MEMOIRS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

VOL. XI, No. 1, pp. 1—72.

DIARIES OF TWO TOURS IN THE UNADMINISTERED AREA EAST OF THE NAGA HILLS.

BY

J. H. HUTTON.

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.
PUBLISHED BY THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, 1, PARK STREET,
CALCUTTA.
1929.

Price Rs. 11-13-0.

21 UNITS.

7-1-29.

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Volume Complete (1905–1907). Title and Index issued (dated 1907).

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DIARIES OF TWO TOURS IN THE UNADMINISTERED AREA EAST OF THE NAGA HILLS.

By J. H. Hutton.

First Tour.

April, 1923.

The following notes were taken in the course of a tour made by Mr. J. P. Mills, I.P., and myself to a part of the Naga Hills which, as far as is known, has never been visited by any white man, except for the tour made for survey purposes by Lt. (afterwards General) Woodthorpe, R.E., in 1876, when he made a journey through some of the villages with which this diary is concerned. Occupied by the necessity of making maps against time, Woodthorpe must have had even less opportunity for anthropology than we had, and that was so little as to consist in taking occasional notes of anything that happened to catch our attention, to which I have added such observations as occurred to me at the time or afterwards.

Strangers passing with a strongly armed party through villages whose attitude can hardly be less than suspicious at the best, and is always liable to turn to active hostility as the result of any trifling misunderstanding, do not get much chance of getting to know the people, and this must be particularly the case when the responsibility for their personal safety does not rest with themselves, so that they can go nowhere without armed sentries standing over them like warders guarding a recaptured convict. Capt. W. B. Shakespear, who commanded our escort, and who should at least have a sort of a family feeling for ethnology, was sympathetic but taking no risks, and in addition to these obstacles, much of our time was inevitably taken up with transitory matters of politics, supplies or transport arrangements. On the top of all we had to contend with consistent bad weather. A succession of very rainy days not only dilutes enthusiasm, but very much limits opportunities. One advantage we had, which does not always attend such trips; our escort included two pipers and a drum, which in the shyest of villages succeeded in luring from obscurity a few of the more curious or musically inclined. Even so, it is possible that our hosts regarded our tunes as intended to blight their crops, although in April, the month of the tour, wind instruments are in season in most Naga tribes.

I should add that one of the first objects we had, was to visit the Konyak Naga village of Yungya in connection with a recent raid in the course of which men of that village had wounded a man of the village of Kamahu, pursued him on to the administered side of our frontier and there had killed him and taken his head.

April 3rd.—Left the Assam-Bengal Railway at Nazira and marched east to Luchaipani at the foot of the hills, where we camped. A severe thunderstorm in the night, the forerunner of many, unfortunately.

April 4th.—Up to Tamlu, where I met Mills. On the way I was entirely defeated by a Tamlu Naga, who hailed me in Assamese with "Where did your eyes die-die?"[1] The Sema interpreter, however, Kohoto, who was carrying my gun grasped the meaning at once, though he said he had never heard the expression, before, and replied, tittering, in the man's own idiom "Our eyes died-died (or "we eye died") at Luchaipani." Then I realised that he had only been asking where we had slept. The Tamlu people insisted that it was correct Assamese.

The three friendly clans of Yungya sent in their headmen to see us here. The village of Yungya is divided into five clans, of which two are hostile to Kamahu and friendly to the neighbouring village of Tangsa, the other three being friendly to Kamahu and ill-disposed towards Tangsa. The former had been responsible for the raid. The Tangsa and Kamahu chiefs also came in, while the Namsang chiefs were there to answer the charge of having received Kamahu meat, *viz.* part of a hand and a bit of flesh from the head, from their old allies in iniquity.

April 5th.—In the morning we saw smoke signals, or something of the sort go up from Yungya, who could probably see the sun catch our bayonets, and guessed that we were leaving Tamlu. We camped at the Dikhu. The river very dirty, but I managed to get a couple of mahseer. A second deputation came in from Kamahu, and some of the headmen of Yacham, a transfrontier Ao village with probably a good dash of Phom and Konyak blood.[2]

April 6th.—To Tangsa. Here elaborate preparations had been made for us, a camp being cleared and water and wood stacked ready for us, which we ungraciously acknowledged by arresting two of the leading villagers and one other who had been concerned likewise in the raid on Kamahu. However, the village in general seemed rather pleased than otherwise, and we gathered that the gentlemen were far from popular.

The Yacham leader came in again to see what we were up to, and also two of the chief men of a village called Shua, or Wakhu, east of the Yangmun, who had heard of our projected tour in that direction. I fancy their purpose was to see if they could induce us to attack a neighbouring village with whom they were unfriendly.

The Yacham leader brought word from the hostile clans of Yungya that their jungle was full of "panji"-pits and "panjis"[3] and that we might burn the village if we pleased, as they had left nothing in it, but that they would attack us if we came to look for them in the jungle. We also learnt here that it was arranged that the

[1] Or rather, perhaps, "Where did you eye-die die?" *Kön phāle chunka mārichhe mārichhe?*

[2] I visited this village in 1921. See *Man*, No. 67, August, 1922.

[3] The message really did come from the hostile clans, but the part about the "panjis" they had ready for us appears to have been untrue and merely an attempt to intimidate. We met with very few "panjis" on the whole.

hostile clans should bring part of their women and children across to Tangsa as soon as we had left, and the Yacham men had in fact brought food for them to eat while in Tangsa.

In the evening we went up to the village and selected a site on the Yungya side for a picket to stay behind in Tangsa and join us in Yungya on the eighth. We also interrogated our prisoners, Shopen and his son (Plate 4, fig. 4; and 5, figs. 1 and 3), and established quite clearly that they were privy to the plot against Kamahu. Shopen had fed and housed the raiders; his son had taken steps to prevent any warning from reaching Kamahu through the Kamahu women living in Tangsa married to Tangsa husbands, and the third man had carried the head part of the way back to Yungya for the raiders. We could not prove what we strongly suspected, that Shopen's disreputable son had accompanied the raiding party to the site of the ambush.

April 7th.—In the morning we let go the prisoner who had merely helped carry the head. He was an insignificant fellow, who had probably only done what he was told to do. We left twenty-five rifles including signallers at Tangsa to watch the Yungya path, and marched to Kamahu. Urangkong met us here with coolies and supplies. Phomching has just succeeded in taking three heads off Yacham, coming round behind by way of Urangkong land. Yacham sent out a pursuit party to Urangkong direct, who threatened to cut up the whole of that rather miserable village if they gave information, and waited in Urangkong itself for the returning Phomching warriors. One of these, the chief, rashly walked into the village, probably hoping to implicate it in the ensuing hostilities on his own side as a party to the raid. The Yacham men rushed out of a house and fell upon him and smote him, taking his head and recovering one of the Yacham heads which he was carrying. The other Phomching men had time to escape, however, though one of them, Kangshi, erstwhile a Government interpreter at Mokokchung, had to leave his Yacham head hidden in the jungle, which Urangkong afterwards returned to Yacham. The third warrior, got his head home safely. Now Urangkong are sitting unhappily on the hedge between Yacham and Phomching, afraid of both, but glad enough to work off any dirty Phom trick on either.

I forgot to ask at Kamahu after the young buck we had with us in November '21 at Yacham, who was so delighted with the burning of that village that he was struck paralytic down the whole of his left side from pure joy at the event, a genuine case, diagnosed on the spot by the doctor with the column.

April 8th.—To Yungya. Water short, and a decent camping ground within reach of it simply not to be had. The hostile clans had absolutely cleared out. There was not even a chicken left in the place, and even the houses were in many cases dismantled leaving only the framework. The whole place was crawling with myriads of hungry fleas, the only inhabitants, far too many of whom we brought away with us. Firewood, thatch, even lumps of clay for making pots, was all removed, and we came across some of it hidden in the jungle round

the village. Even the great wooden drums[1] had been dragged off into hiding somewhere for fear of what we might do to them.

April 9th.—In Yungya I noticed two Konyak customs new to me that had to do with eggs; one, which Mills says is also an Ao custom, was that of carrying about the person in hostile country a bit of egg-shell to ward off the dangerous emanations of enemies; the other, that of throwing eggs into a burning house to stop the fire from spreading. The egg is thrown into the conflagration by a wise man, or some similar sort of witch-doctor or priest with what sounds like an imprecation to stop the fire.

I observed that stones were used in building the "morungs" (bachelors' houses) as elsewhere in the Konyak country, and that the erect stones set up in front of one of them were painted in bands of reddish colour (possibly blood) alternating with equal bands of the grey stone. Red and black or black and white bands of equal breadth is a favourite pattern among Konyaks. The wooden "drums" in Kongan, for instance, are painted thus. Other morungs had unpainted stones, one or two, erect with flat ones round them[2] to receive the heads of newly decapitated enemies, a custom apparently followed by the Dusun of Borneo likewise.[3]

April 10th.—Having rained all night again, it was still raining hard in the morning, but cleared up about midday. The Kamahu people and our Changs searched for pig, but did not find very many. What there were, were hidden in holes in the ground excavated under the surface so that the pig should not root their way out. They did find a few of the Yungya heads, some of which were identified as having grown on Mongnyu and Kamahu bodies when alive. One of our Changs told us that when Shamnyu, a Konyak ("Chagyik") village, raided the Chang village of Phomhek, and lost thirty heads to it in the process, they cut off the heads of their own killed rather than leave them behind for the enemy.[4]

The Yungya trophies (Plate I, fig. 7) which led to this remark consisted of skulls decorated with horns on the lines of those I got from Yacham in November 1921.[5]

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1 Hollowed logs, made like dug-out canoes, and played by rows of men and boys hammering on the edges of the slot with mallets made like dumb-bells. See *A Visit to the Naga Hills*, by S. E. Peal in *J.A.S.B.*, I of 1872. I suppose I ought strictly to speak of them as xylophones rather than drums. They have no membrane.

2 See *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LII (Dec., 1922), Plate XV and page 243.

3 Evans, *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo*, p. 161.

4 Mills suggests a reason, deduced by him from the Ao belief, that the soul is earth-bound till the decapitator of the body die, so that if the head be not taken by the enemy, the soul will be saved from this fate. This reason, however, seems to me too weak for the case. I doubt if any Naga would decapitate a friend from motives of compassion for his soul, risking the dead man's anger to perform an act naturally repugnant and normally tabooed. I think that the original motive is to be sought in the idea, which seem to underlie all head-hunting, that with the head the soul of the dead is carried off to increase the prosperity of the captor. By taking the heads of their own side the defeated raiders would carry back the souls of their own dead to add to the store of vitality, fertility and prosperity in their own village, or at any rate prevent the enemy's doing so. The practice is not unique among head-hunters, being reported from the head-hunters of Kafiristan (*J.R.A.I.*, XXVII, p. 82) and also from New Zealand (*Old New Zealand*, by a Pakeha Maori, ch. III).

5 See *Man*, August 1922.

We brought away eighteen of the best or most typical of them. Five were complete human skulls. One of them must have died hard, for he was fearfully chopped about, and another had the jaw all broken up and an old spear-head thrust through the skull. I imagine this is to facilitate the spearing of the victim's relations or fellow-villagers, but I have not met with the practice before. Another of the trophies was a human skull wanting both the face and jaw. Grass tassels were hung where the face should have been, and an old spear-head was attached to the base. The horns were buffalo horns, and had grass tassels at the ends of them, above which beans from the huge pods of the sword-bean were strung. This sword-bean (*Entada scandens*) probably has a particular association with fertility, doubtless on account of its prolific nature. It is hung round the necks of their mithan by Semas and Lhotas and also used as a tally of loans.[1] Mills tells me that it is used for the rope at the Ao "Rope-pulling" festival,[2] a fertility rite, I think, and it is used in a seasonal game by most Nagas and by other tribes in Assam.[3] The Angamis, and I think other Naga tribes as well, use the stem of this creeper as in intoxicant for catching fish. The grass tassels are attached to the skull to swing and rustle when the owner is dancing with it (Pl. 1, fig. 6),[4] and the same practice seems to obtain among the Dusun of Borneo again,[5] a tribe which appears to have very much in common with Nagas. Four were human skulls, on which bears' jaws replaced the originals doubtless taken by some other sharer in the head.[6] One skull was divided vertically, and the left half replaced by a piece of hollowed wood with a hole for the orbit. Another was human with a wooden jaw. Three were monkey skulls, representing no doubt human originals, one being surmounted by a bit of cranium and with a wooden jaw; another combined with a human jaw and with several bits of crania, presumably human, strung above it; the third simply a monkey skull with what appeared to be the jaw of a young bear. Perhaps this last represented trophies which had been burnt or in some other way destroyed or lost. One trophy consisted merely of two bits of crania on a knotted string, and two more were basket balls, of the kind familiar as the Ao symbol of an enemy's head, one with a fragment of cranium attached and adorned with the horns of a serow (*Capricornis sumatrensis rubidus*), the other without horns but with a human jaw and a fragment of bone attached to it. With one exception, the horns on all the other trophies were buffalo horns, or else wooden substitutes. The exception had horns of the domestic mithan (*Bos frontalis*).

Yungya dispose of their dead like Yacham in trees, removing the head when

[1] *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 73, 160n, 106, 244; *The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 60, 82, Mills.

[2] Cf. Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, pp. 64, 133, 168, 172; Shakespear, *Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 167.

[3] *The Angami Nagas*, p. 103; *The Sema Nagas*, p. 107; Mills, op. cit., p. 83; Hodson, *The Meitheis*, p. 55; McCulloch, *Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, p. 26; Dalton, *Ethnography of Bengal*, p. 50; Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 53; Lewin, *Wild Races of South East India*, p. 102.

[4] *V. The Angami Nagas*, p. 383 illustn.

[5] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 161; Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, I, Plates 38, 69, and 102; II, Plate 162.

[6] In my note in *Man*, above referred to describing the Yacham skulls I mistakenly described such jaws as being those of pigs. Like these, they were bears'.

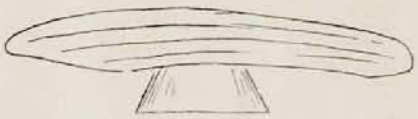
ripe and burying it in a pot let into the ground among the roots of the corpse tree, or a neighbouring tree, and covered with a flat stone. The corpse tree is a *ficus*, for which there is some consistent veneration among Nagas. The Lhota *mingethung*—head-tree—is usually the same; as also is that of the Wa in Burma;[1] while the Angamis say that a *ficus* is the priest of the trees. Again the Dusun of Borneo concur.[2] The Mafulu in New Guinea use a species of fig almost exactly as Yungya do for their dead, while other Papuan tribes revere the tree.[3] Similarly the *Ficus religiosa* is worshipped in a tribe of the South of India by women who desire offspring,[4] and by the Akikuyu of British East Africa in the same way, the Akikuyu definitely regarding the wild fig tree as the abode of the souls of the dead.[5] The connection of the two ideas is obvious. Sir J. G. Frazer, in a note[6] quotes Livingstone as saying of the *ficus*, "It is a sacred tree all over Africa and India." Apparently he might have added New Guinea and perhaps Indonesia generally as well. In a note on an Angami folk-tale, *Folk-Lore*,[7] suggests that the Angami beliefs are borrowed from Hinduism, where the veneration for the *ficus religiosa* is well known. It seems to me more likely that all these beliefs about, and the veneration for, the wild fig, have their origin in some ancient negroid cult spread all round the Indian Ocean, which has grown up into Hinduism from below, and traces of which one would expect to find in tribes which have obviously absorbed an appreciable strain of negroid blood. The Naga tribes appear to me to have not only never been seriously under the influence of Hinduism, but to be probably entirely untouched by it, except perhaps a few who live among Manipuris in the Manipur Valley. Similarly I am disposed to suspect the survival of a definitely Negrito belief in the practice of hanging the combs of bees or wasps in the entrances of houses. On this particular tour we saw them everywhere, a huge comb in the front of a *morung* in Ukha, a Konyak village to the south-east of Yungya, being particularly noticeable. I did not succeed in getting any very definite reason for the practice, though someone said that it kept the wild cats away (they wreak havoc with the chickens in these hills), and the Semas say that it helps to make the eggs hatch, no doubt because it has already succeeded in hatching out a brood of wasps. The Thado Kukis, however (for I found some Kuki constables in my police force hanging combs in front of their quarters) state quite definitely that empty honeycombs are invaluable for warding off the onslaughts of evil spirits. One presumes that they are afraid of getting stung by the bees there might be in it, or, as Mills suggests, that they cannot find the way through, or perhaps that they have to stop and count the cells, while A. R. Brown, in *The Andaman Islanders*, gives this as an Andaman belief, the wax of the black bee—perhaps a fierce rock bee, as in the Naga Hills—being particularly efficacious in keeping off the spirits of the forest. Mr. Henry

[1] Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, I, ii, p. 38 sq.
[2] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
[3] Williamson, *The Mafulu*, pp. 256–263; Lyons, *Tree Reverence among Papuans*; *Man*, May 1923.
[4] Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, III, p. 316.
[5] Frazer, *Golden Bough* (*The Magic Art*), II, p. 316.
[6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 317. [7] Vol. XXV, 4, p. 492 (Dec. '14).

Balfour tells me that combs are also so used in the Malay Peninsula. Anyhow, the appearance of this belief in the Andamans, which can have been little influenced by alien cultures, suggests that it is of Negrito origin.

In Yungya, as in Tangsa and Tamlu, hunting dogs are buried, like men, with houses over their graves, offerings of meat, etc. If this be neglected the surviving and subsequent dogs do not hunt well. Similarly the Thado Kukis always bury their hunting dogs with four corner-posts (*vakot*) to the grave like men.[1] The Italians crowned them.[2]

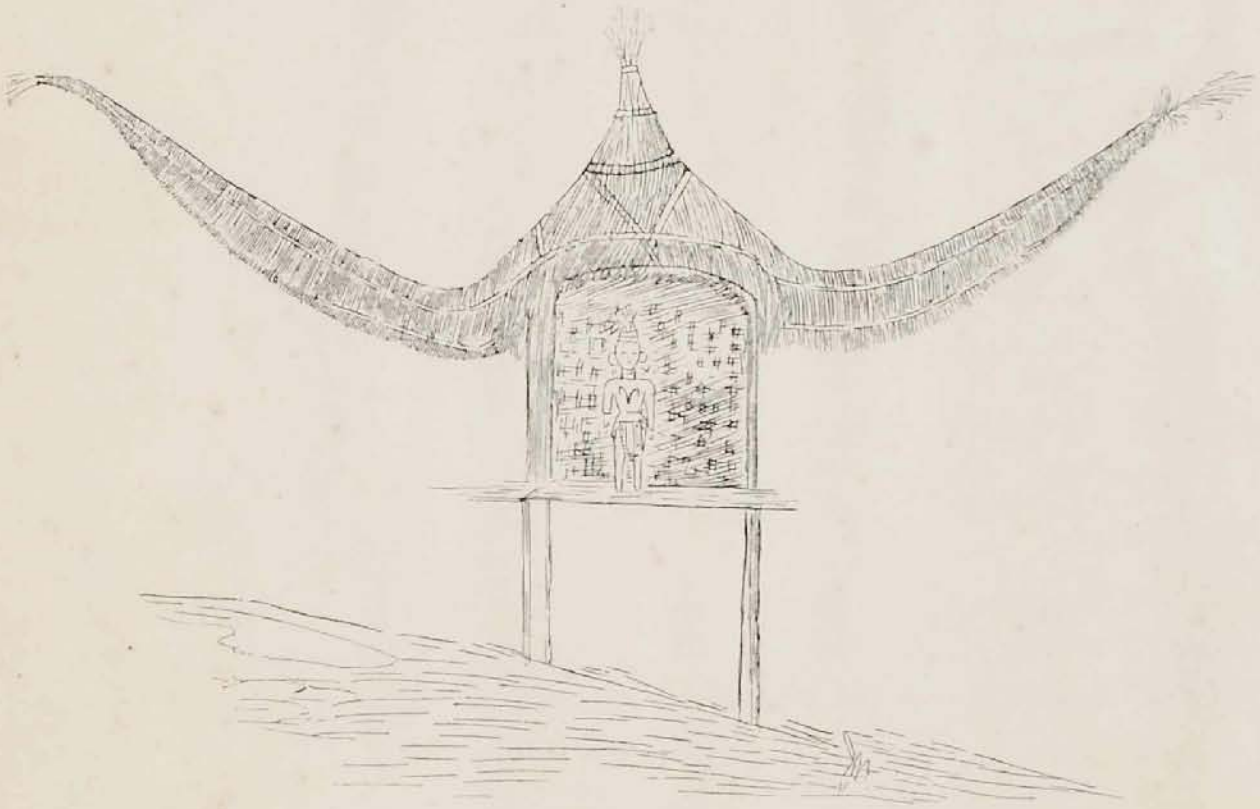
At the neighbouring village of Nyan, I noticed, a rain hat in use made like an oval shield with a headpiece in the centre of the underside as in the case of a 'mortar-board.' The type I am accustomed to in this part of the hills is the circular hat inside which the head fits. The oval shield type is used by the Angami further south, while with the tribes in between rain hats of any type are much less popular and are rarely seen.



Rain hats used by Nyan.

April 11th.—To Yàngăm *alias* Shimung, a small Konyak, or Phom and Konyak, village never before visited. It is divided from Yungya and Nyan by the Phangla stream and is on the same spur as Mongnyu, but below it.

It was while leaving Yungya that I first saw one of the enormous field-houses[3] built in these parts by men who have reaped a particularly good harvest.

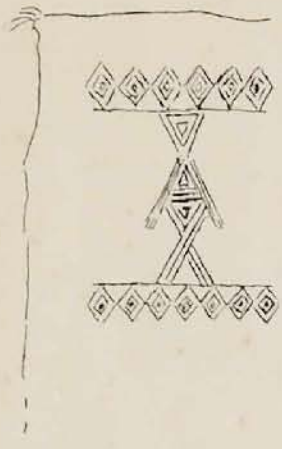


Thatched shrine for effigy of the dead at Urangkong (Phom) (Nov. 1921) Height of figure—c. 2½ to 3 ft.

[1] Cf. also *The Angami Nagas*, p. 81; Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 63. [2] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, I, 14; II, 125, 127.

[3] *V. infra*, p. 11.

They are built in a form which probably represents buffalo horns, which, like mithan horns elsewhere, are everywhere here used as a fertility symbol. The houses which shelter the effigies of the dead in Urangkong are built on a similar pattern, so that one may suspect that there, as in other parts of the Naga Hills, the dead are intimately associated with the village crops. And, although a different explanation was given me in Yacham,[1] one may perhaps surmise that the horns attached to an enemy's head originate in the same fertility symbol, and may be associated with the forked wooden posts erected by so many tribes,[2] and the stone ones at Dimapur.[3]

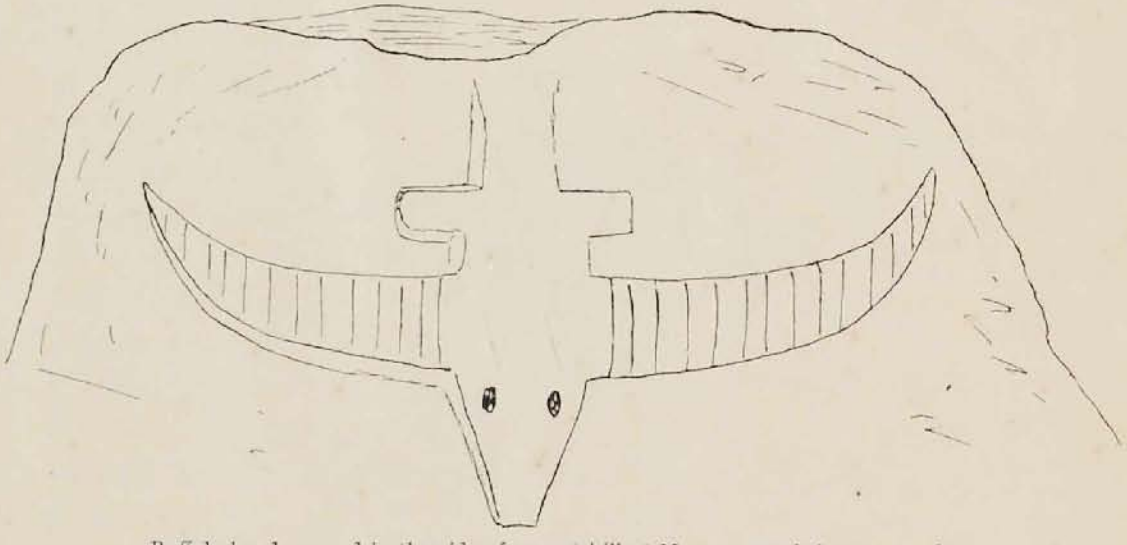


Lozenge pattern as worn on a bag. Nyan.

I noticed to-day a man of Nyan carrying an embroidered bag on which patterns were worked, which clearly associated the familiar Naga lozenge with a derivation from the human figure.

Yăngăm was formerly a large and powerful village, they told me, which was eventually defeated by Yungya, treacherously of course, and now pays her tribute.

April 12th.—To Mongnyu, *alias* Phom, the Survey's "Pohum" a smallish Phom village with three *morungs* and a great flair for intrigue. On the way up to the village I noticed a great ant-hill with a buffalo's head carved in earth in the side of it. They told me that it was made, when the path was cleared, in order to obtain riches in paddy. I did not ask whether the clearing of the village paths is here, as it is with the Angamis, associated with the cleaning of the graves of the village dead.[4] Both the Angamis and the Semas, I



Buffalo head, carved in the side of an ant-hill at Mongnyu to bring prosperity.

[1] *Man*, August, '22, *loc. cit.*

[2] Angami, Sema, Lhota, Ao, Konyak, Phom, Kalyo-Kengya, Rengma, and probably other Naga tribes, Kuki, Garo, Kachari, Wa, and many others.

[3] J.R.A.I., *Carved Monoliths at Dimapur*, etc., June, '22 (LII, p. 55).

[4] *The Angami Nagas*, p. 198.

think, take advantage of the same festival to make a pretence at renewing occasionally the village defences, rendered useless by the *Pax Britannica*, "for fear the spirits will be angry on account of failure to keep up the ancient customs." The spirits in this particular case, I take it, are the souls of the dead whom one might naturally expect to be good conservatives and to dislike their descendants not to do as they did. The Angami village of Sekitima did the same in 1922.

When we got to the village, we found a bevy of the village beauties sitting outside the gate in wait for us. One or two had washed their faces, and showed very fair skins with a touch of pink underneath, but otherwise they were dirty, and everyone of them had betel-juice dribbling from the corners of her mouth. The status of the Phom woman in her own house and in Phom society generally may be gathered from the fact that they put up one of their own menfolk to tell us how much they would like to have children by us—and they married women and their husbands listening!

It was here that we first met with the custom which is fashionable among the women of those Konyaks which the Changs call "Chagyik" of cutting their hair as short as possible all over the head and of plucking it out entirely along two broadish triangles one on each side of the centre of the head starting from the forehead as the base (Pl. 1, figs. 4 and 5; Pl. 2, fig. 4). Before plucking out the hair they rub in ashes, which apparently makes the hair come out quite easily. This practice is not confined to the unmarried girls, as shaving the head is with the Angamis and other Naga tribes, but is permanent; "a very evil custom and a parlous," as Marco Polo would have said. In a verminous country, however, it probably has its advantages. In Mongnyu it is not universal and we noticed only a few women whose hair was dressed thus; Mills was told that they were immigrants from Saoching, further east.

Hammer for ceremonial hair cutting in Monguyu.

The hair of boys in Mongnyu is first cut short after they have "touched meat"[1] taken on a raid. Batches of boys whose hair is then cut together are thereafter treated as adults. For this ceremonial hair-cutting the cutting block[2] used is made of seven sword-beans[3] each stuck on a bamboo stalk, the opposite ends of which are bound together to make the handle. The hair must be cut with six taps of the beans on a dao. Mills tells me Ao boys have theirs cut with a hammer made from a little bean.

In Mongnyu outside the *morung* I noticed forked wooden posts erected, the new one being put up immediately in front of and contiguous to the old, and tied to it with ropes, while a few longish sticks, forked or branched, were stuck into the whole group so formed.

Someone described to me to-day how the Changs of Tuensang recently

[1] *I.E.* human flesh. Mills says that some Sängtäms, e.g. of Sirir8, have to take a head before they can have their hair cut round.

[2] See *The Angami Nagas*, p. 22 and the illustration, p. 370.

[3] *Entada scandens*, mentioned above.

executed a woman thief by throwing her repeatedly into a pit full of tree-nettles.[1] This treatment should have a most discouraging effect on the thievishly inclined.

Forked post at Mongnyu.

April 13th.—To Pongu, "Chang" of the Survey. Like Mongnyu, it has, I believe, never before been visited. When this area was surveyed the majority, probably, of the villages mapped were located from the higher points of the ranges visited. Woodthorpe, when he did this survey, was exceedingly pressed for time, and had no one who could interpret properly; hence, no doubt, many of the rather puzzling names on the map.[2] Pongu is a Konyak village, probably with a strongish Phom admixture, permanently at war with Hukpang. The whole village was effusively friendly, and had a line of contiguous *chungas*[3] of rice liquor lent against a low rail and stretching for about 150 yards along the path for the column to refresh it self after its climb. The village is a very stony one and with exceedingly strong defences—ladder, wall, ditch, wall, ladder, palisade, ladder again, wall and then solid wooden door. The curly-haired negroid type of head was very prevalent, and the carvings in the village more naturalistic than usual. We estimated the number of houses at about 180. Pongu dislikes the idea of making peace with Hukpang, as that village is so notoriously treacherous that it is a great deal safer to be at war with her. Knowing what I do of Hukpang, I think the men of Pongu are wise.

Some of the rich men's field-houses here seem to be in the form of a single horn, a form also used by the Phoms (*e.g.* in Urangkong) for sheltering the effigies of their dead, as well as the double form already referred to.

I noticed here a tattoo on the upper arms of the men which was new to me. I fancy it is derived from two mithun, or buffalo, heads placed nose to nose. On the chest the regular Chang tattoo of quasi-ostrich-feather style is worn.

Stones are erected in this village; there are stone sitting-places; stone foundations to the morungs; and I noticed one regular stone platform, like the Angami *bāzĕ*, though rather rougher than a *bāzĕ* would normally be. There were also the usual forked posts carved with the inevitable buffalo head. The human head seemed to be represented in carvings with peculiarly heavy eyebrows. One

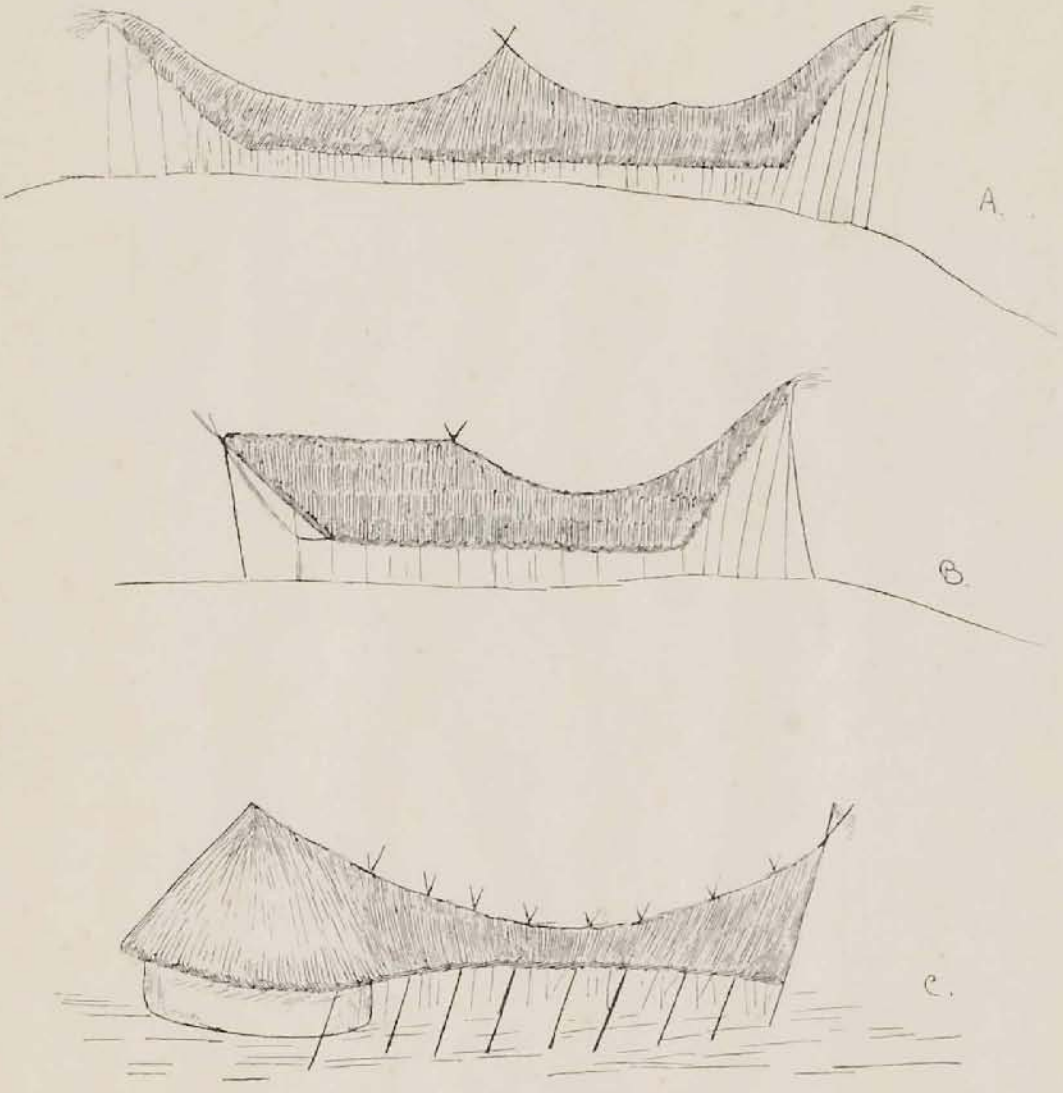
[1] Cf. *The Angami Nagas*, p. 148n. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 28. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 102, 186n. Stack, *The Mikirs*, p. 48.

[2] *I.E.* the old map. The recently published topographical maps of the Survey of India were revised and added to in the light of mapping done by a surveyor with me on these tours.

[3] *Chunga*=a vessel for drinking, or for carrying liquid, made by cutting a section of bamboo so that the node forms the bottom, the node at the other end being cut off, obliquely, as a rule, to make a lip.

morung, at the edge of a cliff, had two posts to the outer veranda, carved with a man and a woman respectively, which particularly took my fancy, as the figures were combined with the posts in a way I have seen nowhere else in these hills, the usual method being to carve them completely in relief and to adze away the post flat behind them.

The women have their chins tattooed like Chang women, but in addition have a trellis pattern on their breasts, and sometimes a circle with a dot in the centre of it



Field Houses at
A. Yungya,
B. Yonghong,
C. Longmien.

on each cheek. The men occasionally have a face tattoo of two lines running away downwards from each corner of the mouth. The leg tattoo of the women is elaborate and elegant, but I saw no tattoo quite so effective as the simple network of the Sangtams further south (Pl. 4, fig. 5). The designs of the Pongu woman's leg may be compared to those on that of a Kalabit woman of Borneo depicted by Hose and McDougall.[1]

[1] *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, plate 142.

The great wooden dug-out "drums" in use here had a curious cone left sticking up from what one must call the floor of the drum inside it, but not reaching to the slot edge, when the drum was hollowed out. I examined the "drums" of other villages for a similar construction, but did not find it elsewhere.

We noticed here large numbers of skull trophies in which a cow's skull took the place between the buffalo horns usually occupied by a human skull. Apparently when a man wounds an enemy but fails to get his head, he hangs up a cow's skull

Side, back and front views of figures carved on a Morung post at Pongu.

in the place of the human skull which he ought to have got but didn't. The wounded enemy is probably regarded as dying in consequence of the '*genna*' done with the substitute for his head. But the question arises, Why a *cow's* head? A monkey's or even a bear's skull, as used by Yacham and Yungya, would seem a decidedly nearer approach to the human than a cow's. The Naga is not a pastoral race and does not drink milk, nor has he been appreciably touched by Hinduism, yet in some respects the cow is treated with respect. Sharing as it does its owner's

roof, it is the only animal besides the dog to which the Angami gives an individual name; the Aos include a clan which, nominally at any rate, tabu the flesh of the cow entirely, though everyone else eats it; when we come to the mithun, we find that both by Aos and Changs, if not by other tribes as well, the mithun of men is

The continuation of the pattern round the knee has been shown outside the outline of the leg.

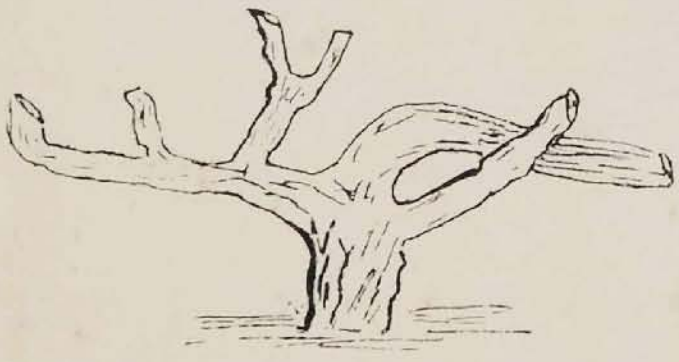
Tattoos—
1. Pongu ♂ arm.
2. do. ♀ face.
3. do. breast.
4. do. leg.
5. do. ♂ face.
6. Angfang ♂ arm.
7. Chingtang ♀ navel.
8. do. shoulder.
9. do. below throat.

associated with the sky spirits, while the souls of men are conversely bound up with the mithun of the sky, so that when a mithun dies on earth a spirit dies in the sky, and when a man dies, it means that the sky spirits have sacrificed a mithun. I do not know that the beliefs as to mithun are in any way relevant, but, in the case of the cow, it seems possible again that one is in touch with some pre-Hindu belief

that has been incorporated elsewhere into that so receptive system. So too there is an Angami custom which always suggests to me that I am witnessing the primitive practice in which the Hindu use of caste marks on the forehead arose. The seat of the Angami soul is in the forehead.[1] To keep off evil spirits the young, who are more susceptible to such harm than the adult, lick and stick on to the centre of the forehead a bit of the leaf of some aromatic plant, usually wormwood, a spiritual disinfectant of great efficacy, which gives the exact effect of a caste mark. This is no new practice, as I have heard suggested, but has a very definite and concrete purpose and must go far behind the days when Manipuris with white paint on their foreheads could be met in Kohima bazar.

April 14th.—Through Yungphong to Yanching. These two villages were recorded as "Chamba" and "Yangtung" by Woodthorpe in 1876, he coming from Hukpang ("Siphang") across the Piyongkung Mountain.[2] This time the situation was delicate, as we had Pongu men carrying our loads for us, and Pongu was at war with Yanching. The Pongu men all wore bits of sword-grass or some other sharp grass about their persons "as this is the custom when going to an enemy village." They said at first that nothing would induce them to carry past Yungphong, but eventually we got them to go on past Yanching to the river, the Yangmun or Yangnyu, beside which we camped. I swam across the river, while bathing, and found a huge concourse of strange Nagas on the far bank, but quite friendly, as one of the headmen from our side kept them from coming too close by throwing stones at them. On the part of both the villages on the near bank and of those on the far, there seemed to be the greatest reluctance to crossing the river, a sort of local Rubicon. However, some men from Jakphong, Yaktu and Ukha, which the Changs call "Aukhu," eventually came across to profess their friendliness.

In Pongu, Yungphong and Yanching there is a practice, new to me, of penning up the village pigs in pens under the platform at the back of each *morung* which is used as a latrine, the pigs serving for sewers. Individual householders hand over their pigs to be fattened thus by the young men of the *morung*, and pay them for the services so rendered.



Branched stump, used to block paths round village.

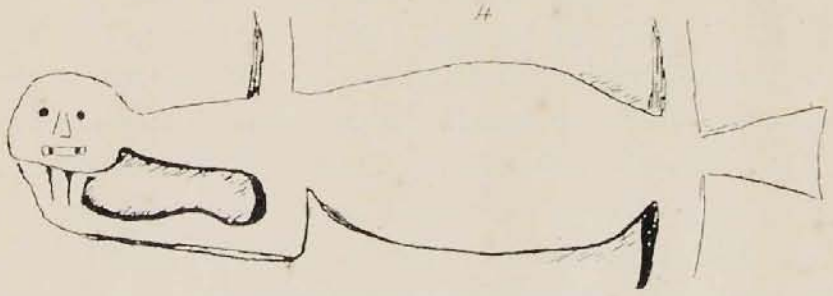
Yungphong, like Pongu, has very strong defences, a double rampart of earth and stone with perpendicular sides, a "panji"-ditch in between crossed by two bamboos for a footway with a cane slung alongside as a handrail, then palisades, ladders and a wooden door. In addition to this the paths to the village were all blocked with branched stumps,

[1] Cf. *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 98, 183.

[2] *Report of the Survey Operations in the Naga Hills, 1875-76, by Lt. R. G. Woodthorpe, R.E., Assistant Superintendent, No. 6, Topographical Survey.* This valuable report was printed, but the Assam Secretariat in Shillong has only one copy and does not know of any others. I possess a second copy, given me by the late Mr. J. B. Woodthorpe, General Woodthorpe's brother.

sometimes with rows of them, which would entirely prevent anyone from running down the paths. Woodthorpe[1] records the same at Tōbū, and Butler[2] mentions it as an Angāmi practice.

In front of the houses rows of forked posts form a low wall to the porch front, and the gables carry "house-horns." The forked posts, at any rate, were probably significant of the performance of some such ceremony as the



Grotesque on a beam at Yungphong.

Lisü of the Angamis.[3] A buffalo head carved in one of the Yungphong *morungs* was of a rather new type, and confirmed the derivation given for the tattoo on the upper arm noted at Pongo.

The belts worn in these villages give a definite connection between the long strip of cane, which a Konyak so often coils round his waist, and the broad band of cloth, stiffened to a shining white solidity with filed and fitted cowrie shells, which the Chang affects. The Yungphong belts consisted, some of them, of short lengths of cane split and joined at the ends one above the other so as to give a belt about six canes broad instead of the continuous coil. In some cases these simple horizontal canes were combined with vertical strips in a regular weave, naturally leading to the substitution of cloth. In other cases a simple belt of broad stiff bark (in one case I saw hide) was used, about six inches broad, which must give precisely the effect to the wearer that is given by the broad cowrie-stiffened belt of the Changs.

At Yungphong we noticed a round water-worn stone hanging up in cane harness under the eaves of the morung. The explanation given was that some Yungphong man "chopped" a man of Jakphong and took his head, and, in order that the bloodguiltiness might rest on Jakphong's own head instead of Yungphong's a stone from Jakphong's land was brought away and hung in Yungphong. It is difficult to see what good that can do, unless the miserable ghost is deceived by the presence of a stone from his own land into thinking that the village is his own village, and her enemies his enemies. Outside Yungphong was one of the large white screens of split bamboo that signify the death of a great or rich man. White screens of one sort or another all over the Naga Hills have this significance, and that attributed by Shakchi to such a screen on the opposite

1 *Loc. cit.*

2 V, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 45, quoting Capt. Butler in J.A.S.B. I, vi, of 1875.

3 J.R.A.I., *loc. cit.*

hill outside Ukha, *viz.*, a desire to gloat over having taken a Shakchi head, was denied by the men of Ukha, who stated, truly I think, that it had the same significance as that at Yungphong. It is not impossible that the Shakchi villagers in making the statement they did, hoped that we should disapprove, or perhaps wished merely to convince us that it was Ukha who were doing the head-taking, not themselves. On the other hand Woodthorpe in 1876 remarked[1] that they were always put up facing a village with which the erecting village was at war, as in this case, but if the village is at war, there are likely to be deaths among its inhabitants. Could it be to indicate to a dead and decapitated warrior, whose soul has presumably gone with his head to the enemy village, the proper way back to his own? The Angamis of Viswema, who put up white and black cloths in a very conspicuous way, stretched on a scaffolding and looking like a sail (Pl. 1, fig. 8), when any proper man dies, told me that they put them up "so that the dead man might see them," but I could not get more from them than that. Woodthorpe's description of the white screens he saw in 1876 is as follows:

> "It looks at a distance like a large silver chevron turned upside down. It is made of split pieces of wood with the white face turned outwards, placed close together vertically and fastened to huge curves of cane or bamboo, suspended between three trees; the whole length varies from 40 to 50 feet, and the average width is about 6 feet, widening to 12 feet at the centre point."

Here, however, it struck me that these screens were merely another instance of the buffalo-horn symbol, and possibly a means of the soul's communicating its fertility 'mana' to the village or the village land. But I confess that the form *might* be likened to the representation of a gigantic bird, and some further erections described by him as seen at the Chang village of Yangpi gave him that impression. These were

> "large pieces of wood, cut, and the white face turned outwards, and joined, so as to resemble a bird with outstretched wings, and placed in the branches of several of the trees of the village, and have the appearance at a little distance of huge white birds beginning to take flight."

Whatever the intention of these erections put up by various tribes they all have the effect of catching the eye at a great distance, and letting one know that the village has lost some stout fellow by death.[2]

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[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] I have since seen one just as described by Woodthorpe in the first extract given above. It represented a rainbow and was put up as part of the memorial of a chief who died at Chingmei. Possibly the rainbow is for the spirit to go to the next world by. The Semas call the rainbow *Kungumi pukhu* meaning "the sky spirits, bridge." In Greece the rainbow was Iris the messenger of the gods to mortals, while in Teutonic mythology again the rainbow is the bridge into heaven used by the gods (Stallybrass, *Grimm's Teutonic Mythology*, 731 *sq.*) and by the dead (*ibid.* 733). I am indebted to Mr. Henry Balfour for the reference to Stallybrass. The rainbow is regarded as a path for disease by the Sakai-Jakun of Pahang, who, if they see a rainbow when on a journey, stop and build a hut, and by the Andamanese as the "road used by angels" (Man, *J.R.A.I.*, XII, 338) or by spirits visiting their friends on earth (Brown, *Andaman Islanders*). It is probably with

In Yanching I noticed again that the curly-haired negroid type was common, though I never yet in any village met the equal in this respect of a Sangtam or a Sema, I do not know which, from the village of Shiets, who had curly black hair lying close to his skull like an African. He must have been the butt of his fellow-villagers, for curly hair is regarded by Semas, as by most other Nagas, as peculiarly offensive and a matter for much ridicule, and is rare in most tribes.

I noticed at Yanching the use of both the thong and the quartz and iron method of producing fire.

The Yanching 'lengtas' [1] do not, like the Chang and Sangtam ones, have a bag to contain the testicles, but constitute a compromise between that and the simple Konyak 'lengta' which merely depends from the waist. The Yanching 'lengta' is attached directly to the testicles by a cord. A man of Noklang came in wearing an interesting red cane pointed cane headband intermediate in shape between the red cane hat of the Chang and the pointed white headband of the Northern Konyaks.

April 15th.—Halted by the Yangmun River. The villages of Angfang and Yonghong sent in representatives with presents and professions of good will, as also Ükha, Noklang, Jakphong and others, but all were very reluctant to cross to our side of the river. Ükha wanted to know if they should "clear the camping ground which the sahibs used the last time they came," i.e. forty-eight years before, the only previous visit ever! Another typical instance of the length of village memories in the less sophisticated parts of the hills was afforded by the village of Angfang, who mentioned that they had given Woodthorpe two goats, a pig, ten fowls and twenty eggs, which may probably be taken as correct to within an egg or two. The men of Jakphong were accustomed to water, and though I did not see anyone swim, I saw them disappear under water for some time, and they must have been either swimming under water or crawling about on the bottom. Woodthorpe noted having seen Lhotas cross the Diyang below Sanis by crawling under water on the bed of the river with stones tucked in their belts.

All these villages across the Yangmun seem to know Ahon, our Konyak interpreter from Shiong to the North, though apparently he has only once in his life been this way, and that to get heads. Possibly his name has been heard of, and his tattoo is recognized as that of Chī, of which Shiong is an offshoot. Chī has much influence here, and apparently receives or used to receive tribute.

The presentation eggs brought for us by the Jakphong representatives were, for a change, neither addled nor bad. They hatched of themselves in the kitchen that evening, and without the aid of any wasps' nest.

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the same sort of idea that the Angami, Sema, Lhota and Ao Nagas will not point at the rainbow for fear their fingers would shrivel, a belief found in Germany (Brunswick) and in China (Stallybrass, *op. cit.*, II, 731 *sq.*), among the Karens (Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 228), in Borneo (Evans, *Religion, Folklore and Custom in N. Borneo and the Malay*, p. 15) and in Lifua in Melanesia (Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, p. 113).

[1] A species of loin cloth usually in the form of a narrow apron hanging down from the belt in front of it, and passing also underneath it and down between the legs, and ultimately attached by most tribes, not by all, to the back of the belt by a cord.

April 16th.—To Ükha, a steepish climb of about five to six miles after crossing the river. The people here were very shy. They gave us presents of rice and goats and rice-liquor, but were obviously afraid of our intentions, no doubt on account of what happened last time, when they tried to ambush Woodthorpe's escort, and succeeded in wounding a sepoy and getting their village burnt. Probably they credit us with memories no less long than their own and the vindictiveness any Naga would display in our position. Many of the carved posts of the *morungs* were taken down and put outside, to save them, as we supposed, in case of the village being burnt, and when I turned my camera on a crowded morung built in three tiers (Pl. 1, fig. 1), all the occupants fled, taking it for some sort of deadly weapon, and could not be induced to return. Yet they cannot ever have seen or heard of a machine gun. If one looked at them they got up and went away. They had a few old heads in the *morungs*—the new ones probably hidden—and one *morung* had a fairly recent hand fastened up in it.

At Ükha, as at Pongu, the young trees are very carefully preserved and kept growing in the crop, and the surface soil is kept from detrition by a very free and systematic use of logs to keep up the earth in rudimentary terraces of a more efficient kind than I have seen between here and the Angami country. The drink they gave us here struck me as extraordinarily like the Kuki *vai-ju*, and, sure enough, I found on enquiry that it was brewed from paddy husks as by the Thados.

All round these parts there is a general reluctance to part with any article of personal use or adornment, for fear, apparently, that the soul of the original owner will fall into the power of the purchaser, which rather looks as though articles once worn became permeated with the owner's vital essence.

This sentiment seems a great deal stronger when it is known that a *sahib* is the purchaser as distinct from a strange Naga.

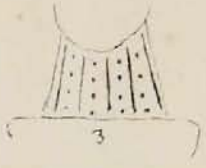
Apparently our 'mana' is regarded as being dangerous in itself, apart from any volition on our part. So, in many villages, nothing we had used, not even the bamboo mats we had borrowed for screens, could be touched again by their owners or by anyone else after we had gone.

I noticed outside Ükha a few small stones erected, and others lying flat, probably having been originally so placed.

A Phom, of Phomching, apprised me of a belief that I had not struck before, by asking me to exchange a dao of mine for the fine dao which he was carrying. It was Kangshi, and he said that a dao used to decapitate an enemy either turned harder than before or it turned soft in the hands of the beheader, and his had turned soft on him. It was the dao used to take the Yacham head already referred to. Eventually he exchanged it for a decidedly inferior dao belonging to someone else.

The Ükha men had, some of them, the "ostrich-feather" Chang tattoo on the thigh, while the women had the same patterns as those of Pongu. Some of the men also had their throats tattooed with a vertical line pattern suggesting a stiff and high necklace with bone supports like those of some Konyaks. This pattern was

seen at its best on the effigies of the dead, which we here met for the first time on this tour. These figures are made of wood and collected, apparently in family groups, under open thatch shelters outside the village (Pl. 1. fig. 2). They are definitely stated to be provided for the habitation of the soul of the deceased whom they represent. The body is disposed of in a wrapping, of the same 'tonko-pat' leaf (*livistona jenkinsiana*) as is used for thatch, and slung on four stakes about five feet above the ground outside the village.[1] Seemingly the head is ultimately detached, for the skull is placed on the top of the effigy in order that the soul may pass thence into the wooden figure, after which the skull must be again removed, for we did not see any actually *in situ*, though one or two of the more recent figures had leaves, etc., still left on the top of them which had apparently been arranged to let the skull sit softly on the wood between the two wooden horn-like projections which rise from each side of the flat-topped head and curve over above the site for the skull, and doubtless serve to prevent its being displaced while left on the effigy. In one case the effigy was wearing a cane hat on the top of the two ends of these horns. All the effigies I saw at Ükha were made from a single piece of wood, but one, which had the right arm bent at the elbow and pegged on to the body at the shoulder. The eyes were made of a shiny round black seed, probably that of *sapindus detergens*, which I have seen elsewhere used as a bead. In some cases the dead (apparently the less important dead) were represented merely by a piece of conical basket-work resting on its base and being topped with a sort of deep basket work tray, the unfastened ends of the bamboo material curving over the top, to protect the skull.



3

Tattoo showing on the neck of a warrior effigy at Yaktu.

Effigy of the dead at Ukha.

4.

Profile of 1.

The wooden figures put up as the memorials of the dead by the Angami (*v. The Angami Nagas*, pp. 47, 227) seem to be likewise for the accommodation of the soul. Some villages leave them till they rot away; others (e.g. Kohima) remove them after they have been up a year "as it is not good to let them remain too long." Wooden effigies are used as abodes for the soul in the Pacific.[2]

[1] So, too, the Shans—Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, II. p. 240 quoting Colquhoun, "*Among the Shans*." Also Butler, *Sketch of Assam*, p. 163.

[2] (Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, II. 288, 297, 318 sqq. 104), and apparently the skulls are sometimes kept inside

To our camp at Ükha, Yonghong and Yaktu men came in, and also the Chang chief Chingmăk of Chingmei, an old acquaintance, who brought with him one of the Tōbū chiefs. From the former we learned that Chingmei, which is apparently on the watershed dividing the sources of the Tsüta ("Tita") and the Zungki from another stream which runs directly east to the Chindwin, is in touch with the plains of Burma, more or less, and its traders meet with people on the Burma side who wear trousers. Mills picked up a Khāmti dao here, and the metal armlets they wear hereabouts are said to be got from a place called Kāmlügh, which I take to be Khāmtilong. Chingmak told us that Môm, a big village on the next range, renowned like Tōbū for its daos, had told him to bring us a challenge from them, as they thought it a pity we should have come so far and go away without leaving them any of our heads. On Chingmak's representing to them the futility of trying to take on a force of our description, and saying that as many more servants of Government were always to be had to replace the killed in inexhaustible supply, they thought better of it, and resolved to bring presents instead. They changed their minds again, however, and never came officially, though they had a spy hanging about our camp for a day or two.

Basket work skull-effigy at Ükha.

At Tobu, also known as Tijing, there is said to be a high stone sitting-place reserved for the hereditary chief, and held during the minority of the present very old and autocratic chief by his mother, a thing most unusual in these hills. Woodthorpe[1] mentions "a very fine stone viaduct in the middle of the village about 50 feet in length and 20 feet in height, with a most scientific culvert through it." I hope to get to Tobu in November.

Shamnyu, a village across the valley of the Kaimong north-east of Tobu, is said to have been burned by Burmese troops on their way to invade the Assam Valley, presumably in 1816, and Mills tells me that a similar legend attaches to Ungma, Nankam and the villages on the Langbangkong in the Ao country. This is confirmed by Woodthorpe's diary of 1876 which records that the villages on the Langbangkong range have two names because they received a new one after being burnt, of which Tsimr-Menden or Longmisa is mentioned as one. It seems, however, that another and much more likely explanation is also given of these alternative names—that when the Ahom Kings succeeded in exacting tribute from certain villages they gave them names of their own. This, however, though accounting for the obviously Assamese names such as "Naogaon" for Merangkong, will not account for all of them, e.g. Longmisa, and it is possible that the Burmese invasion had been confused in

them or at least with them (Frazer, *id.* I, 311 and II, 324). Elsewhere effigies are set up as memorials only, it seems (Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 174). A wooden image for the soul of the deceased seems also to be made by the Kafirs of Kafiristan *J.R.A.I.*, XXVII, 78). For the head or skull as the location of the soul *cf. The Angami Nagas*, p. 198; Frazer, *id.*, II, 325, Codrington, *ibid.*, 264.

[1] *Loc. cit.*

tradition with a previous inruption of invaders from the east when the invaders did not go on to the Valley, but stayed in the villages they conquered and in some cases changed the names of them, possibly driving out the former occupants who would naturally continue to use the old names, and speak of the villages by them to their neighbours in the plains.

As among the Aos, the successful head-hunter in Ükha hangs up a circle of cane in front of his house.

To-night was the first fine night since leaving the railway. Another presentation egg hatched on us here.

April 17th.—*Viâ* Yaktu ('Yakchu' according to the Survey and to some of the neighbouring villages) to Yonghong ('Yanghum' of the Survey).

Yaktu, on the day we passed, gave Ükha two months' notice of hostilities. The *casus belli* was that when the young men of Ükha went to loot a Yaktu 'mithun' (they probably called it "realizing a debt") and the Yaktu bucks turned out to chase them off, one of the latter got stuck on one of his own village 'panjis.' War between these two villages seems to be normally of a friendly description. Women are not killed and due notice of war is given before raiding starts. Both villages had plenty of heads hanging up, but many of the Ükha ones came from Shakchi. There seems to be a state of permanent war between this range and those further west, and the languages spoken are different, though both groups must be classed as Konyak, I think.

In Yaktu I saw a weapon new to me which consisted in a dart made, in this case, of a broken spear-shaft of sago palm and feathered like an arrow with pandanus leaf but intended to be thrown by hand (Pl. 2, fig. 2). The feathers were lozenge shaped like those of the usual cross-bow quarrel.[1] The Semas tell me that their children use a toy of this pattern. The point of these Yaktu-Yonghong darts is only cut sharp, and though it could no doubt inflict a wound, it does not strike one as a very formidable weapon. Mr. Henry Balfour tells me that the feathered javelin is a very uncommon type of weapon.[2]

"Chăgyik" Konyak woman showing coiffure and tattoo and belt of gummed cotton strings.

The women on this range, as at Pongu, Yungphong and Yanching, all wear a very narrow petticoat some five inches deep, and above it a belt, or a series of belts, each consisting of a number of separate threads made up into a bound loop at each end and fastened in front

1 See *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 23, 24.

2 I see that Adonis in the Titian discovered in 1923 in the National Gallery carries a feathered spear of the same pattern as the arrows in his quiver; the 'king of Kochin' is represented in an ancient print as riding on an elephant with a feathered spear in his hand (Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, II, 5), and Keate mentions as used in the Pelew Islands darts five to eight feet long pointed with wood and "bearded" (*Pelew Islands*, p. 89 [1789]).

(Pl. 1, fig. 5; Pl. 2, fig. 4). Woodthorpe describes it as "a small belt of very fine leather thongs," and this is what it looks like. I took it for leather myself, until I handled one. The twisted threads are covered over with some sort of gum or wax, making them black and shiny like well-worn hide. The women all do their hair, or rather their head, for they leave little enough hair on it, in the manner described of those at Pongu who shave and pluck, but they are otherwise pleasant looking and less negroid than the Phoms. I noticed forked posts, big flat sitting stones, and a collection of water-worn stones, like the Sema *aghucho*,[1] of various queer shapes. On the houses the carved planks were particularly noticeable, the patterns being mostly highly conventional mithun heads and lizards, coloured, in some cases, with black, brown, yellow or white pigment, but in much lower relief than the Angami carving. I also saw a wooden slab carved with a buffalo head set up as stone menhirs are.

Wooden menhir in Yaktu

Again here we saw round stones, some of them with little tassels on each side, like enemy heads hanging up in the *morungs* where the heads are hung, and were given a more detailed account of their use. We were told that they were taken at a peace-making from the enemy's land, the other side taking them from their land. Other Konyaks, e.g. Chī, set up a stone in the ground on the spot at the time of making a treaty of peace,[2] and if either party break the treaty, the injured side goes to the stone and tells it about the breach and justifies its conduct to the stone before it starts raiding again. Apparently these witness stones hung up in the Yaktu *morungs* serve the same purpose.[3] It must be very much more convenient to expound your case before the impartial stone at leisure and at length in your own *morung*, than to have to go to the edge of the enemy country, risking both your life and the disclosure of your hostile intentions, before you can retaliate for the breach of good faith which he has committed, or which you are pleased to impute to him with enough plausibility to convince the stone of the justice of your cause.

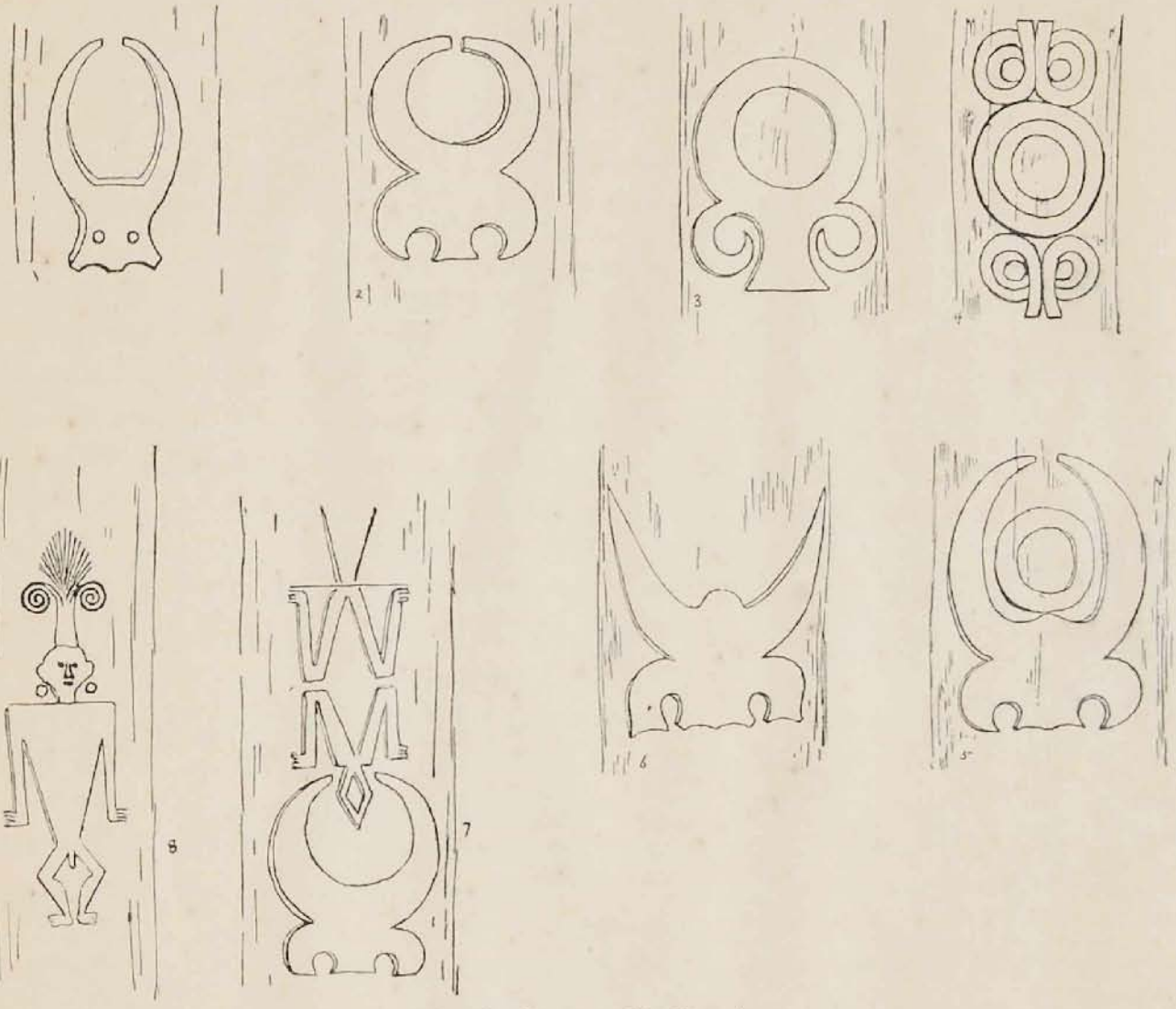
Yonghong is one of the most interesting Naga villages I have seen, as well as the biggest I have ever been in. There are really two villages, which, though only just separated, are marked as different villages on the map.

[1] V. *The Sema Nagas*, p. 174 sq.

[2] So too the Khasis, v. Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, ch. xxix.

[3] Cf. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, II. 403 sqq.

But even omitting the smaller of the two, the main village is enormous. All these people are Konyaks of some sort, and a certain resemblance between the Konyaks and the Angamis, not shared by other tribes so much, had struck me long before this, but the inhabitants of Yonghong go much further than any Konyaks I have seen before towards identity with the Angami, or perhaps rather with the Nzemi division of the Kacha Nagas, who have clearly been

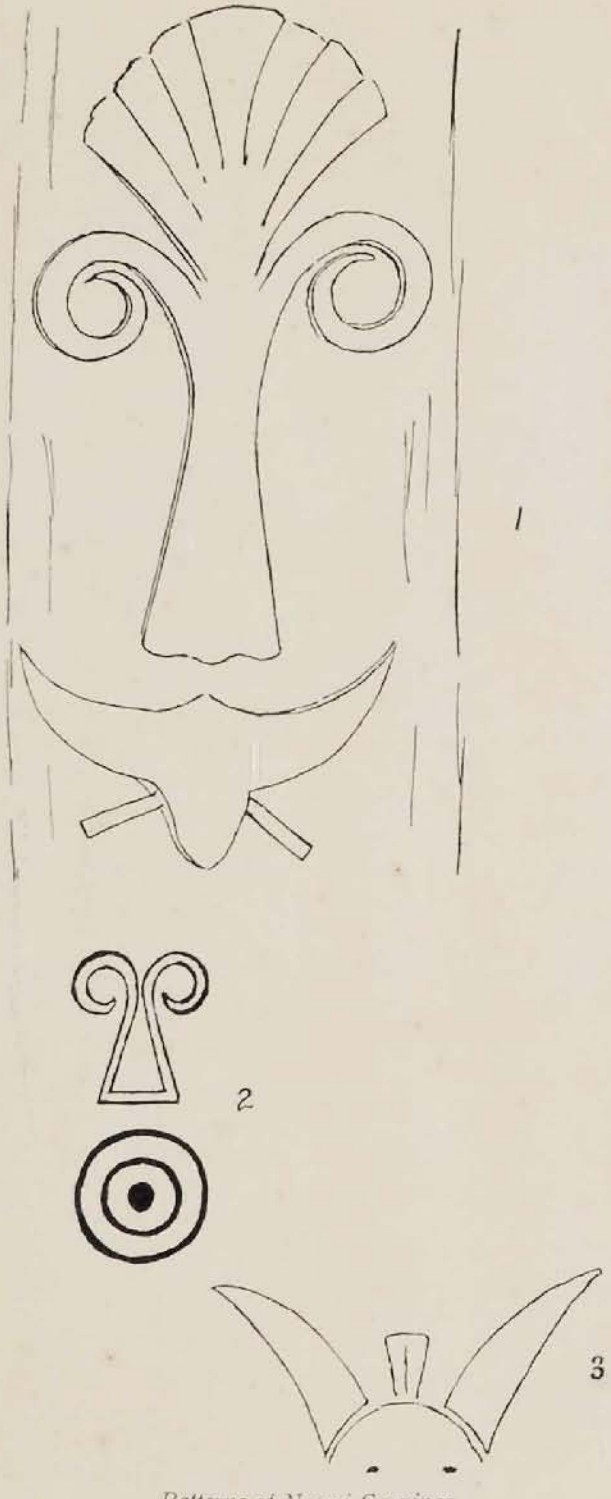


1. Mithun head as carved in Yungphong.
2. do. Yaktu.
3, 4, 5, and 6. do. Yonghong.
7. Lizard and mithun head carved in Yonghong.
8. Human figure carved in Gwilong.

very much influenced by, and have probably had a very great deal of reciprocal influence upon, the Angami of Khonoma.[1] Yonghong has stone sitting-places, menhirs, though the erection of these seems to be beginning to go out of fashion, and a very superior method of jhuming among pollarded alders, all very reminiscent of the Nzemi and the Khonoma group of Angami, who adjoin the Nzemi. So too the wooden images of the dead, the carved planks of the

[1] A village to the S.W. of Kohima.

houses and the physical appearance of the men all recalled the opposite (south western) end of the hills. The women at first look very different owing to their plucked crowns, but I fancy that differently dressed they would fall into line.



Patterns of Nzemi Carvings.
1 and 2. Patterns on houses at Gwilong (Togwema).
3. Pattern at Chekwema (Yangkhulen).

It was in Yaktu or Yonghong that Mills pointed out the obvious relation between the "ostrich feather" tattoo pattern of the Changs[1] and the conventional representation of a buffalo's head, the horns having disappeared in the tattoo pattern or run over on to the shoulders perhaps, leaving the curled ears and a prolonged nose (Pl. 2, fig. 8). The same, development of the ear at the expense of the horn probably accounts for the similar pattern so popular in the Nzemi carvings in Kenoma, Chekwema and Gwilong; though in one instance I noticed in Gwilong that mithun horns, an equally popular adornment for the head of warriors carved on gates or houses, had their points turned down instead of up, making them look like the wings of a mediæval jester's cap. It is to be noticed also that the Nzemi representation of a warrior (Pl. 2, fig. 9) depicts him as naked and with rings round his very narrow waist. These rings, though they appear to have become now confused with the white cowrie lines in the Angami kilt, which the Nzemi have adopted, must originally, I think, have been the Konyak cane belt, as they do not hide the private parts, which are left bare in the carvings even when the rings of the kilt are brought down the legs (Pl. 2, fig. 3). Mr. Crace of Haflong told me that some of the Nruongmai (Kacha Naga) villages in the North Cachar Hills claimed to have had their village lands granted to them by a Naga King who wore a cane belt, and whose people went naked, which, as they cannot have conceivably got their land from the chief of any existing Konyak

[1] *V. infra*, p. 51 for drawing.

village, suggest that nakedness and cane belts were formerly the rule where they have now disappeared. Indeed, the Angamis speak of a time when their women-folk wore petticoats no broader than a man's hand, like the Konyak women of today, but do not know, apparently, of any time when their men went naked. As for the cane-belted King, he is, I believe, supposed to have reigned at Dimapur, and it is worth note that Tularām Senapati, the pretender to the throne of Kachar on the extinction of the regular Kachari line, claimed to be the representative of a pre-Kachari dynasty.[1] To return to the Nzemi, I may note that I found in Gwilong, which is probably half Nzemi, half Maramī or Khoirao, the scissor snare used by the Konyaks:[2] and as far as I know by no one in between, while the Nzemi stone-work is as fine as any in the hills as far as menhirs, dolmens and stone sitting-places are concerned, and their menhirs and sitting-places are often associated with tanks excavated to hold water alongside them. The "Stone-henge" at Togwema (Gwilong) is, of course, well known from Hodson's account of it.[3]

5

Wooden figure set up with 'genna' stone at Yonghong.

In Yonghong I noticed a row of dolmens below the village and more in the village itself (Pl. 3, fig. 2). Two big menhirs I found overturned in jungle. They seemed to have stood one on each side of a small ditch or stream. Two other big ones were still standing outside the smaller village, one long and narrow, the other squat and thick, but both big and clearly very old (Pl. 2, fig. 7). Inside the village I saw a wooden sled of precisely the Angami pattern,[4] with five holes for crosspieces. It had apparently been used for dragging in a large flat stone which was located close by. The erection of monoliths seems to be on the downward grade here, as in many Angami villages, where no one any longer troubles to put up a stone of any size. In Khonoma, however, where it still goes strong, they say that the essential thing to do was to build a *bāzĕ* or a *kwĕhū*, i.e., a rectangular or a circular stone structure with a flat top and stones arranged round the edge to sit on, and either actually containing a grave or graves or else erected to the memory of a dead man. These tombs and cenotaphs, they tell me, are much less attractive to the present generation of Khonoma than menhirs, and nowadays most people prefer to

1 Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, p. 19; Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 300.

2 V, *Man*, Dec. 1922. Khonoma also use it, but state definitely that it is in their case a very recent trade importation from the Lushai hills.

3 *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, pp. 186, 187. Unfortunately the plan of the Gwilong stones given by Hodson bears no relation at all to the actual facts. It was not made by Col. Hodson himself. In June, 1923, Mr. L. O. Clark, Political Agent in Manipur, Mr. C. G. Crawford, President of the Manipur State Durbar, and myself visited Gwilong and tried in vain to make the plan at p. 187 of Hodson's book tally with any part of the "Stone-henge," which though it contains at least 155 stones is confined into an exceedingly small space. Nor did the measurements taken by Mr. Crawford correspond to Babu Nithor Nath Banerjee's list given in Hodson's book.

4 V, *J.R.A.I.*, LII, plates xv and xvi. (December, 1922.)

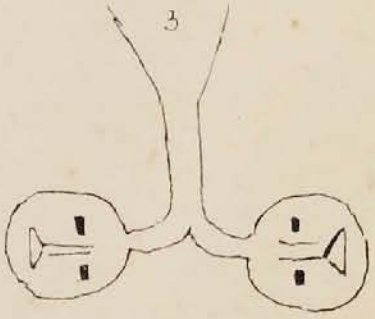
put up a menhir or a row of menhirs instead. In Yonghong I saw no new menhirs of any size. Outside one *morung* was a large collection of small erect stones crowded together, to which more are added at periodic festivals. In front of the heap was a curious little wooden figure with the Chang tattoo on his chest and a head running up to a high conical point ending in a plume of leaves and grass.

I noticed here a face tattoo which I have occasionally seen before in Phom villages, probably on runaways from further east, and which is, I believe, worn in Tobu. In the form I saw here it is a line running from the forehead down the nose, at the tip of which it broadens out, with three dots on each side. Tobu, I think, wear it the other way up and extend it to the chin as well (Pl. 3, fig. 5).

Yonghong had some very realistic buffalo-headed drum-logs in private houses. Most rich men here seem to have their own drum-logs. One wonders whether the metal gongs, so beloved of Kukis and other tribes, and always a mark of wealth or importance, have merely replaced wooden and less portable antecessors.

Monstrous heads of figures carved on Morung post at Yonghong.

The *morung* carvings here ran to monstrosities—tigers with elephant-tusks (Pl. 2, fig. 1), tigers with buffalo-horns, and in one case a two-headed tiger. The carvings on the houses were as at Yaktu, but often spotted with black on a sort of ochre-coloured ground. The *morungs* contained large numbers of heads, mostly taken from Angfang across the valley, and the granaries had one of the most ingenious devices for defeating rats that I have seen. The bamboo posts on which the granaries were raised from the ground had bamboo spathes bound point downwards round them with the slippery surface of the spathes towards the post. All round the foot of the post little vertical 'panjis' are put in, so that the rat, on climbing up to the spathes, and being unable to get any farther, drops off the post and is impaled on the 'panjis' at the bottom. Another way of catching rats was pointed out to Mills. Logs laid in the crop at the time of sowing, the ground on each side being 'panjied,' are taken up when the rice is about a foot high, leaving a smooth run where the log lay, ideal for rats. In this run traps are set with great effect.



Monstrous heads of figures carved on Morung post at Yonghong.

The village organization of Yonghong is very Angami-like in its non-existence. There is no one who can give an order which has any serious chance of being obeyed, or who has any appreciable control over any one else. This gave us a good deal of trouble, as we could get nothing done without interminable delay and exhausting

ourselves with horrid threats. They had made up their minds that we had better camp beyond the village, in the valley where Woodthorpe had camped, and they had cleared a path round the outskirts of the village so that we should not pass through it, and tried hard to push us on to the Muksha river, but as we wanted to see the village, and had to get carriers out of it next morning, we disobligingly camped alongside it.

Height 5,700 ft., and cold enough as well as wet.

April 18th.—Yonghong to Angfang across the valley of the Muksha; a rather ticklish march, as the two villages are very much at war, and neither could carry on the land of the other, and each had the greatest reluctance to meeting the men of the other village to exchange loads. The Angfang heralds, who are sacrosanct in Yonghong, had come in to our camp there, and as a matter of fact made an arrangement with the men of Yonghong that the latter should put down their loads at the stream, and that then the Angfang men would come down and fetch them when those of Yonghong had withdrawn, but neither party told us anything about it. Consequently, with great difficulty, we got the Yonghong men to carry our loads half way up the far hill with the Angfang people sheering off as we got higher. Eventually we let the former put down their loads and hurry off, after which the Angfang men came down and took them up.

As the Yonghong men turned and went off homewards, each man threw away the stick he was carrying. This was on Angfang land. I could not make out from anyone what the significance of the act was, if indeed it had any.

Angfang is a less interesting village than Yonghong, but the men are of finer physique and possibly still more reminiscent of the Angami in appearance. They went up the path with our loads singing "*Yonghong shāt'nyū*," "*Piyongkung shāt'-nyū*," i.e. "(We are) the tigers for Yonghong," "(We are) the tigers for the (villages on the) Piyongkung." As they had hidden all their heads, however, I could not compare their trophies with those of Yonghong.

The dialect spoken seems to be virtually identical with that spoken in the administered Konyak villages, and Angfang is on friendly terms with Chi and other villages on our borders.

I noticed here that as at Yaktu and Yonghong the forge was in the *morung*. This is in direct contrast to, at any rate the custom of the Lhotas and, I think, of the Angamis, with whom a forge usually, if not always, has a building to itself. In fact I do not remember seeing it otherwise in any Naga tribe before.

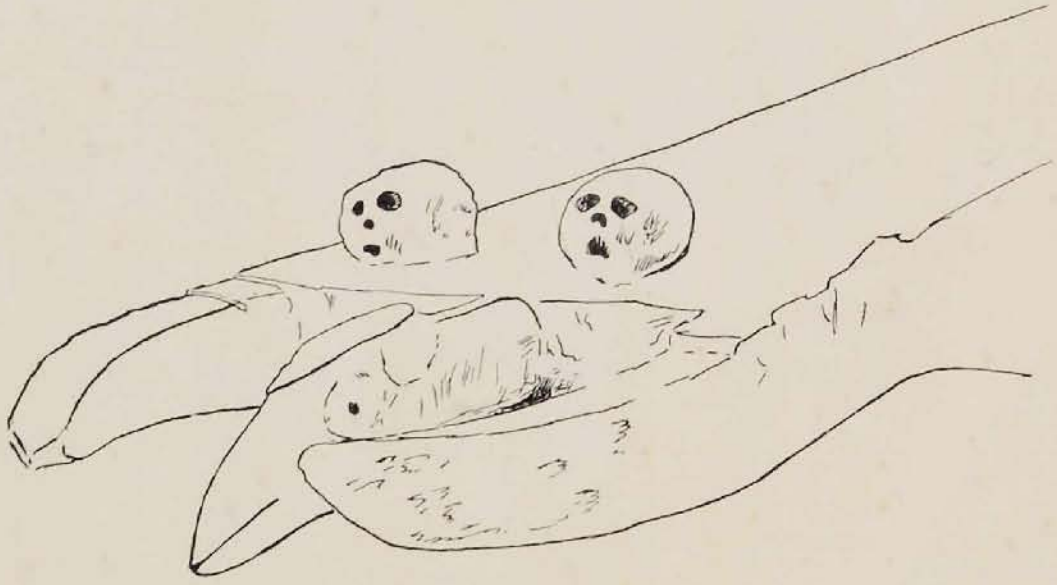
The drum-logs here were tusked instead of carved into buffaloes' heads,[1] and the effigies of the dead, who mostly had their arms fixed on instead of cut out in a piece with the body, had straight skull-horns instead of curved. Those of males had on the head an ornament of some sort, probably representing the brass edition of the buffalo-horn

[1] (Mills tell me that the drum-log at Yehimi, one of the three or four Sema villages that have borrowed this instrument from the Sangtams or the Aos, gets the same effect by having a second buffalo head in the reversed position rising out of the usual one; the latter has horns lying back on the log, while those of the second head project in the opposite direction.)

emblem sometimes worn on head-gear (Pl. 3, figs. 6 and 8). In the effigies it was carved from the wood. The effigies of women had a sort of broad arrow painted at the top of the forehead clearly representing the hair with its two triangular plucked spaces. In the case of persons whose heads had been taken by the enemy, and for whom, therefore, a skull receptacle was superfluous, the top of the head was high and rounded, instead of low and flat, and the horns were absent. They also had a tally of martial achievements cut in notches down the sides of the figure (Pl. 3, fig. 1).

2.
Effigy of a warrior whose head was taken by the enemy (Yonghong) at Angfang.

There is no chief of any sort, apparently, in this village, and no one obeys any orders at all. The village meant to be friendly, but gave a lot of trouble by being absolutely without any sort of perceptible organization—so like an Angami village! It came out here that both Yonghong and Angfang had been told by some *tripoteur* friend of theirs and ours that we were going to blight their crops. We did not discover who it was. Doubtless he hoped to stir up trouble that would end in cheap heads for him from a burnt and scattered village. Ongli, the Mokokchung Head Interpreter, re-assured them with the promise of a bumper crop as the result of our visit. As he said to Mills, any fool could see that the millet was promising extremely well. Indeed, the jhuming system of the villages round here is about the finest I have seen. Only millet (*setaria* and *sorghum*) and Job's tears (*coix lachryma*) are grown, but the whole hillside, and very steep it is, is most elaborately laid out in ridges and quasi-terraces



Carved paddy-husking table in a house at Angfang.

with logs cut from the pollard alders growing all over the slopes and everywhere most carefully preserved. The sowing too is obviously done with care, so that the plants are evenly distributed, and not, as by some Nagas, with the seed just thrown

down anyhow, thickly here, thin there. Unlike the jhums of other tribes, which are used for at least two successive years, the ground is sown for one year only, and then allowed to stay fallow again for three or four years, instead of the more usual ten, and this rotation is continued with apparently admirable results, showing what really can be done with steep and unpromising land by careful preservation of the alder and precautions against denudation. The Angfang people seem to propagate this alder (*aldus nepalensis*) from cuttings put in about April, but they told us at Chaoha that they grew it there from seed. Experiments in the Sema country have shown that neither method is at all certain of success when tried by amateurs.

This use of pollarded alders and more or less terraced millet fields reminded me very forcibly of the Angami terraced jhums of Khonoma and Mezoma, and still more, perhaps of the Nzemi jhums of Pulomi (Kenoma) and Chekwema (Yang Khulen), and the fact that these Konyaks here do not, as the Angami and Nzemi do, grow any rice at all, suggested to me very forcibly that rice must have come to the Angami as a wet crop first of all, when they were already accustomed to the cultivation of millet in dry but partially terraced fields.[1] If rice were introduced as a crop that must be grown under irrigation, its obvious superiority as a palatable food would compel the conversion of the partial terraces into finished terraces capable of holding water, and the cultivation of dry rice would follow subsequently as the result of accident or experiment. On the other hand, were rice introduced as a crop that could be grown dry, there would have been no stimulus to the enormous labour of perfecting terraces for irrigation on very steep land.

The Wakching Headmen met us here with a letter bag. Height 5,350 ft. in the camp below the village.

April 19th.—To Chaoha (or *Choha*, or, apparently correctly according to the village itself, for no one else can say the word, *Chohra*[2]), the "Towha" of the map. This village, never before visited, has a powerful chief, and closely resembles in general appearance the administered villages in the Wakching area. In going from Angfang to Chaoha we deviated eastwards from Woodthorpe's route, which we had followed, from Yanching, since the 15th. I was sorry to miss Saoching, a village of much repute, which is stated to manufacture guns, and where at any rate people who break the locks of their Tower muskets can get them repaired. Saoching is also said to make gunpowder, no doubt by the same rather unsavoury methods as are used by the Thado Kukis and the Chins[3] and also by the Karens.[4] Saoching are moreover reported to dispose of their dead in trees or on precipices in the erect posture, having smoked them stiff first.

We were exceptionally well received in Chaoha, the villagers falling over one another to supply palm leaves, thatch and bamboos, and to help in clearing a site.

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[1] Cf. McGovern, *Among the Head-hunters of Formosa*, pp. 183, 184.

[2] N.B. *-ra*='village' in Angami, and is the real termination of all Angami village names.

[3] Carey and Tuck, *Chin Hills Gazetteer*, p. 225; Reid, *Chin-Lushai Land*, p. 232.

[4] McMahon, *The Karens of the Golden Chersonese*, p. 371, sqq.

The field-houses here are roofed with bamboo spathes, a material I have not seen used before, but which is said to be most effective and to last for years. The walls of the field-houses, as often in the Angami and Nzemi country, were built of rough stone-work.

The names of the streams here all end in *-àm*, apparently the same word as the Khasi word for 'stream' and the *Palaung* (Burmese) word for 'water,' and quite unlike any of the usual Naga words for 'water.' Mills tells me the Ahom is *nam*. I suppose it is the Mon-Khmer element shewing up again, and after all it is not so far from the country in which Peal found the square-shouldered hoes.[1]

The chief of Chaoha had more tattooing on him than any Naga I have ever seen. Besides the face, arms and chest, the front of each thigh was tattooed, the shoulder-blades on the back, and the throat, the patterns mostly consisting of pairs of shallow arcs composed of two lines with a row of spots in between and arranged with the concave side of one pair facing the concave side of another.

Chaoha is at war with Chen across the valley. The chief, when asked whether he was also at war with Yonghong, Yaktu and Ükha, said no, he was at peace with them,—the better to take their heads, an attitude typical of this locality. For these people treachery is the only diplomacy. With Chen no doubt a state of war exists because Chen is a very big village indeed, and so strong that there is every reason not to take heads from it and so incur its active hostility; hence a state of war with Chen, and no risks taken unnecessarily. The enemy heads here are hung in a cactus-like (*euphorbia*) tree, which is in some sort sacred among the Kacharis,[2] instead of in a *ficus*, as I should have expected in the Naga Hills.[3] One may observe that both trees have one, and only one property in common. They exude a white milk-like juice, and it may be noted that the juice of the wild fig-tree was sacrificed to Juno Caprotina at a fertility festival in ancient Italy, while in Africa the Akikuyu apply the same milky juice to the body of a woman wishful to become a mother, and attribute to it the power of fertilization as do the Baganda,[4] so that one may perhaps infer here an association between the milky juice and the fertilizing powers of the enemy dead. For the exposure of enemy heads when brought into the village Chaoha use a big globular stone like a Lhota *oha*,[5] instead of the usual flat stone or stoneheap.[6] They put up dolmens in front of their *morungs*. Enemies' heads, when cooked to clean off the flesh, are boiled with chillies and other ingredients calculated to make the foe smart.

Pandanus-fibre rain-coats, another link with the Angami,[7] are worn rather longer and fuller than I have seen elsewhere, and men working in them tie them at the waist. We had reached the country where the poles that support the roof-tree project for

[1] S. E. Peal, *On some traces of the Kol-Mon-Annam in the Eastern Naga Hills*. J.A.S.B., No. I of 1896.

[2] Endle, *The Kacharis*, pp. 30 and 36. Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, III, p. 155.

[3] Konyaks as a rule hang them in their houses or *morungs* and not in a tree at all, putting their own dead in a *ficus*.

[4] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 313 to 318.

[5] Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, pp. 108, 166.

[6] *J.R.A.I.*, LII, p. 243; Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 117.

[7] *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 26, 78, 386.

several feet through the roof and are thatched over (Pl. 9, fig. 5; Pl. 10, fig. 2). As the foot of the post rots, the post is let down and readjusted at the top, a most ingenious and economical dodge. The ties which keep the thatch on to the projecting post result in a series of bulges, separated by waists where the lashings are, suggesting irresistibly that this is the prototype of the series of diminishing bulbs that forms the pinnacle of an Ahom temple.

One of the Chaoha *morung* posts was carved with a bear eating a snake; the bear is rarely represented in the Konyak country, I think, though a common subject for carving in some Eastern Angami villages, where, however, it is very conventionally depicted, not, as here, naturalistically. As at Angfang, the drum-logs were tusked.

April 20th.—To Longmien, visited by Mr. Webster in 1913, dropping down on the way exactly 3,000 ft. in about six miles, before the ascent to the village, and the path a mere mud slide. At Longmien we were among the naked Konyaks, again, as at Yungya (Pl. 3, fig. 4). I noticed dolmens, and the approach to one *morung* consisted of a long raised stone path paved with flat stones (Pl. 4, figs. 6 and 8). In front of this *morung* there were high dolmens and one tallish menhir (Pl. 4, fig. 1).

The wooden effigies so familiar from Ükha to Chaoha are not set up here. Two figures only are put up, and that by the Ang (chief)[1] for a particular ceremony (Pl. 4, fig. 2). They represent two brothers, the elder and the younger, which suggest the origin story so widespread among the Naga tribes.[2]

There is a clan in Longmien of which the women shave the whole of their heads, and this custom is found, in other Konyak villages further north (Pl. 7, fig. 3; 11, fig. 7). The explanation given in Longmien is that this clan is descended from slaves, whose heads were kept shaven to make sure that their hairs should not fall into the Ang's food when they were preparing it. Having Naga servants myself, I sympathise with that Ang. The Pale tribe of Palaungs in Burma cut short the hair of their woman and give a similar explanation to that of Longmien (Scott & Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, I, i. 492).

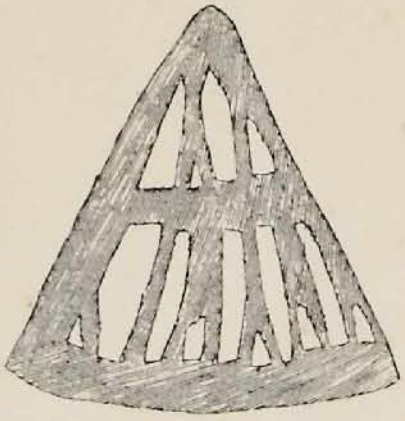
The memorials of both men and women here carry rows of dancing chignons—decorated bamboo tubes with a tuft of human hair fastened on at the lower end. Mills tells me that the chignon is worn by attaching it to the extreme end of the wearer's back hair, which is bound on to the outside of the top end of the tube, the tube being covered with leaves and hair so that the whole looks like continuous tresses. The women's memorial places had pot-making implements on them.

In some of the Angs' houses I noticed a large number of basket-work objects hanging in the roof. Some were figures of men, one, for instance, carrying a gun. Others reminded me of some sort of branching fungus or seaweed in shape, hung upside down, but were possibly merely the result of trying to combine many human

1 For "*Ang*," *V*, *The Angami Nagas*, p. 385; *The Lhota Nagas*, p. xxxi.

2 *The Angami Nagas*, p. 112; *The Lhota Nagas*, p. xxxii and n.; the Thados claim descent from one of two brothers, the other of whom failed to emerge from the underworld; with the Chins, however, they seem both to have succeeded in doing so (Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, p. 237 sq.); descent from two brothers is also found in Fiji (*Man*, Jan., 1914), and in the Tonga Islands (Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, II, 65). *Cf.* also Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 9.

shapes into one basket. The field houses here were of an unusual kind, being not unlike the single buffalo-horn type, but with the base end made into a circular building.[1]

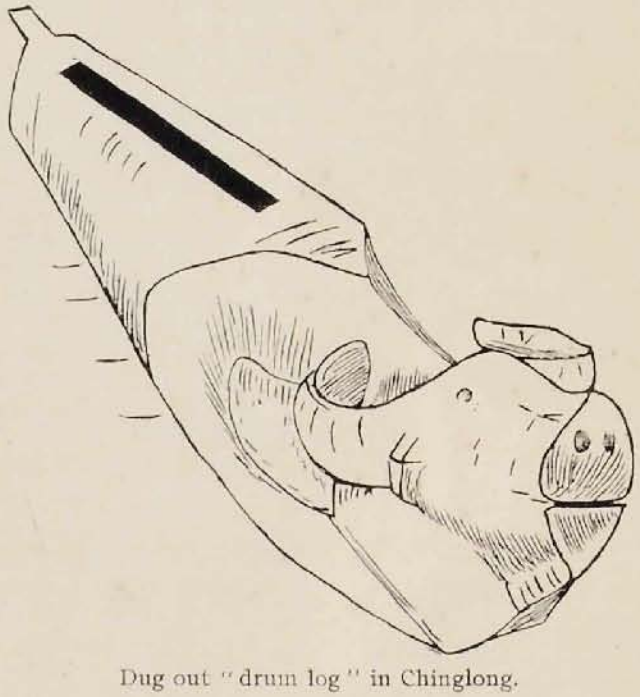


Basket in the house of the Ang of Longmien.

April 21st.—To Chinglong, which seemed very nervous and apprehensive of us, and not unnaturally, as the last visit, in 1913, was punitive. All the heads in these villages from Angfang on were hidden before we arrived, for fear we should burn them, as was done with those of Wakching and Wanching, when they were first administered,—a wicked sin.

The drum-logs here had naturalistic buffalo heads again, and the *morungs* had erect stones in front of them. The men are normally naked except for their long cane belts, the continuous cane strip wound round and round in many coils.

April 22nd.—To Chingtang, crossing the Yangnyu into administered territory by a bridge slung on wire ropes. At Chingtang we noticed an ingenious implement for mat weaving, a sort of frame round which the mat is rolled up as the weaving progresses, keeping it out of the way instead of making a greater hindrance of it the larger it gets.



Dug out "drum log" in Chinglong.

On the dancing boards (squared logs hollowed underneath, which reverberate when stamped upon) of one *morung* I saw a carving of a frog with a crescent in close juxtaposition to its nose. This crescent, they told me, was the moon. I have never seen the moon represented in anything less than the full circle in the Naga Hills before, and I cannot remember having ever seen a carving of a frog. I could get nothing more out of the Chingtang people, but I suspect that what is represented is an eclipse, and that the frog is eating the moon, as in the Khasi story of Ka Nam.[2] The Kachins also regard an eclipse as being caused by a giant frog's eating the moon (or sun),[3] the more common account in Assam being that some monster or dragon is the offender, to which parallels could be cited from as far east as Kambodia and as far west as South America, not to mention Europe and the Pacific. The Miris and Akas of the North bank of the Brahmaputra

[1] V, *supra*, April 13th.

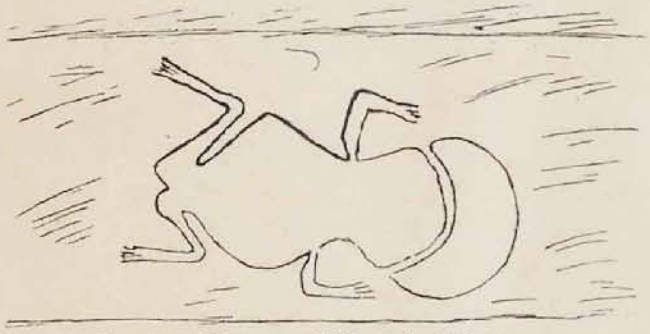
[2] Rafy, *Folk Tales of the Khasis*, I, where *hynroh* is translated "toad"; according to a reliable Khasi informant of mine *hynroh* is used for "frog" or 'toad' indiscriminately.

[3] Hanson, *The Kachins*, p. 119.

impute it to a god, and the Lushais to the soul of a Chin chief, and the universal method of averting the calamity is to make a horrid clamour and beat empty kerosine tins, "*crepitu dissono*" is Pliny's [1] expression, and Livy has it "*cum aeris crepitu, qualis in defectu lunae .... fieri solet, clamorem edidisse.*" [2]

Weaving mats in Chingtang.

Here there is a heap of stones, mostly oblong, in front of the Ang's house, to which a stone is added for every enemy head taken and exposed on the heap. The Tangkhuls also expose their enemy heads on heaps of stones, in front of the *khullakpa*'s house, I think, but Hodson, who records the practice,[3] does not say that a fresh stone is added for each new head, nor do I remember having been told so by Tangkhuls when shown their sacred stone-heaps myself. The Chingtang stone-heap had a forked stick beside it, at which a 'mithun' had been slaughtered.



Carving of Frog and Moon in Chingtang.

I noticed here an unfamiliar tattoo mark on the women, worn just below the throat, and a lattice tattoo—a herald would call it 'masculy,' on the shoulders, not at all unlike that affected by the Săngtăm women near Thachumi very far south of this, and reminiscent of that worn on the breast by the women of Yonghong, etc. The Chingtang women all wear the familiar Konyak navel tattoo, a cross with each arm formed of three parallel lines running outward from the centre.[4] The tattoo of the men (Pl. 4, fig. 4; 5, figs. 1 and 3), while obviously derived from the same theme as that of the Changs, is extraordinarily like that depicted by Jenks[5] as fashionable among the Igorot of Luzon in the Philippines, and there also a sign that the wearer has taken a head, though in the latter the human figure has become a mere crosslet.[6] The Bornean Ukit tattoo depicted by Hose and McDougall[7] is perhaps only another derivative of the same pattern.

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1 *Nat. Hist.*, II, 12.

2 Bk. xxvi. Quoted by Dalechampius on the above passage in Pliny. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 175. 4 *V. supra*, p. 13.

5 *The Bontoc Igorot*, Plates clxiii–clxvi; p. 188.

6 *Cf.* also the face tattoo of the Menimene of Ecuador, who also affect a lizard pattern, and perhaps "three vertical blue lines on the chin" (Whiffen, *The North-West Amazons*, pp. 86, 87. He does not describe the patterns used on the breast).

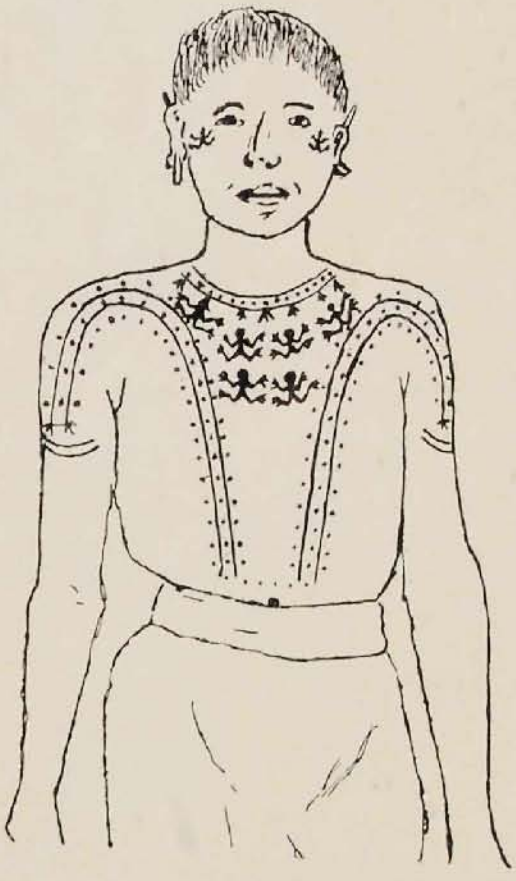
7 *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, Pl. 178 (vol. II). The description of the Dusun tattoo on p. 265 (vol. I, *id*), reads like another derivative of the same.

April 23rd.—To Wakching. Here we heard many stories of the privy politics and intrigues of the Yungya-Kamahu affair. Apparently the original plot was to cut up all the Kamahu party, largely women and including children, which had gone to the plains to buy salt and was due back the day following the evening which the actual killing took place. For this purpose a large number of the Yungya bucks were assembled in the jungle, the whole plan being originated by Shopen of Tangsa or his son Hamshen. Their pitch was queered by the four Yungya men who went down to the river the evening before the coup and alarmed Kamahu by taking the head on our bank. This was apparently an impromptu affair, the sight of the unprotected Kamahu men, fishing and unaware, having caused the hands of the Yungya scouts to "itch."

Konyak tattoo (a man of Wakching).

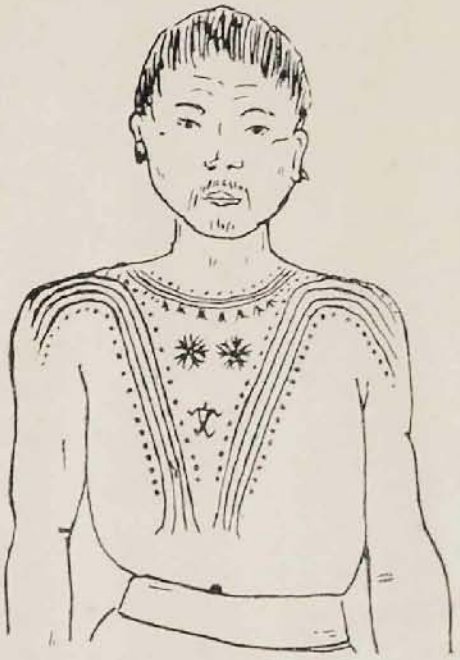
It also came out that the two recalcitrant clans of Yungya had in preparing for our visitation built two large granaries below the *morung* of their accommodating friends the Tangsabang clan, feeling confident enough that we should not touch their contents there. And rightly, for we did not, but their Tangsabang friends did, for when the recalcitrants got back, after we were well away, devil a basketful of rice did they find left in them at all. Yet it is hard to tell what else they could have expected—*verum amicum qui intuetur tanquam exemplar intuetur sui.* They would certainly have done the same themselves. It was the day after we reached Wakching that thirteen houses of the Tangsabang clan took fire mysteriously at night.

April 25th.—Mills left for Mokokchung *viâ* Tamlu, while I went down to Kongan to get back to the railway, for which the escort had left the day before. Very plentiful along the track was a certain wild fruit now ripe, which we struck first at Yungya and which grows all through this country. The tree which bears it is of a very considerable size, and the fruit has a pronounced taste of strawberry combined with the acidity of many lemons. I can conceive that if cultivated it could be made into a most delicious fruit, meanwhile it is too sharp to eat more than a little of raw or very much of even when stewed. The Gurkhas call it *kaphur*, or



Konyak tattoo (Aku of Chinglong).

something like that, and the Nagas of Kongan spoke of it in Assamese as *bihu thenga*, the 'spring festival fruit.' It is well named, for Kongan were actually celebrating their spring festival when I got there. The village was in gala dress, and the drumming never stopped at all. The younger bucks were dancing in full war paint, swinging their shields from side to side and banging their daos on them. They had lines of white lime splashed across them, across faces, chests, arms and backs. This represented wounds caused by dao cuts, but whether the badges of their own bravery, or aids by sympathetic magic to the gashing of their enemies, I could not find out, and I am not at all sure that they had any idea themselves. I noticed that the fully grown adults did not take much part in all this, though in an Angami or Sema village all but the really quite elderly would have been in the thick of the fun. Here it is opium, I suppose, which has made them all *blazé* before they are full grown.[1]



Konyak tattoo (a man of Wakching).

The Kongan men in this kit wear neckbands of red cane and yellow orchid-stem very like those of the Angami, but mounted on a white bamboo mount, broad at the back and narrowing to the ends.

I took some photographs here of the decorated skull of a man recently deceased, the same skull, I believe, as was shown to Balfour and Mills in the cold weather (Pl. 6, figs. 2 and 4). The pattern is different from that of Namsang, where they ornament them with the usual breast tattoo pattern, at least the one I saw there in 1914 had that tattoo on the forehead. Probably no two are alike, for Woodthorpe mentions,[2] in describing the Konyak customs of disposing of the dead, that at Khanu the skulls of the dead are collected in cairns and that "each head is decorated in a slightly different way from the others in order that they may be recognized by their surviving relations." This is perhaps borne out by the fact that, since I could not well ask for the actual skull of their dead, I asked my Kongan friends to paint me a monkey skull as if it were a dead man's. They did

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[1] Mills comments, "I think it goes deeper than that. It has been pointed out to me that among the Konyaks, the power lies with, and decisions are taken by the young men, acting by *morungs*. This is contrast to other tribes, e.g. the Aos. In the Changki group of the Aos, which, I feel sure, contains a larger "Konyak" admixture than any other Ao group, the *tātăr* (elders) are young men who only hold office for three years. In all Ao villages each morung has a complete set of *tātăr*, who, though boys, have absolute control inside the *morung*. The village *tātăr* can be fined if they attempt to interfere." The *morung* group he tells me, are usually composed of one or more clans, which are represented on the *morung* governing body, the same clan not often being represented in more than one *morung* whereas each *minden* ('relay') of village *tātăr* usually contains representatives of all the clans in the village, with a member of the Pongen clan as its titular head."

[2] *Report* (to Capt. J. Butler, Political Agent in the Naga Hills) *on the tribes visited during the punitive expedition to Ninu in the Survey Operations of 1873*. MS. in the Deputy Commissioner's Office, Kohima.

two for me, but neither was of the same pattern as either that of the dead man or of the other monkey-skull. It may be noted that among the Kayans of Borneo women are tattooed on the chest to facilitate recognition in the next world.[1]

I could not induce the Kongan people to make me a model of the solid sandstone boxes in which the skulls are placed, and which are covered with a flat square stone (Pl. 6, figs. 1 and 5). I could perhaps have carried off an old and empty one, the contents of which had rotted away, but the weight would have been excessive. Further north at Yanha ("Joboka") I have seen the skulls of the dead simply placed out on stone slabs (Pl. 5, fig. 2), arranged in tiers where the ground sloped, and recalling the more elaborate skull shelf on which the Taiyals of Formosa place their enemies' heads,[2] the Yanha Konyaks putting their enemy heads on a bamboo shelf inside the *morung*. The Yungya habit of putting the head of deceased relatives in a pot buried to the rim in the ground has already been described. In Kongan at any rate, the skulls of the less important people seem to be merely covered with a conical frame thatched with "tonkopāt," very like the Kachin funeral houses (Hanson, *The Kachins*, p. 208).

Skull of a dead householder of Namsang decorated on forehead and with one tuft of hair retained, placed on a rough bamboo wicker stand and partly covered with a cloth and placed by the hearth by his widow. There were flowers on the top of the stand and a necklace of ornamental seeds and a drinking cup, hung on the stand. The widow said she had put her husband near the fire, as the weather was cold and she moved him, stand and all, to make room for me (Dec. 1914).

April 26th.—To Naginimara, where I stayed with the colliery manager for the night.

Nagas, mostly depatriated Semas, have at last taken to work underground. At first they refused to enter the shafts at all, and even some of my own interpreters were afraid to go in with me in 1916. The fear of the underground is great, and I remember how I was told by the Semas of Lukobomi and Tsivikaputomi that the cave below their villages went right to the bowels of the earth, as no one had ever been in far enough to reach the end. This latter was true, and not a soul from those villages had dared to go in far enough to find out that the cave was not more than fifteen to twenty feet deep, nor would they come into the dark with me to see. We may smile at their fears, but perhaps less separates us from them than we are apt to think. Kohoto, my Sema Interpreter, tells me that there are Sema mediums, *akhashemi*, who go into trances (and knowing their kind I can make sure that they "twitch and stiffen and slaver and groan" with due realism) during which their clients are enabled to speak with their dead. These do not appear visibly, but

[1] Hose and McDougall, *op. cit.*, II, 242.

[2] McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 and 115.

speak audibly with their own and recognizable voices, so presumably there are Semas acquainted with ventriloquy, which I had not known. The Maoris used to indulge in exactly the same ventriloquial seances, apparently,[1] and also the Polynesians of the Marquesas.[2] Mills tells me of Ao mediums who go into trances to speak with the dead, and of one of them who, being in heaven in the spirit, was bitten in the body by an earthly flea—and scratched, paying pork as penalty to his client. The Road to En-dor is easy to tread, apparently, for primitive as for civilized man, and is beset with not dissimilar incident.

April 27th.—To Sibsagar Rd. Railway Station.

Second Tour.

October and November, 1923.

This second tour was also undertaken under the orders of Government in order to obtain some knowledge of the unadministered and hitherto unsurveyed and unvisited area east of the frontier and the known country that adjoins it. Mr. Mills accompanied me from the 18th to the 31st of October, but unhappily was prevented from accompanying me in the month of November by a poisoned foot, which to his bitter disappointment, compelled him to remain in Mokokchung unable to walk. His place was taken by Mr. C. R. Pawsey, M.C., the officer destined to relieve him at Mokokchung. I had an escort of 50 men of the 3rd Assam Rifles under an Indian Officer.

From the 14th to the 24th of November we were in country which, as far as I know, had never before been visited by any European at all and was, for the most part, entirely unsurveyed.

Oct. 9th.—From Kohima to Khonoma and back, to see the new "forts." The three *khels* have erected each a big stone *dahu* (Pl. 7, figs. 1, 2, 6 and 7).

These have cost a tremendous lot in labour and expense, and are magnificent specimens of Angami stone-work which cannot be approached in any village in the hills. They contain a great deal of dressed stone, which of course the older erections did not, though Samaguting claim to have used dressed sandstone for graves before the British occupation. The Merhema *dahu* has stone water spouts, and projecting stones bored with holes to carry the bamboo scaffolding used to build the upper parts of the wall.[3] In the case of this *dahu* the parapet round the top is dressed to a fine edge instead of being merely composed of flat stones. The Semoma *dahu* has a very large platform of rough stone filled with earth and a rather smaller tower, made partly only of dressed stone, with the usual sitting place in the top. The lower platform is to be partly paved later to cover the graves that there are in it. The Thevoma *dahu* is at present much like that of Merhema, bigger but not quite so well built; the lower platform was to have been much broader on one side though

[1] *Old New Zealand, by a Pakeha Maori*, ch. x. [2] Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, II, 370.

[3] Mr. E. H. New tells me that this method was anciently used in Britain. If so it must be a case of independent invention on the part of the Nagas.

not so big as Semoma. The ground, however, has slipped and the whole of this has gone. It was flagged out with stick and strings, and I gave leave for it to be rebuilt to the extent from which it had slipped. Merhema had a blank tablet ready and a written inscription to be vetted, and I passed an inscription saying that the *dahu* had been built with the permission of the D.C. Semoma had already put up an inscribed tablet in better English than I should have expected setting forth the history of the affair in a quite unobjectionable manner, but adding that "J. H. Hutton, etc., etc.," had given leave for the erection of the *dahu* on which account they were "heartily pleased to erect this stone to the memory of Mr. Hutton," and requested Govt. officials not to interfere with it. This seemed a little premature, and as they had of course added nothing about my threat to pull the *dahu* down again, I ordered them to put up a revised inscription leaving me out of it. Thevoma had wisely refrained from any sort of tablet. They nearly always show better taste than the other two clans, to that extent justifying the claim of the Thevoma to be the aristocrats of the Angami Tribe.

Oct. 15th.—To Dimapur. By train to Safrai leaving Dimapur about 11-30 p.m. local.

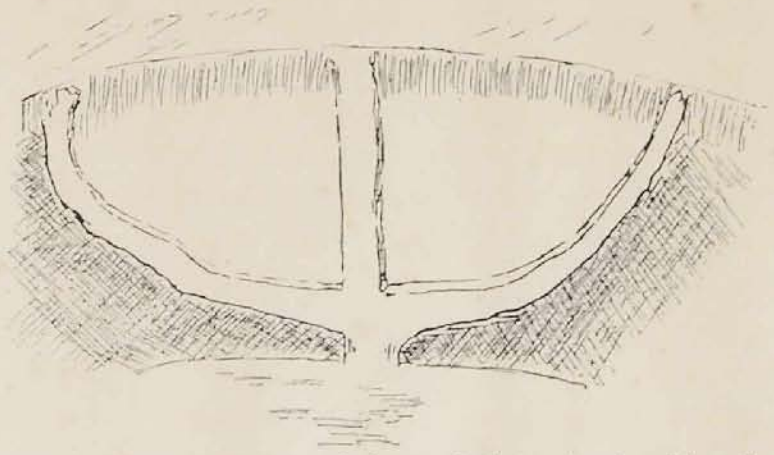
Oct. 17th.—To Longlăm. A long hot march—18 or 19 miles through Safrai and Singlo Tea gardens and the Ăbhaypūr Reserve. In the first 16 miles we rose only 200 feet, that we did not lose again but 1,300 in the last 2 or 3, camping at about 1,800 feet. Sandflies and mosquitos bad. A small village of some 20 houses was found to be unmarked on the map.

Oct. 18th.—To Wangla about 12 miles. Met Mr. Mills and the escort—a Jemadar and 30 rifles. Men from the village of Auching to the south met me on the way. The chief was wearing a helmet covered with fish scales. Found the Sangnyu, (Changnoi) headmen in, and also those of Ngangting to which we were going. All very friendly. Height 2,400 ft. At Wangla there is a wooden throne for the *Ang*, who alone can use it, and also a bed, or bier, kept in the *morung*, on which dead *Angs* are laid out. They have an old iron cannon in one of the *morungs*, much damaged by fire when the *morung* was burnt. It was found and brought back from an old iron foundry of the Shans at the foot of the hills. Mills mentioned that the Kamahu people looted old mithun heads from Yungya during his recent visit there in order to transfer to Kamahu the *ărĕn* ('mana') that was in the mithun heads.

Oct. 19th.—To Ngangting. We crossed the frontier at about 500 ft. and went on to the village—2,000 ft. A camp had been cleared ready. The headman of Sangsa, ('Hangha,' 'Buragaon') met us on the way. He was wearing beads of tiger bone. The headmen of Zakkho all came in with salaamis, and the women and children were in the village and all peaceful. The village is small and scattered and and the morungs poor. They gave me the name of the stream beyond Sangsa as "Teijat." It is a tributary of the Taukok, and the hill at its source is Chakkihua. We decided not to stop at Zakkho but to go straight to Sangnyu.

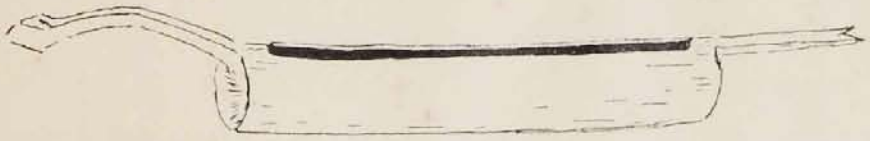
Viâ Zakkho ('Gako,' "Jako" on map), a small village about 3 miles east of

Ngangting and 3,050 ft. up to Sangnyu. ("Changnoi" on map). The map is bad and misleading, but the path not so far as it appears on the map. The Zakkho *morungs* were carved with human heads done in the typical Angami style, and in front of the *morungs* were rounded stones for putting the weight as the Angamis do. The head tree at Zakkho was a *ficus*, whereas that at Ngangting had been an *euphorbia*. I noted on the connection between these two on my tour of last April (*vide* my entry of April 19th), since when I have found that the Zumomi Semas plant an *euphorbia* when they found a new village and the Maoris of New Zealand speak of *euphorbia* juice as "milk of the gods,"[1] the gods being apparently identified with the dead in this case.



Morung door at Ngangting made from a single tree-trunk and branches.

At Zakkho we saw burials which combined the wooden figure of the deceased man (we saw none of women), very nicely carved, with a second burial made some eight or ten days later when the head is put into a pot, with a stone dolmen-like altar over it for offerings and other offerings in other pots also half buried alongside, reminding me very forcibly of the prehistoric burials described by Mitra in Central India.[2] One figure (Pl. 7, fig. 4) had three hand-arrows stuck into the ground alongside him neatly coloured with a spiral stripe made by twisting round a sliver of bamboo and then smoking the whole and taking off the bamboo to leave the unsmoked stripe underneath. The Kukis dye porcupine quills with a spiral stripe on the same principle. The figure has a little house of its own by the platform on which the body rests, and the friends of the deceased come to mourn in front of the statue. The pot in which the head is ultimately buried is covered with a flat stone and the skulls of 'Angs' (Chiefs) are painted with the tattoo worn by them during life, and their own hair is also attached to the skull. A few old skulls were noticed in the *morung*.



Drum in Ngangting, open at one end, fish tailed (horizontally not vertically) and a head said to be that of an hornbill, 19-10-1923.

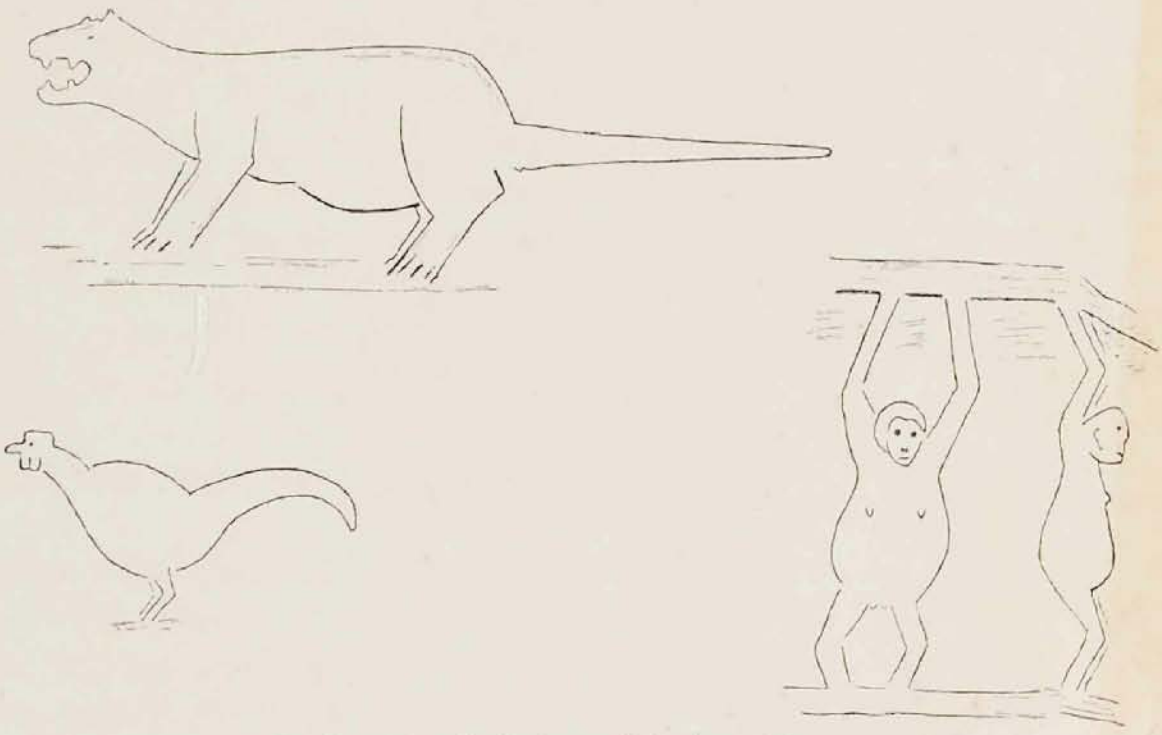
Sangnyu is about 20 miles from Ngangting and is a fine big village. They had cleared us a big camping ground in a fine site at the edge of a cliff and with our own water, and proved very friendly. There are four *morungs*, with from 20 to 50 heads in each, mostly taken from Zangkam on the next ridge. The 'Ang's' house was enormous. It had 27 posts supporting the central roof tree and measured

1 Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, II, 36.

2 *Prehistoric India*, p. 201.

130 longish paces from the front door to the back, the eaves of the gables excluded. It contains a magnificent piece of wood about 20 ft. long by 12 ft. high at least, and must have been at least six ft. thick at one end originally, but the thickness was cut away leaving all sorts of carving in relief, some in high relief, other parts standing on projecting ledges and cut entirely out away from the background, but all done in the same piece of wood.

There were two big tigers, one broken, the other very well and realistically carved, a couple of warriors, and a mother suckling her child, but broken. A man and a woman performing the sexual act; a cock crowing, excellently carved; a big snake; a double rainbow; *huluks*, very natural; human heads; other less striking things, and a *joppa* standing absolutely clear of the main block and carved completely and hollowed inside as a receptacle for odds and ends with a detached lid. There was

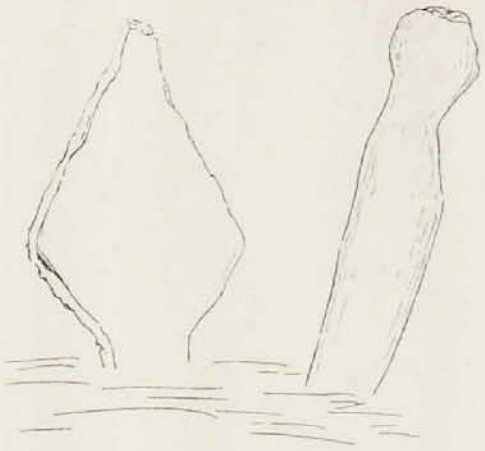


Carvings *à jour* in the house of the Ang of Sangnyu.

also a long *gadi*, the size of a bed, with a foot-rest along one side, like a shelf, all carved in one piece of wood, on which the 'Ang,' alone may sit, and two smaller thrones of the same pattern but portable—also in one piece of wood each (Pl. 9, fig. 9). On the platform outside the house was a flat stone. The Ang's particular sitting place was carved with the pattern of a pair of feet like the Manipur stones at Kohima and elsewhere. All this carving was ascribed to a more or less mythical ancestor and must be excessively old, though all but one of the "thrones" are as good as the day they were made. The height of Sangnyu is about 3,500 ft. and was a pleasant change from the low hills. Zangkam (Rangkam on map) Longphong (Huro Changnoi on map) and Nyasia (Niassia on map) came in with presents of pig and chicken and goat. Nyasia has recently moved S. of Chakkihua hill.

The *Ang* of Sangnyu has an iron cannon, which we saw, and the story of how he

came by it is this:—The King of Assam invited the Chief of Sangnyu, his son, and his daughter to come down and see him under a safe conduct. They came, and the King of Assam then proceeded to behead the Chief, and by way of a little pleasant sport ordered the son to violate his sister in public. The boy refused and was told the alternative was death. He refused again, but his sister persuaded him to do it to save his life, and they were then let go, and went back to the village, where the girl hanged herself. To revenge the treatment of their chief and his family, the people of Sangnyu then started to make war on the plains, and did it so effectively that the Assamese sued for peace, and the King gave Sangnyu a cannon as an indemnity. Boat coffins are made for the dead as elsewhere in the Naga hills[1] and also by the Karens[2] in Burma. A wooden pillar (Pl. 8, fig. 6) in front of the *Ang's* house reminded me of the cylindrical posts at Dimapur, and an erect stone outside one of the *morungs* was definitely stated by them to be a phallus intended to promote the fertility of the crops and cattle, though this was only in answer to a leading question; as a rule they are very reticent on the subject.



Erect stones seen in Sangnyu.

Oct. 21st.—To Môn—about 10 miles, camping below the village at 3,350 ft. On the way we passed through Longphong after passing which eight of our coolies ran away, but Ahon managed to get them back again, and we got on after only half an hour's delay.

The *Ang* of Môn has a fine house (Pl. 8, fig. 1) 120 paces long—long paces too—and the village was most friendly, and presented us with a mithun. There are stone sitting-out places here, and, in front of the *Ang's* house, a huge pile of stones to which a small erect stone is added for each enemy head brought in, the head being first exposed on a high stone table (Pl. 11, fig. 6), which forms part of the pile, and ultimately housed in the *morung*, not apparently in the *Ang's* house. A bush of *euphorbia* grows at the top of the pile. The village contained an enormous number of elephant skulls.

We noticed again here the dodge of drying paddy before use by putting it into a long wooden trough and pouring in hot stones. It gives it a slightly burnt taste which is perceptable in the *modhu* brewed from it, and which is said to improve the taste of rice which has been dried in the sun, merely, before husking. The custom seems to be adopted by all the villages here. Can it be an adapted survival of the pre-pottery age, when cooking was done this way with hot stones?

Representatives from Phuktong and Sengha (Yingsha-Huong) came in. Both are dependencies of Môn.

[1] Mills, *The Lhota Nagas*, p. 157. See also Hutton, *Assam and the Pacific*, (a paper read before the Indian Science Congress, 1924).

[2] McMahon, *Karens of the Golden Chersonese*, p. 303; Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, I, i, 535.

Oct. 22nd.—To Chī (i.e. "Chui" or "Chimi"), the path going down into a deep valley and up a steep hill again. The distance about 7 miles and the camping ground on the far side of Chi from Môn at 3,525 ft. above sea level, the village itself probably being about 50 ft. higher.

On the way we met a huge concourse, constituting a deputation from Tang, the *Ang* himself (Pl. 11, fig. 5) coming in with about 100 or so retainers, all very well got up in their best clothes. The *Ang* of Tang is a very important chief, and appears a decent fellow. The chiefs of all this area have great personal power and sanctity. Their authority is unquestioned, and their persons are *tabu* very much like those of a Samoan or a Maori chief.

Chī proved as friendly a village as I have ever been in. The *Ang* has a fine house 117 paces long, with two great stone seats in front of it (Pl. 8, fig. 8), and beyond that a conical pile made of small erect stones, one being added for each taken, and an *euphorbia* growing on the top (Pl. 10, fig. 2). In the verandah of the house was a shelf with three rows of skulls on it, but none very new (Pl. 8, fig. 3). The *Ang's morung* adjoining held a few still older ones, some skulls from the *Ang's* house being transferred ("thrown away") to the *morung* on the death of each successive *Ang*. A freshly-taken head is first exposed on a flat round stone at the foot of an erect one in front of the morung, then put into a basket to rot in the jungle. When more or less clean it is hoisted on a bamboo tied to the erect stone (Pl. 9, fig. 5) and left there till the next *àleapū* genna, the important annual ceremony here, when the young corn is beginning to sprout up high and has to be weeded. At this genna it is taken down and transferred to the *Ang's* collection except in the case of head-takers of the *Ang* clan, who are allowed to take them to their own house, where they hang on the verandah.

There was only one head of this year's taking, doing its turn on the bamboo, so the bucks of Chī probably do not take many heads. Human sacrifice as a regular institution is not practised in the Sangnyu, Môn, Chī and Totok areas, though it is known to exist further to the North-East. The throat tattoo, of which I photographed a rather good fresh specimen, is only worn by the man who has actually severed a head, and the man I saw with it (Pl. 10, fig. 6), was the severer of the head referred to. The chest tattoo is apparently put on on "touching meat," and the face tattoo for taking part in a raid, the principle generally corresponding to that on which the Angami wears his ornaments.[1] (Pl. 9, figs. 4 and 6.)

The women of this village were particularly taken with the pipes.

Oct. 23rd.—To the Shĭnĭŏng. Men from Totok met us on the way to remonstrate with us for not having visited their village, and I promised that I would do so sometime. Lengha porters came in to carry us up to Wakching the next day. We found them sitting by the path in a big way-side shelter. They had built a temporary seat for their *Ang* to sit on, a wooden bench as long as a bed, but no one but the *Ang* could use it till we turned up, when he politely offered it to us. All the others had to sit on the floor.

[1] *The Angami Nagas*, pp. 29 sqq., 32.

The *Ang* of Lengha is a subordinate of the Ang of Chī, who sent a mithun down so that we should have something to eat in the jungle, not to mention two pigs and a goat and some fowls, supplied by Chī, Totok and Lengha, so that there was more meat going than all the camp could manage.

We went through Shiong on the way. Just outside that village is a flat stone on which every baby born is put as soon as it is born. An offering is made there to the stone at the same time. The infant is taken to the stone by three children of its own sex, one of whom carrying the infant sits on the stone while the other two sit on the ground.

Oct. 24th.—To Wăkching. The anti-syphilitic campaign has worked wonders. I have never known Rs. 1,000 spent to better purpose. What we want now is an anti-leprotic campaign on the same lines, as there are three leper segregations within reach.

Oct. 25th to 27th.—Through Tămlu to Merangkong.

Oct. 28th.—To Chàngtŏngia. A schismatic Church has arisen here, the original Christians having been separated off into a different village, and those who did not want to leave the old village have founded a Church of their own inside it, with the usual resultant disputes.

Oct. 29th.—To Mŏngsĕmdī. Raining when we started, and cold and sunless all day. Outside Ungr we found a curious looking arrangement of two miniature '*machāns*' (platforms) put up not far from one another and close to the public road. On each was a couple of tobacco pipes. I learn on enquiry that a man of Chuchu had here met a young woman of Ungr, and had intercourse with her at these two spots and that an evil spirit has taken advantage of the opportunity to attack him. The *machāns* were erected on the exact places and the pipes put on the *machāns* in order that the illness might be put away with them. Pipes are selected because the interchange of pipes is a love token between young couples. At the ceremony accompanying the erection of the miniature *machāns* the sexual act is repeated symbolically by ramming earth and water into nodes of bamboo with a pretence of secrecy.

Oct. 30th.—To Mŏkŏkchung. On the way I saw for the first time the damage done by the cloud-burst that occurred here on the evening of July 31st. The rain only lasted from 8 p.m. to about midnight, but the damage done was extraordinary. There was no wind, and it was all done by water falling. The trees were broken and up-rooted. The Impur Mission compound fencing was totally destroyed so that the boundaries could not be traced, the iron gate and padlock being lost entirely and not yet found though they can hardly have dissolved in the rain. Enormous slips were visible like great scars on both sides of the Mening valley and the streams we crossed, which used to be little streams and dry now, had been converted to great chasms littered with debris of broken rocks and broken trees. In places the surface of the ground, where there was no watercourse at all, had been denuded of all growth and cleaned as if for jhuming almost, while elsewhere huge rocks had been carried down from the top of the hill and left where there were no rocks

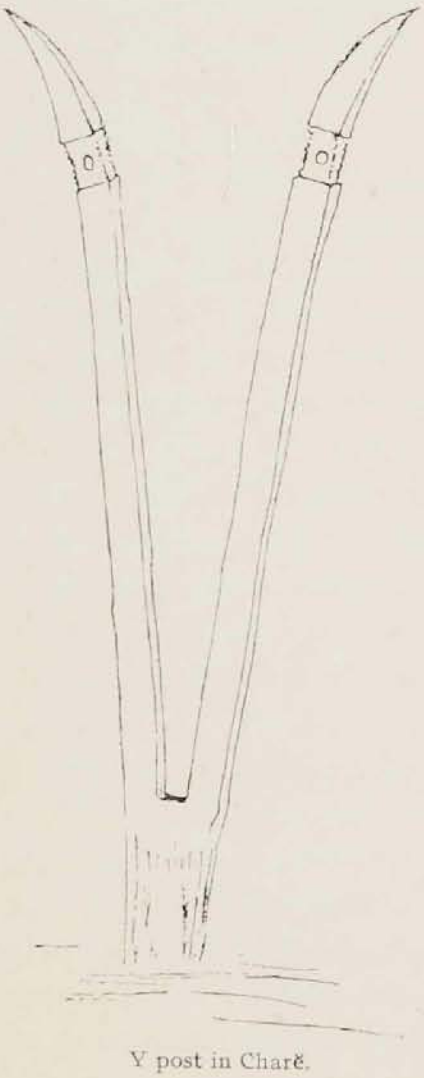
before. I called in to see Miran on my way through Mōkŏchung village. He seemed very bad and cannot last long, but was obviously expecting our arrival at his house.

Oct. 31st.—Halted Mōkŏkchung. (About lunch time they sent to tell me that Miran had died having waited to see me first.) Mill's foot was very bad with septic leechbites, and it was doubtful whether he would be able to come on on the 4th or not.

Nov. 1st to 4th.—At Mōkŏkchung. Very busy with all sorts of arrangements until the 4th. I was to have started on the 4th but the 3rd was very wet, and as the morning of the 4th was very bad, I put it off for a day in the hope of better weather.

Nov. 5th.—To Chārĕ about 9 miles, where the gaonburas of Álisōpō, Chatangrĕ, Thungāre and Chongliemdi came in also, all very friendly. Mr. Mills being unable to walk, I left him in Mōkŏkchung, Mr. C. R. Pawsey going with me.

Chārĕ is a Săngtăm village with an Ao khel in it, the Aos putting their dead on *machāns* (while Sangtams bury) and otherwise keeping up Ao customs. It is a long time since there was any head-taking here, but I noticed a row of old gourds representing heads on the outer wall of an Ao house, one of which had a cranium attached and two others lower jaws; these were probably taken from Litim many years ago. Sangtams put their heads in the *morung*.



Y post in Charĕ.

Nov. 6th.—Halted Chārĕ. There are about 200 houses and it is one of the biggest Săngtăm villages left,—the biggest, if the Aos in it are included.

We went up to Chongliemdi 3 miles off at the top of the hill, a small village of some 30 or 40 houses, and paid a visit to Lungtrok (Pl. 10, fig. 8), the famous "Six Stones" from which all the Aos derive their origin, as well as the Phoms and, I think, Săngtăms hereabouts. Only three of the six are standing, and the biggest (Pl. 11, fig. 1, "the female stone," as it was pointed out to me) was knocked down by a Christian evangelist, who destroyed a small phallus which stood in front of it and was later visited, I am glad to say, by a series of well-deserved misfortunes. Two of the still standing stones (Pl. 11, fig. 2) were described to me as "male stones." The sixth was hard to find and we were told that one of the stones appeared and disappeared at its own caprice, but we eventually found it leaning up against a *ficus* of some sort. There was also a very small erect stone east of the path. All are in a patch of heavy jungle which may not be cut at all, and the stones may not be touched as to do so would cause storms of wind

and rain and hail. The "female" stone has a natural fissure in its surface with a deep hollow behind.

In some traditions the Chàmir phratry do not spring from this female stone like the Pŏngĕn and Lăngkămr but come from one of the two "male" stones, which possibly reflects a real distinction in culture between the phratries, one of them, possibly having had a matrilineal system, distinct from the patrilineal one of another stock. The Wŏzŭkămr clan are fined if they claim origin from the stones at all, as they are descended from an old woman who was weaving when a hornbill's tail feather fell on her from a bird flying over. This took place close to the *morung* in old Chongliemdi the site of which is still shown. This old village adjoined the Lungtrok, but what remained of it moved to its present site higher up about a generation ago. The old house sites are clearly identifiable in the jungle near Lungtrok.

We then visited Chatóngrĕ, a village of about 150 houses half a mile or so south of Chongliemdi. The drinking water at Chare all slightly flavoured with the blossoms of a flowering tree, and a very pleasant flavour it was.

Nov. 7th.—To Chimongre, a Sangtam village of some 200 houses or less in three *khels*, all squalid filthy hovels of the typical Sangtam type, and very dull. The only features of the least interest are the drum sheds (Pl. 13, fig. 7) built like the little Lhota *morungs*. The heads are hung there (Pl. 12, fig. 7—13, fig. 5), in accordance with the Chang custom, the real Sangtam custom being to hang them in a golgotha at the edge of the village, like Sema and Yimtsungr (in map Yachungr), but these Sangtam villages have a good deal of Chang blood, and are very much under Chang influence and will sooner or later turn into Changs, I fancy. I could not find that any other *morungs* existed at all. This again is a Chang custom, as Changs do not use their *morungs* as sleeping places for the bachelors, though Sangtams normally do, and build huts for the bachelors even when they let the *morung* fall into disrepair and decay.

The houses are very like those of the Lhotas, but dirtier and more crowded. The water was the worst I have ever met in any Naga village at all—a horrid contrast to that at Chārĕ, and the Indian officer in command of the escort probably diagnosed it correctly as diluted cow's urine, and it might well have been worse, but there was nothing else to drink. The people were very friendly, and the camp wallowed again in meat. We passed through Thungārĕ on the way, and changed coolies there, a feat which gave us a great deal of trouble, as there was a strong tendency to bolt. Thungārĕ is about half a mile from Làngsipĕk, another small Sangtam village, no doubt as squalid as Chimongre and Thungare. The path goes down from Chārĕ to the Chingo stream; then up to the Thungare-Langsipek-Alisopo ridge; thence down to the Chimei, a very steep, almost precipitous descent, and, after a similar ascent out of the gorge, a steep climb to the next ridge. About 10 miles in all, but hard going.

Nov. 8th.—To Chongtorĕ, ("Chisang" of the Changs). About 6 miles along the ridge southwards. At the peak called Longtok, just below which the path runs,

we halted for an hour and got into helio communication with Tichipāmi, while the surveyor added to his map; there was a magnificent view from the peak. Thence down to Chongtore, a Sangtam village of about 120 houses, camping ground good and good water. Chongtorĕ, although Sangtam, has a very strong admixture of Chang blood, and builds its houses in the Chang manner. The physique of its inhabitants is fine and the Changs ascribe this to their blood. The Changs themselves are a new tribe. Their chief village—Tūensang—has only existed for 11 generations, and a number of their clans now regarded as pure Chang in blood, and speaking no other language, are known to have had an origin from Konyaks from Ăngfăng, or Yimtsungr from somewhere else.

The Chang language seems to have Kachin affinities. My friend, Chūrāngchū of Ànangbā, came in here; a stout fellow, who went as a simple labourer to France, since, not knowing Assamese, he could not go in any other capacity, though the chief of his village. He smuggled back a Mauser rifle and 60 rounds or so of ammunition, and it got safely across the ffontier to his village. Unfortunately, Mills heard of it and demanded its surrender. Anyhow it would have been useless from rust in a year. Mills sent it to the arsenal at Fort William, the normal procedure with impounded arms, saying how he had obtained it, on which they sent him a statement to fill in to show who had issued it!

Chūrāngchū had a great weal across his face where he "ate" someone's dao some years ago, but I gather he gave rather better than he got. Besides Anangba and Chongtore the gaonburas of Lirisü, Phirĕ, Houpu ("Longtăk") and Khumishe came in, and Mongko of Tūensang to ask for the measurements of our camping ground so as to make preparations.

Some one, Churangchu I think, brought me in here a huge chunk of Sangtam toffee—really magnificent stuff (Mr. Pawsey is my witness, he ate it till he broke a tooth)—made by mixing in the flour of maize, or better still of "stinking dall," with boiling honey and keeping it on the boil till solid. It tastes very good but is exceedingly hard.

Chārangsü of Mangaki, an ex-interpreter, went back from here, having been quite useful in the Sangtam villages. I took on two Sema volunteers as "tikka-coolies"—men of Khūmishe wishing to see the world. After dinner Churangchu and his men danced, and very well too with the most scientific footwork. Best of all was the dance imitating the hopping of crows searching for food.

9th. To Kudeh, about 9 or 10 miles, but exceedingly steep going. First dropping down to the Chimongchi steam, then up a very steep slope to the top of the Matong ridge, down again to the Chenyak stream, and up to Kudeh–6,712—probably down 3,000 ft. and up 4,000 in the day's march. At Kudeh it really felt like the cold weather at last and was very cold after dark. The village is small and utterly without discipline or any sense of co-ordination, and the inhabitants very reluctant to do any work for us, and no one really able to get himself obeyed at all.

Men of Chongtore and Sontak carried our loads and came on exceedingly well. It is said to be the first time that Sontak men have ever carried loads for anyone but themselves. They have the reputation of being a very stiff-necked village.

At the top of the pass over the Matong ridge the villagers of Chongtore and Kudeh had combined to clear the path and had put up wooden signs. Chongtore had merely a row of sliced sticks representing the number of men who had helped in the work, but Kudeh had carved theirs into hornbills' heads (very rough) and figures of men. In a *morung* at Kudeh I noticed wooden hornbills hanging up by strings and was reminded at once of the wooden hornbill hung up in a durbar building by Borneo tribes at a function described by Hose and McDougall.[1]

Men of Ngāmpūngchī came in with a salaami pig, and villagers of Kuthūrr, sent to find out the news. The Ngāmpūngchi gaonbura, Wongtho, got his medal for going to France.

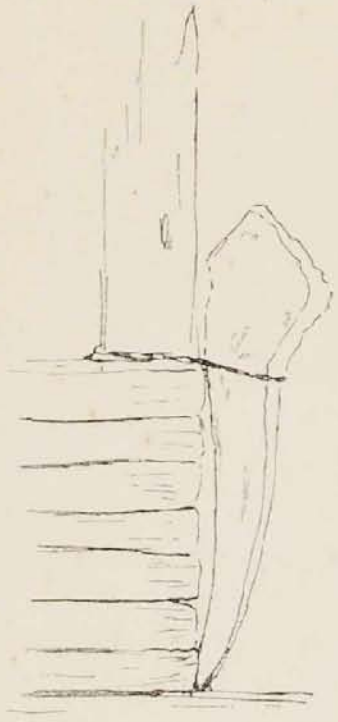
10*th*. To Tūensang. There was some delay in getting off, as Kudeh could not give us enough coolies, and they had to come from Tūensang, 7 miles away. However we got off by 8-45. The path was very good and well graded and we reached Tūensang (Mōzungjāmi) by 11-30, crossing first one of its tributaries and then the Yungyang stream, which is one of the principal sources of the Yangmun river.

Tūensang received us very well, and Yālī, Longtăng, Nākshō, Hàk, Phămpăk, Lōgŏng and Chingmirém, all Chang villages, sent in men with salaamis. Chingmăk of Chingmei (Pl. 14, fig. 7) also turned up. We found an excellent camp cleared and fenced all ready, thanks to Mongko of the Bilaeshi *khel*, who was an interpreter in Mōkŏchung for a time when I was Sub-Divisional officer. Alders are grown here, and the seed is said to have been obtained from Ăngfăng in a raid. The Bilaeshi *khel* is a crowded village of about 200 houses or more with very narrow streets, the front gables of the houses hanging right across the street alternately from opposite sides. Half of this *khel* is of the Chongpo clan, and the other half of the Ung, the latter clan being part of a Konyak village which split up after defeat by Tōbū, the other half going to Ăngfăng. The quarrel with Tobu was started by Tobu and the other villages having a contest to see which could ring a hill holding hands all the way round. Tobu's opponents held winnowing fans in between each man and the next, so that they looked like men at a distance, and doubled the length of the line, a deceitful act which annoyed Tobu, who tried to ring their hill honestly and failed. The enmity between the Bilaeshi *khel* and Tobu still continues.

Ăngfăng is noted for its trade in cowries, which are there rubbed down to a rectangular shape, so as to lie flat on the cloth, as is done at Khonoma in the Angami country. The untreated cowries are said to reach Ăngfăng from the Burma side. That village was visited by us in April 1923. Drum-logs are kept in the Tūensang *morungs*, which, however, do not seem to be used as sleeping places. The corpses of the Ung clan are put on *machans* with double-horned thatching, imitating a pair of buffalo horns, as in Ūrángkŏng and in some Konyak villages, I think, where a pair of buffalo horns is a common fertility emblem. Here too, I noticed a rough stone phallus tied to the front post of a house. When I asked what it was they

[1] *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, II, p, 298, pl. 206.

grinned and would not explain. In one of the Bilaeshi *morungs* too, I noticed that the heads were hung close to a wooden figure, carved to represent a man in a condition of sexual excitement, while a *morung* in the Kangsho *khel* had figures of women similarly made. The *morungs* also had wooden hornbills suspended in flight as at Kudeh.



Stone Phallus tied in front of a house in Tūensang.

11th. Halted Tūensang. In the morning I visited the village and saw the rest of it. It must be quite a mile long with a few blank spaces but nearly all one long main street with small and crowded side streets wherever there is room along the ridge.

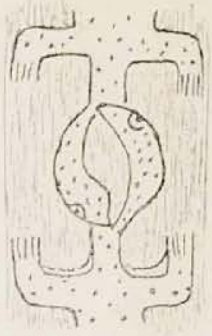
It is one of the biggest Naga villages I have been in, and must have about 700 houses. The people were most friendly, particularly the women who crowded round our mad piper and laughed uproariously at his buffooneries. That piper is a political asset, and the music drew the population out in scores.

The village had started a dance last night at 9. p.m. and it was still going when we started up to the village at 8-15 a.m. (Pl. 13, figs. 2 and 6) and though it stopped then, fresh dancing broke out in each *khel* as we went through. It is the usual circular dance, only in some dances the women join in and men and women dance together holding hands in a circle which gradually winds spirally at the end of the dance and then undoes itself by the wind up starting at the other end and going the other way. There is a sort of jig step which goes on all the time, and it is tabu not to finish properly any song once begun. The men's dance goes round deasiul, and that with women in it goes round withershins. Many of the men were dressed out very elegantly with make-shift tails of white fibre spreading at the bottom like a skirt and with make-shift helmets of shiny bamboo spathes. The women had their hair down their backs, and carefully combed. I was surprised to find many of them quite pretty in spite of the ugly Chang tattoo. Some of them had quite refined and even aristocratic looking features, as have many of the men, though nearly all are inclined to be prognathous. In the Kangsho *khel* I noticed a dog with one foreleg tied up to the neck as a punishment for theft. The dog did not seem much inconvenienced. Another dog—a white bitch—was being shaved with a dao, the hair to be dyed scarlet and used for embroidering clothes.

In the Lōmao *khel* there was a buffalo-headed drum just like those of the Aos, and many *morungs* had carvings of leopards biting each others necks,[1] clumsily carved. One of the headmen's houses had a one-piece wooden bed, which must have been cut, legs and all, from an enormous tree. I saw an old man who had devised for himself a new type of cloth "to keep the cold out." It was a white cloth with lines of cotton fringes in different colours.

[1] In other villages I have seen similar carvings without the spots, and, I think, with two eyes, described as martens.

At the edge of the Lŏmao *khel* was a fairly fresh head recently taken from Nīnyăm and not yet ripe for hanging in the *morung* in front of the drum. (The *morung*, by the way, is not used as a sleeping place by Changs.) The eyes of the skull were pierced with bamboo skewers "to give the spirit pain in the next world." Behind it the fingers and toes of the dead man were strung together and hung on another pendant. They were not complete however, as the owner had been some short before his head was taken.



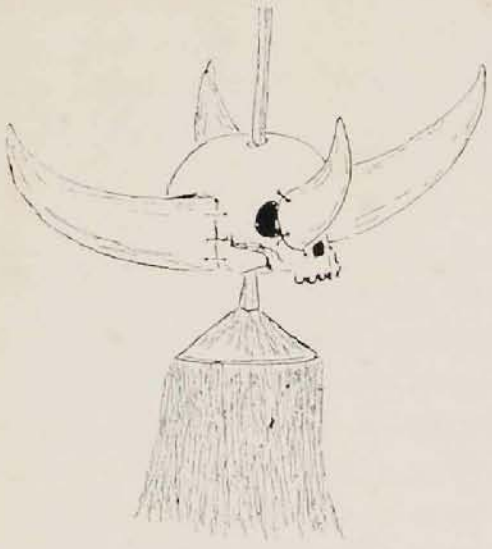
Carving in Tūensang of leopards biting each other's necks.

In between the Bilaeshi and the Chŏngphō *khels* there is a deep ditch digged, formerly filled with 'panjis' most of which were pulled up by Ongli Ngaku's orders last time he came here, when he tried to settle the long standing feud between the Chongpho and Bilaeshi *khels*. For the present it is abated, but I saw in the Chongpho *khel* a long row of hide shields set out as they are put when trouble with the Bilaeshi is toward. I noticed an occasional stone erected, but small, and apparently not of much importance. There was a dance going on in the Chongpho *khel* in which a warrior joined stepping into the middle of the circle, and shouting out the occasions on which he had proved his valour. He was followed by two witnesses, as required by custom, to testify to the truth of his assertions, but these tended to become buffoons, the chief witness repeating "so I have heard" or indeed "indeed I have heard he killed a woman" or something of that sort after each assertion, and the witness No. 2 rarely saying anything, but when he did it was "yes" or "it might be so." Witness No. 1 caused great amusement by his remarks and doubtless would in time develop into a stage clown or the humorous relief in a serious drama for the catalogue of exploits was accompanied by a great deal of gesture, while the circle of dancers would make the chorus, choryphaeus being already in existence.

One of the Tūensang headmen.

I should very much like to have seen the place where the skulls of the dead are put at their second funeral. At the harvest festival each year, the previous year's dead are dis-interred or taken from their bamboo platforms, as the case may be, (for both methods of disposal are used according to the last instructions of the deceased, or, failing any, by clan custom) and are taken to a spot about a mile away in the ravine of a small stream where there are natural stone shelves formed by the strata in the rock. Here the heads are set out in rows on the shelves allotted to each clan, the oldest being thrown away when there is no more room for the new ones. No path may be made or cleared to this spot, and no one may go there except when conducted by the two official buriers, and then no one may look about them or behind them but they go stooping with eyes

on the ground. They were most obviously unwilling to take me or to let me go, so I gave up the idea. There are two such places, one for the upper *khels* and the other for the lower ones of the village, both a long way from the village itself. They could tell me of no other village with the same custom.



Skull-hanging in Chongpho clan of Tūensang. It was that of a man of Chingmei, who had taken 15 heads himself and had, as a young man, killed the chief warrior of the Chongpu clan. The skull was decorated with four horns instead of two.

A lot of the Tūensang people came in for medicine. There was a good deal of sickness, as some thirty men had gone down to work at the Borjan Colliery in October and were all ill as a result. The village is far from rich, and sweet potatoes seems to be the staple crop. There is a good deal of Job's tears, but it appears to be very poor this year and is said to be usually like that. I doubt if the poorer households often taste liquor.

The women have two face-tattoos, differing in the chin pattern between the Ung clan and the others. I got Mongko's wife (Pl. 12, fig. 6), a pretty girl, to come to the camp and let me paint in her tattoo and photograph her,[1] after which I presented her with some red wool. After that I was besieged with people wanting wool, and the perimeter was crowded with women, while the boys and men became a perfect nuisance, and were not at all disposed to be shoo'd off. While halting at Tūensang the surveyor went up to Nāksho, a small Chang village high up, on the same range as Kūdeh and west of the Yangmun. Naksho, he said, contained 57 heads in the *morung*, different men's trophies being hung on different canes. When a man dies the heads he has taken are hung up by the corpse (whether it is buried or exposed on a platform) and left there; at Tobu, on the other hand, they are said to be passed on from father to son.

The red goat's hair spear shafts so common here are made by Yālī and Longtăng,—Chang villages further west.

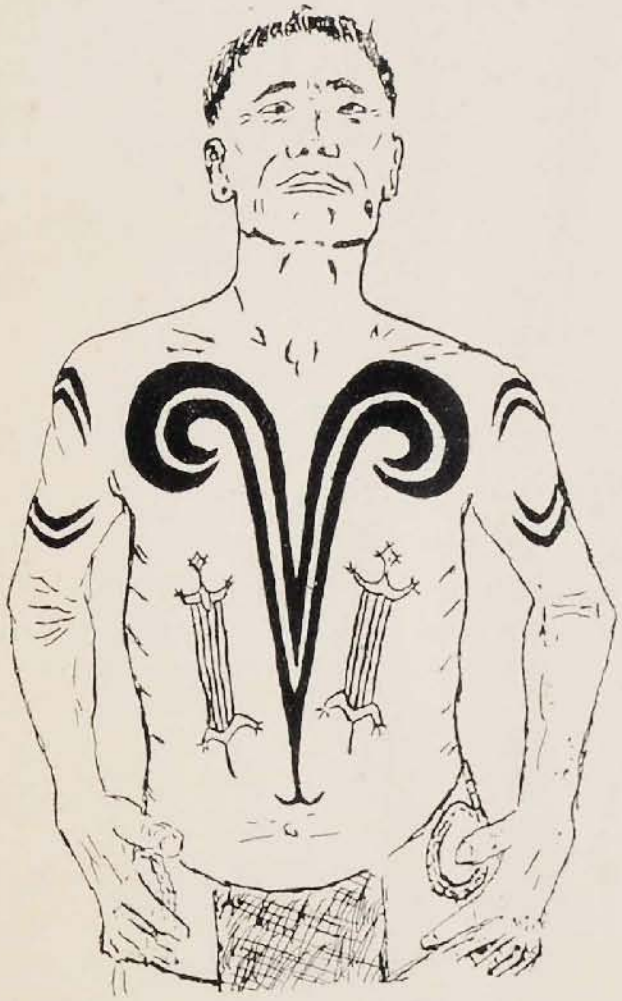
12*th*. To Hăkchăng—about 9 miles. We had great delay in starting (we did not get off till 9 a.m.) and I was not at all sure that we should get off at all. The Tūensang coolies turned out well enough down to the last 20 loads, and we had to wait an hour and a half for these, getting them by ones and twos, with threats and cajoleries, and comings and goings, stampings, shoutings and the rest of it; Chŏngpho and Kāngsho had carried from Kudeh, and it was the turn of Bilaeshi and Lōmao to carry. They had never done it before, of course, and considering that, it was not so bad. Indeed it was rather a triumph to get all our coolies out of Tūensang as we did. I decided to go on to Chingmei *viâ* Tobu, as if I went direct by Kĕjŏk and Kōnya it would be very difficult to get coolies for the second stage, as it was

[1] Like all my photographs taken in November it was fogged owing to an undetected fault in my apparatus, and in this case, as in most, so fogged as to be useless for reproduction.

practically certain that Tūensang would refuse to carry for more than one day, and I did not want to have to call for coolies from them for a second stage and be refused. There was bound to be a difficulty in getting to Tobu, but they could at any rate supply the coolies to take us on to Chingmei if we once got there.

On the way to Hakchang we passed the site from which both Tūensang and Hakchang were founded; and Hakchang still speak the Chang language and wear the Chang tattoo, but in appearance and customs they are entirely Konyak, except that they do not shave the heads of their women as the neighbouring Konyak villages do. The Hakchang men cultivate a peculiar form of hair-dressing in which besides a tail of hair behind —usually knotted—they cultivate a straight lock in front coming right down the forehead, most of the men wearing hats or head bands. This style of haircutting is said to be the original Chang style, and is still resorted to temporarily in case of the repeated death of a man's children, the reversion to the old style being apparently intended to mollify the ancestral spirits. We crossed the Tūensang river on the way, and I noticed that again, as at Tūensang, erect stones were put up on each side of the river, while the approaches to the bridge, which was of bamboo, were built of stones.

Men of Hākchāng.



Chang tattoo pattern.

Hakchang has about 200 houses crowded together on a very steep and stony spur (Pl. 14, fig. 1). There are hardly two contiguous houses on the same level anywhere. Rich men paint the frontal posts of their houses with tattoo patterns, daos, spear-heads, hoes, etc. in black, and cut oblique lines in twos and threes across the under side of their rafters. Women whose blood relations on the male side have taken a head may cook the head, with chillis, to get the flesh off, and then assume the male tattoo—the double ostrich-feather type worn by head-takers. Pots are made here with studs round the curve to keep the fingers from slipping, a very clever dodge, and also pots with handles, I think, though these latter are mainly made in Tobu, where they sometimes add a handle to a studded pot, so that the studs become mere ornaments. Hakchang, we noticed, grew *euphorbia* trees though I could not

see that they were cultivated for any special reason, as they are in so many Konyak villages. Hakchang build latrines with pig-pens under them, and fatten pigs there for small payments. In Yonghong, where I noted a similar custom last April, the styes are all at the back of the *morung* under the back verandah platform, but at Hakchang they build separate latrines at the edge of the village, as some Ao villages do. They mentioned here that the Changs used to have a "bird" clan now extinct, or very nearly so. Probably it corresponds to the Hornbill clan of the Aos and Lhotas. The Kudamji or Huluk Ape clan of the Changs is also said to be gradually approaching extinction.

A deputation from Saochu, a Konyak village on the west side of the Yangmun, came in for the first time, to see us; also from Măksha, an offshoot of Hakchang as also Kĕjok, Kōnya and Nīnyăm, who are friendly with Tobu.

13th. Left Hakchang in fairly good time, the coolies turning out well, and started for Tobu *via* Măksha. The arrangement that had been made was that men from Hakchang and Maksha should carry us as far as the river which divides their land from Tobu, with whom they are very much at war, and to whom they have recently lost a number of heads. Here Tobu carriers were to meet us and carry us up to their village: this arrangement having been made for us by Chingmăk of Chingmei, who is friendly with both villages.

Hakchang had, as I noticed when passing out through the east door of the village, the familiar arrangement of thorny creepers on posts, to be cut down in war time so that the thorns are an impenetrable barrier, a plan followed by the Angami, Kacha Naga, and by the Wa of Burma. Maksha, through which we passed, has, I should say about 60 houses, and closely resembles Hakchang. I notice "buffalo-horn" pattern graves.

On our way down from Maksha to the river, the Nīnyăm gaonburas calmly told us that they had been to Tobu and that a fresh arrangement had been made there, and that Tobu, as they would be carrying our loads to Chingmei, would not come to meet us at all, but the Hakchang men should carry all the way up to Tobu; when we got to the Teithung, the Hakchang carriers, not unnaturally, flatly refused to go a step further. We were ready for them, however, and at the critical moment had them parked in an open space between the Teithung and its tributary the Moyung.

At first we tried persuasion, which was useless: then at Ongli's suggestion we quietly got sepoys all round the edge of the open space and then told them, (1) that they would be fired on if they bolted; (2) that they must carry, or the sepoys would "spoil" them. Luckily they did not call our bluff, and after another half hour of threatening, cursing, and coaxing, while many had their daos out, and all were either sulking or shouting, and looking rather nasty, we got them on the move across the river and up the hill. I was still very anxious, as the Ninyam people had reported that someone, obviously of Tūensang or of Hakchang, had been "dirtying our path," and there was a report about in Tobu that we had sworn to eat some village this trip, and the non-appearance of the Tobu men as arranged looked bad. However, they had cleared the path, and, when about half-way up the hill, two of the Tobu headmen turned up, much to my relief. It also re-assured the Hakchang men a little, though

we had a great deal of trouble with them before we finally got into camp just outside and below Tobu. There we let the Hakchang and Maksha carriers go after paying them in red wool—rupees do not run here—and they hared off down the hill in a scrum, daos drawn and shouting.

The approach to Tobu on this side consists of a narrow ridge about 25 yards broad, level along the top and with the ground falling away very steeply at the edges. It commands a magnificent view both east and west, and we occupied the width of it for our camp, an admirable position from every consideration. It had held, till the morning when we came, the body of a Hakchang man (who had been killed at the end of October in an attempt to raid Tobu)—minus his head and the lower part of his limbs, and impaled on a stake. This, they had removed for fear of hurting the feelings of our coolies. Several Hakchang men had tried to get heads off Tobu, and had been surrounded and killed. The path had been studded with stumps the whole way, and only cleared for our benefit. As the sides of the path and the adjoining jungle are "panjied," anyone from another village ignorant of the by-paths in the jungle would have to use the stubbed path when escaping after a raid, and must sooner or later trip and fall. Anyway, he would be delayed long enough for the pursuers to get round and cut him off by paths only known to themselves.[1]

The same path had shallow holes in places, which holes had held "panjis" covered with a false surface for the unwary to put his foot through and spike it.

As we entered Tobu, Ongli, who had had a relation lose his head to that village, had to perform a ceremony to conciliate the dead man's spirit, as I understand, for his action in entering Tobu in peace, and being entertained at Tobu. A friend threw down for him a small dao blade, over which Ongli poured some liquor and muttered a speech, finally striking it with the iron butt of his spear and flicking it aside off the path, leaving the blade for anyone who might chose to pick it up, which the friend who had put it down for him promptly did. Even after this he was afraid to drink Tobu's liquor for fear of loosing his eye-sight and his teeth.[2]

Tobu was disappointing in some ways. I had imagined it full of carving, and Woodthorpe's account of the stone seats of the chiefs[3] had misled me. The village is very large in population but does not cover a very big area. Several families live in one house and there are 16 principle *morungs* with many subsidiary ones, but the houses are not striking, and the *morungs*, are notable principally for the shape of their roofs which start low and curve upwards in a sort of horn pointing skywards (Pl. 14, fig. 2). There is very little decoration, and I fancy Tobu is too industrial to be artistic, and devotes itself to making pots, daos and cloths for its neighbours. As far as the carving goes it is like that of Yonghong and Yaktu, but I only noticed a single pattern of mithun head in use.

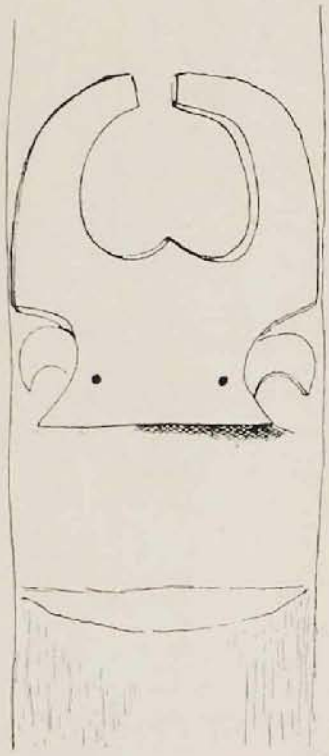
There were a few heads in each *morung* decorated with buffalo horns in the usual Konyak style, but no single *morung* held as many heads as the principal

[1] *Cf.* Butler, who reports the same practice among the Angamis in pre-administration days. *Rough Notes on the Angami Nagas*, J.A.S.B. 1875.

[2] *Cf. The Sema Nagas*, p. 180.

[3] *Vide* my entry of April 16th.

Hakchang *morung* held heads taken from Tobu (Pl. 12, fig. 1). A *madar* tree (*erythrina*) in the middle of the village, had a bamboo lent against it from which depended a fragment of scalp attached to a cross-piece which caught the wind and swung in it, reminding me rather of the Sangtam method of treating enemy heads at Thachumi and elsewhere to the South.



Buffalo or mithun head as carved in Tobu.

The chief's stone seat was just an ordinary boulder placed at the top of a pile of smaller stones exactly like an Angami *Kipuchie* in Kohima village. Woodthorpe says that only the chief is allowed to use it, but it was crowded by all sorts and conditions when we came up. There are other stone sitting-places, like the chief's seat and apparently attached to a *morung*, which are made exactly on a common Angami pattern, only the scaffolding of the machan put up as an extension to the stone is of bamboo instead of wood. I gathered that the chiefs —there are more than one—are rather small beer. At any rate they have nothing like the position of the *Ang* in villages further North, and their houses are just like other peoples. The stone causeway with a culvert through that Woodthorpe mentions, still crosses a depression between two *khels*, but though higher, it is not as well made, as for instance, that at Ăngfăng, nor nearly as long. I noticed **Y** posts here, placed as by Phom villages along the outer face of the house verandah. The dead are first disposed of on a platform covered by thatching in a style resembling the buffalo-horn cover, only the roof is horizontal instead of curved up at the ends. For the second disposal figures of basket-work with their chests made of bamboo spathes painted with the usual Chang pattern, are set up in what I take to be family groups (Pl. 12, fig. 8 ; 14, fig. 5). These figures have no heads, but the neck and shoulders are surmounted by a hollow basket-work frame, the bottom of which is padded with cloth for the skull to rest on. I saw none with the skulls in, but presume the use of these figures is the same as at Ükha, which is one of the nearest villages. The women cut their hair close and keep it so for life, plucking out a triangle on each side of the forehead more or less clean but smaller in area than at Yungphong, Ükha and Yonghong. The small boys wear their hair in a narrow sort of cock's comb down the centre of the head very much like a Tangkhul, and are tattooed in a broad stripe down the nose and chin. The cloths are very finely woven, and finished off as Angami cloths are. I was warned off the site of a burnt house because it had been struck by lightning, and if I went there my feet would ache. I suppose if I lame myself to-morrow it will be put down to that.

Oranges are grown by Tobu, and I noticed flint and steel used, also the bark belts I saw further south in April, as well as the cowrie belts common to the southern Konyaks and the Changs. I was also struck by the resemblance of some of the Tobu basket-work hats, to those of the Igorot in the Philippines, and one I obtained had

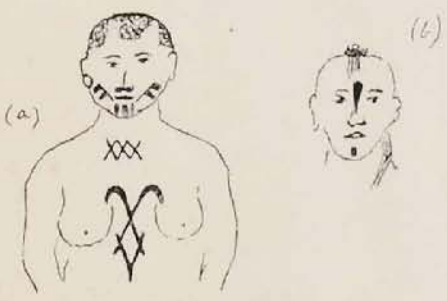
a sham hair knot with a bone skewer through it attached to the back. To save the owner's wearing a chignon, I suppose.

The general appearance and physique of the Tobu people compare most unfavourably with that of the Changs as a whole. Hakchang men are small, and un-Chang-like, but those of Tobu are miserable specimens, small, weak, and goitred. The women reminded me of the poorer type of Angami in Cheswema, Nerhema, Keruma and Tofima, where *panikhets* have never really superseded jhum.

Sema head from Nikiya village hanging up in Thachumi, 1921.

The Tobu word for man is Konyak, so that that word for the whole tribe is probably merely the word for man like the Lhota *kyon*.[1] Further North, however, the Konyak word for man is *shenyak*.

14*th*.—Tobu appeared this morning in its true colours. Would they give us coolies? Of course, only too delighted, three to a load to help us along the quicker, but by 8-30 not a coolie had arrived and I took a party up to the village. Here there was a continual chorus of "*lolabu*," "*lolabu*,"—"will come," "will come," but not a man started. It was the custom they said to sit in the *morung* in the mornings till they felt moved to eat rice, and then after that they would carry our loads. Threats and imprecations had not the least effect at first, though after a time they gradually produced about one quarter of the number wanted, otherwise all the reply was "*lolabu*" and no one came. The village meant to go—some time, and each man hoped his neighbour would go first and he would escape having to carry himself. The "chiefs" have absolutely no authority and their orders had no effect at all, and when I threatened to burn the house of the biggest he laughed and obviously did not take it seriously.



Tobu tattoo
(*a*) woman, (*b*) boy.

[1] Cf. also the oceanic *Kanaka*, which has, I believe, the same meaning.

Eventually we shot a big pig and went away. This produced a rush of coolies, but still not enough. Then I started to go back to the village; this was a mistake as it frightened them, and the women and children, till then present in crowds, all bolted and most of the men, so I turned back, but the remaining coolies were quietly produced and we got away at 9-30.

It was a long march, steeply up hill most of the way, and the Tobu coolies, who had eaten no breakfast were many of them physically unable to carry. Most of the *dobashis* and *gaonburas* with us had to carry a load for part of the way, but in the end we got to Chingmei about 5-0 p.m. very tired. I reckoned the distance at 16 miles, but it was a very tiring 16 miles for everyone. On the way we passed the deserted site of the village of Ungpang which split up generations ago into two parts, one going to form the Hāwang clan of the Changs, the other the Konyak village of Ăngfăng. We crossed the *tila* at Waoshu, which must be 8,000 ft. up, or very near it indeed, a rather dismal looking village of scattered houses with the dejected look that always seems to go with villages at a great height. The inhabitants are mixed Chang and Konyak.

I was very much disappointed with the view from Chingmei. By the map we should have been across the main range between Assam and Burma, but the mapping is wrong and this side of the range does not drain into the Namzalein as indicated, but into the Zungki and so to the Ti-ho. Between us and the Namzalein there seemed to be two more ranges, the furthest of which seemed to be joined on to the Saramati range and to form the Namzalein-Ti-Ho watershed, though I fancy it is not actually as high as the range we had already crossed.

Pansor arm tattoo worn by men on upper arm outside. Seen on a man of Yimpang.

Some chin tattoo seen in Chingmei on Chang and Kalyo-Kengyu women.

15*th*.—Halted at Chingmei. Pawsey and the surveyor went down to the Wokyung below the village, and thence up the range called Poupu (8,000 ft.), east of that, in order to map the sources of the Zungki, here called the Langnyu, at least from the junction of the Wokyung, coming from the Yimpang end of the valley, with the Tiekyung coming from the southern end towards Chentang. Unfortunately the day was very cloudy and they were unable to see much. I went to the village (a mile away) and then up to the top of the range behind, (the former site of Chingmei), from where I could see into the next valley a little, and was shown the villages of Làngyok, Nŏko and Sanglao. Clearly the map was wrong, and there was a range splitting off from the Patkoi and joining up with the Saramati range and forming the watershed between the Namzalein and the Zungki. It is along this range, probably that the Assam-Burma boundary will ultimately go.

I saw a Khamti dao again, here, bought by a Chingmei man from Nŏklŏk further east. One of the houses in Chingmei had plank walls and in general the side walls were a good deal higher than is usual in Naga houses,

adding much to the space inside. They make a lot of fibre cloth here, using the bark of a prickly shrub which bears small berries like miniature double raspberries along the stem of it. It is called *leikin* by the Changs.[1] I noticed plank-sitting places, and a small drum-log hollow at both ends, also a house half slated in the Kalyo-Kengyu fashion. A considerable part of the population of Chingmei is Kalyo-Kengyu by origin, and there is a tendency to take wives from that tribe, which regards it as improper to ask for any marriage price. The dead here are buried under a stone. Later the skull is disinterred, cleaned, and reburied at a little distance from the body, a custom which, I believe, is generally followed by the Yimtsungrr. In Chingmei, persons killed in war and decapitated are thrown into the jungle and their property is put out for them nine days later. I also saw the "inverted chevron" memorial mentioned by Woodthorpe as seen by him somewhere

A helmet seen on a man of Yimpang.

Memorial to a chief of Chinghori, representation of the rainbow, skulls of the cattle slaughtered at funeral, clothes, ornaments, utensils used by the dead man. Tallies of head taken, etc.

else in 1875-6.[2] It is said to represent a rainbow, and to be symbolic of the rain that always falls when a really great man dies. It was accompanied by a great array of clothes and ornaments, and by a long row of Y-shaped posts and the skulls of slaughtered cattle, all in memory of the recently dead chief. The chevron does

[1] Mr. N. L. Bor got it identified for me later as one of the *Urticaceæ—Debregeasia velutina*. It is used in South India in Wynaad and the Nilgiris for bow-strings and in Ceylon for cordage and fishing lines. It is perhaps also used in Kumaon, Garhwal and Nepal, *vide* Watts, *Dict. of the Economic Products of India, s.v. Debregeasia*.

[2] Woodthorpe, *op. cit., v. supra* under April 15th.

not really look a bit like a rainbow, being angular and the two sides crossing at the top, and having a sort of foot sticking up at each end, but it struck me that it might have something to do with the passage of the soul to the next world, as I think the rainbow is called "the spirit's bridge" by some Naga tribe and the Semas also call it *Kungumi-pukhu* which one translated as "sky spirit's leg," but *apukhu* means bridge as well, and the latter is a much more reasonable translation.

A warrior of Chingmei.

Shields of the bark of the sago palm (the edible variety) are common here, and I remember to have seen them also at Yungya, in the Konyak country and at Gwilong in the Kacha Naga country. I have seen them somewhere else in the Chang country on this tour, either at Tūensang or at Hakchang. The Changs of Chingmei are great cattle owners and the land has the jhumed out appearance of the Tizu valley—largely as the result of the great number of mithun and buffaloes kept. These are always being shot with poisoned arrows by raiders from "Aoshed," *i.e.*, Panso or Pansorr, a Kalyo-Kengyu village to the east reputed most formidable in war. They had a head off Chingmei only ten days ago, taken in the fields only 300 yards from the village and we were given all sorts of warnings against them and had several broad hints as to the desirability of our going and slaying them and burning their village. One of the Chingmei chiefs apologized for his mean house on the ground that as Panso had burnt him out three times already it was not worth while building anything better.

A girl of Chingmei.

16*th*. To Chentang, about 15 miles, going up the Tiekyung valley and over the pass between the main range and the Yakko range at right angles to it, and then down the valley of the Shetche the other side. Chentang is at war with Sangpurr and had caught and killed two Sangpurr raiders last month. One head they sent to Panso, the other head was hanging up on a "madar" tree (*erythrina*) together with the hands and feet of both the raiders (Pl. 15, fig. 7). This war with Sangpurr was most inconvenient as I had given out generally that I meant to go to Sangpurr which had several times invited us and which we had been told was certain to be friendly. Now one of the Kuthurr Headmen who had been there to warn them of our coming was sent back with a message that we were not wanted and the path would not be cleared for us. Obviously therefore we were not likely to get coolies out of them to go on with if we did go, yet I could not accept an order to

turn back, so I decided that I would halt at Chentang and take 30 rifles and visit Sangpurr returning the same day. Indeed, without going on to the Sangpurr ridge it would be impossible to get a proper idea of the geography of the neighbourhood.

I saw more of the bark shields in Chentang, and a house partly roofed with wooden planks, but the village is small and poor and with some difficulty keeps its end up against Sangpurr. It was stiff with 'panjis' in all directions.

17th. Halted and took 30 rifles and visited Yakko and Sangpurr villages, a long and tiring day. It was about 7 miles to Yakko—down to the Shetche and then a very steep climb up, and I suppose another mile or more to Sangpurr, of which Yakko is an offshoot.

A Chang youth of Chingmei showing a face tattoo done for him in Tobu.

Yakko received us with reserve, but amicably on the whole, and professed a desire for friendly relations. We left the surveyor at work with four rifles to look after him and went on to Sangpurr proper. Here it was all but a matter of firing on them. They had removed much of their stuff (we did not see a single pig) and the men were gathered together with spears, bows, daos and shields. While we were out of sight between the two villages they were seen by those left in Yakko to be dancing about and brandishing weapons, but this subsided when we reached them, and all they did was to sit about looking very sulky while we made a tour of the village, but if it had not happened that we had to wait, before entering, for Chingmak to do a ceremony such as Ongli did when entering Tobu,[1] which gave a Kuthurr *gaonbura* time to run on and dissuade them from fighting, they would otherwise have certainly tried to put up a fight and we should have had to fire on them. As it was, one old man sitting in the street as we went by offered a thimble-full of *modhu* and two eggs and said that that was all he would give us unless we would destroy Pansorr the next village to the east, and that otherwise he would have nothing to do with us. I was vastly minded to put on him a pair of handcuffs we had with us and leave him so, saying he could wear them for my sake and come and have them taken off when he had acquired a sweeter tongue, but he was old, and it was hardly worth the value of the handcuffs.

We had been followed up to Yakko and Sangpurr by a train of 20 to 30 bucks from Tuensang and Chingmirem who had appeared very curiously at Chentang the night before, scenting trouble and possibly having had a hand in preparing it. I confiscated all their daos and said I would give them back when we reached Kuthurr next day, to which they should carry some of our loads, since they so loved our company. We had a wonderful view from Yakko village and saw three villages on the range running south east from Yakko mountain—Alam, Youkhao

[1] *Cf. p.* 53.

and Pansorr (the rumoured "Aoshed"), and two more on the range behind, Sanglao,—also seen from Chingmei—and Poi. The river dividing the Alam-Panso range from the Sangpurr range is called Tsohyemung, and runs, like all the rivers here, into the Zungki and so by the Ti-Ho to the Chindwin.

Sangpurr seems always to be at war, and there were many heads hanging up in the village, hung on bamboos, as at Chentang, where they are left to rot away and drop, as is the Sema practice. The houses have plank walls, and the drums are of a type more or less new to me and hollow throughout, the ends not being closed at all. Some of the houses have roofs of huge wooden shingles, each several square feet in area, and I noticed one head stuck full of arrows and was told that it was that of some old enemy against whom feeling was bitter. In some *khels* the *morungs* seem to have dwindled to a mere gable, with a miniature platform at the back on which no one could possibly sleep, and which were not even deep enough to house the miserable little drums in front of them. I noticed no tattoo on the men; the women were in the jungle or on the outskirts of the village. The *modhu* was very thin and I fancy the village is poor.

Yimtsung drum (Sangpurr) with open ends.

Yimtsung Morung (Sangpurr).

On the outskirts of Yakko I saw two shields and carrying baskets with stones in them, and upturned gourds on sticks put outside the village towards Chentang to call the souls of the two men who died there the other day. The stones were put in to remind them of their native soil, and so induce them to return.

In the evening as I was sitting over the fire rather congratulating myself on having had no need to open fire at Sangpurr, a man came in to say that the *gaonbura* of Chingmirem and his two sons, who had followed us up to Sangpurr had not returned. The situation was discussed by all the Nagas, and he was found to

have been last seen entering a house in the least friendly *khel* of all. It was decided emphatically that all three men must be dead. I felt a little doubtful, but thought that they knew better than I, and decided we must go back to Sangpurr in the morning. I took no responsibility for them and they had gone against my orders, but Sangpurr did not know that they were not of our party. The probability of their death was clinched by the surveyor having seen from the hill where he was working, the middle *khel* waving their daos, dancing and shouting after we had left, which left practically no doubt that they were dead. Obviously there was no choice but to go back to Sangpurr and find out.

18*th*.—We started out at 7-0 to go to Sangpurr in wrath and had crossed the river and were well started up the horrid climb when the missing man and one son

Kuthurr village.

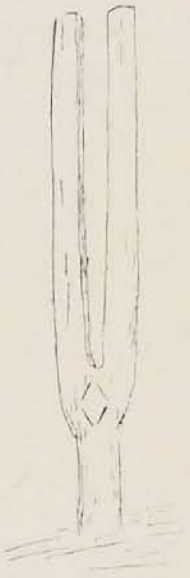
turned up. As they ought to have been there with their coolies at Chentang they got well beaten, and we sweated back up the hill again to Chentang and thence started for Kuthurr, packing up camp and getting away at 9-45, which, considering the delay, was very good work. The Tūensang corner-boys did their share of carrying and did it very well. We got up to Kuthurr, about 8 miles up-hill all the way, by about 12-30. It was not a very interesting village. The granaries, like all those of the Changs and of the other Yimtsungrr are protected from rats by round discs[1] of wood on the poles just under the floor. The houses are frequently walled with planking, and sometimes roofed with the same huge wooden shingles as we noticed at Sangpurr in the case of rich men's houses. No particular ceremonial status is necessary, however, as it is in the case of the Angami who wishes to have a shingle roof. The women have a curious way of doing their hair. An ordinary knot

[1] Cf. McGovern, *Among the Head-hunters of Formosa*, pp. 176 sq.; Peal, *On the "Morong," etc.*, J.R.A.I., XXII, p. 251 and pl. xvii. Peal gives the distribution of this disc as "Assam, Formosa, New Guinea, New Britain." McGovern adds the Ainu.

is made at the back with a rather long loop of hair sticking out straight behind, and then the knot is turned over and tucked in which brings the loop over so that it stays pointing forward over the left ear. The men I noticed had in some cases tattoo on their arms, while the women a very small lozenge pattern, of the same shape as the Chang on their foreheads. There were a fair number of heads hanging up on bamboos, and Kuthurr is at war with its neighbours Shotokurr and Yimtsung-Awenrr. The forked posts erected have a lozenge pattern on the front, suggesting the white star on the forehead of a mithun, and are high and narrow with a short stem.

Yimtsung woman's coiffure
(*a*) down, (*b*) 1 and 2 Up.

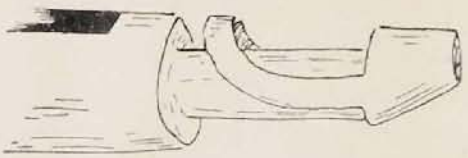
19*th*. I regretted that I had not taken more drastic action at Sangpurr, as the effect of my long suffering was that Kuthurr and Chingmirem considered it entirely unnecessary to turn out coolies. Chingmirem, who were told to supply 40, sent 11 and we had to shoot pig in Kuthurr before we could get enough coolies to leave at all; when we did, I sent Pawsey with the column direct to Yimtsung-Awenrr and went myself with 10 rifles to Chingmirem to fine them for not turning out coolies. From Chingmirem (about 3 miles from Kuthurr) I went on to Shotokurr crossing the streams Chămyung and Kānglok a little above their junction, and then up a very steep climb. Shotokurr was the first village I had been into, which had been visited before, since we left Tobu. Mr. Dundas slept at Shotokurr when he went to punish Ayepongrr, a now deserted site two or there miles down the spur below Shotokurr. At Shotokurr I enjoined them straightly to send me coolies that night to carry next day, and so left for Yimtsung, leaving behind Ongli and the Ao *dobashis*, who were going back to Mokokchung. Altogether I reckoned that I covered at least 16 miles and it included some very stiff climbing. Yimtsung, which I reached about 5 P.M., proved a very pleasant camp on open turf. I find that the name "Yachungrr" is a Sangtam name apparently, and the Yachumi themselves call themselves "Yimtsung," Yimtsung-Awenrr being the original home of the tribe. Between Chingmirem (a Chang village) and Shotokurr (Yimtsung) I noticed one small erect stone in a field of Job's tears. I also noticed two small menhirs in Yimtsung-Awenrr itself; but generally speaking the Yimtsung tribe does not go in much for stones. Among the Job's tears I also noticed young alders, and they told me that they were carefully planted and preserved to improve the soil. The ones I saw were seedlings growing quite well in the shelter of the stalks of *coix*.


Yimtsang—"Y" post.

From Yimtsung-Awenrr there is a wonderful view up (or down) the valley of the Tita and of the upper waters of the Zungki. These two streams rise from a marsh in the middle of a narrow and very straight valley with steep sides and flow

in opposite directions only to meet again far lower where the Tita having joined the Tizu unites with the Zungki to make the Ti-Ho.

20th.—Shotokurr, of course failed to produce coolies, at least only 15 arrived, and as it was 8 miles in the wrong direction I did not go back to deal with it, leaving the Sub-Divisional Officer to do that from Mōkŏkchung. The Yimtsung *gaonburas* seem to have very little control over their villages. However, we got enough coolies with the help of the villagers of Cheshorr and Yimtsung-Awenrr, and started for the village, known as Kitsü to the Semas, and to itself as Kyūtsükīlong. It is a small Yimtsung village on the high point south of Shipungrr, and to go there necessitated a climb from the river below Yimtsung-Awenrr of 4,500 ft. On the way we passed Shipungrr which I entered to have a look at. While in the village half the coolies bolted. Luckily they could only bolt either down the very steep and narrow path by which we had come, which was blocked by the rear-guard, or into the village where I had half a dozen men and a couple of *dobashis*. We saw them coming and 'shikared' them with horrid threats back to their loads. It was a very long pull up, again and the wretched coolies had brought no food with them. Probably they hadn't much to bring, and they kept lying down and saying they could not go on, but eventually we got camped in close to Kyūtsükīlong on a very high cold spot at 7,450 ft. The village was very friendly, and some of its inhabitants had been to France. I was surprised to see a Sema village (Hutami) on the range east of this, and all mixed up with Yimtsung villages.



Drum head (conventionalized buffalo) in Shipungrr village.

It was very cold indeed at night, and Pawsey was down with fever.

From Yimtsung-Awenrr to here, as also, I think, at Chingmirem and Shotokurr, I noticed small patches of rice grown here and there in low elevation jhums as a luxury. It is said not to be filling enough for a staple food, and probably does not grow well enough at high elevations. In any case it is said to be quite a new thing about here to grow rice at all. Yimtsung-Awenrr had some very nice looking bearded rice with a big blackish husk—the husk was yellow with black ribs and beard, which they said was a recent importation from Pansorr (Aoshed) to the east, and a very good variety.

21st.—To Shothumi, about 7 miles; water bad. No trouble with transport as the coolies turned up very promptly, being half Semas from Shothumi itself. Camped again at over 7,000 ft. and very cold. The old quarrel between the two *khels* of Shothumi is on. Woziya refuses to pay the customary leg of animals killed to Khuvetha who in turn refuses to admit Woziya's right to any land of his own. It is as much Woziya's fault as Khuzhokhu's I fancy, and any way all their land was grabbed from Shothurr and Hoñroñre.

A case came up of a head-taking dispute between Zukishe of Phesami and the village of Cheshorr. Two men of Cheshorr went to join some Phesami friends in sneaking a head from Hoñroñre. Apparently it was not an official Phesami raid and was concocted privately. The two men of Cheshorr in fighting kit-shields, spears,

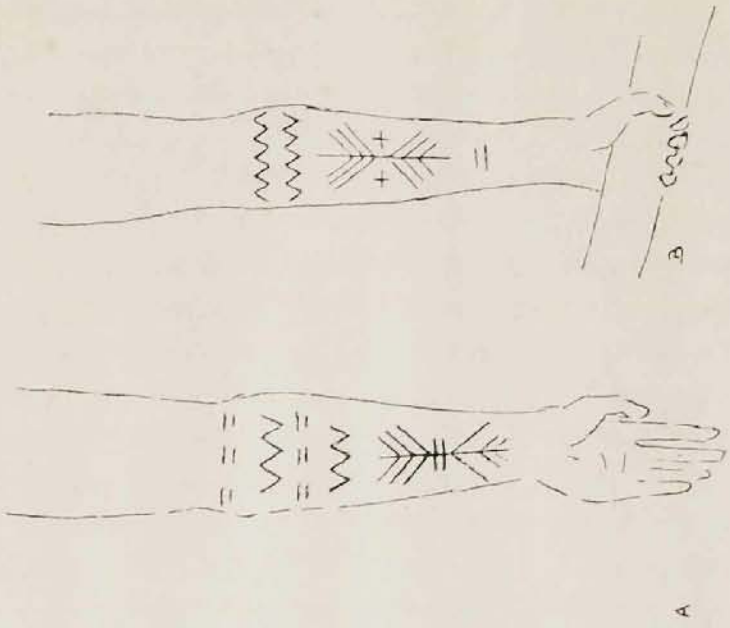
'panjis,' etc., fell in with some other men of Phesami who thought it was someone coming to raid them and turned out to cut them off. Yazathu, Hoñroñre and other villages round about joined in the pursuit and decapitated one of the two adventurers. The other, too exhausted to speak, happened to run into Zukishe's son, whose companions were for killing him at once, but the young man prevented them and took the survivor home and let him go. In return for this Zukishe claimed, and got, a mithun from the man of Cheshorr. Now, however, Cheshorr have come forward with a claim against Zukishe for having treacherously enticed two of their men to be killed by his villagers, and demand the mithun back. Their statement that Zukishe himself invited them is based on alleged statements made in his village by the dead man only, and I do not think they fit in with the fact that one man was saved. Any way they are incapable of proof, and even if the statements were made they may not have been true. Sittobung and Hezekhu tried to settle the case on the lines that the two men of Cheshorr went out for war, and got what they were looking for; the mithun was rightly paid as the price of preservation, and the matter should end there. Cheshorr refused this solution and referred the question to me, saying that they had a *casus belli* and wished for war, and intended war. I said that they had better have what they wanted, but that the war was to be limited to Cheshorr on the one side (about 500 houses) and the four Ghovishe brothers—(about 400 houses, I fancy) on the other; and that Kyutsükilong and other inoffensive villages were to be left alone unless they joined in of their own accord. Kyutsükilong is to flag the boundaries of its fields, which march with Cheshorr this year. Both sides agreed to this, and I said there must be 10 days' truce before the *kātākātī* started, but that it should be open from December 2nd. I doubt if anything more will come of it than a state of war and perhaps a few odd heads. Anyhow I fancy the only proper way of ending head-hunting, if it is to be ended, is by very gradually limiting its scope, until it gets rarer and rarer and the taste for it dies a natural death. Zukishe, I understand, is very unhappy about the fine he paid last year. It was a very heavy one, and has, as he put it, "taken all the meat off his bones." I noticed at Shothumi a smallish erect stone put up by a Yimtsung inhabitant "because the stone was a nice one." People had sharpened their daos on the top of it.

Stone put up by a Yimtsung man in Shothumi because it was a good shape.

I managed to get Zukishe, Hovokhu and Zhetoi—all notorious lycanthropists—to talk about the subject in Khuzhokhu's house. Zukishe, to a chorus of assents, stated quite definitely that the peregrinations *en tigre* always took place during sleep and that more often than not the country was strange and distant from their own village, but that *sometimes* they happened to kill near home and then only were able to indicate to others the

locality of the kill after awaking. Some are better at this than others, and I gather Zhetoi has achieved notoriety that way.

22nd.—To Rishetsü, a Săngtăm village, 6,800 feet, about 10 miles, where we camped on an old village site on the ridge after a severe climb. Water scanty and distant. On the way we passed through Hoñroñre, (4,200 feet) where they gave us a pig. I told them to cut this up and distribute it to the assembled headmen, a large and heterogeneous company. A man of Phesami took hold of the pig's head for Hovokhu, his chief, to cut off, and insisted on Hovokhu borrowing his dao as being a better one than Hovokhu's. As the blow descended the blade flew out of the haft and chopped off its owner's three bigger toes of one foot, absolutely clean. Our doctor sewed them on again.



A. Tattoo worn by Sangtam warriors of Hoñroñre on both arms.
B. Tattoo worn by Sangtams of Kishethu on left arm only. This pattern was copied from the arm of a Sema who had turned Sangtam and had himself tattooed.

At Rishetsü, the villagers of Purrorr, Rürürr, Anahātorĕ, Sanchorĕ ("Chashomi") and Phelungrr came in with small presents, and the chief man of "Lakomi" or Sirichu turned up likewise. I punished this village a year or two ago for the murder of a British subject by his son whom we never got hold of. I refused his *salaami*, and said that unless his son was produced and surrendered I would punish it again at the first convenient season. He promised to bring his son into Kohima, but probably won't. Any way his village is conveniently near the district boundary and is very insignificant. With the possible exception of Phelungrr these villages just mentioned are all Săngtăm; Phelungrr is probably Yimtsung or Kalyo-Kengyu, or of mixed origin.

A Sangtam; chief of Sanchorĕ.

Still above 7,000 (7,111) and a bitterly cold night. In our camp were the posts of one house of the village that had stood there—three enormous trees cut flat and with a mortice at the top for the roof-tree. I have not seen anything like them extant in the Sangtam villages here, which are all dirty, insignificant and hovelish.

23rd. To Kishethü, about 7 miles, a really good village that got a magnificent move on when making camp for us. Sirirĕ failed to produce the coolies ordered but the chief man turned up with a request for a red cloth and said they would send coolies when we came to their village itself, I put him in the quarter-guard and took

him to Kishethu where I held him to ransom for a fine of five pigs for not giving coolies. I got my pigs and let him go, and then gave him his cloth. I gave four of the pigs to Rishetsü, Sanchore and Anahātorĕ as they had to supply extra men, and were all small villages and only did so with difficulty. Our red wool and salt was finished on the 20th and since then we paid in cash at -/2/- a cooly. Thachumi apparently accept cash for salt hereabouts.

Looking from Kishethū up the Zungki valley it is easy to see how the mistake on the map arose. It looks exactly like one long valley going out to Burma, and that, no doubt, caused the one who made the map to show it all as one of the sources of the Namzalein. As a matter of fact there is a very low saddle crossing it, which the surveyor could see (from Sangpurr, I think), south of which the valley drains into the Zungki. It is this saddle, and the high range which holds it, that must ultimately form the Assam-Burma boundary.

Kishethū is a village of about 100 houses with a reputation for looting traders of their goods. I noticed that they hung heads on bamboos about an *erythrina* tree as the Yimtsung do and as the Chang village of Chentang does, but the Kishethū golgotha had no fresh skulls—only some old gourds which doubtless once contained "meat". Close by was the remains of a *morung* reduced to two roofless posts (with a separate hovel for the boys to sleep in), the front post well carved, decidedly in the Lhota style (Pl. 15, fig. 2). The drum, they said had decayed. I noticed a number of-Y-posts, quite different to the Sema or Yimtsung pattern, being long in the stem and with spreading incurved arms, but although it was a genuine Sangtam village, some of the houses had house-horns admittedly copied from the Sema pattern. I noticed here an ingenious dodge of swinging hooks hanging loose on the hearth to take the four corners of a tray for drying meat, the hooks were made of a pierced node of bamboo with part of a shoot cut off to make the hook, and the nodes were suspended on canes passed through them and knotted. There were also some very nice two-pillared stools, cut from one piece of wood.

Hook for hanging up shelf over fire. Kishethu.

Between Tobu and Kisethu—i.e., since the 13th—we have been in villages hitherto entirely unvisited, I believe, except for Mr. Dundas' halt at Shotokurr (in which Mr. Dundas slept when he went to punish Ayepungrr). To-morrow we get back into known and fully surveyed country. It will be rather dull, but it is something to have gone through the new part without any permanent transport and relying for our coolies on unvisited villages.

24th. Viâ Yazuthu to Yezashimi, about 11 miles. A stiff climb to Yazuthu from the valley below Kishethū and two very steep descents, one from Kishethū and again another from Yazuthu. We camped by the Tsütha river just below Yezashimi which is about 500 ft. above the river and 200 yards or less distant in a direct line from it, the path zig-zagging up the almost precipitous slope. Before we started the Lakomi headman offered me a mithun, but as the mithun had done no murder I refused it and demanded his son instead.

Men from Nitoi and Shietz came in about their land dispute. They don't want to fight and asked me to send a *dobashi* to settle it. I said that I would send a *dobashi*, but that if they afterwards rejected his decision or failed to observe it, I should take no action, but mention to Gwovishe's sons that the road to Shietz was still open if Shietz was the offender, and to Thachumi that Nitoi had hurt my feelings, if Nitoi transgressed. Both parties asked for the interpreter Kohoto to fix the boundary. Chekiye of Lukami came in, and Zukishe of Phesami again. Also the Cheshorr elders. They do not want war, and Sittobung and Hezekhu patched up a peace on the *status quo* lines. The only man who wanted war in Cheshorr was the father of the boy killed. The rest agreed that it was his own silly fault. The survivor was apparently protected from the village who wished to kill him, by Zukishe's putting over his head a corner of his red cloth received from the Deputy Commissioner. Tōōtso of Kitangrē came in for a cloth, and I told him I would give him one if he came to Kohima for it, but that I still wanted Tsichimu of his village, who escaped from custody in 1921 and has never been caught. He said he could not possibly bring him as he had sworn to kill anyone who tried to, but I said that the matter had by no means escaped my memory and that sooner or later I should come his way again.

The villages of Kŏsanasāmi and Lhŏshyepū are preparing war. They have a pretty land dispute to fight about and may just as well let a little blood and settle their differences. It will not amount to more than a riot, even if it ever gets as far as that. There is a similar dispute between Yangpirē (Yatsimi) and Mongrē.

Yazathu has a log-drum much like that of Shipungrr and the remains of a *morung* with a carved front post (Pl. 15, fig. 4). Into this post was stuck a small piece of iron—a fragment of a broken dao—"to prevent it being struck by lightning." Also the bamboo spikes used for killing pig at the *genna* in honour of Litsapa[1] were stuck into the post after use and remained there, as well as a flat roughly dressed stone said to be of particular hardness and used to hammer in the bamboo spike with which the hole is made in an enemy's head when it is hung and strung. They had one head hanging up from a bamboo, resting against 'madar' tree posts I think, which was recently taken. It was shot with arrows like the head at Thachumi in 1921, though no horns had been attached as in that case.[2] Probably the scoring of a hit assists the hitting of live enemies in the future. Alongside the head place was a row of gourds probably containing "meat", as at Thachumi, and I noticed that they were all hung on or among 'madar' (*Erythrina*) trees. I noticed that the women, some of them very fair skinned, were tattooed with the familiar mascle pattern, and wore leggings, when elderly, like the Aos, the Khasis, and the Sangtams in the North. The Yazuthu

Dressed hearth stones in Yazuthu.

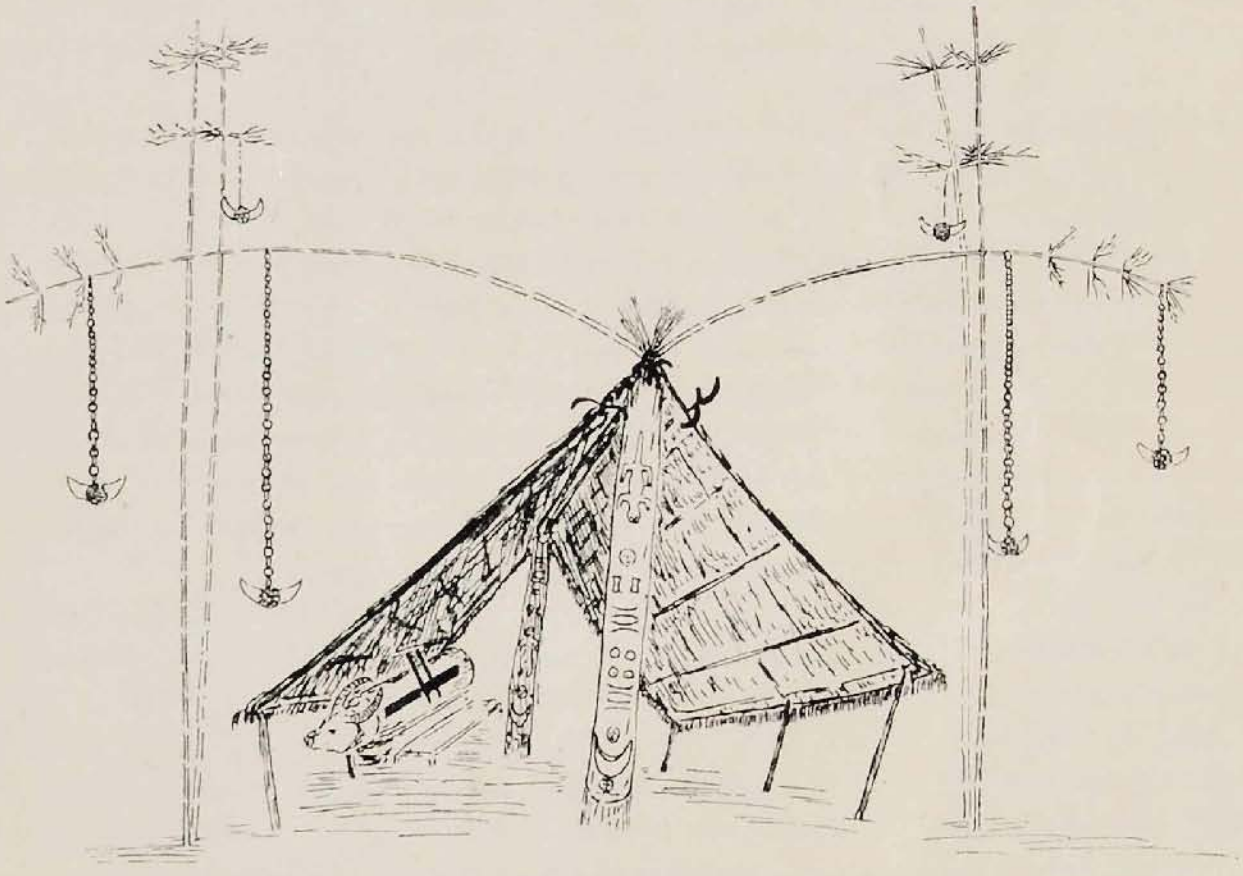
[1] Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 195, 221, 223.

[2] *V, supra*, page 55.

leggings were white with two narrow black stripes down the centre of each puttee. also saw hearth stones dressed to a round cylindrical shape, though not carved as one in Kuthurr had been. The Y-posts here are carved as in the Sema village, with mithun heads and other devices and the Sema influence is also seen in the use of house-horns[1] which is not a genuine Sangtam fashion.

Carved hearth stone in Kuthurr.

The village is a mixed one, being about two-thirds Sangtam, with a third Sema, the Semas living in a separate "khel". It was founded by Yazuthu, a Sangtam from Yezashimi, which is now, at any rate, a partly Sema village, though in the latter Sangtam customs and blood are entirely predominant. There are oaks growing freely round Yezashimi. The Sema "khel" was fenced with euphorbia and cactuses (prickly pear). The *morung* in Yezashimi was on the usual Sangtam plan with bamboo horns, from which hung cane globes representing heads, which were adorned like Konyak heads, with horns made roughly of wood and really looking more like



Morung in Yézashirĕ with log drum slotted in side instead of top.

wings and suggesting perhaps Sir Joshua Reynolds' cherubs. Inside was a drum of a pattern new to me. The head was a buffalo head, carved as usual, but the slit

[1] Apropos of house-horns, it is rather curious to find in a very distant area, but also one in which there are Polynesian or Malay affinities, the use of house-horns, to which, as by Angamis and Semas, imitation birds of wood are attached. This is reported from Madagascar by William Ellis. (*Madagascar Re-visited*, p. 249; *Cf. The Angami Nagas*, p. 5; *The Sema Nagas*, pp. 38, 40, 48.) *Cf.* also P. V., fig. 7.

was along one side. I think also that what there was of a tail was in line with the slit. There was no tail in line with the head. Alongside it was a wooden platform for the drummers. Two of the *morung* posts (there were 3 in all) were carved, and from the gable edge projected the fantastic bamboo roots, so beloved of Yacham, of some Konyak villages and of some Lhotas I think, though the Lhota ones I have seen have been much less fantastic.

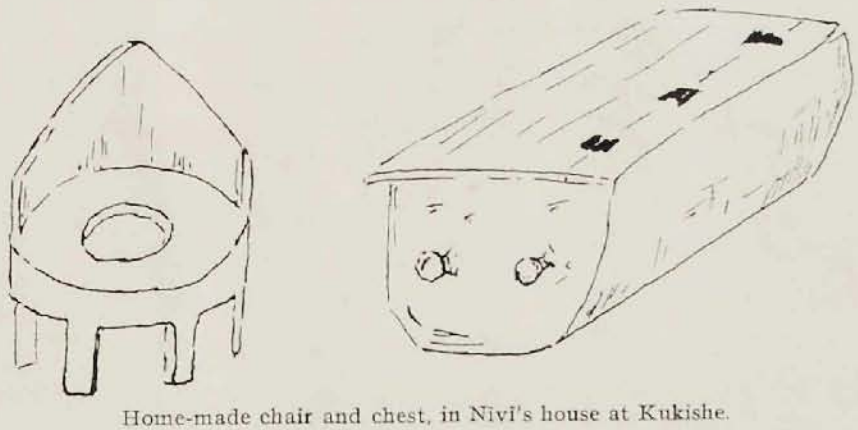
Rengcha told me that Phorre (Photsimi) his southern Sangtam village, also used to make drums once, though not in his lifetime.

Kekhezhe of Tsukohomi came in for a cloth. He represents the companion of Gwovishe in founding the village.—The real chief is Hovokhu, Gwovishe's youngest son, I think, the elder brothers, at any rate having gone out in true Sema fashion to make villages of their own, and leaving the younger to inherit.

25*th*. The Yezashimi coolies failed to turn out properly, so to cause them to 'eat shame' and to hurry up I picked up a *joppa* that had a headstrap of its own and started up to the village saying that I should claim a mithun as pay if I were not relieved before I reached it. I refused relief till all loads were taken up, and then handed it over to the last coolie just outside the village. It had the effect of hurrying them up all right.

I heard on the way up to the top, of Yimtsung throwing-sticks, attached by a line and so recovered after being thrown, and used in village riots. Also that a Sema's hair turns grey if he enters a porcupine's hole.

We halted at Kosanasami, *alias* Khetoi, *alias* Nikelho, at the top of the ridge and I called in on the chief to drink hot *zu* after my climb. They had some heads, taken from Chimi, in the *atsükoghothobo*, and this village also was fenced like Shothumi (Pl. 15, fig. 6), but more elaborately, with an inner fence of sharpened "ekra" inside the outer one of trees and stakes. I saw no 'panjis'. From Kosanasmi we went down to Kukishe. Nikhui, the old chief, died about a month ago, and his son Nīvī, who is no less of a blackguard, reigns in his stead. Went to his house,



Home-made chair and chest, in Nivī's house at Kukishe.

which contains some fine furniture of his own making—a chest to contain ornaments and valuables cut out of one piece of wood about 9 feet long and 3 feet broad and deep, and with handles to pull it by, left projecting from one end in the same piece. He had also a chair with six legs and a back to it, all cut from a single

piece of wood, and he had cut a hole in the seat to make it more comfortable. Outside was a round stone grave built in the Angami fashion (a copy from the Angami according to Nīvī) which held the remains of Nikhui. In the Angami country these round graves are usually cenotaphs, not tombs, but this Sema copy, as in the case of the one at Vekhomi [1] is an actual tomb.

The other graves in Kukishe were also unlike the usual Sema grave, and were built rectangular, with woven bamboo sides, and a flat top made of unsplit sections of bamboo. In Nīvī's house I picked up another form of hand-arrow, used by boys who have not yet learnt to use a spear. It was of bamboo, smoke-hardened, and with a tuft of chicken feathers at the butt. I also noticed a woman wearing a conch shell at the back of the neck in the style followed by the Angami males.

We camped in the Tuzü valley, below Yemeshe and at the point where the path from Kukishe divides to go to Kiyakhu southwards and Yemeshe northwards, a very pleasant spot and a good camping ground.

16*th*. The night of the 25th was made hideous by hordes of litigants, and by quarrelsome trans-frontier Semas declaring war or wanting to. The villages of Mongre and Yangpire (Yatsumi) have a land dispute and wish to fight, or pretend they do. I said they might fight until it inconvenienced me, and that I should interfere when I pleased, and that meanwhile no other village was to join in. If they have the field to themselves little damage will be done. I applied the same principles to a land dispute between Lhoshyepu and Kōsanasāmi, allowing the parent village of Kukishe to join the latter (as I cannot possibly prevent it) and an offshoot of Lhoshyepu's to join it to make two a side; I doubt its coming to much, but if it does it will probably have to be stopped pretty soon, as it would be too near to the boundary not to be a nuisance. Meanwhile, however, I do not propose to settle their land disputes for them. The ones inside our present boundary are bad enough as it is.

Mr. Pawsey, with the escort, left me for Sakhālu on his way back to Mōkŏk-chung. I went up to Kīyakhu, and dealt with the Kīyakhu-Ghukhwi land case and then over the hill by Zhĕkiya down to Satakha, about 10 miles. This case probably settles the matter as far as Kīyakhu and Ghukhwi are concerned, (their dispute dates from at least 1897), but a pretty quarrel is brewing between Zhekiya and Kīyakhu, which I refused to go into, as one such case is enough for one day and I should have had to go out of my way at least to Shĕvĕkhe to see all the land concerned. Zhekiya split off from Kīyakhu some time in the nineties. The Kīyakhu chief gave Zhekiya all the land on the Zhekiya side of the Yaputhoyi saddle (there is an erect stone at the spot) the boundary going down the *Kuthu-Agulo* nulla to the Kuthu river on the south, and somewhere along the Chethu stream (which I did not see) to the north to the existing boundary between Zhekiya on the one hand, and Shĕvhĕkhe and Yemeshe on the other. Probably a future settlement must be more or less on these lines, but as Zhekiya refused to give the customary leg of a

[1] See the Sema Nagas, p. 246 (illustration).

sambhar he had killed to the Kīyakhu chief, the latter revoked his settlement, and since then the two villages have jhumed theoretically in common, though most of the land now seems to be privately owned. Personally, I see no particular need for a partition, but Zhekiya is loud in its claims, and it must be admitted that if it is not done in this generation, it will become appallingly complicated by the next, when there will be so many more claimants.

27*th*. To Kilomi.

28*th*. Double marched through Zulhama to Satazūma. Shortly after arriving there Hūnitsō, who should have been nearly at Kohima with my 'dak' but explained his delay as caused by having to chase chickens which escaped from his 'khăng' through many miles of jungle, came up to the bungalow to say that Dĕlăhing, who had left Kilomi with my 'dak' early that morning, was lying moribund at the bottom of a very steep slope which runs down from the bridle path below the bungalow towards Zŏgazūmi. We got him up and investigated on the spot. He had looked unwell the day before, and told the *dobashis* in the morning that he did not feel quite the thing but expected to make Chazubāmi all right. He had put down his 'dak,' dao and cloth by the road side and had obviously eaten his mid-day meal there, and smoked a cigarette. Then apparently he had had a fit and rolled over the edge and down the slope. Unless he was in convulsions he could not have rolled far in the long grass, but I take it he had a fit as his face was horribly smashed, and the place where it happened was obvious, he had fallen face first on a projecting lump of shale, and shattered both. If he had been pushed he would have either fallen on the back of his head or else put out his hands and saved himself from the full force of the fall at the cost of damaging his hands. He is a man of violent temper and uncontrolled tongue in his cups, but it is unlikely that he had too much to drink, and also unlikely that if the act had been done by someone else the dao, cloth, etc., would not have been thrown over the edge too to delay discovery. Delahing himself was incapable of speech and apparently unconscious, and was continually struggling with violent spasmodic movements of the legs and in a very much less degree, of the arms and hands, reminding me of a tetanus patient. He was frothing at the mouth and breathing with difficulty. We made a litter and sent him off with two *dobashis* to take him to Kohima by relays of coolies from village to village as fast as possible.

29*th*. Double marched to Sakhabāma, 20 miles, where I learned that Delahing had died the night before shortly after passing Chĕswĕzūmi, without recovering consciousness.

30*th*. To Kohima. I am told that occurrences similar to the case of Delahing have happened at that spot before. They are ascribed to a *deota* (godling) which appears to be in the nature of a *poltergeist* of some particularly potent description. One of the Zogazuma *gaonburas* was killed by it. It threw him about and wrestled with him, and he was unable to see it. He died the day after, I think.

ERRATA.

Page 1, line 2. After "Mr. J. P. Mills," *for* "I.P." *read* "I.C.S.".

Page 16, Note 2, line 4. *For* "spirits, bridge" *read* "spirits' bridge".

Page 25, line 11. *Delete* the colon after "Konyaks".

Page 30, line 6. "Palaung" should not be italicised and "(Burmese)" should *read* "(Burma)".

Page 42, line 13. After "added for each" *insert* "head" (at end of line).

Page 50, title under cut—*Delete* the hyphen between "skull" and "hanging".

Page 52, line 25. *For* "notice" *read* "noticed".

Page 63, last line. *For* the hyphen between "kit" and "shields" *substitute* a dash.

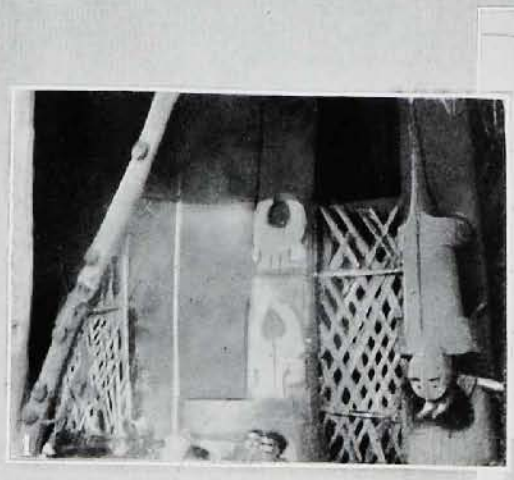
Page 68, line 1. After "puttee." *insert* "I".

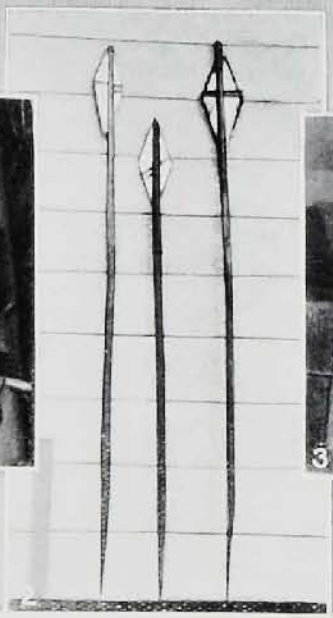
Page 69, line 7. *For* "southern Sangtam" *read* "Southern Sangtam".

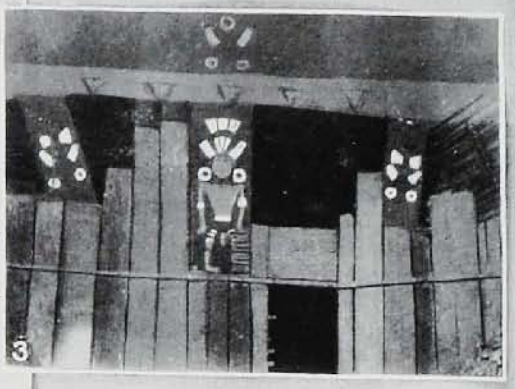
" " line 19—"throwing-sticks". *Add* a footnote :—

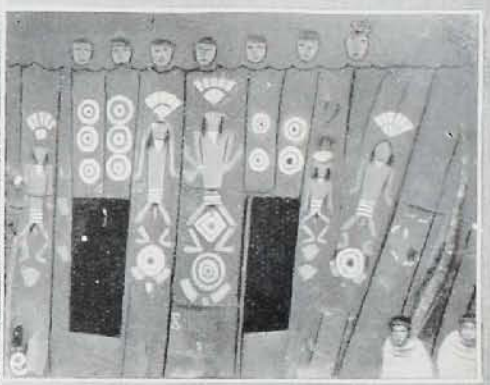
"It is, as a matter of fact, the line that is thrown, not the stick, which acts as a sort of rod with which to cast a weighted line to operate as a bolas, and then as a bludgeon to batter the lassoed antagonist."

1. Morung at Ükha.
2. Effigies of the dead at Ükha.
3. A genna erection in Yaktu or Yonghong with darts sticking into it, *c.f.* Mills' *The Lhota Nagas, s.v., Opya.*
4. Women of Mongnyu.
5. A Girl of Yungphong.
6. Konyak Naga (Namsang) with skull to which grass tassels have been attached for dancing.
7. Yungya head trophies—
   (1) Monkey skull; wooden jaw; humane cranium; fragment of jaw wedged in between skull and jaw; wooden horns; grass tassels.
   (2) Two fragments of crania.
   (3) Several fragments of crania over top of a monkey skull with fragment of human jaw.
   (4) Cane basket ball, human jaw with fragment of bone attached.
   (5) Cane basket ball; fragment of human cranium; serow horns.
   (6) Monkey's skull with jaw of bear (?) and wooden horns.
   (7) Human skull without face; iron spearhead attached; buffalo horns with beans and tassels of grass.
   (8) Human skull; (?) bear jaw; buffalo horns.
8. Cloths of the dead put up by the Angamis of Viswema.

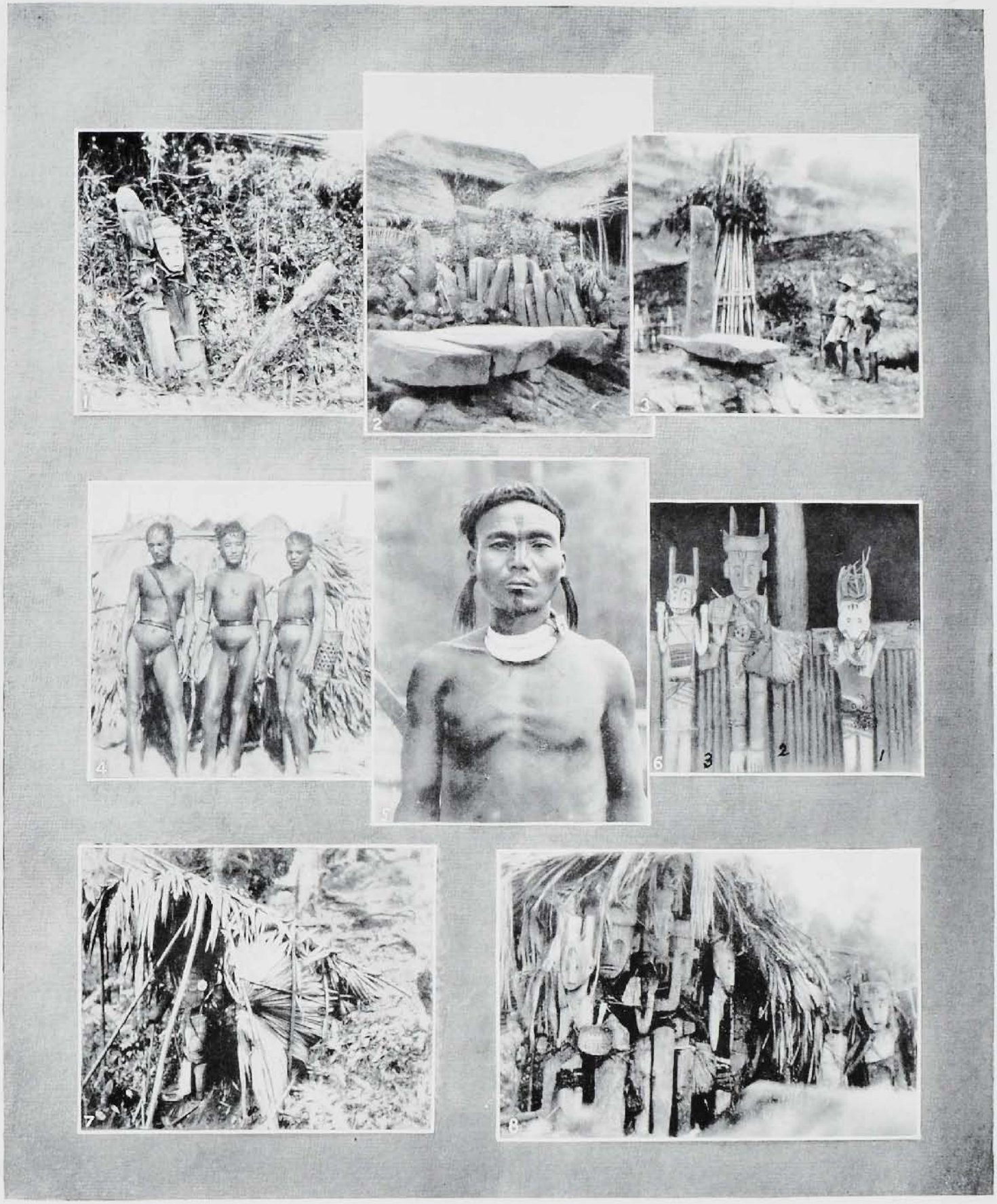






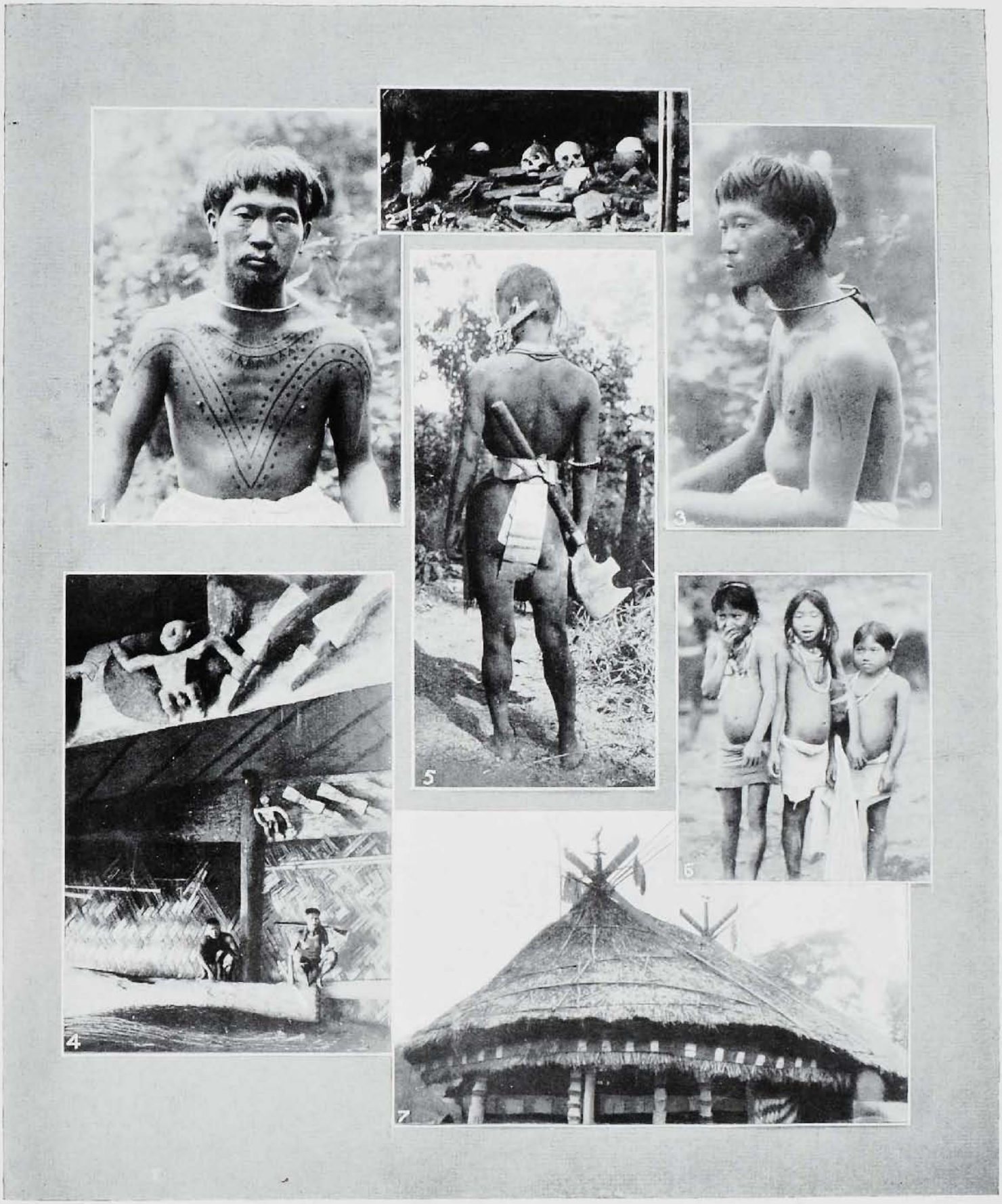


1. Carvings in Yonghong.
2. Darts used by Ükha, Yaktu and Yonghong, feathered with pandanus leaf.
3. Narrow waisted men in Pulomi (Kenoma), the lines around the waist here have clearly been interpreted as the lines of cowries on an Angami kilt; yet the nakedness is also retained and tufts of real hair are pegged at the ears and fork.
4. A girl of Yungphong.
5. Morung at Yaktu.
6. Chief of Yonghong, wearing brass buffalo-horn symbol on head.
7. Menhirs at Yonghong.
8. Carvings on a house in Yonghong.
9. Narrow waisted men on the priest's house in Chekwema (Yangkhulen). The black and white bands round the waist are of equal width except on the middle figure, and do not appear to have been assimilated to the Angami kilt yet except in the middle figure. Tufts of hair are pegged in at the ears, fork and sometimes the chin.

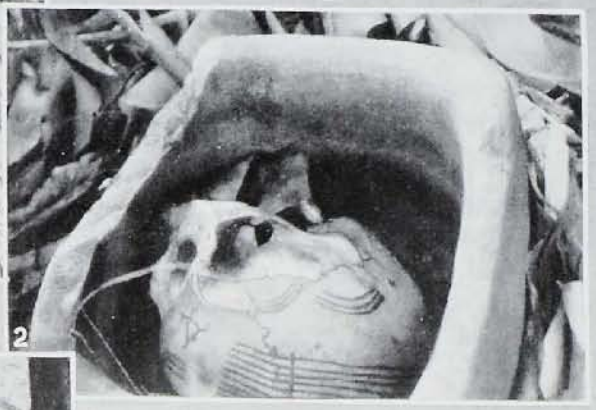


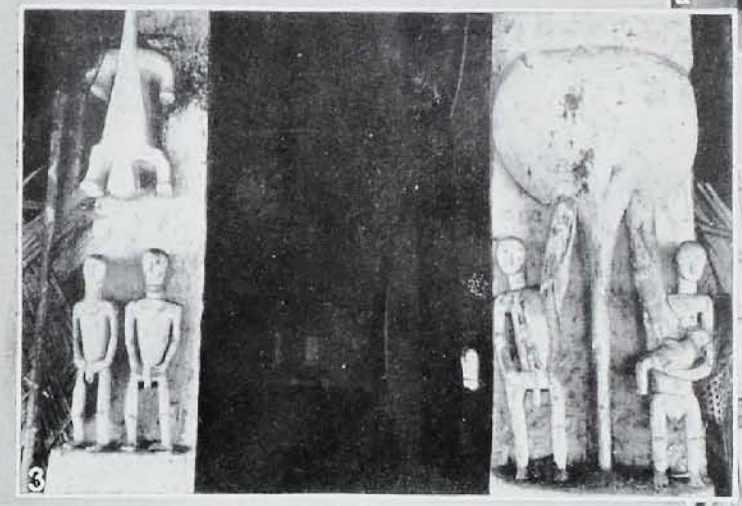
1. Figures of dead warriors (decapitated by the enemy) in Angfang.
2. Sitting stones and small erect stones at Yonghong.
3. Erect and flat stones in Angfang.
4. Konyaks of Longmien.
5. Konyak (Chăgyĭk) tattoo on a man from (?) Tobu.
6. Soul effigies from (1) Yonghong, (2) and (3) Angfang.
7. Effigy of the dead in Chaoha.
8. Soul effigies at Angfang.

1. Dolmens and a menhir in Longmien.
2. Wooden figures put up by the Ang in Longmien.
3. Carving in a Chinglong morung.
4. Shopen of Tangsa showing tattoo.
5. Tattoo-masculy—on a Sängtam woman.
6. Stone path in Longmien.
7. Carving of an Elephant in a Chingtang Morung.
8. Stone path in Longmien.

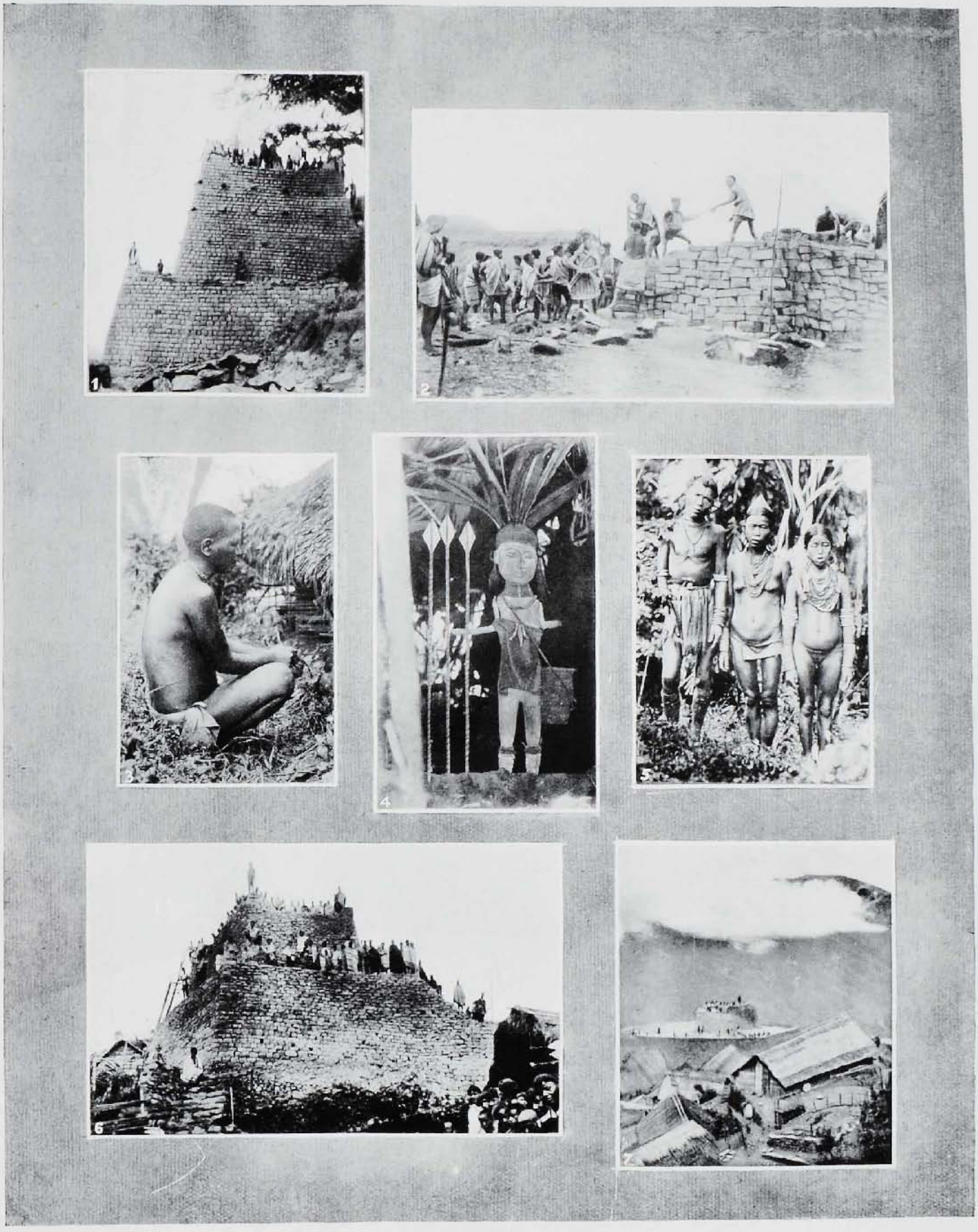


1. Hamshen of Tangsa showing tattoo.
2. Skulls at Yanha (photograph by Mr. H. C. Barnes).
3. Hamshen of Tangsa showing tattoo. The ring round his neck is not a Konyak ornament but one provided by the Inspector General of Prisons.
4. Interior of a morung in Wakching.
5. A man of Kongan showing tail of the bark of *Aquilaria agallocha* Rox. and method of carrying dao by tucking the handle under the belt, an apparently inconvenient method also used by the Maori (Old New Zealand, by a Pakeha Maori, Ch. III).
6. Young girls of Kongan.
7. Morung in Kongan showing carved hornbills on roof.

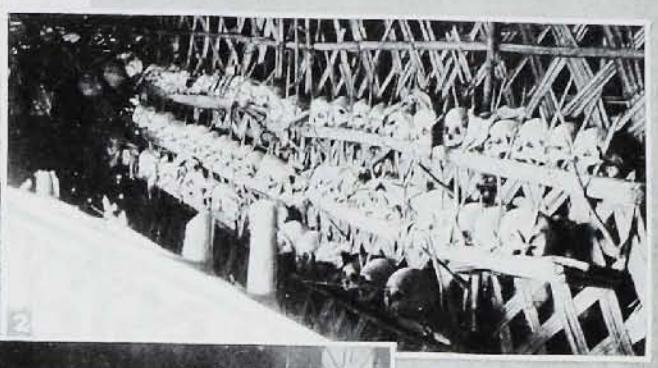


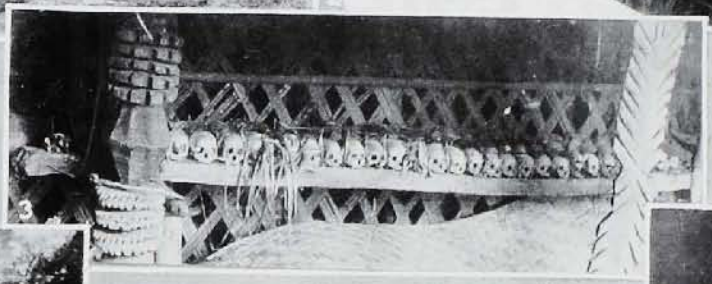


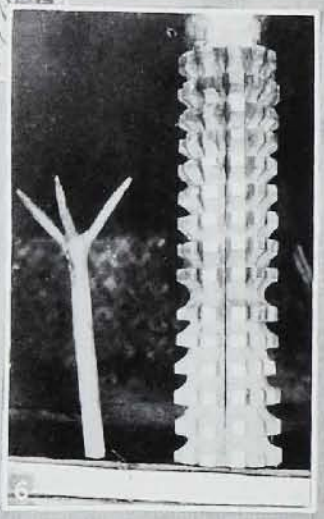
1. Derelict skull-boxes in Kongan.
2. The skull box, and contents, with the lid removed.
3. Carvings in front of Kongan Morung.
4. The decorated skull on the lid (beside the thatched skull cover with the box in the background).
5. Skull-box containing the skull and covered with a flat stone as lid; alongside is a conical thatched skull cover.
6. 151 Enemy skulls at Yanha.

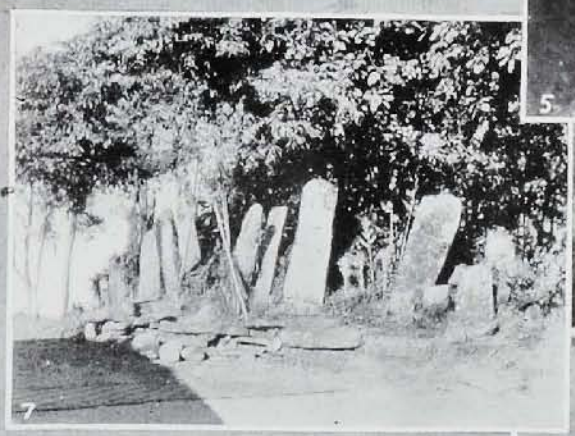


1. The Merhema *dahu*.
2. Building the Semoma *dahu*.
3. Woman of the "slave" clan in Longlam (*vide* entry of April 20th). [For the use of this and six of the photographs which follow it, I am indebted to Mr. J. P. Mills.]
4. Soul figure at Zakkho.
5. Chief of Auching and his family.
6. The Thevoma *dahu*.
7. The Semoma *dahu*.

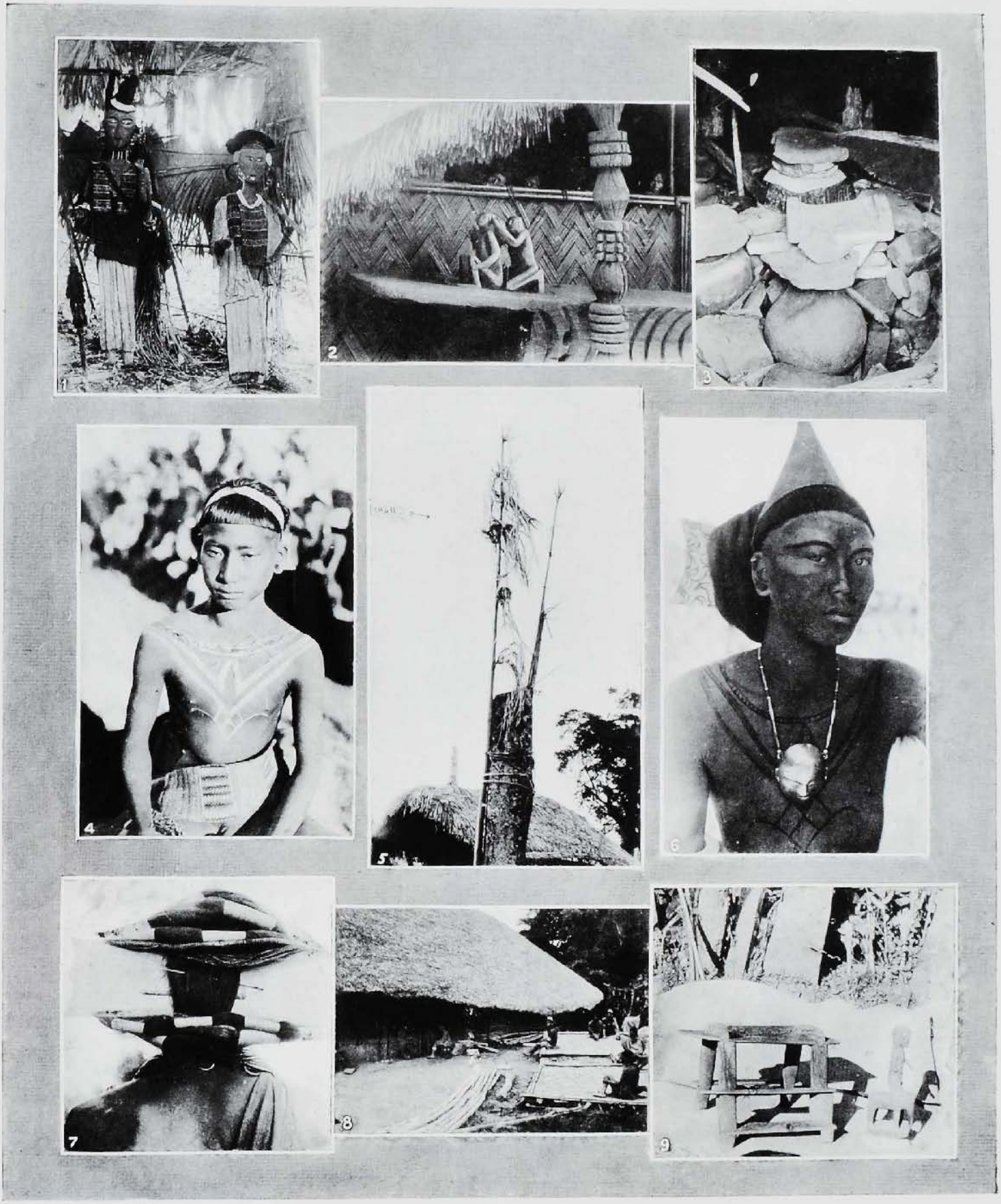








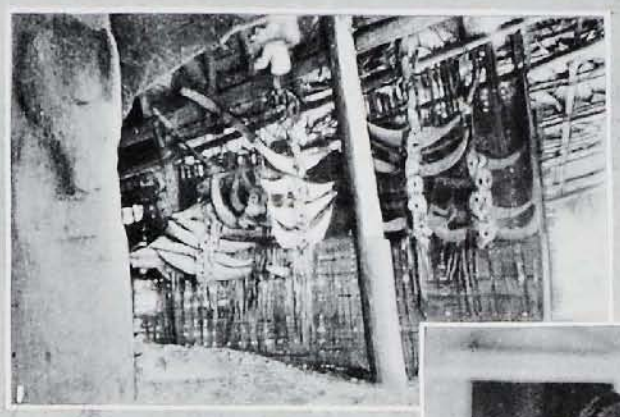
1. The house of the Ang of Môn (back).
2. The skulls in the Ang's morung at Chi.
3. The skulls in the verandah of the Ang of Chi's house.
4. Thevang, son of the Ang of Wangla and his brother.
5. A man of Chi.
6. Carved wooden pillar in the Ang's house at Sangnyu.
7. Erect and other stones outside the Ang's house at Sangnyu.
8. Stone seats of the Ang of Chi and of his brother.

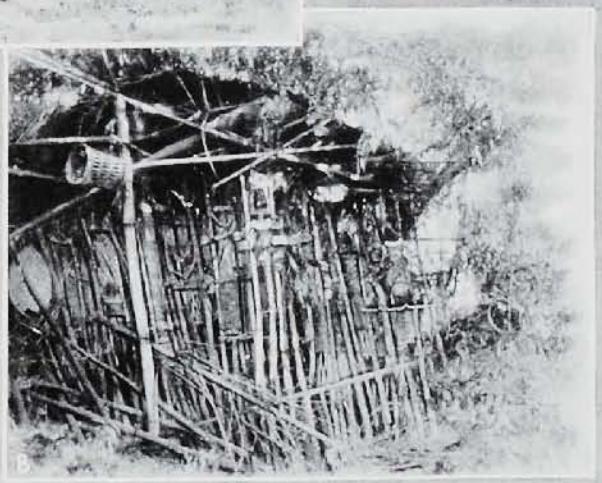


1. Soul figures at Môn.
2. Monkeys (or humans) searching one another for vermin. Carving in a Chī morung.
3. Burial place in Môn, with a wooden seat and silk cloth placed for the soul to use. The pots contain the bones of the dead and also offerings.
4. A fresh tattoo showing in weals on a son of the Ang of Chī.
5. Skull hoisted on bamboo tied to menhir to await the *aleapu* ceremony.
6. Face and chest tattoo—the son of the Ang of Chī.
7. The back of a Konyak head-dress.
8. Outside the home of the Ang of Môn.
9. Smaller throne of the Ang of Sangnyu.

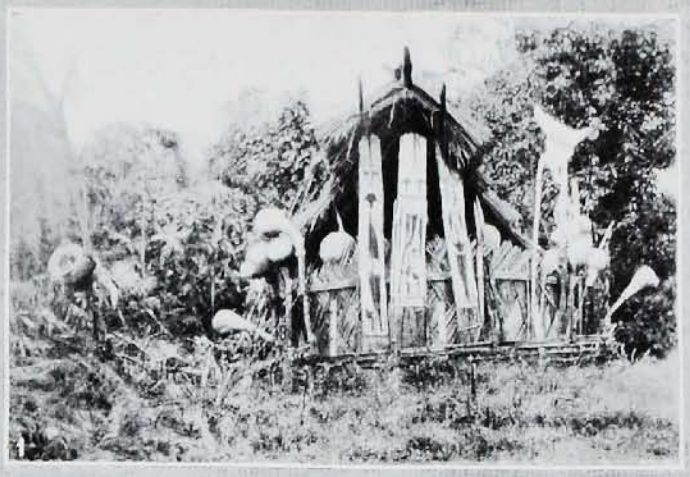
1. A son of the Ang of Chi.
2. The house of the Ang of Chi (front).
3. Girls of Chi.
4. Carvings of dogs in a morung of Chi. A similar *motif* seems to exist in ancient Etruscan art, *vide* the carving on an ivory pommel in the Museum of Florence, depicted in the *Illustrated London News* of January 9th, 1924.
5. Women of Chi. It is considered "good form" when there are strangers about to put on clothing. Otherwise it is not necessarily worn by the unmarried women and by young married women, though matrons always wear a narrow petticoat.
6. A fresh throat tattoo seen in Chi.
7. Two young men of Chi.
8. Lungtrok.
9. The same two young men of Chi (from behind).

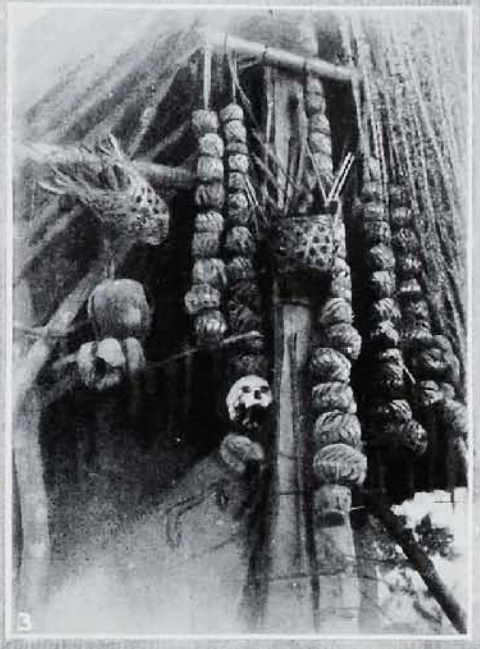
1. Lungtrok—the Female stone.
2. Lungtrok—the Male stones.
3. The Ang of Mön.
4. Women of Chī (photograph by Mr. J. P. Mills).
5. The Ang of Tang.
6. Stone table for heads and pile of erect stones round the house of the Ang of Mön.
7. Woman at Mön of the "slave" clan whose heads were shaved to keep their hairs from their chief's food.



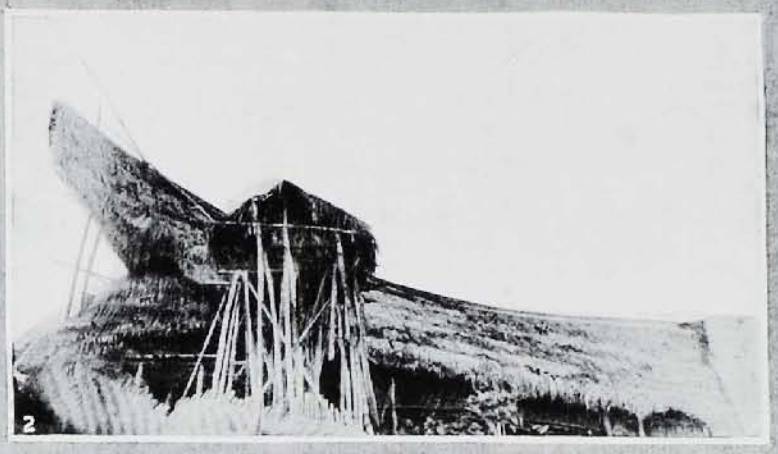


1. Tōbū heads in a Hākchang morung.
2. Chang woman showing tattoo.
3. Chang women (photographed by Mr. Mills).
4. Two girls of Chingfoi (photographed at Wakching by Mr. Mills).
5. Graves and a Memorial at Chimongre.
6. Mongko's wife (photographed by Mr. Mills).
7. Drum house in Chongtore.
8. Tobu soul house.

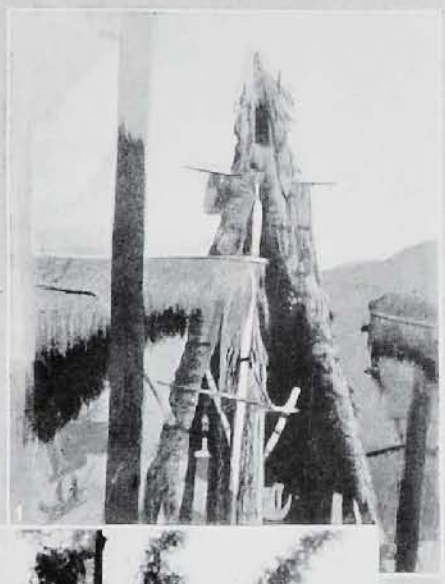


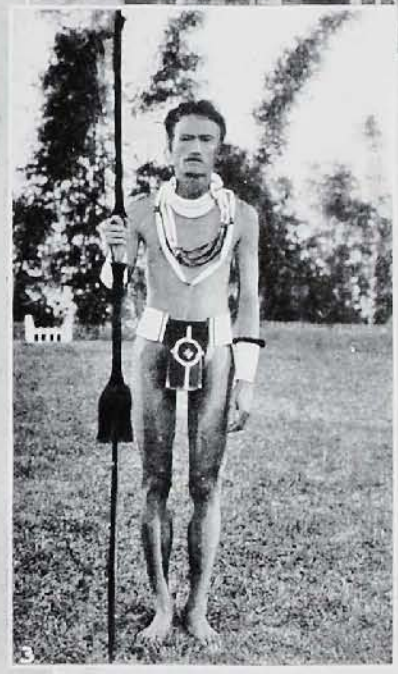


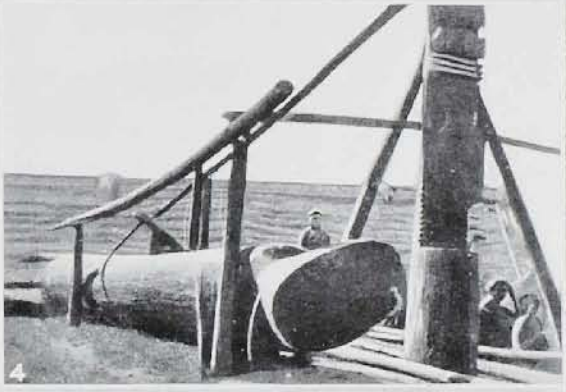
1. A grave at Chimongre with representations of daos and hoes painted on the wood posts.
2. The Bilaeshi Khal, still dancing at 8-15 A.M.
3. Skulls, and cane substitutes for skulls, in drum-house at Chongtore.
4. Chang woman showing tattoo.
5. Drum-house in Chongtore.
6. Tuensang—the Bilaeshi Khal still dancing after just 12 hours of it and well after sunrise.
7. Chimongre—a drum-house and skulls.

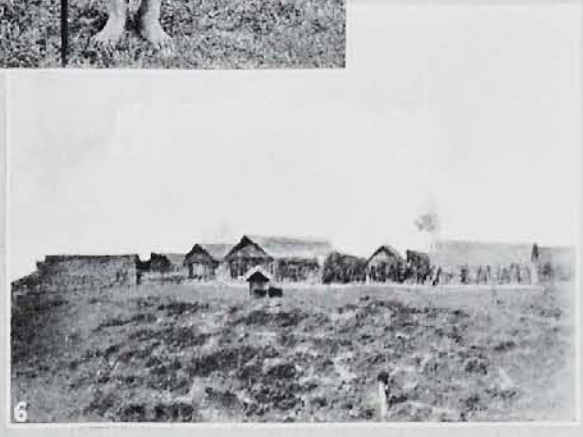


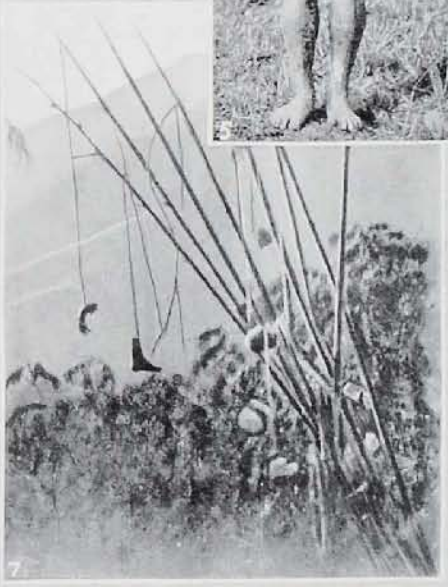
1. Hākchāng village.
2. Morung in Tobu.
3. Head and limbs hung up in Chentang.
4. A Sangtam girl (photographed by Mr. Mills).
5. Soul figures at Tobu.
6. Chingmei village.
7. Chingmāk of Chingmei (photographed by Mr. Mills).



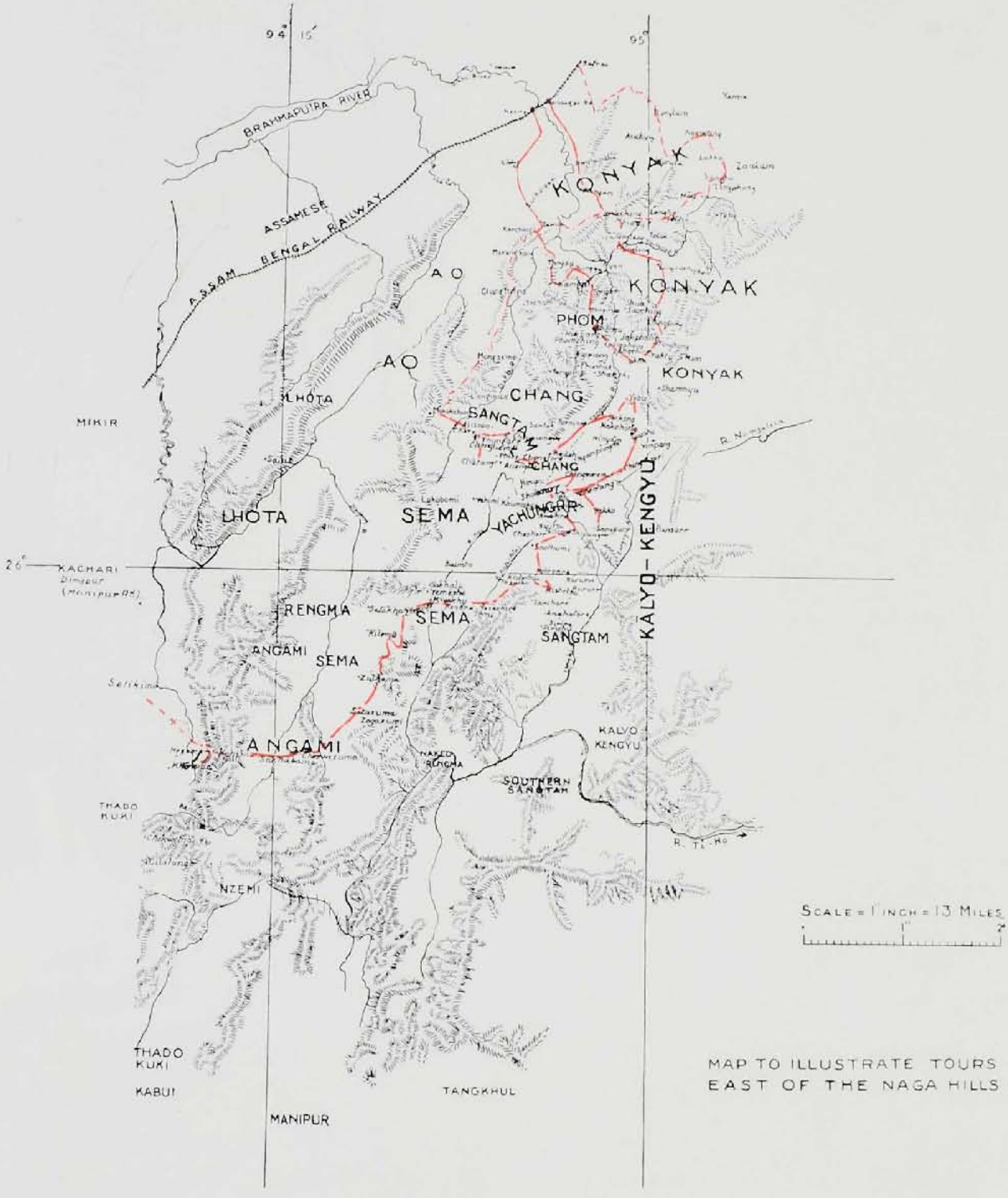








1. Morung in Tuensang.
2. Y-post in Kishethu and posts of derelict morung in background; on left, *erythrina* tree where heads are hung.
3. Ŭngli-Ngāku—A Chang of the Chongpho clan. Head Interpreter at Mokokchung.
4. Log-drum and carved post at Yazathu.
5. A Chang buck (Minkei of Yongemdi).
6. Shothumi village showing palisade.
7. Head and limbs hung up in Chentang.



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