The entry of the Nagas into the written history of the world can be dated to 24th February 1826. On that day representatives of the Kingdom of Burma and the British military signed the Treaty of Yandabo, in which Burma renounced all claims to Assam and Manipur. The westward policy of expansion pursued by Burma – at that time the most powerful kingdom in Southeast Asia – had begun in the 1780s when Burmese troops occupied the independent Kingdom of Arakan and reached for the first time the eastern border of the British Indian Empire, which corresponds fairly exactly with the present-day borders of Bangladesh and North Bengal. In 1817 the Burmese invaded Assam and in 1819 the independent Kingdom of Manipur. In 1823 they also annexed the Kingdom of Cachar, a strategic area for invading Bengal. In March of the following year, Britain officially declared war on Burma, a war which ended two years later with the aforementioned Treaty of Yandabo. Gradually Britain occupied the whole of Assam and intensified its diplomatic and military relations with Manipur, which was intended to have a key position in monitoring and if need be defending the border between Burma and the British sphere of influence. British India had reached the foot of the Naga Hills – the southeastern foothills of the Himalayas in the present border triangle of India, Burma and China, which at that time was covered in jungle.

The first Nagas with whom the British came in contact were the Tengima (Hutton 1914: 476). Persistent raids were being carried out by Naga groups on the new British subjects.
in the Assamese villages and tea plantations – twenty-two alone in the year of 1851 – which prompted a course of retaliation, the so-called ›punitive expeditions‹ of the British, and ultimately the successive capture of the Naga territories. In fact, annexation was not the initial intention. The jagged, impassable and sparsely populated region had no strategic or economic merit for the colonial rulers, but ultimately they could not simply look on as their charges ended up as slaves or head trophies in the neighbouring hills.

It was in the course of the hesitant and not always successful occupation and administration of parts of the Naga territories over the next hundred years that those astonishing reports, monographs and collections of objects were compiled – frequently by British officers and administrators – which even now continue to serve as our main source of information on the Nagas. The picture that was painted back then of the Nagas as proud warriors and headhunters, of their feasts of merit and their cycles of rituals, now belongs to the past. For with the colonial rulers came missionaries, who converted the Nagas from their once strongly animistic forms of religion to evangelical Baptism.

After the Nagas’ original, by and large autonomous ›village republics‹ had been banded together by the British administration into ›tribes‹, a nationalist movement already began to gain momentum in the early twentieth century and demanded its own state independent of India and Burma. The upshot of this was a bloody conflict between the Indian Army and the Naga freedom fighters, which led to the Naga Hills becoming a no-go area for visitors after 1947, which is to say after Indian Independence. For over half a century it was virtually impossible for either foreigners or Indian citizens living outside to enter the area.

Anyone who now travels to Nagaland encounters a totally different culture to the one described in the old monographs. Today the Nagas are fighting for a joint, supra-tribal identity which in practice proves difficult to grasp. In particular the young urban generation is caught in a feeling of inner conflict. Its traditional culture has by and large been consigned to oblivion, while any number of obstacles stand in the way of a new, all-encompassing identity: an underdeveloped economy and infrastructure, tribalism, the religious fundamentalism of the parent generation, the smouldering ›Indo-Naga-Conflict‹, and a concept of culture coloured strongly by the new media, i.e. as a second-hand experience fed to them by any number of foreign programmes on satellite stations and via the internet.

The search for an identity between headhunt and Bible, between village structure and national sentiments, is often directed towards those few elements that still allow a link to be forged between the old, traditional culture and present-day lifestyles. It is these elements which foster identity that are the concern of the present book.

The pre-colonial Nagas: terra incognita

Little is known about the pre-colonial history of the various Nagas groups. Linguistically the Naga languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman language family. »All sorts of origins have been ascribed to the race«, as Hutton observes: »They have been connected with the head-hunters of Malay and the races of the Southern Seas on the one hand, and traced back to China on the other« (1921a: 8). And Mills (1926c: xii, xiii) mentions the theory of the US American anthropologist Fay-Cooper Cole to explain the large number of astonishing parallels between aspects of the Naga cultures and those of Oceania and of the Indonesian-Philippine island arc. Cole regarded the people in these areas as having a common origin located in the area of southern China which contains the sources and upper reaches of five major rivers in a fairly tight geographical space – the Brahmaputra, Irrawaddy, Salween, Mekong and Yangtze. According to Cole, the people followed the rivers in various directions during successive periods of migration.

The earliest reference to the Nagas is usually pointed to – especially today by Naga intellectuals – as being in the Greek philosopher Claudius Ptolemy’s Geographia, who reported as early as 150 AD on the so-called land of the ›Nangalothae‹: »(…) north of Cirradia [Eastern Nepal], is the region in which they are said to produce the best cinnamon; those who dwell near the Maeandrus mountains are the Tamere
Fig. 2. Map of Asia based on the Geographia of Claudius Ptolemaeus edited in Venice 1511. (Geographia 1511)
Anthropophagi. Above the Argento Regio, in which there is said to be much well-guarded metal, is a region near the Besyngiti, where there is very much gold. Those who inhabit this region are likewise white, short, with flat noses. Between the Bepyrrus mountains and the Damasi mountains, extending northward, dwell the Aminachae. Below these are the Indaprathae; next are the Iberingae; next the Dabasae, and the Nangalothae [meaning the ›the naked‹] as far as the Maeandrus mountains» (Stevenson 1932). Whether the term ›Nangalothae‹ actually referred to groups that today are known as the Nagas cannot be said for sure, because a lot of other groups would doubtless have been described as ›naked‹ in Ptolemy’s days. It should be noted however that the mediaeval cartographers who worked to Ptolemy’s specifications placed the ›Nanga‹ in more or less the same area that the Nagas currently occupy.

Two articles in this volume written from two different scientific perspectives set out to provide some insight into early Naga history. In the article by Tiatoshi Jamir and Ditamulü Vasa (see p. 323), the authors present the current state of the archaeological research in Nagaland and show on the one hand how cooperation between the local populace and the archaeologist can prove fruitful for determining the age of local cultures, and on the other hand how stylistic comparisons between ceramics allow links between individual Naga groups to be verified. A linguistic approach has been taken by George van Driem (see p. 311), whose theory of ›fallen leaves‹ – in the widening of the customary linguistic model of the ›language family tree‹ – casts light on the connections (or lack thereof) between the various Naga groups and other Tibeto-Burman languages in the greater region.

Colonialisation: The ›tribes‹ are created

The British officers, who in many cases were responsible for the nomenclature of the Northeast Indian tribes, showed a boisterous lack of concern when naming the societies they encountered on their way to the East in the aftermath of the First Anglo-Burmese war in the 1820s: »The whole of the mountainous country, until within a few miles of the descent into the plains of Assam, is inhabited by the people called by us Cosyas, but who denominate themselves Khyee« (Mackenzie 1979: 220). Or: »The Lhotas who call themselves Kyong are located to the Northeast of the Angami and
Rengma country» (Hutton 1921a: 362). Numerous ethnic groups in Northeast India only succeeded in bringing about the official reinstatement of their original names after the colonial era: the erstwhile ›Lalung‹ are now known once again as Tiwa, the ›Mikir‹ as Karbi, the ›Lakher‹ as Mara, while the ›Khasi‹ – the aforementioned ›Cossyas‹ – distinguish according to territory between War, Lynggam, Kharew, Pnar and the ›actual Khasi‹ – the inhabitants of the central Khasi Hills.

Already the Ahom, who ruled areas of present-day Assam from the 13th to the early 19th century, gave the name ›Nagas‹ to the inhabitants of the eastern hills in the Ahom Buranj, the Ahom chronicles (Barua 1985). Depending on their villages of origin or their duars – the paths they used from the hills down into the plains – they distinguished between the ›Aitaniya Nagas‹, ›Jabokiya Nagas‹, ›Hatiguriya Nagas‹, etc. Today it is no longer possible to establish which Nagas groups they referred to by these terms (Prakash 2007: 1904). And who can say which Nagas a certain P. T. Carnegy, Assistant Commissioner of Jorehaut, described as ›Seesbaugor Nagas‹ in his report of 1873 to the Deputy Commissioner of Seesbaugor? He distinguished three main groups in accordance with the duars that they used: to the ›Bortolla‹ group he assigned among others the ›Lakottee‹ and the ›Akhook‹, to the ›Hattigur‹ group the ›Bordoobija‹ and ›Mookeegaon‹, and to the ›Assyria‹ group the ›Nowgong‹ and ›Lasso‹ (Mackenzie 1979: 400). Nowadays none of these terms is still in use or remembered. By comparison, a number of tribal designations that continue to be used (if in slightly modified orthography) are already to be found on a German map of Assam dating from 1834 (cf. fig. p. 61/62). These include among others the Tangkhul, the Maring (Muring) and the Anal in present-day Manipur. Even in the late 1930s, Führer-Haimendorf wrote of the ›Kalyo Kengyu Nagas‹ (1937) and Kauffmann later (1953: 12) of the ›Raziàmià Angamis‹. The ›Kalyo Kengyu‹ are the present-day Khiamniungan, and the ›Raziàmià Angami‹ possibly a group that is now considered part of the Zeme (or Jeme). The latter united in 1947, a few months before Indian Independence, with the Liangmei and Rongmei to form a new tribe, the Zeliangrong. A similar move happened in the 1960s when the former ›Eastern Angami‹, consisting of two language groups – chakri and khezha – aligned with the Southern Sangtam in a new tribe, the Chakesang. The Sangtam were later to leave the alliance, as did the Pochury, who had originally been part of the ...
it, too. The latter were named by the British the ›Eastern (or ›Naked‹) Rengma‹, in contrast to the ›Western Rengma‹, who for their part now distinguish three subtribes: the Northern and Southern Rengma in the Kohima District of Nagaland, and the Western Rengma, a small group living in geographical isolation from the main tribe in the present-day Karbi Anglong district of Assam. These Western Rengma call themselves Njang.

The problem behind the haphazard and woolly nomenclature came from applying the notion of the tribe to the ethnic groups in the hills of Northeast India. This may have been somehow justified in the case of adivasi ›tribes‹ of the Indian Subcontinent: the Santal, which is the largest homogeneous tribe in India in terms of pure numbers, control, along with the culturally and linguistically closely related Munda, Uraon and Ho, a territory that is unbroken for long stretches across the present-day states of Jharkhand, West Bengal and Orissa. Much the same is true of the numerous smaller tribes of Central India. But applied to the population of Northeast India, the term was inappropriate from the very start. The Nagas and their neighbours to the north, south and east organised themselves in autonomous ›village republics‹. Agrarian land was abundant; every village had its own area for slash-and-burn farming and wet-paddy rice cultivation wherever the topography permitted. Marital and trade relationships existed between the villages, as did strategic alliances and formal bonds of friendship between villages, clans and individuals; but headhunting (whose victims were by no means restricted to members of other tribes) prevented lasting bonds beyond a village’s own boundaries.

The attempt to define the crucial factors for tribal organisation among the Manipur Nagas is described by Hodson (1911: 81): »In most respects the idea of tribal solidarity meets with no recognition among them. A Kabui, for instance, owes no duty to the tribe; he enjoys no rights as a member of the tribe; it affords him no protection against an enemy, for as often as not his worst enemies are those of his own village or tribe. He acknowledges no tribal head either in matters of religion or in secular affairs. He is, it is true, acquainted with the general legend that all Kabuis are descended from one of three brothers, but probably regards it as a far-off event destitute of any real importance.«

A notable contribution to the creation of Naga ›tribes‹ was made by Col. R. G. Woodthorpe, who in the last third of the nineteenth century undertook a number of military expeditions into the Naga Hills. He also gave us some of the earliest visual documents we have of the Nagas – watercolours, sketches and engravings – a considerable number of which have been brought together for the first time in this volume as a pictorial essay (see p. 31).

No one can say how many Naga tribes there actually are today: the figures given in the literature and on the internet vary considerably (see Jacobs 1990: 20). Depending on definition and way of counting, there may be anything between thirty and just under eighty tribes belonging to the Naga group, and the situation is fluid. Some of the small tribes of Manipur for example are now regarded as Nagas, while previously they were assigned more to the neighbouring Kuki-Chin group. The Kom feel they belong both to the Nagas and the Kuki. In the Indian state of Nagaland, the core settlement region of the Nagas, fourteen Naga tribes are officially recognised. Two of these, the Chakhesang and Zeliangrong, are, as already hinted at, more recent constructs created out of political considerations: their constituent tribes had individually enjoyed insufficient political weight as compared to the large tribes of the Angami, Lotha or Ao. The Zeliangrong and the Chakesang are, however, a true case of the exception proving the rule; the ubiquitous trend is towards division into ever smaller units or ›tribes‹. Little is known about the situation on the Burmese side of the Naga territories. The exceptional study of the Burmese Nagas by Jamie Saul (2005) takes inordinate care to avoid classifying along ›tribal‹ lines and restricts itself to a categorisation of groups according to linguistic criteria.

»The Northeastern region has not been called an area of ›ethnic super diversity‹ for nothing. Each one of the so-called tribal states here is pregnant with many yet dormant
Overview of the Naga and related ethnic groups in India and Burma.

The Nagas: An Introduction

The Fontsize does not indicate the size of the respective ethnic group. This map is not exhaustive. Errors and omissions excepted. (AvS)
>tribes< which could easily stir to demand a separate >iden-
tity<, if the circumstances demanded it< (Anonymous, in Grassroots Options, 1996: 18).

Alban von Stockhausen shows in the present volume (see p. 57) how the Nagas adopted and utilised the picture of the Other constructed by the British colonial powers and the US American missionaries. In particular, the concepts of >tribes< and of Christian nationalism became so strongly internalised that they are no longer to be erased from the current Naga self-image. But von Stockhausen contribution also shows that a new concept of identity is developing, above all among the younger generation of Nagas that goes beyond tribalism and evangelical Christianity.

**Agriculture and headhunting**

When ethnographers such as Hutton, Mills and Fürer-Haimendorf described the culture of the Nagas during the first third of the twentieth century, its fate had already been sealed by the incursions of the colonial power and the Christian mission. As Hutton remarked in the introduction to his monograph on the Angami (1921a: vii ff.): »Old beliefs and customs are dying, the old traditions are being forgotten, the number of Christians or quasi-Christians is steadily increasing, and the spirit of change is invading and pervading every aspect of village life.« He already suspected that the unspoilt traditional life of the Nagas was now only to be found outside of the colony, »for there are still across the frontier happy tribes, which have not yet touched pitch and become civilized like their administered brothers; which pay no house-tax, and do no reluctant coolie work; which know not the seed of conversion and the sword of dissension which missionaries bring, nor have yet been made to eat of that forbidden fruit which drove our first parents into fig-leaves and banishment.«

So what is now regarded as >traditional< is often equated with the terms >pre-colonial< and >pre-Christian<. Although isolated elements of the lost culture have found their way into present times, they mostly lack their former context, meaning that they almost only persist now in the form of book learning. Personal memories of the >olden days< have become rare, because few of the generation that still experienced them are still alive. Institutions such as the Arts and Culture Department strive to document these memories. Allem Longkumer, Additional Director of the Nagaland State Museum describes in an interview (see p. 93) the changes that the views on moral and prestige have undergone, as well as the attempts to resuscitate the old traditions.

Almost all of our current knowledge of the former culture of the Nagas is based on the observations of the colonial ethnographers of the early twentieth century. The weighty monographs by Mills (1922, 1926c, 1937) and Hutton (1921a, b) were written according to the scheme set down in Notes and Queries on Anthropology – a methodological guide published at regular intervals from the 1870s onwards for the purposes of comparative evolutionist research, which was being conducted the world over; it documented the cultural elements and aspects that were considered important at that time, and in much more breadth and detail than is true of many contemporary ethnographies.

Essential in the view of the ethnographers back then was for instance the social structure, which could be described by means of the clan systems, the age groups and the functions of the morung. The term morung, which is borrowed from the Assamese, generally described a >bachelors’ dormitory< – in some groups a similar institution also existed for girls – that was not merely a building but also a social form of organisation. Larger villages consisted of a number of village divisions (khel) which each had their own morung. This is where the bachelors spent their evenings and nights until they married, and where they learned from their elders all that was of importance to a Naga in life, such as social skills, craftwork, the arts of war and hunting, and the oral tradition of the tribe: the historical, handed-down stories and songs. The morung was school and barracks in one, and was usually located at a strategic point in the village or the village division that permitted its optimum defence in case of attack. Another unique cultural feature of the Nagas that the ethnographers meticulously documented were the cycles of rituals, especially those of the feasts of merit. These differed from village to village. Essentially these were series of ritually
framed feasts at which the host and his wife had to regale the entire village. Every feast of merit was more elaborate and costly than the previous one, and with each enacted feast the host rose further up the social scale. In this way he acquired the right, for instance, to wear certain ornaments and shawls, or to hang certain insignia on his house that could be seen from far and wide, and that announced his status: carvings on the facade, or in the case of the Angami wooden ›house-horns‹ (Hutton 1921a: 51; see photos p. 199ff.). Similarly, the practice of erecting signs in the countryside was in many instances reserved for such hosts, and included monoliths, stone seating platforms, or particular ponds. An important part of Naga life was centred on gaining prestige – and social advancement and rising in public esteem were the motors behind their remarkable material culture. But festivals of merit were not the only way to gain prestige: amorous adventures were equally alid, or – to touch on another topic to which the colonial ethnographers devoted great amounts of attention – success in war and the headhunt.

Like many of their neighbours in the hills of the Indo-Burmese border region, the Nagas hunted heads with a passion, and it was this which, long before the arrival of the British, brought them difficulties with their neighbours on the plains – the Ahom (Prakash 2007: 1904ff.). Since enemy attacks could be expected at any moment, for strategic reasons the Naga villages were always built if possible on the tops of hills – with steep access paths and magnificent views. They resembled fortresses, were protected by dense brier thickets, and had just a few well-guarded entrances that would be closed at night by heavy wooden gates. A great amount has been written on the significance of headhunting for the Nagas, mostly tending to the opinion that bagging a head or the ›soul substance‹ inside it promoted the fertility of the people, the animals and the fields (Hutton 1928b). But even such a seasoned observer as Hutton (1921a: 157) admits his inability to genuinely grasp this central element of all Naga cultures when he writes: »the ultimate reason of its existence in any particular spot must probably be sought in some deep-rooted and innate characteristic of human nature.« Even at that time the statements of the Nagas themselves did little to clarify the phenomenon: they spoke of the practical effects, but did not speculate on any mystical religious reasons behind it: »At first (…) men did not know how to make war. But one day a bird dropped a berry from a tree, and a lizard (…) and a red ant (…) fought for it. A man who was watching saw the

Fig. 6. The anthropologist Hans-Eberhard Kauffmann in the Konyak village of Wakching where together with Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf he documented a dance festival. (HEK 1937)
ant kill the lizard and cut off its head. So men learnt to take heads (...). Not only did the taking of a head gain a man glory in this world and a slave in the next, but it brought prosperity to his village in the shape of bumper crops, many children and good hunting (Mills 1926c: 200). A young man who had not yet bagged a head would be teased by the girls in his clan, and simply ignored by those in other clans. Not until he had completed a successful headhunt was he entitled to wear the prestigious insignia of a headhunter, which also evened the way to the favours of the fairer sex. »A Lhota who died recently much desired when he was young to marry a certain Phiro girl. The minx said she would only accept him if he would take the head of a Rengma girl and show it to her as a proof of his valour. This put the ardent lover in a quandary, for, with the British established at Kohima and Wokha, it appeared that he must either lose his well-beloved or take a head and get into serious trouble. But a brilliant idea struck him. He caught an unfortunate Rengma girl, cut off her ears without killing her, and after giving this proof of his valour and devotion, triumphantly married the Phiro girl« (Mills 1922: 106).

It already became clear to the ethnographers early on that too much emphasis on headhunting as a cultural element would do little justice to the character and daily life of the Nagas. »Headhunting, that was like Christmas!« as we were told in 2003 by Imtichuba Chang, an old, former headhunter in Tuensang Town. Everyday life consisted of the drudgery of the slash-and-burn fields. »The Naga is first and foremost an agriculturist«, as Fürer-Haimendorf noted (1939: 88). Every village had enough land for slash-and-burn farming (jhum). The jhum fields would be used in the first year to grow dry upland rice, the following year for maize, pumpkins, cucumbers, chillies and other vegetables, and then would be allowed to turn fallow while the next section of forest was cleared. The jhum cycle, i.e. the period until a particular piece of land was reclaimed, took up to thirty years, but nowadays it is mostly just five or six years – insufficient time for the land to regenerate. Where the topography allowed, permanent fields were set up for wet paddy rice, such as in broad river valleys or on shallow inclines. The Angami are known for their terraced fields, which earned them a place in the literature as being superior to other tribes (cf. for instance Kauffmann 1953: 19). The fields may however have come more from the physical make-up of the region than from some cultural »progressiveness«. Today, at least, one sees other tribes who have small terraced fields, such as the Chang who live far away from the Angami, and whose land as a rule is much steeper.

Two pictorial essays in the present volume give an insight into everyday life among the Nagas, the one consisting of photographs showing life in the heyday of British Colonial rule in 1936/37, the other featuring shots taken in the last five years (see p. 117 and p. 297).

Material culture and oral traditions

Everyone who is concerned with the Nagas is struck by the great quality of their material culture: their architecture, sculpture, bodily ornaments and textiles. As already hinted, these artefacts were motivated not primarily by aesthetic considerations, but by semantic ones; they served to distinguish their bearers and to denote their social position in the village; as such they were closely woven with their owner’s identity. For this reason a major focus of this book is on essays on various aspects of the material culture. A contemporary Ao artist and craftsmen, S. Ayim Longkumer from the village Lungkam, tells in an interview of his relationship to the material and of the sources of his inspiration (see p. 165). Various other contributions in this book address areas of the material culture with which the Nagas formulate their identity: in her article, Marion Wettstein takes one particular Naga tribe – the Ao – to show in detail which elements of male identity are depicted in the men’s shawls, and how these have changed with time (see p. 129). Amongst other things she draws attention to a shift in gender relations, because weaving is the handiwork par excellence of Naga women, and the men are dependent on them for the manufacture of their shawls. The importance of weaving and the present-day fashion scene that accompanies this in Nagaland is underscored in this book by a pictorial essay on current fashion in Nagaland (see p. 423). Iris Odyuo, on the other hand, has focused on a handicraft that is very much a male preserve: she describes the significance of basket-weaving for everyday and ritual life among the Nagas, taking as her example the fairly
inaccessible region at the centre of Nagaland, the area of the Chang and Khiamniungan (see p. 155). In addition, another exclusively male preserve among the Nagas – wood carving – is examined in a pictorial essay featuring historical and contemporary photographs (see p. 199).

No less remarkable than the material culture are the Nagas’ oral traditions, although sadly the source material for this is scant: the early ethnographers had little interest in the subject. Hutton and Mills cite a number of stories from various tribes in their monographs and journal articles, and any number of recent anthologies of legends and tales have appeared (e.g. Bendangangshi 1998; Ghosh & Ghosh 1997). But what is missing from all of them are details of the narrators and the situations in which the tales were told; moreover, the stories are related in a lack-lustre way with no effort being made to be faithful to the originals, meaning their distinctive ›aroma‹ is lost: references to the typical means of expression employed by a tribe, to the dramatic plot devices found in oral narrative, and to the alternation between narrated and sung passages, as was characteristic of Naga storytelling. And even the content of the tales is bland; it is only thanks to Mills’ retelling of the anecdotes surrounding the figure of Iki or Che (1937: 248ff.) – a prankster of some fame if not notoriety among the Angami, Lotha, Sema (today Sumi) and Rengma – that we have some inkling of how lively and ribald the narrative culture of the Nagas was compared with the innocuous stories in present-day anthologies: the cannibalistic and incestuous escapades of this Naga trickster do not fit the current self-image as upright Baptists. Incidentally, a still unexplored treasure trove of Naga storytelling is probably to be found in the unpublished papers of Ursula Graham Bower, who relates how she recorded the story cycle of an aged story-teller early in the summer of 1941: »He was elderly, poor, and, I imagine, rather shiftless, but he was the nearest thing to a professional story-teller the area possessed. I wished to take down the Asa-Munsarung cycle, a vast corpus of linked stories about those two familiar figures of Naga tales, the clever trickster and his simple friend. The Impoi man sat down by my hearth and day after day for three weeks he dictated the cycle. Never, before or since, have I heard such crisp and lucid Zemi spoken. I could take the material down on the typewriter as he talked, without preliminary transcription. He was superb as a story-teller. The stress, the balance, the skilled suspense, and particularly the use of rhythm and repetition, were the very voice of folk-lore. One who has merely read such stories and never heard them told, knows only the shell. The eye slips too quickly over the printed page, missing the leit-motifs, the subtle variations and harmonies, of which a teller and hearer are so keenly aware. Written folk-tales are to the spoken as a musical score is to a full performance« (Graham-Bower 1952: 124-125).

The situation with the sources is even worse for Naga songs than it is for their stories. There are still some aged Nagas who remember how in their childhood and adolescence people sang all the time, wherever they were – that singing was a part of the way people communicated: romantic feelings were conveyed in songs, as were ridicule or reproaches. The Ao warriors would announce their successful return from the headhunt by a dark sounding meyu – a polyvocal song without words that could be heard far and wide; visitors approached a friendly village in song, and were greeted in return by the singing villagers and later bid farewell with farewell songs (Graham-Bower 1952: 220-21). The Nagas are wonderful singers, with some of them having repertoires of several hundreds of songs in their heads, but all that the British ethnographers had written down and translated into English were a mere three dozen! Thomas Kaiser in his article in this book underlines the urgent need to document the songs as the last authentic textual source for the pre-colonial life of the Nagas (see p. 233). Concentrating particularly on the song traditions of the Ao and Rengma, he shows that today, fundamental layers of meaning are in danger of becoming permanently lost to even the singers themselves, because the culture they recall is no longer accessible to the current generation. This makes it all the more difficult to translate and interpret the cryptic language of the songs.

Stuart Blackburn analyses in his contribution (see p. 259) a further mythological complex: that of the ensouled landscape. Among other details he describes the various kinds of stone monuments and the stories that are linked to them. The land of the Nagas is liberally strewn with such stones – monoliths among the Angami, say, natural rock formations among the Ao – which have become the subject of myths
and legends, or are attributed with special powers. For this reason a large number of these stones have fallen victim to the Christian mission and were smashed to pieces.

A link connecting the material culture and the oral traditions can be seen in the log drums, which are the subject of Michael Oppitz’s contribution (see p. 169). He analyses the manufacture, the use and the kinds of log drums found among the Nagas and compares them with similar instruments with similar functions in the broader geographical context of Burma and southern China. The log drums of the Nagas are enormous, reclining instruments which, amid strict ritual observances, are cut from a tree in the forest that a seer has dreamed of, hollowed, and brought to the village amid great celebration. For the Ao, for instance, the log drum was »more nearly an idol than anything else which the Aos possess« (Mills 1926c: 79) – a tutelary deity for the village or village division in which it was located. Every drum had a gender, its own name and its own personality: there were (and are) male and female drums, peaceable and angry drums, and even »pregnant« drums. Their practical use lay in their function as signal instruments: using acoustic codes that were specific to each village, the drums could spread the news of a fire, say, or attack by enemies, or a successful headhunt, or of the death of a revered person over several kilometres. As such, the log drum fills an intermediate position between social communication and musical instruments, which Wolfgang Marschall tackles in depth in his contribution on the traditional music of the Nagas (see p. 213). He describes the construction of the various instruments and how they are played, as well as the social contexts in which they are used, and he also points in his analysis to the complex structures in the music itself. Just what the young urban generation of Nagas thinks of the traditional music of their fathers and grandfathers may be gleaned from the interview with Theja Meru (see p. 229), currently one of the most renowned musicians and concert promoters in the capital of Nagaland, Kohima.

From animists to Baptists

Nowadays the Nagas, or at least those on the Indian side, are almost entirely Christian, and since the small remaining handful of adherents to the pre-Christian religion either do not divulge their allegiances to western visitors, or refuse to enter into contact with them, the main source of information on the old religion is the work of the earlier writers. But in keeping with the evolutionist outlook of nineteenth century science, these writers denied that the Nagas had a religion in the strict sense of the word: »The Angamis have practically no religion. They recognize a supreme creator called Terhopfo or Kepenopfo. They also believe in the existence of evil spirits which reside in rocks, trees, and pools of water. These are usually propitiated in cases of illness by offerings of fowls, pigs, or cattle. Customs similar to these are common to the whole of the Nagas and Kuki tribes within the district. Of a future state after death, their ideas are extremely vague. They certainly believe that the soul does not die with the body, but what becomes of it they cannot say, resembling in this respect more civilized nations« (A. W. Davis Census of India 1891, in Elwin 1969: 505-06).

Hutton (1921a: 177ff.) and Mills (1922: 113ff., 1926c: 215ff., 1937: 164ff.) both felt that the old religion consisted more of a system of rituals than a moral code, and lacked theological speculation. Their descriptions of the religious beliefs of the Nagas are, however, mostly restricted to superficial phenomena that could easily be discerned by an outside observer, and grasped without lengthy field studies. Consequently the old monographs only tackle the religion of the Nagas on a superficial level, giving descriptions of various divinities and rituals without attempting to describe their religious beliefs as a whole. As a result many of the highly complex systems of belief were never examined in depth, because the authors — especially of course the missionaries — lacked a fundamental willingness to view them from the insider’s point of view, let alone to grant the various spiritual beings the status of local divinities: »In approaching a subject such as the religious beliefs of the Angami, one is met at the outset by an obstacle of very great difficulty. In common with other savage races the Angami regards the supernatural in general from a point that is sublimely vague. So vague is his idea of
The deities and spiritual beings in which he believes, that he makes no attempt whatever to reproduce in carving or in picture the mental image which he forms of them, if indeed any clear formation takes place in his mind<sup>»</sup> (Hutton 1921a: 177). The world of the Nagas was populated by spirits, gods and ancestors with whom they had to interact. The relations between the immanent and the transcendental world were clearly defined on the local level, but differed strongly from one group to another. The complex rituals and a comparison of the religious beliefs between neighbouring groups allow us to sense just how strongly oral traditions were connected in Naga religion with the belief in an ensouled nature. The recitations that have been written down at festivals of merit (Mills 1926c: 372f.) allow one to presume a close relationship to the ancestral world, as is typical of the entire Himalayan area. It was a matter of the goodwill of the ancestors whether or not they exerted a positive influence on the life of the living. Be that as it may, »the Lhota<sup>»</sup>, according to Mills, »is very far indeed from being devil-ridden and haunted with ghostly fears. He cheerfully carries out what he conceives to be his religious duties and meets his end like a man when the time comes« (1922: 113-14). Relations between men and gods appear to have been coloured less by metaphysical fears than by pragmatic considerations of their coexistence: »The nearest equivalent to gods is an order of beings called potso, who live in a world like ours, of the earthy floor of which our sky is the underside. The world of the potsos in turn has a sky which supports yet another potso world, and so on for an unknown number of layers« (ibid.: 113-114). These potso occasionally visited the village seer with presents that symbolically announced forthcoming events. Thus in 1919, the seer of the village of Illimyo was presented with various parts of a railway carriage, which was interpreted as announcing approaching difficulties with wild elephants. Vague notions existed of a supreme deity that created the universe, or in the case of the Tseminyu group of the Rengma a creator pair: »In prayers (...) the names of Songinyu and Songperinyu are uttered. They are vaguely thought of as a divine pair who created all things and can bring good or evil upon men, but it is not known which is the male and which is the female« (Mills 1937: 165).

Proselytisation by American Baptists had already started among the Nagas by the second half of the nineteenth century. And conversion not only spelt the end of the spirits and gods, it also decimated a considerable part of the old material culture because, in the rhetoric of the missionaries, it was an expression of the »satanic« traditions of their forebears. The Baptist church in Nagaland bears a marked evangelical stamp. Thus the Reverend Noklen Longkumer is anything but alone in his wish to see the whole of Asia missionised by the Nagas; he represents rather a widely held local view of the Baptists’ remit (see p. 293). The Catholic mission to the Nagas was not set up until the middle of the twentieth century and has only managed to establish itself in a few areas; only in recent years has it gained more converts, as the Bishop of the diocese of Kohima, Jose Mukala, explains in an interview (see p. 341).

It is often said by Christian Nagas that »actually<sup>»</sup> they were already Christians and believed in God before they received the true teaching from the Americans. A reverend of the Western Rengma expressed this as follows during a discussion: »We already knew our creator before Christianity reached us, but people were too stupid: instead of praying and asking for help, they made offerings to evil spirits to make sure nothing happened to them.« The missionaries at any rate used the vagueness of the old forms of belief for their own purposes, and in the tracts and Bible texts they translated into their local languages they would put the name of the highest deity or the creator god in place of the Christian god, thus suggesting a kind of continuity in the beliefs of the converts. The same strategy is used today by the members of the Sangh Parivar, an umbrella organisation for radical Hindu organisations designed to »reconvert<sup>»</sup> Northeast Indian tribes to Brahminical Hinduism, which has as little to do with the old Naga religion as Christianity or Buddhism.

Naga territories in which Hinduism wields more influence than Christianity are a rarity. One such region, the North Cachar Hills, is described in the contribution of Arkotong Longkumer, who follows a pilgrimage undertaken by the Heraka, a socio-religious reform movement founded in the 1920s by the Rongmei Naga Haipou Jadonang, and taken over after his imprisonment and execution in 1932 by his
cousin Rani Gaidinliu (see p. 403). The centre of pilgrimage for the Heraka movement is Bhuban Cave, which contains a sacrificial stone that is worshipped by both Hindus as well as other religious groups. Syncretisms between earlier and new religious forms are also to be found among the Nagas, as alluded to by Vibha Joshi in this volume in her article on healing methods among the Angami (see p. 393). Although the forms of prayer healing she mentions have a strongly Christian character, her case study of a young woman suffering from alopecia and symptoms of possession permits aspects of animistic traditions to be discerned. Similarly animistic beliefs are clearly evident in the phenomenon of tiger transformation, which has been demonstrated far beyond the borders of Nagaland. Rebekka Sutter describes in her text the connection between soul concepts and the links between tigers and humans, which are mostly classified in the literature under the heading of lycanthropy (see p. 275). Yet her article shows that the Naga tiger-men are not instances of people transforming into tigers or vice versa, but of a kind of exchange of souls. The prevailing Christian doctrine makes it difficult however for the tiger-men to reveal themselves as such or to speak of their abilities, but Talimeren Jamir from Khensa was willing to talk about his life as a tiger-man in an interview. A pictorial essay comprising contemporary photographs rounds off this section by illustrating aspects of religious life in Nagaland today, including the way traditional symbolism has entered the imagery of the churches (see p. 383).

Awakening to world politics and the struggle for independence

The roots of the still enduring armed conflict between the Indian Government in New Delhi and the rebel groups, who demand the unification of all the territories inhabited by Nagas and their independence from the Indian Union, reach back to the colonial era. Over one thousand Nagas from various tribes served during the First World War in the British Army’s Labour Corps in France. Their experience amid the ruins and corpses on the fields of war, amid a destructiveness that far outstripped anything they had previously encountered and whose background must have seemed as bizarre and incomprehensible to them as the headhunt was to Europeans, changed their view of the world and their knowledge of the surrounding political reality once and for all. For the first time some of the Nagas saw that as members of small, fragmented tribes and tribal groups they had little chance of advancing their cause in the face of the colonial power and their territorial neighbours. Since time immemorial the inhabitants of the Naga Hills had been free and independent; the British were the first foreigners who succeeded in more or less controlling large areas of their lands, even if they never actually conquered them. An end to the British presence in India was foreseeable, and the Nagas were not interested in some day joining an independent India (or Burma). The idea of politically unifying the various Naga tribes and creating a joint identity impressed itself upon them: the foreign term \(\textit{Nagas}\) was adopted as an ethonym that provided a sense of identity, and it has acted as such to this day. In 1918 war veterans, village heads and governmental employees in Kohima formed the first self-determined, supratribal platform, the \textit{Naga Club}. This became politically active in the years 1928 and 1929 when the discussions about the re-organisation of the Indian colony led to negotiations as to whether the Nagas would be part of the new reformed scheme of India. The \textit{Naga Club}, as sole official representative of the Nagas, rejected the proposal. With that the Naga territories, whose borders were never exactly defined and have remained a bone of contention – were left untouched by the scheme (Nuh & Wetshokhrolo 2002: 27-28).

The situation of the Nagas changed once again with the outbreak of the Second World War. Britain now presented India with concrete prospects of independence, albeit stipulating that India had to fight on the British side. The war even reached Nagaland, and Kohima was witness to the bloody Battle of Kohima, in which the British together with Naga warriors prevented the Japanese from invading the Assam Plain. New proposals concerning the status of the Nagas after Indian Independence at first envisaged retaining the Naga territories as a British Crown Colony, a model that was vigorously opposed in 1946 by the \textit{Naga National Council (NNC)}, the successor to the \textit{Naga Club}. The other two alternative proposals were affiliation either with the future Indian or with the future Burmese state. The \textit{NNC} voted for
total Naga independence and early in the summer of 1947 negotiated an agreement with the British Governor of Assam, Sir Akbar Hydari, in which the Nagas would first remain independent and decide after a period of ten years whether they wished to become a sovereign state or part of India. The so-called Hydari Accord was, however, turned down by the Indian leaders; the Indian state, which shortly after was handed its independence, donned the mantel of the British colonials at its north-eastern border and annexed the Nagas’ territories as part of its own.

After initial attempts by the NNC to achieve independence for the Nagas at the negotiating table, and after a plebiscite in May 1951 in which reputedly 99.9% of the Nagas voted for their independence (Prakash 2007: 1930), the NNC under the leadership of Zapu Phizo from the Angami village of Khonoma embarked on armed struggle against the Indian authorities. The army was called in to quell the Naga rebels and during the ensuing war, which lasted over half a century, burned down hundreds of villages. The entire Naga territory was declared a restricted zone and only first partially re-opened in the year 2000. In 1963 a number of the Naga territories that had belonged till then to Assam were declared by the Indian government as the federal state of ›Nagaland‹. This was a partial success for the Nagas, but for many in the independence movement it did not go far enough. Phizo, the charismatic leader, went into exile in London, where he died in 1990. But many freedom fighters had grown tired of combat, and in 1975 a number of them signed the so called Shillong Accord in the name of the NNC, in which Nagaland was
recognised as a federal state with special privileges, such as the right to retain traditional administrative structures and judicial forms within the framework of the Indian Union. But right from the outset the Shillong Accord was far from sound, and the dissidents left the NNC in 1980 to form the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN), which from then on fought on two fronts: against the Indian state and its army, and against the moderate NNC. The NSCN underwent a further split in 1988 along largely tribal lines, to produce two factions: the NSCN-IM (Isak-Muivah) and the NSCN-K (Khaplang), which up till now have chiefly been concerned with fighting one another and accusing the opposing faction of betraying the common cause.

The Indian Government no longer had a clear partner for negotiations, so the talks with the Nagas came to a standstill. In fact the majority of Nagas were tired of combat and only interested in at last being able to lead a normal life in dignity. In the 1990s the church’s attempts at arbitration – by the Council of Nagas Baptist Churches (CNBC) – between the warring parties bore fruit, and in 1997 a ceasefire agreement was made between the Indian Government and the IM faction of the NSCN. (The K faction followed suit in 2000, with a unilaterally declared ceasefire.) Since then, the ceasefire agreements have been prolonged at periodic intervals. During the last ten years the Indian Government has held negotiations with representatives of the IM faction, which is seen as the largest and most influential organisation of the armed resistance. The government has also offered to hold talks with the K faction, although these have been hindered until now by threats of withdrawal from the peace negotiations by the IM faction. The situation in the hills is a shambles, to say the least.

It is estimated that between 100,000 and 200,000 Nagas lost their lives in the struggle for autonomy during the fifty years since Indian Independence. The majority of these deaths occurred during the open war with the Indian Army during the 1950s and ’60s; but many have fallen since then in the daily crossfire of a fratricidal war between the opposing factions. The war of independence has deeply disrupted society and still dominates the life of many Nagas. Just how nationalist feelings express themselves in the Nagas’ stories and songs is described by Dolly Kikon in her article (see p. 97). She also shows how the Nagas have drawn on familiar origin and migration myths in their struggle for self-determination. A lively recollection of the Nagas’ struggles for independence is also given in an interview with the journalist Kaka D. Iralu, who also says why he thinks India is so intent on keeping Nagaland in the Union (see p. 378). The decisive question regarding the Nagas’ striving for independence is: do the Nagas constitute a single nation? Abraham Lotha clearly affirms this in his contribution (see p. 47), in which he does not simply point to the many cultural features that link the Nagas, but also to the origin and migration myths shared by many Naga groups.

Identity and representation: the >noble savage< as precedent

The question of >identity< has been a central Naga concern since the colonial era. But the definitions of identity differ greatly. Irrespective of whether one assumes a static notion of identity, or the focus is on its ambivalence and changing content, generally the phenomenon itself is placed and dealt with in the realm of immaterial ideas and values. This is obvious and perfectly justified; but for anthropological research a different approach seems more germane to the investigation of identity: one that focuses on its tangible manifestations and concretisations. The artefacts that a society makes are not simply physical objects but also the carriers of immaterial meanings and value notions. If these are subjected to change by political influences and historical processes, the material manifestations of the society concerned will likewise change, along will their assigned meanings. Much the same occurs in the oral tradition. The literary creations of the oral tradition are indicators of the social conditions in a culture, of its self-image and the way it wishes to communicate and to be perceived. They store, mirror and confirm collective ideas from their authors, so that if the latter’s life circumstances change, this also has an impact on the body of handed-down literary products. One notable complex of topics that is of especial relevance here is formed by the constants and the changes in identity, both as regards the way the people see this themselves as well as in the eyes and
comments of outsiders. The present volume aims to make a contribution to a subject that has received little attention from science: the interactions that occur between immaterial ideas, their physical concretisations, and feelings of identity, not least in the dynamics of how they have changed up to this day.

The extraordinary history of the Nagas – the isolation imposed on the region for all of fifty years, during which their culture underwent fundamental change – makes it a precedent for anthropological research into traditional societies: in future such research will be based increasingly on a combination of museum researches, archival studies, and field work.

Languishing in the anthropological museums of Europe amid the archived objects, films and images collected between the end of the nineteenth and the middle of the twentieth century is a treasure trove of data on the Nagas that people have only begun to work through. The most extensive collection is in the Pitt Rivers Museum at the University of Oxford and comprises some 5,000 items. Its existence is above all thanks to the passion of Henry Balfour, the museum’s first curator, and to the ethnographers Mills and Hutton, who have already been mentioned elsewhere. The artefacts collected by Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf form the basis of the Naga collection at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna, and those of the German anthropologist Hans-Eberhard Kauffmann are in the keeping of the Völkerkunde-museum der Universität Zürich and the Museum der Kulturen in Basel. Further Naga collections are to be found in the ethnographical museums in Berlin, Munich and Cambridge. The Naga collections in the German-speaking world are relatively unknown to the public. Which is one reason why the present volume devotes particular attention to one of the most renowned German-speaking ethnographers to have worked on the Nagas: Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf. In his article, Christian Schicklgruber does not simply present the Austrian-born scientist as an anthropologist and collector of Naga artefacts, but illuminates his activities against the backdrop of the political ideologies that shaped his early work: National Socialism and the British colonial imperative (see p. 355).

Admittedly the popular image of the Nagas in the West scarcely derives from scientific data collections, and particularly during the last few years it has been very much moulded by publications that cast a strongly exotising eye on the Nagas. In keeping with the tradition of earlier travel literature, the Nagas are imagined as ‘noble savages’. But they have long since arrived in the modern era, and only wear feather ornaments and off-the-shoulder breast-cloths at ‘cultural programmes’. A lot of youngsters flatly reject the culture of their forebears, as can be read in an interview with a young woman from Kohima, (see p. 418). But the fact that she chooses to remain anonymous – even though she expresses the views of many of the younger generation – shows that critique of the existing social structures of Nagaland are not unproblematic. She notes that the older generations have a fairly schizophrenic attitude towards their past: they demand respect for their traditional culture and its preservation, but at the same time they refuse to introduce interested youngsters to this culture. Youth takes its revenge, as it were, by condemning all that is old and by orienting itself to western models, particularly those from the USA. As Kevilhuninu Nagi writes in her contribution, although the old clan structures still exert an influence, the breakdown of the family has been observable for a long time (see p. 111). More outspoken are the words of the social worker Chingmak Kejong from Tuensang in his interview (see p. 107). He not only analyses the collapse of the community, but speaks openly about current social problems such as drug abuse and HIV.
The present volume wishes to avoid casting the Nagas in an exotic light, and also wishes to give conscious expression to the modern world and the daily life of the Nagas, and to allow individual voices from quite different fields of activities to have their own say. The book avoids any attempt to draw a uniform picture of the Nagas; it raises rather the ›hubbub of opinions‹ – the multifarious and at times contradictory viewpoints and statements – to its kaleidoscopic principle.

The Editors

Endnotes
1 Cited without details of source and page numbers in R. B. Pember-ton, The Eastern Frontier of India, 1835.
2 In this volume the current spelling Lotha is used, except for citations of older texts, where the spelling Lhota was conventional.
Interviews
All interviews were conducted and recorded in Nagaland, resp. Assam, by Alban von Stockhausen, Marion Wettstein, Rebekka Sutter or Christian Schicklgruber. Interviews given in Ao were translated by Toshi Jamir, Nungsangkobba Pongener, Tsangshingla Imlong and Alemla Pongentsür. Most of them, however, were given in English; to keep them as close as possible to the original, the wording has not been changed in writing.

Abbreviations

**AVS** Alban von Stockhausen (Zürich)
**CFH** Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf (MVW/ SOAS)
**CRS** C.R. Stonor (Naga Database archival material)
**CS** Christian Schicklgruber (Vienna)
**DV** Ditamulü Vasa (Kohima)
**HEK** Hans-Eberhard Kauffmann (Institut für Ethnologie und Afrikanistik, München)
**JHH** J.H. Hutton (PRM)
**JPM** J.P. Mills (PRM)
**JS** Jan Seifert (Leipzig)
**KL** Kathrin Leuenberger (Zürich)
**MO** Michael Oppitz (Zürich)
**MVW** Museum für Völkerkunde Wien
**MW** Marion Wettstein (Zürich)
**PRM** Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford
**RGW** R.G. Woodthorpe (PRM / Museum of Mankind)
**RS** Rebekka Sutter (Zürich)
**SOAS** School for Oriental and African Studies, London
**SZ** Stephan Zeisler (Vienna)
**TJ** Tiatoshi Jamir (Kohima)
**TK** Thomas Kaiser (Zürich)
**TP** Tenzing Paljor (Kabul)
**VMZ** Völkerkundemuseum der Universität Zürich
**WGA** W.G. Archer (Naga Database archival material)

Picture Credits


**CRS** Photographs, PRM Photograph Collections; 1998.320.758: 184

**CS** Photographs: 121, 383, 384, 386

**DV** Photographs: 333, 336, 337

**HEK** Photographs, archive of the Institut für Ethnologie und Afrikanistik der Ludwig-Maximilian Universität München: 15, 19, 59, 173, 179, 199, 202, 203, 206, 266, 267, 268, 298, 299

**JHH** Photographs, PRM Photograph Collections: 1998.327.3.835 (p. 263), 1998.327.3.898 (p. 34), 1998.327.3.899 (p. 37)

**JPM** Photograph, Naga Database archival material: 195

**JS** Photographs: 194, 277, 278, 390, 391

**KL** Photographs for VMZ: 81, 82, 90, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 175, 214, 218, 254, 256, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349

**MO** Photographs: 123, 124, 180, 186, 187, 188, 189, 193, 195; Drawing: 176

**MW** Colour drawings: 129, 131, 134, 135, 136, 139; object-scan: 140; Diagram: 409 (based on template by the author)

**PRM** Object photograph (objects collection), 1923.85.961: 175

**SGW** Autograph, Museum of Mankind (British Museum): 31

**WGA** Watercolours and sketches, PRM Manuscript Collections, Woodthorpe Collection: 1910.45.4.1 (p. 40), 1910.45.4.3 (p. 34), 1910.45.4.4 (p. 34), 1910.45.4.5 (p. 37), 1910.45.4.6 (p. 37), 1910.45.5.1 (p. 18), 1910.45.5.2 (p. 38), 1910.45.5.4 (p. 40), 1910.45.5.5 (p. 39), 1910.45.5.6 (p. 39), 1910.45.7.1 (p. 41), 1910.45.7.4 (p. 45), 1910.45.7.11 (p. 44), 1983.7.17 (p. 39); Watercolours and sketches, PRM, Photograph Collections:
1914.5.2.4 (p. 40), 1914.5.2.10 (p. 35), 1914.5.2.13 (p. 36),
1914.5.2.16 (p. 38), 1914.5.2.19 (p. 41), 1914.5.2.24 (p. 42),
1914.5.2.28 (p. 43), 1914.5.2.29 (p. 44), 1914.5.2.71 (p. 35),
1914.5.2.83 (p. 41), 1916.47.2 (p. 32), 1998.219.2.1 (p. 33);
Naga Database: Diary entry 23.3.1876 (p. 32);
Photographs, PRM Photograph Collections: 1914.5.3.33 (p. 36),
1914.5.2.82 (p. 201);
RS Videostills: 271, 283, 284, 287, 288;
SZ Object photographs for MVW: Coverimages, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87,
88, 89, 90, 91, 147, 150, 151, 152, 153, 220, 253, 255, 256, 269,
344, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353;
TJ Photographs: 326, 328, 329;
TK Photographs: 234, 240, 246, 248;
TP Photographs: 181, 191, 194;
WGA Photographs, Naga Database archival material: 172, 176, 178, 179,
182, 184, 185, 192;
Anungla Aier, Kohima, photographs: 334, 335;
Henry Balfour, coloured sketches, PRM Manuscript Collections: 183
(Balfour Papers, Box 3);
Vibha Joshi, Oxford, photographs: 395, 400;
Arkotong Longkumer, Edinburgh, photographs: 406, 408, 410;
Abraham Lotha, New York, photographs: 50, 55;
Wolfgang Marschall, Zürich, music transcriptions: 226, 227;
Marco Mitri, Shillong, photographs: 524;
Maya Viola Oppitz, Berlin, Drawing: 174;
The Rite of Sacrifice of the Wa (Liu & Liang 2005), videostills: 176;
Zentralbibliothek Zürich, map scans: 13, 61, 62.
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ABBOTT, GERRY

AIER, ANUNGLA

ALLEN, NICHOLAS J.

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