

The Digitization of Naga Collections in the West and the >Return of Culture<

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Why choose the Naga collections for an experiment in multimedia?

There were several reasons why, in the later 1980s, we originally selected materials relating to the Nagas held in western collections for one of the first experiments in multimedia database work and the return of culture. One of the reasons is personal.

Alan Macfarlane was born in Assam and his parents worked on tea plantations next to the Naga Hills. He grew up with Naga spears and other material objects around him, and became an anthropologist largely thanks to exposure to the Nagas. For his fieldwork, Alan wanted to work in Assam and had the good fortune to be supervised by Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, a great expert on the Nagas, for his PhD. Alan was Haimendorf's last pupil. While it became impossible to work in Assam because of the political situation in 1968, Alan continued to work with Haimendorf over the years, and it was through his encounter with Haimendorf's marvelous Naga photographs, and later his diaries, field notes, films and objects, that the seeds were sown for what became the Naga project. That the first two Professors of Anthropology at Cambridge where Alan now teaches, J. H. Hutton (who served in the Indian Civil Service from

1909 to 1935) and Thomas Callan Hodson (1871–1939, who worked on the Linguistic Survey of India), were colonial officers with substantial experience among the Nagas was probably also a contributing factor.

However, the primary scholarly reason for choosing Naga culture as the subject for a multimedia project was that their material and cultural traditions seemed to be better documented than is the case for almost any other tribal society in the world. A combination of circumstances has led to this impressively rich record of Naga culture. First, the precipitous mountains and thick forests, combined with the Nagas' daunting reputation as headhunters, deterred outsiders from entering the area until relatively recently. The period of contact, which effectively began in the 1840s, was unusually gradual as colonial encounters go, and lasted for over a century until Indian Independence in 1947. It was only with the Second World War and the combined influence of missions, education and economic growth that the context of Naga social life can be said to have changed profoundly. The bulk of the Naga materials that we have worked on relates to the period prior to Indian Independence.

For the Nagas, then, we have a series of historical records spread over a hundred years, each collection dealing with specific aspects of this cluster of tribal societies sufficiently isolated to maintain much of their ancient social systems, yet with loose attachments and connections to

the British Empire. All this encouraged outsiders to try to understand the traditional ways of life of the Naga peoples in order to administer and adjudicate the expanding Empire in the Northeast.

The relative lateness of contact with the Nagas meant that the second fifty year period of intensive documentation took place within the era of photography, while during this phase, colonial administrators and anthropologists were already experimenting with moving film. The involvement of District Officers as collectors and analysts ensured the survival of large numbers of Naga artefacts. These factors all combine to provide the context in which careful study and minute recording became possible, and good fortune brought to the Naga Hills a succession of very gifted observers. These men and women became so involved with the Nagas that they succeeded in assembling large collections of diverse materials and artefacts, despite the linguistic difficulties and the practical challenges entailed in collection.

New potentials in multimedia storage and retrieval

The advent in the 1980s of a new technology in the form of a recordable optical >videodisc< suddenly opened up a range of new possibilities which were previously unthinkable. A videodisc is a flat silver object closely resembling a gramophone record. Information is engraved on its surface, after which it is coated with plastic, and the data is then read off from each separate track by means of a laser beam, using a standard videodisc player. Such a disc is a virtually indestructible storage format which is unharmed by dust, normal changes of temperature, electric current, damp or insects. In the present context of CDs and DVDs, all this may seem quite unremarkable, but a quarter of a century ago the sense of excitement was profound.

Videodiscs can hold very large amounts of data. A standard disc can store 36 minutes of moving film per side in its interactive mode or hold 54,000 separate images per side, or a combination of both. In total, over 300 MB of diverse

multimedia data can be stored on a videodisc, which bearing in mind that the entire Encyclopaedia Britannica including images uses only about 200 MB, offered a substantial storage capacity. The flexibility of the medium was also its strength, as a videodisc could store copies of almost any format of analogue recordable information including photographs, slides, moving film, x-rays, sound recordings and a range of graphic formats. Videodiscs are double-sided and copies are relatively inexpensive to reproduce once a master has been authored.

In short, the videodisc appeared to be an ideal medium for the storage and the subsequent dissemination of our nascent Naga collection. The only obstacle was puzzling out how to author the master disc, since very little information and guidance was available. These were early days for this medium, and no videodisc of the kind we had conceived of had ever been made in Europe. With the cooperation of the Audio Visual Aids (AVA) Unit at Cambridge University and some support from the Open University Production Unit at Milton Keynes, we essentially invented the method as we went along.

With our small team, comprising Sarah Harrison, Anita Herle, Julian Jacobs and Alan Macfarlane, and with modest funding from a number of sources including the Leverhulme and Nuffield Foundations, King's College Cambridge and the Renaissance Trust, we collaborated with the aim of creating an archival and scholarly multi-media product. We hoped to produce not only a videodisc and its associated database on the Nagas, but a temporary exhibition at the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and also a book.¹ This short article discusses the videodisc and the dissemination of anthropological information on the Nagas, first in analogue form and then as a digital project with a website.

The collections and principles of selection used in the Naga project

Photographs

Since there are but a finite number of historical photographs of the Nagas – most of which were of great value – we aimed to include all the photographs that we could locate. Only a few hundred of the roughly 7,000 black and white photographs that we discovered were omitted on one of the following grounds: they were duplicates of, or very similar to, other images; they were of poor quality; they lay outside the geographical area which we had delimited; they fell outside of our time span; or they very clearly documented >private< rather than >public< experience. We did not censor any photographs on account of embarrassing or shocking content, or because they might do damage to the reputation of individuals, the British colonial administration, anthropology as a discipline, or for any other such reasons.

This latitude that we afforded ourselves obviously raised important issues, given that the videodisc which we were compiling was intended for use in a variety of educational contexts. Many images from the colonial era do, after all, portray people in a way which is objectifying, de-contextualizing or simply exoticizing (and even eroticizing). It is undeniably the case that the camera contributed to what Foucault referred to as the >normalising gaze<, a process of »surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish« (1977: 184) through which a subtle form of power is exercised over others by classifying them and rendering them visible. Our Naga project did not attempt to skirt or avoid these issues, but aimed rather to encourage a critical attitude on the part of users to the historical interaction of anthropology and administration through the associated book and introductions to the videodisc.

It should also be said that the antithesis to de-contextualized images can equally be found on the disc, in the form of some of the earliest, and best, examples of a recognisably modern era of empathetic and highly contextualized anthropological photography.

Moving film

A number of problems emerged in relation to adding moving film to the videodisc. First, we simply found very little film from before 1947 – the cut-off point of the period that the videodisc was intended to cover – but since film was so powerful and important, we decided to extend the temporal boundaries and include moving images taken on two visits to Nagaland in 1963 and 1970 by an anthropologist who had worked in the area in 1936 and 1937. Once these had been included, we had a total of over six hours of film. One side of a videodisc can hold 36 minutes of moving film, and since we needed to allocate at least six minutes in total to the various still photographs, we only had thirty minutes remaining. This meant reducing the film at the ratio of 1:12.

We spent many weeks going through the footage again and again, whittling away seconds of material while trying to minimise the loss of valuable archival footage. The principles we evolved and implemented may be of interest to readers faced with similar editorial decisions and choices, and were as follows.

The first consideration was the content of the moving image. We tried to include material which was most interesting from an intellectual or academic perspective. This remains of course a subjective judgement, but our team's criteria were that material which portrayed events and processes which were most representative, most revealing or most unusual, or illuminated the other images and texts in a significant way, should be included. Unusual visual images included those which were preserved in only this medium, for instance the eating of dried rats, or a joke shared between the anthropologist and a Naga villager. We concentrated on subjects where movement and action were particularly important, such

as dance, games, posture and gesture, rituals and agricultural labour. When we encountered and coded long and repeated sequences of film on the same subject, we selected only one or two of the best sequences.

The second set of principles concerned form. With deference to the importance of the content, we rejected poorly filmed sequences, such as those which were out of focus, badly composed, unsteady, from too great a distance and so on. We rejected film that was damaged, where the colour was fading or was unsatisfactory in other ways, unless the content was thought to be particularly interesting. We favoured close-up shots showing detail over wider shots of a more static kind which could be equally represented with one or two carefully selected stills. Moreover, close-ups are more compelling on the intimate screen of a television or monitor.

While considering the selection for the videodisc, one set of factors gave us a considerable advantage over someone editing raw film: the absolute precision and control afforded by this new medium. When editing normal film, one is constrained by the need to save and knit together reasonably long sequences, five seconds at least, and often three times that length, just to capture the run-up to an important event: an immobile man before he starts to jump, for instance. In classic editing, if rapid action is to be appreciated by the viewer, it may need to be shown at some length or even from several different angles. In other words, a great deal of redundancy is built in to the process of editing film as the viewer only has the chance to see an image flashing past once. With a videodisc, however, the user becomes an editor, in some ways even the controller and master of the medium. One effect of this transformation is that we as editors were no longer constrained by selecting shots on the basis of the conventions of standard film, such as maintaining a stage line or establishing matching shots.

A further important principle with the videodisc was a sense that film which had been shrunk or contracted in the editing process could be expanded once again at the moment of viewing. It was almost as if the footage

had been dehydrated, but could be rehydrated through presentation. This advantage was thanks to having the capacity to treat each and every frame in a precise way. Just one frame of a view, or of a non-moving group of people, could be taken and held as an establishing shot for a number of seconds. If necessary, the sequence could be repeated and played in slow motion to explain in detail what was happening. In short, instead of merely cutting a long set of moving sequences into shorter pieces and splicing them together according to a precise and linear order, sets of images – some of them still frames, some of them sequences of stills taken every few seconds, and some of them moving sequences – were created as segments which could be played, reviewed and paused at will.

While there remained, of course, a different >feel< between a frozen frame and that of a >still< filmed sequence, with our videodisc we found that the boundaries between still and moving images began to blur. We were able to abstract a great deal of visual information in a precise manner without losing much of the content.

In this manner, we created approximately 150 moving sequences out of six hours of film, each lasting between three and twenty-five seconds, the average being about eight seconds. We also abstracted close to 1,000 >stills< as out-takes from moving sequences where there was little movement, or by sampling every few seconds to capture a series of events, such as transactions in the market.

Artefacts

There are known to be well over 12,000 Naga artefacts in Britain alone, so once again we ran into the tricky issue of selection. To have located and photographed them all would not only have absorbed much of the effort and time of our team, but the resultant photographs would have used up over a quarter of the total space for visual images on the videodisc. It would also have given us, in the case of some artefacts, hundreds of almost exact duplicates.

The primary criterion which we used was accessibility, and we confined our work to certain major private and public collections in England, even though we knew of others in other parts of the British Isles and continental Europe, not to mention America and, of course, across India and in Nagaland itself. From descriptions of other collections, it appeared that we had been able to photograph and select a fairly representative sample of artefacts.

Within the 10,000 artefacts which we either examined ourselves or accessed through catalogue descriptions, we used a number of criteria for selection. We first sought a representative sample, both in terms of the types and functions of artefacts and in terms of their origins from the different Naga communities. We attempted to use Naga criteria of significance rather than our own aesthetic sensibilities so as to ensure that the chosen artefacts revealed key features of Naga social structure and belief (status, head-taking, kinship organisation, and so on).

In the case of duplication, we chose artefacts which were better documented, and left out artefacts which were in a poor condition. We sought to photograph as many nineteenth century objects as possible, on account of their rarity. Such artefacts were also crucial in throwing light on a key research interest of our team: the colonial encounter. What could we learn about how the Nagas were perceived and classified from the types of artefacts and objects which had been collected as the colonial era progressed?

Throughout, we bore in mind the need to photograph artefacts which would be interesting from a comparative perspective; for example, artefacts which were indicative of trade among Naga groups or between the Nagas and neighbouring peoples; artefacts bearing strong resemblances to the material culture of South East Asian hill tribes; and artefacts which, when compared with others, revealed continuity or change over time. We emphasised those which we knew would tie in well with other material on the videodisc, such as artefacts collected

by administrators or ethnographers whose writings featured prominently in the textual database. We sought to ensure that mundane, everyday items were as thoroughly represented and documented as the more exotic and aesthetically exciting artefacts. When there was an obvious need to do so, we photographed from two angles, but time constraints and the difficulty of positioning artefacts correctly for representative photography left this task somewhat incomplete.

Paintings and sketches

It was not difficult to select the paintings and sketches which would be used. Since there were only a few hundred, we included all pictures which we believed would be of interest. Many very simple line drawings were included when they overlapped or interrelated with textual descriptions, and only very occasionally did we leave out an illustration because it duplicated something else or was so minor and badly documented that it would have been confusing to include it.

Sound

The 72 minutes of sound data included on the two tracks of the videodisc were an attempt to offer a range of different audio encounters. We combined recordings of a time breadth to match the photographs, from early wax cylinder recordings from 1919 to present-day (then 1987) recordings of songs illustrating considerable Christian influence. Examples of several kinds of instruments were included, including drums, jew's-harps and stringed instruments, as well as Naga singing. Field recordings of conversations from 1970 were also included and tagged as >sound< in the videodisc index.

Maps

We had hoped that we would simply be able to photograph the various maps of Nagaland from the earliest times up until 1947, including the detailed Survey of India series ranging from 1910 to 1945. However, when we experimented with the maps by looking at photographs

of the ordnance survey maps on a screen, we soon realised that simple reproduction would be impossible. By whatever magnitude we magnified the maps by photographing them in tiny sections, the mountainous nature of Nagaland meant that all we could see were blurry contour lines, with the odd village name – almost unreadable – dotted among them.

Instead, we realised that we would need to redraw the maps, and thus ended up with 165 sketch maps on our Naga videodisc. All contours were left off, but otherwise our sketch maps included rivers, major mountains, borders and the location and names of some 1,400 villages and towns which were mentioned in one or more of our photographic or textual sources. Our sketched reproductions were mainly based on the Survey of India maps of the area, and all were subject to considerable errors, compounded in this case by the difficult terrain, the shifting character of many Naga villages and the complexity of village names, which varied radically from author to author, or even with the same author. The maps on the videodisc should therefore be thought of as sketch maps which form the basis of the >map-walking< software developed for the project, which allowed the user to move north or west to the next map.

General principles in selecting texts

Bearing in mind the nature of the new technology, texts were selected with two overall considerations in mind. On the one hand, the videodisc was conceived to be an archive where the user would only require fairly minimal guidance. On the other hand, the product would also be a teaching resource, meaning attention would have to be paid to include material of interest to a range of diverse educational contexts. The main problem was not one of total available space, but rather the effort of data entry.

When we considered the labour involved not only in the inputting of the material, but also in checking it and subsequently indexing the data very precisely to make it useful, it became clear that without access to very large

funds and a team of workers over a long period, we would reach the limit of what could be entered into a computer. When we now tally the different parts of people's lives that have gone into this project, we believe that it adds up to the equivalent of five or six person-years of human labour.

It became clear that we would have to select discerningly from the surviving materials. A few of the broader principles of this selection should be explained. First, we concentrated, with the major exception of one very long diary in German, entirely on texts in English. Perhaps a tenth of the writings on the Nagas before 1947 were excluded from consideration in this manner. Second, we focussed our efforts mainly on the period between 1910 and 1947, leaving the nineteenth century treated only more selectively. Third, we directed most of our efforts to the more intimate and detailed accounts by specific individuals whose visual materials were also to be made available on the videodisc.

An overview of the visual contents of the videodisc

In sum, the videodisc contains a number of different image sets and collections. There are some 1350 colour photographs of selected ethnographic artefacts from the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, the Museum of Mankind in London, the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, and other public and private collections. These include photographs of a selection of weapons, tools, ornaments and textiles.

There are copies of some 400 drawings and paintings dating from between 1847 and 1947 taken from diaries, field notes and other sources, varying from full colour portraits to smaller sketches of decorative patterns. These images include designs, patterns, human faces, house types, flora and fauna. There are 165 maps, specially redrawn for the videodisc, which indicate the position of more than a thousand villages, towns, rivers and mountains in the Naga area that are explicitly referred to in the texts or pictures.

There are 7,000 black and white photographs, as well as a few colour ones, from the 1880s through to 1948. These cover all aspects of Naga life, from art, architecture, crafts, rituals, sport, family life, marriage, war, headhunting, agriculture, fishing and colonialism, to mention but a few. All major sub-groups of the Nagas are covered, and the images derive from public archives as well as private collections.

There are over 150 sequences of moving film and another 1,000 still frames extracted from 16mm colour and black and white reels shot between 1938 and 1970. These visuals cover music and dancing, war and headhunting, the agricultural cycle, fishing, arts and crafts, body decoration, tattooing and many other topics.

Finally, there are 72 minutes of sound recordings, including solo and communal singing by men and women, illustrating some of the features of the musical culture of the Nagas.

An overview of the textual content of the Naga videodisc

A number of different classes of written records provide the background context for the visual images on the disc, and many are of great value in their own right. The texts make it possible to trace the process of documentation of Naga culture from the first, fairly random field notes and diary jottings, up to the final, polished and published book.

The videodisc contains a number of manuscript-version daily diaries kept by soldiers, surveyors, colonial officials, anthropologists and interested observers. From the earliest mid-19th century reports and diaries of Woodthorpe, McCulloch, Butler and Godwin-Austen through the illustrated museum curator's diary of Henry Balfour in 1922, and the detailed anthropological diary of von Fürer-Haimendorf dating to 1936-37, to that of Mrs. Mildred Archer in 1947, the videodisc holds the equivalent of

over 1,000 printed pages of diary material. These diverse textual materials provide an intimate and revealing insight into the reactions and thoughts of these visitors to the Naga Hills.

There are also extensive field notes made by anthropologists and colonial officers, describing every aspect of Naga life, including rituals and myths, genealogies and house lists. These notes are cross-referred to the diaries and provide a solid body of ethnographic description and fundamental analysis. The field notes constitute the equivalent of over 750 pages of printed material.

A number of those who visited and worked in the area wrote letters to their family and friends back home in England. A selection of these letters, for instance those exchanged between J. P. Mills, J. H. Hutton and Henry Balfour, have been included. They describe some of the practical and theoretical problems that lay behind observing and collecting material from the Naga communities.

Colonial officers were required to make detailed reports of their tours of duty through Naga territory, which were then filed and used by the colonial government. Over 100 such tour diaries made by J. H. Hutton, J. P. Mills and others were transcribed and entered into the database, giving insights into the colonial administration and the mentality of its employees who observed and documented Naga culture. These documents alone constitute the equivalent of some 400 pages of printed materials.

A considerable number of reports, surveys, gazetteers and other official records pertaining to the Nagas were published by the British administration over this period. Most of these documents are housed in the India Office Library, and selections relating to the Nagas were transcribed and accessed into the videodisc. These documents give a clear impression of the official and secret activities of the British Empire in this corner of its territory. Also included are several articles and three books written about the Nagas, which were scanned and re-typed into the computer.

Information retrieval systems

From early on we were aware that the possibilities of this new media – a combination of computer and optical disc storage – would lead to very large data sets which would be difficult to manage. The material on the videodisc comprised about 10,000 >items< (maps, photographs, artefacts, films), and the 25 MB equivalent of texts represented about 20,000 paragraphs of writing. By what means could we search this enormous data collection, finding all the information in visual and textual materials relating to a specific person, place, date or subject? How could this be done? Founded on a dataset of such diversity and scale, the videodisc would be unusable without an appropriate information retrieval system.

None of the database management systems which had been developed for commercial or academic applications seemed appropriate for our project, so we developed our own. We worked in partnership with Dr. Martin Porter to adapt his MUSCAT (Museum Cataloguing) system, which had been developed for use on mainframe and >midi< computers, and which seemed ideal for our purposes.

One of the strengths of the MUSCAT system was that it was easy to enter a natural language query, such as »show me all the photographs of women weaving on backstrap looms«. The >best< answer would then be returned, after which the next best, and so on, in decreasing order of probability of matching the query.

The advent of the World Wide Web and new possibilities for >outreach<

One of the main aims of the original Naga project was to >return< the images and texts to the peoples from whom they had come and from the regions where they had been collected. We had hoped that videodiscs and players would be available in Nagaland in cultural centres and museums. We sent a player and videodisc back with the Chief Minister of Nagaland in 1991 when he

visited our Museum opening (The University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology²), but we never heard anything more about it and it is likely that with the climate and political instability, the player was soon out of use. Even in England, the technology was already superseded a couple of years later, although one set of the materials continued to be used in a sixth form college in Cambridgeshire for some ten years. The same technological redundancy occurred to a parallel, and much larger, project to put all of British society and culture onto a pair of videodiscs, the >BBC Domesday Project<, in which Alan Macfarlane was centrally involved.³

After the videodisc experiment, for about ten years the digital and analogue materials which we had assembled lay largely unused. It was not until the advent of the World Wide Web that exciting new possibilities began to emerge for people in native cultures and in other parts of the world to see what was held in western repositories and private collections. Two substantial obstacles confronted us, however, from transitioning and transcoding the Naga materials to this fast-emerging standard.

The first issue was that we had stored all the images, film and sound in analogue file formats on the Naga videodisc. To reuse them they had to be transcoded, and Sarah Harrison spent many months carefully taking off the thousands of images, labelling and re-organizing them and saving them in digital formats suitable for viewing on the Web.

Second, the MUSCAT search system only worked on home computers and person-operated mainframes, and was not yet compatible with the new standards needed for the Web, such as HTML and XML. With the help of a small computer company, Lemur Consulting, who understood the principles of the MUSCAT system, the entire search and retrieval system was rewritten from scratch. This new Web-compliant database system is known as Bamboo.⁴

With these two obstacles overcome, the entire Naga collection was ported to the World Wide Web in 2005 in much the same structure as it was originally authored onto the videodisc. We are delighted to see that the digital collection has now been accessed by Nagas, not only in India, but from across the world.⁵

>Returning culture<

In the meantime, we had also been experimenting further with taking electronic versions of the data back to the peoples whence they came. In the case of the Nagas, accompanied by a Naga friend, Lily Das, Sarah Harrison and Alan Macfarlane visited Nagaland in 2001 with a subset of the data on a CD to various Nagas and left numerous copies in Nagaland. Here follows part of a letter Alan Macfarlane wrote immediately after that visit which captures some of the excitement that this generated.

»The trip itself was amazing. We went via Delhi and Calcutta to Dimapur, on the edge of Nagaland, and then up to Kohima. Very moving to be in a place which we had spent five years of our lives documenting through film, photo, text etc., but have until now never been able to visit. Rather like having a time machine which could suddenly take one back to Cromwell's England, with the people leaping out of the documents. We spent five

days here, finding a country which combined enormous beauty (people, plants) with great suffering (endless political infighting, Mafia, torture etc, with a war against India lasting 52 years). It was very moving to find that our book on the Nagas was a bible for many of those who cared about Naga history and that we were welcomed as the people who would return their history to them. They hardly know anything of what happened before 1946, yet it is all on the videodisc which we have made and are hoping to make into a CD-Rom or DVD and also bring back... And so on – ending with some traditional Angami singing which seemed identical to the earliest wax cylinders we discovered in the Pitt Rivers Museum, made by Hutton in 1919. Wonderful.«

This small endeavour is part of a wider project to experiment with various methods to >return culture<. In a similar vein, Alan Macfarlane and Sarah Harrison have worked for many years in highland Nepal among the Gurung. They are assembling a multi-media database built around 120 hours of film, many photographs and notes on a Gurung village. This collection records a shamanic culture which has all but disappeared. A copy of the materials with all private information removed will one day be accessible through the Internet, and other copies transferred to the Gurung cultural centre in Pokhara which they helped to inaugurate.

Conclusion

The fragile, complex and beautiful tribal cultures of which the Nagas are a prime example have nearly all changed into something else. That era, movingly described in the book and title of Lévi-Strauss' *A World on the Wane* (1961, *Tristes Tropiques* 1955), is almost over. Yet the interactions between vastly different worlds, the capitalist empires and the largely oral cultures, led to some sensitive documentation.

As we face a future of increasingly confined alternatives and ever-reduced bio-diversity, the loss of linguistic and cultural diversity is just as great a tragedy. There should

be many multi-media projects similar to this early experiment with Naga materials and collections. Such attempts are important for the peoples concerned, whose history they hope to investigate and disseminate, and also for us, as this history is shared. Thanks to recent visual and computer technologies, some of the collections and cultures of the world that are in danger of being lost can be saved and be made available for all to share. That Alan has had the privilege of moving from a child who played with Naga spears, to a position where he could contribute a little to the preservation and public understanding of a part of this wondrous legacy is a great honour.

Endnotes

- 1 This book became: *The Nagas: Hill Peoples of Northeast India – Society, Culture and the Colonial Encounter*, by Julian Jacobs with Alan Macfarlane, Sarah Harrison and Anita Herle, Thames and Hudson, 1990.
- 2 <http://museum.archanth.cam.ac.uk/>
- 3 'BBC Domesday: The social construction of Britain on Videodisc', *Society for Visual Anthropology Review*, Vol. 6, No.2, 1990 and re-published as 'BBC Domesday: The Social Construction of Britain on Videodisc' in *Visualizing Theory*, ed. Lucien Taylor, 1994. Reproduced on <http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/TEXTS/BBC%20Domesday.pdf>
- 4 <http://www.lemurconsulting.com/Products/Bamboo/Overview.shtml>
- 5 The collection can be accessed through <http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/FILES/nagas.html>.

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Table of Contents

9	Preface Michael Oppitz
11	The Nagas: An Introduction The Editors
31	Col. Woodthorpe: Surveyor – Draftsman – Ethnographer • PICTORIAL ESSAY
47	Naga Identity: Enduring Heritage Abraham Lotha
57	Creating Naga: Identity between Colonial Construction, Political Calculation, and Religious Instrumentalisation Alban von Stockhausen
81	Warrior Ornaments • OBJECTS ESSAY
93	Interview with Allem Longkumer
97	Cultural Construction of Nationalism: Myths, Legends and Memories Dolly Kikon
107	Interview with Chingmak Kejong
111	Changes in the Naga Family Kevilhuninuo Nagi
117	Scenes of Agriculture and Daily Life • PICTORIAL ESSAY

129	Defeated Warriors, Successful Weavers: Marion Wettstein
147	Wrap Skirts and Shawls • OBJECTS ESSAY
155	Naga Basketry with Special Reference to the Chang and Khamniungan Nagas Iris Odyuo
165	Interview with S. Ayim Longkumer
169	The Log Drum Michael Oppitz
199	The Art of Naga Woodcarving • PICTORIAL ESSAY
213	On the Music of the Naga Societies of Northeast India (and Burma) Wolfgang Marschall
229	Interview with Theja Meru
233	The Songs of the Nagas Thomas Kaiser
253	Everyday Life, Agriculture, Hunting and Crafts • OBJECTS ESSAY
259	The Stories Stones Tell: Naga Oral Stories and Culture Stuart Blackburn
271	Interview with Talimeren Jamir
275	Shadows and Tigers: Concepts of Soul and Tiger-Men Rebekka Sutter
293	Interview with Reverend Noklen Longkumer
297	Scenes of Everyday Life in Historical Photographs
311	The Naga Language Groups within the Tibeto-Burman Language Family George van Driem
323	Archeology of Local Cultures: New Findings and Interpretations in Nagaland Tiatoshi Jamir & Ditumulü Vasa

341	Interview with José Mukala, Bishop of Kohima
343	Jewellery • OBJECTS ESSAY
355	Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf – Collector and Chronicler of the Nagas between Two Fronts Christian Schicklgruber
367	The Digitization of Naga Collections in the West and the >Return of Culture< Alan Macfarlane und Mark Turin
378	Interview with Kaka D. Iralu
383	Religion today • PICTORIAL ESSAY
393	Pluralistic Beliefs: Christianity and Healing among the Angami Nagas Vibha Joshi
403	Circling the Altar Stone: Bhuban Pilgrimage and the Symbolism of Religious Traditions Arkotong Longkumer
418	Interview with a Young Naga Woman
423	Fashion Trends in Contemporary Nagaland • PICTORIAL ESSAY Moalasa Jamir
437	Lists and Credits
439	Authors
441	Bibliography
455	Index
464	Acknowledgements