and affect the people's religious beliefs, social, and economic lives, and education. It will, moreover, help them to recognise and appreciate the value of the festivals and attires as part of the culture of their society. This will help inspire and resuscitate the deteriorating knowledge of festivals and traditional attires. Festivals and attires carry the message of the past generations to the present and the future, and thereby help in preserving the cultural heritage of a community. The purpose of the study is, therefore, to contribute to our understanding of festivals and attires and their significance within the context of a rapid transforming society. Besides, to ascertain that festivals like other cultural institutions, can contribute to communication of ideas, inculcation of value system, promotion of active citizenship, improve the understanding of its associated cultural values and above all preserving one's cultural identity.

Furthermore, the study of transformation will help the Angamis to discover the factors that have brought changes on their society and their culture, and may help them to know what measures should be taken to sustain and if possible, improve the positive impact the festivals and attires has on them.

1.6. Area of study

The geographical area of study is confined within the Angami inhabited region of Nagaland. The *Angami* Nagas are one of the major tribe in Nagaland. They inhabit mostly the district of Kohima and the adjoining district of Dimapur. The Angami groups are commonly identified on the basis of their geographical distribution as the Northern, Southern, Western and Chakhro. Those living in Kohima and adjoining villages in the North of Kohima are the

Northern Angamis. Those towards south of Kohima on the foothills of Mt. Japfü are the *Southern Angamis*; those to the West of Kohima are the *Western Angamis*, while those living towards Dimapur and adjoining areas of Dimapur are the *Chakhro Angamis*.

The *Angami* villages that are sampled for study, includes, Jakhama (Southern), Kohima (Northern), Khonoma (Western) and Medziphema (Chakhro) (Figure 1 & 2). As the sampling of villages were guided by familiarity, access, and proportions in developmental activities. Jakhama is a southern Angami village, situated along the Kohima-Imphal National Highway 29. Quite a few educational institutions have mushroomed around the villages and the people have gained immensely from them. Khonoma, a historical village in the Western Region was involved in a struggle against the British. Kohima is located at the centre of the Angami country, and is the capital of Nagaland State. Medziphema, formally known as Ghaspani, is one of the biggest Angami villages in the Chakhro region, located between Kohima and Dimapur.

Table 1: Villages sampled for Study.

Region	Village name	Total household	Total population	No. of males	No. of females
Southern	Jakhama	1795	9911	5877	4034
Northern	Kohima	3374	15,734	7818	7916
Western	Khonoma	446	2039	973	1066
Chakhro	Medziphema	265	1217	608	609

(Source: Primary Census Abstract, Kohima, 2011)

1.7. Methodology

In order to study the continuity and change in culture of any human society, it is necessary to take into account historical developments. Unfortunately, in the case of the Angamis, historical material is scanty. Most authors who wrote on the Angami culture did not make the subject on festivals and attires their priority. In cases where they did, information was often sketchy.

The present study is essentially a case study, employing qualitative methods. For the purpose of documentation, data was sourced from both primary and secondary sources. While

primary data was collected through field work in the selected villages, secondary data was gathered from various sources.

Documented literature on this subject matter are scanty, hence, data gathered from field work form the bulk of the present study. For the collection of primary data, personal interviews and participant observations are some of the key methods utilised in this research. In-depth interviews were held with knowledgeable informants and elders, both Christians and non-Christians, village community members etc.

Wherever necessary, photographs were utilised to support the study. Purposeful sampling was employed to select the villages and access informants. The sampling design was purposive since the selection of the key informants was based on their knowledge and experience of the traditional festivals and attires.

In addition, material from various secondary sources has also been utilised. These sources are old monographs on the Nagas written by colonial administrators, Gazetteers, and other official documents, books, journals, published and unpublished documents, articles, magazines and other print materials. As documented literatures on the subject matter are scanty, therefore, primary data formed the bulk of this study.

1.8. Organisation of Chapters:

The thesis is structured into six chapters. The first chapter gives the background of the study, review of literature, objectives, statement of the problem, significances, scope, area of study, and chapterisation.

The second chapter gives a brief profile of the Angami Naga viz. its origin, migration and settlement, socio-economic life, religious belief system, traditional customs and practices etc. Chapter three describes the various traditional festivals observed by the Angamis. The sequence of events and significance of each festival is discussed in detail.

The fourth chapter describes the various traditional attires of the Angamis. The chapter also discusses the significance of the various attires, coiffure and ornaments. The fifth chapter discuss the changes that have taken placed in the way festivals were celebrated and the attires adorn. Continuity and change between the past and the present is described in this chapter. The last chapter gives the findings and concludes the main themes of the thesis.

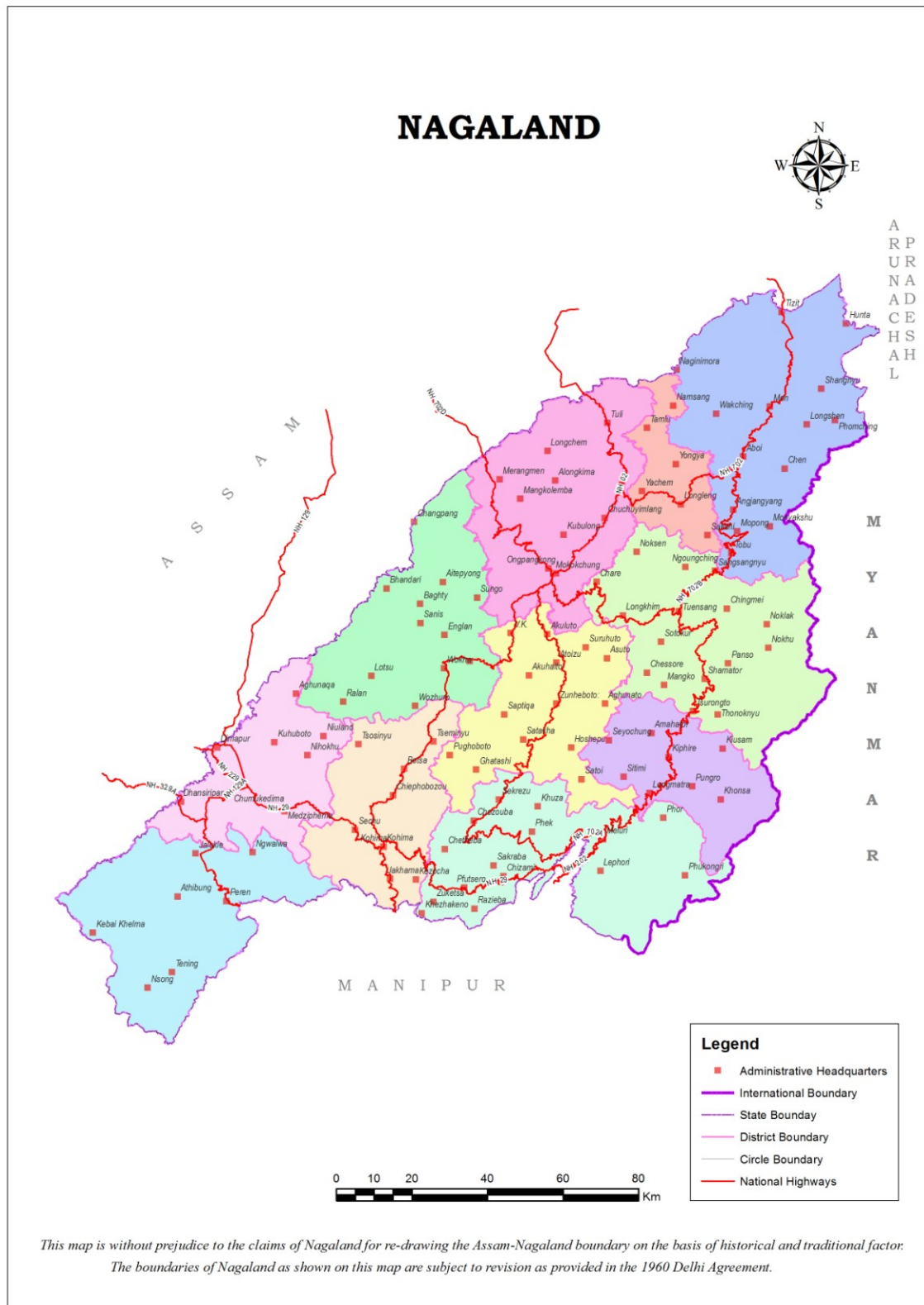


Figure 1: Map of Nagaland.

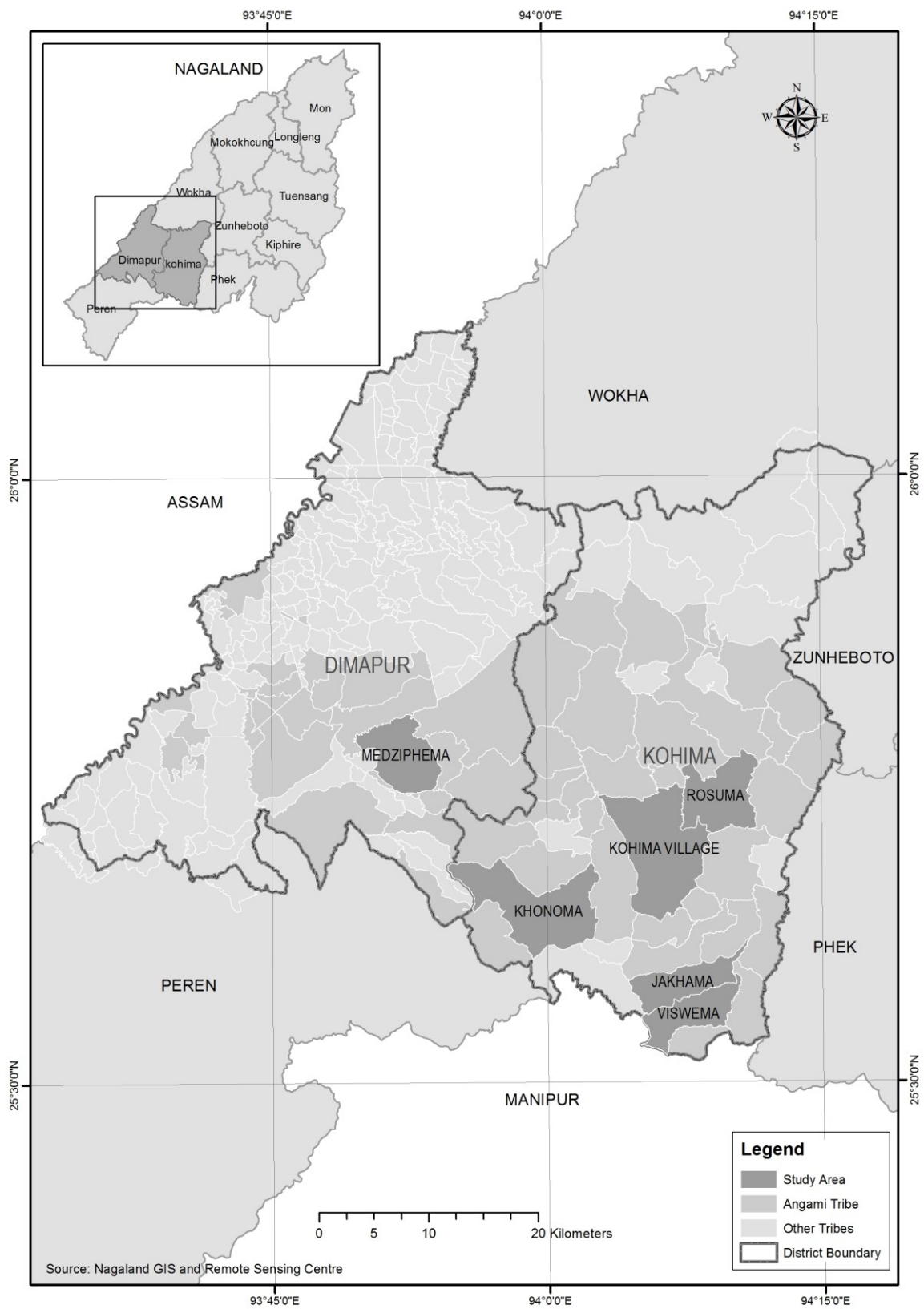


Figure 2: Map of study area.

CHAPTER- 2

THE ANGAMI NAGAS

2.1. Nagaland: An overview

Nagaland is the sixteenth state of India, situated in the extreme Northeast of the country. It covers an area of 16,579 sq.km and lies between 25°6' and 27°4' latitude North of Equator and between 93°20' and 95°15' East longitude. The altitude varies approximately between 194 metres and 3048 metres above mean sea level. The State is largely mountainous in terrain, with several ranges breaking into many spurs. Mount Saramati in Kiphire district, measuring 3,840 metres above mean sea level is the highest peak in the State. The other important mountains are Mount Japfü and Mount Pauna standing at the height of 3014 and 2841 metres respectively. The State is bounded by Arunachal Pradesh to the North, Assam in the West, Manipur in the South and Myanmar in the East.

The State is divided into eleven districts viz., Kohima, Phek, Mokokchung, Wokha, Zunheboto, Tuensang, Longleng, Dimapur, Kiphire and Peren, with Kohima as the capital of the State. The population of Nagaland consist of sixteen major tribes' viz. Angami, Ao, Chakhesang, Chang, Khiamungan, Kuki, Konyak, Kachari, Lotha, Phom, Pochury, Rengma, Sumi, Sangtam, Yimchungrü and Zeliang. According to the 2011 census, Nagaland has a population of 19.81 lakhs (Census of India, 2011).

As the very name indicates, Nagaland is the land of the Nagas, an indigenous people racially and culturally distinct from other tribal groups. The Nagas belong to a Mongoloid group of people. Agriculture is the main occupation and majority of the people depends on it for their livelihood. Although most Nagas are now Christians, there are still a few that still follow the traditional religion. Each of the Naga tribes has its own unique customs and traditions. While they differ in terms of customs, traditions, language and dress, yet they also exhibit similarities. The colourful life and culture still continues to be an integral part of their life.

2.2. The Angami Nagas

The Angamis are one of the major Naga tribes. They inhabit the present Kohima district and

part of the Dimapur district of Nagaland. The Angami inhabited area is bordered by Zeliangs, Rengmas, Chakhesangs and Maos. The area is mountainous, with very high peaks and deviated ridges, irregular spurs and deep valleys. The Angamis are a distinct tribe and differ from other Naga tribes. Hutton (1921, p.15) identifies four distinct groups among them viz. the Khonoma group, the Kohima group, the Viswema group, and the Chakhroma group. At present, it is common to identify them on the basis of their geographic distribution as the Northern, Southern, Western, and Chakhro Angami. Those living in Kohima and surrounding villages in the north of Kohima are the *Northern Angami*, those living to its west are the Western Angami, and those to the south of Kohima are the *Southern Angami*, while those living on the slopes along the National Highway from Kohima to Dimapur are the *Chakhroma Angami* (Christina, 2009, p. 194). Today, the Western Angami consists of ten 10 villages, Southern Angami 11 villages, Northern Angami 19 villages and Chakhroma 22 villages (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 4). Although the Angamis are a distinct tribe, there are minor differences among them. Each village has a slightly different dialect of its own. However, they have a common language called *Tenyidie*, which is intelligible to by every Angami.

The Angamis called themselves *Tenyimia*. However, the term *Tenyimia* does not merely cover the Angamis alone, but includes other tribes such as Zeliang, Chakhesang, Rengma and Mao. Angamis were called *Tsungumi* by the Sema, *Tsungung* by the Lotha and *Mour* by the Aos (Das, 1994, p. 63).

According to Hutton, the word “Angami” is apparently a distortion of Manipuri word *Gnamei*. It was believed that the term was conferred on them by the British as prior to that there was no such name as “Angami”. It is a term derived from the Zeliang word ‘*Hungamai*’ which means ‘thieves’ (Hutton, 1921, p.16). It is told that the Zeliang Nagas used to call them so because they were being robbed and harassed by the Angami and, particularly the Khonoma people. Moreover, the Angamis used to carry out frequent raids on the plains of Assam. Therefore, the British must have used the broken form of ‘*Hungamai*’ to describe the Angamis. Again, the Maos living in Manipur used to call the Angamis as “*Ngamai*” which means ‘perfect’ which led some people to believe that the word Angami may be a broken form of *Ngamai* (Shürhozelie, 1972, cited in Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 6). In any case, the term “Angami” has been in use for a long time and now the Angamis uses it to describe themselves.

2.2.1. Origin, migration and settlement of the Angamis

The origin of the Angamis is shrouded in obscurity. Without a recorded history, and with very little archaeological evidence, it is extremely difficult to trace the origins of the Angamis. The history of the Angamis is available only in the form of oral tradition handed down from generation to generation. It is believed that they too, spring from ancestors who emerged from the bowels of the earth, from the south (Hutton, 1921, p. 7). The Angamis migrated to the present settlement probably in search of terrace fields which were developed along the precipitous slopes (Bareh, 1970, p. 16).

According to oral traditions and legends, the origin of the Angami tribe goes back to *Khezhakeno*, a village in Chakhesang area adjacent to Manipur border. It is believed that the Angamis are the descendants of *Zuonuo-Keyhonuo*. Sanyu (1996) writes that the descendants of *Yuonuo-Keyhonuo*, in the process of migration and expansion formed ten villages which later were termed by the British as the southern Angamis. These villages are *Kigwema*, *Viswema*, *Jakhama*, *Khuzama*, *Kidima*, *Kezoma*, *Phesama*, *Pfuchama*, *Mima*, and *Mitelephe*. He further added, the descendants of *Zuonuo-Keyhonuo* increased in the village of *Kigwema* and later migrated to other village. Hence the village acquired the name *Kigwema*, meaning 'people who occupied the old house' (Sanyu, 1996, p. 28).

According to this legend, there was an old couple who lived in *Khezhakeno* village with their three sons. Every day they used to spread paddy to dry on a flat stone. This stone was believed to be inhabited by a spirit. The paddy spread to dry would double in quantity at dusk. The three sons took turns drying their paddy on this stone, but one day they quarrelled over it and fearing blood-shed, their parents set the stone on fire. The stone burst with a crack like thunder and the spirit which inhabits the stone disappeared. The three sons then separated and became the fore-fathers of the Angamis, Lothas and Semas. The Lothas and Semas have similar legends, though they differ in details (see Sanyu, 1996).

Recent excavation at *Khezhakeno* and *Movolomi* provides archaeological background to the local history of the region on early human habitation and migration. Radiocarbon dates for *Khezhakeno* dated to Cal. AD 1320 to 1350 and *Movolomi* Cal. AD 1420 to 1640 appears to support the oral tradition of *Khezhakeno* on settlement and migration (Jamir et al., 2014, p. 172). Thus, oral traditions than can no longer be regarded as irrelevant and mere entertaining folktales but its manifestation in tangible forms reassures how such form of traditional knowledge would help extend our knowledge of the distant past supplemented by archaeology (ibid, p. 33-34).

A tradition in vogue amongst the Angami, the Rengma, the Lotha and Sema is that their forefathers came together in one migration and reached their present abode via Manipur from Burma. The Lotha, the first who entered Nagaland via Mao, were followed by the Sema who came by the southern route, but the latter may have halted at Kigwema, whose traditions are still vivid about the place connected with their migration. Rengmas and the Angamis were the last (Bareh, 1970, p. 15). The Angamis points to Mao and the country south of that as the home of their race, and to this day the priests of the Angami villages wait for the priests of Mao and Maikel to give the word before appointing the day for the celebration of any of the regular village festivals (Hutton, 1921, p. 7).

On the basis of language, the origin of the Angami Nagas is assigned by Sir Grierson to the Tibeto-Burmans, who came with the second wave of migration from the traditional cradle of Indo-Chinese race in North-western China between the upper waters of Yang-Tse-Kiang and the Aoang-ho Rivers (Hutton, 1921, p. 8). According to this classification, Angami Nagas is of the Tibeto-Chinese family.

Butler writes that the Angamis are an exiled race from the court of Jaintiapur. He mentions a story of the foundation of the Angami race by an exile from the court of Jaintiapur who went first to Dimapur and thence into the hills. This history he says originated in “an old and intelligent hill Kechari”, but he himself could find no confirmation of it (Hutton, 1921, p. 20).

Alemchiba (1970) also writes that the Angamis are one of the oldest tribes among the Nagas. They belong to the first wave of immigrants who entered the Naga Hills which also includes the Rengmas, Maos, Semas and Lothas (Alemchiba, 1970, p. 19).

Underlying these legends is that the fact that the ancestors of the Angamis came into *Khezhakeno* from outside stayed there for some time and moved away from *Khezhakeno* into their present habitat. The last group of villages that were formed were known as the *Chakroma*, literally meaning ‘those who live below the road’ (Sanyu, 1996, p. 30). They were so referred to because they went down to the plains for settlement as a result of Angami territorial expansion.

Besides these stories and legends, the myth of origin from a stone is also found in the Angami village of Jakhama. According to this myth/legend, men and animals originated from a stone located at *Kehoza*, in Jakhama village. It is said that this stone bears the footprints of men and animal. Oral tradition says that after originating from the stone at *Kehoza*, the people migrated to *Phezu* and later settled at Viswema village from where they slowly spread

out to different parts of southern Angami region. The place and the stone was so revered that in the olden days, annual rituals were performed at the site after the *Sekrenyi* festival (Aier, 2004, p. 36).

2.2.2. Traditional Angami village and its organisation

A typical Angami village is generally large in size in terms of both population and area. Some of them are so large that they might rightly be called towns (Elwin, 1961, p.7). In the olden days, the Angamis usually consider certain factors for choosing a site for constructing a new village. The availability of ample fertile agricultural land and water sources and defence aspect were taken into consideration. Invariably, they establish their habitation on hill-tops or on the spur of a mountain range below which rivers flow on either side with impressive fortification.

During pre-British times, each Angami village was an independent, sovereign and self-contained unit. Consequently, an Angami village has well-defined territory/boundary established by tradition. The limit of habitation is marked with stone-walls and gates called *kharu*. Every side is blockaded and a ditch generally encircled the most exposed part of the village which is studded with panjies alias sharp-pointed bits of bamboo stuck into the ground which forms an effective defence (Mills, 1854, cited in Elwin, 1969, p. 283). The approaches of the villages are often up through tortuous and narrow. These paths lead up to gates, closed by the strong thick wooden doors, hewn out of one piece of solid wood. The *kharu* is engraved with carvings of human heads and animals (Hutton, 1921, p.44). The gates in the past are used to act as barricades. Although most of the former fortifications are now in ruins, they still retained certain rituals especially during *gennas*.

Within the confinement of the fortifications is the residential site. The single storeyed houses are constructed on levelled ground. The arrangement of the houses is irregular, facing east in order that the house should catch the morning sun (Hutton, 1921, p.46). The typical Angami house is made of thatch, bamboo, wormwood and timber which are fastened with cane and bamboo thongs. The house of the man who has given 'feast of merit' is adorned/decorated with conventional designs of *mithun* heads. Besides, two large planks are placed from the eaves reaching the gable where they converge and give a horn-like structure to the house which is known as *kikie* (house-horn) (Zetsuvi, 2014, p.9). The style of the house and its decoration denotes the social position of the owner.

The front wall of an Angami house is made of big boards of wood which is often covered with heads of *mithun*. The interior of the Angami house is generally divided into three compartments. The covered entrance usually housed cattle and stacks of wood. The front room is the most spacious and contains the huge paddy baskets called *chü* and the rice pounding table. It is also used for accommodating domestic animals like chicken, dogs and other pets. The middle room serves both as the hearth and the bedroom. The last room is the place where liquor vats are kept. This room is sometimes furnished with a door which affords as a second entrance and backdoor. The village obtains its supply of water usually from a spring outside the village, at a short distance.

2.2.2.1. Clan Organization

Traditionally, a village must have two moieties called *Thepa* and *Tevo*, which according to legends descended from two brothers. The presence of the two members of both the moieties in a village is essential because each moiety has to perform different rituals in religious and social ceremonies for the well-being of the village (Sanyu, 1996, p. 68 & 69). Hence, every Angami village consisted of two or more *khels* (*thino*) each with its own clear defined territory within the residential site, and each of them holds its own fields and forests in the village. Each *khel* is divided into sub—clan called *thepfü* and each *thepfü* is further classified into a number of sub-branches which are known as *Pfüsano* (literally means offspring of the same grand-father). For instance, in the village of Jakhama there are eight *khels*; *Pfüdia*, *Kulnu*, *Phema*, *Naki*, *Sophie*, *Purütso*, *Khatso Natso*, and *Zhotso*. Each of these *khels* consists of one or more clans.

A *khel* is an autonomous unit within the village named after the founding ancestor. Hutton (1921) observed, ‘although the village may be regarded as the unit of political and religious sides of Angami life, the real unit of the social side is the clan’ (Hutton, 1921, p.109). An Angami offers his loyalty and identify himself with his own clan. Each clan takes pride of its ancestral heritage and there is always intense competition between the clans in a village (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 10).

So distinct is the clan identity that it acts almost as village in itself. No doubt, the unity of an Angami village was always tenuous and weak in the past. However, in spite of his allegiance to the clan, the different clans would cooperate on the ritual, economic and political occasion where village unity was vital.

2.2.2.2. Family Structure:

The family (*kikru*) is the basic unit among the Angami. Each family is a unit of food production, consumption, distribution and property ownership (Singh, 2008). An Angami family is mostly nuclear family consisting of a married couple and their children. The Angami are strictly patriarchal like other Naga tribes. The father is the head of the family and shoulders all responsibilities of the family. He is the bread winner of the family, even though the wife helps in the cultivation. He has to work hard to be at par with other fellow villagers. In times of war and danger, it is the duty of the father to defend and protect his family. Therefore, an intelligent, brave and responsible head of the family enjoys respected position in the society. In the absence or death of the father, the eldest son shoulders much of the responsibilities. When a son is married, he goes out of the parental household and builds a new house for his own family. Each married man becomes the head of the family of procreation. Among the Angami, the youngest son inherits the parental house and is responsible for looking after the aged parents.

2.2.2.3. The Morung System

The *Morung* is an important social institution of the village. It plays a very important role in the society. The Angami called their *morung* ‘*Mechü ki*’ or community house. Attached to the house of the *Morung* is an extended room which serves as a sleeping place for the young boys. In big village, each major clan may have its own *Morung*. In some villages, *Morung* stands in the middle of the village. As for the entry to the dormitory, the boys who are fit for manual work can join as regular members who are to be taught and disciplined by their elders.

Morung is the central traditional institution where young boys learn about their clan history, legends, and songs and other traditional practices. It served as a traditional educational institution where the traditional values were handed down orally from one generation to the next. Besides being a training centre it also act as a cultural centre where the folk songs, dances and folklore is passed from one generation to another through spoken words. All important announcements of an important event, meetings, *genna* day etc. are given out through this institution by a man with audible voice. It is taboo for women to enter in the male dormitory because there is a traditional belief that by doing so bad luck may come to the menfolk. Misfortunes may come in the form of failure in hunting expeditions or suffering casualties in the event of a fighting (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 31). The *Morung* gives shelter

especially to those people who are being chased or attacked. Such a culprit takes refuge in the *morung* as he is safe so long as he remains under its roof until the village elders review his case and settle it. Beatings and fighting are not permitted within the *Morung*.

Girls too have their own dormitory known as *Kichüki* which means “a sleeping place”. It is here that they stay late at night and make various handcrafts items. Apart from this, they learn how to sing folk songs, recount folk tales and various other important roles. Every Angami girl continues to be a part of her dormitory till she leaves this house after marriage.¹

2.2.2.4. Age group system

Age group system is an important social system of the Angamis. When a boy or girl attains the age of six or seven years, by which time he or she is able to handle a dao or spade, they come together and form an age-group known as *thesu*. When the children grow older and get matured enough to know their own responsibilities, these small groups belonging to the different clans come together as a group and form an age-group (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 26).

In some villages, for instance, Khonoma and Kohima village, each age-group have a patron whose name is used to identify that particular group. During the *Thekranyi*, the new peer group is inducted. The members of each age-group get together during this festival for recreational activities. At the time of cultivation, each age-group will take turn to work in each other's field which is known as *pele*. On every phase of agricultural activities, the owner provides meal abundantly. It was also a prestige in the society to offer a good meal for the workers. During festive season, the various age-groups get together and enjoy the recreational activities. In *Sekrenyi* festival, they spend the festive days singing folk songs and in merry making. Moreover, the members of every peer group help each other in times of need and in distress especially on important occasion like marriage and death. They also engage themselves in pooling their resources and utilising it for various purposes. These peer members remain loyal to each other till death.²

2.2.3. Status of women

In a patriarchal society like the Angami, there is no doubt that men always played a decisive role in every aspect of life. A woman, till her marriage, spent her life under the parental roof and care. After marriage, as a wife, she is expected to develop good relationship with all her husband's kith and kin. She has to be industrious and good in housekeeping. She carries out

major agricultural activities, collecting firewood and other articles from jungle, fetching water, looking after the children and the domestic animals, weaving shawls and other clothes for the family and so on. They are chaste, faithful, merry, and unlike their brothers-never to be seen idle (Butler, 1875, cited in Elwin, 1969, p. 304).

In matters relating to property right, she is not entitled to own any of the ancestral property. If a daughter was the only child, the ancestral property would be given to the father's own lineage group. However, property owned by the parents themselves can be given to the daughter and she also can dispose it of at her own will. Das (1994) observed that, the status of an Angami woman compared to the status of a man is lower, but the woman enjoys the privilege of inheriting a particular category of land called *pozoupu* in *Zounuo-Keyhonuo* dialect, which is inherited along matrilineal lines, from a mother to a daughter only. Among the western and northern Angami, the woman are generally not given landed property through gift or inheritance. Although she plays a subordinate role, she enjoys a considerable freedom all her life.

An Angami girl exercises immense freedom in selecting her future spouse. She can remarry the one of her choice after the death of her husband. Moreover, they are generally supported by their sons and brothers until marriage or death. Zetsuvi (2014) maintains that in the feast of merit, a wife performs with her husband full religious rites that consequently earn certain traditional prerogative for both of them. In fact, the rituals of the feast cannot go ahead without the participation of the wife (Zetsuvi, 2014, p.15). An Angami woman, thus, plays an active and indispensable role in various aspects of life. Her freedom and indispensable role to participate freely with men in their festivities and amusements indicate her social position that she enjoys unlike women of other societies.

2.2.4. Traditional religion

Like the other Naga tribes, the traditional religion of the Angamis was animism. The Angami believes in the Supreme Being '*Ukepenuopfü*' which literally means "she who bore us" Zetsuvi (2014) observes that, the word is a feminine gender probably because of the simple logic that only female can give birth to any being (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 39). Hutton (1921) also wrote, this spirit could probably be the creator of the universe since the word literally means 'birth spirit' (Hutton, 1921, p. 18). The existence of creation was ascribed to the work of the creator who was thought to be supreme and beneficent. Since they believed that such power is omnipotent and omnipresent, they believe its reflection through various agencies and

means such as trees, stones, ponds and mountains. But this spirit does not interfere in everyday life, although he is in charge of final destiny (Babu, 2004, p. 88). In this way, the animists are made to incline towards the subordinate Gods more than the Supreme Being. However, Nagas maintain a kind of relation with the Supreme Being as they invoke his name for good luck and blessing (Epao, 1993, p. 60 & 61). The Nagas believe that every drop of rice-beer sprinkled or a pinch of rice given away as the share of the invisible being blesses man with all blessings.

The Angami traditional religion is also characterized by belief in spirits '*terhomia*'. Davis (1891) observes, 'they also believe in the existence of evil spirits which reside in rocks, trees and pools of water' (cited in Elwin, 1969, p. 506). The Angamis believe in different kinds of spirits such as *Ruotshe/Rothse* (the killer), *Ketsierho* (spirit of stone), *Rapu* (ghost of nightmare), *Mechiemo* (gate-keeper of death), *Chükhio* (god of beasts), *Temi* (ghost), *Roupfü* (men's spirit), *Telepfü* (spirit of intellect), *Miaweno* (goddess of blessing), *Dzürhu* (goddess of water creatures) (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 40.). The constant fear and awareness of the presence of these deities and spirits made them adopt some form of worship to please such forces with a view to avoiding curse and obtaining blessing. All the misfortunes and natural calamities are ascribed to the influence of evil spirits. In the conception of the animists, such deities and spirits are benevolent as long as they are happy and appeased, but in their anger they become malevolent. According to the belief of the animists, the benevolent spirits also give blessing and prosperity to the people. Hence, animal sacrifices are made for them in time of cultivation or seed sowing, transplantation and harvest.³

Angami *Nanyü* concerns beliefs and rituals directed at a supernatural realm of forces, powers and deities. They offer sacrifices of *mithun*, cows, dogs, cocks, rice-beer etc. to get rid of their social, personal calamities and bad luck. For the success of an undertaking in daily occupation, an offering is made to the benevolent spirits (Saibia, 2003, p. 221). Thus, whenever any rituals or appeasements are to be made to the supernatural, the priest *Kemevo* spearheads the religious functions. *Gennas* are often observed for many reasons, but in the form of appeasement with the malevolent spirits as well as to gain the favour of the benevolent ones so that the community is ensured with good health, prosperity and long life. The animists believe that all natural phenomenon like earthquakes, thunder bolts, hailstone, heavy landslides, storm, eclipse etc. are caused by evil spirits and that violation of *gennas* observation is considered vexing the demons (Epao, 1993, p. 32). Therefore, basically rituals are performed and sacrifices are offered to appease the harmful spirits so as to avert troubles

and destructions. For instance, fire-*genna* (*me-vi*) is observed to protect the people from all possible calamities of fire, while *teitho genna* is observed to protect the grains of paddy from storm and hailstones. Offenders are cursed so that the wrath of the spirits might not befall the whole village but to the offenders themselves.

The Angamis also have certain superstitious beliefs. The people were under constant fear of curse from the spirits. It is this fear that makes them superstitious in every walk of life. Like any other Naga tribe, the Angamis strongly believe that sickness and other misfortunes are because of the evil spirit. To the Angamis, all nature is alive with unseen forces. A fundamental animist belief is that there are spirits associated with every geographical feature. Certain trees, stones, jungles and rivers in a particular place cannot be touched as they are believed to be abode of spirits, therefore touching them may cause calamities or destruction. Whenever they cross some places or a tree that is believed to be an abode of spirits, they first pluck the leaf of a small lantern known as *sühpa* and hold it in the hand or on the ear to repel the malevolent spirit. In the olden days, and Angami will never dare to whistle in the night for they believe that the spirit communicate to one another by means of whistling.⁴ There is also a belief that a prolonged illness is due to the departure of the spirit from the body, and hence a sacrificial offering in such situation consists of eggs, cut metal pieces, old cloth etc. laid in the path wrapped in a leaf to avert sickness. Invocations to such a spirit are made to ward him off. This ritual is called *Siesu* and regarded as accursed (Hutton, 1921, p.179).

There are also many superstitious beliefs with regard to marriage and death. It is a belief that if a bride stumbles on her way to the bridegroom's resident, it is a very bad omen for her future life. She may live a life of misery or may die early. Corpses of any unnatural death cannot be buried within the village perimeter so as to keep away the evil spirits. It is the practice of the Angami to sacrifice animals on a person's funeral day. The funeral meat has to be given out away before sunset in order to make the spirit of the dead reach the abode of the spirits on the same day, for the fear that if the spirit of the dead remains in the village, it may cause disturbances to the near and dear ones.⁵

Omen and dreams are part of the belief system of the Angamis. Dreams and omens are highly counted in determining the daily life and other activities. It is consulted on every important event such as hunting, marriage, war, etc. Dreams accord to the belief foretells prosperity, good harvest etc. It is a deciding factor in arranging marriage. For the Angamis, chirping of certain birds can be considered a good or bad omen depending on the type of bird. Omens are also consulted by observing the movement of the live rooster sacrifice for the

whole village community. The one who sacrifice observes every movement of the rooster as it has something to predict for the future event and also from the crossing of the rooster's legs after it is killed by strangulation. If the right leg crosses over the left, then it is said to be a good omen. A common belief among the Angamis is that having long hair is considered good and short hair is considered bad. If a tooth is fallen in a dream it means bad luck; if one catches snails it is sign of good luck. If one dreams about a group of people in ceremonial attires, then it is a prediction for the death of a nearest kin or relative. However, the interpretation of dreams and omens differ from person to person.

In the olden days, sorcery and witchery are also aspect of Angami religion. In the case of a prolonged illness, theft or when a person goes missing, sorcerers/soothsayers (*themoumia*) are consulted. These sorcerers are believed to possess divine power to foresee things to occur and can direct a person in what manner an appeasement is to be made for healing sickness or for his recovery. In the olden days, the sorcerer acts as the medicine man by offering local herbs to the patients. They even remove poison from the head or the stomach of the people. The poison is believed can be given in food or drink or thrown into the head of a person. The use of poison is regarded as an attribute of witches (Hutton, 1921, p. 243). However, whenever such cases are in substantial evidence, the village community penalises the sorcerers by excommunicate them. The Angamis also believed in life after death.

2.2.5. Traditional political system:

In pre-British times, each Angami village was a distinct political-unit. The villages were free from external political dominance. There is seldom interrelation between neighbouring villages unless treaty's earlier concluded. The Angami have neither the village chief nor the duly elected village councils. The village is controlled and administered by a group of clan elders called *Peyumia* and the village priest *Kemevo*. Only men of wisdom with skill in war, or in diplomacy or wealth become clan leader and not from hereditary lineage nor elected. *Peyumias* are nominated by the respective clan or *khel* elders. Speaking about the role of *Peyumia*, Zetsuvi (2014) writes that they first act as *Peyumia* within their own respective clans and managed the affairs of their clans independently. But whenever there was problem which involved the whole village, all the *Peyumia* in the village would assemble so as to find a solution (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 28). The customary laws are enforced by the *Peyumia*. Law breakers were strictly dealt with by the customary law.

There is no separate department of judiciary. In deciding disputes, questions of customs would be and still are referred naturally among the old man of the clan (Hutton, 1921, p. 376). The responsibility of the culprit for the wrongs committed, are fixed considering the severity of the crime. The crime of murder cannot be expiated. The relations of the murdered person, instantly, if possible spear the murderer without reference to the council of elders unless the delinquent takes refuge in other village. The penalty in the form of expulsion, may involve the whole family as well. Thieves and petty offences are disposed according to the degree of injury sustained on such occasions. In cases like theft, the culprit is to give or repay his crime up to seven-fold the value stolen.⁶

In the case of land and water disputes, attempts were first made to settle issues among themselves or with the intervention of the clan members. Unresolved disputes were settled through swearing, the last resort of resolving a serious conflict. It was believed that misfortunes befall the person who swears deceitfully. If a disputant is confident of his claim, he would swear and claim the property. The disputant who is willing to swear so that he may claim the right to the disputed property would swear the worst misfortunes upon himself if he is wrong. If none of the disputants is willing to swear, the disputed property was equally divided amongst them.

Butler (1875) also wrote, Angamis have no regular settled form of government. With them might is right, and this is the only form of law-or rather the absence of all law-heretofore recognized among them. Every man follows the dictates of his own will, a form of the purest democracy which it is very difficult indeed to conceive as existing even for a single day and yet that it does exist is an undeniable fact (cited in Elwin 1969, p. 525). Their government is decidedly democratic although each village community has nominal head. It is evident that their village has no absolute power over the people. They do not collect revenue nor can they issue any order with anticipating chance of being obeyed if the measure or act is not popular. Every man is in a way independent of his own affair, master of his own and can avenge his own quarrel (Mill, 1854, cited in Elwin, 1969, p. 285). Kumar (2005) remarks that, the Angami village are found to have internal discipline cohesion and they do not lack internal discipline in spite of lack of chieftainship and the village council (Kumar, 2005, p. 71). This form of egalitarianism pervades all traditional political institutions which continue to exist, despite the introduction of electoral politics (Christina, 2014, p. 23).

2.2.6. The village economy:

Traditionally, the Angamis have been self-contained and self-sufficient. Like the other Naga tribes, agriculture was the main occupation of the Angamis. The principal mode of agriculture was terrace cultivation, though some shifting cultivation was also in vogue. Terraced fields are generally constructed from hill slopes and water supply is carefully controlled through a system of canals running down on both side of a stream which could be provided with water by means of irrigational channels (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 18). Hunter observed that the Angami Nagas are the only inhabitants of the District who utilize the river water for irrigation purposes. These people cultivate their rice crops on the hill slopes and the side of the hills being cut into irrigating such terraces, water is often conducted along artificial channels for a considerable distance (cited in Jacob, 1990, p. 176). Brown (1847) also commented, today the peculiar terrace cultivation of these tribes is observed in perfection. The laboured incurred in first making these terraces must be very great and the skill manifested in irrigating them would do credit to a trained engineer' (cited in Jacob, 1990, p. 33). Hutton (1921) maintains that it was the practice of terrace cultivation that distinguished the Angami from other Naga tribes (Hutton, 1921, p. 72). Terraced is a permanent form of cultivation, its productivity is more and it does not need to waste as jhuming cultivation does. Under jhuming, the jungle is felled and burnt and the crops are sown on the ground. The jhum plot is cultivated for two-three years after which the cultivation shifts to another plot, which is also cultivated for the same period. But the jhum cycle may cover five-nine years.

The land and forest and water bodies are the major economic resources of the people. Christina and Viraho (2014) observed that the Angami, basically being a land owning community, every individual, descent groups, such as lineage and clan and village own its own land and forest. There was no household without land. While every household owned its own terrace fields, it also had access to community land used for shifting cultivation as also to clan and village forests (Christina & Viraho, 2014, p. 25). This ensured economic equality for every household.

Although rice was the staple food crop, the agricultural produce was supplemented by wild forest products and by livestock. Hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, weaving and trade of local produce have been important subsidiary occupation of the Angamis (Das, 1994, p. 69). The Angamis rears a variety of animals like cattle, pig, chicken, dog etc. both for self-consumption as well as for sale. With all these resources, there was nearly always adequate

food for the Angami villages. The Angami villages were self-sufficient in all but a few items, which could usually be secured by trade, very rarely, by raids into the plains areas.

2.2.7. Art and crafts

Weaving was a major undertaking among Angami women. Weaving as a tradition is handed down from mother to daughter. Among the Angamis, all women are expected to know weaving and they normally produce all the cloth necessary for the family. The distinctive costume and apparels comprises of wrappers and shawls, waist-cloths and bodice, skirts etc. with skilful combination in their own pattern and style. The art of spinning, dying and weaving are performed exclusively by women folk. In the olden days, cotton was cultivated and made into yarn. Natural dyes were used which were extracted from barks, roots and plants. They used back strap or the loin loom for weaving. In recent years, however, mill-made is steadily replacing the local thread spun fibre. Indigenous spinning has gradually become extinct, chemical dyes are replacing the indigenous colours and fly shuttle loom has become popular among the urban weavers.

The Angamis make handmade earthen pots. However, it is practiced in very few villages. Hutton (1921) observes that pottery making as an art was known to a few southern Angami villages, notably Viswema and Khuzama, where *rüga* (clay) was locally available (Hutton, 1921, p. 45). These handmade pots are used for cooking, as containers and for storing water as well as rice beer. The Angamis also manufacture their own salt. The southern Angami villages such as Viswema which had brine wells manufacture salt (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 39).

The important crafts of the Angamis are wood-carving, bamboo work and pottery. They made variety of wooden plates and spoons of various sizes and shapes. The Angami's love for artistic handicrafts and their skill can be seen on the village gates, the *morung* and in front of the house of a rich man or warrior. Moreover, bamboo and cane are largely utilised for works in crafts. Bamboo and cane crafts comprise of baskets, mugs, containers, hats, mats etc. and ornaments such as head-bands, bangles, leggings etc. The Angami men are skilled weavers of cane and bamboo baskets. They weave different types of baskets for the womenfolk. Baskets of very fine designs are in wide range and number with different shapes and sizes, used for different purposes, such as containers for crops and other household goods, and as packages for carrying luggage and merchandise. The cane baskets of Khonoma village are known for their intricate weaves. These baskets are well known for their utility as

well as for aesthetic value. For instance, *chü* are huge basket woven in twill or wicker pattern with a pointed lid. It is used for storing paddy, *Khophi* is a fine woven basket carried by Angami women. It is made of slit cane/bamboo by skilled basket weaver, mostly from Khonoma village. This basket is mainly used for carrying water. Like the *Khophi*, *Khoshie* is a very fine woven basket made of slit cane and bamboo. It is the most valued basket. It is used only on important occasion or ceremonies. The Angami women carry this basket along with *Likhü* and two shawls viz. *Loramhoushü* and *Lohe* during festive adornments/other important ceremonies. *Khola* is a coarse basket. The pattern is larger/bigger than the other baskets. The *Khola* basket has barbed legs, unlike the other baskets which are mostly rounded. *Khoyho/thekrakor* is the most commonly used basket. It is a loose woven basket, used for carrying firewood, luggage etc. *Oje/khodi* is a fine basket which is woven virtually water-tight. This type of basket is used for carrying paddy/grains. Besides, mats, necklets, armlets and leggings were also woven from fine split or strips of bamboo and cane. One can say that the Angamis are experts in basket making. Even today these baskets are in high demand.

2.2.8. Social and cultural life

2.2.8.1. Food and drinks

The staple food of the Angamis is rice. The Angamis are non-vegetarians and take all kinds of meat. The cuisine of the Angamis comprises of cooked, smoked, boiled and fermented food items. The most common dish is meat boiled with vegetables or herbs. Every household rears domestic animals such as pigs, cows, dogs, fowls etc. Dog meat is considered a special delicacy. As regards dog meat, Ganguli (1984) comments ‘The Angamis considered it as an excellent tonic and pick-me-up for everybody who is in poor health’ (Ganguli, 1984, p. 45). Butler (1875) observes, that there is really scarcely any single thing that walks, crawls, flies, or swims that come amiss to their voracious stomach (cited in Elwin 1969, p. 587). Though, the Angamis relish meat both domestic and wild, there are taboos restraining the consumption of certain meat. Besides rice, other crops include millet, maize, Job’s tears etc. The Angamis also consume a variety of wild fruits and green leafy vegetables. The dietary habit has been changing rapidly specially in the urban areas.

Zu (rice beer) is one of the most important food items in traditional Angami society. It was considered as a daily drink and an important item of ritual among the Angamis. There are different types of *Zu* but all are made of rice. *Zutho*, *thutshe*, *zupfü*, *khe*, *rohi* etc., are

some of the common *zu* among the Angamis. Drink is a traditional way of entertainment. Ceremonies cannot become complete without pouring of libations, a festival drink is a must at festive banquets, and arduous works and physical exertions are undertaken with its help. *Zu* was not considered to be an alcoholic drink, but as a daily normal drink which strengthens the body. Tribal beers are said to be nutritious enough as they contain large proportions of proteins and vitamins, which if, properly channelized, could have been a great use to the community. Today, the consumption of Indian and other foreign made liquor has become common. Milk and tea have become a part of their daily diet.

Ganguly (1984) observes three varieties of indigenous beer called *zu*, *khe* and *ruhi* which are fairly intoxicated drinks. *Zu* is made of rice-flour, boiled water and yeast whereas the second *khe* is a product of cooked rice and yeast. Between the two, *zu* is preferred and often serves as a substitute for food. The third kind of drink which is called *ruhi* involves a lot of manual labour and time. The necessary quantity of rice has to be husked, boiled and after drying, pounded to a fine powder. It is then mixed with boiling water and fermented by the addition of germinated paddy. When the fermentation is completed, the liquid is strained through a fine fresh cane basket and stored in large earthen pots (Ganguly, 1984, p. 38 & 39). In the traditional Angami society, the wealth of a person is recognized from the amount of paddy and animals he owns.

2.2.8.2. Festivals

The Angamis celebrate a number of festivals (*thenyi*) in a year. Agriculture being the main occupation of the people, all the festivals centre around the agricultural cycle. For the Angamis, festivals are not merely for feasting and merry-making but are also connected with religious beliefs. There are six major festivals viz., *Sekrenyi*, *Ngonyi*, *Thekranyi/ Kerunyi*, *Chadanyi/ Tsünyi*, *Khoupfhünyi* and *Terhunyi*. All the festivals follow a circle of rituals and ceremonies:

Sekrenyi

Sekrenyi or *Phousanyi* (festival of purification) is the most important festival of the Angami. It falls in the month of *Rüde* (December) in the case of Southern Angamis, and *Kezhei* (February) in the case of the Northern, Western and Chakhro Angamis. *Sekrenyi* festival is celebrated for ten days. This is the most colourful and important *genna* as regards festivities

as maximum meat and rice beer are taken. The ceremony is to ensure the health of every individual during the coming year.

Ngonyi

This festival is celebrated in the month of *Kera* (March)/ *Ketshü* (April) and spreads over a period of fourteen days for the Khonoma people but six days in Kohima and Viswema. This festival marks the beginning of the agricultural season.

Kerunyi/Thekranyi

Kerunyi/Thekranyi falls in the month of *Cacü* (May). It is observed for two days by the Southern Angamis, whereas the Western Angamis for five days. The festival marks the transplantation of paddy seedlings into the terraced fields. Feasts are not on lavish scale as during the other festivals.

Tshünyi/ Chadanyi

Tshünyi or millet festival marks the completion of millet harvest. It falls either in the month of *Mvüsa* (July) or *Tsiarie* (August). It is observed for five days. This festival follow a circle of rituals and ceremony viz., *vüta* (sacrificing a live rooster), *Thezukepu* (sacrificing a live rat). These rituals are performed to pacify the deities so as to ensure good health and prosperity, and the latter to keep away rats from attacking the paddy plants and other crops. This festival is also called *Chadanyi* (path-clearing festival) because in this festival, people clean the village paths.

Khoupfhünyi

Khoupfhünyi is celebrated in the month of *Mvüsa* (July)/ *Rüyo* (September) for four to five days. In this festival, young girls exchange cooked meat and other items among themselves.

Binyi:

Binyi is a minor festival celebrated in the month of *Tsiarie* (August). *Binyi* means taro festival/couple feast. This festival is celebrated for five day after the taro is harvested.

Terhünyi

Terhünyi festival is the second biggest festivals of the Angamis and falls in the month of *Zipe* (November). Complete seven days *genna* is observed by the southern villages but thirteen days by the northern. The celebration is done so as to show an expression of joy and thanks giving to the Supreme Power for the fruitful crop that they received in the last harvest. Personal *genna* of *Zhatho* is done in this festival. Bountiful harvest offers an opportunity to wealthy man *Zhathomia* (one who gives feast of merit) to throw a grand feast known as the 'feast of merit'. *Zhathomia* through this feast display his kindness and fellow-feeling and also acquire distinct status of respect of the society.

2.2.8.3. Songs and dance:

Folk songs and dance occupies an integral part in the ethnic life of the Angamis. Folk song relate to various events and occasions such as agricultural activities, festivals, happiness, mourning etc. The most common songs are love songs which are usually sung during leisure and festivals. According to Joshi (2001), the themes have a wide range of variety: they may glorify a tradition, extol a specific act of heroism, narrate an important event of the recent past or relate to a love story (Joshi, 2001, p. 155). Ghosh (1992) identifies ten types of songs; *Tsali*-sung during festivals, *Chakru*-sung in the village or in the field, *Lhipecha*-sung during dances, *Pitucha*-sung during paddy pounding, *Likwino*-sung at a fast pace and high pitch, *Lhipisu*-sung by two men, *Wupese*-sung by boys when they are in the *morung*, *Sheli*-sung in the forest, *Keli*-sung by two men and two women, *Lideh*-sung very slowly and pitched low. The Angamis use *Tati*, a one-stringed musical instrument and *luoü/thekou* (flute) while singing (Ghosh, 1992, p. 93). They croon while they work in field in various seasons. Singing provides them relief in their hard work (Maitra, 1991, p. 89).

The most popular traditional dance among the Angamis is *Pheta*. This dance involves a series of continuous body movements. The performers move around in circle with rhythmical movement of the feet and arms. There are certain folk dances which are accompanied by singing. As such, the dance steps are arranged accordingly to conform to the song. Traditional folk dances are performed in a group involving both men and women. Folk dances are performed with much vigour and vitality. *Alo* consist of a solemn procession of men folks in full traditional attire, which moves at a slow pace in circles and splitting into two times which work in and out of one another serpent-wise. *Kedopfü/ Ruüshükhwe* is a war dance in which men with spears and shield or machete, leaps about uttering war cries.

Leaping in the air, crossing and re-crossing the legs, two or three times are also part of the dance.

2.2.8.4. Indigenous games and sports:

The Angamis were lovers of games and sports. Indigenous games comprise of *swu-tsen*, a game played with two pieces of sticks. One placed on the ground, and the other used for hitting. The game can be played by two or more players.

Tedwe mesü (high kick) is a game played to test the agility of young men. In this game, a bamboo bar is placed between two poles, and the player has to jump and kick the bar with the toes of both legs. The player who kicks the highest bar is considered the winner.

Thapyü (fix jump) in this game, the player attempts to jump as far as possible from a fixed point. The player who jumps the furthest is declared the winner.

Tekho tema is a game similar to chess where each player tries to restrict the movement of soldiers. Literally *tekho* means “tiger” and *tema* means “man”. Unlike chess, the game is drawn on the stone surface and soldiers are usually made of pebbles.

Phyieda, an indigenous game is played by menfolk from the Southern Angami. The ‘*ophyie*’ stem (dwarf bamboo like stick) used for playing the game is straightened out by heating it with hot ash. The game is played with a thin and small bamboo like stick by sliding the stick on a plain surface or on an elevated surface. The player whose *ophyie* goes the farthest, score one point and the team which get the maximum points is declared as winner. It is a team game. This game is played between peer groups, competing with each other. The winning team would feast on meat and drink provided by the defeated group.

Thulo-va (Nicker beans/seed game) is a popular game played by girls. It is played with a seed of creeper plant by different peer groups. It is a game played by two teams. One team will stand and guard their seeds which are kept in erect straight line, while the other team members attempt to hit and break the opponent seed line. Different techniques are applied in each round. The group which first knock out maximum seeds is declared the winner. This game is seasonal and can be played only after the harvest is over till the first sowing of the seed.

Wrestling (*kene*) is the most popular sport of the Angamis. It is a sport to test the strength of the menfolk. The wrestlers would maintain a strict diet of high protein/of meat before the contest. They are served the best food for days, weeks or months to pack on extra pounds. Wrestling is done by applying one’s hands around the back of the opponent and

applying clever tactic so as to put him flat on the ground. It is a great test of stamina, needing great skills and energy (Zetsuvi, 2014, p.30). Young wrestlers are trained and prepared during the festival of *Sekrenyi* to participate in the inter-*khel* wrestling competition and beyond. The winners earn name and fame.

Slings with stone, an indigenous game, are used for bird's hunt. Hunting is one of the most popular sports among the Angamis. Corporate system of hunting wild animals is a major sport for the menfolk. The share of meat is distributed in accordance with the age and rank of the hunters.

Khouthuo (top spinning) is played between two or more teams. Tops were carved from wood and a string of thread was tied at the head of the top. The players would twine the thread tightly around the top and hurl it to the ground for the top to spin. The winner is decided by the longest time spinning top. *Mesi Kedzieguo* (muzzle loading gun competition), *Phita Meshü* (spear kicking), etc. are some of the other sports. Though games and sports are played for leisure, entertainment, competition etc. these indigenous games and sports contribute to preservation and promotion of the cultural values and identities of the Angamis.

2.2.9. Megalithic culture

Megalithic culture is an essence of Naga culture. The Angamis erect stones in commemoration of the achievement a person attains by feasting the village and also in memory of the deceased members. Besides, every ancient Angami village built stone walls and pillars for defence purposes. *Tehuba* (a sitting place) built with stones and arranged in tier to form a more or less circular platform is one of the most noticeable features of an Angami village. Megaliths such as stones for the village platform, sting seats, sacrificing stones etc., are considered by the villagers as common property and are honoured. Erecting of stones to indicate demarcation of land is an age old custom of the Angamis.

Describing the stone culture among the Angamis, Bareh (1970), notes that the ancient Angami village sites have pyramidal stone structures, which provide the village watchmen with the possibility of exploring the enemy's advance. Sometimes, announcements are made there, stone-yards and pillars, circles and others furnish a sight of stone-hinges at the village sites. He further adds that dolmens lie widely scattered on the house compounds. They afford seats to the family, at these stones, visitors are entertained, and they form the meeting place of the family group and rendezvous of small congregations (Bareh, 1970, p. 67 & 68).

Megaliths erected either by a man who has given a Feast of merit or after his death by his heirs or by the villagers as monuments for the favour received by them from the person concerned is symbolic of the respects bestowed on ancestors (Majumdar, 1992, p. 50). Megalithic monuments are an interconnecting element of paramount importance, where superficially opposing concepts, such as reciprocity and competition, as well as individualised and communal frameworks are merging into each other. For the Angamis, these practices were one of the very few ways to gain individual social prestige and a right to participate in and decide on village matters (Wunderlich, Jamir, et al., 2021).

2.2.10. Life Cycle

The life cycle of the Angamis from birth to death, is surrounded by a number of rituals and ceremonies which is performed in different stages of life.

Birth

In the olden days, when a baby is born, a ceremony is observed by the members of the family for five days for a male child and three days for a female child. It is the custom/practice of the Angamis to smear saliva on the forehead of the baby as soon as the child is born as a sign of claiming the child for the fear that spirit would claim the baby before him/her. The father makes a new hearth for the mother and the child to cook. Like any other Naga tribe, the mother is given chicken soup and rice soon after the birth of a baby. This continues till the mother becomes physically fit. The mother is made to eat and drink from leaves instead of plates and cups which are disposed after the *genna* period. The mother and the baby are made to sleep on *Orü* (a bamboo woven mat) till the *genna* period is over.⁷

After the *genna* period of five days (*zhonu*), the mother along with her baby fetches/draws water from the village well and on their way back, plucks few leaves of *tsohe/zohe* plant for the birth ritual. The mother bath the baby with the water, takes the *tsohe* leaves, dip into the water and symbolically touch the baby's forehead, the chest and tie on the wrist, blessing the baby to become strong and healthy. Another ritualistic practice of the Angamis is taking the new born child to a relative's family who has suffered no misfortune. On the day of the visit, the mother of the family places a little rice beer on the child's lips and gives a little rice and rice-beer to the child in a gourd as a sign of blessing the child.⁸

The father and the mother take the baby to the field, lay the child on the *orü* near their feet with two feathers near it, dig the ground twice pretending to do a little work, drink and

eat and then return home. While returning home, they bring back two twigs with which they cook and eat. Though in many cases, boys are preferred over girls, the birth of a girl child is welcome and both are treated alike. Unlike other Naga tribes, no special ceremony is discerned for naming a child or the piercing of ears. However, naming a baby is given much importance. A child is given 'a name of abstract significance suggesting the presence of good qualities or good fortune' (Hutton, 1921, p. 218). No special ceremonies are observed with the first hair cutting and ear boring. Ear-piercing is done when the child is six to twelve months old. Polished pegs of wood or bamboo are inserted into the pierced hole made in the lobes of the infant's ears.

Marriage

The society is a chain of both love and family arranged marriages. However, among the Angamis, marriage by negotiations is the general rule. It starts initially when the boy reveals his desire to marry suggesting a girl whose life partnership he wants to enter or when the parents decide to get their son married by choosing a girl for the son. An intermediary/negotiator - *leithomie* is then engaged to convey the proposal. The proposed having been received, the talks and negotiations prolong for some time until the girl's family give the final word. Before the marriage is decided, omens and dreams are consulted. If the omen and dreams are favourable, the parties settle down to the other terms and conditions. On the other hand if the omens were unfavourable, the arrangements for the marriage are at once called off.

In traditional Angami marriages, the character and quality of a person is given priority rather than physical appearance. It was believed that a responsible and good character girl brightens and strengthens family unity and vice versa. The institution of marriage cemented the alliance between the two families and also the clans of the couple. There is no fixed age for marriage. A boy may be fit to marry when he is capable of doing a man's work. Similarly, a girl is said to have attained marriageable age after puberty and also when she is capable of preparing meal and other household chores.

In the Angami society, there are generally five types of marriage viz., *Nhyudi/Thevonhyü*, *Trevonhyu*, *Tapfunhyu*, *Kethanhyu* and *Thakranhyu*. The first two types of marriages are settled through proper negotiation and are most respected by the society. After the engagement is made, the *thema* or marriage-price is settled between the two parties depending on the economic status of the concerned parties. Marriage with a big wedding

feast is known as *Thevonhyü*. Marriage with a nominal feast is known as *Trevonhyü/Theviinyhü*. There is also *Tapfunhyü/tapfü-kerei* or a marriage without any formality which is quite simple and may take place while working in the paddy field. In this case, when coming home from the field, the bride goes to the bridegroom's house instead of returning to her own house (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 22). The other type of marriage is called *Kethanhyü* or widow remarriage. *Thakranhyü* marriage is performed to accord social approval to grow long hair. In Angami society, it is customary for the Angami virgins to keep their head shaved. Among the Northern and Western Angamis, till engagement, and the Southern Angamis, till marriage, young virgins are not allowed to grow long hair. Although monogamy is the accepted form of marriage, a man or a woman can remarry after the death of his/her partner.

The marriage rite is usually performed at night. The bride, carrying a walking stick, a handful of grains, a spade and a gourd of rice beer in a basket is accompanied by a little girl, and in some Angami villages, a boy, her peer group and some elders goes to the groom's house. The bride does not turn back once they have started out signifying that she is beginning a new life. It is also said that it is a bad omen to get one's foot kicked. The parent of the bride does not drop her to her husband's house for fear of shortening the bride's life. On reaching the groom's house, the bridegroom's mother comes out and gives the bride rice beer in a leaf cup to taste. In some villages, this ceremony of tasting of rice beer is done by the boy who accompanies the bride. A big fowl is given to the little girl/boy as well as the bride's peer group who had accompanied the bride. On receiving the fowl, the girl is made to pronounce the blessing on the bride saying 'may you live a long and prosperous life, may your progeny be as numerous as the breeding of spiders and crabs'. The girl spends the night in the bridegroom's house, while the groom stays in the *morung* with his friends. The bride does not leave the house before sunrise. Early next morning, she fetches water and cooks for the household. On the second day, the couple goes to the field and do nominal work. They return after having their lunch. During the *Terhünyi* festival, the bride's family brings meat and rice beer to the groom's house for the groom's family to feast. In the olden days, it was obligatory for the girl to weave a shawl and present it to her partner.⁹

Divorces are frequent amongst the Angamis, and occur for various reasons, such as infidelity on the part of the woman, incompatibility of temper, and failure on the part of the woman to bear children (Davis, 1891, cited in Elwin p.307). A divorce may be initiated either by the man or the woman on account of misconduct or misbehaviour on the part of the spouse. When divorce takes place, generally the wife gets one-third of their movable

properties but not immovable ones. On the other hand, divorce on account of the wife's infidelity will not only deprive her of any property but she has to leave the house with only her clothes (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 24). However, remarriage is possible for a divorced woman.

With modern influences, changes in the indigenous system of marriage have become inevitable. Today, omens are no longer consulted, it is left to the couple to decide the convenient time and date for the marriage ceremony. Moreover, new set of marriage and divorce rules has been instituted to ensure stability in married life.

Death Funeral rites

In the earliest days, the Angamis practiced the exposure of the corpse on platforms and burying the bones. The body is left exposed for weeks or even months, followed by final burial pots (See Jamir, 2015). However this practiced was abandoned and they began to bury their dead. The Angamis give a lot of respect and honour to the dead. They bury their dead in and about the village with strict ritual ceremonies. There were also instances where the dead body of the most beloved family members are buried inside the house. However, people who die unnatural death are buried outside the village to get rid of disturbances which may be caused by the spirit of the dead. The dead body is buried in the afternoon before sunset if the death occurs early morning. If a person dies in the afternoon, then his body must be kept overnight and be buried the next day, before sunset, to enable the soul of the dead to reach the abode of spirits.

The corpse is bathed in cold water, dressed and covered with shawls. After homage is paid to the deceased, the corpse is then taken to the burial ground on a wooden plank and laid down keeping the head towards the west or the north. The crypt is sealed with wooden planks and the grave is covered with soil. The corpse is buried with complete set of tools and weapon and the following day, the *siaki* (a platform) is erected over the grave where the belongings of the dead are hung. In case of woman, a basket with her spinning and weaving materials, utensils, a diamond shaped frame made of bamboo on which different coloured threads are entwined and other clothes are displayed on the grave. When a person dies, all his relatives, neighbours, friends and villagers come to join the mourning and to comfort them. Jumping and stamping, screaming, and challenging the spirit who caused the death of the deceased are part of the funeral. Man and women would move in and out of the house beating the ground with their shawl and stamping their feet on the ground conveying their grief. Gunshots are fired to keep away malevolent spirits. It is the custom of the Angamis to pay

their final homage to the dead by bring new shawls to cover the body (interview with).¹⁰ This custom is still in vogue.

Animals such as *mithun*, cows and pigs are killed and meals are provided to all those who come to attend the funeral. It is done to express great love and deep sorrow for the deceased. Some pieces of raw meat are set aside and distributed to all the mourners. This meat is called *Theprie*. Ritually, the dead body cannot be buried until the distribution of the funeral meat is completed. It was believed that if the funeral meat is not fully distributed away before sunset, the spirit of the dead cannot reach the abode of the spirits the same day and will remain in the village. The people fear that such presence may cause disturbances to the family or even the villagers. The slaughtering of animals is considered as funeral rite and this is done for every dead person as there is a belief that the animals killed accompany the deceased to the next world which turns into his domestic animals. The first five days after burial are observed known as *Zhongu*. During this time, fresh rice beer are always offered in leaf-cups on the graveyard of the deceased or in the deceased's cup which is kept at home with the belief that the spirit of the dead man visits his family again during that particular period. The mourning continues for about thirty days by the members of the deceased family. The funeral rites and grave digging is done by the *Khohi* (grave digger).¹¹ The funeral rituals among the Angamis, in the past were a complex process. Hence with the adoption of Christianity, most of the rituals and traditional formalities have been given up or were performed in a simplified manner.

2.2.11. From isolation to transition

The Angamis remained relatively isolated from the rest of the world for a considerable period of time. Head-hunting tradition and inaccessible areas discouraged interaction with other tribes and non-tribals. Prior to the arrival of the British, the Angamis lived in complete isolation with its own peculiar system of government. Every village lived independently with its own well demarcated boundaries, free from any external control and had limited contacts with the neighbouring tribes. The Angamis occasionally raided the neighbouring Naga areas and as a result, the tribes were living in a state of constant warfare. Moreover, there were also inter-village animosity and the culture of head hunting. The Angamis were known for their bravery and gallantry in wars which is why other villages often sought their services for the purpose of protection and vengeance. The British were the first to break the political isolation of the Angamis as well as the other Naga tribes. The first contact between the British and the

Angamis happened in the early thirties of the 19th century, when in 1831-32, an attempt was made by the British to open a route of communication between Manipur and Assam. Since then, the British followed a policy of imposing their rule on the Angamis. However, the Angami opposed the British colonial expansion which resulted in conflict for many years. The last major encounter between the British and the Angamis was the battle of Khonoma in 1879, which made the Angamis submit to foreign dominance. Kohima was occupied in November 14, 1879 and made the head-quarter of the British (See Sanyu, 1996). The colonization of the British had ushered in a completely new situation in the Angami region thereafter.

With the British administration, inter-village feuds and head-hunting were brought under control. The interaction with the British and the subsequent advent of Christianity and also the introduction of western education brought about tremendous transformation in the religious, social, political, economic and cultural life of the Angamis. Christianity and modern education became a dynamic force in transforming the Angami society.

End Notes

¹Interview with Mr. Krusalie Sophi, age: 60 years, Khonoma village, Date: 29th June, 2015.

²Interview with Mr. Sani Pier, age: 75 years, Khonoma village, Date: 5th June 2015.

³Interview with Kehozecho, age: 87 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th December 2015.

⁴Interview with Mr. Saku Rolnu, age: years, Jakhama village, Date: 6th December 2014.

⁵Interview with Mr. Pukoho Rolnu, age: 89 years, Jakhama village, Date: 28th January 2016.

⁶Interview with Mr. Nothuto Kharutso, age: 66 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th January 2015.

⁷Interview with Mr. Kezhovi Khatso, age: 54 years, Jakhama village, Date: 9th January 2017.

⁸Interview with Mrs. Metha-e Khatso, age: 89 years, Jakhama village, Date: 9th January 2017.

⁹Interview with Mrs. Neisale Kulnu, age: 85 years, Jakhama village, Date: 9th January 2017.

¹⁰Interview with Mr. Nothuto Kharutso, age: 66 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th January 2015.

¹¹Interview with Mr. Nopol Richa, age: 64 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th January 2015.

CHAPTER-3

ANGAMI TRADITIONAL FESTIVALS

The festivals constitute an integral part of the Angami social life and relate to strong beliefs in the power of supernatural elements and community bonding. For the Angamis, festivals and religion are two faces of a coin. Agriculture being the prime occupation of the Angamis, all the major festivals is connected with the agricultural operation and their traditional beliefs and practices are mainly characterized by this occupation, while the entire activity of the agricultural operation is controlled by their religion. Mills (1937) remarks that, it is impossible to describe the processes of agriculture without touching on the ceremonies connected with them, so interwoven are the works and religion in the life of a Naga (Mills, 1937, p. 75). Therefore, a festival is generally accompanied by a number of religious ceremonies and *gennas*. Davis (1891) writes, the word '*genna*' means anything forbidden (in Elwin, 1969, p. 514). At every stage of agricultural activities, i.e. selection of land, sowing seed, transplantation, before and after harvest, before tasting new product of the field, Angamis observe *gennas*.

For the celebration of the various festivals, the Angamis follow the lunar calendar known as the *Khrü-phrü* (read the moon). The months in *the khrü-phrü* are related to the stages of agricultural cycle. In addition to the lunar cycle, the time for a particular agricultural activity and with it the time for celebration of certain festivals, is determined by observing the shift in the location of sunrise, by taking into account the hill or mountain behind which the sun rises and sets. This is combined with the observation of certain trees/plants that flowers and also the twittering of birds in that season. In the Angami month, there are 28-30 days. To keep the calendar correct, an intercalary month is added when necessary according to the convenience of the village or area concerned. In order to carry the agricultural and other activities on time, the Angamis observe their festival early for two years, and on the third year late. On the third year, they deduct/reduce the month/date which is adjusted during the festival of *Terhünyi*. In every three years, an extra month comes out.¹² This shows that the Angamis had the concept of leap year. Like the Gregorian calendar, there are 12 months in

the Angami calendar. The names of the Angami months are used simultaneously with the Gregorian months.

Angami Lunar months	Months in Gregorian calendar
<i>Doshü</i>	January
<i>Kezei</i>	February
<i>Kera</i>	March
<i>Ketsü</i>	April
<i>Cacü</i>	May
<i>Cadi</i>	June
<i>Mvüsa</i>	July
<i>Tsiarie</i>	August
<i>Rüyo</i>	September
<i>Thenyie</i>	October
<i>Ziephie</i>	November
<i>Rüde</i>	December

The months in the *Khrü-phrü* are related to the various stages of the agricultural cycle (Table 2). The Angami annual agricultural cycle begins with the sowing season. Each village follow its own calendar. Therefore, the Angami village do not celebrate the festivals at the same time. The agricultural cycle of the southern Angami is ahead of that of the Western, Northern and the Chakhro villages. Another reason for this minor difference is due to climatic differences. For instance, the Southern region has colder climate than the other Angami regions. Subsequently, the festival dates in the Southern villages fall earlier than the rest of the other Angami villages.

Table 2: The Angami calendar of Festivals

Festival	Lunar months	Nature of the Festival
<i>Sekrenyi</i>	<i>Kezei/Rüde</i>	Purification festival
<i>Tsakronyi</i>	<i>Kezei</i>	Seed sowing festival
<i>Ngonyi</i>	<i>Kera/Ketshü</i>	Post seed sowing festival/festival of rest
<i>Thekranyi</i>	<i>Cacü/Cadi</i>	Festival of the youth
<i>Kerunyi</i>	<i>Ketshü/Cacii/Cadi</i>	Plantation festival

<i>Binyi</i>	<i>Tsiarie</i>	Taro festival
<i>Tshünyi</i>	<i>Mvüsa/Tsiarie</i>	Millet festival
<i>Chadanyi</i>	<i>Tsiarie</i>	Path clearing festival
<i>Khoupfünyi</i>	<i>Rüy/ Ziephie</i>	Children (girls) festival
<i>Kezienyi</i>	<i>Rüyo</i>	Pre harvest festival
<i>Liekhwenyi</i>	<i>Rüyo/Thenyi</i>	Festival of guarding crops/fields.
<i>Vatenyi/Tiekede</i>	<i>Ziephie</i>	Festival relating to preservation of food grains
<i>Terhünyi</i>	<i>Ziephie/Rüde</i>	Post- harvest festival

All the festivals begin with *kizhie* ritual (purification of the house). This ritual is performed by the lady of the house. On the first day of the festival, she will take a few drops of *zumhou* which is especially prepared for this ritual in miniature plantain leaf cups (*theü*) and tied to the central post of the house and all the paddy barns *chü*, praying to the Supreme Being to bless her home with good health and prosperity. *Zumhou* is prepared from soaked rice, which is kept ready on the eve of *Kizhie*. The next day, early morning, the lady of the house roughly pound the soaked rice, mix with water and add yeast as it's done in preparing *zutho* rice beer. After this, she takes a few drops of the *zumhou* and performs the *kizhie* ritual. This ritual is performed only by women as they are considered as symbol of fertility. In the absence of a female member in the house, a female relative or neighbour performs the ritual for the household.¹³

3.1. *Sekrenyi*

Sekrenyi festival is the biggest and the most important festival of the Angamis. Literally *Sekre* means 'purification' and *nyi* means 'feast'. This festival is also known as *Phousanyi* (festival of purification). It is celebrated in the month of *Kezhei* (February) by the Northern and Western Angamis and in *Rüde* (December) by the Southern Angamis. It is celebrated for ten days. *Sekrenyi* is celebrated to ensure good health of the village community throughout the coming year. For the northern and the western Angamis, *Sekrenyi* marks the beginning of the New Year, when the people purify themselves to start everything afresh.

With the advent of the festival month, the people start making preliminary preparations for the festivals. The village elder/priest makes the announcement of the advent of the festival and to make necessary preparation for the celebration. Women engage themselves in weaving new shawls for the male members of the family, for every male wear

the new shawl during the purification ritual. Moreover, *Sekrenyi* is the most colourful festival for the Angamis. It is during this festival that both male and female, old and young adorn in their best attire. It is a time to showcase ones rich cultural attires. Besides, the Angamis male makes new hearth, new fire, new cups/mugs and spoons etc. during this festival. For them, ‘new’ represents newness of life and purification.

Four to five days ahead, before the actual celebration or *genna* period starts, every household would be involved in brewing rice-beer for the festival (*thenyi thou zhuo*). On this day, *genna* is observed. The next three to four days are working days for the people to complete their unfinished works before the festival starts.

The festival commences with the ‘*Kizhie*’ ritual (Plate 1). The lady of the house purifies the house by taking a little rice beer (*zumhou*) in miniature plantain leaf cups and ties to the central post of the house and all the paddy barns (*chü*), praying to the Supreme Being to bless her home with good health and prosperity in the coming year. The Northern and the Western Angamis perform the *Kizhie* ritual both inside and outside the house, while the Southern Angamis perform this ritual only inside the house. After performing the ritual inside the house, the lady of the house goes out and place *zumhou* in plantain leaf cups on the grave of their kins calling the spirits of the departed soul to come and feast. For Kohima of the northern Angamis, on *kizie* morning, all the animals meant for the festival are slaughtered.

The second day of the festival is called *Sekre*. *Sekre* generally is the occasion on which male children leaves the “women’s side” (Hutton, 1921, p. 204). Prior to the day, the menfolk clean the village well and watch it so as to prevent it from defilement. No one is allowed to fetch water from the village well till the ritual is over; hence, the women fetch and store water before the well is cleaned. On *sekre* day, all the male folk go to the village well early in the morning where they wash themselves, their weapons and tools, and then they sprinkle water on their new shawls, the white *mhoshü* and black *lohe* in a ritualistic manner by pronouncing that all their misfortunes and illness have been washed away. This ritual is known as *Dzüseva*, ‘touching the sleeping water’. This ritual symbolizes the purification of the soul.¹⁴ The men then fetches some water and walk back home.

On returning home, every man will make a new hearth in the central room and light the fire by traditional method (*Meyoshü/segumisu*). After this, an unblemished cock will be sacrificed by strangling it with bare hands. It is considered a good omen if the right leg falls over the left leg. In some villages, the innards- the intestine of the chicken is taken out and displayed at the entrance of the house. It was believed that the length of the intestines

signifies longevity of life, while some interprets that if the intestine is full it indicates a prosperous year but if sunken, it indicates hard labour. The cock sacrificed is then cooked in a separate pot being prepared for the purpose. Before the cooked meat is eaten, two rituals *zomhü-ü va/mhoupieva* and *chü pe/chüsepe* are performed. The father of the house takes a plantain leaf cup, pour some *zu* into it and pretend to drink it twice, then he place it on the paddy barn tied with bamboo strip. *Zomhü-ü va/mhoupieva* is performed to seek for abundance. With the cooked meat, the head of the house (father) will then perform the *chü pe/chüsepe* rite. He takes a few pieces of the cooked liver, put it on a plantain leaf, break the meat/liver into pieces and then take some *zu* (rice beer). He will then go behind the door and throw the meat ritualistically as he chant to the spirits to let his enemies eat the meat and be lured/made weak so that he may kill/overpower them and also to let his food and drinks always be bountiful (interview with). During the *Sekre* (purification ritual) period, the male member abstain themselves from sharing food with their female counterparts and also sleep separately. This is done so in order to keep them clean and free from defilement, for it was believed that women are impure during their menstrual cycle which would blemish and weaken men. The women and men can share food or dine together only after the end of the *Sekre*.¹⁵

The end of *Sekre* is called '*pruo*'. This is usually done on the second day of *sekre* before the sun sets. The male will don their shawls; take their weapons viz. spear, dao, gun and go down behind the village gate (*kharu*). They will then shook their shawls in the air, pierce the ground with their spear, give some blind shot in the air calling for the spirit of *Sekrenyi* (*Sekreseno*) to return to him soon. If the *genna* meat could not be finished, the remains should be distributed to the widows and orphans or to young girls who have not reached puberty.¹⁶

In some villages, for instance Jakhama of Southern region, the eve of *kizhie* is *Chüza* i.e. day for slaughtering animals (cattle, pigs etc.), The *kizhie* day is a day for collecting/carrying firewood, wood for the new hearth and also for making new hearth, spoons and mugs etc. The second day is *chethü* (making of new spoons). The third day is *Sekre*. On *Sekre* day, all the meat is prepared/cooked for the whole festival period. On the second day of *Sekre*, meat and brew is given to their maternal uncles and goes to seek their blessings. This ceremony is called *nuosotho*. The maternal uncles receive the *Sekre* meat, and brew, and in return give back meat share from their own house. It is believed that next to the

spirits, the maternal uncles are the most important in a man's life and as such, this honour is given to them.¹⁷

From the fourth day, three days session of singing and feasting begins. On the first day, the young and the old adorned in their best traditional attires gather in an open space in front of the *morung*, where the younger generations are taught the art of war fare, traditional male dance etc. *Alo* is the most fascinating festive event of *Sekrenyi* festival (Plate 2). While performing the male dance, the performers move in a circular motion. The performance is exclusively for male. On this day, the *Sekrenyi* song *Sokese* is sung by some of the male groups. It is a song wishing a person good health, to enjoy the festival and also to celebrate together the following year. Young people sit together and sing songs throughout the day, feasting with rice beer and meat. Young boys and girls from other *khels* are invited, and feast together with meat and rice-beer. Great amount of pork, beef, and dog meat are consumed. On the seventh day, *mivi genna* (making peace with fire) is observed. This is done to avert destruction cause by fire. The following day is set aside for *kene* (wrestling), when young wrestlers are trained and prepared to participate in the inter-khel wrestling competition (Plate 3).

Besides feasting and merry-making, in the festival, competition and exhibition of indigenous games are initiated. *Phieda*, an indigenous game, is played by menfolk from Southern Angami. The '*ophie*' stem used for playing the game is straightened out by heating it with hot ash. The game is played by hitting the '*ophie*' on a clearing called '*tetsü*' so that it takes off as far as it possibly can. It is played between peer groups, competing with each other. The women group also play an indigenous game called *Thulo*, played with swords bean peer group wise. In the evening, all the peer groups goes back to their respective peer house and continue with the feasting. These two games are played only during the *Sekrenyi* season. It is taboo to play these games once the *Sekrenyi* month is over.

For the Angamis of Kohima village, from the fourth to sixth day is *thekrahie* where various *pele* (peer groups) of the village sit together in their best traditional dresses feasting and singing folk songs in the *Kracu* (patron) house. Prior to the festival, the members of every peer group would work in the fields and get some earnings. During the festival they will bring their earning together and feast. This feasting continues for three days and on the last day i.e. the sixth day, in the evening, they come out from the *thekrahie* house, singing and yelling, and dance to end the *thekrahie*.

On the seventh day, young men go hunting, and on the eight day, the bridge-pulling/gate-pulling ceremony is performed and also inter-village friendship visits are exchanged. Gate pulling is an important ceremony of the Angamis. Since ancient times, *Kharu* (village gate) served as a means of defence for the whole village. Before the old *Kharu* decays, the villagers will make a new *Kharu* to replace it. *Kharu* is hewn out of a piece of solid wood. It is usually the largest and the best tree in the forest; so to fell it, an unblemished cock is offered as sacrifice to please the *Terhomia* (the spirit of the forest). Few months ahead, the *kharu* will be prepared with all the carvings and kept ready for the gate-pulling ceremony. On the eight day of *Sekrenyi*, all the men folks in their ceremonial dresses will take part in the gate pulling ceremony. Until the *kharu* is erected, the whole village will observe *genna*.¹⁸

Inter-village visit begins on the eight day of the festival. All the men folk of the invited clan/ *khel*/ *village* will wear their best traditional dresses, specially the warriors who earned special decoration for their bravery and proceed to the host village in procession. No strangers will be allowed to cross or break the procession line because they considered it to be a bad omen for the whole village. On their arrival, they are welcomed with great hospitality by the host village and as they go to *Ruzie* (village ground) and perform a war dance. After the dance is over, the host village people will come and choose their own guest. It is said that if the guests are fewer, there will be a lot of tussle over the guest, because everyone wants at least a guest in their house. The visiting guests are given the best food and drink to feast on. On the third day, the guest will be given a large amount of meat and rice beer as return gift. These inter-village visits served as good-will mission to ensure peace and understanding between two villages or clan groups. During such occasions, clans have long standing ties of friendship with particular clans in other villages and the memory of such ties is preserved and kept green by these visits (Hutton, 1921, p. 211). *Thenyi Mi/Meivi genna* is observed on the eleventh and twelfth day respectively, which mark the close or end of the festival. Until the close of the festival is announced, it is *genna* to go to the field.

In the case of the Khonoma of Western Angamis, the menfolk take part in target shooting on the first day of the festival. This target shooting is called '*thisia*' where everyone including women and children go out to watch. For this target shooting, a wooden image decorated with feathers is carved and placed at a tree top beside the traditional gate and the old chief initiates it, followed by the male folks (Sophi et al, 2015, p. 35).

On the second and third day, young boys and girls go to jungle and collect flowers, seeds and dry bamboo sticks which are used for adorning the peer group house. On the fourth and fifth day, all the items collected are strung together for decoration. The older age-groups help the younger age-groups decorate their peer-group house. Everyone will then put on their full traditional attires and feasts together singing folksongs throughout the night. Day six to nine are spent on normal activities such as cleaning the house surroundings, and other household chores, except agricultural works. The tenth day concludes the festivity and no works are done. The next day people resume their normal activities.¹⁹

3.2. *Tsakronyi*

Tsakronyi is the first festival of the Angamis of Jakhama village in the Southern region. This festival marks the beginning of the agricultural cycle. *Tsakronyi* is also known as couple feast (feast of the spouses). It is observed for two days in the month of *Kezei* (February), while prior to it, no sowing of seed is done by any household. The Angamis believed that until the formal act is performed by the *Tsiekrau*, it may adversely affect the growth of the plants to its maturity. Two days *genna* is observed in which the *Tsiekrau*/*Tsakhrou* (First Sower) neither joins any feast nor drink rice beer offered by his neighbours. On the first day, the First Sower (*Tsakhrou*) goes to the field with a spade and wearing his *kenhou* (traditional raincoat), ritualistically sow seeds (paddy, millet or Job's tears) invoking the Supreme Being to give germination to the seeds sown and to cause them to grow and bear rich harvest. The people are free to sow seeds after the *genna* is over. Till the end of the *genna* period (*zhonyü*), it is taboo for the whole village community to lit fire outside the house.

3.3. *Ngonyi*

Ngonyi festival is celebrated in the month of *Kera* (March)/*Ketshü* (April), at the close of the sowing season. *Ngonyi* literally means 'dreary' *genna*. It is also considered as a festival of rest as ten days are set aside for celebration. Hutton (1921) observes that, the Khonoma *Ngonyi* festival spreads over a period of fourteen days, but in Kohima and Viswema, they are celebrated for six days only (Hutton, 1921, p. 198). For some villages, this festival marks the beginning of the sowing of seeds in the jhum and terrace fields. After *Kezie* ritual, the *Ciekrau* (First sower) carry out the *Ngonyi* ritual for the whole village. The *Ngonyi* ritual is similar to the *Tsakronyi* ritual discussed above. After performing the ritual, the *Ciekrau* will confine himself in a small hut, constructed inside the house for ritual purpose for five days.

During this period, he is forbidden to eat any warm food but can drink rice-beer. During those *genna* days, he will wear his *kenhou* (traditional rain coat), *tsüre* (hat) and carry his spade. The *Chiekrau*, during his confinement, pray to the Supreme Being to bless them with good crops. The *Chiekrau* restrict himself from talking to strangers and refrain from touching animals for the fear of ritual defilement, and destruction of crops by animals. Strict *penie* is observed by the whole community and only domestic works are done.²⁰ In Khonoma village, during this period, the members of the different age groups gather and feast on the group's earnings of the year, re-establishing their commitment to each other. It is basically a festival to enjoy with fellow friends in appreciation of their accomplishments, celebration of hopes, and expectations of a rich harvest of the fruits that they have sown successfully. The young people also go for hunting and fishing and organise outdoor feast and merry-making. The people also spend their *genna* days collecting firewood, wild vegetables, pounding rice, making baskets, repairing the spades etc. This festival marks the completion of the sowing season.

3.4. *Kerunyi*

This festival is observed in the month of *Ketshü* (April) by the Southern Angamis and *Cacü* (May)/Cadi (June) by the Northern Angamis. This festival is observed for two days for the Southern region and four days for the Northern region. This festival is called plantation festival, as it conforms to the transplantation of paddy seedlings into the terraced fields. Like the other festival, *Kerunyi* begins with *kezie* ritual. This same day, a ritual called *terhase* (rain invoking ritual) is observed. On this day, two persons- dressed up in full working clothes which includes *tsüre* (hat) and *kenhou* (raincoat) takes a fowl to a specific place called *rase tsu*/at the rear of the village and releases it as a means of agreement between men and spirits. This ritual is of great significance as it is a petition requesting the Supreme Being to bless them with rain. It is the belief that rain can be obtained by observing a strict *penie* for the whole village on the ritual day. In case of shortage of rain or violation of the *genna* day, the same ritual has to be performed again. The next day is observed as a non-working day, and people confine at home and feast. This festival is also an occasion for the people to clean and renovate waterways/canals for irrigation. This work process is known as '*dzüta meza*'.

For the Northern Angamis of Kohima village, the next day after the *kizie*, feasting proceeds. The various *pele* (age-groups) gather in separate groups and feast with meat and *zu*, singing folksongs (Plate 5). Though this festival is celebrated only for few days with no

social gathering or display of traditional attires, it is an important occasion as the young people nourish themselves with protein-rich food (meat) and rice beer before they begin the transplantation of paddy. With the end of the festival, the whole village commences the transplanting of paddy the following day.

3.5. *Thekranyi*

In some Angami villages like Khonoma, *Thekranyi* marks the beginning of the plantation season. This festival coincides with the *Kerunyi* festival which falls in the month of *Cacü* (May)/*Cadi* (June). Basically, *Thekranyi* is a festival for the members of the different age groups to enjoy and feast on the fruits of their labour. It is also called festival of the youth when new (young) age-groups are inducted. The Angamis term *Thekra*, refers to the ‘earnings’ of the age groups. The Western Angamis celebrate this festival with great grandeur. Before the actual celebration starts, a day is set aside for the collection of *Thekro* (donations of rice) by the members who are intending to *thekra* together. The rice collected is made into brew for the feast. Two days after this, the *Kizie* ritual is performed and the members who have earned the *thekra* begin to feast in *kikrauki* (patron’s house). Every peer-group has a patron known as *kikrau*.²¹

On the second and the third day of the festival, *Kelipie*, which means a long sequence or singing, is held. All the different peer-groups from all the *khels* (*thinuo*) gather at ‘*Hiekhakhwehou*’ (a raised circular stone platform), adorned in complete and best traditional attire. Prior to that, the hostess offers each of them with *zu* and blessings by the *kikrau*. The boys carry the horn of the mithun (*Bos frontalis*), while the girls carry the banana leaf cup on which they hold their *zu*. While the horn of the mithun used by the boys serves as a symbol of their strength and power, the banana leaf of the female symbolizes their fertility (Nagi, 2018, p. 32). It is said that it is traditionally binding that every participant must step on this circular stone platform, while performing this ritual. It is on this day that individual/person with high social status or warriors are able to showcase themselves through their attire. After the gathering is over, each peer-group goes back to their patron’s house (*kikrauki*) and continues with feasting and singing.

On the fourth day *Thepekela* ritual is performed and strict *penie* is observed. This ritual is performed to ward off all sicknesses, plague and other epidemics from the people. No one is allowed to go outside the village. In case if anyone does so, he/she is not allowed to come back to the village till the ritual period is over.

On the fifth day, the *thema* is observed. People abstain from field /agricultural work; however other household chores are done. From the sixth day, the agricultural works resumes. On this day, the new peer-group work in their foster father's field (*kharsi*) and at the same time, earn by working in other's field (*thekra*) for the next year celebration.

3.6. *Tshünyi*

Tshünyi means millet festival. This festival falls in the month of *Mvüsa* (July)/ *Tsiarie* (August). *Tshünyi* coincides with *Chadanyi* (path-clearing festival). The Khonoma of the Western region observe it for seven days, and Southern Angamis, for five days. On the eighth day of the new moon, the *Mshopfü* (village priestess) confines herself for five days in her house. During these five days of *genna* period, she will not talk to anyone; if she runs short of any food items or firewood, water etc., she makes her needs known to the Supreme Being by speaking out loud. And the villagers provide the same for her. With the end of the *genna* days, she goes to the field and performs the millet harvest ritual. After the initiation of the millet harvest, the festival begins with *kezie/kide* performed by the lady of the house.²² The following days are set aside for rest and feasting. On the fourth day, as in the case of Jakhama of the Southern Angamis, *Thevü meta* ritual (sacrificing a live cock), is performed by the village priest. He takes the rooster outside the village gate, chanting a few words (specified for the festival), he sets the cock free outside the village gate as an offering to the deities. If the rooster flies towards the forest, it is considered a good omen, if it comes back to the village; it is believed that some misfortunes shall befall on its inhabitants. Few cut metal pieces along with *suta* leaves are kept on the village gate as a part of the ritual. This ritual called *methü-sashü* is to propitiate the Supreme Being to protect the inhabitants from sickness, death and other misfortunes. During the day, the male folk take part in target shooting competition known as *chan jo*. On this day, strict *penie* is observed and the village gate is closed to outsiders. The fifth and the sixth day are festival *genna* days called *thenyi zho* and *serü mena* respectively.

On the seventh day, *zozopua-e* ritual (sacrificing a live rat) is performed. For this ritual, the rat has to be free from any form of deformities. Through this ritual, man makes friendship with animals so that it will not destroy the crops. On the eve of the ritual day, the young men of the village goes to the field to look out for an undefiled rat and catch one alive, then keep it safe for ritual purpose. In this ritual, a man will hold the rat, and other males with sticks follow the man that carries the rat. They will proceed from the lower part of the village

ululating loudly, and go towards the end of the village and then release the rat beyond the village boundary. As the rat-carrier releases it, the other young men stamps and shouts to frighten away the rat. The village priest prays to the deities to protect the growing paddy from the field mice and rats. In case if such rat is not found, the *genna* goes more than ten days. The next day, *genna* is observed which marks the end of the festival.²³

As in the case of Khonoma, a day is set aside for path-clearing. The *chadacha* (path-clearing) ritual is performed by two young boys as discussed below. After this clearing work is over, in the evening, they will clean the graveyards. The next day, early in the morning, the *kizie* is performed by the lady of the house. On the third day, weaving of basket, stitching and mending works are done. On the fourth day, collection of some of the harvest is done and given to the *Liedepfii* (women who performs the harvest ritual). The fifth day is called *kulhi*. On this day, the *thezukepu* which means ‘telling off the rat’ ritual is performed (Hutton, 1921, p. 208). On the sixth day, strict *genna* is observed and on the seventh day, *thena* is observed marking the end of the *Chadanyi* festival. From the eighth day, normal work of going to the field resumes. The various rituals associated with *Tshiünyi* are indicative of people’s desire to be removed from all calamities.

3.7. *Chadanyi*:

Chadanyi (path-clearing festival) is observed by the Western and Northern Angamis in the month of *Tsiarie* (August). The festival begins with *kezie* ritual and continues for seven days for western Angamis and four days for the northern Angamis. In this festival, people make an effort to give a face-lift by fixing the village paths especially the paths leading to the fields (Plate 6). It is also an occasion for preparation for weeding and tending of crops. In preparation for the celebration of this festival, a day is set aside for *Chada* (clearing of paths) as in the case of the Western and Northern groups. To begin the clearing of paths, the *chada cha* ritual is performed by two virgin young boys, one from the *thevo* clan and one from the *thepa* clan. The two young boys perform this ceremony by pronouncing that, ‘the path is the path of human generations, path for rice and goodness, path through which victorious war trophies are brought’ (interview with). This ritual pronouncement is done first by the *thevo*, and saying so, the first cutting is done. Then the boy from the *thepa* clan will follow suit. This ritual declaration and cutting is done at the point from where the path clearing is to start. On this day, the two boys will abstain from food till the ritual is completed. After this, they return home and may eat. During the day, the villages will engage themselves in clearing the

paths leading to their fields and in and around the village. After this clearing work is over, in the evening, they will clean the graveyards. The next day, early in the morning, the *kizie* is performed by the lady of the house inside and outside. This *genna* is also an occasion to commemorate the ancestral dead. During this occasion, it is taboo for the villagers to touch any animals, and none is allowed to speak to strangers.²⁴ After clearing the paths, the people take rest and feast with meat and *zu*. After the four *genna* days are over, people resume their work.

3.8. *Binyi*

Binyi is a minor festival celebrated in the month of *Tsiarie* (August). *Binyi* literally means taro festival. It is also called couple feast. This festival is observed only by the Viswema of Southern Angamis. In the olden days, taro was cultivated to supplement rice and meat. This festival is celebrated for five days after the taro is harvested. The festival begins with *kizie*. The next day is *tezukepu*, a ritual where a live rat is sacrificed. The male folk would take an unblemished live rat beyond the village and release it. On their way, they will shout and keep on passing the rat from one person to the other without letting others know who exactly is carrying the rat till they reach the spot where they are to release it. As they release it, they will all shout and stamp their feet to chase away the rat to the opposite side of the village. This is done to keep away the rats from destroying the standing crops. The third day is *khonupennie*, a non-working day. On the fourth and fifth day no field work is done but fire-woods can be collected.²⁵

3.9. *Khoupfhünyi/ Theyu-u Khupfhünyi*

This festival is celebrated in the month of *Rüyo* (September) by the Western and Northern Angamis for five days. Literally *Theyu-u* means ‘toad’, *Khu* means ‘plate’ (plate of rice) and *pfhü* means ‘share’. In short, it means ‘giving the toad its rice’. It is also called *Nhichumianyi* which literally means ‘children festival’, particularly the girl child, when all the young girls exchange cooked meat and other items among themselves.²⁶

In some villages, *Theyu-u Khupfhünyi* is celebrated with much grandeur. Prior to the festival, the young village damsels make preparations for the festivals by collecting wild flowers and decorating the *chokrwu* (eaves at the entrance of a house). The festival begins with *kizie* ritual and is observed ranging from four to five days. As the term *Theyu-u Khupfhünyi* denotes ‘toad’s meal’, before the children starts taking their food, food is offered

to the toad which is placed outside the house or places like barns or where rodents cannot access. After giving the toad's share, the lady of the house will take some rice and meat in plantain leaf for her children to take it to their friends, neighbours and relatives. The children will not only exchange food but will also feast together. The young girls gather at the decorated *chokrwu*, sing songs, eat and make merry the whole day (Plate 7). This festival food is also given to the children of their relatives far and wide as a sign of love among the kinsmen. In some villages, people begin their exchange of food on *kizhie* morning, while some exchange meat and rice on the second day after *kizhie*. *Theyu-u Khupfhiünyi* is one of the Angami's most enjoyable festivals as it is lavishly celebrated and all the good foods are served. During the *genna* days, only domestic household chores are done. While the women weave or pound and store rice for the harvest season, the men folk repair the sickles (*ziephinuo*) and mend old bamboo baskets, sieves (*zaru*), mats (*zophrie*) etc.

In some villages, for instance Jakhama village, this festival is celebrated in the month of *Ziephie* (November), after the harvest. The festival begins with *vakete* ritual, where the mother of the family pick a small amount of paddy grain from every barn containing new paddy, and husk them with her bare hands. These husked grains are cooked in a new pot, seeking blessing of the gods over the harvested crops. It is a ritual which offers thanksgiving to the Supreme Being who once again led his people safely to a period of plenty and at the same time seeking God's blessing over the harvest so that the food crops may last long. The next day, the children exchange food and feast together. In those homes where the harvest is incomplete, foods are not taken out of the house but the children are served and made to have it within the house. The serving include a handful of cooked rice (fresh harvest), in some villages, millet is also served, few pieces of meat and two thin strips of banana leaves spread over the food. Sometimes, delicacies like snail, crabs, egg etc. are also served.²⁷

There are many stories relating to the origin of this festival. In some villages, it is told that one day, a lady saw a millet plant (*Othsü bo*) fully ripened in the middle of a pond. She sent a squirrel to pluck an ear for her, but the squirrel did not return. The lady then sent a parrot to collect it for her, but the bird instead started eating the millet and did not return. At last, the woman sent a toad, and the toad brought her an ear of millet. The woman grateful, promised the toad that she will give a serving of millet to him every year. Thus, *Theyu-u Khupfhiünyi* came into being (Resurgence, 2013, p. 36).

In some villages, legends holds that when the Naga ancestor first came at *Kezhakeno*, the toad brought a stack of grain for him, hence, this festival is an acknowledgement of the

toad's kind blessing. The belief that toad brings prosperity induces the act of offering food to the toad. While in some village, toad's meal is referred here because of its endurance quality to hibernate in certain seasons. The ceremony is done so as to transfer this 'endurance quality' of toad on the women's nature in handling food of the household (Ketholesie, 1985, p. 85).

Another story suggests that, in the beginning of time, a man, a mouse and a toad who were bosom friends found out rice, which they managed to distribute. But the mouse finding it difficult to carry the rice, requested the man that she may be allowed to eat it in the corner of his field. The toad refused to take any rice but prayed that man may offer rice to it once a year in its name, hence the festival of giving the toad its rice (Bareh, 1970, p.70). The Angamis of Kohima village observe the harvest ceremony after this festival. The *Liedepfü* (First Reaper) inaugurates the harvest of crops for the whole village. On the ritual day, she will go to the field carrying her basket and sickle, and pray for a bountiful harvest. After chanting her prayer she will cut two to three stalks of good and ripe grains and put it in her basket. She will then lift her basket on her back, pretending to be heavily laden, and carry it home. After this, the villagers start their harvest.

3.10. *Kezienyi*:

This festival is celebrated by the southern Angamis in the month of *Rüyo* (September). *Kezienyi* is a five days festival or *genna*. It is the pre-harvest festival where in the *Mshopfü* performs the harvest ritual invoking blessings upon the paddy. The *Mshopfü* (village priestess) goes to the field and cuts a few heads of paddy; she will tie the stumps of paddy (hay) and have a piece of mud, worm-cast pasted on them. This ceremony is known as *Liede*. Returning back home she will then first taste the harvest. After performing the ritual, she will then confine herself in a small hut (inside her house) made for the ritual purpose and observe five days *genna*. This ceremony marks the opening of the harvest. The festival begins after four working days. *Kizie* is performed by the lady of the house seeking good harvest and health for the household. The third day is observed as *terü tekre pennie* (rain and storm *genna*) to protect the paddy from hailstorms. The fourth day is set for *zhathomia sedu* i.e. felling trees for wealthy man who is preparing for a feast of merit. The next day is *thenyi za*, which marks the end of the festival.

After the *Kezienyi*, *tothu genna* (sky ceremony) is observed. The *genna* last for five days which is called *zhongu*. Strict *penie* is observed on the first and the last day of *tothu*.

During the *genna* period, no one is allowed to carry paddy or meat and cross the village gate. It is taboo on the first *genna* day to wash clothes. The following days, the people place fresh leaves on their washed clothes while drying it in the sun as a symbol of protection. The purpose of this *genna* is to protect the standing crops from hail.

3.11. *Liekhwenyi*:

Liekhwenyi is celebrated in the month of *Rüyo* (September) or *Thenyi* (October) by the Western Angamis. It stretches for a period of three days. *Liekhwenyi* literally means festival of guarding crops/fields. During this festival, people erect various kinds of scarecrows, representing human figures for scaring birds in their fields. The people take meticulous care in protecting their crops from destruction during this season. In this festival, a series of rituals and *genna* are observed to prevent any destruction befalling the grains in the fields. One such ritual is *teichü* (sky ceremony) *genna*, which is regarded in most Angami villages as a particularly important ceremony, as it is held to secure the protection of the ripening crop from hail. Ganguly (1984) also observes that, ‘the Angamis spare no effort to safeguard the crops, the reward for many months labour’ (Ganguly, 1984, p.46).

After the end of *Liekhwenyi*, the Western Angamis perform *Leide* ritual to begin the harvest. Before the performance of this rite, harvesting of any crops is not permitted. The inaugural function for the harvest has to be done by an old lady. The festival lasts for two days only, during which time it is strictly forbidden for anyone to go to the field except the *Liedepfü* (first reaper). On the morning of the ritual, she goes to the field and cuts a few heads/cobs of paddy, ritually declaring the start of the harvest and returns home. She then confines herself to the house for five days *gennas* as done by the Southern Angamis during the *Keziényi*. Only after performing the *leide*, the harvests of crops begin.

3.12. *Vatenyi/Tiekede*:

Vatenyi/Tiekede falls in the month of *Ziephie* (November). Unlike other festivals, the festival does not observe ‘*kizhie*’ ritual. It is a one day *genna* in Kohima group, but it intervenes to five days in Khonoma. The festival centres around the preservation of grains. This festivals/*genna* also marks the completion of a yearly cycle. The *Tiekede* ritual is performed by the lady of the house. Early morning, she will fetch fresh water from the village spring well and also collect few *ciena* (warm wood leaves) for ritual purpose. Following this, she will sprinkle water with the *ciena* leaf on all the *chu* (paddy barns) and household utensils.

After this, she picks a small amount of paddy grain from every barn containing new paddy and husk them with her bare hands. These husked grains are cooked in a new pot, seeking blessing of the Supreme Being over the harvested crops. It is a ritual which offers thanksgiving to the Supreme Being who once again led his people safely to a period of plenty and at the same time seeking Supreme Being's blessing over the harvest so that the food crops may sustain. All the crops should be collected before the *Tiekede* ritual. Every family feasts with delicious dishes of crabs and fishes.²⁸

In the case of the Western Angamis, this same day, another ritual called *rasede* is observed. This *rasede* is of great significance as it foretells the fortune of the community. On this day, two persons- a *thevo* and *thepa* (elder and younger clan respectively) release fowls. Two at the rear of the village and two fowls at the top as a means of agreement between men and spirits. If the fowls roamed leisurely, it is a good omen, where as a frightened flight is considered a bad omen. Strangers are restricted to enter the village and villagers abstain from field works except for the cowherds. At the end of this day, an edible obnoxious plant called 'sala' is laid on the threshold of the house so as to hinder the spirits from ushering illness and deaths to the family.

Another important ritual carried out on the third day of *rasede* is the piercing of a small chicken from its rear to the head in order to ward off sicknesses, deaths, fire havocs or other calamities from their community. The next day is the clearing of respective waterholes known as 'Dzükhukhwe'. This clearing of waterholes relates that man has to often renew their physical as well as metaphysical body. In order to maintain the sanctity of this day and to save the waterholes from drought, strict *penie* is observed and no stranger is communicated.²⁹ On this day, a cluster of bitter wormwood leaves is placed on the village gate, compound gate or above the door for the outsiders to know that the village community is observing *penie*. On seeing these leaves, the outsiders abstain themselves from entering the village. The following day is observed as *thepekela* so that no diseases should come and harm them. The final day is a *penie* for the enemies not to harm or over power them. Once they are done with all these elaborate *penies* and restrictions, daily activities and field works may resume.

3.13. *Terhünyi*:

Terhünyi also known as *Terhuonyi* is a major festival of the Angamis. *Terhuonyi* comes from the word *Terhuo* which literally means 'spirit' and *nyi* means 'feast'. During this festival, the

harvests of the crops of the year are brought at the end of the agricultural cycle and thanks are offered to the spirits for the blessings of good crops. It is also a time to exhibit love and affection to the near and dear ones. It falls in the month of *Ziephie* (November)/*Rüde* (December). Normally, the celebration goes on for ten to fifteen days.

Various stories were ascribed to the origin of this festival. The narration by the Angamis of Kohima village goes as follows. Long time ago, an old woman lived with her daughter at Meriema village. One day, when she was returning back from her field, a *Terhuomia* called *Ziso* followed her and put his hands over her eyes from behind and refused to let her free until she promised her daughter in marriage to him. The old woman promised and got herself free, but saw no one when she opened her eyes and looked around. Days went by and the old woman forgot what she had promised to her invisible visitor.

One day, the daughter went with her friends to work in the fields and as they were coming back home, she lagged behind the others. Suddenly *Ziso* caught hold of her and took her away. A year later, she came back to her mother's house and related the story to her that she is happily married to *Ziso* who is a very handsome and wealthy man. She invited her mother to go with her, and so taking some husks of rice, they set out for the daughter's house, dropping husks along the road for the fear of the old woman's losing her way back home. After staying for some days with her daughter and son-in-law, the old woman said she must go home. *Ziso* then asked her mother-in-law what she would like to take home. The old woman answered that she like many things but since she could not carry it, she asked for the little basket hanging in the side of the room to keep her yeast. This was earlier instructed by her daughter. Troubled by her wish, *Ziso* requested her mother-in-law to ask for something else but the old woman insisted on having the basket. *Ziso* reluctantly gave her the small basket and advised her not to open the basket till she reached home. He also advised her to keep the door closed when she opened the basket and to remain inside for five days. So the old woman set out for home with the basket but to her surprise, the basket became heavier and heavier and about halfway the basket became so heavy that she could not control her curiosity to open it. "Hence, she took off the lid and behold! Animals of every kind, mithun, boars, birds, mice, and every sort of beast and flying thing, and those which are able to fly or run swiftly came forth and fled, and those unable to get away were shut in by the old woman" (Hutton, 1921, p. 202). After reaching home, she shut the door and opened her basket; mithun, cows, pigs, dogs and fowls came out of the basket and she kept them in the house with the door shut for five days and they all became tamed. These animals are known as "the

woman's share (*thenumia ri*) and those which escaped on the way, and became the wild animals are spoken as "the man's share" (*thepfumia ri*) (ibid p.202).

The following year, the old woman's daughter and her husband- *Ziso* came to visit the old woman and found her house filled with domestic animals. *Ziso* was so pleased that he asked her mother-in-law to kill some fat bulls and feast in his name. From then on, this feast is observed every year and called *Terhounyi* (the spirit feast), for *Ziso* was a spirit.

Another interpretation on the origin of this festival is from the belief that even if the physical body is dead and gone, the spirit lives forever. The Angamis believed that the spirits of the departed souls anticipate for this feast which comes only once a year. Therefore, the lady of the house on *kezie* morning pours *zumho* on all the graves of her kins and calls their spirits to come and feast with them. It was believed that if they fail to perform this ritual on purpose, the spirits of their kins will feel dejected and would never return to them again. That is how *Tehrounyi* came to be celebrated.³⁰

The festival begins with the *kizhie* ritual, which is done both inside, and outside the house and on the graves of the family members. Ritual performed on the grave is known as *mekhruzhie*. Tombs/graveyards are cleaned as a mark of remembrance and honour to the departed soul.

The second day is observed as festival *penei*. On the first and the second day, field works are forbidden except for collection of firewood, wild vegetables and needle works. The third and the fourth day is '*thüpfhe hiyü*'. The cow owners give meat and rice beer to the person who looked after the cowherd. In some villages, on the day of the festival, all married women would take meat and rice brew to her parental home and to her brothers as well. In return, she also receives from them her share of brew and meat. On the third day of the festival, the first-born child of married women is given his/her share of meat called *moü mouupfü* prepared by the women's parents and given to feast man's relatives. In some villages, on the fifth or sixth day, *Meivi* ritual (making peace with fire) is observed to avert destructions caused by fire and no work is done. Strict *pennie* is observed and no outsiders are allowed to enter the village. In the case of the Khonoma Angamis, the sixth day of the festival is an occasion for the youth to display their strength and skills in various sports and wrestling. Young boys from different khels are made to combat in wrestling and the best are chosen to represent the village in the inter-village wrestling meet. Besides wrestling, jumping, throwing of spear, and other indigenous games and sports are also played.

The seventh day is a special day for the *Tsiakrau* and *Liedepfü*. On this day, the community show their gratefulness to the Supreme power by donating paddy and other crops to the *Tsiakrau* and *Liedepfü*. This work is done by the attendants of the *Tsiakrau* and *Liedepfü*, who go to every household collecting the donations. The *Tsiakrau* and *Liedepfü*, in return, provide a feast to their attendants with meat and rice beer. They at the same time make some intercessory prayers to the spirits on behalf of the givers.

On the eighth and the ninth day of the festival, clearing of the tomb/graveyard is done. It is only during this *Terhünyi* month that tombs/graveyards can be cleaned and renovated, as it is *genna* to do such work in other months of the year. The tenth day is *thenyi zha* (restricted day) which means *penie*, and hence no work is done. The next day, the people resume their agricultural works. During this festival, feast of merit are performed by wealthy men if they so desires.

3.14. Zhatho (Feast of Merit):

It is said that while *Sekrenyi* is meant for the young for their purification and elevation, *Terhuonyi* is for the rich and old acquiring name and fame. *Terhuonyi* festival is the festival of rich man, wealthy people who throw grand feast to his clan/ village in order to display his wealth, generosity and fellow feeling and also to acquire a distinct social status in the society. The bountiful harvest offers an opportunity to a wealthy man to offer a feast. A feast giver is called '*Zhathomia*'. It is believed that all wealth comes from the blessings of Supreme Being and not from man's power. Therefore, what is given by Supreme Being, he offers thanks giving in the form of providing a feast to his community. In recognition of this feast, the village clan/community erects huge stones for him. The feast giver is then entitled to wear a special type of cloth/shawl and ornaments. Besides, he is also entitled to build a house with horns and posts carved with various animal heads, and other geometric figures on the front walls. Only married man can give the feast of prestige, provided both the spouses are alive.³¹ This is so because woman plays a parallel role at par with her husband to undertake the feast.

The feast of merit is performed in various stages. Each stage costlier than the preceding one in terms of cattles slaughtered and rice beer. Each completed stage entitles a feast giver to social distinction through certain ornaments, clothes or house carvings or erection of monoliths. The feast is ranked in importance and scale, each stage carrying rights

to new kinds of personal adornment with traditional dresses and attires, to promote status in the society, house decoration and grading (Nshoga, 2009, p. 149).

Among the Angamis, there is no uniformity in the structural stages as well as the rituals and the sequences of events of the feast of merit. The feast of merit involves about six different stages for Kohima of the Northern Angamis and Jakhama of the Southern Angamis and seven stages for Khonoma of the Western Angamis. However, all these different stages follow one another systematically.

All the feasts follow numerous rituals and ceremonies till the end. Unlike the other festivals, the feast of merit involves a year round preparation. In every feast, certain days are set aside for various ceremonies such as;

- *Zhatho sidu*: *Zhatho sidu* means ‘cutting of the host firewood’. On this day, the performer’s friends and relatives will go to his forest and cut wood for the up-coming feast.
- *Zhotho sopu*: A day is set aside for carrying the feast giver’s firewood which he has arranged some months before.
- *Pfunuonyu hie/Khwe hie*: On this day, the friends and relatives of the performer goes to the jungle to collect *pfunuonyu* (plaintain leaves) for the feast.
- *Hamie thu kethu*: Pounding of paddy is done ritualistically and kept ready for the feast. Both women and men take part in the pounding of paddy. While the men pound, the women folks sift the rice pounded by the men.
- *Zhatho thothu*: *Zhatho thothu* means ‘pounding of soaked rice for preparing *zutho*’ (rice-beer). Pounding of soaked rice is done in a grand style. The *chiekhe* (pounding log/table) is dragged outside the performer’s house and every male folk wearing ceremonial dress take turns to pound the rice. People from the whole village come to see the *thothu*. This pounding of rice also served as a sort of recreation and merry making. With the pounded rice, they prepare *zu* (rice-beer) and keep in *litei* (drums/containers for rice-beer).
- *Zhatho lüvü/thekru*: On *Zhatho lüvü/thekru* day, the performer’s friends and relatives will go to the performer’s field to work and ask for the Supreme Being’s blessing upon his work. They will work for a while and after lunch, they will return home.

Every feast of merit begins with *Kizhie* and with the blessings of the village elder/priest. On *Kizhie* morning, an unblemished healthy calf is sacrificed on the ‘*Bo*’ (a small fenced porch) of the host house. The other bulls are slaughtered in the performer’s compound. Depending

on his wealth, number of cows and pigs are killed for the feast. The host closest friends- *kina* assist the host in the performance of all the feast rituals and ceremonies. The rituals are performed by the *Dava-u* (ritual performer).

Among the Southern Angamis viz. Jakhama village, there are altogether six sequential series of feasts; *Temza/Krieza*, *Kida Zhotho*, *Kehi Zhotho*, *Tsülishü Zhotho*, *Tsüdushü Zhotho* and *Zhotho Zahi*.

Temza/Krieza

Temza is a preparatory feast which is purely a feast to display his wealth. A couple who is ready to throw *Zhotho* (merit feast) would first give *Temza* (preparatory feast). The *Temza* is followed by five merit feast '*Zhotho*'. *Zhotho* involved much expenditure as it required giving a lavish feast of meat, and rice-beer to the whole village. When a person harvests hundred or more baskets of paddy/Job's tears, he can provide a feast for his family, friend and clan members. In this feast, the feast giver will feed his guest purely from his own wealth accumulated without any contribution. The feast giver will prepare *zutho* (rice beer) and meat for all those who wanted to join the feast.

Kida Zhotho

After performing *Temza* twice, one can proceed to the next Feast of Merit called *Kida Zhotho*. The completion of this feast entitles the feast giver to construct *kida* (wooden shingle) as a symbol of his social status. The host decorates his house with two raised flat wooden planks with drawings and carvings of animal heads, machete, spears, shield etc. In the case of Viswema village, those who successfully performed the *Kida Zhotho* earned the right to have pillows for their head during their burial and a three tier stone grave. The custom also entails the feast givers to present meat to those who had already extended such feasts in the past (Sothu & Mekro 2013 p. 6).

Kehi Zotho/Hi

The third feast of merit is called *Kehi Zotho*. The performer displays his wealth in a more luxurious manner than the previous feast in terms of rice-beer and meat. In this feast, all the village elders will come and bless the couple. The completion of this feast entitles the feast giver to adorn the front gable of his house with *Kikie/kika* (house-horn) (Plate 8).

Tsüli zhotho

Tsüli zhotho is the next higher feast of merit. For this feast of merit, the performer displays his wealth in a much more elaborate manner than all the other previous feast of merit. After successfully giving this feast, the couple is qualified for '*Tsüli-sü*' meaning 'single stone pulling'. Monoliths are erected after the completion of this feast. The stone-pulling ceremony is participated by all the menfolk adorned in their best ceremonial dresses. The stone which often has to be dragged from a long distance is levered on to a wooden sledge made from the fork (twin branch) of a tree, to which it is lashed with canes and creepers. Rollers are placed in the path of the sledge, which is pulled up to the village by sometimes several hundreds of men hauling at long ropes of cane and creepers, sing and dancing. A pit is dug for the foot of the stone, which is tilted into the pit from the sledge. The earth is filled in and beaten down round at the foot of the stone, on the top of which some leaves are placed and some liquor poured the feast following the ceremony (Hutton, 1921, p. 232).

Tsüdu zhotho

Completion of *Tsüli zhotho* enables the feast giver to go for *Tsüdu zhotho*. Like the *Tsüli zhotho*, monoliths are erected for the completion of this feast. The feast giver also earns the right to put on '*Zhotho Khwe*' a special kind of shawl. Two monoliths representing male and female (host and his wife) are erected (Plate 9). The monoliths are usually erected on common path ways so that people may remember them even after their death.

Zhotho zahi

The last and final feast of merit which not all men will attain is *Zhotho zahi*, which means 'digging a new pond'. The digging of the new pond is done by all the villagers. The pond remains the feast giver's personal property and is mostly used as fishery pond or drinking pond for his cattles and for watering the terrace cultivation. This feast is considered the ultimate benchmark of achievement and all those who succeed gains recognition and prestige in the society. The *Zhotho Zahi* thus signifies that the performer had attained all the social status which could be attained or achieved.

In Kohima, the feast of merit consisted of six stages; *Thesa*, *Zachu*, *Lisu*, *Chiesu*, *Chietha* and *Ziehie/Rüzhie hie*.

Thesa: Among the Northern Angamis, the first feast is known as *Thesa*. Like the *Temza* of the Southern Angamis, the performer feed his guest purely from his own

accumulated wealth. After performing *thesa* twice faithfully, the performer can build a *Nyieso* house and the central post of his house will be decorated with carvings.

Zhachu: After performing *thesa* twice, one can proceed to the next Feast of Merit called *Zhachu*. The completion of this feast entitles the feast giver to build a *Pfuge* house, as a symbol of his social status. The host decorates his house with two raised flat wooden planks with printing and carvings of animal heads, machete, spears, shield etc.

Lisu: The third feast of merit is called *Lisu*. In this feast, wooden effigies of the couple are made and carried around the nook and corner of the village. The completion of this feast entitles the feast giver to replace the plain boards of his house with *Kikie* (house-horn).

Chiesu: *Chiesu* is the next higher feast of merit. For this feast of merit, the performer displays his wealth in a much more luxurious manner than all the previous feasts. Monoliths are erected after the completion of this feast of merit. Two monoliths are erected for the completion for the first *Chiesu* and four monoliths for the second *Chiesu* feast of merit which are erected in two rows.

Chietha: For *Chietha*, twelve monoliths are erected to commemorate the host meritorious feast.

Zichie: The last and final feast of merit which not all men will attain is *Zichie*, which means digging a new pond. The digging of the new pond is done by all the villagers. The pond remains the feast giver personal property and is mostly used as fishery pond or drinking pond for his cattles and for watering the terrace cultivation. This feast of merit marks the highest standard of social achievement.

The Western Angami village of Khonoma have similar seven series of feast of merit. They are *Lhiga-gei*, *Kriegagei*, *Phichü-pelhie*, *Cha/Chücha*, *Kesia merochü*, *Zhachü* and *Lishü*

Lhiga-gei: The first feast is known as *Lhiga-gei* which literally means the feast of below hundreds. A person who accumulate sufficient amount of crops offers this feast to his near and dear ones. The feast giver can continue to give *Lhiga-gei* again and again though no title is earned for performing the feast.

Kriegagei: The second feast is known as *Kriegagei* where the members of the entire *khel* are feasted. After successfully hosting this feast, the feast giver is entitled to certain ornaments and dresses.

Phichü-pelhie: The third feast is known as *Phichü-pelhie* which means giving feast to the elders. Completion of this stage, the host is entitled to be a “*kikrakikese-u*”, which literally means father/patron of an age group of the village.

Kesia Mero: *Kesia Mero* (ceremony in honour of the dead) is the fourth feast among the Khonoma people. The feast is a means to pay homage to the host forebears and commemorate their memories by planting stone menhirs. This feast can be given only after completing the first three stages. Feast is given to the entire village community. Lots of animals will be killed and the erection of monoliths is done according to the number of his dead ancestors (Zetsuvi, 2014, p.52). The monoliths were arranged chronologically according to the number of deceased members.

Chücha: The fifth feast of merit is *Chücha*. In this feast, the host and his wife arrange a grand feast and also distribute raw meat to each and every house in the village. This feast entitles the host to erect *baze* (resting place) in his name.

Zhachü: The sixth stage is *Zhachü*. The host provides meat, rice and rice-beer to the village community to feast together. The completion of this feast entitles the host to construct *rüzie* (pond) in his name (Plate 10). He also gains the right to wear all the cultural items on festive occasions.

Lichü: The final series of *genna* is *Lichü*, the celebration of which is extended to the neighbouring villages and the completion entitles the performer to construct ‘*kenei khwehou*’ (meeting place/platform) to commemorate his achievement.

For erecting monoliths, stones were selected ahead of the event. Dreams were consulted before the stones were picked for the rite. In case of bad dreams, the stone was discarded and another stone was pursued. The stone pulling ceremony is carried out only by the menfolk.

The man who accumulates wealth in terms of cattle and rice may afford to continue the series of feasts. Theoretically, a man who completes all the stages of feast of merit would then start again from the first. Starting a new is called ‘*SWILA*’, meaning regenerate (2016, p. 50 JSU Souvenir). However, this required the couple to first perform a ritual depicting rebirth which involved lying down in a *zaru* (bamboo rice winnowing fan) (Sothu & Mekro, 2013, p. 7). A couple venturing to host the entire village for the second round was rather extraordinary. But this has probably never happened; rather, the final feast is repeated, if the individual can afford to do it twice.

The Feast of merit unlike the other festivals is optional performed by an individual. Not everyone could afford to offer the feast, as it involved a great deal of expenses and demanded certain ethical restriction for social acceptance (Bendanganshi, 1993). Where social *genna* occurs, it is the sole or chief means of social advancement. Prestige springs from the performance of a succession of ceremonies that involve feasting of the village, of the clan, or of invited guests, each feast demanding a large expenditure than the preceding (Katz, 1928). The feast converts material wealth into social rank. The feast is therefore recognition of his ritual status, and a mechanism for spreading his ‘fertility’ among his fellow villagers through the erection of two stones together-a male and female. It is through their planting in the earth that the feast-giver transmits his fertility into the common land of the village (Jacob, 1990, p. 77). Their monolith erected in commemoration of the feast becomes a legacy and legend even after their death (Nshoga, 2009, p. 150). Above all, Feast of merit foster community unity.

3.15. Role of Religious Functionaries (*Kemevo*, *Phichüu*, *Ciekrau*, *Liedepfü*//*Mushopfü* and *Livau*)

The Angamis are basically an agricultural community, and so have many religious ceremonies and rituals connected with agricultural activities. These ceremonies and rituals are performed by the village priest. Some of the Angami villages has two kinds of religious heads viz., a *Kemevo* and a *Phichüu*. The *Kemevo* is a descendant of the founder of the village and his role/ position is hereditary, while the *Phichüu* refers to the oldest male in the village who is chosen by the village community and therefore is not hereditary in nature. Kin (2014) writes, the ‘*Kemevo*’ must be an occupant of one of the original house site of the village who normally is a descendent of the founder of the village (Kin, 2014, p. 67). *Phichüu* is also a priest but his functions are confined to family ceremonies and rituals (Zetsuvi, 2014, p.40). Both the *Kemevo* and the *Phichüu* plays an important role in the performance of various rituals and ceremonies of the village.

The *Kemevo* spearheads all religious functions of the village. It is his responsibility to perform in all religious ceremonies and festivals of the village. He is the custodian of the village calendar. He counts the days of the month and fix the dates of all the festivals. In some villages, the *Kemevo* has to initiate all agricultural activities such as sowing, harvesting etc. He announces *gennas*, restricted days and initiate festivals. In every important feast like the feast of merit, he would be the first to taste the *zutho* (freshly brewed rice beer) and meat

prepared by the performer of the *genna*. The gate pulling ceremony begins only after the *Kemevo* performs the ceremonial rites/rituals. He fasts once a year, which involves 3-5 days. During fasting, he confines himself within his house and does not take warm food. He acts as the mediator between the Supreme Being and the village community. *Kemevo* is regarded sacrosanct and so it is considered very unlucky to kill the *Kemevo* of another village even during war as evil may befall upon the *Kemevo*'s killer (Kin, 2014, p. 69).

Kemevo belongs to the *Thevo* clan. The eldest sane male from the *Thevo* clan takes up the role of *Kemevo* by performing a ritual. Certain rituals are observed for the induction of the new *Kemevo*. On the first day of the ritual, the *Kemevo* with a spear on his hand along with a young boy goes to the river, takes bath and collects two stones from the river. The two stones are kept behind the village gate and they return home. Early the next morning, before sunrise, the *Kemevo* carrying the same spear along with the boy, collect the two stones kept behind the village gate the previous day and returns home. The two stones are then kept on two spades pre-arranged for this purpose in a separate hut, which is built within the house. The *Kemevo* then confines himself inside the small hut for five days without talking to anyone. The young boy will do the errands of the *Kemevo*. He can have food and roam around but cannot talk to strangers. In the evening he sleeps with the *Kemevo* inside the hut, however, the young boy and the *Kemevo* will not speak to each other. Each day, early morning before sunrise, the *Kemevo* will come out to his porch and pronounce blessings and prosperity upon his village community. While performing this act, the *Kemevo* will not step on the ground but stand on the two stones kept on the spades. The young boy would lay the spades with the stones on it for the *Kemevo* to walk on as he walks out and in. During his confinement, the *Kemevo* will consume only *zuokhu* (solid portion of rice beer) and no other warm food or water. This *zuokhu* is pre-prepared by the women of the house which is kept in an earthen pot with two bamboo slits dipped into it. The *Kemevo* takes this *zuokhu* in a peculiar style. The pot containing *zuokhu* is kept behind his back and not in front of him. He has to dip his hand into the pot behind him and consume it. On the sixth day, the *Kemevo* comes out from his confinement.³³ In case of death of the *Kemevo*/ *Phichüu*, five days *penie* is observed by the whole village community.

In some villages, the *Phichüu* plays the role of the *Kemevo*. The *Phichüu* make all *pheche* (making announcement by yelling) for *gennas*. In case he is too old to do so, he makes one of his assistants to do so under his instruction. The *Phichüu* initiates the transplantation of paddy. Until he does so, it is taboo for the village community to do

plantation work. The *Kemevo/ Phichüu* get a share of meat of every wild animal killed in hunting and also from feast donors. In return, he blesses them in order that the Supreme Being continues to bless them in the days to come.

Other than the *Kemevo* and the *Phichüu*, there are other religious functionaries' viz., the *Ciekrau* and *Liedepfü/Mushopfü* who perform certain rituals and ceremonies. *Ciekrau* (First Sower) an old man is chosen by the people and holds the job till death. However, if he becomes too old and is unable to perform his duty well, than the people can choose another person to take up his role. *Ciekrau* carry out the rituals to earn favour from *Ukepenuopfü*. In every village, there is only one *Ciekrau*. He inaugurates the sowing of seed. On the sowing ceremony day (*tsakru*), the *Ciekrau* would go to the field and would sow the first seeds. He/she would invoke *Ukepenuopfü* (Supreme Being) to bless the community and keep away all the unforeseen misfortunes such as hail, storms and animals. Until he has formally inaugurated the sowing of seeds, it is taboo for anyone in the village to do so.

The *Ciekrau* also carry out the *Ngonyi* ritual. He confines himself in a small hut (specially built for the ritual purpose within the house) for five days and nights and prays to the Supreme Being to bless the village community graciously. During the ritual period, he is forbidden to take any warm food. He will not cook anything in his hearth. *Ciekrau* is *genna* to work in his field for thirty days, so he receives a sort of payment in terms of kind viz. paddy, chilly, jobs tear, millet etc. which is collected by some men from every house of the village. This is usually done after the *Terhounyi* festival.

While the *Ciekrau* inaugurates the sowing of seed, the *Liedepfü/Mushopfü* (First Reaper), an old woman, inaugurates the reaping/harvest of crops for the whole village. On the day of the reaping ceremony, the *Liedepfü/Mushopfü* would go to her field with a sickle (*ziepfinuo*) and a basket. She would invoke the Supreme Being blessings for a bountiful harvest which may last for long. She will then cut few stalks of ripe grains and put it in her basket and return home. She also fasts for five days to bring abundance to the community. It is *genna* to reap crops before the formal reaping ritual is performed by the *Liedepfü/Mushopfü*. *Liedepfü/Mushopfü* is also *genna* to work in her field for thirty days before the ceremony. Like the *Ciekrau*, she also receives a sort of payment in terms of paddy from every house. This collection is done after the *Sekrenyi genna*.

In the olden days, the *Liedepfü/Mushopfü* is appointed by the *Phichüu*. It is said that the intending woman for the position of *Liedepfü/Mushopfü* would bring an unblemished chicken before the *Phichüu*. The *Phichüu* appoints the new *Liedepfü/Mushopfü* by observing

the features of the chicken. Besides, the *Liedepfü/Mushopfü* should be an aged widow who is trustworthy and has good reputation.³³ In case of death of the *Liedepfü/Mushopfü*, three days *penie* is observed by the whole village community.

The ritual performed by the *Ciekrau* and *Mushopfü* is of great importance as he/she performs it on behalf of the whole community. Their confinement in the hut for five days was to prevent any kind of defilement of the ceremony and to pray to the Supreme Being to bless them abundantly. Moreover, if he fails to carry out his duty properly, it was believed that the crops would fail and would be blamed for the consequences.

The *Livau/Davao* (burial rite performer) plays an important role in the Angami community. He performs all the burial rites and rituals. He also performs the sanctification ritual for those persons with ill health. For instance, if a child is very sickly, the *Livau* will take a small unblemished chicken and holding it, moves his hand along the body of the child in a ritualistic manner. As he does so, he will bless the child by making a prayer. The *Livau* then takes the chicken outside the village gate where he cuts off the chicken's head saying that through the chicken's head, all the sicknesses are ward off from the child. He then put the chicken's body into his basket and returns home. The *Livau* can cook the chicken for himself.³⁴

Thus, each of the religious functionaries was entrusted with their respective roles related to a particular event and they carried on their role for life. After their demise, their successors were appointed. Such practices differed from village to village depending on the practice and convenience of the villages.

End Notes

¹²Interview with Mr. Pukoho Rolnu, age: 89 years, Jakhama village, Date: 28th January 2016.

¹³Interview with Mr. Pukoho Rolnu, age: 89 years, Jakhama village, Date: 28th January 2016.

¹⁴Interview with Mr. Kehozecho, age: 87 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th December 2015.

¹⁵Interview with Mr. Kehozecho, age: 87 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th December 2015.

¹⁶Interview with Mrs. Neisale, age: 85 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th December 2015.

¹⁷Interview with Mr. Saku Rolnu, age: years, Jakhama village, Date: 6th December 2014.

¹⁸Interview with Mr. Shürho-o Yhome, age: 54 years, Kohima village, Date: 8th January 2016.

¹⁹Interview with Mrs. Vivie Punyü, age: 63 years, Khonoma village, Date: 5th March 2016.

- ²⁰Interview with Mrs. Vizovole Kikhi, age: 71 years, Viswema village, Date: 4th November 2016.
- ²¹Interview with Mrs. Sekhono Yalie, age: 72 years, Khonoma village, Date: 29th June 2015.
- ²²Interview with Mrs. Sazole Kikhi, age: 71 years, Viswema village, Date: 4th April 2017.
- ²³Interview with Mr. Noketo Kulnu, age: 75 years, Jakhama village, Date: 20th December 2014.
- ²⁴Interview with Mr Vilazosie Punyü, age: 65 years, Khonoma village, Date: 29th June 2015.
- ²⁵Interview with Mr. Khuvil Kikhi, age: 61 years, Viswema village, Date: 4th April 2017.
- ²⁶Interview with Mrs. PusacholeVitsu, age: 60 years, Viswema village, Date: 4th April 2017.
- ²⁷Interview with Mr. Nothuto Kharutso, age: 66 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th January 2015.
- ²⁸Interview with Mr. Medongulie, age: 62 years, Kohima village, Date: 3rd October 2015.
- ²⁹Interview with Mrs. Sekhono Yalie, age: 72 years, Khonoma village, Date: 29th June 2015.
- ³⁰Interview with Mrs. Neisale Kulnu, age: 85 years, Jakhama village, Date: 9th January 2017.
- ³¹Interview with Mr.Kehozecho, age: 87 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th December 2015.
- ³²Interview with Mr.Vilezol Toso, age: 66 years, Viswema village, Date: 7th November 2017.
- ³³Interview with Mr.Vilezol Toso, age: 66 years, Viswema village, Date: 7th November 2017.
- ³⁴Interview with Mr. Pungon Kikhi, age: 82 years, Viswema village, Date: 7th November 2017.



Plate 1: A man who practice the indigenous faith performing the *kizie* ritual, Jakhama village.



Plate 2: *Alo* (male mass parade) during *Sekrenyi*, Jakhama village



Plate 3: Young boys learning the art of *Kene* (wrestling) during *Sekrenyi* festival, Jakhama village



Plate 4: Young Peer-group performing during *Thekranyi*, Khonoma village



Plate 5: Peer group feasting during *Thekrahie*, Kohima village



Plate 6: Clearing of paths during *Chadanyi*, Rüsoma village



Plate 7: Food serving and house decoration during *Theyu-u Khupfhünyi*, Viswema village



Plate 8: Angami house with *Kike* (house- horn), Jakhama village



Plate 9: Monoliths erected in commemoration of Feast donor, Jakhama village



Plate 10: *Rüzie* (pond) constructed in commemoration of the feast donor, Khonoma village

CHAPTER- 4

ANGAMI TRADITIONAL ATTIRE

Attire adorns the body and enriches its appearance, enhancing the beauty and elegance of the person. Traditional attires display the homogeneity, unity of people and pride of belonging to a certain cultural community. The use of traditional attire is an expression of social and cultural identity. It communicates the identity of individuals within the community and the community as one ethnic group. In recent times, the use of traditional attire as marker of cultural identity has increased. Holistically attires do not only mean mere clothing but include ornaments and coiffure. It encompasses body garments, ornamentation, hairstyle, accessories etc., (Metha, 2011).

The Naga society has a rich material culture and attire is one of the most valuable material cultural elements which display the ethnicity and ethnic identity of the Nagas. In the Naga society, each tribe can be distinguished by its style of dress or the typical designs of shawls. Every Naga tribe adorn themselves with a number of ornaments. Like any other Naga tribes, the Angamis wear a variety of dresses and ornaments. These dresses and ornaments are the symbol of their rich traditional art and culture. The Angamis wear their rich and colourful attires and ornaments mostly at festivals and other social celebrations/gatherings. Every-day clothes are more subdued in design as well as colour, and rarely embellished with pattern/motifs. Those for special occasion have elaborate patterns and intricate designs.

In the olden days, attires were made entirely from local material such as cotton, nettle fibres and Deccan jute. Though the fabric used for weaving clothes were simple, the Angamis designed their garments with intricate patterns and motifs with perfect colour combination. The fine and intricate patterns of the garments depicts the aesthetic aptitude and artistic skills of the Angami women. Because every woman is expected to weave for her husband and children or for her brothers, every girl learns the art of weaving from a very early age. Having the knowledge and skills of weaving is considered as an asset or virtue of every girl as she is judged by her skills before she enters marriage.

The traditional attires of the Angamis were all hand woven by traditional method/loin loom. They cultivated cotton for making garments. The art of spinning cotton into yarn, the

art of dyeing and weaving were entirely done by the women through indigenous methods. Dyeing was originally done with the use of mixture of tree barks and plantain roots from the forest. For dyeing, the leaves of plants or pieces of wood were pounded and boiled until they produced the desired colours. The fibre/thread is then soaked in the liquid, taken out and dried. The colours known to the Angamis includes, black, blue, scarlet, pale terracotta, green and yellow. Indigo/blue dye was obtained from the leaves of the plant *tsoprii* (*Strobilanthes flaccidifolius*) (Hutton, 1921, p 62). For black dye, the bark of the *Sotho* tree is mixed with black earth, boiled together to give a black dye. Yellow colour was said to be used by only few groups like Angamis. For making red dye, the Angamis prepare red dye from the root of a local creeper plant called '*tsenyhü*', while yellow dye is prepared from the wood of a plant called '*athuo*' (Alemchiba, 1968, p. 9).

The red colour is ascribed to the colour of blood and thus many superstitions are attached with the method of dying. In the process of dyeing, the young and pregnant women are restricted to touch the dye especially red dye least the foetus be affected or for belief that she may meet with a violent death or lose her head in a raid. Hence, among the Angamis, only the old women dyed the thread as they were found suitable to perform this job because they were of less value to the community.³⁵ The traditional clothes have their own significances and their meaning varies from pattern to pattern, deeply rooted in the Angami community. The dresses and ornaments not only accentuate the beauty of their human form but also distinguish a person's status and position in the society. The Angamis have a wide variety of attires basing on its usage viz. ordinary/every day wear and occasional wear and also based on gender, status, achievement and age.

The Angamis wear a variety of ornaments. For the Angamis, dress without ornaments is incomplete. Various kinds of objects such as shells, bird's feather, bones, beads, cane, ivory, wild flowers etc. were used in their ornamentation. Strings of beads made of precious stones, shell, carnelian etc. are worn as neckwear by both men and women. Armlets made of wood and ivory, cane and thread wristlet and leggings etc. are also popular among the Angami men. The women also wore brass and copper armlets and wristlet. Unlike the menfolk, Angami women do not wear any leg accessories. Jacob (1990) remarks, "For the Nagas, ornaments are more than a matter of aesthetics. They help make statements about, and to define the identity of individuals and groups" (Jacob, 1990, p. 103). The ornamentation of Angami men is indicative of his success in warfare (Mathur, 1992, p.125).

4.1. Men's Attires

The Angami men adorn themselves with colourful garments and ornaments. In the olden days, the young boys were barely dressed. The only dress worn was *phava chirha* which was a white/black cloth. This cloth was worn on the waist to cover up the mid- portion of their body. Only when they grew up into young men, matured enough to take decision, then they were entitled/ allowed to wear the men's attires such as the kilt, the sash, wristlet, armlet etc. There are certain attires which symbolises the wearer's status and position in the society. There are also attires which can be worn only by warrior and wealthy men and not by ordinary individual.

4.1.1. Head ornaments:

Tsüphie:

Head gear is one of the most important male attire. In the olden days, *Tsüphie* (headgear) was made of bear hair (Plate 11. c). This type of *Tsüphie* can be worn only by warrior or a donor of feast. A war hero can also wear a black band of bear's hair on his head (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 34). The common *Tsüphie* worn by ordinary person is made with goat hair dyed black and cotton. This headgear is worn by grown up men on important feast and ceremonies decorated with hornbill feathers.

Terhami:

Like any other Naga tribe, the Angamis decorate the headgear with hornbill feathers (Plate 11. b). Hornbill feathers are tucked into white cotton thread ball that is fastened with the hair of the user with the help of a string. The hornbill feathers symbolises the status and achievement of the wearer. In the past, only renowned warriors and rich men who could give a feast of merit were entitled to put on. Its meaning denotes that One feather in headdress signifies one head taken (Jacob, 1990, p. 108).

Tsula:

'*Tsula*' is a distinctive headdress made of bamboo slit, cotton and wool of different colours (Plate 11. a). It is one of the most colourful and unique headgear among the Nagas. It is decorated with feathers of hornbill which symbolizes bravery. It is said that a feather is added to the headgear for every enemy he kills. As for an ordinary man, his headgear is filled with only some substitute feathers made of paper. Ao and Mongro (1999) write that, by wearing '*Tsula*' at the time of dancing; the Angamis looked like a group of peacock. It brings great

charm to the spectators' (Ao & Mongro, 1999, p. 20). Traditionally, the headgear is attached with the pigtail. *Tsula* is worn by both the young and the old.

A notable feature of the Khonoma male headgear is that, they decorate it with a number of accessories such as sash, belt, *Lozi cū*, *phatho* etc., which are newly woven and gifted by their lovers or admirers. *Lozi cū* is a long string of thread balls, made of red, green and white thread etc. *Phatho* is used to fasten the headgear at the head held out by a circular shingle. It is a long thick rope made of cotton yarn. It is a great pride for every male to carry those gifts on their head-gears when they adorn themselves in full traditional attires especially during *Thekranyi* festival.

4.1.2. Coiffure:

The Angami men keep their hair short. The unique hair style is known as *Pithe/Daphi*, which is a round haircut. Below a line just above the level of the tops of the ears running round the head, all hair is shaved close. The hair falls straight from the crown all around. This hairstyle is mainly carried by the elderly men. At the back of the head, all men keep a *pikho/chekrü* (pigtail) tied in a peculiar knot. The *chekrü* is carried in different styles. It is twirled and made it into a single or double knot. The three knot style is called *thevü-tswe* (rooster comb).³⁶ Round this knot, rolls of snow white cotton are bound, and on high-days and holidays, into the base of this top knot they insert plumes of feathers according to the taste of the wearer (Butler, 1875, in Elwin, 1969, p. 309). This pigtail served the purpose of adornment. The headgear is tied along on the pigtail to prevent it from falling. For the young boys they keep their head shaved with a small pigtail.

The menfolk also use the *khosa* (hair lock/tresses) which is made from their own hair. It is taboo for men to use women's hair. They believe that if a man does so, it makes them weak. The men grow their pigtail and once it's long enough, they cut it and make into *khosa*. This *khosa* is tied with the main pigtail during adornment.

The Angami males also carry a hairstyle known as *Pihie/pihe-e*. It is a hairstyle with a middle parting making the hair to fall above the ear. *Pida* is a hairstyle with the hair turned upward. A single person cannot make or carry these two hairstyles. These two hairstyles are done with a partner or it is considered a taboo.³⁷ A boy can start having these hairstyles once he starts wearing the kilt. Until then, he has to keep a shaved head. The traditional method of cutting the hair is with a *dao* and sort of wooden hammer (*sivü*), the *dao* being held under the hair and tapped along the edge with the piece of wood (Hutton, 1921, p. 22). A man's head is

shaved only by a man. Under no circumstances should a woman cut the hair of a man, for the Angamis had a belief that man becomes weak and meek if a woman does so. *Pitho*, a comb made of bamboo slit was used to comb their hair.

4.1.3. Ear ornaments:

Zienyie/ Peziemie:

Zienyi is an ear ornament made from the beautiful feathers of a bird called *Meza* (Blue Jay/long tailed broadbill bird feather) (Plate 12. a). This ear ornament is not only worn by the Angamis but by the *Tenyimia* people. This ornament is made mostly by only few persons proficient in this art. The feathers quill ends are clamped between two thin strips of cherry bark and firmly tied with colourful cotton threads. Each ear piece is then tied with a rolled thickened string which keeps the earrings in position. This earring is worn when men adorn themselves in full traditional attires. A man's traditional attire is quite incomplete without a pair of this ear piece.

Terhünyi:

This ear ornament is made of goat's hair dyed red (Plate 12. b). The top of the ornament is a little cone of band of red hair cut short and stiff with a ring of white Job's tear seeds forming the centre, from this long hair (scarlet tassels) hangs down to the wearer's shoulder. The rosette is fitted with a boar's tusk bound at the broad end with dyed cane.

Thanyie:

Thanyie means hair ear piece. It is made of human hair attached to a piece of boar's tusk decorated with dyed goat's hair trimmed with the tresses of human hair. A warrior who has taken a head wears this ornament of hair, suspended from the lobe of each ear. It is said that only a person who had mutilated ears of the enemies can use it. *Thanyie* is worn during adornment along with other attires.

Merünyi:

Brass earring was also popular among the Angamis. This brass earring is worn mostly by the Western Angamis.

Nyili:

In the olden times, large tufts of cotton wool are hung on the ears and sticks in the lobe or along the helix pierced holes of the ear (Plate 12. c). This ear piece made of cotton is called *Nyili*.

Thevüdzü-nyie:

Thevüdzü-nyie ear piece refers to two large white cotton balls/tufts. This is worn at the top of each ear along with feather ornament.

Phakunyei:

Phakunyei is a round string from which is suspended a group of strings and threads with tasselled terminals and ornaments (Plate 12. d). This earring is made with red, yellow and green thread. The threads are made into small rounded balls bound together with a thin tar. The tar is covered with green thread and small cut pieces of metal are attached to it.

4.1.4. Neck ornaments:***Lophrietsü:***

Lophrietsü is a neck-piece made of white thread (Plate 14. d). It looks like a beautiful twisted string worn on the neck on festive days. It is also worn on the legs as well as on the headgear. This neck piece is given by female to their male friends as a token of love.

Biechu:

Biechu is a white conch-shell neck-piece worn around the neck. It is believed that this neck-piece ward off evils and sicknesses.

Tiliku

Tiliku is a men's necklace made of wild beetle wings (Plate 14. a). This neckpiece is worn by the Western Angamis.

Chükrü cü:

It is a necklace made of round yellow stone (Plate 15. c). In the olden days, this necklace was made from wild berries locally called *Tekebahu* (Horse nettle). The necklace is worn by both male and female.

Tuchü:

Tuchü is a three line beaded necklace (Plate 14. b). The end of the string is attached to two finely cut white shell and decorated with thread.

Tubi/Cübei:

It is a large carnelian necklace with beads and shells of four-five string (Plate 14 a). The end of the necklace is attached to two large conch shells.

Tubo:

Tubo is a single line necklace. It is made of large orange coloured coral beads. It is worn along with other neck ornament (Plate 15. a).

Lochie chu:

This neck piece derived its name from the term itself '*Lochie*' which means 'knitted' and '*chu*' means 'necklace' (Plate 14. e). The thread used is red and green in colour. The young girls make this neck piece and give it to their close male friends or lover. This neck piece is worn along with other necklaces during festivals and other occasions.

Oshe chu:

Oshe means 'Job's tear' and *chu* means 'necklace'. It can be said that this is one of the oldest necklace worn in the olden days when beads/shells were not in use. The Angamis wear this neck piece along with other necklaces made of beads and shells. It is worn by both men and women.

Tukha:

Tukha is a short beaded necklace worn around the neck. This necklace is either single or double string.

Tekho Tuza:

It is a green carnelian necklace with round red stone in between. This necklace is also worn by both male and female (Plate 15. d).

Bathwütu:

This neck piece is worn behind on the nape of the neck (Plate 15. c). It is made of a large white conch shell, cut and shaped so as to fit in properly. The shell is suspended by a thick woven collar of black cotton yarn. A conch-shell worn with a string of beads implies social status.

4.1.5. Chest ornament:***Thatsu/ Thachü:***

Thatsu is an ornament worn on the chest suspended from the neck (Plate 17. a). It is a breast-plate made of goat's hair dyed red and adorned with lines of cowrie shell. Originally, this chest ornament was made of human hair. Jacob (1990) refers to '*Thatsu*' as an enemy's teeth ornament, and he describe it as a flat piece of wood, with cowries (or job's tears seeds) for the teeth, red cane for the tongue, and a fringe of red hair for blood pouring out of the mouth; it is an ornament worn by a warrior. He added, for the Viswema men, *Thatsu* is circular whereas those of the Western Angami are rectangular in shape (Jacob, 1990, p. 106). In the case of warrior who have taken a head, this ornament is worn vertically while young men worn it horizontally.³⁸

Ao & Mongro (1999) termed this warrior ornament as the ‘head plate’. The head plate is used by the male warrior exclusively by those who have the credit of hunting at least one human head in a raid. Further, he states that the head plate was considered as one of the most valuable items of male dresses in traditional Naga society because it signifies not only the status of a warrior but it brings glory and honour to a man in the society (Ao & Mongro, 1999, p. 38 & 39).

4.1.6. Arm ornament:

Thathuo:

Armlet made of human hair is called *Thathuo*. This armlet is made of yellow and red cane, embellished with cowries and hair. When a man succeeded in cutting a limb, he had earned the right to wear this ornament. A person who brings enemy’s earlobe was considered to be one of the highest achievements of any kind.³⁹

Bipa /Dziesupa:

Bipa is a wristlet made of cane or thread. It is worn around the wrists by fastening the woven piece with strings of thread. It is woven with pattern similar to the sash. At times *Bipa* is decorated with dyed goat’s hair (Plate 13. b).

Zunuopa:

Zunuopa is an armlet woven out of thread, usually red, white/yellow, and green in colour (Plate 13. c). It is worn on the upper arm along with *Chütho*.

Chüthuo:

Chüthuo is an armlet worn above the elbow. This armlet is made of ivory and wood. *Chüthuo* made out of elephant tusk is worn only by exceptional warriors and wealthy people (Plate 13. a). Such ivory armlet, signify military prowess (Jacob, 1990, p. 108). *Chüthuo* made of wood was usually worn by every male. In the olden days, these armlets were also used to protect from the enemies weapon. Besides it also makes the arms look strong.

4.1.7. Body garments:

Thami:

Thami is an ornament made of human hair worn behind/ on the backside of the body like a tail (Plate 17. b). This ornament was exclusively a warrior’s dress. Only warriors who have taken women’s head are entitled to wear this ornament. During the head hunting days, the warrior who hunted the maiden’s head was considered as twin blessing. His sons cannot

inherit the right to wear it unless they had hunted a head too. For some, this ornament is used only by those who returned last from the war exploits. The man standing and leaving the battle ground last was considered the bravest. This ornament known as ‘warrior’s tail’ was a mark of military prowess (Jacob, 1990, p. 125).

Terha:

Terha is a colourfully woven sash (Plate 16. c). It consists of two long strip of cloth with different designs. It is worn over both the shoulder crisscrossing at the chest, falling down below the knee. There are loose threads on the two ends. The main thread used is white in colour. Beside, red/yellow, green colours are also used for geometric design on the whole length of the sash. This sash is worn on special occasions.

Kesünei:

A Kilt is a black woven wrap-around worn by Angami men (Plate 16. e). It is worn on special occasion and generally decorated with three or four lines of white cowrie shells. It is said that before cowries were known, ‘*sikre*’ (Job’s tears) were used for the embroidery. The kilt with three rows of cowrie was meant for the ordinary warrior, where as a kilt having four cowrie lines has a special significance because it can be worn only by a warrior who has taken heads. The fourth line kilt symbolise highest warrior prowess (Jacob, 1990, p. 110). In the case of Khonoma village, a kilt having four cowrie lines has a special significance because it can be worn only by a warrior who has taken at least seven heads (Zetsuvi, 2014, p. 33). Hutton (1921) observed that ‘in Butler’s time three lines of cowries signified that the weaver was a warrior, and four lines were only assumed by veterans of renowned (Hutton, 1921, p.26). He further added that in the case of some, the fourth line denotes prowess not in war but in love, and may be worn for any one of the following achievements.

1. An intrigue with a married women living with her husband.
2. A simultaneous intrigue with two girls of the same name.
3. Or with two daughters of one father or with a mother and her daughter. (Ibid, p.25).

The cowries a man wears may not be sewn on to the kilt by a woman, but are sewn on by the owner himself or some other man better adept at the task, would stich the shells. The kilt is wrapped round the hips and tucked in at the side. The lower end of the kilt having a string is pulled up tightly between the legs from the back and tied.⁴⁰

Nierha:

Nierha is a plain woven white kilt. It is a common wear among young boys. This cloth is used to cover their lower body parts. The young boys wear this kilt till they reach marriageable age.

Neiti:

Neiti is a plain cotton loin cloth. All grown up men, use this cloth. It is used for/in all occasions.

Khophre/Chaphrie:

Chaphrie is a tasselled decorative belt worn over the kilt (Plate 16. d). It is made of colourful yarn, twined and knotted at intervals and attached on a thick yarn string. Among the Southern groups, the threads used are red, black, green, white and yellow in colour. The Western Angami *Chaphrie* is made of white cotton yarn. Hutton (1921) describes this belt as a sort of sporran formed of long ropes of cotton encircling the waist and hanging down in front, bound at the end with coloured thread, is worn by the younger men and celebrates their prowess in love as the other ornaments denote prowess in war (Hutton, 1921, p, 31).

Chiecha/Chiepha

Chiecha is a woven belt worn over the kilt (Plate 16. a). The Southern and the Northern wear a belt made of white/yellow thread with intricate designs in the middle. For the Khonoma, the *Chiecha* is woven with green thread with small designs at regular interval.

Nyisi:

A black thread woven belt with designs worn by Khonoma men is called *Nyisi*. It is similar to *satsa*.

Puni:

Puni is a plain black kilt worn by elderly men. It is similar to the *Kesiinei* but without any embellishment.

Phava chepha/chiecha:

It is a plain white belt tied around the waist (Plate 16. b). It is similar to *chiecha* but without any designs. This belt is worn along with the other belt with design.

Phatho:

Phatho is a thick long rope made of white thread. It is worn on the headgear when its new and as hanging decorative belt as it gets older. This is worn by the Khonoma people.

4.1.8. Leg ornaments:

Phiso:

Phiso are bands of cane rings worn on the legs, just below the knees. *Phiso* is made of cane dyed black (Plate 18. b). In the olden days, elderly men wear it on all occasion. They are considered to be of great protection in case of a fall on rocky grounds. *Phiso* are worn as an aid to hill climbing (Hutton, 1921, p. 24).

Phipa:

Phipa are legging made of cane (Plate 18. a). In the olden times, wealthy parents weave *Phipa* around the calf of their beloved (*Noukrupa*) sons, which they wear till he decided to remove it or until they worn out. The legging is woven in such a way that the top rim is fitted around the calf while the bottom rim is narrower to fit the ankle, while the middle section has a ridge which is wider. The legging is woven in twill pattern and designed with strips of yellow orchid stem. The top half is red cane designed with light zigzag pattern. These leggings are also worn by men during festivals and other important occasion.

4.1.9. Weapons:

Rüngou (Spears):

The Angami spears are of different types. The ordinary spears are simple and plain without any decorations (Plate 19. b). The spear of the Angami warrior is decorated with human's hair half way down the shaft and for this purpose, a woman's hair was very much sought after in olden times. There are other spears which are well decorated with tufts of goat's hair, dyed red on the top part.

- a) *Sengu/ongu*: Common hunting spear.
- b) *Ngubi*: Two/twin spears held by a warrior.
- c) *Themangu*: Special spear for marriage ceremonies.
- d) *Zhüpa*: Spear woven over with cane.
- e) *Duda/ Medongu*: Spear decorated with goat's hair.
- f) *Thangu*: Spear decorated with human hair.
- g) *Thokhwingu*: Spear with three hooks at each end.
- f) *Ngulu/Ngudi*: It is the spear of the *Phichü*. This spear is used by the priest only during rituals and sacrifices.

Thangu is carried only by warriors. In the olden days, women were prohibited to touch this spear. According to Hutton (1921) the ordinary warrior bears a spear covered with

red hair for halfway down the shaft, after which a pattern of black, white, and red hair succeeds for another foot or so. The veteran carries a spear entirely covered with long human hair or having an unusually long head and iron spike which comes almost up to the base of the head, leaving only a foot or so of hair-covered wood to form the shaft. *Ngubi* (twin) spears are carried by a raider on the warpath, one to be thrown, the other retained to the last for use in emergency. The usual method of carrying a spear is “at the slope” on the shoulder, when it is not being used to assist progress (Hutton, 1921, p. 34 & 35). *Thokhwingu* is a type of spear with upward-curving barbs on each side. These can be only carried by slayers of men or tiger. *Duda/Medongu* is bound with red goat’s hair from the top to three-quarters down the shaft, save for a space left in the middle for the hand. At the bottom of the binding is a deep fringe of red hair. All spears are tipped at the butt with an iron spike for sticking into the ground, as the spear is never left leaning against a wall.

The other weapons used by the Angamis are the *dao* and crossbow (*Prülu*). Like the other Naga tribes, the *dao* is a constant companion of the Angamis in all types of activities viz. to clear jungles, build house, slaughter animals for meat or deal with his enemies, human and animal. This weapon is carried on the back suspended around the waist by a narrow cotton belt in a holder made of a block of wood with a slit through it. The proper Angami *dao* is a single-handed weapon with a blade about 12 or 14 inches long (Ibid, p. 36). This blade gradually increases in breadth from about an inch in the base to four at the tip, the back of the *dao* being almost in a straight line with the handle, and the blunt top of the blade curved convexly. The blade is fitted to the handle by a tang, the handle being bound with cane-work. The crossbow is made of cane/bamboo and the arrows tips were hardened by burning. This must be probably used for hunting animal (Ibid p. 36). However, this has become obsolete.

Keya (Shields):

The shield is used as a protective weapon (Plate 19. a). The Angami shield is made of animals hide such as bear, tiger etc. Sometimes, it is also made of cane or bamboo, and decorated with feathers or goat’s hair tassels. The various types of shield are:

- a) *Zhümha*: Shield made out of bearskin with hairs
- b) *Pezhü*: Shield made of animal skin/hide without the hair
- c) *Thevümiecha*: Shield decorated with bird feathers
- d) *Thakie/thakü*: Shield decorated with special bird feathers
- e) *Sarhu*: Shield with goat’s hair in three colours-white, black and yellow

Hutton (1921) observed that the shield used in war by the Angamis is a long strip of rhinoceros, elephant, or buffalo hide from 5 to 7 feet high, but generally about 5 or 5 ½ feet. At the top it is about 2 ½ feet broad, and narrows to 18 inches at the bottom (Hutton, 1921, p. 35). It is suspended by a rope going over the right shoulder and manipulated by the left hand with the aid of a small horizontal cane handle set low on the inside of the shield. For ceremonial purposes a lighter shield is used. This is made of bamboo matting, and in the case of young men is painted in black with devices representing mithun horns and patterns of concentric circles said to represent the sun, while the older men cover the matting with bear, leopard, or tiger skin fastened on with bamboo ties. Veteran warriors are allowed to wear a shield ornamented with heads cut out of bearskin and with figures of men. The open spaces of bamboo matting are covered with red goats' hair wedged into the interstices, and the whole has sometimes a border of bear skin all around. These particular shields have a strip of hide down the centre of the back so that they can be used for warfare. From the upper corners of the ceremonial shields spring two long cane horns from 2 to 3 feet in length, ornamented with tresses of human hair, while from the centre rises a tall, thick plume of about the same length made of thick goats' hair dyed scarlet for two-thirds of the way up but left white at the top. Along the upper edge of the shield, which in the case of ceremonial shields may be cut into two concave curves, runs a fringe of white down, and the rear edge is adorned with a string of tassels made of the feather of the peacock-pheasant (poly-plecton), cock, blue jay, green parrot, etc., wrapped at the base in a bunch of white down. In the case of the shields of young men already mentioned, the horns are made of plain white wood without the use of hair (Op. cit.).

In war dance, they use spear and shield of hexagonal shape decorated with dyed goat hair. They hold their spear on their right hand and shield on their left. They hold their spear on their right hand while dancing. War dance with agility in movement is very exciting and delightful.

4.2. Women's attires

Like the men folks, the Angami women also adorn a variety of dresses and ornament. However, women clothes and ornaments are few and simple. The basic dress of a young Angami girl is the bodice and a wrapper, while the grown up women wear a variety of garments and ornaments.

4.2.1. Head ornaments/ Hairdress:

Tsükha:

Tsükha is hair band made of bamboo slit. This hair band helps the women to keep their hair in place. This is worn by Khonoma women.

Pikha:

In the olden days, women do not grow hair till they get married. It is only after marriage that they can grow their hair. This *Pikha* is used as a hair band to keep their hair from falling on their face. *Pikha* is made of pleated thread robe tied around the head (Plate 20. b). This is used in the early stage of growing hair because the hair is too short to be made into a bun.

Pidwe:

Pidwe is a piece of woven cloth used as headscarves by Angami women. It is a woven piece of cloth, red, black or white in colour. The elderly Angami women cover their head with this woven piece which is knotted at the back of the head. The white *phava pidwe* is specially worn by *zhothopfümia* (feast giver's wife).⁴¹ *Pikha* is used by the younger women, while the older/elderly women use the *phava pidwe*.

Pichühuro:

Pichühuro is a kind of hair band made out of fallen hair. The term *Pichühuro* literally means 'hair bun rope/band' (Plate 20. a). The women keep on collecting their fallen hairs and twirl it into a thick long hair rope. This *Pichühuro* is used to make the hair into a big bun and beautify oneself. This makes them more beautiful, attractive and dignified. In the olden days, hair was so much valued. *Pichühuro* is given as gift by the mothers to their most beloved daughter or to the one who takes care of them in their old age.⁴²

Khosa:

Khosa means hair lock/ tresses (Plate 20. c). Like the *Pichühuro*, *Khosa* is made from fallen hairs. However, the hairs are not twirl but kept straight. The root part of the hair is stuck together with glue extracted from a cactus plant locally called *sawu*. This is also used along with the main hair for making into a bun.

The *Pichühuro* and *Khosa* are both given to the daughters as gifts. It is taboo to bury these hair locks/tresses along with the deceased women. In contrast to the men's headdress, the headdress of women does not bear any significant cultural symbol or meaning.

4.2.2 Coiffure:

The young Angami girls keep their heads shaved till marriage. It is only through marriage that hair is earned. Once a woman start growing her hair, it is never cut because in Angami custom, it is taboo to cut one's hair. The women hairstyle is simple. It is mostly coiled up into a bun (*Pichü*) and sometimes allowed to hang down on the shoulders. They also supplement it, if scanty, with tresses. It is the custom of the Angami women to make tresses from their own hair. Hutton (1921) observed that the Viswema Angami women wear their hair down their backs, and also wear a long brass ring through the top of each ear, the pair being joined by a string across the top of the head, and a second round the back of the head, keeping the hair on the top of the head smooth and tidy (Hutton, 1921, p.27).

4.2.3. Ear ornaments:

Sanyi

Sanyi is an earring made of goat's hair (Plate 21. b). This long scarlet tassels of dyed goats' hair is worn hanging from the ears in front, a thread fastening them together, running round the back of the head over the hair, which is worn hanging down the back. This earring is worn by Khonoma women.

Niso/Nyieso:

Niso is an earring made of sea-shell. It is worn by grown up women.

Nyiepwe:

An earring made from bunch of black and green thread (Plate 21. c). This earring is worn by the southern Angami women. It adds to the beauty of the weaver. The older women wear this for all occasions, both festival and casual.

Neitu:

Neitu is a round brass earring worn by married women.

Neise:

Neise is made of black thread and small beads. This earring is worn by young girls.

Sodinyie:

It is a type of dangle earring made of black, red/orange and green yarn attached to a white disc (Plate 21. a). This earring is worn only by unmarried women. Young women wears till marriage, when it is discarded, a white bone disc hung from each lobe. Removal of this earring is a symbol of their womanhood.

The various earrings add to the beauty of the wearer. Most of these earrings are worn by all women folk irrespective of one's status.

4.2.4. Neck ornaments:

Cübei

This carnelian necklace is worn by women irrespective of status (high or low, rich or poor). This necklace consists of ten or a dozen strings of carnelian beads with conch-shell beads at the top and bottom of each string. Spacers of bone, ornamented with simple pattern keep the strings apart and make them lie flat. At the bottom and joining the two lots of carnelian beads is a single string of three to four conch shell bead (Plate 22. a).

The other type of *Cübei* is also made of carnelian and conch shell-beads of five or seven lines that cover the entire bosom of a woman. Similar to the above necklace, spacers of bone is used to keep the strings in position. At the bottom are five or seven strings of conch shell beads joining the two lots of carnelian beads. Two large conch shell, lie at the back on each side of the neck.

This necklace is worn on the shoulder covering the chest. The latter type is mostly worn by the Southern group. This is the most beautiful and valued shell necklace worn by the Angamis.

Tuza/chüzie:

The Angami women wear a variety of carnelian necklaces. *Tuza* is a common necklace made of carnelian barrel tube beads (Plate 15. g). The most common ones are single and double string of red or orange colour. Such necklaces are used not only during festival but also in normal times. It can be worn by both male and female.

Cügu:

It is a two string brown colour bead necklace. It is worn along with other necklaces.

Cüchie:

Cüchie is a small yellow coloured coral necklace. It consist of a single string and used along with other necklaces (Plate 15. b).

Temie:

A single line necklace made of blue/green colour carnelian is called *temie* (Plate 15. e). Elderly persons wear it every day as well as on festive occasions.

Tusen:

Tusen is orange colour small beaded necklace. It is of two/three string (Plate 22. c).

Tuka:

Tuka is a necklace made of opaque red stones. This necklace is worn by elderly women. It is a prized necklace.

Tacü/Vokha:

This neckpiece is made of two finely cut conch shell joined with strings of small beads. This necklace is worn by young girls and women.

Cütho:

Cütho is a double string coral necklace (Plate 22. d). This neck piece is brown in colour.

4.2.5. Arm ornaments:***Cütho/ Thoubvü:***

Cütho is a heavy brass bracelet with solid bugle-shaped ends which cross one another (Plate 23. c). It is worn on both hands above the elbow and on the wrist or fore-arm.

Thouda:

Thouda is a wristlet made of brass or copper (Plate 23. a). *Thouda* is available in both round and flat shapes (with or without design) mostly geometrical designs are embossed on the surface of the wristlet. The Angami women wear three each on both the wrist. This wristlet has a gap between the two ends for easy put-on or put-off. One can observe that these wristlets are worn everyday by the elderly women and are seldom removed. The young Angami girls wear it only during festive adornment and other occasions.

Thenutho:

Thenutho is a brass wristlet with outward twisted end. It is flat in shape with geometrical motif embossed on it (Plate 23. b). Like the *Thouda*, there is a gap between the two ends for easy put on and off. This wristlet was worn only by wealthy women on important occasions.

4.2.6. Body garments:***Vathi/Vachü***

Vathi is a woven black cloth used to cover the torso (Plate 24. b). The *Vachü* pass/cross under arm and the ends are fastened on the opposite shoulder. It is used as a sleeveless blouse. A sleeveless bodice usually made of black thread of nearly 2 m long and 1 metre wide crossed under one arm and fastened on the opposite shoulder, the lower end is being tied round the waist so that the fold in end hangs down round the level of the knee, covering the *Neikhro*.

The Angami begin using this *Vachü* during their adolescence stage even before their maturity. They are bound to use this bodice till they are married.

Todi Vachü:

This is worn by the Southern Angamis. It is woven with black yarn with orange border (Plate 24. a). Two thread strings are used on one end to tie over one shoulder. The *Todi Vachü* is worn in the similar style of *vachü*, taken under the right arm and tied on the opposite shoulder with the help of the upper ends corners. The right shoulder is left uncovered. The lower border of the cloth is covered with the wrap-around on the waist. The *Vachü* of the Southern Angamis is shorter than that of the Northern Angamis. *Vachü* woven with coarse cotton is used by young girls. Once they become older, they start using *todi vachü*.

Loramhoushü:

The *Loramhoushü* is made of white thread with red and black bands on either side (Plate 24. d). It is also called *Lopa khwe* by the Southern Angamis. It is the predominant patterns of white with red and black bands. It is generally of 1 metre and 85cm long and one metre and 8cm wide with four black marginal bands close together on both edges, each band about 2.5cm wide (Alemchiba, 1999, p 28). On each of these black bands, there are narrow red lines. It is worn as wrap-around, around the hips and tucked in at the waist. The use of this wraparound signifies that the girl has attained marriageable age and is capable of bearing children.

Khwüno Mhoushü:

This shawl is meant for women of adolescence and above. The shawl derived its name from the peach puff colour (pale orange) (Plate 24. e). The Khonoma Angami *mhoushü* is white with brown and black bands on either side. This wrap around is simple, without any motifs or design. This shawl is worn on special occasions.

Kerheni/kerhienyi:

Kerheni is a wrap-around made of white thread with brown and black narrow bands (Plate 24. f). This is worn by young girls, when she is fully grown up as a teenager. When she joins her peer group, she starts using *loramhoushü*.

Neikhro:

A petticoat called *Neikhro* formed by a plain white cloth with a narrow red and black bands on both the margins, which is wrapped round the loin and tucked in so as to keep it from falling. This wraparound is worn by young girls till puberty.

Neikhronie:

This wrap-around is worn as an under garment after the girl gets married. It is a simple plain white woven cloth. It is a taboo for a woman to take out paddy from the barn without using this wrap around as it is believed that family's wealth of grains will be drained out quicker than usual.

Pfhemhou/Mhoushü:

Pfhemhou is a white woven wrap-around, worn around the waist tucking it in so as to keep it from falling and covering the *Neikhro* and the lower part of the *Vachü* (Plate 24. c). This wrap-around has marginal strips of black bands and three narrow pink or red bands at an interval. In the middle of the cloth, there is a pattern of bands enhanced by two narrow black bands with a pink or red line in between. While women use it as shirt, small girls wear it as shawl.

Chiepha:

Chiepha is a white thread woven belt worn over the *Loramhoushü* and other wrap-around. It is a tubular construction cotton belt tied around the waist, which also serves as purse/to contain money. *Chiepha* is designed with various pattern/designs in the middle.

4.3. Others:***Kiahe hie/Hike:***

It is a cup made from mithun (*Bos frontalis*) horn (Plate 26. a). *Kiahe hie* is used by male folks only. This type of cup is used to hold *zu* during festivals and other important occasions.

Tharü-hie/Sei hie:

Tharü-hi is a cup made of wood or bamboo (Plate 26. b). It is of two types, the larger ones are for the male and smaller ones are for female. It is used to hold rice beer.

Likhi:

The Angamis use a number of wooden spoons for all occasions. However, during festive occasions, the women use ornamented spoon.

Kelo the:

Kelo the is an iron staff with an ornamental top (Plate 25. a). Wives of men who have performed the requisite number or *gennas* are allowed to carry an iron/wooden staff with ornamental wooden top (Hutton, 1921, p. 28).

Likhü/ Sütho:

Likhü is an earthen container while *sütho* is made from gourd locally called *Mesü*. These containers are used for holding rice-beer during festivals and other occasions. *Likhü* or *sütho* is carried in a basket.

Khoshie/Khophi:

During ceremonies, the Angami women adorn themselves with fine woven basket made of slit cane and bamboo (Plate 27). *Khoshie/Khophi* is used only on important occasion or ceremonies. In this basket, they carry *Likhü/sütho* along with two shawls viz. *Loramhoushii* and *Lohe*.

Keshunhyuo:

This rain-shield is worn on the back, tied in the front while working in the fields. It is made of interlaced palm leaves/thatch (Plate 28. b). It is worn by both man and women. The *Ciekrau* wear this during the rain-making ceremony ‘*thothu*’.

Tserre:

It is a hat made of pandanus leaves/thatch between two layers of open bamboo basket work and conical in shape, with a short peak in front and long peak projecting over the nape of the neck behind (Plate 28. a). This is worn while working in the field to protect oneself from heat and rain.

4.4. Shawls and Wrap-around:

The Angami shawls range from simple plain white/black woven cloth to the elaborately designed warrior or rich man’s shawls. The following are some of the shawls and wraparound worn by the Angami men and women.

Lohe pfhe:

The most common shawl of the Angamis is *Lohe*. While the two middle segments are loom and woven in complete black, the loom of the two outer segments are made with black, yellow/red and green and woven with black yarn (Plate 29. a). Traditionally, the common pattern among the Angamis is green and yellow/red bands on black background. However, there is a slight variation of patterns from village to village. The Western Angamis of Khonoma has few but broad bands, while the Southern and the Northern groups have narrow and more numerous strips. The border design in both the cloths is similar which consists of lozenges and diamond. This shawl is also known as *Tenyipfhe* as it is common among all *Tenyimia* tribes. This shawl is worn by both men and women. For the men, the shawl is much

larger than those worn by women. The women wore this as a wrapper and called it as *lohe nie*.

Zhatho pfhe/ Zerü pfhe:

In the past, there are certain shawls which indicate social status. *Zhatho pfhe* also known as *Zerü pfhe* is one such shawl which is only worn by a feast giver. The *Zhatho pfhe* is woven with pure white cotton thread in four parts. One unique feature of this shawl is that it has large seam. The four pieces are stitched together using animal horn/porcupine quill with a large thread made from twirling several pieces of thread (Plate 29. c). This is why this prestigious shawl is also known as *Zerü pfhe*. This shawl may only be worn by men who have a high social standing owing to the number of *gennas* performed by them. In the case of Kohima, a feast giver can wear this shawl after performing *Sa* twice. For the Southern people, a feast giver is entitled to wear this shawl after the successful completion of the first *zhatho*. The shawl is exclusive for men. Only the male member of the family and their offspring are allowed to wear it. A son or a grandson of a feast giver is entitled to wear this shawl by virtue of his parents/grandparents affluence.⁴³ However, it should be first worn by the feast giver who earned it.

Thüpipfhe:

This shawl was only worn by those who have offered the feasts of merit. A feast donor earns to wear this prestigious shawl only after erecting monolith. This shawl symbolises prosperity and generosity. This shawl contains motifs of animals, moon, sun etc. which signifies their own importance (Plate 29. d). For instance, the elephant pattern symbolises abundance and strength, while the mithun pattern symbolises prosperity and wealth. The animal head depicts the privilege of decorating the house with the head of mithun carved in wood. The sun, the moon and the star signifies eternity.⁴⁴ This shawl is identical with that of the Chakhesang's feast of merit shawl.

Dozopfhe:

This shawl is only worn by wealthy persons, those who have offered feasting. This shawl is woven with white, black and pale orange colour cotton yarn. While the main body of the shawl is white, the looms of the two outer segments are woven with horizontal bands of black and pale orange yarn. This shawl is also exclusively for men.

Tediepfhe:

Among the Northern Angamis, *Tediepfhe* is another shawl which is worn by men who have offered a feast of merit. To acquire the honour of wearing this prestigious shawl, performance of *zha* is considered essential.

Rourüpfhe:

Wealthy women who are good weavers make this shawl for their husbands and sons. It is made of black or white yarn. If the loom is made of black yarn, the designs are woven with white or green yarn and if the loom is white, the designs are made with black yarn.

Ratapfhe:

Ratapfhe is a black shawl meant for rough wear. It can be worn by both men and women without any restriction.

Phichü pfhe:

Phichii pfhe literally means ‘elderly shawl’. It was one of the cloths distinctive of social status worn by the village priest/elders.

Vimho:

Vimho is worn by the Khonoma of Western Angamis. This shawl is made of black yarn with a broad terra-cotta red border on each side. It is designed with large stitches on both ends (Plate 29. h). This shawl is exclusively men’s wear.

Sazüpfhe:

The shawl is made from the bark of a stinging nettle plant locally called *wüve/sazü* (*Urtica sp.*) (Plate 29. f). It is a light weighted shawl and mostly worn by women.

Gakhopfhe:

Gakhopfhe is made from the bark of a plant called *gakho* (Deccan Jute-*Hibiscus cannabinus*). This cloth is mostly used for bedding.

The making of *Sazüpfhe* and *Rakopfhe* are purely indigenous. The cut stem of the plant is kept soaked in the wet terrace field. After few weeks, the outer skin comes off. The

plant is then taken out from the water and the inner coarse skin is peeled off and dried in the sun and made into a yarn. This yarn is used for weaving.

Lotokhwe/khwe-ato:

Khwe-ato means ‘black shawl’. It is purely woven from black thread. This shawl has no embellishments except for the pleating at the two ends (Plate 29. b). This shawl is also known as *nuokriimia* ‘beloved’ shawl. Rich parents weave this shawl for their beloved sons. It is worn along with *rhavipfhe*.

Rhavipfhe:

It is a white woven shawl with narrow horizontal black bands on both of the border (Plate 29. e). This shawl is worn by male folk, especially elderly persons irrespective of status.

Pfhese:

Two shawls worn together, *Lohe* with *Loramhoushiis* is called *Pfhese* (Plate 29. j). These two shawls are folded together (*Loramhoushi* above *Lohe* or vice-versa) along the length and worn on the shoulder. It is one of the unique Angami styles of wearing shawl. *Pfhese* is worn only on important occasions. In the olden days, a male with many sisters adorn himself with many layers of shawls, which is a pride for them. This is so because all the Angami girls weave shawls for their brothers. A boy with less or no sister adorns himself only with one or two shawls.

Merunuo Pfhese:

This shawl is called so because it is woven for orphans (*Merunuo*). It is worn by those who have no parents. This shawl is woven by some close relatives because they could not afford to wear two shawls like others. The shawl is woven in *Lohe* pattern with *loramhoushi* border. When worn, it appears to be like *Pfhese*.

Latapfhe:

A black shawl with thin white bands along the length on both sides of the borders is called *Latapfhe* (Plate 29. g). This shawl is worn by younger boys and children.

Lotapfhe:

This shawl is woven with black cotton yarn with thin dark blue line along the length. This shawl has no embellishments except for the horizontal narrow bands (Plate 30. f). It was usually worn by the elderly women. This shawl was also worn during funerals.

Khwerü:

Khwerü shawl is woven with a yellowish hue yarn. This shawl has no designs except for the four thin black horizontal lines (Plate 29. i). The horizontal narrow bands are woven at regular intervals.

Loshüpfhe:

It is woven with cotton dyed blue. This shawl is exclusively women's wear. However, young unmarried maidens do not wear it. Only married women and widow wear this shawl.

Lorüpfhe:

Lorüpfhe is a shawl woven with white and black yarn. While the white yarn forms the main background, the black yarn is used for four black narrow horizontal bands. It is worn by elderly women (Plate 30. e).

Zhavapfhe:

This shawl is worn by men who have completed the *zhatho* feast successfully, and are able to set up *fiise* (large-board) on the front gable of the house.

Rhiedipfhe:

Rhiedipfhe is a prestigious shawl worn by men. The background of the shawl is woven with white yarn and on the body of the cloth has four large black horizontal bands. On the white portion of the cloth is woven with intricate geometric designs at regular intervals. The borders of the cloth in black are designed four red horizontal narrow bands.

Lohe nie:

Lohe shawl worn by women as a wraparound is called *Lohenie*. It is worn on all occasion by young and the old.

Loyomothe:

Another wrap around worn by the Angami women is *Loyomothe*. This wraparound is woven with white thread. The whole wraparound is designed with geometric motifs at regular intervals. Black, green and red threads are used for the motifs (Plate 30. b). This wrap around is worn by young women.

Mothenie:

Mothenie is a wrap-around worn by women. This wrap-around derived its name from the pattern woven on it. It is woven with white thread designed with black and orange/brown colour horizontal line. The middle horizontal line is woven in such a way that the end of the horizontal line becomes smaller and pointed/barbed. The horizontal line is designed in such a way that a thread is cut at an interval and woven (Plate 30. c). It is taboo to weave the middle horizontal line till the end.⁴⁵

Meyhonie:

Meyhonie is a black coloured wraparound with a broad white horizontal band in the middle. On the median white horizontal pattern are woven designs or motifs (Plate 30. a). *Meyhonie* is only worn by the women whose spouse had performed the feast of merit.

Phavanie:

Phavanie is a wraparound woven from white cotton. This wrap around does not have any design. It is worn by a feast giver's wife. She is entitled to wear this after the successful completion of the first *zhatho*.

Mhoushü and Loramhoushü pfhe:

Mhoushü (Plate 30. g) and *Loramhoushü* (Plate 30. d) are two common and important shawls worn by the Angami women. The colour and the pattern are the same as *Mhoushünie* and *Loramhoushü* wrap around described above. However, the rectangular motifs of geometric patterns are woven at regular interval along the length of the shawl. The shawls are larger in size than the wraparound. These shawls and wraparound are used as twinsets on special occasions.

4.5. Draping style:

The shawls are worn in different ways (Figure 3). The most common fashion is laying the shawl round the body, with one end across the chest in the front and the other end, slung over one shoulder on the back. Another way of wearing shawls is that the shawl is laid over one shoulder and bound under the armpit of the other arm, bound on the shoulder. This style is said to be a symbol of a person's agility. The shawl is wrapped around the body over the shoulders with one side swung to the back over the left shoulder. The more formal type is then over lapping one side over the shoulder. One portion /side of the shawl is taken above the left shoulder. This style also allows free movement of the arms.

Pfhese style:

This can be called as a formal style of wearing shawl. *Pfhese* literally means 'layered shawl'. In this style, two shawls the *louramhoushü* and *lohe* are folded together length wise and worn over one shoulder with the folded portion hanging down at the front and the back. It generally means the layered shawl is suspended from one of the shoulder. At times, the *louramhoushü* is worn above the *lohe* and vice versa depending on the preference of the wearer. Besides these two shawls, in the olden days the *loto pfhe* and *zeru pfhe* were worn together.

Another formal style of wearing is the shawl, which is laid over one shoulder and the other end is taken back from under the right arm and drawn over the left shoulder. An additional style is with the horizontal border slung over the shoulder. This style is usually done by elderly men.

Teruthola:

Teruthola is a style of wearing two shawls worn across the chest, keeping the arms bare. In most of the occasion, *lohe* and *louramhoushü* are twirled and worn across the chest. It can be worn on either side or two shawls can be worn crossing each other on the chest and tied on the side. Above this, another shawl is twirled and tied around the waist to keep the two shawls firm. This is done during war times in order to protect one's body from the enemies spear. This style is still in vogue among the Angamis. This draping style is mostly carried by male folk at festive and special occasion.

Pfhephre:

The *lohe* or *louramhoushü/Khwüno Mhoushü* twirled and tied around the waist is called *Pfhephre*. This style is a symbol of manliness. Men carry *Teruthola* and *Pfhephre* style during important occasions and ceremonies such as mass parade of menfolk, gate pulling etc.

Thula:

Thula is another style of wearing the *lohe*. In this style, one end of the shawl is taken under one arm and tied on the shoulder. The other end is then tied round the neck with the body of the shawl falling on the back. This is done to carry paddy stalks while harvesting.

Menie:

The Angami adopted a unique aesthetic style of wearing their wraparound. This is uncommon among the Naga people. The style of wearing is to wrap the wrap around the waist with the hem of one side, sliding down slightly than the other. The other end is then bound above this in the front and tugged in tightly on the waist. The Angami women wear their wrap on their waist which falls till their mid-calf.

In the olden days, the casual wear of the Angamis was very simple. The traditional dress of an average Angami man comprised of a kilt and wrapper. The young men wore *neikra* (a white woven wrapper) while the older men wore *neiti/puni* (a black coloured woven wrapper). These two clothes probably were the sole garments for normal days. These kilts were worn as wraparound on the waist with the length falling above the knee and fastened with a belt. The upper body is barely covered except with a shawl. The Angami women on the other hand, wear a piece of cloth as bodice and a wrap-around. The *vathi* is worn criss-crossed on each other with the ends fastened on either shoulder or worn under one armpit with the end fastened on one shoulder. The wraparound is worn around the waist with its length falling till the knee or the mid- calf.

Shawls are worn for warmth. In the olden days, nothing was worn above the waist when working in the fields and at home. In wet weather, the Angamis wear rain-shield on their backs. The clothes worn on festive occasion and ceremonies differ from their everyday clothes.

The ceremonial dress of men was very complicated. They wore headgears, ear and neck adornments, chest ornament, armlets and wristlets, sash, kilt, belt, leggings etc., while the women adorn themselves with bodice, wrap around, earrings, necklaces, wristlets and

armlets, belt etc. Most of the necklaces described above are worn by both men and women irrespective of status. The necklaces are worn along with other varieties of bead necklaces. Unlike the men, women ceremonial attire is simple. On ceremonial occasions, an unmarried girl wears *loramhoushü*, while married women wear *mhoushü*. Unlike men where weapons form an important part of their attire, women carry no weapon, except the long thin iron staff used by the well-to-do women.

Men's clothes are of different patterns and their differences are important as being indicative of the status and prowess of the wearer. For instance, the shawl and wrap worn by feast giver have complex designs which had specific meaning as regard the status or achievement of the wearer. Men of high social status (warrior or feast performer) wear special shawls and ornaments as discussed above. The hornbill feathers are used to signify warrior status. Similarly, the ivory armlet and the enemy's teeth ornament are only worn by warriors signifying military prowess. A feast giver wife wears a special type of wrap around *meyhonie*. Like the clothing, the right to wear ornaments are also clearly defined. To wear *thatsu* or *thami*, boar/ivory tusks, a man must either undergo the head-hunting *genna* or perform the full series of Feast of merit.

The origin of clothes among the Angamis remains obscure. However, the design patterns which are found on the Angami shawls and wrap around are believed to have originated from a stone called '*Khweritsu*' which literally means 'Shawl Warping Stone' (Plate 31), located at *Phezu* in Viswema village. In the olden times, women started weaving the design patterns by observing the lines marks which were on the stone.⁴⁶ This is how the horizontal band/lines became the main design pattern on all the Angami shawls and wrap around. Most of the shawls and wrap-around are made of two or four identical pieces, which are stitched together. The edges are hemmed by stitching or pleated and either tied or rolled together in small bunch with multi-coloured threads.

Attire has been an integral part of the Angami culture and it gives them a distinctive identity as an ethnic group. Angami traditional attires are symbolic and not just of aesthetic significance. The colour and design pattern of shawl distinguish the Angamis from the other Naga groups. Like any other societies, the Angami use attires and other adornment to non-verbally communicate gender, social and personal status and group affiliation. It also portrays their culture values and heritage.

End Notes

³⁵Interview with Mrs. Neisale Kulnu, age: 85 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th December 2015.

³⁶Interview with Mr. Zakievi Terhase, age: 80 years, Rüsoma village, Date: 25th March 2017.

³⁷Interview with Mr. Kehozecho Kulnu, age: 87 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th December 2015.

³⁸Interview with Mr. Vikeso Chalieu, age: 87 years, Medziphema village, Date: 28th June 2016.

³⁹Interview with Mr. Ago Kehie, age: 80 years, Medziphema village, Date: 28th June 2016.

⁴⁰Interview with Mr. Kehozecho Kulnu, age: 87 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th December 2015.

⁴¹Interview with Mrs. Neisale Kulnu, age: 85 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th December 2015.

⁴²Interview with Mrs. Viprasale, age: 58 years, Viswema village, Date: 6th April 2017.

⁴³Interview with Mr. Vinothul Kikhi, age: 52 years, Viswema village, Date: 4th April 2017.

⁴⁴Interview with Mr. Pukoho Rolnu, age: 89 years, Jakhama village, Date: 28th January 2016.

⁴⁵Interview with Mrs. Neisale, age: 85 years, Jakhama village, Date: 12th December 2015.

⁴⁶Interview with Mrs. Sazole Kikhi, age: 71 years, Viswema village, Date: 4th April 2017.



a) Tsula (Headgear)



b) Terhami (Hornbill feather)



c) Tsüphie (Headgear)

Plate 11 a-c: Head ornaments of men.



a) Zienyie

b) Terhünyi

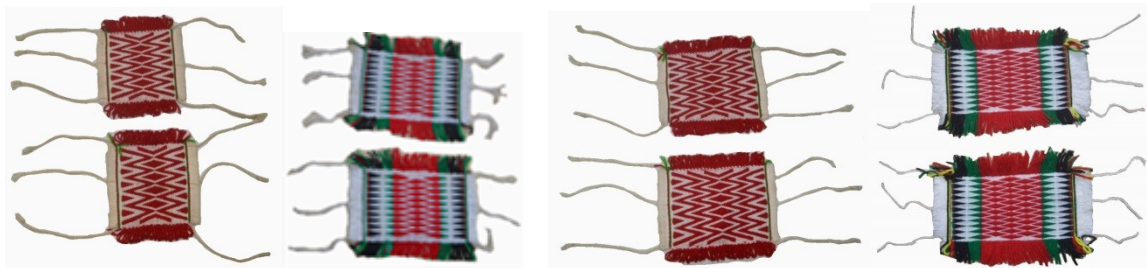
c) Nyili

d) Phakunyie

Plate 12 a-d: Male ear ornaments



a) Chüthuo (Armlet)



b)Bipa /Dziesupa (Wristlets)

c) Zunuopa (woven armlets)

Plate 13 a-c: Male arm ornaments.



a) Tiliku

b) Tuchü

c) Bathwüchu



d) Lophie

e) Lochie chü

f) Cügu

g) Cübei

Plate 14 a-g: Neck ornaments worn by men.



a)Tubo



b)Cüchie



c)Chükrü cü d)Tekho Tuza e)Temie



f)Cübei



g)Chizie

Plate 15 a-g: Neck ornaments worn by both men and women.



a)Chiecha



b)Phava Chiecha



c)Terha



d)Chaphrie



e)Kestinei

Plate 16 a-e: Men's body garments.



a)Thatsu



b) Thami



Plate 17 a & b: Warrior ornaments.



a)Phipa



b)Phiso

Plate 18 a & b: Leg adornment.



a) *Keya* (Shields)



b) *Rüngou* (Spears)

Plate 19 a & b: Rüngie (Weapons).



a)Pichühuro

b)Pikha

c)Khosa

Plate 20 a-c: Head ornament of women.



a)Sodonyie

b)Sani

c)Nyiepwe

Plate 21 a-c: Ear ornaments.



a)Cübei (Carnelian necklace with glass beads and shell)



b)Tucü c)Tusen d)Cütho

Plate 22 a-d: Female neck ornaments.



a)Thouda



b)Thenutho



c)Cütho

Plate 23 a-c: Female arm ornaments.



a)Todi Vachü



b)Vathi



c)Mhoushü



d)Loramhoushü



e)Khwüino Mhoushü



f)Kerheni

Plate 24 a-f: Female body garments.



Plate 25: *Kelo the* **Plate 26:** *Hike, Tharü-hie & Likhi* **Plate 27:** *Khophi with sütho*



Plate 28: *a) Tserre & b) Keshunhyuo*



a) Lohe



b) Lotokhwe



c) Zhatho pfhe/ Zerü pfhe



d) Thüpipfhe



e) Rhavipfhe



f) Sazüpfhe



g) *Latapfhe*



h) *Vimho*



i) *Khwerü*



j) *Pfhese*

Plate 29 a-j: Men's Shawls.



a) Meyhonie



b) Loyomothe



c) Mothenie



d) Loramhoushü



e) Lorüpfhe



f) Lotapfhe



g)Mhoushü

Plate 30 a-g: Women's shawls and Wraparounds.

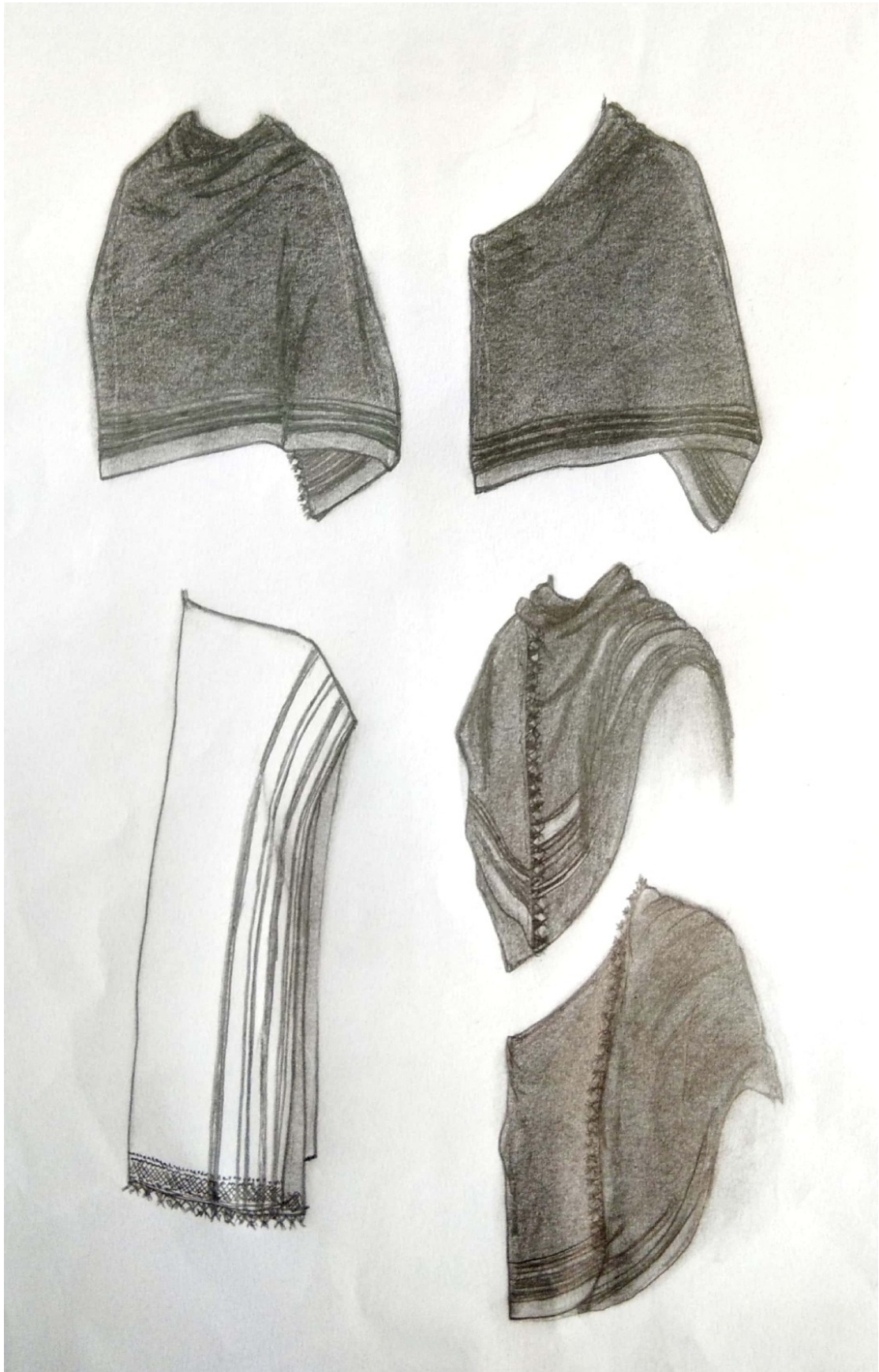


Figure 3: Different styles of draping.



Plate 31: *Khweristü* (Shawl warping stone) at *Phezu*. (Viswema)



Plate 32: Wooden and bamboo cups and plates.



Plate 33: *Kepu*, wooden barrel for storing rice beer.



Plate 34: *Labo* (storage basket)



Plate 35: *Tati* (Single string musical instrument)

CHAPTER- 5

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Continuity and change are the two essential characteristics of a living culture. Culture ensures that we are not totally uprooted from our past inheritance. It also promises that we must keep abreast with the march of time. The same phenomenon applies to festivals and attires as they represent facets of a culture. Change is inherent in the nature of culture and it is a permanent factor of human civilization (Biswas, 2002, p.4). The Angami society has been experiencing phenomenal changes over the years. Changes can be observed in both the tangible and intangible aspect of culture. While some elements still exist with slight modification, there are others that have altogether ceased to exist. The present chapter discuss the continuities and changes over the years in Angami culture with particular reference to festivals and attires.

5.1. Changes in Festivals

The Angamis observed a number of festivals in the past. These traditional festivals are linked to agricultural cycles with special songs, dances, rituals and feast at each stage of the cycle. In recent times, changes have come in the way festivals are celebrated. These changes have manifested in the way festivals are celebrated, the role played by the traditional priest, the sequences of events etc.

In every Angami village, the *Kemevo/ Phichüu* (religious head) play a very important role. The whole of the religious activities is being conducted under his direction. He announces *gennas*, restricted days and initiate festivals. Other than the *Kemevo* and the *Phichüu*, there are other functionaries' viz., the *Ciekrau* and *Liedepfü* who perform certain rituals and ceremonies. While the *Ciekrau* (First sower) inaugurates the sowing of seed, the *Liedepfü* (First reaper) inaugurates the reaping of crops for the whole village. In many Angami villages, the traditional post of *Kemevo/ Phichüu* and other religious functionaries no longer exist. As a result, the office and functions of these religious functionaries does not function properly or are only nominal. Moreover, with the decrease of elderly knowledgeable person, the knowledge about the traditional religious practices is diminishing and even the

non-Christians do not strictly adhere to their old practices. Today, Christian leaders have taken over the role of *Kemevo/ Phichüu*. Every Angami village now has two or more churches and a pastor, who presides over church function and life-cycle rituals.

Traditionally, the activities of the traditional religious functionaries are mainly religious in nature. Before the performance of initiation rituals such as seed sowing, harvesting etc., by the traditional priest, it is taboo for any villager to sow seeds or harvest crops. However, such taboos are no longer observed today in most of the Angami villages. Today, most of the celebration of festivals continued with some modification. Rituals like *Kezhie* (sanctification of the house), *Dzüseva* (touching the sleeping water) etc., are no longer practiced by the Christian-converts. With the decline in number of non-Christians and under the influence of Christianity, most of the traditional rituals and ceremonies are either forgotten or transformed. The ritual of making new hearth and fire by using traditional methods is no longer practiced. This has been replaced by new ways and methods. Even the traditional rituals of seeking blessing for protection over their agricultural crops have been replaced by Christian practices. For instance, before harvesting starts, it was the role of the *Liedepfü* to first initiate harvesting of crops, but at present, the harvesting commence with the blessing of the crops in the churches.

The practice of animal sacrifices was widespread during pre-colonial times. But with the conversion to Christianity, the belief in spirits has diminished. The old practices of animal sacrifices have been replaced by communal worship organised in a systematic manner. Today, most Christians come together in the church on Sundays for worship. Akin to this, Aier (2004) observed that in the contemporary Naga society, the focus of the festivals have widened quite radically. She adds that one of the most obvious changes is seen in the fact that the main focus of the festivals has shifted from agro-base to community base (Aier, 2004, p 54).

As a consequence of the non-existence of the post of the traditional religious priest in most of the Angami villages, the festival dates and durations are fixed by the villagers. For instance, in the past, every village celebrated the *Sekrenyi* festival on a different date but now 25th February has been fixed for celebrating *Sekrenyi* festival so that the entire Angami tribe may celebrate together. Similarly, in some villages, certain dates are fixed for seed sowing and harvesting of crops. Moreover, the Angamis, today, follow the Christian calendar and not the lunar calendar. In the Northern and Chakhro region, festivals are observed for shorter duration as compared to their pre-Christian period. Unlike the Northern and the Chakhro

region, some of the Southern and Western Angami villages still continue to celebrate the traditional festivals marked by traditional folk songs, dances and games. In few of these villages, till today, festival dates are fixed by the *Phichüu* based on the traditional lunar calendar, sequences of the festive events are maintained and *gennas* are observed though nominally.

Traditionally, the sequence of festive events, range mostly from five to ten days involving festivity, ritual, community work, *gennas* etc. The sequence of events which was practiced in the olden days is no longer observed in most of the villages. Festivals such as *Tsiekranyi/Tsakonyi* – seed sowing festival, *Ngonyi* (post seed sowing festival), *Kerunyi* (plantation festival), *Binyi* (Taro festival), *Tshünyi* (millet festival), *Chadanyi* (path clearing festival), *Vatenyi/Tiekede* (preservation of food grains), *Terhünyi* (post-harvest festival) are dying, while *Thekranyi* (festival of the youth), *Khoupfünyi* (children festival), *Sekrenyi* (purification festival) are reviving or continued in modified forms. Only few villages continue to observe the festivals though the traditional sequences of festive events are not followed. Most of the festivals are observed for shorter durations. With the change in lifestyle, many people felt that giving feast was wastage of their time, energy and wealth as they had to perform rituals which were tedious and time consuming. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the essence of celebrating festivals is getting into oblivion.

Today, most of the traditional festivals are no longer celebrated except for the *Sekrenyi* festival. The *Sekrenyi* festival is still celebrated in some villages with great zeal. However, the number of *genna* days has been reduced. Aier (2004) observes that that only the more important festivals are being observed, while those ceremonies with less communal significance were rejected. She adds, important public festivals that enthuse community feelings have been retained and are revived to renew and reaffirm their ethnic solidarity. Though the celebratory elements of the festivals are retained, the celebratory rites and period of *genna* sequence are replaced by organised Christian prayers and the modern order of sequencing the events (Ibid, p. 54-55).

As mentioned earlier, the religious functionaries play a very important role in Angami community. After the completion of harvest, the religious functionaries- *Ciekrau* and the *Liedepfü/Mushopfü* were paid some remuneration called *Ciekrau* or *Mushopfü khrü* to compensate for their role in the agricultural operations. The fees or contribution were realised from every household, which were paid in kind viz. paddy, Job's tear, rice-beer etc. Today the mode of payment has changed. With the introduction of monetary economy, many

household would give them money or other food items in place of grains. People pay according to their convenience. Moreover, in most villages, the Angamis being Christians, no longer have to pay to these religious functionaries, but make donations and contributions to the church.

In the olden days, the pious agricultural Angami people stick to the observance of festival *gennas*. On *genna* days, visitors are neither allowed to enter the village nor are the villagers allowed to leave the village for fear of disrupting the prosperity of the village. Changes in the means of livelihood have inevitably changed the way *gennas* were observed. Today, people feel that it is a waste of time to sit for days performing the rituals or observing *gennas*. Though in some villages people still follow the non-Christian *gennas*, the days for observing *gennas* have been reduced. It is no longer considered taboo to work or go on journeys during the festive *gennas*. Unlike in the pre-Christian period, non-observance of *genna* is not punishable by the village.

The *morungs* as the social and ritual centre of the Angami community has, through the ages, made immense impact on the life of the Angamis. It was here that lives have been moulded to fall in line with the way of life. The *morung* is a youth dormitory where the young youth of a village are trained in different fields of life. It was in the *morung* that the young boys start to learn various traditional art forms during the festive occasion by taking part in the festive gatherings with the older men. However, it has been observed that with the introduction of modern education, the traditional *morung* which was a ritual and learning centre gradually lost its importance. The process of transmitting knowledge of traditional customs and practices between the older generation and the younger generation is reduced with the decline of *morung*.

Festivals like *Sekrenyi* and *Thekranyi* involves feasting, traditional games and sports, adornment of colourful attires etc. It also gives an opportunity to participate in folk dance, folk songs and other art forms. It offers an important way of socialising, providing a sense of belonging and connection to the past. In recent times, these traditional art forms are dying into oblivion. It has been observed that the younger generations show very less concern in learning the art of traditional dance. Although in some villages, certain days are allotted on festive days for imparting this art form, the participation has immensely decreased. Today, in the absence of teaching-learning process between the older and the younger generation, the folk song is losing its popularity. The traditional folk music is disappearing in the face of western songs and music. Influenced by western culture, English/Hindi songs are commonly

played or sung in peer group festive gatherings and other social occasions. The younger generations do not like to listen to the old tunes, which according to them, are traditional, outdated and boring. Instead, they prefer Indian or western songs and music. Modern sophisticated musical instruments have replaced the traditional ones. Similarly, western dance has taken the fascination of the younger generation. This indicates that the folk songs and dance which forms an essential component of festivals have also experienced reduced popularity in the present day. Most of the people do not bother to preserve these traditional performing arts for posterity.

In the olden days, meat was considered a luxury as they did not kill animals except at the time of feasting. During the festival, the best breed of pigs and cows are slaughtered for the feast. However, today the consumption of meat is so high with its availability in the market. It is no longer considered as a luxury but as a part of their daily diet. *Zutho* (rice-beer) which have been in use among the Angami people for centuries is discouraged or discontinued by most Christian converts as it uses were considered un-Christian. However, some of them still continue to drink occasionally. The local brewed rice beer has been replaced by tea and other foreign liquor which is more hazardous to life. Changes have also been observed in the type of household utensils the people used on festive occasions. The Angamis seldom use earthen jars, pots, wooden spoons and plates, bamboo cups etc. The traditional household articles have now been replaced by modern manufactured wares.

The Angamis have beautiful attires adorn during feasting and other important occasions. For instance, young boys display their fineries during *Thekhranyi* festival. It is said that a boy is judged by looking at his decorative displayed on his headgear as to which type of girl he would befriend. It has been observed that there are not many changes in the attires worn by the performers during the *Thekranyi* festival. However, unlike the olden days, the younger generations have less interest to go to jungle in their ceremonial dress to collect wild fruits, flowers, sticks etc. for decoration of their *thekrau* house. Similarly, the Angamis adorn themselves with their best traditional attires during *Sekrenyi* festival but changes have been observed in the manner they dress. In many instances, it was observed that many people do not dress in complete traditional attire but pair up with western modern clothing. Pounding of paddy/rice dressed in full traditional attire is no longer practiced. Even the *Ciekrau* or *Liedepfü*, who wore their ceremonial dresses at the time of performing *gennas*, now wear ordinary clothes while performing *gennas*. Today, the traditional attires are viewed

not as material culture but as animistic and thereby discouraged or even prohibited by some Christian denomination.

Another notable change can be noticed in the traditional games. In the festival, besides feasting and merry-making, competition and exhibition of indigenous games were a main attraction. However, today, traditional games and sports are no longer widely played as before. Wrestling is still practiced and has evolved to become more organised and professional. Today, people wrestle not only to test their strength or show their manhood and earn the name and fame, but also for prize, medal or position. In fact, wrestling has become one of the most popular sports in Nagaland. Wrestling meets are organised at various level under the aegis of Naga Wrestling Association. Today most of the young generation have neither knowledge nor interest about traditional games and sports. Foreign games and sports such as football, volley ball etc. and other modern technological games have become a major part of their life. Even the community gives more importance to these games and sports rather than the traditional ones.

In the olden days when a person harvested more than hundred baskets of paddy, they felt the compulsion of redistributing their wealth with their fellowmen by giving feast. They earn status and name by providing feast. The culture of the feast of merit plays an important role in the traditional Angami society to identify a person's rank in the society before and after death. To gain fame and honour, a wealthy man must organise a feast for the whole village. The different levels of feast enhance the prestige and social rank of the feast giver. Similarly, every warrior has to earn such items through acts of bravery to wear. However, today feast of merit, the philosophy of sharing and distribution of material wealth in return for status are no longer performed as majority of the people are now Christians and there is no surviving person following the traditional religion to perform the rituals. As noted, the last feast performed in Jakhama village was in the 1960's. This has been replaced by individualistic acquisition of status through accumulation of capital. Feasts are given today by wealthy people during Christmas or other church occasions. The tradition of decorating houses with house-horn or to wear certain attire etc., by performing a series of *gennas* has become obsolete.

Festival is an occasion for universal celebration where every person of the village participates. Today, participation in festive event is now discouraged or even prohibited among the Christians. Gate pulling and stone pulling ceremonies to commemorate a person achievement for completing a series of *gennas* is no longer practiced. At present, stone

dragging ceremonies are performed to commemorate jubilees or other important occasions. The material used in performing this ceremony has also changed. In the olden days, wild creeper ropes were used but this is now supplemented with ropes sold in the market. Unlike the olden days, rituals are not performed but ceremonies begin with the blessing of the church leaders and at times with the *Phichüu*. Community work which entails cleaning footpaths, houses, public places is still in practice but such participation has declined.

Thus, it was observed that while some festivals are still observed with some modifications, some festivals have ceased to exist. Most of the Christian converts and those who have settled away from the village do not observe the festivals.

5.2. Changes in attires:

Changes in Angami material culture have been very obvious. With the passage of time, gross modifications of the original design, yarns, colours and decorative materials of the traditional attires have taken place. With British colonization and advent of Christianity along with various technological developments and globalisation, the Angami traditional attires have undergone immense changes. Attires began to be distinguished as traditional and modern. One can also observe fusion in the various attires.

5.2.1. Fabric/material:

The type of material used now is quite different from the type of material previously used for weaving. In the olden days, the materials used for weaving were mainly cotton, nettle fibres and jute plants. The Angamis grew cotton, made yarn out of it which is used for weaving garments. Today, no cotton is grown due to availability of various types of materials in the market. With the easy accessibility of pre-dyed yarns, weavers no longer make yarns. Jute and nettle fibres are no more used for weaving clothes. The type of yarn for clothing is now replaced by modern/contemporary synthetic fibres mostly rayon yarn which was readily available in the market at cheaper price. Most of the modern yarns are imported from Assam and Myanmar via Manipur. Women wrap around and shawls are today mostly woven with rayon yarn/synthetic yarn such as *Thailand*, *Doli*, *Bornali* and *Polyester* yarn. Few decades back, acrylic of two-ply was the most popular yarn. Traditionally, the yarn which was used for weaving was also used for making various patterns and for stitching. Today, fine synthetic yarn is used for various patterns and designs.

Although handloom still prevails, the market has been flooded with machine made fabrics. *Pidwe* (headscarf), woven cloth which was used for covering the head is now replaced by colourful printed cloth. Replicas of traditional garments specially made by Manipuri weavers became easily available in the markets. However still, the Angamis preferred hand woven garment to machine woven ones.

Furthermore, the traditional men's legging woven with cane and orchid stem are replaced by electric duct tape. Hornbill feather which was used on the headgear are replaced by replicas made from paper. Headgear which was once made from bear hair has become rare and replaced with goat hair dyed black. Wild Boar tusks necklaces and ivory armlets are rarely seen today. Many duplicate ivory armlets have become available in the market.

In recent years, the material used for ornaments are becoming lighter and finer. Beaded earrings and necklaces with pattern of the *Lohe* and *Loramhoushü* have become a trend and are worn with modern fashion and styles of dressing. Most of the carnelian necklaces are replaced by plastic materials which are lighter and easy to carry. A major reason was that the original carnelian and conch shell are hardly available in the market. Besides, ornaments made of gold, silver, pearls, brass etc. have today become popular. Gold necklace have taken over the place of the once greatly valued carnelian necklace. Though many modern accessories are now used by the Angamis, the traditional ornaments are still valued by most people.

5.2.2. Colour concept:

In the early times, the Angami produced different colours from plants and trees. The colours used were limited. The colours which made the original Angami garments were black, white, green, indigo, yellow, brownish, orange and red. The most common colour used in all attires is black and white. Hutton refers to the use of indigo which the Angamis obtained from the plant *Strobilanthes flaccidifolius* which they cultivated (Hutton, 1921, p.24). However, the indigenous method of dyeing is no longer practiced as readymade threads of varying quality, colour, and shades are easily available. The import of readymade, dyed rayon yarns is much cheaper than the local production of local fibre which is time-consuming and work intensive. It is also appreciated for the limitless range of colour, finest and durability. In recent times, the most widely used rayon yarn by the Angami weavers are *Thailand*, *doli*, *bornali* and *polyester* (shiny, silky lustre) which comes in a much better quality and various colour shades.

The traditional colour are still found in synthetic dyes and thread/yarn and used. The colour concepts of these bands have however, undergone immense changes and today a variety of shades are used in stripes. Such change in colour is very much apparent in the *Lohe* shawl. The original yellow and red bands have been replaced by new developed colours such as pink, blue, purple, grey etc., which have become vivid if not equally dominant in present day. Even yarn of red and green is available in varying shades. These various colour shades were used to add variety to their textiles (Plate 36). The shades of green seem to have undergone some change in the last few decades. Lighter shades of green are used more in weaving shawls and wrap around though the dark green is still seen in the male shawls.

Apparently, the present colour design came to prevail only after the availability of pre-dyed yarn procured through trade. The dependence on outside market for dyed yarns has inevitably modified their colour schemes in woven fabrics in recent years. There are many beautiful variations of the original theme, both in shawls and wrap-around skirts. Due to easy accessibility of pre-dyed yarns, weavers no longer make yarns on their own. Today, the choice of colour is a matter of aesthetic considerations.

Despite the availability of limitless range of colours, the Angamis continue to use the traditional shades in their attires. Black and white thread is still used for most of the shawl background as in the olden days, while the colour concept of the horizontal bands of the women wrap around have undergone some change.

5.2.3. Cloth structure:

The basic cloth structure of the Angamis is rectangular. In the olden times, traditional garments were woven, cut and sewed manually. The entire wrap-around and shawls were woven in two different pieces called *pumuo* (panel with horizontal pattern) and *poluo* (plain black/white panel), which is cut into two pieces each and sewed together. The wrap-around and shawl end seams is either sewn or with fringes made of warp ends. Bodice is rectangular, made of two pieces of woven cloth or a piece of cloth, and not sewed to fit body shape. This upper body garment *vathi* have been replaced by stitched tops. The *vathi* cloth which is used as bodice is worn as blouse. Similarly separate petticoat is worn under the wrap which has replaced the *vathi*.

Today *lohe* and *loramhoushü* suits have become a popular fashion. The rectangular structure continued but the shawl has been finer in size according to the taste of the person.

Most of the shawls are now narrower in breadth. The side fringes are longer and finely plaited and tied (Plate 37). Many new styles of shawls and wrap around with traditional pattern have been innovated and widely used. Mufflers/sash with traditional pattern and motifs are worn by men around the neck (Plate 38). Similarly, tie, coats and waistcoats with traditional designs have become a popular use among the Angamis today (Plate 39). The Angami men traditionally do not wear any bodice except for the sash. However, with the coming of the British, a red plain cloth was introduced to be worn by the gaonboras.

5.2.4. Pattern and design:

Most of the traditional shawls and wrap-around are simple without much designs, motifs and pattern. The Angami cloths are characterised by horizontal/longitudinal bands or lines in multicolour at the outer longitudinal seams on both sides. The background of the *lohe* wraparound or shawl is black, while the horizontal bands are a shade of red/yellow and green. In *loramhoushü*, the background is white, with red and black longitudinal lines. The middle panel of the cloth may be left plain, but it may also provide space for additional patterns, which may include thin longitudinal lines in some of the stripes. Traditionally, the bands are broader/wider than in the newer wrap or shawls. These bands have become narrower in the modern woven wraparound and shawls. The longitudinal bands and lines, the width ratio and spacing of the bands and lines are quite specific. The border design of the shawls and wrap around are similar, consisting of lozenges and diamond designs. Designs of geometric pattern continue to remain the same. The longitudinal joints of cloth panels are sewn or decorated with a plait structure. Most of the clothes have fringes made of warp ends on one border and sewn borders without fringes.

The *loramhoushü* unlike the *lohe*, have additional patterns of thin horizontal lines in the middle panel of the cloth and intricate geometric designs. Designs of geometric patterns were woven with the main weft. The patterns which are woven on the body of the wrap are not distributed regularly over the cloth. The geometric patterns which are woven along the horizontal bands, on both sides are now woven only on one side (usually the back), according to the taste of the weaver or the customer. Changes can be also observed in the way in which traditional motifs are being altered and recreated. In recent years, the Angamis have adopted a large number of designs. They often added ornamented motifs such as spear, dao, shield etc., in the newly innovated shawls. It has been observed that the making of the traditional attires for contemporary use is no longer based on what was originally used by the

community but on what is attractive or appealing to the viewers. The *khwemhou* worn by Khonoma woman is one of the shawls which still continue to be woven without any modification.

Like the garments, ornaments of both the Angami men and women changed radically. Their ornaments of ear, neck, hair style are now modified with modern designed accessories. The old style continued with slight modification. Various types of threads and yarns are used that suited for their use.

5.2.5. *Symbolism:*

There can be no doubt that clothing has been important in establishing, maintaining and altering the image of social groups and individuals. Attire is one of the means by which a tribe/group defines itself. The Angami attires are not only a matter of aesthetics but also a means of expressing wealth and social status. The Angami traditional attire has been one of the most valuable cultural elements for signifying and expressing the cultural value and social relationships. The attires have been a means of communicating their social and personal status. In short they represent the identity of individuals and groups.

The Angami men and women have different styles of hair cut according to age. The style of hair cut indicates the marital status. For instance, hairstyle in combination with dressing helps to communicate the social status of an individual in the community. The Angamis have the costume for girls to grow their hair long only after marriage. This change conveys a clear message that they are no longer children, which also means they are married. However, this tradition is no longer in practice. It was noticed that the practice of traditional hair style is on the verge of demise. Nowadays, almost all the people have adopted modern western hair styles and even dyed with varying shades. The young generation tend to keep up with the latest trend not only in their dressing but with their hairstyle too. However, girls still use ornaments and put on attires which reflect their age transition on important occasions.

Nowadays, differences in ornaments are related to differences in wealth than to social status, but ornaments remain a vital aspect both of Angami attire. Like the other Naga tribes, the Angamis decorate their headgear with hornbill feathers. The hornbill feather and the head pate symbolises the status and achievement of the wearer. In the past, only warriors were allowed to put on the feather. Today, the use of hornbill feathers has become common. Many people put feathers in their headgear without any restriction. It is now worn by any man who can afford it. The original feathers have been replaced with paper cut into feathers.

One notable change in attires is that shawls and wrap around which were worn only by certain individual who have earned it or by certain section of the society, can be practically used if he can afford it. Most prestigious attires and ornaments have lost its significance. In the past, there are certain shawls which signify the socio-economic and ritual status of the user. For instance, the *Zhathopfhe* denotes high status and is worn only by man who has hosted the feast of merit. *Phichüpfhe* is worn by the sacred specialist as symbol of attainment of ritual status. These shawls are hardly seen today. Many new emerging shawls have replaced the traditional prestigious shawls. Prestigious shawls which were worn only by men who had accomplished certain distinction for obtaining higher social status have lost its significance. Replicas of such shawls have been developed in recent times in order to preserve the legacies left behind by our ancestors.

Changes can be noticed in the symbolism of garments. Wraparound-shawl suits have been assigned for social groups, and educational qualification has now replaced the feast of merit wrapper. Few decades back, new wraparound set were invented encoded with the achievement of an individual in academic field known as *mhasinei* (Plate 40). This wrap was woven with black yarn with a broad yellow/orange border. Newly innovated designed shawls and wrap-around have become in vogue among the Angamis. Besides, in many cases, women show their status with new design wrap-around and shawls.

Unlike in the past wherein beaded and carnelian ornaments were adorned by both men and women, wealthy women tend to showcase their wealth through the type or number of gold necklace they own or wear. Besides, neckpiece which was worn as security from evil spirits and sicknesses, have now lost its religious orientation or significance. The cowrie decoration on the kilt signifies the wearer's success in love and war. The head plate ornament apart from being decorative, also signify exploits in war. Similarly, the hornbill feathers worn on the head gear denote enemy's head taken. In the present times, some of these articles have now turned into adornments.

5.2.6. Usage and style of wearing:

For the Angamis, attires and ornaments were not just worn for the purpose of aesthetics but have deep philosophical meanings. Attires were valued and taken much care of. Men and women were not permitted to share attires and accessories. Every dress was made specifically for different age level, gender or occasion, except for those items which are common for men and women. However, many changes can be noticed with regard to the usage of dress and

ornaments. We can hardly find Angami men and women in traditional attires even in the villages, except for some few elderly women. Now-a-days, they put on modern dresses available in the market. Today, both the young and the old wear their traditional attires only during festivals and other important occasions and social gatherings. The younger generation prefer modern western clothes. Traditional attires are now replaced by foreign cloths such as trousers, shirts, sweaters, dress, skirts, coats etc.

In the olden days, every young boys and girls are merely clothed with a kilt and a wrapper. The transition of a girl or a boy from one stage of life to another is indicative by the different designs in their wrap around. Different wrapper encodes different life stages. For instance, in Angami women, there are modes of wearing *vathi*, thus identifying the different social status of women. Wealthy women wear two *vathi*, while the ordinary women wear a single cloth as *vathi*. Such system of usage is no longer practiced in the contemporary Angami society.

In the olden times, shawl was one of the most important customary gift items for occasions like marriage and death in the Angami society. Through the number of shawls a person receives, her identity in the society is known. Shawls seem to be one of the most valued possessions of any individual or family. This system has now undergone drastic changes and in its place, people offer gifts in other material form, mostly in terms of cash or modern foreign goods.

As discussed earlier, the performer of a series of *gennas* earn a prestigious shawls which distinguish them from the rest. Besides in the past, there were dresses and ornaments that could be worn only by warriors or those who had performed a series of *gennas*. Most of the traditional shawls which were worn by performer of feast of merit or warrior have lost its significance. Some of these cloths can be worn by anyone who can afford it and not through performing of *gennas*. Today, the numbers of those people entitled to wear the shawl have dwindled. In order to carry on the tradition, new norms are laid where the elderly are allowed to wear the shawl. In some villages, the Village Council has determined that a formerly restricted shawl design is allowed for common use today in order to prevent its extinction.

There are certain artefacts such as spears which are venerated and are taboo for women even to touch it. In some cases, if given away to some stranger, the village community had to observe *genna*. This practice is no longer observed today. Most of the traditional weapons have become almost obsolete. It has now become more of a decorative item.

Traditionally, the Angamis have attires specific to youngsters and grown-ups and clothes for different occasion. This practice is no longer followed. Though the Angami men and women wear different types of dresses as well as for casual occasion, they still continue to wear the traditional shawls and wrap-around on various occasions. Most of the time, they combine or match them with their modern dresses. For instance, men wear their traditional shawl with modern suit (coat and pant), while women with modern dresses or with modern wrap-around. However, in most occasions, they prefer western dresses over traditional ones. Besides, the use of Indian manufactured shawls has become vogue. With the exception of some few aged women, ornaments are hardly worn today except on special occasion. Several trends are discernible in the modern attitude towards jewellery. Ornaments of gold are becoming more a form of investment as well as a means of adornment among the Angami women. Though traditional ornaments are kept as an asset, accessories made of gold, pearl, silver, brass etc. have become their daily adornment.

The style of wearing has not changed much. The traditional way of dressing i.e., draping the cloth over the shoulder or wrapping around the waist is still continued. Nonetheless, since the younger generation prefers western clothes over traditional ones, most youngsters do not wear the traditional shawls except on important occasions. In most cases they carry a folded shawl on their hands. Also, modern wraparound has now become common to wrap it around the waist like a shirt reaching the ankles. Traditional wears are rarely used except on special occasion. Modern style of clothing lured the Angamis to move away from what used to be indigenous garments of the previous generation of the Angamis. With the availability of machine-made wraparound and shawls in the market, it has become their regular wear. Main reason being cheaper and availability in variety than the expensive traditional wears.

5.2.7 Hairstyle:

In the olden times, both young boys and girls had their head shaved. Unlike the boys, the girls had to earn their hair through marriage. This practice no longer exists and today, children hardly shave their hair. At a tender age, girls start keeping their hair long. The traditional hair style has become obsolete. The younger generation today keep various western hair styles, long or short, dyed with various colours. Even among the elderly group, one could hardly find person donning the old traditional hairstyle. Few women still continue to use the *khosa* (hair lock) to supplement their normal hair, but the *pichühuro* is no longer in use. Some

Angami women still keep this as an asset and a blessing from their parents or close kin. Today, a variety of hair accessories such as clips, hair band, ribbons etc. are used for tying their hair.

5.2.8. Textile:

The Angamis produce garment through the use of indigenous loom. They weave clothes using the natural resources around them. The yarn used for weaving was spun from locally grown cotton. Besides, jute and nettle were also used to make clothes. Dyeing was a traditional art which they produced by themselves from herbs and barbs of plants and trees. However, these traditional arts of spinning and dying are no longer in practice due to the availability of modern yarns. Traditionally, for warping, warping sticks were fixed on the ground. However, today all the weavers use a well-furnished timber frame where holes are made as desired (for the length) for fixing the sticks. Moreover, the weaving apparatus are made of wood and bamboo. The methods of warping and weaving still remain the same. Though new weaving technique such as haft and heddle looms has started, the traditional back strap loom is still used for cloth production.

In the olden days, a girl child is taught the art of weaving from a very young age. In every family, the girl had a toy set of weaving implements with which she would weave belts. Today this system of imparting knowledge had completely changed as the people have taken up formal education. The traditional art of handicrafts and weaving are on the verge of being completely abandoned in many Angami villages. The need to weave a particular shawl for a particular class of warriors or rich men is no longer in practice with the cessation of head-hunting and feast of merit. As a matter of fact, there are dozens of old shawl designs which are no longer made or woven.

5.3. Factors of change

For the past few decades, many changes have come to the way of life of the Angamis. It has been observed that these changes have taken place in both their material as well as non-material culture. A series of factors such as political, socio-cultural and economic factors brought about these transitions among the Angamis.

The Angamis in the early days were confined to their own contents. Their life was simple and the philosophy was deep. Above all, the essence of social life was remarkable. Through the British government many missionaries lowed into the Naga region. The

Christian missionaries with the patronage of the British gave its best effort to educate the Angami people with the sense of civility.

Political scenarios which the Angamis have undergone have made immense impact on their life. The encounter with the British as well as the Naga struggle for Independence drove the Angamis far into hinterlands. The Angamis were the first among the Naga groups to come into contact with the British. The advent of the British in 1832 was followed by a long unpleasant confrontation of the Angamis with the colonial powers. The Angamis remained hostile against the colonizers for a very long time. In the process of the confrontation, the people were reprieved of their homes as they fled to the jungles for safety. Moreover, villages were burned down to suppress the hostilities. The last and final resistance of the Angamis against the British was the battle of Khonoma on November 22, 1879. In November 1879, Kohima was occupied and made the headquarter of the British. This brought the struggle between the Nagas and the British to an end and peace was made the following year. Following this, the Nagas were made to pay Rs. 2/- as revenue to the British (Alemchiba, 1970, p.100). The British after establishing their foothold introduced a number of measures for better communication and more effective administration. The development of transport and communication facilities like road brought the Angamis in contact with their surrounding neighbours. Though the British took measures for suppression of certain social practices like head-hunting and inter-village raids, they encouraged the community to preserve their unique culture and tradition. They even encouraged modern educational institutions which were initiated by the missionaries. While the British did not interfere much in the tradition and culture of the Angamis, the impact of their rule initiated a series of changes.

The impact of colonial rule was felt in every sphere of the Angami life. Head taking and inter-village raiding were put to an end and for the first time, the Angamis were brought under one single administration. This led to a series of changes in the social, economic, cultural, and religious life of the Angamis. Hutton maintains that, owing to the annexation of the whole Angami country by the British Government and the consequent cessation of head-taking and fighting generally, the ceremonial ornaments are nowadays assumed on very slight pretences, particularly among the longer annexed villages. Some marks of distinctions, however, which have always been very difficult to attain, like the horns worn on the head, are very rarely seen in Angami villages, and are only worn by old men who have a real claim to wear them (Hutton, 1921, p. 33). The right of entitlement to use certain attire and ornament which was strictly followed during the olden days was relaxed with the British administration

and conversion to Christianity. Moreover, the British administrators introduced a red shawl, later a waist coat (red) for the gaonburas (village headmen/mediators), a political institution which was created by the British as a symbol of their position as mediators in the Angami society. Till date the gaonburas wear this cloth as a symbol of their identity in every social gathering. Colonial rule submerged and dismantled indigenous institutions which were then regarded not only as political authorities but also custodians of culture.

The departure of the British was followed by new political upheaval. The Naga demand for sovereignty led to unending struggle which continued till date. In the 1950's, the armed confrontation led to unending struggle with the Indian army. During the political upheaval, many attires and ornaments were lost because villages were burnt down. The people being displaced from their original dwellings to avoid hostilities, experienced the scarcity of clothing, health problems etc., which made them focus on their survival. Much of the traditional customs and practices were lost during this political upheaval as there was no consistency in observation, for their main concern during that time was to survive the hostilities. The people neglected their traditional culture and practices for many years. With the political turmoil, many people joined underground militia for the cause of Naga Nation. Those who went underground to serve the Naga nation, sooner came back and got converted to Christians.⁴⁷ This perhaps was one of the main reasons for the rapid deterioration of traditional practices in the Chakhro region. At all events, the Indian army presence, together with factors such as the increasing economic and cultural influence of non –Nagas in Nagaland, leads some Nagas to consider that a form of Indian colonialism has replaced and modified that of the British (Jacob, 1990, p. 173).

Christianity came to the Angami area simultaneously with the British rule. Though the first group of American Baptist missionaries made their appearance in the Naga Hills in the 1830s, it was only in the late 1870s that the mission work started among the Angamis at a time when the Angamis were engaged in a political struggle with the Britishers. The first missionary to bring the gospel to the Angami area was Rev.C.D. King. The conversion was initially very slow as the attitude of the Angamis towards the missionaries was hostile. Those who got converted to Christianity were excommunicated from their clan or village. Despite all odds, the American Baptist missionaries continued their mission work and in the 1880s, the first church was established in Kohima. Following this, few Angamis were converted into Christianity. After the departure of Rev. C.D. King, Rev.Rivenburg worked among the Angamis (Zetsuvi, 2014). The Angami traditional religion has undergone considerable

changes as a result of the spread of Christianity during the last few decades. Today, almost the whole of the Angamis have embraced Christianity though they belong to different denomination. Christianity became one of the most dynamic factors which brought overall changes in the life of the Angamis. On account of conversion to Christianity, the Angami way of life immensely changed. The Christian converts imbibed the western way of life, food, clothing, etiquette, attitude etc., and they condemned the traditional heritage of the non-converts/those who followed the traditional religion.⁴⁸ Furthermore, with people's conversion to Christianity, there is no restriction on hairstyle for both men and women. Unlike the past, they can keep any type of hairstyle depending on their personal taste and liking.

Christianity slowly uprooted the traditional animistic beliefs and practices. The traditional belief system, observance of rituals and festival, etc., began to lose its relevance. Material culture viz., attires underwent immense changes. With the coming of missionaries, many shawls were banned because they symbolized an older way of life and world view. Even in recent times, certain churches discouraged the use of traditional attires terming them as heathen wear. With the changes in the belief system, many of these shawls lost their symbolic meaning, and also the patterns and designs began to be forgotten. The concept of the Gospel began to replace superstitions and fears which were in the minds of the people. Most traditional festivals began to lose its popularity. They are now replaced by Christian festivals such as Easter, Christmas, New Year etc., while the traditional sacrifices and rituals are no longer practiced. Today, the Church prescribes absolute abstinence from rice beer.⁴⁹

Before the advent of Christianity, a man's wealth and status is known by/from the number of *mithun* he had offered in a feast of merit. Based on this, he is entitled to wear a certain shawl or ornament which distinguished him from the other members of the community. With the disappearance of the traditional festivals such as the feast of merit, the prestigious shawl worn by the performer had ceased to function and has lost its true meaning. In short, with the cessation of head taking and feast of merit no longer performed, the attires associated with status and achievement became non-functional.

Although a host of factors brought about changes in the Angami culture, many writers hold that Christianity is the single most important factor in bringing cultural change in Angami community. Chasie (2004) observes that with the advent of Christianity, the world of the Nagas was turned upside down as beliefs and value systems changed, traditional institutions and practices on which depended the fabric of society were undermined and relegated to the background, lifestyle changed, new habits formed etc. All Naga beliefs and

cultural practices were looked down upon as pagan and to be shunned. They introduced change but this new change threatened to completely sever all vital links to our people's cultural and historical roots. To this day, many church leaders continue to uphold the missionaries' perception of *Nanyü* (traditional religion) as composed of 'heathen practices' and they subscribe and impose the ideas of implanting western norms into the life of the Naga people in general, and the Angamis in particular (Chasie, 2004, p.132). Perhaps this could be one major reason why the Angami people give prime importance to Christian festivals particularly Christmas than to traditional festivals.

Similar view was expressed by Babu (2004), who writes that another exceptional reason for the decline of such festivals was the response of the missionaries. For the missionaries, a feast meant wine drinking; therefore, they discouraged such feasts and also forbade the drinking of *zutho*, a drink that was central to the Feast of Merit and other ceremonies of a community (Babu, 2004, p. 91).

Modern education was another important factor for the cultural change in the Angami society. Education has been introduced in the Angami region by the Christian missionaries in the 1880's by C.D.King. In 1881, a school was established at Kohima with the help of Henry Goldsmith and Sarbey (started formal education in Assamese with Punaram, an Assamese teacher as his associate as none of them could speak Angami language). In 1886, C.D. King returned to America due to ill health and Mr. Riverburg took up his work the following year. In 1889, Rev.Rivernburg revived the primary school which was started by C.D.King from extinction. In 1924, the Mission School at Kohima was started by the Mission, which was run with the government assistance. This school was later recognised/upgraded to High School (see Changkiri, 2015). The Post-War period (World War II) ushered in new wave of transformation among the Angamis. A number of new missions and sectarian groups emerged. One of most prominent was the Roman Catholic Church. Mention can be made here that with the rapid growth of the new church, modern education began to grow and develop in the various Angami regions.

The introduction of modern education made tremendous impact on the Angamis. Education acted as a means for the propagation and spread of the gospel. It brought new changes on the social and cultural life of the Angamis. It enabled them to have new broader outlook and to accept new changes. However, the new education disrupted the traditional system of learning. The *Morung*, which was a centre of learning and training for the young people has almost become dysfunctional owing to the spread of Christianity and spread of

modern education. Education made the Angamis more susceptible to the forces of modernity. Education helped the people to develop a modern outlook which in the long run changed their lifestyle and way of thinking. It also provided new job opportunities, slowly disengaging them from agricultural works. People also began to migrate to towns and semi-towns in a quest for education. The people began to invest their wealth in their children's education rather than on feasting. The educated Angamis were confronted by western culture. Gradually, they began to take up western style of clothing, mannerism, food etc. The number of weavers also decreased to a great extent after the introduction of formal education.⁵⁰ Besides, healthcare was another key instrument for the missionaries to influence the Angami people. Prior to the advent of Christianity, modern medicine was unavailable to the people. They mostly depended on the medicine men and sorcerers. The introduction of healthcare facilities made it easier for the Christian missionaries to carry out their work in the Angami region.⁵¹

Westernization is another reason for the break down of traditional norms. Westernisation has made such an impact on the Angamis that the current generation is not strong enough to resist other cultures. Children are the most joyous lot in celebrations of all Naga festivals and their participation being the most prominent feature. The participation of younger ones is very significant. They learn the rituals and customs so that they can take over in future. However, it was observed that there is a decline in participation. Modern ideas and attitudes have changed the attitude of the Angami people towards traditional culture. The tendency to imitate urban life style has brought about changes in their habits and taste which resulted in low intensity and enthusiasm in participating in festivals. With the influence of westernisation, the younger generation also took over the western taste and habit. This change was reflected in the new innovations introduced in songs, dances and attires. Most people have developed the notion that their customs and tradition are 'primitive' and often look down their own culture.

In the past, the Angamis solely depended on agriculture for their livelihood. Hence, the people were largely engaged in agricultural activities throughout the year. The coming of the British introduced a new economy in the Angami region that drastically changed from barter to monetary. Many changed their occupations, which ultimately led to urban settlement. This led to shift from agriculture to non-agricultural occupation. Simultaneously, the number and proportions of cultivators began to decrease significantly.⁵² Further, the attainment of Statehood brought about a wave of change. It brought in more development

activities in the State. Transport, communication and other construction activities led to urbanization. The improvement in the means of transport and communication ultimately ushered in trade and business in the Angami region. This enabled the Angamis to move down to the urban town which promised them better and promising life. With the passage of time, people began to change their occupation, engaging in different government, and private enterprises, while many have established themselves as entrepreneurs. Because of its weak link with agriculture, the participation of people in festivals has immensely decreased. Besides improved communication, easy accessibility of markets and free contact with outside people has led to the import of many manufactured articles. This subsequently led to the decline of indigenous art and craft.⁵³

Today, with the disengagement in agricultural activities, the younger generation have lost the knowledge of the essence of celebrating the festivals. Moreover, the knowledge of traditional art and craft has also declined. For instance, many women have forgotten the art of weaving after the advent of modern education. Only few women today know the art of weaving. Today the young girls as well as the parents prefer good formal education and a more comfortable life. This is one reason why most of the traditional designs and motifs have been forgotten by young weavers. Many young girls do not make an effort or show any interest in the traditional designs

In recent times, the Angami society has also come under the new economic process of globalisation. The once traditional self-sufficient villages have been incorporated into the global economy. Globalization and advancement in science and technology made it possible for people around the world to carry out trade and commerce. It has also opened up the world of the Angamis to the global economy. Today people wear different types of dress regardless of whether they are young or old or whether they are educated or otherwise. Undergarments have become important items of dress. No doubt these are signs of social change. Availability of clothes at cheaper rates, clothes for various seasons, comfortability etc., made the people prefers modern western clothes to the traditional dress. Majority of the people now prefer wearing pants, shirts, coat, shoes, dresses, skirts, etc., and prefer the latest outfits and dresses. It was observed that monetary consideration and influences from external environment are the primary factors for the changes in traditional garments that are now worn as costumes.

In addition, social custom can also be considered as one of the factors for the decadence of traditional attire. According to the Angami traditional burial practices, the dead corpses are buried along with the belongings specially the garments and ornaments which a

person used when alive. In this way, many of the older and original specimens such as prestigious shawl, the kilt, and other ornament were lost. Only few which have been passed down survived till this day. Consequently, many original garments and accessories were lost.⁵⁴

Endnotes:

⁴⁷Interview with Mr. Abi Yalie, age: 70 years, Medziphema village, Date: 28th June 2016.

⁴⁸Interview with Mr. Khuvil Kikhi, age: 61 years, Viswema village, Date: 4th April 2017.

⁴⁹Interview with Mr. Medongulie, age: 62 years, Kohima Village, Date: October 3rd 2015.

⁵⁰Interview with Mr. Medongulie, age: 62 years, Kohima Village, Date: October 3rd 2015.

⁵¹Interview with Mr. Abi Yalie, age: 70 years, Medziphema village, Date: 28th June 2016.

⁵²Interview with Mr. Pukoho Rolnu, age: 89 years, Jakhama village, Date: 28th January 2016.

⁵³Interview with Mr. Ago Kehie, age: 80 years, Medziphema village, Date: 28th June 2016.

⁵⁴Interview with Mr. Viluoü Rutsa, age: 70 years, Kohima Village, Date: 3rd October 2015.



Plate 36: *Lohe* shawl woven with different colours.



Plate 37: *Lohe* suit with new colour concept and structure.



Plate 38: Mufflers/sash with traditional pattern and motifs



Plate 39: Tie and waistcoat with traditional designs.



Plate 40: *Mhasinei*

CHAPTER- 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The foregoing chapters have tried to capture glimpses of the Angami Culture and sartorial world through time and space. It speaks volumes about their social, economic, religious, political, cultural life and practices. The festivals and attires reveal the rich cultural heritage of the Angami ancestors. Traditional festivals are not merely celebrated and attires adorn but it fulfils the psychological and social need of the people. Festivals preserve the Angami culture and tradition by keeping cultural elements such as food, clothing, language, value and belief system etc., alive. The involvement of individual as well as group and their commitment in the various events or festive activities keep the culture alive. It is through the celebration of festivals that the cultural heritage is transmitted to the young generations.

The Angamis celebrate festivals the whole year round. The Angami traditional festivals revolved around the seasons of cultivation and harvest. Most of the rituals surrounding these celebrations are an act of thanksgiving to the Supreme Being and Mother Nature for having bestowed a good harvest and prosperity. The traditional festivals are therefore, communal celebrations to mark special events such as agricultural activities (seed sowing, plantation, harvesting etc.) thanks giving, honouring the ancestors etc., established by custom. Festival is also a time when the people engaged themselves in all sorts of handicrafts, weaving, cane and bamboo works, wood work etc., and a time for games and sports and other social amusements like fishing and hunting. As festivals and agricultural activities are intertwined, fixing the schedule of all the festivals is done considering the seasonal agricultural activities.

The major festivals are common to all the Angami groups while some of the minor festivals are confined to certain village only. Another observation is that it seems clear that there exist a variation of duration and date, ritual performances and the sequences of events from one village to another, and more so from one region to another (Table 3). However, the essence of celebrating the various festivals remains the same. In most of the Angami villages, the New Year begins with the *Sekrenyi* festival. While in the case of few Angamis of Southern region, the agricultural activities begin with *tsakonyi* (sowing festival) and the other

festivals follow suit. *Ngonyi* marks the end of seed sowing season, the transplantation season is marked by *Kerunyi* festival, *Thekranyi* – festival of the youth, *Binyi* –Taro festival, *Tshünyi* – millet festival, *Chadanyi* – path clearing festival, *Khoupfhünyi* – children festival, *Vatenyi/Tiekede* – festival relating to preservation of food grains, *Terhünyi* – post harvest festival, *Sekrenyi* – purification festival. These festivals are celebrated one after another after a gap of thirty days. *Sekrenyi* festival, also known as ‘festival of purification’ is the paramount festival of the Angamis.

Table 3: Traditional festivals celebrated by the Angamis

Village	Festival	Month	Duration
Jakhama	<i>Tsokronyi</i>	March	Two days
	<i>Kerunyi</i>	April	Five days
	<i>Chünyi</i>	June/July	Five days
	<i>Kezeinyi</i>	September	Five days
	<i>Khoupfhünyi/Vatenyi</i>	November	One days
	<i>Terhünyi</i>	November	Seven days
	<i>Sekrenyi</i>	December	Seven days
Kohima	<i>Sekrenyi</i>	February	Ten days
	<i>Ngonyi</i>	April	Four days
	<i>Kerunyi</i>	May/June	Four days
	<i>Chadanyi</i>	August	Five days
	<i>Khoupfhünyi</i>	September	One day
	<i>Vatenyi</i>	December	Five days
	<i>Terhünyi</i>	December	Five days
Khonoma	<i>Sekrenyi</i>	February	Ten days
	<i>Ngonyi</i>	March/April	Five days
	<i>Thekranyi/ Kerunyi</i>	May	Five days
	<i>Chadanyi/Chünyi</i>	July	Seven days
	<i>Khoupfhünyi</i>	September	Five days
	<i>Tiekede/Vate</i>	December	Five days
	<i>Terhünyi</i>	December/January	Ten days

Each of the traditional festival has a context and a meaning which is an integral part of the Angami cultural heritage. They celebrate the unity of the community and affirm the social relationships that form the basis of the community. The *Kerunyi* festival is like a preliminary preparation for transplantation activity. In this festival, every household nourish themselves with the best food they can afford for the hard work that is ahead of them.

Chadanyi involves community work. The villagers clear village paths, their paddy fields, and the village. *Binyi* is celebrated to mark the harvest of taro. *Thekrahie* which is a peer-group feast, provide the youngsters with an opportunity to socialise and learn the art of folk dance and songs. This is so because the celebration involves dancing and singing. *Theyu-u Khupfhünyi* is a time of giving and sharing. It is a special occasion for every damsel to partake in the festival every year. The end of the harvest season is marked by one day celebration of *kevakete* ritual, which literally means thanks-giving. This ritual is performed by the women of every household. The *Terhunyi* festival is the concluding festival in the series of agricultural festival. This festival is also a way for affirming the bonds with the departed souls. In this occasion, the departed souls are made to feel a part of the festivities by offerings of rice beer and meat. Furthermore, Feast of merit is performed during this festival by any wealthy person who aspires to elevate his social status. The rich, in their passion to acquire prestige and accessory benefits spent a large part of their incomes in lavish feasts. Feasts of merit latently ironed out disparities in wealth and also contributed a great deal to maintenance of fraternity and solidarity within the group (Mathur, 1992). Unlike the other festivals, the feast of merit is an exclusive feast and not a mass festival. It involves a year round preparation. The successful performance of a series of feast entitles the performer to wear a shawl of prestige, which signifies a special status in the society. Moreover, a special type of house decoration known as *Nyeiso/Pfuse and Kike* could be constructed. Furthermore, monoliths were erected and ponds constructed in honour of the performer.

The present research indicates that festivals are not just occasions for mere feasting and merry-making but they reflect their belief system, culture and relationship with the environment. The manifestation of beliefs and practices associated with the supernatural is found in the various festivals. In the Angami community, religion, culture and tradition are intertwined, and one can visibly sense and visualize the influence of religion on the culture and traditions of the people. For the Angamis festivals and religion are two faces of a coin. Agriculture being the prime occupation of the Angamis all the major festivals is connected with the agricultural operation and their traditional beliefs and practices are mainly characterized by this occupation; while the entire activity of the agricultural operation is regulated by their religion.

The traditional festivals involve a number of rituals. Every Angami village has religious functionaries who were entrusted with specific role/functions such as pronouncing blessings, making announcements, performing sowing ceremony, harvesting etc. The

traditional religious functionaries served as intermediary between God, spirits and the communities. They are revered by the community for their status and role. Rituals are performed at household levels as well as the community. While the man and the women of the house perform household rituals, the *Kemevo* and the *Phichüu* conducts rituals for the whole village community. The priest/religious functionaries invoke prayer to propitiate the spirits. The fixation of date and duration of the festivals are also the prerogative of the village priest and other religious functionaries. They perform rituals during the festivals for two main reasons- firstly to seek blessings, and secondly, to ward off misfortune and evil spirits. Though rituals and ceremonies performed/observed were only symbolic in nature it is believed to ward off diseases or illnesses which afflict the society and also to lead to subjugation of the enemies. Such ceremony will bring fortune to the family, surplus grains in the family, and the belief that the house will not be affected by any disaster or destruction. Water has been playing an important role in any religious ceremony or ritual. In the *Dzüseva* (touching the sleeping water) ceremony, the Angamis bath so that the peril and bad omen are washed away. Furthermore, the ceremony of *Sekre* is performed for the main purpose of obtaining strength during war as well as to solicit good fortune during hunting, to gain wisdom and be victorious in games and to ensure good health for the coming year. Today, all these practices have lost its significance. These acts of purification are not strictly followed in the present day. With the dawn of Christianity, the other festivals have also forgone several rites and rituals that their ancestors rigorously followed in the olden days. The rituals of the various festivals are only practiced by the few followers of the traditional religion.

The Angami traditional festivals were celebrations sanctioned by their customs and traditions. In the olden days, festivals are observed in the most careful way. Rituals and ceremonies associated with the various festivals reveal the deeper meaning of celebration. Mention may be made here that if the performance of the rice plantation or harvest ritual by any family other than the priest result in the failure of the crops, the blame goes to the family that performed the ritual. As such, by observing this ritual, the village may remain safe from any danger. It was with this belief that they observed it in a very strict procedure. In the Angami society, if any individual or family does not follow social norms, that family has no say in the society and is viewed as a person of no value in the eyes of the village community. After performing all the necessary ceremonies, the people partake in the feasting process. This is one reason why the Angami people enjoy the hard manual work. They therefore engaged themselves in various agricultural activities in the most joyous manner.

Through the celebration of festivals these traditional beliefs and practices were passed down from one generation to the other. Mathur (1992) states that “religion, much like other cultural information is inter-generationally transmitted through the process of enculturation with emphasis on oral tradition. Children are narrated specific instances when infuriated spirits caused serious harm to life and crop of the person who challenged their universality and authority by ignoring or violating the commandments of *zhevo* (priest). Out of fear and threat emanates obedience and conformity. The Angami Naga child accepts the narrations as factual and agrees to abide by the dictates thus perpetuating religious practices and belief system” (Mathur, 1992, p.135).

The ritual performance and participation in various activities shows the fraternity and solidarity of the Angami people as a community at large and as a family. Furthermore, majority of the villagers are involved in various performing art or entertained by performers in a one day folk performances which reflects, in particular the traditional Angami value of mutual aid. In the olden days, the Angamis were known for reverence to his community, sense of justice, equality, integrity, work ethics, honesty, generosity, hospitality and religiosity. The various festivals exhibits and reinforces this value system among the Angami people. In addition, community spirit is the root of the traditional festivals and further oriented by festival activities. Outside of the festival period, the people learn and practice traditional performances. Festivals transmit significant meaning and values of culture in more active or communicative and interactive ways. Through festivals, the values and beliefs of the people are demonstrated; they give meaning to the social, political, and religious life of the people celebrating them. Festival is one of the oldest institutions for imparting social and cultural values to the people (Nekha, 2015, p.24). Festival like *Sekrenyi* is an occasion for universal celebration where every person of the village participates. It is an event for establishing new relationships and renewing old ones. It also helps to spread message of brotherhood, friendship and peace within and outside the village community. The observance of *genna* days, participation in gate-pulling, singing and dancing, games and sports etc., indicates the sense of responsibility that every individual feels towards the welfare of the village. *Genna* are days for rest and relaxation from tiresome agricultural life. Such days or ritual were observed unanimously and no one dares to break the norms/custom lest they have to face the consequences. The *gennas* are public rather than private affairs. They are performed keeping the community rather than the individual at the central position. They provide ample opportunity to work in collectivity as going out to hunt or fish, cooking on the

single hearth and feasting thereby strengthening the adhesivity between individuals and reinforcing solidarity and common identity (Mathur, 1992, p. 133). Akin to this Maitra (1991) writes that the participation of young ones is very significant. They learn the rituals and customs so that they can take over in future (Maitra, 1991, p. 85).

Festivals were a communal event where the young and the old partake with great enthusiasm. The generosity and hospitality of the Angami people is observable during the festive seasons. It was morally and socially expected of every individual and family to partake in the festivals. Traditional festivals thus motivate and promote solidarity among the members of the community and also encourage respect for one's customs and traditions. Through festivals, kin affiliations are renewed through gifting of meat and *zu* to their near and dear ones. The gatherings of young youths, *pele* feasting and at the same time, sharing folktales and singing folk song is an important part of the festivals. *Peli* system is a community-based approach lifestyle which gives the spirit of hard work to all the people in their agricultural life. This in fact inculcated work culture/dignity of labour among the people. Festival activities such as path-clearing, rice pounding, observation *genna* days, feasting and merry making together etc. induce communal activity and harmony. The community-based approach lifestyle, therefore, creates a sense of economic security and closer social attachment to all the people in general.

Competition and exhibition of indigenous games forms a part and parcel of festivals. The youth engage themselves in various types of competition (games and sports) to exhibit their skill and power. For instance, *Kene* (wrestling), the most popular sport item of the Angamis is held during the *Sekrenyi* festival. Young wrestlers are trained and prepared during the festival to participate in the inter-khel wrestling competition. *Phyieda* and indigenous game is played by menfolk from Southern Angami while the women group play *Thulo-va* (seed game), *Khouthuo* (top-spinning), *Mesi Kedzieguo* (muzzle loading gun competition), *Phita Meshü* (spear kicking) etc. are some of the other sports played during the festivals. Wrestling still continues to be the most popular sport not only among the Angamis but of the Nagas. Festivals provide the platform for indigenous games and sport to be revitalized.

Food acts as one of the most important aspect for religious ceremonies and festivals. The festivals manifest the ethnic food habits, surplus and the accumulation of wealth of the individual and the community. Giving and exchanging of food has been a social custom among the Angamis since ancient times. The communication through exchange or sharing of food and drink acts as a strong bonding among the Angami people. It has been a means of

building bridge between two individuals, families and even groups. Besides, the wealth of a person in the traditional Angami village is recognized from the amount of rice and food he owns. The identity of a man can be seen through his distribution of food and drinks. Food is hence an agent to identify a person's rank in a society (Yano, 2015). The unique food system, and culinary knowledge that have been inherited from one generation to another, makes the Angamis culturally distinct. In all the Angami traditional festivals, food constitutes an important element. Like the other Naga tribes, rice beer and meat has been in use among the Angami people for centuries. Festivals are an occasion for unlimited consumption of *zutho* (rice-beer) and meat. During the festival, the best breed of pigs and cows are slaughtered for the feast. Celebration of festivals helps in the preservation of the traditional knowledge of food habits and transmission of the associated heritage. Although changes have been noticed in the food habits of the Angamis, the traditional cuisines like meat still continues. In short, the traditional food of the Angamis reflects their cultural identity.

Festivals also offers an important way of socialising, providing a sense of rootedness and connection to the past through folk dance, folk songs and other art forms. During the festival, various forms of dances are performed. '*Phita*' (folk dance) are performed by the young and the old comprising of both male and female. *Phita* is a folk dance in which dancers move their hands and legs in unison and harmony with the rhythm of the songs on the various tunes and beats. The knowledge and skills of *Alo-khwe* (traditional male parade), *Mepfü* (shrill quivering yell) and *Ruüshükhwe* (Mock war) are transmitted through demonstration. Warrior dance with aggressive movements depicting the act of contest/challenge against the enemy is performed by elders to the young generation. These demonstrations somehow connect the modern Angamis to their roots, and it is through such performances that a part of their age-old traditions is remembered as well as preserved. Young boys start to learn during the festive occasion by taking part in folkdance along with the older group of performers. This save such art forms from getting redundant.

Likewise, music is an indispensable part of Angami festivals. Feasting is always accompanied by singing of folk songs. During the festival, the various peer groups spend hours feasting and singing. In the process, the younger generations learn the folk songs from their respective peers. The folk songs composed on traditional themes are drawn from oral accounts which are passed on from generation to generation. The folk song reflects the richness of thought and artistic talent of the Angamis. It also acts as the medium for the expression of ideas and emotions held in common by the community. Jadave (2013) points

out that the cultural traits of their rich folk heritage can be discerned mostly in their folksongs and rhymes (Jadave, 2013, p. 65).

It was also observed that the traditional festivals provide the occasion to display the rich material cultural traditions of the Angamis. The Angami attires are unique with varied patterns and colours. During the festival, Angami men and women dress themselves in their best traditional attire. Warriors and wealthy man (feast giver) put on their finest and most decorative dress which symbolise their valour, rank and social status. The findings emphasized that traditional attires have been one of the most important cultural elements of the Angamis. The Angamis have a huge array of attires and ornaments. It was found that all the garments are hand woven using different colour with fine patterns and designs. The chief characteristic of the Angami designs is the use of geometrical shapes and diamond forms along with bands of lines. Most of the shawls and wrap around are designed with horizontal band/line with simple or without design. The skill and creativity of weaving are seen in colour combination, designs and motifs woven artistically in the shawls and wrap around displaying aesthetic beauty. Like any other culture, the Angami culture also expresses the sense of beauty vividly in their various patterns and designs of weaving colour combinations and various modes of wearing the dresses.

Furthermore, traditional attires are not only a thing of aesthetics but have certain meaning encoded in it. The various attires have symbolic significance, representing the status of an individual. It also has social implications with regard to gender and status. There are attires which are worn only by certain individual who have earned the right to wear through sheer hard work. There are others that are worn commonly by the community, some are gender and age-specific. Besides, some attire is meant for daily use and others for festival and important occasion (Table 4 & Table 5). It was observed that due to scarcity of material, garments were precious and valued by the people.

Table 4: Traditional male attires of the Angamis.

Name of attire	Description	Symbolism/Usage	User/wearer of the attire
Head Ornaments			
<i>Tsüphie</i>	Headgear made of bear hair	Privilege and prestige	Warriors and feast donors
<i>Terhami</i>	Hornbill feather	Bravery, status and achievement	Warriors and feast donors
<i>Tsula</i>	Colourful headgear	Splendour and	All males

		elegance	
Ear Ornaments			
<i>Zienye</i>	Earring made from Blue Jay feathers	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Terhunye</i>	Long scarlet tassel earring	Festive and special occasion	Grown ups
<i>Thanyie</i>	Earring made from human hair	Military prowess	Warriors
<i>Merüinye</i>	Brass earrings	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Nyili</i>	Large tufts of cotton wool	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Thevüdzü-nyie</i>	Cotton wool with feathers	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Phakunye</i>	Earrings with tassels of strings and threads balls	Festive and special occasion	All males
Neck Ornaments			
<i>Lophrietsü</i>	Neck piece made of thread	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Biechu</i>	White conch-shell neck piece	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Tiliku</i>	Wild Beetle wings necklace	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Chükrü cü</i>	Yellow stone necklace	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Tuchü</i>	Three string beaded necklace	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Cübei</i>	Large carnelian necklace	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Tubo</i>	Single line beaded necklace	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Lochie chu</i>	Knitted necklace	Festive and special occasion	Young boys
<i>Oshe chu</i>	Necklace made from Job's Tear	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Tukha</i>	Short beaded necklace	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Tekho tuza</i>	Green coloured carnelian necklace	Anytime	Elderly males
<i>Bathwütu</i>	Large conch-shell neck piece	High social status	Wealthy men
Chest Ornaments			
<i>Thatsu</i>	Breast plate made of human hair and decorated with cowrie-shells	Military prowess	Warriors
Arm Ornament			
<i>Thathuo</i>	Armlet made of human hair	Military prowess	Warriors

<i>Bipa</i>	Woven wristlet	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Zunuopa</i>	Woven armlet	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Chüthuo</i>	Ivory/wooden armlet	Festive and special occasion	Wealthy men
Body Garment			
<i>Thami</i>	Ornamental tail made of human hair	Military prowess	Warriors
<i>Terha</i>	Colourful woven sash	Splendour and vivacity	All males
<i>Kesünei</i>	Black kilt decorated with cowrie-shells	Military prowess and Prowess in love	Warriors and Wealthy men
<i>Nierha</i>	White woven kilt	Purity	Young boys
<i>Neiti</i>	Black loin cloth	Maturity	Grown up men
<i>Chaphrie</i>	Decorative belt	Prowess in love	All males
<i>Chiecha</i>	Woven belt with intricate designs	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Nyisi</i>	Black woven belt	All time	All males
<i>Puni</i>	Simple black kilt	Maturity	Elderly men
<i>Phava chiecha</i>	White woven belt	Festive and special occasion	All males
<i>Phatho</i>	Long rope made of white thread	Festive and special occasion	All males
Leg Ornaments			
<i>Phiso</i>	Cane rings	Anytime	Elderly men
<i>Phipa</i>	Cane leggings	Masculinity	All males

Table 5: Traditional female attires of the Angamis.

Name of Attire	Description	Symbolism/Usage	User/Wearer of the attire
Hair dress			
<i>Tsükha</i>	Head band made of bamboo slit	Festive and special occasion	Young girls
<i>Pikha</i>	Thread hair band	Festive and special occasion	Young girls
<i>Pidwe</i>	Woven cloth	Black colour-maturity	Grown up women

		White colour- social status	
<i>Pichühuro</i>	Hair-rope	Beauty and elegance	Young women
<i>Khosa</i>	Hair lock	Anytime	All women
Ear Ornaments			
<i>Sanyi</i>	Long tasselled earring	Festive and special occasion	Young women
<i>Niso</i>	Earring made from sea-shell	Anytime	Young women
<i>Nyiepwe</i>	Earring made of thread	Anytime	All women
<i>Neitu</i>	Round brass earrings	Festive and special occasion	All women
<i>Neise</i>	Earrings made of thread and beads	Festive and special occasion	Young women
<i>Sodinyie</i>	Colourful thread earring	Festive and special occasion	All women
Neck Ornaments			
<i>Cübei</i>	Ten-twelve strings carnelian necklace	Festive and special occasion	Wealthy women
<i>Chüzie</i>	Carnelian barrel tube necklace	Anytime	All women
<i>Cügu</i>	Two string beaded necklace	Anytime	All women
<i>Cüchie</i>	Coral necklace	Anytime	All women
<i>Temie</i>	Blue/green colour carnelian necklace	Anytime	Elderly women
<i>Tusen</i>	Small beaded necklace	Anytime	Young girls
<i>Tuka</i>	Necklace made of red stones	Anytime	Elderly women
<i>Tacü</i>	Conch-shell and beaded necklace	Festive and special occasion	All women
<i>Cütho</i>	Double string coral necklace	Festive and special occasion	All women
Arm Ornaments			
<i>Cüthuo</i>	Brass bracelet	Festive and special occasion	Wealthy women
<i>Thouda</i>	Brass/copper wristlet	Anytime	All women
<i>Thenutho</i>	Brass wristlet	Social status	Wealthy women
Body Garments			
<i>Vachü</i>	Black woven cloth	Anytime	All women

<i>Todi vachü</i>	Woven cloth	Festive and special occasion	All women
<i>Loramhoushü</i>	Wrap-around	Festive and special occasion	Unmarried women
<i>Khwieno moushü</i>	Wrap-around with ale orange and black bands	Festive and special occasion	All women
<i>Mhoushü</i>	White wrap-around with black and red bands	Womanhood	Married woman
<i>Kerhieni</i>	Wrap-around with narrow lines	Festive and special occasion	Young girls
<i>Neikhro</i>	White woven cloth with red and black lines	Anytime	Young women
<i>Neikhronie</i>	Plain white woven cloth	Womanhood	Married women
<i>Pfhemhou</i>	White woven wrap-around with red and black bands	Festive and special occasion	All women
<i>Chiecha</i>	White woven belt	Anytime	All women

The ordinary or daily wear is simple and few. The Angami men wore a simple plain woven wrap as their every day wear. The most common were the white woven kilt worn by younger group and the black kilt among the older men. In most occasions, no body garment is used. The daily wears are hardly accessorised. The kilt decorated with cowries, the sash and other adornments are used only on special occasions. On festive occasions, gate pulling etc. male folks wear are accessorised with ornaments such as the headgear, necklaces, armlets, leggings, weapons etc. for without these accessories, adornment is incomplete. These colourful attires are also adorned while performing traditional songs and dance. The beauty of their material culture can be seen when the people dance together in group in their full traditional attires. Attires are thus not only used for covering the body but also used to enhance the beauty and elegance of the person.

Angami men and women have various ornaments. While men wear headgears, ivory armlets, wristlets, leggings etc., women adorn themselves with brass wristlet, earrings, armlets, and multi-string necklaces made of carnelian beads and conch shells. It is an old-tradition to perforate the lobes and sides of the ears. It was considered a sign of beauty and greatness. Men were as much fascinated with ear-ornaments as women. Necklaces are of different types. Some are worn loosely round the neck while some are worn which fit the neck very closely. Leg ornaments appear to be the exclusive privilege of men for the Angami women wears no leg ornaments. Ornaments were used not only as decorative pieces but also as a part of attire. Most beaded and conch shell necklaces are worn by women folk for

beautification. Women inherit ornaments and coiffure from their mother as family heirloom. On important occasions and ceremonies, elderly men and veterans also carry their weapons such as spear, shield etc. The ornaments worn by them were not only meant for beautification of the body but are also employed to protect themselves against human predators and wild animals while venturing in the deep forest for hunting. Besides enhancing beauty, the personal adornments symbolises status, wealth and assets. Further, there are shawls which can be worn by both men and women. The men shawls are, however, much larger in size. Certain attires and ornaments are encoded with meaning such as the status of being a feast performer or a warrior. The classification of attires basing on status, achievement, and age is still recognised though not strictly followed.

The study shows that the attires used in various occasions directly or indirectly reflect an individual's identity and social status such as childhood, physical maturity, manhood or womanhood. It further indicates that attires are significant in the transformation of an individual's status. As can be seen in the type of garment worn by them at different stages of life, the Angamis like any other Naga groups start wearing cloths when they reach puberty. Till then, the young children were barely clothed. As they reach a certain age or stage of life they are entitled to wear certain specific cloth. For instance, young Angami boys wear a white kilt *Nierha* at their puberty. Once they reached their youth and marriageable age, they can start wearing the black kilt. In the case of girls, they wear *Kerheni* in their teens. They start wearing *Loramhoushü* till their marriage. Once they become mothers, they wrap changes to *mhoushü*. The designs in the wrap-around indicate different stages of life or different age-group. Similarly, this can be observed from the type of hairstyle they carry. As discussed in the preceding chapters, young boys and girls have shaved head till they reach puberty for boys and until marriage for girls. Wrapper and coiffure are identification to distinguish the married from the unmarried. These practices indicate that the material culture of the Angamis is related with life-cycle. In short, attires confer identity and status to an individual.

Religion and belief system have also exercised a subtle influence on what people wear and what type of dress should be worn at the time of festivals or otherwise are prescribed norms. For instance, shawls are shook in the air to ward off sicknesses and evil forces. Besides, the use of *Keshunhyuo* by the ritual performer while performing the rain-making ceremony was believed to usher in rain. Similarly, *tukha* ornament was worn as security from evil spirits. Some of these practices have now lost their significance. Some of these articles have now turned into adornments. Thus, it may be stated that material culture including dress

and ornaments of the people had the functional value of organizing the society since pre-colonial times, helping in strengthening its moral, aesthetic and ideological foundations.

The study shows that traditionally, attires worn were more of moral obligation or social expectation rather than an aesthetic preference/personal choice. These examples illustrate how people may be obliged-socially, culturally or politically to remain in a particular type of dress despite the apparently easy availability of more desirable alternatives for a long time. It was only in recent years, that the Angamis introduced new motifs and designs into their modern attires in an attempt to update what had become an outmoded form of dress.

The common form of dressing in pre-colonial period consisted of various clothes draped around the body and held together by tucks and knots. The traditional style of wrapping among the Angamis was an artful aid to ensure inherent poise and balance, charm and grace that was the body's due. Besides, the way of dressing allows free and swift movement.

The study reveals that weaving was the monopoly of women. In the olden days, every household had their own traditional back-strap loom to weave their own clothes using cotton yarn. Women started weaving at a very young age. The art of making traditional dresses was taught to the daughters by the mothers. Skills and techniques of weaving as an integral part of the Angami culture were handed down orally from generation to generation. Likewise, through the festival, knowledge and skills related to crafting are transmitted orally from generation to generation both within and outside of the family circle. Furthermore, the study reveals that, even before the advent of Christianity or modernization, they had the knowledge of cultivating cotton and knew the art of spinning cotton into yarn, the art of dyeing and weaving. The cultivation of cotton, the indigenous methods of spinning, dyeing and weaving depicts that the Angamis predecessors were resourceful, skilled and creative.

When analysing the traditional attires, it is observed that some attires can be considered typically Angami, while some cultural link are apparent with its neighbouring Naga groups. Though the Angamis have their own unique traditional cultural attires, they share lots of similarities with the other Naga groups specially the *Tenyimia* group. This suggests that they have cultural link/contact with other Nagas groups. For instance, the bear's head gear and the use of hornbill feathers worn by a warrior is precisely the same as that worn by other Naga tribes. Similarly certain shawl like the *Lohe* is common among the *Tenyimia* groups and the feast of merit shawl is identical with that of the Chakhesang tribe.

No doubt the Angamis, having a common same history of migration and settlement with certain Naga groups such as the Chakhesang and Mao groups, share a lot of similarities in terms of traditional culture and practices. One can thus conclude that the shared attires and ornaments support the idea that the neighbouring Nagas tribes, particularly the Chakhesang and the Angami, are particular transformation of the same social potentialities, rather than different societies. Their ornaments are drawn from a common pool, acting as a shared language, not only with each other, but also with the other Naga communities (Jacob, 2012, p.108). Therefore, we can infer that dress available at some point of time was not the exclusivity of one community.

Further, the beads and shells used in ornaments provide a historical account of the trade (barter system) that the Angamis had ventured. The materials used for making ornaments was said to be procured beyond the Naga Hills. The traders of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay use to bring this shell towards north-east India where it is used with great value. It is also brought from across the country like Burma, Thailand etc. (Ao and Mongro, 1999, p 27). In the past, the Angami traders of Khonoma were most active and ventured trips up to Longkhum and beyond for trading such precious objects. The Angami traders traded in beads widely, including Burma, along old trade routes. Khonoma had more or less a monopoly in cowrie shells for the whole of the Naga area, obtaining these from Calcutta (Jacob 1990, p 39). Use of chemical dye yarn seemed to have entered the Angami region only in the early 20th century. Bazaar dyes became common by the 1920's (Jacob, 1990, p 44). Akin to this, Ganguli also mention that right from early on, the Nagas had commercial relations with the plains of Assam and Manipur, where chemical colours were available, but they were not widely used until early 20th century (Ganguli, 1984). This confirms that there was trade between the Nagas and the people of the plains as well as between the different Naga groups.

Over the years many changes have taken place in Angami culture. The study shows that, most of the festivals are no longer celebrated with all pomp and pageantry. Yet, in some village, where there still exist some few adherents of traditional religion, there is persistence in the observance of certain festivals in spite of the changes brought about by advent of Christianity and modernity in many villages. The *Sekrenyi* festival is the only festival which is observed by all the Angamis. Most of the Angami villages no longer observe the other festivals. Those who still observe the other festivals continue to do so with some modification. Festivals which are brought under fixed date and pattern have shown immense changes in the way it is celebrated. For instance, *Sekrenyi* festival celebrated in the villages

still follow the traditional practices and sequences, while the *Sekrenyi* celebrated by the Angamis as a whole has come under a fixed pattern for either two or three days. No traditional rituals are performed but the festival is organised in a more formal way. They are consciously planned towards its celebration with concrete action plans at the end of the celebrations. Very often, politicians are invited to grace the occasion. The festival days are characterized by various planned activities which ranges from cultural performances and competitions (games and sports, folk songs and dance etc.) among different regional groups, display and sale of indigenous food items, products etc. These festivals also attract tourist into the community and may earn some income for the traditional area for local development.

Furthermore, the feast of merit had been substituted by hosting Christmas feast. Traditional way of dragging/pulling village gate, pounding logs and monoliths for feast donors have relegated to the background. Today, stones are erected to commemorate big occasions such as jubilees and foundation events. One major change noticed here is that the creeper ropes are often supplemented by readymade ropes sold in the market. In recent times, anyone can erect house-horn on their house without performing any *gennas* or rituals and wear those prestigious shawls if one can afford it. A man's status and wealth which was measured in the number of paddy and *mithun* he had offered in a feast of merit is now replaced by monetary wealth.

Moreover, instead of spending money on feasts of merit, today the church claimed a definite share in the harvest and income of Christians. Besides, wealth is less utilised on festivals and invested more on children's education and on material things like land, building etc. Today, the people contribute a part of their wealth to the church as tithe and in the form of donations instead of spending it on feasts of merit. The reserves so generated are used as provisions for the economically weak and marginal section of society. These are in turn utilised by the church in mission work and charity purposes. While the traditional festivals are disappearing, the Christian festivals are gaining more importance year by year. Of late, Christian festival viz. Christmas, Easter and New Year are celebrated with much enthusiasm than the traditional festivals.

The Angami people no longer conform to the rituals prescribed by the traditional beliefs and practices. Today, the customary practices are observed in modified forms, for instance, the invoking of the Supreme Being is done with Christian prayer and not the traditional way. With majority being Christians, the modern Christian practices have replaced the traditional ritual practices. For instance, the *kizhie* ritual which is performed to sanctify

their house has been replaced by the Christian practice of house blessing. The woman of the house performs the sanctification of the house by placing plantain leaves with *zumhou* on the central post of the house as well as sprinkling it on the household articles. Today, the Christian way of sprinkling holy water round the house is practiced to protect the house and family from destruction and ills. Another similar observation is that the *Vate* ritual seemed to still continue in the Christian way where few stalks of ripe paddy grains are brought to the church for God's blessing. These blessed grains are kept in the paddy barns of the fresh harvest. The mother of the house then performs similar ritual by taking few grains, husked and cooked it for the family. In most of the villages, the people seek blessing over their cultivation and crops and give thanks to the Almighty God in the Churches and not through rituals. The *ciekrau/ciekrapfu* (it can be a male or female) performs the sowing ritual which marks the beginning of agricultural activity. For this act, he/she collect contribution from every house after harvest which was generally after *Terhuonyi*. This system of collection has been replaced by the Christian ten tithes.

Besides, in some Angami Community, performances such as *kelipie*, *alo* etc., continue to be performed. Few indigenous games are still in vogue. However, these practices are not observed as stringent as they were before. The use of bamboo and wooden spoons, and cups, plate and other household artefacts is itself a traditional aspect which they continue to find relevance in the present context.

Traditionally, *morungs* in a way maintained discipline and unity among the village community which was obviously the main essence of their survival for centuries. Each age-group, clan group, *khel* or individual knew what were expected out of them on every activity of their individual and community living. Though their lives were exposed to much more dangerous living, yet they had a much fuller life than us today. By understanding our forefather's ways of life, getting insights into their lifestyle, and the sense of discipline, sacrifice and values inculcated in them has a lot of good lessons to be learnt from the past. All those noble traditional trainings and their value system had sadly discontinued in the modern Angami society due to education, spread of Christianity, and acculturation.

In the olden days, fraternity among the village community was very strong. The main reason behind it was for the protection and survival of the village community. Though this fraternity is still there, it is noticeable that it is not as strong as before. As a matter of fact, allegiance to one's own Christian denomination is growing stronger every year. Inter-village

visits have decreased and inter-church mission have become important as a part of spreading and strengthening the Gospel.

In recent years, new introduced festivals such as Hornbill festivals have gained significance than the indigenous festivals. To promote and preserve the rich cultural heritage of the various Naga groups, the Government of Nagaland has introduced a new state festival- the Hornbill Festival which is organised annually during the first week of December. This festival also provides a platform to display its cultural extravaganza and traditions. Though the festival represents unity of the various Naga groups in diversity, it reflects the fusion of both modern and traditional. The festival has not only brought the various tribes together to celebrate their spirit of unity but it has also earned the state the reputation of national/international recognition. However, what should not be undermined are the indigenous festivals for every traditional festival has its own essence of celebration and should not be swapped with newly invented name such as naming traditional festivals as Mini Hornbill, for the indigenous festival are related with the day to day life of the people and hence speaks volumes about their age-old cultural inheritance. Furthermore, it conveys much deeper and significant meaning and relates to their social, economic and religious life.

Furthermore, the study shows that the traditional attires of the Angamis have undergone rapid change in terms of yarns and colour shades. The Angami ancestors used clothes made of cotton yarn. The Angamis who were agriculturalists used cotton materials for their dresses. However, with greater external influences, the use of synthetic yarn became popular subsequently. With the emergence of synthetic fabric, preference for synthetic fabric increased over cotton. The Angamis high preference of the modern fabrics is linked to its performance, functionality, durability and popularity. Besides, these materials were considered versatile for both men and women garments. In recent years, the various Angami shawls are giving way to standardization. Today, the so-called traditional shawls and wrap-around have become more refined and versatile with the use of finer synthetic fabrics and machines dyed colours. Many women shawls and wrap-around have been woven in traditional pattern and design but with different colour scheme. In some, the design and patterns have been altered. In these modified traditional attires, though the background colour remains the same i.e. either black or white, the pattern and design colours have changed. The horizontal bands have become narrower or thinner, and woven in different range of colours.

In the twenty first century, many new finer machine manufactured version came into being. The machine woven has also become popular due to its rich and colourful effect. The

production of the shawl has become commercialized and some of the prestigious ones have lost their meaning or acquired new meanings. Nettle cloth has undergone a revival and local weavers are making efforts to produce replica of the traditional design which have become an item of demand in the market. Many male shawls have been designed with new introduced symbols (Plate 41). Thus traditions are being reinvented and symbols given new meanings. Most of the designs today labelled as traditional are variations or developments of the old designs. As such, the designs of traditional textiles encompass a code of rights, of honour and status, and of social structure, which is still recognised today-even if not necessarily followed anymore (Wettstein, 2014, p.120). Today, the Angami way of dressing has been driven by the influence of the fashion world/industry. The younger generation wear clothes which are more appealing to the eyes and to make fashion statements. Many young Angamis spend bulk of their income on grooming, beauty products and clothes.

Another major change in the Angami traditional attire was the adoption of western style of clothing. Western clothes have replaced the traditional dresses though not entirely. Today, it has been observed that the normal every day wear is western. With the availability of readymade clothes at reasonable rates, the Angamis began to wear more of foreign clothes. Though traditional dress are still loved and cherished by the people, they are being replaced or supplemented by other attires and ornaments. Both men and women wear modernised clothes. Among the women, modernised skirt, blouse etc., are becoming popular as the ankle-length wraparound of latest design. The role of traditional dress in modern Angami society is primarily that of celebration and ritual, with traditional attires most often worn for special occasions such as festivals and other significant events. With its everyday use seen as impractical and not conducive to modern life, traditional attires went from being a daily convention to a symbol of the traditional values of the Angami people. The present generation prefers the latest fashion of western clothes. While the men wear modern clothes such as pants, shirts, coats, jackets etc., women wear various western outfits such as pants, skirts, blouse, dress, sweater etc. Footwear which was unknown before has also become popular among the Angamis. Angami men and women today wear different types of modern dresses for formal as well as casual occasion. Except for few countable older women who continue to wear wrap-around and few ornaments regularly, traditional attires are only adorned during special occasions. Non-Naga shawls and wrap around are now widely used by the Angami modern women though the traditional ones are still used side by side with modern dress. The male folks formal western wear are supplemented with *pfhese* or *lohe*.

Today, not only young boys and girls prefer modern dress but elderly men and women are hardly seen wearing traditional attires.

Today, at social gatherings and other occasions, the Angamis wear western dress, but even they don one of the traditional shawl to show their allegiance to the community they belong to. It is the distinct cultural attire which makes it easy to recognise them as a person or group. Traditional attires, along with other customs, were one of the means by which Angami men and women reaffirmed their allegiance to the community and expressed their loyalty to the group. Traditional clothes are important cultural element of the Angami community since they are considered capable of retaining the very essence of the people who wear them. The dress of the Angami people thus, presents a vital clue to their social and economic conditions, their mood and taste, their aesthetic temper, their love for beauty and refinement, their art and skill to adjust to the material and geographical environment, their resourcefulness, their resilience to influences, external and internal, in short, their way of living (Biswas, 1985, p. 1).

Fashion fusion is also observed in the traditional and western wears. Woven traditional fabrics are tailored in the like of western wear, such as waist coats, coats, stoles and neck-ties for men and blouse, skirts and dresses for women. The modern clothes are felt to be more comfortable, affordable and available for various seasons unlike the traditional dresses. Moreover, many Angami women prefer ornaments made of gold, silver etc. Use of cosmetics has become common among the Angamis. One major change is the use of cosmetics by both male and female for improvement in appearance. In the olden times, no cosmetics were used.

The study reveals that a significant land mark has taken place in the history of the Angamis in the nineteenth century with the advent of the British and Christian missionaries. This has ushered into the Angami community a phase of transition. Prior to the arrival of the British, every Angamis village like any of the other Naga tribes lived in relative isolation, economically and politically independent. The advent of the British colonizers and the Christian missionaries brought changes in the social, religious, economic and political life of the Angamis. Westernisation and modernisation which followed suit has made a tremendous impact on the life of the Angamis which in the long run, led to the gradual decline of traditional beliefs, customs and practices. Changes in the Angami society began to pick up pace in the 20th century with improved means of communication, transportation, development opportunities and contact with external cultural groups. With the spread of modern education

and globalisation, the Angami people began to develop a new horizon and new outlook in life. Their lifestyle changed and they began to pursue new things of modern affluence.

Religion is one of the most powerful factors influencing people's life. No doubt, the religious ideas and beliefs which the Angamis had been retaining from time immemorial underwent profound changes because of the impact of modern civilization. Christianity no doubt abolished some obnoxious practices such as head-taking, beliefs, and practices based on superstitions. This had initiated new beginnings in the life of the Angamis. However, as a result of conversion to Christianity, there was very few non-Christian with the traditional beliefs, which became practically impossible for them to carry out the entire rites and rituals prescribed. Moreover, celebration of festivals is considered as a waste of time and wealth. Today, people have become individualistic and more concern for their children's education and future. Social status could be achieved through education and profession and not through feasting. But being educated there has been a tendency among the young generation to ignore their cultural heritage. They are more interested in imitating the western culture rather than upgrading their quality as human being. Traditional customs or ideas and attires were seen as old-fashion and out of date. The change of attitude towards life, neglecting of the old traditional values and practices is leading to the decay of the rich culture and tradition which is now fast becoming a thing of the past.

Initially, emerging modern social forces, values and ideas were perceived as threatening to the social life and practices. However, gradually the attitudes and ethos of the Angami people came to be moulded by the ideas and beliefs of the church and other modern values. It is evident in the way the newly Christian converts viewed the traditional belief and practices. Everything that was associated with traditional culture, for instance, drinking rice beer, performing rituals and sacrifices, even adornment of certain traditional attires were viewed as taboo. The Church became the centre of social gathering. Educated people and church leaders emerged as the most respected and influential person within the community. It is sad to say that missionary activities created a definite rift between the newly converted Christians and non-Christians. Yet, the growth of modern forces could not completely eliminate traditional practices. We can see traces of traditional tribal practices in the contemporary Angami society.

Historical events have been of great significance in changing the style of the Angami dress. Tailored garments with advancement and sophistication gained further importance with the arrival of European styles introduced principally by colonial administration and American

missionaries. The British brought with them their sartorial customs and habits. They were not, however, keen on imposing them on the local people. For instance, the Christian missionaries introduced western clothes such as coat, trousers, ties, shoes etc. At most, the Angami women added accessories such as shoes, blouse, petticoats and undergarments to the dress. While they retained the distinctive design and pattern, they simultaneously adopted modern fabrics, colour, thereby incorporating the latest trends from outside and giving them a new form to attires.

The British administration, Christianity and education together brought in growth of trade and commerce and improvement in means of communication. Internal and external trade flourished and Samaguting (Chumukedima) and Kohima proved to be emporia of trade. The improvement in trade and communication accelerated the pace of Angami culture contact with its neighbouring people. The improvement in the means of communication played a conspicuous role in the process of modernization. Moreover, with barter system' and subsequent introduction of monetary system, development of innovative clothing/accessories started. With the introduction of modern dyed yarn, the traditional knowledge and skills got disrupted. The traditional method of spinning yarn to dyed yarn has become largely obsolete due to availability of chemical pre-dyed yarns. Aside from the use of cotton woven garments, the Angamis began to use other types of cloth without changing the indigenous appearance of their garments. With the change of taste, many new designed costumes have emerged in recent years. The professional weavers are weaving finer and quality clothes with quality yarn. Women's shawls and wrap are now mostly woven with modern rayon yarns. Today, the local markets have been flooded with newly designed machine, woven wrap-around, and shawls with intricate patterns and colours.

With the introduction of foreign goods, the indigenous industry, art and craft were also adversely affected. The people started developing a fascination for foreign goods, as a result of which the art of weaving suffered a great setback. The Angami art and culture such as folk songs, dance, architecture, sculpture etc. started fading away. The art of carving *mithun* head on wooden planks, the practice of erecting Megalithic monuments to commemorate events, celebrations etc. have almost disappeared. Besides, the interaction and intermingling of so many cultural strands have been mainly responsible for the immense variety of the new Angami costumes. The urban influences and the modern taste and style have been much responsible for the slow disappearance of the old cultural symbolism of ornaments and attires.

In space and time, the way people dress was affected by various social, political, economic, and geographic conditions as well as by aesthetic ideals. Ever since the Angamis came under the influences of the outside world, the external culture has influenced traditional attires. Some aspects of design absorbed new innovations in the form of fresh and trendy colour combination, patterns and styles. Although the traditional attires are still predominant among the Angamis, for the most part, fashion in the 21st century has become international and dominated by the culture of the western world. The changes in the attires seem to have hastened due to increasing globalisation. From the discussion, it was realised that multiculturalism has accelerated the erosion of the Angami traditional culture. The young generation of today, therefore fail to understand and value the rich culture and tradition which is their identity.

Since culture is dynamic, attire as an element of culture is ever evolving with time. Biswas (1985) maintains “man’s thinking changes, so do the styles in dress. On the one hand it is an imitation of the old, on the other an adjustment to the new needs, tastes and circumstances. This is how culture lives, regulates and rejuvenates itself from time to time. Foreign conquests, exotic ideas and new influences bring in changes on the sartorial horizon and yet the old is never dead. In the wake of conquests, either the old absorbs the new or the new adopts the old” (Biswas, 1985, p. 2).

Despite many changes in the traditional textile, the indigenous/local back strap loom is still used for weaving (Figure 4). As a matter of fact, the wrap and shawls woven on indigenous looms have gained popularity in recent years. The old attires are valued to a greater extent because these pieces of clothes are becoming uncommon. Their rarity is a reason why these clothes and ornaments are considered to be more valuable and determine the rise in their price. Today the traditional attires are in high demand despite the high price. Moreover, it has been observed that the Angami attires have not changed completely. Although external influences in colours and yarn are evident, yet in the main, the attires still retain their own attractive pattern (Figure 5). The simple and straight forward lines, stripes, squares and bands are the most traditional design motifs, their escape from monotony being affected by varying their size, colour and arrangement, contrast and combination of colours are chosen expertly (Alemchiba, 1967, p 19).

Furthermore, despite the preference for western attires, the Angamis still wear traditional attires. They give effort to wear traditional garment on special occasions. Though, the traditional system of earning certain attire through feast is no longer observed, the

prestigious shawls such as *zhathopfhe*, *thüpipfhe* etc., are considered ‘antique’ and treasured by the Angamis. At present times, most of these attires have vanished or are no longer made. However, in some villages, the village council has allowed the use of some former restricted shawls today to prevent from extinction. In some cases, replicas of those prestigious shawls are woven for the elderly members of the village community. Furthermore, it was also observed that there are some Angami women who are still keeping the legacy alive by taking up traditional weaving as a profession. Today, many new designs with some traditional patterns shawls are invented to commemorate jubilees of various organisations viz. social and religious. Though many of the traditional designs have vanished, the local weavers are trying to revive the few surviving traditional shawls and wrap which are kept in local museums and private household by weaving the old designs (Plate 42). In recent years, there has been attempts to design special kind of cultural clothes which is unique only to the Angami people and it has new signs, colours and symbols to represent the identity of the Angami community. They are taking the textile art to a new height by developing new designs and innovating original designs by adapting them into modern wear. Producing/crafting traditional attires continued to maintain identity, at the same time distinguishes them from other. Promoting one’s ethnic identity through costume became the practice of the time. Nowadays business people are making the costumes for different age level and they are addressing a broad/wider range of users. The construction of new costumes also created a job opportunity for designers, producers and business men/women.

As Shimray (1986) states that, dress is one of the most effective mediums of expression of preserving one’s cultural identity (p. 220), even in recent times the language of dress communicates the beliefs, norms and values of the Angami community. Dress language has being seen to be a mirror of their culture and positively affects their culture in that it is used as a tool to transmit their cultural values and norms to the next generation. It is the colour, design, patterns and the manner of wearing them that communicate the cultural identity of the Angami as an individual or group. In spite of the influences of various factors on the Angami culture, Angamis express its own unique identity in their indigenous costumes/attires which in turn become their cultural identity. Furthermore, despite the changes, the non-Christian still continue to participate in traditional festivals. Erecting of stones to commemorate events or achievements is still practiced though not sanctioned by traditional custom. The traditional custom of gifting meat and shawls still continues. In recent times, one can notice an increase in demand for traditional clothes. One may notice in

Angami culture a synthesis of the 'traditional' and 'modernity'. By their traditional festival they observed and attires they adorn, it is possible to identify Angami culture from the other Naga tribes/from another. Today, festivals are observed and attires are adorned not only to exhibit the rich culture and tradition of the Angamis but on the whole, to preserve and promote the cultural heritage of the Angamis. Traditional festivals and attires have become the cultural identity of the Angami people fostering unity among them.

Conclusion and recommendation

The study shows that, festivals and attires are associated with social and cultural tradition, playing an important role in the socio-economic life of the Angami community. Mention may be made that all the traditional festivals have their roots in the traditional religious beliefs, economic and social practices of the Angami ancestors. In the past, festivals are important events in daily life. Traditional festivals help people to balance spiritual and real life. In the olden days, festivals were kinds of entertainment to create harmony. In modern times, despite many changes in traditional culture, the Angami people still need festivals to practice and preserve culture and tradition.

The traditional festivals reflect the anxieties, hope and aspirations of the Angami people and celebrated by all the groups and individuals. Besides feasting, it involves a number of events and activities which contribute to the revival of our indigenous knowledge and cultures that has been cherished by the Angami ancestors. Observance of traditional festivals preserves and maintains for posterity various cultural elements such as folk dance and songs, art, belief system, values, norms and practices. Through the celebration of festivals, the people revisit their past traditions and recollect the essence of the occasions and hence the traditional practices/festivals continue to be relevant. Festivals are embedded with custom and they contribute to the renewed relevance and continuance of practices that contribute to community cohesion. Traditionally, it was the moral and social obligation of every individual or family to participate in the festivals. Traditional festivals are aligned with values and they serve various purposes such as community meet, transmitting the values and practices to the younger generation etc. *Gennas* and taboos-the binding force of importance accruing from the belief system has no relevance after their conversion to Christianity. They, however, try to retain the traditional spirit of enjoying the festival by following the traditional way with minimal or without rites and rituals.

Likewise, the Angami traditional attires has been an enduring aspect of Angami culture, historically worn everyday by men, women and children. While it is not unusual to see the elderly man or woman in traditional dress on a daily basis, the younger man and woman restricts its use to more special occasions, while most men rarely dress in traditional attires, the practice of wearing it is far more prevalent for Angami women. There are still evidences that exists suggesting conventions and routines that are changing based upon age and other cultural ties such as material, economic, or status. With its use primarily restricted to ceremonial occasions, Angami traditional attires is still surrounded by rules of etiquette, who should wear what, how to wear it and when it should be worn. Those who represent the Angami culture to outside countries often wear traditional attires as a symbol of their identity and pride. The colours and designs reflected in the Angami traditional attires are rooted on the ways of life of the Angamis as to how they once lived and have survived amidst the passing of time.

As change is a natural phenomenon and is inevitable, the Angami culture and tradition gradually gave way to modernity. With the exposure to the outside world and the influence of various external factors, the Angamis could no longer remain immune to change. The once independent and relatively isolated group, the Angamis have now become a part of the global world. In the present study, we could notice continuity and change, and how they oppose each other or intertwine.

Christianity is now all-pervasive bringing significant changes in the lives of the Angami people. It can be seen that the indigenous religion is no longer in practice in most of the region and Christianity have taken the dominant place. The traditional belief system and ways of the traditional world view was considered primitive, archaic and unacceptable in public domain. The participation in the festivals has gone down considerably, posing challenges in the survival of the traditional festivals. This is exacerbated by the fact that the Angamis now give more importance to Christian festivals such as Easter and Christmas.

Although, the various forces of change have helped the people from exploitation and provided them better living condition, the study reveals the large-scale impact of modernisation, urbanization and globalization on the Angami community that is rapidly eroding indigenous culture and tradition. With modernity and western influences, many traditional practices are either faded into oblivion or relegated to the background. Western education is a tool that is constantly and consistently reshaping the mentality of the people, especially the educated section of the society. Angamis' epistemic and cultural advantages

remain suppressed under the influence of global stereotype, which are reinforced through mainstream media. Over the years, western culture began to thrive and outgrow the Angami cultural heritage. The traditional customs and traditions came under pressure, due to contact with the foreign culture and consequently changed in the attitudes of the people. The trend of cultural westernisation of Angamis has become very pervasive and prevalent, such that Western civilisation has taken precedence over Angami values and culture.

With the advancement in science and technology the world has shrunk. Today, with the various types of mass media being so readily available everywhere, it is difficult for any culture not to be influenced by other cultures. Mass media in one way helps in promoting greater understanding of and appreciation for other's cultures. However, one needs to ensure that if not well balanced, a community can be easily be influenced by other foreign culture. Mass media being one of the most powerful weapons that can influence people and culture can be used as a catalyst for preserving and promoting traditional culture. However, it is important to note that media (print/digital) must be utilised in disseminating cultural knowledge and promoting cultural discourse and not for commercial value.

In recent times, festivals have gone beyond their traditional roles. They are consciously planned towards its celebration and to enhance community development programme (Bonye, 2011). Through festivals, people often want to demonstrate the strength of their communities or regions. Today, they have been designed and developed as tourist attraction. Festivals are becoming platforms to provide opportunities to the local people in terms of sharing their culture, experiences, and knowledge.

The finding shows that the surviving festivals are showing more inclination to 'invented tradition', than to Hobsbawm concept of 'tradition' that is 'invariant' (Hobsbawm, 2000, p. 2). Though the invented festivals create an environment or platform to promote and preserve traditions, the reality is that the policies and programmes of such festivals have a more economic and political tone and not responsive enough to the needs and aspirations of the people. For instance, during the Hornbill festival, the Naga tribes perform dances and organize entertainment for the gratification of officials and dignitaries. This naturally causes the mass to become viewers of festivals. Haksar remarks that when festivals are invented, socially decontextualized from their milieu and made placeless they serve a totally different purpose. The invented festivals serve a totally different social, economic and cultural purpose (Haksar, 2011, p. 63). Traditional festivals are pertinent to revive the old traditions as they ensure community organization and communication in the society.

Further, policy makers and local authorities have often interfered in festivals which originally belonged to the local community. We can notice that the celebration of festivals is increasingly being influenced by government policies and programmes. Political hegemony is very visible in the organisation of festivals which may destroy the cultural integrity imbedded in festivals. For instance, in recent years, the biggest indigenous festivals of every Naga tribe have been termed as mini-Hornbill. If such trend continues, the indigenous festivals may become a mere commercial event robbed of cultural meaning and acquire a political significance which may even undermine the cultural integrity of Naga community in general, and the Angami in particular (Haksar, 2011, p. 64). The true cultural identity of the Nagas should not be undermined by the creation of the new Naga identity.

Likewise, over the years, many weavers have been altering the original designs by infusing modern patterns into the attires which in the long run may lead to the disappearance of the original pattern, hue and design of the traditional attires. The various modifications of the traditional costumes undermine the distinctive identity markers of the Angamis and the primary functions of the attires. The present alterations may lead to the eventual loss of the costume identity of the Angamis. Traditional attires are in an evolutionary process but to be valued, the Angami traditional attires must be constant in silhouette and details of layout, design motifs but have up-to-date colours and modern yarn. It is therefore felt that the originality of the designs must be preserved though new colours and fibres may be adopted to suit the changing modern taste.

Besides, not only were certain aspects of material and non-material culture lost or destroyed, but the Angami society is also on the verge of losing the power and sense of cultural continuity. The present generation is confronted with how to have a true identity, a culture that is truly Angami in nature. Most of the younger generation are oblivious about their traditional festivals and attires, their significance and importance. This justifies the purpose of documenting the traditional festivals and attires before they get into oblivion and completely erased from the social and cultural life of the Angamis. As Christianity and modern education had been important agents in bringing significant changes in the lives of the people, in many ways, it can resuscitate the degraded Angami culture.

The Angami traditional festivals and attires, no doubt are fast changing in the face of westernization, modernization, advancement of science and technology, and globalisation. However, the rich culture and tradition are so deeply rooted in the heart of the Angami people that it was not possible for these forces of change to erode it totally. In the midst of these

changes, the recent years are witnessing a revival of Angami culture. The threat of losing one's own cultural identity amidst foreign culture had made the Angami people concerned about their past cultural tradition. As an endeavour to preserve and promote the traditional festivals, festival were brought under certain fixed pattern through modifications based on the traditional norms. Besides, the government have also taken up initiatives towards preservation and promotion of the rich cultural heritage of the Nagas through the Hornbill festival. Few things continue to remain part and parcel of the festivals celebrated in Nagaland. Traditional songs and dances, feasting, and other display of cultural items are bound to find space in these rich and colourful festivals. These newly invented traditions have been used as a stage to showcase their rich cultural heritage of the various Naga communities and also to align their identity with the other tribal groups.

Similarly, the tradition of weaving is being maintained and more designs are discovered. The Naga women retain much of their hand-woven dress, and there is the general appreciation of the original designs of hand-woven shawls and skirts even among the modern Angami girls. Many local weavers are taking initiatives to bring out the originally design and patterns of the traditional attires by taking up weaving as a profession. Most of the modern attires are nothing but the revival of the old traditional attires. Moreover, there has been an effort to maintain a cultural identity which is proudly shown off in various modern versions of the attires of both men and women. The Angami people are reviving and promoting their culture through costumes. Today, traditional attires are highly valued because of the great skill which is executed in the pattern of the cloth. The decrease in number of weavers has in one way made the demand from the local professional weavers more. It is also very obvious that the Angami apparels have been developed with very creative modern variations in colour, style and fabric that have become very popular locally and internationally.

The cultural degeneration that has taken place over the years was mainly due to time and space and non-orientation with the traditional culture and practices by the present generation. It must be ensured that the traditional cultural events/activities are not commercialized to suit one's whims or to advance one's personal interest or politicalized. Such an exercise will devalue the solemnity and essence of the most important function of the traditional festival and attires.

Traditional cultural values which are sinking into oblivion can be revived and revitalised by means of various festival activities. Culture ensures that we are not totally uprooted from our past inheritance. Festival plays a vital role in strengthening and enhancing

community unity and helping future generation comprehend their significance. People's participation and collective celebration is required for the continuity and success of a festival. Reviving old festivals is replete with challenges. What should be done now is to let the local community master the festivals and policy makers take supporting role so that the traditional cultural values embedded in the festivals are promoted. Therefore, the community needs to embrace and integrate festivals in their social life.

The Angamis, therefore, need to consider seriously using traditional festivals as the most participatory forms of engaging with the community specially the younger generations to create awareness and sustain the rich cultural heritage for posterity. At the same time, the government should encourage the traditional creativity of the Naga people. Proper steps must be taken to safeguard the high standard of tradition of art. The government should take further steps to preserve, protect and promote the traditional culture and knowledge of the various Nagas groups. Political power should be utilized in promoting and preserving the uniqueness and potency of the diverse culture of the Nagas, which could be of socio-economic advantage. At the same time the public should be fully involved in every stage of policies and plan related to sustainable development. Young people should be encouraged to learn more about their cultural heritage. Survival of indigenous culture is possible only by active participation of the people. With the patronage and assistance of the government and the direct participation of the people, the Nagas can revive and sustain the rich cultural heritage.

Similarly, attires allows for historical continuity while incorporating societal change. The significance of traditional attires in contemporary world lies in the fact that they instil pride and continuity with the past. Although traditional attires by definition would seem to demand invariance in Angami society, traditional attires changes in subtle ways and is thus accorded a traditional value. Though the former ritual associations may disappear, the old designs and decorative value should be retained and developed.

The present research shows that tradition undergoes transformation and reconstruction, which denotes consistency and continuity. Traditional festivals and attires are, therefore, very relevant in the contemporary world because it is the biggest platform and important cultural element through which traditional culture can be preserved and pass down traditional cultural identities to the next generations.

Finally, it can be once again stated that culture is essential for our humanness. It is our social legacy and is inseparable from people, and therefore, should be cherished and

appreciated. Change is inevitable and is necessary to improve human life; however, it will be indispensable for the Angami people to maintain their traditional culture too. Change without human values will be worthless. There is a need, therefore, to maintain a strong stability against the excessive influx of western elements into Angami culture. The community should review its own traditions and discover new meanings in the traditional ways of life. It is the duty of the present generation to strive for and restore the ancestor's treasured values for the future generation. The community as well as the modern educational institutions may teach the young generations of the age-old ethics, ideals, conventional codes and conducts. Festivals and attires would be very useful in teaching our history and conserving our culture. Furthermore, it could accrue to tourism and textile industries. The challenge today is revival of old traditional festivals to affirm the Angami identity as a people and retention of the authenticity of traditional costumes as distinctive identity marker of the Angamis.

It is, therefore, the responsibility of the present generation to take up measures in preserving and developing the rich cultural heritage so that the traditional practices and material culture will be forgotten in the process of change. The policy makers may also need to reappraise their policies that contribute to the cultural dearth of Angamis in particular and the Nagas in general and work towards the principles of cultural revitalization. The discussion finally calls the attention of the Angami community, both as individual and as a group to value and preserve their rich and unique culture and tradition before they are completely obliterated.

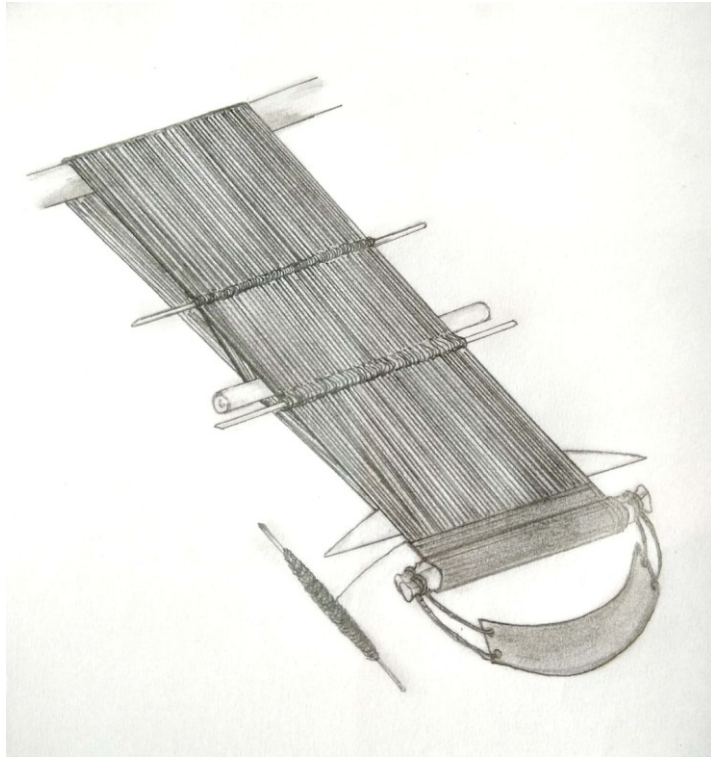


Figure 4: Back-strap loom.

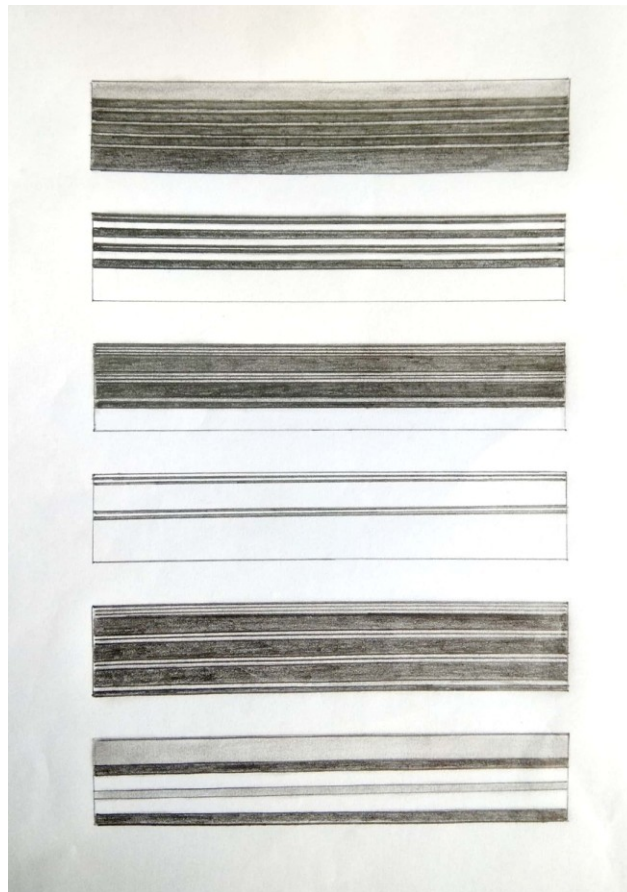


Figure 5: Different horizontal line pattern in Angami attire.



Plate 41: Modern Men's shawls.

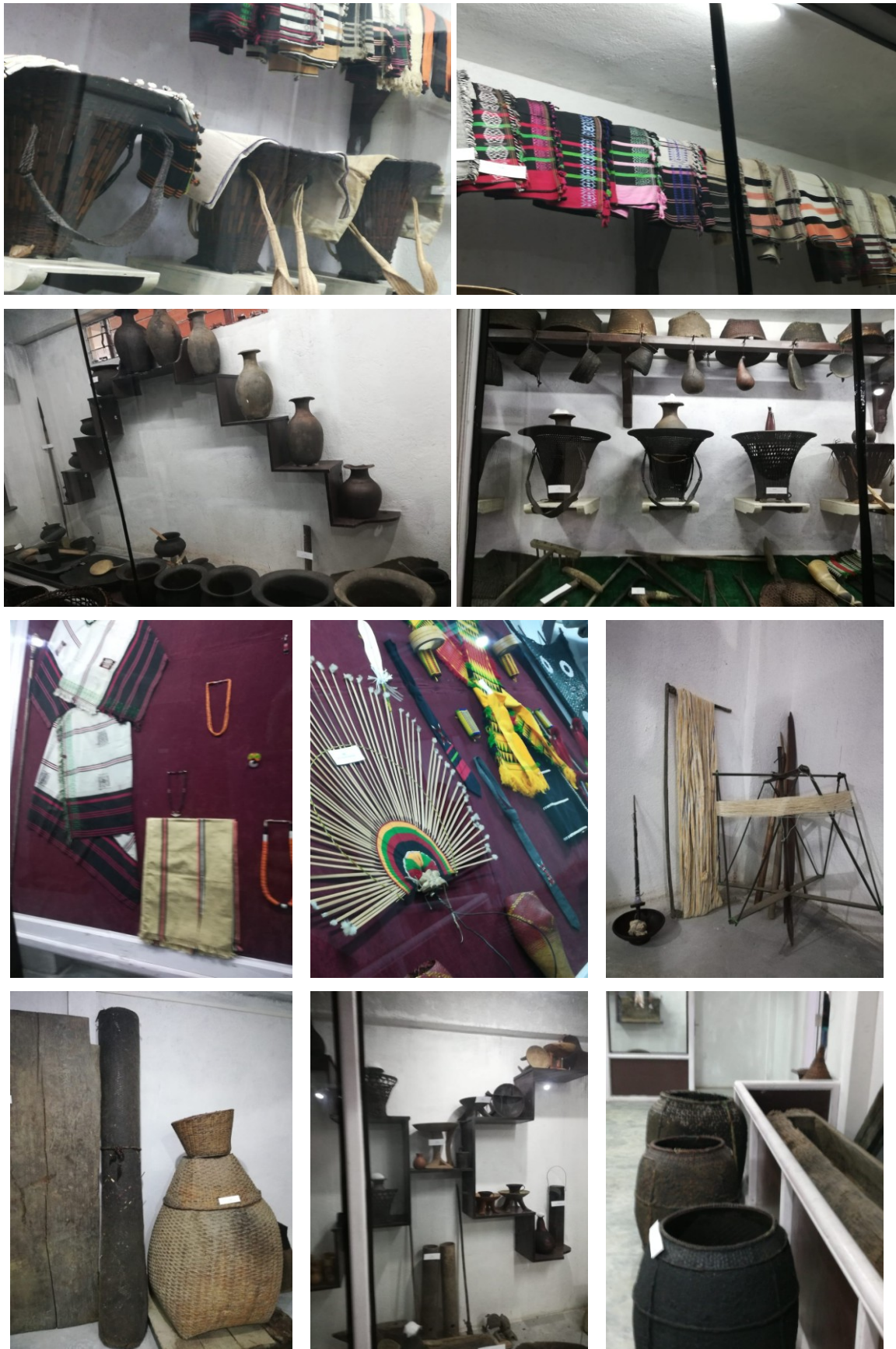


Plate 42: Collection of traditional artefacts in local museum. (Viswema village)

Glossary

<i>Bathwütu</i>	-	large conch shell necklace
<i>Baze</i>	-	resting place
<i>Beripa</i>	-	wristlet made of cane/thread
<i>Biechu</i>	-	conch shell necklace
<i>Binyi</i>	-	taro festival
<i>Bo</i>	-	a small fenced porch
<i>Cha</i>	-	path
<i>Chada</i>	-	path clearing
<i>Chadanyi</i>	-	path-clearing festival
<i>Chaphrie</i>	-	decorative hanging belt
<i>Chiecha/ Chiepha</i>	-	woven belt with design in the middle
<i>Chiekhe</i>	-	pounding log/table
<i>Chiesu</i>	-	stone pulling
<i>Chietha</i>	-	fourth feast of merit
<i>Chokrwu</i>	-	eaves at the entrance of a house
<i>Chü</i>	-	paddy barns
<i>Chücha</i>	-	feast offered by a rich man (fifth stage of feast of merit among the Khonoma people)
<i>Chükrü cü</i>	-	necklace made of round yellow stone
<i>Chüpe/ Chüsepe</i>	-	ritual to ward off sicknesses and misfortunes
<i>Chüthuo</i>	-	armlet made of ivory/wood
<i>Chüzie</i>	-	carnelian barrel tube beads of one or more strings
<i>Ciekrau/Tsakhro</i>	-	First sower
<i>Cübei</i>	-	large carnelian necklace
<i>Cüchie</i>	-	small yellow coral necklace
<i>Cügu</i>	-	two string beaded necklace
<i>Cütho</i>	-	orange colour coral necklace
<i>Dava-u</i>	-	ritual performer
<i>Dozopfhe</i>	-	white shawl with black, pale orange horizontal bands
<i>Duda/Medongu</i>	-	spear decorated with goat's hair
<i>Dzükhukhwe</i>	-	clearing of waterholes

<i>Dzüiseva</i>	-	touching the sleeping water
<i>Genna</i>	-	forbidden/a prohibition/taboo
<i>Hamie thu kethu</i>	-	pounding of paddy
<i>Hiekhakhwehou</i>	-	a raised circular stone platform
<i>Hike</i>	-	cup made from mithun horn
<i>Kehi</i>	-	second feast of merit
<i>Kelipie</i>	-	long sequence of singing
<i>Kelo the</i>	-	iron staff with an ornamental top
<i>Kemevo</i>	-	religious priest
<i>Kene</i>	-	wrestling
<i>Kenei khwehou</i>	-	meeting place/platform
<i>Kerhienyi</i>	-	white wrap-around worn by young girls
<i>Keshunhyou</i>	-	rain shield made of thatch
<i>Kesia merochü</i>	-	ceremony in honour of the dead
<i>Kesüinei</i>	-	black kilt decorated with cowries
<i>Kharsi</i>	-	patron's field work
<i>Kharu</i>	-	village gate
<i>Khola</i>	-	large pattern woven basket
<i>Khophi</i>	-	basket
<i>Khosa</i>	-	tresses/lock of hair
<i>Khoshe</i>	-	finely woven basket
<i>Khoupfünyi</i>	-	children's festival
<i>Khoyho</i>	-	basket for carrying firewood/luggage
<i>Khoyi</i>	-	basket
<i>Khrü-phrü</i>	-	lunar calendar (read the moon)
<i>Khweriba</i>	-	shawl warping stone
<i>Khwerü</i>	-	shawl with a yellowish hue with four thin lines
<i>Khwüno Mhoushü</i>	-	wrap around with black and peach puff colour bands
<i>Kiahe hie</i>	-	wooden cup
<i>Kida</i>	-	wooden single
<i>Kike</i>	-	house-horn
<i>Kikrakikese-u</i>	-	patron of an age/peer group
<i>Kikrau</i>	-	patron

<i>Kina</i>	-	closest friends
<i>Kizhie</i>	-	sanctification of the house
<i>Kriegagie</i>	-	feast of hundred
<i>Kulhi</i>	-	<i>genna</i> day
<i>Latapfhe</i>	-	a black shawl with thin white lines
<i>Lhiga-gei</i>	-	feast below hundred
<i>Liede</i>	-	initiation of harvest
<i>Liedepfü</i>	-	women who perform the harvest ritual/First Reaper
<i>Liekhwenyi</i>	-	festival of guarding crops/fields
<i>Likhü</i>	-	earthen jar
<i>Lishü</i>	-	feast which is extended to the neighbouring village
<i>Lisu</i>	-	second feast of merit
<i>Litie</i>	-	drums/containers for rice-beer
<i>Livau</i>	-	ritual performer
<i>Lochie chü</i>	-	knitted necklace
<i>Lohe</i>	-	black shawl with green, red/yellow bands
<i>Lophie</i>	-	white thread twisted string
<i>Loramhoushü</i>	-	wrap-around worn by young women
<i>Lorüpfhe</i>	-	white shawl with four horizontal bands worn by elderly women
<i>Loshüpfhe</i>	-	a shawl made of cotton dyed blue
<i>Lotapfhe</i>	-	a black shawl with thin blue lines
<i>Lotopfhe</i>	-	black shawl
<i>Loyo nie</i>	-	wrap-around worn by young women
<i>Lozi cü</i>	-	long string of thread balls (red, green and white)
<i>Menie</i>	-	style of wrapping wrap-around
<i>Merünyie</i>	-	brass earring
<i>Meyhonie</i>	-	wrap-around worn by feast donor's wife
<i>Meyoshü/Segoumisu</i>	-	indigenous method of fire-making
<i>Meza</i>	-	blue Jay bird
<i>Mhoushü</i>	-	wrap-around worn by women
<i>Mothenie</i>	-	white wrap-around with orange/brown and black lines
<i>Moü mouupfü</i>	-	gifting of meat to the first born child of married women/daughter

<i>Müsho</i>	-	village priestess
<i>Neikhro</i>	-	petticoat woven with white thread
<i>Neikhronie</i>	-	wrap-around worn by married women
<i>Neise</i>	-	earring worn by young girls
<i>Neiti</i>	-	black cotton loin
<i>Ngonyi</i>	-	post-seed sowing festival
<i>Nhichumianyi</i>	-	children festival
<i>Nierha</i>	-	plain woven white kilt
<i>Niso/Nyieso</i>	-	earring made of sea-shell
<i>Nyiepwe</i>	-	earring made of bunch of thread
<i>Nyieso</i>	-	earring made of shell
<i>Nyili</i>	-	earring made of cotton
<i>Nyisi</i>	-	black woven belt
<i>Nyubi</i>	-	twin spears held by a warrior
<i>Nyuda</i>	-	decorative spear
<i>Nyulu/Ngudi</i>	-	spear of the <i>Phichü-u</i>
<i>Oje</i>	-	paddy grains
<i>Ophie</i>	-	dwarf bamboo
<i>Oshe cü</i>	-	Job's tear necklace
<i>Othsü bo</i>	-	millet plant
<i>Ozo kepo</i>	-	sacrificing a live rat
<i>Penie</i>	-	restricted day
<i>Peyumia</i>	-	clan elders
<i>Pezhü</i>	-	shield made of bear hide without hair
<i>Pfhemhou</i>	-	white wrap-around
<i>Pfhephre</i>	-	shawl twirled and tied around the waist
<i>Pfhese</i>	-	two shawls <i>Lohe</i> and <i>Loramhoushü</i> worn together
<i>Pfuge</i>	-	flat wooden planks with drawing and carvings of animal heads and weapons
<i>Pfunuonyu hie</i>	-	collection of plaintain leaves
<i>Phakunyie</i>	-	an ear-piece worn by men
<i>Phatho</i>	-	thick long rope made of white thread
<i>Phava Chiecha</i>	-	plain white woven belt

<i>Phavanyie</i>	-	white woven wrap around worn by feast donor's wife
<i>Phezu</i>	-	name of a place in Viswema
<i>Phichü-pelhie</i>	-	feast to the elders
<i>Phichüpfhe</i>	-	shawl worn by priest/elders
<i>Phichüu</i>	-	priest
<i>Phieda</i>	-	indigenous game
<i>Phipa</i>	-	leggings made of cane
<i>Phiso</i>	-	bands of cane rings worn on the legs
<i>Phousanyi</i>	-	purification festival
<i>Pichü</i>	-	hair bun
<i>Pichühuro</i>	-	hair bun rope made of hair
<i>Pida</i>	-	hairstyle with hair turned/combed upward
<i>Pidwe</i>	-	headscarves
<i>Pihie/Pihe-e</i>	-	hairstyle with a middle parting
<i>Pikha</i>	-	hair band made of pleated thread
<i>Pikho/Chekrü</i>	-	pigtail
<i>Pithe/Daphi</i>	-	traditional round haircut of men
<i>Pitho</i>	-	comb made of bamboo slit
<i>Prülu</i>	-	crossbow
<i>Pruo</i>	-	end of <i>Sekre</i>
<i>Puni</i>	-	black kilt
<i>Rakopfhe</i>	-	shawl made from the bark of <i>gakhro</i> plant (Deccan Jute)
<i>Rase tsu</i>	-	place where <i>terhase</i> ritual is done
<i>Rase</i>	-	sacrificing two live roosters
<i>Ratapfhe</i>	-	black shawl
<i>Rhavipfhe</i>	-	white shawl with four thin black lines
<i>Rhiedipfhe</i>	-	white shawl with black and white bands
<i>Rietitho</i>	-	brass armlet
<i>Rourüpfhe</i>	-	white shawl with horizontal black and white bands
<i>Ruzie</i>	-	lake
<i>Ruzie</i>	-	village/public ground
<i>Sala</i>	-	wild plant
<i>Sanyi</i>	-	earring made of goat's hair

<i>Sarhu</i>	-	shield with goat's hair
<i>Satsa</i>	-	woven belt (green)
<i>Sazüpfhe</i>	-	shawl made from the bark of a stinging nettle plant
<i>Sekre</i>	-	purification ritual
<i>Sekrenyi</i>	-	purification festival
<i>Sekreseno</i>	-	spirit of <i>Sekrenyi</i>
<i>Sengu/Ongu</i>	-	common hunting spears
<i>Sivü</i>	-	wooden hammer
<i>Sodinyie</i>	-	earring made of thread and white disc
<i>Sokese</i>	-	<i>Sekrenyi</i> song
<i>Sotho</i>	-	local tree used to obtain black dye
<i>Suta</i>	-	wild plant
<i>Sütho</i>	-	bottle gourd
<i>Swila</i>	-	regenerate
<i>Tediepfhe</i>	-	feast-donor's shawl
<i>Tekebahü</i>	-	wild yellow berries
<i>Tekho-Tuza</i>	-	green coloured carnelian necklace
<i>Temie</i>	-	green colour carnelian necklace
<i>Temza/krieza</i>	-	preparatory feast
<i>Tenyimia</i>	-	people belonging to <i>Tenyimia</i> group
<i>Terha</i>	-	colourfully woven sash
<i>Terhami</i>	-	hornbill feather
<i>Terhase</i>	-	water-making <i>genna</i>
<i>Terhomia</i>	-	spirits
<i>Terhühou</i>	-	chest ornament made of goats hair
<i>Terhünyi</i>	-	post-harvest festival
<i>Terhünyie</i>	-	earring made of goat hair
<i>Teruthola</i>	-	a style of wearing <i>Lohe</i> and <i>Loramhoushü</i> twirled and worn across the chest
<i>Thachü/Thatsu</i>	-	chest ornament made from human hair
<i>Thakie/Thakü</i>	-	shield decorated with special bird feathers
<i>Thami</i>	-	ornament made of human hair
<i>Thangu</i>	-	spear decorated with human hair

<i>Thanyie</i>	-	earring made of human hair
<i>Tharü-hie</i>	-	cup made of wood or bamboo
<i>Thatho</i>	-	armlet made of human hair
<i>Thekranyi</i>	-	peer-group festival
<i>Thekranyi/kerunyi</i>	-	plantation festival
<i>Thekro</i>	-	donation
<i>Themangu</i>	-	special spear for marriage ceremonies
<i>Thena</i>	-	<i>genna</i> day
<i>Thenutho</i>	-	wristlet with outward twisted ends
<i>Thenyi mi/Meivi</i>	-	fire <i>genna</i>
<i>Thenyi thou-zhou</i>	-	brewing rice-beer
<i>Thenyi zha</i>	-	restricted day
<i>Thepekela</i>	-	ritual to repel all sicknesses, plague and epidemics
<i>Thesa</i>	-	preparatory feast
<i>Thesia</i>	-	target shooting
<i>Theü</i>	-	plantain leaf cup
<i>Thevü meta</i>	-	sacrificing a live cock/rooster
<i>Thevüdzü-nyie</i>	-	ear piece made of cotton attached with feathers
<i>Thevümiecha</i>	-	shield decorated with bird feathers
<i>Thevü-tswé</i>	-	rooster comb
<i>Thezukepu</i>	-	sacrificing/releasing a live rat
<i>Thogwü</i>	-	armlet made of brass
<i>Thokhwingu</i>	-	spear with three hooks
<i>Thoubvü</i>	-	brass bracelet with bugle-shaped ends
<i>Thouda</i>	-	brass/copper wristlet
<i>Thula</i>	-	style of tying <i>Lohe</i> to carry paddy stalks
<i>Thulo</i>	-	seed game
<i>Thüpfhe hiyü</i>	-	an act of gifting meat and rice beer to cowboys
<i>Thüpipfhe</i>	-	feast giver shawl with various designs and patterns
<i>Tiliku</i>	-	necklace made of wild beetle's wings
<i>Todi-Vachü</i>	-	black woven cloth with orange border
<i>Tothu/tiechu</i>	-	sky <i>genna</i> /ceremony
<i>Tsenyhü</i>	-	local creeper plant used for red dye

<i>Tshünyi</i>	-	millet festival
<i>Tsiekranyi</i>	-	seed-sowing festival
<i>Tsüdushü</i>	-	erection of two monoliths (male and female)
<i>Tsükha</i>	-	hair band made of bamboo slit
<i>Tsula</i>	-	headgear made of bamboo slit, cotton and wool of different colours
<i>Tsülishü</i>	-	erection of single stone
<i>Tsüphie</i>	-	headgear made of bear hair/goats hair dyed black
<i>Tsürre</i>	-	hat made of bamboo slit
<i>Tubo</i>	-	single string orange colour bead necklace
<i>Tuchü</i>	-	three line beaded necklace
<i>Tukha</i>	-	short beaded necklace
<i>Tusen</i>	-	small beaded necklace of two/three strings
<i>Vatenyi/Tiekede</i>	-	festival relating to preservation of food grains
<i>Vathi</i>	-	black cloth used to cover the upper body
<i>Vimho</i>	-	black shawl with orange border
<i>Zachu</i>	-	feast of merit
<i>Zahi</i>	-	pond digging
<i>Zaru</i>	-	bamboo rice winnowing fan
<i>Zhatho lüvü/thekru</i>	-	feast-donor field work
<i>Zhatho pfhe/Zerüpfhe</i>	-	feast-donor shawl
<i>Zhatho sidu</i>	-	felling of feast donor firewood
<i>Zhatho sopu</i>	-	carrying the feast donor firewood
<i>Zhatho thothu</i>	-	pounding of soaked rice
<i>Zhathomia</i>	-	feast-donor
<i>Zhathopfumia</i>	-	feast-donor's wife
<i>Zhazhü</i>	-	sixth feast of merit (whole village)
<i>Zhonyü</i>	-	<i>genna</i> period (5-30 days)
<i>Zhümha</i>	-	shield made out of bearskin with hair
<i>Zhüpa</i>	-	spear woven over with cane
<i>Zienyie/Pezienie</i>	-	ear ornament made from the feathers of Blue Jay/Long tailed broadbill bird
<i>Ziepfino</i>	-	sickle

<i>Ziezhie/ruzhie hie</i>	-	pond digging
<i>Zumhou</i>	-	soaked rice water
<i>Zunuopa</i>	-	armlet woven with thread
<i>Zuokhu</i>	-	solid portion of rice beer
<i>Zutho/zu</i>	-	rice-beer

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Oral Sources

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- Mr. Noketo Kulnu, age: 74 years, Jakhama village, 20th December 2014.
- Mrs. Puchosale Kirha, age: 65 years, Jakhama village, 20th December 2014.
- Mr. Nopol Richa, age: 63 years, Jakhama village, 20th December 2014.
- Mr. Nothüto Kharutso, age: 67 years, Jakhama village, 12th January 2015.
- Mrs. Kikosanu Kharutso, age: 63 years, Jakhama village, 12th January 2015.

Mr. Sani Pier, age: 75 years, Khonoma village, 5th March 2015.

Mrs. Sekhono Yalie, age: 72 years, Khonoma village, 29th June 2015.

Mr. Krusalie Sophi, age: 60 years, Khonoma village, 29th June 2015.

Mr. Vilazosie Punyü, age: 65 years, Khonoma village, 29th June 2015.

Mr. Alheü Yhome, age: 87 years, Kohima village, 3rd October 2015.

Mr. Vilie-o Rutsa, age: 58 years, Kohima village, 3rd October 2015.

Mr. Medongulie John, age: 62 years, Kohima village, 3rd October 2015.

Mr. Viluoü Rutsa, age: 70 years, Kohima village, 3rd October 2015.

Mr. Kehozecho Kulnu, age: 87 years, Jakhama village, 12th December 2015 & 17th November 2017.

Mrs. Niesale Kulnu, age: 85 years, Jakhama village, 12th December 2015 & 17th November 2017.

Mr. Doukhrie Yhome, age: 85 years, Kohima village, 8th January 2016.

Mr. Shürho-o Yhome, age: 54 years, Kohima village, 8th January 2016.

Mr. Dierhevituo Yhome, age: 56 years, Kohima village, 8th January 2016.

Mr. Pukoho Rolnu, age: 89 years, Jakhama village, 28th January 2016 & 18th March 2017.

Mrs. Vivie Punyü, age: 63 years, Khonoma village, 5th March 2016.

Mr. Neingusie Meyase, age: 80 years, Medziphema village, 27th June 2016.

Mr. P.Kedokhrielie Kehie, age: 54 years, Medziphema village, 27th June 2016.

Mr. Abi Yalie, age: 70 years, Medziphema village, 28th June 2016.

Mr. Ago Kehie, age: 80 years, Medziphema village, 28th June 2016.

Mr. Vikeso Chalieü, age: 87 years, Medziphema village, 28th June 2016.

Mrs. Vizovole Kikhi, age: 71 years, Viswema village, 4th November 2016.

Mr. Kezhovi Khatso, age: 54 years, Jakhama village, 9th January 2017.

Mrs. Metha-e Khatso, age: 89 years, Jakhama village, 9th January 2017.

Mrs. Vilezhe Khatso, age: 86 years, Jakhama village, 9th January 2017.

Mr. Keneinyu Rutsa, age: 53 years, Kohima village, 16th March 2017.

Mr. Luovilie Rutsa, age: 54 years, Kohima village, 16th March 2017.

Mr. Keneirükuo Rutsa, age: 54 years, Kohima village, 16th March 2017.

Mr. Zakievi Terhase, age: 76 years, Rüsoma village, 25th March 2017.

Mrs Sazole Kikhi, age: 71 years, Viswema village, 4th April 2017.

Mrs. Pusachole Vitsu, age: 60 years, Viswema village, 4th April 2017.

Mr. Khuvil Kikhi, age: 61 years, Viswema village, 4th April 2017.

Mr. Vinothul Kikhi, age: 52 years, Viswema village, 4th April 2017.

Mrs. Viprasale, age: 58 years, Viswema village, 6th April, 2017.

Mrs. Ketsodinü Kikhi, age: 43 years, Viswema village, 8th April 2017.

Mr. Pungon Kikhi (Phichii-u), age: 82 years, Viswema village, 7th November 2017.

Mr. Vilezol Toso (Kemevo), age: 66 years, Viswema village, 7th November 2017.