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THROUGH THE UNEXPLORED MOUNTAINS OF THE ASSAM-BURMA BORDER

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THE mountain tracts on the borders of Assam and Burma remain as one of the few unsurveyed areas of India. Here a country of densely wooded hills extends from the Brahmaputra to the Chindwin, reaching in the peaks of the Patkoi range heights of more than 12,000 feet. The north-west of this area is inhabited by the Naga tribes and consequently known as the Naga Hills. Other Naga tribes live also on the Burma side of the Patkoi but little is known of them.

Politically the Naga Hills are divided into three parts: the Naga Hills District, which is fully and directly administered; the Control Area, over which the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills exerts his political influence in cases of village feuds; and the unadministered territory, which is in part even geographically unknown.

While I carried out anthropological field-work among the Konyak Nagas, a tribe under British administration, the Government of Assam kindly granted me permission to join an expedition into the unmapped country on the north-western slopes of the Patkoi range. The expedition was led by Mr. J. P. Mills, then Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills. We passed through villages never before visited by Europeans and throughout the expedition we were in touch with tribes which had, until then, almost entirely escaped the curiosity of anthropologists.

The long seclusion of the Naga Hills has been due to two reasons. The inhospitability of the country offers nothing to the peoples inhabiting the fertile plains of the Assam valley and has therefore never tempted them to expand in that direction; and the warlike character of the Naga tribes allowed no stranger to penetrate their land. Head-hunting and frequent wars made intercourse between villages extremely difficult and cut off the people on the hills in the interior from all contact with the outside world, for travelling alone or even in small groups in the unadministered parts of the

country is, for Nagas as for Europeans, a venture little short of suicide. "Cheap" heads of defenceless wanderers are only too welcome in every Naga village.

Thus the Naga tribes have lived for thousands of years undisturbed by the influence of higher civilizations. Neither Hinduism nor Buddhism ever found its way into these hills, where ancient and primitive cultural types have survived until to-day. It is for this reason that the Naga tribes are of supreme interest to the anthropologist. Forms of social organization, economic systems, customs and religious beliefs, long ago perished in other parts of Asia, are still alive and in full practice among them; and their material culture, though by no means poor, is of a remarkably primitive character.

Naturally the seclusion of the Naga tribes has not been as complete as that of an island people. Foreign goods, such as cowrie-shells, and metal implements must have been bartered from village to village for hundreds of years, but their influence on Naga culture as a whole has not been considerable. It would be wrong however to suppose that Naga culture is homogeneous or that migrations have never taken place in these hills.

The Naga tribes can clearly be divided into several main groups. One of them consists of the Angamis, Rengmas, Lhotas, and Semas, who according to their own tradition all come from the south, entering the Naga Hills through the gap of Mao. It is fortunate for anthropology that two eminent scientists, Prof. J. H. Hutton and Mr. J. P. Mills, worked among these tribes as District Officers and consequently described them in four separate monographs.

While the Ao Nagas, adjoining the Lhotas to the north, also form the subject of a book by J. P. Mills, information on the tribes to the east and north-east has, until recently, been completely lacking, for the Konyaks, the neighbours of the Aos to the north, though partly administered since 1911, are too far away from the centres of administration to be studied by officials; and the Changs, Sangtams, and Yimsungr, who border on the Aos and Semas in the east, have been visited only occasionally by punitive expeditions and survey parties. Complete mystery has however veiled the Kalyo Kengyus, of whom little more was known than their existence and the fact that they live in houses with slate roofs. I decided therefore when I went to the Naga Hills in June 1936, to work among the Konyaks and to grasp every opportunity of penetrating into the unknown area east of the administered territory.

The Konyaks, like all Nagas, build their villages on the top of ridges or spurs, generally in heights between 2500 and 5000 feet. From these villages one overlooks a wide mountain country, where dense forest alternates with cultivated land and large patches of young secondary jungle. This patchwork is resultant from the Konyak's system of shifting his fields every two years and then allowing the land to revert to jungle.

The hot valleys, cutting deeply into the mountains, are clothed in tropical forest, untouched by fire or axe. They are uninhabited and it is there that one finds tiger, sambur, barking deer, large herds of elephants, and multitudes of monkeys and birds. The Konyak avoids the valleys whenever possible. It is only for hunting and fishing that he climbs down, and all his fields lie on the higher mountain slopes.

The cultivation of water-rice on irrigated terraces, so typical of the Angami

Nagas, is unknown to the Konyak. His method of rice cultivation is less elaborate. Every year a suitable piece of land, uncultivated for about ten to fourteen years and therefore covered by dense jungle, is chosen, and the jungle cut down and burnt. A few trees are however left standing so that the jungle may quickly regenerate when the period of cultivation is over. Owing to the complete lack of manuring the soil is exhausted after it has been cultivated for two seasons, and many years of fallen and rotten leaves are necessary to restore its strength. Hence a community must own at least ten times more land than it can cultivate every year. Should a village be short of land, the rotation in which the fields are cultivated has to be quickened, and bad crops and famines are consequent. Ultimately over-cultivation results in a decrease of the jungle and the drying up of the land. As some Konyak villages have more than a thousand inhabitants, the pressure on the land is very noticeable, and there is no doubt that the country could not, under the present economic system, support a larger population.

While rice is the staple crop of most of the other Naga tribes, it is not so in all Konyak villages. There taro is as important a part of the diet as rice, and some Konyak villages grow no rice but live exclusively on taro and a small amount of millet. The choice of these crops is by no means climatically or geographically determined, but clearly represents a cultural preference. I am inclined to believe that taro was the main crop of an older population, which to a large extent still survives among the Konyaks, but hardly among the other Naga tribes, where later immigrants seem to be much more predominant. In a part of the world where all people, regardless of race and civilization, live mainly on rice, it is surprising to find a tribe cultivating taro, a crop as rare in India as it is common in the South Sea Islands. No doubt this fact supports the theory that the Konyaks represent one of the most ancient civilizations of south-eastern Asia.

The cultivation of taro is only one of the points on which the Konyaks differ from the south-western group of the Naga tribes. There are other elements peculiar to them: the men's elaborate face-tattoo and their habit of letting the hair grow, the blackening of their teeth, the wearing of tight belts of cane and bark as their only piece of dress, as well as the very scanty dress of the women. The enormous bachelors' halls of the Konyaks are unrivalled by those of any other Naga tribe, and the naturalistic carvings adorning them have little in common with the conventionalized art of the Angamis, Lhotas, and Semas. And the sacred autocratic Konyak chiefs, belonging to one endogamous clan, are without parallel in the Naga Hills.

After I had worked for four months in the Konyak country, the long-hoped-for chance of a tour into the unadministered area was offered to me by Mr. Mills, who was then preparing an expedition to the east beyond his district and very kindly invited me to accompany him. The tribes of the so-called Control Area, which borders on the Naga Hills District, are generally left to manage their own affairs undisturbed, the Deputy Commissioner merely arbitrating in quarrels when asked by the parties. In a country where defence has so greatly outstripped attack that a village is rarely entered except by treachery, the petty raids lead to little loss of life and call for no

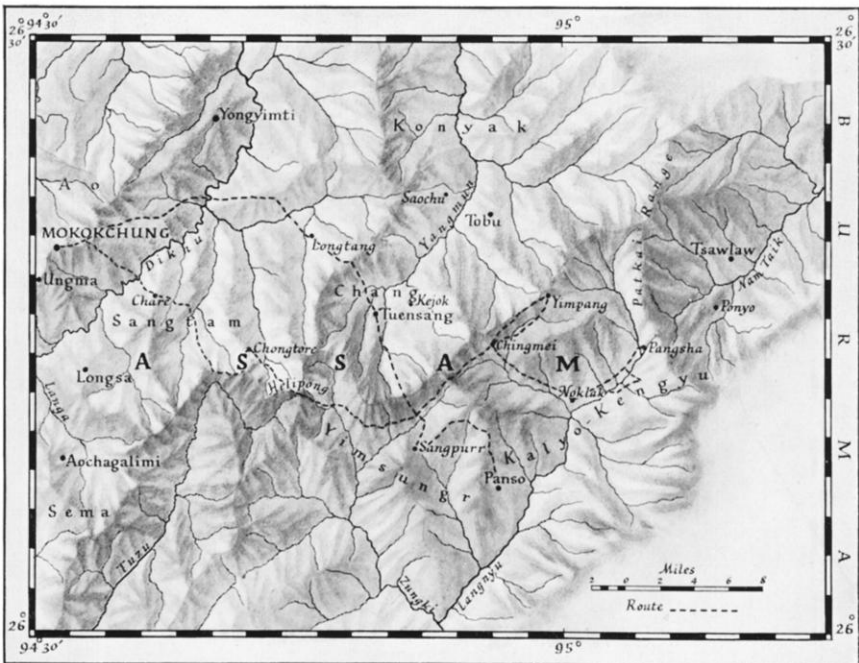
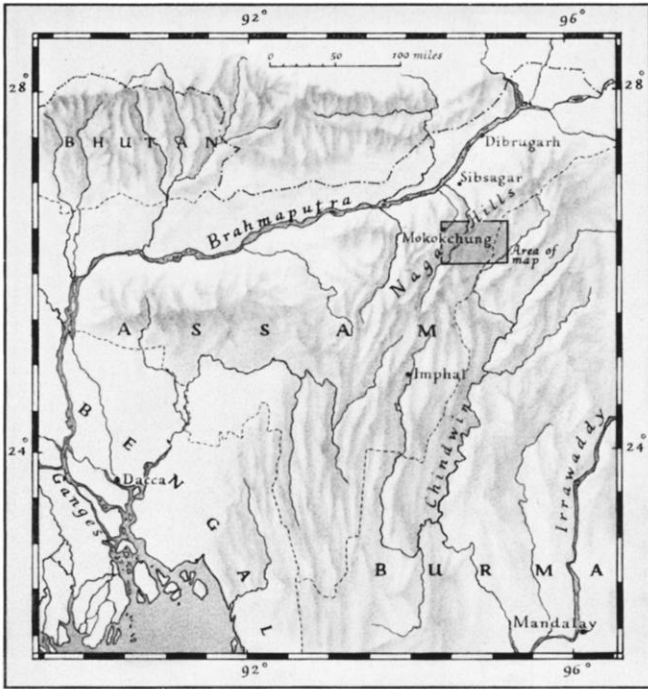
action. But in the summer of 1936 such grave news had come from the most eastern part of the Control Area that active intervention was unavoidable. Two small villages, Saochu of the southern Konyaks and Kejok, a small Chang settlement, both about six days' march from British territory, had been treacherously and completely wiped out by Kalyo Kengyu Nagas from the western slopes of the Patkoi. The raiders had taken one hundred and fifty heads and carried off several of the inhabitants, mainly children.

To stop the continual raids of the Kalyo Kengyus into the Control Area, and, if possible, to liberate the recently captured prisoners, was the official aim of Mr. Mills' expedition. As the chance of convincing the raiders, by mere persuasion, of the wickedness of attacking peaceful neighbours was very remote, a strong escort had to accompany us. Two and a half platoons of the Assam Rifles under the command of Major Williams gave to the expedition the necessary weight and security. To carry rations and kit there accompanied us 360 coolies under G. W. J. Smith, Subdivisional Officer at Mokokchung. The coolies were all Nagas from administered territory who, after years of enforced peace, readily volunteered for so exciting an adventure. They carried spears, shields and *daos*, the indispensable axe, weapon and universal instrument of the Naga.

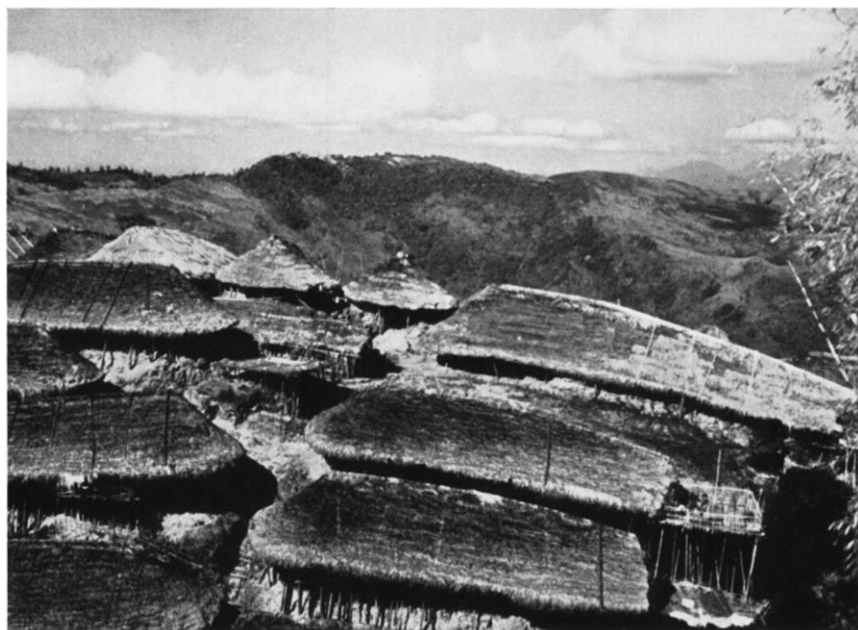
Travelling in the Naga Hills during the rains, which last from April to the end of September, is most unpleasant and can become extremely difficult when one leaves administered territory, for the rainfall of 30 inches a month swells the mountain streams and by removing the frail bamboo bridges hostile tribes can easily prevent an entrance into their country. Thus it was considered inadvisable that the expedition should start until the beginning of the dry season and it was early in November before we left Mokokchung, one of the administrative centres of the Naga Hills. The first night we camped at Chare, a Sangtam village recently taken under administration. The next day we crossed the Chimei river, which forms the frontier of British India. The country of the northern Sangtams, through which we moved for several days, was perfectly peaceful. Even here, so near to administered territory, we came upon villages, Holongba for instance, never previously visited.

Compared with most other Naga villages, those of the Sangtams make a poor and rather miserable impression. Some of them outwardly resemble Ao villages, while others show a type of house with high protruding gables. The material culture of the Sangtams seems to contain little which is peculiar to them. One of the few interesting features are the wooden Y-posts, which are erected in the course of mithan sacrifices. We were struck by the general lethargy of the inhabitants and the high percentage of imbeciles, while in some villages almost every second person suffered from goitre.

Chongtore was the last Sangtam village at which we camped. From there our way led up to Mount Helipong, 7280 feet above sea-level, one of the landmarks of that part of the country. Its higher slopes are covered with virgin forest, quite different in character from the woods in the lower regions. Wild bananas and ordinary bamboos do not grow in these heights, but only a certain thin thorny bamboo which stands the cold. Enormous trees, stretching their gnarled branches against the sky, and an impenetrable undergrowth show that these slopes have never been cultivated. Yet on the top of the



The Naga Hills



The Konyak Naga village of Wanching



Bachelors' hall (morung) of the Konyak Nagas

mountain, open to all storms, the houses of a small village cling to bare rocks. The inhabitants belong to the powerful tribe of the Chang Nagas and the village was built as an outpost against the Sangtams. No other reason could have induced people to live in such a cold, inhospitable spot. Strangely enough they have not adapted their dress to the climate in which they live and while we shivered in our warm clothes, the villagers walked about, apparently quite comfortable in the icy wind, with little more than loin cloths round their hips. Their fields, on which only millet and the hardy Job's tears can be grown, are on the lower slopes deep down below the forest, and all the grain has to be carried up on their backs.

Though rendered more or less safe from raids by their splendid strategical position, the men of Helipong are too weak to attack. They are glad therefore if their more powerful tribesmen of lower and more fertile ridges occasionally send them a share of their spoils of war. Chentang, another Chang village, had recently killed an enemy while repulsing an attack of the Yimsungr village of Sangpurr. Cutting off one hand, they sent it to Helipong as a complimentary gift, where we found it hanging from a tall bamboo pole.

The view from Mount Helipong, over an immense mountain country, was magnificent. We overlooked the land of the Lhotas and Aos as far as the distant hills of the Konyaks. The country of the Changs and Sangtams lay at our feet and in the east we saw the mountains, the slopes of which we later found to be inhabited by Kalyo Kengyus. From here the Patkoi range with Mount Saramati (12,622 feet) was clearly visible. Helipong is on the watershed between the Brahmaputra and the Chindwin. The rivers to the east belong to the basin of the Irrawaddy; following them one would, should one not lose one's head *en route*, come to Burma. During the following days we continued to march eastward, at almost right angles to the numerous mountain ranges running parallel with the Patkoi range. Since all Naga villages are built on top of ridges or spurs, and since it is more convenient to camp near a village, our daily routine consisted in dropping into the deep valley and climbing up again several thousand feet on the other side.

After several days' march we at last approached the scene of those events which had led to our expedition. We built a base camp at the village Chingmei on the border of the Chang country and the Kalyo Kengyus, fortifying it with a strong palisade of sharp pointed stakes and bamboos. The intelligent and energetic chief, Chingmak, welcomed us enthusiastically and was in the future of the greatest help. He acted as intermediary when Mr. Mills negotiated with the neighbouring villages, and when we finally marched against Pangsha his men acted as our scouts and guides.

The Chang warriors of Chingmei are the finest looking Nagas I have seen; none are of better physique or are more picturesque. High hornbill feathers quiver on their red, conical cane head-dress, which is covered with bear's skin and large boar's tusks. A blue cotton cloth embroidered with cowrie shells is wound round their body and their broad belts are decorated with small white seed beads. In a wooden sheath on their back, forming part of the belt, they wear the long sword-like dao. A small apron, often also decorated with cowries, hangs down from the belt. Apart from the dao the warriors

carry long spears, the shafts of which are tufted with red goat's hair; a heavy shield of buffalo hide completes the war-dress. The dress of the women is much simpler and consists only of a dark blue skirt and a cloth, sometimes embroidered with red dog's hair. White shells are the most common ornaments.

Chingmei is a large village, heavily fortified and built in typical Chang style. The steeply sloping house-roofs rise from just above the ground at the back to about 30 feet in front, and protrude so much that it is often necessary for posts to support the long gables. In narrow streets the roofs of opposite houses very often dovetail and the space before the houses is completely overshadowed. Particularly high are the roofs of the men's houses containing the huge log-drums. Large collections of skulls which hung on strings at the main posts of these men's houses showed that Chingmei has not always been as peaceful as it seemed during our visit. Mithan and buffalo horns were attached to many of the skulls; the underlying idea of this custom is not quite clear, though it is a frequent combination in the Naga Hills. A possible explanation might be found in the character of buffalo horns as fertility symbols; as such they seem appropriate ornaments of head-hunting trophies, which are believed to promote in a magical way the fertility of the crops. In one men's house we were shown with pride the skull of a Kalyo Kengyu of Panso village, who had personally taken fifty heads.

In the centre of the village we saw a strange funeral monument: a huge crescent of plaited bamboo, representing a rainbow, was erected on poles. Along the monument stood wooden posts, some of them Y-posts, as tallies of the mithan and buffalo sacrifices the deceased had performed.

We heard from the Chingmei people that Pangsha, a powerful Kalyo Kengyu village, the exact position of which they did not know, was responsible for the burning of Saochu and Kejok and the massacre of their inhabitants. As news travels fast in the Naga Hills the men of Pangsha were well aware of our coming. Through neutral villages they sent us challenges to come and fight them, saying that they would on no account consider giving up any of their prisoners: they called us a crowd of women against whom they would not bother even to use their spears and daos, their wives' wooden pestles being good enough to beat us off with. But in spite of their boasting messages they apparently became uneasy when they heard that we really intended to attack them. They sent us therefore through intermediaries three of the captives whom they had taken at Saochu and Kejok: one young woman and two children. I have never seen three more miserable creatures. Since their capture they had been dragged from one hostile village to the other, aware all the time of the terrible fate awaiting them. The stories of prisoners of war, who are beheaded at the great Feasts of Merit or sacrificed at the building of a new bachelors' hall, are only too well known in those hills.

As, according to our information, there remained at least one other girl still in the hands of the Pangsha men, their attempts to buy us off did not deter Mr. Mills from his plan. He was determined to march against Pangsha and liberate the remaining captives. However we had first to deal with one of Pangsha's allies, Yimpang, a village on a ridge in sight of our camp. The men of this village still held a captured boy from Saochu. With the help of



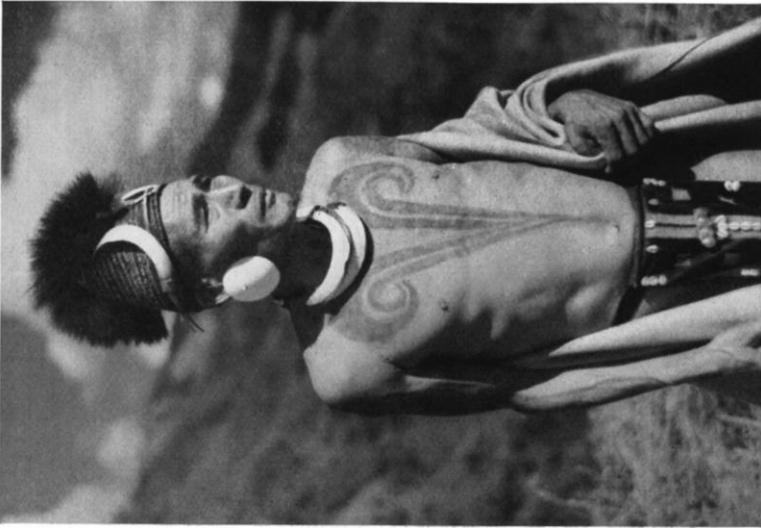
Naga carriers crossing a river



Konyak Naga bridge of suspended cane



Chang girl from Tuensang



*Chingmak, chief of the Chang village of
Chingmei*

the chief of Chingmei we succeeded in impressing on Yimpang the necessity of giving up their prisoner and letting us enter their village in peace.

Yimpang lies 6860 feet above sea-level and is inhabited by a mixed population of Kalyo Kengyus, Changs and Yimsungr. Yet the style of the houses is the same as in the villages of unmixed Chang population. The Yimpang people differ from the Changs however in their manner of treating captured heads, and follow the custom which we were to meet again in the pure Kalyo Kengyu village of Panso. The head-tree, an *Erythrina*, stood in the centre of the village. Long bamboo poles had been leant against this tree and from their tops hung numerous heads. Large wooden horns and a small carved board, representing a hornbill feather, had been attached to some of the heads. Bamboo spikes had been stuck in the eye sockets; thus the victors intended to blind, in a magical way, the souls of their victims so that they should be unable to take their revenge. The hair of the Saochu men, who wear it long in Konyak fashion, had been removed, together with the scalps, for human hair is valuable and is used for many ornaments. Though our reception in Yimpang was anything but friendly, the visit passed without incident.

Two days later we marched off towards Pangsha, the main objective of the expedition. We left the majority of our coolies and all dispensable luggage at the base camp at Chingmei. As guide we were fortunate to secure a certain Yimpang man, who nursed a personal grievance against Pangsha. Neither Chingmak nor any other Chingmei man had ever before risked his life by such an excursion, which illustrates how Nagas often live a life-time in their own villages without ever seeing parts of the country in their immediate neighbourhood. Our maps, which until then had served as rough guide, were of no more use in the area east of Chingmei, for no survey party had ever penetrated into that country. We knew however from the Chingmei men that another large Kalyo Kengyu village, Noklak, lay on the path to Pangsha. As Noklak had been at war with Chingmei for some time, the path which runs along a steep hill-side was completely overgrown. With infinite trouble we had to cut our way through the jungle, and we had soon ample proof that we no longer moved in friendly country, for the path was thickly set with *panjis*, sharp bamboo spikes which Nagas stick into the ground for the benefit of the feet and legs of the unwary enemy. These *panjis* are almost invisible in the grass and before long three of our men had fallen victims. A Chingmei man, accompanying us as a scout, had his foot pierced right through, but taking little notice of the wound he happily continued.

A great crowd of warriors in full dress awaited us near the village of Noklak. After long shouting to and fro we arrived at a peaceful understanding and were told that Noklak dared not offend Pangsha by giving us easy passage and had therefore blocked our way with *panjis*. Noklak was the first Kalyo Kengyu village we had seen, and the great difference between it and the Chang villages struck me immediately. Never before have I seen a clearer ethnographic boundary than here between Kalyo Kengyus and Changs. Environment, climate, supplies of materials are much the same in Chingmei and Noklak, and yet the two villages, only a few miles apart, are as different as Naga villages can be. Noklak justifies the name of the Kalyo Kengyus, meaning "stonehouse dwellers." The small low houses are roofed with

slates, but a thin layer of palm leaves lies on top of the slates. The roofs are flatter than those in any other Naga village.

It is understandable that these slate roofs were considered strange and curious by all the neighbouring tribes, for the use of stone for slating houses is restricted to the Kalyo Kengyus and a few villages of the southern Sangtams. It is not recorded from any other hill people in Assam or Burma. No wonder the slate roofs of the mysterious Kalyo Kengyus should spread the fame of a tribe of whom little else was known, and it is this fact which has raised the interest of anthropologists in this remarkable people. The expectation that the Kalyo Kengyus would differ in more than this one way from the better-known Nagas was fulfilled by all we saw in Noklak and in other of their villages. One of the most outstanding features of Kalyo Kengyu culture is the enormous xylophones, made of hollowed trees. Inside such a log-drum, which has no slit along the top but is open at both ends, a man can sit with comfort. No other Naga tribe makes xylophones of exactly the same type, but I have seen a log-drum open at both ends in the Yimsungr village of Sangpurr. The chest tattoo of the Kalyo Kengyu men of Noklak is richer than that of the Changs and consists of curved lines, small circles, and conventionalized figures.

The defences of the village are excellent: sentry-boxes high up in the trees, accessible by bamboo ladders from within the wall, overlook the country around. One enters by a narrow, roofed gangway, leading through a living wall of impenetrable creepers and prickly shrubs. Only towards Pangsha, with which Noklak lives at peace, defences were almost lacking.

From Noklak we looked down into the valley of the Langnyu river, which flows southward through unknown country, evidently joining the Zungki and Tizu later, and finally, as the river Tiho, flowing into the Chindwin. After camping a night at Noklak, we proceeded cautiously on our way to Pangsha. Our path lay along the slopes on the western bank of the Langnyu, and across it to the east the hills swept magnificently up to the main range of the Patkoi, beyond which lay Burma. When ultimately the whole of the hills are surveyed the boundary between Assam and Burma will probably run along this range. Its highest peaks must be well over 10,000 feet, for according to our rough estimate we moved at a height of at least 6000 feet above sea-level.

At last, on one of the far slopes, Pangsha came in sight. It consists of two separate settlements some 3 miles apart. Peacefully it seemed to lie above golden fields; and no one, seeing the scattered houses, the roofs shining in the sunlight, would have believed that the inhabitants of this inoffensive village terrorized the whole country. We had been warned by the Yimpang man, Pangsha's former ally, of their plan to lead us into an ambush, by meeting us with a present and thereby putting us off our guard. True enough, for it was not long before we saw a small party approaching conspicuously leading a goat. But at the same time our field-glasses picked out masses of armed men crossing the river below us and disappearing into the jungle where our path would lead down into the valley. The envoys with the goat attempted to greet us as friends, but declared falsely that they could not produce the girl, whom we knew by this time to be in Pangsha's hands. Thereupon Mr. Mills sent them back and thus formally declared war. In order to avoid the ambush,

we cut our way straight down into the valley and camped by the river for the night. We expected to receive a few of Pangsha's famous poisoned cross-bow arrows in the camp, but there was no incident. A scratch from one of these arrows is fatal in a few minutes. Though the same poison is sometimes used by the Changs, we were unable to identify it. All we heard is that it is made of the juice of a certain tree, but it seems that however far one goes into the hills it is said to grow yet further on. Experiments undertaken with samples in a Calcutta laboratory proved that it is a still unknown and potent vegetable poison which paralyses the respiratory organs.

On approaching the main village of Pangsha the next morning we were surprised that there should be no resistance. The inhabitants had removed all their moveable property and were in hiding in the jungle.

While other Naga villages are heavily fortified, Pangsha had no defences. Its incomparable prestige rendered it immune from all aggression so that fortifications appeared superfluous. Therefore the houses stood, not crowded together as in other villages, but loosely scattered between kitchen gardens and banana trees. They are however low and rather miserable looking bamboo buildings. Only the bachelors' halls are better built, having strong carved posts and protruding roofs rising towards the front. The granaries stand apart and are built on low piles. Flat discs slipped over the piles, in the same manner as in the Konyak and Chang villages, prevent the rats from getting into the granaries. On the head tree, which overshadowed one of the large log-drums, hung thick bundles of human heads, some with skin and hair still well preserved.

In their hurried retreat the Pangsha people had been unable to evacuate all their domestic animals. Cattle, goats, pigs, and chickens ran about the deserted village. I was surprised to find here Indian cattle, which are otherwise only kept by those Nagas who live near the plains of Assam. I can only suppose that the Pangsha had bought them from Burma. They also keep mithan (*bos frontalis*) and buffaloes in a semi-wild state; some of the former we had seen the day before on the open slopes above the river. Like other Nagas the Kalyo Kengyus use mithan, buffaloes, and cattle solely as meat and as sacrificial animals. We heard that mithan sacrifices are performed in the course of Feasts of Merit, but in no Kalyo Kengyu village did I see the forked posts or monoliths which among other tribes are invariably erected at such ceremonies. As the inhabitants had fled taking with them the captive child there was nothing to be done but to burn the village. The flames sprang from roof to roof, and soon the invincible village was one blazing mass of fire. Clouds of smoke covered the sky and the light of the sun turned to an unreal and ghastly violet.

But the task of the expedition was not yet finished. The next day the coolies and half of our escort were sent ahead, back towards Chingmei; and with fifty rifles, we ourselves went up to burn the smaller settlement of Pangsha. Again we found the inhabitants had fled, and soon the village stood in flames. Here also many heads hung from a tree and among them the leg of a child, not more than three years old. I decided to take some of these heads back with me as anthropological specimens, but though we found a convenient basket in which to carry them none of the Nagas in our company volunteered

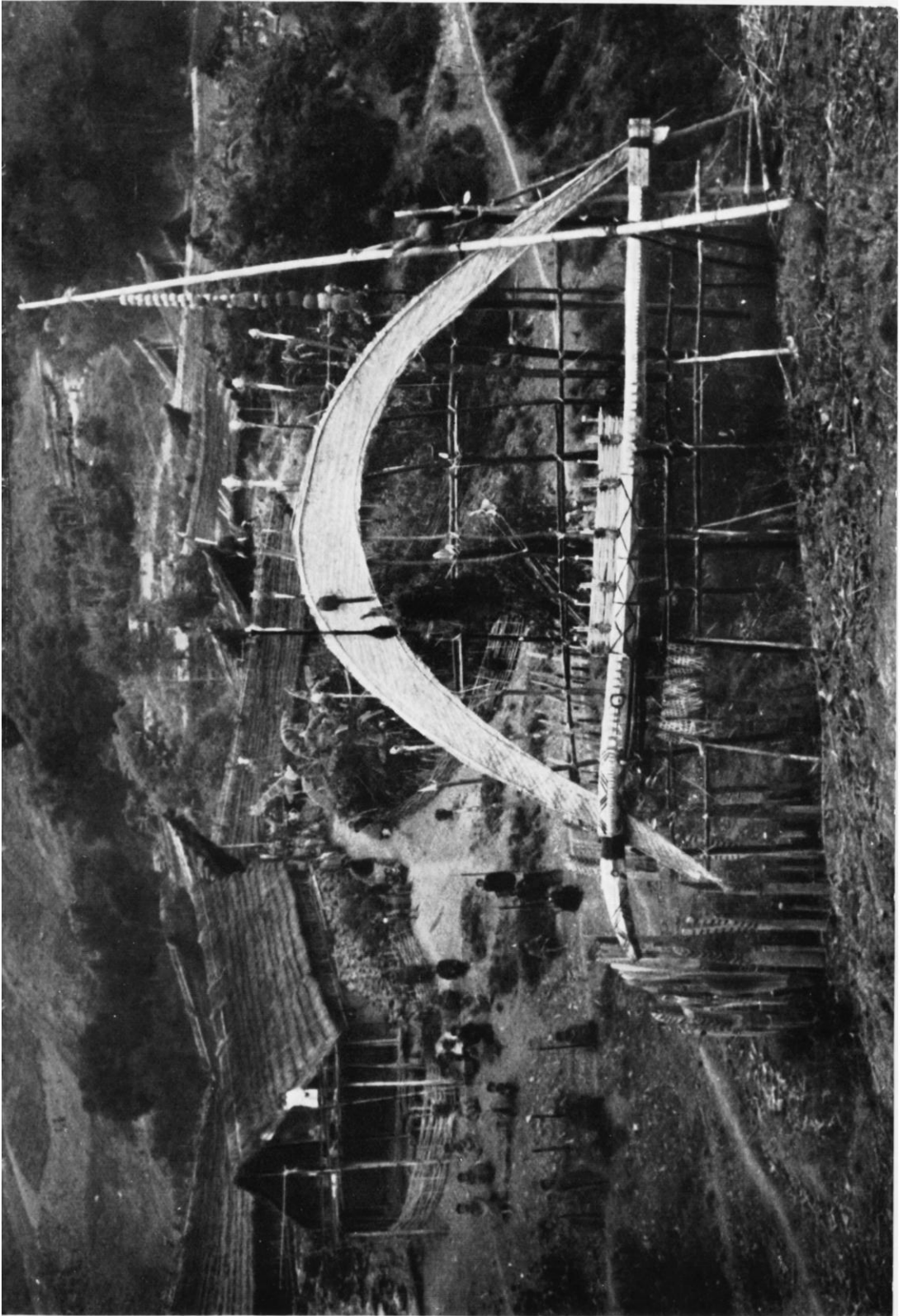
to carry the heads. Thus I had, to the amusement of the Nagas and the surprise of the sepoys, to take the basket on my own shoulders.

Our way down led through fields of giant millet, 10 feet high. We had only gone a few hundred yards, when we saw a stream of armed men coming from the main village. Though carrying spears and shields they ran with incredible speed and it was immediately clear to us that they meant to cut us off and, we feared, wipe us out. They outnumbered us ten to one, they knew the country, and had never known defeat. Our only chance was to seize some position where range would help us; for the giant millet was easy to charge through and yet effective cover from our rifles, and thus the enemy would be on us before we could have seen them properly. We hurried down the slope as fast as we could and just succeeded in getting between the attackers and the river. But the Pangsha men were close on our heels and with a hoarse roar from hundreds of throats, which none of us will ever forget, they came rushing behind us down the slope. Even then we were unable to see them and the warcries rose to a frightening noise; just then our advance guard reached a knoll where they made a stand. Rifles cracked, and bullets whistled as they fired over our heads at the enemy close behind, but invisible to us. Fortunately five Pangsha men dropped to the ground, and this checked the attack at the very last minute. We were saved, for though they followed us roaring and shouting down to the river, the first determined attack was not repeated. Through all the fight I had carried the head trophies and I proudly brought them into camp when we rejoined the rest of the column some hours later.

Mr. Mills, familiar with Naga mentality for twenty years, was convinced that in spite of our rapid retreat, Pangsha would take the loss of five of their best warriors and the burning of the village as a shattering defeat. He sent word therefore through men of another village to Pangsha that he was ready to talk things over with them and would guarantee the security of any negotiators. To my great surprise a deputation came to our base camp at Chingmei two days later. It was an amazing scene. Men who had attacked us, with no intention of quarter, were soon talking quite amicably about the incidents of the fight and discussing terms for an understanding. They accepted Mr. Mills's terms and promised to give up the girl, whom they still held. Peace was solemnly sworn and a few days later the girl, a child of four years, was duly brought to our camp.

A few men from Ponyo, a village on the Burma side of the Patkoi, had come in the company of the Pangsha envoys. Curiosity to see the mysterious white men must have attracted them. Their language is said to be entirely different from the dialects of Pangsha and Noklak. They are richly tattooed on the breast, back, arms, and legs, and wear the hair long, tied up in a knot in the way of the Konyaks. They have apparently little in common with the Kalyo Kengyu and may belong to the southern group of the Konyaks. If that is so, it would be evident that, apart from some fifty thousand Konyaks on the Assam side of the Patkoi, there are also Konyak villages on the Burma side.

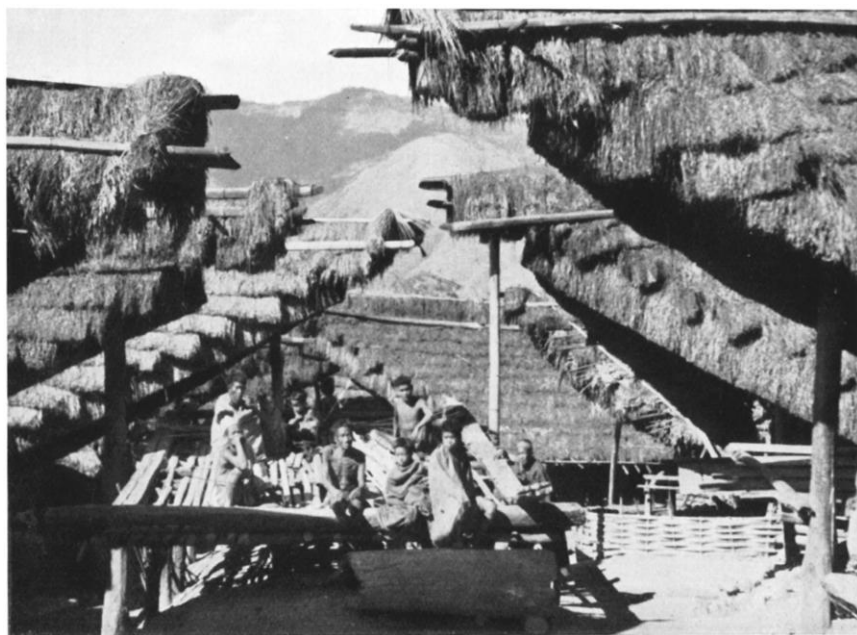
In the course of the remainder of our tour we visited the Kalyo Kengyu villages Yukao and Panso, which lie south of Noklak on the hills lining the Langnyu river. The country round is extremely poor in forest and jungle. Only single alders (*aldus nepalensis*), a few bamboo clumps, and some scattered



Funeral monument in Ching mei, consisting of a bamboo crescent and a row of forked posts



Main range of the Patkoi, on the slope of which lies Pangsha



Houses in the Chang village of Tuensang

bushes stand on wide open slopes. It is clear that the country has been cultivated to the point of exhaustion. Rice does not grow well in those heights, and its place as the staple diet is therefore taken by the more resistant Job's tears; early in December the reaping had not yet been finished. Millet and maize are also grown and even small quantities of rice on particularly favourable spots. The cultivation of maize, not introduced into India before the middle of the seventeenth century, shows that the seclusion even of these tribes has by no means been complete.

In Panso, where we were received with friendliness, I had at last an opportunity of collecting some information on the social life of the Kalyo Kengyus. The main settlement of Panso is divided into two *khels* or quarters, separated by a narrow corridor. Each of the two khels is fortified against the other by a strong palisade which runs along the corridor. Sentry-boxes in trees guard this inner line of fortification. It seems that civil war is not an uncommon occurrence, but in contrast to more civilized nations the men of Panso have wisely invented special weapons for these internal quarrels. They are in the habit of using for these fights, wooden swords instead of their iron daos, protecting their heads by huge plaited helmets lined with pieces of old cloth. So armed, even the fiercest rivals cannot seriously harm each other and superfluous energies find outlet without upsetting the community.

There is no hereditary chief in Panso, nor in any of the other Kalyo Kengyu villages which we came to know. They are all organized on democratic lines, men excelling in war or wealth acting as leaders. In Panso however there is a certain man who acts at magical and religious ceremonies, whose dignity is hereditary in his clan. He functions at all rites connected with head-hunting, and after the heads have hung long enough on bamboo poles they are brought to his house and kept there until his death; they are then thrown away and his successor must start anew his own collection. There are three exogamous clans in Panso. While polygamy is frequent among the Changs, the Kalyo Kengyus are strictly monogamous. They pay no bride-price and marriages are therefore not very stable; it is said that the women run away from their husbands on the slightest provocation. Like the Konyak and Ao Nagas, the Kalyo Kengyus of Panso and Noklok place their dead on platforms. This is the most southern example of platform burial known in the Naga Hills.

The people of Panso, having only recently lost ten heads to Pangsha, were so pleased with the burning of their enemies' village that they arranged a great dance in our honour. The ceremonial dress of the men is very like that of the Changs. The cane hats are decorated with goat's hair dyed red, hornbill feathers, boar's tusks, and mithan horns; and a cheek strap set with tiger's claws holds the hat in place. Strong cane rings protect the right upper arm against dao blows and leggings of bear's skin the legs against panjis. The long daos are carried in a wooden sheath on the back.

On our return journey we passed through the Yimsungr village of Sangpurr. There I saw several wooden forked posts which are erected on the occasion of mithan sacrifices. Similar sacrificial posts in Y-form are set up by Semas, Aos, Sangtams, and Changs, but strangely enough they are absent in the Kalyo Kengyu villages though Feasts of Merit are also held there. The

Yimsungr outwardly resemble the Changs, but nothing is known of their social organization. Among them as well as among the Kalyo Kengyu much work is still to be done.

We returned to administered territory by way of Tuensang and Longtang, a route north of that by which we had come. The Chang and Sangtam villages through which we passed, though by no means well known, have been visited before and they have been partly described by Prof. J. H. Hutton in his "Diaries of two tours in the unadministered area east of the Naga Hills" (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XI, 1929).

After returning to Mokokchung, the starting place of the expedition, I parted from Mr. Mills and went back alone to the Konyak country. The news of Pangsha's defeat had already spread over the hills and soon it became known that I was bringing with me human heads. My Konyak friends, who to their great distress are no longer permitted to go on head-hunting raids, jumped at once at the opportunity of procuring some heads, for the manner in which they are acquired is irrelevant. In any case the ceremonies may be performed, and the magical power attached to the head benefits the whole of the community and increases the fertility of the crops. As I approached the Konyak land therefore the Konyaks of Wakching, with whom I had lived for four months, and those of several neighbouring villages came to meet me; they besought me to hand over the heads from Pangsha. Since I had looted them from the same hostile village, some inhabitants of which were subsequently killed in open fight, they could be considered perfectly good head-hunting trophies.

Since in handing over the heads I gained the opportunity of taking part in head-hunting ceremonies that no white man had ever watched, I did not hesitate to fulfil the wishes of the Konyak men. The heads were cut up and the pieces distributed among all administered villages; my personal friends from Wakching received extra privileged shares and it was then that I learned how differently the various parts of head are valued. The jaws and the parts round the eyes are the most prized; the back of the head is considered much less precious.

When the Wakching men arrived at their village they placed the pieces of the enemies' heads at the threshold of the gate and the oldest man of each of the clans that had received a share of the heads performed an important ceremony. He first took a raw egg and smashed it against the head; then he poured rice-beer over the head saying in a low voice: "May your mother come, may your father come; may your brothers come; may all come to drink our rice-beer, to eat our rice, to eat our meat, may they come!" The smashing of the egg is intended to blind—by sympathetic magic—the victim's relatives. It is a custom never omitted in ceremonies of this kind and the people of villages never buy or accept, even as presents, eggs from a village they have once been at war with, for they say that they could not accept from their former enemies eggs so like those thrown into the eyes of their own relatives whose heads had been taken. The feeding of the skull, another widespread custom, is intended to compel the soul of the victim to call all his relations so that they too may be killed and their heads brought to the





Bachelors' hall in the Kalyo Kengyu village of Pangsha



Log-drum in Pangsha

village. This rite was performed independently by the clan elders, representing each men's house. For in the case of a head actually being captured, the raid has usually been undertaken by men from only one or two *morungs* (men's houses) and members of these morungs only take part in the subsequent ceremonies. But I had distributed parts of the heads to all the morungs and so the whole village celebrated the event.

Every morung formed a procession, headed by the oldest warrior carrying the trophy, and the processions solemnly marched through the village. First they moved to the house of the chief. The chief himself does not take any particular part in these ceremonies, but the men danced in front of his house for a while and then each group rushed off to their own club-house. Here the girls, in accordance with an old custom, brought them water with which the warriors "washed off the blood of their enemies." The basket containing the head was then fastened to the end of the enormous log-drum and the young men started immediately to beat on it in the peculiar rhythm which announces the capture of a head to all the villages in the neighbourhood.

Later in the evening the head was removed and hung up on the large central post of the men's house. It was then the turn of the girls and young women to beat the drum, while the men and boys danced inside the morung. The old people sat chatting and drinking in the open porch; even the women being admitted that night. There were tears in many eyes as they watched the roaring and dancing crowds that revived the happy memories of their own youth.

The next morning found the whole village busy with preparations for the great head-taking dance. It was many years since Wakching had celebrated such an event and the young men proudly put on the ornaments of warriors for the first time. They sat about on the open bamboo platforms of their houses arranging the hornbill feathers for their hats and brushing the tassels of human hair which hang down from their head-dress. They painted each other's backs and their own faces with chalk and drew designs on their bark belts with indigo. For the first time they were entitled to put on the boar's tusks worn as neck-ornaments, ivory arm rings, and cane rings worn below the knees. Later in the day the men of each of the five morungs killed a pig and prepared the meat for the feast, which was to be held that night.

Once more a procession was formed outside each of the morungs and the younger men proceeded to the chief's house carrying fully leaved bamboos; they were followed by the old men carrying the head and models of heads made of cane with mithan horns attached. In front of the chief's house stands a small monolith, before which lies a flat stone. There a man, who is a descendant of the village founder and who acts on such occasions, is supposed to cut off the tongue and the ears of the head and bury them under the flat stone. There were no tongues and ears left on the heads I had given to the Wakching, but the rite was carried out with the existing requisites as well as it was possible. The descendant of the village founder killed a chicken and repeated the spell by which the relatives of the victim are supposed to be compelled to share his fate. This ceremony performed, the rest of the day was spent in dancing and singing.

Finally the men of each morung placed their piece of head in a carrying

basket and hung it up on a ficus tree close to their morung. In the case of a fresh head it hangs there until the flesh has rotted away.

The next weeks were filled with the preparations for the final ceremonies and feasts. Many of the ornaments to which the young Wakching men were now entitled had to be made or bought from other villages. An important part of a head-hunter's outfit is, for instance, the ceremonial spear, tufted with black and red goat's hair. These spears are not manufactured at Wakching, but only in some neighbouring villages to the east, such as Chi and Totok. The Wakching men had therefore to set out on trading expeditions in order to provide the necessary ornaments as well as the pigs for the coming feasts, and for these they bartered daos, brass rings, and other goods made in Wakching. In the meanwhile the women were busy in preparing the enormous quantities of rice-beer, which were required during the feast days.

On the fifth day of the new moon the final feasts began. For three days no one went to the fields and only that housework that was most necessary was done. Those who could afford it killed a pig and shared the pork with their less fortunate relatives and friends. The heads were then taken down from the trees near each morung where they had been hung up, and mithan horns were attached to them. The descendant of the village founder repeated the ceremony which had already been performed when the heads were brought in. Once again he fed them with rice and rice-beer, bidding them to call all their clansmen in order that they might be slain. It was after this that the dancing began. The men and boys in full ceremonial dress wore all the ornaments which they had bought and made in the last weeks. The oldest men carried the heads, in baskets decorated with tassels of palm leaves; they danced outside the circle of the other dancers, swinging the heads and singing in shrill voices of the glorious deeds of their morungs.

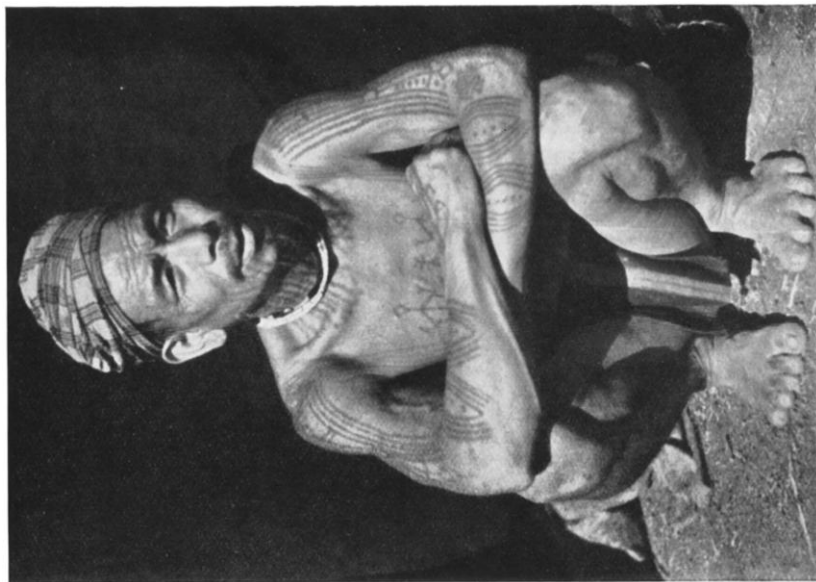
The feast lasted three days. Only then did the village life return to normal; but to a normal that nevertheless differed from the time before the heads were brought in. The young men continued of course to wear some of the ornaments to which the recent ceremonies had entitled them. There was dancing on every possible occasion and even the work in the fields was accompanied by songs. In other years the gangs of boys and young men must work silently, but after a head has been taken their songs may be heard from every slope. They danced and shouted on their way to the fields, where they cut and burnt the jungle, and even during the tedious work of weeding the rice-fields.

All the people of Wakching were convinced that this year, in which the heads have been brought in, would have a particularly good harvest, and when I left Wakching in June the promise of the crops seemed really better than they had been for many years. It is obvious that the bringing in of the head does not only provide an opportunity for feasting, a pleasant interruption in the monotonous life of a Naga village, but it exerts also a stimulating influence on the economics of the people.

The main result of my tour into the unadministered territory with J. P. Mills is the material which I was able to collect on the Kalyo Kengyu Nagas. Though necessarily incomplete and superficial, it allows for some comparison



Kalyo Kengyu Nagas of Pangsha meeting the column as negotiators



Native of Ponyo, a Naga village on the Burma side of the Patkoi range



Konyak Nagas during the headhunting dances, carrying pieces of the heads in a ball of cane adorned with mithan horns and tassels of palm leaves



Kalyo Kengyu Nagas from Panso in ceremonial dress

with other tribes and fills a gap in our knowledge of Naga culture. We now know that the Kalyo Kengyus, in spite of numerous interesting cultural peculiarities, do not differ completely from the other eastern Naga tribes. It has become evident that there are two main cultural strata in the Naga Hills. The stratum undoubtedly the youngest is represented by the Angamis, the tribe bordering on Manipur. Rice cultivation on irrigated terraces is peculiar only to them, to the eastern Rengmas, and to some of the Nagas of Manipur. All other Nagas grow dry rice, knowing of no artificial irrigation; neither are rice terraces found among any other hill tribe of Assam. Moreover the Angamis have a highly developed megalithic culture; at their Feasts of Merit, menhirs are erected and stone circles built, while graves are often constructed in the form of stone platforms.

The erection of monoliths as memorials for Feasts of Merit is less frequent among the Lhotas, and unknown among the Sema, Aos, and Konyaks as well as among the Sangtams, Changs, Yimsungr, and Kalyo Kengyus. Among the Aos, Semas, Sangtams, Changs, and Yimsungr the stone memorials are replaced by wooden forked posts of Y-shape; in much the same way such Y-posts are used as substitutes for menhirs in the megalithic cultures of Africa, Indonesia, and Oceania. Yet it seems that only a last and rather weak wave of megalithic culture touched these eastern Naga tribes. The Konyaks erect stones during their head-hunting ceremonies, but not in connection with Feasts of Merit.

Common to all northern and eastern tribes is the shifting cultivation, a method of agriculture by which jungle is felled and burnt and the crop sown on ground only slightly dug over. While the staple crop of the Aos and Semas is rice, the Konyaks plant also a good deal of taro and the Changs, Yimsungr, and Kalyo Kengyus live mainly on Job's tears. It has been already mentioned that the cultivation of taro must be a cultural preference of the Konyaks, for their country is very suitable for rice. The prevalence of Job's tears among the latter tribes however is due to climatic reasons: the ranges on which they live are so high that rice does not grow well.

An element peculiar to the Konyaks, Aos, Sangtams, Changs, Yimsungr, and the Kalyo Kengyus is the enormous log-drums, which, not found among any other people of India or Burma, have their nearest parallels in Oceania. We are safe in saying that they belong to the oldest stratum of Naga culture. Apparently equally old are the men's houses (*morungs*) which remind us in their function and style of the men's house of New Guinea. They are absent in Angami and Sema villages and reach their most imposing form among the Konyaks.

Still a mystery is the origin of the slate roofs of the Kalyo Kengyus and of some of the southern Sangtams. We do not find slated houses anywhere else on the main land of south-eastern Asia, but some of the hill tribes of Formosa also cover their houses with slates. This parallel is all the more interesting as the head-hunting ceremonies of these tribes resemble, even in detail, those of the Nagas.

There is another element which appears to be very old in the Naga Hills: the custom of tattooing the face and body. It is practised among the Konyaks, Kalyo Kengyus, Changs, and Aos, but not by the Angamis, Lhotas, and

Semas. The most elaborate tattoo I have ever seen was that of the men of Ponyo, the neighbour-village of Pangsha.

These few examples may show that the oldest cultural types still surviving in the Naga Hills are found just among the less-known tribes to the east and north. There a great field lies open to the anthropologist. The work that has been done is very limited compared with the vast possibilities for research. In Africa and Oceania anthropologists work among peoples whose own culture is already partly destroyed and disintegrated by western influences, but in studying the Nagas of Assam no laborious reconstructions of old customs and beliefs are necessary. Most of them still live practically the same life as their ancestors, while many thousands of the northern and eastern Nagas have never seen a white man.

Thus we have the chance of studying the social and economic life of primitive tribes whose ancient culture is still flourishing. It is fortunate that a wise administration makes every effort to preserve native culture, thus sparing to the Nagas the sad fate that has befallen many other primitive races. Those who have been to the Naga Hills will agree that it is difficult to imagine a form of administration better suited to primitive peoples, and I am personally greatly indebted to the interest of the British authorities in native culture and anthropological research. My thanks are due particularly to Mr. J. P. Mills, whose continual assistance enabled me to work for thirteen months in a district otherwise closed to all travellers.

DISCUSSION

Before the paper the PRESIDENT (Professor HENRY BALFOUR) said: The lecturer to-night is Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf, a distinguished Austrian anthropologist who has recently spent a year making an intensive study of one of the most interesting tribes in the Naga Hills. During the course of his time there he was able to go with Mr. J. P. Mills on one of the unfortunately necessary punitive expeditions into a portion of the Hills never visited before by Europeans, and this portion of his tour was thus actually off the map. Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf has much of very great interest to tell us, and, in introducing him to you and asking him to deliver his lecture, I would like to extend to him a very cordial welcome.

Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf then read the paper printed above, and a discussion followed.

The PRESIDENT: We have with us to-night one who is the greatest authority on the Naga Hills in general. I am sure you would like to hear some remarks from Professor Hutton.

Prof. J. H. HUTTON: I have been watching a lot of old friends and many familiar scenes, and it has made me quite homesick. I feel rather unhappy too—"maya lagicche" is the expression in the Naga Hills—because not only have I seen places I have been to often and ones I have visited occasionally, but Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf has been to the promised land that I was only able to look at from the Pisgah of Chingmei.

He mentioned the question of maize and millet. I rather think that millet is the oldest grain cultivated in that area. It has a distribution across to Formosa, and I believe it is grown all over the East. Maize probably dates within the last one hundred years in those hills; it was no doubt brought in by the British,

though it may have gone in earlier. In any case, I do not think we can allow much more than one hundred years to maize. Millet, of course, goes back for thousands of years. Rice came in as wet cultivation and is now cultivated dry. I think it probably came in with the terrace cultivation to which the lecturer referred.

He mentioned the poisoned arrows. I had some tested in Calcutta, and though they could not be certain the poison used was aconite, they reported that there was nothing to show it was not, and we know that aconite grows in those 8000-foot Naga Hills.

Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf referred to platform burial, and we get curious cases of it farther south. Among the Angami, for instance, the particularly beloved daughter who has died young is not as a matter of course buried in the ground. Probably platform disposal of the dead has over that area been common at an earlier date and been superseded by burial in the ground.

As to the importance of the jaw and the tongue which Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf mentioned as being buried under menhirs, yawning is associated by the Chang Nagas with the soul's dancing. They take it as meaning that the soul wants to get out; they believe the soul leaves the body during sleep and comes back through the nostrils, ears or mouth when the man awakes. I cannot help thinking that the particular importance attached to the lower jaw is associated with the tongue which, though a little member, is a very important one. There is a common superstition all over the world—I have met it elsewhere than in the Naga Hills and it is probably more widespread than we realize—that to cut the tongue causes loss of life. There again I think we have indication as to why the lower jaw is thought so important. It is not only in the Naga Hills that the lower jaw is separately disposed of. There is a similar custom among the Baganda in East Africa, where a chief, on his succession, has the lower jaw of his predecessor specially treated and put in a special shrine. In West Africa also the lower jaw is separated from the head and put by itself.

A word as to slate roofs, which are seen also in the southern Sangtam and in some of the Yimsungr villages, where slate is often used for roofs, these villages being very closely allied. In the Angami country a man who has completed his Feasts of Merit may roof his house with wooden shingles, cut like pieces of slate. I suspect if slate were available he would use it. The villages which use slate are those that can get it. There is a good deal, I think, in using the material which is available on the spot. I am not sure that the use of slate is so universal in those tribes that use it as to make one certain that there is a difference of culture. It is possibly, I suggest, an alternative method, depending on the availability of a material which is not everywhere found in the Naga Hills.

An interesting point raised by the lecturer concerned bride-price. Bride-price in the Naga Hills runs everywhere with cross-cousin marriages. The tribes that have no bride-price have no cross-cousin marriages. The cross-cousin marriage seems to have arisen by way of giving a bride as compensation for a bride received, instead of some other form of payment. Where there is no bride-price, no cross-cousin marriages are found, and there is a different pattern in social life.

Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf spoke of the use of drums or xylophones, but I think "gong" a more satisfactory word. There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that the long gongs, which in most tribes take a form similar to that of dug-out canoes, have possibly started in the Pacific as canoes and survived in these villages, where no canoes are used, in the form of a canoe used as a gong. I think that suggests north-western migration from Melanesia.

The PRESIDENT: I think it can be said without any doubt whatever that we

have all enjoyed the lecture by Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf. To me it has been a very great pleasure indeed, because it has recalled to my mind many scenes which I have actually looked upon. I made a long tour of some 800 miles or so through the Naga Hills many years ago in company with Prof. Hutton and Mr. Mills, and I never in all my life enjoyed a trip so much.

The lecturer has touched upon a number of points which confirm the very high interest which attaches to the culture of the Nagas. Although habitually one speaks of the Naga Hills as inhabited by the Nagas as a whole, there are considerable differentiations when you come to study the various tribes, and even divisions of tribes. It is to be hoped that in the long run the various divisions of the Nagas will be studied intensively, and that eventually there will be material for a comparison of the different cultures involved.

The matter is one of geographical interest also. In many places the Nagas show links with very far distant areas. Prof. Hutton has spoken of many of them, and he has pointed out how it is possible to link up unmistakably cultures so far distant as those in the Naga Hills on the one hand with those right away east to New Guinea on the other; and also away in Melanesia one finds numbers of most striking resemblances. If there were only a few they might be called fortuitous, but they are so numerous now that one has been able to track a number of them along a chain-like route of dispersal, and the culture-linkage becomes a certainty. But up to the present it has not been easy to disentangle the ethnological make-up of the Naga Hills. There are indications here and there, mentioned by the lecturer, of tribes which appear to have been early immigrants into the region, as compared with the Angami and some of the others, who appear to have arrived later and to have brought different culture-elements with them.

The punitive expedition which was conducted so ably by Mr. Mills was most successful in its results, with very little bloodshed; and it brought out some of the qualities which one cannot help noticing amongst the Nagas—notably their emotionalism, which makes them very ready to be stirred up, but equally ready to calm down and discuss matters quite amicably. They will be foaming, literally, at the mouth at one moment and perfectly agreeable, or at least with a sardonic grin on their faces, the next.

Much has been said with regard to the stone-roofed houses, and during the lecture I also was reminded of the fact that Prof. Hutton mentioned—namely that the stone roof is not entirely restricted to the Kalyo Kengyu area. I remember seeing some few stone-roofed houses in the villages of Phozami and Puchimi, which are southern Sangtam villages. And I remember in the eastern Angami region, in Mezalozumi, seeing instances of wooden imitations of stone-roofed houses, which seemed again to suggest a still further dispersal of the idea into a region where the stone slats were not to be found otherwise. I concluded at the time that this was due to the influence of Kalyo Kengyu culture on some of the neighbouring tribes, but it may be largely due to the fact, as Prof. Hutton has suggested, that the distribution of the materials is an important factor in the matter. In connection with stone-roofed houses there is also the curious fact that in the village of Karami, now called Laruri, which is one of the southern Kalyo Kengyu villages, as far as I remember there was not a single stone-roofed house in the whole village. All the houses were thatched. Although the stone roof still is chiefly characteristic of the Kalyo Kengyus it is not universal in all their villages.

Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf was able to live with the Konyaks for the best part of a year. I am very glad indeed that he has done so and that he has been able to make an intensive study of their culture. When I was touring the Naga

Hills I saw a certain amount of the Konyaks in some of their villages, and it struck me then that they were one of the tribes best worth studying. Now that Dr. von Furer-Haimendorf has made a most careful study of their general culture, we look forward to another volume being added to the series which was initiated by Prof. Hutton, and which will provide us with the sixth monograph on one of the Naga tribes. It may now be said that the Naga Hills massif is possibly one of the best documented regions in the world, and the study of the customs of the tribes is of the greatest benefit to an administration.

I should like, before closing, to mention a last point which struck me in Dr. von Furer-Haimendorf's paper. He referred to the village of Ponyo which, although in the Kalyo Kengyu area, presents a culture which is obviously not Kalyo Kengyu but seems to belong to the Konyak group. It is one of the instances of small sections of tribes having been cut off from the main mass of their tribe and thus become isolated. There are other instances, notably the village of Swemi, where there is a similar cut-off of a small section of the Sema people. They have been separated from the main mass of the tribe and cut off as a village surrounded by Angami. Also one can recall a somewhat similar instance which has caused a split in the Rengma tribe and kept separate the western members from the eastern members. This cutting off of a section of a tribe is not an infrequent occurrence. It is liable to happen owing to various movements which have taken place within the area.

I am quite sure that you would wish to join with me in thanking Dr. von Furer-Haimendorf for an extremely interesting lecture, and also in congratulating him, and especially Mr. Mills, on the success of the expedition which carried them into the unadministered and unknown area. It is hoped that eventually, as a result of this punitive expedition, more or less friendly relations will be established which will enable the Kalyo Kengyus also to be studied intensively.