PAGAN TRIBES OF TH NILOTIC SUDAN

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FOREWORD

IT was in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when Mohammed Ali conquered the Sudan for Egypt, that western civilization came into touch with the Nile Negroes, and it was not until fifty years later, during the period of the great explorers—Speke, Grant, Marno, Schweinfurth, Emin Junker, and others—that there was any reliable knowledge of the character of the various tribes and of the areas they occupied. Travelling and investigating before the birth of modern anthropological methods, the information gathered by these early explorers is of relatively slight value to the anthropologist. Further progress was stopped by the rise of the Mahdi, and it was not until 1900, after the reconquest of the Sudan, that investigation became possible. Acting under the advice of that many-sided scholar the late D. G. Hogarth, Sir James Currie (then Director of Education) induced the Sudan Government to provide the funds for a small ethnographic survey which we were asked to undertake. It was Sir James who made the preliminary arrangements for our visit, and to him we owe a great deal for his kindly and carefully considered introduction to what was then a difficult and little-known country, as well as for the completely free hand he gave us as to the manner of our work.

An ethnographic survey should not merely give an account of the main physical and cultural characters of the people of a given area, but should provide the data for the study of their relationship to each other as well as to tribes outside the area surveyed. Therefore, although it has not been possible to obtain the same amount of information among all the peoples studied, we have tried to adhere to a general plan. Whenever possible, subjects have been measured and photographed, not only to give an idea of the physical characters of each tribe but because we believe these characters to be most important in settling the affinities of tribal and larger groups. The political and social organization has been recorded (at least in outline) with as much as possible of the religious beliefs, for without a knowledge of these no aspect of tribal life can be understood. Whilst no people has been investigated so thoroughly as to yield a complete cultural picture, we have, we believe, laid the foundation of a scientific study of the peoples of the Sudan. In doing this we have constantly

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kept before us the necessities of the official, for the greatest need of the administrator is to understand the politico-religious outlook of a subject race: rules of land tenure or criminal procedure are worthless unless there is knowledge of the social fabric and of the attitude towards the supernatural. For these reasons we have recorded all that we could of the part played by the rain-maker and other departmental experts, as well as the attitude towards ancestral and other spirits, and, since an understanding of life within the extended family group is almost equally important, we have paid much attention to kinship systems, noting the terms and so far as possible analysing the duties and privileges incumbent upon kinsmen. Certain important aspects of magic could not be studied, as this subject for the most part requires an intimate knowledge of the language of the people investigated. In this matter Professor Evans-Pritchard's results are particularly valuable.

We made no attempt to study technological processes, but specimens of any object of outstanding interest, either from the point of view of adaption or of distribution, were, if possible, collected and presented to the National Museum. Linguistics were also outside the scope of our study, yet in southern Kordofan we were so impressed by the difference of the languages spoken there from those of the Nile-Nubians with which they had been previously confused that we spent some time in recording the elements of these tongues.

Whenever possible we have used the genealogical method, and have found it of the greatest value; we have however refrained from publishing genealogies, except when these are necessary to illustrate some particular point.

For those tribes of which we have a reasonable knowledge our material is arranged under five headings (viz. "Regulation of Public Life", "Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage", "Religion", "Rain-making", "Death and Funeral Ceremonies"). Where, however, we are dealing with little-known peoples, e.g. those of Darfung, or areas of intense tribal confusion and disintegration, as the south-western Bahr el Ghazal, it would be misleading to attempt this, and such knowledge as we have is given under tribal headings. Nor have we always been able to be strictly logical in our arrangement, sometimes logic has perforce yielded to convenience.

Our first expedition, in 1909–10, was naturally from north to south along the Nile, and we also visited the Nuba. The second expedition, in 1911–12, was mainly east to west, when we studied

the Kababish of Kordofan and the Beja of the Red Sea Province. It was not until 1921 that we were able to resume our work, the winter of 1921–2 being spent mainly among the tribes south and east of the Dinka, i.e. among the Bari and the Lotuko-speaking tribes. Severe illness during the next few years negatived further work in the tropics, but the survey was taken up and extended by our friend and pupil, Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard. In three expeditions he worked especially among the tribes of the south-west Bahr el Ghazal and the Azande, later extending his studies to that most difficult people the Nuer. Professor Evans-Pritchard has already begun to publish his results, largely in *Sudan Notes and Records*, but besides being able to avail ourselves of these for our West Bank chapters we have, owing to his remarkable generosity, had at our full disposal his photographs, his Bahr el Ghazal and Nuer notes, and the almost finished manuscript of his Azande monograph, a study which will undoubtedly rank as one of the most exhaustive and authoritative of anthropological works. We desire to take this opportunity of emphasizing how slight is our first-hand knowledge of Azande and Nuer, and how greatly we are indebted to him; we would also point out that part of the chapter dealing with the Fung Province is based on his material. But although we have had the benefit of his constant help and advice, and not only in regard to the above-mentioned peoples, Professor Evans-Pritchard must in no way be held responsible for our presentation of the facts or our conclusions concerning them. The same holds with regard to two others who have helped us in the most generous and unselfish manner, freely putting at our disposal their great experience and the contents of their notebooks. We refer to the Venerable Archdeacon Shaw and to Mr. G. O. Whitehead. The former has lived for many years among the Dinka, the latter is our leading authority on the Bari and the Bari-speaking tribes; from both we have received help of inestimable value.

In connection with the Bari we must also express our gratitude to an old friend, Mr. Ernest Haddon, of the Uganda Civil Service, who a quarter of a century ago when the Bari country formed part of Uganda presided over the destinies of the tribe and compiled an MS., later put at our disposal, from which we have not hesitated to quote.

We have, indeed, everywhere been most fortunate in the assistance rendered to us. Two successive Governors, General Sir Reginald Wingate and Major-General Sir Lee Stack, stimulated our work by

their manifest interest. Our indebtedness to the Department of Education, to which we were attached, is very great: Sir James Currie's part we have already mentioned; his successor, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, was our constant guide and friend, ever ready with advice and help, indeed it was at his suggestion that we were accompanied on our last expedition by Mr. S. H. Hillelson, to whom we must also express our gratitude. Mr. J. G. Matthew, until recently Secretary for Education and Health, has not only assisted us as Principal of the Gordon College, but was of the utmost service in 1912 when in administrative charge of the Khor Baraka area in the Red Sea Province. The present Civil Secretary, Sir Harold MacMichael, helped us greatly on our second expedition, he was our companion for part of it, and personally introduced us to the Kababish; we also feel that we owe him a debt of gratitude for his constantly sympathetic attitude towards anthropological research, exemplified by the introduction which, in spite of the many calls on his time, he has written to this volume.

These are some of the men who helped us most, but we received such ready aid from so many that certain names must be mentioned, even if in doing so we seem to ignore others to whom we are almost equally indebted. In Khartoum the late Sir Andrew Balfour was an old and valued friend, with whom it was a pleasure to discuss pathological problems; his successor, Major R. G. Archibald, showed us much kindness. In the Provinces, while freely acknowledging the ready help afforded us by every Governor and District Commissioner with whom we came in contact, we would especially mention Colonel R. V. Savile, Mr. K. C. P. Struvé, Mr. V. R. Woodland, Major R. G. C. Brock, Mr. L. F. Nalder, and Mr. J. D. P. Chataway. Dr. E. P. Pratt has gone to much trouble to provide us with physical data from Darfung, while the Reverend J. A. Heasty and Colonel H. A. Lilley have given us valuable information concerning the Anuak and Lango respectively; the Rev. D. N. MacDiarmid has read our Nuba chapter, and the Rev. Fathers Crazzolara and Molinaro have answered questions concerning Acholi and Lotuko. To Mr. J. H. Driberg, the senior editor of this Series, we are particularly indebted: not only is he an old friend with whom we have for years been accustomed to discuss African problems, but he is the only man who has any knowledge of the tribes inhabiting the remote south-eastern border of the Sudan, that area of tribal confusion whose marches are equally those of

Abyssinia, Kenya, and Uganda. It follows that to him we owe directly or indirectly, much that we have written in Chapter X.

Even this extended list is not exhaustive: many others have helped us in varying degrees, and we can only hope that we have made adequate acknowledgments in the text.

In this country we have received advice and help from Lord Raglan and from Dr. A. N. Tucker, while for the tribal map [1] and the beautifully drawn text-figures (excepting only Figs. 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 26, and 27) we are sincerely grateful to our friend Sir Montagu Montagu-Pollock, who has spent endless time in carrying out our suggestions. To Miss P. H. Puckle we are indebted not only for the index, but for constant aid throughout the preparation of our volume. It is also a pleasant duty to express our gratitude to the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, for permission to reproduce photographs and portions of text which we have from time to time during the last twenty years contributed to the *Journal* and to *Man*, to the editors of *The Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, and to Messrs. Clark, of Aberdeen, for allowing us to utilize much of three articles (Dinka, Shilluk, Nuba) contributed to their great *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. The Editorial Committee of *Sudan Notes and Records* has permitted us to reprint (with emendations) a contribution of our own dealing with the Lotuko, as well as Mr. Munro's account of the installation of the Shilluk king in 1918, and we take this opportunity of acknowledging the assistance we have derived from many of the articles that have appeared between its covers.

Finally we desire to thank the Rockefeller Research Fund, administered by the London School of Economics (University of London), for help which not only facilitated bibliographical and clerical work in this country but was of the greatest assistance to Professor Evans-Pritchard in the field.

[1] Considerable use has been made of the *Tribal Map* published by the Sudan Government, (Khartoum, 1931); it must, however, be understood that tribal areas are only approximate. The sketch map constituting Fig. 1 also derives from a government publication.

C. G. S.
B. Z. S.

INTRODUCTION

ANTHROPOLOGY is the science of man and of his culture at various levels of development. It includes the study of the human frame, of racial distinctions, of civilization, of social structure, and of man's mental reactions to his environment.—So Professor Seligman himself in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Clearly the anthropologist throws a wide net. And yet to the multitude he is indistinguishable from the anthropophagist. There is a vague impression that he is one who measures skulls, using long and abstruse terms to describe certain highly scientific inferences drawn therefrom. For this the anthropologist himself may be partly to blame in that he has chosen to describe himself by a word of Greek origin fourteen letters long. The doctor, the historian, the student of human nature, all are anthropologists of one kind or another, and in anthropology all are united. The making of an anthropological survey of a country means the preparation of a coherent description of the people who live in it as compared with the rest of mankind, with an account of their history, their physical characteristics, their customs, their language, and their ways of thinking. That such a study is intensely interesting will easily be realized. Its practical value to the administrator is often overlooked, and it is to this that I would draw especial attention in fulfilling the pleasant task which my friends, Professor and Mrs. Seligman, have laid upon me.

The Sudan is a vast country of about a million square miles. The northern and central provinces are easy of access and fairly well known. Their inhabitants are partly Arab by race, with customs and outlook upon life that are more or less familiar. But, farther south, in the provinces of Bahr el Ghazal, Mongalla, and the Upper Nile, in the Nuba Mountains and the southern half of the Fung Province, the indigenous population is pagan. In some parts there are mountains honeycombed with caves, in others impenetrable marshes or dense forests. Means of communication are still scarce, except along the main routes leading from one local headquarters of government to another, and there is such an amazing diversity of languages that the inquirer is heavily handicapped from the outset. To this last factor many of the difficulties with which the Sudan

Government has been faced since 1898 are directly attributable – and perhaps some of its mistakes. How can the viewpoint of the savage be understood, or how can the attitude of the government be explained to him if his native language is uncomprehended? The use of a bastard form of Arabic may, in some cases, provide a partially effective medium, but there are obvious dangers. An interpreter may be forthcoming, but misunderstandings due to faulty interpreting are notorious. And, even supposing that the general sense of a message can be transmitted, whatever the means, from one party to the other, of what avail is it if the reason actuating it is misunderstood? It may be that in all good faith the administrator will give an order that runs contrary to some rigid religious law. At another time he may give a judgment which directly conflicts with a custom sanctified by centuries of use. He may suggest a course which seems to him, when judged by his standards, sensible and fair, but which is repugnant to every tribal instinct. He may receive a request which strikes him as idiotic or a mere "try-on", but which, if explained by the applicant in his own tongue and in his own way, and understood in the light of a knowledge of the local viewpoint, would seem not merely unobjectionable but reasonable.

A further point: If it be the aim of the government, as indeed it is in the Sudan, to fortify such native institutions as it finds existent and as are not repugnant to generally accepted canons of decency and justice, clearly it cannot hope to do so successfully unless the beliefs and traditions upon which those institutions rest are fully understood. It is fallacious to assume that every pagan custom is rooted in savage ignorance and marked by a complete disregard of moral considerations and equity. The point of view and the process of reasoning will be strange, there will be ignorance and bigotry and callousness, but there will also be a fundamental similarity of outlook upon major issues. To the white man and the black alike it will seem foolish to deny the existence of a creator deity—and the faith of the black will probably be more vivid and unquestioning. To each a lie is reprehensible. To each justice is an ideal. To each the maintenance of social law and order is a desirable objective. With this common ground from which to start, the task of the administrator is not as difficult as might be supposed, provided always that he has a reasonable appreciation of the outlook of his people, their ideas of right and wrong, the objects which public opinion regard as justifiable, their traditions and their ways. It is here that the trained

anthropologist can give invaluable help. Without him the official may, it is true, learn to speak the dialect or obtain some knowledge of local feelings, but that knowledge will be incomparably less complete if the official has not had his mind so trained to think that it can easily attune itself to the mental processes of the native and fathom the motives underlying his line of reasoning and action. It is often said that so-and-so "understands the native" by virtue of his long experience. The statement is true up to a point, but the great value of scientific anthropology to the administration lies in the fact that this point can be pushed farther afield.

A good deal has been written at one time or another concerning various of the tribes inhabiting the southern Sudan, but the information gleaned and recorded, though valuable, has been somewhat fragmentary and not always reliable. Professor and Mrs. Seligman have now given us a general conspectus of these people, their traditions, their culture, and their ways of thought, which cannot fail to be of great practical value both to their fellow-workers and to the administration of the Sudan. Much of their material represents research at first hand. Much is compiled from records collected by others, and of these perhaps the most notable is Professor Evans-Pritchard, to whom a well-deserved tribute is paid. In a series of visits to the southern Sudan, carried out with the encouragement and help of the Sudan Government, this brilliant young anthropologist has made careful scientific study of a number of tribes, particularly of the Nuer, the Azande, and the Ingassana. He has lived among them, learned their language, and won their confidence, and it is especially to his credit and to the advantage of the Government that, in the case of the Nuer, he was willing and able to do these things at a time when a state of local unrest was still rife.

Among much that is of interest and value in this book, I would draw the reader's attention to the first chapter. The authors here give their considered view of the remote racial origins of the people with whom their studies are concerned and then treat of the great sub-racial units whom they class as "dolichocephals" and "mesaticephals" respectively. The former comprise, first, the Nilotes—Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka, who live and move and have their being in an atmosphere of cattle, and who, it is thought, had their cradleland somewhere east of the Great Lakes—and, second, the Nilo-Hamites, such as the true Bari, various Lotuko-speaking tribes, etc. The mesaticephals consist of the Fung-Nuba peoples

on the one hand and, on the other, the South-Western group of whom the Azande are the best known. In subsequent chapters the most important of these tribes in turn receive comprehensive treatment, and in every case our knowledge receives material additions and previous theories are subjected to a scientific examination and sifting, which, as new facts come to light—and they are bound to do so—will be of the greatest use to the investigator. Exceptional interest attaches to the researches which the authors conducted among the Bari and record in Chapters I and VII. The social organization of this tribe is complex and curious and particular interest attaches to their beliefs regarding rain-stones, rain-makers and clouds, all of which seem to be in their conception variant forms of the same thing and related closely to their ancestral spirits.

There is rich pabulum in this book for the student, and it will prove a godsend to the administrator, for his need to understand more fully the politico-religious outlook of the tribes committed to his charge has been constantly before the authors.

H. A. M.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

THE question of orthography is an extremely difficult one, and we feel that we must make some apology for the system, or rather lack of system, that we have used. While recognizing that the only scientific method is that which employs a single symbol exclusively for one sound, we realize that scientific accuracy in phonetics is not necessary for an anthropological work of this kind, even if we had the skill to use it, which we have not. We have aimed at simplicity and avoided the use of unusual symbols, but the rule recommended by the Royal Geographical Society—consonants as in English, vowels as in Italian—is inadequate for many reasons: (1) Because some English consonants are pronounced in more than one way (*c*, *g*, *s*, etc.). (2) Several consonants are expressed by two letters, and in an unknown language it is impossible to tell whether these are pronounced as one or two sounds. (3) Many African consonants have no English equivalent. Further, five vowels are insufficient.

To transcribe any African language in such a manner that it can be equated with any approximation to the real sounds a special script is required, but for an anthropological work dealing with peoples speaking many languages a compromise must be made, and it is impossible to adhere consistently to any exact scheme of phonetics. The general dislike of unusual symbols and diacritical signs has been taken into account, wherefore we have avoided the former and reduced the latter to a minimum. Other existing spellings, even traditional misspellings, have however had to be considered, especially geographical names such as Khartoum, Fenikang (for Pa-Nyakang), Tarangole (for Tirangoré), and Lafon (for Lepul). In the main we have tried to comply with the finding of the Rejaf Conference, 1928, in itself a compromise reached with great difficulty.[1]

Consonants and vowels are used as follows:—

Labials . .	*p*, *f*	In the Nilotic languages these sounds do not correspond to either *p* or *f* in European speech. We have transcribed the sound by *p* except in those cases where it is interchangeable with *v*, when it is written *f*.
	b	As in "banana".
	v	As in "very".

[1] *Report of the Rejaf Language Conference*, 1928.

Dentals		*h* is used with *t*, *d*, and *n* for the dentals in accordance with the findings of the Rejaf Conference. It must be realized that the sounds are not aspirated, nor does the *th* correspond with either of the two *th* sounds found in English, which do not occur in Nilotic languages. The double consonant is used in order to avoid the use of special signs. The *th* in "there" occurs in Lotuko, and is transcribed *th*.
	th	Somewhat resembles the *dth* in "width"; Dinka *bith* (spear), Shilluk *reth* (king).
	dh	Nuer *dhun* (boy).
	nh	Dinka *manh* (son), Nhialic.
		These sounds are sometimes referred to as inter-dentals, as the tongue is brought far forward and among the Nilotes, where the lower incisors are removed, it protrudes between the remaining teeth.
Alveolars	*t*	As in "tea".
	d	As in "day".
	n	As in "no".
Glottals		Glottals *b*, *d*, and *y* are found in Bari, but we have not indicated them.
Palatals	*c*	Corresponds to the *ch* in the German *ich*. It is common in the Nilotic languages and has been written either *sh* or *ch* in tribal and geographical names. The English *sh* and *ch* do not, however, occur in these languages.
	j	Approximates to the English *j*.
	ny, *ñ*	This sound is like the *ñ* in Spanish and the *gne* in French "Boulogne". *Ny* has been adopted by the Rejaf Conference, and we have used *ny* whenever this sound occurs as an initial consonant, but at the end of a syllable we have used *ñ* in order to avoid confusion with the English use of *ny* in "many"; thus, Shilluk Nyakang, but Dinka *beñ* (chief) pronounced like the French *baigne* (written *beny* by the Rejaf Conference).
Vela stops	*k*	As in "king".
	g	As in "go".
	ng	As in "singer". The English word "finger" would be written "finggö" if it occurred in a Sudan language.
Glottal stops	*gh*	As the Arabic *ghain*.
	kh	As the German *ach*.
	gb	Occurs in Zande.
	gw	Occurs in Bari (*gwea*, family).

icatives and semi-vowels	*l*	As in "all".
	r	Trilled.
	w	As in French *oui*.
	y	As in "yes", except when in conjunction with *n*.
	s	As in "see".
	z	As in "zeal".
owels	*a*	As in "father".
	e	As in "bed", or French *été*.
	i	As in "feet".
	o	As in "bought".
	u	As in "fool", and sometimes as in "full".
	ö	As in the first vowel "colonel" or "kernel".
iphthongs	*ei*	As in "pay".
	ai	As in "pie".
	oi	As in "boy".
	ou	As in "toe".
	ie	As in "fierce".

In Dinka the palatals *c*, *j*, and *ñ* modify the preceding vowels so that they sound like diphthongs:

pac	is pronounced like	*paic*.		
bañ	,,	,,	,,	*baiñ*.
Thañ	,,	,,	,,	*thaiñ*.
moñ	,,	,,	,,	*moiñ*.

We have made no attempt to indicate tones, which occur in so many languages including all the Nilotic group.

Each language presents special difficulties. In Lotuko there seemed o be great personal differences in pronunciation, especially in the utturals, *k*, *g*, or *x*, which appeared to be almost interchangeable; and *f* were also hard to distinguish. In Bari the glottals and labio-elars are difficult to recognize and reproduce. In the Nilotic languages ie *p* and *f* approach each other and seem to be interchangeable, the nter-dentals and alveolars are also difficult to distinguish, but are ever interchangeable. Among the Nuba we were never certain of he final consonants.

The velar stop *ng* is not difficult to detect, but confusion arises in ts use because of the two ways of pronouncing it in English and the act that both pronunciations have been transcribed by *ng* in African ames; thus Congo and Bongo are pronounced Conggo and Bonggo, ut Lango should be pronounced with a velar *n* unfollowed by *g*. Dr. Tucker has given the following rules for the use of the velar *ng*. n Dinka *ng* is never followed by another *g*, e.g. Ngok (the tribe); n Bari and Lotuko both *ng* and *ngg* occur; in Zande the velar *ng* s always followed by a *g*; Avongara is pronounced Avonggara.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

JRAI. . . .	*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*
S.N. & R. . .	*Sudan Notes and Records* (Khartoum).
The Bari . .	C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, "The Bari": *JRAI.*, lviii, 1928.
Hamites . .	C. G. Seligman, "Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan": *JRAI.*, xliii, 1913.
Little-known Tribes	C. G. Seligman, "Some Little-known Tribes of the Southern Sudan": *JRAI.*, lv, 1925.
The Lotuko . .	C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, "Social Organization of the Lotuko": *S.N. & R.*, viii, 1925.
Schweinfurth . .	Georg Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, London, 1873.

NOTE.—In several chapters, especially V, XI, XIII, and XIV, many passages stand between quotation marks with no footnote indicating origin. All these are taken from material, for the most part that of Professor Evans-Pritchard, unpublished at the time we made use of it. Some of this has since appeared in print, and we believe that we have made clear by footnotes when this has happened. A further paper by Professor Evans-Pritchard, "Ethnological Observations in Darfung," should shortly appear in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xv, 1932.

Chapter I

PROLEGOMENA

The Nilotic or Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, including Darfur (incorporated in 1916), has an area of about a million square miles, measuring roughly 1,200 miles from north to south (Lat. 22° N., to Lat. 4° N.), and at its greatest breadth over 1,000 miles from east to west (Long. 22° E. to Long. 36° E.). Although a number of the fourteen provinces into which the country is divided are fairly well characterized units from the historical or geographical standpoint, they are not generally delimited on lines of ethnic significance, and little attempt to hold to them will be made in the following account.

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan falls naturally into two great divisions, a northern Muhammadan and a southern Pagan, though nowhere are the two areas clearly defined by any outstanding geographical feature or single degree of latitude. The former division embraces the peoples of the dry regions of the north, Islamic in religion and culture, predominantly Arab in language and largely Arab in origin. The Pagans include the great mass of the dark-skinned tribes of the south, occupying the region with which we are concerned.

The area with which this book deals is essentially that part of the basin of the Nile lying south of 12° N. latitude and extending southwards, not quite to the source of the great river but to the Uganda boundary, about 4° N. To the east our area is bounded by the Abyssinian hills, but westwards it has a natural boundary only in the south, the Nile-Congo watershed, which as we shall see later is of great ethnic importance. North of 10° N. the boundary is artificial; the rough hill-dotted wastes of Kordofan shade into those of Darfur, divided only by a political boundary from Wadai, indeed some of the water-courses of Darfur run not east towards the Nile but south-west towards the Shari, so that they actually belong to the Chad drainage system. Excepting only the Uganda border in the extreme south and the foothills of the Abyssinian highlands to the east, the huge area we have outlined constitutes a vast plain; the Nile, which flows 1,230 feet above the sea at Khartoum, is only 38 feet higher at its junction with the Bahr el Ghazal (Lake No),

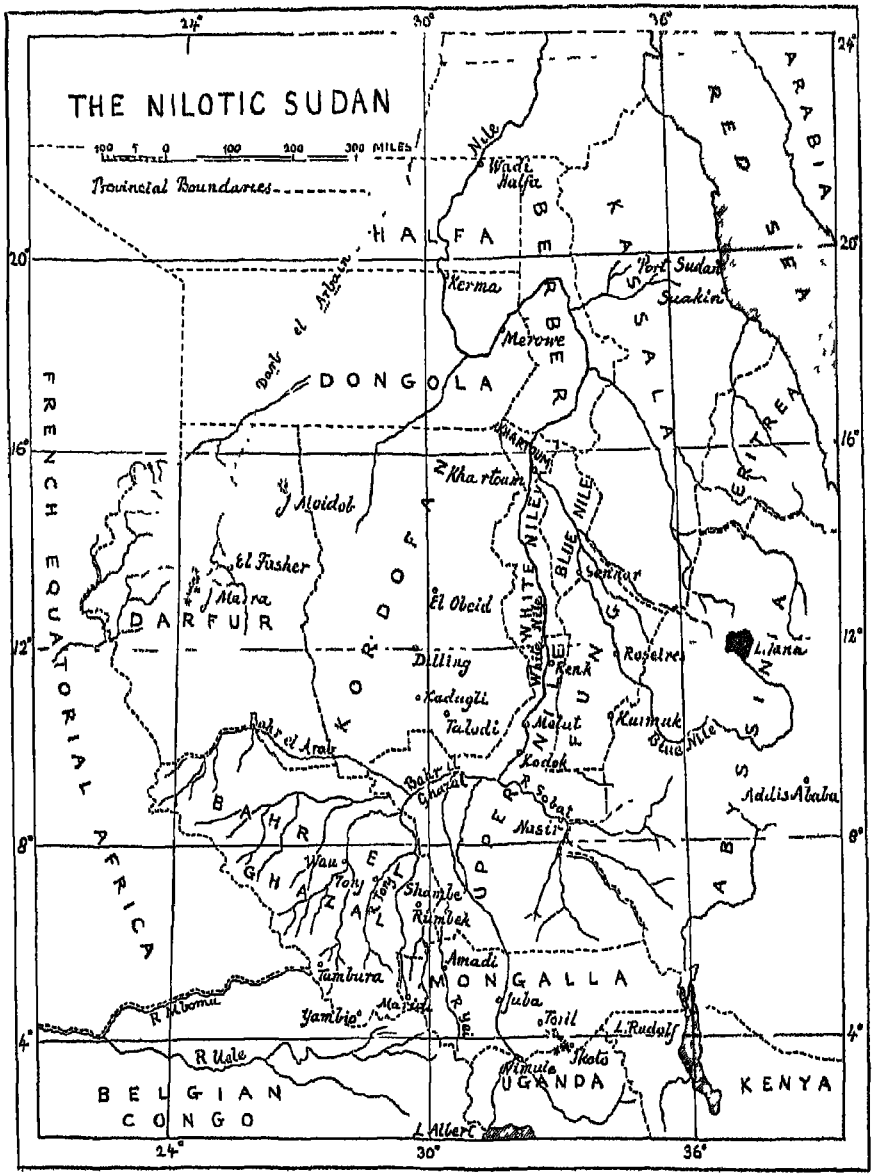


FIG. 1.

135 feet higher at Bor, and reaches a height of but 1,499 feet at Gondokoro, some 1,100 miles to the south.[1] Hence the vast region of sudd south of Lake No, and the persistence for hundreds of miles

[1] These figures, applying to the dry season, are taken from Sir Henry Lyons, "The Longitudinal Section of the Nile": *Geographical Journal*, xxxiv, 1909.

of high grass and monotonous swamp scenery. Passing westwards and eastwards of the river the country becomes dryer, in particular in the northern portion of our area where, north of 10°, on each side of the alluvial gap, in which the Nile flows, there extends from east to west from the Abyssinian foothills to Wadai a belt of higher country, providing—at any rate in the west—good grazing in the rains but withering away into poor steppe in the heat of the dry season.

Although the Negro has given his name to the Sudan (Bilad el-Sudan, the "Land of the Blacks" of mediaeval Arab authors) and has excited the greatest interest from mediaeval times onwards, it is only within the last quarter of a century that precise scientific study has been made of the habits, customs, and religion of these pagan tribes, while on the physical side the data are still too few to allow of anything more than a general sketch of ethnic relations.[1]

The true Negro undoubtedly represents one of the primitive African stocks. His main physical characteristics are tall stature, a skin dark brown or verging on black, woolly hair and moderate dolichocephaly, a flat broad nose, thick and often everted lips, prominent cheekbones, and a varying degree of prognathism. Such true Negroes are found in the rain-forest of the west and the Guinea Coast, but only in limited numbers, if at all, in the drainage basin of the Nile, where so many of the blacks present evidence of Hamitic admixture. Yet, strangely enough, it is these mixed tribes that exhibit the darkest skins, and, in spite of the moderate stature of most Hamites, the tallest stature.

Here we must turn aside for a moment to explain that the Hamites are Caucasians, i.e. they belong to the same great branch of mankind as almost all Europeans, and number among their purest representatives the predynastic Egyptians and such tribes as the hill Ababda of Egypt and the Beni-Amer of the Red Sea Province of the Sudan. All three peoples are of medium height (64–6 in.), long-headed (C.I. 74–5), with skin colour yellowish or coppery red-brown, hair generally wavy or frizzy (the latter sometimes accentuated by mode of dressing), never woolly, beard generally scant, nose straight and narrow (apart from infusions of Armenoid and Negro blood).

[1] We would again emphasize that the early explorers were primarily interested in the animals and plants of the country, and that although they recorded the obvious habits and peculiarities of the native tribes they were not ethnologists in the modern sense of the term; indeed the technique of ethnological investigation, now largely routine, was in their time unknown.

The Hamitic cradleland is generally agreed to be Asiatic, perhaps southern Arabia or possibly an area farther east, though Sergi suggests the Horn of Africa. Wherever they originated, there is no doubt that they entered Negroland in a succession of waves, of which the earliest may have been as far back as the end of the pluvial period, and so gave rise—with perhaps here and there some pygmy admixture—to numerous groups of hamiticized Negroes.

The manner of origin of the Negro-Hamitic peoples will be understood when it is realized that the incoming Hamites were pastoral Caucasians, arriving wave after wave, better armed and of sterner character than the agricultural Negroes. Diagrammatically we may picture the process somewhat as follows. At first the Hamites, or at least their aristocracy, would endeavour to marry Hamitic women, but it cannot have been long before a series of peoples combining Negro and Hamitic blood arose; these, superior to the pure Negro, would be regarded as inferiors by the next incoming wave of Hamites and be pushed further inland to play the part of an incoming aristocracy *vis-à-vis* the Negroes on whom they impinged, and this process was repeated with minor modifications over a long period of time, the pastoralists always asserting their superiority over the agriculturists, who constantly tended to leave their own mode of life in favour of pastoralism or at least to combine it with the former. The end result of one series of such combinations is to be seen in the Masai, of another in the Baganda, while an even more striking result is offered by the symbiosis of the Bahima of Ankole and the Bahera. The Bahima, a tall cattle-owning aristocracy, with narrow noses and long faces, so unlike the Negro (though they have negro hair) that Johnston when he first saw them thought they were Egyptian soldiers left behind by Emin Pasha,[1] live in the country of the shorter, broader-faced, negro Bahera, who provide them with grain.

In the Sudan there are two great groups of hamiticized Negroes, (1) the Nilotes, and (2) the Nilo-Hamites, a group of tribes (Bari, Lotuko, Lokoiya, with some others of minor importance) belonging to the Bari section of the Bari-Masai linguistic group,[2] for which

[1] *The Uganda Protectorate*, ii, 1902, 616.

[2] These tribes, including the Masai, Suk, etc., are commonly spoken of as Nilo-Hamites. Linguistically the term is permissible, since these languages combine an Hamitic vocabulary containing many words found among the Nilotes, but from every other aspect it is a bad term, for there is no evidence that they arose from a mixture of Nilotes and Hamites, and there certainly are no Hamites living on the Nile south of Khartoum.

it has been difficult to find an appropriate name but which can hardly be called Bari since a number of Bari-speaking tribes do not belong to it. Physically both groups of Negro-Hamites are distinguished by dolichocephaly and very tall stature; these characters, most marked in the Nilotes, are found in groups well outside the Sudan, and are indeed so constant and well-marked as to leave little doubt that stature greater than either parent stock is one of the results of the mixing of Negro and Hamite.[1]

There can be no doubt as to the persistant influence, physical and cultural, of the Hamites on the Nilotes and Nilo-Hamites, but we may inquire whether it has extended westward beyond these. Are we to see Hamitic traits in the Avongara, the aristocracy of the Azande, a suggestion arising from a number of Zande photographs and from Schweinfurth's description of Munza, the Mangbettu king:

> "He was a man of about forty years of age, of a fair height, of a slim but powerful build, and, like the rest of his countrymen, stiff and erect in figure. Although belonging to a type by no means uncomely, his features were far from prepossessing. . . . He had small whiskers and a tolerably thick beard; his profile was almost orthognatic, but the perfectly Caucasian nose offered a remarkable contrast to the thick and protruding negro lips."[2]

Moreover, Munza's skin was bright brown, and that of many Zande has a reddish coppery tinge. This lightening of the skin might well be due to Hamitic blood, unless we are to think of it in Mendelian terms as a dominant variation. In any case, if Hamitic blood does exist among the lighter skinned mesaticephals it can only be in relatively small amount, and the fact remains that the Nile-Congo watershed—or, more accurately, the edge of the iron-stone plateau to the east of the watershed—is of great ethnic importance as the dividing line between hamiticized Negroids, with a predominantly Hamitic culture based on cattle, and the groups of Negroes, without cattle and with traits of culture more frankly Negro.

Of the prehistory and archæology of the southern Sudan we know surprisingly little, even taking into account the fact that the

[1] Presumably this result only occurs when the bloods are mixed in certain proportions, and we consider that selection must have played a part. This can hardly have depended upon the direct action of the swampy environment of the Nilotes, even though long legs might be an advantage, for high stature is equally found among the Bari, whose country is not especially marshy, while the tallest Negro-Hamites, the Batusi, with an average height of 1·80 m. (almost 71 in.) inhabit the uplands of Ruanda.

[2] Schweinfurth, ii, 1873, 46.

greater portion of the country is swamp or marsh for half the year or more. So far as we can ascertain, no implement of River-drift type has yet been found. The same holds for typical specimens of Mousterian type, though certain implements collected by ourselves at Jebel Katul (Kordofan) and Jebel Gule (Darfung) may belong to this period, i.e. to the middle palæolithic. At the latter site we found near the foot of the hill a number of roughly worked stones, considered by the Abbé Breuil to belong to the Mousterian period, to which he was inclined to refer a number of thick fluted and engrailed scrapers from Beraeis (Jebel Katul) ; the former specimens somewhat resemble palæolithic discs from Suffolk and other European sites, one implement being regarded as a true but much worn *coup-de-poing* of Mousterian age.



FIG. 2. Jebel Gule, pygmy implements and core. × 2.

With regard to the neolithic period, it seems well to insist that the cultures covered by this term come down to a period vastly more recent than the neolithic of northern Europe, and that in the north of our area it was overlapped by the Meroitic civilization, of which numerous outliers have been found, e.g. at Jebel Geile in the neighbourhood of the Makwar dam on the Blue Nile (notable for its Greco-Roman bronze vessels) and at Abu Sofian in western Kordofan. Dating from the neolithic proper, a considerable number of stone implements were collected by ourselves at Jebel Gule. These represent three industries:

(1) Pygmy.

(2) A flake industry, with implements mostly of small size, blades and scrapers predominating.

PLATE I



Jebel Gule, rock grooved by grinding stone implements; axe placed *in situ*



Darfung, wall-paintings on hut

(3) A ground stone industry, represented by a single celt; though only a single specimen was found, the numerous grooves in the rocks of the hill site indicate that Jebel Gule was a manufacturing site, and the implement found fitted the grooves so well that it may be supposed to have been ground in them (Pl. I, Fig. 1).

The pygmy implements, though by no means scarce, are not nearly so abundant as the larger worked unpolished stones. Of the former the majority are implements of quartz and carnelian, from 1 to 2·5 cm. across and often nearly as long as they are broad. Some of the best are illustrated on page 6. Several show part of the rough and pigmented external layer of the quartz pebble from which they were fashioned, and this is by no means an uncommon feature in these specimens. We also found a considerable number of pygmy flakes of hornstone and one very fine pygmy core with a roughly circular base (Fig. 2).

Ground stone axes probably occur throughout the Sudan; we know of examples from Jebel Geili, from Faragab, and, as already stated, from Jebel Gule, while Professor Evans-Pritchard discovered a number in use as rain-stones among the southern tribes of the south-western portion of the Bahr el Ghazal province. Perforated discs or rings, and bored spherical stones, all ground in the usual neolithic style, have been found at Meroe, on Jebel Haraza (Kordofan), and at Jebel Geili, where stone discs and axe heads can be definitely associated together and with Meroitic potsherds. Discoveries on sites older than Meroitic have been made by Sir Henry Wellcome at Jebel Moya near the Blue Nile, and by ourselves at Faragab, some twenty miles east of Bara in Kordofan.

Although made about 1910, and of prime importance for the history of the Sudan, only preliminary descriptions of the Jebel Moya discoveries have been published. Besides stone implements, were found beads and amulets, a number of scarabs and small plaques bearing Ethiopian and Egyptian cartouches, ranging from about 700 B.C. or perhaps going back to an earlier date.[1]

At Faragab the mounds extend over many acres, and their surface and the areas between them are literally covered with disc beads of ostrich egg, fragments of bone debris, and other foreign objects, including fragments of imported rocks. The deposits, which are seven to ten feet in depth, have yielded two types of potsherds of

[1] *Brit. Assn. Reports*, 1912.

special interest: one, a fabric bearing the impression of the string mat on which it was made (such mats are still used in the hills of northern Kordofan), and in this resembling the coarser wares found by Professor Garstang in the graves of Meroe; the other, oblong-oval in shape and rather shallow, often decorated with geometrical designs and produced at each end into a solid mass, no doubt a handle, its shape when reconstructed recalling that of Melanesian wooden food bowls. This latter type seems to be hitherto unrecorded for the Sudan, nor have we been able to discover its existence elsewhere in Africa. Fragments of ivory objects are abundant; beads are of ivory, dolomite and scolecite; the single dolomite bead is definitely

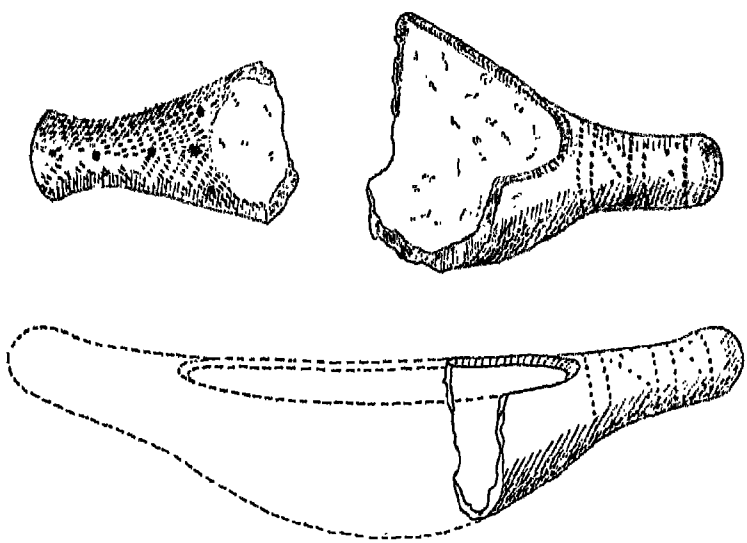


FIG. 3. Faragab, pottery fragments and reconstruction of vessel.

of a type not hitherto regarded as Negro, while a single carnelian bead, if Egyptian, as no doubt it is, is regarded by Sir Flinders Petrie as not later than the 18th dynasty.[1]

The rock drawings of Kordofan and Darfur are generally rudely outlined in red or black, though roughly graved examples occur on Jebel Haraza. The drawings with pigmented outlines seem to form two groups.[2] To the first belong rough but spirited sketches of men

[1] C. G. Seligman, "Prehistoric Site in Northern Kordofan": *Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, vii, 1915. To judge from our trial trenches, the site would well repay systematic exploration.

[2] H. A. MacMichael, "Rock Pictures in North Kordofan": *JRAI.*, xxxix, 1909.

on horseback, camels, and giraffes. The workmanship of the second group is coarser and much less vigorous; it includes representations of camels, men on horseback and men marching or dancing, carrying the small round Hamitic shield; the work is relatively faint and indeterminate, and there is no trace of graving. These features, together with their general resemblance to the "Libyo-Berber" rock pictures of the Sahara, seem to indicate a comparatively recent date, probably later than the bored stone discs and spheres already mentioned.

We know of no contemporary rock drawings, but it is interesting to record that certain of the peoples of the Sudan show considerable ability in ornamenting the walls of their houses with drawings of animals and with geometrical designs. The giraffes from a hut in the Burun country (Pl. I, Fig. 2, for which we are indebted to Mr. Chataway) and the conventional design derived from the hoof of the giraffe (Fig. 26) are the best examples we know.

The rather spirited rock carvings of giraffe described and figured by Messrs. Whitehead and Addison at Jebel Geile,[1] though of considerable merit, are less vivid than our modern example. Though of some antiquity, they are probably post-Meroitic. To judge from photographs they are very different from the usual rock drawings to which we have just referred.

The question of the introduction of iron into the southern Sudan is one of great interest and complexity. It cannot be doubted that the Meroitic kingdom, with Soba as its southern capital, was the source of iron implements; we may surmise that ingots of the crude metal were traded south in some quantity, especially into what is now the Fung Province, and some of this would certainly have reached the Nilotes. It is reasonable, too, to believe that iron was traded westwards into Kordofan, but whether the art of extracting iron from its ore was also passed on 2,000 years ago, and if so how far it penetrated, is another matter. We are inclined to believe that there was more iron in the southern Sudan during the ascendancy of Meroe than at any subsequent time until last century, when foreign influence again began to make itself felt on a large scale. Even twenty years ago we found iron relatively scarce in the Dinka country, and the "scrap" we had taken south with us for barter was excellent trade. Moreover, spears with heads of giraffe bone and waterbuck horn, and even with ebony heads, were still

[1] "Meroitic Remains": *S.N. & R.*, ix, 1926, pl. xiv.

common among the Nuer, Anuak, and, as we have been informed, the Beir. Still further south, Mr. Driberg has recorded of the Lango of Uganda that for rather over a century, until about ten years ago, they had been dependent on the Jopaluo for a supply of hoe blades, which they worked into spear heads, and that before then metal was scarce, the common weapons being heavy wooden clubs and long lashes of buffalo hide.[1]

Of archæological interest, though presumably of no great age, are the mounds usually known by the Arabic term *dabba*. These are scattered over a considerable area of the lowest, marshiest parts of the country lying a little way back from the rivers Nile, Bahr el Ghazal, Pibor, and probably others, though of this we have no knowledge. We may infer that they occupy what were originally the least water-logged village sites, subsequently increased in height by deposits from human habitation as well as by deliberate effort. Major Titherington describes the mounds in the Bahr el Ghazal as roughly circular, occupying from half to three acres approximately, and rising to a height of from ten to fifty feet; they are generally situated some little way, perhaps half a mile, from river or water-course. It is the common belief of the inhabitants that the mounds were built by a former race. Growth through the continual re-building for centuries of mud huts, or by deposits of the ash of cattle dung, will hardly account for the height of some *dabba*, especially when the heavy wash of the wet seasons is remembered. There is, indeed, every reason to suspect that artificial building-up has occurred to a considerable extent, and this idea is supported by the fact that Captain J. M. Stubbs has witnessed the construction by the Manangeir of similar but smaller mounds in the swamps between the lower Loll and the Jur rivers, canoe loads of clay being brought to the mound. Stimulated by this knowledge, Major Titherington sunk a shaft about eighteen feet deep in one of the most striking of these mounds at Fan Amweirr (half a mile west of the river Jur, about 100 miles north of Wau). Layers of barren clay about nine inches deep alternated throughout the boring with occupation layers of about the same thickness. The latter were mainly of ash, and stake-holes were common. The shaft yielded innumerable sherds of very coarse but not distinctive pottery, baked clay net sinkers, toy animals of the same material, and a few quartz and granite hand-stones, not used by the Dinka—who pound their grain in wooden mortars

[1] J. H. Driberg, *The Lango*, 1923, 30, 81.

—but resembling those employed by the Nuba for grinding corn; some pieces of iron slag were found six feet down.[1]

We may now give some account of the great sub-racial units of the Sudan, each embracing a number of tribes, which we describe in the following chapters. We believe that four such units can

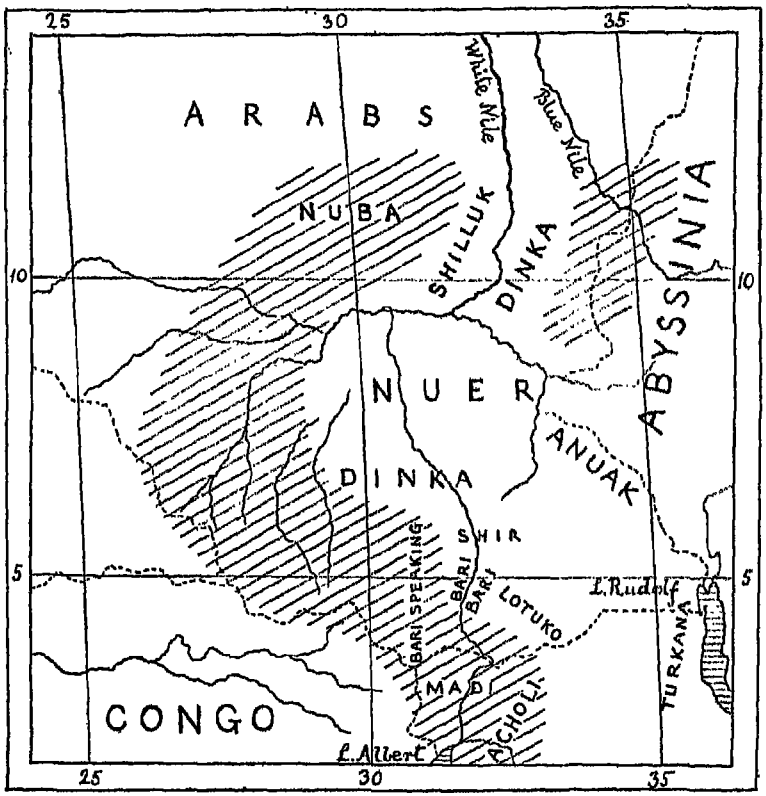


FIG. 4. Sketch showing relative position of mesaticephals ▨ and dolichocephals ▭.

be distinguished. Two of these are dolichocephals and two mesaticephals:—

Dolichocephals	Nilotes. Nilo-Hamites.
Mesaticephals	Nuba-Fung peoples. South-Western Mesaticephals (Azande, Bongo-Mittu, and other kindred groups).

[1] Communicated, see also note by Major Titherington, "City Mounds in the Bahr el Ghazal Province": *S.N. & R.*, vi, 1923, 111–12.

The two mesaticephalic units are probably less sharply differentiated than are the two long-headed ; we take into account not only physical measurements but qualities obvious to the eye though scarcely susceptible of expression in figures. Both the long-headed groups are the result of the mixture of Negroes and Hamites, and may be

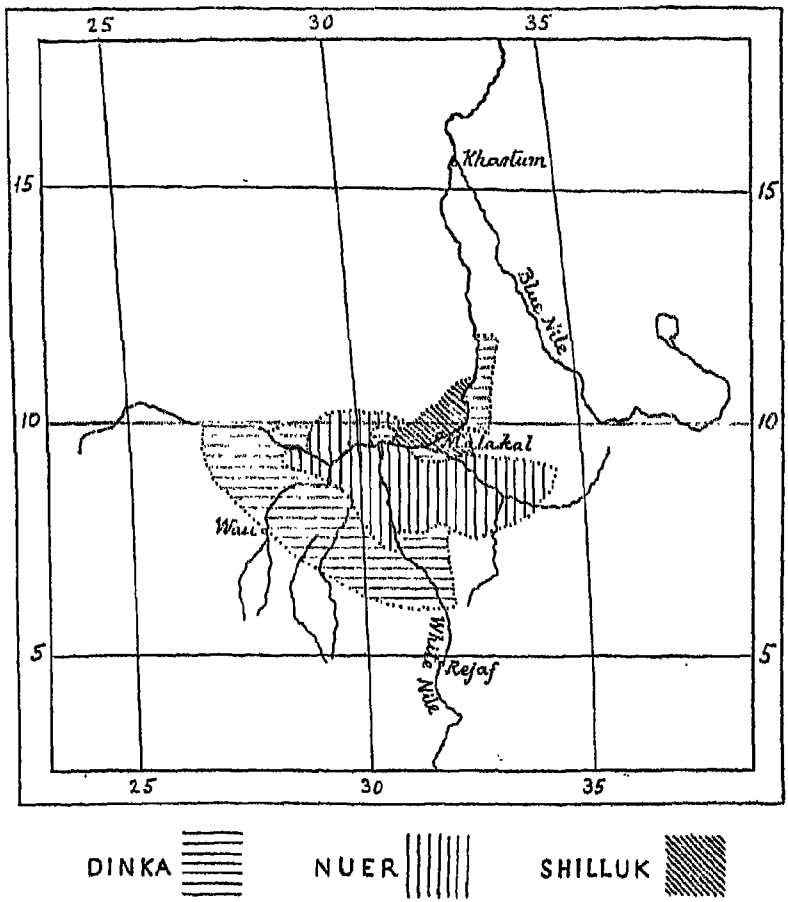


FIG. 5. Distribution of Shilluk, Dinka, and Nuer. (Evans-Pritchard.)

regarded as intrusive, while the mesaticephals represent an older population encircling the long-heads, except in the south-east, where no doubt the break through into the Nile valley occurred.

The Nilotes, numerically the strongest of our sub-racial units, are spread over a vast area from about 12° N. well into Uganda, including in the west by far the greater part of the basin of

the Bahr el Ghazal, and extending east of the Nile between that river and the Pibor-Sobat in the Upper Nile Province. This great unit includes such relatively well-known peoples as the Shilluk, the Dinka, the Nuer, and the less known Anuak. All these tribes are tall, long-headed, very dark-skinned, and woolly-haired, their skin showing no traces of the reddish or copper tinge found in the shorter, rounder-headed folk living in the south of the Bahr el Ghazal province in the neighbourhood of the Nile-Congo watershed. Although their features are usually coarse and their noses broad (platyrrhine or hyperplatyrrhine), individuals of a different type are found even among the Dinka and Nuer, who are broader-nosed than the Shilluk, while among the latter it is not uncommon to meet men, especially members of the aristocracy, with long shapely faces, thin lips, noses anything but coarse, and well-modelled foreheads. We have no measurements of men of this description, but the type is well shown in the photographs of the Shilluk reproduced on Pl. III (No. 2). The account we quote on page 108 indicates that much the same condition of considerable variation prevails among the allied Anuak of the Pibor river.

The following table gives the results of the chief physical measurements, collected from various sources, which can usefully be represented as indices [1]:—

	C.I.	*N.I.*	*F.I.*	*Stature.*
Shilluk (21) . .	71·3	93·3	83·2	1·77 m.
Dinka (85) . .	72·7	91·6	86·0	1·78 m.
Nuer (40) . .	73·5	100·0	83·1	1·79 m.

Temperamentally the Nilotes stand apart from all other peoples in the Sudan. They are essentially proud, aloof, tenacious of their old beliefs and ideas, intensely religious, and by far the most introvert of the peoples of the Sudan, desiring nothing from the white man except to be left alone, and when this is not granted showing determined opposition and only yielding with extreme slowness to the overwhelming pressure brought to bear by Government and missionary. Although these characteristics are common to the Nilotes, they are not held by all in the same degree. More marked in the Dinka and Nuer than in the Shilluk, we found some change in demeanour of the latter in 1922 as compared with 1912, whereas the Dinka seemed to us to have altered not at all.[2]

[1] *The Hamites*, 633.

[2] Professor Evans-Pritchard points out that one of the most noticeable characteristics of the Nuer is his extraordinary pride. In his democratic society a man owes respect to his elders,

The Sudan representatives of the Nilo-Hamites (whose main distribution is in the Kenya highlands) are less well characterized physically than the Nilotes. They include the true Bari and the various Lotuko-speaking tribes to the east of them, besides, as we may assume, some at least of the little-known tribes of which we treat in Chapter X. Their legends point to their earlier habitation south-east of their present territory. Linguistically the majority of these tribes are related to such strongly hamiticized peoples of Kenya Colony as the Masai and Nandi (tribes which, with a number of their congeners, we term half-Hamites), whose languages are classified as belonging to the Bari-Masai section of the Nilo-Hamitic group. The close physical resemblance of the tribes of this group to the half-Hamites is indicated in the table given below, while the half-Hamites themselves and the Nilotes stand in a definite and not very remote relationship to each other as contiguous examples of the process of the hamitization of the Negro, which we have explained on page 4.

Tribe.	*C.I.*	*N.I.*	*F.I.*	*U.F.I.*	*Stature.*
Bari (19) . . .	73·5	82·2	87·1	49·3	1·72 m.
Lotuko (34) . .	73·3	84·6	88·4	49·5	1.78 m.
Lango (24) . .	74·2	88·4	86·0	49·0	1·72 m.
Masai[1] (91) . .	73·2	76·1	—	—	1·70 m. (about)
Turkana[1] (9) . .	74·1	89·8	—	—	1·69 m. (about)
Nandi[1] (14) . .	74·1	84·8	—	—	1·67 m.

The mesaticephals fall far short of the dolichocephals in number and importance, though their position on the higher ground away from the actual Nile alluvium and swamps gives them the appearance of hemming in the Nilotes and confining them, willing prisoners

to his fathers, to his parents-in-law, to chiefs of the Leopard Skin, and to tradition, but otherwise every man is as good as his neighbour. He is good-natured if approached without any suggestion of superiority, but very reticent, and unlikely to show his feelings even to those whom he approves. When he wants something he asks for it, and if refused retains his good humour. A stranger in the Nuer country who behaves reasonably is soon a member of a family by easy adoption. If the visitor does not make himself objectionable he will not be molested, but if he stays it is on Nuer terms; anything that they can use, like tobacco, is obviously common property, for all must share alike and help each other. Anthropological investigation never struck a Nuer as having a prior claim to his immediate inclinations; he would come and interrupt and talk about anything he pleased with anyone whom he wished to engage in conversation. When he gave information it was as a favour, because he was feeling well disposed. The more the stranger can become a Nuer the nearer he is to being considered a fine fellow, for the Nuer appreciate the assimilation to their culture of the white man, whose rule hitherto has brought them only suffering and humiliation.

[1] N. M. Leys and T. A. Joyce, "Note on a Series of Physical Measurements from East Africa"; *JRAI.*, xliii, 1913.

though they be, to the low swampy grounds whose lush grass in the rainy season guarantees the welfare of their beloved cattle. The mesaticephals show no such unity as the Nilotes and, as already stated, we may recognize within their body two groups, each sufficiently well characterized physically to grade as a sub-racial unit. One of these we may term Nuba-Fung, its members comprising the hillmen of the Fung province and southern Kordofan and extending westwards into Darfur and probably far beyond. Thus is constituted a belt of peoples, with its northern edge at about 15° N, and its southern between 9° and 10° N.

The other unit is constituted by the projection into Sudanese territory, slightly beyond the true Nile-Congo watershed, of the mass of Congo mesaticephals. These extend eastwards to the neighbourhood of the old Mvolo–Chak Chak road (indicated by a dotted line on the map) which delimits with fair accuracy the eastern edge of the ironstone plateau, and south of this reach the Nile in the neighbourhood of the Uganda boundary, where their representatives are the Madi and such Bari-speaking tribes as the Kuku and Kakwa. Apart from these the South-Western Mesaticephals consist of a mass of broken tribes, among whom there has been enormous ethnic confusion. Nevertheless, the cephalic index is everywhere definitely higher than that of the Nilotes, higher especially than the Bor and Luo of the same area, who although they still speak Shilluk dialects have no cattle, and so far as we can judge from the little we know of them have accepted an outlook and culture derived from their very mixed neighbours. In spite of certain discrepancies (for instance the average cephalic index of two tribes of the mesaticephalic group is as low as between 74 and 75), the underlying unity of these tribes is supported by measurement. The cephalic index in 15 tribes (or 16 if we include Lugbware, just beyond the Sudan border) runs from 75·3 to 78·5, and there is a relative uniformity of nasal index, with the exception of one group measured in Khartoum. Stature, however, varies considerably. The Azande must be regarded as members of this group in spite of their lighter and redder skin, though culturally they are so distinct that a special chapter is devoted to them.

We have referred above to a probable extension westwards beyond Darfur of the Nuba-Fung mesaticephals. Elsewhere we have suggested, on the strength of certain technological traits, that there exists a relationship between the folk of southern Kordofan and those of the hinterland of Nigeria and the Gold Coast.[1]

[1] C. G. Seligman, *The Races of Africa*, 1930, 87.

Although unwilling to lay too much stress on linguistic data, there is one curious piece of evidence which can hardly be ignored. We refer to the distribution of the word for "god" or "sun". The use of the word *tel*, signifying sun (god), found by ourselves among the Ingassana of Darfung,[1] has since been confirmed by Professor Evans-Pritchard. Telli or Delli is the word for "God" at Jebel Midob in Darfur.[2] The same word in the forms *tere*, *teli* or *tele*, signifies "sun" (not "God") in the Mandingo languages of West Africa, whence "the word seems to have reached some other languages . . . e.g. *tili*, 'sun,' in Kissi, spoken in the hinterland of Sierra Leone and belonging to the Temne group".[3] The same word, meaning "God", is found on the Upper Volta among the Lobi-speaking people. Here Monsieur Labouret[4] records "Pu-Til" (god of the smithy), or in another dialect "Dyur tib" (literally "clay god", probably because the image is placed on one side of the bellows, made largely of clay). He also mentions "Hann til" and "San tib", besides a series of other *til* or *tib*, all departmental deities. Here, then, although Til is a spiritual being, he is not more or less supreme and associated with the firmament but is generally a departmental deity. Returning to the Nile valley and tracing the word back in time, we find it as *till*, "God" (lit. "master", "lord"), in countless Nubian texts of the Christian period.[5]

All this suggests an extension westwards, in connection with which suggestive ideas (and distribution map) will be found in a recent paper by Dr. Schilde,[6] who especially concerns himself with the distribution of the ostrich egg as a roof ornament, and a head-dress with ear lapels. Both are shown with a distribution reaching from the Nile valley to Senegal and Nigeria, the line of transmission being about latitude 13° N.

It may perhaps be useful to indicate some of the more obvious cultural difference in the Sudanese members of the four sub-racial

[1] "Note on Jebel Tabi": *S.N. & R.*, vii, 1924; some of Evans-Pritchards' observations will be found in chap. xii of the present volume.

[2] MacMichael, "Nubian Elements in Darfur": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 41.

[3] We are indebted to Professor Westermann for this information concerning Mandingo, while Mlle Homburger sends us *teke tali*, "sun," at San Salvador.

[4] "Les Tribus du Rameau Lobi": *Travaux et Memoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, xv, Paris, 1931, 68.

[5] F. Ll. Griffith, "The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period": *Abhandlungen den Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1913, Phil.-Hist. Classe*, No. 8, Berlin, 1913, 119, 120.

[6] "Ost-westliche Kulturbeziehungen im Sudan": *Im Memoriam Karl Weule*, Leipzig, 1929, 149–79.

DOLICHOCEPHALS		MESATICEPHALS	
NILOTES.	NILO-HAMITES.	NUBA-FUNG.	SOUTH-WESTERN MESATICEPHALS.
Herdsmen: cattle of the highest importance. Barely enough grain grown to feed the people and make beer.	*Herdsmen*, but goats more important than among Nilotes. Good agriculturalists.	*Agriculturalists*. Cattle less important than among Nilotes; pigs kept.	*Tribes essentially agricultural*; no cattle.
Spear and shield; wooden clubs.	Spear, bow and arrow, shield.	Spear and shield, occasionally stone-headed club; throwing sticks among the tribes of Darfung.	Spear and shield; throwing knives among the Azande.
No cannibalism.	No cannibalism.	No cannibalism.	A few tribes cannibals.
Dislike clothing: men go naked or wear a cloth over the shoulders. Hair of the head often worked into an elaborate head-dress.	Clothing liked, though men formerly naked, and still so in some tribes.	Men naked; perhaps no dislike for clothing.	Desire clothing: habitually wear voluminous loin cloth or bark-cloth garment. Hair may be plaited in lines down the side of the skull or worked into "pom-poms" at the end of each plait. Hats of woven grass, "boater" (Azande) or "panama" (Bongo), sometimes decorated with a bunch of cock's feathers.
Women wear leather petticoats reaching to knee in front and behind.	Married women wear skins in front and behind; girls may wear an apron of metal strips, or cords.	Women wear leaves in front and behind, or small apron.	Women wear leaves in front and behind; sometimes an apron.
Ivory bracelets worn above the biceps; smaller ones at wrists.	No ivory bracelets.	No ivory bracelets.	Ivory bracelets rare; when worn probably adopted.
Clan organization.	Clan organization.	Clan organization absent so far as is at present known.	Clan organization.
Rain-maker, a divine king (Shilluk, Dinka) who by prayer moves a god in the firmament to send rain.	Rain-maker, not a divine king but rather a departmental expert who manipulates rain-stones to produce rain. If he fails he may be killed.	Rain-maker, an expert, the most important man in community, who by means of rain-stones produces rain.	Rain-maker, much as among Nuba-Fung.

units which we have isolated, and this is most conveniently done in tabular form.[1]

It should be noted that the rain-stones and rain-spears of the Nilo-Hamites are not part of the Nilo-Hamitic heritage (there are no rain-stones among Masai or Nandi) but are, we believe, entirely limited to the Nilo-Hamites of the Sudan, who have been subjected to the cultural influence of the South-Western Mesaticephals. We may add that some Nuba of the Nuba-Fung group are the only matrilineal people so far recorded in the Sudan, the folk of the other groups being mainly, if not entirely (we know so little of the South-Western Mesaticephals), patrilineal.

It may be assumed that the Nilotic cradleland lay somewhere to the east of the Great Lakes. Here, in the welter of partially hamiticized cattle-owning Negroids, was differentiated a group, black-skinned and woolly-haired, retaining the Hamitic outlook with regard to cattle but in many respects, e.g. the absence of circumcision, having the cultural standpoint of the Negro. From this homeland there emerged two great waves -really a series of movements—which, using the names of their best-known tribes, we may call the Dinka and Shilluk waves. The former, which we may safely regard as the earlier, travelled north, giving rise to the Dinka and Nuer of the present day. The latter wave also moved north, giving rise to Shilluk-speaking tribes—Shilluk, Luo, Anuak — all physically Nilotes. To account for the Acholi and other mesaticephalic (or nearly mesaticephalic) Shilluk-speaking tribes we must postulate that as the Shilluk moved northward, or perhaps while in the neighbourhood of their homeland, there came into contact with them a mesaticephalic element pressing forward from the western side of the Nile-Congo divide, an element affecting not only the physique and the mental character of the new peoples born of the mixture but bringing in two of its most definite cultural features, viz. rain-stones and the notched or, more accurately, grooved post erected at the head of Bari and Lokoiya graves.

The history of the Nilo-Hamites (the Bari, Lotuko, and other southern tribes resembling the half-Hamites) is much the same, but the nucleus from which this constellation of tribes arose may well have contained a larger Hamitic element, our chief reason for suggesting this being the pronouncedly Hamitic character of the

[1] This table in part derives from one constructed by Professor Lyle Cummins, published in

Bari and Lotuko languages. On page 239 we give the tradition of how the Bari reached the Nile and how Lotuko and Dongotono became isolated *en route*. As the Lotuko approached the Nile (or possibly later) they were submitted to the same western influence

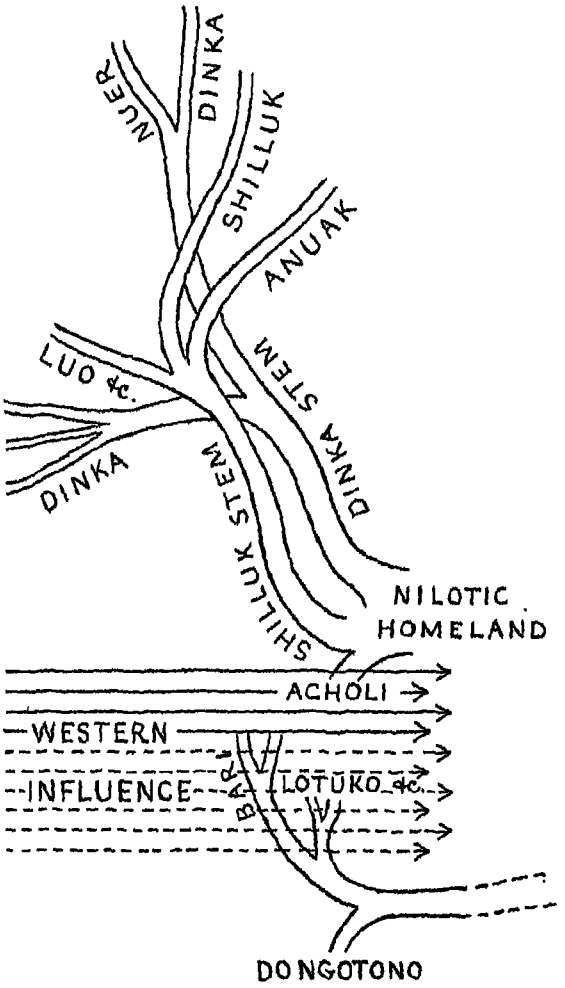


FIG. 6. Schema of Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic migrations in the Sudan.

as the Bari, and like them adopted rain-stones, but not notched sticks over their graves. As we suggest on page 297, the Bari wave and the western wave seem to have met and stabilized themselves where the Bari straddle the river at the present day.

We have endeavoured to represent our views in the diagram reproduced as Fig. 6. The western influence which we show affecting the Nilo-Hamites seems to have affected the Bari and the Lotuko-speaking tribes culturally but not physically (broken lines), while the Acholi, though still speaking Shilluk dialects, have been so penetrated that culture and physique have both changed.

We may regard the legends and facts that we cite in Chapter VII concerning the submerged classes among the Bari as evidence with regard to the inhabitants of that area before the Bari invasion, but in the present state of our knowledge we cannot explain the adoption of the Bari language—which all the evidence links with the east—by the shorter mesaticephalic folk of the west bank, Kakwa, Fajelu, etc.

Pendant to our discussion of the chief racial units in the Sudan, we may draw attention to the occurrence of a type presenting certain Mongolian features, which we term pseudo-Mongolian. In the far south (Mongalla province), there exist a number of healthy, mentally normal, individuals with the skin-colour of their fellows but having particularly narrow eyes, often with a well-marked epicanthic fold. In the most pronounced instances the face may be broad and flat with high cheek-bones, the bridge of the nose low and broad, the nose itself short and rather infantile in form. We have too few measurements of the type to be more precise, but Pl. II reproduces as good examples as we have seen. Whether description and photographs are successful in conveying a correct idea of the type or not, it certainly presents a definite and striking impression in the flesh. Nor is the type so rare and so little obvious as to be recognized only by a trained observer: we found plenty of laymen ready to make the pun "Mongalla is Mongolia".[1]

[1] One of us (C. G. S.) published a note on this subject in *Man* (1924, 130), illustrating it with photographs of two Madi and two Nuba, the latter with narrow palpetral fissures but without epicanthus. The type was termed pseudo-Mongolian, and its occurrence considered to be an interesting example of independent variation comparable to hyperdactyly. Dr. Josef Weninger in vol. i of *Rudolf Pöchs Nachlass* (Wien, 1927, 144-5), draws attention to this note, expressing the opinion that the epicanthus is due to Bushman influence and that it was a mistake to bring in the word Mongol. In the light of Dr. Weninger's criticism, the author admits an error of judgment in publishing the Nuba photographs without epicanthus by the side of those of the Madi with well-developed epicanthus, but feels that Dr. Weninger has not given full weight to the prefix "pseudo" in the title of the note. Genetic relationship with the Mongol was expressly disclaimed.

We may add that these pseudo-Mongolians are not confined in Africa to the southern Sudan, for while in Mongalla Province we received from Mr. C. K. Meek (then in charge of the Census of Northern Nigeria) a letter containing the following passage: "I have . . . formed a curious impression, absurd as it may seem, of Mongolian influence in these parts at some time. One sees so often the oblique eyes and high cheek-bones of the Mongol. . . ."

PLATE II



Madi (left) and *Bari*, showing pseudo-Mongoloid characters

The absence of "Jur" (sometimes spelt "Dyoor") as a tribal name may provoke comment; it is, however, time that the word disappeared from serious ethnographical works. Dinka in origin, and signifying "stranger", "foreigner", it was applied indiscriminately by the earlier explorers (prompted by their followers), so that it included alike the Luo (Shilluk-speaking and physically Nilotes)[1] and a host of mesaticephals of medium stature having nothing in common with the Luo, all belonging to the Bongo-Mittu group, viz. the Mittu,[2] the Beli, Sofi, Löri, Gberi ("the so-called 'Jur' tribes in Rumbek district"),[3] while probably yet other "Jur" could be found if the search were extended.

Another term, "Anag," also demands a short exp'anation. More used in the north than in the south, and presumably Islamic in origin, it is employed as a term for almost any people, real or hypothetical, believed to have inhabited the land of old, and is applied equally freely to any remains that the local natives do not understand. This holds even of language; thus Mr. Newbold discovered the obsolescent Hamitoid Nuba language of Jebel Haraza[4] (referred to on p. 448) by asking for words of the ancient "Anag" language.

We have stated that south of the Dinka the eastern wave which carried the Bari and the Lotuko-speaking tribes to the Nile was brought to a halt by counter-pressure from the west by a group of peoples of different physique, speaking languages belonging to a different linguistic family, whose most eastern members—the Bari-speaking tribes of the west bank—have adopted an eastern language. It is necessary to consider whether the western peoples have contributed important elements to the culture of their eastern neighbours, and if so what these are. We have already alluded to two definite contributions. The first of these is a rain-making technique centring round rain-stones, found wherever investigations have been made among the Western Mesaticephals and passing eastwards to the Lotuko-speaking tribes and Acholi, but not beyond these. The second is the notched grave post (Bari *feiti, gili*); the evidence here is not so simple, or at first sight conclusive, but the line of argument is the same and is based on the existence in the west of bigger and more elaborate notched grave posts among the Bongo and the tribes of the Moro group, whose smaller modified derivatives do not appear

[1] Schweinfurth, i, 200.
[2] Ibid., 406.
[3] Evans-Pritchard, "The Bongo": *S.N. & R.*, xii, 1929, 7.
[4] D. Newbold, "Some links with the Anag at Jebel Haraza": *S.N. & R.*, vii, 1924.

to pass eastward beyond the Lotuko group. Comparison of the posts projecting from the Bongo grave mound (Pl. XLIX, Fig. 2) with the notched "sticks" of the Bari and Lokoiya (Pl. XXV, Fig. 1 and Fig. 24) will, we think, carry conviction, especially if a further comparison be made between the forked uprights of the Moro (Fig. 33) and that erected at the head of the grave of the Bari rain-maker Leju Lugar (Fig. 20).

The third contribution, megalithic structures associated with burial and the cult of the dead, is more doubtful, but should, we think, be included, since passing from west to east we find a progressive diminution in the size of the monuments (comparable to that of the notched grave posts), while the actual structures cease to be sepulchral and becomes shrines for the spirit of the deceased. Among the Moro and cognate tribes megaliths are such large and typical structures as those figured on Pls. LI and LII, while among the more eastern tribes (Kuku and Lango) the funerary megalith is a small roughly built structure, about a foot high, no longer erected over the body, but placed at the side of the hut as a shrine for the deceased. Our argument is necessarily incomplete, since we are not aware whether megaliths are found in the Congo area to the west of the Sudan. If they are not, then we shall either have to think of these Sudan megaliths as arising among the Moro or some neighbouring tribe, or as reaching the extreme west of the Nilotic Sudan from some other megalithic area, the nearest that of south-western Abyssinia, the Moro region becoming a secondary area of distribution from which originated an eastern reflux.

Throughout the Nilotic Sudan, with the exception of the south-western Bahr el Ghazal, there is an almost complete absence of decorative art and the human figure is not carved. Yet in Chapter II we refer to the effigies of Nyakang and Dag, which play so vital a part in the installation of the Shilluk king-elect. Mr. Munro mentions (p. 542) the "creation" of the Shilluk effigies, but since the Nilotes are not known to carve human figures we can scarcely believe that the Shilluk themselves make these. We may surmise that they are old grave figures of the Bongo or a neighbouring tribe brought by the Shilluk from the Bahr el Ghazal when they left the old Luo country, but this is no more than a conjecture.

Anyone familiar with the older writers, especially Schweinfurth and Junker, will be surprised to find no mention of Bari ancestor figures, particularly if he happens to know the "Bari" figurines in

the Vienna and Venice museums collected by these older travellers. We have considered this matter at some length in two previous publications,[1] in which we figured the Vienna and Venice specimens, so that here we need only repeat our conclusion that the specimens, whatever they are, are not truly Bari. Their provenance indeed remains unknown. We doubt their origin among the Bari-speaking tribes of the west bank, an attribution we formerly put forward; nor do we think that the Bari cult of the dead has altered so much in sixty years that the very existence of cult figures such as these has been forgotten. We are then forced to consider an origin in what is now the Belgian Congo. The Venice specimen, collected by Miani, is obviously the work of a skilled craftsman, and a comparative study might fix its origin. The Vienna specimens, on the other hand, are wretched pieces of work which, though they may be genuine, are such as might have been fashioned almost anywhere if a likely market were forthcoming.

Rain-making is so important that no inconsiderable part of this book deals with it, nevertheless it seems well to discuss here the ideas underlying the patterns of behaviour which constitute its practice. The rain-making of the better-known Nilotes, the Shilluk and Dinka, is easily summarized: their rain-makers are "divine kings", of Frazerian type, in whom is immanent an ancestral spirit, and these rulers are killed ceremonially for the benefit of their people. The Nuer present a problem which we cannot at present solve,[2] and of the Anuak we know practically nothing. The rain-making of the mesaticephals is less simple, and though it seems likely that here, too, there is an underlying unity it is less easy to provide a formula that satisfactorily embraces all the facts. It does, however, seem clear that the basis of rain-making practice among the mesaticephals is the anointing of certain stones—often of quartz—with oil, water, and perhaps with the contents of the stomach of a sacrificial animal, prayer being made to the rain-maker's ancestors to send rain. In the best studied examples the rain-stones are identified with the rain-making ancestors and also with clouds

[1] *Little Known Tribes* and *The Bari*.

[2] Given the comparatively small importance of rain-making among the Nuer, it is easy to understand that the rain-maker need not be ceremonially killed; the problem is how the Nuer and Dinka, of common origin, inhabiting the same type of country, speaking closely similar languages, and with many customs in common, could have such different ideas. It can scarcely be due to difference of quality in their gods; Nuer and Dinka are equally religious, and there seems to be little difference in character between Kwoth and Nhialic.

and rain, i.e. each rain-stone is a particular rain-maker and is solidified rain (pp. 288, 300). The place of the rain-stones in the ceremonies may be taken by a spear-head, but always so far as our experience extends this is of peculiar form or traditionally associated with the ancestors. Rain-stones are not necessarily of quartz (though the transparency of much quartz provides an obvious reason for its selection); neolithic axe-heads may also be used, as well as spheres of considerable size with central perforation, such as in South Africa would certainly be recognized as the weights of Bushmen digging sticks.[1] It seems probable that the areas of the identification, rain-stones-ancestors-clouds-rain, will be extended as we come to know more; it is already certain that "ancestor" must be taken to include the living rain-maker (thus, among some Nuba neither rain-maker nor stones should be exposed to the sun), and it may be that it is due to emphasis laid on this identification that the skulls and bones of dead rain-makers are of such high importance among the Lotuko. It is true that this tribe does not belong to the mesaticephals, but it is part of our thesis that their rain-stones and rain-stone ritual have been taken over from the mesaticephals—in this instance the Bari-speaking tribes of the west bank—and probably via their neighbours, the true Bari of the east bank.

There is one other matter connected with rain-making to which we may refer, viz. the belief that the ruler takes the food of the land with him into his grave. We record this of the Dinka (p. 198) unfortunately with no detail, for we only discovered the fact shortly before leaving the Dinka country. We can only add that the underlying idea, which we infer to be the spiritual unity of rain-maker, rain, and vegetable food, is not limited to the Dinka or even to the Nilotes, for in a year when the rains were very late Major Titherington was besought by the Golo near Wau to allow them to dig up the bones of their rain-maker, who had died the previous year: "It was thought that this man had taken the rain with him into his grave, but if his bones were thrown into the river all would be well. I asked if this was a usual procedure, and he said that it was not but that he and his elders thought it would be effective. It was done, and rain duly fell."

Here then is an intensely interesting subject for further investigation.

[1] These might be related to the spherical heads of stone-headed clubs of southern Kordofan (C. G. Seligman, *Man*, xvi, 1916, 100), but the examples we have seen and those recorded by Professor Evans-Pritchard (p. 480) seem too big for club-heads, unless a two-handed club be considered.

No one can have dealings for long with Africans without coming in contact with magic, and it is probably fair to say that an obstinate belief in magic is the greatest obstacle that the administrator has to face in imposing European ideas of justice, for magic is woven into the whole structure of African society and forms an essential part of the African's social heritage. On this subject the black man and the white regard each other with amazement; each considers the behaviour of the other incomprehensible, totally unrelated to everyday experience, and entirely disregarding the known laws of cause and effect. Few even among the most sympathetic Europeans realize the deep emotional feelings with which the savage looks upon magic, but, though this is not the place to attempt explanation, some understanding may be reached if it be realized that the savage is far more suggestible than we are, and that auto-hypnosis is far more common and more easily induced than among ourselves. If we are right in believing that this high degree of suggestibility, working with the principle of wish-fulfilment, leads to the conviction that volition can influence the outside world, we find ourselves in a position to appreciate what has been called the "omnipotence of thought", the process which we believe lies at the base of all magic.[1]

It is, however, rare for the savage to believe that by thought alone he can work his will, he therefore resorts to some form of action which he believes will reinforce his volition and ensure success. This exercise of the magic art requires skill and practice. Its *materia magica*—if we may use the phrase—and its mode of application are looked upon as definite cultural possessions requiring to be directed by volition to the required end. With the heightened suggestibility of the savage, the man who supposes himself the victim of magic may sicken, refuse food, and die in a surprisingly short time. Susceptibility may be partly a matter of temperament, but few can have so clear a conscience as to believe that their actions have made no single enemy desiring that evil befall them. True, a man may resort to counter-magic, take heart and not succumb, but this will only

[1] Freud adopted the term "omnipotence of thought" from an intelligent patient, a sufferer from compulsive neurosis. On recovery the patient described how "if he happened to think of a person, he was actually confronted with this person as he had conjured him up; if he inquired suddenly about the state of health of an acquaintance whom he had long missed, he was sure to hear that this acquaintance had just died, so that he could believe that the deceased had drawn his attention to himself by telepathic means; if he uttered a half-meant imprecation against a stranger, he could expect to have him die soon thereafter and burden him with the responsibility for his death". (*Totem and Taboo*, New York, 1918, 142.)

make him believe that his own magic was stronger than that used against him.

There are many forms of magic whose practice gives confidence to the performer in the undertakings of life. Such "good" magic may require the services of a magician, or may consist in a technique that anyone can learn; it is part of the social heritage, and in function it is social and integrative. We may term this white magic. There is also magic used for the purpose of bringing about disease and death, or other ends that the community regards as improper or noxious, and this may fairly be termed black magic. Public opinion definitely condemns the practitioner of black magic. We cite an instance which came to our notice among the Bari, since it exemplifies the extreme difficulty of the position alike for native and white official.

A number of deaths had occurred recently, especially among the young men; these were believed to be due to the active magic of a foreigner resident among them, a man of another tribe from a far hill, against whom, though he was old and feeble, the people considered themselves powerless. At last a young man whose family had suffered severely struck him on the head so that he died. Public opinion was in favour of the murderer; his chief, convinced that he had rid the community of a pest, sympathized with him and ordered him to perform a propitiatory sacrifice. Nevertheless he feared arrest by the Government, for, as he told us, the Government understood nothing, nothing, about magic. He was, indeed, soon arrested, but died before his trial.

"Possession," really hysterical dissociation, stands in close relation to magic, since so many of the practitioners of the art are individuals genuinely subject to dissociation. This must not be taken to imply that every apparent trance or possession is genuine, though we believe the majority are, and would support our belief by two important facts, which have been discussed at such length elsewhere[1] that here we need do no more than refer to them. It must be remembered that the training of successful medicine-men is largely a training in auto-hypnosis, i.e. a purposefully induced dissociation. Moreover, while in our civilization dissociation is advantageous in a limited number of instances, and carried too far may have extremely

[1] C. G. Seligman, "The Unconscious in relation to Anthropology": *British Journal of Psychology*, xviii, 1928.

unpleasant social results, among most savages the capacity for rapid dissociation leads to enhanced prestige, higher position, and wealth.

The dissociation of the Dinka medicine-man, Luwal, described on page 188 was so rapidly induced and lasted so short a time that some doubt attaches to it. On the other hand, the facts related of Ngundeng (pp. 231–2), the Nuer medicine-man and prophet, who built the pyramid Dengkur, are just such as occur in severe neurosis, especially in its early stages. The attitude of the Nuer with regard to Ngundeng and his son Gwek conforms well with our general experience of shamanism. The powerful spirit Deng was considered to become immanent in Ngundeng and later in his sons, the expression in such cases, as Miss Soule informs us, being *ci kwoth e gwang*, "God filled him," and "when a man or woman is filled, then as he speaks to the people it is the spirit speaking, using this man or woman as his mouthpiece".

It is necessary to realize such magico-religious aspects of dissociation, not only on account of their intrinsic interest and as a stimulus to further research along psychological lines, but also as explaining the very great influence—sometimes leading to serious political results—exerted by "prophets", men or women in whom clan or other spirits are believed to be immanent.

The white man, especially if he has had experience of other so-called primitive peoples and has some knowledge of the trend of modern research, will not be greatly surprised by the native's profound belief in magic, but he may very well be astonished at his whole-hearted acceptance of happenings so utterly impossible that it is difficult to believe that even to the tribesman—close observers of actual events—they can be more than myths told of the early days of the people. Yet closer intimacy shows that not only are these happenings attributed to mythical or half-mythical ancestors, but they are held to occur so frequently at the present time as to cause no particular wonder. It was difficult to realize that among the Dinka the reciprocal duty of lions and certain men of the lion clan to provide each other with meat (p. 145) was regarded not only as a story of the past but as an actual happening at the present day, while even stranger was the matter of fact way in which Professor Evans-Pritchard was told among the Nuer that a certain woman had recently given birth to dead twins, human and hippopotamus, and that while the former was deposited in a tree (as all twins are) the latter was committed to the river.

There has been so much controversy about the meaning and value of kinship systems that it is necessary to point out certain peculiarities with regard to the systems of the Sudan. It is within the family that the earliest associations are made and the earliest training given; thus everyday life with its emotional bonds, its responsibilities, duties and privileges—the main facts with which we are concerned in this volume—cannot be appreciated without an understanding of the system of kinship on which it is based. The family in its narrowest sense—parents and offspring—is associated with a wider group of relatives, all of whom are constrained by more formal regulations than in western society. Kinship terms are used among the group of persons thus bound together, and it is only when the kinship system is understood that we can analyse the position in which each individual stands to his relatives and understand his obligations and privileges, as well as the forms of etiquette by which he is bound.

It must not, however, be supposed that everyone to whom a certain term is applied is considered to stand in exactly the same relationship, nor that every gradation in behaviour is reflected in the kinship system. The terms are more in the nature of categories, showing (1) generation, thereby implying equality, superiority, or inferiority, (2) sex, similar or opposite, (3) the relationship of the individual traced through the father, mother, husband, or wife. Thus if a man who is not the true father is called "father" it does at least imply that he is a male of the ascending generation related to the speaker through the father. Similarly, a woman who is called by the same term as the mother-in-law falls into that category for some particular reason, and the attitude adopted towards her is similar to that towards the mother-in-law, though it may be less rigid.

Although at the present time we have insufficient data for a complete survey of Sudanese kinship, we are in a position to indicate the main types and variations so far recorded. All these, while differing from that of Europe, best called the Family System,[1] fall into two distinct types. In one type, which we regard as typically classificatory,

[1] *Notes & Queries on Anthropology*, 5th edition, p. 66 et seq. 'The *family system* (Morgan's Descriptive System) is associated with physiological parenthood and monogamous marriage In the *classificatory system* each relationship is applied not to an individual but to a whole group of persons, to whom in some cases genealogical relationship cannot be traced. It is typically associated with the clan. In the *descriptive system*, itself a special form of the classificatory system, the prominent feature is the use of descriptive terms for brothers and sisters according to whether they are children of the same father or the same mother, and these terms are usually extended to the children of the father's brother and sometimes to the children

the dominant feature is the classification of many relatives together under one term. This is best seen among the Nuba and Ingassana, by whom all the cousins, i.e. both parallel and cross cousins, are classed as brothers and sisters; the father's brother is addressed as "father", the mother's sister as "mother". There is also a reciprocal term for the mother's brother—sister's son relationship. A variation which exists among the Bari distinguishes the two types of cross cousin (maternal and paternal) from each other and from the parallel cousins, who are classed with the brothers and sisters.

The systems of the Nilotes present a marked contrast. In all of these the prominent feature is the accurate description of all relatives. Such systems may conveniently be called descriptive, and are seen in their most extreme form not in the Sudan but among the Edo-speaking peoples of West Africa. .Here we find words for father, mother, child, and relative-in-law; all other relatives are addressed by composite terms, exactly describing the relationship, built up from these four words. The Nilotic terms are not quite so simple as the Edo; there are definite words to indicate the father's sister and the mother's brother, and there is more than one word for the various relatives-in-law. However, they conform in what we regard as the most important feature of the descriptive system, viz. the absence of a specific word for brother and the differentiation of brothers and sisters according as they are children of the father or of the mother. In spite of this character, which differentiates the Nilotic systems from that of the Nuba, the former retain one of the chief features distinguishing the classificatory from the European family system, viz. the application of the word for "father's son" to clansmen of the same generation as the speaker. The result of the descriptive system is to distinguish with great nicety between each kind of cousin and nephew.

While it is useful to correlate the terminological differentiation of brothers and sisters (children of the father and children of the mother) and all cousins with behaviour towards these relatives, we doubt whether there is justification for a theory of functional causation of the descriptive system, nor are we prepared to deduce customs from kinship terminology. We can only say that certain customs among the Nuer, Shilluk, and Dinka seem closely correlated with the descriptive system. Considering the information we give in the chapters dealing with the Nilotes, it is easy to see the value that distinct terms for brother, half-brother, and the different forms

of cousin have for them, yet not one of the customs in which these relatives are differentiated is common to the three peoples.

Regarded genetically, it might be supposed that polygamy, with the ownership by each wife of her own hut and her individual responsibility for the care and feeding of her own children, would be a sufficient cause for the children to grow up with different sentiments towards their mother's children and their half-brothers and sisters, the children of other mothers, and for such sentiments to have crystallized into different words for mother's children and father's children. Actually, though this mode of upbringing is widespread in Africa, the descriptive system so far as we know is restricted to the two areas we have cited. On the other hand, although the descriptive system cannot be associated causally with polygamy nor with the specific customs of the Nilotes, yet it seems that these customs do give a vitality to the descriptive system and prevent its decay, a decay that is easy to see alike in the Ibo of Nigeria and in the Shilluk-speaking Lango of Uganda, where the word for "mother's son" is used for half as well as full brothers.

It will be found that we lay considerable stress on a specific mode of behaviour associated with the classificatory system, known as "avoidance" and always considered a manner of showing respect. When a man speaks to anyone with head averted, using only the most polite phrases, this aspect of avoidance is seen; but when he stands outside a hut to speak to a woman within, or sends her messages by a third person, or carefully refrains from sitting on her sleeping skin even though she herself be not present, another aspect of avoidance is exhibited.[1] For it must be noted that whatever may be the feeling towards the real mother-in-law, many of the women towards whom he practises avoidance are desirable, and a behaviour pattern that distinguishes those who are unapproachable from those whose favours are regarded as more or less legitimate has great social value. Thus avoidance adds to the stability of the group, for the possibility of sexual offence is minimized and ceremonial behaviour also helps to prevent the outbreak of quarrels over contentious matters such as bride-wealth, etc. We may note that the sexual offences in question are not those that usually lead to divorce or adultery fines, acts that may be regarded as offences against property, but rather those

[1] He shows publicly in symbolic form that sexual connection with that woman is not contemplated. It may well be that by constantly dramatizing his denial of all contact with certain women he gains unconscious support and puts the temptation further from him, thus [illegible] situation to a minimum.

that appear to the native mind so heinous that punishment of the guilty parties is thought to follow automatically, as in the case of incestuous unions.

If we attempt to sketch a general background against which the more special social activities we describe take place, we must begin by pointing out that contact with, or rather the dominance of, the white man has already produced two great changes: the abolition of tribal warfare and the diminution of the public status of the medicine-man, the individual who all over the Sudan is known as *kojur* (fem. *kojuria*), a word of unknown origin. We use the word "public" advisedly, for we suspect that the private personal prestige of the successful medicine-man is as great as ever. Occasionally white influence may make for restitution of old custom, at least in some degree, as among the Bari where, as Mr. Whitehead has pointed out, a period of peace and increasingly easy circumstances has followed the devastating raids of Arab times, so that the amount of bride-wealth handed over at the present time more nearly approaches that of old before the days of slave raiders.[1]

In the peaceful atmosphere of the present regime we find that among the cattle folk, who constitute the great majority of the population, the village begins to stir early, at or even before dawn; fires are made, no regular meal is taken, but the remains of any food left over is likely to be eaten, and according to season the people go out to the cultivation. If the grain is approaching ripeness, a considerable number, especially children, will be left in the fields all day, to keep off the dura-birds by making as much noise as possible and stoning the flocks whenever they attempt to settle. About an hour after sunrise the cattle and goats are let out (we are speaking of the dry season), tied up and milked, but even when this has been done there is no hurry to drive them to the grazing grounds; thus among the Shilluk we doubt whether they are moved much before 9 a.m. Before this some of the women have probably returned from river or water-hole with full water vessels balanced on their heads, though much of the water is fetched later in the day. The elders lounge about the village, or perhaps go off to advise or supervise the younger men; where there is a shady tree

[1] G. O. Whitehead, "Social Change among the Bari": *S.N. & R.*, xii, 1929, 96. We believe that Arab slavers had little permanent influence on tribal custom, except where they produced almost complete tribal disintegration, e.g. in the south-west Bahr el Ghazal.

in the village the older men naturally forgather to gossip and doze. There is a midday milking, for which the cattle are driven back to the settlement,[1] and a light meal is eaten in the early afternoon. After this the cattle generally go out again, to be brought back for the night about half an hour before sunset. The day's duties end with nightfall, the main meal of the day is eaten soon after, and unless there is dancing the village is soon quiet, though groups may sit up gossiping until much later.

There are marked differences in the agriculture of the various groups of tribes. Where cattle are the predominant interest, i.e. among such strong tribes as the Nilotes and the true Bari, all inhabiting grass plain or open bush country, the chief agricultural effort is the raising of a crop of millet. This in the form of porridge and beer constitutes with milk their staple diet, but the crop, never superabundant, not infrequently fails; indeed, among the Nuer there is an annual period of scarcity before the rains. The riverain tribes catch a considerable amount of fish, and some harpoon the hippopotamus. Neither the Shilluk nor the Dinka of the White Nile are skilled hunters (we were impressed by the really bad stalking of the Bor Dinka), though they dig pits for game; the Nuer are more expert trappers and use the spiked wheel trap with considerable success. Among the Bari and allied tribes hunting probably plays a more important part.

South of the Bari, among such tribes as the Lango and the Acholi, the traveller is immediately struck by the much more varied nature of the crops. Beans are grown freely, and there are numbers of other food plants of minor importance; some of these southern tribes keep bees, while the Lotuko grow a considerable amount of tobacco, so highly esteemed as to be traded over a wide area. Throughout this southern area, whatever may have been the case in the past, goats appear to play a much greater part in the lives of the people than they do among the Nilotic tribes, and clearly cattle are less important. Probably the varied agriculture which we have referred to reaches its maximum on the west bank of the Nile, among such Bari-speaking tribes as the Fajelu, where, as Mr. Whitehead

[1] Naturally there is much variation in milking—tribal, seasonal, and individual. In Chapter VI we cite the milking routine of the Nuer in the dry season, and this obviously refers to beasts that have not recently calved. The Bari practice, according to Mr. Whitehead, is as follows. For the first month after the birth of a calf the cow is not milked at all, for the next month or six weeks the calf is allowed part of the milk and some is taken for human use. The time for this milking is in the early morning; the cow then rests from the calf, and is milked again at noon.

informs us, the homesteads are surrounded by plots of beans, hibiscus, tobacco, various pot herbs, and even fish poisons. Here, too, there are two millet crops, one sown in the rainy season, remaining in the ground during the dry season and reaped at the beginning of the following year, the other sown in April and reaped early in the new year. More stress is laid on hunting, the agriculture of some of



FIG. 7. Jebel Geile, Meroitic rock-graving.

these tribes shading off into a more primitive mode of sustenance, which Mr. Whitehead suggests was that of the Bari *dupi*—the submerged classes—before the advent of the true Bari, and which is still found to some extent among the *yari* of the west bank and other forest dwellers. Here we find relatively small grain crops, much more hunting, and fishing wherever practicable, while termites, honey, roots and berries form a considerable part of the diet.

Our introductory chapter would be incomplete without some reference to the part played by Egypt in the southern Sudan. That the country was influenced by her great neighbour seems a mere truism, yet it must be admitted that evidence is hard to come by, and this in spite of the penetration southward for millenia of Egyptian civilization. We may infer that the Nile country south of Khartoum was so uninviting to travellers and settlers that it was little visited, while the heavy rainfall was such as to efface rapidly any material evidence left by the visitors. Moreover the sudd must have formed an impenetrable barrier. That certain Egyptian cultural traits are to be found among the Nilotes we shall presently indicate, but we believe that actually they are fewer than further south in the neighbourhood of the Great Lakes, or even on the Congo and its north-flowing affluents. To account for this we suggest that the northern stream of culture did not in the main follow the White Nile, but was deflected eastward up the Blue Nile and thence travelled south on the higher ground until it reached the neighbourhood of the Great Lakes, when it again spread westward.

But Egyptian culture did not reach the Sudan in a continuous steadily flowing stream. There is evidence, though we cannot examine it here, that suggests maxima and minima of Egyptian influence. One maximum was relatively early, possibly of Pyramid age or perhaps of the Old Kingdom. We are inclined to attribute the artificial distortion of the horns of cattle, described below, to this early influence. The rock-graving discovered by Mr. Crowfoot at Jebel Geile[1] (in about the same latitude as Khartoum) belongs to a much later wave, viz. that propagated by means of the Kingdom of Meroe, and is of late Meroitic date. The somewhat diagrammatic rendering (taken from *Sudan Notes and Records*) which we reproduce on page 33 is the most striking example of this late influence known to us, and is particularly interesting as showing not only Egyptian but also other foreign influence. The Pharoah—unfortunately his cartouches are illegible—wearing a head-dress from which springs the royal uræus with the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, is represented worshipping the sun. The deity leads captive numerous prisoners (almost wholly obliterated) rendered in Egyptian style. The deity is, however, entirely foreign; neither the face nor the manner of dressing the hair is Egyptian, and this holds equally

[1] "The Island of Meroe": *Archæological Survey of Egypt* (Egypt Exploration Fund),

of the rendering of the sun disc; indeed, the whole suggests a late Eastern Mediterranean Sol.[1] The monument is of extraordinary interest and raises the question whether the sun cult found in Darfung (Chapter XII) is indigenous or is to be traced back to late Egyptian influence.

Be this as it may, the Geile rock-carving, the Meroitic burials at Makwar dam, and the present use of the sistrum in the Abyssinian

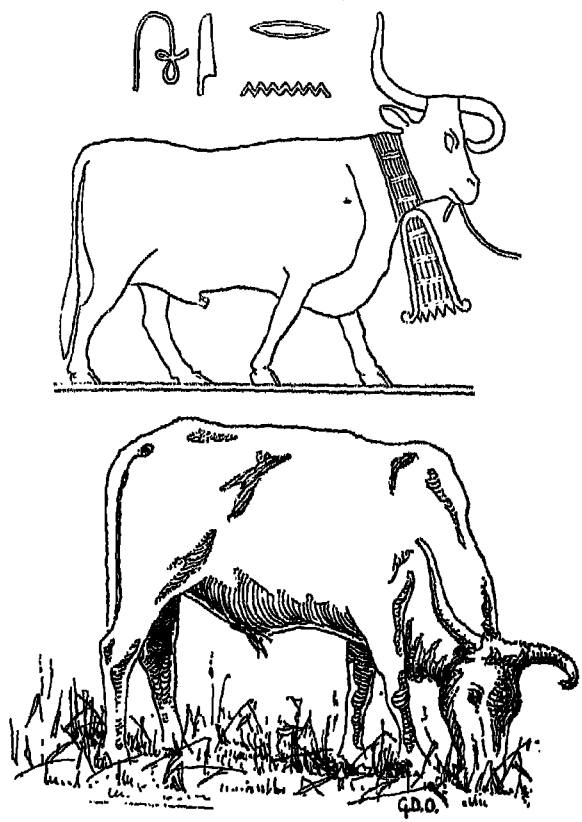


FIG. 8. Artificial deformation of horns, ancient Egyptian and Nuer.

church (if it reached Abyssinia by land), are all examples—though late—of migration along the route we have suggested. Further

[1] J. W. Crowfoot, "Old Sites in the Butana": *S.N. & R.*, iii, 1920. More recent study of this carving by Messrs. Whitehead and Addison (*S.N. & R.*, ix, 1926) has revealed additional details. The projection from the head-dress of the king, which we regard as a uræus, is considered to represent a crowned lion, and it can be seen that "The king is offering the captives to the god and holds in his right hand the end of the cord which passes through the left hand of the god and is then attached to the group of captives". The authors also illustrate part of a procession in which a typical Meroitic queen approaches the seated god Ammon.

evidence of the transmission of beliefs and practices is presented by the ideas concerning Soba recorded in Chapter XII, by the *nametere* of the Lotuko (Chapter IX) and, more immediately convincing than these, the production by the Nilotes by artificial means of deformations in the horns of their cattle, identical with those pictured in tombs of Pyramid Age at Saqqara dating to some 2700 B.C.

The Nuer practice of training the left horn across the forehead while the right is trained to point more or less upwards is particularly convincing. The upper illustration in Fig. 8 is taken from the tomb of Manufer of the fifth dynasty, while the lower is a drawing of a Nuer ox from a photograph by Mr. C. A. Wallis.[1] The fact that up to and including the Pyramid period Negroes are almost entirely absent from Egyptian representational art can but indicate that the spread was from Egypt up the Nile, and not in the reverse direction.

[1] Further information concerning cattle with artificially deformed horns in ancient Egypt and the modern Sudan will be found in Seligman, "Egyptian Influence in Negro Africa," a paper in *Studies presented on his Anniversary to F. Ll. Griffith* (Oxford, 1932), as well as records of Congo burial customs, which we consider clearly show Egyptian influence. We should perhaps indicate that in spite of much ancient Egyptian influence in Equatoria we do not think that the irrigation of the Lango (p. 348), and their miniature megaliths constituting shrines for the spirit of the deceased (p. 354), nor the megalithic tombs of the Moro and Madi (chap. xiv) are necessarily referable to ancient Egypt.

CHAPTER II

THE SHILLUK

THE Shilluk country forms a narrow fringe on the west bank of the Nile, from Kaka in the north to within 30 miles of Lake No in the south. From Kodok to Taufikia the Shilluk also occupy the east bank, and their villages extend some 35 miles up the Sobat River, principally on the north bank. Theirs is the flat grass country, dry in the dry season, swampy in the wet, extending on both sides of the Nile; hence cattle are their wealth and principal care, and although a considerable quantity of millet is grown not enough is harvested to provide fully for the relatively dense population, and scarcity is by no means unusual. A census taken in 1903 gave a population of nearly 40,000, possessing over 12,000 head of cattle and nearly 64,000 sheep and goats. No doubt the number of cattle returned was unduly low, but, making all allowances, the Shilluk are poorer in cattle than are the Dinka. The 1903 figure is far below that suggested by Schweinfurth (1,200,000), and at the present time it is likely that the Shilluk number some 100,000.

We have stated in Chapter I that in our opinion the homeland of the Shilluk-speaking tribes lay to the east of Lake Victoria. We have no historical record of a northerly movement, all we can say is that a series of migrations gave rise to a number of tribes speaking Shilluk dialects in what is now the Bahr el Ghazal Province, and that from one of these, the Luo, the Shilluk nation of history originated.

The researches of the Rev. Father Hofmayr of the Austrian Mission[1] indicate that the Luo—the Shilluk-speaking "Jur"—of the Bahr el Ghazal Province represent the remains of what was once a greater Luo people, from whom are derived the present Shilluk nation, or, more accurately, a certain number of their leading families including that of the king. Here in the neighbourhood of the present Luo country, the land of Dimo of the legends, Nyakang—the leader, culture-hero, and first king of the Shilluk—lived with his half-brother's son, Dimo, until the enmity of the latter drove Nyakang and his followers to seek fresh homes to the east and so brought into existence

[1] Wilhelm Hofmayr, *Die Schilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben eines Niloten-Stammes*, Wien, 1925.

he Shilluk nation. As Nyakang passed northwards along the river ie incorporated the inhabitants; moreover, he had magic, and so where men were lacking he turned hippopotami and other animals nto human form to become his subjects.[1]

The Shilluk, though generally tall and long-headed, seem to us o vary more among themselves than any of the riverain tribes of which we have first-hand knowledge, for while the subject (No. 1) igured on Pl. III may be taken to represent an average Shilluk youth (style of head-dress now unfashionable), a long-faced, straight-nosed and thin-lipped type, as shown in its extreme form in No. 2 is by no means uncommon, as also the handsome if somewhat fierce type shown in No. 3; there is, too, a rare, exaggeratedly negroid, type (No. 4), but this can hardly be accepted as truly Shilluk without prolonged genealogical research. Such wide variation can be best explained by assuming that Nyakang and his followers represented a stock carrying more Hamitic blood than the inhabitants of the riverain villages and other stocks who united with them, and we have no doubt that so far as the Nilotes are concerned even at the present day the maximum of Hamitic blood is to be found among the Shilluk, who, with the exception of the Azande, are the best organized people in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and who of all the black tribes offered the most determined opposition to the Khalifa and his followers.

The wealth and social position of the Shilluk are estimated in cattle; sheep and goats are kept, but these are not regarded in the same, almost sacred, light as cows. Milking is done by boys and old men, women not being allowed to milk. In every village there is a number of cattle byres, such as those shown on Pl. V, but except

[1] A number of Westermann's texts (*The Shilluk People*, Phil., 1912) refer to groups of the earlier inhabitants absorbed into the Shilluk nation by Nyakang, including turtle-men (op. cit., p. 169) and some mysterious river people (pp. xlv, 164–5). One of the first stories that the inquirer into the wanderings of Nyakang will hear is that of Obog or Obogi, who allowed himself to be sacrificed in order that Nyakang might pass across a river blocked with vegetation. The tale, given here in Westermann's version (op. cit., p. 165), constitutes a convenient starting-point for inquiries into the route taken by Nyakang:—

"When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Atulfi, with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino asked thus, 'Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?' He replied, 'Yes, I do not see a way where to pass.' The man said, 'When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away.' And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage."

Nothing definite can be said as to the date of Nyakang. Hofmayr (op. cit., 64) thinks that Ocalo, the fifth king of the genealogy, is the first historic king, and dates his reign 1600–35. Presumably this is reached by reckoning backwards; it is a reasonable estimate, giving an average reign of about 13 years, and allowing thirty to a generation.

PLATE III



4 5

... aristocratic. 4 "Negroid." 5 woman (unusually broad-faced)

when the mosquitoes are really bad the cattle are tied for the night in the open, generally in the centre of the village. Fires of dried cow-dung are kept smouldering all night, and the herdsmen smear themselves with the ashes. In the dry season when the grass gives out the young men and boys drive the cattle long distances to fresh pastures; the Shilluk of the White Nile cross to the eastern bank, those of the Sobat migrate to the lagoons to the south of Sobat.

Fish are speared and trapped, and the hippopotamus, the flesh of which is greatly esteemed, is harpooned. The Shilluk, who are by no means expert trackers, hunt by surrounding an area and spearing the animals as they attempt to escape from the contracting circle, but game procured in this manner plays only a small part in their diet.

The Shilluk are excellent craftsmen. The thatching of the royal shrines and those of Nyakang is perhaps the best in the riverain portion of the Sudan, and this applies equally to their iron work, though they do not extract the metal from the ore but obtain it by trade formerly from the Dinka, now from the white man. Their spears are the best that we saw in the southern Sudan. There is no special group of smiths, and iron-workers are not despised. They make good but not remarkable pottery. Their dug-out canoes are necessarily small, as the only wood is the *doleib* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*). In the north, where other wood is available in small quantities, the sides of the canoe are commonly heightened by built-on strips; possibly this practice is modern, but it is not absolutely new, as we noted it more than twenty years ago. Besides canoes, the Shilluk make small rafts of ambatch which resemble the reed rafts of the ancient Egyptians.

Regulation of Public Life

The Shilluk king is absolute head—temporal and spiritual—of a state whose territory is divided into a number of provinces, each administered by a chief directly responsible to the sovereign and acting as his proxy. We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for the following account of the areas into which the country is divided. The two main divisions are Lwak and Gar. The former comprises all the country south of and including the capital Fashoda, with its provincial capital Kwom, and here resides one of the great territorial chiefs mentioned

page 45. Gar, the northern division, has Golbañ as its capital. ch division has five provinces; those of Lwak from south to rth are Tung or Tonga, Odong or Panyikang (Fenikang, with pital Fenikang, containing the great shrine of Nyakang, perhaps e holiest of all Shilluk shrines), Adod or Dithin, and Padit, while ar is divided into Dithwok, Dimoth, Non, Dhyang Dwong, and ngoriang; the two latter are more or less equivalent to the ographical area called Mwom, embracing the most northerly ortion of the Shilluk kingdom with its capital Akurwa, the site of ne of the most important shrines of Nyakang.

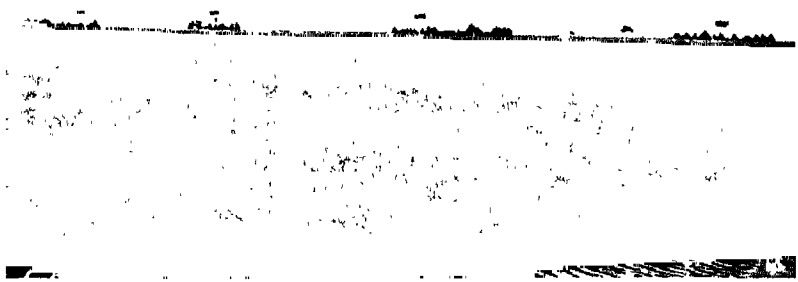
The chiefs of Mwom and Tonga were said to wield most power; ie chief of Kwom is naturally somewhat eclipsed by the presence of ie king in this district.

It is difficult to describe a Shilluk village; in fact, the word is hardly pplicable to the Shilluk settlement. In typical Shilluk country on ie west bank a series of small hamlets may be seen lying from a quarter to a mile or more back from the river, succeeding each other, s has been well said, like beads on a string. Most of these hamlets re small, consisting of only a few homesteads. Each homestead belongs to one householder and contains some three or four huts surrounded by a fence of millet stalks. One hut is the sleeping apartment of the householder and his wife—if there is more than one wife each woman will have her own hut—one is used for cooking, and others may be assigned to servants, or slaves if any are attached to the family. The householders in each hamlet are members of a single clan, with descent in the male line, and are often closely related by blood.

Thus the hamlet is both a social and a local group, and though the usual word for clan is *kwa* (which is also used for "family" or "ancestor", and for "grandfather") our informants at Fenikang often used the territorial prefix *pa* (or *fa*), which literally means "place", for the group that occupied one hamlet. It is clear that members of the same *kwa* are clansmen, whether they dwell in one hamlet or are located at a distance. Another word that seemed to have the same significance was *gol*. Actually, as Mr. Heasty informs us, this is a smaller unit formed within the *kwa*, arising through some influential man starting a settlement of his own, when his descendants (living there) form his *gol* until they become a large and powerful unit, take a new name, and become a *kwa*. Thus the *gol* Nyikako near Doleib Hill takes its name from an influential



Contrasting types of Shilluk



Shilluk villages from Nile

man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead, family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogu, corresponding with the *kwa* Obogo of Westermann.

Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a *fane*, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*). A number of *fane*, each with its own grazing ground (*wak*), form a *fodo* (district), a number of *fodo* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golobogu and Pameiti, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Atwadoi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable list [1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85–6) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

There are numerous observances connected with animals, including some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following example:—

> "The ostrich and the crow and Deng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwoe (the

[1] Op. cit., 127–34. [2] Op. cit., 237, where Westermann's list is criticized.

son of Deng) came in the time of Duwat . . . he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many some went to Fenikang, Odurojo, but some remained at Fenidwai. Thus we separated from each other. . . . That is the beginning of (the village of) Adefalo—the ostrich and crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the *dwalo* sickness." [1]

Westermann states that the common ancestor to whom members of a clan trace descent is in most cases a man, but that "some of the clans claim descendency from an animal".[2] Hofmayr states that the number of totems among the Shilluk is small, and gives the following examples: ostrich, hippopotamus, Varanus lizard, giraffe, *gu* (a fish), a gourd, *ayiado* (a bean), *cwa* (tamarind), and *tuko* (hearthstone). This seems to imply a wide distribution of particular clans. He also cites *curro* (a fish), the crocodile, the crested crane, and the knee-joint as totems of Tonga in the extreme south.[3]

As to the origin of these totems, if totems they be, we were informed that the prohibition to eat the fish *curro* was directly due to Nyakang, who told his people to bring him all the fish they caught in the river. Although they brought him many fish, they kept back one, and Nyakang, who knew this, as in dreams men are aware of things happening at a distance, told his people, i.e. all the Shilluk, that this fish must always be unlawful food to them. Concerning the crocodile, we were informed that all might eat it except those possessed by Nyakang or his mother, who if they ate it would die, and for this reason many *ajuago* might not eat it. Further questions on totemic lines elicited the statement: "If they [a group] are called thus [an animal or clan name] because it is a name let them eat him; if he was an ancestor [they] would not eat him."

Considering the data just cited we are struck by the fact that Westermann's example is almost in the typical Dinka form of totemism (twin birth of totem animal and human progenitor of clan), while the example given by Hofmayr is from Tonga at the extreme south of the Shilluk country, where, as we discovered, mixed marriages resulting in a mingling of Dinka and Shilluk cults were by no means uncommon. We are then inclined to consider that Shilluk totemism—as far as it exists—is due to Dinka influence.[4] In any

[1] Op. cit., 178–9. [2] Op. cit., 127. [3] Op. cit., 236.

[4] Hofmayr quotes a Shilluk text in which belief in a fish, a woman, and a gourd as ancestors is ascribed to the Dinka (op. cit., p. 235), i.e. in principle it agrees with that given by Westermann as applying to the Shilluk. Since writing the above we have heard from Mr. Heasty of a *kwa* Jang with the ostrich as totem, ostrich, crow, and man having emerged from a gourd as described on p. 41. Jang is the common Nilotic word for Dinka. Mr. Heasty, who does not regard the Shilluk as truly totemic, adds, "certainly many of the *kwa* have no totem."

case, while exogamy is generally observed, the association of particular groups of men and animals seems to make no great emotional appeal to the Shilluk—to be but little loaded with affect—compared with the similar feelings among the Dinka. We may also refer to the suggestion put forward by Hofmayr,[1] that the incoming Shilluk had a definite totemic system, which became less important as the cult of Nyakang developed and the newcomers mixed with the earlier inhabitants of what is now the Shilluk country. Evidence for or against this hypothesis may be forthcoming when we know more of the beliefs of the Luo and Anuak. We therefore leave the subject with the observation that the existence of a partial totemism of the Dinka pattern among the Shilluk would be explained if the earlier inhabitants absorbed by Nyakang and his horde—it will be remembered that these included animals which he turned into men—were Dinka, or folk with kindred beliefs.

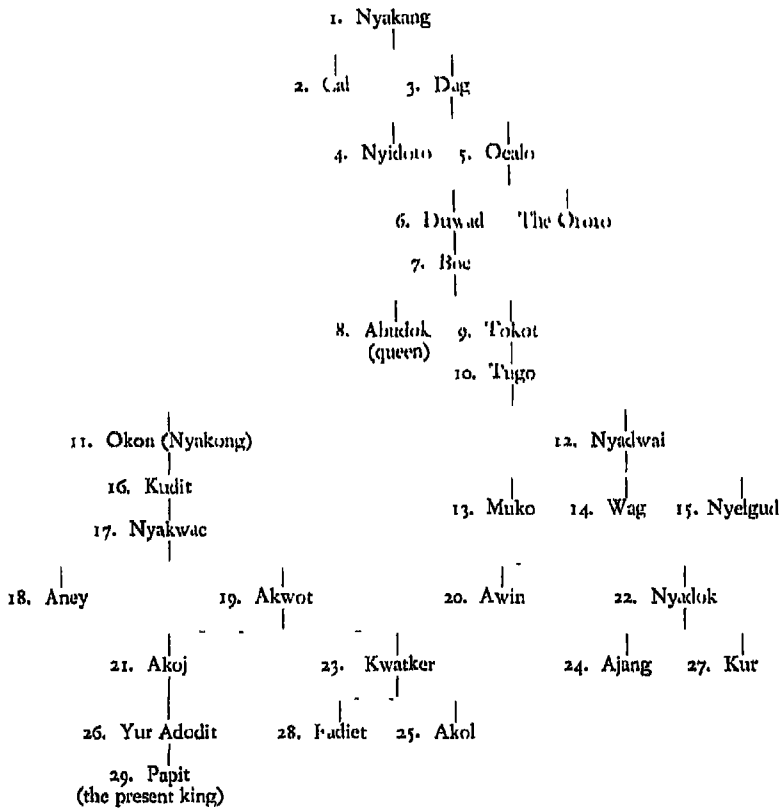
Dr. Tucker has given us some interesting information which, though it does not actually concern totemism, might at first sight be confused with it and is worthy of further investigation. The inhabitants of a village, Pathuor, mark a scorpion several inches in length in raised cicatricial tissue on the shoulder—left for men and right for women so that it is not hidden by the shoulder cloth. The reason they give is that they "desire to cultivate the strength of the scorpion"; yet they kill without scruple scorpions that they find in their huts. Other designs scarred on the shoulder, described by Dr. Tucker, include the horse, tortoise, aeroplane, and the sun. He reports a most curious instance of cicatrization as a result of a village quarrel. One village, Paalo, decided that it would no longer eat the fish *okok*, because the village Pajur, with which it was at enmity, is situated at the edge of a creek where many *okok* are caught. The Paalo proceeded to represent an *okok* in raised cicatrices on the shoulder; Pajur retaliated by avoiding lemons—because Paalo, living near the mission, grows lemons—and they scarred lemons on their shoulders. This was about a year ago; goodwill now reigns between the villages, and consequently the *okok* and the lemon are no longer avoided.

Turning now to the king and royal family, we would emphasize that the Shilluk king is the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler, and that to separate his functions—as for the sake of clarity we are about to do—is an artificial device. Nevertheless, we shall now

[1] Op. cit., 233.

nit ourselves as far as possible to the temporal side of the royal nctions and postpone our account of the king's spiritual duties id privileges until we consider religion. With such an artificial ivision a certain amount of inconsistency and overlap is inevitable; or instance, the succession to the throne will be treated under religion, though the election is largely a temporal matter.

We accept Father Hofmayr's genealogical table of the royal house ather than those of previous inquirers, including our own,[1] on ccount of his excellent panel of native informants. It is this table, /ith spelling modified, that we now reproduce.



The Shilluk king rules by divine right as a direct descendant of Nyakang, the first Shilluk king. We found no basis for the belief, common among Europeans in the Shilluk country, that there were

[1] "Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911.

two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers, ortho-cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings have been descendants of the brothers Akwot (19) and Nyadok (22). Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne, and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point of view. But we could not discover any rule dictating from which of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen. It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future, since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confinement in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king, succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living; certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised through the high-chiefs (*jang duong*) of the great provinces into which the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the "great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

[1] Op. cit., 151–2.

ut others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder, nd perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two ings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the espectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food n her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to rouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment eing held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she vould pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal o the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples n the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the *gyek* antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Duong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are *ago*.

only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Dolcib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

l in compensation for some great favour shown to her father pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually able that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no gotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to other-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with e same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk oman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel th bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish r. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head ife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. ie acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; ie is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds r appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom ke a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive oman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth r fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent vith attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains nder the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when he may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions re required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyireth*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous. Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children. Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *kwareth*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

PLATE V

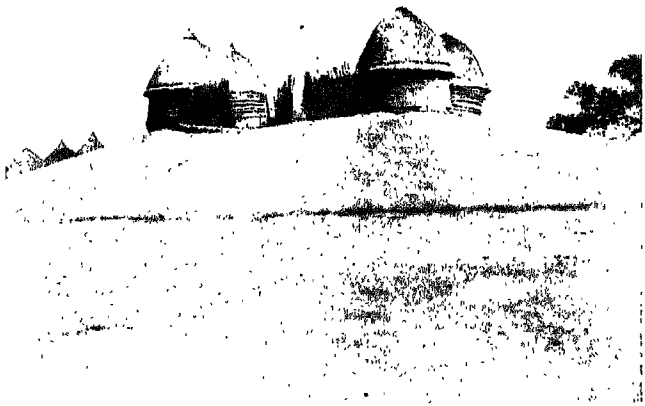


Fashoda

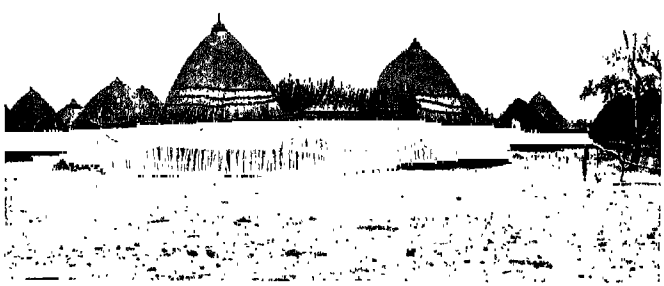


Fashoda, cattle byres and cattle

[face p. 48



Pashoda, Aturwic



Akurwa, shrine of Nyakang in 1910

or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

The children of the king are called *nyireth*; his grandchildren are *nyinyireth*, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireth*; their children again may be called *kwanyireth*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireth* follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireth* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwareth*. The title *kwanyireth dwong* (great *kwanyireth*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyireth* or to a *kwanyireth* who has become a chief.

Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

[1] Rightly qualified by Mr. Munro as a "class . . . full of mystery" in his "Installation of the Ret of the Chol (King of the Shilluks)", which we reprint as an appendix. They certainly require further study. Hofmayr states that royal descendants become *ororo* after a special degradation ceremony which has to be carried out by stealth. His account is far from clear, but actually he agrees that the only *ororo* are the descendants of Ocalo (op. cit., pp. 260–2). Mr. Heasty confirms this, and in answer to our questions obtained the following account of the origin of the *ororo*. During the reign of king Ocalo there was trouble between the Nuer and Shilluk. The sons of Ocalo, who led the Shilluk against the Nuer, were all killed except Duwad, considered very insignificant by the king, who felt that there would be no chance of one of his offspring reigning since all his important sons had been killed. In a rage Ocalo took the sacred spears of Nyakang and threw them in the river, but Duwad succeeded in rescuing the last and demanded of his father why he did this. When Ocalo answered that his sons were dead, a quarrel ensued between father and son, leading Duwad to say that the sacrifices to his father should not be killed with a spear and to threaten to degrade his father's descendants. When Duwad became king his half-brothers were degraded to the level of commoners, with the name Nyigol instead of their previous appellation Kayo. As compensation they were granted an important part in the installation and funerary rites of the king, as well as in certain religious ceremonies at Fashoda.

or commoners, and even close relatives, including half-brothers by the same father, though connection with a full brother or a uterine half-brother would not be permitted. Royal daughters are treated with great respect, may exercise considerable influence in district affairs, and when elderly may help and advise the local chief, but they never become guardians of shrines as do the king's wives and widows.

We did not hear of the rivalry between princes leading to actual warfare for the throne, though considering how commonly the Shilluk quarrel among themselves this seemed probable, and some of the old traditional quarrels between North and South may have originated in such rivalry. It is related that Nyakwac killed the surviving children of his great uncle Nyadwai (the twelfth king), though three of them had already reigned before him, but we do not think this was a common practice.

The children of the king are called *nyireth*; his grandchildren are *nyinyireth*, and his great grandchildren are *kwanyireth*; their children again may be called *kwanyireth*. The four generations are regarded as of royal blood in descending degrees, and even *kwanyireth* follow the royal practice of retaining their lower central incisors instead of having them knocked out as commoners do, but the children of *kwanyireth* are treated as commoners. The descendants of the king form a privileged group; both sons, grandsons, and their children are called *kwareth*. The title *kwanyireth dwong* (great *kwanyireth*) is given to the first generation of *kwanyireth* or to a *kwanyireth* who has become a chief.

Apart from the king and the royal family, but having the closest ceremonial connection with the former, are the *ororo*,[1] who trace their origin to the fifth Shilluk king, Ocalo. They play a prominent part

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in the installation ceremonies of the king (pp. 92–6), and are also his executioners (p. 91).

Commoners are known as *ocolo*, though strictly this term may perhaps only apply to the descendants of the companions of Nyakang, while the descendants of aborigines and foreigners (Nuba, etc.) are often distinguished by their names with prefix *kwa*.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

We have referred in Chapter I to the system of relationship of the Nilotes, termed by us "descriptive". It will be remembered that the outstanding feature of the systems of all these tribes is the absence of a single word for "brother", who is always described as either "father's son" or "mother's son". The peculiar feature of the Shilluk system is the way in which it holds the balance between the individual family and the clan. As among the Dinka and Nuer, the mother is the only person to whom the term for mother is correctly applied; there is a distinct term for mother's sister, but this is not used as a form of address. The only brothers and sisters who are correctly called "mother's sons" are the mother's own children, whether by the same or a different father. But, in contradistinction to the Dinka and Nuer, among the Shilluk there are no distinct terms for father's brother and father's brother's son. The chief kinship terms will be examined separately, but here we may point out that the wide "classificatory" use of the term for father and brother (father's son) is correlated with certain Shilluk customs. The individual father is not confused with the father's brother, or clansman of the father's generation, but certain concessions are demanded from everyone to whom the term can be legitimately applied.

As a result of the system of exact description common to the Nilotes, the various kinds of cousins are distinguished linguistically. This distinct nomenclature is not needed to differentiate between potential wives and women forbidden in marriage, because marriage is forbidden between all persons to whom relationship can be traced directly, whether through the father or the mother. It is, however, correlated with the customs governing inheritance and the indebtedness which follows the transfer of bride-wealth; thus, cross-cousins stand in a special relation to one another, depending on the mutual obligations

between brother and sister and of each of these to the children of the other.

The following are the kinship terms in use among the Shilluk :—

Wa, wia .	Father, father's brother, father's father's father's son's son (paternal great grandfather's grandson). It is doubtful whether the father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband should correctly be called *wa*. When a man knew such relatives personally he would probably call them *wa* by courtesy, while if he did not they would be to him the husbands of his *waja* and *ma* and he would accordingly use descriptive terms. From politeness a man may also call his father-in-law (*ora*) *wa*.
Maiya . .	Mother, sometimes also used for husband's mother.
Wot (pl. *wöde*)	Son.
Nyara . .	Children.
Uwa . .	Brother (son of father), "father's" brother's son.
Nyiwa . .	Sister (daughter of father), "father's" brother's daughter.
Umia . .	Brother (son of mother), wife's brother as a polite form of address.
Nyimia . .	Sister (daughter of mother), wife's sister.
Ma . .	Mother's sister.
Uma . .	Son of *ma*.
Nyima . .	Daughter of *ma*.
Na . .	Mother's brother, mother's paternal grandfather's grandson.
Una . .	Son of *na*.
Nyina . .	Daughter of *na*.
Waja . .	Father's sister, husband's sister.
Uwaja . .	Father's sister's son.
Nywaja . .	Father's sister's daughter.
Mia . .	Father's brother's wife.
Oka . .	Sister's son.
Nyaka . .	Sister's daughter.
Kwa . .	Father's father, mother's father, father's father's brother, husband's father.
Wanga . .	Father's mother, mother's mother, husband's mother.
Kware . .	Son's children, daughter's children.
Ora . .	(m.s.) Wife's father, wife's father's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's sister, wife's brother, daughter's husband, wife's brother's wife, sister's husband; also the husband of all cousins, the wife's mother's mother, the mother of any *uwa*. (w.s.) Husband's *umia* and husband's *uma*.
Yura . .	The *uwa* of the husband; sometimes used by men for wife of brother, but *cimada* is more correct.
Niaka[1] . .	Co-wife, husband's brother's wife.

[1] This word must not be confused with *nyaka* "sister's daughter". To the Shilluk the words were so different that they could not understand why we confused them. We have made a difference in spelling, but the difference—extremely difficult for the untrained ear to detect—may either be tonic or in the initial consonant, as there are three different *n* sounds in Shilluk.

Besides these words descriptive terms are used, formed by the addition of *ba* and *ci* (wife), and *jal* (man), to the terms already given. *Ba* is used to indicate the wife of a descendant of the *reth*, *ci* for the wife of a commoner. Thus *ba wa* or *ci wa* are used for the wife of the *wa* (not the mother), *ba* or *ci na* for the wife of the *na*, *cimada* (from *mat*, a friend) for brother's wife, *jal nyaka* for husband of sister's daughter. In speaking of a particular *ora* a man may describe him definitely, thus: *ora jalnywaja*, lit. "relative-by-marriage, husband-of-my-father's-sister's-daughter".

Wa—father. The term for father is used to indicate the father and his brothers, and the fathers of all those whom the father calls "father's son". Thus, as descent is patrilineal, all men of the father's clan and generation are *wa* "father", all of the grandfather's generation are *kwa*, "grandfather", while all those of the same generation are *uwa*, "father's sons". One might have expected all those of the succeeding generation to be "sons"; this, however, is not so. Only a man's own sons are *wöde* (sons); the brother's sons are *umade*, "sons of the *mat*." The sister's sons (m.s.) are *oka*, the sister's daughters *nyaka*; they belong to the clan of their father.

Maiya—mother. This is an individual term. All those whom the mother calls *uwa* are *na*, and those whom the mother calls *wa* are *kwa*, the word *kwa* in this sense indicating the generation to which a person belongs and not the clan, although it is also used to signify clan or ancestor. Children address their grandparents with ceremonial politeness, speaking with head averted. All the children of the mother's *uwa* are *una* and *nyina*. Thus all the men and women of the same generation belonging to the mother's clan are regarded to some extent as children of the mother's brother.

Ma—mother's sister. The mother's sister is not classed with the mother; she is called *ma*, a word obviously related to *maiya*. Her children do not belong to the clan of their mother but to that of her husband, so a man or woman calls the children of his mother's sister *uma*, thus differentiating them from brother and sister, with whom they are usually identified according to the classificatory system.

Mia.—It might be supposed that *mia*, father's brother's wife, was only a dialectical form of the word for mother, and we do not know whether it is used throughout the Shilluk district. We heard it at Fenikang in circumstances when the meaning was quite definite.

Westermann gives *mayo-mai* and *ma-mek* for aunt,[1] without specifying what is meant by this term, but it seems probable that he found on the Sobat the same nomenclature in use as we found at Fenikang and that *mayo-mai* corresponds to the word spelt *mia* here.

From the above it is clear that the Shilluk system, whether it be considered classificatory or not, recognizes clan relationship as well as family relationship, and distinction according to generation. Clans are definitely patrilineal, and the terms used by a man present no anomalies. All men of a man's own generation in his clan are his *uwa*; his mother's clansmen of his own generation are his *una*. All men of his mother's generation whom she calls *uwa* are his *na*; from the point of function, however, there is a distinction—it is only the mother's father's son who is important as a *na*. For a man all his wife's clansmen are his *ora*; this is, however, a reciprocal term used between a man and his wife's parents and a man and his wife's brother. The reciprocal to wife's brother (sister's husband) is used in a wide sense to include the husband of any "cousin"—*nyiwa*, *nyimia*, *nyima*, or *nywaja*. As will be seen later, the most important of these *ora* are the own sister's husband and the husband of the *nywaja*. A man calls *ora* the "parents-in-law" of all his *uwa*, and also the brothers of the wives of his *uwa*. When *ora* means "mother-in-law" it is used in the widest classificatory sense to include the wives of any man whom the wife calls "father", as well as any woman who stands in that relationship (classificatory mother-in-law) to a man's *uwa* (examples will be given later). The wife's sister, however, is not *ora*, but the wife's brother's wife is.[2] Thus it may be seen that the *ora* cannot possibly belong to one clan but are the "mothers", "fathers", and "brothers-in-law" of a man in the wide classificatory sense of the terms mother, father, and brother.

When a woman speaks, the term *ora* has a much less wide significance. Her *ora* are only those "brothers" of her husband who are the sons of his mother and of his mother's sister. The term *ora* implies respect and ceremonial behaviour when used by either sex.

Yura.—This term requires special mention. It is applied by a woman only to the *uwa* of her husband. Correctly speaking it is

[1] Op. cit., 290.

[2] The wife's brother's wife may merely be regarded as one of the wife's people and so an *ora*; but it must be noted that among some other African peoples the wife's brother's wife is potentially a "mother-in-law", because a man has a right to her daughter as a secondary wife.

only used by women to men, but it may also be used reciprocally. It is a peculiar term; at first sight it might be looked upon as derived from the same root as *ora*, but the meaning is entirely different, so this is improbable. *Ora* respect one another, and a breach of etiquette between them is a serious matter, but between *yura* there is no restraint and a woman may be the paramour of her *yura*, her husband's *uwa*. Also *uwa* may inherit each other's wives, so that *yura* may become legitimate spouses. The bearing of these facts on mother-in-law avoidance will be referred to later.

It may be said that the terms used by a man depend on his physiological connection with his mother and her legal bond to her husband, and hence to his father and his father's clan. The terms applied to all these people follow a logical system based on the fact that relationship to the mother is a biological one, while that to the father is sociological. The father is head of the household and is normally the physiological father, but if he should not be so it would make no difference, the mutual relationship would be the same and it would not affect inheritance. Further, a man belongs to his father's clan and all his father's clansmen are his own clansmen, thus among the cousins there is a great difference according to whether they are clansmen or not. Later, by marriage, a man sets up new relationships to his wife's relatives. All of these, except his wife's sister and the *yura*, are his *ora*, people to whom he must show respect, avoiding any behaviour that might lead to quarrels; he will never become familiar with any of them. His intimate friends will be chosen from among his clansmen. The relationship to the *yura* is dependent on that between *uwa* (clan-brothers), who stand in such close relationship that they have access to each others' wives.

An unmarried woman uses kinship terms in the same way as a man, but certain terms are used in an anomalous manner by a married woman. She calls her husband's sister *waja*, and her husband's father and mother *kwa* and *wanga* respectively. Two points are apparent in the anomalous use of these words. Thereby all persons are addressed by a term which ordinarily is applied to someone of an older generation; further, instead of being addressed as relatives by marriage they are addressed as own relatives. Thus towards three persons a woman uses terms that might have been used by her husband, but in each case these relatives are considered to belong to one generation higher than they really do. Opportunity did not arise to discuss this point with the Shilluk women; a simple explanation might

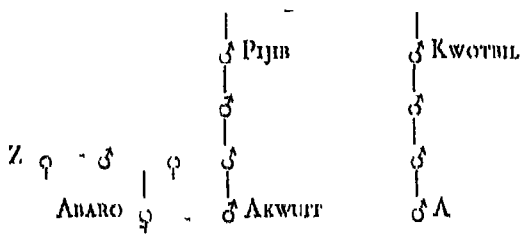
be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yura*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

Among the late Dr. Rivers' notes is a case recorded at Goz Garri, north of the main Shilluk country, where—

> "not only was the village avoided, but the term mother-in-law had the most liberal interpretation I have ever known. The very wide extension of this taboo came out through a concrete case. I took a Shilluk to Goz Garri from Hillet Abbas. He was unmarried, and directly we landed he disappeared to the outskirts of the village and could not be persuaded to go into the village with me. The cause was the presence of the wife of the father of Abaro (not her actual mother), Abaro being the wife of Akwuit, whom the man called *uwa*. Akwuit was the great-grandson of Pijib, the half-brother of Kwotbil, the great-grandfather of the man, so that in our nomenclature a man has to avoid for life the stepmother of the wife of his third cousin. The reality of the avoidance was obvious, but I could not discover what would result if it were infringed, except a quarrel and the chance of a blow from the Shilluk club."



A called Akwuit *uwa* and avoided Z.

Although this behaviour seems so absurd to us, it is only the extreme application of the ceremonial etiquette due to the wife's mother. Its extension to the mother-in-law of the *uwa* will be apparent when rights of access and inheritance are considered. It is possible that the refusal to enter the village may have been due to this Shilluk exercising his rights of access and carrying on an intrigue with Abaro; it must be noticed that the man in question was not married. It seems improbable that a man would be obliged to avoid the villages of all the classificatory mothers-in-law of all his clansmen, as the restrictions of his movements would be intolerable, and it is possible that this case arose from special circumstances. But on stating this case to one of our informants at Fenikang, the wide signficance of the conception of the wife's mother seemed quite correct to him. He said that all the wives of the "fathers", as well as all the actual mothers of all the wives of those men whom he called *uwa*, were *ora* to him and hence should be avoided. To him, however, this form of ceremonial behaviour did not necessitate the avoidance of the villages where these women lived. He volunteered the information that

potentially he was heir to the wives of any of his *uwa*, but that should he try to claim the widow of one of his *uwa*, not having previously avoided her mother, the latter would make much trouble about it and try to prevent him from marrying her daughter. He might perhaps be able to settle the matter by killing a sheep and getting some old man to act as peacemaker. The wide rights of access that the Shilluk have to the wives of certain of their clansmen and the wide sense in which inheritance of a " brother's " wife may be interpreted is thus intimately connected with their liberal interpretation of avoidance.

Avoidance of certain other women would not prevent a man from entering the house and even eating there, so long as the woman absented herself and the man sat upon the bare ground. To sit upon a skin, which might be the woman's sleeping mat, would be an intolerable breach of etiquette, for such an act might be taken to imply the possibility of sexual relations.

The wife's *mia*, i.e. her father's brother's wife, is also treated as an *ora* and avoided, but in a modified manner. We were able to observe a good example of this form of behaviour. We were working on the small steamer Culex when an old woman joined the group of informants. Our informant, Fakwang, a young married man, went quietly away. We persuaded him to return and he sat on the other side of the funnel so that he could neither see nor be seen by this woman, who was his wife's *mia* and hence his *ora*. Had she been his wife's mother nothing would have induced him to remain; as it was, he said, there would very probably be bad talk among the women about it and he might be reproached that his wife's *mia* had seen his " nakedness ".

The wife's brother's wife is called *ora* and treated with the respect due to a mother-in-law. How far she is regarded as a potential mother-in-law it would be difficult to say; there would be no objection to marrying her daughter if the first wife died childless, but it did not appear to be customary. When told that among another people (the Ba Thonga) if a wife died childless the widower might claim his wife's brother's wife, or take her daughter in her stead, the custom was approved, though foreign to the Shilluk usage.[1]

Avoidance may be relaxed somewhat a few years after marriage,

[1] Classing the wife's brother's wife with the mother-in-law is common in the Sudan: we found no reason for this, but think that given by the Nuer to Professor Evans-Pritchard may probably hold for other tribes (see p. 219). Should the wife's mother die, then her status may be held by the wife's brother's wife.

provided that a child has been born and survived. A man will give his wife's mother a goat, but even then he may only enter the house of the mother-in-law if the latter is very old. He may, however, speak to her and to her sister, and to his father-in-law, but still with head averted and with the utmost ceremony and politeness.

A man observes ceremonial avoidance of the wives of certain of his own kinsmen. Thus, although he may enter the houses of his *uma* and *umia*, *uwaja* and *una*, *oka* and *kwa*, he cannot visit them as freely as he can the house of his *uwa*, because he must avoid the wives of all these relatives (while with the wives of his *uwa* he may be on quite familiar terms). When he meets any of these women out of doors he may greet them, but with averted head.

A man may salute the wife of his *na* but must not sit in the hut with her; she will leave the hut when he enters, and if he should sit upon her mat or skin it would cause death either to himself, his *na*, or the wife of his *na*. A man can never inherit the widow of his *na* as can be done among some other Sudan tribes, e.g. the Bari.

We now pass to the male *ora* whom a man must avoid. A man avoids his wife's father, but this avoidance may become less rigid after a time, just as the severity of the mother-in-law avoidance decreases. His wife's brother is treated with respect but scarcely avoided. It was said that nothing would ever relax the avoidance between a man and his wife's mother's brother (her *na*); they may never speak face to face. No payments are made to him, but should the wife's *na* ask for anything it could not be refused; he might ask for a spear, a canoe, or a sheep, and it must be given, but he would never ask for cattle. The same privileges are claimed by the son of the *na*, the *una* of the wife. A characteristic example was seen in the case of Fakwang. He spent much time in fishing and gave large quantities of the fish he caught to his wife's parents, though the bride-wealth was already fully paid. When asked whether he had made or bought his canoe he looked surprised and said, "Have I not an *ora jalnywaja*? I took it from him." The canoe belonged to the husband of his father's sister's daughter. The father of Fakwang had been *na* to this girl and Fakwang as her *una* had inherited the privilege of the *na*, his father. The girl's husband is Fakwang's *ora* and it is he who "fears" Fakwang. The latter, however, shows respect to him and observes the avoidance rules; he did not fetch the canoe himself, but sent his *uwa* (in this instance his father's brother's son and great friend) to get it for him. It is said that a

man and his *ora jalnywaja* might exchange presents of sheep, the gifts always being presented through a third party.

The husband of the sister, either the *nyimia* or the *nyiwa*, is treated in the same way as the husband of the *nyiwaja* and privileges can be claimed from him; the husband of the *nina* is also respected. Thus, though *ora* is a reciprocal term, the respect and deference shown is not mutual. The *ora* to whom deference is paid are the wife's male and female relatives. The most important of these are the mother, the father, the *na* and the *una*, the *uma* and the *umia* of the wife, all of whom are treated with ceremonial avoidance; the *uwa*, though respected, are not avoided. The *ora* from whom a man claims privileges are the husbands of sisters and cousins, especially the husbands of the *nyimia*, *nyina*, and *nywaja* from whose bride-wealth he has received cattle.

There is no avoidance between women; a woman does not avoid her husband's mother.

A man must kill a bull at the death feast of an *ora*, the father, mother or brother of his wife, and if he lives near his wife's family he kills a sheep on the day of the death. He must not see the corpse or assist at the burial.

From the above it will be seen that the conception of *ora* is far from simple. It might at first be supposed that anyone of the wife's clan was *ora* and must consequently be treated with respect, but this is not so; the wife's sister, who is naturally of her clan, is not *ora* and is treated with familiarity; the wife's father's sister (her *waja*) is not avoided. Unfortunately we did not ascertain how the latter was addressed, and do not know of any special duties of the *waja* towards her brother's daughter, though those to his son are important. But the wife's mother's brother (her *na*), who must belong to a different clan from the wife, is *ora*.

There seem to be four aspects of the *ora* relationship :—

(1) The primary attitude to the wife's mother, extended on classificatory lines.

(2) The attitude towards those relatives of the wife to whom she stands in some definite relationship.

(3) The attitude a man observes towards the husbands of his own female relatives. Relationships (2) and (3) are reciprocal but the behaviour pattern is not identical.

(4) A woman's attitude towards the relatives of her husband.

We may now consider these different aspects of the *ora* relationship in detail.

(1) The avoidance of the mother-in-law is so common a custom in Africa as to be considered habitual. All the implications of the mother-in-law situation cannot be discussed here, but there are two elements in the custom which must be borne in mind—the respect due to the mother of the wife, and the feeling that there must be no hint of sexual impropriety with her. The Shilluk who encountered his wife's father's brother's wife on our steamer said that she would complain to other women that she had seen his " nakedness ". Among a people like the Shilluk, who when they wear any garment only knot a cloth over the shoulder, leaving the genitals exposed, this objection seems remarkable, and does point to the sexual nature of the avoidance. So, by demonstrating in a ceremonial manner that there can never be any possibility of sexual intercourse between himself and any woman whom he treats as mother-in-law, he leaves open an approach to her daughter. If a young Shilluk, who has not yet collected sufficient cattle to marry, desires to exercise his right and consort with the wife of one of his *uwa*, he must treat her mother with respect as though he were the actual husband, and if he has not previously adopted this attitude trouble may arise. Or it may be that he wishes to take the widow of one of his *uwa* as a wife; if he has previously respected the mother-in-law of that *uwa* the way is open, if not, she will make objections which may or may not be overcome by gifts.

It is clear that in the wide sense in which the Shilluk use the term *ora* for mother-in-law they cannot actually avoid all these women, and certainly not their villages, for among these *ora* will be found almost all the women of a previous generation not of the man's own clan. Actually a man is concerned to avoid the *ora* of those of his *uwa* with whom he comes in contact, or of those whose marriages are personally interesting to him.

As already mentioned, the wife's brother's wife is addressed as *ora* and seems to be looked upon as similar to a mother-in-law. It is clear that she stands in a relationship quite different from that of a wife's sister or a brother's wife. But no reasons were discovered for treating her as a mother-in-law.

(2) Amongst these relatives may be considered the wife's father and her brothers. They are her natural protectors to whom she may

complain if her husband ill-treats her; it is to them that the bride-wealth is given, and the fact that this should be returned should she die childless seems to indicate that the bride-wealth may be considered as compensation to her family for the loss of her children rather than as a payment for her as a wife. The wife's *na* and his son both receive part of the bride-wealth, and though they do not belong to her clan they also are *ora*. The avoidance of these relatives of the wife is by no means a common custom (and is not practised by the Dinka). It appears to be correlated to the fact that they receive some of the cattle of the bride-wealth.

(3) The attitude towards the husbands of female relatives is the converse of the above. Though a man must observe respectful behaviour towards the husbands of his sisters and certain cousins, he appears to be in a more favourable position towards them. He receives part of the bride-wealth given by them for his sisters and certain "cousins", and can demand favours from them.

(4) A woman only looks upon her husband's uterine brothers and his mother's sister's sons as her *ora*. She avoids them strictly; any hint of familiarity would be an offence. It is clear that the nature of the avoidance is sexual, and that by means of its observance the possibility of impropriety is prevented. These relatives of the husband stand in sharp distinction to all others.

Although the Shilluk conception of the "in-law" relationship is broad, the omissions from it are as striking as the inclusions. The wife's sisters do not come under the heading *ora* at all. A man may always treat them with familiarity and, if he wants to, take one as a second wife; he has prior claim to anyone else but must give the full bride-wealth. We were told that a rich man might marry all the *umia* of his wife. The wives of the *uwa* are not *ora*; the wives of clansmen stand in two definite categories—those with whom sexual intercourse is permissible and those with whom it is not—and to most of them descriptive terms are used. The wives of all those clansmen called either *wa* or *uwa* belong to the former class, but intercourse with the wives of any other clansmen is said to cause death to both offenders. Care would be taken in dealing with the second class to avoid anything that could possibly be looked on as a compromising situation, such as staying in the house of these relatives when their wives are present, or sitting upon the mat or skin of the woman. Thus, though not called *ora*, they are avoided ceremoniously.

The omissions from the "in-law" category are equally important from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's parents *ora*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kware*, grandchild; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissable, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ora*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wa* and the *uwa*) with whom connection is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters? A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour. The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable. Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

related by marriage, it is the bridegroom who pays special deference to his wife's relatives and not vice versa. A man may claim privileges from his sister's husband, and though he must make his demands politely they will not be denied. On the other hand, a man may show much zeal in doing services for his wife's relatives that are not absolutely necessary. It must be remembered that the "in-law" relationship begins early, as soon as betrothal negotiations are started; the prospective bridegroom is particularly anxious to please his future bride's relatives so that they in turn may influence her not to break off the engagement; indeed, the fear of losing the woman persists even after marriage. Should any of the cattle of the bride-wealth die the bride's relatives can claim that they should be replaced, and Hofmayr states that when cattle plague is prevalent marriages are frequently dissolved as the husband cannot make good the losses.[1] There are thus abundant reasons why the bridegroom should seek to keep on good terms with his wife's relatives and by his correct behaviour prevent the possibility of rupture. Mr. Heasty states that it is very rare for a husband to divorce his wife, it is usually the wife or her family who initiates the separation.

There are no special houses built for adolescent boys or girls. The former sleep in the cattle byres (*luak*). When there are several unmarried girls in a village any house may be given to them that happens to become vacant, and the girls will sleep there together; such a house will be called *odwaman*. Their boy friends will come by night and call to them to join them. We do not know whether custom imposes any restrictions on their behaviour, nor whether only eligible boys are received, that is to say, those who are neither related by blood nor of the same clan, but we believe that this is the case, and it seems that such courtship usually leads to marriage.

Hofmayr states that the girls assume a tone of considerable hauteur; the meetings must take place outside the village and the parents must not be told, though they would not meddle in the affairs of the young people. He also states that the girl chooses whom she likes and that she usually breaks several engagements before finally accepting a suitor, this being considered no disgrace except when carried to excess. A girl who has had more than ten lovers is looked upon as *nya dey cuan*, a fast woman. Betrothals may be arranged young, but it is doubtful whether marriage would be enforced if the girl preferred another youth when she had reached a marriageable age.

[1] Op. cit., 293.

The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the *na*—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was celebrated during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our informants we gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, when they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

storm the bride's homestead and throw spears into her courtyard; in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the dancing ground. Then the bride's mother takes a shield and spear and throws spears at the retreating bridegroom; he dodges these and retaliates by throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as a memento. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony.

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom ceremonially wash each other's hands.[1] Mr. Heasty suggests that this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the *waja* (father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in her husband's homestead her *waja* accompanies her and initiates her in the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent together the *waja* comes early in the morning and washes the husband and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated on several mornings.

Mr. Heasty describes a further ceremony in which washing plays a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents' house, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it to her husband her friends brew quantities of beer. This they take to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer, a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops in it some gift, which will be given to the women who have brewed the beer; at the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Heasty states is a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law; in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food from them.

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically as follows:—

Dok num, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more may be paid if a man is very attracted to his betrothed.

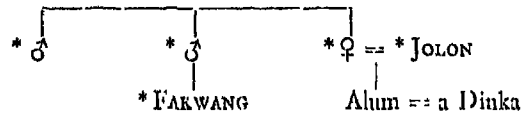
Diek num, the sheep of the marriage.

Jam num, spears and other goods.

The *dok num* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

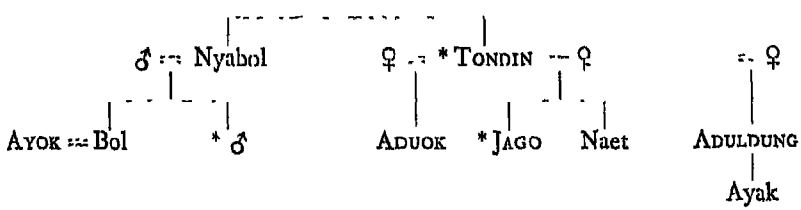
[1] Op. cit., 290 et seq.

Seventeen cows were paid by his Dinka son-in-law to one Jolon on the marriage of his daughter Alum. Of these his wife kept four, one of her brothers (the *na* of the girl) took four, and another brother two; the remaining seven Jolon took, but he had to give four to his wife's brother's son. Jolon had no son of his own, but if he had had one it would have been his duty to reserve some of the cattle from his daughter's bride-wealth for her brother's marriage. Thus of the seventeen head of cattle, ten went directly to the girl's mother's family, four to the mother, and only three to the father.



*Indicates persons who received cattle.

The cattle of the bride-wealth provided for another girl, called Bol (twin), were distributed as follows: two cows went to her brother (her father being dead), her mother's brother (the girl's *na*) took three bulls, and his son (the girl's *una*) had three bulls and two cows. These were given to him by the girl's mother, his *waja*.



When Naet marries all the cattle will go to her brother Jago, because she has no *na*. Jago and his father might share the cattle, but actually the younger man will get them all, or hopes to, because his father already has three wives and Jago is waiting to get married. None of these cattle will be saved for the youngest brother, Aduok (who is only nine), because he will get some cattle from the bride-wealth of his eldest brother's daughter, Ayak (aged five).

It will be seen from these examples that though the term *na* can be used in a classificatory sense, with regard to the bride-wealth this aspect of the relationship is not considered. Thus the cattle from the bride-wealth due to the *na* are given to the mother's brothers or her sons, not to any *uwa* of the mother.

The *diek num* consists of any number of sheep, from seven upwards, and these are taken by the bride's brother (*umia*). If the bride has no full brother they are divided amongst her *uwa*, her father's brother's sons, and after them her *uwa* who are her clansmen.

The *jam num* consists of four hoes, two fish spears, four spears (two large and two small), a basketful of tobacco and a bundle of firewood. The *jam num* is kept by the parents and is not shared with other relatives.

In times of stress, as during the *mahdia* or when cattle have been scarce for any other reason, whole or part of the bride-wealth may be deferred. The debt is not, however, cancelled; the husband may frequently wait until he receives bride-wealth for a daughter of the marriage, when he will give the original number of cattle agreed for his wife to her father or his next of kin.

If a married woman dies without leaving a child, the husband demands back the cattle of the bride-wealth from the father. If his wife leaves him he will demand both the sheep and the hoes and spears; the tobacco and fish are gone, so he will not ask for them, but if he were very angry he might even do that, though such behaviour would generally be despised. Yangjok, a chief of Tonga, stated in court that if a woman leaves her husband all the bride-wealth should be returned except one bullock, but if the wife is pregnant when she leaves the husband one cow and one bull are kept by her people.

It seems that, on the whole, divorce is amicably arranged, as a man usually only seeks divorce if his wife has left him for another man, in which case the latter would have to hand over bride-wealth to her father, who would return the original bride-wealth to the first husband. If, however, there were another daughter of suitable age the husband might take her. If a man should try to return his wife because she was barren a more difficult situation would arise.[1] Such a case would probably be taken before the *reth* and judgment might be given that all except two cows should be returned. Probably before the case came up the husband would have tried to steal the cows from his father-in-law.

A case was recorded of a girl who was betrothed as a child to a man who contracted venereal disease. One cow of the bride-wealth

[1] Hofmayr states that before deciding that a woman is barren the husband would let her cohabit with one of his *uwa*, and the *ajuago* would also be called in to administer medicine (op. cit., 276).

had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

Mr. Heasty sent the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such lads grow up the true father will often entice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwareth*.

The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Heasty states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unconfessed adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the latter pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, full bride-wealth must pass for each.

Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom he calls *uwa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *uwa*, a young married man said that if he found that an *uwa* had been to his wife while he was away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *uwa*. It is all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was exercising his rights towards the wife of his *uwa* (actually his father's brother's son) said that his *uwa* (the husband) knew, and that he made no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *uma*, *umia*, *una*, *oka* or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* would be looked upon in the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband —for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2] while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually supposed to be due to adultery, presumably because conduct leading

[1] Op. cit., 293.

[2] Op. cit., 271. A pregnant woman is distinctly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child, already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.

[3] Op. cit., xxiii.

o this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during ablation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth[1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the midwife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers, as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monorchid (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth to form a mat for the infant.

Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

[1] Hofmayr states that the mother ties the cord round her body (op. cit., 273); we suppose this to refer to the dry stump that later drops from the child's body.

[2] Op. cit., 276.

[3] Op. cit., xxxvi. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father at manhood.

one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Nabol.

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *uma nyima* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyaka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle

[1] Hofmayr, op. cit., 277.

to the bride-wealth of her brother's son. She may demand the cattle for her brother's son from her own husband, and he will always give them; should he refuse she might threaten to leave him. We were told that a boy who had no *waja*, *nywaja*, or sister, would be poor indeed. The two latter do not actually contribute, but in the lad's position of *una* to his *nywaja* and brother to his sister he gets a portion of the bride-wealth given on their marriage.

We could obtain little reliable information relating to age-classes or similar organizations, and formed the opinion that the institution was of little importance and was probably dying out, and that neither knocking out teeth or scarring the forehead could properly be regarded as a puberty rite.[1] Both girls and boys—except the royal family down to the *kwanyireth*—have the four lower incisors knocked out, but no reason could be discovered. Mr. Heasty informs us that the lower milk incisors are taken out- or the young teeth may be burnt away in babies so young that the teeth may not have come through the gum. This is done both by *kwareth* and commoners, lest the child should become ill or die. The permanent teeth are removed in the tenth or eleventh year and buried near the parents' house. Girls and boys are treated separately in groups, but we could not discover that the operation gave rise to any social bond. Here we may add that to knock out a man's front teeth (presumably this refers to the upper jaw) is considered a grave offence, and in the old days a fine of ten head of cattle was imposed.

Foreheads are scarred at much the same age or a little later, two or three lines of scars, called *tai*, being made, which in the young stand out like beads across the brow and are regarded as greatly enhancing the appearance. This also is done in groups by some man who is expert at the work. Forehead scarring seems to come nearer to being an initiation ceremony in the common use of the term, and at this period the lads cease to sleep in their parents' hut, they go to the cattle byre and beat the drums and take full part in the dances. It is true that lads do dance before this, but rather in play and more as imitators than participators, whereas after head scarring the dance becomes an important occupation with great social significance, for when a lad dances with the warriors he is considered a man. Though age-classes have not the obvious social importance that they have among Nuer and Dinka, lads scarred at the same time were

[1] Mr. Heasty notes that in the neighbourhood of Doleib Hill there have been no new age-classes for many years.

grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyireth* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *paro* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

Chapter III

SHILLUK (Contd.); OTHER SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

Religion

There are present three important and clearly defined elements in the religion of the Shilluk, viz. :—

1. The recognition and somewhat limited worship of a god, Juok.
2. The cult of Nyakang and the dead kings of the Shilluk (ultimately reducible to the cult of Nyakang, since he is incarnate in every king).
3. The cult of ancestor spirits other than that of Nyakang.

We shall discuss these in the above order, but must first point out that besides these outstanding features of his religion the Shilluk believes in various more or less anthropomorphic but non-human beings dwelling in bush and river, the most important of these being the river-people, with whom are associated herds of supernatural river-cattle.

The word *juok*, or some dialectical modification, occurs in all the Nilotic languages as well as in some others, e.g. Lotuko. It always connotes something in the nature of god, spirit, or ghost, but its practical meaning in one language may be quite different from that in a neighbouring tongue, while identical meanings in two languages may have very different values since a particular connotation of the word common to two peoples may refer either to an important or to an entirely subsidiary element in their religious beliefs.[1]

Juok is formless and invisible, and, like the air, is everywhere at once. He is far above Nyakang (in whose cult the Shilluk religion centres) and men alike; nevertheless it is principally through Nyakang that men approach him, performing the sacrifices to Nyakang which cause him to move Juok to send rain. There are, however, prayers to Juok, and the word Juok occurs in many greetings, e.g. *Yimiti*

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> "We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the river is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you . . ." [2]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures. The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such dance songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal translations):—

> "I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (Juokatang), God the Protector (Juokagim); I have taken [God] to me and have become fearful to my enemies so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when satiated chatter like crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of beer forget Juok." And a song composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he directs the spears, spear thrusts are of Juok." [3]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There is an expression *pan Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding *pan Juok* as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name), this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator, perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having

[1] "Nikawng's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 283.
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Op. cit., 197–201.

Chapter III

Shilluk (Contd.); Other Shilluk-speaking Tribes

Religion

There are present three important and clearly defined elements in the religion of the Shilluk, viz. :—

1. The recognition and somewhat limited worship of a god, Juok.

2. The cult of Nyakang and the dead kings of the Shilluk (ultimately reducible to the cult of Nyakang, since he is incarnate in every king).

3. The cult of ancestor spirits other than that of Nyakang.

We shall discuss these in the above order, but must first point out that besides these outstanding features of his religion the Shilluk believes in various more or less anthropomorphic but non-human beings dwelling in bush and river, the most important of these being the river-people, with whom are associated herds of supernatural river-cattle.

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a chthonic aspect. Juok is almost otiose so far as the daily life of the Shilluk is concerned, assistance being generally sought from Nyakang, whose flight from the land of Dimo in the Bahr el Ghazal to become the founder and first king of the Shilluk nation we have already recorded.

Mr. Heasty writes to us of the very numerous meanings attached to the word *juok* in varying senses at different times :—

> " He appears to be one, and yet he seems to be a plurality as well, and the native himself is puzzled. . . . He will say there is but one *juok*, and then he will say of one who has been extremely fortunate that his *juok* is very good, while he speaks of another who is less fortunate as having a bad or angry *juok*. The foreigner is spoken of as *juok* because of the marvellous things he does. He flies through the air, or makes a machine that talks, so he is a *juok*. A badly wounded animal that is lost in the grass is *juok*, because it walked off dead and could not be found. . . . *Juok* is the creator of mankind, and the universe . . . but anything that the Shilluk cannot understand is *juok*."

Apart from his formal cult, Nyakang is the hero or subject of an enormous amount of folklore, and Hofmayr gives a list of twenty-five epithets or synonyms.[1] Yet, although he is a culture hero, at once the founder of the nation and the present day ideal of the Shilluk, we hold that Nyakang is no mythical figure projected on an historical background, but an historical ruler whose deeds and sayings—apart from obviously mythical elements—as enshrined in Shilluk legend and belief do constitute a record of actual happenings. Regarding the Shilluk attitude to Nyakang, we have no doubt that in spite of the saurian element in his ancestry (pp. 85–6) the majority of Shilluk think of Nyakang as a divine or semi-divine being, human in form and physical qualities, though, unlike his recent successors, he did not die but disappeared in a great storm of wind during a festival held at Akurwa ; moreover, in spite of the fact that the objects kept in his shrines are fit for the use only of a creature with a human body, we believe that to many of his worshippers, including some at least of his priests, Nyakang is essentially a spiritual being, who manifests himself to humanity by way of incarnation or sometimes (as in dreams) as a bright light. We also recognize that in writing of the " spirit of Nyakang ", as we frequently shall in this chapter, we are using the terminology of the European rather than of the African, who simply says " Nyakang ", our reasons for not following the latter being that such usage leads to an ambiguity in view of the many

[1] Op. cit., 43, 44.

classes of people, animals, and even things, in which Nyakang may be immanent or with which he is associated.

The chief incarnations and manifestations of Nyakang are as follows :—

1. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as closely associated with certain shrines, which are in fact cenotaphs, for though spoken of as his tombs it is well known that he is not buried in any of them.

2. Each Shilluk king incarnates the spirit of Nyakang.

3. This is equally true of certain animals, and may possibly apply to all the members of particular species, as it certainly does to individual members.

4. The spirit of Nyakang is regarded as being present, at any rate at certain times, in his wooden effigy kept at Akurwa.

There are ten cenotaph "tombs" of Nyakang (*kengo Nyakang*) in the Shilluk country, the most important being at Akurwa and Fenikang. Each shrine consists of a group of two or more huts—of the same circular form but rather larger than dwelling huts—together with a small more or less circular enclosure, called *ludi*, neatly fenced with millet stalks. The huts are particularly well thatched, and the apex of the roof terminates in an ostrich egg from which there projects the blade of a spear, while the surrounding fence is kept in notably good repair. These huts, with the enclosed area, are sacred, for, with the exception of the priests of Nyakang and the old people concerned in keeping them clean, no one may enter the enclosure or even approach it without due cause. In 1910 the Akurwa shrine consisted of two huts, that at Fenikang of five, and these shrines, designed on the plan of a Shilluk homestead (with, however, the addition of the *ludi*), are so built because they are regarded as the homes of Nyakang.

The attendants and priests of the royal grave shrines and the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang are known as *bareth* (lit. "king's wife"). This term includes certain old men, who appear to have an hereditary connection with the shrine (but on this matter we are unable to be precise), ex-wives of kings, who having borne a reasonable number of children [1] or attained the menopause are sent to take charge of shrines, and men and women of advanced years who are liable to more or less epileptiform attacks, held to indicate possession by Nyakang or a dead king. The *bareth* keep the shrine clean, receive the sacrifices,

[1] Hofmayr states that the royal wives do not commonly bear more than three children; after this they are sent to a shrine and become *bareth* (op. cit., 140).

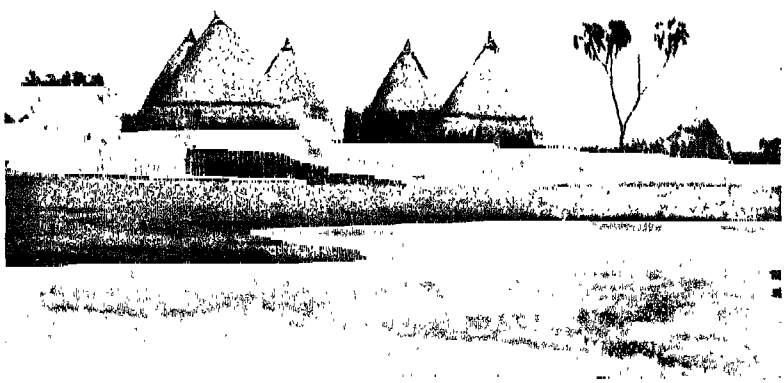
and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the *bareth* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bareth* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies, but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those



Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1910



Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1922

of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

The clans Golobogu and Pameiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and probably to a lesser extent the Pameiti, act as caretakers of the shrine and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayurial, had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayurial, though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Heasty.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Duwad, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwad was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat spotted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*thom*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wed Mac were Nugoja and Kejo respectively.

gourds, seven articles described as plates—white and red, two very large—seven similar but smaller articles, copper cooking vessels, many Shilluk clay pots, and four elephant tusks; sacred water is also kept here. This is the hut which Nyakang himself is thought to visit at night, arriving as a wind; music heard coming from the hut as he plays his lyre (*thom*) is taken as evidence of his presence, and the feeling that he still protects his people is vastly strengthened by these visits. This hut was said to be built by the chief of the Nyelwal sub-district in which is Fenikang.

Wed Mac contains the cooking pots of Nyakang, and here fire is made and food cooked.

Dag, or Kwayo, represents the hut in which Dag slept.

Duwol—also called Nyakang—was the hut before which Nyakang heard disputes, and the *reth* still sits in front of it and hears cases when he visits Fenikang. Mr. Heasty was told that the small children of the village might sleep in this hut when mosquitoes were bad, and at Fenikang it was said that four tusks were kept here.

The *ludi* is stated to be a place for the king, where he may urinate and perhaps bathe.

The worship of Nyakang at Fenikang and his other shrines consists of a solemn ritual of sacrifice and prayer. We know of the following occasions for ceremonial worship; no doubt there are others of which we did not hear, and we do not doubt that sacrifice would be made in any threat of national danger or disaster. We give in brief outline accounts of the two most important annual ceremonies:—

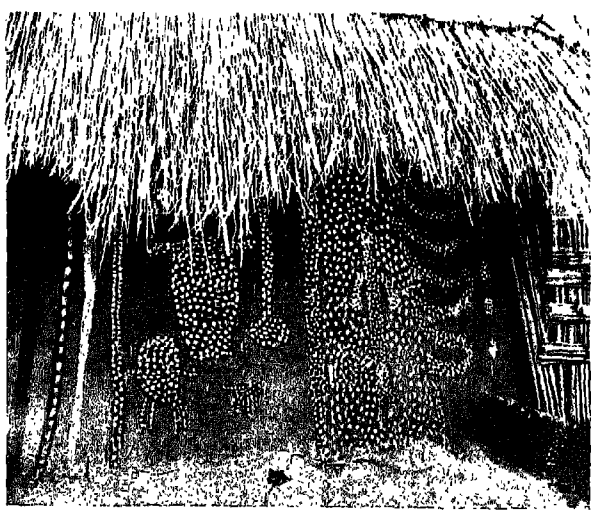
1. The rain-making ceremony held before the rains at the beginning of the month *alabor*, at the new moon (the Shilluk calendar is lunar).
2. The harvest festival held when the millet is cut, i.e. about the end of the rains.

At the rain ceremony a cow and a bullock are given to Nyakang, the latter being killed and the former added to the herd belonging to the shrine. Both should be given by the king, who at the Fashoda shrine himself takes part in the ceremony. The bullock is slain with a sacred spear by one of the *bareth* before the door of the shrine enclosure, while the king stands near the beast praying loudly to Nyakang for rain and holding a spear pointing upwards. After the meat has been eaten by all the *bareth*, the bones and as much blood as can be collected in a gourd are thrown into the river, and the skin is made into a mat for Nyakang. Much of the millet preserved in

PLATE VIII



Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang in 1910, Kwayo (Duwad)



Fenikang, shrine of Nyakang, wall-paintings

the shrine since the beginning of the last harvest is made into beer for this occasion. Our Fenikang informants told us that the king should himself come to their village for this rite, and the above short description is mainly from notes made at Fenikang. But, whatever the theory, the usual practice at the present day is for the king to send the animals given to Nyakang to the shrines, and for the *bareth* to pray for rain as they are sacrificed.

We are indebted to Yangjok, one of the most important of the Shilluk chiefs, for the following account of the rain ceremony as it is held at Acop, where stands one of the *kengo Nyakang*. A bullock, or bull, and a hen are killed before the shrine of Nyakang, each animal being killed by one of the *bareth Nyakang*. Before the ceremony the ground within the shrine enclosure and that outside the fence is swept clean by a number of old women. Drums are placed in the open space near the centre of the village and men and women dance vigorously, first holding spears and other weapons, then raising their hands, singing and praising Nyakang. If there is a tree in the open space the sacrificial bullock is tied to it. At the end of the dance the chief of the district pours water, recently brought from the river, into the hollow of his hand, spits into it, and sprinkles the bullock with this. The bullock is speared high up in the flank, so that the wound is not immediately fatal, and is allowed to go free. If he wanders towards the river it is a good sign, and if he falls on his left side, or goes towards the shrine of Nyakang, it is good, but if he falls on his right side it is bad; in theory the bullock should go to the river and come back to die where he was speared, and it seemed that in practice little difficulty was experienced by the practised Shilluk herdsmen in guiding the victim in the right direction. The beast is skinned and cut up where it falls, and the flesh is boiled and eaten by all except pregnant women and their husbands and men and women who have had intercourse during the previous night. Care is taken not to break the bones, which with all fragments are thrown into the river. The head, one forelimb, and the bowels compose the share of the attendants of the shrine, who cook and eat their portions with the rest of the community. The skin is prepared and used as a mat in the hut of Nyakang, where the sacred spear is kept with which the sacrificial animals are killed.

At the harvest festival it is usual to bring ears of ripening millet and to thrust them into the thatch of certain of the huts constituting

the shrine. When the millet is cut everyone brings a portion to the *bareth Nyakang*. This is ground and made into porridge with water brought from the river; some is poured out at the threshold of the hut regarded as specially sacred to Nyakang, and some on the ground within the hut, the outside of which is also anointed with the mixture. Until this has been done no one may eat of the new crop.

There is a ceremony at the accession of each king, when the newly consecrated ruler should send cattle to each shrine of Nyakang, and also presents of spears and other valuable objects, such as ostrich eggs and elephant tusks. Some of the beasts are sacrificed outside the enclosure, others are added to the herd belonging to the shrine. We have no information concerning the details of this ceremony, but we do not doubt that the flesh of the slaughtered beasts is eaten by the *bareth*.

When a man is sick he may bring or send a sheep to the nearest shrine of Nyakang, where the attendants sprinkle it with water and spear it. They pray for the sick man, who eats a part of the flesh of the sheep or drinks some of the water in which the meat has been boiled. The rest of the sheep is eaten by the guardians of the shrine and their friends without any ceremony, but the bones and perhaps the intestines are thrown into the river.

We add an account of a ceremony that took place on 9th December, 1921, at which we were present, premising that our notes were made after, not during, the ceremony and are certainly incomplete :—

When we reached Fenikang at the end of November, 1921, the shrine of Nyakang was being prepared for a ceremony, having for its object the saving of the millet from attacks by flocks of innumerable small birds. A band of women, perhaps as many as forty, had started to clear the area round the shrine, pulling up every weed and blade of grass. Often they would sing, keeping time by clapping their hands; or they would get up and dance slowly round the outside fence of the shrine, and then sitting down would chant another song, occasionally breaking out into cries resembling the Arab *zaghārit*. Some of the women were visitors to Fenikang; unfortunately we did not discover whether they had come specially for this purpose, or to which clans they belonged. For the next few days there were always a few women at work weeding, plastering mud, painting the walls, and generally tidying the shrine, or bringing in baskets of sand from outside for the floor of the enclosure.

Although the time was undoubtedly due for the ceremony its

performance was delayed, the difficulty being the provision of a bull for the sacrifice. It was the duty of the district chief, Dienjok of the Golobogu clan, to provide the sacrifice, but as a certain man from the village of Buru owed him a bull he was endeavouring to obtain this and to kill it for the ceremony instead of taking one from his own herd. How long negotiations might have continued it is impossible to say, for Dienjok, though a chief, was old and feeble and seemed to have little authority in his district. After about a fortnight we announced our intention of leaving, but Aker begged us to remain, and expressed great regret that we should go before the ceremony. We naturally supposed this protest to be formal, and that the village was merely waiting for us to leave in order to perform the sacrifice; however we went with her to the village of Nyelwal where the chief and his assistant and a few old men were assembled. Here Aker harangued the men, frequently making marks on the ground and breaking off pieces of grass and laying them down one by one by way of emphasis and explanation. The conference lasted a long time and she begged us to have patience, seeming certain that she must gain her way. We cannot say how far she went into the matter of the debt from Buru, or if at any time she had any official voice in the affair, but she undoubtedly had the authority of the king behind her and she used it freely. Towards the end of the conference the men's tones had changed completely. Aker announced to us that the ceremony would take place the next day and that Dienjok would provide the bull.

At dawn next morning the drums were beaten for about half an hour. At 8 a.m. there were no signs of festivity in the village, and women, including Aker's servants, were still at work on the shrine enclosure, smoothing and plastering and removing the smallest weeds. Yet by 2 p.m. probably more than 500 people had assembled and dancing had begun. In the centre of the open spaces to the west of the shrine a large and a small drum were being beaten, the dancers surging in spirals round and away from these. Numbers of older men and women were sitting near the huts on the edge of the dancing-ground, and hundreds of spears were tilted against the thatches, for though all the men came to the village carrying their spears no one held one during the ceremony except Aker, who carried in her left hand a narrow pointed spear, in her right a whip with a double lash, and wore round her head a fringe of black goat-hair. Her cloth was knotted over the left shoulder in correct masculine style. She

danced alone inside the enclosure of the shrine, and occasionally came out and danced round outside it, her movements resembling those of the men rather than the women dancers. Time and rhythm were frequently changed, and it was obvious that the figures were traditional. A number of young men wore leopard and other skins suspended from the waist and hanging behind, almost all had decorated anklets and armlets of different kinds, belts of disc beads were worn round the waist, and plumes suspended from the forearms. Head-dresses varied a good deal; the characteristic "Tam o' Shanter", which we remembered as the dominant fashion for young warriors ten years earlier, was only worn by a few, the more popular style apparently being a flat, circular mass of felted hair on either side of the head; a great number had the head shaved and wore a wig or crown of sheep's wool. They carried millet or flowery grass stalks, some had clubs and parrying shields, and the ceremonial bow-derivative covered with strips of metal, called *dang*. Groups of children, decked in whatever finery they could get, took part in the dance, solemnly imitating their elders. The women, who danced in separate contingents, all carried hippo-hide whips, and, more frequently than the men, they left the large dancing-ground and passed in procession round the outside of the shrine enclosure. Whenever the drum ceased the dancing stopped immediately, and the clear note of a kudu horn trumpet could be heard.

After the dancing had continued for some hours Aker was noticed waiting in the *ludi* with a number of men--we believe there were eight—all carrying spears. These were the spears of Nyakang, which had just been brought forth from the hut Kwayo; one large spearhead was covered by a sheath. A bull was led across the dancing-ground and then released, when it sauntered into the shrine enclosure and wandered about unmolested. Aker, carrying her spear, danced within the enclosure, and then left it, and stepping high, danced round the drum, while the men went alone to the khor to wash the spears. The bull was now caught and held outside the entrance to the shrine. Almost before we realized that anything was happening—very quickly, yet without any apparent hurry or confusion—all the guests departed, and the dancing ground was all but deserted; besides Aker and a small group of chiefs and elders, only members of the Golobogu and Pameiti clans remained in the vicinity of the shrine. These men now sat in a row while Aker and Ayurial stood beside the bull, which was held on each side by ropes, a man grasping its tail. One by one

the men rose and each made a short speech, to which Aker answered; these speeches were appeals to Nyakang not to let the millet suffer from the ravages of the birds. When all had spoken, Awejok, brother's son to Ayurial, stroked the bull's flank with a spear and then thrust it into the beast. Immediately he ran with the spear to the khor to wash it. The wound was oblique and only a few inches deep. The bull was now guided into the enclosure of the shrine, where it was stabbed again with another spear and led into the enclosure of Kwayo while Aker and the chiefs remained just outside. The groans of the dying bull were heard for some time. The chiefs now followed into the courtyard of Kwayo but we do not know whether any of them entered the hut. The flesh of the sacrifice was divided and eaten subsequently by Aker and the men of Golobogu and Pameiti. A band of warriors in full dress bearing their spears now returned to the dancing-ground, danced once round the sacred enclosure, then knelt down and clapped their hands and went silently away. We were told that the spear used to kill the bull was one presented specially by the king; had one of the original spears of Nyakang been used no one could have eaten the flesh of the bull and survived.

It must be noted that before the ceremony we were told that Ayurial was the hereditary bull slayer, but his paternal nephew certainly thrust the first spear; we did not ascertain whether he or Ayurial finally killed and cut up the beast. Probably the matter was of little consequence, as Ayurial was old and Awejok would succeed him. Before the ceremony we were also told that the beast would be stabbed outside the fence but would enter the shrine before dying, and this was so. The sacred character of the spears was a matter of importance; the large spear referred to above was kept sheathed throughout the ceremony until used to stab the bull, thus emphasizing its sacred quality.

So much for what we saw. We were told that the spear would be washed in the holy water kept in the hut Kwayo and that after this it would be taken to the river to be washed. The right forelimb of the bull would be cut off and shown round the village—we believe that this went to Ayuriel—the rest of the beast was Nyakang's and would be taken to Aker's home, there to be eaten by the old men.

Our description of the worship of Nyakang may conclude with a short account of his appearance in animal form, as well as some reference to the cult of his mother Nikaiya, almost as much crocodile

woman.[1] Certain of the Shilluk kings, i.e. particular incarnations f Nyakang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals. lyakang, Dag, and Nyadwai all appear as a white bird called *okak*, r, rarely, as a giraffe; if the animal comes straight towards the illage in which the shrine stands, exhibiting no sign of fear, it is oncluded that it is a spirit animal, and the attendants at the tomb acrifice a sheep, or perhaps even a bullock. Father Banholzer adds 'long-bodied grasshoppers" and "a kind of snake called *red*" as orms in which Nyakang appears. Dr. Lambie of the American Mission informed us that unusual behaviour on the part of almost ny land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyakang, adding that unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai); so "if a little bird flies into the midst of a crowd of people and is not frightened, or attracts someone's notice in a special manner, they say 'Nyakang'". Occasionally Nyakang appears as a bull; in 1910 a very old Shilluk of the royal family said that in his youth, fifty or more years earlier, Nyakang appeared as a white bull, when the king ordered sacrifices to be made in addition to those already offered by the local chief.

We may add an experience of our own. Yur Adodit takes the form of an insect called *akwan* (Ar. *gamal en nebi*), which appears to be the larval form of one of the *Mantidae*; we only discovered this important belief by the fortunate accident of an *akwan* settling upon our camera while we were making inquiries near the grave shrine of Yur Adodit, which was being repaired. We were about to examine the insect when we were told by Col, whom we had been questioning, not to touch it. The *jago*, with his face showing the greatest pleasure, took the insect in his hands and reverentially carried it to the shrine, only the base of which had been built up, and deposited it on a leafy branch which was thrust into the ground in the centre of the shrine, i.e. over the grave of Yur Adodit. Col told us that the appearance of Yur Adodit in his animal form showed that he was favourably disposed to us and was not displeased at our inquiries concerning the shrine, and after this incident it was distinctly easier to obtain

[1] According to an account, perhaps of Anuak origin or at least showing Anuak influence, collected by the Rev. J. K. Griffin on the Sobat river, Nikaiya is physically part human part crocodile. In the beginning Juok created a great white cow, Deung Adok, who came up out of the Nile. She gave birth to a man child, whose grandchild, Ukwa, married two sisters, of whom one, Nikaiya, or Nyakai, the lower part of whose body was that of a crocodile, brought forth Nyakang, who inherited his mother's saurian attributes (*The Anglo-Egyptian*

information from Col and his people. According to Banholzer (quoted by Hofmayr)[1] the praying mantis is regarded as the messenger of Nyakang, so it seems likely that our undetermined insect was a larval mantis.

We may here refer to the special regard paid to trees growing near the shrines of dead kings, which we consider yet another aspect of the cult of Nyakang. This esteem is not remarkable, for the Shilluk country is in the main bare, with few shady trees, so that any tree growing in or on the outskirts of a village is preserved and the ground becomes to some extent a meeting and squatting place. But the Shilluk attitude appears to be something more than an appreciation of their grateful shade, though we could discover no regular cult. When a tree has grown, or is believed to have grown, near a shrine shortly after its erection, i.e. within a few months or years of the burial of a " divine king ", it is thought that the tree has sprung from one of the logs used in making the grave, and in such cases the relation between the tree and the dead king is one that would easily suggest itself.[2]

Possession by the spirits of Nyakang and other Shilluk kings, i.e. conditions of dissociation attributed to these, will be considered when discussing medicine-men, especially the good medicine-man (*ajuago*).

The Shilluk attitude towards the crocodile is naturally influenced by the belief in the saurian attributes of the ancestors of Nyakang, and especially of his mother. The crocodile is generally spared, as some of the worst man-eaters are believed to be men whom other crocodiles have taken, and very dark coloured crocodiles are said to be either man-crocodiles or their descendants. Moreover Nikaiya lives in the river, and is definitely associated with the crocodile, and, though she may assume human form and at times come to the village by night in all friendliness, she may seize a man or a woman and bear him or her off to her home in the river and there change her

[1] Op. cit., 51.

[2] As an instance we may cite an old tree at Kodok whose stump was standing in 1910 near the grave of Nyadwai, the twelfth king; if anyone had burned the wood of this tree, even accidentally, he would have sickened, and when the tree fell its fragments were collected and carried to the river, just as are the bones of certain sacrifices. There was in 1910 no shrine over the grave of Nyadwai, probably because it is situated some little distance from the present native village and is surrounded by Government offices and houses, but it had a fence round it, and a young tree that had appeared at some distance from the stump of the old tree was regarded with respect. The old tree did not really spring from the grave of Nyadwai, since it was admitted that during his lifetime it stood near his house and that he would often sit under it; nevertheless, there is a general feeling that it is associated with his grave, and this feeling is so strong that many Shilluk at one time or another spoke of Nyadwai being buried under the tree, though his grave must be nearly a hundred yards away.

victim into a crocodile to be a spouse to one of her crocodile relatives. Yet Nikaiya brings luck to those whom she visits by night to ask for ire; if a barren woman bears a child after such a visit it will be called Nikaiya, and the father will kill a sheep and throw it into the river. Nikaiya is known by her short stout figure and great muscular development, and by the fact that she "eats" (mouths) her words. That the river is the true home of Nikaiya is shown by the manner of sacrificing to her; for as a sacrifice would be made at the shrine of Nyakang, or at the grave shrine of any Shilluk king, if Nyakang or one of the kings had appeared in a dream—or if a king had "possessed" a man causing him to become ill—so when Nikaiya becomes immanent sacrifice is made by throwing a live sheep, with its legs bound, into the river.

Hofmayr states that the *bareth* may divine that a new-born infant has been sent by Nikaiya; if a boy it will then be called Nikaiyo, if a girl Nikaiya.[1] When such a child grows up and becomes betrothed an offering must be made to Nikaiya as part of the wedding ceremony. The couple go to the river, where the *bareth* slaughters a male black and white sheep, smears the young people with the contents of the stomach, and fastens the ear-lobes with beads on to the feet of the bride. Beer, tobacco, earth, and parts of the sacrifice are thrown into the river for Nikaiya, and the betrothed bathe in the river. They are then conducted by the *bareth* to a house prepared for them in the bride's village, and must remain there for three or four days.[2]

There is a limited cult of the Dinka god, Dengdit, perhaps confined to the southern part of the country. Fig. 2 of Pl. IX represents a shrine to Dengdit in Odong hamlet, not far from Fenikang, and we both saw and heard of other instances. The example figured is, as far as we could determine, unlike any Shilluk shrine and was said to be of Dinka pattern. The present incumbent took over the shrine at the death of his grandmother, a Dinka woman, who had been possessed by Dengdit to whom she erected the shrine. The iron bracelets shown in the photograph have all been brought by Shilluk, who visit the shrine in considerable numbers. No doubt the possession of the present incumbent resembles the Shilluk possession by their *ror* (kings).

We should also mention the spirits of the bush and river, i.e. creatures resembling mankind in form but with non-human functions

[1] Op. cit., 277. [2] Hofmayr, op. cit., 291.

PLATE IX



Dura-bird ceremony, sacrificial bull at shrine of Nyakang



Fenikang, shrine to Deng

and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*, viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines. A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

of Nyakang, if Nyakang has appeared, or to the grave shrine of the appropriate king if the dreamer has seen one of the later Shilluk kings. The bullock is killed and the cow added to the herd belonging to the shrine.

It is usual for the harvest ceremony (already alluded to on p. 80) to be performed at the royal grave shrines as well as at the shrines of Nyakang, though it is recognized that this is not absolutely necessary. Again, each king soon after his installation sends or should send presents to the grave shrines of his predecessors, treating these in the same way as he treats the shrines of Nyakang, though the presents need not be so lavish. So, too, sick folk send animals to be sacrificed as offerings at the shrines of their kings, just as they do to the shrines of Nyakang.

At this point it will be convenient to anticipate the conclusions to which the next few pages will lead, and point out that the actual working religion of the Shilluk is the cult of Nyakang, depending upon the acceptance of the following beliefs: (1) the immanence in each king (*reth*) of Nyakang, (2) the conviction that the king must not be allowed to become ill or senile, lest with his diminishing vigour the cattle should sicken and fail to bear their increase, the crops should wither in the fields, and men, stricken with disease, should die in ever increasing numbers. It follows that the *reth* of the Shilluk must be numbered among those rulers whom Sir James Frazer has called "divine kings", and though, as in many instances in other countries, every precaution is taken against accidental death, the Shilluk kings are (or were) killed in order to avoid those disasters which their senescence was thought to bring upon the state.

Although there is no doubt that the kings of the Shilluk were killed ceremonially when they began to show signs of old age or ill-health, it is extremely difficult to ascertain exactly what was done, and a good deal of Shilluk folklore is enshrined in the accounts commonly given of the killing of the *reth*. According to these, any royal son (*nyireth*) had the right to attempt to kill the king, and if successful to reign in his stead. The killing could only take place at night, for during the day the king would be surrounded by his friends and bodyguard and no aspiring successor would have the least chance of harming him. At night the king's position was very different; alone in his enclosure with his wives, and with no men to protect him except a few herdsmen whose huts were situated at a little distance, he was represented as passing the night in constant

watchfulness, prowling fully armed, peering into the shadows or standing silent and watchful in some dark corner. Then, when at last his rival appeared, the fight would take place in grim silence, broken only by the clash of spear and shield, for it was said to be a point of honour for the *reth* not to call for help.

Though many commoners will give some such account there is no reason to suppose that the above represents what really happened during the recent period before the Mahdia. It is, however, probable that these tales reproduce with tolerable fidelity a state of affairs that once existed among the Shilluk. Two survivals of the conditions outlined may indeed persist: the sleepy condition of king Fadiet on the few occasions on which we saw him may really have been due, as was said, to his keeping awake at night and sleeping only by day, and the sham fights which take place during the complicated ceremonial of the consecration of a new king may represent former battles.

In recent times the leading part in the killing of the *reth* has been assigned to the *ororo*, the descendants of the brothers of Ocalo the fifth king of the Shilluk. It is generally believed among well-informed Shilluk that their sixth king, Duwad, was first killed ceremonially, but according to one account Tugo, the tenth king, was the first to suffer. Reliable information concerning the actual killing of the *reth* during recent times is not forthcoming. It is said that the *ororo* and some of the chiefs announce his fate to him, after which he is taken to a hut specially built for the occasion and strangled. The reasons determining the *ororo* to act are said to be the ill-health of the *reth*, or his incapacity to satisfy his many wives, which is regarded as an undoubted sign of senescence. Concerning this there are two popularly received accounts. One states that his wives would themselves strangle the *reth*, but we believe this to be incorrect; the other is to the effect that the wives notify their husband's shortcomings to some of the chiefs, who tell them to indicate to the *reth* his approaching death. It is widely believed that this is done by spreading a piece of cloth over his face and over his knees as he lies sleeping during the afternoon.

Ignoring these discrepancies and recent practice, there is little doubt that the old custom was to take the *reth* and one nubile maiden (or possibly two) to a specially built hut, the opening of which was then walled up so that the inmates, left without water or food, died of starvation and suffocation. This practice was said to have been given up some five generations ago on account of the suffering of the *reth*,

who was so distressed by the stench from his companion's body that he shouted to the people outside the hut commanding them on no account to leave his successor to die slowly in such a manner.

For a long time no public announcement of the king's death is made, but the news spreads gradually.

We could not discover by whom and under what circumstances the king's body was brought to his birthplace, where he would be buried and his grave shrine erected. It must, however, be remembered that Fashoda has not always been the home of the king, for although it is uncertain how the change was brought about, there is no doubt that formerly each Shilluk king reigned and was buried in the village in which he was born and in which his afterbirth was buried. Some months after death, when decomposition was judged to have proceeded so far that little but the bones would be found, the hut was broken down by the *ororo*, a grave was dug, and the bones of the king and of his companion were placed in it wrapped in the skin of one of the sacrificed oxen. A hut was built over the grave, and one or two others put up within the enclosure for the attendants on the new shrine which had thus arisen. Westermann states that this ceremony was the public notification that the king had disappeared, and he describes the sacrifice of a man and woman by drowning; the victims were bound and placed in a canoe, which with many spears, bells, beads, and pottery vessels was towed into the middle of the river and sunk.[1]

The following account of the election and consecration to the kingship of the chosen prince is a summary composed from the accounts given by Seligman, Munro, and Hofmayr.[2] It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and where apparent discrepancies occur in the sources we have generally made use of unpublished information collected in 1921, or incorporated the details we consider most likely to be accurate.

The interregnum after the king's death usually lasts about a year, a period of anxiety and uncertainty but which ceremonially should be long enough to permit of the sowing and considerable growth of the next season's millet crop, perhaps even of its harvesting. During

[1] Op. cit., 136.

[2] Seligman, "Cult of Nyakang, and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk": *Fourth Report of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B, Khartoum, 1911; P. Munro, "Installation of the Ret. Chol (King of the Shilluks)": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 145–52; Hofmayr, op. cit., 145–50. Munro was an eye-witness of the first part of the installation of the present king, Papit, on 17th January, 1918. Westermann has a text dealing with the installation of the king, but this is necessarily short and incomplete.

this time no big dances or festivities should be held. Any small matters arising are dealt with by the most important chiefs, but great affairs must stand over until the appointment of the new king. Meanwhile, the selection of the new king has been going forward; theoretically this is in the hands of the chiefs of the ten districts into which the Shilluk territory is divided, but unofficially many give advice, and there is much intrigue. How far the choice is thought to be inspired is uncertain, but certain portents might occur if the wrong man were chosen, e.g. the effigy of Nyakang, to be described immediately, might become too heavy to be moved, while a method of selection has been described which may be regarded as indicating supernatural sanction. As many small stones as there are candidates are thrown into a fire, and each stone is given a name, the stone of the chosen candidate remaining after the others have burst out of the fire; or, according to another account, the kingship is determined by the colour the stones assume—red (for cattle) or white (for plentiful crops) or red and white. The decision is come to secretly. One of the district chiefs then seeks the king-elect in his village by night and bids him to single combat, really a sham fight; only when he has shown his mettle does the chief signify to him that he has been chosen as sovereign. The king-elect should remain in his village until all is ready for his installation.

Meanwhile messengers have been sent to Akurwa, near the northern limit of the Shilluk country, to bid the Akurwa people bring the sacred four-legged stool from the shrine of Nyakang in their village, and also the effigy called "Nyakang", which is kept wrapped in the common cotton cloth of the Sudan. The effigy, with that of his son Dag, and the sacred stool, are carried southwards towards Fashoda; each night the effigy is placed upon the stool, but by day the objects are borne upon men's shoulders, and as they march the men sing songs commemorating Nyakang and his deeds.[1] The party bearing the sacred objects may seize anything they like on the way, but it seems that their wants are so freely provided for in the villages they pass that they scarcely exercise their prerogative.

As the procession approaches Fashoda the king-elect, with the *ororo*, betakes himself to Debalo village, which he enters treading upon a leopard skin spread for that purpose, and goes directly to a hut

[1] Nyakang appears in a dream to one of the *bareth* of the Akurwa shrine and prescribes the songs to be sung; no doubt among these will be some of those recorded by Hofmayr, op. cit., 403, et seq.

specially built for him. Here he should stay for about a month (Papit, the present king, stayed only four nights), spending much time in communion with Nyakang, giving many presents though receiving few, and abundantly exercising his right of amnesty.

A ceremonial fire is made by friction, *ororo* and *kwareth* working together, from which brands are taken—by the *ororo* to start a fire in front of the hut in which the king is staying, by the *kwareth* for a fire in the centre of the village, and by commoners for a fire in a millet field near the king's hut. The purpose of these fires—we quote verbatim from Mr. Heasty's letter—is " to keep anyone from taking the king's life before he is crowned ". It is generally said that a brand from one of these fires is carried to Fashoda, but this is not so; Mr. Heasty discovered that the fire-sticks (one an old spear-handle) are carefully wrapped up and taken to Fashoda by the *ororo*, together with offerings of cattle. After the king has reached Fashoda all the fires in the village are put out; a cow is taken to the house of Nyakang as offering, together with the fire-sticks, and by means of the latter a new fire is kindled by the *ororo* and *kwareth*. If this starts quickly it is a good omen and the king will live long; if the fire is long in kindling it is a sign that Nyakang is not well pleased with the new king and that his reign is likely to be short and troubled.

The king-elect is escorted to Fashoda riding a black ox; on reaching the *khor* nearby he stops and awaits the arrival of the party from Akurwa, now swollen to a procession, who approach singing ancient sacred songs. From now on, until the entry to Fashoda, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow details of the ceremony. Mr. Munro's account is most valuable, and is printed as an Appendix, but he points out that the crowd was so dense that he could not see everything. Probably a black ox is sacrificed before the khor (about a quarter of a mile from Fashoda) is crossed, and it seems that there is something in the nature of a sham fight between the party surrounding the king-elect and the folk bringing the effigy of Nyakang from Akurwa. The khor is at last crossed, it being important that the king-elect should not wet his feet, and it appears that there is now a substantial fusion of the two parties—perhaps after a further scuffle. The king-elect, with " Nyakang " near to him, moves forward to Fashoda, and as he does so he treads successively on a sheep lying bound on [illegible] on an ox, and in former days on an old man who had been

hours in the shrine of Nyakang; this old man was smeared with flour, and was so betrodden by the multitude that he usually succumbed.[1] Now, or perhaps at an earlier stage of the ceremony, a girl of about ten is presented to the king-elect by men of *kwa* Okal, a clan traditionally descended from the old inhabitants of the land who became the friends and dependents of Nyakang.[2]

At last the king-elect enters Fashoda, *ororo* on either side of him, and is taken to the shrine of Nyakang, in front of which, its legs held by the *ororo*, is the sacred four-legged stool brought from Akurwa. Upon this is placed the effigy of Nyakang, presumably held in place by an *ororo*; these sacred objects are shielded from the general view by a sheet of cotton cloth held in front and at the sides, the shrine forming a screen behind them. Within the enclosed area are certainly the king-elect, the *nya kwer*, and the man holding "Nyakang"; whether there are others is uncertain. According to one account the king-elect, wrapped in a cowhide, is laid on the ground on a leopard skin in front of Nyakang; he clasps a drum, and the whole assembly beseeches the spirit of Nyakang to protect and bless the new ruler. The *ororo* crouch behind the king, while women, singing and dancing, encircle the recumbent group. Whether these details are accurate or not it is certain that after a short time the statue of Nyakang is withdrawn by the *ororo* from the stool, on which the king now seats himself, remaining motionless in prayer and communion with his ancestors for perhaps a quarter of an hour. Meanwhile water is heated in the specially built temporary "homestead"—consisting we believe of three huts—into which the king will withdraw when he retires from the shrine of Nyakang, and certain of the king's wives wash his feet with hot and with cold water, in order that he may be neither too "cold" nor too "hot" with his people. A bull provided by the *kwa* Ajol has been led before the door of the king's special

[1] There is obviously more ceremonial in connection with this man than we have indicated, or else there were two human sacrifices, but details were not easy to elicit. Aker informed us that the victim would be lying unbound when the king stepped over him, touching him with his right foot as he did so, for if this were not done the country would sicken and fail. This took place near the shrine of Nyakang, apparently as the king approached the sacred stool; the "great ones"—including certainly the *jang duong*—assembled near the shrine and each spat into a bowl of porridge, which was then eaten by the victim, who was left exposed, tied up—or perhaps pegged out—until dead, though it was not expected that he would die the same night. It was said that the victim was not selected from any special clan or place.

[2] This girl, known as the *nya kwer*, attends the king-elect during the ceremonies of installation and later is given in marriage—he does not marry her himself—according to his wishes. *Kwa* Okal formerly received a large payment in spears and cattle for providing this girl. Whether she at one time was taken to wife by the king and in any way resembled the *dak ker* of the Acholi

homestead, and is speared by an *ororo* after the king has marked it with a spear, or perhaps made passes over it, the beast being dragged away to fall probably outside the shrine of Nyakang.

This brings the installation proper to an end, and the king, waited on by the *nya kwer*, enters the homestead, where he should remain some ten days in solemn communion with Nyakang whose spirit he now incarnates.

On the tenth night the king is taken by the *ororo* to his rebuilt "palace" on the mound Aturwic, and lives there for a month in retirement. When he comes down from the mound there is again a sham fight, in which he vanquishes his opponent, and he is now the acknowledged king.[1] A beast is sacrificed, and the chiefs present make oration on the rights and duties of the ruler, each emphasizing his words by brandishing his spear and thrusting it into the ground at the close of his speech. The king replies, promises to be a just ruler, to punish wrong and to protect the weak, and dismisses his people after exhorting them to remain true to Nyakang and to their ancient customs.

The three newly built huts which were occupied by the king are broken down (perhaps by the *ororo*) and their fragments thrown into the river.

We believe that the installation of a new *reth* generally takes place about the middle of the dry season. It was said that the Akurwa party and "Nyakang" stay at Fashoda for some time, until about the beginning of the rains. On leaving Fashoda a bullock is sacrificed, and a sheep is killed before crossing every khor on the way back. On arriving at Akurwa four or five of the cattle presented by the *reth* are sacrificed, and the bones thrown into the river.

The third element in the Shilluk religion is the cult of ancestors (other than those of the royal family). We confess that we feel unable to set this forth in due proportion and perspective. For while it is certainly true to say that the ancestral cult is overshadowed by the cult of Nyakang, and that if it ever existed in any such form and degree as among the Dinka it is now but a remnant of what it once was, yet we are convinced that there is very much more feeling for and fear of dead ancestors than appears on the surface. We have

already referred to *pan Juok* (p. 75), the country of the dead, to be reached after long wandering in the bush, but there is also a chthonic element in Shilluk ancestor worship; the spirit persists in or round the grave and may harm its living relatives, e.g. the death of a missionary's wife shortly after that of her husband was attributed to the ghost of the latter, while Hofmayr quotes a remark of the chief Yangjok to the effect that evil comes on man from below.[1] Again, the Shilluk undoubtedly fear the *cen*, the malevolent element that persists after the death of one who has died in hatred of friends or relatives, though here again the belief does not seem to bulk as largely as among the Acholi.

Offerings and sacrifice may be made to ancestors, but in our limited experience we have met with no instance that could certainly be dissociated from the cult of the royal ancestors or in which the ancestral spirits were not confused with or associated with Juok. It is true that Hofmayr describes offerings to ancestors[2] but his descriptions, taken for the most part from notes of colleagues, are not very convincing, as there is nothing to show that the cult of Nyakang or his descendants was specifically excluded. On the other hand he cites two short chants[3] which may be regarded as evidence of prayer to the ancestors:—

tere kwaje mayegen
"The people entreat their mothers (ancestors)."
tere kwaje tiengen
"The people entreat their people (their dead)."

A hæmorrhage followed by sudden death is called "the spears of the dead", i.e. the victim has been stabbed by a ghostly weapon, but the Shilluk expression, *tong tieng pa Juok*, seems to bring Juok into the matter. A more definite relation to ancestral spirits is seen in a note by Banholtzer, quoted by Hofmayr,[4] to the effect that warriors obtained the services of an *ajuago* to invoke their ancestors, that the spirits of the slain may be harmless. A sheep is killed and part of the viscera placed in a pot and buried as an offering to those in the underworld.[5]

Mr. Heasty, whom we consulted, holds that there is little difference between the worship of ancestors, and that of former kings. A suppliant would visit a royal shrine if there happened to be one near, and might afterwards resort to the grave of an ancestor. If no royal shrine were near he would immediately resort to an ancestor shrine, brushing away sticks, dirt, etc., with his hands, and offer a prayer to the ancestor. When for sickness a sheep is offered at the grave of an ancestor, an ear is severed, indicating that the sheep belongs to that ancestor and is ever afterwards sacred. Such sacred animals are handed over to some aged attendant of the shrine; their milk is never mixed with the milk of other animals, but is kept for the small children and the very aged, who come to the attendant's home to drink. The animals are never sold, and for each as it gets old one of its offspring is substituted. Such prayer and sacrifice may be offered in any serious difficulty, in sickness, before a perilous journey, or when greatly perplexed in any matter.

Human sacrifice was always rare among the Shilluk, but it undoubtedly occurred. There is a legend, likely we think to be truthful, that the shrine at Fenikang was originally erected with human sacrifice, and the idea exists that each time this shrine is rebuilt someone will die. We have already referred to the ceremonial and fatal treading underfoot of an old man (p. 95), by the king-elect and the people, and to the ceremonial drowning of a man and woman (p. 92). But besides these ceremonies more or less secret sacrifices might take place as a last resort to obtain rain—the usual prayers and offerings having failed—and for success in war. According to Hofmayr, who gives texts with literal translations,

deceased, the right ear is cut from the sheep, and tied to the ankle of the person making the offering, and the wounded ear is washed in a gourd of water . . . and then the water is poured on the grave, and part of it is thrown in the eye of the sun. . . . It is for God . . . The prayer is offered before the ear is cut off. If the son offers, prayer is made to God and the deceased, and then the sheep is killed as soon as . . . [the sheep urinates]. The sheep is cut open, and the contents of the stomach and bowels are thrown on the house of the sufferer, and then the meat is cooked. The meat cannot be tasted until the oldest living wife of the deceased takes some of the soup in a small gourd, which is covered with a small native mat, and pours it on the grave. . . .

"While there is no set form for the prayer . . . yet they are all very similar, and the following is an example:—

"We praise you, you, who are God, it was you, who gave me my father, who begot me. I pray to you also my father. Why did you go to the earth and keep silence? Was not this your house before? When evil comes to your house, why do you not pray to God? Your house is given as a plaything to the people. You went to the presence of God, and we thought that nothing evil would befall us again, after you left. Now help, God. Why do you leave the responsibility of saving on God alone? God's spirit becomes tired (from work), and he leaves people and they die. Why do you not see and save us? You went to the ground, and you have forgotten that a person from another house does not guard [illegible]" (Op. cit., 284–5).

the king would generally be privy to the matter—always, it may be presumed, where rain was concerned—the actual killing being done by an *ajuago*; special virtue resides in the testes, and these, perhaps with other parts of the body, were buried in the track to water, i.e. to the river.[1] The procedure was the same, whether for rain or war.

The "medicine-men" of the Shilluk are of two kinds, the *ajuago* —literally "the man of Juok" (God)—the good medicine-man, who generally speaking works for the good of the community (though from the administrative standpoint his acts may be reprehensible), including the cure of the sick, and the evil medicine-man, the *jalyat*—literally "the man of herbs"—dealing essentially in black magic, or the satisfaction of private rather than public ends.

Typically, though not always, the *jalyat* is a monorchid, though men with double undescended testes or even unusually small glands tend to be regarded as such. The malignity attending this condition is so fully recognized that all such should be killed at birth; this can only be done by drowning, the victim being enclosed within a specially woven basket without which—such is its power—the infant would surely survive. A common practice of the *jalyat* is to work on parts of the body (hair, excreta, etc.) of the person to be injured, and the process is extended to include objects associated with the individual, e.g. a petticoat, or even a weapon (especially a club); or an effigy may be made, and heated or pierced to destroy the person it represents.

Certain women known as *daiyat*—recognized by their actions, especially do they speak enviously of others—are regarded as the feminine equivalent of the *jalyat*. The magic of the *daiyat* is associated with her belly; one mode of working evil is to urinate into a gourd and place this in the house of her victim. A *daiyat* has no difficulty in getting married, nor does she bring misfortune on her husband.

We are in doubt as to how far the evil eye (*yuop*) is associated with the *jalyat*, though it is certain that not all having the evil eye are monorchids or even of the male sex. The power of the evil eye —largely, though not necessarily, hereditary—is perhaps the other most common cause of illness and is met by sympathetic magic:—

> "When a medicine man undertakes to cure a case of the evil eye, he aims to . . . cure the person suffering, and . . . to put that particular charmer . . . out of business. A sheep is brought, and the medicine man heats a nail red-hot. With the nail he blinds the sheep. He then tells the patient that he

[1] Op. cit., 154–6.

is cured, and at the same time the burning out the eyes of the sheep is a type of what will happen to the person who cast the spell. His eyes will waste away. If the eyes of the person who cast the spell do not become inflamed, the cure does not take effect." [1]

The power of the *ajuago* is due to the immanence of the spirits of the early Shilluk kings. The guardians of the shrine of Nyakang might or might not be *ajuago*; they do not become *ajuago* because of their connection with the shrine, nor does their being *ajuago* alter their official position. According to our most reliable informant, only the spirits of Nyakang, Dag, and Boc (the first, third, and seventh of the Shilluk kings) become immanent in men to make them *ajuago*. When a man first becomes *ajuago* he becomes ill, perhaps waking, trembling and agitated, from a dream (in which he may afterwards say the spirit came to him). He consults an *ajuago*, who may tell him, "No, you are not ill, you have the spirit of Dag within you." A long and complicated ceremony is then performed in order that the spirit may not affect him too severely, for without this ceremony the spirit would be unduly strong in his body. We could not discover with certainty the exact nature of the change effected by the ceremony, but it seemed to us that our informant, one Akon Acol, who had in him the spirit of Dag, considered that the spirit, which had previously attacked his body in the rudest fashion, became attached rather to his spirit or soul. The ancestral spirit of any one king may be immanent in many *ajuago* at the same time, often passing at the death of an *ajuago*—or shortly afterwards—into one of his children, who thus becomes an *ajuago*. The power is frequently hereditary, and we know of one instance where a man waited for years for possession by Dag as his mother had been possessed, the condition coming finally as the result of a dream in which he saw a flame of supreme brightness; on waking he had the conviction that Dag was now immanent, and thereupon built the spirit-hut of which we reproduce a drawing (Fig. 9). The reality of the power is practically tested by the success of the would-be *ajuago* in effecting cures; if he fails, especially in his early cases, it will be recognized that he is not truly possessed.

We have recorded elsewhere—noting that our information was unconfirmed—the statement that female *ajuago* should not marry but might have lovers, and that according to our authority (unchecked) the husband of married *ajuago* would have access to their

[1] Rev. D. S. Oyler, "The Shilluk's Belief in the Evil Eye," *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1919, 125.

wives only during the dark half of the month.[1] We discussed this matter with Aker in 1921. When asked whether a married woman who became an *ajuago* would stay with her husband, Aker, with a pantomime of horror, replied that this would be impossible and that she must go and live in another house; if her husband approached her she would die. Nor should she have anything to do with other men. A male *ajuago* who wants children arranges for some other

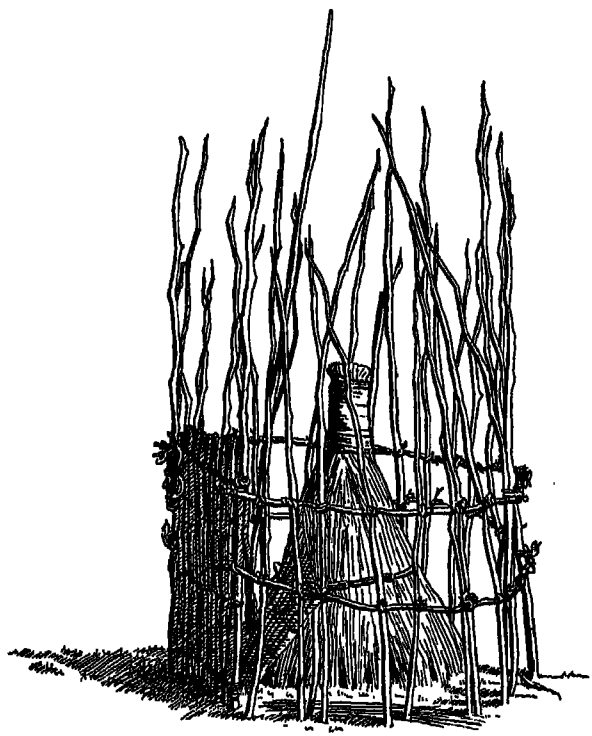


FIG. 9. Spirit hut.

man to have intercourse with his wife, i.e. all *ajuago* live celibate lives, indeed a male *ajuago* may give his cattle to a relative avowedly because he no longer requires them to procure a wife. It was explained that he would be physically afraid of approaching a woman, "the body shrinks" being a literal translation of the Arabic words used by our interpreter. The outward signs of possession were said to be specially strong with the waxing moon, weak or absent with the

[1] Seligman, op. cit., 232

waning, but when it was suggested that perhaps an *ajuago* might then have connection this was strenuously denied.

Perhaps the commonest cause of sickness was the entrance into a person of the spirit of one of the divine kings, a cure being effected when the spirit could be persuaded to leave its involuntary host. We believe that only the early kings were thought to produce illness in this manner, and certainly the three or four cases into which we inquired were all said to be possessed by Dag. One of these cases, a woman who recovered after two sheep had been sacrificed to Dag, wore bead anklets, and amidst the beads there were threaded small pieces of the conchae of the ears of the goats. These anklets were considered protective against future possession by Dag.

Oaths are sworn by Nyakang, or on one of the holy spears from the shrine of Nyakang. Westermann notes that the latter form is used only in judicial procedure: a sheep is killed, and both parties are smeared with its blood, after which they swear by the spear, perjury being followed by death. In swearing by Nyakang his name is often coupled with that of one of the villages in which he has a shrine, e.g. a man may swear by Nyakang of Akurwa. The early kings may also be invoked by name, especially Dag.[1]

Reference has been made to the cattle belonging to Nyakang and kept at his shrines. In common parlance these are "cows of Nyakang", but besides these there was a mythical herd of mysterious cows from the river also known as the "cows of Nyakang", and from their dung were obtained the "ashes of denying", described by Westermann as follows:—

> "Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river. . . . It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd. . . . They live in the river and come out to feed at night. . . . some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. . . . The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in . . . cases of adultery. . . . When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the 'ashes of denying'. An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect, and offers the following prayer: 'You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with this woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely may he escape!' After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die."[2]

[1] Op. cit., xliii.

[2] Op. cit., xliv.

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The Shilluk idea of the spiritual make-up of man is neither simple nor easy to understand. Every living man has both *wei* and *tipo*, the former signifying "breath", "life", the latter "shadow", "image", as in water or mirror. We have already referred to the *cen* of one dying in anger and malevolence (p. 97), and there is a word *aneko*, meaning ghost, i.e. the spirit of one dead. So far we are reasonably certain of our facts, but there may be an element called *winyo* (lit. bird) of whose functions we can predicate nothing.

No death occurred in the villages we visited whilst we were among the Shilluk.

According to Hofmayr, death may be hastened when there is much suffering or if the agony is long drawn out. He states that a prolonged period of immobility of the body is taken for death; the women immediately begin to wail, the dying man is declared dead, his face is covered with a cloth, and the grave is dug.[1] Burial is at full length, a few paces from the door of the house in which the deceased lived. The grave is dug by old men, mostly relatives. A skin is placed in the grave and the body laid upon it wrapped in a white cloth (this is a recent introduction) and covered with another skin. The position of the hands is uncertain; we were told that they were laid between the knees, and also that they were placed in front of the face. Nothing is buried with the corpse, but later a hole is made near and objects placed in it.

Westermann's text, from which the following account is taken, is of special interest as it contains minute details of Shilluk behaviour; it is, however, too long for inclusion and we give only the salient features. It should be noted that his description applies to rich and important men; with a single exception the graves that we saw had no cattle horns on them, and we believe that for a poor man cattle are not always killed. The use of a bier is not invariable:—

When a man dies two fowls are killed, one being placed at the head of the deceased. An ox and a goat are also sacrificed. Beads are tied round the ankles of the men who prepare the grave:—

> "The man is buried thus: Some men dig the hole, and some men skin the cow [ox in the early part of the account] . . . the hide is cut into strips, and a bier is [made] . . ., his wife is called, she is to hold the feet of the dead man, and the man is laid on the bier. His wife (or: the women belonging

[1] Op. cit., 299.

to the family) sweeps the place where his feet lie; and a female relative of the dead man . . . throws away the hearth-stones. . . . A goat . . . is killed . . . the drum is beaten, and the people begin to weep (mourn); as soon as the weeping stops, the people dance mourning dances . . . go around in a procession dancing. . . .

"A fence is made around the grave; the people wash themselves in the river. . . . Oboyo (a plant) is brought, and a fowl, the people are beaten (touched) with the oboyo. . . . The eating-tools of the dead man are burnt, and the people rub the ashes on their forehead; . . . [after] four days . . . beer is made, the beer for rubbing mud on the back of the dead man . . . and poured on the back of the dead man (on his grave). Mud is . . . put on the back of the dead man . . . beer is brought, and again is poured on the grave. The ox is speared; the drum is beaten, the people take their arms and make war-plays, and go around in procession." [1]

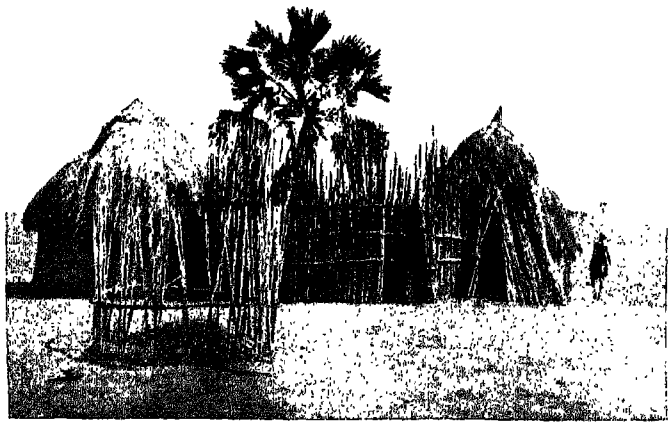
We may add that after the burial all the people bathe in the river. No food taboos are laid on the mourners, who should shave the head, put aside all beads, wear a cow-rope round the neck, and abstain from dancing during the period of mourning. Any milk that has been standing in the house of the deceased is poured upon his grave, as well as some beer. Hofmayr states that young wives or parents bid farewell to the dead before the grave is filled in, and that very emotional scenes are not uncommon.

Many years ago we witnessed a Shilluk burial at Omdurman. Women bearing spears went round and round the grave, dancing, while other women beat drums and shook bells. Later the men danced in war panoply with spear and shield. Dr. Tucker tells us that on the occasion of a burial he saw a bull chased through the settlement with loud yells and killed outside by armed men, who on their return danced round the grave, making as though to attack it, while the women wailed. About a month after burial people collect for a further ceremony.

Dura for beer is collected from all the people. . . . The beer is strained . . . the drum is beaten. An ox is speared, goats are killed. . . . The next morning . . . four cows are killed in [the house enclosure of the deceased] . . . and four . . . in the middle of the village. Then all, all, all the people come, a great many of Shilluks. When it is afternoon, the people mourn, and four cows are killed by the people in the bush. Cooking-pots are carried out, and a hole is dug for them (and for the other household-things of the dead man) near the place where the head of the dead man lies. And two pots, and a gourd, and a small pot for beer, a mat for covering food, and two dishes, all these things are broken and thrown into the hole. . . . The horns of cattle . . . they are brought . . . they are [placed] on the grave, so that they may be seen by the people. . . ." [2]

[1] Westermann, op. cit., 112–13. [2] Westermann, loc. cit.

PLATE X



Shilluk homestead, grave in foreground



Anuak

Kwanyireth are buried in the same way as commoners. We saw an oval mound in one village surrounded by a fence, and were told that it was the grave of a *kwanyireth*. Such a fence is also built round the grave of an *ajuago*; those we saw were in the centre of the village, and it may be that this position was chosen purposely. The wives of the kings, the *bareth*, are buried by the *ororo*, inside their huts (not outside, as commoners are), which though left standing for some time are eventually pulled down. If a king's wife falls ill she will if possible return to her own village to die, and will be buried there. Huts of the recently deceased are marked on each side of the door with vertical stripes of white clay of about a hand's breadth, to ward off evil and the vengeance of the deceased.

LITTLE-KNOWN SHILLUK-SPEAKING TRIBES

Besides the Shilluk, a number of other Shilluk-speaking tribes exist in the Sudan. Little is known of any of these, though we are less ignorant of the Acholi than of the other peoples. These tribes include the following:—

The Anuak (called Bar by the Nuer) of the Sobat river, extending along the Baro and Akobo rivers into Abyssinia.

The Luo, the so-called Shilluk-speaking Jur. As stated in Chapter I, the use of the word *jur* (Dinka, "stranger") as a tribal name has caused much confusion in the identification of the minor Shilluk-speaking tribes, a confusion which has tended to obscure the ethnology of the whole south-western Sudan. We shall therefore avoid the use of this word, noting that the Luo are the remains of the "greater Luo people" referred to on page 37.

The Belanda, a composite tribe with a Shilluk-speaking section calling themselves Bor (p. 492), whose territory lies to the south and south-west of the Luo.

Westermann mentions a tribe called Ber, living south of the Bongo and east of the Belanda on the right bank of the Sueh river.[1] We cannot identify this tribe, and suspect that there has been confusion with the Bor of the Belanda complex.

The Dembo, whom Westermann places north-west of the "Jur on both sides of the Bahr Dembo".[2]

[1] Op. cit., 31. [2] Loc. cit.

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[1] Op. cit., 31. [2] Loc. cit.

The Acholi, limited in the Sudan to an area in the extreme south lying north and west of Nimule, but with their headquarters in Uganda.[1]

The Föri, usually referred to by Europeans as Berri, occupying part of Lepul hill (officially and cartographically known as Lafon), an isolated hill about 15 miles north-east of Lafit. Westermann, who mentions the "Beri", suggests that they may be identical with the Beir,[2] but in this he is mistaken, for although the Beir have been reported to speak a Shilluk dialect[3] they are closely akin to the Didinga and speak their language. We did not visit Lafon, but at Torit saw a few men who came from there, and were able to ascertain that they spoke a language belonging to the Shilluk group. The following information is taken from a paper by Mr. Driberg.[4]

The Föri are divided into three sections, one, the Pugeri, claiming to be Shilluk and to have migrated upstream to Mongalla and then eastwards via Lokoiya to the present habitat, under the leadership of a chief, Modi, nine generations ago. The other two sections, the Boi and the Kor, trace their genealogies back to two Anuak brothers, who reached Lepul separately having travelled almost due south before the territory they crossed had been occupied by the Nuer and the Beir. During the chieftainship of the father of the present (1925) chief of the Kor the two sections quarrelled, and the Kor migrated in a body to Pajok in the Acholi country, only to return within the last quarter of a century.

The importance of this account is that it explains why the people of Lafon have been confused with almost every other of the Shilluk-speaking peoples. It may be that the hill was at one time inhabited by folk other than immigrant Nilotes from the north, for it is terraced for agriculture, not a Nilotic practice (it is true the Nilotes of the Sudan have no hills), and "the floors of their courtyards . . . are paved with a mosaic of potsherds",[5] which recalls the tessellated thresholds of the Bari.

[1] Outside the Sudan, Shilluk languages or dialects are spoken in Uganda by the Lango north of Lake Chioga (so well described by Mr. Driberg), by the Jaluo or Kavirondo, by the Alur (two dialects, perhaps to be defined as riverain and mountain) west of the Nile, and by the Jopaluo in northern Unyoro.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] M. H. Logan, "The Beirs": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 238.

[4] "Lafon Hill": *S.N. & R.*, viii, 1925, 47–57. This paper incorporates unpublished material collected by Captain Jennings Bramley. We may also draw attention to a note by Mr. R. H. Walsh, "The Beri, or more correctly Pari": *S.N. & R.*, v, 1922.

[5] Driberg, op. cit., 57.

We add a short account of the Luo, Anuak, and Acholi, though the last belong physically and culturally to the South-Western Mesaticephals.

THE LUO

The Luo, miscalled Jur, constitute a small tribe living in a series of villages along the edge of the Dinka country in the neighbourhood of Wau. They profess to be a branch of the Shilluk, and are considered so by the Dinka, but there can be little doubt that they are the remains of the greater people from whom the Shilluk split. They are said to be bilingual, speaking Dinka as well as their own language.

Professor L. Cummins describes them as very dark in colour, almost as black as the Dinka; they are tall and spare, with but slight development of the calf; their heads are long and narrow.[1] Moreover, one of Schweinfurth's drawings[2] shows these characters so well as to leave little doubt that the Luo are true Nilotes, a matter finally decided by Professor Evans-Pritchard's measurements, which give a C.I. of 70·5 (8) and stature 1·77 m. (13).

In Schweinfurth's time the men went naked and smeared themselves with ashes; the hair was elaborately dressed and sometimes coloured with ashes or clay. Nowadays they usually wear a loincloth, imitating the Azande. The women wear leather aprons in front and behind. The central incisors of the lower jaw are knocked out in both sexes.

The Luo, who are good hunters and fishers and excellent iron workers, are in the main agricultural, with but few cattle, the chief domestic animals being goats and sheep. Dr. Tucker tells us that there is a good deal of variation in their mode of life, depending on their relation to their more powerful neighbours. The more northerly Luo have in the main conformed to Dinka habits; further south their mode of life is assimilated to that of the shorter mesaticephals around them, a process that has been going on since the middle of last century.

[1] "Sub-tribes of the Bahr el Ghazal Dinkas": *JRAI.*, xxxiv, 1904, 165.
[2] *Schweinfurth*, i, 203.

THE ANUAK

We have no personal knowledge of the Anuak, who are said to be shorter than the Shilluk, of sturdier build, with rather more muscular legs. Their resemblance to the Shilluk is confirmed by the measurements of two skulls in the collection of the Royal College of Surgeons, with C.I. of 71·3 and 73·2 respectively and N.I. of 64 and 68·1. That they exhibit the same wide degree of variation as the Shilluk is suggested by a communication from Captain A. G. Cummins :—

> " The Anuak strike me at first sight as being a very mixed people ; they vary a great deal in colour and a good deal in feature, some of their faces are startlingly European in their regularity of feature and breadth of forehead. . . . Some of them have remarkably fine noses, with thin nostrils and lips."

Miss Soule tells us that they differ from the Shilluk temperamentally, in their lesser reticence and their willingness to seek work. They appreciate and wear a certain amount of clothing, loin-cloths or even trousers. Moreover, they are keen agriculturists ; witness the following account, written nearly thirty years ago :—

> The Anuak country is " well wooded, and to a great extent free of those large expanses of swamp found lower down the river in Nuer territory. The numerous huts and hamlets, with which the river banks are dotted, are generally built close to the edge of the bank overlooking the river, usually on mounds slightly raised above the normal level of the bank. . . . They are a . . . friendly and industrious race. . . . Miles and miles along the river banks are diligently cultivated by them twice a year, and splendid crops spring up from the generous soil ".[1]

The Anuak speak Shilluk or a Shilluk dialect, and Mr. Heasty considers that the language is as fully tonic as Shilluk, but even at the present day there is no direct contact between Anuak and Shilluk along the Sobat, and, whatever may have been the position in remote times, for the last hundred years or more they have been kept apart by the intervening Nuer.

At the present day the Anuak inhabit the banks of the Baro, Gila, and Akobo rivers, extending into Abyssinia, with villages on the Sobat near Nasser and at Ajungmir near the mouth of the Pibor river, but it is known that formerly they lived lower down the Sobat whence they were driven eastwards by the Jekañ Nuer. So far as we can discover, Lt.-Col. C. R. K. Bacon stands alone in having published

[1] *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, edited by Lieut-Col. Count Gleichen, I, 1905, 134.

information concerning their beliefs and customs, and it is from his papers [1] that the following material—collected in Sudan territory, and applying specifically to the Sudanese portion of the tribe—is mainly derived, but we are also greatly indebted to Mr. Heasty, who in answer to questions has supplied us with a considerable amount of supplementary information.

The Anuak trace their origin to the "country of Dimo" of the Shilluk, and, in fact, have very definite ideas of their separation from the latter, saying that they were led northwards and eastwards by Gila, a brother of Nyakang, whom they call Akango; indeed their legends bring the three brothers in amity to the neighbourhood of Lake No, where at Wi pan dwong—called by the Shilluk Wi Pac—they place the quarrel that led to the splitting off of Shilluk and Anuak and the return of Dimo to the present country of the Luo near Wau.

According to Mr. Heasty, Gila was regarded as a powerful chief but not really a king, and it is his grandchild, Cuwai, whom the Anuak consider their first sovereign. One day two Anuak women caught a large fish, which on being seized turned first to a snake, then crocodile and then man. This river-man was taken to the house of Gila, where he stayed until he had gotten the younger daughter of Gila with child, when he went back to the river. She gave birth to Ucoda, who returned to his father in the river. Later she brought forth Cuwai (also by the river-man), afterwards recognized as the first king of the Anuak. Colonel Bacon [2] records that Cuwai married his sister and begat a boy and a girl, whose descendants, for they too married, became the Anuak people. Soon there appeared from the river a mysterious stranger, Ucoda; he brought with him the Ucok and Gurmato necklaces, part of the insignia of royalty, and Cuwai gave him his daughter, Kori Nyairu, in marriage.

The Anuak are divided into clans, with a totemic organization and clan exogamy. Mr. Heasty was told that the clan animal usually "visited the grave after death and sometimes took the body"; further, "if the animal came into the village a sacrifice was offered to it." We heard of certain men avoiding particular kinds of food, and Colonel Bacon writes:—

> "Each family has a special ancestor or ancestral object such as a tree, hill, crocodile, lion, snake, etc. The members of a family related to the lion, for

[1] "Kingship among the Anuak": *S.N. & R.*, iv, 1921; and "The Anuak": *S.N. & R.*, v, 1922.

[2] "The Anuak": *S.N. & R.*, v, 1922, 114.

instance, have no fear of this animal and would certainly not molest it. A case recently occurred in which a man of the lion family unwittingly killed a small lion in the grass, having mistaken it for a hyena. As soon as possible the head of the family and the other members proceeded to the spot and slaughtered two goats to appease their ancestral spirit." [1]

Colonel Bacon describes "the real respect and fear" displayed by the people towards their king. Only influential men approached him, and they did so "in a crouching position, and after spitting on their hands and rubbing them in their hair they touched a hand that was condescendingly held out to them." [2] Moreover, "as a rule children of the Sultan's family do not have their teeth removed, but if they are taken out they are put in a special small drum called *Udola Wuruchamu* which is beaten on state occasions." [3]

Although the king is the head of the nation, Mr. Heasty's description suggests that he has not the supreme position and dignity of the Shilluk king, in fact each royal son seems to consider himself almost as important as his father and is much looked up to in the village where he was born. On the other hand, as Mr. Heasty informs us, the Anuak show their village chiefs far more respect than do the Shilluk.

The ceremony of investiture of an Anuak king, *nyeya*, as described by Colonel Bacon has a certain general similarity to that of the Shilluk *reth*, with the reserve that the new *nyeya* of the Anuak is enthroned during the lifetime of the previous *nyeya*, while the insignia consist of two four-legged stools (the more important named Wellu), two bead necklaces (Ucok and Gurmato), "of such mixed and dazzling colours that they are said to bring tears to the eyes," and a small drum called Udola Wurucamu.[4]

In the account given by Mr. Heasty there figures a three-legged stool, one leg being very weak; if the king-elect was able to balance on this stool without falling he was recognized as a true son of the king and rightful heir to the throne; if he fell over he was held an imposter and would be killed. If he succeeded, a certain necklace made of large red beads, with one much larger ivory bead in the centre (presumably one of the regalia already referred to), would of its own accord come crawling like a snake upon the ground and encircle him.

[1] Op. cit., 119.
[2] Bacon, "Kingship amongst the Anuak": *S.N. & R.*, iv, 1921, 163, 164.
[3] Bacon, "The Anuak": *S.N. & R.*, v, 1922, 118. Miss Soule informs us that in commoners the canines are destroyed early in infancy, and the four lower unerupted permanent incisors removed at about ten. The same authority states that the Anuak do not scar the forehead.
[4] "The Investiture of an Anuak Nyeya or Sultan": *S.N. & R.*, vii, 1924, 114–17.

The king is not killed ceremonially as among the Shilluk, nor do we know of any class corresponding to the *ororo*, yet, as Mr. Heasty informs us the burial customs are similar. When a king dies two members of his mother's family are killed and buried with him. A new house—with ostrich egg and spear on top but without a door—is built over the grave, which is some distance from the village, and this becomes a shrine and is called *kego* (Shilluk *kengo*).

Formerly on the death of the king there was fighting among the adherents of the rivals to the throne, though apparently this lasted only a few days and it seemed that the royal claimants did not themselves go to battle.

The Anuak are polygynous, but probably the great majority have only one wife. An everage transfer of bride-wealth might include: 1 bead necklace (*shauweir*), 5 waiststrings of *tet* beads, 2 waiststrings of *dumoy* beads, 4 cows, 1 bull, 70 spears of the *okwen* type, 2 spears of the *dem* type, 1 spear of the *jo* type, 10 brass wrist bangles.[1]

> "The payment of this [bride-wealth] may be, and usually is, spread over a number of years, and defalcation is common and gives rise to many disputes. Should a woman die after marriage and before she has given birth to a child then the [bride-wealth] or such part of it as had already been paid by the husband is returned to him." [2]

In the religious sphere Juok appears to play much the same part as among the Shilluk, but prayer is usually offered direct, for there is no dominant cult of dead kings as among the Shilluk. Indeed, the Anuak thinks of a dead king in much the same light as he regards a dead commoner—as being directly concerned only with his own descendants; even the shrine of Cuwai in the village of Dinytidi, though revered, has no such profound national significance as have the shrines of Nyakang.

Mr. Heasty gives the following prayer offered by a man whose child was ill: "Juok you are great, you are the one who created me, I have no other. Juok you are in the heavens, you are the only one,

[1] "The dumoy beads are of an opaque blue colour varying in shade between a watery blue to a dark blue. They are very unevenly cut at the edges—the Anuak say they were made by their own people in olden days. They are very scarce and none can be bought in any open market, but they are much in request and always form part of a marriage dowry. In consequence a single waist string of about thirty inches long is worth one cow or 30 *okwen* spears. . . . The *shauweir* bead is a largish red bead, and the *tet* bead is of a dark greenish colour. . . . The *okwen* type of spear is nowadays made by the local blacksmith out of trade spears. It usually has curved projecting spikes on the iron haft below the head. . . . Both the *dem* and *jo* spears are scarce. They are not made nowadays and the Anuak believe that anyone attempting to produce these types will die." (Bacon, *S.N. & R.*, v, 1922, 120–1.)

[2] Bacon, op. cit., 121.

now my child is sick and you will grant me my desire." No doubt sacrifice accompanied this prayer, and this is borne out by Colonel Bacon's statement that the relatives of a sick man sometimes slay a bull or sheep as a sacrifice to Juok for recovery; the flesh being eaten by everybody except those closely related to the sick person.[1]

Certain trees, both in the bush and in or near villages, are objects of reverence, credited with supernormal powers having some connection with child birth and the naming of children. Colonel Bacon cites four sacred trees of different species in the area around Akobo Post, each having a proper name. Formerly regular offerings of food and tobacco were made to these trees, but nowadays the custom seems to be observed only by the older men; the young men are content to put a few beads on the ground at their roots. Anyone damaging the trees would die, and their children also would suffer.[2]

Mr. Heasty informs us that the *ajwoa* of the Anuak differs from the Shilluk *ajwogo* in that he does not claim to give victory in battle or to cure all disease, but only to exercise power against the *cijŏr*, who has the evil eye and (or) passes bones, lizards and the like into the bodies of people, causing sickness or death. The *cijŏr*, whose power is transmitted from father to son, vent their spite even on those of their own village; it is the task of the *ajwoa* to divine the cause of the illness and to remove it. As among the Nilotes generally, monorchids and deformities are thrown into the river as actual or potential *cijŏr*.

Colonel Bacon cites a form of "curse", coming into action after the death of the offended person, identical with the Shilluk and Acholi *cyen*.[3]

Concerning burial Colonel Bacon writes:—

> "Burial takes place within a few hours of death and as soon as the old men have dug the grave . . . about 3–4 feet deep and usually within two paces of the door of the deceased's hut; the direction of the grave is immaterial.

[1] *S.N. & R.*, v, 125. [2] Op. cit., 126.

[3] Colonel Bacon calls this *atshini*, which is not a corruption of the Arabic *atshan* in spite of the similarity in spelling and sound; its significance becomes clear if spelt *acyeni*, and Colonel Bacon's example is so interesting that it is cited at length:

"An old Sheikh who is in the last stage of tuberculosis recently complained that he was suffering from *atshini*. When asked if his 'heart was clean' or by what act in his life he could have incurred a curse from a fellow being he replied: 'Many years ago whilst my wife was pregnant she apparently went near to another woman's house wherein was a sick child. This child died and the mother accused my wife of having crossed the forbidden circle thereby causing the sick child to die, and demanded a child of mine in place of her dead infant. But I refused as I did not believe my wife had violated the custom in question. After about three months the mother of the deceased child died also, and before she died she must have put *atshini* on me because within a year my newly-born child died, then three months later my wife died and after that my married daughter died. And now I am ill myself.'" (*S.N. & R.*, v, 1922, 128.)



4

Anuak types, Nos. 1 and 2; Acholi, Nos. 3 and 4

A skin sleeping-mat is laid on the bottom of the grave and the corpse is laid on this at full length, but lying on its side with one hand under the head and the other stretched out along the body. . . . A second skin mat is then put over the body to keep off contact with the earth. If the deceased was wealthy a bull is killed and the fresh skin is put at the bottom of the grave, the meat being eaten by those who have dug the grave and otherwise assisted at the funeral. The excavated earth is then thrown into the grave and pounded down . . . water being thrown on to harden the surface which is finally sanded.

"After a month the grave mound is beaten down again to reduce it to ground level and once more the surface is treated with sand. The grave is now inconspicuous in the clean sanded floor that is maintained in all Anuak [homesteads]."

Sometimes a person expresses a wish to be buried on the site "of some old family village" and this will be done. Also in rare cases when a man has lost all his relations or children the body, covered with branches of thorn bush, may be exposed on a raised wooden platform far away in the forest.[1]

THE ACHOLI

The following information was gathered among the Acholi of the hill country immediately to the south of the Lotuko territory. The information contributed by Mr. Driberg refers to the southern Acholi in Uganda, as does that provided by Father Crazzolara. Both these authorities consider the southern Acholi to be ethnologically distinct from the hill people, and the latter to be not true Acholi but of mixed origin incorporating much Lango blood. In this they are probably correct, though so far as social life is concerned, e.g. in such important matters as the shrines to their dead, the provision of the *dak ker*, and the technique of rain-making, the culture of the hill people (estimated at some 13,000), is not Lango.

Physically the Acholi differ entirely from the Shilluk, as is shown in the following table, while temperamentally they offer just as great a difference.

	C.I.	*N.I.*	*F.I.*	*U.F.I.*	*Stature.*
Shilluk (21) .	71·3	93·3	83·2	—	1·77
Acholi (30) .	75·7	87·4	88·1	87·4	1·74

Instead of the proud aloofness of the Nilote we found an eager interest in the white man's ideas and personal effects, a delight in clothes—good clothes—such as we had seen nowhere else in the Sudan, and a desire for and pride in reading and writing altogether

[1] Bacon, "The Anuak": *S.N. & R.*, v, 123–4.

fresh to us. It took us very little time to come to these conclusions in 1922; to-day we can support them by an extract from a paper, shortly to appear in *Sudan Notes and Records*, which the author, Captain R. C. R. Whalley, kindly permits us to quote:—

> "The average Sudan Acholi has as great a craving for education as he has for personal adornment in the form of either European or gaudy clothes. At the various village schools one sees fully grown men, women, boys, girls, and children in regular attendance, and they can all, or the very large proportion, read and write their own language. Almost every Sudan Acholi policeman in the Opari District can read and write."

Neither northern nor southern Acholi have any traditional knowledge of the Shilluk, nor of any great northern migration of their kin. None of them recognized the name of Nyakang, and we could discover no tradition of a time when there was a single rain-maker for the whole or any great part of the Acholi "nation"; neither are their rain-makers divine kings, but rain-stones are used to produce rain, in much the same way as among the neighbouring peoples who do not speak a Shilluk dialect. Dr. Tucker found that an Acholi could understand Anuak and make himself understood in a few hours, while as regards tone he compares the speech of the Acholi with that of the Dinka or Nuer, definitely less tonic than Shilluk, and not notably more so than Bari, in which only a few tones seem to be grammatically significant. On the other hand the language is full of words obviously Shilluk, and the basic organization, a number of local groups belonging to exogamous clans (*kaka*) with male descent, is the same as that of the Shilluk.

Regulation of Public Life

We failed to discover definite evidence of totemism, though it was believed that certain people had the power of assuming leopard form. Such were-leopards could scarcely be killed and when hunted they would disappear. Chiefs, i.e. rain-makers (*ruot*), would not eat elephant meat, nor would members of certain clans. There is, however, something "unclean" or perhaps dangerous about elephant flesh; it is not taken into a hut, but is eaten outside and all partaking will carefully wash thereafter.[1]

[1] In answer to our questions Mr. J. Winder informs us that "at Pajok all women are debarred from elephant meat, while at Lotti, a few miles away, only some of them are thus restricted.

The clan names noted were: Folonganji and Abong (whose members were said not to eat elephant), Ameja, Labori, Afufuru, Embaro, Iko, Marari. Mr. Driberg could find none of these clans in the Kitgum district, except Ameja and Labori, but adds Palabek, Padibe, Payera, and Labongo, whose women refuse elephant meat. We heard of rain-makers of Abong and Folonganji clans, but do not know whether rain-makers belonged exclusively to these clans.

The rain-maker is the most important man in his group, a body whose size and constitution we are not prepared to define, but actually rain-making is only one of the functions—though the most essential—of certain chiefs, whose position is much the same as that of the Lotuko chiefs. Father Crazzolara is insistent on this matter, citing such men as Olia (p. 131), whom he describes as "a big chief" one of whose functions was to make rain. It was said that, unless they were old, rain-makers would take part in fighting.

The *jadongo* (sing. *jadwong*), who play so large a part in the chief's installation, were described by Father Fornasa to Mr. Winder as hereditary advisers of the chief, constituting his council. Their presence is necessary at the rain and hunting ceremonies.

The skins of all lions and leopards killed are considered the property of the rain-maker. The killer of the beast brings the body, or if this is impossible the skin, to the rain-maker's *kac* (ancestral shrine), where a necklace of dark-coloured beads is placed round its neck. The rain-maker provides beer, there is dancing and spear play, and we believe that flour is sprinkled over the dead beast and perhaps its slayer, to whom the rain-maker gives a spear-head, a foot or more in length. The body is then taken to the *kac* in front of its slayer's house and skinned, the head apparently left at the *kac* and the skin when dry presented to the rain-maker. The rain-maker "looks after" the slayer as long as the latter remains in his (the rain-maker's) village.

The *won ngom* (literally "father" or "owner" of the land), sometimes spoken of as *wun tim* (owner of the "bush"), corresponds to the Bari *monyekak* and the Lotuko *lamonyemiji*, the office being hereditary. It seems that in at least certain cases a *jadwong* was also *won ngom*. Though our notes are very deficient, it was clear that the

The reason given is that it is said to make the body swell and the skin to remain red; however, chiefs are also denied the meat of lion, leopard, rhinoceros, and an antelope known as *rodo apoli* . . . ". Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 447, notes that "the Baganda did not eat the flesh of the elephant".

won ngom was responsible for burning the grass before hunting and took the main part in and may be said to be responsible for "medicining" the crops.[1] Among his duties is the performance of a ceremony when the millet is about half-grown, having for its object the protection of the grain from the attacks of small birds. Grain is cooked at the orders of the *won ngom*, part of the food being scattered over the crops and the rest eaten in the villages.

The wooden structure (Pl. XII, Fig. 1) is known as *o*, from the verb *oyo* "to warm oneself". *O* is also the term for the "divisions" or "sections" into which a village is divided.[2] The *o* are the meeting places of the men, and the life of the group centres round them. Near the *o* there are generally one or more uprights, generally branched, called *balacar*, bearing the skulls, horns, etc., of animals killed by men of the *o*. We could not discover that the grouping of the men of a village into *o* was anything more than social convenience, and this is confirmed by Mr. Winder. On the other hand a certain amount of magico-religious ceremony goes on in connection with these structures, indeed it is probable that the *o* with the *balacar* near them fulfil much the same functions as the Lango *otem* described by Mr. Driberg.[3] Captain Grove says nothing of this aspect, in fact he writes of the *o* as "clubs", his description of the institution and the squatting place being as follows:—

> "Each village is divided according to size in two or more Clubs called *ō* These are not family gatherings, though members of one family usually belong to one *ō* . . . [and there is] no division as regards age, marriage, etc. They are simply fortuitous groups of people who build their houses together and form a club. . . . Long logs are placed side by side, parallel to and on opposite sides of a small open space which is left for a fire. The logs are raised in tiers one above each other, so that they slope down to the centre like the seats of an amphitheatre. Forked poles are put up at the sides to hang shields, spears, etc., on, and a covered *rakuba* [shelter] is sometimes built at the side for rainy days. Here the members of the *ō* sit and gossip, smoke, take their meals, and discuss their affairs. There is considerable rivalry . . . and a good many sham fights take place from time to time when a member of one *ō* has been insulted by a member of another. The more serious personal quarrels of the

[1] Even Captain Grove, with his wide experience of the Acholi, dismisses the *won ngom* in a single sentence: "In all villages there is as well as the chief the *won ngom* or owner of the land, who has no authority but who has to be consulted in all questions of moving villages, sites of crops, boundaries of hunts, and who is responsible for propitiating the various spirits of the country." ("Customs of the Acholi": *S.N. & R.*, II, 1919, 172.) Presumably as a Government official he came little in contact with the *won ngom*.

[2] Driberg states that there is only one *o* in each *gang* (village) unless the *gang* includes more than one distinct group, in which case each group has its own *o*.

[3] *The Lango*, 1923, 80, 112 etc.

members are also taken up by the other members and real fights often used to take place. The ō also take each other on at *Undilo* (a kind of hockey).

"It is interesting to note that the sections of a company in the Equatorial Battalion are always known to the men [Acholi] as ō." [1]

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

The common Acholi kinship terms are as follows:—

Wura . .	Father.
Ma . .	Mother.
Uwura . .	Brother (son of father), father's brother's son.
Nyawura .	Sister (daughter of father), father's sister's daughter.
Omera . .	Brother (son of mother), mother's sister's son.
Nyamera .	Sister (daughter of mother), mother's sister's daughter.
Omen wura .	Father's brother.
Waiya . .	Father's sister.
Nera . .	Mother's brother, mother's brother's child, mother's mother's brother.
Nyamin ma .	Mother's sister.
Okea . .	Sister's child (m.s.), father's sister's child.
Kwara . .	Father's father, mother's father.
Dana . .	Father's mother, mother's mother.
Ngakwaria (*lakwara*) .	Grandchildren.
Mara . .	Wife's mother, husband's mother, wife's brother's wife; also wife's mother's sister and the wife's mother of a *uwura*.
Ora . .	Wife's father, husband's father, daughter's husband, wife's brother, husband's sister's husband.
Yura . .	Wife's sister, sister's husband (f.s.), brother's wife (m.s.).
Ayena . .	Husband's sister, brother's wife.
Obana . .	Wife's sister's husband.

Descent is patrilineal, and clan exogamy is the rule. One marriage was recorded between members of the same clan but unfortunately no details were noted. The relationship system belongs to the general Nilotic type, as those of the Dinka, Shilluk, and Nilotic Lango. The children of the father's brother are called "father's sons", although the father's brother is not called father. Thus though the terms for father and mother are only used for the individual parents, and not for a class of persons as is commonly the case in the classificatory system, clan brotherhood is recognized. A distinctive term common to the Nilotic group is used for father's sister.

The term for mother's brother (*nera*) a common Nilotic term, is used for the mother's brother's son as among the Nilotic Lango,

[1] Op. cit., 161–2.

but among the Acholi we were told that the mother's brother's son was addressed by a descriptive term, *naten fa nera* (child of the *nera*), until his father's death, upon which he takes the status of his deceased father towards the latter's sister's son.[1]

Two terms are used, *ayena* and *obana*, which have not been noted in other Nilotic systems; they designate persons who are not specially differentiated among either the Shilluk or Dinka, and, as is usual among the Nilotes, a large number of descriptive terms are employed.

Avoidance is practised between a man and any women whom he calls *mara* (wife's mother). However, a man may speak to his *mara* with due respect, but should they meet on a bush path both will make a slight detour. A man may drink beer offered him by his *mara*, but may not take food (porridge) from her. A man may speak to his father-in-law (*ora*) and may even drink beer drawn from the same pot, but must drink from a separate gourd, and on no account may he eat with his father-in-law.

Although the wife's brother is also called *ora* he is not treated with any ceremony; the two men may eat, drink, and talk familiarly. No man may eat at the ancestral shrine of anyone who stands in the *ora* relationship to him.

The *nera* of the wife is feared as among the Shilluk and treated with the respect due to a *mara*, i.e. more ceremonially than the father-in-law, the *ora*. Unfortunately we have no note of the term of address used for him. His wife (i.e. the wife of the wife's mother's brother), is also treated with the respect due to a mother-in-law.

A curious feature of the Acholi avoidance customs is that instead of the total prohibition to see the face of the mother-in-law the prohibition is against seeing her naked; if her son-in-law does so he must give her a sheep, which she does not kill but adds to her flock. As all Acholi women wear a small fringed apron, a man is extremely unlikely to see his mother-in-law naked unless he came upon her accidentally while bathing. Should a woman see her son-in-law naked she must make beer for the whole of his local group. The same rules were said to apply to all women who were called *mara*, and to the wife of the *nera* of the wife, who is probably also addressed as *mara*. As the male Acholi are habitually naked this would appear tantamount to total avoidance. This may to some degree account for the readiness with which those Acholi who are in contact with foreign influence take to clothes.

[1] Cf. Bai, pp. 260–1.

It must be noted that the wife's brother's wife is called *mara*, but her daughter could not be married; she is the *na fa ora* (child of the brother's wife) and is not respected as an *ora* but rather treated with the familiarity prevalent towards a *yura*.

The attitude towards a *yura* is very difficult to understand from the information we received. For a man his wife's sister and his brother's wife are *yura*; he may treat them with complete familiarity (in order to demonstrate this our informant put his arm round his neighbour's shoulder), and there is no harm in seeing them naked. Yet we were told that a man might not marry his *yura* and that the *yura* of all men who are *uwura* and *omera* to a man are also his *yura*. This statement was not verified, and is almost certainly incorrect, as it would so restrict marriage as to make it almost impossible. With clan exogamy all women of the clan are naturally excluded, besides all those women who might be called *mara*, but if the prohibition on marriage with the *yura* of a brother were enforced, not only would it be impossible for two brothers to marry two sisters but no man could marry the sister of the wife of any clansman of his generation nor the sister of any of the wives of his mother's sister's sons. It is far more probable that further investigation may disclose right of access to the *yura*, as among the Shilluk, and that this over-emphasis by our informants on the attitude to the *yura* was due either to a recent change of habit or to unwillingness to admit the custom.

The bride-wealth is given in sheep to the bride's father. At present ordinary folk give about 50 sheep, a rain-maker 80, and 100 sheep are given for a *dak ker*. At least 5 sheep must be given from bride-wealth received by the father to his *ora*, his wife's brother, who is the *nera* of the bride. Should the bride-wealth for the bride's mother not have been paid in full then her father must make a larger payment to his brother-in-law from the daughter's bride-wealth. It is interesting to note that in one case the *nera* was considered to have received 15 sheep from the bride-wealth, although only 5 had been given to him. The reason for this was that the father received 60 sheep as bride-wealth for his daughter, but had given 70 for his own wife, the girl's mother.

According to Captain Grove,[1] when the transfer of the bride-wealth is completed the bride comes to her husband's village and sleeps with him in the *otogo*, but spends her days with his mother.

[1] Op. cit., 158.

After a few months the husband builds a house for his wife, and his mother collects the women of the village and gives a feast, at which she formally presents the bride with the symbols of her new status, i.e. various kinds of cooking pots. If a woman wants to leave her husband for another man, the latter may then give the bride-wealth to her father, who will hand it back to the deserted husband. But if the husband conceals her personal belongings, especially the *cip* or apron, she will not bear a child and may die.

The seduction fee for an unmarried girl is 5 sheep, and the adultery fee for a married woman is 15 sheep. It is believed that these offences may cause the illness of the mother and husband respectively, and that the fines are to compensate for this risk. Indeed, unless the mother of a girl becomes ill the seduction fine is not usually paid.

If a woman dies in her first childbirth or without children, the husband should pay a fine of 15 sheep to his father-in-law.

Captain Grove records the following curious custom in connection with childbirth:—

> "For the three days after the birth of a girl (four in the case of a boy) the mother has to abstain from certain acts, varying from village to village, on pain of the disease or death of the child. In some cases . . . she may not look in the inside of a hat, in others she may not eat porridge flavoured with ardeb fruit. . . . At the end of the period the mother calls her women friends together for a meal and generally formally commits the previously forbidden act. The baby is then free to go out of the house and is hung round its neck with curious charms against disease, etc., by its father." [1]

The birth of twins, whether of the same or opposite sex, is recognized as dangerous, for the babes are regarded as a menace to the lives not only of their parents but also of any elder brothers and sisters, while they will certainly bring bad luck in hunting. At the same time, Father Crazzolara informs us that twin births are not disliked, being regarded as a special manifestation of Juok (God). If only one twin survives there is no great danger for their relatives, but if both live then their near relatives may be expected to die. Twins are always given the same names, viz. Opio (fem. Apio) and Ocen (fem. Acen), meaning "one comes quickly" and "one behind" respectively.

The father of twins builds a special shrine, in appearance resembling a *kac* but called *jok rut* or perhaps only *rut* (twins). A goat and a chicken are killed, and the older people of the village eat the flesh before the shrine together with vegetable food. The shrine is used

[1] Op. cit., 157.

for some years; the father may resort to it before going hunting, and perhaps will not eat the meat of his kill until some has been roasted before the *rut* and a small piece eaten there. It seemed, too, that the first millet would be roasted and eaten by the parents and perhaps even by the twin or twins when big enough, at the *rut*, lest someone should sicken.

Father Crazzolara informs us that the umbilical cords of twins are buried in the space round the hut, often under the *okango* ("tree of God") or granary. From time to time the burial place is the scene of the sacrifice of a white hen or sheep, also of dancing and beer drinking. If twins die young the bodies are put in a pot, with two small openings in it but with the mouth well closed, and buried in the bed of some small stream; if the house is moved to another site the pot is dug up and again buried in a stream.[1]

The following information concerning names, of which every Acholi has at least three, is derived partly from Captain Grove[2] and partly from Father Crazzolara. The *nying kwom* (*kwom*, body), i.e. real name, is given soon after birth and is often derived from some event connected with birth, as e.g. Okec (fem. Akec) "hungry" (because born during a famine), Ojok (fem. Ajok), born with some bodily peculiarity, e.g. six fingers (attributed to Juok). To such names there may be added others having reference to the same event, e.g. Okec may be called Langgara (locust) because the famine during which he was born was due to locusts. The *nying muoc*, which Captain Grove calls "flirtation name", is "generally taken from some curious act or saying on the part of a man—most frequently when he is courting . . . A man says or does some peculiar thing and his companions immediately acclaim his *Ñiṅ Moc*".[3] As examples are given Okwuto Cet Pa Mare, "he broke wind at his mother-in-law's," and Olwiyo, "she whistles," of a man whose wife calls him to food by whistling for him (though this can hardly be regarded as a peculiar thing done by the man). *Muoc* may fairly be translated "young warrior" which makes clearer Captain Grove's nomenclature. Nicknames are common, and in the old days a successful warrior would certainly have had a "spear" or war name ending in *moin* (war), e.g. Lulmoin, "he killed a man in

[1] The Jopaluo practise is to bury the pot in the courtyard, not close beside the hut. An *okango* is erected over the grave and ashes heaped up, so that no one can overlook its existence. When moving to a fresh site the pot is dug up, transported, and reburied.

[2] Op. cit., 160.

[3] Op. cit., 160.

a forest", Lokoamoin, "he killed some Lokoiya." Captain Grove also mentions "drum" or "horn" names; these are scarcely names but rather particular rhythms on the drum or sequences of notes on the hunting horn (*bila*), peculiar to each individual and recognized as such by his comrades.

Religion

The old Acholi word for God was Juok, but the word we found in common use was Lubanga, which, as Father Crazzolara informs us, was brought in by missionaries from Bunyoro. Juok of the Acholi corresponds closely with the Shilluk Juok, he is associated with the firmament and sends rain when approached in prayer by the *rwot*. Yet Juok constantly concerns himself with the world of men, so that Father Crazzolara has not satisfied himself whether the cult of Juok or of the *tipo*, the spirit of the dead, is more important.

In the section on rain-making we describe a shrine, the "hut of God" (*ot pa Juok*), at which among the southern Acholi the rain-maker performs the rain-ceremony. From a plan by Father Crazzolara it appears that the *ot pa Juok* is built to the (true) right of a dwelling (presumably that of the rain-maker), and that within it is a flat slab of stone supported on four small stones. On this slab offerings of meat and porridge are made to Juok, the different kinds of food being placed on the stone in special order. Father Crazzolara relates how women will gather before the *ot pa Juok*, singing and making offerings of beer, spraying the fluid from their mouths before the hut, or after a sacrifice making offerings of meat, always with the prayer, *Juok, wek koma 'bed ma jot!* "God, let my body be light (healthy)".

The spirits of the dead are regarded as taking a profound interest in the doings of their descendants and as being responsible for much of the good and most of the evil that befalls them.[1] Much of the ritual of the cult of the dead—so far as it applies to male ancestors—is performed at certain shrines called *kac* (or *abila*), and in considering this shrine it should be remembered that the dead are buried at the side of the entrance to the huts. The *kac* is built opposite the door of the hut, the reason given being that the *tipo* might watch what went on in the dwelling. In one instance the *kac* was four yards from the hut entrance. Typically the *kac* consists of a roughly built

[1] Exceptions are made of certain illnesses or misfortunes due to spiritual beings called *jok*.

table or rack, as is shown in Pl. XI, Fig. 2, supported on four uprights at a height of three to four feet from the ground; with this platform there is commonly associated one or more groups of four wooden pegs, an arrangement which for convenience we propose to call the "four-peg shrine". There were often other objects, such as a stake supporting the skulls of animals sacrificed or the accessories shown

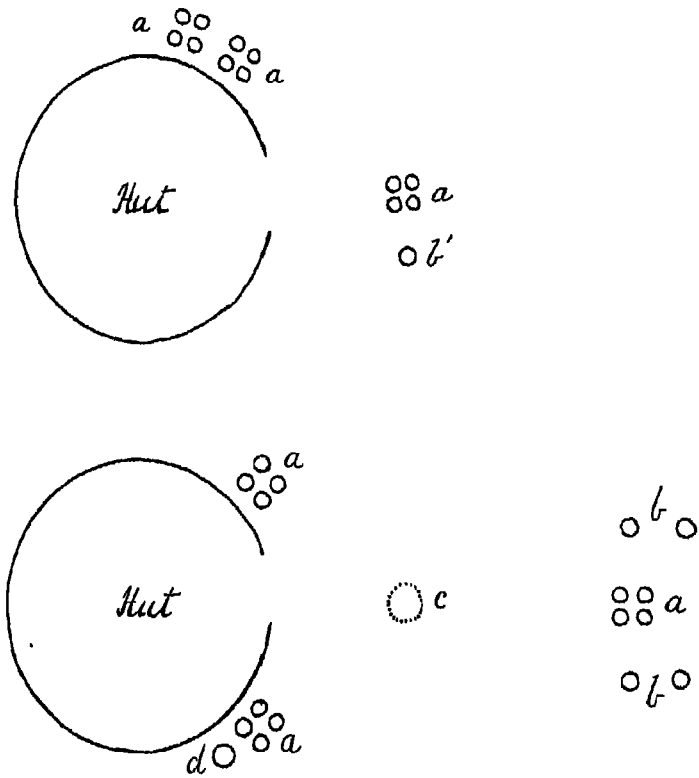


FIG. 10. Schematic representations of Acholi houses with shrines.

a, "four-peg" shrine; *b*, *kac*; *c*, basket with "medicine" for illness of householder; *d*, branch bearing remains of skulls of two goats.

in Pl. XI, Fig. 2. The "four-peg shrine" consists of four wooden pegs, inserted into the ground close together at the angles of an imaginary rectangle, each peg inclined towards its opposite fellow, as in Fig. 23, which shows a similar shrine (but with only three pegs in each group) among the Lokoiya. According to our information, where this arrangement occurred at the side of the house (i.e. away

from a *kac*) it referred to a female ancestor, but the same arrangement might and often did occur in relation to the platform *kac*, and then apparently had no reference to a dead woman.

Sometimes two four-peg shrines would be seen side by side, one, as we understood, erected to the householder's mother and the other to his mother's mother.

The Acholi regard the spirit of the deceased as existing in the earth below the *kac*. Where a stone formed part of the shrine as in Fig. XI, Fig 2 (other instances were seen) this was avowedly that the son of the deceased might sit on it and commune with the *tipo* below. Mr. Driberg writes, "When you build a *kac* you call the *tipo* of your father to help you in hunting, etc., and the *tipo* emerges from the grave and lives in the *kac*, never returning to the grave. I could get no information as to a place or home of the dead." Unfortunately, we made no special inquiries as to the precise relation of the *kac* to the grave. *Tipo* communicate with the living in dreams, in which they are apparently heard rather than seen, though whether this is general we cannot say.

No particular care seems to be taken of the *kac* itself, for in many instances it was falling to pieces and was sometimes represented by a single decaying upright, while the shelf of those in decent repair was generally dirty and untidy and often cumbered with all sorts of broken and decaying objects. Presumably most if not all of these have a cult value, most obvious in the case of the remains of the spiked wheel traps called *tege*, often seen on the *kac*, which are put there in order that the *tipo* may see them and give success in hunting.

With regard to the use of the *kac* in everyday life, it must be remembered that the *tipo* is in most intimate association with it, and, as it would seem, is most readily approached through it. So if a man has been in danger when hunting he may come to his *kac* and upbraid his father, or he may pour water on the *kac* to gladden his father's spirit, especially if he has escaped from danger without injury, or the same may be done with the idea that it will cause his children's skin to be cool and pleasant. Again, when an animal is sacrificed a notched stake (*lotdiel*) at the head of the grave may be smeared with gut contents (*we*) and blood. A man may place the horns of his last antelope by the four-peg shrine to obtain success in hunting, or if a man is ill the *ajwaka* (medicine-man) may suggest that he has been neglecting his mother's shrine. We are uncertain as to which of a man's sons erects the *kac*,

probably Mr. Driberg is correct in believing that this is built by the youngest son if married, otherwise by the youngest married son, and that the youngest son when he marries transfers the *kac* to his wife's courtyard, where his elder brothers come to pray and sacrifice.

On making a *kac* in a new village the householder addresses his father's *tipo*, telling him he is going to a new village. He sacrifices a goat at the new *kac*, the wood of the old *kac* being used as fuel for the fire at which the meat is cooked and the new *kac* being anointed with blood and *we*. The flesh is eaten by the elder folk of the family and the beast is avowedly sacrificed so that the *tipo* may see it.

The body of a commoner killed in war is left unburied, but the dead man's son makes a *kac*, sacrifices and prays, the sense of his prayer being, "I have made sacrifice for you and brought your spirit to your *kac*, now do me no harm." An *ajwaka* is thought to have the *tipo* of his father within him, and it is as the result of dreams that his power to cure illness comes to him. When he feels sufficiently confident he puts up as a sign in front of his hut, a wooden stake with "medicine" tied to it, and the results of his practice prove whether or not he has the power he claims.

All the above information concerning the *kac* of platform shape applies specifically to the northern Acholi. Among the southern Acholi its place seems to be taken by what is commonly called an *abila*, a miniature hut or sometimes a medium-sized building big enough for people to enter, erected "in the courtyard". Father Crazzolara, to whom we are indebted for our information concerning *abila*, suggests that true *abila* are perhaps built only for "chiefs". "The important part of the *abila* does not, however, seem to be the hut but the tree-pegs in the ground . . . *giguru yat adek*, 'the fig-tree woodpieces.'" These are evidently identical with the elements of our "four-peg shrine", and from the following account given by Father Crazzolara we may infer that the northern Acholi of Magwe and the surrounding villages, where we obtained our information, do not commonly build an *abila* but have retained the essentials, the peg-shrine and the *kac*, for presenting offerings.

At harvest time, after hunting, etc., meat, beer, and porridge are placed in the *abila*, left for a time, and then taken away and eaten, a small portion being left at the "tree-peg" shrine. What they kill they lay there, and pray softly: "Let my body be light (healthy); I desire, that I may kill game and eat meat; may I recognize thy help." Nearby is the *kac*, on which the horns of beasts sacrificed

or killed in the chase are hung as a token of gratitude to the dead (*jomuto*) for favours received. Writing of the southern Acholi, Father Crazzolara suggests that *kac* and *abila* are more prevalent among the Alur and Jopaluo; the Acholi, on the other hand, have the *okango*, "the tree of God," at which they invoke God, performing a waive offering (*buku*) and praying for good health. "I once saw a woman kneeling before the ash heap at the foot of the *okango* with a small child; she held a hen by the legs and waved it over the child and then towards the *okango*, the bird fluttering wildly. The hen is not always killed on such occasions."

If a man or woman dies angry or embittered, something called *cen* comes into existence and acts against those towards whom the anger of the deceased was turned, usually making their children die.[1] It was also recognized that a man might die angry and visit his wrath on his son or grandson; thus, if a man whose father was dead was ill continuously, the *ajwaka* might attribute this to his father's *cen*.

It is clear that the *cen* and *tipo* are distinct entities; the *cen*, always malignant, is not specially attracted to the *kac* but was stated to wander about freely, yet the method of disposing of a *cen* indicates that it is linked with the physical remains of the dead man. This method consists primarily in digging up the bones of the deceased, burning them at or by the grave, killing a sheep, and, according to one account, burying its intestines or their contents in place of the bones which have been burnt. Even after this the *cen* might not cease to be harmful, and the following methods of ascertaining its feelings were given (confirmed by Mr. Driberg for the southern Acholi). According to the instructions of the *ajwaka*, a female goat with its young is tethered between the house and the *kac*; if they live all is well, but if they die the *cen* is still malignant and a further sacrifice of a sheep is necessary. Or, if the *cen* is that of an old woman, a gravid goat is tethered near the four-peg shrine; if she produces male offspring all is well, if female a further sacrifice is required.

Although as already stated *Juok* signifies God, as in Shilluk, yet the word, or *jok*, is also applied to certain beings generally connected with particular places or objects, especially big trees of the kind called *kitoba* and *olua*, in or near which they exist, for the most part in snake

[1] The example actually given was "suppose an old and helpless woman be inadequately supplied with food and water, she dies, and soon the children of the one who neglected her die, but she (i.e. her spirit) says—this being discovered by the *ajwaka*—'Why did you let me die?'"

form. A man breaking off a branch of one of these *jok* trees would die unless the *ajwaka* performed a ceremony to save him. Apparently windfalls may be used, even as firewood, and small trees of these species have no *jok* connected with them. There are also *jok* (of the shape and appearance of snakes) of water courses and hills, while certain *jok* have the form of hairy, large-headed dwarfs. We could get no personal names for any of these spiritual agencies, they were all *jok*.

Should a man see a *jok* in snake form without the *jok* seeing him he runs away and probably stays in his house for two or three days and sacrifices, when all will be well.[1] but if the *jok* sees the man even sacrifice will hardly avert illness from him or his brother, or, according to another account, the unfortunate man will die. The sacrifice should be made at the place where the *jok* was seen and a small amount of meat left there for the *jok*. The subject partakes of the meat, and he and the old men of his clan wear wristlets of the skin of the sacrifice.

Illness, if not attributed to neglect of ancestral spirits, is considered to be due to the *jok*; it would even seem that the *ajwaka* would suggest to a patient with chronic trouble that he must have seen a *jok* and that he should go to the place and sacrifice.

Captain Grove notes that the *jok* of the bush (*jok tino*) are propitiated before hunting by offerings of milk and beer set out in the bush, while before starting the men bring their spears to the *balacar* to be blessed by the *ajwaka* and the old women.

Hysteria, or hystero-epilepsy is due to *jok*, both words being used in their technical sense to imply a condition of dissociation (actually in most instances the result of auto-suggestion). One of our informants, of clan Kitaka, stated that he became affected whenever he smelt (cooking?) elephant flesh. His clansmen eat elephant but his father, who was a Bari, did not, though the latter never became dissociated. Our informant was indisposed for some time, tried sacrifice at the *kac* and perhaps prayer to Juok without avail, then the typical symptoms appeared and he knew that the illness was of the *jok*. A gourd rattle was used for diagnosis, as among the Dinka. The patient now wears part of the skin of an *abur* antelope, a bell above his ankle, and beads round his waist, these being the commands of the *ajwaka* who made the diagnosis. Although it

[1] Mr. Driberg notes that no sacrifice is made by a southern Acholi after seeing a snake in a sacred tree.

appeared that definite seizures were rare in *ajwaka* (each, as already mentioned, supposed to have within him an ancestral *tipo*) this is a matter on which as it seemed to us there was room for considerable variation of belief, due to personal standpoint and experience.

It is obvious that the word *jok* has no such precise significance among the Acholi as among the Dinka; indeed, it seems that in its least specialized sense the word may mean no more than "luck", for the expressions *jok fere ber* and *jok fere ruc* were given as meaning good and bad fortune respectively, other phrases with the same significance being *nyime gum* and *nyime kec*. Often the idea of something bad or unfortunate seems associated with the word; as among so many other tribes a monorchid is regarded as extremely dangerous, and Captain Grove notes that a woman giving birth to one "is driven out of the house as the child is supposed to be *jok*".[1]

Apart from disease sent by ancestral spirits or the result of their neglect, illness may be due to the action or influence of some evilly disposed person.

The *jatal*—no doubt the same as Captain Grove's *latal* (among the Acholi of Uganda *lajok*)—is probably best described as a wizard, i.e. the evil "medicine-man", as opposed to the *ajwaka*. We have no account of his method of action, but it seems likely that he is considered responsible for the introduction into the patient's body of those foreign substances to which many diseases are attributed.[2] The *jatal* is also supposed to kill by poison, and Captain Grove mentions "an almost supernatural drug" (*anana*) which, pointed at its victim, will kill at a hundred yards, or if placed in a house will cause it to be struck by lightning.[3]

There is, moreover, the strongly held belief that envy and ill-will in their most extreme forms act through the evil eye. On this subject Captain Grove has the following interesting passage:—

> "It is a very rooted belief that ill-will or envy on the part of even private individuals with no supernatural powers will bring misfortune on its subject.

[1] Op. cit., 159. Mr. Driberg informs us that among the southern Acholi a monorchid is normally thrown into the bush to die; but the mother has been known to run away with the child to a distant village where the defect is not known, and there bring him up secretly. He is not killed when grown up but may not accompany others in war or hunting unless he wears slung round his neck two small iron-stone pebbles wrapped in one piece of skin, preferably the skin of a varanus lizard.

[2] Thus Grove writes: "Many diseases are attributed to foreign bodies having been introduced into the body, and a class of doctors known as the Jotago makes a speciality of extracting bits of wood, stone, charcoal, etc., in large quantities from the body of the sick man. A man once showed me quite a bundle of miscellaneous objects which he alleged that a Jotago had taken out of his game leg." Op. cit., 163.

[3] Op. cit. 178.

The remedy for this is for all the villagers to be called together to bless the unfortunate one. They all spit in a bowl of water with which he is then anointed. After that his luck will change. . . ." [1]

An oath taken on a special spear kept by the rain-maker—presumably the rain-spear, sometimes double-bladed—is most binding and if broken entails death. Concerning oaths generally, Captain Grove writes as follows:—

"Oaths are a good deal employed in disputed cases and are really much the same as the ordeals. The ordinary form of oath is taken on a weapon (spear, rifle, knife, etc.). The man taking the oath calls on the spear to kill him if he is lying and then licks it three times. In a few days the man accused (if guilty) or his accuser (if innocent) will become ill and die, unless the proper measures are taken. The spear is said to have caught him. As soon as he gets ill, he calls in the other party to the oath and pays him an appropriate fine (usually 15 sheep). A sheep is then brought to the sick man and killed with the weapon on which the oath was taken on the spot where the oath was made. The sick man is then smeared with the food from its stomach, and the anger of the weapon is thus diverted into the body of the sheep.

"All weapons are not, however, equally vindictive. If the oath is to be made a certainty, it should be taken on a weapon which has previously killed a man or on the *tong ker* of a chief.

"There are also other forms of oath, . . . Sometimes the wicker work of a door is put on the ground and the people taking the oath step over it. Sometimes a child is put on the ground and stepped over, and sometimes the oath on a weapon is taken by stepping over it instead of licking it." [2]

The following account of ordeals is also taken from Captain Grove's paper:—

"Suppose that one man has accused another of intercourse with his wife and that the other denies it. Both parties then go to the drinking-place and the Ajwaka prepares two gourds of water in which he sprinkles his own preparation (sometimes the *tong ker* is dipped in the water). The two principals then drink off the two gourds. If the accusation is false, the person accused will immediately be sick. The accuser on the other hand will begin to swell. A sheep is then hastily brought and killed and the undigested food from its stomach smeared over the man who is swelling. He is then also sick . . . and on his recovery he has to pay a fine to the man he had slandered. If the accusation is true, the reverse process takes place. The accuser is sick and the accused cannot be sick and so swells.

"Sometimes this ordeal is carried out by proxy each man bringing his own chicken who are made to drink the *kwir*.

"In the ordeal by fire the two parties are struck by the Ajwaka with a red hot spear. The one who is burnt is guilty." [3]

Captain Grove has also recorded a most interesting form of conditional curse, called *kwung*, and gives the following examples:—

[1] Op. cit. 175. [2] Op. cit., 176–7. [3] Op. cit., 176.

"If a starving man comes to you and you refuse him food and he dies, you must in future refuse food to all other starving men who may happen to come to you. As long as you maintain your attitude of refusal no harm will follow, but if you give food to another man, the *ceng* (ghost) of the original man who died will kill you or one of your family. As long as you continue to treat all alike the *ceng* does not mind. But as soon as you show favouritism it says (in effect) 'Look here, you refused food to me and I died of starvation. What do you mean by giving it to this other man?' . . .

"A man comes to you for shelter from his enemies. You refuse it and he is killed. You must in future refuse protection to all other fugitives. . . .

"Moreover, not only does this haunting apply to you but to all your descendants for ever. . . . The house of such a man is said to be *kwung* or haunted.

"The principle leads to all sorts of curious anomalies. I know one household for instance where the men may not call the women to bring food. The house is *kwung* but what the exact origin of it was in this case no one knew. It was too many generations back. . . .

"*Kir* . . . is another belief somewhat akin to the above in its root idea. Two brothers who are living together quarrel, and shortly after the quarrel one calls the other to food and he refuses to come out of bad temper. If the one who refused ever comes and eats with his brother again he will die." [1]

Rain-making

The rain-maker, *ruot*, also called *wun kot* (*kot*, rain), who may be of any clan, possesses the highest authority in each community. To produce rain the rain-maker has recourse to rain-stones, and invokes the spirits of his ancestors. The stones may be either artefacts—our Bari stones were recognized as efficacious—or crystals or irregular masses of quartz. We could not learn the precise details, but the account we received together with that given by Captain Grove shows that in a general way the technique of rain-making is much the same as that used by other rain-stone people. A goat is killed, the stones are smeared with *we* and fat and washed with water. The killing of the goat takes place at the *kac* in front of the rain-maker's house, i.e. at his father's grave-shrine, and appeal is made to his father's spirit to send rain, the implication, as it seemed to us, being that the ancestral spirit or spirits can send or withhold it at pleasure.

Father Crazzolara informs us that among the Acholi of Uganda

[1] Op. cit., 179–80. Father Crazzolara prefers *kwong* to Groves's *kwung* and points out that the word signifies "to take an oath".

the rain ceremony is performed before a miniature hut called *ot pa Juok* ("hut of God") under a tree near a stream. The chief "places (*oketo*) the rain (*kot*)", i.e. performs the rain ceremony. He pours water into the special "rain-pot" (*agulu kot*), which he takes into the hut, then presumably coming outside he sprinkles the water on high towards the sky, praying no doubt that rain may fall. We believe that within the hut rain-stones are manipulated, and certainly sacrifices are made before the hut, a portion of meat and beer being placed within and the rest eaten by the people.

We have two descriptions of the stones themselves, that given by Captain Grove and one for which we are indebted to Mr. Rupert Gunnis. Captain Grove speaks of the stones as "rain" and states that they consist of "curiously shaped crystals, which are only found in the beds of streams. No private person will touch them or even look at them if he can help it. If one is found it must be brought straight to the chief on pain of death by dropsy. Young [rain] chiefs even will not touch the rain [stone] for fear of becoming sterile, but hand it over to an old wife of their father. Each [rain] chief has two or three special pots (*abine pa kot*) each containing ten or twenty rain crystals, handed down from his forebears. When he wishes the rain to fall, these are smeared with oil and water poured on them. When the rain is to be driven away, they are put in a tree in the sun or worse still in the fireplace".[1]

Captain Grove notes the profound fear that the Acholi have of these stones and their belief that if anyone annoys a rain-maker he can dry up the whole of the crops.[2]

Mr. Gunnis's description applies to a rain-maker, one Olia, living at Atiak about 40 miles south of Nimule. On one occasion during the latter part of July when Mr. Gunnis visited Olia in his hut the latter "knelt down . . . and with his fist broke a hole in the mud flooring of the hut and plunging his hand in drew out five or six bits of quartz, roughly shaped like phallic emblems, the male more distinctive than the female". Mr. Gunnis was "not encouraged to hold them, so was unable to decide what sort of stone they were, one of them being much greener than the rest". The hole from which they were produced was about a foot deep and at the bottom was a pottery bowl containing mud and water. The rain-maker replaced the stones and could not be persuaded to discuss the rain ceremony.

[1] Op. cit., 172. [2] Op. cit., 173.

Mr. Driberg tells us that in Uganda the Acholi fetch their rain-stones, small quartz pebbles called *ame*, from the Agoro hills beyond their territory. These are also called *nyig kot*, "seeds, or fruit, of rain."

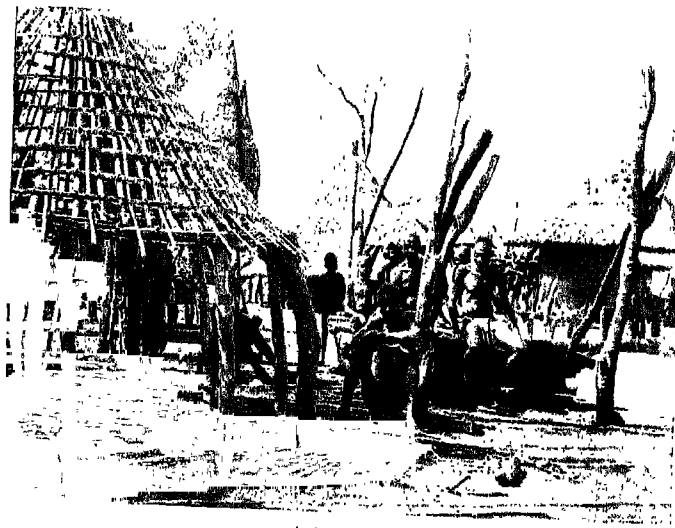
As among the Lotuko-speaking tribes, so among the Acholi, a rain-maker to have full control over the rain must come of rain-maker parents on both sides, and, as we shall see, the Lotuko with their strict rules of clan exogamy are not infrequently driven to mating with Acholi rain-girls. Whether the Acholi rain-makers, with a far larger area in which to find suitable brides, ever required to practice similar extra-tribal matings we cannot say. Our stay among the Acholi was not long enough for adequate inquiry or the application of the genealogical method. There is, however, no doubt as to the importance the Acholi attached to both the rain-maker's parents having "rain", and the bride called *dak ker* (woman of power, or authority), the daughter of rain-making parents, was the only one of his wives, however many he might have, by whom a rain-maker might beget a rain-making heir to succeed him. The *dak ker* must be of another clan to that of her husband. At Magwe the late rain-maker (by name Akona), of Falonganji clan, had as *dak ker* a woman of Abong clan.

At the ceremony of installation the *dak ker* is brought "on a chair" to the rain-maker's *kac* by the *jadanga fa ruot*. Here flour is sprinkled over her head and breasts, the rain-maker also being sprinkled. A goat is killed between the girl and the *kac*, and she, the rain-maker, and the *kac* are all anointed with blood and *we*.

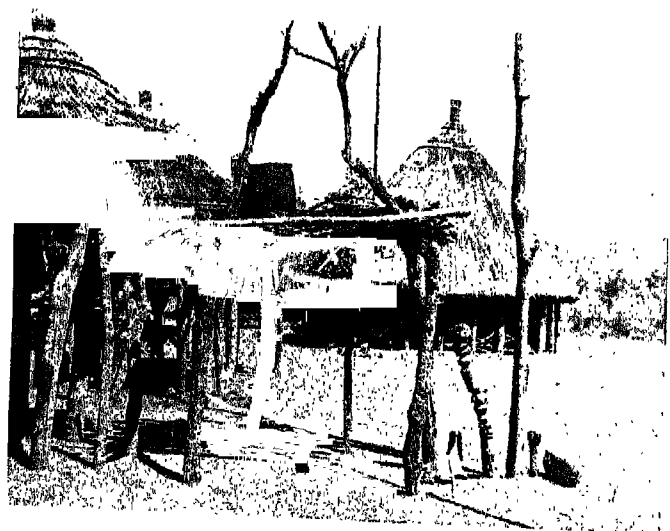
The *dak ker* is the chief wife, though often not the first married. It was emphasized that while the rain-maker would himself provide the bride-wealth for his ordinary wives, that of the *dak ker* would be provided by the clan chiefs; a further distinction being that no other wives are brought to the *kac*.

If the first *dak ker* fails to produce a son the rain-maker should marry another within three or four years. It was said that a rain-girl will often be averse to marriage with a rain-maker, fearing the knowledge and the great responsibility that will come to her; for she would have to perform the ceremonies if her husband were ill, and perhaps also after his death. The daughter of a *dak ker* is not necessarily a rain-maker, but should marry one and so become a *dak ker* herself.

PLATE XII



Acholi, *O*



Acholi, grave of rain-maker

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

Burial takes place soon after death, outside the entrance of the hut, a man being buried on the right side of the door and a woman on the left, the body lying on its side in a flexed position with the hands under the cheek. The male mourners shave their heads, a goat is killed, its flesh eaten with beans and millet porridge and the contents of the paunch (or big gut, or perhaps both) placed on the grave.

Near relatives of the dead man's clan sleep beside the grave for about a month; others from other settlements, presumably also of the dead man's clan, for four or five days. His mother's people (*ner*) should also come, and stay perhaps ten days, those of his wife, including his mother-in-law, possibly five or six days. The clans eat apart, the *ner* in the house of the dead man (i.e. in his chief wife's house), the *mara* (wife's mother) and female *ner* in the house of a man connected with the deceased but "of another clan". For some time nearly related clansmen do not shave their heads; when hair has grown they make a feast and dress their hair in the usual manner. The clan (local group) does not dance during the period of mourning, nor should the drum be beaten in their settlement.

The *kac* for the dead man is sometimes—though not necessarily—put up as part of the ceremonial connected with the mourning feast, and the widows are taken by their new husbands at the end of this ceremony, called *apuni*, which, except perhaps in the case of specially important men, appears to be the terminal mourning ceremony.

A man's sons seem to get little or no property, all or most going to his brothers, who also take his widows.

With regard to the death of a rain-maker, we were told that drums would not be beaten in any clan during the period of mourning, also that the rain-maker would be buried on a bier, lying on his side with his hands under his cheek but with legs straight or almost so. He should be rolled in (or covered with) a leopard skin, and a young *kitoba*—or failing that a *fwai* tree—should be planted at the head of his grave. Drumming and dancing would be kept up for three days after death, and presumably the feasting would be proportionately great. We could not confirm Captain Grove's account of a special burial-place for rain-makers,[1] and a grave (Pl. XII, Fig. 2) said to

[1] Op. cit., 159, nor could Mr. Driberg discover a special burial-place among the southern Acholi.

be that of the father of the present rain-maker was shown us in front of the house in the usual position.

Note

Since the above went to press we have received from Mr. L. Elliot Smith four photographs of Anuak, which we reproduce on Pl. XI. The bearded man is Agwa Akwon, the "provisional" king of the Anuak, and the necklaces he wears are the regalia referred to on page 110, but instead of two necklaces there are really five, viz. Ocok, Gumato, Wanglek, Gnalo, Gango. The other photographs are of an important village chief. Comparison of these with Dr. Singer's photograph of Anuak youths (Pl. X) bears out Captain Cummins' opinion, quoted on page 108, as to the wide range of variability of the Anuak.

Further, as bearing on the subject matter of this and the antecedent chapter, we note the recent appearance of the first instalment of an important paper, "Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Religion und Zauberei bei den Schilluk," by Father Crazzolara, in *Anthropos*, Vol. XXVII. Juok is definitely the creator, and short prayers for assistance are cited. Such formulae as that given in the footnote on page 98 are regarded as a summary of what might be said, not as a genuine prayer for aid. There are good accounts of the initiation and functions of the *bareth*, as well as offerings for sickness and of the first fruits. Father Crazzolara also deals with the beliefs concerning storms, thunder, and lightning.

Chapter IV

THE DINKA

The Dinka are a congeries of independent tribes spread over a vast area stretching over 6 degrees of latitude, from 12° to 6° N., i.e. from Renk in the north to about 120 miles from the Uganda border, with a wide extension to the west occupying much of the Bahr el Ghazal Province and even crossing the Bahr el Arab into Kordofan Province. There is however a considerable enclave between 9° 30″ and 7° 30″ N., occupied by the kindred Nuer.

Our experience is limited to the White Nile Dinka; we know nothing at first hand of those of the Bahr el Ghazal, though we believe that the stature of some of these tribes is less than that of the Nile Dinka. On the other hand, the information we have been able to gather from informants from the Bahr el Ghazal indicates that throughout there is agreement in the essentials of social organization and religious belief.

The Dinka territory is everywhere flat, largely swamp in the wet season and hard, fissured cotton soil in the dry. Our own experience of the country away from the river was gained in the south, especially in the neighbourhood of Bor. Here in the dry season the country (east bank) away from the river is open grass-land with low bush and numerous khors. This quality of land (in Dinka, *toic*), becoming in the south more richly afforested, yields good summer grazing. During the dry season it is the home of every kind of game, and a couple of days' travelling will show giraffe, zebra, many kinds of antelope, and perhaps elephant and ostrich. A ridge of higher ground, the Duk, lies some 30 to 40 miles from the river, running roughly north and south for about 2 degrees; upon this ridge, which carries patches of forest and really big trees, are situated a number of villages, including Duk Faiwil, the reputed home of that Aiwel whose marvellous qualities are recorded on pp. 148–9, the springs on the ridge marking his sleeping-places.

The names by which the Dinka tribes are known are often those of animals, or they may be derived from peculiarities of the country, e.g. Aliab, from a small black water insect; Atwot, from *tuot*, the spur-winged goose; Agar, signifying a bull with wide-spreading

horns; Bor, "flooded", because their country is largely under water in the wet season. Other derivations are Twi, the thunderclap, and Cic, the name for the sacred spear of that tribe.

All these, with many other tribes, call themselves Jang (pl. Jeng), corrupted by the Arabs into Denkawi, whence the English Dinka, but no Dinka nation has arisen for the tribes have never recognized a supreme chief, as do their neighbours the Shilluk, nor have they ever been united under a military despot, as the Zulu were under Chaka; indeed they are often at war with one another. One of the most obvious distinctions in habits is between relatively powerful cattle-owning tribes, as e.g. the Aliab, and the small and comparatively poor tribes, who have no cattle and scarcely cultivate the ground, but are true marshmen living in the neighbourhood of the sudd and depending largely for their sustenance on fishing and hippopotamus hunting. The villages of these poor tribes, generally dirty and evil-smelling, are built on ground that rises but little above the reed-covered surface of the country; their members call themselves Moñ Thañ, i.e. Thañ people, *thañ* meaning a piece of dry ground in the midst of the marshes. Although many quite distinct tribes live in the marshes and lead the life this habitat entails, their cattle-owning neighbours speak of them all as Moñ Thañ, just as they speak of themselves by their tribal names—Bor, Aliab, Cic, etc. Besides the Moñ Thañ there are other Dinka who own few if any cattle, e.g. the iron-working clans of the Cic, referred to on p. 138.

The vast area over which the Dinka extend gives some hint of the length of time they have been in the country, i.e. since they left the common homeland of the Nilotes, and makes it easy to understand the existence of dialectical differences, as well as the modifications we find in development and application of the ideas that lie at the root of the social organization and religious beliefs of all Dinka. We therefore indicate the source from which our information was obtained whenever there is any probability that a custom is not common to all the tribes. Our data are principally derived from members of the following tribes: the Cic, in the neighbourhood of Shambe but extending north-west almost to the Bahr el Ghazal; the Bor, in the neighbourhood of Bor; the Kiro and Ngong Nyang tribes of the Moñ Thañ, living some 20 to 30 miles to the south of the sudd. We also had the opportunity of discussing various matters with some intelligent Niel Dinka from the neighbourhood of the Khor Adar on the east bank north of Kodok, with the Ngok Dinka

PLATE XIII



Dinka types Nos. 1 and 2 Tnaŋ 3 Bi ordit (Bor), 4 and 5 Agar

of the neighbourhood of Lake No, and with some Agar Dinka from the Bahr el Ghazal Province serving in the 10th Sudanese Battalion.

Except among the Thañ tribes and certain iron-working clans, cattle form the economic basis of Dinka society; bride-wealth and blood fines are paid in cattle, and the desire to acquire a neighbour's herds is the common cause of those inter-tribal raids which constitute the greater part of Dinka warfare. But the desire for and concern in cattle, important as these are from the material standpoint, is something other and far more intense than a mere economic interest. The Dinka is never so happy as when watching, tending, and talking cattle. We shall later refer to the identification of the young warrior with his favourite ox, here enough has been said to indicate that though the Dinka cultivate millet and some also grow tobacco, their whole life centres round their cattle.

The cattle byres (*lwak*, pl. *lwek*) built in the villages away from the river are of imposing dimensions. Pl. XIV, Fig. 1, shows a *lwak* at Bor in the midst of an old millet cultivation. Here the cattle are stalled as long as water is available. In the dry season—we are speaking specifically of the riverain tribes in the neighbourhood of Bor and Shambe—the whole community, men, women, and cattle, migrates to the neighbourhood of the river, living in small temporary huts (Shambe) or absolutely in the open (Bor). The *lwak* now are open cattle kraals, sometimes but not always surrounded by a thorn fence. The Bor women and children leave their villages and come and live in parties in the open, almost their only gear being a few skins and gourds for the milk, while the men live with their cattle. Hearths are made, surrounded by dry wood, and uprights to which the cattle are tied at night. On these hearths dung is kept smouldering at night, and men and cattle sleep as near to them as possible to gain protection from the mosquitoes. By rolling themselves in the fine ash men and boys acquire a grey covering, a moderately efficient protective and one that makes them look strangely ghostly as they move about in the morning twilight.

As we explain on p. 142, *gol*, a word for "clan", also means "homestead" and "cattle enclosure". In the latter, and in the wet season in the cattle byre, there is a raised fireplace, bearing much ash, and in the wet season *lwek* this may have a roof sufficiently strong for the youths to sleep upon. The fire on this hearth may also be spoken of as *gol*, and is of ritual importance, though of this we have no detailed knowledge.

Until recently the Dinka smelted the iron they required, and iron is still smelted in the western portions of the Dinka territory, but in 1910 the demand so far exceeded the supply that a couple of hundredweight of scrap-iron proved excellent trade. We do not know how many tribes practise the art: our information applies to the Cic—on some old maps marked "Hadidin" (iron-workers)—whose iron-working clans are Nyonker and Gumbek, living to the west of Shambe. In the dry season they come to a well between Fajol and Falwal. Sometimes these two clans are spoken of as Adjong, though the true Adjong—also Cic—live further west and have intimate relations with the Atwot Dinka, for whom they work iron. This has led to the two clans being sometimes considered not true Cic and there is no doubt that their members regard themselves as different from their neighbours, for they have no cattle and besides working iron they are elephant hunters.

Iron ore is collected from the hills to the west.[1] Smelting is done in a cylindrical furnace about 5 feet high and about 2 feet across, with air holes at the base. Above the fire at the bottom of the furnace about 4 feet of charcoal is packed, and above this 1 foot of ore. More charcoal is placed above the ore. It takes about twenty-four hours for the charge of ore to be reduced and for the furnace to cool; it is then broken open and the iron, of poor quality and full of bubbles, accumulated in a cavity made at the bottom of the furnace, is removed. A charge such as that described will yield a roughly spherical mass 8 or 9 inches in diameter; about ten of these are worth one bullock, and payment for a wife may be as high as fifty or sixty such lumps, as in the case of our informant.

The Adjong do not make pots. They get these, as well as sheep, hippopotamus flesh, and fat, in exchange for spear-heads and other iron objects, a spear-head and a sheep being of about equal value.

The members of Nyonker and Gumbek clans intermarry, but they also marry into other clans, though it seems that on account of their lack of cattle they have some difficulty in finding wives. Our informant of Nyonker clan, who as already mentioned provided about sixty lumps of iron as bride-wealth, married a woman of the Fajwat clan. This man came to Shambe lagoon every dry season

[1] Some nodules of ore were kindly examined for us at the Imperial Institute by Sir Wyndham Dunstan. They consisted of earthy limonite (hydrated oxide of iron) containing from 10 to 15 per cent of moisture. Allowing for this and for the fairly large amount of earthy matter (quartz and argillaceous material) present in the nodule, it is possible that the ore would contain from 40 to 50 per cent of metallic iron; a little manganese may also be present.



Dinka huts, with *luak*



Dinka huts in wet season flood area, near Shambe



Dinka (Bor) cattle zeriba



Bor women, dry season camp



Cwaiyil, dry season cattle camp



Cwaiyil, drying dung

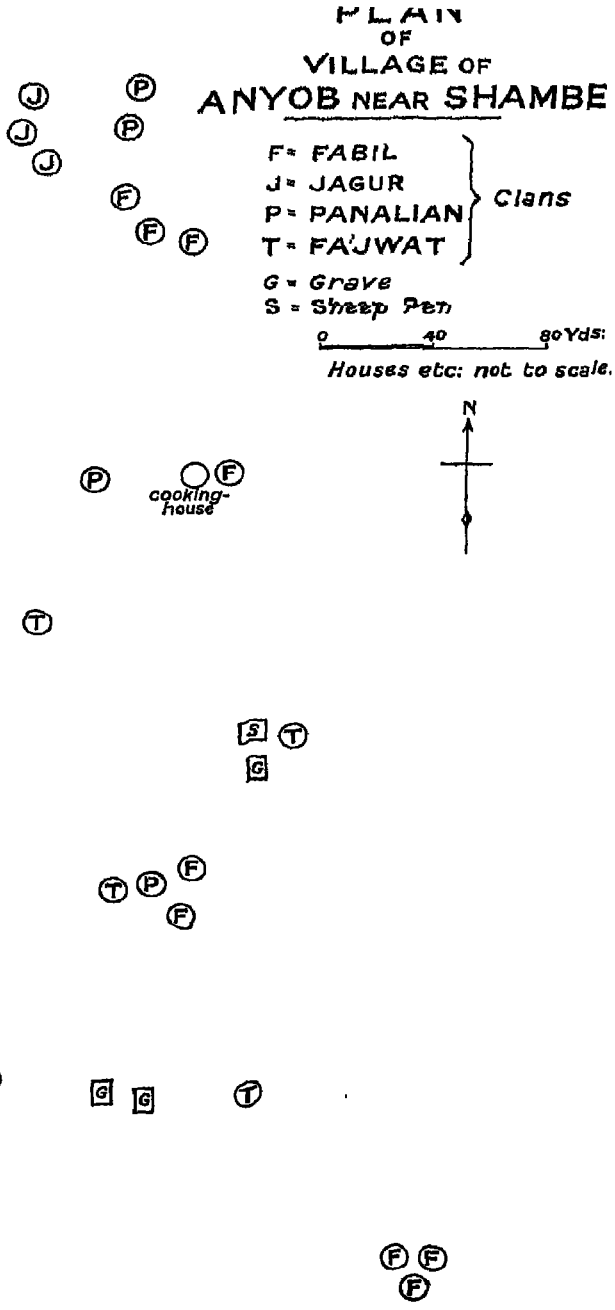

PLAN
OF
VILLAGE OF
ANYOB NEAR SHAMBE
F = FABIL
J = JAGUR
P = PANALIAN
T = FA'JWAT
Clans
G = Grave
S = Sheep Pen
0 40 80 Yds:
Houses etc: not to scale.
N
cooking-house

FIG. 11.

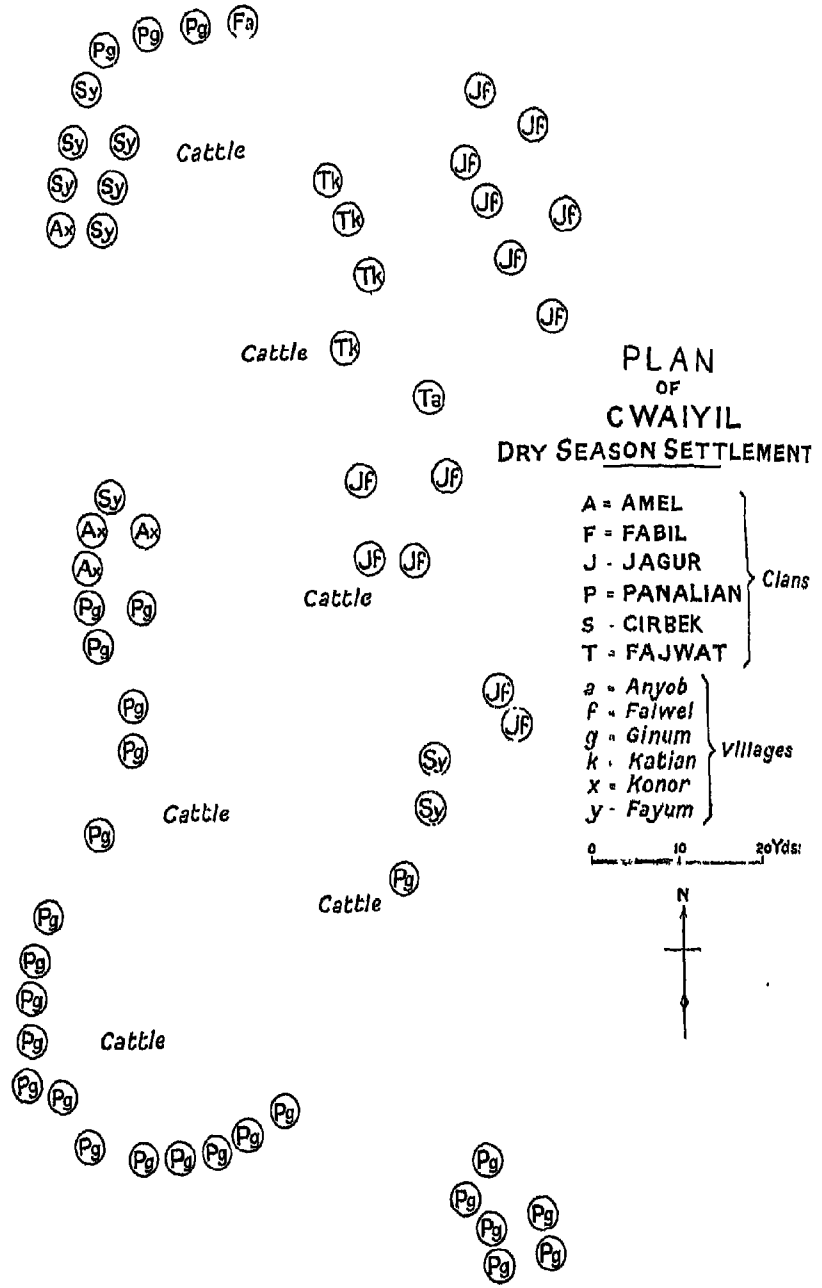

PLAN
OF
CWAIYIL
DRY SEASON SETTLEMENT
A = AMEL
F = FABIL
J - JAGUR
P = PANALIAN
S - CIRBEK
T = FAJWAT
Clans
a = Anyob
f = Falwel
g = Ginum
k = Katian
x = Konor
y - Fayum
Villages
0
10
20Yds:
N
Cattle
Cattle
Cattle
Cattle

Fig. 12.

and set up a small forge, where he mended and made iron tools and cast brass bracelets, his customers generally providing the raw material.

Pottery is made by the coil process by women, but not every woman has this art.

The true Dinka weapons are spear and wooden club, but the bow and arrow is used by the Agar and perhaps by other tribes of the Bahr el Ghazal. There is reason to believe that the practice is an innovation, learnt from non-Dinka tribes, perhaps especially from the Mandari.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

Each tribe is divided into a number of exogamous totemic clans with descent in the male line. Throughout the territory of each tribe are many village groups or settlements—often straggling over a large area—consisting of a number of local groups of the various clans each mainly controlled by its own elders, but as regards pasturage under the authority of the cattle chief, the *bañ wut*.

We reproduce plans of the Cic settlement of Anyob near Shambe as it existed in 1910, and of one of their temporary dry season settlements. In the former the considerable space between the houses is for the most part occupied by crops of grain. Our visit coincided with the height of the dry season; Anyob—which in the wet season is liable to floods so that the houses are on piles and there are no cattle byres—was deserted, its inhabitants, with those of neighbouring villages, having moved with their cattle to the river bank, where they constituted a series of large, untidy settlements at Cwaiyil. A study of these settlements indicates that the members of each clan tend to keep together, e.g. one settlement near Shambe consists of thirteen huts, all of Jagur clan, and all these came from Falwel village. A large settlement consisting of sixty huts belonging to six clans—Jagur, Fajwat, Panalian, Cirbek, Fabil, Amel—shows that though the huts of each clan tend to be grouped together, there may be more than one group of a clan in the settlement, probably because village grouping is also followed.

Since the Dinka are no more than a congeries of independent

[1] Arrows used by the Agar are figured in *Man*, xvi, 1916, 88.

tribes speaking dialects of a common language, it follows that there is no single individual with the temporal and spiritual authority of the Shilluk king. Yet in practice we find much the same condition on a smaller scale, for in each tribe the most important man, the undisputed religious head who also wields much civil authority, is the rain-maker, commonly known as the *bañ bith*, i.e. "spear chief" or "expert". *Bith* is the word for a particular form of spear, referring not to fighting but to such sacred spears as those alluded to on pp. 181–2. Besides the rain-maker there are other chiefs, the most important being the *bañ wut*, the "cattle-chief", executive head and war leader, who probably has more cattle than anyone else, and who is responsible for the good order of the cattle of the tribe, directing their movements from pasture to pasture and seeing that all is well in the cattle enclosures. Other "chiefs" or experts are of much less importance, as e.g. the *bañ de rap*, who magics the millet against small birds (p. 147), and the fish expert, *bañ de rec*, of whose procedure an example is given on p. 191.

The *bañ bith*, the hereditary rain-maker, the most important man in the tribe, is consulted and deferred to on every occasion and his word is law. A *bañ bith* does not generally practise magic (*theth*), but should gain his purpose by petitioning Nhialic; probably this holds, though to a lesser degree, for the *bañ wut*, though the ceremony described on p. 195 is held in preparation for war.

The word for clan varies from tribe to tribe, e.g. Bor *ut*, Thañ and Aliab *gol*, and Cic *deb*. Not only does the meaning of these words appear to be identical, but among the cattle-owning tribes they are all used for the byres or cattle hearths of their clans or local groups, and also to signify homestead.

Dinka totems are usually animal, sometimes plant, more rarely a natural object or process, and occasionally it seems that certain spiritual agencies are regarded in very much the same way. Confining ourselves to the more usual beliefs, the clans speak of certain animals as their "ancestors", *kwar* being the word used by the Thañ tribes; usually the *kwar* has nothing to do with a man's personal name (one man, whose name signified hyæna, had a crocodile as his *kwar*) but, in the words of one of our Thañ informants, "the *kwar* is the animal which is the spirit (*jok*) of the clan (*gol*)." Further, *ruai*, the word ordinarily meaning "related", is used when speaking of the bond between a man and his *kwar*, i.e. they are *ruai*, "relatives". No man injures his *kwar* animal, but all respect it in various ways.

Sometimes the *kwar* is a plant, as in some Agar and Cic clans, who treat the totem plant with much the same reverence as is commonly shown to the totem animal.

Most of the Dinka clans whose *kwar* is an animal derive their origin from a man born as one of twins, his fellow-twin being an animal of the species that is the totem of the clan. Sometimes the association is not quite so close, in which case the totem animal usually lays certain commands upon one of the members of the clan, offering in return certain privileges. Commands and privileges alike show the close relationship existing between the animal and the man who is traditionally looked upon as the ancestor of the clan. Although children take their father's totem they respect their mother's totem animal or plant, and an animal may be avoided for several generations for this reason. Thus, a man whose paternal grandmother had the poisonous snake *anong* as totem said that if he saw anyone kill a snake of this species he would bury it, because it was the totem of his father's mother; the same man refrained from eating the flesh of hippopotamus because it was the totem of his mother's mother. Further, it is customary for both sexes to avoid eating their spouse's totem animal, though this rule seems to be kept more strictly by women than by men, presumably on account of the influence of the ancestral spirits on the children. The clans are usually designated by the name of their traditional first human ancestor; comparatively few are spoken of by the name of their animal, though there is a Niel (snake) clan, and even a Niel tribe among the Danjol Dinka in the neighbourhood of Khor Adar.

A Ngong Nyang man gave the folllowing account of his conduct towards snakes of the *aro* species, his mother's totem animal. If he saw one of these snakes in the forest he would sprinkle dust on its back, for otherwise the snake might upbraid him for lack of friendliness. If the snake were angry and tried to bite him, dust sprinkled on its back would propitiate it, but if he could not appease it and it bit him he and the animal would both die. This man's children show the same reverence for the snake as their father. If the snake bit a man of an entirely unrelated stock the man would die, but not the snake, for the snake and the folk of foreign clans are not related (*ruai*).

The following are specific examples of beliefs concerning the origin of various clans of the Ngong Nyang tribe and of the relationship existing between their members and their totems.

Gol e Mariak has as totem the snake, *niel*. Long ago one of these snakes came into the hut of one Mariak and there gave birth to its young. The snake spoke to Mariak, telling him not to hurt it or its children: "If you see a man hurt one of my children tie the mourning band of palm-leaf round your head."

Gol Akon Chang Jurkwait is so called from the name of the son born to one Nyanajok Alerjok as one of twins, his fellow-twin being an elephant. The boy was brought up in the village in the usual way, but the elephant was turned loose in the jungle.

Gol e Luel has the crocodile for totem. Long ago Luel found the eggs of a crocodile; he put them in his canoe, and when he reached home buried them under the floor of his hut. One night, as the eggs were hatching, the old crocodile came and scratched them up and then led the young to the river. Before leaving the hut the crocodile said to Luel: "Do not hurt us, and we will not hurt you. Wear mourning on your head and stomach for the crocodile if any of you see another man kill one." A man of this clan will not hesitate to swim in the river even at night, for the crocodiles will not hurt him.

Gol e Yukwal e Lukab e Lerkwé has the hippopotamus as totem.

Gol e Yicol has the lion as totem, the founder of this clan being the twin brother of a lion. While men of other clans have to barricade themselves in their houses, Col of this clan can—as he affirms—sleep in the open; when a lion kills game it calls to Col at night, who goes out next morning and finds the meat, and when Col kills a hippopotamus he in turn leaves some of the meat in the forest for the lions. If Col were not of the party no one would touch a lion's kill, for to do this would offend the lion, who would then attack them, but if Col were with them no one would hesitate to take the meat. If a lion suffered from a splinter of bone or portion of gristle becoming wedged between its teeth it might roar round the hut in which Col lay, until he came out and removed the source of its discomfort.

Similar beliefs occur among other Dinka tribes. The Ramba clan of the Niel tribe derives its name from that of an ancestor who was born as one of twins, his father being a snake called *gor*. Gor was placed in a large pot with water, but he soon died; so a bullock was killed, and Gor prepared for burial by smearing with the stomach contents and wrapping in the skin of the sacrifice. This was at Anako, where there is still a shrine to which sick people go in order to sacrifice. A Cic man having as a totem the poisonous snake *anong* said that though the snake might bite him the wound would

give him little trouble, and he would certainly not die as would men of other clans.

According to the Niel, all Dinka recognize two kinds of lions, viz. man-eaters, not considered relations by men of the lion totem, and ordinary lions, eaters of wild animals, which the lion men believe to be of one blood with themselves. People of the lion clan occasionally feed the latter; they kill a sheep, and, cutting it into joints, take the meat a little distance from the village and leave it there. The clansmen pray that the lion may come and eat, but if the food has not been taken after a few hours it is eaten by the men themselves. Man-eaters are killed without scruple when the opportunity occurs, but should a lion "accidentally" kill a man of the lion clan he would not eat him. Fox men feed their totem animal, throwing down fragments of meat for it on the outskirts of the village, and hyæna men treat hyænas in the same way. It is said that formerly it was a common practice to expose pieces of meat where the totem animals could find them, and that sacrifices were offered to them; these customs however seem to be observed no longer, though it is alleged that they might still be practised in times of great difficulty and danger. We may add that Mr. Whitehead, while among the Bari, heard of a group of Dinka—of the Cic, or associated with them—who can turn themselves into lions, and who on marriage kill an ox for the lions and throw it into the bush, where the lions come and eat, because they are related.

The Bor clan Palek traces descent to an Aliab man called Agwer, who married a Bor woman, Gop. At a single birth she produced a boy, Bar, and a crocodile, and then two boys. The human twins died, but the father carried the crocodile down to the river. Our informant, reputed great-grandson of Bar, looked upon the crocodile as his brother and would go away if anyone killed one. The Bor clan Maic have fire as their totem; before the time of Lual—the direct ancestor in the male line eight generations back from our informant—according to legend there was no fire. Lual saw fire fall from heaven, and collected wood and grass to feed it, at night he dreamed that the *jok* (spirit) of fire came to him and said, "My name is Maic; I will be your *jok*," and soon Lual realized that food could be cooked by fire.

Garke clan of the Bor Dinka has the elephant as totem. When Biyordit (a Garke man), the Bor chief whose rain-making we discuss on pp. 198–200, heard of the death of an elephant he would sacrifice a

sheep and throw the flesh into the jungle. No man of an elephant clan would eat the flesh of such a sacrifice.

The Niel Dinka have an interesting story of the origin of the clan Anwi. A woman was sleeping when a hyæna stepped over her. Some people wanted to kill the hyæna, but others restrained them, seeing some purpose in the animal's behaviour. The woman eventually gave birth to a boy, who limped like a hyæna and was called Den, which means hyæna.

We are indebted to Lord Raglan for the following list of totems of the Agar Dinka and for the information given concerning certain of these: Lion, leopard, hunting-dog, crocodile, hippopotamus, jackal, bushbuck, owl, egret, kite, snail, doleib palm, mahogany, *poneit* tree, *Kigelia*, bamboo, two kinds of grass, water, fire, clouds. People of the lion, leopard, and hunting-dog clans are described as "bad", and those of the crocodile and hippopotamus as "rather bad", while owls are sorcerers. Presumably individuals of these totems are thought to share the qualities of their respective totem animals, as men of the lion clan admittedly do among the Bor.

If a man having a tree totem cuts down his tree he dies; if he burns its wood the smoke blinds him.

Men of the cloud clan can call up the clouds but not bring rain.

We have no record of plant totems among the Thañ Dinka, but among the Agar and Cic Dinka the tree *ruai* (*Kigelia aethiopica*) is considered an ancestor, and treated with the respect shown to other totems. Two Agar men whose mothers had *ruai* as their totem would neither come into any contact with the tree nor use its fruit as a ball as other clans would do. If they disregarded this prohibition their eyes would become inflamed. Among the Cic there is a clan, or perhaps a family, claiming descent from a girl who was twin to a gourd plant; its members do not care to drink from a newly made gourd vessel and apparently do not grow gourds, or if they grow them at all do so sparingly.

The account given above of the reciprocal favours conferred by lions and by Col of the lion clan raises the question whether all folk of this lion clan possess the powers exercised by Col and enjoy the same privileges. We were unable to investigate this matter among the Thañ Dinka; among other tribes it seemed clear that the power was personal. Some Niel Dinka gave details of how they would leave flesh in the jungle for their carnivorous totem animals without receiving any corresponding favours from the latter. This suggests

that Col was regarded as possessing certain powers not shared by all his clansmen—an idea that is strengthened by information given by some Agar Dinka, one of whom said that his totem (he called it ancestor) was a small bird *amur*, which damages the corn crop (no doubt one of the so-called "dura-birds", thousands of which infest the cornfields, where they do much damage). When these birds became dangerous to the unripe crop our informant's grandfather would take a head of millet, some porridge made from the old crop, and two sheep, one black the other white; the white sheep was killed and the meat given to the men of other clans, but the black sheep was thrown living into the river with the porridge and the unripe head of millet. Although the sheep was not tied up it was said to sink immediately, for "the river people" took it. The man who makes the porridge does not taste it, nor does he eat of the flesh of the sheep given to the other clans. This ceremony prevents the birds from injuring the crop; it is performed by one man only, who is head of the clan, and who will teach the procedure to one of his sons or perhaps to a brother. Mr. R. A. Richards informs us that in the neighbourhood of Tonj the dura-bird expert is also locust expert.

Among the Dinka living in the neighbourhood of the Khor Adar there are certain clans which do not trace their descent from an animal but from a human being possessed of superhuman or non-human qualities. It appeared to us that such ancestors were regarded in very much the same way as the usual totems. The Boweng clan, with the river as their totem, relate that long ago a party coming to the river saw a beautiful girl called Alek borne up by the water and carried to the bank. She accompanied them to the village, but when they laid hands on her she became as water; so taking bullocks and cows the villagers escorted her back to the river, where they sacrificed the cattle. As they did this the girl disappeared into the river, taking a calf with her. At the end of the rains the Boweng clan still take a cow and her calf and a bullock, and kill the latter on the river bank, the cow and calf being thrown alive into the river, which "takes" them, and they are seen no more.

The story told by the Khor Adar Dinka runs as follows:—Long ago, men and women of the "river people" would sometimes come out of the river, marry, and settle down in the neighbouring villages. The description of the emergence of one of the "river people" is curiously like the birth of a child; the river becomes agitated, and

the waters rise up around a human being whose umbilicus is joined by a cord to a flat object beneath the water. The cord is cut, and bullocks are killed and thrown whole into the river; then the river-man or woman is brought with more sacrifices to the village. Their descendants should sacrifice on the bank, throwing a live cow into the river after giving it a pot of milk to drink into which the old and important men of the clan have spat; at the present day the men of Faiyer clan of the Danjol tribe—who trace their descent to a river-man—do no more than throw the head and bowels of a bullock into the river, cooking the meat and eating it themselves.

Certain clans have as *kwar* heroes to whom more than human wisdom is attributed, or who came among them under circumstances which betoken that they are superhuman. In this connection particular interest attaches to the Adero clan of the Niel Dinka, who have *deng*, rain, as their totem, the whole story having special significance in relation to the usual position of Dengdit (*dit*, "great") as a spirit [1] commonly associated with Nhialic and with the firmament. The first ancestor of the clan appeared from the sky as a young woman pregnant with her first child. The people reverently formed a circle round her, killed bullocks and then rubbed her from head to foot with the belly fat. Next they built a hut for her, but because of their fear they made it unlike other huts, so that she could not leave it. After a month her child was born, yet no one came to help her. Then she called to the people, who brought one white cow, one spotted cow, and one bullock; she told them to sacrifice these and then to come back to her. They found her nursing a marvellous babe, whose teeth were adult, and whose tears were blood. Then the mother said to them. "This is your *bañ*, look after him well, for I can stay with you no longer." As she spoke the rain came down in torrents, and therefore the boy was called Deng (rain), or Dengdit (great rain). He ruled over them for a long time, and when he was very old disappeared in a great storm.

Among the Bor the ancestor of the Fakur clan was a youth who came out of a stone. Long ago in the time of the hero Aiwel, the lads took the sheep to pasture, as they do to-day, but when they brought them back to be milked their udders were dry. This continued for several days, the boys being thrashed by the elders

[1] There is obvious opportunity for confusion and secondary associations in instances such as this. Thus, of the Cic Dr. Tucker writes that the totem of the chief, Mawir, is the snake *deng*. Confusion appears to have arisen with the important spirit Deng, and the Cic now sing the latter's songs in honour of the totem snake.

who thought they were drinking the milk. At last one wise old man followed the boys to the grazing ground, and, hiding himself during their noontide rest, he saw a youth milk. Only the old man saw the thief, who ran away and entered a rock. The old man told Aiwel of the incident, who when he heard it sent all the cattle and sheep out grazing, keeping the herds separate. Very cautiously Aiwel followed the beasts until he saw a young man come out of the rock and begin to milk the sheep. Aiwel stalked and caught him, and in spite of his turning successively into a hippopotamus, a bird and a gazelle, held him, though his hand was badly burnt. Cattle were sacrificed, and during the ceremony the stone from which the youth had emerged split with a most terrifying noise and, though it was the middle of the dry season, rain fell in torrents as had happened when Aiwel first caught the youth. Again a sacrifice was made, and this time a live cow was pushed within the fissure of the rock, whereupon the rock masses came together. The youth, Fakur, was taken to the village, where he took a little fat from one of the slain bullocks and rubbed it on his captor's palms, which were immediately healed. The stone from which he emerged fell from the firmament, whence comes the rain; in the old days many stones dropped and came together on the ground, and even now small stones sometimes fall from the sky.

There are certain facts which suggest that the totem animal of a clan may come to belong to and be reverenced by a group larger than a clan, indeed by many clans. Many—perhaps all—the members of the Kiro and Ngong Nyang clans consider the fish *recol* an ancestor, telling the usual story that their ancestor was born as a twin of the fish, the latter being taken to the river, where he instructed mankind that in spite of the relationship existing between them they might catch and eat his descendants. We may infer that the relationship still acknowledged as existing between the fish and the members of these tribes was once the normal totemic relationship, and such incidents as that we describe on page 191 indicate that the relationship is still recognized to some extent and treated on the totemic pattern.

In support of this suggestion is the fact that when a clan is particularly strong in a given locality its members tend to forget that their totem is but one among many, so that they may show annoyance if other folk do not treat it with respect. The Cic in the

were snake men, and that for some time they formed the majority; after a time the crocodile clan became powerful, and because its members killed and ate snakes the men of the now weakened snake clan left the country and went to live among a group of Aliab Dinka where they were free from the horrible odour of cooked snake's flesh.[1] More recently a Cic family belonging to a clan that does not eat the fish *shur* left their own tribe and went to live among a group of Bor Dinka who also respect this fish. It is obvious that another result of this feeling would be to induce men of other clans to show regard for the totem of the stronger clan.

Besides the clans with more or less typical animal ancestors (*kwar*, totems), certain groups larger than a clan revere particular objects, which they also speak of as their " ancestor ", though in some instances these are not totems in the ordinary sense of the word, and the people who regard them as *kwar* also have typical animal totems. Thus certain Bor Dinka (in this matter our information is from Gwala village, and we believe applies to all the men of this village regardless of their totem) look upon the spear of Lerpio as their *kwar*. This however is an example that is very far from typical, for Lerpio is both a spirit—one of the most powerful of the *jok*—immanent in every rain-maker of the Bor tribe and a spear said to have fallen from the sky six generations ago. It is clear then that Lerpio is not homologous with the ordinary Dinka totems, but in his spear form corresponds somewhat to the meteorite Madwich, to be mentioned immediately. His adherents, the family in whose succeeding generations he is immanent, have the elephant as their totem. Part of one of the Thañ tribes, including at least a portion of the Pariak clan whose totem is the snake (*niel*), reveres a stone which the Thañ say fell from the sky within the past forty years. A youth of about twenty, who was named Madwich after the meteorite, said that his father sacrificed many oxen when the stone fell, although the rest of the village did not concern themselves so deeply, and that at the present time his family alone pay constant attention to Madwich. This stone, which is now at Pariak village, fell before the birth of our informant but after the birth of his elder brother. When it fell " everyone ", including his parents but not his elder brother, became *muol*; even the dogs became *muol*. This word is applied to the possession of a *tiet* (medicine-man) by a spirit; perhaps it has a slightly different meaning in this instance, and at any rate the fact that the

[1] Most Dinka will not eat snakes, giving the reason that they have no legs.

informant's elder brother did not become *muol* was taken to show that he was "a child of the stone". About the time that the stone fell a few men and many cattle died of a disease called *abut puo* (lit. "swelling of the heart"), which was considered to be due to the *jok*, and sacrifices were offered in the usual way. The falling of the meteorite Madwich is said to have been prophesied by a *tiet* called Jalang, who was killed during an Arab raid, and the stone itself was thought to have the powers and attributes of an animal ancestor; thus it would communicate its wishes through a *tiet* in the usual way, asking that a bullock should be killed.

Another meteorite, called Dek, is regarded as the "ancestor" of the two Thañ clans Jakcir and Culil, from whom have sprung settlements, which in turn have given rise to other villages whose inhabitants together constitute the Kiro tribe; all the Kiro clan revere Dek, though their members have animal totems of the usual Dinka type.

Archdeacon Shaw tells us of a tree called Agwar (species unidentified) in the village of Ngwen, north of Bor. The natives of this village own the tree as their "relative" and in autumn when the cold nights cause sickness they sacrifice goats, sheep, or oxen, and hang the skins upon the tree so that the cold may cease. On this information the tree can hardly be classed as a totem, but the facts seem sufficiently important to be recorded, and perhaps the tree may fall into the same class as the spear Lerpio and the stone Madwich. Writing of the Tonj area Mr. Richards informs us that, apart from totems, only sacred trees (not sacred species) exist and adds that such trees are known by ancestral names and also have bullock names (p. 169).

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

We give the relationship terms in use among the Bor, Niel, and Cic Dinka as we heard them, with the first person singular possessive pronoun attached, but possessives often change the stem of the word itself as well as the termination, so that failing a real knowledge of the language it is impossible to state the words correctly without suffixes. Where the correct form is known it is given in square brackets. *Wen* and *manh*, both meaning "son of", are found in

composite words, but we were unable to ascertain the rules underlying their use.

Awa (Bor) . . . *Wa* [*wun*] (Cic) . .	Father, also, by courtesy, wife's father and husband's father.
Ama (Bor) . . . *Ma* [*manh*] (Cic) . .	Mother, also wife's mother and husband's mother.
Wendia [*wet*] . . .	Son, child (m. or f.).
Nyandia . . .	Daughter.
Manhdia [*manh*, pl. *mith*]	Child (m. or f.).
Wenawa . . .	Brother (father's son), father's brother's son.
Nyanawa . . .	Sister (father's daughter), father's brother's daughter, husband's sister.
Wanmath or *manhkai* .	Brother (mother's son).
Nyankai [*nyanken*]. .	Sister (mother's daughter).
Awalen (Bor) . . *Walen* [*wulen*] (Cic) .	Father's brother, husband's father's brother.
Tingawa . . .	Father's brother's wife.
Wenulen . . .	Father's brother's son.
Wac	Father's sister.
Moñdewac (Bor) . . *Moñawawac* (Cic) . .	Father's sister's husband.
Mandewac (Bor) . . *Menawawac* (Cic) . .	Father's sister's son.
Nyandewao (Bor) . . *Nyanawawac* (Cic) .	Father's sister's daughter.
Amalen (Bor) . . *Malen* (Cic) . . .	Mother's sister, husband's mother's sister.
Menamalen . . .	Mother's sister's son.
Nyanamalen . . .	Mother's sister's daughter.
Nener	Mother's brother. This term is also used to address elders when an intimate feeling is implied.
Tingnener (Bor) . . *Kokok* (Cic) . . .	Mother's brother's wife.
Wendener . . .	Mother's brother's son.
Nyandener . . .	Mother's brother's daughter.
Kukuar (Bor) . . *Wa dit* (Cic) . . . *Kokok* (Niel) . . .	Father's father, mother's father.
Kokok (Bor) . . . *Ma dit* (Cic) . . . *Kokok* (Niel) . . .	Father's mother, mother's mother.
Moñdia [*moc* " man "] .	Husband.
Tingdia [*tic* " woman "] .	Wife.
Urordia [*uror*] . .	Husband's father.
Marordua [*maror*] . .	Husband's mother.
	These last two terms were not heard among the Cic, and probably are not used by them. They are never used as terms of address; if a woman should need to address her husband's father or mother she would call them " my father ", " my mother ".
Thundia	Wife's father, wife's brother, son's wife's father.

Dhumdia . . . Wife's mother, wife's brother's wife, wife's sister, son's wife's mother.
Among the Cic *thundia* and *dhumdia* are the words for husband's father and mother, as well as for wife's father and mother.

The following terms, derived from *mith* (sing. *manh.*), children, were found by Dr. Tucker among the Reik :—

Mithakai . . . Brothers and sisters (children of own mother and father, m. and f. speaking).
Mithama . . . Brothers and sisters (own mother, other father).
Mithawa . . . Brothers and sisters (own father, other mother, m. and f. speaking).

Although the Dinka use the words for mother and father as a polite form of address to elders, related or unrelated, as kinship terms the use of father and mother is restricted to the individual parents. Hence it might at first be supposed that this system is not classificatory, but more closely related to our own family system. However, comparison with the Shilluk, Acholi, and Nilotic Lango brings the Dinka system into line with those systems, which are all descriptive and show fundamental differences from the family system. Moreover the word for brother (father's son) is used for clan brother.

The words *manhkai* and *nyankai*—used for brother and sister—though they were given in genealogies for children of the same mother, can be used in a general way for children of either parent, or for brother and sister in a friendly, complimentary, sense, but *wenawa* and *nyanawa* are strictly applied to children of the same father by different mothers, and to ortho-cousins. *Wanmath* is the term used between children born of one mother, without regard to the identity of the father. It should further be noted that although there is a separate word for father's brother (*walen*), the father's brother's wife is spoken of as *tingawa* " wife of my father " (not mother), and his children are called *wenawa*, " brothers," " sons of the father " (not the mother), as well as by the more exact term *wenulen*. There appears to be considerable freedom in the use of the terms for brother and sister; a stranger or friend who might be addressed as brother by courtesy would we believe be called " mother's son ", but an ortho-cousin or clansman (and all clansmen are in theory ortho-cousins) is called " father's son ". We found that a man called another " father's son " although the true relationship between them was that the former was ortho-cousin to the father of the latter, thus disregarding generations. Age-fellows address one another as *wenawa*.

There is no general word for relative-in-law. *Uror* and *maror* are used by women, not men, and the use is not general; a Cic woman simply calls her husband's relatives by the terms she would use towards her own.

Besides these terms, numerous words are used that are descriptive in the true sense of the word, e.g. *moñdhumdia* or *moñyankai*, "husband of my wife's sister," *tingawenanyankai*, "wife of my wife's son." The husband's brother's wife was called *ting amoñdia* ("wife of my husband") among the Cic and Niel Dinka; among the Bor however *ting wenapandia* ("wife of son of my village"), *tinawenmath* ("wife of my brother or friend"), or *tingpandia* ("wife of my fellow villager") were heard. A woman calls her brother's wife *tingawanmath* (lit. "wife of father's son"). Such composite words are common among the Bor Dinka and we were not able to ascertain whether precise distinctions were made.

It is not our intention to make a detailed examination of the Dinka kinship system, but its similarities to that of the Shilluk and its differences from it must be noted. As in the Shilluk system, there is relatively a small number of words to express relationship, and other terms are composite words, i.e. true "descriptive" terms. Brothers and sisters are distinguished as to whether they are sons of the father or the mother, and all cousins are accurately described as the children of their respective parents—the *wac*, the *malan*, or the *nener*—while the children of the *walen* may be called "father's sons", or *uwalen*, thus recognizing clan brotherhood as among the Shilluk.

The functional value of this distinction of the cousins is not so obvious among the Dinka as it is among the Shilluk, for the Dinka deny all right of access to the wives of relatives, which the Shilluk enjoy. Also the attitude to widows among the Dinka is different from that of the Shilluk; in marrying a young widow a Shilluk gains a wife for himself who will be recognized as mother of his children, but the Dinka does not, for the widow's children are still counted to the dead husband and carry on the latter's cult. The anomalous use of certain terms by a woman among the Shilluk is not found among the Dinka, and this may be because among the Dinka a widow taken by a son is not considered to be "married" to him but remains for life the wife of her dead husband, so she does not stand in the same relations socially to two generations although the physical relationship is the same.

Returning to the terms used for relatives by marriage, the first

thing to be noted is that except among the Cic different words are used by men and women, and it is possible that this marks a difference in attitude. A woman treats all her husband's relatives with respect and ceremonial politeness and must be very obedient to them, even to a younger brother of her husband, who may be a small child. Archdeacon Shaw states that a woman must creep humbly up to her husband's father and mother and kiss their hands, but she does not actually avoid them. It seems that after marriage a woman is closely associated with her husband's clan and that she regards her husband's ancestral spirit with reverence. This does not separate her from her own clan, as may be seen clearly in the example (p. 192) of a child's illness being due to the *jok* of the mother's family. Though there is respect between a woman and her husband's family there is no avoidance. A man, however, practises ceremonial avoidance towards those relatives of his wife whom he terms *thundia* and *dhumdia*. The wife's mother is avoided in the usual way, i.e. a man does not meet her face to face or take food in her house; if he wishes to speak to her he will address her politely as "my mother", while standing outside the hut, she being within.

With regard to mother-in-law avoidance, the Bor Dinka gave the following interesting information. When a boy comes to the house of his betrothed the girl's mother pulls a skin over her eyes. She thinks, "You must not look upon me, because I have borne a daughter whom you will marry," or perhaps, "I am old now, why do you look at me?"

The mother-in-law of a brother and the mother-in-law's sister are also treated as mother-in-law, that is to say a man will not enter a hut where such women are present, though he need not pay such elaborate ceremonial respect to them as to his own wife's mother, nor need he make a detour when meeting them out of doors.

A man must avoid his son's mother-in-law, and make a detour if he should meet her in the bush.

The wife's brother's wife, though addressed by a descriptive term and not called mother-in-law, is treated with considerable respect; behaviour towards her is quite distinct from that towards the wife's sister. Attention is drawn to this because among some people she is actually classed with the mother-in-law, and her daughter is a potential second wife. This possibility was denied by the Dinka, and it was said that a man would never be able to marry his wife's brother's wife or her daughter in the event of the failure of his own

marriage. It would seem that among the Dinka a woman shows greater respect to her husband's sister's husband than he does to her.

There is no avoidance between a man and his wife's sister, whom familiarly he may call *nyankai*, or his brother's wife, though when a man is away from home his brother will be careful not to enter his hut. The right of access to the wives of brothers, claimed by the Shilluk, was emphatically denied by the Bor and Thañ Dinka; we did not hear of it among the Cic, but as at that time we were not acquainted with the Shilluk custom we made no direct inquiries.

Though a man cannot marry any of his female cousins, he does not avoid them ceremonially. Thus Tir stated that he did not avoid Pot (see table, p. 161) because she happened to be his *wenamalen*,[1] but had Manyan, his wife's brother, married anyone unrelated to himself Tir must have treated her with ceremonial respect.

There is some avoidance between a man and his wife's father; he must not eat or smoke with him and must avert his head if he meet him, though after many years of marriage and the birth of several children these rules might be relaxed. If he should need to address him it would be polite to call him "my father", never *thundia*, though this is the exact relationship between them. Archdeacon Shaw states that from the time of a man's marriage until after a male child is born a man may not eat food in his wife's parents' house, though he may drink water or milk there. On the birth of a male child the wife's father presents his son-in-law with a cow calf, after which he may eat and drink in his father-in-law's house.

The wife's mother's brother is not avoided as among the Shilluk, nor does a man avoid the parents-in-law of his brother.

The wife's brother is not avoided or treated ceremonially, though he stands in the relationship of *thundia*. He would be addressed in a friendly way as "my brother" (*manhkai*), or *wanmath*, but not as *wenawa*, probably because the last term implies clan brotherhood. Bearing in mind the Shilluk right to victimize certain relatives of the wife we carefully questioned our Bor and Thañ informants and could find no trace of this custom, but were told that a man and his wife's brothers were as brothers and might ask each other favours.

The cross-cousin, *nyanawawac* ("daughter of the father's sister"), does not belong to the clan of either the father or the mother, but

[1] *Wenamalen* means "mother's sister's child". No comment was made when Tir referred to Pot as *wenamalen*, though Pot's mother is not sister to Tir's mother but Tir's father's mother and Pot's mother were sisters.

intercourse with her is forbidden; if a man should seduce his *nyanawawac* he must pay two cows to the girl's father and provide a bullock for sacrifice.

No man may marry a woman of his own clan, nor anyone to whom he can trace relationship through his mother. Such a union would be considered incestuous and would anger the *jok* (ancestral spirits). Captain O'Sullivan states that the recognition of relationship entailing the incest prohibition is carried back for so many generations as to be limited only by capacity to trace the genealogy of the offenders. Incest is supposed to bring death to one or more of the persons offending, or to their children, and to cause a woman to be barren. A girl who has committed incest will have no children when she marries, and she will then be forced to confess her guilt and a sacrifice will be made. Should the girl or one of her relatives die before the sacrifice her partner is held responsible and so incurs blood-guilt. He must supply the necessary cattle, one bull for sacrifice, from one to three cattle (including at least one cow) which go to the girl's father or guardian, and a sheep for the man who sacrifices the bull. Normally the father of the girl will smear some of the stomach contents on the bodies of the guilty couple.[1]

We are indebted to Archdeacon Shaw for the following account of betrothal and marriage among the Bor. When a man wishes to marry he calls together his age-fellows and with them visits the house of the girl of his choice; he must obtain their approval before proceeding further in the matter. From this time onward he must not speak to his bride-elect, but his age-fellows visit her and ask for a present of tobacco; she pretends not to know who the would-be bridegroom is, and asks whether all the young men are to be her husbands. The girl asks her father for the tobacco, and if he gives it this is a sign that he approves her choice. After this she will visit her suitor's home with her age-fellows and will help in sowing or gathering the harvest. The bridegroom-elect and his age-fellows will leave the cattle enclosure where all the young men usually sleep and join the girl's party in a hut. A similar return visit will be paid

[1] "Dinka Laws and Customs": *JRAI.*, xl, 187. At this, the first mention of Captain O'Sullivan's paper, we must point out that to the Dinka his customs do not present the series of logical sequences set forth by the author, though we believe that the latter's publication does fairly represent Dinka practice. The Dinka have never made any attempts to codify their laws, and their courts are merely meetings of the elders without any formal president or judge. As to the holding of property in trust, it might almost be said that all property is held in trust, so intimate is the relationship between dead ancestors, the living, and future generations. Moreover, Captain O'Sullivan for the most part missed the religious sanctions of Dinka Law.

when the young men help with the preparation or gathering of the harvest, but in this case the bridegroom does not go—presumably in order to avoid meeting his future mother-in-law—but he is represented by one of his male relatives.

The girl again visits the home of the bridegroom, this time without her age-fellows. She is feasted and entertained, and sleeps in a hut with the bridegroom and his fellows. After a few days a male relative of the bridegroom escorts her home. The bridegroom now visits the bride in her home, and the marriage is consummated, but after a few days the bridegroom returns home. Interchange of visits continues for several years, the wife not living permanently with her husband until his mother dies.

When the wife finally leaves her home for her husband's, her mother gives her a pot (*ton*), two porridge stirrers (*pi*), and three shell spoons (*thial*), which are considered her own property, while for her husband she receives one horn spoon (*tung*) and one gourd basin (*aduok*).

Archdeacon Shaw further states that when a lad reaches man's estate he makes his *dom* (cultivation) with the help of his brothers, but that he continues to live with his parents after his marriage until the third child is born, presumably visiting his wife at her parents' homestead. He then goes with his age-fellows to her village, where there is feasting and dancing. His wife's father gives him a cow and its calf, and he then fetches his wife to the hut he has previously built in his *dom*; this practice is called *aloktok*.

Although we were told that a wife went to her mother's house (except in special circumstances, see p. 160) for the birth of her first child, and perhaps the second, we had not understood that habitation was so matrilocal as would appear from the above account, and it is probable that the length of time spent in the wife's village varies among the different tribes. There is no doubt that the family eventually return to the husband's village, and after marriage the wife and her children are considered to belong to the husband, even, as will be seen later, after the death of the latter.

Although in all accounts it appears that the bride and bridegroom come from separate villages there is no feeling against people from the same locality marrying. It must be remembered that the Dinka permanent villages, away from the river banks, are really large garden settlements spreading over an area often as much as two miles in length, dotted with homesteads belonging to men of different clans and each surrounded by its own cultivation. Even if husband and wife were

to come from the same village the important question would remain, viz. in which homestead they should take up their abode.

Some points in Archdeacon Shaw's account are extremely interesting; the bridegroom asks for the approval of his age-fellows before his choice is considered definite, then the bride asks jokingly are the age-fellows her husbands? The bride and her age-fellows pass a night with the groom and his fellows, and later the bride alone spends a night with the groom and his fellows. The procedure certainly suggests the possibility of intercourse between age-classes. The Bor Dinka however denied the right of anyone to another man's wife, either age-fellow or brother (father's son). Obviously the matter is one for further investigation among other tribes of Dinka.

Although the Dinka do not allow any rights of access to their wives, if a man knows himself to be impotent he may ask his brother (*wenawa* or *wanmath*) to cohabit with his wife until she is pregnant. No one will object to such an arrangement. If all remedies fail, barrenness may be considered sufficient grounds for divorce after about two years of married life.

We obtained the following details concerning the marriage ceremony from the Cic :—

A feast with dancing is held in the bride's village, when her parents kill a bullock; the bride wears a new skin garment and takes part in the dance, though the bridegroom does not. After the dancing the girls of the village drag the bride, who goes reluctantly, to the house prepared for her, where the bridegroom awaits her and where the marriage should be consummated. The house in which she is received is in the bridegroom's village, but has been prepared for her by both families; her own mother brings the grass for the thatch, while the bridegroom's brothers bring the wood and clay and the mothers of both the bride and the bridegroom assist in the construction.

The Niel Dinka said that when the whole bride-wealth has been handed over the bride's father kills a bullock and a dance is held. In the evening the girls and women take the bride to the house of the bridegroom, who kills a bullock and smears his bride's breasts and shoulders with the stomach contents of the beast and with oil. A wealthy man who is pleased with his bride may possibly send a cow and calf to her mother by one of his own male relatives.

We were told among the Bor that when a man marries he builds a cattle-kraal on his *dom* (cultivation) and that the bride's relatives

visit her there; she grinds corn for them and the husband kills a bullock. If he should refuse to do this the bride's family would curse him, a serious matter among the Dinka. It was said that the young wife would return to her mother's house for the birth of her first child, unless her mother was still of child-bearing age in which case her presence would prevent the older woman bearing children again.

The essential feature of marriage is the transfer of the bride-wealth. It is not necessary to postpone marriage until this is fully paid, but the amount must be agreed upon, and usually paid in part, before a couple will begin to live together as man and wife.

The bride-wealth handed over by Tir, a Thañ Dinka of Malek, for his wife Akor, daughter of Ayang,[1] was as follows. It must be remembered that the Thañ are poor and have very few cattle; among any of the more wealthy cattle-owning tribes the bride-wealth would be much greater, and the complicated dues resulting therefrom in the families of both the bride and bridegroom would be correspondingly higher. The bride-wealth consisted of one cow, Ayang by name, with her cow calf, one heifer called Nalith, and two sheep. Besides these, already handed over at the time of our visit, there would be given two more heifers, several sheep (the exact number uncertain, but said to be large because the bride had so many relatives), two hippopotamus harpoons, three pots of fat, and large quantities of fish. Tir obtained the cow, Ayang, and the heifer, Nalith, from his father, who had received them as part of the bride-wealth of Aloya, own sister to Tir. The two remaining heifers Tir should receive from his maternal uncle; his own mother's brother is dead, but eventually Tir will get the two beasts from Ayau, who stands in the *nener* (mother's brother) relationship to him, although Ayau is actually his mother's mother's brother. Tir was helped before marriage by his brothers and cousins, his *wenawa*, *wenuwac*, *wenama*, and *wenener*, in giving numerous presents of fish to the parents of his betrothed. The two sheep that have already been given come from Nial, the father of Tir, who bought them for the purpose; Wal, the ortho-cousin of Nial, is too poor to give any sheep, otherwise some would have been expected from him.

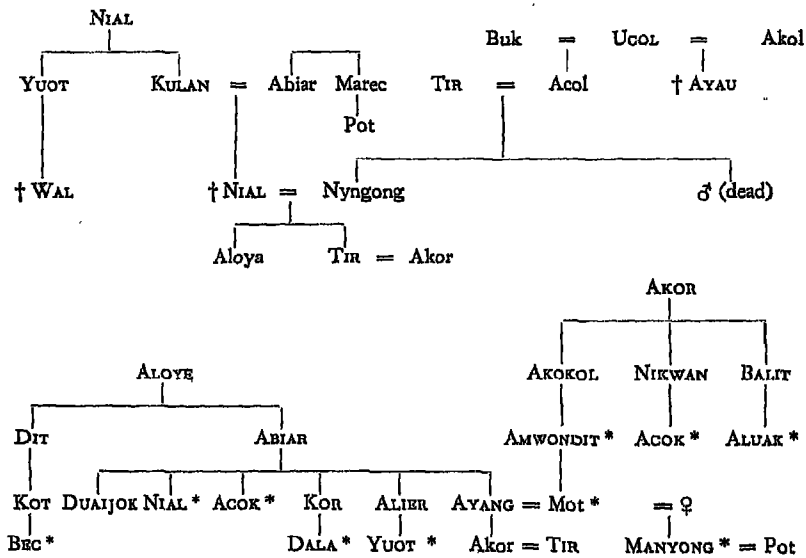
The above bride-wealth has been distributed as follows: the cow, Ayang, has gone to Mot, mother of the bride, the calf to Amwondit, the father of Mot; the heifer, Nalith, to Yuot the son of Alier, brother

[1] It is a coincidence that man and cow bear the same name.

of Ayang the bride's father; the two remaining heifers yet unpaid will be given to Manyong, the bride's brother by another mother. Six of the bride's relatives must receive goats, which will be given when possible. Two of these relatives, Aluak and Acok, stand to the bride in the relationship of *nener* (mother's brother); two, Acok

GENEALOGIES OF TIR AND AKOR

Relatives with † prefixed should assist Tir to provide bride-wealth, those marked with an asterisk should receive some of the bride-wealth given by Tir for Akor.



and Nial, are her *walen* (father's brother); one, Dala, is her *wenulen* (ortho-cousin), and another, Bek, is really the *wenulen* of her father but is looked upon as her *wenulen*. Manyong, the bride's brother, and Yuot, her *wenulen*, will each receive a hippopotamus harpoon, the fat will go to the bride's mother.

It was said among the Cic that when a lad approached the age for marriage his father began to collect the cattle for his bride-wealth, and that later on, after marriage, he would give him a couple of cows for himself so that he and his wife might drink milk.

Definite rules concerning the duties of relatives to contribute towards the bride-wealth for their kinsmen cannot be drawn from a single example, but it can be seen that :—

1. A man is not expected to raise sufficient property by his own unaided efforts to enable him to marry; he has relatives who

will help him to obtain the bride-wealth, so that no man is likely to remain unmarried long for lack of means, for this would reflect on his family.

2. The bride-wealth given for a woman is not the concern of her father only but of numerous members of her family. A large number of cattle will enhance the value of a girl in the eyes of her family.

3. In both the provision of the bride-wealth and its distribution the maternal relatives of both bride and bridegroom may be concerned, as well as the two fathers.

Among the iron-working clans Nyonker and Gumbek, in the neighbourhood of Shambe, the bride-wealth is given in iron. These clans do not keep cows, though they buy bulls—which they kill—from the cattle-owning clans in exchange for iron.

We may refer to the genealogies of Tir and his wife Akor to make clear the obligations depending on the transfer of bride-wealth between a man and his wife's relatives. Tir observed the usual ceremonial attitude towards Ayang and Mot, the parents of his wife Akor, but with one exception maintained that he could meet on terms of equality all those relatives of his wife who would receive part of the bride-wealth, and might eat and smoke with them. The exception is particularly interesting: Tir said he would never eat or smoke with Amwondit, his wife's grandfather, because he was his wife's *kwar*, and added that "the food of a man's own *kwar* is sweet"; he might eat with both his own paternal and maternal grandparents. Thus it would seem that the avoidance of Amwondit had no reference to the bride-wealth but to fear of the elders of other clans.

Fines are imposed for adultery; according to Captain O'Sullivan from five to eight head of cattle are paid to the husband, but if the woman is a widow the fine goes to or is held in trust for the husband's heirs. The woman is not punished, nor is adultery a cause of divorce, but should a man ill-treat his adulterous wife she might refuse to live with him and return to her father, and then the marriage might be broken. The children of an adulterous union belong to the legal husband.[1] Dr. Tucker tells us that there are three causes for divorce: barrenness, persistent infidelity, and inability to cook a satisfactory meal.

In spite of the manner in which women and cattle are interwoven

[1] Op. cit., 188.

in the idea of property, a woman can break her marriage by refusing to live with her husband. Captain O'Sullivan states that a father "often succeeds in breaking the marriage, by enticing his daughter to refuse to live with her husband, if he has been offered a larger price for her". That the handing over of bride-wealth is however more than a business transaction and works for social stability is seen by the following statement :—

> "For the proper understanding of the repayment of a 'marriage price' it must be remembered that every cow and its young is known to all the Dinkas who are concerned in it as a possible increase of capital if repayment of 'marriage price' is made; and that the cattle of a 'marriage price' are never kept intact by the father or guardian of a girl, but are divided between his friendly male relations, he possibly keeping only one cow. . . .
>
> "And although these cattle are distributed as free-will presents and generally in return for a former similar consideration, a man will often claim a present in return when a kinsman has received cattle for a daughter or ward.
>
> "A Dinka court would only tell the defendant to be generous, and it is important that Government officials should adopt this course also, as they are only free-will gifts, and as these presents and regifts have gone back through the families for generations it is quite impossible to know which is really 'to the good'." [1]

The treatment of widows cannot be dealt with apart from the disposal of property. This does not imply that a woman is a slave or chattel, but so intimate is the relationship between women and cattle that they cannot be considered entirely apart. This bond is further intensified by the part played by ancestor worship, especially in the male line. The welfare of a family depends on the goodwill of the ancestors, that of the ancestors on the sacrifices of their descendants. Thus Dinka ideas form a circle: a man worships his ancestors to obtain their goodwill, in turn he must leave children to care for his *atiep* when he has departed from this life; for this he must have wives, and to obtain wives he must give cattle in exchange. Unless the cattle be returned to him (so that he can get another wife) the children borne by these women, irrespective of true paternity, are his for ever; death does not break the marriage contract, the only thing that can break it is the return of the bride-wealth cattle (divorce). Not only must a man leave descendants for the sake of his own welfare, but if possible he must leave cattle so that the descendants may in turn beget heirs. The reality of this bond between the living and the dead is further demonstrated by the following customs related to us by Archdeacon Shaw :—

[1] Op. cit., 183.

When an unmarried man dies his brother must marry a woman especially to raise up seed to the deceased; should he neglect to do so the spirit of the dead man would cause his brother's children to die, or prevent the birth of children if none had been born already. If a man has several dead unmarried brothers he must take a wife for each before he may take one for himself.

In spite of these principles it is improbable that a widow will be coerced. She may live with a brother of her deceased husband or with one of the latter's sons (not her own son), and in either case if she bears children they are counted to the dead man, but if she should wish to go to another man the matter would be arranged, and he would hand over a certain amount of bride-wealth (no doubt less than the original quantity) to the heir, this second payment thus being the equivalent of a divorce. A widow would never be taken by the mother's brother's son of her deceased husband.

At Malek we were told that the widow mourns for a year before going to live with an heir, while among the Cic it was said that she lives for a relatively long period in her husband's house, and during this time should remain chaste, even though she may eventually be taken by a brother or son of the deceased. Before she can resume sexual life a sacrifice must be performed to appease the spirit of her dead husband. A brother of the deceased (and it may be the very brother who is about to cohabit with her) kills a bull from the dead man's herd and the blood is collected in a gourd; the blood and the meat are boiled and eaten by the widow and children, the woman's clan taking one hind leg and the clan of the deceased the rest.

Dr. Tucker states that when a married woman dies the widower must always "console" (*dut*) her father with one cow, however many years it may be since she left his home. If a woman dies leaving young children her father should give some cows to the widower to feed her children, but the latter should still give *dut* to the father.

Captain O'Sullivan discovered that the duty of widows to raise up seed to their deceased husbands is not limited by their capacity to bear children. Usually a widow cohabits with her husband's brother or heir, but an elderly widow may "marry" a girl, whose children will be counted to the deceased. We are able to record two such cases among the Cic, though neither was recent and details were not well remembered:—

Liwet of Pacob clan in the village of Ajak died, leaving an elderly widow and considerable property (our informants did not

know whether he had other wives); this widow purchased a girl, who had children by the son of her deceased husband's brother.

A man called Kok died leaving three daughters; no details are remembered except that a wife was bought for him (presumably by one of his daughters) and that she bore children who were looked upon as the progeny of Kok.

Among the Cic the woman stays in her mother's house for the birth of a child, remaining within the hut for five days; her mother attends her and cuts the cord. The afterbirth is placed in a skin and washed, and later is buried by both women outside the house near the wall of the homestead; when the umbilical cord falls off it is put in a gourd and buried beside the afterbirth. When the child is old enough to understand it is shown the place where the afterbirth is buried, and in later life will remember it and visit it occasionally, though we could not hear of any special ceremonial connected with it. The husband brings a bullock, or if he cannot afford a bullock, a sheep and some millet. The beast is killed and all eat of it; the blood is spilled outside the hut, and the infant's grandmother dips her finger in the blood and smears a little on the forehead, neck, and breast of the child. Some blood is also smeared on the young mother, whose head is shaved immediately after childbirth leaving thin lines of hair running transversely.

Women observe certain food taboos when pregnant and during lactation. They must not eat certain kinds of fish, antelope, or buffalo, nor monitor lizard nor the flesh of animals that have died a natural death, which other Dinka eat with impunity. Infringement of these rules would cause the death of the child. All meat is not, however, forbidden; pregnant women may eat the flesh of sheep or domesticated cattle.

If a woman succeeds in rearing a child after losing all those previously born, its hair is not cut until after it is twelve years old, when a sacrifice of a bull or goat is made.

Archdeacon Shaw gives the following information concerning the special precautions observed among the Bor when twins are born. If they be both boys they will, when they begin to walk, feel hatred for their mother and desire to cause her death; they will do this by praying to Nhialic in their hearts, thus: "*Noke .ting rir*" ("Hit the woman hard"). If they are both girls they will hate and wish to cause the death of their father. If one is a boy and the other a girl the boy will want to hurt his mother and the girl her father and they

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will quarrel. The boy will think, "You shall not hurt my father, or where shall I get my cattle?" The girl will say, "You shall not injure my mother, or where shall I get my skin garment?" And so both parents will be safe.

On the day after the birth of twin boys the father summons his own male relatives and a *tiet*, and provides a bull calf. Any male relatives of the mother may be present but are not specially summoned. The father and his relatives then pray to Nhialic (not to the ancestral spirits, nor, even in the case of a Bor man, to such powerful spirits as Lerpio), for twins are an abnormal creation of Nhialic, and are not sent by an ancestor or a spirit:—

"Thou, Nhialic, it is Thou alone who created them, Thou alone didst bring them; no man hates them.

"Thou, Nhialic, look on life [mercifully]; no man is mighty, Thou art mighty.

"Accept the bull, I have paid you the wage, let them live."

This prayer is on behalf of mother and babes. If the bull-calf does not urinate the prayer has not been accepted and the sacrifice is not made; if it does urinate the *tiet* catches some of the urine in his hand and smears it over the chest, shoulders, and heads of the parents and children, finally flinging it away to the west. He then cuts the throat of the calf, which is immediately skinned and the flesh boiled, the *tiet* and male relatives of the father all feasting upon it. When twin girls are born the wife's male and female relatives are summoned with the *tiet* and provide a cow calf. Girl twins must marry on the same day, lest the one marrying later should be barren.

Among the Niel Dinka, after the first child is born the father will come to see it (as usual among the Dinka, the birth of the first child takes place in the hut of its maternal grandparents). The mother-in-law will kill a sheep and make beer, and she will put a piece of meat into the mouth of her son-in-law. After this they may see each other and speak face to face. The father-in-law will present him with a pipe of tobacco and henceforth they may treat one another as father and son. A similar custom is probably observed by the Ngok, for we were told that at the end of three years a man could give his mother-in-law some cows, after which the two might converse together. The Bor Dinka did not know of such a custom.

Among the Bor when the child is strong enough the father comes and says to his wife: "Let us take the child so that the men of our own clan may see it." The couple then return to the husband's

village, but for the birth of her next child the woman goes back again to her mother's house.

Children are usually named after their ancestors. When questioned Dinka say that a man names his eldest son after his paternal grandfather, subsequent children after other relatives on his father's side, and later his younger children after members of their mother's families. Thus even the names of totem animals may be found as personal names in clans of other totems, a younger boy being called after an ancestor of his mother bearing the animal name. Although no idea of reincarnation was expressed, a child was not called after an ancestor if the latter were still alive. In the genealogies it was found that many names were given to record definite events, especially those connected with the birth of the child, and that although names did recur—sometimes in the second, third, or fourth generation—this did not happen with that regularity implied by the rule given above. Names are not given at birth, but when the child is old enough to crawl, for the reason that the child would be unable to recognize its name when quite young. The name is chosen by the older folk and there is no ceremony; if the parents have preference for any particular name they will suggest it, and it will be approved or disapproved by the elders. Later, when the youths enter an age class, each is known by the name of his favourite ox. We did not discover any trace of spear or war names as among the Acholi and Lotuko.

An analysis of the names in a few families is of interest as showing the kind of incident that may be commemorated by a child's name. The first three children of Kwiwel—a Cic of Shambe, of the Fabil clan—all male, were called successively after the paternal grandfather, great-grandfather, and the father of Kwiwel; the fourth son was called Alwot, meaning "wet and cold", because he was born during the rains while moving to the wet season village; the fifth child, a girl, was called Abuwaj, meaning "strong" because her mother had said that Kwiwel was too old to have a child; the sixth, a boy, was called Biar, because his mother was rude to Kwiwel before his birth and Kwiwel said her heart was like that of Biar, a snake.

In another family there were five daughters. The first two were called Alat and Apwal, both names said to mean "insulting" and referring to the fact that the father of the children had been insulted by his wife's brother because he had not given sufficient bride-wealth; being a poor man he was obliged to borrow a sheep, which he sacrificed

to the *jok* of his wife. Alat died, and her death was attributed to the *jok* of her mother's family. The third child was called Adhiau, meaning "weeping", referring to the death of her sister; the fourth Arac, "bad," because the mother's family were still dissatisfied; the father, having no cattle, then paid them ten sheep. The fifth child was born of a different mother; its name was said to mean "many people praying", because the woman did not become pregnant until after two years, when the husband collected the people of his own clan (not his wife's) and they all prayed to Dengdit, while a sheep was led around the barren woman and sacrificed.

After deaths in the family, children may also be named after spiritual beings, e.g. Alier, named after an important spirit of the Gwala district.

Male twins we were told would be called Did and Lual, both names of birds, for the reason that birds always bring forth more than one. Children born immediately after twins should be called Bol (m.) and Nyabol (f.).

Children may be called by cattle names, Alwal, "red"; Yar, "white"; Ding, "spotted", etc.; and girls are not infrequently named after the cows paid for their mothers; boys may be called after a *maceng* (p. 169) if one formed part of the mother's bride-wealth, or even after a cow from that herd, so that it is not uncommon to find men with female names.

We are indebted to Archdeacon Shaw for further examples showing how names are chosen. When a woman bears a child by a man other than her husband the child is considered to be begged from the former, and the fact may be intimated in the name given to it; such names are Malim, Nyalim, Lima, and Alim, all from the root *lim*, "to beg from." The following names all refer to some incident connected with the birth of the child: Riak (m.), Nyiak (f.), given to children born in time of famine; Jok, to a child born during an epidemic; Agot—meaning a wooden hoe—to a boy born after the death of some of the father's relatives, referring to the hoe with which the graves had been dug; the name Nyet, meaning palm-leaf, is given to a girl born in similar circumstances, and refers to the mourning bands worn. Gut is a name of interest; it is given to a male child whose father has little influence, i.e. few relatives, so that in a quarrel he must usually submit (*nyin gut*).

The naming of one Kwiner is particularly interesting. Although he was his father's first-born he was not called after an ancestor,

because at that time his father had quarrelled with his maternal uncle; it was the latter who gave the child the name of Kwiner, which means "not knowing the maternal uncle".

Every Dinka has a number of names of varying origin and sociological importance. The "cattle-name" is assumed at the time that the lad enters an age-class and would hardly be used as a term of address except by relatives, close friends, and class-fellows. Cattle-names are chosen by the men themselves and are based on the colour or some other peculiarity of their own pet ox, i.e. the beast given by his father to each youth when he enters his age-class. The names of oxen are not individual names (as the names of cows are) but names which they share with all other bulls and oxen of the same class, the class being commonly determined by colour and by skin pattern, often considered to resemble that of some kind of vertebrate, a likeness which to the white man frequently appears fantastic and far-fetched. The precise relation of a man's cattle-name to that of his ox is often difficult to unravel; the following examples, obtained with Archdeacon Shaw's assistance, will show the lines of thought that are followed. A lad possessing an ox called Manyang, a name referring to the crocodile (*ma*, "male," and *nyang*, "crocodile"), because that reptile is regarded as more or less brindled, takes the name Magor, *gor* being the brindled mongoose. The owner of an ox Majak (*jak*, "pelican") may take the name Anoklek (*nok*, "to vomit", *lek* "a fish"), while the owner of an ox Makwei (*kwei*, "the fish eagle") took the name Akuemuk, explained as signifying "the holder-of-wings-rigid", referring to the swooping of the bird. Such oxen as these have their horns trained so that one grows forward and the other backward, and are known as *muor cien* [1]; they act as leaders of the herd. It is difficult to describe their importance to their masters or the love and care the latter have for their beasts, but it is certainly no exaggeration to say that it amounts to what psychologists would term "identification". This holds not only for the Nilotes, but also for such Nilo-Hamites as the Bari, whose treatment of their sönö is described on pages 243–4.

[1] The late Sir Arthur Shipley on information we supplied wrote that a beast with horns trained fore and aft was called a *majok* ("The Hunting of the Yale": reprint from *Country Life*, n.d.). This was a mistake; an ox we saw happened to be a *majok*, but this term really applies only to a particularly coloured (red with white belly) *muor cien*. Lord Raglan gives us the following names for certain other *muor cien*: red, *malwal*; red with white spots, *malek*; black, *macar*; black with white spots, *makwaic* (*kwaic*, leopard); black with white face, *mayon*.

We may here note that allusive colour names are continually applied to cattle; every calf as soon as it is born receives a name depending on its colour. Thus all grey calves have *lith* in their name (e.g. Melith, a grey bull-calf), *lith* being the word for a grey hawk. Archdeacon Shaw points out that cows (not heifers) are given a personal name which they bear through life, e.g. a grey heifer (therefore Nalith) became Gopdit (snatcher-of-birds) after bearing a light brown calf, and a cow Namer became Pelawan (" the releaser of scent ") from the colour of the sweet-scented *lang* fruit.

Young boys follow the older lads to look after the cattle, and any morning they may be seen collecting dung for fuel. The older boys teach the younger ones to milk, and when they are about eight years old their father will take them out fishing; a year or two later they may be taken to hunt hippopotamus. Girls learn household management from their mothers and never help with the cattle, but a woman will teach both her sons and daughters to help in the cultivation.

The Bor Dinka stated that the milk teeth are knocked out as well as the permanent teeth. We have no details, and believe that little ceremony attends the process. Whatever may have been the former custom, the Dinka age-classes at the present day have nothing to do with the removal of the lower incisors (done earlier in life, generally at from eight to ten years). On the other hand initiation—entrance into the first age-class—is directly connected with the forehead scars, definite tribal marks varying from tribe to tribe, cut at about puberty or somewhat later, and it is probably correct to say that no boy would be initiated until his forehead had been scarred.[1] The process seems to vary in severity and degree of ceremony from tribe to tribe, but in a general way, though less severe, resembles the Nuer rite described in Chapter VI. Girls have their foreheads scarred at about the time of their first period.

Among the Kiro in the neighbourhood of Bor, to whom the information given here concerning age-classes specifically applies unless otherwise stated, the verb signifying " to enter an age-class " is *rāk*; as a noun this word means " milk ", and *pelrāk*, literally " to give up milking ", is the usual expression for entering an age-class. There is no doubt that ceasing to milk is an important part of the change in mode of life which entering an age-class entails, and Archdeacon Shaw is inclined to think that this change in habit is indirectly

[1] This cannot hold for the Atwot, if, as we have been told, they have not forehead scars.

an expression of adult status. It seems that a boy before entering an age-class is regarded by the girls as practically sexless, and that full sex status is not admitted so long as a lad continues to milk. The restriction, though strictly observed at first, is not necessarily long continued, a year or two after entering an age-class a youth will not hesitate to milk a cow too fierce for a mere boy to manage, while married men are the habitual milkmen of the tribe. It seems then that the refusal to milk when a lad first enters his age-class is to be regarded as an example of the putting away of childish things, as a formal *rite de passage*.

The ceremonial of constituting an age-class is briefly as follows. The youths go into the marshes for about a month, sleeping in dug-outs and fending for themselves (at least in theory). It is probably fair to regard this seclusion as really an ordeal, to the discomfort of which the mosquitoes substantially contribute. At the end of the month heads are shaved and every father is supposed to give his son an ox, a canoe, a spear, a fishing spear, a hippopotamus harpoon, fishing lines, and arm ornaments; if the father can afford it cows are also given (see p. 173). The youths return to the village, where a big feast has been prepared for them, sheep especially being contributed by the father of one of their number whom they have elected leader. After this feast the youths go to their own homesteads, but still recognize their leader whom they follow in single file in their visits to the neighbouring villages, to dance (the most important evidence of manhood), flirt, and select their future wives.

The age-classes of the Kiro as they existed in 1921 were as follows:

Kwalagok, the youngest age-class, came into existence about 1917, its name (signifying "the stealing of snails") being given by the old men because the youths while living in the marsh stole the snails that the former had collected as bait; in 1921 this class had already taken part in some minor fighting.

Matit, so called from the red beads which the class wore when returning from a visit to Madeng.

Bolith, a Dinka pronunciation of the English "police", the first age-class after the Government came to Madeng; two men of this class were judged to be about 30.

Guriak, from *gut*, "to strike," and *riak*, "famine"; the name recalls a great famine at about the time of the origin of this class.

Kwalalet, commemorating the stealing of fishing lines, as Kwalagok does that of snails.

Nojo, commemorating the killing of dogs that had become a nuisance.

The class organization is essentially military and all except really old men would fight. It was said that the older classes would be stationed on the wings, the younger in the centre, and that if the wings made no progress or were broken the younger classes would not be expected to come to their aid but would seek safety, "they are but children." If the wings were successful the younger classes would join in the pursuit. This information, probably embodying more of theory than of reality, suggests that pitched battles might be fought and that envelopment of the hostile forces was sought, but much of Dinka warfare was by way of raid and counter raid.

Socially men of the same *rak* will help each other with regard to food; moreover, while ordinary meals are taken with the family, on ceremonial occasions the members of the various age-classes eat together. Members of the same age-class have no rights of access to or other privilege regarding their fellows' wives.

Dr. Tucker informs us that many of the Reik now circumcise, having learnt the practice from the Arabs during the last few years, and that their women approve the custom.

Captain O'Sullivan classed Dinka laws under fifteen somewhat arbitrary headings, but recognized that these were based on four main principles:—

"(*a*) The possession of women and cattle.
(*b*) The purchase of wives by means of cattle.
(*c*) Inheritance of women, children, and cattle.
(*d*) Compensation for injury and homicide by means of women and cattle.[1]"

Although these four principles may be deduced from Dinka practice, they can only be accepted if the words "possession", "purchase", and "inheritance" are understood in a sense very different from their common English significance, and it would be more in accordance with Dinka thought to summarize these principles as follows:—

Inheritance and descent are in the male line; the association between members of a family and the herds of the family is very close, and compensation for a human member of the group is paid in cattle, whether the loss be due to death (homicide) or to the voluntary

[1] Op. cit., 175.

departure of a member to another group (marriage, when the offspring will belong to the foreign group).

Captain O'Sullivan makes the interesting observation that clothes and ornaments, and the mat on which a woman sleeps, are not regarded as property but as part of the person. While we have no doubt that this is true in principle, we think the statement needs further confirmation with regard to valuable ivory armlets.

We are indebted to Archdeacon Shaw for much information concerning the distribution of the property of a well-to-do man; it must be noted that the distribution of property during life is as important as its disposal after death.

A man gives cows to each of his wives, his first wife (the *tingdit*, lit. " great wife ") receiving the most and each succeeding wife getting proportionately a smaller number. When necessary to keep up the supply of butter and milk, cows are added to these herds. For every male child that is born a cow is set side to provide milk, and other cows are added later; all such cows are considered to belong to the child concerned, the children of the *tingdit* always receiving a larger share than other children.

When the *wen dit*, eldest son of the *tingdit*, enters an age-class and thus comes to man's estate his father gives him two spears, two clubs, one *bith* (fish spear), and perhaps as many as six cows, so that he may entertain guests in his father's absence.[1] A man also gives good presents—such as spears, clubs, and feathers—to his sister's sons when they enter their first age-class. In the same way, but in smaller number, cows are given to other sons.

When the *wen dit* marries, his father gives a liberal quantity of bride-wealth (a sub-chief of Gwala gave thirty cows and eight oxen to his *wen dit*) so also to the other sons of the great wife, but sons of other wives fare less well, unless their own sisters have married and by their marriages have brought in cattle. However, the elder sons of the great wife will add to the contributions made by the father to younger sons and to sons of inferior wives. A man will also contribute to the bride-wealth of adopted sons and slaves (*aluak*), and other relatives.

A man gives his son-in-law a cow in milk and her calf when the latter finally takes his bride away from the homestead.

The *kun*, the youngest child of each wife, is of social importance when male. The *kun* of the great wife receives no cattle at his

[1] It will be noted that this is a larger gift than the routine presentation at initiation (p. 171).

father's death, as the whole of his mother's herd will come to him, and upon him falls the duty of looking after her after the death of his father. The practical utility of this system is readily seen: the elder sons are likely to be married before their father's death, while the youngest son even though he may be married will still be at home, and when the time comes for him to make a homestead it will be adjoining that of his father and the land he will cultivate will also adjoin his father's; indeed if land were scarce his father would give him a portion of his own area to cultivate. If the wife of the *kun* should take up her abode with her husband after the death of her father-in-law, her husband will not make a new homestead for her but merely a new hut, and his mother will remain the chief woman of the homestead. The *kun* then takes charge of his mother's herds and cultivation as well as his own, but though the chief responsibility of looking after the mother devolves upon him, the other sons will also assist in any large piece of work, e.g. building a cattle-shed.

The position of the *kun* of second and other wives is not so clear; it is obvious that the larger the herd of the mother, the greater the importance of the *kun*. It would seem that *kun* of other wives inherit some of their mother's cattle, but the elder sons also share, and if the *kun* should receive cattle through his sister's marriage he might perhaps not inherit from his mother as well. We are not certain that *kun* of women other than the great wife look after their mother on the death of the father.

It seems that a great wife who lived long enough to rear a family would not pass to an heir on the death of her husband, for to be head of the household of the *kun* is a very different thing from going to the household of an heir not her son, where she would become a secondary wife to the head of the house. The whole question of the *kun* is worth further investigation; we did not hear of such an institution among other peoples, though this does not necessarily imply that it does not exist. It must be noted that the *kun* only inherits from his mother the cattle given to her by his father, not cattle from her brother or her father, so that it is not an inheritance with female descent, nor can it be regarded as ultimogeniture simply. It would appear to be a compromise between patrilineal and matrilineal descent, and to be associated with the Nilotic relationship system in which brothers and sisters, children of the father and of the mother, are distinguished from one another. It may indeed be a development among wealthy cattle-owners, largely due to their economic system.

The father of the family when on his death-bed distributes his remaining cattle. If he can trust his *wen dit* (eldest son) he tells him his wishes; otherwise younger sons are summoned too. The *wen dit* receives the majority of the cattle, all the others getting smaller shares, except the *kun* of the *tingdit*. No cattle are given to him, but if the cattle of the *tingdit* are few some are added to their number and these will eventually come to the *kun*. All other movable property, such as spears, bracelets, etc., go to the *wen dit*, and he is enjoined to take over the charge of the whole family.

From consideration of this account of the distribution of property two points emerge:—

1. The conception of ownership is very different from the European conception. A man owns a large herd, but these are not his to do what he likes with—to sell or kill—for the beasts are allotted to wives and are destined for various children and relatives; should he wish to sell cattle he is bound to cause jealousy between wives, which if severe would lead to trouble with relatives-in-law. Further, if a man's sister's son wants milk he may milk his maternal uncle's cows without asking permission.

2. Though no marriage would be valid without the exchange of bride-wealth, and a widow's position is one of dependence on her deceased's husband's heir, it is not true to say that wives are bought as slaves are bought, nor that they are inherited as property is inherited. The influence of wealth is, however, strong enough to enable old and even impotent men to obtain young wives.

The facts we have brought together concerning inheritance, considered with those dealing with ancestor worship (pp. 185–7), indicate that, in spite of the strong patrilineal and patrilocal habits of the Dinka, contact with the mother's village and with her people is really intimate. The mother's brother is regarded with the respect due to a father; indeed according to the Niel Dinka he received greater respect than the father, and if a grown man showed disrespect to his *ner* he would die. An incident recorded by Archdeacon Shaw offers an excellent example of the importance of the mother's kin both in material and spiritual affairs. On p. 203 we record that only one of two brothers took part in a sacrifice to a dead father. He who refrained did so because he was the "child of his mother's men folk".

As an infant he had fallen ill, and a *tiet* (in this case a woman) had been consulted and had announced that the sickness was caused by the *atiep* of his maternal relatives. The elders agreed that if the child lived he should become a child of his mother's people. Therefore when Alier, the child now grown up, marries the spirits of his mother's family will be specially concerned and the children will be considered as belonging to his mother's family rather than his father's.

A ceremony called the *acama*, which is of considerable psychological interest as showing very clearly the attitude towards the dead father, was recorded by Archdeacon Shaw. If a man marries a girl whose father is dead, besides the agreed bride-wealth he must make a special sacrifice called the *acama*; the beast should be an ox, but a male sheep or goat might be substituted if the bridegroom were poor. If the sacrifice is omitted the dead father will cause the death of his own widow (the bride's mother) when she drinks the milk from the bride-wealth or treads in the dung. She will fall unconscious, when to beat her with a bull rope belonging to one of her "brothers" or her son-in-law will constitute her only chance of revival.

It is necessary for the sacrifice to be made at night, as otherwise the bride's brothers will try to steal the bull, and then the bridegroom's people will be bound to provide another beast. The bridegroom does not bring the animal himself, but gets one of his "brothers" (father's sons or ortho-cousins) to take it to the hut of his mother-in-law and kill it there. He is accompanied by his mother and her daughter (his sister) and his father's sister or her daughter (but not both of them). The *acama* is killed outside the bride's mother's hut. The spear is provided by her people, and becomes the property of the man who slays the *acama*; he also receives a hoe for scraping up the blood and a basket for carrying away the refuse. The bridegroom's paternal aunt is given a water pot and a shallow basket for sand, and with these she re-plasters the inside of the bride's mother's hut. The *acama* may only be eaten by the bride's relatives, and after the flesh has been eaten the bride's womenfolk take the ribs and dry them in the sun. Porridge is made and taken with the ribs to the bridegroom's homestead, and there the ribs are boiled and the porridge with the broth distributed to the children (not the adults).

Homicide leads to a blood feud, but may be settled by a payment of cattle. For the following information we are indebted to Archdeacon Shaw. If a man has killed another and fears the vengeance of the relatives he goes to a *tiet*. Unless the murderer confesses his

deed the *tiet* will not help him. If he confesses, the *tiet* asks him to supply a black male goat or sheep. Its throat is cut by the *tiet* and the head cut off and buried in a hole dug in an anthill, a cooking pot being first placed over it. Thus the eyes of avengers will be blinded. The murderer also fears the vengeance of the dead man; he may be haunted by the blood (*kek riem*) of the victim, and is likely to grow thinner and weaker until he dies.

Chapter V

THE DINKA (Contd.)

Religion

The Dinka, and the kindred Nuer, are intensely religious, in our experience by far the most religious peoples in the Sudan, their worship being directed to a high god dwelling in or associated with the firmament and to a host of ancestral spirits. The nature and cult of these two powers will be examined in the following pages; meanwhile, ignoring the distinction between the two and regarding only the Dinka attitude towards powers other than human, it is no exaggeration to say that there is no happening or event however little out of the common that is not regarded as of religious significance and as an occasion for sacrifice. The outlook of the Dinka may, as it seems to us, be summed up in a passage from the Psalms, cxviii, 23, "This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes." As a concrete example we may cite the behaviour, as related to us by the Rev. H. Lea Wilson, of a Cic Dinka who noticed an unusually large pumpkin in his garden. The vegetable was not cut; on the contrary the owner, saying "*jok aciloin*" ("the spirit has fallen"), prepared to sacrifice a goat. The animal was led round the pumpkin several times, watched until it urinated, and then held up by its hind legs while its throat was cut and the blood allowed to run over the vegetable. The carcase was taken to the homestead, its ears and fore-feet cut off and hung on a pole —whether erected for the purpose or already standing as part of a shrine we cannot say. The blood shed over the pumpkin was for the *jok*, and even after the sacrifice the pumpkin would probably not be cut until the goat had been eaten. The religious attitude of the Dinka is further illustrated by their behaviour near Tonj when aeroplanes first appeared. Mr. Richards informs us that some fifty bulls were slaughtered, while one old man confessed to a murder committed several years before.

It will be realized that the account we give of Dinka religion, necessarily incomplete with regard to belief and rites, is unduly formalized, since no written account can convey how intimately the threads of religious belief are woven into the fabric of daily life.

The Dinka recognize as their most powerful spiritual agency a being called Nhialic. Nhialic is associated with the firmament, indeed his name is the locative of the word *nhial*, meaning "above", so that literally translated Nhialic signifies "in the above". A common beginning of the prayers of the Thañ and Bor Dinka is *Nhialic ko kwar* ("God and our ancestors"), a phrase which at once indicates the two main elements of their religious faith and their relative importance. For there is no doubt that Nhialic is higher than the spirits of the dead (*jok*); it was he who created the world and established the order of things, and it is he who sends the rain from the "rain-place" above, which is especially his home. Nevertheless, in the ordinary affairs of life the *jok* are appealed to far more than Nhialic.

Another spiritual agency, Deng or Dengdit—literally "Great Rain"—has commonly been regarded as identical with Nhialic, as in our earlier publications, but this is certainly inaccurate so far as the White Nile Dinka are concerned and the same probably holds for the Bahr el Ghazal tribes. Our present opinion is that Dengdit is to be regarded as a spirit subsidiary to Nhialic, sometimes thought of as an emanation from or even in a sense as an offspring of Nhialic, analogous to the spirit Lerpio (pp. 150, 196) but of greater power and commanding far wider belief.[1] We may add that whatever may ultimately prove to be the precise connection between Dengdit and Nhialic it will certainly be close.

The majority of Dinka have no legends of the origin of Dengdit, but say that long ago he became angry with his wife Abuk and in his wrath sent the bird *atoc* to sever the path between heaven and earth which had existed until then. This belief was found by Professor Lyle Cummins among the Gnok Dinka of the Bahr el Ghazal Province,[2] with Dengdit figuring as a god without beginning and with no expected end, but among the Niel Dinka he appears as a less remote being who at one time ruled his tribe in human guise, and so approximates to the superhuman ancestors described in the section on totemism, while the legend (p. 148) explaining the reason why rain is the totem of the Adero clan of the Niel Dinka clearly brings Dengdit into relation with ancestral spirits.

The southern Dinka do not appear to use set forms of prayer, but to ask in ordinary simple sentences that their immediate wants

[1] An analogy may perhaps be drawn with the "sons of Dengdit" mentioned on p. 182.
[2] "Sub-Tribes of the Bahr-el-Ghazal Dinka,", *JRAI.*, xxxiv, 157–8.

may be granted. They have a number of hymns, which are sung when an ox is slaughtered to avert drought or sickness; but, as Archdeacon Shaw informs us, men also sing these when doing light work, and recently during a severe thunderstorm everyone joined in lustily to appease the elements. They also burst into one of these songs when bidding farewell to the Sirdar when he visited their country. One hymn of the kind now referred to is given on p. 189, another runs as follows :—

"Who will laugh?
The cattle-ant and the ant of the boat (i.e. the Cattle Dinka and the Thañ Dinka),
Who will possess a homestead?
Unite the ants to a head.
Who will laugh?
The cattle-ant and the ant of the boat.
The ants have gone to Deng (as their) head
And the Fish-lord has not appeared.
Let us worship.
Our Dura-lord has not appeared.
Let us worship."

Offerings are made to Dengdit at certain shrines which seem to be scattered all over the Dinka area. Most Dinka tribes appear to have one shrine in their territory, and this is certainly the case among the Cic and Agar. Probably they differ little in appearance from the shrine of Lerpio served by Biyordit, illustrated on Pl. XIX, Fig. 2. The great central rain-making ceremony of each tribe takes place at one of these shrines, as does the harvest ceremony held after the cutting of the millet; here too the Agar install their new rain-maker.

The shrine at Luang Deng, formerly held by Dinka, now in Nuer territory, but as we were told still served by Dinka priests, is one of the holiest existing among the Dinka, who visit it in large numbers. A photograph by Mr. Struvé, from which the sketch shown in Fig. 13 was made, shows that the shrine consists of three ordinary looking huts, of which one is especially the house of Dengdit. The door is always kept shut, and the guardians are represented as being the servants of Dengdit; only they may enter the shrine, though a man desirous of offspring may take cattle and offer them to Dengdit, asking that the desire of his heart may be granted. The worshipper approaches accompanied by two servants of the shrine, one on either side. When an animal is sacrificed the door of the shrine is opened and the worshipper on looking through the doorway may see amid the darkness strange shifting spirit shapes of men and animals. No

sacrifice should be made until Dengdit has sent a dream to the keeper of the shrine instructing him to accept the offering, so that worshippers are nearly always kept waiting for a few days; it is very rare for a sacrifice to be refused, but if a man be dismissed without being allowed to sacrifice he will soon die, or disease will attack his people. A spear specially kept for the purpose is used for killing the sacrificial animal. Before the worshipper leaves the shrine one of the servants of Dengdit takes dust from the holy precincts, and mixing it with oil rubs it over the body of the worshipper; sometimes a material object, such as a spear, may be given to the suppliant as a sign of favour and a guarantee that he will obtain his wish. Offerings such as pieces of tobacco may be thrown upon a low mound of ashes in front of the



Fig. 13. Shrine at Luang Deng.

shrine. The stomach contents of the sacrifice are also scattered about and over the mound, itself the result of the cooking of innumerable sacrifices, and near it the worshippers thrust into the ground a branch of the *akoc* tree. It did not appear that any attention was paid to the fate of this branch, though it was said that it might take root and grow.

Such shrines are called *lwek* (sing. *lwak*), the word commonly used for a cattle byre, and contain sacred objects including spears. In the *lwak* at Luang Ajok in Agar territory there were said to be stools of copper or brass, shields, pots, etc., all brought by Dengdit when he came to earth long ago. Although Dengdit is of the firmament he is equally thought of as inhabiting this *lwak*, indeed the Cic call their *lwak* at Lau the house of Dengdit.

We believe that at least some of these spears are associated with rain-making; this is certainly so among the Cic, who spoke of spears, both the barbed four-sided pointed iron called *bith yat* and that with the

leaf-shaped blade (*tong yat*) as well as one or more unbarbed spears (*bith lal*), as all more or less sacred. Dr. Tucker informs us that only the *bañ bith* may handle these spears, i.e. spear fish with either *bith* or cut meat with the sacred *tong*. The *bith lal* is the most potent, but all may be used for curing illness. The handles of these spears have iron bands, and the spears themselves are made out of a special "red" iron. If the sacred spears are carried off in a raid the thief will either die or break a limb, while his wife will cease to bear until the spears are restored. Dr. Tucker was told by a Cic that at death the spirit of the *bañ bith* goes into his *bith lal*; his informant added that Rek, Malwal, and Agar give a spirit name (p. 214) to the spear, but that this is not done by the Cic. When the time comes to replace the spears an elaborate ceremony is performed. Long ago Dengdit ordered the *bañ* Mabor to get the finest spear he could and to put it in his shrine at Lau, the command being said not only to apply to the *tong yat* but also to the *bith yat* and *bith lal*, all of which are renewed periodically by order of Dengdit, who in a dream indicates that the spears are getting old and that new ones must be provided. It seems that a new *tong yat* is brought to the *lwak* about every tenth year, when a white sheep is killed with the new spear by the *bañ* as an act of consecration, the blood being left on the blade for three days after which it is washed and oiled. Certain old men and women, near relatives of the *bañ*, boil and eat the flesh of this sacrifice in the courtyard of the *lwak*; after which they wash their hands, and throw the bones—all kept unbroken—into the river. The sacredness of the old spears appears to be transmitted to the new by thrusting the latter into the earth by the side of the sacrifice; the old spears were said to be given later to a son or other near relative of the *bañ*.

Among the Cic certain spiritual beings were spoken of as "the sons of Dengdit", though this expression must not be considered to imply ordinary physical relationship. It seemed that the Cic considered these "sons" as spirits who came from above to possess certain men, who became known by their names—Walkerijok, Majush, Mabor, and Malan. Each of them is regarded as the ancestor of one of the Cic clans, and has become a powerful *jok* of the usual type (for worship at their graves, see p. 190).

The Cic stated that at the beginning of the rains the householders in every village sacrifice a sheep to Dengdit and give him thanks and praise. The elders kill the sheep, cutting it in two longitudinally;

the upper half is cut into fragments, thrown into the air, and left where it falls for dogs and birds to eat. The other half of the beast is boiled and eaten, but the skin and bones (none of which must be broken) are kept for seven days and afterwards thrown into the river. Cooked millet is also thrown into the air and scattered.

At the beginning of this section we illustrated the strong religious sense of the Dinka by describing what happened when a particularly large pumpkin was found in the cultivation. As a further example we give a short account of the beliefs and events associated with the appearance or discovery of a mysterious pool of water near Rumbek in the Bahr el Ghazal. The first rumours were that Nhialic had taken up his habitation at the pool and that miracles of all kinds were being performed there, even to the raising of the dead. It soon became evident that the pool was becoming a centre of disaffection, and there was considerable excitement, not confined to the immediate neighbourhood nor even to the Dinka. Among people so strong, warlike, and religious as the Dinka—who moreover had suffered punishment for the murders of Major Stigand and Captain White—it was only to be expected that an anti-European significance should be attributed to the happenings at the pool, indeed the late Captain V. Fergusson, then in charge of the district, soon noticed the idea springing up that Nhialic performed these wonders as a sign that it was time for the people to rid themselves of the Government. Captain Fergusson determined to visit the pool and take with him an offering, having first caused it to be put abroad that there was but one God, who would accept the sacrifices of all races. The pool, about 8 feet deep at its centre and about 300 yards across, was part of a large shallow lake with reedy edges. On the morning when Captain Fergusson arrived there was a a large gathering—some 800 in all—kneeling down in rows facing the lake, praying to Nhialic; on the north-east side of the pool tribes from the east—Atwot, Aliab, and Cic—had cleared a spot on high ground, and on the south-west side a similar place was taken up by the western peoples, namely Agar, Reik, etc.

It was believed that any foreigner entering the pool would disappear, so when Captain Fergusson walked into the water with a sheep, although the latter did not drown at first attempt as it should have done if accepted by Nhialic, there was general surprise and argument, some holding that as God had refused the sheep Captain Fergusson was in disfavour, others that his safety indicated that there was something in the idea that there was only one God for all. The situation

was eased by an important Reik Dinka standing up and telling the people that he was disgusted with the manner in which they had taken up their abode by the lake, making it dirty and unworthy of Nhialic. He declared that there was only one God for Government and the people, that the reason why the sheep had not been accepted was that it had been offered when the sun was hot, and that if it were offered during the afternoon it would be taken. He pointed out that without the Government the tribes would be fighting among themselves and there would be no peace. He also spoke lengthily on the customs to be adopted in the presence of Nhialic, the manner of sacrifice, etc. This, and a speech from Captain Fergusson, brought about a change in manner. At 3 p.m. Captain Fergusson entered the water again, with an Atwot chief and about twenty others, when instead of making for the open water they went to the reedy side of the pool and after a short preliminary the man holding the sheep forced the animal under the reeds so that it could not possibly come to the surface. The return to dry land was greeted with dancing and singing, and it was apparent that the unexpected had happened; that night, for the first time, the pool was deserted, save for Captain Fergusson and his following. On the next day he went on to Nyjong, where the Atwot chief collected together some 300 people and a big dance was held and a sacrifice to Nhialic prepared. In the middle of the dance there was a heavy local downpour, lasting for about half an hour and limited to a radius of about 200 yards round Captain Fergusson's resthouse, this being the first rain that had fallen for nearly a month; moreover the sky was almost cloudless and during the downpour the sun shone. A sheep was sacrificed by Captain Fergusson in the evening, before everyone, and next day he attended the religious dances of the Atwot, where some 700 people had assembled. The Atwot chief gave out that he would kill a sheep on the following morning, and that rain would fall; he did not sacrifice, nevertheless heavy rain fell on his people as he had stated.

The Dinka believe that every human being has within him a soul or spirit called *atiep* or *tiep*—words also meaning "shadow"—which at death is said to "jump" (*yot*) from the body and to remain about the house or place of burial until a *buor* shrine is made for it.[1] The wanderings of the *atiep* are the most common source of dreams. In this account whenever the word "spirit" is used to refer to the spirit of a dead man it is the *atiep* that is meant. The *atiep* of a father,

[1] We believe however that *buor* were only made for men of some importance.

mother, or ancestor may at any time ask for food in a dream; a man will then take flour and mix it with fat in a small pot which he places in a corner of his hut, leaving it there until the evening when he may eat it or even share it with anyone belonging to his clan, but with no one else (Thañ). If food were not provided the *atiep* might, and probably would, make the dreamer or his wife and children ill. It was stated everywhere that the customs observed after a death, especially the death feasts, were to propitiate the *atiep* of the deceased and to prevent it from sending sickness or misfortune on the survivors. Sometimes the spirit of a person recently dead is spoken of as *jok*, but the term is generally reserved for the spirits of long dead and powerful ancestors. Thus the spirit of the founder of any clan is a *jok*, and the spirit of the animal ancestor is a specially powerful *jok*. The matter was summed up by a Thañ man as follows :—

> "The *atiep* of my animal [ancestor] is a *jok*, the *atiep* of my mother is a human spirit (*atiep*); [the spirit of] my mother is also a *jok*, but [the spirit of] my animal [ancestor] is a *jorndit* [a very great *jok*], and would be angry if food for it and my mother's *jok* were put together."

Although, when annoyed or neglected, the *jok* may send sickness, misfortune and death, they are the guardian spirits of the house and clan, taking constant interest in the doings of their descendants and being ever ready to help them. From this point of view there is a certain amount of confusion between the *atiep* of recent dead and the *jok* of long dead and powerful ancestors. It seems that although the former are not specially invoked for aid in difficulties, they are considered to take an active interest in their descendants, and probably all that is said concerning the loving kindness and power of the *jok* applies in a lesser degree to the *atiep*.

The *jok* know when a child is born, and protect it from the beginning, though a man does not tell his child about the *jok* until it is well grown, perhaps not until about the age of ten. The *jok* on both sides of the family protect the child, coming to its assistance in any sudden danger. In adult life, when invoking the *jok* at a time of stress, a man calls upon the *jok* of his ancestors, regardless whether the appeal be to the spirits of his own or his mother's clan. When harpooning a hippopotamus, the word usually spoken is *jongawa*, "O *jok* of my father". The *jok* hear the invocation and come to their descendant's assistance, entering his body and giving strength to his arms, only leaving him when the spear has been flung and

danger is over, for a man's *jok* are ever near him in enterprise or danger. Sometimes the appeal is made especially to the *jok* in animal form; thus Bol, a man of the Mariak clan of the Ngong Nyong tribe, when about to cast his harpoon at a hippopotamus would say, *Ayub lil ajong e gol Mariak e jongdiena niel abwordie* ("Strike, O spirit of Mariak clan, my spirit the snake!").

It was clear that the spirit of the ancestor of a clan was considered to be embodied in the totem animal; further, ancestral spirits would often take the form of the totem animal, and we were told that they especially appeared to a dying man in their animal form when they came to fetch a descendant. All this was definite, but many, perhaps all, totem animals have a spirit or represent a spirit with a name other than that of the animal, and although we understood that this was commonly an ancestral spirit we could not satisfy ourselves that this was so in every instance. Thus, although the snake *arou* bears the spirit name Arou, the snake *bok* has a spirit name Akainim, and although we believe that these snakes are totems and so equally animal ancestors we have no certain knowledge as to this. The monitor lizard, with a spirit name Again or Aren, also its animal name, is the animal of a group of Thañ Dinka, but our knowledge is insufficient to assert that this group is a clan. A particular spirit, Paic, is identified both with a snake *yuri* and a tree *cuai* (the tamarind) which no Dinka will injure. We are indebted to Archdeacon Shaw for the record of the following incident. He was camping under a *cuai* tree when a snake, *yuri*, fell from its branches and twined round his leg. The Dinka explanation was that Paic, the spirit represented by both *yuri* and *cuai*, had come to thank him for the precautions he had taken when making camp against any injury befalling the tree.

The spirits of the old and mighty dead (*jok*) and of the recent dead (*atiep*) exist in and around the villages in which their descendants live. *Jok* are more powerful and energetic than *atiep*, and sometimes have special shrines built for them. They are also thought to have their habitat in the earth in the immediate neighbourhood of these shrines. *Atiep* are at their strongest immediately after death, and funeral feasts are held to propitiate them lest they should cause sickness and death, though they become gradually weaker and in a few generations may safely be forgotten. *Jok*, on the other hand, retain their strength and energy, and require to be propitiated freely by sacrifices. Nor are the sacrifices offered to them on stated occasions

sufficient—they accept these, but also make known their wants by appearing to their descendants in dreams and demanding that a bullock or other animal be killed, or they may appear to a *tiet* and command him to deliver their message. If their demands are disregarded they send sickness or bad luck, and matters can only be remedied by sacrifice. There may be no preliminary dream or vision before the *jok* send sickness; in fact, the routine treatment of all sickness is to make offerings to the *jok* or to Dengdit in the hope that they will remove the sickness for which they are held responsible. So, when the illness runs a fatal course it is the *jok* who are considered responsible for the death. The following account shows how sacrifice to the *jok* is conducted among the Cic.

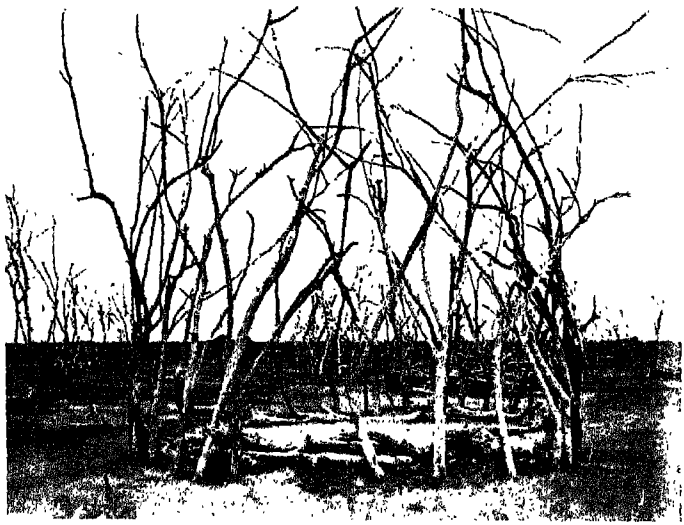
When a man is ill a bullock or one or more sheep or goats are killed as a sacrifice to the *jok*. The animal or animals should be provided by a near relative, and should be killed by a married man with children, for preference the father of a large family. Some of the meat is left over night in the house of the sick man for the *jok*. In the morning it is brought out and eaten by the clansfolk, but the fat is collected in a pot and again left in the house for the *jok* for one night; next day it is cooked by the old women, who eat it with the old men. The blood of the sacrifice is left to dry on the ground and is afterwards buried in front of the house near the place where the animal was killed.

Men and women who are able to see and to communicate with the spirits (*atiep* and *jok*) are called *tiet*. Their power is attributed to a spirit, typically an ancestral spirit, which is immanent in the *tiet*, and, as the spirit on the death of the *tiet* will generally take up its residence in the body of a near relative, the office tends to become hereditary. Often a *tiet* will explain to a relative that after his or her death the spirit will come to him, and a change of manner, trembling fits and periods of unconsciousness, are regarded as signs that the spirit has taken up its new abode. The powers of the *tiet* are commonly directed to the diagnosis and treatment of sickness, i.e. he indicates the *jok* responsible for the illness and how to cure the patient, but he also gives advice concerning lost cattle and other accidents of daily life. The amount of influence exerted by the *tiet* varies enormously; the *tiet* of Malek village was an old woman of whom it was openly said that she was little good, while the *tiet*—one Luwal—of Gwala, a Bor village to which we shall frequently refer since it held the shrine of Lerpio, may be regarded as of average efficiency.

We had the opportunity in 1910 of observing Luwal treating a patient, Acole, the wife of Bul. When Acole first became ill the *tiet* was consulted, and he, being possessed by Lerpio, said that the illness was sent by Deng and that a bullock must be sacrificed. Bul took no notice of his command, but when Acole became worse the *tiet* was consulted a second time. Luwal, sitting on an ox-skin spread on the ground outside the shrine of Lerpio, undid the skin-wrapping round a large gourd rattle and placed the skins near him on the ox-hide. Holding the gourd he rubbed it with his hands, shook it, and soon shut his eyes and trembled, being now possessed by Lerpio (Pl. XVII, Fig. 2). Biyordit (the Bor rain-maker) restrained him by placing his hand on his arm, and spoke to Luwal, who shook the gourd and answered him; Biyordit again spoke and Luwal appeared to listen, shook the gourd and answered him, beginning always with *yan*, "thus saith." Another man asked a question, which Luwal answered, trembling as he spoke. At this stage the stopper came out of the gourd, and was carefully replaced, while all clucked as when quieting a beast and said *aram* (a placatory expression); this was done to soothe the spirit, and we think to keep it in the gourd. Suddenly, his eyes still closed, Luwal shook the gourd, imparting to it a short, quick movement. All raised their hands and lowered them again, placing them on the ground and saying *aram*. This was repeated and was the end of the ceremony; the *tiet* opened his eyes, motioned the spirit away down wind, and the gourd was wrapped up and put away. We were told that Lerpio had said through the *tiet* that Bul must sacrifice a bullock from Gwala, i.e. one of the cattle belonging to Lerpio, and that Bul must go to Bang and exchange a cow calf for a bullock, which would become the property of Lerpio in the place of the one sacrificed.

The spirit possessing Wal, an Aliab of importance (he was considered a *bañ*, probably in this instance signifying a village chief) living in the village of Bang, is not an ancestor but Deng. In 1910 Wal exercised enormous influence, not limited to his fellow-tribesmen, for although his spirit only came to him in 1907, Bari and Nuer alike consulted him and paid the strictest attention to his commands. When we visited Wal in 1910 he was a man of about fifty, differing in no obvious external character from his fellows, though deference was shown him in that however dense the crowd round him he was never jostled. We reached Bang early in the morning before the sun was high, but although Wal received us outside his hut he immediately

PLATE XVII



Bor, cattle hearth



Divination ceremony at Gwala

began to make difficulties about talking to us there, saying that he had not been in the sun for years, indeed, it was said that since possession by his spirit he had not left his hut during the hours of sunshine. However, he accepted the loan of a sunshade, which he held over himself until our conversation was finished, when he retired into his hut. Before talking to him we were asked to walk three times round his hut, this being a practice which he insists that all coming to see him shall observe. On being given some tobacco he smelt it and then drew lines with it in the sandy soil on which he sat. Some Kiro men said that if another stone like Madwich (p. 150) were to fall from the sky it would be called Deng, because the spirit of Deng had come to Wal in the village of Bang. Wal was most anxious to make clear his adhesion to the Government, and even went so far as to state that his spirit was " red " (as Europeans are) and came from Khartoum, which all the black tribes regard as the home of the white man. He was certainly opposed to bloodshed and had lately condemned the participators in an insignificant brawl, in which but little blood flowed, to an elaborate ceremony of atonement, the essential part of which was that two goats were killed, the flesh of one being eaten while the other was cast into the bush. Wal asserted that this was not an old custom but a new form of sacrifice dictated by his spirit, and this was accepted by those with whom we discussed the matter. It is, however, obvious that the ceremony conforms more or less closely to a common Dinka pattern.

Wal's reputation came to him quickly, for it was noticed that if he quarrelled with a man that man fell sick, while if the friends of the sick man sang in honour of Wal the invalid recovered. When Agot, chief of Palek, visited Wal the latter asked him why his people were fighting with bows and spears; Agot knew nothing about this and had not expected a quarrel, but on returning home found that his people had been fighting as Wal had said. Wal was also said to have prophesied the coming of a comet before its appearance.

Archdeacon Shaw has published a number of songs—they might better be called hymns—composed by Wal, and we quote one of these :—

I will cut off the tongues of ants
But spare their ears.
Speech of the ants keep silence.
I will cut off the tongues of ants
But spare their ears.

Awok descends upon the cattle hut
The cattle hut of Daiyim,
Abuk descends upon the cattle hut
The cattle hut of Daiyim,
Garang descends upon the cattle hut
The cattle hut of Daiyim.
Here are my words of Daiyim.
Here is my speech of Daiyim.[1]

It must be remembered that in prayer and song Dengdit habitually refers to mankind as ants, *aicuk*. Archdeacon Shaw has not given any explanation of this hymn, but we would suggest that in the first verse Dengdit affirms his intention of compelling the people to hear his words (spoken through Wal), while it is possible that the second verse may refer to spirit possession.

Childlessness may be attributed to the displeasure of the *jok*, and unless the husband acknowledges his own impotence as the cause a *tiet* may be consulted. The *tiet* often says: "Give more cows to your father-in-law," the idea being that this will appease the *jok* of the wife's family, who, as the *tiet* perceives, are angry. Or the *tiet* may prescribe an offering to the *jok* to be made by the other side of the family, for the *jok* of the husband's family may be angry if the woman's brothers have been sneering at her husband for not begetting children. Incest angers the *jok* and so causes barrenness.

Shrines raised to ancestral spirits fall into two classes: (1) grave shrines, and (2) shrines erected by order of a spirit (*jok* or *atiep*), or on account of the appearance of a spirit in a dream, or to provide a new home for a spirit.

Grave shrines, apart from the *buor* (described on p. 204) which are concerned with the recent dead, do not appear to be common, though the graves of the founders of four of the Cic clans—the so-called "sons of Dengdit" already referred to—have become shrines. These four are to some extent regarded as culture heroes, for they taught men to grow millet and to fish. It is said that formerly huts were built over the graves, but that these have now decayed. There is no resident guardian but at a yearly sacrifice one man, in whom the ancestral spirit is immanent, kills a sheep or a bull and smears its blood and the contents of the stomach upon the grave before the assembled clansmen. The flesh is boiled and all eat thereof, great care being taken not to break the bones, which are thrown into the river.

[1] "Dinka Songs": *Man*, xv, 1915, 20.

As an example of a shrine erected at the order of a spirit we may cite one which in 1912 existed in Malek village of the Kiro tribe (Pl. XVIII, and Pl. XIX, Fig. 1). It consisted of the trunk of a small tree thrust into the ground; the main branches had been broken off short, and part of the vertebral column and horns of a goat had been hung on them. There were also several pieces of rope such as is attached to a hippopotamus harpoon, and several small gourds, while a number of fragments of hippopotamus bone lay at the foot of the post. The origin of this shrine is as follows. About three years before our visit the children of Apuot, the fish-expert (*bañ de rec*) of the community, sickened, but it was not until they had been ill for about four months that the *jok* of Balit, the ancestor who sent the sickness, appeared to the *tiet* in a dream and demanded that a goat should be given him. The *tiet* told Apuot to raise up a post and to kill a fat he-goat. The post was prepared and a hole dug, the goat's throat was cut, and the blood and intestinal contents collected and buried in the hole; then the post was thrust into the centre of the hole, and earth thrown in and pressed down. The meat was cut into pieces, boiled and eaten, while the bones were not broken but were placed on the ground round the post and left there for a month, after which all were thrown into the river except the skull and backbone which were put upon the post; the *tiet* was given the skin. At the time of the sacrifice Apuot threw four small pieces of flesh in four directions, apparently towards the cardinal points, and placed portions of meat on the ground round the stick, saying: "O my grandfather, I have made a sacrifice for you, do not let my children be sick any more." Apuot carried the bones to the river himself, and at the same time he threw into the water a small iron bracelet which he took from the arm of one of the sick children. These things were cast into the river because Ran the father of Balit was twin with the fish *recol* for whom they were intended. The hippopotamus bones at the foot of the post were placed there by a brother of Apuot after he had speared one of these animals. He did this in order that the spirit of his ancestor might help him to kill other hippopotami.

As further showing the importance of the ancestral spirits, we cite an instance for which we are indebted to Archdeacon Shaw. The *jok* responsible for the misfortune in this instance was that of the father's mother. The child of one Deng was ill; when Deng consulted a *tiet*, he was asked: "Is not your mother a Pador woman whose *jok* is the snake *niel*, and has not your wife's brother killed a

niel?" So the wife's brother (the child's maternal uncle) brought a male and a female goat. The male goat was sacrificed by a Pador man, but the female was handed over to the wife of Deng's mother's brother in place of Deng's mother who was dead.

Besides the numerous offerings to the *jok* already mentioned, certain annual sacrifices are made to them, of which the following are examples. The Bor Dinka sacrifice one or more young goats at the beginning of each wet season in order that the *jok* may not injure the cattle in the *lwak*, the horns and legs with the dried skin adhering to them being hung up within the entrance to the *lwak*. Among the Cic an annual sacrifice to the *jok* is made by every householder, for if any omitted to perform it his millet would be poor and his cattle sicken and die. Each householder kills a sheep and allows the blood to soak into the ground; the flesh, which is boiled in front of the house, is eaten, care being taken not to break the bones which are collected and thrown into the river. As he kills the animal the householder says, "*Jok*, this is your portion." Pieces from different parts of the sacrifice are boiled in a pot and left outside the hut during the night; in the morning the contents are scattered round the house, when the dogs and birds soon dispose of them.

A sacrifice to the "river-people" is held after the rains, when the people leave their inland homes to come down to their dry-season encampments on the river bank, and before they build any shelters or cattle-kraals. Soon after they reach the river the members of each clan kill a sheep, cutting its throat before sunrise on the bank, so that the blood flows into the river, where the sheep is thrown as soon as it is dead. This sacrifice is held in order that the "river-people" may not send sickness to men or cattle, and it is also said to please Dengdit.

The Niel Dinka also sacrifice to the "river people", but their ceremony may perhaps be confined to one clan called Faiyer, which claims descent from the river.

The Dinka have the strongest belief in the efficacy of both curses and blessings when the active party is a near relative, the force behind the verbal formula being the spirit (*atiep*) of an evilly or well-disposed person. Our information was obtained from Thañ Dinka, but we do not doubt that it holds good generally. The blessings and curses of strangers are of little effect (it must be assumed that this does not apply to great and powerful men), but the words of kinsfolk are powerful for good or evil. There is a special word, *lo-u*, meaning "to

PLATE XVIII



Malek, homestead of fish-expert, with shrine

[face p. 192

speak bad words about a man's body ", and a father by saying his son shall be ill can cause him to sicken, while a parent's blessing is held to be so efficacious that it may cure severe illness. So too a man's relatives may curse him if he does not give them the bullock which is their due when he builds a cattle-shed soon after his marriage. Blessing may be conveyed by spittle, as in the usual method of blessing a son. The boy squats on the ground and his father stands by him, passing first his right thigh and then his left over his son's head. Then he spits on his scalp and blows into his ears and nose; next he spits on his own hands and rubs them over the boy's scalp, and again spitting on them smears the spittle on the boy's chest and the nape of his neck. Finally he picks up dust and rubs some on the boy's chest and back, throwing the remainder into the air.[1]

On the other hand the curses of relatives are terrible. Archdeacon Shaw informs us that among the Thañ Dinka if a brother and sister quarrel the brother may curse his sister, saying " Thou shalt not bear a child ". After some time the people of her village (presumably her husband's relatives) seeing that she has remained barren ask her brother to remove the curse. The brother will take a young male goat or sheep from his herd and pray thus: " Spirit of my father, hear my mouth. It is I who forbade the child; in the quarrel we were angered the other day. Behold now, let her find a child." The woman then takes the kid or lamb and nurses it in her bosom like a baby; the brother kills it, opens its stomach, takes the contents in his hand, and after spitting on them smears them over his sister's abdomen, face, and shoulders. She must not wash this off, but let it wear away. The kid is skinned and may be eaten by anyone, but the woman must keep the skin, sit on it by day and sleep on it by night until her child is born, when it may be discarded. A child born after this ceremony is called Luet, " spittle," if a boy, Nyaluet if a girl.

There is a Thañ word *kwan*, meaning " to overlook ". Anyone may overlook another, not a close blood relation, at any time when the victim is not looking him straight in the face. To *kwan* another is always a voluntary action and need not be due to covetousness. The following is a condensed account of the supposed action of *kwan* on a cow and the results of the ensuing quarrel.

A cow belonging to a Bor Dinka, Aber, had a damaged udder, attributed to the magic of certain Thañ, who tested the truth of the

[1] The treatment of an ailing daughter is recorded in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, iv, 716.

accusation by milking the cow and smearing the milk on their bodies. The cow did not urinate, i.e. the accusation was not substantiated. Later the test was repeated and the cow urinated, the oracle went against the accused, who were not allowed to repeat it. Much bad feeling ensued, with the result that, in spite of the advice of the elders, a party of young Bor fell upon the Thañ, killing one man and wounding four others.

A powerful man may make people ill without seeing them by desiring it in his heart, and for sickness so produced there is no cure. We are indebted to Archdeacon Shaw for the information that a *bañ* who hates a man may take a ring of iron from his finger, place it on a tuft of grass, and then pray to or address (*lam*) the ring, expressing hope that his enemy will die; after breaking the ring in two he places one piece on top of the tuft of grass and buries the other half under its roots.

To swear a binding oath a man goes to the blacksmith and licks his hammer; then setting it on the ground he says: "If I have done this thing, may I die." Any one swearing falsely would certainly die within a couple of days. An Agar Dinka will swear by licking his iron bracelet and saying what he has or has not done, and that he is prepared to die if he is not speaking the truth. Another oath is made by placing a spear or stick on the ground and jumping over it, saying: "By Dengdit I have not done this thing; if I have, may my spear be speedily put on my grave." This refers to the Agar custom of putting a man's spear, bracelets, and shield upon his grave for seven days. The most binding oath of all is to go to the shrine (*lwak*) of Dengdit and swear by it.

So far as we could discover, magic played a comparatively small part in the life of the Dinka; probably this is to be attributed to the dominating influence of the cult of the *jok*, which constitutes the working belief of the people. This obviously does not imply the complete lack of magical elements in Dinka belief, indeed such elements may fuse with the cult of ancestors and so increase the efficacy of sacrifice. Thus, it is not uncommon for a goat to be killed as a direct appeal to the *jok* before hippopotamus hunting. The Thañ Dinka of Malek village select a "red" he-goat or sheep because the hippopotamus is "red", and take it to the reeds in a canoe, where they cut its throat with a spear because the animal they are hunting can only be killed with a spear (the usual method of killing a sheep or a goat being by a blow on the head). Its blood is allowed

to run into the river, while some is smeared on the blades of the harpoons. The dead beast, its mouth tied, so that the hippopotami may not do any damage with their teeth, is thrust under the reeds where the quarry lurks; the man with the harpoon prays to the *jok* as he approaches the hippopotamus, and when he has killed it offers part of its flesh to the *jok*. Anyone may provide the goat, but only three men, the *bañ de rec* and two others, may cut its throat; if any other were to officiate his action would be without effect.

A simpler example of a magical process is seen when a traveller, wishing to delay the setting of the sun, places balls of elephant dung in the bushes beside the track, presumably to the west.

As already mentioned, an important chief does not generally practice magic (*theth*) for it is held that Nhialic will usually grant his requests; *theth* is however a recognized activity, and in preparing a raid the war-chief will *theth*. A big dance is held, the chief who will lead the raid takes a dog, ties all its legs together and leaves it on the ground to die; he cuts the throat of a goat or bull, which is eaten by all the people except the war-party, who before the animal is killed all pass beneath the tethering rope, the end of which is held up by the chief. This ensures the safety of the warriors. To win "the favour of the forest" another beast is killed and its body thrown into the forest but not eaten. The chief also takes a stone and revolves it in his hands in order to confuse the enemy's sense of direction; the stone is then buried in the ground so that the enemy will be kept at home.

The most determined enemies of the Bor are the Beir, in relation to whom the following mode of divination is employed. The Beir are generally the aggressors, and perhaps their tracks have been seen in the forest. A chief goes to the eastern forest with an axe and a goat; the throat of the goat is cut, the body being left on the ground, and a thorn tree is hacked round with the axe. If the tree falls towards the west, i.e. towards the Dinka villages, the Beir will attack; if towards the east, i.e. towards the Beir hills, the Beir will return to their home; if it falls north or south, one of the Dinka villages in that direction will be attacked.

Rain-Making

Every rain-maker (*bañ bith*) has immanent in him the spirit of a great ancestor who has come to him down the generations, just as every

Shilluk king incarnates Nyakang. It is this that renders him far-seeing and wiser than common men. The Cic told Dr. Tucker that the *bañ bith* could cure sick folk by waving one of his sacred spears (*bith lal*) over them, could kill with a curse, and protect the crops from birds by the smoke of his medicine fire. Further, the Dinka rain-makers must be regarded as divine rulers in the same sense as the Shilluk *reth*, though their rule would usually be longer and they would not be killed until they themselves determined that they were too old to continue to hold their office, no special stress being laid on the maintenance of the high standard of sexual activity which the Shilluk demand of their king. In theory, and no doubt generally in practice, the authority of the rain-maker is absolute; yet he was expected to exercise great self-control and, so it was said, should not drink beer lest he should become angry and quarrelsome. We were fortunate in 1910 in gaining the confidence of Biyordit, the rain-maker of the Bor tribe, then an old but active man, who had great power in the Bor and Thañ tribes and who had guided the Bor through the period of the Dervish onslaughts. In one of these a bullet had damaged his face, laying open the right cheek into the mouth and giving him a grotesquely horrible appearance which may have enhanced his prestige, though his position was already secure since in him was immanent the spirit (*jok*) Lerpio, descended from above long ago. Lerpio was never human, and when Biyordit was asked why he and others sometimes spoke of him as an ancestor the answer was to the effect that this was because he, Lerpio, was the child of the greater spirit Nhialic, who created men, and that it was but natural to speak of the creator of men as ancestor, though neither Nhialic nor Lerpio were ever actually human. To us the position was complicated by the fact that we already knew that Lerpio was also a sacred spear (or perhaps, from the European standpoint, we should say that Lerpio was manifest in a spear). Biyordit regarded the immanence of Lerpio as so simple and obvious as scarcely to merit discussion; Lerpio had been immanent in each of his known eight predecessors (rain-makers), and at his death would pass into his son, Paic.

In 1922 we found that Biyordit was dead. Fear of the Government led to unwillingness to speak of the manner of his passing, but we understood that after he had several times requested that he might be killed his couch was at last placed in the midst of a cattle hearth, i.e. upon a mass of dried and burnt dung, and his people

danced round him until so much dust was raised that in a few hours the old man—a chronic bronchitic—was dead.

The rain-maker of the Niel tribe was also one of our informants; he told us that his father and paternal uncle had both been killed in the traditional manner, the Niel custom being to strangle their *bañ* in his own house, having first prepared his grave. They then wash the corpse and kill a bullock in front of the house, skinning it immediately and making a couch (*angareb*) of the skin, which is placed in the grave and the body laid upon it; a cell should then be built over the couch so that the earth does not come in contact with the body. The Niel take every care to guard the *bañ* from accidental death, for if he should die suddenly as the result of an accident some sickness would surely occur, even though his son or a close blood relation would immediately succeed him. If it was thought that the *bañ* was seriously ill he would be killed, even though he were quite young, for it would be a dangerous matter if he were to die of illness, since as our informant pointed out, this would prevent any of his sons (i.e. presumably any relative) from becoming *bañ* in their turn. Actually this had never happened.

An Agar Dinka gave the following account of the slaying of their rain-maker. A wide grave is dug and a couch is placed in it, upon which the rain-maker lies on his right side with a skin under his head. He is surrounded by his friends and relatives, including his younger children, but his elder children are not allowed near the grave, at any rate towards the end, lest in their despair they should injure themselves. The *bañ* lies upon the couch without food or drink for many hours, generally for more than a day. From time to time he speaks to his people, recalling the past history of the tribe, how he has ruled and advised them, and instructing them how to act in the future. At last he tells them he has finished, and bids them cover him up; earth is thrown into the grave, and he is soon suffocated.

Captain J. M. Stubbs, writing of the Reik, informs us that the *bañ bith* is laid on a bier in a roofed-in cell built in the grave, and that his neck, elbows, and knees are broken; sometimes he is first strangled with a cow-rope. According to another account, the *bañ* eats a little millet, drinks milk, and throws the remainder to the east, praying and affirming that he is going to his fathers but that the food he leaves to his children. A cow-rope is placed round his neck, his elbows and knees are broken, and one of the sacred spears is placed in his hand, which he is helped to raise. His son takes

the spear, and the *bañ* is strangled. It appears that this is done in semi-privacy; then the drums beat, the people gather, and the grave is filled in. A shelter is built over it, which when it falls to pieces is not rebuilt, though the ground around is kept cleared lest bush fires should sweep across the tomb. It seems that certain species of trees are expected to grow on or near the grave, and there may be some connection between this and the initiation of sacrifice at the grave. Concerning the Bor, Archdeacon Shaw informs us that a rain-maker is buried in a *lwak* (cattle byre) which continues to be used, the grave being fenced off with short poles. He is said to take the food of the community with him into the grave, so when the next season arrives a hole is dug at the side of the byre so that the food may come out again. This will ensure good crops, abundance of termites and other food. Dr. Tucker writes of the Cic that when the *bañ bith* is buried, milk is poured into his right hand, millet placed in his left, and the hands closed over their contents, thus ensuring plenty until the new *bañ bith* is installed.

We believe that all tribes sprinkle milk on the graves of their rain-makers, and it is probable that all place some property in the grave, while perhaps some bury a bullock or a cow with their rain-maker.

Our information with regard to the rain-making ceremony is meagre and incomplete, though probably accurate so far as it goes. It seemed that when rain is wanted, i.e. when the country is at its driest, but also (from the white man's standpoint) when the rainy season is approaching, the rain-maker is besought to seek rain from the particular spirit (Lerpio, in the case of the Bor Dinka of Gwala) that is locally regarded as specially concerned with rain. The rain-maker—Biyordit at Gwala, whose actions we shall take as typical—may refuse, saying that the spirit will not listen to him, or he may inquire of Lerpio and report that he requires a bull, and only when the bull has been sacrificed will he pray for rain. Fig. 2 of Plate XIX is a photograph of the rain-shrine formerly served by Biyordit. Near to the dwelling hut belonging to him there is another constituting a shrine, in which Lerpio, i.e. his spirit (*jok*), is thought to reside more or less constantly. Within this hut is kept a very sacred spear, also called Lerpio, and before it stands a post called *rit* (the name of the wood—ebony—from which it is often made, Fig. 14), to which are attached the horns of bullocks sacrificed to Lerpio. Behind the hut there is a bush of the kind called *akoc*, which must not be cut or damaged in any way but which strangers are allowed to approach

without the least ceremony; the *akoc* bush is clearly the least sacred part of the shrine, yet its presence is essential, for Lerpio leaves the hut to come to the *akoc* during the great rain-making ceremony, the slight sanctity of the *akoc* at other times being well explained by his absence.

The rain ceremony consists of a sacrifice made to Lerpio to induce him to intercede with Dengdit to send rain. It is held in the spring

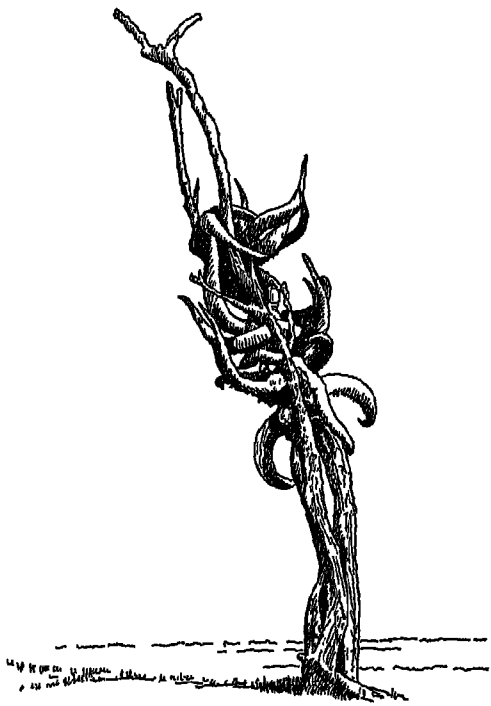


FIG. 14. Gwala, *rit* of rain-shrine.

(about April) when the new moon is a few days old. In the morning two bullocks are led twice round the shrine, and are tied to the *rit* by the rain-maker; the people beat drums, and men and women, boys and girls, all dance round the shrine. Nothing further is done until the bullocks urinate, when everyone who can get near the beasts rubs his body with the urine. After this all except the old people go away. Presently the bullocks are killed by the rain-maker, who spears them and cuts their throats. While the sacrifice is being prepared the people chant: "Lerpio, our ancestor, we have brought you a sacrifice, be pleased to cause rain to fall." The blood is collected

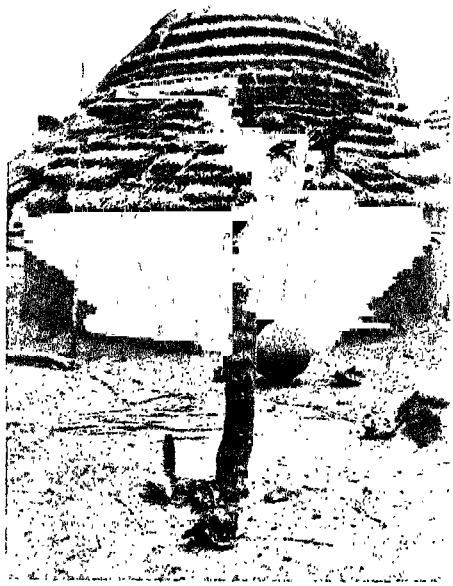
in a gourd, transferred to a pot, put on the fire, and eaten by the old and important people of the clan. The flesh of one bullock is eaten the same day, a portion of the meat of the other is cooked in two pots with much fat; this is put in Lerpio's hut, where it is said not to putrefy, and where it remains—unless eaten by rats or insects—until another sacrifice is offered, and the residue is eaten. We have no note of what happens to the bones of the sacrifice, but the horns are added to those already attached to the *rit*.

Should Biyordit refuse to concern himself (we do not know the circumstances causing him to take this attitude) another procedure was possible; the people might resort to a much less important man, presumably one in whom no great spirit was immanent but who yet was known as *bañ de deng* (lit. "rain-chief"). We have no personal knowledge of the position of such men in the social hierarchy, but some light is thrown on the *bañ de deng* in a note by Dr. Tucker: "He blesses the agricultural implements by sprinkling them with the blood of a sacrificial bullock, and collaborates with the *bañ bith* in the rain ceremony." This applies to the Cic. The *bañ de deng* could at times produce rain by what seems typical imitative magic, and we presume that the hut mentioned below was his own and not one specially built for the occasion. To quote Archdeacon Shaw concerning the Bor: "The *bañ* will fetch water in a gourd from the nearest pool or river. He hangs this up in a hut and then pierces the bottom so that the water drips to the ground. He goes into the hut and shuts the door and sits with bowed head saying: *an e kuromedeng*, 'I am seeking shelter from the rain.' After this clouds will gather and rain fall. If it does not, the *bañ* will take a male sheep or goat or ox and will sprinkle water on its back and then cut its throat, praying to Nhialic for rain. He then throws water into the air and rain is bound to come. If it is desired to cause the rain to stop, the *bañ de deng* is again sought. He gathers water in a gourd from one of the flooded ditches and then digs a hole and buries the gourd; he thus "places" (*tau*), i.e. stops, the rain."

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The death and burial of rain-makers has been referred to under Rain-making. We have comparatively little information regarding the

PLATE XIX



Malek, shrine of fish-expert, showing detail



Gwala, shrine of Lerpio, with *akoc* and *rit*

[*face p.* 200

death and burial of ordinary individuals. The following notes were made at Bor.

The grave is dug outside the hut on the right of the door (emerging from the hut). After death a man is placed in the fœtal position; he is carried to the grave by his brothers, or other men of his own clan, and the grave should be dug by his brothers and his brother's sons. The body, still in the flexed position, is laid in the grave on its right side, generally with skins placed over and under it, but no elaborate care is taken to prevent the earth from touching the body as is done in the burial of a chief, nor is a wooden cage built. It was not clear whether mourners stayed near the grave of a commoner, but when a chief dies the four grave-diggers remain on or near the grave for eight days; a cow whose milk the chief himself drank is

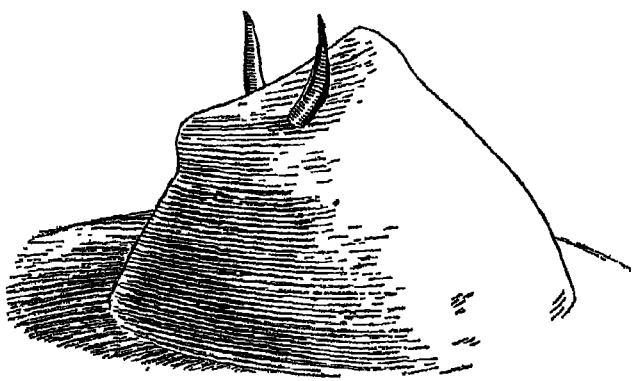


FIG. 15. "Bull-grave" of Reik (Titherington).

killed, and the mourners eat of it while they remain at the grave, where they make a fire for themselves. Mourners do not drink milk.

Among the Cic it was said that a man might be buried either to the right or left of the door of his hut, and a woman within the hut. An old man is buried in the cattle byre; the *bañ wut* in the cattle enclosure, where ashes and dung are sprinkled on his grave and milk poured over it. The grave is dug by the full brothers, assisted by the half-brothers or other clansmen of the deceased. The skin on which a man dies is placed under the corpse, which lies in the right lateral position with right hand under head; a piece of sheepskin is put over the ear to prevent earth getting in, but no further means are taken to prevent the soil coming into contact with the body. The near relatives mourn around the grave, clasping their hands over

their stomachs, while more remote relatives wail, put dust on their heads, and indulge in more exaggerated signs of grief. It is said that it is necessary to watch near relatives to prevent them throwing themselves into the river in their grief. Clansmen too charge about with spears, and members of other clans come and console them and induce them to give up their weapons. For four days the brothers and father of the dead man sit around the grave and sleep there, and during this time they may not drink milk or go near the cows. At the end of this period they wash, and food taboos are over. The gourd from which the deceased drank is inverted on the grave, and his sticks and spears are put on the grave and left there for four days, after which they are given to his near male relatives. The account given by Emin shows that among the Agar burial is conducted in the same way.[1]

When a married woman dies she is buried beside her husband's house, and her relatives come from their village to mourn for her there; instead of a gourd a pot is placed on her grave.

Women who are mourning do not shave their heads; widows wear only one skin garment (instead of two) and do not take part in dances. For two years after the death of a parent children let their hair grow and do not dance. While mourning for a brother or sister marriage cannot take place, and married couples observe continence for a period no doubt varying according to the relationship to the deceased; one month was said to be the period for a brother or a sister.

The sacrifice for a father (and perhaps for a brother) takes place four days, that for a mother, and possibly a sister, six days, after death. Among the Bor a bullock is the usual offering. It is killed not by cutting its throat but by spear thrusts directed towards the heart; the eldest son gives the first thrust, altogether five thrusts being given by the sons, while if there be only one son the dead man's ortho-cousins will give the additional thrusts. Male members of the family partake of the meat. A sacrifice of this kind is repeated at intervals of a few months or years to propitiate the spirit of the deceased, which otherwise might cause sickness to fall on the living. In November, 1910, Makwaic e Kut and Alier e Kut offered such a sacrifice to their father, who had died many years before. A sheep was tied to a stake cut by the father's brother and put up beside the grave of their deceased father; if there had been no brother this duty

[1] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 1888, 338.

would have fallen upon Makwaic, the eldest son. Makwaic speared the sheep, for the deceased was a male (when the deceased is a woman the throat is cut) but was not assisted by his brother, who for the special reason already recorded (pp. 175-6) was regarded not as a "child of his father" (*mande de un*) but as "a child of his mother's men folk". The sheep was then cut up without removing the skin, and "everyone" ate of the meat, which was boiled then and there, though the children of a sister of the dead men could not partake lest they become *ket*, i.e. suffer the skin disease alluded to on p. 205. When Makwaic marries and makes a home for himself he will make a shrine of the form called *buor* for his father's *atiep*, and will at this ceremony sacrifice an entire (not castrated) beast.

The full term for the particular type of shrine often called *buor* (in some Dinka dialects literally "a mound") is, as the Rev. R. S. MacDonald informs us, *buor enong jok*. Writing of the Agar,

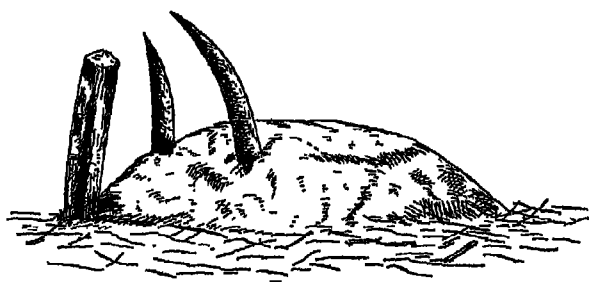


FIG. 16. *Buor* erected by Dar.

he tells us that he obtained the name of only one man honoured with a *buor*, a memorial commonly built a few days after death, not over the grave (which is usually under the house platform) but in the compound near by. Offerings of milk, beer, and food are made at the *buor* rather than at the grave itself. The *buor* of the Bahr el Ghazal Dinka seem generally to be of the form illustrated by Major Titherington[1] and called *yik* (reproduced as Fig. 15), which are reminiscent of the body of a bull and are called by him "bull-graves", though the balance of evidence, especially that we gathered among the Bor Dinka, suggests that they are more generally constructed near by than over a grave. No doubt the relationship is very close, and they have often been regarded as sepulchral, e.g. a Dinka whom we met at Omdurman, where he had

[1] "The Raik Dinka of Bahr el Ghazal Province": *S.N. & R.*, x, 1927.

lived for a long time, said that in his country mud representations of cattle were erected over the graves of powerful men.

The *buor* that we saw in the Thañ and Bor villages near Bor had been made especially for the recent dead. The *buor* shown in Fig. 16 was raised by Der in his new settlement of Arek for the *atiep* of his father Anet to live in, "just as a house," for the spirit is said to know the wanderings of its people and moves with them. This was done at the instance of a *tiet*, who declared that if it were neglected

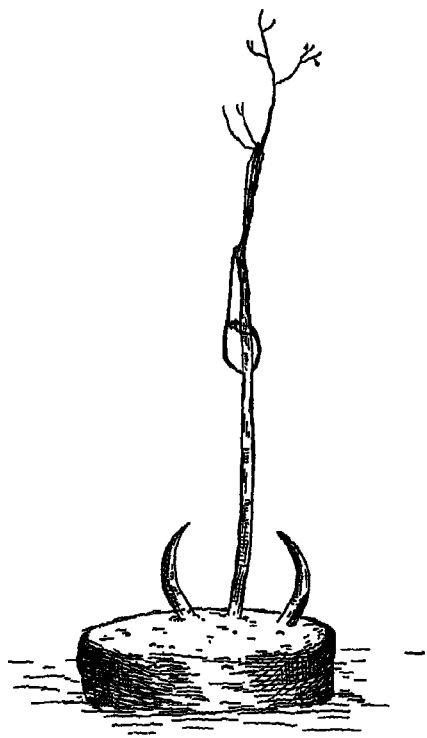


FIG. 17. *Buor.*

Der and his children would sicken and perhaps die. The *buor* is constructed by digging a hole about a foot deep and filling this with mud, enough being used to project well above the surface, where it is moulded into shape, which may be that of the back of a bull or the mud may be worked into a semi-circular mass, flattened above, about a foot high and perhaps two feet across. The horns of the bullock sacrificed to the dead are thrust into the mound at one end, as also either the peg to which the sacrificed beast was tethered or

a stick or young sapling six or eight feet tall, the tethering rope being hung from this. Among the Thañ the *buor* is regarded literally as the resting-place of the spirit (*atiep*) of the deceased, and in one instance Archdeacon Shaw observed a mat supported over the *buor* in the heat of the day in order to shelter the *atiep*. At Arek village resort was made to a *buor* to secure the help of the *jok* in fishing, and in harpooning hippopotami; when a fishing or hunting party was about to start, roasted millet was scattered upon and around the *buor*.

Many of the *yik* are so bull-like that the resemblance cannot be accidental, indeed we see in it one more example of the close relationship existing among the Nilotes between men and cattle. Although there is no doubt that the *buor* are made for the spirits of the dead, it seemed to us that there was also a tendency to regard them as pleasing to Dengdit, and the usual explanation—a common one—given of the cattle rope is that Dengdit will see the empty halter and know that an animal has been sacrificed.

The Bor Dinka said that no man would touch the corpse of a maternal relative, and everywhere it was important to avoid contact with the sacrifice killed at the death feast of the mother's brother. If a man touched the blood of this animal the skin would come off his face as after a severe burn, and the reason given us was that the dead man belonged to another clan. We had an interesting illustration of this fear when collecting the skulls of some Bor, killed in a Beir raid and so left unburied where they fell, as are the bodies of all Bor dying a violent death.[1] No local Dinka would touch the panniers in which the skulls were brought back to camp, avowedly because they might have become dangerous by contact with the remains of some living man's maternal uncle, and so they became useless for transport in that part of the country. If contamination were accidentally incurred a bullock would be sacrificed and charcoal chewed and then smeared on the knees, forehead, and chin of the offender in order to avert the consequences. If a man had accidentally partaken of the death sacrifice he might avoid ill effects by licking and then spitting upon the spear with which the beast was slain. He must also take some charcoal of *heglik* wood and touch his tongue with it, and then by means of a piece of bark from a tree called *rat*, which had been burnt at the end, smear spittle upon his tongue, hands, elbows, knees, and feet.

[1] We have recently heard from Mr. Richards that in the Tonj area the bodies of unimportant people, he particularly cites an old woman, might be thrown unburied into the bush.

CHAPTER VI

THE NUER

THE Nuer inhabit the swamp region on either side of the White Nile south of its junction with the Bahr el Ghazal, extending southwards to about 7° 30″ N. and eastwards to the Sobat. Mr. H. C. Jackson, to whom we owe our first detailed account of the Nuer,[1] in 1923 estimated the Nuer territory in the Upper Nile Province at 26,000 square miles, with a population between 300,000 and 400,000. This figure is probably too high and a total Nuer population of 430,000 as put forward by the Rejaf Conference is no doubt more accurate.

Slight regional differences exist, but the Nuer country is throughout hard on man and beast. It consists of a vast plain, according to the season parched desert or pestilential swamp, which in the past has made the Nuer almost inaccessible. Their relations with the Government, always intermittent and unsatisfactory, culminated in 1927 in the killing of Captain Fergusson by the west-bank Nuer, and open warfare between Government forces and followers of the prophet Gwek Ngundeng (pp. 231–2) on the east bank. Since Gwek's death a more deliberate policy has led to the systematic control of the whole Nuer territory.

There is no doubt as to the common origin of Dinka and Nuer, but it seems improbable that we shall ever be able to reconstruct the early historical relations of the two tribes or to determine the factors that led to their differentiation.[2] The matter is complicated by the continuous contact between the two peoples, and here we have certain knowledge that very many Dinka have been absorbed into the Nuer, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century, when the Nuer invasions of Dinka territory on the east bank were on a huge scale. Like the Dinka, the Nuer are divided into a number of tribes, each recognizing itself as distinct from its neighbours, e.g. Lau (more accurately Lou), Lek, Gaawar, etc.

[1] "The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province," *S. N. & R.*, vi, 1923.

[2] Our own knowledge of the Dinka is limited to those of the White Nile; there may possibly be Bahr el Ghazal Dinka who resemble the Nuer more closely than they do the White Nile tribes. The Atwot are a peculiar case, for they speak a dialect of Nuer but are alleged to approximate more nearly to some of the Dinka tribes in other elements of their culture.

The geographical areas occupied by the most important of the Nuer tribes have been defined—especially for those of the east bank—by Mr. Jackson, who also gives genealogical tables. Here it is sufficient to say that the Nile divides the Nuer country into two parts, western and eastern. The Nuer themselves speak of the tribes west of the Bahr el Gebel as "homeland Nuer" (*Nath cieng*) and those east of the river as "bush Nuer" (*Nath doar*). We shall speak of the two groups as western and eastern Nuer respectively.

The most important tribes of the western Nuer are the Bul, Jagei, Lek, Nuong, and Dok, and of the eastern the Thiang, Lak, Gaweir, and Lau, while Jekañ are found both on the west bank and far to the east upon the Sobat. Gaajok and Gaajak are sections of the eastern Jekañ of such importance that Professor Evans-Pritchard, contrary to usual practice, speaks of them as tribes. Broadly speaking, Nuer expansion has been from west to east, and we know that much of the easternmost of the present-day Nuer country was Dinka in the middle of last century.

According to one tradition the Nuer originated somewhere west of the Bul country of the present day, to the north of the Bahr el Ghazal. Their country was called Kwer-Kwong, i.e. "the barren place of Kwong" (the ancestress of the Nuer). This land, tradition states, was waterless and without grass; as the people were on the verge of starvation they moved eastwards via Duk into the Bul country in search of food. A certain Gau, who descended from heaven, married Kwong (according to one account an even earlier arrival from heaven), by whom he had two sons, Gaa and Kwook, and a number of daughters. As there was no one with whom these could marry, Gaa assigned several daughters to each of his sons, and to avert the calamities that follow incest he performed the ceremony of splitting a bullock longitudinally, decreeing that the two groups might intermarry but that neither might marry within itself. Gaa being the elder son took the right side of the bullock, i.e. he became the "Land Chief", *kwor muon*, the most important man in the tribe, and also, according to the story, *kwor twac*, the "Chief of the Leopard Skin". Later Kir—who was found in a gourd—by marrying the eldest daughter of Gaa became the ancestor of the Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang sections of the Jekañ.

Nuer life is regulated entirely by the seasons. In the dry season only a few of the older folk remain in the village, the rest going with the cattle to water-holes or to the river bank, where summer camps are

built. As a rule long before the end of the dry season the pinch of hunger is felt, and in any case during this time of year activities are few. Though everyone rises at dawn, for the first hour or so no work is done. Then the women and boys and girls milk the cows, while these remain tethered to their pegs; at about 9 a.m. the cattle are loosened and one or two herdsmen drive them to pasture. Except for small hunting parties, or those who have set traps, the men do little until the return of the cattle, i.e. apart from attending to their own minor wants such as twisting cord, making game traps, or leather collars for favourite bullocks; the rest of the time is spent in gossiping, smoking, and dozing. After the cows have been driven out the women milk the sheep and goats and make butter; the boys spread out the dung to dry for fuel, and take the sheep and goats to pasture. About midday the young men and girls bathe, wherever there is suitable shallow water, amusing themselves for a couple of hours. At about 4 o'clock the calves are brought back, watered and tethered, and later the rest of the cattle come in. If game is sighted everyone goes out with spears and dogs, and when the early rains fall most of the men go to track giraffe, which they pursue with remarkable endurance.

Wells are frequently dug in dried water courses. After cutting through black cotton soil, sand is reached, and in this it may be necessary to dig 20 or 30 feet, while even then the well will often collect only a foot of water. For a few feet up from the bottom the sides of the well are lined with coils of grass. Each *gol*[1] will make its own well, and by it a number of watering pools (*pain*) with smooth mud bottom and walls about a foot high. Water is drawn over night, ready for the cattle to drink in the morning, and the *pain* is filled again for the midday and evening watering. Watering places are watched with care, and serious quarrels may arise from attempts to steal water or watering rights. Women draw water for household use, but the men and boys water the cattle and sheep.

At the beginning of the rains the women return to the permanent villages, and, as soon as the ground is moist enough, sow maize and millet around the homesteads. About the time the sprouting corn is thinned the men bring the cattle back to the villages, and as these do not need to be sent far to graze they are now herded by boys.

[1] The word *gol* is commonly used to signify "village" or "homestead", and probably has these meanings. Miss Soule tells us that it only means "clan" in combination with the name of the head or founder of the clan.

PLATE XX







Three Nuer Types

The cattle are driven in from pasture at about 5 o'clock, being tethered in front of the byre until after sunset, when they are taken inside. Each morning when the byre is empty boys and girls remove the dung and make the place scrupulously clean. One young man or boy always sleeps there at night, but the rest of the unmarried men sleep in the *kät* (men's house), a hut reserved for them as a matter of convenience, but which has no ritual significance.

In preparing the ground for sowing, the men do most of the actual digging and those men who are still away in the cattle camp can rely on relatives and friends to work on their cultivations. Boundary lines are usually made between each plot, and each family puts up a shelter for use later when scaring birds. When the first crop of millet is cut there is considerable work still to be done, weeding, etc., a second crop being gathered later. The cornstalks from both harvests make good fodder, and the cattle are brought in to eat them; these stalks are very sweet, and boys and girls chew them greedily. Gardens are worked for several years, until they become infertile and have to be abandoned or left fallow. In the ordinary way a new piece is added each year until a neighbour's boundary is reached.

Though cattle are largely looked upon as potential exchange for wives and have great value for ceremonial and in enhancing personal prestige, they also have an important food value. For many months milk is almost the only food of the main part of the population, and milk for children is always desired to keep them well nourished. Besides this, cattle are eaten both when killed for ceremonial purposes and in times of severe hunger when blood may be taken from the animal's neck. Apart from these occasions young men at times kill a beast, and eat it. Miss Soule tells us that associated with the eating of fresh meat is the idea of increasing sexual power.

Regulation of Public Life

Before proceeding with our description of the Nuer we desire to emphasize (as already stated in our foreword) that our personal knowledge of the Nuer is extremely slight, and that almost the whole of this chapter is derived from Professor Evans-Pritchard's notes.

Although the solidarity of a Nuer tribe is ultimately based on its

clans, the structure of the tribes and their relations *inter se* appear more complicated than among the Dinka, our impression being that there has been far more segmentation and reintegration than among the latter. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out how difficult it is at times to keep clan and tribe distinct, and that Mr. Jackson sometimes confused these.[1] Without going further into the matter it may be said that there is a tendency for fission in clan and tribe (or section of tribe) to be associated, though they need not necessarily coincide in time.

The Nuer clans at the present day are in a constant state of segmentation. As new families are formed the clan enlarges, but when its local groups are no longer in close touch and the ties of relationship are distant it splits into two probably exogamous moieties. Thus the two dominant clans in what are now Lau and Raiyan tribes were once a single clan. A single clan may be the origin of more than one strong tribe, thus the descendants of Kir form the backbone of the three tribes constituting the Jekañ, the sons of Denac standing in the same relation to the Lau and Raiyan. In addition each clan generally has attached to it fractions of other clans, local groups from other areas, and Dinka who have joined themselves to the Nuer or who have been captured in war. To such an extent have foreign elements been assimilated in some clans that perhaps 80 per cent of a tribe may be ultimately of foreign origin. Those clans that form the main body of their tribes constitute something of an aristocracy, and this is so well recognized as to be considered in assessments for blood-money for homicide. Differentiation of this kind commonly tends to be most marked in those parts of the country furthest from the Nuer homeland, where the greatest absorption of foreigners has taken place.

Each clan has an honorific clan name (*paak*), by which its members are called on certain occasions, and these are important when questions of relationship—especially distant relationship—are being discussed. *Paak* may refer to the clan spear or to some event in the life of the founder of the clan. Thus every male descendant of Kir is Gat Yo, "son of *yo*"—*yo* signifying "metal", "iron", and referring to Kir's spear—while any female is Nyayo, "daughter of *yo*." Jinaca

[1] Mr. Jackson constantly refers to *shieng* (which we would spell *cieng*), taking the word to mean clan or even tribal section. We found so many meanings attached to the word that we failed to form any clear idea of its significance. Professor Evans-Pritchard tells us that *cieng* properly means homestead, village, or district, the latter perhaps being named after the oldest clan living there, i.e. the *dyel*. Actually, then, a *cieng* may be a territorial group of varying magnitude or a clan, since a clan often gives its name to an area.

clansmen of the Lau tribe, if male, are Gat Yiel, "son of a grey-blue cow" (*mayil*)—because Denac, the founder of the clan, was suckled by such a cow—and clanswomen are Nyagun, "mother of Gun," Gun being a branch of the clan.

No clan, not even the strongest, has a really large village or cattle camp (*wec*) composed entirely of local sections of itself, for these never remain together long enough to become very large. A *wec* is composed of a nucleus of the dominant clan (*dyel*) owning the area, around which is gathered a host of strangers (*rul*), i.e. folk who are not members of the *dyel*, often husbands of the women of the clan who have not left the home of their fathers on marriage. Since marriage with a clansman is not permitted, girls must marry *rul* or Dinka, who will probably come and live in their father-in-law's *wec*. The children of such marriages grow up in the maternal grandfather's home, and his relatives are theirs, while those of their fathers are strangers to them; hence their descent is traced through their mothers and they are *gaat nyal* (children of girls or daughters), while children of clansmen (brought up among their own clan) are *gaat twot* (lit. "children of the bull") or *gaat dyela*. Captured Dinka who are adopted into the tribe and family, having no cattle of their own, necessarily remain in the home of their adoption, claiming descent from the man who has adopted them, so that their children count as children of the *wec*. The *rul* and Dinka to whom we have referred are sometimes poor folk who have come to live near a man famed for his generosity, of whom it is said, "He is poor and has nothing, because he has given everything away," a very great compliment. The *rul* and Dinka having been given cattle wherewith to marry will bring their wives to the *wec* of the man who has adopted them, with the result that their children will be so identified with the *wec* as to be regarded almost as *gaat twot*, since they are the children of his cattle. Or they may be given a daughter or sister in marriage, whose relatives will receive their cattle back in the next generation when the daughter born of the marriage is herself married.

Apart from the absorption of sections of Dinka as the result of the steady eastward advance, there are many captured Dinka among the Nuer population. These men are adopted into Nuer families, and according to Nuer opinion are in most matters treated by their captors as sons. The captor's children call such men "mother's son"; it would be an insult to speak of them as *jaang* (Dinka), and should a man of another village do so a quarrel would arise,

which might lead to bloodshed. A member of the captor's family will invite the captive to tether and kill a bullock. Before it is killed the bullock and the spirit of the clan (*kwoth*) will be addressed, being told that this man is now a member of the family; the clan spirit will then become his spirit. The Nuer express supreme contempt for the fighting powers and prowess of the Dinka, and say that when they go out to raid Dinka they leave their shields at home.

It is nearly a quarter of a century since we discovered totemism of the twin pattern, identical with that of the Dinka, among the Nuer, later confirmed by Mr. Jackson [1] and by Professor Evans-Pritchard, who has written that "certain lineages of pure Nuer . . . ancestry are associated with groups of animals and objects, and this association is sometimes based on the idea of a twin birth of the ancestor of the lineage and a particular animal or object." [2] Like ourselves he heard of clans with lion and crocodile as their totems, in each case the animal being twin with the founder of the clan, but he states that though all the descendants of Kir, who form the nucleus of the Jekañ tribes, respect gourds because their ancestor was enclosed in a gourd, it is possible that they were originally Dinka, since they are not recognized as being of the same origin as the bulk of the Nuer clans. This applies equally to the Gaawar, the descendants of War, who respect the *nyuot*-tree and the fish *nyiwar* because when their ancestor came down from heaven he held a branch of the tree in his hand and was accompanied by the fish. Now all this, though it would equally apply to the Dinka—and we may add that totem animals have spirit-names just as among the Dinka—does not seem to us necessarily to imply Dinka origin, for we consider that the similarity is best explained by the origin of the two peoples from a common stem or stock (as shown diagrammatically in Fig. 6).

The Leng sub-clan stand in the same relation to the lion as do the Dinka of the Gol e Yicol clan of the Ngong Nyang tribe described on page 144. Not only do they share their "kill", but much the same rules of justice are applied to lions as to man. A man of this clan killed a lion; afterwards a lion took some twenty head from his herd. It was decided not to hunt the beast, since the latter was within its rights, but twenty cattle were exacted from the man who had killed the lion, a sacrifice was made, and the affair ended. An instance is cited of a lion man who killed a lion in defence of his cattle. "He

[1] Op. cit.
[2] We quote from a paper read before Section H of the British Association, 1931.

had no sense at all," said Professor Evans-Pritchard's informant. "When he came home he bent his fingers like claws and behaved as though he wanted to eat people." A sheep was quickly sacrificed to the lions and all was well.

Other instances conform less to totemic type, just as among the Dinka. Thus the Bul respect the *kac*-tree, because their miracle-working ancestor used to sit under it, and the same tree is, we believe, respected by the Jidiet clan because their ancestors were killed with clubs made of its wood.

Men of the Juak clan reverence the river (they originated near the river Gwol and their honorific clan name is Gat Gwol). When a man of this clan wants to cross the river he will pull a bead off his necklace or other ornament and throw it into the water, saying: "Grandfather, take this, let me cross without harm." A married woman of this clan will not cross a stream naked, but with her *yet* (*petticoat*) or *yoah* (*fringed garment*) on. Should she forget and step into the water naked she will go back, pull off a strip of her *yoah*, and throw it into the river, saying: "Grandfather, take this, I did not purposely offend you."

The Kwok section of the Nuer reverence speckled cattle (*yang ma reng*), and if one is born into their herds they will not keep it but give it away to a sister's or daughter's husband, the sister and daughter being regarded as having gone over to another *gol*.

Certain clans avoid speaking the correct names of cattle of particular colours, e.g. the descendants of Denac, who form the backbone of the Raiyan and Lau tribes, avoid the correct name for brown-rumped cattle but refer to them as hartebeest-rumped instead. Professor Evans-Pritchard is inclined to think that this practice is related to the myths in which the clan founder sacrificed a bullock of this same colour in order to "cut" the relationship between his descendants and allow intermarriage.

Animals may *cal* an individual, i.e. influence him from a distance so that characters specific to the animal species exerting the influence appear in the human being. A man whose foot was divided into three segments in place of five was thought to have suffered *cal*-influence of the ostrich, or rather of its spirit. In this instance his grandmother, who "respected" the ostrich, appears to have touched parts of an ostrich's body on the day of his mother's wedding. An explanation of "claw fingers" was that the man had had *cal* put on him by a lion.

Professor Evans-Pritchard emphasizes an aspect of totemism that we did not discover among the Dinka but which we feel is so thoroughly in harmony with their modes of thought that it may well exist among them. If a man be asked *the kwoth* (spirit) of his clan or lineage he may give the name of an animal or natural object, but he may equally give the name of a man, often of one who died only a couple of generations ago, sometimes even of a man of his own generation. Such a man may be one who was killed by lightning and who as described on pp. 237–8 has become, under the name of *col wec*, a spiritual agency regarded with great fear and respect by his relatives and descendants.

Every Nuer clan traditionally possesses its own sacred spear, though it seems doubtful whether these ritual objects actually exist in more than one clan, the Jekañ; in others the spear may be no more than a name at the present day. These spears, together with the honorific clan names by which members of the clan are sometimes addressed, form part of the clan heritage, and the spear-names are shouted in battle. The invocation of the ancestral (spirit) spear also forms part of every wedding ceremony, e.g. *Mut Gham, mut gwari* (spear of my fathers), for the Jinaca, the aristocratic element of the Lau, and *Mut Win, Mut Kir, mut jangemo* (spear of that Dinka, i.e. Kir), for the descendants of Kir among the Jekañ.

The spear of the Jekañ section is said to have fallen from heaven when Kir emerged from his gourd. Mr. Jackson records that when a raid is contemplated bulls are sacrificed to the spear, which is addressed: "Oh spear that breathes fire by night, our help, spear of the Dinka whose name was Kir." When the Nuer fight between themselves no sacrifices are made but the spear is brought between the opposing forces, who then cease hostilities. The guardian of the spear, a chief of the leopard skin, takes it with him when he moves from place to place, and no one else is allowed to enter the specially built hut in which it is kept. In 1922 Mr. Jackson on offering a goat as a sacrifice was allowed to see though not to handle the spear, and describes it as follows:—

> "The spear was about 2½ feet long, three inches broad at the top and tapering to a point . . . It was not unlike the modern long Shilluk spear, though not quite so broad as usual. The haft, which was all of iron, was some five feet in height and thicker than the average. The topmost two feet were smothered in cowrie shells, while below were odd bits of iron and beads of all descriptions that had been left by various suppliants. Most of these votive offerings had been attached to it by women who had visited the spear in order that they might

have a numerous family or be assisted in their child bearing. A couch of *debka* (*Crataeva religiosa*) wood, eighteen inches long with a maximum breadth of about four inches, supported the spear, which was held in position by a piece of wood three feet in height and surrounded with rush matting of the same length. As the matting was drawn aside all the assembled Nuer prayed to the spear, holding out their hands at the level of the elbow with their palms uppermost and shaking their hands gently up and down." [1]

It is in the politico-social organization of the Nuer that the difference from the Dinka is most marked. There is no Divine King or rain-maker, killed ceremonially in the fullness of years when he feels that he is no longer of use to his people. In place of the divine king, the *kwor muon* ("land chief") holds the most important position. He is indeed endowed with personal sanctity and authority so great that it is improbable that his decisions were ever seriously disputed in the old days. Even though his influence may have been temporarily diminished from time to time on the appearance of important prophets, it was probably never greatly affected until Government action led to a great diminution of his power. The *kwor muon* was however no despot, and had no organized political machinery to support his power. In all disputes there was free discussion between the elders on both sides; only after this did the *kwor muon* give his decision, which if necessary he would support by the threat of his curse, a threat so serious that dissentients generally gave way at once.

The land chief gives judgment on disputes, in collaboration with the old men. Feuds are brought to him for settlement and he will award compensation to the offended party. His methods are both persuasive and authoritative; if in a serious case his verdict is not immediately accepted, he will take one of his own cows, rub its back with ashes, and, addressing the cow, say that should his verdict be refused and revenge taken, then in the next war in which the group is involved many will be killed. He will go further, and prepare to spear the cow, but the offended party will seize his arm and say, "No, do not kill your cow, we agree and will accept compensation (*cuol*)." Another method of constraint used by the land chief is to pass his leopard skin to anyone refusing his verdict, telling him to take it, an act the equivalent to a conditional curse, and the victim will not be safe until he has paid compensation.

The land chief reveres (*thek*) the earth, i.e. his attitude to the land

[1] H. C. Jackson, *The Nuer of the Upper Nile Province*, Khartoum (n.d.), 180.

is essentially ritual, and over it he has complete control. To one disputing his authority he may say: "Get off my land; the things growing on my land, take them away!" It is a serious matter for even so important a man as a *wud ok* ("cattle chief") to have trouble with a *kwor muon*, for the latter might refuse his grass to the cattle: "Get off my ground; take your cattle off my ground; your cattle may have none of the grass growing on my ground. You, yours, and your cattle may go up into the space above the ground, but you may not stay on my ground." The *wud ok* will soon bring an offering of cattle to appease the *kwor muon*. Again, should the land chief be angry with a man he may pick up some earth, and holding it in his hand towards the offender curse the latter, throwing the soil after him. When accompanying raiding parties he may place a handful of earth on his head in order to weaken the enemy, while he can immediately stop a fight between two villages or parties by drawing a line between them and cursing anyone who crosses it with hostile intent.

The land chief may make rain, but this is not his essential function. One of his most important duties is to "medicine" the earth; thus if anything goes wrong with the standing grain he will take butter and rub it on the earth in the fields, whereupon the crop will grow well and ripen. He will not approach anyone making pots, lest they break, this being an expression of his ceremonial attitude towards the earth, in this instance clay.[1]

These powers are inherent in the *kwor muon*, but not in him alone for the same qualities though less developed are potential in all male members of the lineage to which he belongs. The *kwor muon* is almost always the *kwor twac* or *gwan twac*, "chief of the leopard skin," as well. *Twac*, "skin," in this connection always means a leopard's skin, for the *kwor muon* has the right to wear a leopard skin over his shoulders, indicating his power to set in motion the machinery leading especially to the settlement of blood feuds, while his village is safe refuge for a homicide until the case is settled.

[1] A ritual attitude towards the soil is not limited to *kwor muon*. It is widespread among Nuer and, we believe, Dinka. Pec, one of Professor Evans-Pritchard's informants, when he left his country (Gaajak) to go to Gaajok took earth with him and occasionally swallowed a little of it suspended in water. Each time he put a little of the earth of his new country, Gaajok, into the gourd as well as earth from his old home. Slowly he altered the ratio of Gaajak to Gaajok earth, adding each time less of the former and more of the latter. He said that Gaajok country did not know him and compared it to *nueer* (a term applied to death consequent on the infraction of a taboo), but by mixing the two and slowly changing from one to the other he avoided the perils of coming to a new land. This is done when people change their country permanently, not on journeys.

Miss Soule informs us that a man suspected of a misdeed may confound his accusers by offering to sit upon the leopard skin. He takes a goat or sheep for sacrifice, and the *kwor twac* puts upon him a conditional curse so that if he be guilty he will surely die.

The *wud ok*, or *kwor ok*, is the "cattle chief", corresponding to the Dinka *bañ wut*. The well-being of the cattle is his affair; he regulates their movements, treats them in sickness, and has magical powers connected with them. He decides the date for the beginning and end of each age class and is responsibile for the ritual connected with initiation. He also hears cases, but we do not know under what circumstances. The curse of a cattle chief brings severe diarrhœa and in the morning a man's sleeping skin adheres to his buttocks; the sufferer must abstain from drinking milk, and sleep on the bare ground. Although the *wud ok* has less magico-religious power than the *kwor muon*, his ritual and economic importance added to his hereditary prestige give him, if he is of ambitious temperament, the opportunity of acquiring real political power.

Many stories are told of Gac, a celebrated Gaajak cattle chief who lived a generation ago. By swinging a cattle rope round his head and calling he could bring cattle to him from all over the countryside, and he could hang a milk gourd upside down from the top of his cattle hut without the milk pouring out. If a poor man required help from Gac he would bring with him some prepared strips of hide; Gac would twist these into rope, spit on it, and give it to the suppliant, whose cows would bring forth abundantly so that he would soon become a rich man.

There is a war magician or expert, called *ngul* or *gwan muot*. This man goes ahead of a raiding party, and when he gets within suitable distance of the enemy brandishes his spear, calling on it by name, e.g. as *Mut Gham* (spear of the thigh), or *Mut Wang* (spear of the eye), and imploring (*lam*) that the enemy may be beaten. He then breaks off the wooden end of the spear and throws it in the direction of his opponents, so making their spears of little worth. The *ngul* may take the spear of a slain Dinka and hang it in his cattle byre; before fighting he bends the point of this spear and so renders harmless the Dinka spears. He also possesses hunting magic; he "sings" his spear and the people are successful, but he does not himself hunt. The *ngul* must be a *dyel*, i.e. belong to the strongest clan of the tribe. After a successful raid the land chief, the *ngul*, and the cattle chief each get a cow, the cattle chief because he is *gwan yang* ("owner of cows").

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

The following relationship terms are in use:—

Gwa(r)	Father, mother's sister's husband, father's sister's husband.
Ma(r)	Mother, father's brother's wife.
Gatda	Son, brother's son, sons of brothers and sisters of wife or husband.
Nyada	Daughter (my), brother's daughter, daughter of brothers and sisters of wife or husband.
Gat gwa	Father's son, not generally used as a term of address to the father's son but to the *gat gwalen*.
Nya gwa	Father's daughter with the corresponding use and limitation noted for *gatgwa*.
Demar, gatmar	Mother's son, sister's husband, wife's brother, wife's sister's husband.
Nyimar	Mother's daughter, brother's wife, wife's sister.
Gwalen	Father's brother (generally called *gwa*).
Gat gwalen	Father's brother's son.
Nya gwalen	Father's brother's daughter (also *nyagwa*).
Wac	Father's sister.
Gat wac	Father's sister's son.
Nya wac	Father's sister's daughter.
Ma(r)len	Mother's sister (can also be called *mar*).
Gat ma(r)len	Mother's sister's son (also called *demar* or *gat mar*).
Nya ma(r)len	Mother's sister's daughter (also called *nyimar*).
Nar	Mother's brother.
Gat nara	Mother's brother's son.
Nya nara	Mother's brother's daughter.
Gwadong	Father's father, mother's father.
Madong	Father's mother, mother's mother, mother's brother's wife.
Gat gatda	(My) son's son.
Nya gatda	(My) son's daughter.
Gat nyada	(My) daughter's son.
Nya nyada	(My) daughter's daughter.
Gat nyimar	Sister's son (can also be called *gatda*).
Nya nyimar	Sister's daughter (can also be called *nyada*).
Cekda	(My) wife (m.s.).
Coada	(My) husband (w.s.).
Gwathu	Father-in-law (addressed as *gwa*); all male relatives of wife's father and mother of their generation, all male relatives of husband's father and mother of their generation.
Mathu	Mother-in-law (addressed as *ma*); all female relatives of wife's father and mother of their generation, all female relatives of husband's father and mother of their generation.
Cocangda	(My) husband's brother (w.s.); those whom husband calls *demar* or *gat gwa*.
Mancoada	(My) husband's sister (w.s.); those whom husband calls *nyimar* or *nyagwa*.
Nyakda	(My) husband's wife, (my) husband's brother's wife (w.s.).
Cek gwa(r)	Father's wife (addressed as *ma(r)*).

The Nuer kinship system is similar to that of Dinka and Shilluk. Brothers and sisters are distinguished according as they are children of the father or mother. The full brother (child of father and mother) is addressed as "mother's son", not as "father's son". "Mother's son" is also used in a general way as a friendly term of address. A male kinsman of the speaker's generation on the father's side of the family is addressed as "father's son".

There is a tendency, which may be said to constitute a regular custom, for certain relationship terms to be used in such a manner that they embrace relatives who in the more formal sense are not covered by them. Thus, *demar* (full brother) is commonly employed as a term of address for "father's son" (by a different mother from the speaker's), a man who is more strictly *gat gwar* ("son of my father"). This latter term is extended from the father's own children to include those of his brothers who are formally designated *gat gwalen* ("son of my father's brother"). *Gat gwalen* is used for children of more distant paternal relatives of the speaker's sex and generation.

The same thing happens on the mother's side of the family, where *gat mar* is used for "son of mother's sister", when its strict etymological sense is "son of mother". Meanwhile the term for son of mother's sister, *gat marlen*, is extended to embrace children of distant maternal relatives of the speaker's sex and generation, and even to quite unrelated persons. On both sides of the family this usage is the same, certain relatives being generally addressed by terms which are a degree more intimate than the correct terms of reference.

According to Professor Evans-Pritchard's informants, a man respects his wife's brother's wife to a lesser extent than his mother-in-law, but should his mother-in-law die his wife's brother's wife becomes his "mother-in-law" and he must respect her as deeply as if she were his real mother-in-law. From the terminology it may be suggested that the same rule holds for a woman's husband's sister (*mancoada*, lit. "mother of my husband"); she may be considered to take the place of her dead mother *vis à vis* her brother's wife.

Society is organized on a patrilineal basis. The father is head of the family, and is in charge of the family herd of cattle. Sons are married with cattle from the herd in order of seniority, and in the same way the cattle that come into the family from the marriage of daughters go to the family herd and are not specially reserved for

the full brothers of their sisters. In spite of this the tie to the mother's family is very close indeed; their share in the bride-wealth of a girl is equal to the share of the father's family.

The first few years of the wife's married life are spent in her village. The husband is a visitor there and is a person of no social importance; he is simply the husband of so-and-so, his position depending on his behaviour as a good son-in-law. Miss Soule informs us that it is his duty to plant and cut his father-in-law's crops, that he may not eat at his father-in-law's house, nor any food prepared by his young wife. Later, when he brings his wife to his own village she is already the mother of one or two children.

A child's mother's husband is sociologically his father, but it may often happen that he is not the physiological father. As among the Dinka, if an unmarried man dies a wife must be found who will bear children to him lest his spirit be angry, and a widow though she may live with some other man still counts her children to her dead husband. The real father of these children may be a brother or close relative of the dead man, but often he is not, for such women may take lovers, and other women, especially widows whose bride-wealth has been returned or divorcées who have not cared to re-marry, may live with lovers as concubines. The social status of such women does not seem to be much lower than that of wives, and they may live in an ordinary polygamous household. In such cases the physiological father, who is also the foster father of the children, is not the social father, has little responsibility for the marriages of his sons and no claim to the bride-wealth of his daughters, though a fee (*yang leta*) of one cow is paid him from this in his capacity as begetter. If the woman remains with her lover the children are brought up in his care, but if she goes to another man the children go with her. When the sons grow up they will usually go to the brother or heir of their dead father, for they will wish to marry with the family cattle. But if the mother's bride-wealth has been returned, then the children will belong to their mother's father or brother, unless the lover wishes to hand over four head of cattle for each child and affiliate them to himself. On the other hand the woman may form a new lineage of her own, and there are many such clan sections descended from a woman. It should be noted that the freedom of these women is an accepted fact, for it is realized that they are temperamentally unsuited to become wives in the accepted manner and that it is useless to attempt to coerce them.

It is generally considered that a widow should live with her deceased husband's uterine brother, and this is usually done.

As among the Dinka, an elderly childless widow who has cattle may "father" a family. She will buy wives, and may pay a man a cow to beget children by them. Miss Soule writes that she knows a powerful woman *tiet* of the Gaagwang who has done this and founded a large family. One of her "wives" left her, taking her children, but when the son grew up he returned to his "father", as he considered she was responsible for providing his marriage cattle.

The Nuer prohibited degrees seem to be somewhat wider than those of other Nilotes. In common with other Nilotes, marriage is forbidden with any member of the father's clan, with all but the most distant of the mother's clan, and with any person to whom relationship can be traced genealogically, unless this is admittedly very distant. Further, a man may not marry any near relative of his wife (unless the latter dies childless). Neither may a man marry the daughter of a man of his own age-class.

In actual practice when a couple wish to marry they trace their ancestors back as far as possible through the four grandparents, and if the lines do not meet they consider they are unrelated. Should either family have any objection to a marriage it is never difficult for them to show that there is a relationship that impedes marriage. The prohibition against marrying any descendant of a person whose marriage cattle have been or will be received also holds where no blood relationship is recognized, and captured Dinka—numerous in Nuer society—come into this category. Further, intercourse with the wives of near relatives is considered incestuous, not merely adulterous, and the offender must pay a bull for a sacrifice to avert the *rual* (consequences of incest), even though he may be excused the adultery fine of six head of cattle. This same ceremony must be performed before an heir lives with a widow of his father. Considering the wide conception of the incest barrier among the Nuer it is not surprising that the *rual* ceremony takes place fairly frequently.

In childbirth the mother is attended by a woman, who must herself be a mother, usually a member of the family. Care is taken that no one who might bring in any evil influence enters the hut; pregnant women and their husbands are especially dangerous in this respect, for they carry *theer*, which, Miss Soule informs us, is considered to affect the lying-in woman through her discharges. The cord is cut

with a sliver of cane and buried with the afterbirth outside the hut, where a corpse would be buried. When the infant is from a few days to a month old the canines are dug out of the jaw with a piece of iron, while the lower incisors are removed with a fish hook when the boys are about eight years old.

Every Nuer has a name given to him at birth by his father or other member of his family, and members of his family and outsiders of his own and older age-class call him by this. He also has another name, by which his maternal relatives address him. Hence in his father's village he is called by the name given him by his father, and in his mother's village by the name given him by his mother's mother or other maternal relative. We have seen that men and women are also born to an honorific clan name; this is used mainly by women, and even then is not often heard. This name is also retained throughout life. When living among his maternal relatives a man will be called by one of their honorific clan names.

When a boy is initiated he takes a bullock name; before this his playmates may call him by a name derived from the bull calf of the cow that he habitually milks, but his elders will not address him thus, nor will other boys in their presence. A man is called by his bullock name by his own age-class and by those that immediately precede and succeed it; he may frequently change his bullock name as he acquires a new favourite beast. Older men will address him as "son" (*gatda*), while those much younger than himself will call him "father", (*gwa*). A man who is getting on in years and is consequently of some standing in the community is politely addressed by the name of his father, "son of so-and-so." If he is living among his mother's relatives he will be addressed as son of his mother instead of, or as well as, son of his father.

Women commonly call each other "mother of so-and-so" (i.e. of the eldest child).

The father takes great interest in his offspring, and, though he will not touch a new-born infant, after about a month he may begin to handle his child, and will beat his wife if he thinks she neglects it. Weaning is a gradual process, and children are given the first share of the supply of cow's milk. For the first few years children of both sexes play freely near the hut; a little later the boys will follow the men and help with the cattle and learn to milk the goats, while the girls begin to help their mothers in their work. Later the care of the cattle falls largely to the boys, especially the milking.

Boys and girls play at marriage together, choosing partners and mimicking all activities, even sending clay oxen as bride-wealth. The sexual act has its place in this play, although it is by no means the only interest. It is, however, at this age that children are taught the meaning of incest, and that play marriages with relatives are not permitted, though it is not until they are approaching puberty that they will learn from the parents the full range of their relatives.

Forehead scarring in one form or another probably exists among all Nilotes,[1] but among the Nuer the incisions producing these scars are made on a scale not found in the other peoples, and have far greater social significance. The making of the incisions constitutes a tribal initiation ceremony, and is accompanied by so much pain that it can scarcely fail to exercise a life-long influence on the initiates. The term for the process of making the incisions is *gar*. The following is taken from an account recently published by Father Crazzolara.[2]

The year for the performance of the ceremony is determined by the cattle chief (*wud ok*), who is allowed considerable discretion and may postpone the rite to permit the initiation of his own sons. The actual operation takes place in the spring or autumn, when the cool weather favours cicatrization. When the *wud ok* has decided on the time he assembles the people by the beating of drums, and amid dancing and rejoicing announces that the youths are to be initiated at such and such a time. It behoves the parents of initiates to make considerable preparation, for the boy must be well fed after the operation, a milch cow usually being set apart for this purpose, so that very poor folk may have to postpone initiation even though their son be the right age (from 13 to 16 years). When all arrangements have been made the people are again summoned by the drum, and the *wud ok* announces that on the morrow the youths will be cut.

The number of initiates in a village usually varies from five to fifteen, and their relatives make a point of being present to join in the festivities. An experienced operator (*gaar*) is sought, for upon his skill depends sound cicatrization, usually taking from one and a half to two months. Early on the appointed day the lads assemble in the enclosure of a specially prepared hut, surrounded by a high fence of millet stems.

Miss Soule informs us that parents, friends, and even girls may be present, the latter on the look out for signs of fear. A hole is dug

[1] Since writing this we have been informed by Miss Soule that the Anuak do not scar, hence the profound contempt the Nuer feel for them.

[2] "Die Gar-Zeremonie bei den Nuer," *Africa*, v, 1932.

in the ground to collect the blood, and over this is placed a firm grass ring (such as women use on their heads for carrying pots). The lad lies on his back, his head—shaved and anointed with grease—over the hole, while the *gaar* squats at his right side and with a small sharp blade (*ngom me moth*) cuts outwards from the centre of the forehead above the eyebrows up to well over the right ear, cutting down to the bone. This is the main incision (*tud gare*) and the most painful, since it severs the supra-orbital nerve. The next incision is made about a centimetre above the first, and so on until six more or less parallel lines have been completed. The left side is then treated in similar manner. Great importance is attached to the first lad showing himself courageous and thus leading the others to follow his example. Generally pride conquers, and in spite of the appalling pain the lads conduct themselves quietly under the knife.

When the operation is over, the boys, in many cases unconscious, are carried into the hut, particular care being taken that the head is not shaken unnecessarily. The chief danger is from loss of blood, often severe, and for some days the patient has to lie on his back with head immobile to prevent haemorrhage. It is recognized that nicking a vein is especially dangerous, and the operator may be called in to extend the incision if a vein is not completely severed. Particularly painful parts are cauterized with a hot iron. If the initiate's life is considered to be in danger an ox or sheep is speared, so that the hostile spirit (*koth kel*) may spare the boy's life.

Seclusion of the initiates (*coat*) in the hut (*dwel coata*) lasts up to two months, during which time unmarried persons may pay them short visits, as may old people and nursing mothers, but other married folk are debarred on account of *theer*. As healing advances the lads in their enclosure lead a life of ease, with nothing to do but eat, drink, sleep and play, being given three meals a day—mainly milk and porridge—prepared by their mothers; all share in common, for lads initiated together are as brothers. After some weeks it will be decided whether cicatrization is satisfactory; if in several cases this fails the whole number will probably remain in seclusion for some time longer. When all is well the *wud ok* is informed, and he gives the order for the release of the boys.

Very early on the day of release (known as *lwoñ*) an old woman drives the boys to the river, followed by other women, boys already initiated, and the rest of the youth of the village. The initiates bathe thoroughly, and then the procession moves homeward at a trot.

The mothers of the initiates will follow the boys to the river if they have passed the menopause, but not otherwise. On their return the lads run into the cattle byre and rub themselves all over with ash. Six somewhat irregular parallel scars stretching across the forehead proclaim the fact that they have now attained manhood.

The remainder of the *lwoñ* is spent in festivities and games, including sham fights between the parents of the boys and the visiting relatives; sheep are killed and much beer is drunk.

The father or relative responsible for the initiate presents the latter with a spear, fishing spear, and usually with the bullock from which the lad takes his "bull-name". This is his ceremonial ox, with which, as it is said, "he grows up."

It seems that a number of successive initiation ceremonies constitute a single *gar* period, which may extend over from one to four years, in fact until the *wud ok* declares that a particular age-class (*ric*) has been initiated and that a new age-class must grow up, when "the knife is hung up", *ngom ngaf* (an expression used in opposition to *baa ngom kaſıar*, "the knife is drawn," applied to the *gar* period).

The end of a *gar* period is celebrated by feasting, the newly initiated lads being specially summoned by the *wud ok* to meet their fellows and receive their *ric* name. There is singing and dancing, the *wud ok* provides an ox and beer, and later he addresses the gathering concerning the new age-class.

The *ric* are named after some relevant incident or current event. Thus the present age-class was called Piloal (red water) from the reddish coloured beer served to the initiates; it was also called Codnyalla (the name of an ox slaughtered on this occasion), and to these names was added that of Lath (cotton) Warakwei, because Captain Fergusson (known to the Nuer as Warakwei) had recently introduced cotton planting. The preceding age-class was named Lieth Gääi, because two initiates broke into a hut and stole some butter, and Rool, after an ox slaughtered at the feast. An age-class covers about seven years, and men are often called by their *ric* name to determine their age; thus in the Piloal class the ages vary from 15 to 22 years, in Rool between 22 and 29, in the preceding class, Tangkwer, 29 to 36, and so on.

After the *gar* ceremony the initiate is no longer a child but a man. He ceases to fetch and carry for the older lads. Milking is now beneath his dignity, and should circumstances compel him to milk he must not drink the milk he has himself drawn, lest ill befall him; a friend

will help him, and each will milk the other's cow and then drink the milk of his own animal. After initiation a lad, however immature, is his father's legal representative in all public affairs.

There is a close bond between *ric* comrades, and when in need a man will turn to an age-fellow for help, whether at home or on his travels. He calls children of his age-fellows "my child", and they address him as "father" and are expected to render him services and respect him as though he were their father. He cannot marry or take liberties with the daughter of an age-fellow, and the children of age-fellows must not intermarry. The *ric* will attend the wedding of a comrade's child, sit with his relatives, and make speeches, etc., and the bridegroom must practise avoidance of his father-in-law's age-fellows. The *ric* also attend the funeral feast of a fellow, but if offered meat they will refuse it.

There is a considerable amount of pre-marital freedom. A brother knows all about his sister's love affairs and only objects if he has a personal dislike to the lover. An unmarried girl should never have a child; if she does she becomes a *kee* and will have some difficulty in getting married, though she usually becomes a second wife to some man. Virginity is not much considered in the east, but in the west a girl might remain a virgin throughout courtship and in theory it is a brother's duty to protect the virginity of his sister. Courtship (*lum*) in the sense we use it may mean anything from flirtation to coitus and usually it is a lengthy affair; many girls while encouraging the attention of their swains do not easily surrender their virginity. It is only after initiation that courtship is socially recognized as a serious matter. A girl may be courted by several boys at the same time so long as they do not come from the same hamlet; likewise a lad may pay court to two or three girls. Men used not to expect to marry before 30, but the marriage age is now becoming lower.

When cattle were plentiful the correct number for the bride-wealth was 40. These were distributed in a definite manner: 10 went to the father, 10 to the mother, 10 were divided among the father's relatives and 10 among the mother's relatives, according to a stereotyped pattern. The cattle allotted to the mother go into the father's herd and form part of the family stock.

One cow, known as *yang kwoth*, is regarded as pertaining to the totem or ancestral spirit of the girl's family.

The mother's brother and sister and the father's brother and sister all contribute to the bride-wealth which a young man must collect;

the remainder of the cattle come from the father's herd, but younger brothers if they have cattle will help, and will be pleased to do so, for their brother's house will be open to them and his wife will cook for them and milk their cattle. Often a man with but few cattle will be able to marry if he has a good reputation and is willing to work hard for his parents-in-law. Until a child is born marriage is not considered complete.

A married man will build a house for each wife, and will sleep with each in her own house; only a man of considerable wealth and standing would build a house for himself in the homestead and have his wives come to him there.

Twins, though specially dangerous to their parents and their parents' relatives, are not killed, but their life is hedged about with ceremony. In all the ritual the underlying idea is that the twins are only one person, and they are always spoken of in this sense. Immediately after the birth of twins relatives on both sides of the family, who might expect to suffer from misfortune, bring presents of anklets and bracelets and put them on the infants. The father and the maternal uncle each kill a bullock, after having rubbed ashes on its back and asked the spirit of the twins to accept the sacrifice. They also throw ashes into the air. The danger to the parent comes chiefly from the twin of the opposite sex. It is believed that the spirit of girl twins will kill the father, and that the mother will fall a victim to her twin sons. When the twins are of opposite sexes the danger is lessened, for, as among the Dinka, the twins will quarrel. The boy will suggest killing the mother, but his twin sister will object, saying, "Who will then provide for my wedding dance?" and she will suggest killing the father. The boy in turn will complain that then there will be no one to provide him with spears. So owing to their indecision both parents will survive.

The fiction that the twins are one person is preserved throughout life. Until the twins have gone through a sham marriage ceremony with one partner of the opposite sex it is not even safe for a girl twin to be courted. If a young man should unwittingly seize the arm of a girl twin at the end of a dance in the manner recognized as an invitation to courtship, she will recoil and say, "I am a twin," and he will immediately leave her, for otherwise she might die.

In the sham marriage ceremony the twins are dressed in the clothes and wear the ornaments of the opposite sex, and the single spouse does the same, so that boy twins dressed as girls are "married"

to one girl dressed as a boy, and vice versa. The twins bring ashes in winnowing trays to the wedding feast, and the relatives on both sides of the twins' family wear cattle ropes round their necks; during the dance the ashes are thrown in the air and the relatives remove the ropes.

When the first of a pair of girl twins is really married the ordinary ritual is carried out; a dance is held, a bull is sacrificed, and the ancestral spirits are addressed. The second girl is married without this ritual, as it is considered already to have been performed. Whatever the amount of the bride-wealth handed over for the first of the pair, ten cows less are given for the second, and the girls' parents do not give any of the cattle to their relatives, it being considered that they have already received their share. The marriage ritual is not, however, curtailed for boy twins or for twins of opposite sexes.

Twins are so closely associated with birds that they are often spoken of as birds, and it is probably true to say that they are actually identified with them. Among the Nuer it is considered improper for initiated men to eat birds, and they will only do so in secret or when in need, but a twin will never do so, even as a child. Twins must even avoid eating out of a pot in which birds have been cooked, and a girl who has eaten a bird will take great care to wash before going near a twin child.

Owing to their association with birds, twins are not buried like other people. The bodies of twin infants are placed in a fork of a tree and it is said that no bird will eat their flesh. Adult twins are buried on some kind of platform, the exact nature of which was not discovered, though the Nuer emphatically denied that they would be buried like other folk, "because," they said, "they are birds, and their spirit will go up in the air."

Miss Soule informs us that twins are not only associated with birds but also with fishes and reptiles, in fact with every animal that lays eggs. Every bird, fish, crocodile, etc., is a twin, and therefore must be avoided. For this reason twins avoid all these, and will not eat anything that lays eggs.

Twins always have special names, such as Gwong (guineafowl) for the first and Ngec (partridge) for the second; or the first may be called Buth and the second Duoth ("the one who follows"). The next child born to a woman after twins is called Bol, and the subsequent child Tot. The spirit of twins is known as *kwoth cuakni* (*cuak*, "multiple birth"). The father of twins will receive a cow

on the marriage of subsequent daughters in honour of the twins' spirit. He will hold this cow in the same regard as that of the totem (*yang kwoth*) referred to on page 226.

RELIGION

Kwoth is the name for God, who is associated with the firmament, but the word is also used for any spirit, except "ghost", and has the plural form *küth*. When the "sons of Kwoth", Kuth Nhial or Kuth Dwonga (*dwong*, air), who are sky-spirits, enter into a man he becomes a prophet, *guk* (to be distinguished from the *tiet*, who is, and performs much the same functions as, the Dinka *tiet*). The sky-spirits are to some extent departmental. Thus Deng—the most powerful—is especially associated with sickness, Wiu with war, Mabith with hunting, Col with thunder and lightning, while the western Nuer have taken over Nyakang of the Shilluk as a son of Kwoth associated with, and having powers over, fish.

There are also "earth spirits", *kuth piñ*, who may be birds or animals, and totems come into this group. A man whose father has died will sometimes call on his father's totem, asking, for example, for a safe journey: "Spirit of my father, let me journey in peace." *Kuth piñ* also enter into people, making them prophets (*guk*).

Birds, especially those that fly high, are associated with the firmament and may be called *gat Kwoth*, "sons of Kwoth." This accords well with the fact that no Nuer should eat any bird, and in fact few will do so unless extremely hungry. Again, there is a close degree of identification between twins, also referred to as *gat Kwoth*, and birds (p. 228).

The Nuer bear the loss of cattle or children with the utmost resignation, saying that it is the will of God and that he is ruler of the world. The cattle are his, not man's, and if he cares to take a cow a man must not complain or show great sorrow, lest God be angry. Let man be content therefore, and let God do as he wishes; if he take one cow he will perhaps spare the others. Let no man mourn his cow, but forget its death, and God will see that the owner of the cow is a poor man and will spare him and his children and his herd, for it is God's universe. Even when a child dies and the women mourn aloud, the men are mostly silent. God has taken his own and

they must be resigned; he will grant another child if it be his will. The Nuer attitude is largely summed up in "The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord". We do not, however, wish to imply that fear may not be an important element in the Nuer attitude.

When a favourite bullock (*dil thak*) dies the owner usually adopts the conventional attitude that he must not eat its flesh, for has he not often rubbed its back with ashes, danced (*rau*) with it and sung (*twar*) to it? On the day on which it dies he will be sorrowful and will sit by himself; he will not, however, shed tears, lest God be angry and take him as well. Nevertheless a young man will sometimes eat the flesh of his favourite beast, for though "the eye and the heart of a man are mournful at the death of a cow, the teeth and the stomach are glad". Moreover, his friends may say to him: "Do not mourn your cow. What? Are they not all the cattle of God? And if he has taken one do not refuse its flesh. See, God is good, he might have taken you but has taken your bullock instead." It is also thought that if a man refuses the flesh of his bullock and puts his spear away in the rafters of his hut the spear may cut his hand or leg, for it will want to know why it should be put away as though useless and not take part in cutting up the meat.

We have little information concerning *tiet*, who probably resemble the Dinka *tiet*, perhaps with greater specialization in their powers. Some *tiet* practise massage, and as evidence of their power will produce stones, bits of bone, etc., from the body. Their commonest function is to divine by throwing the shells of the fresh water mussel against the convex surface of a gourd rattle and observing their fall, but *tiet* who can go no further than this are regarded as having little power. One *tiet* is capable of curing constipation, another yaws, yet another—called *tiet döla*—cures headache and will assist a man to regain a stolen cow, and so on, Each *tiet* has his own spirit (*kwoth*), seemingly totemic. In every case in which a *tiet döla* is called in he must as soon as his task has been accomplished perform a second ceremony to protect his patient from any evil consequences which might result from his action, for the patient was as it were "tied up" by the first ceremony and must now be "loosened" by the second. So the *tiet* plucks grass, and after whirling it round the patient's head throws it into the bush. Individuals in whom dissociation is frequent and definite are regarded as standing apart; their type of practice seems to be called *kulang*.

Guk (prophets) may exercise great influence. Of all these men, Gwek—in our own time—and his father Ngundeng were the mightiest. The latter was the builder of the "pyramid" called by the Nuer *bie*, and commonly known as Deng Kur. Kur is the "ox name" of Deng, the mighty spirit who possessed Ngundeng and at whose instructions the latter built the pyramid, to which he gave the name Deng Kur in his spirit's honour. Dr. Crispin's photographs, reproduced on Pl. XXI, will give some idea of its appearance when first seen by Europeans some thirty years ago. The elephant tusks stretched completely round the base of the mound—estimated by Major C. H. Stigand to be some 300 feet in circumference and 50 feet high [1]—and other tusks were buried in its centre. Professor Evans-Pritchard's informants described how the pyramid was constructed of baked earth, and ashes from two old and large cattle camps where the ashes had lain thick for years. The workers stood one above the other in tiers on the pyramid, and handed up the material until it reached the top. There does not seem to have been any systematic conscription of labour, though temporary shelters naturally grew up. People came from all over the country and often brought with them bullocks for sacrifice; they would spend three or four nights in one of the temporary shelters until their food was exhausted, and then go away. The flesh of the sacrifices was divided among the workers, and helped to keep up the supply. Ngundeng started this pyramid and Gwek finished it; the former may have derived the idea from the larger mounds (Fig. 15) raised by the Dinka beside the graves of important men (though there is no comparison in size), and in support of this is the fact that the pyramid is often referred to as *yik*, a Dinka word for these monuments.

Ngundeng was of the Lek clan of the Lau tribe, and he was a *kwor muon* and *kwor twac* before he became possessed. At the beginning of his career as a prophet he lived for weeks in the bush by himself, existing, as it is believed, on human and animal excrement. On his return home he shut himself in his hut and undertook prolonged fasts. He would wander about mumbling to himself for days at a time or sit in his cattle byre and refuse all food except ashes, which he had cooked expressly. After he had established himself as a *guk* he gave up his solitary wanderings but would still shut himself in his hut and undergo severe fasts.[2] It is believed that he could rise

[1] *S. N. & R.*, i, 1918, 210.

[2] This is perhaps a conventional mode of behaviour. Professor Evans-Pritchard mentions

into the air without support, and that when the spirit took him he could run from the ground to the top of his cattle byre. So great was his power that he would go out to meet sickness; he went out to meet smallpox, and slaughtered dozens of bullocks, which were left dead on the ground in front of the oncoming plague, and so prevented its advance. So in his day the country was free of smallpox, and it was only after his death that it came again. One year Ngundeng foresaw a terrible cattle plague called *diu*, (almost certainly the name of a sky spirit; in other parts of the country cattle plague is called *jok*). The herds would have been wiped out if he had not gone forth to meet the diseases and sacrificed oxen in front of it; yet, as he had prophesied, the disease was severe, and owing to subsequent famine many of the older men died.

Ngundeng and Gwek were especially celebrated for curing barren women, who would come from the far Gaajok, Thiang, Gaawar, and Lak countries, and even from the other side of the Nile. They would bring a bullock for sacrifice, and Gwek would kill the beast and anoint the women with his spittle.

On the death of Ngundeng the spirit, Deng, that had possessed him entered his son Reath, but seems not to have become really "fixed" in him. He appears to have acted for a time as a *guk* while Gwek was a boy, but when Gwek became older the spirit left Reath and entered into Gwek, (so named because his mother was barren until her husband cut up a frog and gave it to her to eat, whereupon she became pregnant).

Mr. Jackson describes Deng Kur as a mausoleum [1]; if this implies that Ngundeng was buried within it we believe this to be incorrect, for more than twenty years ago we were told that Ngundeng was buried within his hut at the base of the pyramid.

Rain-Making

Rain-making among the Nuer is of far less ritual importance than among Dinka and Shilluk. Moreover, our information suggests that the details of the process are not fixed, and that the belief in its

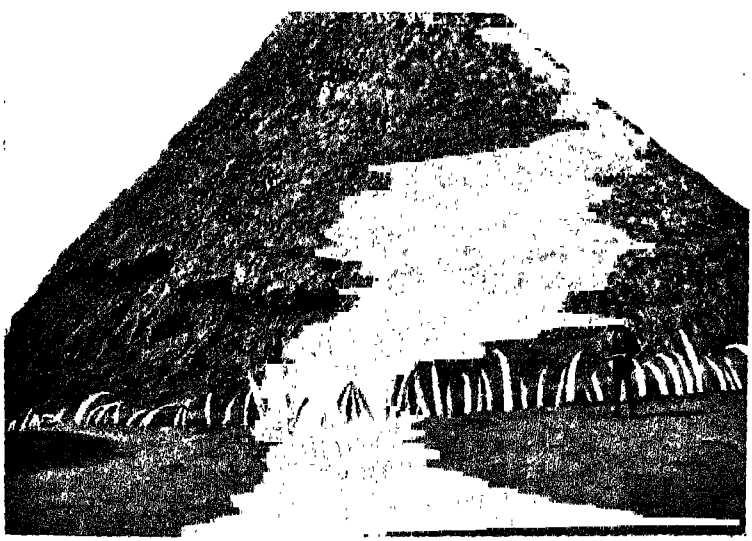
Dengleaka, a captured Dinka, a famous prophet of the Gaawar country who appears to have "set out systematically to acquire a spirit by fasting and solitude". He left his home and sat under a tree, abstaining from food for many days. When found he was arranging in rows hundreds of shells of the giant land-snail which he had collected.

[1] *S. N. & R.*, vi, 1923, 158.

PLATE XXI



Ngundeng's village, with pyramid



Pyramid, with ivory round base

efficacy varies greatly according to the esteem in which a practitioner is held. It seems that though a *kwor muon* may kill a bullock for rain in any tribe, the majority of successful rain-makers are *guk* (prophets). Gwek was considered a successful rain-maker, and there are others with high reputations. Thus Miss Soule writes to us of two prophets, one among the Gaawang Nuer and another living at Wanding on the Pibor, to whom people of Gaajok, Gaajak, and Gaagwang, resort in times of drought. Great numbers go, taking cattle, sheep, and goats for these men to offer to Col—the spirit specially concerned with thunder, lightning, and rain—for without sacrifice the spirit would not hearken. Several years ago the rains were very late; the time for sowing had come, but there was not enough rain to prepare the ground, though many people had appealed to the prophet at Gaagwang. Wanding village and section had sown, for they had had rain. Many sent to Wanding for the prophet to come and bring rain, so that they might sow, but in the meanwhile such heavy rain fell that the ground was ready for planting. When at length the *guk* arrived he sacrificed cattle, and made clear to the people that God had sent the rain ahead of him so that he might have a soft path, lest his feet be made sore by walking on the hard earth.

Professor Evans-Pritchard records that among the eastern Nuer any member of the Gaawar clan can act as a rain-maker, since their ancestor came down from heaven in a rain-storm holding in his hand a sprig of the *nyuot*-tree. When other Nuer want rain they send for a Gaawar man and give him a white goat. He puts a piece of *nyuot* in a gourdful of water and leaves it there to soak, and cuts the goat's throat at the side of, or over, the gourd. Rain will fall for several days after this rite. To stop it the Gaawar will take the *nyuot* sprig out of the water and dry it in the sun; or he may place a stone in the ashes of a dung fire for the same purpose. The Nuer do not pay a Gaawar for these services, though they will let him have some of the meat of the slain goat and they make beer for him on the day when he performs the rite. It was clear that this ritual power gave a Gaawar no kind of political status, or social prestige. Any of the thousands of members of the clan can perform the ceremony and none of them is regarded as departmental expert with official functions. As already stated, in certain parts of Nuer country, if not throughout its length and breadth, land chiefs and prophets also claim to produce rain, though they do not acquire any special merit from their powers in this respect.

It is to be noted, however, that no steps are ever taken to make rain before the crops are sown, for to do this would be to ask God to send rain before there is need for it, the result probably being a storm causing serious destruction to life and property. In the Lau country if rain is lacking when the grain is emerging from its spathe the land chief will take the metal coil from off the end of his spear-shaft and uncoil it to bring rain.

A land chief may keep the skull of a hyena in his cattle byre, hanging it from the rafters. When rain is wanted he immerses it in the river, and rain will certainly fall.

If rain is heavy and is accompanied by much thunder, a man will take the mallet that he uses for driving in cattle-pegs and lay it in the doorway of his byre, and say to God: "God, rain well, it is your world." He may also take ashes and scatter them in the rain. This represents an offering to Kwoth; all is his, and he is expected to accept the ashes instead of taking the children and cattle or destroying the byre.

To stop rain falling, a stone is placed in the fire, when it will not rain for a number of days; this is done if there is danger of the crops being spoiled by excessive rain. Probably anyone can do this, but the Nuer would expect better results according to the fuller ritual equipment of the performer.

It is worth noting that the Nuer will often say *bi kwoth pean* (lit. "God falls"), for "It will rain", indicating the general attitude of respect for the sky.

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The corpse, constrained into the so-called fœtal position, is buried in a grave some four feet deep, with a cow skin under one side and over the other, so that the earth does not fall directly on the body or enter the ears (it is for the same reason that a woman's petticoat is drawn tightly round her when she is buried). Nothing is placed in the grave. Professor Evans-Pritchard was told that men are buried facing east and women west, but that in one year, when many people died from a plague which came from the east, all were buried facing that direction. Others, in Lau country, said that the dead faced west, the direction whence their ancestors came and of the place where

man was created by God. He gathered that the spirits of the dead were thought to return to the place of creation; moreover, the path of the sun was involved in the argument (and for this reason no one could be buried facing north or south), the sun, moon, and sky, all being Kwoth (in this sense, God).

Professor Evans-Pritchard's informants said that an important ceremony, at which mourning is put off, takes place some six months after the death of a man and three months after the death of a woman. One or more bullocks are killed, and water is poured into a new pot set on three clods of fresh clay. The *gwan buthni*,[1] then makes a new fire and mixes porridge in the pot, afterwards emptying it with a *lier*, a small gourd used as a ladle. Meat is cooked, and the *gwan buthni* sprinkles the assembled people, the cattle, huts, etc., with milk. After the place has been sprinkled with water it is swept, and the people wash their bodies and the various articles of the dead man, for there is a general feeling of uncleanness. That night or next day everyone will shave their heads and again wear ornaments. Age-mates of the deceased may not partake of this meal.

It is considered important to sacrifice a cow in milk to the spirit of an old man of social position, and one animal should be killed for each wife of the dead man by his son or other male member of his family; if a young unmarried man dies his favourite bullock should be slaughtered, for a woman a cow, and for a boy or girl a young male calf.

The following is a shortened account of a ceremony witnessed by Professor Evans-Pritchard at Diini some four months after the death of one Lam. The function of the ceremony is to prevent the dead from coming in anger to fetch (*be*) the living, particularly his wives and children and the cattle; if his spirit is placated all will be well, if not the relatives and cattle will die.

From information given us by Miss Soule, something called *cuol* is removed by this rite. The folk round Nasir (Jekañ and Lau) will say, *bi nei cuol woc*, "We will take away all of the *cuol*." Miss Soule points out that *woc* signifies "to wipe away", "to remove", and that the ceremony itself is always spoken of with this word. A Nuer would not ask when so-and-so would hold the *cuol* ceremony, but would ask when his friends would *woc* the *cuol*, meaning "remove"

[1] The *gwan buthni* is the man of collateral lineage, and, therefore, of the same clan, who performs important ritual actions at weddings, mortuary feasts, atonement for homicide, etc. At weddings, for instance, he brandishes a spear, invokes the clan spear (represented by the one he holds) and throws tobacco on the ground for the ancestral spirits.

the *cuol*. Professor Evans-Pritchard considers that removing the *cuol* is analagous to the settling of a debt hanging over the family, which must be wiped out ritually, as homicide is, by a fine, while Miss Soule believes that the spirit of the dead is regarded as in some sense bound down or "unfree" until after the *cuol* is taken away, and that during the mourning period (i.e. until this ceremony) the friends of the dead are also "unfree". If for "unfree" be substituted "unclean" the ceremony falls into line with all we know of the religious beliefs of the Nilotes.

In the evening a bull was sacrificed outside Lam's cattle byre for his father, Tutthiang, because before his own death Lam had intended this bull for his father; before it was killed its back was rubbed with ashes, and Tutthiang was asked to take it and leave the people in peace. Next morning, before dawn, a bullock, a cow, and its bull calf, were speared as they stood at their pegs in Lam's byre. They fell on their sides cleanly, showing that the dead man was content.

When the meat had been divided everyone moved to a hut some fifty yards away to hear orations (*lam*) to the dead. Here on the ground were spread the possessions of the deceased—his clothes, his ostrich egg bracelets, pipe, whistle, beads, spears and fish spears, tobacco, etc., with which were placed the head and skin of his beasts recently slaughtered. All sat on the ground. An old man, a relative of the deceased, got up, took the spear with which the animals had been killed, and after walking up and down for some time in silence spoke his own bullock name. Then he addressed the dead and began a long harangue, consisting of: (*a*) prayers to the dead and to God for peace and life, with assurances that the sacrifice had been carried out properly; (*b*) random reflections on life, on the career of the dead man, references to the fact that he had left a son to carry on the household, etc.; (*c*) disclosure and settlement of quarrels or grievances between members of the *gol*. The ceremony may be regarded as a family council—using "family" in a broad sense—and anybody who has anything on his mind, or any grievance, should disclose it so that the matter can be cleared up and no sore feeling may remain. The addresses continued for about five hours, each person performing in the same way, walking up and down with the spear and addressing the spirit. An old woman brought out some new gourds, a large pot of porridge, a pot of beer and a gourdful of milk, and as each speaker began he dipped a *lier* into the beer and poured

the beer on the ground. When the last speaker had finished everyone stood up, while one man, taking the gourd of milk and a switch of a grass-like plant, *pön*,[1] proceeded to sprinkle the company with milk; this was done many times, the relatives taking care that a few drops should fall on their bodies. When he had finished, Biel, the *gwan buthni*, poured the remainder of the milk over the dung which had been laid out to dry at the side of a cattle peg, and kneeling down kneaded the milk and dung together with his hands, the mixture being left by the side of the peg. Butter was brought and smeared on the backs and chests of the relatives. Various members of the dead man's family now came forward, and Biel with a spear cut the mourning strings round their waists and necks, carried a bundle of them to the bush outside the homestead, and threw them away, returning to cut more strings and repeat his action. The porridge was distributed among the people and eaten. Biel then divided up the dead man's possessions, having previously sprinkled them with milk and rubbed butter on the spears.

Early next morning the rites were concluded. A goat was sacrificed by Man Deang, the mother of Lam's dead son Deng, and the oldest of his wives. The goat was killed by being divided longitudinally with a spear from the head downwards, even the tail being halved. As the last pieces were divided an old man and Man Deang, who were holding the left side, and the sons of Lam who were holding the right, pulled violently, and amid laughter and cheers the animal came in two. Man Deang and the old man ran with their half into the bush, while the sons of Lam carried theirs towards the hut outside which the sacrifice had taken place. The contents of the stomach were likewise divided. This action was performed in order that all evil might go away into the bush and all good stay in the home, the half carried away representing death and misfortune and the half carried to the house representing life and prosperity. The bad half is supposed to be eaten by strangers, the good half by the family.

When a man is struck by lightning or dies suddenly without previous illness, being found dead at his daily task or in exceptional cases vanishing in a dust storm, he is called *col wec*. *Col wec* occur in many families (there may be several in a family) and are held in great fear and reverence. In a special sense it is held that God has

[1] Miss Soule informs us that *pön* is the wild rice, and that the name of the plant is used in a number of Nuer blessings. A man starting on a journey will have said to him: "May you have everything in your path like the wild rice plant."

taken them, and it is believed that unless they are immediately placated their relatives and cattle will be in danger; for the ordinary man when he dies leaves his body in the ground, while his spirit also stays in the ground or wanders about, but the spirit of a *col wec* is instantly taken by God to the sky, where they exist in multitudes. A *col wec* is not buried directly in front of the hut, but in the open a little way from the homestead. On the day of his death many cattle are slain, his brother and mother, paternal aunt, maternal aunt, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, and others each killing a cow for themselves and their respective households, for *col wec* only attack members of their own family. The ordinary mourning rites are not observed for *col wec*, and when Professor Evans-Pritchard inquired the reason he was told that it was "because God would be angry if he saw you mourning for the person whom he has taken away".

Miss Soule points out that *col wec* is "Col of the village". Col, as already mentioned, is the spirit associated with thunder and lightning, the dead man becoming as it were a partner with Col. She was told that animals are sacrificed so that their blood, flowing after the death of the *col wec*, will keep death from coming to other members of the village.

Chapter VII

THE BARI

The territory of the Bari-speaking tribes lies to the south of the Dinka country, embracing both banks of the river. On the eastern bank it constitutes a relatively narrow strip, its southern extreme marching with the Madi, while eastward from north to south it borders upon the Beir and the Lotuko. The Bari-speaking tribes of this bank of the Nile are the Shir and the Bari proper, using the latter term in its restricted tribal sense. There are also Shir and Bari to the west of the Nile, and to the south of these the Kuku, while other Bari-speaking peoples lying west of these riverain tribes include from north to south the Mandari, the Nyangwara, the Fajelu, the Nyefu, and the Kakwa.

It seems certain that the cradle of the Bari was not within their present area of distribution, while with regard to the Bari-speaking tribes of the west Bank their physique differs so widely from that of the true Bari as to imply a high proportion of non-Bari blood.

The traditional origin of the Bari is given in the following account, for which we are indebted to Dr. Tucker. Long ago Bari came to the Nile from the east; they did not call themselves Bari, but as they journeyed people asked them, *do ngo da*, "Where are you going?" and so they became known as Dongoda. As they passed through what is now Lotuko country certain groups—the ancestors of the present Dongotono and Lotuko—broke away, the Lotuko (lit. "deaf men") being so named by the Anuak because they could not understand what was said to them, while the Dongotono kept their name. The main wave passed on and became known as Bari, meaning "Others", i.e. the people "other" than those who split off. The Lotuko and Dongotono broke away on account of the attacks of the Lokoiya, who then were a powerful people armed with spears [1] while the Bari weapon was the bow. The Lokoiya, who always attacked the Bari camps at night, were so successful that they drove the Bari across the Nile near Rejaf Hill. The Bari, who then adopted the spear, without discarding bow and arrow, drove back the Lokoiya, and in great part crossed the river to their present home. Dr. Tucker informs us that linguistic data are in accord with some such occurrence, and he considers that the legend is supported by the fact that the Bari

[1] At the present day the Lokoiya are bowmen.

have many names for different forms of arrows but, apart from the fishing spear, only one word for spear, *gor*, also meaning "war".

Another account of Bari origin, reported by Mr. Ernest Haddon,[1] states that the Bari came into the Nile valley as the result of the fission of an old Beri-Bari tribe, the Mandari, Shir, Nyefu, and Fajelu being formed as the consequence of further division. If Haddon's Beri-Bari tribe is to be identified with the "easterners" of Dr. Tucker's legend, as seems likely, then the Bari element in the Mandari and similar tribes can hardly be attributed to further division within its body but must rather be due to the assumption of Bari language and culture by the ancestors of these tribes, for, as already stated, all these people differ physically from the Bari, and the dialect of the Kuku even at the present day runs west into the Belgian Congo.

The Mandari, Shir, Nyefu, Fajelu, Nyangwara, Kuku, and Kakwa, with perhaps the Ligi, the scattered hunters of the west bank, correspond fairly closely with the group said by Emin Pasha to form a sharply defined whole, distinguished from their neighbours in language and having many common customs.[2] Emin does not mention the Kuku or the Nyefu, and includes a people he calls Marshia, who "are few in number . . . resemble the Bari type [and] are skilful and industrious smiths".[3] Thus the country over which Bari and its dialects are spoken extends over an area some 160 miles in length, extending southwards from latitude 6° 5′, and having a maximum breadth of some 90 miles.

The Marshia—correctly Marsak, sing. Marsanit—according to Mr. Whitehead, may be regarded as a larger group than usual of professional smiths, who are also reputed to be darker than the ordinary Bari; a fact ascribed by the Bari to the nature of their industry.

The following table exhibits the chief indices (average) of such Bari-speaking tribes as are available:—

	C.I.	*N.I.*	*F.I.*	*U.F.I.*	*Stature.*
Bari (19) * E. bank	73·5	82·2	87·1	49·3	1·72
Bari (20) † W. bank	73·6	—	—	—	1·76
Mandari (21) * .	75·1	84·0	86·6	49·2	1·75
Fajelu (14) ‡ . .	76·1	82·6	85·1	53·6	1·63
Kakwa (58) ‡ . .	75·7	82·7	85·3	52·5	1·67

[1] Ernest B. Haddon, "System of Chieftainship among the Bari of Uganda": *Journal of the African Society*, x, 1911, 468.

[2] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 369. There is however some evidence suggesting that the Ligi speak Moro.

[3] Op. cit., 370.

* Measured by us; † by Evans-Pritchard; ‡ by Czekanowski, *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet*, Leipzig, iv, 1922. Further information concerning the physical characters of Bari-speaking tribes is given in *Little-known Tribes*.

PLATE XXII



Bari types. No. 1 Magara, 2 one of his *dupi*, 3 Pitia Lugar

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We believe that in all these tribes the skin is really dark, as dark as that of the Dinka, but while the true Bari of both banks are distinctly dolichocephalic, the Bari-speaking tribes of the west bank approach mesaticephaly, their cephalic index being about the same as such "inland" tribes of the Bahr el Ghazal as the Moro, Bongo, etc. With the exception of the Mandari, who border on the Dinka, their stature is definitely less than that of the Bari. We cannot say whether any significance attaches to the difference in height between east and west bank Bari. There is a considerable number of very tall men among the Bari; thus among our east bank Bari (19) there were two with a stature of 1·89 and 1·90 m. respectively.

The nasal index of the true Bari so far as our knowledge goes scarcely differs from that of the Bari-speaking tribes of the west bank.

The Bari language belongs to the Bari-Masai sub-group of the Niloto-Hamitic group, its fellows within its sub-group being Masai, Suk, Karamojong, and Turkana[1] to which may be added the immediate eastern neighbour of the Bari, Lotuko, with its dialects. Dr. Tucker's recent study of the Bari language leads him to regard it as predominantly Hamitic, e.g. it has grammatical gender and polarity. Further, the Nilotic element in the language is to be found solely in word roots and not in sentence construction. These roots, mostly triliteral (consonant, vowel, consonant) are common to Bari and the neighbouring Nilotic languages (especially Dinka and Acholi), but in Bari they are often hidden by prefixes and suffixes; they are in fact so deeply embedded in the language that they must have come into it long ago. Examples are Dinka *nyang* (crocodile), *akol* (sun), *um* (nose), *luel* (to say), and Bari *kinyong*, *kolong*, *kume*, and *kulya*.[2]

The Bari country to the east of the Nile, of which alone we have any first-hand knowledge, consists of a flat or gently undulating plain some 1,700 feet above sea-level, intersected by shallow ravines—often with sandy bottoms—in which water-holes are dug during the dry season, yielding a supply so copious that, although the watering of large herds of cattle may require forethought, there is not generally, we believe, any real scarcity of water. The plain is broken here and

[1] D. Westermann, *The Shilluk People*, p. 35, where the author quotes Bernard Struck to this effect.

[2] Personal communication; for similarities in vocabulary see G. W. Murray, *An English-Nubian Comparative Dictionary*, Intro., p. x, constituting vol. iv, 1923, of *Harvard African Studies*, Oxford, 1923. Mr. Whitehead has worked out the percentage of words which are common to Bari and the dialects, vocabularies of which are given in Johnston's *Uganda*, i.e. Masai, Turkana, Lotuko, Nandi, and Karamojong and South Karamojong taken together. For this small vocabulary of 169 words, the figures are: Lotuko, 39 per cent; Masai, 26 per cent; Turkana, 23 per cent; Karamojong, 16 per cent; and Nandi, 12 per cent.

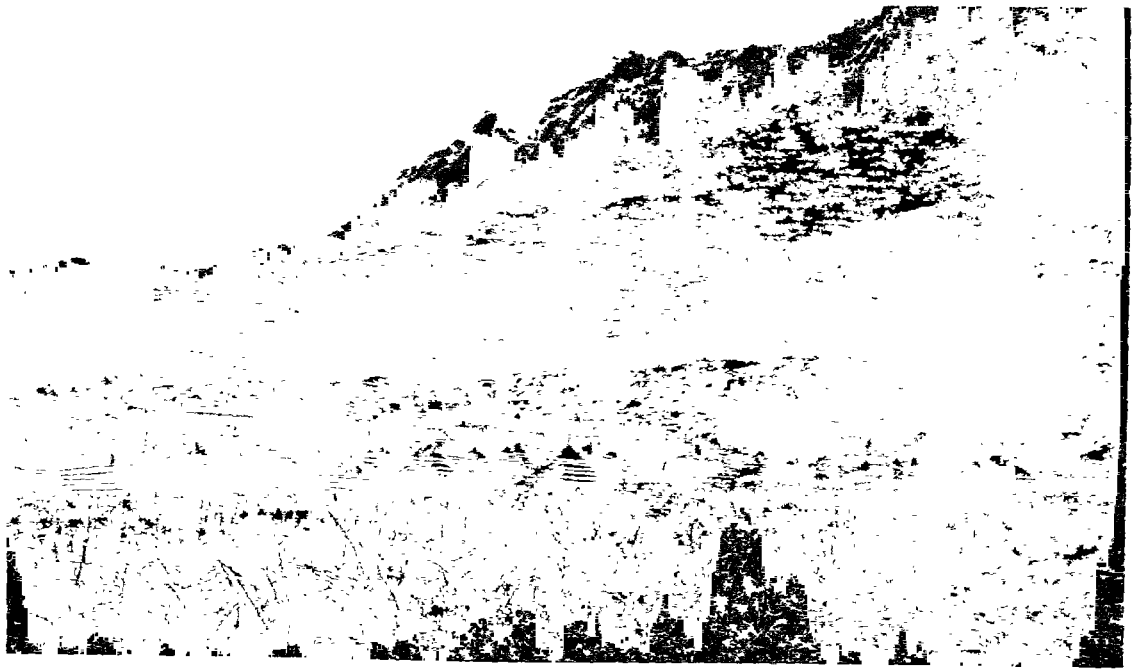
there by outcrops of rocks, for the most part volcanic, the chief being Belinian and Shindiru,[1] both important from the sociological standpoint as being the homes of lines of rain-makers and the sites of rain-making ceremonies (pp. 280–9). Belinian is also an important iron-working site; whether this applies to Shindiru and the smaller hills, which lie in a line with it north and south, we cannot say. The country as we saw it constituted a bushy parkland, dry and even arid, with grassy areas, often swampy near the river, and showing strips of dense growth along the watercourses. The preponderance of grassland round the villages, with the existence of a limited number of really old trees to which religious significance is attached, suggests that the present condition of a considerable part of the clearer country may be due to human agency. It is important to remember the vast difference between the Bari country of to-day and that of the early 'seventies, indeed Mr. Haddon writing over twenty years ago suggested that there was only one family then to six or eight half a century earlier. At the present time the Bari are to be regarded as presenting a transitional stage from pastoral to agricultural society, and we cannot do better than quote here a native account of the transition, given us by Mr. Whitehead:—

> "Long ago the cattle of the Bari were very many. They did not stay at home, they stayed in the *kurumi*, and all the *teton* were there. . . . Durra also there was very little of; they cultivated little durra, because they drank milk. There was not much *dilong* either [a meat sauce eaten with vegetables]. They cultivated beans and simsim. All the *teton* drank milk. The old men who stayed at home ate that durra which was a little cultivated. And those girls who were still young went to beat milk into butter and bring it home so that their mothers and fathers might drink it. Thus the people of those days were very rich. . . . Also the old men, who were well-known, married three wives and two, but many people they married one because in that time they feared to marry many wives, because it was said that women when many quarrelled, and their husband very soon died. So the Bari of those days they married one wife. Also the people of that time did not marry when they were young ever. . . . But in these times people marry when they are young, and people wish to marry many wives."

The *kurumi* no longer exists; it was the big dry-season cattle enclosure built in the open country, and so large that the cattle of a number of villages, which joined to build it, could be herded within it at night. The *teton*, or young men of eighteen to thirty-five years of age, remained with the cattle, while the married men, women,

[1] We have not ourselves visited Shindiru; the hill itself is described as insignificant, but with fine views all round.

PLATE XXIII



Belinian

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and children stayed at home, and the young girls journeyed backwards and forwards carrying milk. The warriors herded the cattle by day, and danced and sang by night; their food during this time was for the most part milk, blood drawn from the necks of the cattle mixed with milk, and a little millet.

A great difficulty with which the Bari have to contend is the relatively large foreign settlement at Province headquarters and the strict administration of the white man's law, especially applied—as the Bari sees it—to the condonation of witchcraft and the stern repression of his natural reaction thereto, i.e. the killing of the magician, as exemplified by the incident we relate on p. 26.

A Bari "village", using the term to denote no more than a settled area more or less remote from other settled areas, is commonly spread over a considerable extent of ground, since each householder lives with his wives and unmarried children in a homestead, usually roughly fenced, at some little distance from the homesteads of his fellows. The general character of Bari houses and homesteads will be gathered from the photograph reproduced as Pl. XXIII. But besides this arrangement there exist on both banks of the river larger and more compact groups of habitations in which the houses and granaries stand much closer together and are not fenced off from one another, the whole corresponding fairly well with the usual English meaning of "village". Such villages may be surrounded by a substantial stockade.

Around each house is an area overlaid with a mixture of mud and cow-dung, giving a tough, smooth surface, the portion immediately in front of the door of a hut being commonly tessellated with potsherds so small as to give a hard mosaic surface. Within this compound grain is dried and the housewife goes about her daily activities, though the grain is perhaps commonly ground in the shade of the granary or even under it. Here, too, food is cooked and eaten, at any rate during the dry season. The granaries and perhaps a goat-house stand further from the dwelling-house, but within the limiting enclosure.

Though the Bari do not possess such large herds as in the past, they still consider themselves as predominantly pastoralists rather than agriculturalists. This is clearly seen from Mr. Whitehead's texts, in which cattle are praised because they are good, their milk is good, and because with cows a wife may be obtained. Without cattle a man will not be respected, and when he dies his funeral

ceremonies may be neglected, but if he has cattle his brothers will mourn him well. Thus a poor man will work hard and cultivate the land, and eat little, and exchange his crops for a cow so as to raise a herd; then when he dies his children will praise their father.

There are moreover profound emotional ties between a man and his favourite ox (*sönö*), of which he boasts [1] and whose bell the remainder of the herd follow. To a considerable extent these beasts correspond to the *muor cien* of the Dinka, but differ in having untrained horns.[2] When *sönö* grow old they should be killed at a ceremony which, Mr. Whitehead informs us, is called " the washing off of poverty ". This may be done when a beast is about ten years old; it is killed at its owner's initiative, its bell transferred to its successor, a young ox, and its flesh is eaten by men only, while the owner overcome with grief sits in his hut, his face in his hands.

The Bari are, or (more correctly) were, bowmen, for though they had spears they made comparatively little use of them. They are expert iron-workers, and the neighbouring tribes—the Lokoiya and Lotuko—both say that they learnt iron-working from the Bari, who settled among them apparently not very long ago, perhaps not more than three to five generations, a date agreeing well with the conditions described for the Lango of Uganda by Mr. Driberg, to which we have already referred (p. 10).[3]

Regulation of Public Life

The Bari are divided into a number of exogamous clans, called *dunget* (pl. *dungesi*) with male descent; there are certain prohibitions, for the most part connected with animals or food, which each clan should observe. There are no clan marks for men or women, but the ears of sheep and goats are cut or notched conventionally to indicate the clan of their owner. The food avoidances of the Bari

[1] There is a special word, *polet*, *polesi*, applied to the vaunting of own or relatives' cattle with intent to taunt the hearers. *Sönö* bear individual names, e.g. " Bat ", and Mr. Whitehead thinks they may in some way commemorate ancestors. A man's first *sonö* is the beast given him at puberty by his father.

[2] Mr. Whitehead draws our attention to the boast "the horns of my grandfather's bull are twisted ", which may indicate that artificial deformation was practised at one time. In a text, which reached us too late for inclusion, describing what would happen if a *sönö* were raided it is stated that the horns of the ox were twisted or bent, that it would be given milk to drink, and that to rescue his beast its owner would risk being wounded or even killed.

[3] *The Lango*, 81.

are far from simple and although it is unlikely that all are clan prohibitions, some certainly are. We are indebted to Mr. Driberg and Mr. Whitehead for many of the names in the following list of clans, which must not be regarded as complete, but which is printed in hope that it may be of use to subsequent investigators: Panigilo, Mingi, Bekat, Nyori, Bonuk, Dung, Kabidu, Biajin, Lodare, Kamyak, Poli, Lumbari, Gubatulu, Karyak, Logura, Kin, Kanan, Rito, Sera, Poran, Lobajoka, Gela, Moije, Kwersak, Poko, Reli, Karuma, Sali, Kuli, Miano, Dolo, Rongat, Lokuamiro, Jam, Tiali, Dakgeleng, and Le.

The Dung clan refuse to eat hartebeeste and giraffe; no reason is given, and it is said that the younger generation pay little attention to this prohibition.

The Kamyak clan refuse to hunt or kill elephant, whom they call brothers, nor will elephants damage Kamyak cultivation. The lion is also called a brother and may not be killed; if a lion takes a Kamyak cow that lion is almost certain to die shortly for not observing the clan prohibition.

The Rito clan refuse to kill or eat elephant and pig, lest they be afflicted with disease.

The Lokuamiro clan do not kill the lion, and call it brother; no lion will touch a clansman or his property.

The Nyori clan will not kill a scorpion; in addition, part of the clan will not kill or eat the rhinoceros. Further particulars are given in the Haddon MS.:—

> "I have a note that in the Nyori clan, for instance, Kenyi cannot eat the black rhinoceros, whilst Tombe Musa, another great chief in the clan, cannot kill a scorpion and can eat black rhinoceros. Yet should Tombe Musa be in trouble he goes to Kenyi to obtain advice and help, as Kenyi is head of the Nyori clan. The scorpion is regarded by the members of Tombe's branch of the Nyori clan with great reverence; they never kill it and it never stings them, or if it does it is to foretell the death of a near relation."

Some clans, e.g. Dung, have a tree which may not be cut down or used as fuel.

There is a clan which in our notes we call Fali (properly Fa-le, meaning to spare or reject milk), perhaps the same as Mr. Driberg's Poli, the members of which should drink milk sparingly, although they have plenty of cows and make and eat butter freely.

The children of clan Lobajoka may not touch the ground with their feet until after a ceremony at which their lips are anointed with milk.

When a child is born to the Le clan the mother does not touch the ground with her hand, nor does she drink *widitat* (a certain stage in the preparation of beer) nor curdled milk until after the first time she leaves the house.

The Lodara clan has a tradition of a dog which helped a man after his wife had given birth in the bush; on account of this, when a Lodara child is born millet cooked with milk is given to the dog.

As to the origin and antiquity of the clans, it seems that divisions within some of the clans—which are in effect sub-clans, each under a powerful headman or chief—have arisen during the last few generations and probably during the last hundred years, e.g. within the Nyori as mentioned above, and also within the Bekat. There is a legend in the Haddon MS. which is interesting from the point of view of exogamy:—

> "A long time ago the Bari married indiscriminately within the clan, but it so happened that a brother and sister married, and then their children married, and they were unhealthy. The chiefs said that this sickness was due to the intermarriage and ordered two bulls to be brought, one from each house; the bulls were cut lengthwise, each in half, including the tongue and tail, and each party ate half of their own and half of the other ox, and thus was the tribe divided."

Commenting upon this, Mr. Whitehead points out that if a man marries a woman of whose clan and origin he is ignorant and she then falls sick, it is assumed that she is probably a distant member of his own clan, and he has then to perform a ceremony similar to that just related.

> "When you marry a relative (*medetio*) who is far away in the wood, you want to marry her, but as yet the splitting has not taken place, a goat is split equally. One side belongs to the father of the girl, the other side belongs to the father of the man. Thus the girl becomes good for you. All the people who know their relationship do like this, because the Bari say if there has been no splitting the girl will always be ill, and also (she) and her husband will hate each other."

Taking into consideration the occurrence of aberrant forms of totemism in the neighbouring Lotuko-speaking tribes, with reincarnation after death in the clan animal, and just such relationship between the man and his animal as is exhibited between the members of the Kamyak clan and their animal, we consider that the Bari hold some of the fundamental beliefs of totemism. Moreover, thanks to Mr. Whitehead we know that dead grandparents, especially the grandmother, may appear in snake form.

It is perhaps correct to say that Bekat is the most important of the clans, since all rain-makers of any importance belong to it, though theoretically rain-makers might belong to other clans, as indeed some minor rain-makers do.[1]

The regulation of public life among the Bari is more complicated than that of any riverain tribe with which we are acquainted. It is possible to look at their society from two points of view, both, as it seems, constantly borne in mind by the Bari themselves. On the one hand, it may be divided into two numerically very unequal groups, viz.: (1) those who "know water" (i.e. the process of rain-making), limited to the rain-maker and his assistants (even though the latter are of the servile *dupi* class); these are called *kör* (sing. *körtio*)[2]; (2) those who do not "know water", called *bömön* (sing. *böntio* or *bömöntio*), comprising the rest of the tribe whether chiefs, commoners (i.e. freemen), or slaves. The other division is into "freemen" (*lui*, sing. *luitat*) and slaves (*dupi* sing. *dupiet*), with certain despised classes, such as smiths and fishermen, occupying a somewhat indeterminate position, so that while a chief, necessarily of the *lui*, might speak of a smith as a *dupiet*, the smiths themselves deny that they belong either to the *dupi* or *lui*, but claim that they stand apart from either class. As will be made clear later, both chiefs (rain-makers) and *dupi* are included in the *kör* class, while all chiefs, whatever their quality, are necessarily *lui*.

Chiefs, *kimak* (sing. *matat*), are of three types[3]:—

(1) Rain-makers, *kimak ti piong* (sing. *matat lo piong*), literally "chief of water", sometimes, but rarely, called *matat lo kudu* "rain-chief". The rain-makers of Shindiru appear always to have been the most important men among the Bari.

[1] We refer to this matter on p. 248. In spite of the dominance of the Bekat as rain-makers they are not the original possessors of Belinian, these latter being referred to as Nyardiang and the *monyekak* are Nyardiang. On this matter we may quote from one of Mr. Whitehead's texts:—

"The Bekat came by foot from afar, but then they became well known and the Nyardiang were truly abolished and subdued. And although the chieftainship of the stuangers is in the hands of the Bekat and the chieftainship of water is in the hands of the Bekat, yet the Bekat are few in Belinian, but the Nyardiang surpass the Bekat by many."

[2] Since this was written Mr. Whitehead has suggested that this term may apply to the people—not only to rain-makers—of Shindiru, who, like rain-makers, are alleged not to extract their lower teeth.

[3] In *The Bari* we described four types, but we now know that the term *mor* was applied to anyone who had become a great man, perhaps by slowly acquired increasing influence and certainly by conquest. In a tale collected by Mr. Whitehead, Kombo, a chief of the Nyangwara (*c.* 1880), "planned in his heart, saying he would become a great *mor*". He attacked and at first defeated the Bari. Later Kombo was killed, his head was cut off and exhibited on the "drum tree", *ködini lo lori*, his heart eaten to give to the victors the strength of one who had conquered many.

(2) Village chiefs, who, as Mr. Whitehead informs us, would probably be called *kimak ti jur*, or *kimak ti yöbu*. Magara, to whom reference is made on p. 253, and whose portrait is given on Pl. XXII, is properly one, but men of his age and ability would all be called *kimak*.

(3) *Komonyekak*[1] (sing. *monyekak*) concerned with the land (*kak*), with functions of a magico-religious order especially concerning the crops.

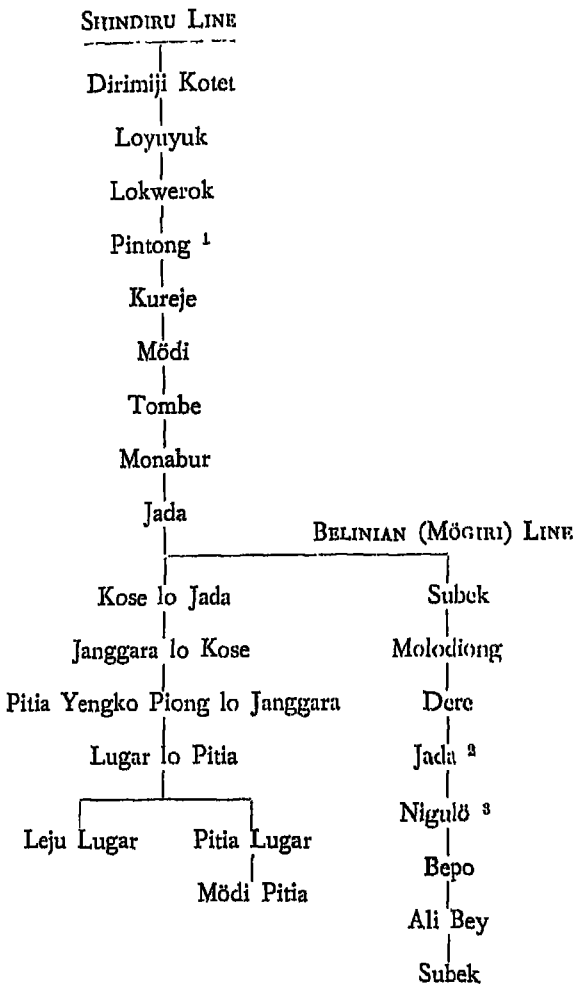
The rain-maker is supreme in matters concerning rain, and has a "medicine man" (*bunit*) attached to him. The office is hereditary, the eldest son succeeding, but in default it passes to a sister's son. The greatest rain-makers belong to the Bekat clan, though this may not always have been so, for, as Mr. Driberg points out, there are at present minor rain-makers in the Nyori, Logura, and Dung clans. Mr. Whitehead informs us that the Belinian rain-makers are derived from Shindiru, and that the rain-makers of Shindiru—who have always worn their hair long—were far more important than those of Belinian, their power extending northwards to the Mandari border and far west of the Nile; there is indeed evidence that the Nyangwara, Fajelu, and Kakwa rain-makers depended upon Shindiru in emergency.

The genealogy of the Shindiru rain-makers on p. 249 was given to Mr. Whitehead by Lako Swaka, a *dupiet* of Pitia Lugar, the father of the present rain-maker; it may possibly omit some who have held the position, i.e. brothers who have been rain-makers during a minority. Leju Lugar is the man mentioned in Mr. Spire's account (pp. 287–8).

Besides the rain-makers given in the genealogy, there is a line living at Belinian tracing their descent from Molodiong, including as rain-makers in descending order the following names: Lakono (visited by Werner), Subek, Lako, Bombo, the last named known to Mr. Ernest Haddon some thirty years ago. The Ali Bey whom we met may have been the grandson of Ali Bey in the Mögiri line.

Regular tribute in kind is paid to the rain-maker, presents of each kind of food being brought to him in its season—grain, wild fruits, ants, etc. Probably cattle are not handed over except on special

[1] The word *komonyekak* is also applied in a general way, and always in this plural form, to old and important men, in some sense heads of a group, whether village chiefs or heads of families.



occasions, but certainly bulls are or were brought to Pitia Lugar to induce him to make rain.

Every group of people—in practice usually a village—has, or should have, one or more *monyekak*, literally "father of the land". The title is hereditary, and the eldest son normally succeeds, though the sister's son may take his place. Typically, i.e. in the matter of land, the *monyekak* is the man who first clears and plants a portion

[1] It is this Pintong who is referred to in the phrase "in the days of Pintong", i.e. long, long ago.

[2] The ancestor referred to on p. 284; the home of the Belinian line of rain-makers is the village commonly known as Ali Bey, more correctly Mögiri.

[3] Killed *c.* 1860; cf. pp. 292–3.

of bush, or his descendant, who alone possesses the necessary magico-religious knowledge to make cultivation on that land successful. It follows that discovery of the clan of the *monyekak* usually decides which clan traditionally first occupied a particular area, hence his ancestral spirits are particularly important. He must not for long be away from his place, for none but he can perform the appropriate sacrifices which render successful agriculture, hunting, war, and possibly other activities. In return for his services the *monyekak* receives gifts, and especially firstfruit offerings, including termites. According to Father Spagnolo a girl was buried alive when a new *monyekak* assumed office, *bilili* being the name of a special ebony pole, to which was attached a large-linked iron chain, erected over her grave.

A routine method to avert trouble or to bring good fortune is for the *monyekak* to kill a sheep and to boil grain, which is sprinkled both upon the land and the people. Moreover, he sacrifices for the health of the people and cattle, e.g. at the sacred trees (such as those mentioned on p. 275) at the beginning of the rains, and he scatters dust when the forest is " sick ". Hence the term *monyeyöbu*, " father of the forest," by which the *monyekak* is sometimes known, though whether every *monyeyöbu* is a *monyekak* we cannot say. The rain-maker and *monyekak* necessarily work together, as indicated e.g. in the following text collected by Mr. Whitehead :—

> " The rain-maker tells the *monyekak*, saying : ' Ready, hoe at the month *Wani* (April). And the *monyekak* takes a black sheep and mixes simsim and oil and smears the ground, and much grain springs up.' "

Again, the *monyekak* officially informs the rain-maker that the millet is ripe. Some of it is tied round the necks of little boys and girls who go to the dancing floor and throw the millet into the river. The children are smeared with black oil.

We desire to emphasize the fact that the word *bömön* implies no more than ignorance of rain-making, and that powerful chiefs and various specialists would be classed as *bömön* because they are not rain-makers. As the Bari put it, " *Bömön* are just ordinary people—they don't understand or know water," i.e. men of all clans and classes of society are *bömön* : a slave is a *bömöntio*, and so is a chief. Thus most, if not all, of the chiefs of both banks of the Nile are the *bömön* of Pitia Lugar, the great rain-maker of Shindiru. These men are *kimak* (chiefs), but except for a few they are not *kimak ti piong*, they do not understand water, and in this respect they are regarded as



Belinian, son of rain maker, in dancing costume



Bari girl

face p 230

dependants or clients of Pitia Lugar, in that they pay him tribute of cattle in order that he may give them rain.

From the point of view of social status Bari society must be regarded as consisting of *lui* and *dupi*, while the rain-maker's point of view would divide it into *kör* and *bömön*. Neglecting these cross divisions two classes of people may exert considerable influence; these are (1) the *bunit* (pl. *bonok*), "medicine-man," and (2) the *ngutu duma*, the "big (i.e. rich) man".

Bonok, who may be of either sex, accumulate a fair amount of wealth by their profession, and it seems that generally each rain-maker and *monyekak* has a *bunit* attached to him. Within the tribe the *bunit* is undoubtedly a power making for social cohesion; many of the ceremonies in which he takes a prominent part and which are undertaken at his direction have the effect of inspiring confidence, comforting the sick and those in trouble. The *bunit* is constantly consulted to ward off the evil eye (*kidem*), so likely to be cast on the young people by the old of other villages. "The eye" is specially dreaded by fortunate individuals possessing many cattle, or fine children.[1] The *bunit* may read the future and discover lost property, but it is also true that he may bring misfortune and death on a man for payment received from an enemy.

We cannot say—we certainly did not understand—that capacity for ecstasy or dissociation played any great part in enabling a man to become a *bunit*, and although we did once hear that the power might come in dreams, the peculiar power and knowledge is in most cases inherited. It is rare for a man to become a *bunit* unless his forbears have followed the profession. The *bunit* is the possessor or receptacle of *mian*, "power," which probably comes from intercourse with and control of spirits. Unfortunately we have no reliable information on this subject, nor as to any special training, though we may safely deduce a special degree of knowledge of and intimacy with the spirits of the dead. Medicine-men are of varying power and practise different forms of their profession. Thus the *bunit* who extracts foreign substances from the body, by rubbing with oil and then sucking the place, is called *bunit kadumanit* (pl. *bonok kadumak*), meaning "one who draws out something". Another and more highly esteemed form of practitioner—perhaps always a male—is the *bunit*

[1] One of the effects of being "overlooked" (*dema*) by a *demanit* (one having the evil eye) is an illness which may perhaps resemble our anxiety neurosis; the sufferer is aware of his miserable state and laments it.

kagubanit (pl. *bunok kagubak*), " one who throws on to the ground "; he is a diviner, his instruments being small pieces of leather, etc. As to the practices that a *bunit* enjoins on his clients, though doubtless conforming to certain fixed types these do not strike the observer as absolutely rigid.

Mr. Whitehead informs us that there is no specific " evil medicine-man ",[1] but emphasizes the importance of the evil eye. Like the Fajelu (p. 301) the Bari have an expression, " the river follows people," signifying that the river (or a spirit associated with it) is a cause of disease.

The following example given us by Mr. Whitehead is a good instance of a constantly recurring African difficulty, and the fact that the local chief and his family persisted in the course they had determined against the advice of the *bunit* is important as an example of the independence of outlook in religious matters (for although not specifically stated, we do not doubt that the spirits of the dead were regarded as concerned with the site of the new village), which we have from time to time observed among the riverain blacks of this part of the Nile Valley.[2] On the removal of the village of Juba the chief and some of the older men consulted a *bunit* as to whether they should move, with the result that the site already chosen by Magara, the village headman, was condemned for the reason that the ground was bad; a death had occurred there and this would entail other deaths. Actually no death had occurred there so far as was known; moreover, though Könyi, son of Magara, had only lately died in Juba, his grain stores had been moved to his father's new home. Magara, his brother, and his family decided to disregard the advice of the *bunit*, though the bulk of the village followed the medicine-man's advice and chose a site by the river bank.

The *ngutu duma* scarcely form a precise category, for all well-to-do elderly men come under this heading, being described as men of wealth and influence who, though belonging to the *bömön* class, command respect, and in certain circumstances answer for a group of followers who acknowledge the *ngutu duma* as leader. The term is not a title, but is descriptive, and a *ngutu duma* addressed as " chief " would

[1] This reverses the opinion concerning the existence of an evil medicine-man, which we expressed in *The Bari*, 437.

[2] We may instance the persistence of the belief in the Dinka god among children and grandchildren of mixed Shilluk-Dinka marriages, and the promulgation of new, i.e. more or less unorthodox, practices by Dinka medicine-men.

disclaim the title. His followers are poor men, usually of the same clan, who have grouped themselves around him for protection, forming a *langet* (a word that we found used for any group of persons acting together—a band of carriers or a group of soldiers). In the village of Lomuri Mr. Whitehead found that the *langet* were definitely organized. There were common sleeping-places called *bali* (pl. *balia*) for the unmarried members of the various *langesi*; these sleeping-places belonged to the *ngutu duma*, who would assist a member of his *langet* to marry. At Lomuri an informant said there were ten men in his *bali*.

Mr. Whitehead does not describe in full the nature of the return made to the *ngutu duma* by men of his *langet*, but when the latter kill game two of the legs are given to the *ngutu duma*, their patron, while the *langet* will build the common cattle enclosure for their *ngutu duma*, who naturally allows them to use it. The *langet* also have a right to the milk of certain cows.

Matat lo gela (lit. "chief of the foreigners") is a term which appears to have come into use since Baker's day, and refers to temporary function rather than to traditional status. It is applied to chiefs or important men to define their responsibility to, and connection with, the foreign Government; thus the important *bömön* of Pitia Lugar, the Shindiru rain-maker, are recognized as actual or potential *kimak ti gela*, since the District Commissioner works through them.

Village chiefs or headmen demand support from their community differing only in degree from that paid to rain-makers and *monyekak*. Magara, the shifting of whose village is described on p. 252, is the subject of the following text collected by Mr. Whitehead:—

> "From his smiths he is given hoes such as 15 a year. And the *tomonok ti kare*, they bring him the feet of hippopotami and the feet of crocodiles. And his *dupi* also work for him. A small chief like Magara he wishes to call for hoes from his smiths with a loud voice. But if the smiths refuse he goes and beats them. As now, both Mödi Fiitöt, and Jada Jirit, they are the *dupi* of Magara. But they lack cattle whereby they may marry. But Magara gives them their wives because they are his *dupi*. Therefore, when later they have children, on the marriage of the girl Magara is given one cow. But if they are male children, then they hoe with Magara—until the wet season—three times. Truly their wives also work for the wives of Magara because he is their chief. All things which they suffer, as abuse or hard words, are brought to the notice of Magara, because they are his people."

Mr. Whitehead tells us of an expert whose business it is to prevent

the dura-birds destroying the crop. This man is called *matat lo kewen*, "bird chief" or "bird expert". "If the birds come in great numbers the bird chief comes and constrains them." Apparently he does this by taking a head of millet, tying a piece of cord round it, and throwing it into the top of a thorny tree, probably *heglik*.

Another person of importance is the *ngutu lo lori*, or "person of the iron rod", who exorcizes illness from the village and whose symbol of office and tool is an iron rod, *lori* being the same word as that used for the iron shin-guards which are worn on the legs in order to keep away sickness (p. 279).

The *dupi* (sing. *dupiet*) form an hereditary servile class, whose status is somewhat difficult to understand. The *dupi* are not confined to any special clans, yet the Bari consider that they conform to a definite physical type, shorter, fatter, and redder than the *lui*, with broad faces and small eyes. In theory *dupi* are not allowed to own cattle nor to cultivate land for themselves, but work for their masters on the land, fetching wood and water, thatching, and doing other menial tasks. They are said to be good cooks, know how to catch rats, and the invention of beer is attributed to them. They are specially good dancers, and a celebrated bard belonged to this class. A *luitat* may exchange his *dupi* for cattle, but it is the duty of a *luitat* to provide liberally for his *dupi*, to supply bride-wealth for them, and also to pay their taxes to the Government. The following is a condensed account of the social disabilities of the *dupi*, taken mainly from Mr. Whitehead's letters.

They can own no cattle, they may marry only one wife, who must of course be taken from their own class. They may not feed with the freemen, but receive their portion from the chief and go and eat it at the back of the hut. (This may only refer to feasts when meat has been killed, and each is given the portion proper to his age-class.) They suffered from one serious disability in the old days, which was that under certain circumstances they might be put to death. If they became too numerous they might be killed, for they are supposed to be more fertile than the freemen and in some way to have a malign influence on the fertility of the freeman class, while there is some evidence suggesting that on the death of a great rain-maker a *dupiet* was buried with his master. Theoretically a *dupiet* can own one wife only and no cattle; actually he may have up to two wives, bought for him by his master, and in good times perhaps three head of cattle,

though his social inferiority is shown by absence of clothing in a village in which nowadays the wearing of clothing is customary.[1]

The *dupi* of rain-makers and *komonyekak* perform many ceremonial duties for their masters, and are treated with honour. When a *dupiet* of a rain-maker or *monyekak* pays an official visit he must be presented with at least a goat, and generally expects a hoe as well, besides food and drink. An insult to a *dupiet* is an insult to his master and will be dealt with by the latter. Although the *lui* do not ill-treat the *dupi* they resent any idea of change in status; one *dupiet*, who was made a chief by the Government in ignorance of his servile status, was said to drink too much and to be arrogant, and was eventually killed by a *luitat*.

The Bari themselves have several accounts of the origin of the *dupi*; some think that people may have sunk to the status of serfs in time of severe famine, being forced to find a patron to support them, but we could not hear of any actual instance of a man becoming a *dupiet*. More important are their stories, which seem to refer to the incoming of cattle-folk and the domination of an earlier population who knew little or nothing about cattle. When the *lui* came into the country the *dupi* were already there and supported life by trapping rats, but when the *lui* came their cattle trampled down the rat-traps and deprived the *dupi* of their food; the *dupi* lamented, and begged the freemen to give them and their children milk, in return for which they would work for them. Another story, with its many variants, illustrates the ignorance of the *dupi* concerning cattle and mocks at them therefor. The version in the Haddon MS. runs as follows:—

"A long time ago the *lupia* [*dupi*] owned cattle, whilst the other people had none. One day when they were out looking after their cattle they came

[1] The following are translations sent by Mr. Whitehead of texts concerning the duties and disabilities of the *dupi*:—

"Also long ago, the *lui* or freemen did not hoe very much; the slaves or *dupi* hoed with the chiefs who were becoming old, who were seeking old age.

"And those *dupi* thatched the crest of the huts; the *lui* did not thatch the crests; and everything of that time (in the way of work) was the part of the *dupi*. Truly the freeman did not eat the bones of the meat, he gave them to the *dupi*; the intestines of the meat were given to the *dupi*; the nose of the cow was cut off for the *dupi*; and all bad things which had become old were abandoned for the *dupi*, but they loved the chiefs very much.

"Among us Bari, when you were angry with a *dupiet* and there were two of you only you never killed him. But when you went to war, you killed at your will—if a *dupiet* it was well, if a *luitat* it was well.

"But the *dupi* in war went in front, and they brought bad words, and they lied to the freemen in war. . . .

"The woman grinds the corn, fetches water from the river, fetches firewood from the forest. The man looks after the cow-dung, puts fire on it. The freeman kills the game, the *dupiet* brings wood from the forest, brings water from the river, cooks the meat on the fire, serves it, and the freemen eat it.

"And the *dupiet* receives his thus with both hands, and takes it away to be cut and eats it."

to a *lukuki* tree, and they all sat down and cooked the nuts. Whilst they were so occupied some young men of the people who had no cattle came and took all the cattle, and took the bell which hung on the neck of the bull which led the herd, and tied it on the branch of a tree. The herdsmen still heard the bell ringing and went on with their feast of nuts. In the evening they went to drive the cattle home and found that they were gone. They then followed the tracks and came up with the young men. These men denied that the cattle belonged to the *lupia*, and said they had found them in the bush, that the *lupia* cattle had front teeth on both jaws while these had only front teeth on the lower jaw. The *lupia* looked and found that it was so, with the exception of the bull which led the herd. The others then said that this bull had strayed into the herd. The *lupia* seemed to be contented with this reply, and took their bull away and killed it and made a feast. The *lupia* then divided up; they had no cattle some . . . took service with the chiefs."

Taking into consideration all these facts, Mr. Whitehead puts forward the suggestion that the *dupi* were originally of different stock from the Bari, the latter originally a true cattle-owning people with strong affinities in language and custom with the Lotuko, Masai, and Turkana. This seems a legitimate hypothesis as to origin, and one from which we have no wish to dissent on theoretical grounds, while in practice it agrees well with the impression left upon us by our sojourn among the Bari, viz. that a certain number of these in breadth of face and nose and aspect of head (we refer to passing impressions, not to physical measurements) resemble the Nuba of southern Kodofan, while others, with longer faces and noses with better bridges, approach more closely to the less negroid Shilluk types. We illustrate this racial distinction by two selected photographs—both taken by Mr. Whitehead—reproduced on Pl. XXII; the one of the village chief Magara, a Bekat, and the other of one of his *dupi* (also a Bekat). Here the differences are clear enough; on the other hand, inspection of a series of Bari photographs of "freemen" will certainly show that many of this class present the same type as that of the *dupiet*.[1]

[1] Support for Mr. Whitehead's suggestion is, we think, forthcoming from the relationship of Nandi and Dorobo in Kenya Colony. Mr. A. C. Hobley, writing a quarter of a century ago ("Notes concerning the Eldorobo of Mau, British East Africa": *Man*, 1903, 17), described the Dorobo of the Mau Forest as redder than the majority of the Nandi, though they were not short, averaging 68 to 70 inches. Moreover, the Nandi call them Oggiek. Now, *dupiet* may be heard as *upiet* (indeed, we believe this to be the common Kakwa pronunciation). Bari and Nandi belonging to the same group of languages, the question arises whether *oggiet* and *upiet* are variations of a common word used by a group of cattle-owning tribes for an aboriginal non-cattle-owning stock. Or the word may originally have meant no more than "foreigner", "stranger", with the commonly implied pejorative significance. From this point of view the word *opi* perhaps throws some light on the subject. Mr. Driberg tells us that the Lango of Uganda sometimes apply the word *opi* to a prisoner of war, with the connotation "slave"; but *opi* is also the word applied by the Lango to the Bahima (*The Lango*, 402), and, in fact, to Bantu herdsmen generally, whence "foreigner", and we suggest "inferior".

Other inferior, more or less servile, classes are the *yari* or *ligi* (the latter of the west bank are sometimes regarded as constituting a tribal unit), professional hunters, the *tomonok ti kare*, professional fishermen, and *tomonok ti yukit*, smiths, "workers of the forge," all of whom may have the term *dupi* applied to them when they come into the presence of a chief, who is a *luitat*, although the smiths, at any rate, definitely reject this term. It seemed to us that though smiths were looked at as a people apart and to a certain extent despised, Krause exaggerates the lowliness of their position.[1] As specialists they are admired for their skill, and in his account of the Kuku Captain Yunis refers to the ceremonial part played by the blacksmith's wife in mourning rites Moreover, although iron-workers would pay for their wives mainly, if not entirely, in hoes and spear-heads, they are not limited in their choice to the daughters of iron-workers or to members of any particular clan, and they are allowed to hold and actually do possess cattle and goats, though these are relatively few in number, their contributions to the rain-maker and *monyekak* taking the form of hoes and spear-heads. The Haddon MS. agrees that smiths can acquire cattle, but refers to them as "a class apart from the cattle-keeping Bari . . .", and states that they "live in separate villages in their own country, under the chief of the district. The smiths provide the chiefs with weapons and hoes, being recompensed by a feast given by the chief, whilst the commoners buy their weapons from them, and it is thus that they acquire property". Mr. Whitehead mentions that the ore is not mined, but found in the beds of the local streams, and he adds that smiths "may be found working in the villages of the ordinary Bari or in villages of their own situated near the source of their raw material". Where smiths live in a village not their own they frequently, if not always, do their work outside it, as at Belinian, and even at Labalwa among the Lotuko we noticed that the smiths (of Bari origin) had their workshops at the end of the village on the edge of the hill. There is no doubt that smiths have magical powers, and iron plays a large part in warding off and curing sickness—witness the shin-guards, bracelets, etc., prescribed by the *bunit*, and the power of the iron rods of the rain-maker and the *ngutu lo lori*.

Of the *yari* (hunters) Mr. Whitehead writes:—

[1] A. Krause, *Die Pariavolker der Gegenwart*, 31 (Leipzig, 1903). Thus, although it is a fall in the social scale for a freewoman to marry a smith, Mr. Whitehead informs us that unions between the classes do occasionally take place, and are explained by the fact that a man, whether smith or freeman, was not able to find a wife among his own class.

"They followed a manner of life which clearly marked them off from the freemen. They lived away from the Nile in the open forest land. They neither owned cattle nor cultivated to any great extent. Instead they lived on the fruits of certain forest trees, honey, flying ants, rotten meat, and mushrooms. They paid a tribute of *heglik* and tamarind fruit, honey, ants, and elephants' tusks to their chief. When they wished to marry they would come to their chief and beg him to assist them by giving them the bull and cow-calf which was the customary bride-wealth of the servile classes." [1]

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

The relationship system of the Bari differs from those of the Nilotes, exhibiting as it does the usual features of the classificatory system which are absent in the latter :—

Baba . . .	Father, father's brother, father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband. The term is used in the ordinary classificatory way for these relatives. *Monye*, the word for father, is not used as a term of address.
Yanggo . . .	Mother, mother's sister, a classificatory term sometimes used for the wife of the father's brother. *Ngote*, the word for mother, is not used as a term of address.
Nguro (pl. *ngwajik*) .	Child, brother's child (m. and f.s.), sister's child (f.s.) wife's sister's child, is also used in the usual classificatory way; the only descendant of the succeeding generation who is not addressed as "child" is the sister's son (m.s.). A man may also address his own younger brothers and sisters as "children" (*see* below).
Lungaser and *kiaser* or *kingaser*.	Brother, father's brother's child, mother's sister's child, sister, father's sister's child. These terms thus include both types of parallel cousins. If a man marries his father's widow the children born from this union are counted to the deceased, hence they are addressed as *lungaser* and *kiaser*, not as children by their real father. This only occurs when such a marriage has actually taken place; its potentiality does not affect the relationship system. On the other hand, there is a tendency for a man to call younger brothers and sisters *ngwajik likang* (our children, or little ones (m.)) and *ngwajik nikang* (our children (f.)) respectively, though they will call the elder brother *lungaser*.[2]
Waso . . .	Father's sister. We did not discover any special duties or privileges affecting the father's sister.

[1] "Social Change among the Bari," *S.N. & R.*, xii, 1929, 93. See also Chapter VIII, p. 298 f.n.

[2] Mr. Driberg points out that this does not imply a sense of relationship. *Nguro* means child, not son or daughter; *tore* is the correct word for offspring.

Mananye . . . Mother's brother, mother's brother's child. As the child of the *mananye* is also called *mananye* (the mother's brother's son being called by the same term as his father), so the mother's brother's son's child is also addressed by this term.

Ngörinyi . . . Father's sister's child, sister's child (m.s.). *Ngörinyi* is the reciprocal term to *mananye*, and like it includes persons of more than one generation, the sister's child (m.s.) and the father's sister's child. Thus male cross-cousins stand in the relationship of maternal uncle and sister's son to each other.

Merenye . . . Father's father, mother's father.

Yakanye . . . Father's mother, mother's mother, mother's brother's wife.

Nyakwari . . . Son's child, daughter's child, husband's sister's child; in a general sense "grandchildren".

Ngogwo . . . Wife's father, wife's mother's brother, wife's mother's brother's son, husband's father, husband's mother's brother, husband's mother's brother's son; *ngogwo* (m.s.) includes all the male relatives of the wife of the generation of her father (including the mother's brother's son, who is treated as belonging to that generation). The corresponding relatives of the husband are addressed in the same way by a woman.

Komonit . . . Daughter's husband, daughter's daughter's husband (m. and f.s.), sister's daughter's husband, father's sister's daughter's husband, husband's sister's husband; i.e. is reciprocal to *moken* and *ngogwo*.

Moken . . . Wife's mother and her sisters, wife's mother's mother, wife's brother's wife and her sisters, husband's mother. This term is used by a man to his mother-in-law in a classificatory sense, i.e. to the sisters of the mothers-in-law of all whom he calls "brother". The wife's brother's wife is treated as mother-in-law, although a man cannot marry his wife's brother's child.

Lutu . . . Wife's brother, sister's husband (m. and f.s.), wife's sister, father's brother's daughter's husband, and mother's sister's daughter's husband.

Koba . . . Husband's sister, brother's wife (f.s.), husband's brother's wife, wife's sister's husband. *Lutu* and *koba* are used by both sexes to both sexes. Both are reciprocal and denote persons of the same generation; the former denotes the wife's relatives of the same generation, while the latter indicates those belonging to the husband's group. Between neither group is there "fear" nor ceremonial respect, thus differentiating persons to whom these terms are used from the *komonit* and *moken*.

Köyini . . . Co-wife. We understood that the first and principal wife might also be addressed as *yanggo* by her co-wives, but Mr. Whitehead found that this is only done

before the younger wife has borne a child; when she has become a mother she might call the co-wife *köyini nikang duma* " our great co-wife ".

Lalet (pl. *lian*) . . Husband, husband's brother.

Narakwan or *nakwan* (pl. *wate*). Wife, brother's wife (m.s.), son's wife (m.s.), father's sister's son's wife, sister's son's wife (m.s.). *Narakwan* means " woman ". We were told that in a general way a man would call all the women of his own clan " sister ", and all those of his wife's " wife ". However, this is not actually the case, as the wife's sister is addressed as *lutu*. Further, *lalet* (husband), the reciprocal to *narakwan*, is only used towards the actual husband and his " brother ". The son's wife, sister's son's wife, and father's sister's son's wife are also addressed as *narakwan* but the reciprocal terms to these are *ngogwo*, clearly implying that they are not marriageable.

The two following terms are recorded by Mr. Whitehead: *ngotenye* for the children of the mother's sister (who may also be called *lungaser* and *kiaser*) and *ditanit* for the husband's sister.

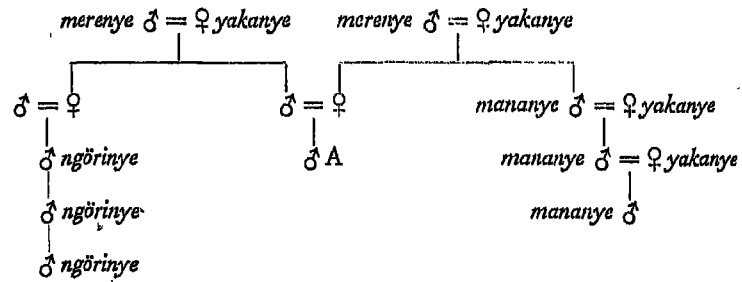


Table showing relationship terms used by A.

The *mananye-ngörinyi* relationship is peculiar, in that a man addresses his maternal uncle and his maternal uncle's son by the same term. Thus the male cross-cousins stand in the relationship of maternal uncle and sister's son to each other. If we regard the relationship between older and younger generations as one of comparative superiority and inferiority, we must conclude that a man stands higher in status towards his father's sister's child than he does towards his mother's brother's child; in other words, a man treats his mother's brother's son with the respect due to his mother's brother. Throughout this account the importance of the maternal uncle is demonstrated, and it is suggested that the status of mother's brother passes from father to son, and is, as it were, anticipated by the son

during his father's lifetime. This anomaly, though not necessarily the direct outcome of any customary marriage, is consistent with the Bari practice of marrying the father's widows and taking up the position of father to the younger children of the father, and thus that of maternal uncle to the sister's sons of the father. It should be noted that this close association of father and son, *quasi*-identification, only affects the maternal uncle–sister's son relationship (and hence that of cross-cousin) and not that towards own children or children's children.

The use of *yakanye* for the wife of the *mananye*, as well as for the father's mother and mother's mother, must be noted, with the result that a *yakanye* can belong to the generation of the grandparents and to any succeeding generation.

A marked feature of the Bari system is the large number of terms used for relatives by marriage.

There is little to say concerning behaviour among the members of the immediate family. Children are born (or, at least, the first children) in the house of the mother's parents, but are subsequently brought up by their own parents, usually in close proximity to their father's parents, brothers, and their families. No special rules of etiquette or avoidance have been recorded within the immediate family circle or among any cousins. The bond between a man and his mother's brother is mentioned on several occasions; attention must be drawn to the fact that the attitude of respect shown by a man to his mother's brother is extended to anyone to whom the term *mananye* should be used, and as the son of the *mananye* is also the *mananye*, a grown man may stand in this relationship to a little child. In cases of illness the saliva of the mother's brother (*mananye*) is particularly efficacious. Should a man be ill he will ask his mother's uterine brother to spit on him, but if the latter be not available anyone whom the sick man calls *mananye* will be asked to do this service. Even if the *mananye* is a small child and the patient a man of importance, the remedy will be sought. Some duties of the *ngörinyi* are mentioned on pages 270–1 and 277.

Subek, who married Idong, the widow of his *mananye* (p. 270), thus begat another *mananye*, and the fact that he gave no bride-wealth and that the child was accounted as child to the dead man, carried with it the fiction of relationship. In theory, Subek should treat the child Lado with respect, and we were told that he would not beat him if he were naughty. Mr. Whitehead thinks this is not quite correct

and that the special relationship between the two would not be observed until the boy reached eighteen or twenty.

A man "avoids" his mother-in-law, that is to say, he never meets her face to face in public but makes a detour in order to prevent this; he will never enter her hut, but it is not necessary to avoid entering her village, or to be absent from any public meeting which he knows she will attend, it is sufficient to avoid her proximity. In spite of this, he must be constantly paying her some attention, and a ceremonial attitude of respect is maintained to all who are called *moken*, i.e. the sister of the mother-in-law, and the mothers-in-law of the brother, as well as the wife's brother's wife; no reason was given for applying the term to the latter, but the practice is common in this area.

In our previous study we published a number of stories about mothers- and sons-in-law,[1] collected by Mr. Whitehead. These tales show the delicacy of the relationship, the need for mutual acts of kindness, and the shame felt by a man who fails in his duties towards his mother-in-law.

The following terms (all given in their plural forms) are used roughly to indicate stages of maturity:—

Lupudyat	Boys before their teeth are removed. Mr. Whitehead indicates that these are boys who have not yet entered an age-class or *ber*; they are described as *ti den kulya* "[those who] don't know words", "are ignorant"; for the Bari seem to judge maturity by stages of ignorance or knowledge. People will excuse their ignorance of tribal affairs on the ground that they are young, and the meaning of the various age-class names has reference to their growth in knowledge, good behaviour, and self-control.
Ködisi	Girls before puberty, and probably until marriage.
Kölipinök	Boys after their teeth have been knocked out. Mr. Whitehead points out that this word refers more to service than to age. It means, roughly, servants. They would act as servants to chiefs and elders.
Teton	The unmarried warriors.
Temejik	Men too old for war, the elders of the tribe.
Mudungin	Old men.

At feasts the *temejik* may drink as much beer as they like, even if they leave none for the *teton*. Of meat, the latter generally get the head and limbs; the *temejik* the breast, haunch, and viscera; the *kölipinök* get little meat and no beer.

[1] *The Bari*, 441–5.

Both sexes have the four front lower incisors removed; the following is from one of Mr. Whitehead's texts :—

> " A man who is clever pulls the teeth out from the mouth, and when the teeth have been pulled out the wound is treated, and thereupon the girls are married, but if they have not had their teeth pulled out they are not married, and when they have had their teeth pulled out they are married."

The teeth are removed at about sowing time, in both boys and girls. After the operation the lower lip is rather inadequately held up with a string of beads. Neither boys nor girls return to their own homes, but spend some months until the dry season under the care of the village chief. They may not touch food with their hands, and as soon as their wounds are healed must work for the chief. They are well fed and dance much (we saw large parties of girls oiled and in festive attire, with their lower lips supported by a string of beads, dancing in the moonlit evenings of January, 1922). Mr. Whitehead notes that the taking out of teeth and the scarring of the girl's backs is a ceremony for the dry season. " It is the ceremony of *toködisen* (nubile girlhood), and a time of rejoicing for their mothers ".

Girls and women do not milk the cows; whether they ever milk sheep or goats we cannot say, but ordinarily we think not. We could not hear of any special vessel being employed to receive the milk, and it was said that there was no objection to women drinking milk during their menstrual periods.

To Mr. Whitehead belongs the credit of the discovery of age-classes among the Bari, our own attempt having failed to produce definite evidence :—

> " The duties of the *ber*, age-mates (singular *bertio*), may be summed up as mutual aid and support. When a man goes to visit the girl he is going to marry he takes his *ber* with him. After marriage, when he visits his mother-in-law he is accompanied by his *ber*. A *bertio* may contribute a goat or sheep to the bride-wealth his age-mate is raising. Should a man go to reclaim his cattle his *ber* would help him to drive them away, at least in the old days. In illness the *ber.io* will help, bring the *bunit*, and mourn at death. The age-class is obviously an organization for fighting, feasting, dancing, and match-making."

The following are the names of the age-classes of Belinian, and of Narjua, a large village on the west bank near Juba :—

Belinian.	*Narjua.*
Amoron or Swodo.	Na'duga.
Losiwa.	Namoyu.

Belinian.	*Narjua.*
Kalang.	Nadumba.
Luberi.	Juriengga.
Longure.	Naruja.
Amuna.	Losiwa.
Merkolong.	Luberi.
Lumojon.	Longore.
Bonshua.	Gole.
Amukonyen.	Jujuk.
Shuroka.	
Akufir.	

Nadumba, Juriengga, and Losiwa all refer in some way to fighting qualities. Losiwa is definitely connected with *siwa*, wild bees who buzz fiercely, while Gole and Jujuk are hind-quarter (?) and breast of beasts cut up and distributed at feasts. It will be noted that though the numbers are approximately equal they are in both cases high—a good deal higher than the age-classes of the Lotuko. This, as well as the difficulty, which in our experience is general, of obtaining details concerning age-classes, so largely a fighting organization, suggests the possibility that there may be some confusion in the names given to the classes, e.g. more or less contemporary classes from neighbouring groups may have been treated as serial in one group. On the other hand, assuming a four-year period between for each age-class, the number is not excessive.

A man may shout exultantly the name of his age-class as an expression of triumph or surprise.

Marriage among the Bari is regulated both by exogamy and consanguinity. Clan descent is patrilineal, no man can marry a woman of his own clan, but neither can he marry any relative, whatever clan she may belong to, if relationship can be traced through either parent. Mr. Whitehead has recently discovered that marriage is forbidden with the members of the clans of the four grandparents (including own clan, i.e. that of father's father), but that if a man desired very much to marry into one of the forbidden clans the relationship between the couple could be dissolved by sacrificing a goat and splitting it lengthwise, as already described in the case of a couple having unwittingly committed incest. It was said that if a man married a clanswoman the union would be sterile and both husband and wife would probably die. One case of adoption came to our notice; the adopted son was restricted from marrying into the clans of his true father and mother and also of his adopted father, but not from the clans of his adopted father's wives.

Foreign influence (mainly the Mahdia) has upset the exchange of bride-wealth during the last half-century, and there have been fluctuations in the amount given. Concerning this Mr. Whitehead writes that a generation or two ago freemen were actually unable to pay any cattle at all, purchasing their wives with goats and hoes, for there was then (between 1889 and 1908) a great dearth of cattle, due to war and disease. Before this time very large numbers of cattle were given as bride-wealth, both by chiefs and freemen. Nowadays non-free classes—smiths (*tomonok*), hunters (*yari*), domestic slaves (*dupi*)—are obtaining their wives with from four or five up to ten head of cattle, partly owing to the greater number of cattle available, partly to the introduction of money. Mr. Whitehead doubts whether the actual number of cattle is at present very much less than it was before the coming of Europeans, but thinks there has been a redistribution.

The existence and extent of polygyny is also related to the distribution of cattle. Mr. Whitehead considers that polygyny has increased. Nowadays a chief may have six wives, or as many as ten, a commoner of some age three, and a young man two; it was, he thinks, more usual in the old days for a chief to have three wives, a commoner of some age two, and a young man one; the ten wives of Lugar lo Pitia, the father of the rain-maker Leju Lugar (whose rain-making is described on pp. 287–8) he considers exceptional. At the same time the marrying age for men is said to have become lower. He adds that the Bari legends depict a social life unlike that led by the Bari of to-day and more closely resembling that of the Masai.

There is considerable ceremonial preceding the actual marriage, of which we have no first-hand notes; the following account is taken with but few modifications, and those mostly verbal, from the Haddon MS.:—

"Polygyny is practised and is only limited by the wealth of the husband. When a man sees a girl that he would like to marry he sends a friend (male) to ask her if she likes him. If she does, she sends word by the friend inviting her suitor to her father's house. The suitor makes it a practice to go each day with four or five friends to the girl's house, and usually stops the night, the father giving them a place to sleep in. The girl's father then asks her why these men are haunting his house, and she tells him; he then speaks to the suitor, telling him the bride-wealth he requires for his daughter. The girl's father then sends for the boy's father, and the bride-wealth is discussed. If the suitor's father cannot afford to pay he tells the girl's father, who forbids the man to visit the girl. If, however, the parents agree, six goats are paid over,

followed by six more, and the rest is paid at odd times, or may be all paid at once.

"On the day on which the girl's lower teeth are knocked out, if she was engaged before this ceremony took place, her suitor sends by his friend a bamboo stick on which a number of finger rings (*re na kiriti*), formerly bracelets, are strung. He also collects milk, and if he can afford it a bull, which are taken to the girl's village. The bamboo is placed in the village dancing-place, where it is duly admired. A dance and feast take place, and the iron rings are divided up amongst the unmarried girls of the village and relations of the girl. This is a formal announcement of the betrothal, and participators in the dance are witnesses.

"When the bride-wealth has been paid—usually the final instalment is in a lump sum—the man can have intercourse with his future wife, but only in her father's house, which the young man visits daily; this is not allowed unless the girl has passed the age of puberty. After a month or two the father sends her to her husband's house under the care of some old women, who are smeared with red paint; the husband kills a male goat for the old women, and gives various small presents.

"A man will sometimes engage to marry a child still unborn if it should be a girl. If the girl dies another girl-child may be substituted, and any contributions already paid are transferred to the new account. . . .

"Quite young girls are engaged and the bride-wealth handed over, but at the time when their teeth are knocked out the matter is brought up for discussion again, and back payments are counted and finally settled. The reason for this is that it is impossible to know how a young girl will turn out, but when she is old enough to have her teeth taken out her suitor can form some idea of her worth.

"The foregoing is the usual procedure, but other ways are known. A girl may become enamoured of a man and run away to him. He returns her to her home, but if she persists and comes to him time and again, and if her father does not object to the marriage and it is not barred by relationship, they go together to another chief. The parents of course follow the runaway pair, and the matter may be settled up by the chief. The parents return to their homes, and the father of the man brings together the amount agreed upon. News is then sent to the chief, who sends men to collect this from the boy's father and take it to the girl's father, who if it is correct says so, and the girl is brought to her father's house, a bull being killed to feast the envoys of the chief who brought the bride-wealth. The girl is then sent by her father with a present of tobacco to her husband, who has also returned to his father's house, and she lives with him.

"If a father notices that a young man is an adept at cultivating, or that his father is a rich man, he may wish him to become a husband to his daughter. The girl hears this, and her mother gives her some tobacco which she takes to the man's father. She does this several times, till at last she is asked why. The old men are consulted, a deputation is sent to her father, and the marriage is arranged.

"If a young boy sees a girl whom he would like to marry, he tells his uncle or aunt, who speaks to his father, and the matter is arranged with the girl's people.

"A man should not take his wife to his own house till the whole bride-wealth has been paid and her father gives his consent. This, however, is not

the end of his indebtedness, as he continues to make small presents, a sheep or two, every year. This goes on into the second generation, so that even when his daughter is married payment continues to be made to her mother's house, as much as eight cows in the old days. When the husband dies his brother in taking over the wife has to make a further payment to her parents; in fact, the bride-wealth only finishes with the death of the wife provided she has no female children."

The friends mentioned in this account are the age-fellows. The members of the *ber* (age-class) play a considerable part in the arrangements for the betrothal and marriage of one of their number, and a man will seek the advice of his *ber*, who may also be asked to judge the conduct of a wife.

Mr. Whitehead adds that when the girl's teeth are knocked out her betrothed has to pay a fee called *romet* to her and her *ber*. Until this is done the boy cannot greet (*romon*) his future wife. The fee amounts to about thirty or forty shillings and is distributed among the girl's *ber*. All these girls rank as his *lutujin* (sisters-in-law).

Although it is stated in the Haddon MS. that the bride-wealth should be handed over before the consummation of marriage, it may be doubted whether this rule is more than ideal. Certainly marriages do take place before the whole bride-wealth is given, as will be seen in the examples given below. There seems, however, to be a public transfer of part of the bride-wealth which may be looked upon as constituting the marriage ceremony.

With regard to the continual indebtedness to the family of the wife we cannot ourselves add any definite information, as our younger informants had not completed the transfer of the amount fixed, and our older informant spoke as though the transaction actually were complete. One man, however, volunteered the information that when a man was very pleased he would make much beer, and give a feast to which he would invite his sister's husband and all relatives of the latter, and they would then present him with a cow. Though the initiative here comes from the wife's family, some of the late payments made by a man to his wife's relatives mentioned in the Haddon MS. may refer to this practice.

Mr. Driberg states that a house known as the *kadi na komon* (house of the guests or son-in-laws) is set apart for the bridegroom in the bride's village. When the bride is pregnant she returns to her parents' house; later the couple will probably settle in the husband's village.

We may now return to the actual amount of the bride-wealth.

In the old days this consisted of many head of cattle.[1] The two following examples are given as indicating the amount given by chiefs and commoners respectively, though it may also be significant that the chief paid for his bride during the unsettled times of the Dervishes. Laro Lado, a chief known at Mongalla as Suleiman, gave for his wife Yika fifty head of cattle, forty goats, and a quantity of millet; Kinyong, a commoner, gave forty sheep, while the bride-wealth of this man's sister, Juan, was two cows (which early in 1922 had not actually been handed over) and a number of sheep.

Analysing, so far as we are able, the payment made by Laro Lado for his wife Yika, we find that one cow and a calf were contributed by the maternal uncle of Laro Lado, this being the customary extent to which a *mananye* (maternal uncle) will help his *ngörinyi* (sister's son).[2] The bride's mother, Kako, took the forty goats, which she divided among her brothers, keeping only the millet for herself.

When Kinyong married Pani he gave forty sheep; of these ten had come to him from the bride-wealth of his sister Guni, for whom only a few sheep were given, and thirty from the bride-wealth of another sister Juan, whose bride-wealth included two cows. These latter had not been handed over at the time of our visit to Belinian, but Kinyong said that Pitia, husband of his sister Juan, had arranged to do so, and that he would come to Belinian with a number of his clansmen and bring the cows, when he (Kinyong) would provide quantities of beer for the occasion. Yinkaji, the husband of Guni, had made no further payment for her beyond the first instalment of sheep, hence Kinyong will claim the whole of the bride-wealth that may be given for all the daughters of his sister Guni. Had the bride-wealth been given in the usual way to Kinyong or his father, then, when the daughters of Guni married, Kinyong would receive only a share.[3] Since in fact Kinyong will take the whole of the bride-wealth of all the daughters of his sister Guni, it follows that their brother Könyi (*ngörinyi* to Kinyong), the only living son of Guni, will fare badly when he requires cattle to obtain a bride. Könyi

[1] The settling of the number was the occasion of ceremonial discussion, a special word, *putet*, being applied to such arguments concerning cattle. Formerly the fathers of boy and girl would probably have been painted and have carried weapons; now it is usual to wear a fez.

[2] If the bridegroom's mother has no uterine brother, someone standing in the relationship of classificatory "brother" would make this contribution toward the dowry of her son. Even if cattle should be scarce, this duty of the mother's brother is remembered; and though payment may be delayed, it is considered due, and in most cases will be made eventually.

[3] Mr. Whitehead states that the *mananyé* should receive a cow and a bull calf from the bride-wealth of his sister's daughter.

was still a boy at the time of our visit, and Kinyong said that he would help to the extent of a cow and a calf, but this is the amount that a man would always give to his sister's son (*ngörinyi*). We could not discover whether he would assist further (owing to having received the full amount of bride-wealth for his sisters), but we think he would probably do so.

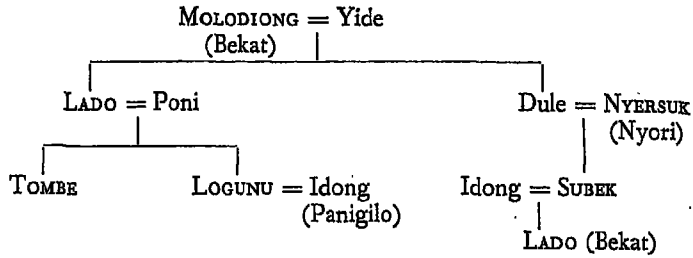
The facts we have cited are instructive as showing how long deferred the transfer of the full bride-wealth may be, and indicates that a dearth of cattle extending to the whole tribe does not deter marriage, though it sets up a condition of complicated indebtedness which may last for two or three generations.

With regard to the distribution of the bride-wealth when it has been handed over, Mr. Whitehead writes :—

> "Ten head of cattle seems to be the essential complement, but of course rich people give something over and above this. The ten cattle are made up as follows :—
>
> "(1) A cow and cow-calf. This is the *kiteng moken*, and is given to the mother-in-law. It is the first claim settled.
>
> "(2) A cow and bull-calf. This is the *kiteng ngogwo*, and is given to the father-in-law.
>
> "(3) A bull for breeding. This is the *duöt mönik*.
>
> "(4) A bullock. This is the *duöt sönö*.
>
> "(5) A calf, called the *tagwok riket* 'the calf of driving away', i.e. of driving the other cows to the father-in-law's country.
>
> "(6) Two calves, *tagwok wilet*, or *tagwok na milie*—this means 'the calf of the oath', it being explained that the parents-in-law may have sworn not to allow their child to marry; when they withdraw their opposition, each is given a calf.
>
> "(7) A calf, *tagwok na putet*, or 'calf of the bride-wealth discussion'. It is given to the eldest or next brother of the father-in-law.
>
> "The phrase *kisuk ti teng* includes, I think, all except those under Nos. 1 and 2. It means something like 'cows of the herd'. Some of the cows, though actually the property of the father-in-law, are 'ear-marked' as it were for the bride's brothers, and these are known as *kisuk kölöt*, 'cows which are left to somebody.' The younger brothers of the bride get sheep and goats, as also do the brothers of the father-in-law."

Widows are usually taken by the deceased's brothers, though sons who are old enough to marry may take the wives of their father other than their mother. The sister's son sometimes inherits one of the widows. But a widow with a grown son old enough to support her need not remarry if her husband has no surviving brothers unless she likes to do so. The chief Logunu left seven widows, five of whom became wives of his brother Tombe. One had been betrothed to Logunu when a small child, and the cattle had been paid over, but her

father had refused to let her leave home. Tombe looked upon this girl as his legitimate wife, and said he intended to sue the girl's father for her. The seventh widow is Idong, whose remarriage must be considered in detail, since not only does it show that widows can be inherited by the sister's son, but the social position of the children of Idong illustrates the Bari conception of descent and the function of the bride-wealth.



Idong was taken by Subek, her deceased husband's father's sister's son (who among the Bari is addressed by the same term as the sister's son, *ngörinyi*, and is thought of as a sister's son). The child of this union was not considered to belong to his real father, Subek, but to Logunu, the deceased husband of the mother, and was considered a member of the latter's clan (Bekat) and not of Nyori, the clan of his physiological father. Thus, in spite of the fact that the inheritance of the widow by a sister's son was looked upon as quite legitimate, the children were still considered as belonging to the dead man. They might even marry into the clan of their real father, though not with a close relative of his. The child in question is a boy, Lado, but if Idong should bear Subek a girl, the latter's bride-wealth will be returned to Tombe the heir of the dead man.[1] The reason given was that the mother of this hypothetical child had been taken without the payment of bride-wealth. Mr. Whitehead was able to confirm the information concerning Subek, and also the explanation given by the Bari that the child belonged to the clan of the man who had originally given the bride-wealth for its mother. His verbatim account is as follows:—

"At the time when Logunu died, the people mourned for six months, but in the seventh month Tombe called many people together and said: 'Brothers,

[1] This information was given us by Tombe, but Mr. Whitehead says that the bride-wealth would go to Lado, not Tombe. The difference, however, is immaterial: Tombe would use the cattle coming to him from the daughters of Idong for the sons of Idong. Whether such cattle would be given direct to Tombe or to the child Lado would probably depend on the age of the latter. The point of importance is that Subek and his relatives would in no way benefit by the marriage of the daughters of Idong.

Logunu, he is no more. Come that we may go and enquire of those women of his.' And so the people gathered together. And Tombe spoke first and said: 'You people of Logunu, my wives, Logunu, he is now no more. Think and then say the children of Logunu are to be supported, and then you are to speak.' And so those people answered and said: 'But how are we, Tombe, how are we to speak? We will not go away (or to the forest, i.e. out of the clan[?]), because Logunu has left you, Tombe, above (alive). You yourself are to support the children of your brother.' And so Idong also was asked: 'What about you, Idong?' She said: 'My children, they are to be supported by the *ngörinyikö*.' And Tombe said: 'These *ngörinyikö* are now many. You do not speak well.' Therefore she said 'Subek, he is to look after my children'. Thus Subek came in there. But the children, although Subek begot them, were raised as the children of Logunu, because Subek had not married the mother of Lado with his cows. He came in (to the inheritance) free, i.e. without payment."

Several points of interest come out in this account. In the disposal of the widows the upbringing of their children is mentioned as the first consideration; the widows turn to Tombe as responsible and are willing to become his wives; Idong, who is unwilling, mentions at first the relationship to her children of the man she wishes to marry, and only later the man's name. Further, Mr. Whitehead was told that "Subek married Idong because he wished to support Idong's children"—there were already two daughters, so he performed a pious duty to the children of his *mananye*.

To form a clear idea of the Bari method of tracing descent and the sociological value of the bride-wealth, the examples that have been given above must be considered, as well as the information given by Messrs. Driberg and Whitehead concerning inheritance fees. Mr. Driberg states that when a brother of the deceased inherits the widow he gives one cow and one bull (or one cow and ten goats) to the father of the widow or to her nearest relatives, and that subsequent children are then counted to the new husband. Mr. Driberg suggests that this payment is not in the nature of bride-wealth but really a payment for the affiliation of any subsequent children to the inheritor of the wife, for if a sister's son inherits the widow he does not pay anything, but the subsequent children do not belong to him (see above, the case of Subek). However, in such cases he states that the same payment is made from the possessions of the deceased to the father of the widow. We did not hear of this custom, and understood that even when a brother inherited the widow the subsequent children were counted to the dead man, as they are among the Dinka. It may be that in those cases that we investigated the inheritance fee had not been paid, so that the new husband may not have been able

to claim the children. Mr. Whitehead's information concerning additional payments supports Mr. Driberg's suggestion, for he states that fees may be paid to the parents of the wife on the birth of children (i.e. by the first husband, without any question of payment of fees for inheritance of a widow), but that if a man has many children his own father may give cattle to help support them :—

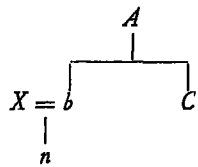
> " In the land of the Bari when you have married and when you bring up your first daughter, one cow is taken to the *merenye* [this almost certainly refers to the maternal grandfather], and if the grandfather is dead it is taken to the maternal uncle of this child. And if you beget many children and your own father exists (is living), he brings cattle so as to support those grandchildren of his."

From this account it appears that the paternal grandparents of a child are indebted to its maternal grandparents and maternal uncle, as the child, of course, belongs to the clan of the paternal grandfather. Clan descent is patrilineal, but the sociological father is the person who has given the bride-wealth (or on whose account the bride-wealth has been given). Therefore the child belongs to the family, and hence to the clan of the man who provided the bride-wealth for the mother, and this with full knowledge of the physiological father in whose household the child may be born and brought up. It seems clear that the recognition of a bride-wealth debt is sufficient to attach children to the clan of the father, and this has been seen in the marriages of Kinyong's sisters. With Subek, however, the matter was on a different footing; he had no intention of giving bride-wealth, and in supporting the children he begat by his wife (as well as her previous children by his *mananye*) he was—as already stated—considered to be performing a pious duty towards his *mananye*.

Inheritance as well as clan descent is patrilineal, but in inheritance, brothers of a suitable age take precedence of sons. When a brother or a son inherits a widow the children are probably only accounted to the dead man if the inheritance fee is not paid, but as this involves no difference in clan membership between the sociological and the physiological father, and very little change in the use of relationship terms and the behaviour that goes with these terms , the Bari social regulations are here more easily observed in the exception than in the ordinary custom.

Although Bari society is definitely patrilineal, the attachment to the mother's side of the family has been brought forward repeatedly. In the payments that are made habitually we see both matrilineal and

patrilineal responsibility. The payment of a cow with calf is definitely regarded as a duty of the maternal uncle; it is quite independent of any special conditions, and may be looked upon as a matrilineal institution. The right of a man to the dowry of his sister's daughter, exercised by Kinyong, might at first be considered to belong to the same category; but this is not the case—it is a special application of the patrilineal principle. In ordinary practice a girl, *b*, belongs to



her father, *A*, who receives cattle for her as bride-wealth from *X*; with these cattle *A* gets a wife for his son *C*. In the instance cited, *X*, the husband of *b* (Guni), has not been able to provide the bride-wealth, therefore *b*'s daughters, *n*—regarded from the point of view of the cattle that would come in for them on marriage—still belong to *C*, their mother's brother, instead of to *X*, their father.

The payment called by Mr. Driberg "inheritance fees", as well as that of one cow mentioned in Mr. Whitehead's text (p. 272) as made to the wife's father on the birth of a daughter, point to the need that a man feels to attach his children to himself (and in the case of daughters to retain the bride-wealth that may accrue to them) and to meet any claim that may be made on them by his wife's family. These payments seem to be evidence that after a girl's marriage her father still believes himself to have some interest in his daughter's children, even though he has received bride-wealth for the mother, a trait which is not strictly matrilineal but yet is not in keeping with exclusively patrilineal institutions.

At Belinian the right of a man to have sexual intercourse with the wife of his mother's brother was acknowledged, but was not extended to any other woman addressed as *yakanye*. Though a man had no right to the wives of his *lungaser* (brothers or cousins), trespass would be regarded as relatively venial, leading perhaps to hard words and the payment of a few sheep, but nothing more. A father would not allow his sons to have access to his wives unless he were impotent, then it would come about as a matter of course. At Mongalla all rights of access were denied; possibly this denial may be the result of white influence.

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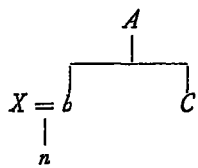
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Chapter VIII

BARI (Contd.); BARI-SPEAKING TRIBES OF THE WEST BANK

Religion

We have been unable to formulate any such relatively clear idea of Bari religious beliefs as has been possible for the Dinka or the Shilluk, and it is especially with regard to Ngun as opposed to the spirits of the dead that we have felt the difficulty. Ngun is the name given to a superhuman power, or more accurately powers—for there is no doubt that Ngun is regarded as dual. Ngun lo ki (sometimes Ngun ki), equivalent to "Ngun-in-the-above", i.e. the sky, and Ngun lo kak (Ngun kak), signifying "Ngun below", appeared sometimes to be synonyms of Ngun in different aspects and at other times they seemed to indicate different personalities. According to Mr. Whitehead, Ngun lo ki is in opposition to Ngun lo kak; they dispute over the fate of human beings, for Ngun lo ki cares to see people alive and walking the earth, while Ngun lo kak wishes to draw them under the ground and so to kill them. Ngun lo ki is therefore on the whole benevolent, yet he has the power of life and death.

With Ngun lo ki there is associated rain and lightning, and it was said that a rain-maker, though he would certainly seek the aid of his ancestors, might perhaps appeal to Ngun lo ki. Again, it was said that a sacrifice might be offered to Ngun to cure sickness, the accompanying prayer being on the lines of "What have I done? Why are my children sick?"—though here again the regular treatment would be sacrifice and prayer to an ancestor or ancestors. Mr. Driberg understood that Ngun lo kak (also called Ngun lele, "the other Ngun") is considered the younger brother of Ngun lo ki and subordinate to him. Ngun lo kak is responsible for cultivation, and prayers relative to cultivation are addressed to him; he is accordingly also known as *mulökötyo lo kinyo*, "the spirit of food," and is also called *mulökötyo lo kak*.

Investigating further, Mr. Whitehead found that Ngun lo kak was thought of as inhabiting the homestead, being specially concerned with the posts (*gili*, *feiti*, etc.) over the heads of graves, which may

even be called *ngunyen*. Ngun lo kak is also manifest in a harmless green snake not infrequently seen about the houses. People are delighted to see it and give it milk, recognizing that it is probably their *yakanye* (grandmother). Here there is no room for doubt that Ngun lo kak is equated or confused with the spirits of the dead (is, in fact, chthonic), and this identification or confusion is confirmed by the names applied to certain big trees, *ködini lo mulökötyo*, or more rarely *lo Ngun*, which are the habitations of the *mulökö*. Some trees are called *kaden ti mian*[1] and must not be used profanely; even when they fall down and die their wood must not be taken for fuel, nor may anyone go under them except for the purpose of sacrifice or offering. The big tree in the rest-house enclosure at Ali Bey is perhaps of this class. We saw small pieces of tobacco thrust into cracks in its bark and were told that at night Ngun would come and taste thereof; so, too, blood and fat might be smeared on this tree. The anointing of certain big trees with fat, accompanied by prayer, at the time that the millet is planted has, we believe, reference to Ngun. Mr. Whitehead cites a case where a young man climbed a *ködini lo mian* to get honey; he was warned, but disregarded the warning and became afflicted (*dema*) for about a year, so that he became "mad" (*mamala*). When there was a drought at Loka in June, 1929, a scapegoat was found in the person of a man who had interfered in some way with a *ködini lo mian*, which had been struck by lightning and lay dead on the main road; he was ordered to pay two goats as compensation or to have his maize destroyed. Such trees are of different species, often *Ficus*. A young shoot growing fortuitously near a grave is not on that account sacred; only when it has become a big tree the *bunit* may discover by divination that it is occupied by the spirit of a dead person buried nearby, and inform his descendants, from which time the tree becomes sacred. Further information concerning the attitude to these trees is provided by the Kuku, whose groves (*rudu*) are discussed briefly on page 301.

Mr. Driberg heard of yet another Ngun, "of the wilderness" or "of the bush", which seems to be a synonym for the *mulökö* (sing. *mulökötyo*), the ordinary word for spirit or soul and commonly applied to the spirits of dead men, i.e. ghosts. Everything animate

[1] Upon this Mr. Whitehead comments: "*Mian* is a power or energy (*köduduö*) contained in rivers, mountains, big trees, rocks, animals named after dead ancestors, e.g. *sönö* [the bullock given a lad about puberty, p. 244 f.n.], and in the big granary, called *gugu lo mulökö*; also in old men, in the husband of a puerperal woman, and in sacred places [e.g. of the rain-maker] and in rain-stones." We have no doubt that *mian* is associated with the spirits of the dead, in fact *juökön* (spirits) is a synonym of *mian*.

or inanimate (including trees, hills, etc.) possesses a *mulökötyo*, which in the case of man survives death, frequenting the bush and also the grave of the deceased.

The *mulökö* take a benevolent interest in their descendants, and if well looked after they will avert sickness and ensure good harvests and rain, but if neglected they cause disease or death of human beings or stock in order to draw attention to the fact that they have been slighted.

A text collected by Mr. Whitehead throws considerable light on the *mulökö* and on their relation to Ngun :—

> " *Mulökö*, the grandfathers of long ago, they are called *mulökö*. When I am dying, as at the time when I am near to death, people say : ' His *köduduö*, Ngun has taken it ' [and so people die]."

In this passage *köduduö* is used as equivalent with *mulökö* but in the Haddon MS. *köduduö* is a recently and *mulökötyo* a long departed spirit, who, it may be added, is likely to be malevolent. A *köduduö* can visit its children with illness and infectious disease, when other, unconnected, folk will say : " Thy father long ago dead—his bowels (disposition) are evil towards you all " :—

> " Your *merenye* [grandfather, in this case dead] becomes old. If you do not remember him then he will make your children ill."

Each group of three or four cooking-stones, *salet* (pl. *salese*), is named ; e.g. *lo ngote* (of the mother), *lo monye* (of the father), *lo yakanye* (of the grandmother), *lo merenye* (of the grandfather) :—

> " So that these people can come to eat of the food which is cooked for their *robanggajin* (feasts). The spirits eat the smoke and the remnants which drop from the sacrifices, while the people who eat the meat say : ' Let your bodies (of the sick people) grow strong, because now we have made friends with him (i.e. with the *mulökötyo*).' "

Yet in spite of the precision of the above there are occasions on which it seems impossible to draw any clear distinction between Ngun and the *mulökötyo*, between God and ghost.

The word *köduduö* signifies shade, shadow, ghost of animate beings, while *tilimöt* is applied to the shadow of inanimate objects, and carries no ghostly significance. From the above it is obvious that illness (apart from that caused by sorcery) is so generally regarded as due to the neglect and consequent anger of a dead ancestor that the cult of the dead cannot but play a great part in the life of the Bari, so that every grave becomes a potential shrine. It is not then

surprising that the cure of disease, due to neglect of an ancestor, consists of sacrifice at the grave, followed by the erection at the head of the grave of certain objects, varying in different instances. If these do not make the grave any holier to the native, to the European they certainly emphasize its quality as a shrine. A good example of such a grave shrine in the village of Ali Bey is shown in Pl. XXV, Fig. 2. It stands immediately in front of the house and consists of two notched stakes to which are tied a long peeled stick, and a young tree on which are hung many small pieces of iron slag. At the foot of the stakes there is a pot in which part of the sacrifice was left, and two groups of cooking-stones, *salese*, indicating that two sacrifices have been made. The stones used in the earlier sacrifice are those nearer the stake, overgrown with grass, which had been left undisturbed purposely, although the rest of the ground over and round the grave was kept particularly clean. As to the notched stakes, one is no doubt the stake called *feiti*, since it is made of "ebony" (*feiti*), which constitutes part of the furnishing of every grave. The other notched stake was called *gili*, because made of *gili* wood. The *gili* is the commonest of the objects which the *bunit* commands to be erected on the grave to placate the *mulökötyo*, yet a notched stake need not be of *gili* wood; the *bunit* determines that, while he may, or more generally does not, order a stone to be placed at the base of the notched stake.

When a *gili* or a similar stake is erected, the hole in which it is stepped is, or should be, dug by the son of a sister of the dead man as nearly as possible over the head of the deceased, and in practice often immediately at the side of, or even touching, the *feiti* stake.

Pieces of slag suspended to branches of the tree were noted at several shrines. We did not discover their purpose, but in one instance, in which leaves were suspended in the same way, it was said that as the wind blew these about so would the sickness be blown away.

We are indebted to Mr. Driberg for the following account of the main features of a sacrifice to cure sickness at the grave of a father :—

> "The son consults a *bunit* and then, having collected any surviving contemporaries of his father—i.e. no doubt, his father's age-mates—brings a bull near to his father's grave. He then addresses the *molökötyo* saying that he regrets having neglected his food, and adjuring both Ngun lo ki and Ngun lo kak to observe that the *mulökötyo* is now being fed, commands the bull to urinate. If it does not it is obviously too small, so, apologizing to the *mulökötyo*, the man brings another and bigger bull. . . . Eventually a bull is

found which consents to urinate, and on its doing so a *dupiet* is at once sent to arrange for its slaughter under the spirit-tree, *ködini lo mian*. The bull is taken there and sacrificed, and the tree and the *salese* under it are smeared with blood, stomach contents, and fat, as are the *feiti* and presumably other stakes erected at the grave, where apparently some of the mixture is poured out. The meat is divided among those present, part being the perquisite of the *dupiet*. At night, when all is finished, the *dupiet* takes curdled milk and smears it on the *salese* under the big tree and anoints his own body while standing under the latter."

Mr. Whitehead adds that the ancestral spirit comes at night and drinks the blood which with the entrails has been poured on the grave. We may note that the sacrifice may be tied to the notched stake (*gili*), but that this is probably rather unusual and depends on the *bunit*, though the animal is generally led round the stake.

The *gili* is anointed with the blood and fat of the sacrifice, or, if no sacrifice is made—i.e. when the case is not considered to be sufficiently serious—milk may be poured out at the base of the *gili*. When a man moves to a new site, he may erect a new *gili* in front of his new house to avert a recurrence of the disease for which a *gili* had been erected at the grave associated with his old home. The *bunit* does not always order the erection of a stake (which we believe to be generally associated with animal sacrifice), but may order a patient to grow some particular kind of plant in a pot near his house.

Mr. Driberg writes that when disease threatens to become epidemic, the local *ngutu duma*, or perhaps even the rain-maker, goes to the *bunit* with a present of a goat. The *bunit* refers him to the *monyekak*, who demands a cow, or a cow and calf, as a present, and, having received this, obtains "medicine" from his *bunit*. His *dupi* now scatter this throughout the affected area, receiving for their services a goat, a fowl, a hoe, and some porridge. Neighbouring areas will also probably send animals and be given the "medicine" to be used prophylactically. No mention is made of a sacrifice, but presumably one or more beasts are killed. In the event of a serious epidemic the *monyekak*, at the advice of his *bunit*, orders all fires to be extinguished, and then makes new fire in his house, which he distributes to all without fee.

Although, as we have pointed out, illness, if serious, is regarded as the result either of sorcery or of neglect of ancestral spirits, we may suggest that further investigation will show that these factors do not cover the whole ætiology of disease from the Bari standpoint. The unwitting breaking of an oath will cause a disease called *lomo* (pl.

PLATE XXV



Bari grave near Mongalla



Ali Bey, hut with grave

Face p. 278

lomolan); further, *lömi* (Nemesis, or something very like it) produces misfortune, sickness, or death, for rash speaking and broken promises. A man says to his great friend, "Death shall not divide our friendship"; on the friend's death he falls into the grave and dies. Or a man who says he will not do certain work returns to it, and suffers accordingly. Again, wrong-doing and *ὕβρις* bring *lömi*. Thus a man in a position of authority behaves unfairly; later he is given a month's imprisonment, this is *lömi*; so when a man who is wealthy and scoffs at others loses all his cattle, this too is *lömi*.

Pains in the limbs, such as we might call "rheumatic", are often treated by wearing an iron bracelet or a long piece of iron in the form of a shin-guard. In one instance, pain in the chest was treated without sacrifice by wearing shell beads round the right ankle and a bracelet round the right wrist. No doubt the assumption of these, which was on the advice of the *bunit*, was accompanied by prayer or invocation.

We add here the accounts of three ceremonies (for which we are indebted to Mr. Driberg), since, as it seems to us, there is probably a magico-religious background to them all; indeed, their form suggest that further investigations will show that they are associated with the cult of the dead. The first two ceremonies, both festivals, are called *rubangga lo kinyo*, "the feast of food," and are connected with the planting and harvesting of the crops respectively:—

"At the planting festival, a goat is killed and its meat is cooked with beans, sesame, and porridge at a *salese* near the granary, called *salese ti rubangga lo kinyo*, 'the cooking-stones of the festival of food,' only used for sacrifices and feasts concerned with cultivation. The head of the family assembles his people, and after the food is cooked he waves it in the air three times, blowing on it, and giving each person a small piece, which is put in the mouth and spat out. Each then receives a larger piece, which is eaten. There can be no cultivation without this ceremony. The wooden supports of the granary are smeared with sesame oil, but the sacred tree (if there is one) is not anointed.

"The *rubangga lo bolot*, 'the feast of grain,' is held when the harvest is ripe. No grain may be eaten before this festival. Ten heads of dura are collected, and the head of the family, standing before the cultivation *salese*, waves the cooked grain three times in the air. Each person is given a little and spits it out, this being done five times, while the sixth portion is swallowed.

"The *rubangga lo kisuk*, the 'festival of the cattle', appears to be a thank-offering for success with the herd. An owner of a prosperous herd collects milk and holds this festival. Special *salese* (*salese ti kisuk*), which may not be removed nor used for any other purpose, are placed near the fence of the homestead. The neighbours are invited, and a large pot half-full of milk is put on the fire at the *salese ti kisuk*, flour being added and cooked in the milk. The pot is not removed from the fire, but each person takes out a handful,

puts it in his mouth, and goes home without speaking. The stick used for mixing the flour and milk is not cleaned but is placed in the roof of the calves' house with the porridge adhering to it, nor may it be removed. If the owner of the cattle wishes to ensure their future health he should, in addition, consult the *bunit*, who will tell him to do this or that (e.g. put up a potsherd near his wife's house), while he should also sacrifice a bullock at the *ködini lo mulökötyo*, his spirit-tree.

We may further note that if cattle are infected with serious disease, perhaps even if only one valuable animal is ill, a sacrifice will be made, and we were shown *gili* which had been erected at the advice of the *bunit* as part of the cure. Mr. Driberg informs us that the *bunit* will usually tell the owner to take a cow to the *monyekak*, who may refer the matter back to the *bunit*; the latter then probably tells the owner to sacrifice at his spirit-tree and to call all the old men of his family to eat of the meat. This should stay the disease, while others fearing disease in their herds will sacrifice at their spirit-trees. On the other hand, the *monyekak* may tell the owner of the cattle that he must break up his herd, distributing it over different parts of the country, and shut up and abandon his kraal for one month or for as long a period as the *bunit* decides, the latter probably advising the abandonment of the kraal until the rains break, and generally recommending that a cow be given to the rain-maker with the request that he bring the rain early.

In our previous study we mentioned the probable existence of something approaching a snake cult, though we recognized that it was associated with the dead.[1] Our information, as we now know, referred to the identification of Ngun lo kak with the green snake mentioned on p. 275. More precisely, as Mr. Whitehead informs us, *yakanye* (the green snake) is said to be *nguro na ngun na kak*, "the daughter of the Ngun (female) of the earth."

Rain-making

A number of accounts of rain-making already exist; they differ greatly among themselves, and in certain respects all differ from the accounts given to us. Doubtless none are complete; in what follows we give what we believe to be an outline of the ceremonial followed, but neither do we claim that our account is complete, nor are we

[1] *The Bari*, 462.

confident that the parts of the ceremony follow in the order given. It was always extremely difficult to get details of a ceremony in correct sequence: we do not think that this was entirely due to difficulties in translation, but was at least in part psychological, a portion of a ceremony appearing so much the most important to our informants (necessarily limited in number in the case of rain-making) that whatever questions were asked they invariably returned to this particular feature. Since the rain-maker might be killed if he failed to produce rain, it is evident that he occupies a very different position from that of a Shilluk or Dinka rain-maker, in whom is immanent a great ancestral spirit.[1] On the other hand, the Bari rain-maker is more than a departmental expert, for although the most striking of the results of his actions is the production of rain, the ceremonial he performs is thought to bring every kind of prosperity on the country. His ability to produce these results is due to the correct manipulation of certain objects (especially the rainstones), backed by the power and willingness to assist shown by the spirits of the rain-maker's father and more remote ancestors, moved thereto by the prayers of their descendant. The rain-maker is assisted by his *dupi*, and we formed the opinion that the procedure was more or less well known to a not inconsiderable number of the Bekat clan. The following information applies specifically to the Bari of the eastern bank, among whom there are, or were, two rain-making centres, Belinian and Shindiru, each with its own rain-maker.

The whole ceremony is to ensure fertility and banish disease and want, as indicated by the instructions the rain-maker Pitia would give his *dupiet* when he sent him to a distant village to act for him: "Make that water (come) so that it may fall, so that these people may cultivate, so that also their millet may ripen, so that these people may be contented, so that the people may bear and produce and their wombs grow large."

Of the objects concerned in rain-making there can be no doubt that certain stones, generally of quartz, are the most important, but certain sacred spears seem also to play a part in the ceremonies, though we were never able to determine precisely what this was.

[1] His old position, together with the change brought about by the *gela* "foreigners", is made clear by one of Mr. Whitehead's texts: "If you [the English] were not here, then we kill the rain-maker, [but we do not now] because we fear the English. When the rain falls, then we do not kill, and when the sun shines strongly, then we kill." It was, however, no light thing to kill a rain-maker, and perhaps this was only done when he failed to produce rain. Another text, recording a fight between the partisans of two rain-makers, relates that one of these was spared by his victorious opponents when all his comrades had been slain.

We had an early opportunity of judging the Bari attitude to the stones (which from now on we shall speak of as rain-stones) when one of us showed some old men of the Bekat clan the stones, said to be of Bari origin, which Mr. Driberg had taken from the Lugbware some years previously. These were four pieces of worked quartz—old lip-plugs—of which drawings (actual size) are given in Fig. 18. The two conical stones were considered as male and the cylindrical as female, the larger of the latter being regarded as the most potent and it was asserted that when taken in the hand and held close to the ear it "called out".[1] This stone, though not transparent, is clearer than the others, while the minute pits on the surface of the two "male" stones show the remains of red pigment. Although all four stones are evident artifacts, and three of them obvious lip-plugs, even if

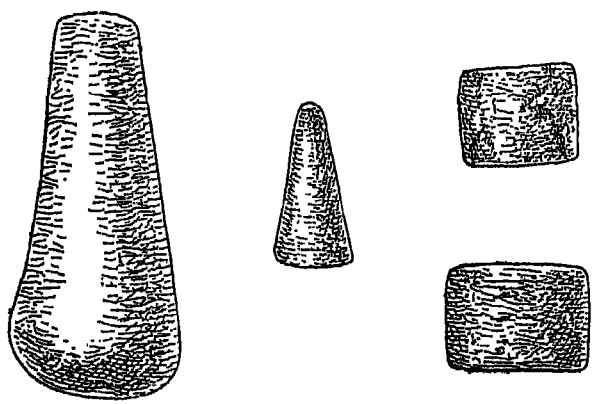


FIG. 18. Bari rain-stones.

the fourth be too large for this purpose, not one of our informants considered them other than natural—a matter of some interest, since some at least must have seen members of neighbouring tribes wearing quartz or glass "pencils" in their lower lip, and the smallest "male" stone is obviously one of these, though rather stumpier than those we noticed in use. The old men, to whom these stones were shown with a certain amount of secrecy, were greatly impressed; some of them took the "female" stones and passed them over their eyes, later asking whether "I [C. G. S.] was not really of the Bekat clan [and so, at least potentially, a rain-maker] in my own land". At this point it may be convenient, both as substantiating our statement that a good

[1] We can elicit no sound on holding this stone against the ear, whether the hand be hot or cold.

deal about rain-making is general knowledge and as indicating roughly the part played by the rain-stones, to quote a short account of rain-making obtained in Mongalla from a local informant who was certainly no rain-maker, though whether he was of the Bekat clan we cannot say :—

> " The rain-maker has certain green and white stones in a pot. He washes these with water and places them on a big stone [one of the old grindstones to be referred to later]. He smears the rain-stones with sesame oil, he sacrifices a black goat near the stone, then he, his assistants, and ' all ' the old men eat of this and the rain comes."

This version has the advantage, when contrasted with the more extended account given below—itself incomplete—of exemplifying the sort of information that is likely to be missed if the actual sites concerned are not visited, as well as the sort of detail which is so obvious to a native that he does not think it worthy of special mention ; we refer specifically to the prayers to the ancestral spirits and the performance of the ceremony at the graves of the rain-maker's ancestors. Bringing together our own information, that contributed by Mr. Driberg, and the publications of previous observers, including material in the Haddon MS., we would suggest that the rain-making process is on the following lines.

When rain is required everyone, including the *monyekak*, brings a black cow, a black goat, or a hoe (according to his wealth) to the rain-maker. The rain-maker having sacrificed one of these animals—a sacrifice of one of his own would be fruitless—sends his *dupi* to his ancestral spirit-trees, which they anoint with the stomach-contents and fat of the sacrifice, whose flesh they eat. Later the people come to the rain-maker and stand facing him, then, when his *dupi* have brought water from the river, he commands them to face away from him, the *dupi* pour water over their feet, and each person goes back to his home without looking back, for if anyone did so no rain would fall. Presumably this takes place outside the rain-maker's hut.

Some time soon after this the rain-stones are brought into action. The following notes apply specifically to Belinian, for, as will be seen later, Mr. Spire's account of what he was shown at Shindiru suggests that the practice in the two places varied considerably. We understood that the rain-stones would first be anointed, washed, and prayed over in the rain-maker's hut, and it was only if this did not produce rain that resort would be made to the grave of the rain-maker's father ; if still no rain fell, then sacrifice was made at the

grave of Jada, the rain-maker preceding Nigulö in the table on p. 249.[1]

The following was our actual experience with regard to the rain-stones kept in the rain-maker's hut. The man put forward as rain-maker was called Ali Bey. Working with Mr. Whitehead's genealogy (p. 249) we see no reason to doubt that this man was the Belinian rain-maker, and we withdraw our previous suggestion that he was a substitute, perhaps one of his *dupi*.[2] Ali Bey led us into his hut,

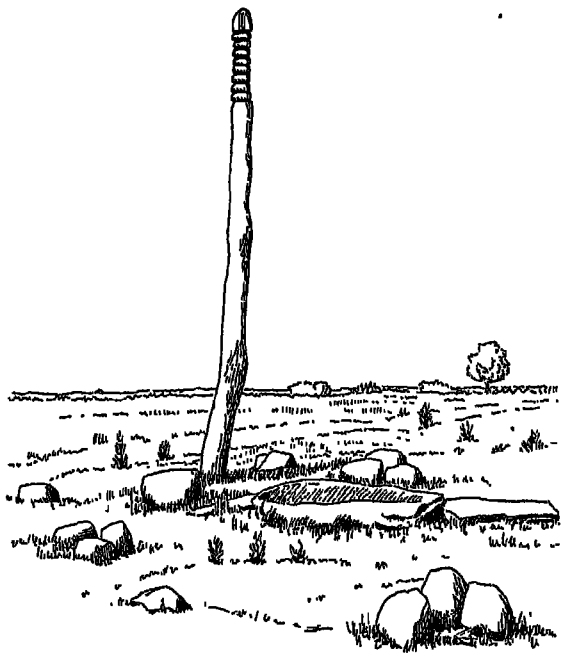


FIG. 19. Belinian, rain-maker's grave.

and took down from the roof a pot full of stones consisting almost entirely of fragments of quartz or pebbles, but among which was one object presumably of glass—though it mimicked the opacity of the quartz fragments precisely—shaped like the bottom of a custard glass, thick and heavy, with engraved geometrical designs, a central circle, and a flower-like design  in rows round it. We were allowed, but not encouraged, to examine these stones in the dusk of the hut; we were asked not to take them outside. We were told

[1] This man was not the Jada with whom Baker made friends, as we have suggested elsewhere (*The Bari*, 465, footnote.).

[2] *The Bari*, 465.

that the sacred spears of which we had heard were not there, but after some persuasion we were taken into another hut and shown two, said to be the rain-spears. Like most Bari spears they were rather small-bladed, but—and this is uncommon—each had a barb on either side above the blade, though the sockets were not unusual in form. Above the socket of each, its lower end overlapping the top of the socket and gripping it firmly, was a length of metal (apparently iron) tubing with a simple open wave design in brass (?) inlaid in the metal, the whole appearing relatively old and patinated. There were, we think, three of these wave designs on the circumference of each spear, but in the faint light it was not easy to be certain. The hafts were of wood, perhaps about 8 feet long, and presented no obvious peculiarities. It was said that the blades were treated in the same way as the rain-stones, washed, smeared with oil and the stomach contents and blood of the sacrifice, and then stood point down in the pot containing the anointed stones, their shafts leaning against the wall of the hut. No history or special name could be elicited for these spears.

The rain-stones turned out of the pot for our inspection were clean and dry, so that there seems no reason to doubt the truth of what we were told, that after use the stones were washed and returned to the pot in the rain-maker's hut, where they remained until next season.

The sacrifice for rain undoubtedly took place at the grave of the rain-maker's father. Fig. 19 shows the shrine as it appeared early in 1922, with its *feiti* of unusual height. Round the grindstone is a considerable number of other stones all said to be old cooking-stones (*salese*), and the usual groups of three of these can be made out in the foreground. It was noted that the grass had not been allowed to grow rank in the immediate vicinity of the grave. The quartz fragments in the hollow of the large stone were rough and angular, except for one pebble the size of a small hen's egg. It is to be presumed that the rain-stones from the rain-maker's hut were brought here at the time of the ceremony, which consisted of sacrificing a black goat or other animal and washing and anointing the stones in the manner already described.

We understood that the rain-stones would be left in position in the hollow of the grindstone until the harvest had been gathered.

There was no *feiti* or *gili* marking the grave of Jada, but the piece of dried euphorbia stem was said to mark the head of the grave, while near it was the grindstone containing four stones,

three not of quartz yet said to be rain-stones of great potency. We were allowed to examine these and arrange them on the edge of the grindstone to be photographed. They consisted of half a bored spheroidal stone of considerable size, resembling a Bushman's digging-stick weight, an artificially bored stone, an irregular mass of quartz with crystals springing from the matrix, and a pebble of a material we did not recognize. A big tree some little distance from the grave is presumably a spirit-tree, but we unfortunately did not inquire into this. A good many of the stones round the grave of Jada were no doubt *salese*, and we were repeatedly assured that it was here at the foot of Belinian hill that the rain ceremony was performed as a last resource.

Mr. Driberg informs us that when the crops are partially ripe the rain-maker without further fee sends his *dupi* all over the country, and they scatter "medicine" in every garden. In each area the *ngutu duma* gives the *dupiet* a goat, which is eaten with a head of millet from every garden, collected in return for the "medicine".

As already stated the rain-stones are commonly old quartz, but they may be artifacts of a green stone, possibly green garnet, though one greenish specimen which we have handled suggested quartz with green staining of varying depths; or they may be pebbles with natural "eye" markings but with artificial perforations, in fact, almost any curious or unusual stone. All these specimens are small, but beside these there are irregular pieces of quartz, stones presenting no ready basis for classification, and the half of an old digging-stick weight of Bushman type already referred to. We have already noted that rain-stones are supposed to possess sex, to be either male or female; but, apart from an obvious, if vague, relationship between the stones and ancestral spirits, individual stones are in some way equated with particular persons, i.e. with their spirits (*mulökö*). Thus Mr. Whitehead cites the instance of the sons or *dupi* of Pitia Lugar coming to Narjua and bringing with them five or six stones: two, flat and black, were female; two, round and perhaps bluish (*lotulurak ko lomurie*), were male, the remaining stones being *dupi*. Further, certain groups have collective names, e.g. those at Lomuri are called Kaduat, and those belonging to Pitia Lugar are known collectively as Dikolo (clouds). Ordinary people (*bömön*) only see them at the time of the ceremony, for they are dangerous to the eyes; this, at any rate, was the reason given at Lomuri to Mr. Whitehead for not showing them to him, and the

bleared eyes of the rain-maker were indicated as a proof of the truth of this belief.

Almost thirty years ago Mr. F. Spire published a most important account of rain-making at Shindiru, with which he now allows us to reproduce his photograph of the shrine. He states that Leju, the rain-maker of Shindiru, is the hereditary "chief rain-maker" of the Bari, and that his village is situated at the top of the hill.[1]

"Ledju and his assistants had long hair, unusual among Bari. Between a hut and village wall was a miniature enclosure about 10 feet in diameter. This enclosure contained most of the strange implements used by the rain-makers. Arranged on the ground within the enclosure were some twenty old grindstones. The hollow of each contained from two to eight pieces of rock crystal and granite, the latter in two colours, pink and green, and both circular and conical in shape. A number of small earthen pots, capable of holding about 1 pint, were filled with water and placed near the 'nests'. Laid across these hollow stones or nests were numerous iron rods varying in size and shape. . . . [Ledju] now explained . . . when rain is required by . . . a neighbouring village, a deputation generally consisting of the village headman and some two or three elders waits upon . . . [him] . . . and begs him to give them rain for their crops. The request is accompanied with a present or fee in the form of chickens, sheep, or goats, according to the means of the parties requiring rain. One or more of these animals are forthwith killed and eaten by the party, the rain-makers consuming the larger share. The feast over, the three assistant rain-makers proceed to the enclosure and first remove the iron rods, placing them in a perpendicular position by leaning them against a thin line made from the bark of a tree and stretched more or less taut across the enclosure and tied to stakes in the thorn wall of the small enclosure. They then wash the stones and crystals with water from the small earthenware pots and replace them in their respective nests.

"Each assistant has his own special set of nests which are under his individual care and are known to him by various names (names of former rain-makers or members of their families). On the completion of this ceremony by the assistants . . . [Ledju] appears upon the scene with a small pot of fat or vegetable oil, extracted from the simsim seed or ground nut.

"[Ledju] . . . having first placed himself in a squatting posture near the nests, pours a little of the oil into the palm of his left hand, then, placing the oil-pot on the ground before him, rubs his hands together, then takes up the stones one by one from their nests, rubs them with the oil on his hands, at the same time chanting or mumbling to himself [petitions to his dead father to send rain] . . .

"Numerous iron rods are also brought into requisition, notably one with a hooked end used by Ledju to draw the rain clouds in any desired direction, and a two-headed spear. . . .

"Ledju took the crooked rod, and holding it above his head at arm's length at a slight angle, and with the hook pointing in the direction of the rain cloud he wishes to attract, he is supposed to draw the cloud towards him by working his arm up and down. . .

[1] F. Spire, "Rain-making in Equatorial Africa": *Journal of the African Society*, 1905, 15–21.

"In the immediate vicinity of the chief's village there are several fair-sized trees, with one end of ropes (made from wild creepers) fastened to some of their lower branches, and the other end pinned to the ground by small wooden pegs. When rain is required (and provided the appearance of sky favours an almost immediate downpour, and there is consequently no time for the stone-oiling process) the rain-makers proceed to one or more of these trees and pull at the ropes, so causing the branches to sway in the direction they wish the rain to fall. Their wishes invariably coincide with the apparent course of the rain cloud. Applications for rain are only made in the wet season. . . .

"Ledju is also supposed to possess other extraordinary powers besides those of a rain-maker. He showed me an iron rod about 3 feet long and about 1 inch in diameter with a kind of hollow iron bulb at each end and containing bits of stone. This particular implement is used to induce women to bring forth large families, the *modus operandi* being for the husband to bring the would-be mother to Ledju, who, grasping the iron rod in the centre with the right hand, shakes it over and around the woman, rattling the stones in the bulbs at the ends of the rod, at the same time muttering some strange incantation."

Mr. Whitehead pays tribute to the accuracy of Mr. Spire's description, and, commenting on the statement that each assistant has his own special set of nests, writes that these assistants are apparently the *dupi* of the chief.[1]

We have already indicated (p. 286) that rain-stones have an obvious relationship to ancestral spirits; they are male and female, and particular stones are equated with rain-makers, their wives and *dupi*. We can now go a step further and definitely assert that dead rain-makers, rain-stones, and clouds are equated with each other. Thus rain-stones are called *mulökö*, and rain-stones are clouds, for Pitia Lugar's stones are called Dikolo (clouds),[2] while clouds are rain-makers, as indicated in the following text collected by Mr. Whitehead:—

"And he [Pitia Lugar] is brought bulls so that rain may fall. Therefore all the elders arise and lead the cattle and they are brought to Pitia, and Pitia speaks, saying: 'Good, children of [my] father; truly this cloud [in the sky, or soon to appear in the sky] from long ago is [or was] of [my] father [in the sense of representing him], and soon it shall fall [i.e. because I am my father's

[1] The present rain-maker has, or had, five *dupi*. Four carry the chief during his journeys, one carries his seat, pipe, and box of tobacco. The reference to the chief's seat is particularly interesting in view of a passage in one of Mr. Whitehead's letters, wherein he describes a native meeting in which the rain-maker was vehemently addressing a group of other chiefs. It was explained that the rain-maker was in trouble on account of lack of rain. The actual cause of the quarrel was that the wife of a chief had lost her temper with the rain-maker and broken his *sedet*, or little seat. Hence the failure of the rain, for the *sedet*, Mr. Whitehead was told, was very old and had passed down from father to son for perhaps ten generations.

The "two-headed spear" mentioned by Mr. Spire is clearly the equivalent of the two-bladed rain-spear of the Lotuko.

[2] Professor Evans-Pritchard discovered among the Azande that clouds are considered as solid bodies and that in a ceremony to avert rain the solidity of an axe fixed edge upwards in the ground is compared to the solidity of the clouds. We may infer that this iron axe has replaced a stone axe, neolithic axes still being rain-stones among the Bongo and Beli (cf. p. 476).

PLATE XXVI



Rain-shrine at Shindiru

face p 288

grave being dug in front of the house of the deceased—on the left of the door for a male, on the right for a female. The corpse is arranged on its side in the embryonic position.[1] The body of the dead man is shaved by the wife of one of his brothers, for which service she is given a goat. If there were no sister-in-law, some other connection by marriage—i.e. someone not of the dead man's clan—might do what was necessary. The Haddon MS. states that the hair removed from the body is buried in the bush, and that the corpse itself may be ruddled. Dancing by the dead man's clansmen begins as soon as the grave has been earthed in.

During our stay at Belinian, Pitia, a man of the Nyori clan, died in a village a little way off. In the early morning Nyori men beat the drum, and a man of the same clan (but not the son of the deceased) dug the grave. Jalo, a Bekat man who had married the daughter of Pitia, heard the drum and immediately went to make enquiries. He had known that someone was ill in his wife's village, but had not known who it was. He returned and gave the news to his "brother", our informant Kinyong (actually the great-grandson of his great-grandfather's brother), and together they fetched a sheep to take to the burial. We were told that when drums were heard betokening a death not everyone would go, but only clansmen of the deceased and clansmen of other persons related in special ways. Thus the clansmen of the mother (i.e. the *mananyejin*, the mother's brothers) and the clansmen of the wives and of the daughter's husband would go, and in this case the clansmen of the sister's husband. Lejun, the daughter of the sister of Pitia, had married Tombe, the Bekat chief; thus the Bekat clan came in force on account of two relationships to the deceased. When we arrived some time before noon, burial had already taken place and people were dancing on the grave. At times they left the confined space, especially the men, who were fully armed, and performed war dances, while the women leaped high in the air upon the grave. The dead man's son, as well as a few other men and the widow, had their heads covered with ashes. The widow danced holding the deceased's bow and arrows, and then again carrying his bellows aloft, for Pitia was a blacksmith. His brother's daughter also danced carrying his spear. The Bekat men arrived in a body,

[1] Hansal says that the Bari buried in the sitting position, and such objects of daily use as pipe, gourd, and earthern vessel were placed in the grave ("Die Bari-Neger": *Mitt. der Geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xix (1876), 301). Dr. Tucker informs us that freemen are buried in the lateral position, *dupi* in sitting posture, the earth covering the latter being supposed to be stamped down until the backbone breaks.

and the Nyori left the grave to meet them and a mock fight ensued; after that the Bekat men danced with the Nyori, and we were told that each clan would be greeted thus on its arrival and afterwards mix in the dancing, again dividing up into clans when the sheep were killed.

After death, burning grass is carried round the house to drive away the *mulökötyo*, which otherwise would worry the inhabitants in dreams. At least one goat or sheep would be sacrificed for an adult, however humble; for more important people sacrifices would be larger and would be repeated at intervals for some time. Fig. 1, Pl. XXV, represents a grave of a man of importance in a village near Mongalla, known as Sheikh Suleiman, who had been dead some four years, the following information being given by his son. Besides the horns of three animals, the photograph shows the remains of the sunshade and fez used by the deceased, and a pot which has been purposely holed. The beast with the biggest horns (central in the photograph) was killed two days after the death, the other two at intervals of about a year. The notched stick (*feiti*) which as we have stated invariably marks a grave, is newly fallen, but will be again erected and a goat will be killed when this is done.

The near relatives, i.e. wives and children of the dead man, are smeared with ashes, and sleep round the grave for some time, theoretically until the *rubangga* feast. The Haddon MS. states that a man does not cover himself with ashes when mourning for his dead wife; he sleeps outside and remains by her grave by day, but if he has another wife or wives he can sleep with them or not, as he desires. He mourns for about two months, till the deceased woman's mother gives him leave to stop. For children, the father does not cover himself with ashes, nor do the parents mourn outside the house, but inside; the mother covers herself with ashes for three or four days, and, as Mr. Whitehead points out, she may continue to do this at intervals for some months, though for the death of infants there is little or no ritual mourning.

We are indebted to Mr. Driberg for the following account of the big feast at the end of mourning, which usually is held about a year after the death, and is called *rubangga lo ngutu atwan*.[1] It is obvious

[1] Although there is only the one *rubangga* for coming out of mourning, there may be subsequent sacrifices as ordered by the *bunit* from time to time to avert sickness, etc. The word *rubangga* would be applied to these also, the word meaning both "feast" and "sacrifice", its specific nature being defined by the words following it, e.g. *rubangga lo ngutu atwan* (the sacrifice for a dead man), *rubangga lo kinyo* (the sacrifice for food), etc.

that the idea of propitiating the *mulökötyo* of the deceased plays an important part in this ceremony :—

"A *feiti* (ebony stake) is planted at the head of the grave to receive the skull of the animal sacrificed; if the deceased were wealthy two would be erected, one for the skulls of oxen and one for those of sheep and goats. In the case of a rich man they are erected by his *dupi*, but if deceased was a poor man owning no *dupi* the stake is planted by his sister's son, who takes one of the deceased's wives. It was said that for a rich man as many as 80 to a 100 oxen used to be killed in the days when cattle were numerous. Cattle and goats are killed and eaten outside the village, the contents of the intestines, or, perhaps, only of the stomach, together with oil, being smeared on the *feiti* and over the head of the grave. In the evening there is much drink, and all dance round the grave. It is decided at this feast who shall inherit the wives of the deceased, and it is the duty of each person to whom a woman is allotted to remove the mourning wrappings from her ornaments. He must also pay 1 cow and 1 bull (or 1 cow and 10 goats) as fee to the woman's father or next nearest relative. A man may remain in mourning for his wife for any period from two to six months, when the *rubangga* is held, i.e. generally until he is advised to desist by his deceased's wife's parents. All the fires at which food is cooked for the *rubangga lo ngutu atwan* are made outside the village away from the vicinity of the grave. They are kindled without any ceremony, but at the conclusion of the mourning feast they are extinguished with water, and sesame oil is sprinkled over the ashes in order to avert sickness. The *dupi* then sweep up all the refuse and throw it into a river, for which service they receive a bull."

The body of the rain-maker is submitted to special treatment as soon as possible after death, all the orifices of the body being plugged, lest his spirit should escape by one of these and bring sickness or, becoming a lion or leopard, constitute a danger to the people. The corpse is then ruddled with the usual ochre mixture. As a comment on this, Mr. Whitehead sends the following very interesting account, which further indicates the importance of the process as enabling the new rain-maker to control the spirits of his rain-making ancestors :—

"When the rain-maker is dead, he is plugged, his ears are plugged, his nose is plugged, his eye is plugged, his mouth is plugged, he is plugged, his fingers are plugged. And then he is buried. It is done thus so that . . . the spirits may not go out, so that the son may manage the father so that he obeys (him), so that the spirits obey the son."

This no doubt represents the course that should be followed when all goes well and the rain-maker dies peaceably in the satisfactory performance of his office. The account of what befell Nigulö, the rain-maker of Belinian, during the famine years between 1855 and 1859, as given by his contemporary the missionary Morlang, reveals

a very different treatment meted out to a rain-maker suspected of withholding the rain. After describing something of the suffering he witnessed, Morlang writes of the doubt that fell on the people as to the responsibility for their misery. After blaming now the slave-traders, then the mission, and even their own medicine-men, Nigulö was at last held guilty. He was forced to flee from Belinian, where his cattle were driven off and his huts burnt, so that for some time he wandered a hunted fugitive. When discovered in a neighbouring

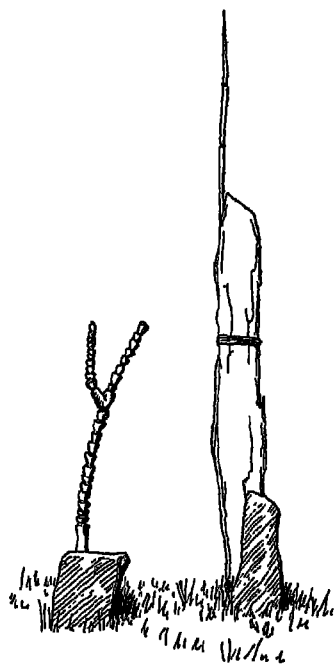


FIG. 20. Graves of rain-maker Leju Lugar, and wife. (Spire.)

village he was stabbed to death. His belly was ripped open and the corpse left to the vultures.[1]

Here the abdomen is ripped open, a practice in direct opposition to that recorded as the normal procedure. We do not, however, doubt the accuracy of Morlang's account, or that this was the correct procedure in the circumstances, for the Haddon MS. describes much the same treatment of the bodies of rain-makers purposely killed.

[1] Franz Morlang, "Reisen Östlich und Westlich von Gondokoro, 1859": *Petermann's Mittheilungen Ergänzungsband*, ii (1862–3), 116.

If "a rain-chief has been killed because he has 'hidden the rain' his corpse is dragged near to water, his face is smeared with mud from the river bank, his body slashed, and his stomach ripped open, and he is left to the birds and scavengers. His old friends can go to the murderers, and by payment of cows purchase permission to bury him. He is then buried as a commoner, the apertures and cuts being left open."

While true of Belinian, Mr. Whitehead holds that the rain-makers of Shindiru have always been too powerful to run any risk of violent death; even in battle—for they went to war—their person were sacred. Be this as it may, one of the *dupi* of Leju Lugar was killed when he was an old man. Some account of this has already been given on page 289.

Apart from the grave of Jada at Belinian we saw no graves of rain-makers, but Mr. Spire informs us that stone slabs were sometimes erected on their graves, and he permits us to publish a sketch from a photograph—taken many years ago—of the graves of the rain-maker Leju Lugar and of his wife (Fig. 20). Both graves were situated between two granaries and the remains of a hut stated to have been occupied by the wife of Lugar lo Pitia, the mother of Leju. The photograph shows two small upright slabs of stone; behind the taller of these is a much taller upright object with a length of rope coiled four times round it. Mr. Spire thinks that this object was also of stone; if it was not, then it must have been of wood. He can offer no certain explanation of the rope, but on the analogy of Dinka graves it may be suggested that this is the rope with which a sacrificial animal was tethered near the grave. The notched stick over the other burial, i.e. behind the smaller stone, is an excellent example of a *feiti* or *gili*.

According to Mr. Whitehead, the body of the chief is laid upon a platform built in the grave, and a *dupiet* remains under this (food and water being brought to him) for about three days, i.e. until the body bursts.[1] In the sacrifice that follows, the *dupi* eat the sheep and the *bömön* the bulls that have been slain; then the people threaten the new chief and a mock fight ensues.

Mr. A. C. Beaton has recently had the opportunity of watching the behaviour of the Bari at the present day when faced with drought and at the death of a rain-maker. His account, which will shortly appear

[1] Mr. Whitehead also heard that formerly a man was killed, and buried beneath the rain-maker. This is confirmed by Father Spagnola, who on the occasion of Yokwe's death informed Mr. Beaton that he was once told that in the old days two *dupi* were buried with the rain-maker, one with his stool (*sedat*) and the other with his pipe. These two *dupi* are presumably those who habitually carried the chief's stool and pipe (see footnote, p. 288).

in *Sudan Notes and Records*, is so interesting that we gladly avail ourselves of his kindness and the courtesy of the Editor to include in this chapter a short abstract of part of his observations, which it will be seen bring together many of the facts we have recorded.

"In May and June, 1930, after promising early showers, the rain failed over most of the Bari country to the south of Juba, along the east bank of the Nile. . . . The people were naturally worried at the failure of even their most powerful Rain-Chief, Pitia Lugör . . . and feeling ran so high that Pitia Lugör and his neighbour, Yokwe Kerri . . . a minor Rain-maker, swore an oath about the rain. As Pitia Lugör accused Yokwe Kerri of 'willing sun', and thus nullifying Pitia's invocation to the rain clouds, the latter adjured all present to witness the slow spread of starvation among his people if the charge were correct, while Pitia retorted that if he spoke untruly his own people should feel the pinch of famine. The crops failed and hunger gripped all the Bari. Although Yokwe's people did not escape, it was generally admitted that Pitia's land about Shindirru had shown worse signs of sterility. . . . Meanwhile Yokwe Kerri fell so dangerously ill that in March his family despaired of his life. . . . In the sick man's house a number of stones were collected and all but one given the name of one of Yokwe Kerri's ancestors because the spirits of departed ancestors bring evil on a family if slighted by lack of attention, while the one stone was called Pitia Lugör, because he was suspected of being the cause of the illness. Inside the circle of stones four hens were in turn killed by the son of the first wife, while the remaining relatives looked anxiously on. Four times the decapitated body of the fowl ran round the stones in its death agonies, and four times the lifeless corpse fell bleeding over the stone of Pitia Lugör. Thus were their suspicions confirmed, but any retaliation by Yokwe's people was frustrated for the moment, when on the top of his illness came the disaster of Yokwe's death. . . ."

That evening when Mr. Beaton went to Yokwe's village his *dupi* were already digging the grave outside his hut. The former, of a special type reserved for chiefs and influential *lui*, consisted of a step grave with a recess in the north-east corner in which the corpse was laid recumbent on a bed, "on its right side with the head towards the door of the house, as he usually lies in this position during his lifetime watching his wife cook, and also so that his spirit can find its way back into the house." Meanwhile, the small son of a *dupiet* had been chosen to watch over the grave, i.e. to remain on or near the grave for four days, "so that he may be the new chief's serf, as his father was the serf of Yokwe."

Mr. Beaton learnt that the *dupiet* usually descended into the grave and remained there until the decomposing body opened in final decay, thus confirming Mr. Whitehead's information. On this occasion however Yokwe was earthed in at once, the mouth of the recess being blocked with slabs of stone, thick stakes, and sacking,

so that no earth should fall on the corpse. Mud was plastered over these, and the grave filled in with earth.

> " On the grave were erected carved wooden stakes brought from the grave of Yokwe's father, and these will remain on his tomb until required for his son's burial. The right-hand prong of the taller stake is called the male, the other is the female, and the smaller stake is the sentry; they are placed with the female prong pointing in the same direction as the corpse is facing."

Mr. Beaton's sketch shows that these stakes resemble the Y-shaped upright over the grave, shown in Fig. 20.

> " The head *dupiet* stands on the grave surveying the mourners, who cluster in a vociferous throng round him and then run in circles around the compound, the men brandishing their spears and the women their sticks. The first-born son, armed with his father's rain and judgment stick, accompanied by his brothers and sisters, mounts the tomb and chants the first mournful numbers, to collect into one place all the inhabitants of the enclosure, round whom a sacrificial ram is led and then taken away to a distance into the bush and eaten by the serfs who dug the grave. . . .
>
> " While the chief male and female *dupi* remain on the grave, the sons and daughters run round the enclosure up to the death-bed hut of Yokwe, where they spear the door to display their anger at their father's death and to ward off the illness that carried him off. The funeral dirges . . . [continue] for four days, while the small son of the *dupiet*, asleep amid the clangour of nocturnal wailing, or huddled in a blanket in the cold morning air, or cowering under the nearby eaves from the showers, sits sentinel over the rain, until, after a month's vigil, he is to enter into the servitude of a new master carrying the rain gift with him."

The last sentence suggests that rain-stones and their technique originally belonged to the *dupi*, and if the evidence scattered throughout this volume be examined from this point of view this conclusion will seem by no means improbable. Further evidence of the importance of the *dupi* in rain-making ritual is offered by the prominent part taken by a *dupiet* at the burial of a Fajelu rain-maker. Mr. Whitehead informs us that a *dupiet* stays in the grave until the rotting of the rain-maker's body; he then becomes *monye lo bang* (father of the homestead) and controls the *mulökö lo bang*.

THE BARI-SPEAKING TRIBES OF THE WEST BANK

Our personal knowledge of the Bari-speaking tribes of the west bank is of the slightest. We have measured a small number of Mandari, Nyangwara, Kakwa and Fajelu, and we have visited some Shir villages. These villages resembled those of the Bari proper both in buildings

and plan, but differed in that almost every house had one or more euphorbia bushes associated with it. Social organization in broad outline and language were obviously Bari. This is equally true of the Mandari, while Mr. Whitehead's information indicates that it holds for the Nyangwara, Kakwa, Fajelu, and Kuku, indeed for the two latter we are able to give a certain amount of precise information drawn respectively from the unpublished material of Mr. Whitehead and the Rev. W. L. N. Giff. Mr. Whitehead has, as usual, devoted himself especially to social organization, while the chief value of Mr. Giff's material is rather to be found in the additional examples it gives us of the part played by the spirits of the dead among the Bari-speaking tribes, a subject which we ourselves had relatively little opportunity of investigating among the Bari.

It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to give any satisfactory historical account of the relationship of the western Bari-speaking tribes to the true Bari. What does seem to emerge, at any rate for the southern tribes—Fajelu and Kuku—is that the rain-maker is less autonomously powerful than among the Bari, while age-classes, if they exist, are of relatively little importance. There are certain differences in custom between some of the west bank tribes and the true Bari, e.g. as Mr. Whitehead informs us, the Kakwa file their teeth and do not extract their lower incisors, while the Ligi hunters neither file nor extract. Again, the majority of Fajelu women wear leaves in front and behind, in this respect resembling the Moro rather than the Bari. Mr. Whitehead also emphasizes the less rigid differentiation between freemen and *dupi* among the west bank tribes, and adds that the word *kör* is unknown among Fajelu and *yari*.

All this, with the variation in physical characters already described, points to a real difference between true Bari and the tribes of the west bank, a difference to which perhaps the presence of the "submerged classes", *dupi*, together with the resemblance of Bari to Masai, offers the key.

We know that the Bari reached their present home from the east, and that their language in both vocabulary and grammar resembles that of the Masai and kindred tribes. If we regard them as a conquering incoming cattle people, who succeeded in crossing the Nile but whose victorious course was stayed soon after this by the mesaticephalic "aborigines", represented at the present day by the Moro and their congeners, agriculturalists in whose life hunting played

a considerable part but who knew nothing of cattle, we shall find it less difficult to understand the predominantly Bari institutions and the prevalence of the Bari language among the mesaticephals of the west bank, whose physical characters are so much nearer to those of the Moro and similar tribes than to those of the true Bari. This view also allows us to infer a reason for the existence of submerged classes and the varying degrees of disability from which these appear to suffer from tribe to tribe.[1] Again, such penetration of the "westerners" by the Bari helps to explain how the latter and the kindred Lotuko-speaking tribes to the east of them came to adopt the western technique of rain-making.

Mr. Whitehead's impression of the Fajelu living in the neighbourhood of Loka is that they are of slighter build than the Bari proper —for stature this is borne out by measurement—and proportionally have a greater preponderance of small and roundish heads than either the Bari or the Kakwa. As a rule the face is hairless, but some have close crinkly beards.

The Fajelu villages usually present no plan, though there may be a straggling row of huts, sometimes with a homestead within an ill-made zariba. The thatching is not flounced nor are the thresholds tessellated, as is so frequent among the Bari, and the granary is of a different and smaller type. Goats are kept in separate huts made of stout logs. The main Fajelu crop is a rather inferior red millet (*kigo*)—not grown, we believe, by the Bari except in the south—sown at the end of one wet season and reaped in the following. Besides this, maize, ground nuts, tobacco, beans, marrows and other vegetables, and herbs for medicinal purposes are grown.

[1] No doubt the aborigines are best represented by the *yari*, the "hunting" *dupi* among the Bari, of whom Mr. Whitehead writes :—

"I have met a *yaranit* from time to time, but am not really clear where or how they live, whether as individuals in the villages of people who would call themselves freemen, or in separate villages of their own. Probably both. They are or were primarily hunters and they alone hunted the elephant, at any rate before the introduction of European arms and the demand by Europeans for ivory. . . . The *yari* because they are forest dwellers know much more about birds, trees, and fruits than the freeman. A Bari freeman remarked when he was looking round the collection of stuffed birds in the Gordon College that while he knew a good many by name a *yaranit* could have given the names of many more. In time of famine the *yari* would know of a great many more fruit-yielding trees to eke out their food supply than the *lui*. They too know of mushrooms (*bululo*) and a tuber (*mangga*) not commonly eaten by the *lui*. They also depend more on flying ants and wild honey than do the *lui*, in short their dietary is of the forest."

Further, as Mr. Whitehead has pointed out to us, there are numerous stories which portray the early *dupi*, or folk who became *dupi*, as a hunting, rat-snaring people who did not object to rotten meat and had great knowledge of forest fruits and products but knew nothing of cattle. We need not enter into details since Mr. Whitehead is preparing his material for publication.

PLATE XXVII



Bari-speaking tribes, types. Nos. 1, 2, 3 Mandari, 4 and 5 Kakwa

[*face p.* 298

Whereas among the Bari hunting is of minor importance, among the Fajelu all men are hunters and there is much hunting ritual. Thus before an expedition the leader of the hunt scatters leaves upon the hunters and upon their bows; the hunters twang their bows at him and his assistant, who, in imitation of a wounded animal, fall to the ground.

Although a Fajelu will refer to his contemporaries as his *ber*, Mr. Whitehead could discover no age-classes or initiation ceremonies. Both girls and boys have their lower incisors extracted, lest if this were omitted they should grow up sterile. Scars are also made on the chests of both sexes.

Captain Yunis records that among the Kuku the lower incisors and canines are removed from both sexes for "the purpose of mutual sex attraction", and this is done at ten to twelve years of age.

> "It is earnestly believed by the native that happy family relations, prosperity in future life, good luck to his offspring, depend on the observance of this traditional rite. Should a fellow be so unlucky as to die prior to his subjection to the custom, his friends would invariably resort to it before burying him, lest evil befall his folk. . . . Some men in addition to this mutilation submit themselves to having the four front teeth in the upper jaw filed to a point." [1]

There is a submerged or *dupi* class, cultivating on a relatively small scale and differing in habits of diet, of whom the Fajelu gave Mr. Whitehead the following account:—

> "They go in the woods, and they catch 'reed rats' and eat them, and dig up *mangga* (a creeper) and *kubuk* (a root), and the roots of bamboos, and eat them in the wood with their cats. And they eat honey, and when elephants have died in the wood, they find their tusks, and carry them to their chief. And when the land turns to the wet season, they take flying ants and eat them. These people we call *ufi* (*dupi*). They are wanderers in the wood, they don't sit in a homestead; they have no cows."

There are also *ufi* (the *ufi kaderak*, or "cookers") in service with the Fajelu freemen. Their position is less servile than among the Bari, they may marry freewomen, and are included among the Fajelu clans; the *tomonok* or smiths are not, perhaps because they are of Bari origin. Among the Kuku the *dupi* are probably few in number, indeed Mr. Whitehead is inclined to believe that they are limited to the assistants of the rain-maker and that they are the true operators of the rain-stones.

The Fajelu have exogamous clans, but a man is not described as

[1] El Yuzbashi Negib Yunis, "Notes on the Kuku and other Minor Tribes inhabiting the Kajo Kaji District, Mongalla Province": *S.N. & R.*, vii, 1924, 11.

belonging to such and such a clan but as a man of a particular chief at such and such a place, nor does any clan seem predominant. Used in this context "chief" is the equivalent of *monyekak*, who may also be described as *monyeyöbu* ("father of the forest") or simply as *matat* ("chief"). He deals ritually with war, and sickness of man and beast, and with hunting. For human ailments he smears with medicine an iron rod with which he touches the sick, presumably not without prayer. The brothers of a *monyekak*, and probably other important men also, are often called *komonyekak*, so that the term *komonyekak* is equivalent to a council of elders. A chief can call upon any of his men to hoe for him, when he will provide a feast.

The Fajelu have a complete and interesting theory of rain. Like the Bari, the people are divided into rain-makers and ordinary people; so, too, the rain-makers have their *dupi*. Rain-makers, who are fairly numerous and do not belong to any special clan, claim to be able to hold up the rain for their own purposes, and are able to collect a considerable amount of tribute. The word both for rain-stones and for clouds is *diko* (pl. *dikolo*). The stones are said to be persons —or the spirits of persons—who in the rainy season leave the earth and live in the sky as clouds, the rain being their sweat. At the height of the rainy season they produce offspring in the shape of other stones, which in the dry season somehow get about the bush, to be distributed later among rain-makers. Such rain-stones grow when oiled. During the dry season rain-stones in the house of the rain-maker must be kept in the dark, lest the sun should not shine with sufficient vigour. Stones thus represent the concrete form in which departed spirits can be controlled by their descendants, and the ceremonies in which the stones are used seem to fall into line in their main features with other feasts or sacrifices to departed spirits. As among the Bari, the names and varying potency of the stones is explained by their representing particular dead rain-makers.

At Bongo, some 30 miles from Juba on the Juba-Yei road, the rain-maker is a relative of Pitia Lugar and may persuade his distinguished kinsman to come and help him, as he did a couple of seasons ago. A deputation went to Shindiru to ask for rain, with the result that Pitia Lugar arrived, accompanied by two elders and two *dupi*.

The actual technique of rain-making is much as among the Bari. The rain-maker goes down to a river and bathes, a black goat (*kine*) is killed, also a black hen. The rain-stones are brought out and

smeared with a mixture of oils of butter-nut, ground-nut, and sesame.

The Kuku chief, Kajo Kaji (recently dead), was of the Bekat clan (presumably of Bari origin) and related to Pitia Lugar, by whom he was called *longaser* (brother). Mr. Whitehead saw his grave under or near a thick clump of trees, together with those of his ancestors.[1] The grave is within a ring of upright stones some 10 feet in diameter, with apparently an entrance (at any rate a gap) on the side leading towards the trees, which were said to be *kaden ti mian*, "trees of power."

Captain Yunis writes of a Kuku "sub-chief", Tombe Gborron, who possessed a "spear-like iron rod" of such virtue that the officer adminstering the district used this for swearing the people, each being "fully convinced that should he swear falsely by this rod he is doomed to die".[2]

Certain spirits are associated with rivers, and these spirits appear to be ancestral among the Fajelu as they are among the Kuku. But here again there seems to be no clear differentiation between Ngun and the ancestral spirits, for "the *ngunyen* (gods) of the river are as *mulökö*". Running water seems to be regarded as the home of spirits. Thus disease is often attributed to *kare*, the river, while *kepot*—a skin eruption—is the result of the action of some spirit of the water which has followed or afflicted the sufferers, the actual expression being, *kare kefodu ngutu*, "the river follows people." Running water should not be drunk after eating certain kinds of flesh, especially such as are considered oily. "If you have touched your hands with oil, or your body, and then you go in or by a place where a person has died, or where a person has been killed, they (the hands) catch *kepot*, or they (the spirits) catch (you) with *kepot*, because the spirits of those people smell the oil which is on your hand." By a marshy pool Mr. Whitehead saw the bases of several

[1] This is the "sacred grove" mentioned by Stigand. Close to the old Dufile and Nimule road there is

"a shady grove of trees in a clump of thick undergrowth. This is one of the Kuku sacred groves, called Rudu, and belongs to Kajo Kaji, whilst, a little further on, there is one belonging to Yonguli. It is forbidden to cut the trees or undergrowth of these groves and nobody but the authorized priests is allowed to enter. There is a superstition that if any others enter they will become sterile, whether man or woman. Kajo Kaji's father is buried in the grove and Kajo Kaji himself will be when he dies. Sacrifices are made at the spot on such occasions as a severe drought.

"At Bulamatari's there is no grove, but a solitary tree which fulfils the same function. . . . Here, they say a chief would be buried, unless he dies of wounds, in which case he would be buried in his village." (*Equatoria* 74.)

[2] Op. cit., 26–7.

pots; they contained or had contained sesame oil, and had been put there as offerings to Ngun lo kare, who was said to have come, attracted by the odour. The offering was made by a sick man who thus thought to get rid of his illness.

Ancestor worship is potent throughout Fajelu life, its most obvious expression being the small spirit-hut. This may be round or square, and is about 18 inches high, built of canes or sticks; it is often unroofed and has an entrance, opposite which may stand a few cooking stones. Part of the sacrificial feast is presumably placed in this hut. One granary is known as the *gugu lo mulökö*, "granary of the spirits," and is filled with grain taken not from a man's wives' gardens but from his own garden (i.e. the one he formerly cultivated for his deceased mother), and this grain is used for three purposes only, viz. for sacrificial feasts to the departed, for the entertainment of strangers, and in times of scarcity.

Illness may be due to neglect of ancestors or trespass against God (Ngun), and Mr. Whitehead suggests that *mulökötyo* can mean "divine" spirit as well as ancestral spirit. Other ills are inflicted by a dynamic potency, *mian*, power residing in trees, probably in rain-stones and in the people who control them, also in lightning, hills, and rivers, while *lömi* acts much as among the Bari (p. 279).

The attitude of the Kuku towards the firmament, and whether the latter is in any way associated with "God", is unknown. Father J. Van den Plas gives Uletet as signifying God, but also the spirits of the dead[1] while Captain Yunis writes of Ngulaitait as the equivalent of God or Allah.[2] If these words are correctly translated then God is equated with the spirits of the dead.

Thanks to Mr. Giff we know more about the Kuku attitude towards their dead. Immediately after a death, mock combats occur as among the Bari. Somewhat later the spirit of the dead, called *mulötet*, takes up its abode beneath the earthen floor of the hut of the dead man's principal wife, in old days the actual site of the grave. When food or beer is offered to the *mulötet* it is placed over-night in a vessel on the floor of the hut, the spirit partakes, and the food is eaten next day by the living. When a childless (presumably unmarried) man dies, the *mulötet* goes to the house of his brother, the position being explained to Mr. Giff as follows: "Suppose you and Wani and Sokiri were brothers, in order of age; one father. If you should die, your *mulötet* will go to the house of Wani." Further, "If the two younger

[1] *Les Kuku* (Brussels), 1910, 271 and 280. [2] Op. cit., 2.

brothers die while small, not having children, when the first-born brings home a wife she will not be able to bear children." The first-born could however remedy this by erecting outside his hut at about 90 degrees from the door, a shrine made of one flat stone resting horizontally on two or three vertical stones, the whole about a foot high. These shrines appear to be very similar to those we found among the Lango (p. 354), but, as Mr. Giff informs us, neater and with fewer uprights; he adds that not every dead person has a shrine: "Normally the spirit comes to the floor of the hut, and there drinks the offering (of beer, let us say) while the occupants are asleep." The shrine, *kadi* (the same word as for house), is erected "in order that the brother might live there". Food and beer are offered at the shrine; when sacrifice is made the goat is placed with its throat on the horizontal stone.

When a child dies young its spirit persists in the house of its father until the latter's death, when it migrates to the house of an elder brother and a shrine is built for it.

A woman may be barren because of the *mulötet*, and the ceremony for removing the trouble suggests that the spirit of her own people or of her husband's family may be to blame. The husband consults the *bunit*, who sends him home to propitiate the *mulötet* with beer. The father of the woman must take part in this ceremony with her husband and his relatives. When the beer is drunk the father invites all present to spit into his hands, and with the saliva collected he rubs the body of the woman saying: "Let my daughter now become pregnant."

Other evidence of the importance of ancestral spirits is offered by the treatment of the *monyekak*, the reason avowed for the villagers bringing the *monyekak* beer before cultivation being that the latter may propitiate his ancestors, lest the crop be poor or the cultivator meet with accident.

Among the Kuku, Father Van den Plas mentions special miniature houses built as shrines for the spirits of the deceased [1] and these are described at length by Captain Yunis, who states that the sons of a dead man build a miniature house between their houses and that of the deceased for the use of the latter's spirit. Such shrines are circular, about 3 feet across and of about the same height. Or the shrine may be low, rectangular, and only about 1 foot in each dimension. The spirit is supposed to reside in this house permanently, and, though

[1] Op. cit., 143.

able to wander, it never fails to return to it. The relatives are occasionally expected to kill a sheep and brew beer, which are placed in the shrine for the benefit of the spirit who "visits the various dishes and pours upon them good wishes and blessings, and early next morning the household consume them greedily with the conviction that they ensure their prosperity and welfare. Such meals are specially prepared at periods when the new crops have been harvested, and no new crop is edible unless a sacrifice-meal has been served to the soul in order to obtain its blessing on the food. One miniature house will serve for the soul of a dead husband and wife, and both live in it and share the pleasure of sacrifice offerings, whereas for the souls of children a separate miniature house, generally smaller in dimensions, is built . . ." [1]

Mr. Whitehead confirms this account, but adds that the houses are not always miniature. If made full size they are called *kadi na yari*, and apparently are made only for a dead mother. A special *gugu* of food will be attached to them; this is called *gugu lo yari* (or *lo mulökö*, or *lo komon*), and, as already stated for the Fajelu, the grain it holds is devoted to sacrifices, the entertainment of strangers, and the support of the family in time of famine.

[1] Op. cit., 22–3.

Chapter IX

THE LOTUKO

The Lotuko-speaking tribes occupy an area on the east bank of the Nile east of the Bari and north of the Acholi. They present many resemblances to the Bari and belong to the same linguistic group, so that there is nothing improbable in the origin of the Lotuko—the strongest of this group of tribes—recorded on page 239, but as far back as Baker's time the Lotuko fought with spears, not with bow and arrow.

The chief Lotuko-speaking tribes are the Lotuko, Lokoiya, and Lango (not to be confused with the Shilluk-speaking Lango of Uganda). Actually Lokoiya may not be the correct term for the tribe to which it is applied. Mr. Driberg states that the correct tribal name is Leria,[1] with a sub-section, Owe, called Lowe by the Lotuko and officially Lueh. The Leria speak of their own country as Opōni, the term Lokoiya being used by the people of Lepul (officially Lafon) for the Leria, Ipotu, Imurok, Longaryo, and Ilani, and these tribes are all called Koryuk by the Lotuko. With the exception of the Ipotu, who have given up the bow and arrow, they are all bowmen. Lord Raglan considers the "pure" Koryuk, on the western slopes of Imatong, to be shorter than the Lotuko, with rounder heads and more prominent cheekbones. They scar their cheeks vertically and live in scattered villages, the roofs of their houses, which are unfenced, touching the ground.

South-west of the Owe live the Lolubo, a small tribe speaking a language said to be akin to Bari but unintelligible to the latter.

Physically there is a strong general resemblance among the Lotuko-speaking peoples; all are very dark-skinned dolichocephals with a C.I. practically the same as that of the Bari. Though the Lotuko are notably taller than their neighbours, indeed than the Bari, yet, with a single exception whose features and skin colour suggested foreign blood, no individual struck us as specially tall, contrasting

[1] Emin mentions the district of "Liria to which the Lokoya mountains belong", and says that the inhabitants were Bari (*Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 291). Probably the presence of bows led him to make this mistake. It must however be noted that the Leria have suffered considerable Bari influence, and a large number of personal names are Bari.

in this respect with the Bari, among whom "very tall" individuals are by no means rare.

The most important indices of these tribes as given below indicate their close affinity *inter se*:—

	C.I.	*N.I.*	*F.I.*	*U.F.I.*	*Stature.*
Lotuko (34) . .	73·3	84·6	88·4	49·5	1·78
Lokoiya (20) . .	73·3	90·0	86·4	48·2	1·72
Lango (24) . .	74·2	88·4	86·0	49·0	1·72

The Lotuko are organized into a number of independent territorial groups [1] until recent times often at enmity. The group among which most of our work was done was that marked Tarangole (its correct pronunciation is Tirangoré) on the map, whose *kobu* was Loinyong (since dead), more commonly known as Ibrahim. Territorially the group includes the great village of Tarangole, certain smaller settlements, including Lopi and Ghapurire, the hill village of Logurun, with its rain shrine, but not the important iron and pot-making centre of Chelamini a few miles east of Tarangole.

This group may be called the Tarangole (or Tirangoré) group, from the name of its chief village, which, except that it no longer has an outer palisade and that probably the Lotuko now only possess a fraction of the cattle they did in Baker's time, has probably altered little in character since then.

> "The town of Tarrangollé contained about three thousand houses, and was not only surrounded by iron-wood palisades, but every house was individually fortified by a little stockaded courtyard. The cattle were kept in large kraals in various parts of the town, and were most carefully attended, fires being lit every night to protect them from flies; and high platforms in three tiers were erected in many places, upon which sentinels watched both day and night to give the alarm in case of danger. The cattle are the wealth of the country, and so rich are the Latookas in oxen that ten or twelve thousand head are housed in every large town; thus the natives are ever on the watch, fearing the attacks of the adjacent tribes.[2] . . . Tarrangollé is arranged with several entrances in the shape of low archways through the palisades; these are closed at night by large branches of the hooked thorn of the kittur bush (a species of mimosa). The main street is broad, but all others are studiously arranged to admit of only one cow in single file between the high stockades; thus, in the

[1] We purposely use the word group in speaking of the community we studied, though it would probably be equally accurate to use the term tribe or sub-tribe. Morphologically this community seemed to us scarcely less definite a unit than, e.g. a Dinka tribe, though very much smaller, but since our experience of the Lotuko country is limited we prefer to employ the less precise term.

[2] On this Lord Raglan comments as follows: "As far as I remember Tirangoré now contains 300–400 houses. It may have once been larger, but I cannot believe that it ever contained anything like 3,000 houses. Baker was given to exaggeration. . . ."

PLATE XXXIII



Lotuko speaking tribes, types. Nos 1 and 2 Lokoiya, 3 Lotuko, 4 Lango

face p 300

event of an attack, these narrow passages could be easily defended, and it would be impossible to drive off their vast herds of cattle unless by the main street. The large cattle kraals are accordingly arranged in various quarters in connection with the great road, and the entrance of each kraal is a small archway in the strong ironwood fence sufficiently wide to admit one ox at a time. Suspended from the arch is a bell, formed of the shell of the Dolape palm-nut, against which every animal must strike either its horns or back on entrance. Every tinkle of the bell announces the passage of an ox into the kraal, and they are thus counted every evening when brought home from pasture." [1]

One of the "high platforms" of the above description is well seen in Pl. XXIX. These, the *obele*, may have as many as seven stages, and are associated with initiation ceremonies.

The houses of the members of the rain-making family are really fine pieces of work. The largest are imposing cones, some 30 feet high, with palm leaf thatch which almost touches the ground, and an entrance so low as to necessitate crawling. The interior is perhaps 20 feet across and appears extraordinarily spacious and airy when compared with other Sudan huts. The floor space is divided by a low wall, forming a chord which subtends so large a part of the circumference that it is almost a diameter. It does not however reach from wall to wall, but the gap is so small that a mat can be suspended across it so that an inner chamber is formed. The wall, which is stoutly built, carries seven or eight large pottery vessels 2–3 feet across, and on the mouths of these rest smaller pots.

In hill villages such as Logurun the homesteads were scattered irregularly up the hillside, each surrounded by its fence, and often built partly or entirely on a terrace or platform of stones, the free vertical faces giving the appearance of carefully built stone walls.

In some hill villages, e.g. Labalwa (which does not belong to the Tarangole group) we saw monolithic stone circles, usually small, but with stones up to 3–4 feet high (Pl. XXXI). These are built at the present day and are squatting places for the men; they seem of little social importance, and are additional to, not substitutes for, drum-houses (pp. 313–14). None of these circles were seen in the villages of the Tarangole group, but they are common among the Lokoiya.

We believe that in the old days a good deal of fighting went on, even if its manifestations were not always on a sufficient scale to be called war. Baker found the Lotuko a merry warlike people, and

[1] S. W. Baker, *The Albert N'Yanza*, 1867, i, 195–7.

a good many examples of their practical efficiency will be found in his book. Moreover, as pointed out by Lord Raglan, "a man was not supposed to be really a man until he had killed his man"[1]; while we may also refer to what we have written of spear-names (p. 322). The names given to the age-classes (p. 324) also indicate the frequent occurrence of fighting, and feuds between communities might last for years, yet there seems to have been little tendency to fight with their neighbours the Lango and the Acholi.

Regulation of Public Life

Our knowledge of the social organization and beliefs of the Lotuko cannot be said to antedate the account given by Major the Hon. Fitz R. R. Somerset[2] (now Lord Raglan), for although the Lotuko were visited by Baker, and there is a long dissertation on them in Stuhlmann's volume[3] put together from Emin's notes, which contains a certain amount of useful information, it ignores such basic facts as the clan organization.

Each territorial group includes a number of villages, is divided into clans (*nawoyo*)[4] and has at its head a rain-maker (masc. *kobu*, fem. *nobu*) who is commonly referred to as "Sultan" by any Lotuko who may be able to speak Arabic.

The clans are exogamous, descent is in the male line, and at death everyone becomes the animal associated with his clan. There is generally a certain feeling of sympathy or friendliness between men and their clan animals, nevertheless men will usually kill their clan animals, though they will not eat them. It may be that as regards killing the feeling varies from clan to clan and perhaps also with time and place. We shall return to this subject later.

Of the *kobu* Lord Raglan writes: "The principal function of a *kobu* or chief is to make rain, but among the Lotuko . . . the chiefs

[1] Somerset, "The Lotuko," *S.N. & R.*, 1, 1918, 154

[2] Op. cit.

[3] F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin ins Herz von Afrika*, Berlin, 1894; cf. also *Emin in Central Africa*, London, 1888.

[4] Father Molinaro informs us that although *kang* and *nemanit* both signify "clan" the word more commonly used is *nawoyo*, also applied to the totem animals. The word *kang*, which following Lord Raglan we used for clan in our earlier communication (*S.N. & R.*, VII, 1925), also means clan but only when used without the article, whereas with the article it means "the village of . . .", e.g. *na kang Lolya* "the village of Lolya".

PLATE XXIX



Tarangole village, Lafit range in background

[face p. 308



Logurun

have always a good deal of political power." [1] Actually the rain-maker is the religious as well as the temporal head of the community, and as will be seen later both powers are as much respected in the person of a woman as in a man.

The rain-maker has certain privileges as regards game killed, and all skins of lions and leopards would be brought to him, as well as ivory. Actually the number of lions killed is negligible, but of leopard skins the rain-maker might have a considerable store to give away as occasion demanded, and not only to men of rain-making blood. Of game animals the rain-maker would receive the breast and the right fore-limb, and he would also be given a considerable share of fish caught. Offerings of first fruits are brought to him, moreover everyone contributes millet for his support, and even the *lomonyemiji* will bring their share. The rain-maker did not abstain from taking an active part in warfare. He was said to have certain assistants, executive officers called *abalok*, to pass on his orders, two being elected by each drum-house.

It was difficult to form a fair opinion of the amount of authority wielded by the rain-maker. Probably his personal character was always the most important factor, but conditions have changed so much of late years that it is difficult to judge. Lokidi, a strong character of the transitional period, certainly exerted great personal authority, but this was largely due to his having learnt what he considered to be the ways of the Europeans; he maintained a body of men, their leaders dressed in blue jersey and tarbush and armed with rifles, who at his orders raided any village that did not produce sufficient tribute. Loinyong was a very different type of man; elderly and easygoing, if not definitely weak, his authority, crippled by the Government, always seemed precarious, and when shortly before our departure he personally chastised a wrongdoer the latter retaliated and bit his thumb severely. An attempt to seize the culprit led to a scuffle and his getting away. Those sent to bring him in returned shortly and flung down a very limp man; he had not been "hammered", as we naturally thought, but had fallen in his rush to escape and broken his thigh. No further punishment was inflicted, at any rate while we were about the district; his family tended the invalid, nor could we discover that the accident was looked upon as a natural and fitting punishment of his treatment of his chief.

Ordinary matters of tribal lore and custom are discussed and settled

[1] Op. cit., 154.

by the elders, extraordinary affairs are brought before a general assembly of male adults.

Besides the *kobu*, the *lomonyemiji*, the "fathers of the land", wield very real power in the magico-religious sphere. In origin and functions they correspond to the Bari *monyekak*: they are the men, or the descendants of the men, who first bring a piece of land under cultivation or fish a particular piece of water. Tarangole was said to be an old site of clan Idjogok upon which the Igago clan later became predominant, and here the *lomonyemiji* for the cultivation was Itangatu of Idjogok.

With regard to the "owner of water" or "owner of the river", Mr. Driberg writes that like the *lomonyemiji* he has an hereditary title, viz. *lamonyekhari*. No one may fish until he has sacrificed a sheep or a goat—black, red, or dark grey—at the beginning of the season, the animal being killed on the river bank and its stomach contents thrown into the river; old men eat the meat.

The clans of the Tarangole group with their totem animals are as follows:—

Igago, with its sub-clans Kidongi, Marabat, Lejong, Katang, and possibly some others (all having arisen as divisions within Igago) having the crocodile as totem.

Lowudo, *namalong*, a monkey.

Lomini, the elephant.

Lomia, *manga*, the winged white ant.

Idjogok, *amunu*, a snake.

From genealogies taken at Tarangole, Torit, and Losito, it seemed that the clans were scattered more or less over the whole of the Lotuko area.

In the Tarangole group, and this also holds good for the people of Torit, the Igago clan is undoubtedly the largest and the most important politically, the great chiefs Amoya (Moy) and Maiya of Baker's time being both Igago men, the sons of two brothers, their lines now represented respectively by Loinyong at Tarangole and Loceleli at Torit; indeed it seems probable that there was but one chief for both communities originally. In the Losito group the rain-maker is a member of the clan of most importance locally, the Lowudo; at Iboni (we only heard of this as a village, though it may constitute or be a part of a group bearing its name) on Mount Lafit the Igago wife of the late Lomia rain-maker was the rain-maker of the Lomia clan. There is other evidence pointing in the same direction, so it

may be said that the clan at the head of each territorial group is the one to which the rain-maker belongs, and we believe that the centre of the political group is sometimes described by the name of its most important clan. Certainly the chiefs of Tarangole, Losito, etc., were territorial rain-makers, and there is no feeling that to make rain implies knowledge possessed by only one clan, nor would a Lowudo man living at Tarangole look upon Isara, the Lowudo rain-maker at Losito, as his own chief rather than Loinyong the Tarangole rain-chief.

As already stated, descent is patrilineal and the clans are exogamous, thus Igago, Lowudo, Lomia, and Lomini clans may all intermarry, but Kidongi, Marabat, Lejong, and Katang, are regarded as divisions that have split from Igago and so do not intermarry with each other or with Igago.[1]

There is no objection to marrying into the mother's clan so long as the relationship is not too close, several such marriages are recorded in our genealogies. We are not prepared to define the expression "too close" precisely. It is, however, certain that a man may not marry the daughter of his mother's sister.

Reference has already been made to the sympathy existing between men and their clan animals, into which men are transformed at death. As regards the change the usual idea is that the animal which was the dead man is at first small, and sometimes, e.g. in the case of the Igago clan, whose members become crocodiles, tends to linger near the dwellings of the living. Later it increases in size and takes to the water, but often not before the *ibwoni* (medicine man) has treated it. So when a Lomini man dies a herd will come and take with them the new elephant, while a troup of monkeys will fetch away the new monkey that was a Lowudo.

The relationship between men and their clan animals during life seems to vary from clan to clan, thus though it was said that the elephants would recognize the millet planted by a Lomini man by its (Lomini) smell and so not trample it, we did not hear of other examples of similar acts. Yet it may well be that they are believed to occur, and the curious friendship existing in Emin's time between one Lotor (described by Loinyong, when questioned, as a commoner

[1] We wish to make clear that there is nothing approaching a dual organization among the Lotuko, though at first sight it did appear as though Lowudo, Lomini, and Lomia married into the divisions of Igago, who themselves did not intermarry. But we soon learnt that the divisions of Igago, which had all the same clan animal, were not looked upon as separate clans. Lomia, Lomini, and Lowudo had no such sub-divisions.

of Imatorit, whose clan he did not know) and lions may belong to this class; indeed, the passage which records the friendship rather suggests that Lotor was chief of a lion clan.

> "Only leopards are dreaded, for they often attack men, which lions never do, although they lurk in the bush by twos and threes. The negroes tell me that they are under the control of a chief named Lottor, a very simple good-natured man, who always keeps two tame lions in his house (a fact), and as long as he receives occasional presents of corn and goats, prevents the wild lions from doing any mischief. It is curious to note that the lions here are really good-tempered (perhaps because they find abundance of food), and they are also much admired, as shown by the following incident: One day we came upon a lion caught in a pit-fall, whereupon the chief Lottor was fetched, and he pushed into the pit branches of trees to enable the lion to get out; this it did, and after giving us a roar of acknowledgment, walked off unharmed." [1]

To this account Loinyong added the information that lions would commonly bring Lotor part of their kill.

Among the Igago clan it was commonly said that an Igago man would not hesitate to kill crocodiles except in or near the pool Itaraba, for the crocodiles here were the rain-makers of the clan; yet at Tarangole, perhaps because he himself was a rain-maker, Loinyong took exception to the killing of a crocodile by his son Lakon. When the latter killed a crocodile about 6 feet long in a dry khor near Tarangole, and had it brought to the village by his companions, Loinyong was distinctly angry with him for killing it, and reproached him in spite of the allegation—an obvious untruth—that the action had been in self-defence.

With regard to rain-makers, Mr. Driberg has been successful in eliciting the peculiar relation between these and the insect *neguru*, a connection of which we were aware but could not define. "Most *kobu*, but not all, belong to the Igago clan, and when a *kobu* dies he becomes his clan totem (e.g. in the case of the Igago, the crocodile). The insect *neguru* (a species of aphis) is said to swarm instantly over the grave of a *kobu*. Neither a *kobu* nor anyone else ever becomes a *neguru* at death. It is an insect always associated with a *kobu*, which is natural as the *kobu* is concerned with crops, whose greatest pest is the aphis." We give Mr. Driberg's words: though further inquiry seems necessary to make clear the philosophy of the connection of *kobu* and *neguru*, the facts are confirmed by Father Molinaro, who adds, "the rain-maker brings fertility, the *neguru* destruction."

[1] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 223.

Lord Raglan has given us the following information regarding the internal organization of the larger Lotuko villages. These

> "are divided into quarters (*nangatit*) consisting of some 50–100 houses. Each quarter has a name, and contains a men's meeting-place (*namangat*), a drum-house (*nadupa*), and a dancing ground (*napwerá*). In addition there is a central dancing ground for the whole village, and the quarter in which it is situated is called in most villages Pwerá. The general dancing ground and drum-house are also the dancing ground and drum-house of the Pwerá quarter, which is usually the most important. The name of the quarter is also applied to the meeting-place, drum-house, and dancing ground.
>
> "In the middle of each dancing ground are the ebony drum poles, to which great sanctity is attached. When they are set up there is a ceremony. . . . On some poles newly set up in a Lowudo village a snake had been hung. Perhaps this was connected with *kang* Idojok, but I did not then know of this *kang*. In some parts, I think among the Lokoiya and Koryuk, the skulls of animals killed in hunting are fixed to the poles [as they are among the Lango and Acholi]."

The big drums, called *edong*, are kept in the *nadupa*, which are comparable to the club or man-houses of other savage peoples, though their social importance, if it ever was great, appears to have waned considerably at the present time. Each *nadupa* has its traditional name, and each has a master (*amonyu nadupa*, "father of the *nadupa*"), who has inherited his position, but we have no evidence that its members sing or glorify their house.

The *nadupa* of Tarangole are, as far as we could discover: Tangule, of Lowudo, Fagila of Kidongi, Efarong of Marabat, Iriwo of Lowudo, and Agorunyu of Lomia.

It was said that Asang first established *nadupa* and "divided" the men for each. A man frequents his father's drum-house, and there may be more than one drum-house of the same name in a village, if there are too many members for comfort. The master of a *nadupa* remains master until he dies; as he gets old he is given a substitute —generally one of his sons—who acts for him and when he dies inherits his position. When a new drum is required the members of the *nadupa* procure the material and make the drum, but not in the drum-house, to which it is not brought until the master of the house has killed a sheep.

The *nadupa* appear to have been the centres of such organization for war as formerly existed; they are still the centres at which the larger hunting parties (each *nadupa* usually making up its own) are arranged, and their masters are responsible for the distribution of the meat killed by their members. Before hunting the master of

the *nadupa* goes to the *ibwoni* with the spears of his members, when the latter, taking a handful of dust, spits on each and plasters its blades for success.

As far as we were able to ascertain, the following were the occasions upon which the drums were sounded in the *nadupa*, but doubtless there are others unknown to us:—

(1) Before going to war, but not while a war party is actually in the field, for this would probably lead to the death of one or more of its members.

(2) At the death of a member of the drum-house or his wife. It appeared that for an unmarried girl the drum would be sounded in her father's *nadupa*, but this requires confirmation. Although the drum is not sounded in connection with the exhumation of the bones, described on pages 337–8, dancing and drumming at the *nadupa* play an important part in connection with the *nametere*, but Father Molinaro informs us that drums are not beaten at the death of Igago rain-makers on account of their special relationship to *neguru'* (p. 312). This prohibition does not apply to other members of clan Igago.

(3) At the initiation (new-fire) ceremony.

(4) At many dances, e.g. a dance would commonly be held soon after a new drum was made.

(5) After the harvest ceremonies but never while the millet is in bloom.

Formerly the drum-house played a prominent part in the ceremony undergone by a man who had taken human life. A goat would be killed, the contents of the paunch and gut mixed with water in a pot, and taken first to the house of the *kobu* and then to the drum-houses, where in each case some was sprinkled on the threshold. Our notes do not indicate whether this was done by the homicide himself, though he must sleep in his *nadupa* that night; early the next morning, before daylight, he washed and was then ruddled all over. After this he could go to his own house. The goat was eaten by the elders of the community, irrespective of clan, the slayer alone might not partake of it.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

The following kinship terms are in use; the suffix *-ong* signifies "my", and from lack of knowledge of the language we have left

this termination, as except occasionally we did not hear the words without it.

Moinyong . . .	Father.
Eyang (*eyaghong*) .	Mother.
Lorighong or *narighong*	Child.
Woke (*kong*) . .	Brother by the same father, father's brother's son, sister by the same father, father's brother's daughter.
Ilang . . .	Brother by the same mother.
Ghanighong, or *ghanium*	Sister by the same mother.
Imani (*ghong*) . .	Father's brother, mother's brother.
Iyani (*ghong*) . .	Father's sister, mother's sister.
Soni (*kong*). . .	Father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, mother's sister's child (m. and f.).
Aghanighong . .	Father's father, father's mother, mother's father, mother's mother.
Kotu (*ghong*) . .	Father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband.
Komani (*kong*) . .	Wife's father, wife's mother, husband's father, husband's mother, daughter's husband, son's wife, sister's son's wife, husband's mother's brother.
Ilesi	Wife's brother, sister's husband.
Koatani (*kong*) . .	Wife's sister, sister's husband (w.s.), husband's brother, brother's wife—sometimes also called wife (m. s.)—wife's sister's husband.
Kanighong . . .	Co-wife, wife's brother's wife, husband's brother's wife.

Among the Lotuko the terms for "father" and "mother" apply only to the true father and mother.[1] It seems at first sight curious that there should be a term for father's brother different from father, as the father's brother's child is called by the same term as the father's child, and his wife is called by the descriptive term for father's wife (not mother). But it must be noted that the term for paternal uncle, *imani*, is the same as that for maternal uncle, and there can be little doubt by comparison with the Nandi *imamet* and the Bari *mananye* that the latter is the original meaning. It may then be inferred that at one time the term for father was applied, as is usual in the classificatory system, to the father's brother also. The fact that the father's brother, for whom among the allied Lotuko-speaking peoples there is a specific term, is classed with the mother's brother indicates a change from a more simple classificatory system, and this is further seen in the use of the words for the cousins. No reason for this change can be suggested, as the father's brother's children are quite distinct socially from the mother's brother's children.

[1] As far as we could determine, this is not so among the Lokoiya, where it appears that the father's brother is addressed either by the term for father or for mother's brother, while the Lango have one word for both father and father's brother.

The sex limitations of the terms used for brother and sister and "cousin" must be noted: *ilang* and *ghanighong* are respectively male and female, and are used by either sex, i.e. they correspond to brother and sister in English.

Wokekong is either male or female, but can only be used between persons of the same sex; *sonikong* applies to both sexes, and can be used by either sex. It seems clear that the correct meaning of *ilang* and *ghanighong* is brother and sister by the same mother, whether by the same father or not, yet *ilang* is used in a wider sense and is the word commonly used for brother and would certainly be given by a Lotuko as the translation of the Arabic word for brother. A friend might be greeted as *ilang*, but we think not as *wokekong*. Sometimes it seemed as though in a friendly way a man who was really the *wokekong* might be called *ilang*, but the process would not be reversed. Thus, though all brothers might be called *ilang*, only the children born to one woman were correctly so called, and they would still be *ilang* even though children of different fathers. This was so even when the fathers belonged to different clans, thus Ikang called Lokidi, her mother's son, *ilang*, though her own father was a Lokoiya rain-chief and Lokidi was son of Amoya, the Igago rain-maker, so that although Ikang was the widow of three brothers of Lokidi she still thought of him as her *ilang*, not her husband's brother (see Table). *Wokekong*, on the other hand, means "child of my father", and "child of my father's brother", but one informant used a descriptive term meaning "father's child" for both these relatives, and did not mention *wokekong*, though doubtless he knew the term. The point to be emphasized here is that though he was trying to give accurate information he did not look upon these relatives as *ilang*. We could not find that any distinctions of behaviour were observed between a woman and her brothers or ortho-cousins, whether she called them *ilang* or *wokekong*. She neither "feared" nor avoided them nor treated them in any ceremonial manner, they had played together as children and would meet in later life without any restrictions.

A different attitude is maintained to those cousins who are called *soni*, the mother's sister's children (brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense) and the cross-cousins, both of whom are addressed by this one term. The *soni* were sharply differentiated from the brothers and sisters and the ortho-cousins with male descent, *iang*, *ghanighong*, and *woke*. There is avoidance between *soni* of opposite

sexes, and a man would not make advances to his *soni* or to his sister in a dance. *Soni* were said to "fear" one another and treat one another with respect, they would never eat together, the woman would leave the hut when her male *soni* entered, and he, meeting her on a path, would make a detour to let her pass. Yet we were told this "fear" could not be compared to that of an "in-law" which was far greater. The *soni* relationship was well illustrated by the behaviour of Loinyong and Ikang. Ikang, a rain-maker and treated with great respect at Tarangole, is the widow of three earlier rain-makers, who were *woke* of Loinyong. Thus she has been actively associated with rain-making for a longer period than Loinyong himself, who is the chief acknowledged by the Government. In the public rain-making ceremonies she stands on an equality with Loinyong, and as the possessor of a strong personality is probably held in higher esteem by the Lotuko than Loinyong, who is not a very strong character. Yet she is his *soni*, their mothers were sisters (*woke*, the daughters of two brothers), and therefore she fears and respects him, she would not eat before him, and when he enters her house she must leave it. This behaviour contrasts in an interesting manner with that of Halima (Ikioma) and Loinyong. These two are *woke*, children of the same father but different mothers. Halima is a woman of no tribal importance, her mother was not a rain-maker, she married a soldier in one of the black battalions and has lived the greater part of her life away from her people. The personal prestige that she may have gained by having mixed among people of a higher culture and from being able to speak Arabic is probably not very great among the Lotuko, whose contact with the Government is so recent. Halima treated her brother with the respect due to a man of importance, but there were no ceremonial restrictions between them, she might eat in his presence, and could sit and chat at her ease with him. *Soni*, of the same sex, treat one another with a certain amount of respect, and avoid any contentious subject. It is not uncommon to see Lotuko youths, and even grown men walking about with an arm entwined around the other's waist or shoulder. On more than one occasion we found that these youths were *woke*, *soni* would not use such familiarity. We were told that if *soni* should marry, their offspring would die. It should be noted that the marriage of *soni* is not excluded by clan exogamy.

There is a term for grandparent, but the grandchild is called "child".

The *imani* is respected and feared to a certain extent; a lad would never refuse to obey his *imani*, yet it was said that a man also "fears" his sister's son, and however badly the latter might behave the *imani* would never beat him. Both *iyani*, the mother's sister and the father's sister, are also treated with great respect, and the latter is feared and would be obeyed promptly. A lad bringing water to his *iyani*, his father's sister, would avert his head when he offered it. We were told that if a woman spoke disrespectfully of her mother's sister she herself would prove barren, nor would a woman ever beat the children of her brother or her sister if they were unruly. As far as we could gather, the idea seemed to be that no one would dare to lay hands upon any one who was not of their own clan.

The attitude of a child towards his paternal uncle in a general way resembles that he adopts towards his own father, except that he recognizes that his paternal uncle is likely to treat him more sternly than his father.

The term for co-wife is also used for husband's brother's wife. This is a very common usage, and though it might be considered to point to a right of access to the brother's wife, it can more simply be explained by the inheritance of widows by the brother of the deceased.

We now come to the terms for relations by marriage. There are comparatively a large number of these, a character which seems to differentiate this branch of Negro-Hamitic peoples (Bari, the Lotuko-speaking tribes, Didinga, and probably others) from the true Nilotes.

Komani, parents-in-law and children-in-law, is a reciprocal term, and is used both for, and by, both sexes; its use is extended to include the spouses of the grandchildren and those of the brothers' and sisters' children.

A man fears and respects all those whom he calls *komani*, and avoids them until his wife has borne a child. After this he may enter the house of his parents-in-law and drink beer, but he will not sit down in the presence of his mother-in-law, nor ever sleep in the same house, nor will he touch any of his *komani*, male or female, except that when making a ceremonial salutation before going on a journey or on his return he might touch their hands. A man treats the parents-in-law of any man he calls *woke* as his own parents-in-law. Ceremonial avoidance is observed in the usual way; a man seeing any one whom he should avoid, on a track, would leave it and make a detour, while the woman would squat down and avert her head. Two persons

between whom there is avoidance would never be found inside a hut at the same time. A woman treats her husband's parents in a similar manner, but we think the rules are less stringent between a woman and her father-in-law than those between a man and his mother-in-law. The custom of avoidance is not, however, carried to the length that is practised among some neighbouring tribes. A man may stay in a village where his *komani* live and may even attend dances that they also attend, though he would take care not to dance near them. This was specially observed in the one Lotuko dance that we witnessed, which was of an undisguised sexual nature, the men displaying themselves before any woman whom they favoured; such display was not necessarily regarded as an actual invitation, though it certainly played a part in courtship.

Ilesi is a reciprocal term used between men, the wife's brother and the sister's husband.

We must point out the lack of ceremonial etiquette towards the wife's brother and his wife, because this stands out in contradistinction to the behaviour of some of the neighbouring tribes. The wife's brother is addressed by a term distinct from that of father-in-law, and, although it is he who eventually receives the bride-wealth given for his sister, no restraint is set up between him and his sister's husband. There is no special term for the wife's brother's wife, she is not classed with the parents-in-law, may be called the wife of the *ilese* (brother-in-law), and is not regarded with fear or respect.

Koatani is a reciprocal term used between persons of the opposite sexes of the same generation, but also includes the wife's sister's husband. Persons who call one another *koatani* are forbidden to marry. The *koatani* and the *ilesi* are sharply differentiated from the *komani* in that in the two former relationships there are no ceremonial restrictions, those who call each other *koatani* or *ilesi* may meet on a footing of equality though quarrels should be avoided between them.

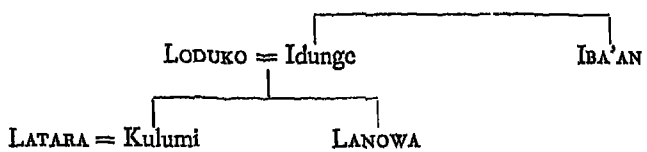
Kotu are not the relations of the spouse, but the husbands of women of the parents' generation. In a simple classificatory system such a term would not occur, they would either be called "father" or described as husband of the female relative in question. We could not find that the *kotu* had any special duty, though we were told that they would be treated with considerable respect and obeyed promptly.

We did not investigate the ceremonial side of courtship and marriage; perhaps this aspect is little developed, for Lord Raglan

writes: "A feast is held, but there is no ceremonial."[1] He also describes a young man as working on his father-in-law's cultivation for about two years.[2]

Bride-wealth is in cows and sheep, and is no doubt lower now than formerly owing to the dearth of cows. In 1922 a cow was said to be worth thirty sheep.

Latara, a young man from the village of Gunyoro on Jebel Ipotu, in the police at Torit, gave four cows and sixty sheep for his wife Kulumi, the whole being handed over before he brought his wife away from her father's house. Latara said that the father's brother must always contribute from one to three cows to the bride-wealth given on behalf of his brother's son. A woman's mother's brother usually receives a portion of the bride-wealth. In the case of Kulumi, however, Iba'an did not receive any of the cattle; Loduko, her father, kept them all, and will use them to get a wife for his son Lanowa when the latter marries:—



Our informant said Iba'an did *not* receive any of the bride-wealth, because he had taken the cattle given for Idunge. Yet in some cases it seemed the maternal uncle did receive some portion, perhaps only when he had not been given the whole of the cattle received for his sister, the mother of the bride.

Auru, a Lotuko of Tarangole, married Idiago, paying five cows and thirty sheep. These were provided for him by Ikang, widow of Lomoro, for the reason that when Latara, father of Auru, died, Lomoro the rain-maker took his widow Ikima, mother of Auru, without handing over bride-wealth for her, because her late husband was his *woke*, the fathers of Lomoro and Latara being brothers. If Ikima had had a brother he would have given one cow towards the bride-wealth for Auru, his sister's son, but as there was no maternal uncle Ikang contributed all the cattle. Though quite a young man Auru had taken a second wife and Ikang had again supplied the whole bride-wealth.

Lamia stood in the same relationship to Ikang as Auru, though

[1] Op. cit., 155. [2] Loc. cit.

from our point of view the relationship was much closer, as the father of Lamia was a real brother (father's son, *woke*) to Lomoro. Lomoro had also taken the mother of Lamia to wife without bride-wealth, as she was the widow of his *woke*. Ikang gave the bride-wealth, seven cows and thirteen sheep, for Lokia, wife of Lamia, the whole going to the former's father, as her mother's brother was dead.

Although these examples are insufficient to show the exact amount that any relative should contribute or receive, they do show that the receipt of cattle from a girl's bride-wealth sets up an obligation which must again be repaid. The only payment that requires no repayment is that between father and son.

We were told that when a wife died the bride-wealth could not be recovered, though sometimes a sister could be obtained in her stead without further payment. No claim could be made on the wife's brother either for his wife or her child, in place of the dead woman.

As we have seen already, the widow is usually taken by the brother of the deceased, but she might also be taken by the dead man's son or his sister's son. We were told that when the widow was taken without bride-wealth her children by the second husband still counted as children of the deceased. When Lomoro, the Lotuko rain-chief, died, his brother Lonik took all his wives and cattle. Lonik was succeeded by his brother Lokidi, but the latter could not marry his brother's widow Ikang as she was his half-sister (by the same mother) and so the cattle were divided. The sons of Lomoro did not inherit anything, but Ikang provides for them generously. It is quite possible that this arrangement only came about because Ikang is a rain-chief and a dominating personality, and Lomoro and Lonik left no rain-making children. Loinyong, who has succeeded his brother Lokidi, has inherited all his brother's widows, but he is an old man, and some of them have refused to stay with him. Three had actually left him when we were at Tarangole and he had received no bride-wealth for them. This condition was deplored and considered to be due to the lowered status of the chiefs since the coming of the Government. Ikang, however, was taking the matter in hand, and intended to recover the bride-wealth for these women or that of any daughters they might bear. One woman had taken a daughter of Lokidi with her, and Ikang was determined to have either the child returned or her bride-wealth.

Among the Lotuko a man may have, and generally has, many names. His first, we suppose we should say his birth-name, is given

to him when he is first brought outside the house; we believe this name is determined by the child's parents, and generally refers to some contemporary event, e.g. Loinyong was called Lafuk by his parents, a name said to be derived from a root meaning "to run away from a fight", referring to a recent occurrence. A small feast (*nepipari*) is held at the name-giving of which all partake, including the mother; probably this is often of vegetable food, but it seemed that a goat might be killed, at any rate for the first-born, if a male. It was said that one who had recently killed his man would call his next son Loryamo.

Besides the birth-name a child may be given "pet" names by his parents from time to time, e.g. Latara, whose birth name is Lamoru, "stone," was called Idō, "sky," and Latara by his parents, the latter name being said to carry some reference to ripe corn.

Besides these names the older men who have killed their man are given a spear-name, which we believe always ends in *-moy*; thus Loinyong had as spear-name Loringomoy, which referred to others being afraid while he was not. Other examples of spear-names are Ometarimoy, the reference being to a man killed in the cultivation, and Atongamoy, recalling the slaughter of a fugitive.[1] Formerly when cattle were plentiful most men also had a bullock-name, i.e. were known by the name, usually descriptive, of a favourite beast; thus Loinyong had the name Lamodâro (a "red" bullock with whitish belly), Leju, of the same generation, was called Lorit, from his bullock, which was red all over.

Mr. Driberg has given us the following list of age distinctions:—

Leïdôli (pl. *leïdole*), suckling.

Leto (plur. *longiyaiyai*), child.

Leto korwong (plur. *aduri korwong*), youth; *korwong*, literally "back", i.e. the group which is behind the *monyomiji*. We found that *aduri korwong* were commonly spoken of as *laduri*.

Olo monyomiji (plur. *monyomiji*), young man.

Leïta (plur. *leïtak*), middle-aged.

Lamarwani (plur. *lamarwakh*), old man.

[1] On these spear-names Lord Raglan sends us the following interesting note: "The termination *-moi* for spear-names is, I believe, borrowed from the Acholi. It is general among the Acholi, Lango, and Logir, and common among the Lotuko, who live close to these tribes, whose chiefs intermarry with them. Among the Lotuko at Torit, Loronyo, etc., the spear-names are similar in form and meaning to the age-class names which you give. Among the Acholi, etc., the spear-name becomes a man's ordinarily used name, but among the Lotuko it remains a nickname."

No one may enter the *nadupa* (drum-house) until he is a *monyomiji*. A lad becomes a *monyomiji* by killing goats at the entrance to the *nadupa*, which are eaten by the older *monyomiji*. Mr. Driberg notes that *monyomiji* are so called because they are in the prime of their powers, and are the first line of defence in a raid and thus "owners of the village". They hold the enemy while the elders guard the women, children, and livestock. *Aduri korwong* also fight, and if one kills an enemy he sacrifices a goat and becomes a *monyomiji*, even if not really of correct age.

It is important not to confuse these *monyomiji* with the *lomonyemiji*, "the father of the village," the first builder of a settlement or his officiating descendant, male or female, who bears his hereditary title and magics the village and the crops for prosperity (p. 310).

The "new fire" ceremony, the *nonggopira* mentioned by Lord Raglan, is essentially a *rite de passage* marking the transition from adolescence to manhood, from youth to warrior. For the Tarangole community the ceremony was held at Logurun, when the moon was young, perhaps on the fourth day of the month of Lomono at the end of the rainy season, when the millet is nearly ripe.

In preparation for the *nonggopira* there is a ceremonial fight between the *laduri* and *monyomiji*, in which the *laduri* have to show that they are the stronger—presumably the *monyomiji* offer no very determined resistance—both sides wearing helmets and bearing shields with sticks as their weapons. The fire is made by the rain-maker, and is drilled from sticks, which are not used again, though they are preserved in one of the *nadupa*, where all have been kept for generations. The rain-maker is assisted in fire-making by four of the new *monyomiji*. All fires in the villages of the group are put out before the new fire is drilled, which we were told was done on the dancing place at the foot of Logurun hill. As soon as the new fire is made, it is carried as quickly as possible to the villages, in each of which kindling has been prepared in one particular drum-house. This is lighted from the new flame, and from it fire is carried to the other drum-houses, whence the new *monyomiji* bear it to their homes. As far as we could discover, no special procedure applied to those houses not supplying an initiate, presumably they too got their fire from their drum-houses.

It is on the occasion of the *nonggopira* that *obele* are built near the *nadupa*. These at first sight suggest look-out stations, consisting as they do of a tall wooden scaffolding bearing from five to seven platforms one above the other at intervals of some 4 feet, the

commonest number as we were told being seven. The *monyomiji* sit and lounge on these; *laduri* would not be admitted to them.

As already stated, the *nonggopira* of the Tarangole group takes place at Logurun; after the ceremony a goat is killed and the contents of the stomach are smeared on the *nadupa* called Imatarit. Whether this is done in other villages at the return of the initiates we cannot say.

The following were the names of the age-classes at Tarangole in 1922:—

Nyafwet, represented by the oldest men in the village, such as Loinyong and Leju; Nyafwet is the place-name of a site upon which Tarangole fought and won a battle.
Muratega, commemorating visits to this village.
Longarim (or Lowalelo, a place on the way to Longarim, where the Muratega class met and fought with the men of Longarim).
Logera, on the track to Itoghom, where fighting had taken place,
Gheret, meaning "intestines", recalling a raid on Lobira during which a cow was stabbed in the abdomen so that the intestines protruded. This was in the time of Lokidi, who was killed in 1917.

In the spring of 1922 the Gheret class had been in existence two years; there were four years between this and Logera, five years between the latter and Lowalelo, eight years between Lowalelo and Muratega, and thirteen years between Lowalelo and Nyafwet. This gives a total of five age-classes in thirty-two years, none of the intervals being as long as that given by Lord Raglan between successive *nonggopira*, or as those given to us when our questions were put in a general rather than concrete form.

We experienced considerable difficulty in eliciting the above information, which we only obtained from our carriers after we had left Tarangole, and we doubt whether we should have succeeded without the help of Mr. Driberg, whose knowledge of the age-classes of neighbouring Uganda tribes was a great assistance. Moreover, as already stated, the interval given us independently as separating successive *nonggopira* was variable to a degree. There is, however, an alternative which subsequent observers might bear in mind; it may be that a *nonggopira* ceremony is not held at every "initiation", but only on specific occasions determined in some manner which we entirely failed to discover. We add a note given us by Lord Raglan since he read the above: "The *nonggopira* proper is, I was told, held every sixteen years, but every four years the boys are admitted to manhood. Each four-year period has a name, but as far as I could

make out the special name of the four-year period following the *nonggopira* is also the general name of the whole sixteen-year period."

Whatever may have been the case in the past, at present age-classes seem to have little social significance, probably their importance was mainly military. The members of the classes were said to eat together ceremonially after fighting, as, indeed, they appear to do on quite ordinary occasions, and each class seems to "fag" for the one next above it to a certain extent. They do not, however, cultivate as classes, or have rights of access to the wives of their class-mates, nor do the members of different classes keep apart in the drum-houses.

RELIGION

In spite of the constantly reiterated statement that man when he dies becomes the clan animal, and that nothing comparable to our idea of a "spirit" persists, it is obvious that the beliefs and ceremonies we describe do in fact constitute a cult of the dead, and this view is confirmed by information we received from other Lotuko-speaking tribes. In addition, as Father Molinaro informs us, there is recognized a power, Ajok, "the creator of everything," now presumably otiose, while with regard to Naijok he agrees with Lord Raglan, who writes as follows:—

> "The Lotuko believe in an invisible power called *naijok*, a neuter form. It is conceived chiefly as bringing death and disease. Everything not understood, however, is ascribed to Naijok.
>
> "Once when I offered a chief some onion seed he asked with surprise if the *naijok* of the onion existed here. The expression *orgho naijok* 'bad luck' is a common one. The word is also used for menstruation, and a derivative, *noloijok*, for hiccoughs." [1]

The negative answers to all questions as to whether Naijok was associated with the dead were so prompt and definite that we accepted them at the time, yet subsequent reflection and the information we obtained among the Lango concerning Naijok and certain shrines called *natifini* (p. 353), suggest that the word may have a double or varying significance, and that future work should be directed along both lines of inquiry.

In favour, as it seems to us, of the view that Naijok is connected

[1] Op. cit., 156.

with the dead, we would quote the information given us at Lopi, viz. that if the ancient spear-heads (i.e. those that had belonged to Lomoro and Amoya), referred to on page 330, were taken out of the house, "Naijok would go", and the people would die.

Further, as Lord Raglan has informed us, the word *jok* exists in the Lotuko language without the prefix *nai-*. His note is as follows: "During the time that the corn is in the ground [actually perhaps only while the grain is forming] no drum must be beaten except for a funeral dance. At the end of the dance all the dancers rush to one side of the dancing-ground and throw spears and sticks into the air, shouting '*Jok ilo!*' (God, go away!). I saw this done at Torit." In form the ceremony certainly suggests the driving away of ancestral spirits, but the word *jok* is so widely spread and may as well mean "god" as ancestral spirit, that we do not desire to emphasize our opinion too strongly.

Rain-Making

As already stated, the spiritual and temporal head of every community or "tribe" of the Lotuko is the rain-maker, who may be a man or a woman. Rain-makers are not confined to any particular clan, but vary in this respect in different localities. Here we may repeat what we have already said in a slightly different form, viz. that it is probably true to say that in each locality the clan to which the rain-maker belongs is numerically strong and enjoys some added prestige; at least we formed this opinion in the Tarangole area, where the *kobu* was of Igago. Conversely the seat of the rain-maker is to a certain extent looked upon as the headquarters of the clan to which he belongs, so that there is a certain slight tendency towards a territorial grouping of the clans, with perhaps the possible absence of particular clans whose rain-chief is situated at a distance. Thus the Igago rain-makers are chiefs of the Tarangole and Torit districts, the Lomia rain-maker is chief on Mount Lafit, Lowudo at Losito, and Lomini at Lorongo.

In order to be a *kobu* in the true sense of the word the rain-maker must be born of parents who both "had rain", i.e. were themselves rain-makers. A man so qualified succeeds to the office on the death

of his father or brother, but a woman who is born of rain-making parents cannot perform rain ceremonies until she is married to a rain-maker. Although men take precedence in succession over women as rain-makers, and a woman cannot perform the ceremonies until she has married a chief, women rain-makers are not uncommon among the Lotuko. Ikang, a Lokoiya woman, "having rain," widow of Lajaru, Lomoro, and Lonik, all *kobu* of the Tarangole group, makes the rain on an equality with her brother-in-law Loinyong at Tarangole.[1] Ikumi, at Iboni on Mount Lafit, is rain-chief; although she is an Igago woman with grown sons, she has succeeded her husband, Airu of Lomia, and is looked upon as the Lomia rain-maker.

The only two rain-makers with whom we discussed their descent, namely Loceleli of Torit and Loinyong of Tarangole, both trace their descent to Gnalamitiko, who by general consent was a very great man indeed. He lived four or five generations ago, and may be taken to be historical, behind him are vaguer figures leading back to Mogunyi or according to another account to Asang, the son of Ibong. Ibong "was as rain" in the Khor Itaraba, or according to one account came to earth at that khor (alternately at a khor near Lopi), i.e. appeared as water, assumed the form of man, and took to wife one Karam (the word means Colobus monkey) traditionally of the Lowudo clan. When she was pregnant he smeared some of his saliva on her navel, and said his child should be named Mogunyi, after which he disappeared into the firmament where he is associated with thunder. He left rain-stones behind him, and seems to be thought of as their discoverer, but so far as could be ascertained he does not manifest himself even to rain-makers. All this was very vague, but there is no doubt of the sanctity of the pool Itaraba near Logurun; here live the crocodiles who are the deceased rain-makers of the Igago clan, and a gourd of Itaraba water plays an important part in the rain-making ceremony on Logurun hill. Moreover, there is an interesting story that when a male child was born to a rain-maker (the mother also being of pure rain descent), it was taken to Itaraba and left there for three days. This was in the old days, and the most careful questioning could elicit no other answer than that the child was actually placed in the water, where it remained unhurt because it was of one clan with the crocodiles.

The information from which the following tables have been constructed was obtained from Igago and Lowudo rain-makers, the

[1] Since writing this Loinyong has died and Ikang has become the recognized rain-maker.

references to Lomia and Lomini arose incidentally and may therefore be less accurate.

Since every rain-maker should be the child of a woman "having rain", as well as of a rain-maker father, and as clan exogamy is enforced, a *kobu* may have considerable difficulty in insuring an heir and marriages are frequently made with the daughters of Lokoiya and Acholi rain-makers. A girl descended on both sides from rain-makers is called a *nongoti*, but she takes no part in rain-making ceremonies and has no power until she marries a rain-maker. If she marries a commoner her children have no rain-making powers. However, a *nongoti* once married to a rain-maker becomes a rain-maker for the rest of her life, and can carry on as *nobu* whether she has children or not.

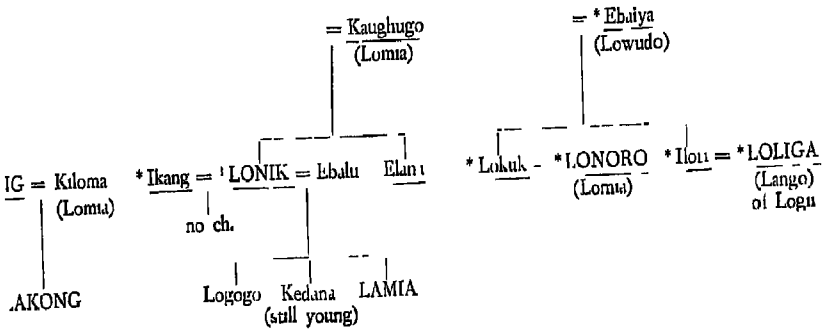
We are indebted to Major Barker for the following note concerning Loceleli, whose mother was not of rain-making blood:—

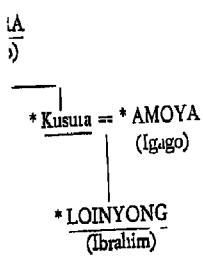
> "At his father's instructions [after his death] . . . he took his father's wife, who belonged to a rain-making family, into his house and slept with her for three nights. On the fourth day he slaughtered a black goat in the house, and then went through the usual rain-making [ceremony] . . . and since then has been a great success at it."

The following account of the rain ceremony is compiled as the result of many conversations with Loinyong and Ikang but it is difficult to be certain of the sequence of events. Of our two informants Ikang was by far the better; to Loinyong the importance of the *amwaga* (the contents of the stomach of the sacrifice) seemed to dominate all else, and from him we never got a connected account. Perhaps the most reliable information was obtained when Ikang showed us near her house the shrine in which lie the sacred spear-heads, illustrating the course of the ceremony with pantomime.

A certain woman, the ancient Iker, who lived at Lopi plays an important part in the rain ceremony; she is the only person who, after its exhumation, can carry the skeleton of a rain-maker. This office is hereditary and we were told that both her father and mother were carriers of royal bones, while her son will inherit the office. Unfortunately she was too old and decrepit to give us much information, and her son was away from the village.

When the rain ceremony is to take place Loinyong and Ikang go to Logurun. Here on a rock dome at the very top of the hill is the house of Iloi, a widow of Amoya, and mother of the *kobu* Lajaru and Lomoro who succeeded him, and in her compound almost under





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[To face p. 328

the eaves of her house the sacred rain-stones are kept. A path from the house of Iloi leads across the rock dome, descending the hill to a flattened ledge; on this stands a deserted house, and a few yards below, held up by boulders and small bushes as well as brushwood and rubbish, is a miniature hut, surrounded by a low ill-kept fence. This is the shrine. So far as we could determine no attempt was made to keep it clean or tidy, indeed just behind the present hut were the remains of the old roofing of the shrine, which has been replaced by the present one. We were not allowed to approach the shrine and we fully believe what we were told, that no one would do so except at the time of the rain ceremony and that then only the *kobu* and their assistants would venture. Nor is this sanctity to be wondered at, for the shrine contains the bones of Amoya and those of the principal rain-makers since his time. It is here that the first part of the ceremony takes place.

The house above the shrine, seen in decay in the plate, had been deserted owing to the ill-fortune that befell its late inhabitants, attributed to its too close proximity to the shrine.

Within the shrine there were said to be eight large pots, each containing the bones of a rain-maker, a smaller pot resting upon the mouth of each acting as a cover. Here are the bones of Amoya, of his sons Lajuru, Lomoro, and Amongole (the latter having died young never actually made rain), his daughter Etiora, and his wives Kusura (the mother of Amongole and of Loinyong), Akerber and Ebaiya. Kaughugo, the wife of Amoya and mother of Lonik, had been buried in the house of her son Lonik, where she had been living at Tarangole. When he died he was buried beside her and doubtless the bones of these two would have been removed to Logurun had they not been destroyed by fire at Tarangole. As to Etiora, there was some confusion with regard to the disposal of her remains. She had married Losura, a Lowudo rain-maker at Losito, and at Logurun we were told that only her head had been preserved there, her bones being kept at Losito; at Losito we were told that no remains were to be found, but that she had gone to Logurun, borne a child and died, and that all her bones were preserved there.

When the rain-making ceremony is performed a goat is killed by Iker, and the stomach contents and some blood are thrown on to the skulls or the pots, most probably scattered over both. The fruit of a common creeping plant (*Cucurbita pustulosa*), called *nalosa*, is crushed and the pulp also thrown into the pots. Apparently no

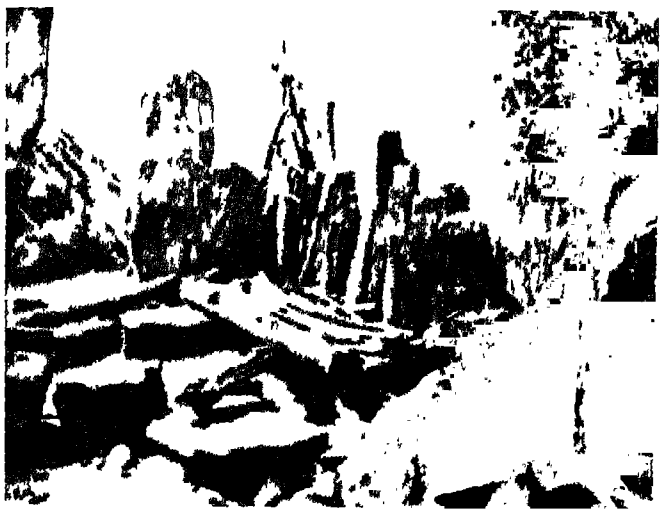
further ceremony is performed at the shrine of the royal heads, though this is probably the occasion for rethatching the shrine.

Iker now goes to the enclosure of the house of Iloi and smears the sacred stones with stomach-contents and blood. These as we saw them lay in about half a dozen small clay pots placed close to the side of the house, almost under the eaves, within a circle about 2 feet in diameter, covered by a rough conical thatch. Although no attempt is made to protect them, and leaves and sticks blow into this miniature shrine and partially cover the pots, the stones are so sacred that no one would dare to touch them, even children would understand that they must not meddle with them. As far as we were able to judge, they were natural quartz pebbles.

The next part of the ceremony takes place at the bottom of the hill at the sacred pool Itaraba, at the junction of the Khor Irume and the Khor Khos (Pl. XXXII). In this pool live the crocodiles who are the dead Igago rain-makers. Here a goat is killed, its skin being taken to the house of Iloi, where it is hung over the door. The rain-makers, carrying a pot of Itaraba water, return to the house of Iloi, where the rain-making ceremony proper takes place, i.e. the washing of the rain-stones. A black goat is killed and the stones are anointed with the blood, stomach-contents, and fat from the sacrifice, and then with the water from Itaraba into which Loinyong and Ikang have both spat. Both rain-makers also drink of this water before pouring it over the stones, and both wash the stones in their hand before they put them back in the pots, perhaps also rubbing them with fat. The exact part taken by certain Lomia and Lomini assistants is not clear, according to one account they as well as the rain-makers wash the stones, but this may be incorrect. After the ceremony a gourd containing Itaraba water is left beside the stones, and this is poured on to the stones by Iker ten days later.

From Logurun the rain-makers proceed to Lopi, to the house of Akerber, the deceased rain-maker widow of Lomoro. Water is carried here from Itaraba, a goat is killed, and Loinyong and Ikang smear the sacred spear-heads, kept in a miniature shrine, with stomach-contents and blood. The water from Itaraba is poured over the blades, and a *nalosa* is crushed and thrown upon them. Inside the house we saw several bundles of spears; one of these had belonged to Lomoro and another to Amoya, and in this bundle was a double-bladed spear. All these spears were considered sacred, and might not be taken from the house. Another remarkable spear was a broad

PLATE XXXI



Labalwa, stone circle



Logurun, rain shrine

blade from the Toposa, brought by Loinyong from Logir in exchange for sheep. Several other bundles of spears belonged to Loinyong, and we were told that at every rain-making ceremony each drum-house paid the rain-maker four or five spears. As we had not heard of this form of tribute before, and we did not return to Logurun or Tarangole, we were unable to ascertain if the payments were only made at Lopi.

The concluding ceremony is performed at Tarangole, outside the house of Ikang. Here in a circular shrine lie the sacred spears, one two-bladed, the others seemingly of the ordinary pattern. Though scarcely protected by the rough circle of sticks and conical roof, most of which had disappeared under stress of weather, the spears

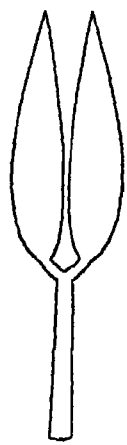


FIG. 21. Tarangole, double-bladed rain-spear.

are too sacred to be touched except on the occasions of rain-making, so we were unable to examine them closely. A goat is killed by the two men of Lomini and Lomia, beer is brought into which the rain-makers spit, and this is drunk by the Lomini and Lomia assistants, who smear the blood of the goat on the chests of the rain-makers. The flesh of the goat is cooked and eaten by old people of both sexes belonging to the Lomini and Lomia clans. Beer and porridge are also provided. When all is eaten the partakers wash their hands, some of this water being poured over the spears and sprinkled on the chests of the rain-makers. The bones of the sacrifice are placed beside the spears, but after six days are taken by the Lomini assistant and thrown into the bush. At the completion of the rite the people go out to clear the cultivation.

Before the general sowing of millet by the people there is a ceremonial sowing near the village. Of this ceremony, called *ekubi*, we have two incomplete accounts varying considerably in detail, nevertheless we are inclined to believe that our reconstruction—apart from omissions—is in the main accurate. A small amount of seed is sown by the rain-maker, assisted by the same two men of clans Lomia and Lomini who assist in rain-making, namely Anyata of Lomia clan and Locura of Lomini, with the *lomonyemiji* of Tarangole. The rain-maker, who we understood spat upon the first sod turned, strikes the small area of ground to be sown four blows with his hoe, which he then hands to his three assistants, who complete the preparation of the seed-bed, the seed being sown by all four men.

When the millet has sprouted the rain-maker inspects the young shoots, and from their appearance deduces whether the crop is likely to suffer from pests. If the appearance is unfavourable a black or spotted goat is sacrificed. The grain from this special plot is kept in the rain-maker's house until next sowing time, when—as we believe—this seed is mixed with other grain and made into beer, and is drunk by all before the millet is sown.

No similar ceremony is performed before sowing sesame or beans. We understand that the rain-maker's fields would be worked and sown for him, and that the commoners would not sow their grain until after that of the rain-maker, but these matters require further investigation.

We believe that we have given the sequence of events in rain-making, but we could not ascertain if this was always followed exactly, or if the ceremony were ever held at one village without being repeated at the other two. It must be borne in mind that though Ikang and Loinyong both resided at Tarangole at the time of our visit, before Loinyong was *kobu* of the district he lived at Lopi, while his brother and Ikang were rain-makers at Tarangole. Of all the rain-making shrines of the Tarangole group there is no doubt that Logurun is the most sacred, since here are the skulls of past rain-makers. Two skulls, those of Lonik and his mother, were kept at Tarangole until the place was burnt down in warfare, but whether it had been intended to move these to Logurun if they had not been destroyed remains uncertain.

The bones of Labanya, the mother of Lokidi, and of her daughter Ingwa, are preserved at Ghapuriri, a village near Tarangole.

Lokidi was mortally wounded in a fight against the Government in 1917; he was carried to the house of his mother and died there, after a few hours, in the early morning. He was buried in the evening in his mother's house, because he was a *kobu* (a commoner's body would have been cast out), but since he had died of a wound received in battle no *nametere* was made, nor was there any dancing for him. Apparently Edioma, widow of Lokidi, continued to live with her mother-in-law Labanya after her husband's death, and as far as we could determine the house was still regarded as hers in 1922, though she herself had gone away with a commoner. Upon this Ikang had taken her son into her own household at Tarangole, and closed the door of the compound of the absent widow with thorn bushes.

As Ikang was perfectly willing to show us the house and the royal remains associated with it we met her there by appointment. After entering the compound of the house we were taken round to the back, i.e. opposite its door, and shown two masses of dried grass and reed. We were then told to come away, and taken round the front of the house. Ogogu of Lomini clan, one of the two men concerned in the making of the *nametere* for a rain-maker (and also, we were later assured, for others) broke a *nalosa* fruit on the ground, and mixing the pulp with flour sprinkled it over the funerary vessels. The small pot was lifted and flour sprinkled within the larger, wherein we saw the skull and bones of a slightly built woman. More flour was sprinkled, especially inside the other vessel, and we were invited to look again. This jar contained the skull and bones of a more stoutly built person (not obviously female at a glance as was the first). More sprinkling followed, this time with water into which Ogogu had spat, and some of this was poured out or spilt on the ground.

After this we were conducted to the back of the house, and shown an opening in the lower part of the thatch (almost as big as a door), and behind this a good-sized tusk lying on the ground. This marked the site of the grave of Lokidi, who had been buried inside the hut, but had been exhumed from the outside; we cannot say where his bones are now preserved.

Some sheep jaws were noticed in the thatch over the door; these we were told were not the remains of animals sacrificed yearly and eaten at the grave, but probably had been killed for the millet harvest.

The virtue of saliva has been referred to in connection with the

rain-making and other ceremonies. Further examples of the efficacy of the rain-maker's spittle were witnessed by Lord Raglan. He noted that when Ikumi of Mount Lafit visited him "and wished to spit, she called her lady-in-waiting and spat into her hand". He had also seen her greet people of consequence by spitting in their ears. The legend in which Ibong (the rain) spat upon the navel of Karam (p. 327) may be recalled in this connection. However, it is not the saliva of rain-makers only that has virtue, for one of us who had shown unexpected interest in and knowledge of the use of spear straighteners among the Lotuko was asked as a favour to spit upon a spear.

With the spears mentioned on p. 331 there was a bundle of small pieces of wood. It was said that Loinyong would wear this whenever he left his own territory, in order that rain might not fall.

We may here note that oaths are sworn on the sacred spears at Tarangole. Water is poured on them, presumably by the rain-maker (but of this we have no certain knowledge), and this water is drunk by the man taking the oath, who if he swears falsely will infallibly die unless he confesses his fault. We were told that oaths were also sworn on the old fire-sticks that had been used in kindling the "new fire" at the *nonggopira* ceremony (p. 323), but omitted to confirm this. To this Lord Raglan adds: "The ordinary way of taking an oath is 'eating earth', *ongiyu naboro*. This is done by licking the tip of the right forefinger and placing it on the ground and then on the tip of the tongue."

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The burial customs of the Lotuko are unusual and particularly interesting. The following account is pieced together from information obtained at various times, for although a death occurred at Tarangole during our visit, the ordinary course of events was not followed for reasons which may fairly be called magico-religious.

The body is buried outside the house of the deceased as soon as possible after death. It lies on its side with the knees slightly flexed and the hands under the face, the vertex eastwards if the deceased be of Lomia or Lowudo, westwards if of Igago or Lomini. Concerning Idjogok we have no information.

A fire should be kept burning by the grave for thirty days, during which time the clansmen of the deceased, and perhaps also his wife, watch by the grave. The mourners rub themselves with dust and succeed in looking most dishevelled. We believe that the dead man's drinking gourd, and perhaps some other of his property, is broken at this time. His wife, or wives, undergo some measure of seclusion for about a year, and are then taken by the heirs (sons and brothers of the deceased). Feasts, with drumming and dancing round the grave, are held, lasting a couple of days for a commoner and about a week for a rain-maker. The wife or wives do not carry any weapons, real or ceremonial, nor may they at this stage touch anything belonging to the deceased, on penalty of abdominal pain. The "putting off" of mourning was said to be determined by the harvest, the first after the death being the appropriate time, unless the death had occurred when the millet was nearly ripe, in which case the ceremony would be postponed till the next harvest.

Later the bones are dug up, a sacrifice is made, but no drumming takes place. The exhumation is never done by the members of the clan to which the deceased belonged, but always by the members of the clan into which the deceased had married. The bones themselves are deposited in pots, which are placed in rock-shelters, under rocks or big trees, often only a short distance from the village.[1]

One morning before dawn we heard wailing in the village, and were told it was for a woman who had given birth to a child and had died of retained placenta. An immediate visit to the house of mourning showed that women were wailing in the compound, and a steady stream were entering and leaving the hut. Yet the woman was still living, lying at full length with her head on the knee of an elderly woman.[2] At 4 p.m. we heard a few strokes of a drum, and at 5.30 p.m. on returning to the village the woman was already buried and mourners were sitting on her grave.

Next morning at 4 a.m. a few strokes of the drum were sounded, and at 6.30 a.m. we found a large number of mourners collected around the house of the deceased, all very dishevelled and daubed with ashes. We learned that two ceremonies proper to death would not take place, namely the beating of drums and the preparation of

[1] It may be that in theory the bones were not dug up unless some evil befell near relatives of the deceased; in practise exhumation, though it might be delayed, was general.

[2] Our work was done through Arabic, and the Arabic word for "death" was used, but there seemed no reason to doubt at the time that the woman, though still living, was actually spoken of as dead.

the *nametere*. A man of the husband's clan stood up and slowly and deliberately harangued the crowd, saying that the drums must not be beaten lest in after life the new-born child should suffer whenever it heard the drums and perhaps even die. And if the drums were not beaten then no *nametere* could be made. An old woman opened the belly of a sacrificed goat and mixed millet with the contents of the gut, which were cast towards the house of the dead woman and also upon the crowd. Later in the day we found the intestines had been deposited in a heap at the head of the grave, while the meat, cut up and prepared for cooking, lay by the grave on an old wicker door next to the ashes of the fire round which the mourners had passed the cold of the early morning (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 2).

We have referred to the beating of the drum as part of the ceremony following a death. It was only after we left Tarangole that we appreciated the importance of the drum in relation to the millet crop, and that this nexus affected the use of the drum. We then made such

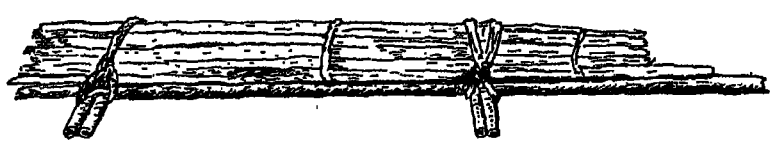


FIG. 22. *Nametere.*

inquiries as we could and were told twice independently that the drum would not be beaten for a death during the time that the millet was growing, actually, as we now know from Father Molinaro, during the time that the millet is in bloom.

The *nametere* consists of a core of dry grass round which are wrapped a number of bamboos, so as to make a more or less cylindrical bundle bound to a rough frame, by which it is carried. We believe that the drawing here reproduced is a fair representation of a *nametere*, but it does not represent one actually used, but a model made at our request. However, we ascertained that the real object bore no signs significant of sex, nor was it decorated in any way. It is made by four old men, who, we understood, might be of any clan so long as they were mourners, but here more precision is needed. These are given a goat, and a spear with which to stab the latter; whoever accepts the spear is bound to provide beer for all four.

The following account of the use of the *nametere*, though no doubt

PLATE XXXII



Itaraba



Tarangole, grave with sacrifice

incomplete, is probably accurate so far as it goes, with the reservation that among the Lotuko it was always extremely difficult to be certain that the events told us as constituting a ceremony were narrated in correct sequence.

Early in the morning succeeding the death (or if death takes place in the small hours perhaps the same morning) the *nametere* is brought to the space in front of the house of the deceased, and the mourning dance called *aboryu* is performed to the beating of drums brought from the *nadupa*. Later the drums and *nametere* are taken to the dead man's drum-house, and after wailing and drumming another dance, called *nelanga*, is performed in the afternoon. Both dances have close relation to the *nametere*, but are not actually round it. After the *nelanga* the *nametere* is taken into the bush and burnt by the old men who made it, who, according to one informant, pray to Naijok that no one else may die. Both Mr. Driberg and Father Molinaro confirm that the *nametere* represents the deceased, the former writing that it " is definitely made to simulate the dead man, that he may be thought to be present at the funeral dance ", while Father Molinaro reports that it represents the dead man but does not house his spirit.

The " secondary burial " of the Lotuko has been noted both by Emin and by Baker. According to the former: " After a time the bones are taken out and placed in a clay vessel, which is hung in a tree " [1]; while Baker writes of the " vicinity of every town " being " announced by heaps of human remains "; also that " bones and skulls formed a Golgotha within a quarter of a mile of every village ".[2] Both authors further point out that those who die in battle are not buried, nor is any attention paid to their bones.[3] We refer to this matter now to draw attention to the fact that this agrees with our information with regard to commoners, but does not hold for actual rain-makers, and those " having rain " (p. 339).

We may now consider the purpose of secondary burial so far as commoners are concerned, and the factors that determine the exhumation of the bones in particular cases. The Lotuko absolutely deny that any part of man survives as what we should call a spirit; when a man dies he becomes his clan animal, how then should any other part exist? We discussed the matter at length with Loinyong, the rain-maker, and have no doubt that this

[1] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, 1888, 230.
[2] Baker, op. cit., i, 197.
[3] Emin, loc. cit., and Baker, loc. cit.

is really the actual orthodox belief, our opinion on this matter being confirmed by the long discussion between himself and Commoro recorded by Baker, who had been struck by the exposed bones he encountered, and as he says naturally connected this practice with belief in a future life.[1] Yet, when we asked why the bones were exhumed, the answer in almost every instance was that it was done to prevent or cure the illness of a near relative of the deceased, often a child or brother, and so firmly is this belief held that whenever a Lotuko applies to a medicine-man for a cure for illness the first question (as we were informed) that the latter is likely to ask is, "Have you dug up the bones of your father?" and if the answer be in the negative, then the matter will assuredly be put in hand at once. Moreover, the answer to the question seems to imply that if no illness, or fear of illness, were present, then the bones might be left in the ground. Yet this was clearly not the case. Further inquiries were generally fruitless, and it may be that the majority of the Lotuko do not carry the matter further. Yet once at Tarangole we were told that a particular man had been dug up in order that the too-frequent menses of his widow might not prevent her new husband coming to her, while at Logurun it was pointed out that to leave the bones in the ground would be likely to render the women of the house sterile. It would seem then that the basic object of the Lotuko exhumation is the promotion of fertility, and this is confirmed by Father Molinaro, who tells us that unless the bones are dug up women will not bear children. This only leads to a further question: how can any activity be connected with the bones among a people who steadfastly deny that any part other than the bones themselves persists after the decay of the soft parts? We think we may be permitted to suggest an explanation, based on modern psychological ideas, namely that such beliefs as that we are discussing have two aspects which, following dream terminology, we may call the "manifest" and the "latent"; the manifest belief is the obvious, almost commonsense one, which says "nothing is left after death", the latent idea (possibly connected with dreams and trances, or perhaps to be traced to forgotten foreign influence) which, generally speaking, is unrecognized by consciousness (as is the latent content of a dream), nevertheless exists, and manifests itself in some such veiled method as the performance of a custom which could be rationally explained by the conscious existence of the belief.

[1] Baker, *op. cit.*, i, 231–5.

As already noted, a man killed in battle would be left where he fell, and this applies to any violent death; one fatally wounded would be carried home, and, unless a *kobu*, would be thrown out of his hut when dead; if this were not done his near relatives would also die violent deaths.

In describing the rain ceremony we have already said so much concerning the disposal of the bones of rain-makers, that it is here necessary to do no more than to state the little we were able to discover concerning their burial.

A rain-maker should if possible die in his own village, in the house of his mother if she be still alive and herself a rain-maker, otherwise in the house of his chief wife (who, theoretically at least, would also be a rain-maker). On these matters, and on the burial of rain-makers within the house, we may refer to what we have already written concerning the death of Lokidi (p. 333), but there is this additional fact to be noted. Whatever the clan of a rain-maker, a living man (or in the case of a woman rain-maker possibly a woman, but on this matter we are uncertain) of clan Lomini would be buried with him. The living sacrifice, with hands and legs tied, would be laid by the side of the dead rain-maker on a bedding of leaves covered with an oxhide, a sort of cell would be built over the two, of whom it would be said "they sleep together", and when the time came to remove the bones of the rain-maker those of the Lomini victim should be placed in another pot and preserved next to those of the rain-maker.

Nothing could be elicited concerning the reason of the victim being always of clan Lomini, nor was he ever the "father of the land" (*lomonyemiji*). Although we heard of this sacrifice at Tarangole, it was only at Losito that we heard of the preservation of the Lomini bones, too late to make further and more precise inquiry as to the contents of the shrines at Logurun and Ghapurire.

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Chapter X

MINOR LOTUKO-SPEAKING TRIBES; LITTLE-KNOWN TRIBES OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN BORDER

THE LOKOIYA

Our firsthand experience of the Leria, commonly known as Lokoiya, is limited to a few days spent at Leria and a short visit—in 1922—to Ilangari, a village often known as Minge, from the name of its headman, then recently dead. Our notes were afterwards verified and amplified by Mr. Driberg, who considers that the Lokoiya are darker in colour than the Lotuko and suggests that they are akin to the Lopit, Dongotono, and Bira peoples. In support of this he urges linguistic similarities, skin colour, and the fact that all construct urinals, *akhilwatari* (so far as we know not found elsewhere in the Sudan), within the homestead enclosure near its entrance, each urinal consisting of a small roughly paved circle of stones with a drain ending outside the enclosure.

Regulation of Public Life

The Lokoiya have patrilineal clans, *amukok*, with related clan animals, the members of each clan taking the form of the clan animal at death. The following clan names were obtained:—

Oghoiya (crocodile), Ofaoli (leopard), Nganu (the red Patas monkey), Onyati (*acwe*, aphis), Opura (the varanus lizard).

The *akhoboloni lomiji* is the "owner of the land" whose function and social position seem similar to those of the Lotuko *lomonyemiji*. His duties concern hunting and cultivation; he performs ceremonies when the ground is cleared for sowing, and before and after harvest, but he also assists another functionary called *amok* (not to be confused with the medicine-man, *iboni*), whose special duty it is to divert sickness and to clean the country by means of sacrifice after sickness.

Jada performed the rain ceremonies at the grave of his father—the previous rain-maker—outside his own hut. Rain-stones (*aghusik*) —recognized as male and female—and a two-bladed spear called *othwok* were used in the ceremony. The stones were rubbed with oil or fat, put in a pot, and water poured over them. The sacrifice of a black goat was an essential part of the ceremony, and the contents of the stomach were smeared on the stones.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

The Lokoiya relationship terms closely resemble those of the Lotuko, but there are certain dialectical differences and among the Lokoiya themselves some variations are found, thus the terms collected at Ilangari do not correspond exactly with those from Leria. Nevertheless we discovered only one important difference: whereas among the Lotuko *moinye* has no other significance than "father", *lalamoinye* among the Lerya is used for the father and his brothers, and thus follows the usual classificatory practice.

The brothers and sisters are differentiated according to whether they are children of the same mother or of different mothers, the children of different mothers being classed with the ortho-cousins. The children of the mother's sister and the cross-cousins all receive one term, although they are treated differently. Cross-cousins show a certain amount of deference to one another and avoid familiarity and "bad talk". A man shows respect to his mother's brother's son if he is older or if the latter's father, his own mother's brother, is dead. Here it would seem that the male cross-cousin represents the mother's brother. The mother-in-law is avoided ceremonially, also her sister and the mothers-in-law of brothers; a man also avoids the wife of his mother's brother, and would not enter the hut if she were in it. The Bari custom by which a man frequently marries his mother's brother's widow is not practised, but is known and despised.

The Lokoiya are in close contact with the Bari and have absorbed many of their customs, but their kinship terms do not show any closer resemblance to the Bari than do those of the other branches of the Lotuko group. These resemblances are probably due to a common origin and not to borrowing.

Lotuko word *eyan* (similar to the Bari *yanggo*) does not occur, though we have not sufficient knowledge to state whether it is known and would be used in other contexts (i.e. not as a form of address). *Namakatenggi* and *nanaradine* are dialectical forms of the same word both unlike any word for mother known to us. *Aiya* on the other hand is probably a form of the root for mother found as a term of address in Lotuko, Bari, Nandi, Masai, Didinga, and many other languages, but not among the Nilotes.

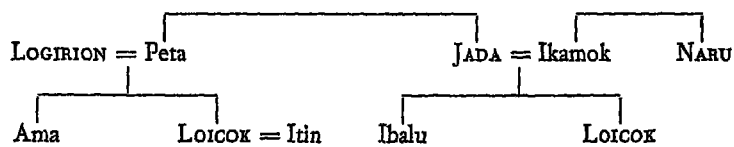
A type of behaviour towards the sister's daughter was recorded among the Lokoiya that was not noticed among the Lotuko. This example probably embodies the feeling of aloofness that is prevalent among all the Lotuko-speaking tribes towards near relatives belonging to a different clan, i.e. those related through the mother and not the father. The Lokoiya rain-maker, Jada, said that he treated his sister's daughter with respect; this respect was of course mutual, but the point of interest is that he, a middle-aged man of local importance, considered that in the etiquette he followed in his relations to this child he showed respect to her. He explained that the child might bring him beer to drink and that he would take the bowl from her hand, but that he would not drink it in her presence though he would drink freely in the presence of his brother's daughter. His sister's daughter, Ama, was a child at the time, and Jada said that she would play with his own small son, Loicok, without restraint, but that when they grow up there will be an emotional attitude approaching shame between them, because they are *soni*. If, when their childhood is past, they meet on a path they will greet one another, but after the greeting Loicok will step off the path and Ama will pass on; when Ama marries, Jada will never enter her house and will treat her husband with ceremonial respect.

The avoidance of a woman to whom a person is related by blood has the same social value as the usual avoidance of the mother-in-law and others related by marriage, though the underlying ideas are not the same; nor is this merely an avoidance of persons of a different sex, for so far as we are aware the Lotuko-speaking group do not observe any avoidance of their own children of the opposite sex after they have attained puberty, nor is there ceremonial avoidance between brother and sister. A woman must not, however, punish any child (except her own) who is of another clan, although the relationship to herself may be very close. The contact of a man with his sister's child and that between the cross-cousins may perhaps

be regarded in the same light. By blood they are close relatives, and the mode of life followed might lead to familiarity, but although they belong to different clans sexual intercourse is forbidden between the cross-cousins. Further, the mother's brother receives part of the bride-wealth handed over on the marriage of his sister's daughter. A ceremonial etiquette between such persons will undoubtedly emphasize their inaccessibility to the native mind. There is no direct evidence to indicate that cross-cousins did at one time marry, though this is a possibility.

We have no details of initiation or age-grades, but understand that there is a ceremony in which new fire is made, and that only initiated men may sit in the men's squatting place (Pl. XXXIII). These are sometimes constructed of stones, as among the Lotuko. At Leria at the time of our visit there was a five-storied wooden structure where the men used to sit, but Mr. Driberg states that these are rare and may have been copied from the Lotuko.

With regard to bride-wealth, the practice does not appear to differ from that in vogue among the Lotuko, as is indicated by the following instances.



Loicok, son of Logirion, gave 16 cows for his wife; 10 of these were provided by his father, and Jada the rain-maker, mother's brother to Loicok, gave 6. When Ama the sister of Loicok marries, one-quarter of the bride-wealth will be given to Jada.

When Ibalu the daughter of Jada marries, Jada will only give Naru (the girl's mother's brother) 6 sheep out of the bride-wealth, because Naru received the 10 cows and 40 sheep that Jada gave for Ibalu's mother, Ikamok.

Religion

A spiritual being called Oicok is recognized.

Numerous shrines were seen, mostly associated with graves. Some of these shrines, *awangat* (Fig. 23), resemble the Acholi *kac*

(Plate XI, Fig. 2) and have associated with them the small convergent pegs meeting at an acute angle, called we believe *amunu* (resembling those of the Acholi), also shown in the figure. The notched stick (Fig. 24), similar to the Bari *feiti* and *gili*, occurs on every grave, and as in Fig. 23 may be combined with the other elements we have described.

Mr. Driberg states that at some time during the dry season sacrifices to ensure good hunting and successful crops are made at shrines, which are afterwards destroyed. Goats are killed, beer is made, and grain foods are provided for a feast. After the feast a portion of

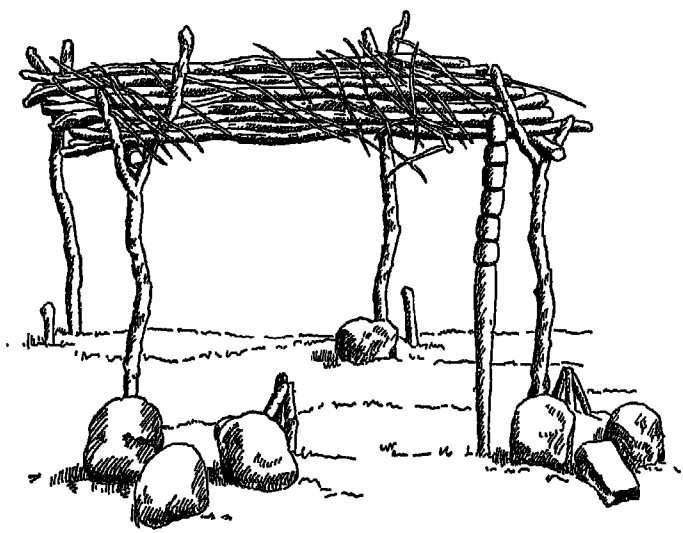
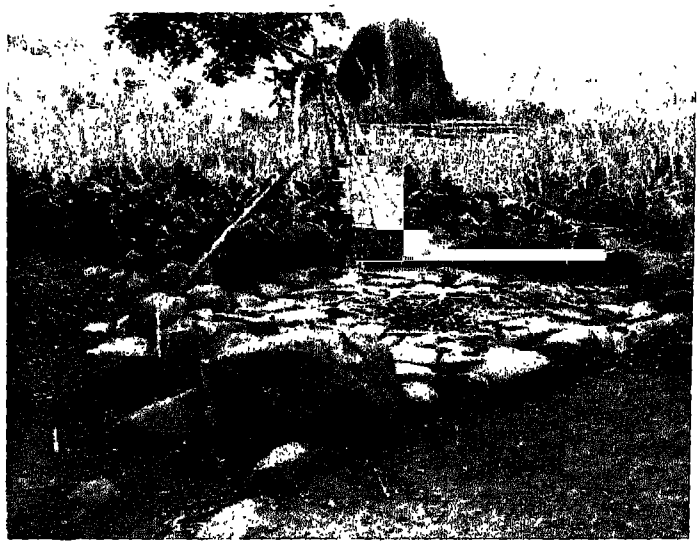


FIG. 23. *Awangat* with *amunu* and notched stick.

each kind of food is offered at all the *amunu* shrines, which are then destroyed, and the people go out to hunt. Later, probably shortly before the rains are due, the *akhoboloni* orders the shrines to be renewed. Mr. Driberg also describes another shrine, not associated with a grave, called *lodurori*. Here the children bring the first fruits of the harvest, on which the old men spit and then place them in the shrine. In the case of a serious epidemic the *amok* would sacrifice goats here.

If crops are threatened by pest a goat is killed, and the contents of the stomach, with blood, milk, and some kind of white stone, which is pounded, are mixed in a gourd and thrown on the crops. The goat of the sacrifice is cooked in its skin and eaten. A particular insect pest was known to destroy the bean crop; if this was threatened

PLATE XXXIII



Leria, stone circle



Lango *balacar*

a single specimen was collected and brought to the *axoboloni* in his house, who would put it on a stone and burn it, after which, as it was said, the pest would disappear.

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The dead are buried in a flexed position, males lying on the right side, females on the left. The grave is just outside the hut, near the entrance. The bones are not exhumed, except by order of the *iboni*

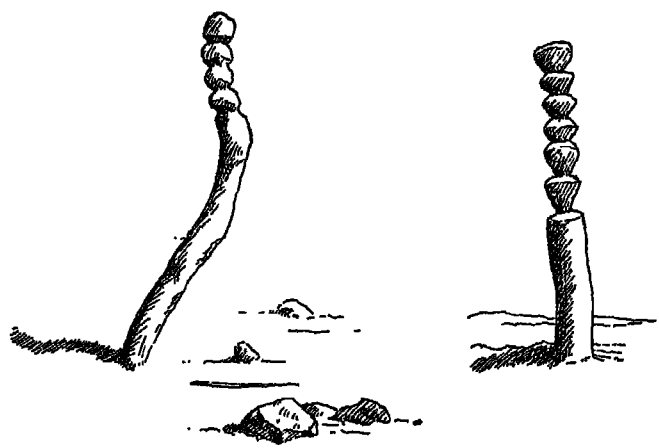


Fig. 24. Notched sticks at head of graves.

in case of sickness, when they are exposed under rock shelters. The bones of a rain-maker would be dug up if rain failed, and the skull would be taken to a river, put under the water, and left there. So far as we know nothing comparable to the Lotuko *nametere* is made.

THE LANGO (LOTUKO-SPEAKING)

Our notes on the Lango are scanty, as we were only a short time in their country. Mr. Driberg was however able to supplement these notes and to answer many questions, and since then Colonel Lilley has kindly sent additional material.

In the Sudan the term Lango is applied to a number of communities inhabiting the southern portion of the north-eastern slopes of the Imatong Hills and having villages at the foot of the Dongotono range on the opposite side of the broad valley that separates the latter from the Imatong *massif*. All these groups speak Lotuko, and in a general way have the same social organization and magico-religious ideas as the Lotuko, yet even our brief investigations indicated numerous dialectic differences. Mr. Driberg says that groups speaking similar dialects have migrated from Dongotono as far south as Tereteina, and this information is confirmed by the statement of Colonel Lilley that the Tereteina folk are mostly Lango. The Lango are spearmen and have no bows.

The people whom we group as Lango do not appear to have any comprehensive term for themselves. Each community, or small group of communities, calls itself by a special name, e.g. the people of the village of Itoghom told us that they were Imatong, and other Lango communities seemed to have their own names, often derived from place names such as Lomo and Logoforok. According to Colonel Lilley, the name Lango was given by the Acholi of Uganda to the people of the Dongotono hills, whose correct name is Logire but who have accepted the term Lango and call themselves by it to distinguish themselves from the Lotuko. There are Lango settlements in some villages at the foot of Imatong, which are presumably Lotuko in origin (Logolong and Itoghom). Colonel Lilley divides the Lango into three groups: the Logire, Logir, and Dongotono.

As to the origin of the word Lango even Mr. Driberg can make no suggestions. He states that the name is claimed and used of themselves by the Nilotic-speaking Lango of Uganda; it is also claimed by the Akum, but not conceded by the Lango; the Uganda Lango apply the terms Langudyang and Langulok to sections of the Karamojong; the Alur call the Acholi Lango, and the Acholi call the Didinga Lango.

As indicated in the table on page 306, the Lango are somewhat broader-headed and some 2 inches shorter than the Lotuko. Some have high rounded bridges to their noses, for instance Lokonamoy, the headman of the small settlement at Logir village (an hour's walk from Logoforok), had a face which recalled that of a Shilluk of the more refined type, and we saw other examples, e.g. two men from the direction of Tereteina whom we met at Logoforok, but in none of these was there an approach to Shilluk stature.

In the present state of our knowledge it is perhaps best to regard the Lango as a series of communities until recently occupying the slopes of the mountains (for it seemed that it was only recently, under Government pressure, that they had descended from the hills), relatively weak in numbers but incorporating elements from outlying portions of the Lango of Uganda, on whom the Lotuko have exerted such pressure that their language is now a dialect of Lotuko and their social organization in most respects identical with that of the latter, though certain differences persist. Thus, whereas among the Lotuko we only found five main clans (with some sub-clans) and the clans were to a certain extent grouped territorially, in the few Lango settlements that we visited we found a large number of clans, some represented by very few individuals. Moreover, in some clans there are prohibitions that are not found among the Lotuko but that occur among the Uganda Lango, while it is significant that certain words are used as terms of relationship that do not exist among the Lotuko and are almost identical with those of the Lango of Uganda.

The period (early in 1922) when we visited the Lango was unfavourable to the study of their social organization, for in order to facilitate administration they had recently been shifted from their old villages on the hills to sites on the plain, where they were then in the course of establishing themselves, probably no further from their cultivation than formerly, but certainly in hotter and probably less sanitary surroundings and also further from their ancestral shrines.

We were thus unable to study their old type of village. The villages we saw in course of construction or recently finished were quite different from those of the Lotuko, and reminded us rather of those of the Lokoiya and Bari. There were no lofty dwellings thatched with *dom* palm, like those of Lotuko chiefs, but the huts were low, with flounced grass thatch, built in small groups, each surrounded by a miniature zariba with a single entrance. Probably each group of houses belonged to one clan. The amount of "medicine" about these hamlets was noticeable, especially a tall bamboo with the top worked into a funnel-shaped receptacle resembling the Zande *tuka*, and—most interesting of all, and present at the door of every hut—a shrine called *natifini*, resembling a small dolmen or stone cist, scarcely a foot high. Tessellation of the threshold of the houses with broken pottery, prevalent among the Bari, appeared

not to be practised by the Lango, nor did we see the interior of a hut divided into two compartments by means of large pots, as is so characteristic of the better-class Lotuko houses. When natural rocks were available for grinding grain they were used *in situ* out of doors, otherwise a stone was embedded in the floor of the hut, as among the Bari. Special grinding places with shelters built over them, characteristic of the Lotuko homestead, were absent.

The Lango cultivate extensively and have an excellent system of irrigation, leading off the water from the hill streams far up the valleys (in the case of Logoforok, just below the fall that exists there) and distributing it by channels over a considerable area, parts of which are at varying levels. They grow millet, melons, sweet potatoes, beans, and a few bananas, and say that their fathers have done so from time immemorial. We felt convinced that their irrigation was, as they told us, an art known to them for a long time, and not due to any recent foreign influence. Colonel Lilley tells us that the main bulk of the Lango do not irrigate—only the people of Logoforok, Logire, and a Lango village near Lomo—but that he saw the same type of irrigation near the Agoro villages of the Lango of Uganda, on the south-east slopes of Imatong about 20 miles from Logoforok. He did not find that there was any definite person in charge of the irrigation or any ceremony accompanying the opening or closing of the water supply, which was done when required by removing a fallen tree from an opening in the main channel of the stream.

Regulation of Public Life

The clan organization of the Lango resembles that of the Lotuko, i.e. each community consists of a number of exogamous clans with male descent, but there is a far greater number. The following are some clans, with their clan animals, noted among the Lango :—

Laboroji (leopard); Logoronye (leopard); Girinyang (bush-buck); Loghodiga (*amolong*, perhaps the dog-faced baboon); Lomotone (the colobus monkey); Mighrobu † (probably the wart hog); Khoduf (lightning, and perhaps thunder); Epilogo (monkey); Lobolo (dikdik); Lomiang † (lion); Lowori † (leopard); Lotoghaji † (*amolong*); Lotu (*amolong*); Ameang † (leopard); Lotube † (leopard);

Ikodong (small monkey); Odimak (small monkey); Lomu (leopard); Imala (constrictor snake); Lobamu (wild pig); Lomini (Lotuko origin, elephant); Igago (Lotuko origin, crocodile).

Colonel Lilley gives thirteen more clans [1] and adds that his informants did not recognize as Lango those clans marked † in our list.

The members of Khoduf clan are considered to rest "above" and to be associated with lightning after death, but members of animal clans become the clan animal when they die. In spite of this no one hesitates to kill his clan animal, nor did we hear that dangerous animals showed any consideration to their human clan-fellows, while it was specifically stated that a Khoduf man might be killed by lightning just as might a man of any other clan. It is, however, obvious that this matter requires further investigation, especially in view of the part played by this clan in the event of lightning striking the house or a member of another clan, when the members of Khoduf clan perform a ceremony—of which the essential part appears to consist of the waving of spears—commanding the lightning to depart; moreover, although a Laboroji man might kill a leopard, he could not make use of its skin or when ill of its fat as others might. Yet there seems no doubt that a man of Girinyang clan would kill and eat his animal, the bush-buck. The folk of certain clans were said to have peculiarities, but the only instance we noted was the Laboroji, who were said to dislike the noise of others eating and so to eat apart, for which reason they were considered stingy. It may be conjectured that this food habit is, or was, associated with the behaviour of their clan animal, the leopard.

There is a curious association between women and the water buck. Although this animal did not seem to be the clan animal of any clan, yet it was said that its flesh might never be brought into a village or eaten by women, nor might the latter lie on its skin, and its horns would be left in the bush; these prohibitions did not apply to men, who might hunt the beast, sit on its skin, and eat its flesh so long as this was not cooked in a pot that any woman would use—a precaution to safeguard the latter. This information was given us at Logoforok, and we were unable to confirm it at Lomu, but the same prohibition exists among a number of clans of the Lango of

[1] These are: Lodimarak (baboon), Lomeok (baboon), Irirang (fish), Ngoriye (leopard), Lokwaji (leopard), Itibai (leopard), Kisiyabe (leopard, Teretenya), Lorwobwahai (pig), Logegi (dikdik), Loberik (butterfly), Pangate (baboon), Mibrilang (pig), Akara (baboon).

Uganda.[1] Colonel Lilley informs us that the prohibition against women eating water buck is not binding on all women, except at Logoforok. In other places, while some women observe the prohibition others are exempt. It is considered that water buck is bad for women suffering from a tendency to hysterical dissociation, alleged to be common among the Lango and said by them to have been caught from the Acholi. Besides the bush buck of the plains (the hill bush buck is apparently innocuous), rhinoceros, duiker, dikdik, giraffe, hares, and elephant are said to be bad for these women, while some men refrain from elephant flesh.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

The majority of the relationship terms used by the Lango are identical with those of the other Lotuko-speaking peoples, and so are not given here, but there are certain important differences, (1) in the use of identical terms, and (2) in the occurrence of certain terms not recorded from the two other Lotuko-speaking peoples. Such differences in usage as we could determine in the time at our disposal may be considered first:—

Moinye (Lotuko *moinyong* "my father") is not used at all as a term of address, but the word exists, and is used in descriptive terms, and also in terms expressing authority, e.g. *monyokobali.*

Iyang . . Mother, mother's sister, father's sister. It is only among the Lango that one word can be used for all these persons, thus the term is used here in a wide classificatory sense. But among the Lango this use of *iyang* has not the functional significance that we should expect and which is usual in the classificatory system, i.e. the children of the mother's sister and father's sister are not treated or addressed as brothers or sisters, but are sharply differentiated from them. The word *iyani*, which is used in all three systems for father's sister and among the Lotuko and Lokoiya for mother's sister, is almost certainly derived from the same root as the word for mother.

Mamani (Lotuko, *imanighong*, father's brother, mother's brother) means mother's brother, and its use is extended to the mother's mother's brother; it is not used for father's brother.

Iyanikong (Lotuko, *iyanighong*, father's sister, mother's sister), is among the Lango only used for the father's sister, but even she may equally well be addressed as *iyang* (mother).

[1] J. H. Driberg, *The Lango*, 1923, 194 et seq.

Sonikong . . In the four Lango villages investigated this term was found to be used in two distinct ways. At Logoforok and Loboya it meant only mother's sister's child, while at Loma and Lofolon it meant father's sister's child and mother's brother's child, i.e. cross-cousin.

The following are terms not found either among the Lotuko or the Lokoiya :—

Papa . . Father, father's brother.
Okea, akea . . Sister's son and daughter respectively, and also used by a man for the sister's daughter's child.
Tatai. . . Father's mother, mother's mother.
Pafai. . . Father's father, mother's father (heard at Logoforok and Loboya).
Koko . . Father's father, mother's father (from Loma and Lofolon).

Papa, *okea*, and *tatai* are almost identical both in pronunciation and usage with terms found in the Uganda Lango system, while *koko* comes from a common Nilotic root for "grandparent".

So far as our limited information goes, marriage regulations and the transfer of bride-wealth are similar to the Lotuko customs. Colonel Lilley states that the Lango have more cattle than the Lotuko, and that the bride-wealth used to be 10 cows and 15 sheep and goats, of which 10 sheep and goats were killed at the festivities, but that the chief's courts have lowered the amount of bride-wealth in order to allow earlier marriages, 30 sheep and goats now being a legal number, though more—up to 100 sheep—are frequently given. On divorce 30 can be reclaimed.

The Lango have age-classes corresponding with those of the Lotuko, but there is no new fire ceremony. The initiates are driven into the bush with withies, the time selected being the last quarter of the moon. For five days they live on wild honey, jungle produce, and whatever animals they can kill, and when the moon can no longer be seen they return to the village bringing with them wild honey and goats, the latter purloined from or lent by their relatives. The goats are killed outside the village, and their meat, with honey and the beer that the initiates' female relatives have been preparing during the five days' seclusion, provides a feast for the antecedent age-class and for any men of older classes who may care to join. The goats are not skinned, but are roasted with the skin on them, the contents of the stomach and intestines being cast on the ground. After the feast the initiates—who have acted as the servants of the class above them, fetching their stools from their houses and setting out the

feast—are anointed on the head and breast with the stomach contents of the animals that have been eaten. The personal relationship established between an initiate and his "master" is continued throughout life, the younger man when in difficulty going to the elder for advice and material assistance.

We could not ascertain that any teaching of tribal lore or custom took place at the initiation, though theoretically this may well have been the time at which instruction was given, a consideration borne out by the fact that the incident determining the initiation of the Ranyak class was that some of these youths had insulted the *lokomoni* (mothers-in-law) of the men of Newurapeth, the class ahead of them, by laughing at their avoidance customs, a breach of decency so gross as to be scarcely credible unless, as suggested by Mr. Driberg, it was done purposely in order to hasten initiation. This idea is supported by the fact that another reason given for the initiation of the Ranyak class was that the youngest among them paid too much attention to girls.

The following, so far as we could ascertain, were the age-classes recognized at Logoforok at the time of our visit:—

Nichumamunyan ("a bull is speared"); Lodengideng (rhinoceros); Nimarayang or Natoma (elephant); Nibitiro or Logothobwan (buffalo); Nikolonga (sun); Nichomin (baboon); Ningatunyo (lion); Newurapeth ("smelly hands", the reference being to flirtation); Ranyak (food, initiated in 1916 or 1917).

As among the Lotuko, the age-class system found its most valid expression in warfare, though the two youngest classes would not be expected to do much actual fighting, their chief duty being to endeavour to drive off the cattle. The other functions of the age-classes were not investigated, but it seems probable that these are still important. The classes feast by class after raids, and perhaps before an attack, but cultivation is not done by age-class. No one has any right of access to the wives of his class-mates; if a man committed adultery with one of these he would run the risk of being killed, or else have to pay up in the usual way.

Youths before initiation cannot milk cattle, nor may women do so at any time, although children may milk goats.

The club-house, *nevite* or *nabali* (corresponding to the Lotuko *nadupa*), probably plays much the same part as it does among the Lotuko. No woman may sit in it except on one occasion, a month after the birth of a boy, when the mother brings the child to the

clubhouse and rubs oil on the logs on which the men sit and on the child's feet and chest; the father then brings the child there daily for some time, so that when he grows up he may be recognized as a member. Not every community possessed drums, but those that did regarded them as important. The stakes that support the drums on the dancing ground—ceremonially erected in a new village and perhaps brought from the old site—constitute a hunting shrine (*naferacal*), for trophies of the chase are exhibited on them and if hunting is bad the *monyokoferaji* (lit. owner or father of the fire-sticks) sacrifices a fowl there, as does the *monyokobali* (leader of the clubhouse), to ensure good hunting.

Religion

There is a spiritual agency called Naijok. We were not able to discover much about the belief in Naijok, nor his cult, but Naijok was certainly concerned with the miniature stone shrines called *natifini*, which are intimately associated with the cult of the dead.[1] The *natifini* are miniature cists about a foot high, resembling rough museum models of dolmens. They are usually erected at the side of the house soon after it is built, the master of the house being responsible for upkeep. In addition there are, near the entrance of a hamlet, other *natifini*, in which the whole community is interested since communal rites are performed at them.

That Naijok represented some aspect of deity seemed clear at the time of our inquiries, and it was so categorically denied that the dead were or became Naijok that inquiry was pushed no further, but subsequent consideration of the information obtained in connection with the *natifini*, and of the customs associated with it, clearly suggests that the word is vaguely connected with the idea of the spirits of the dead, a point of view further supported by the information volunteered that the *natifini* was built in order that Naijok might sit there in comfort in the shade.

In the following account of the ceremonies associated with the *natifini* we use the word strictly to signify a small stone cist, of the kind figured on Pl. XXXIV and in Fig 25. In the new village that we

[1] *Natifini* is the correct word for the shrines that in *Some Little-known Tribes* we termed *natibo*, it being now clear that we confused the term for the rock shelters (*natibo*), under which skulls are preserved, with the shrines (*natifini*) built of slabs of rock. Both Mr. Driberg and Colonel Lilley were given *natifini* as the word for these shrines.

visited we saw no graves, but in answer to our question Colonel Lilley writes that the grave—which is dug just outside the hut, almost under the eaves—is always close to the *natifini*, and that the body is interred on its side with the feet towards the *natifini*. Although the settlement was so recent, most houses had their *natifini*, for whenever the home was moved at least one, but generally only one, of the lateral stones of the old *natifini* would be brought to the new site, unless the latter was very near to the old village, when, as Colonel Lilley informs us, all the stones would be brought. The removal of the stone is the occasion for a sacrifice. When the new *natifini* is built a sheep or goat is killed, some of the stomach contents being smeared on the house owner and on the members of his household and some placed within the *natifini*. Although the building of the new shrine seems to be almost a routine measure it may be that the new *natifini* is not

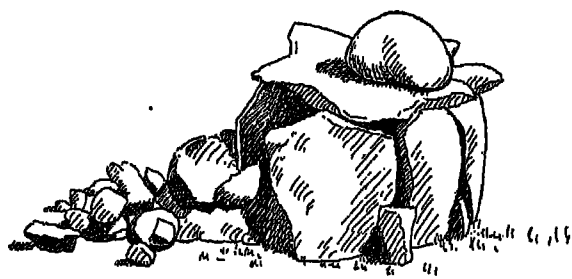


FIG. 25. *Natifini.*

erected until sickness, or fear of it, has fallen on a member of the household.

Mr. Driberg informs us that some *natifini* have conical grass roofs over them, and that annual sacrifices are made at the *natifini* to preserve health. At the beginning of cultivation a large pot of beer is put close to the *natifini* and an old woman drinks it, leaving a little at the bottom for the *nacyen*, the spirit of the dead man. When the pot is dry it is taken into the house and is not used again for any ordinary purpose but is kept for the beer of the *natifini* and is called *lolokhukhu*. The *nacyen* is regarded as very powerful, for it may haunt and bring sickness on an evil-doer. It is not known where the *nacyen* abides, nor can it be caught or "laid"; its close association with the *natifini* is shown by Colonel Lilley's information that in dreams it is the *nacyen* of the *natifini* that speaks.

When a man is ill a goat, porridge, and beer are provided, presumably after consulting the *ibwoni* (medicine-man, fem. *nebwoni*).

The goat is killed and skinned, and its flesh cut up and eaten. The assembled folk spit on the skin and beat the sick person with a portion of it. The stomach content is strewn on the threshold and the sick man steps over this, while some is thrown on and into the *natifini*, blood from the head being mixed with the soil at the bottom of the shrine and allowed to flow round it.

According to the *ibwoni* the illness of a single man may betoken the coming of sickness upon the people, in which case his mother will appear to him at night and bid him sacrifice to avert the evil. He will first sacrifice a chicken at his own *natifini*, i.e. presumably to his mother's spirit. Later the people collect at the dancing place, at least one sheep or goat is killed, and the content of the stomach smeared on the breasts and backs of the people, the *ibwoni* taking care to do this on his own body and to scatter some on the dancing ground so that all may tread thereon. The flesh of the sacrifice is cut into small pieces, boiled, and all partake. The head is buried in the ground in one of the most frequented tracks, so that everyone will pass over it. After this the people rinse their hands in water and pour the washings on the stones of the *natifini* (presumably the public *natifini* mentioned on p. 353), a gourd of water being placed in it and left for three days. The bones of the sacrifice are collected, placed in a gourd, and taken into the bush or left among the rocks, while the skin is taken to the house of the medicine-man and cut into strips. Colonel Lilley states that some of these strips may be bound round the left upper arm and ankles; others are boiled and eaten with porridge, after some has been thrown on the ground, presumably at the *natifini*. At Logoforok, where this information was obtained, the house of the *ibwoni* was on a small isolated hillock some distance from other settlements.

Whatever other functions the communal *natifini* may have, they are certainly concerned with cultivation. In the new hamlets built at Logoforok the shrine stood a few paces within the entrance, well away from the houses. The "headman" is responsible for its building, and is helped by all who cultivate together, i.e. the men of his hamlet. We were told that a ceremony (probably somewhat on the lines of the ceremony described for Itoghom on p. 357) was performed here before anyone might eat of the new crop and also before planting. According to Colonel Lilley the only ceremonies performed at these *natifini* concern planting and hunting.

We were unable to discover who the "headman" might be, and

supposed he might correspond to the Lotuko *lomonyemiji*. Mr. Driberg, however, writes that there is no one really corresponding to the *lomonyemiji*, but that the *monyokobali* ("owner" or "father" of the clubhouse, *nabali*), a person selected mainly for his good temper, is of considerable importance in the community. He is responsible for its health and must employ the *ibwoni* in case of epidemics, while the clubhouse or drum-house over which he presides has a high social significance. It is he who takes the lead when a village moves its site, striking the first blows at the first tree to be felled, a task completed by the *monyokoferaji*, the owner of the firesticks (*nafereji*).[1] Again, it is the *monyokobali* who sacrifices a goat at the communal *natifini* before the beginning of cultivation. After this sacrifice all present proceed to the bush, where the *monyokobali* lights a special fire and a ceremonial pipe of tobacco is smoked; a wild animal is then killed and taken to the village, where it is eaten next day with some grain. It is only on the third day that the cultivation begins. A very mild-tempered man is selected who, donning a woman's apron and leather skirt, starts the cultivation; in the evening he carries a bundle of firewood—woman's work—to the village. No one may laugh at him, however absurd he may appear, on pain of a fine of one bracelet.[2]

A ceremony was held at a *natifini* built on the rock face above the waterfall at Laborokala, where the head-waters of the river Koss form a fall a short distance above the cultivation. Here, i.e. just below the fall, where the left bank, worn so smooth as to form almost a rock dome, falls precipitously to the stream bed, annual sacrifice is made before the beginning of the rainy season, when the stream has shrunk to its smallest. This is said to have been instituted by the eponymous ancestor of Girinyang clan. A goat is sacrificed, beer and some of the stomach contents thrown into the stream, whither the bones are also cast later, and the *natifini* anointed with blood and beer. The flesh of the sacrifice is eaten by the elders of Girinyang, of both sexes. The high flat rock face where this sacrifice was made seemed to be regarded as dangerous, and the whole place as awesome.

At Itoghom there is a standing stone, about 3 feet tall and more or less square in section, each side being about 8 to 10 inches broad.

[1] Colonel Lilley says that both these officials are connected with the communal *natifini*. This shrine, always large enough to contain the large pot used for beer on ceremonial occasions, has no direct relation to the spirits of the dead.

[2] We saw men wearing women's clothes at a Lotuko dance, on the occasion of the provision of new skins for the drums.

PLATE XXXIV



Natifini



Natifini

The stone, which seems to have been *in situ* for some time, was said to have been erected by an ancestor of one Lafane of clan Epilogo. By this stone a ceremony is performed before the millet is sown, and again before the crop may be eaten. Making allowances for omissions and misunderstandings due to difficulties of interpretation, the essentials of these ceremonies would seem to be somewhat as follows :—

At sowing time Lafane takes a black goat, draws blood from its ear and, letting this fall near the stone, hoes the ground. At the harvest ceremony, before which no one may eat of the new crop, all bring a few heads of millet, which are cooked by men in three pots near the stone. All eat of these, but before this is permissible Lafane takes a few heads, mixes them with leaves of a particular kind, and smears the mixture upon the stone, the fragments being left where they fall.

Rain-making

Colonel Lilley considers that before the advent of the Government there were no chiefs of political importance corresponding to the Lotuko *kobu* ; there was, however, a *laboloni* who was head of a group of villages. The rain-maker did not exercise any considerable political power, indeed we did not find any Lango rain-makers. Colonel Lilley says that at present there are none, but that there was once a woman rain-maker at Ikoto, who was burned to death about one hundred years ago because she failed to cause rain. She had no successor. The people of Logoforok used to obtain the services of a rain-maker from Agoro in Uganda, and this man, as Mr. Driberg informs us, is of Bari descent (Bekat clan). We were told that the Lango now look to the Lotuko rain-maker, while at (new) Itoghom the rain-maker was descended from a Lotuko woman. The position at this village, but two years old at the time of our visit n 1922, was as follows :—

There are two hill sites, Isariang (Isewianga on the 1·1,000,000 map, sheet 78-N.) and (old) Itoghom, both, as we understood, with rain shrines. We failed to discover the nature of the shrine at old Itoghom, where it was said that the rain ceremony would be performed, its performance at Isariang being avoided lest too much rain should

fall. It is, however, at Isariang that the skulls of ancestral rain-makers are kept, and there the rain-maker should be carried to die, for preference in his mother's house, where he would be buried, his bones being dug up ten months or a year later by a Lomini man.[1] At Itoghom a man called Lolori was recognized as rain-maker for the whole Imatong range. He was considered by some people to be of the Mighrobu (wart-hog) clan (perhaps at one time there had been powerful rain-makers of this clan), but Lolori himself claimed to be an Igago and looked upon the crocodile as his clan animal, saying that when he sacrificed at Isariang crocodiles from the Kinnati river might come for the bones of the sacrifice. These appeared to be ordinary crocodiles, yet as he stated that he saw his father in crocodile form in dreams there is some suggestion that they were ancestors in animal form. Lolori makes a blood offering at Isariang after a " bad dream ", i.e. one in which his father appears and upbraids him for neglect, telling him " to clean his skull with blood ". What actually happens is that a black goat is taken to the shrine and blood from its ears dripped upon the bones.

The explanation of how Lolori came to be considered an Igago is involved[2] and only of value as showing the increasing Lotuko influence exercised on the Lango, especially at Itoghom where there has probably been considerable intermarriage with Lotuko men who have settled there.

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The dead are buried just outside the hut, in the lateral position, hands under head and knees partially flexed. In theory the corpse

[1] This is probably not a general statement, but a specific instance referring to the fact that a corpse must be exhumed by a member of the clan of the dead man's wife; here presumably the chief wife of the rain-maker was a Lomini woman.

[2] The woman Ikaban came from Logurun with " rain in her womb ", and at Itoghom was delivered at one birth of a daughter, Ighat, and of " rain ". Loghororo, who was the son of a Lomini man called Igwon, married Ighat and became the rain-maker; he seems however to have identified himself with the Igago clan, at any rate his grandson Lolori, the present rain-maker, considers himself an Igago man, as did his father Futah, the son of Loghororo. The reason for this appeared to be that rain-making was traditionally associated with the Igago clan. Ikaban was said to have belonged to the Lowudo clan and to have been married to Mosingu, a Lomia *kobu*. However, it is probable that Mosingu was not the father of Ighat, for it was specifically stated that Ikaban came from Logurun, the ancestral centre of the Igago, so that the father, though not mentioned in the story, may well have been an Igago. Colonel Lilley tells us that Lolori is now dead, and his two sisters, Ijangi and Imiang, make rain, but they are not regarded as Lango women.

is only exhumed if one of the family becomes ill or, as Mr. Driberg adds, if a woman of the family is barren, in which case one lower incisor is hung round the neck of the patient. The Lango conform to the usual rule that exhumation should be done by members of the clan of the wife. At Lomo the bones of the father of our informant, a Lomiang (lion) man, were disinterred by his wife's father, of the Lowori (leopard) clan; if he had been unable to officiate, his wife's paternal uncle or her brother would have acted. The following was given as an example of the correct procedure.

If a man becomes ill his father's grave is opened, and he squats in it; a sheep is then killed ceremonially so that its blood and the contents of the stomach will fall over the sick man and on the skull in the grave. The skin is wrapped round him, and he and his relatives eat the meat of the sacrifice. The skull and bones of the invalid's father are gathered and taken to a "cool" place far away, as we understood, a rock shelter, and left there. We have used the word "ceremonially" in speaking of the killing of the sheep, the method proper to such a sacrifice being to hold the beast vertically by its four limbs, head up, when a knife is inserted into the belly and carried upwards as if to split the animal in half.

Near Losua (new) village we were taken to a rock shelter constituting a shrine, in which were ancestral skulls. A stiff climb of half an hour—for the most part over rock domes—brought us to the site of the old village, destroyed (as we were informed) about four years previously. Here were stone terraces and a good circle of upright stones used for a squatting place, as among the Lotuko at Labalwa. A little way above the village was the rock shelter, in which were broken pots and two skulls (or perhaps three, we were not allowed to investigate too closely), with other bones. The two skulls that we saw were said to be those of the father and grandfather of our companion and informant, Lowaja, belonging to clan Lomiang, whose members become lions after death. A goat is killed from time to time near the rock shelter; the flesh is eaten by the old of both sexes—the female *komani* (relatives-in-law) eating their share somewhat apart—and the skulls are anointed with the contents of the stomach. This is done to prevent sickness, generally after a dream and consultation with the *ibwoni*. While with us at this shrine Lowaja told us that about two years ago he had dreamt of his father in lion form, and, waking up fearful and trembling, sacrificed here, though he was not ill at the time.

LITTLE-KNOWN TRIBES OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN BORDER

The south-eastern extremity of the Sudan is the home of a number of almost unknown tribes, some perhaps portions of larger units having their centres outside the Sudan boundaries. Although little has been published about these tribes the information given us by Mr. Driberg, who has had some degree of contact with several of them, has enabled us to suggest a provisional classification based on linguistic evidence, those units who speak a common language being considered to constitute a group.

The Lotuko-speaking group, apart from the Lotuko, Lokoiya, and Lango (already described), includes :—

The Dongotono. We did not visit this tribe, but Mr. Driberg informs us that they speak a Lotuko dialect and apparently have always done so. They have left their old homes high amidst the mountains and now live among the foothills alongside the Logir (Lango), with whom they intermarry. They formerly wore the Didinga "pudding bowl" head-dress, though this is no longer the custom. Their main weapon was the long bow, they carried also a single spear but no shield.

The Lokathan, originally one people with the Dongotono; they formerly occupied the Dongotono hills but are now found to the south and east near Madial.

The Lowama, who followed the Lokathan from the Dongotono hills, are now regarded as a part of the Lotuko-speaking Lango, while some of their stock may have fused with the Acholi.

Very little is known of the inhabitants of Mount Lopit, or, as it is called, on the maps, Lafit, except that they speak a Lotuko dialect. It is indeed likely that the inhabitants may be predominantly Lotuko, for we were told that at Iboni the rain-makers were of the Lomia clan, but at the time of our visit in 1922 an Igago woman, widow of the late Lomia rain-maker, was acting as chief. There are, however, as Mr. Driberg informs us, two foreign villages on the range, one inhabited by Longarim and the other by Beir.

The Didinga-speaking group includes :—

The Didinga.

The Longarim, adjacent to and north-west of the Didinga.

The Beir or Ajiba (calling themselves Molen), east of the Bor Dinka, whom they habitually raided.

PLATE XXXV



Longarim, men

The Murle of the Boma plateau, and the Nikoroma, both in Abyssinia.

Our summary of the relationship of these tribes is taken from Mr. Driberg's unpublished notes :—

" The Didinga, Longarim, Beir, and Murle are one people, with slight dialectical differences of language and with greater cultural differences due to environment and to a greater admixture with neighbouring tribes ; but they undoubtedly remain the same people and should be grouped as the constituents of one undivided tribe. To them should be added a people called by the Didinga Nikoroma, who live in Abyssinia. A few of the Nikoroma—a term meaning ' hillmen '—accompanied an Abyssinian raiding party a few years ago and were at once recognized by the Didinga as their fellows on the evidence of physical appearance, language, weapons, and articles of personal adornment."

The following account of the Beir is taken from a paper published by Colonel M. H. Logan in 1918 [1] :—

The Beir inhabit the centre and southern part of the Sobat-Pibor District, roughly between 6° and 7° N. Their houses are strongly built, beehive-shaped grass huts, with entrance from a kind of porch built out at right angles to the hut, often with a small emergency exit as well. Hunting and fishing play a considerable part in their life, but the fact that they deform the horns of their cattle indicates the high interest and value that these have, moreover bride-wealth is handed over in the form of cattle. Indeed the mode of life of the Beir is determined by the requirements of their herds. During the rains they live in permanent villages, built for the most part on the sandy mounds along the village banks, where they cultivate a certain amount of millet ; after the rains they migrate along the various rivers in search of pasture, and construct temporary shelters of grass, villages and even families each following a line of its own.

The Beir worship a god, Tummu, who is associated with the sky and for whom offerings of food are placed at the roots of certain trees. Rain is also referred to as Tummu, and when rain is expected they will say " Tummu is coming ". They do not bury their dead, but the corpse is taken out at sunrise or sunset and exposed on the ground at some distance from the village and with its back towards it.

[1] " The Beirs " : *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918. They do not however speak a dialect of Shilluk as Colonel Logan suggests, while their houses as described above differ in form and structure from those of the Nilotes.

A head-rest is placed under the neck, and a bowl of water is put alongside, avowedly for the vultures. The body of a chief is covered with wood and thorns.

According to legend the Didinga have spread into the Sudan from southern Abyssinia east of Lake Rudolf. The Didinga and kindred Longarim passed south of the Lake through the present Turkana country and settled in the mountains now called by their name, evicting the Topotha, who at that time are said to have worn the characteristic Didinga head-dress consisting of a felted mass of growing hair worked into the shape of an inverted pudding bowl. The other members of the Didinga group, including the Nikoroma and northern Murle of Abyssinia and the Beir of the Upper Nile Province, are said to have reached their present homes travelling north of Lake Rudolf. For this information we are indebted to Mr. Driberg, upon whose paper,[1] supplemented by personal discussion, the following short description is based :—

The Didinga have a clan organization with descent in the male line, moreover marriage is avoided with close relatives on both sides of the family. The clans (*kabucet*), which are not totemic, seem to be divided into two groups, according to whether their members will or will not eat the head and feet of animals.

" The Didinga are both pastoralists and agriculturists, the latter by necessity, the former by inclination. The indigenous type of cattle is small, stocky, and humpless, but a larger humped strain is also present, doubtless due to the introduction of new blood from stock raided from the Karamojong and Acholi." [2] The Didinga mode of life resembles that of the Topotha in many respects, but they are far better agriculturists than the latter, their villages are less temporary, and the men do a large share of the agriculture. The villages are built on knolls and mountain spurs, which afford only the most difficult and at night dangerous approach for an enemy, the whole village being encircled by a stout palisade of logs. The huts are small, circular, and thatched in the Nilotic manner. The character of the country prohibits large villages, and only a few milch cows and a bull or two are kept in the village or in the immediate vicinity, the bulk of the cattle being pastured on the upland grazing grounds, clan property, which may be hours or days distant. During the dry season the cattle are evacuated to summer quarters some 15 to 25 miles

[1] " A preliminary account of the Didinga " : *S.N. & R.*, v, 1922.
[2] Op. cit., 115.

east, on the banks of the Lokido (Kidepo) river, where the rest of the tribe, with the exception of the aged and the sick, follow after harvesting the dry season's crops. The summer settlements are similar to those of the Topotha.

As among the Lotuko, the chief (*kabu*) is the most important man in an area in which his own clan predominates, though other clans are included, but there is only one really influential chief, Alukileng of clan Loborokok, who is the sole rain-maker of importance among the Didinga. True, there are local rain-ceremonies, but in these the water which is an essential part of the ceremony is provided by Alukileng. The *bañ ti lotu*, in whom is vested territorial rights over the clan lands, is responsible for the rites that ensure the fertility of the land and safeguard the cultivation. There is also a *bañ t'olu* ("owner of the settlement"), an hereditary officer whose duties are mainly religious; he should keep the settlement free from disease and performs ceremonies for success in hunting. It will be seen that these two officers between them perform the rites of the Lotuko *lomonyemiji*.

Fish are not caught: they are indeed avoided by the whole Didinga people, since they came to earth in the lightning as messengers of Tamukujen, who is associated with the firmament and with rain, *tamu* being in fact the word for rain. Ancestor worship is important, for Mr. Driberg notes that sacrifices are made regularly at graves.

The dead are buried in deep graves outside the village, lying on the right side in the embryonic position with the head towards the east. A man's head-dress is cut off and buried with him, but no other property. A pregnant woman is cut open and the embryo removed and buried with her.

To the Turkana-speaking group belong:—

The Dodoth, in Uganda south of the Didinga, but with one outlying section, calling itself Ajie, in Sudan territory, and another (the Orom) in the mountains south of Madial.

The Topotha (shown in the older maps as Dabosa) living north-east of the Didinga. Their language is almost identical with Turkana.

We do not know of any published account of the Topotha, and are indebted to Mr. Driberg for the following information.

The Topotha and Ajie reached their present homes from the south, where at least one section of the Ajie still persists in Uganda among the Karamojong. They are now the most north-westerly of the

Turkana-speaking peoples, having at one time occupied the eastern ranges of the Didinga mountains until the Didinga drove them to their present home, and to this day every important physical feature on the east side of these mountains has two names, Didinga and Topotha. They now inhabit the barren inhospitable plains north and west of the Didinga mountains, mainly waterless except where intersected by the Lokalyan and the Thingaïta. When in spate these rivers carry down and spread a rich fertilizing silt, on which the women grow a limited amount of grain (men taking no part in this), while for the rest of the year water is only obtainable by digging in the dry river beds. The Topotha are accordingly semi-nomadic. They have built permanent hamlets along both banks of the rivers, so numerous as almost to present a continuous settlement extending for several miles. These are their wet season habitations; during the dry season they forsake the river-banks and for six months become more or less wanderers, indeed a regularly organized system depending upon their clan organization has been worked out for coping with the dry season.

The clans are almost autonomous, and are controlled by leaders with definite military functions. Each clan has its own territory, called by its name, also applied to the clan village or settlement. The rivers are similarly divided into clan-owned reaches and trespassers from other clans are not admitted, this being particularly important during the season when the fruit of the palm (*Borassus* sp.) growing on the banks is ripe. During the dry season the neighbouring foothills and those rivers fringed with reasonably good grazing are likewise allocated to individual clans, and here a further sub-division takes place, for to ensure sufficient grazing each clan's summer quarters must extend over a large area. At convenient spots, usually the same year after year, one or two families erect flimsy kraals, generally constructed in three concentric circles. The external fence is for protection, the innermost circle for goats, while between the two is the cattle enclosure and rude huts of stakes with grass or palm fronds, and occasionally a skin, thrown over them. These summer quarters may be 60 to 70 miles from the permanent villages, where the aged and invalids are left with a small guard of warriors and a few milch cows; from time to time the cattle are changed, fresh ones being brought in from the distant kraals in order to give the others good grazing.

Within the wet season villages each family (father, mother, and

young children) is separated by a fence from its neighbours, the bachelor warriors living in large communal huts and the girls either sharing these with the bachelors or living in the communal girl-houses.

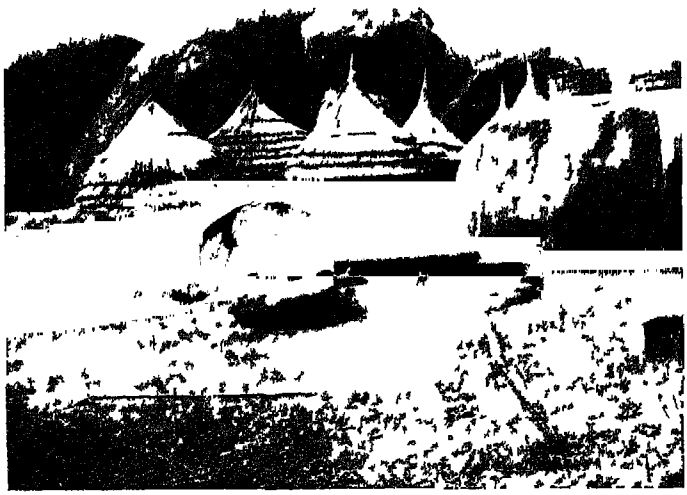
The Teuth are described by Mr. Driberg as short but not pygmy, rather light-skinned, nomad hunters, very secretive and shy, whose wanderings in Sudan territory are in the main limited to forested areas between Mogila and Lotuke, the highest peak of the Didinga range, but who are also found among the Turkana and Karamojong. They use short bows, often not more than 2 feet long, but it is not known whether their arrows are poisoned.[1] They have a language of their own (but also speak Topotha) and claim a prescriptive right to a portion of all game killed in their forests. Nothing is known of their social organization, but the Didinga—who speak of them as light-skinned—fear their magic.

[1] These short bows need not indicate direct pygmy affinities or recent contacts, since the Lugbware of northern Uganda, who closely resemble the Madi, also have a short bow.

a number of round huts and granaries, four or five huts usually occupying a more or less circular area. The unusual character of these homesteads will be realized from the photographs reproduced on Pls. XXXVI and XXXVII. Four or five cylinders of clay are erected close together, forming a rough circle enclosing a small central space. The huts do not touch, indeed the entrance to the homestead may be into the small central space through an opening in the mud wall built between two of the cylinders, as in Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 1. Or the entrance may be through a door leading into one of the huts, the gaps between the huts, often very narrow, being blocked with brushwood or stones. One or perhaps two of the cylinders—smaller than their fellows and standing on a foundation of stones—are granaries, while the remaining units constitute the dwelling-huts. The small central court between the huts and granaries is roughly roofed with sticks and grass, and into this area opens a door from each of the component huts. Another peculiarity of the Nuba homestead is that in good houses the floor is tessellated with pottery fragments; this tessellation, which does not reach the walls, also covers the bench of clay, raised to a convenient height for a kneeling woman, in which are set her grindstones (Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 2).

In these southern hills pottery, though hand-made, has reached a higher development than in any other part of the Sudan of which we have personal knowledge. The surface of their beautifully burnished finer wares may be divided into irregular sub-circular areas, separated from each other by an incised network, the whole representing the skin of a giraffe, the burnished areas being the spots. Their decorative art, always geometric (again we can speak only of the southern hills), is by far the most advanced we saw in the Sudan, and this too is to a considerable extent based on the giraffe, the patterns represented in Fig. 26 on a dotted background being derived from the hoof prints of this animal. Other designs, naturalistic in origin, are seen on their gourd bowls, including one derived from the carapace of the tortoise.

The Nuba are skilled and energetic cultivators, and pigs are to be seen in every southern village, but they possess relatively few cattle, so that their herds do not take the great place in their life that they do among the Nilotes. Nevertheless, only men herd the cattle and milk the cows; women may not drink milk during the menstrual period, and, since on certain hills the initiation ceremonies of the boys are



Jebel Amun, summit of hill



Lafofa, partly built homestead

PLATE XXXVII



Lafofa, homestead



Lafofa, interior, with tessellation and grindstones set in raised bench

connected with the cattle and take place in specially prepared cattle kraals, it seems possible that formerly cattle may have played a larger part in the lives of the Nuba than they do at the present day. In 1910 when the fear of Arab raids had been but freshly removed, the Nuba cultivated the plateaux of their hills, or, where these were wanting or insufficient, constructed terraces on which to grow millet. But

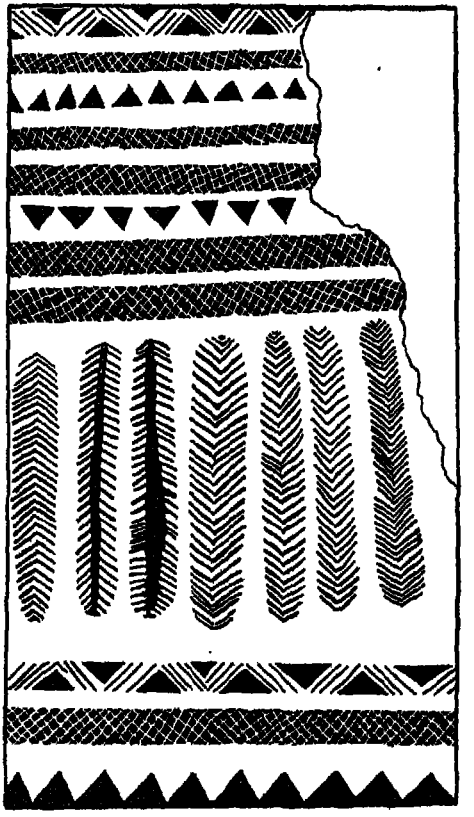


FIG. 27. Lafofa, wall-painting in hut.

there is reason to believe that at one time, before the Baqqara pushed their way into central Kordofan and began to raid the south, considerable areas of the plain at the foot of the hills were cultivated and that near these there were villages of uncontaminated Nuba.

It does not appear that any recent physical, cultural, or linguistic influence has been exerted on the southern Nuba by the Shilluk,

whose villages form a line along the White Nile to the south-east of Dar Nuba, nor by the Dinka and Nuer to the south.

One of the most remarkable features of Dar Nuba is the multiplicity of languages spoken within its bounds. The inhabitants of hills only a few miles apart may speak languages mutually unintelligible, and even on the same *massif*—when this is of moderate size—there may be two or three communities speaking different languages and coming little in contact with one another, though their habits, customs, and beliefs are fundamentally the same. A good example of the prevailing condition is offered by Jebel Eliri. The Eliri, said to be the original inhabitants of the hill, have been forced to cede it in part to the Lafofa, who come from the neighbouring Jebel Tekeim a short distance to the east. The Eliri have mixed with the "Arabs" below to some extent, and now inhabit a small village high up on the hill; a few have houses close to the large Lafofa village, and there is an Eliri settlement at the base. A few Eliri men speak the Lafofa dialect, though none of the Lafofa profess to understand the Eliri dialect and only two or three mixed marriages were recorded. On the same hill, about 6 miles to the west, is Talassa, where the Korongo dialect is spoken, the founders of this community being natives of Jebel Korongo, joined by refugees from various northern hills who had been plundered and enslaved by the Dervishes.

A detailed account of the physical characters of the southern Nuba has been given elsewhere.[1] Summing up, they may be described as among the taller of the Sudan tribes (though shorter than the Shilluk and many Dinka), the average of 31 men of the Lafofa and Eliri communities being 1·72 m. (about 68 inches). These southern Nuba are predominantly mesaticephalic, for although cephalic indices under 70 and over 80 both occur, nearly 60 per cent of the individuals measured were mesaticephals, the remaining being dolichocephalic and brachycephalic in about equal proportions. Compared with the Nilotes the most striking anatomical feature of the head-form in the living is a flattening of the fronto-parietal region, which may be very obvious, when it may cause the vault in the neighbourhood of the sagittal suture to appear almost keeled. So much flattening is unusual, but a minor degree is so common that it may be regarded as typical. The forehead is not usually retreating, though in a few men its backward slope is very noticeable. The degree of development of the supraorbital ridges varies greatly, as do the features

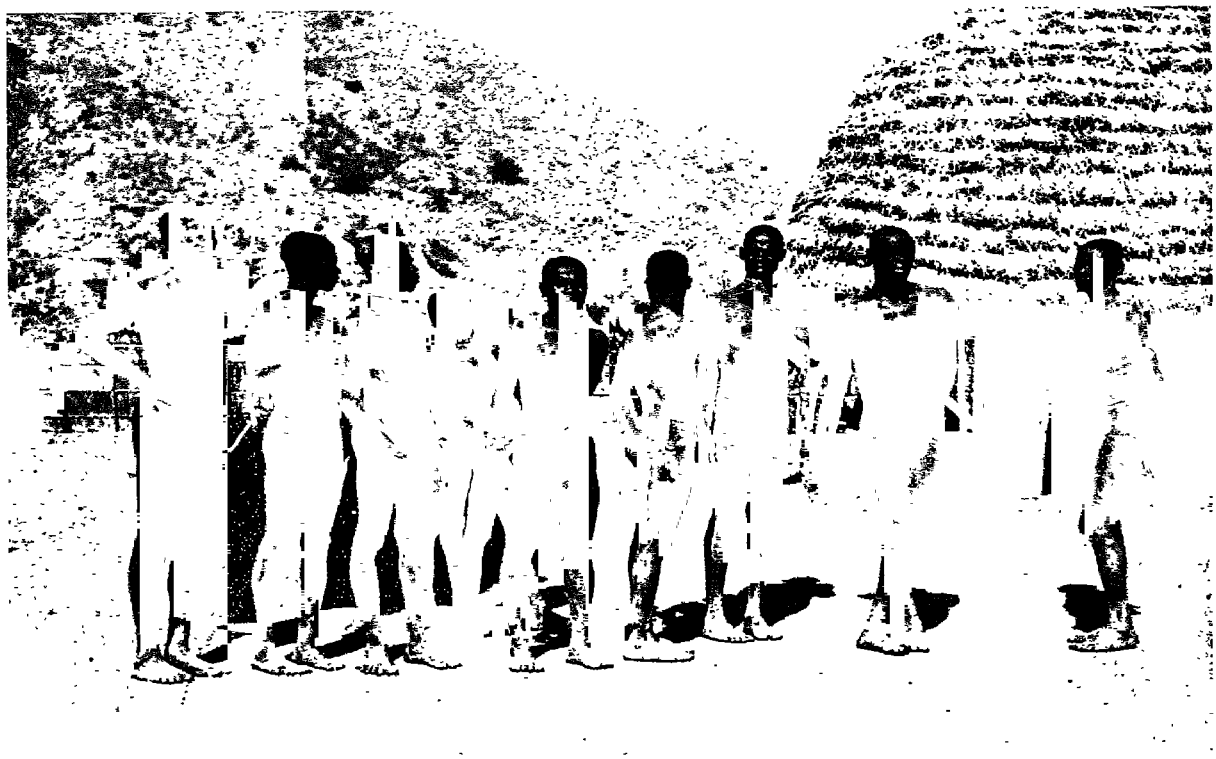
[1] C. G. Seligman, "The Physical Characters of the Nuba of Kordofan": *JRAI.*, xl, 1910.



1 2 3 4 5

Nuba types

PLATE XXXIX



Jebel Lumun, Nuba men

and the proportion the face bears to the calvaria; on the one hand are such heavy-jawed, broad-nosed types as No. 1 of Pl. XXXVIII, on the other the less common type represented in No. 5, presenting in every way a more refined appearance, with a narrower nose and a forehead that looks higher and broader.

In colour the Nuba vary from a dark chocolate brown to the darkest shade of brown-black. They are not a hairy race, the men have little or no body hair save that on the pubes and the axilæ, and the hair on the face is scant, though the older men not uncommonly grow a slight beard and moustache. The hair of the scalp is of the usual negro type. Many men shave the head, women do not appear to do this; grey hair is common in the old. Plate XXXIX gives some idea of the general physical development of the Nuba, but hardly indicates the muscular efficiency of this people. The first part of the ascent of Jebel Eliri necessitates a tolerably stiff climb, the greater part a scramble over a mass of irregularly piled and often slippery boulders, yet it is no exaggeration to say that the Nuba who carried our baggage up to Lafofa fairly ran up the hill, with burdens weighing from 30 to 40 lbs. The physique of the best developed of the Nuba may be judged from Pl. XLI, Fig. 1 representing two men from one of the villages on Jebel Talodi, champions in the wrestling bouts held periodically on Talodi and the neighbouring hills.

The Nuba at his best, i.e. on those hills that have been strong enough to resist Arab influence, is plucky and energetic, and when once his innate suspicion of strangers has been overcome he is a cheerful companion and makes an excellent host. Both sexes are clean, and the condition of their settlements compares most favourably with that prevailing in many riverain villages. To a certain extent this may be due to the presence of the domestic pig, but it is in part at least due to the Nuba caring more for cleanliness. No rubbish or dirt is allowed to accumulate in the interior of their houses, and the women wash their hands before grinding millet or preparing food.

Neither circumcision, clitoridectomy, nor infibulation are practised, but the women of Jebel Talodi and the hills round it perforate the lower lip, in which they wear a plug or pendant. On many hills, including we believe all those on which the lip ornament is worn, the lower incisors are removed in both sexes. Apart from foreign influence the men go naked, as do the women of the Moro Hills, but on those hills of which we have any personal knowledge

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the women wear a bunch of leaves or a small pubic apron. The Nuba do not tattoo, but on most hills the women scar their bodies. The closeness of the cicatrices and the patterns in which they are disposed, as well as the amount of skin covered, varies. On Jebel Eliri the whole body, from the border of the hairy scalp to mid-thigh, is covered with small circular button-like scars arranged in certain recognized lines and patterns; on the arms an attempt is made to produce pyramidal scars alternating with short linear scars so disposed as to form an angular pattern (Pl. XLI, Fig. 2). At Tasume, on the Jebel Talodi *massif*, the scars are linear and we believe are made only on the thorax, back, and abdomen.

Women exercise considerable independence; the girls choose their mates and are allowed a large amount of freedom in all matters that concern them. The men do the greater part of the hard work —it is their business to break up the ground for cultivation, to build houses and to roof them, to herd and milk the cows, to make the string or hide couches known generally by their Arab name as *angareb*, to collect the clay for house-building (the women fetch the water for this purpose), and to harvest the crops. The women sow the seed, collect firewood, make pots and ornament the houses, grind the millet and make it into porridge. The Nuba commonly grow more grain than they need for solid food, and much of it is made into beer, which although considerably less alcoholic than our own is so freely drunk that intoxication is frequent.

If the languages of the southern Nuba be compared with dialects (Mahass, Sukkhot, etc.) spoken by the Barabra, it will be found that those of southern Kordofan differ substantially from the Berberine dialects in vocabulary and grammatical structure. The resemblance noted over half a century ago between Berberine and the languages of Kordofan apply in fact only to those spoken by a limited number of northern communities, subjected to foreign influence for a considerable period. In previous publications we put forward the view that it was this foreign influence that was responsible for the "Nubian" languages of northern Kordofan. There is indeed good evidence for a steady and widely penetrating influence from the Nile valley,[1]

[1] The Barabra, especially those of Dongola Province, are keen traders, and the traveller in Kordofan soon recognizes that they have long exerted a sustained influence, most marked in the north, where important settlements of Barabra have existed for a considerable time. So much in support of this opinion will be found in MacMichael's work, *Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofan*, that it will be sufficient to note that passages confirming this view occur in the writings of El Tūnisī (referring to about 1784–5), Rüppell (*Reisen in Nubien Kordofan, und den petraischen Arabien*, Frankfort, 1829), and Pallme (*Travels in Kordofan*, Eng., tr., London, 1844).

PLATE XL



Lafofa, Nuba group

though Professor Westermann does not agree with our suggestion and regards it as impossible for these Nubian languages to have arisen as the result of foreign, largely commercial, influence. Professor Meinhof considers that such Nubian or "Hamitoid" languages extend only a hundred miles south of El Obeid,[1] but recent investigation carries them further south. Among their distinguishing features are the remains of a tonic system and the occurrence of grammatical gender.

Further south, in the territory recognized by the Arabs as the true home of the Nuba, two groups of languages must be recognized. One includes a number of "Sudan" languages, the other a series of tongues called by Meinhof "pre-Hamitic", which resemble Bantu and Fulani in possessing noun classes and alliterative concordance, and to which Dr. Bernhard Struck applies the term Bantoid. These latter languages, first noted in 1910, differ from the Berberine dialects, in which grammatical changes in both nouns and verbs are produced by suffixes, in that these are brought about by initial change; moreover, as just stated, in the Bantoid languages there are traces of noun classes, and alliterative assonance prevails to a considerable extent, e.g. the plural of *calenga jote* (Eliri), "a good club," is *malanga mote*.[2] It is evident then that these languages present some likeness to the Bantu, though insufficient, according to Sir Harry Johnston, to justify their inclusion in the semi-Bantu class.

The third class of language, that occupying the intermediate area between the northern Nubian and the southern Bantoid, is typically Sudanic with plurals formed by adding suffixes, and with but few prefixes. The diagram on p. 374 copied from Dr. Struck's paper shows the distribution of the three types of languages.

Further, Struck, who has also studied the available physical material[3] from the standpoint of its distribution among the linguistic groups, considers that each is to be distinguished physically as indicated in the following table, the numbers in parentheses indicating the number of subjects from which the averages are derived.

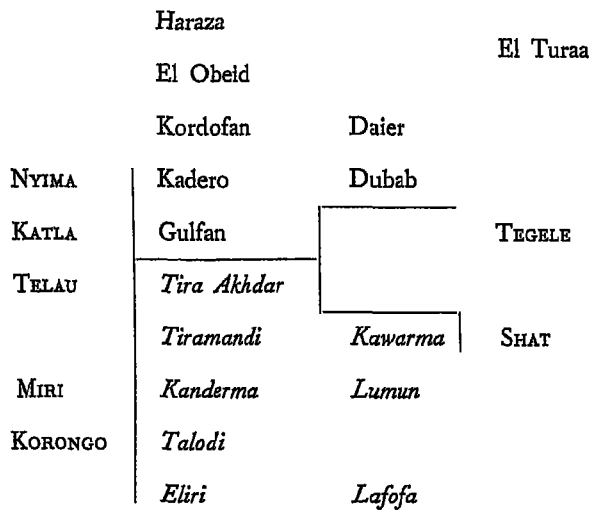
[1] Meinhof's observations will be found in "Eine Studienfahrt nach Kordofan", *Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts*, Bd. xxxv, 1916, but the account of Nuba languages given here is in the main taken from a paper by Bernhard Struck, "Somatischen Typen und Sprachgruppen in Kordofan", *Z.f.E.*, lii, 1920–1.

[2] Brenda Z. Seligman, "Note on the Language of the Nubas of Southern Kordofan": *Zeitschrift fur Kolonialsprachen*, i, 1910–11 (Berlin); cf. also F. Bock, "Zu den neuen sprachen von Süd-Kordofan": ibid., iii, 1912–13.

[3] Op. cit., using data from A. W. Tucker and C. S. Myers, "A Contribution to the Anthropology of the Sudan", *JRAI*, xl, 1910, also Seligman, "The Physical Characters of the Nuba of Kordofan", *JRAI*, xl, 1910.

Linguistic Group.	Cephalic Index.	Nasal Index.	Facial Index.	Upper Facial Index.	Stature.
Nubian	75·0 (13)	101·2 (13)	79·9 (13)	46·0 (13)	1·75 (4)
Sudanic	79·0 (13)	101·3 (13)	76·8 (13)	44·3 (12)	1·69 (5)
Bantoid	76·7 (50)	93·4 (50)	82·8 (50)	46·3 (50)	1·72 (46)

How far the material dealt with is adequate to permit of valid conclusions being drawn is doubtful: the number of Bantoids measured is probably sufficient for the averages given to be fairly reliable, but with regard to the two other groups the figures for



Nubian languages in Roman type, Sudanic in capitals, Bantoid in italics.

stature can have only an accidental value, while the validity of the average C.I., N.I., F.I., and U.F.I. is certainly not beyond suspicion, though probably it is true to say that the Bantoid group is rather longer-headed and narrower-nosed than the Sudanic, who are rounder-headed than the Nubian-speaking group from whom they do not substantially differ in breadth of nose or face. Clearly the matter both deserves and requires further investigation, and as a first step a considerable number of measurements are required from northern and central Kordofan.

From what has already been said it will be obvious that on one hill

there may be, indeed generally is, a number of communities having so little in common that they may speak different languages. Even where a common language is spoken each community is not only autonomous but is self-sufficing to a remarkable degree, nor did we find any evidence of the existence of exogamous moieties or of clans.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

On Jebel Eliri, as upon every hill with which we are acquainted, the regulation of public life is ultimately in the hands of the rain-maker, though this man will scarcely be heard of by visitors until they have gained a considerable measure of the confidence of the people. The men known as *mek* in intercourse between the Government and the Nuba are usually executive officers, such as Deldung (see below). In the old days the rain-maker was not allowed to go to war, and every effort was made to protect his person against accident, the reason for this being that each succeeding rain-maker incarnates the spirit of a great, and long dead, rain-maker. The rain-maker is not the only practitioner of magic; there are experts in other departments, but these have far less influence than the rain-maker. Far below the rain-maker in importance there are certain men who are more or less responsible for the temporal government of the community, and formerly led the fighting men of their group, though they would do nothing in opposition to the wishes of the rain-maker. In some, if not in all communities, the rain-maker may not leave the hill, or, as on Eliri, he may go no further than the grave of his great predecessor Geberatu (whose spirit is immanent in him) where he performs the rain ceremony.

Among the Lafofa of Jebel Eliri, when we visited them in 1910, Koko was the rain-maker (*puluagi*); one Bilola was in some sense the temporal head, while a third man, Deldung, was subordinate to Bilola and seemed to act as his executive officer. It was not

[1] This does not hold for the northern hills; at Dilling there are two large exogamous groups, the Uri Ture and the Shil Iri, but their significance is not clear (Rev. Father Kauczor, "The Afitti Nuba of Gebel Dair and their relation to the Nuba proper": *S.N. & R.*, vi, 1923, 4). It is possible that the two lines of girl wrestlers described on p. 392 may be due to some form of dual organization that we failed to discover. Certain families of Jebel Lumun and Tira el Akhdar have the power of changing into leopards; a similar family formerly existed at Tumtum village of the Talodi massif, and it was said that these people would not wear a leopard skin. There is also a Tira el Akhdar family, the members of which can assume the form of a snake. This power is widespread in the Sudan, and by itself can hardly be considered indicative of totemism.

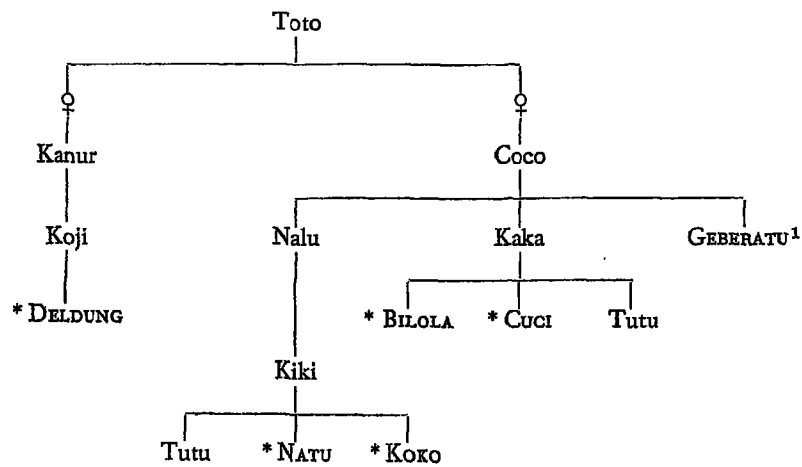
however until we had been in intimate contact with the people that we discovered the importance of Koko and Bilola. When we asked the *mek* to meet us at the foot of the hill it was Deldung who came to us; the place we camped in was selected with the aid of Deldung, who appeared to be the prime mover in getting up the dance that took place on the second day after our arrival, and it was he who brought provisions and arranged the visits of our informants. Indeed it was only days later, when the community had become convinced of our harmlessness, that we were officially introduced by Deldung to Koko, though, as we found out, both he and Bilola had been early visitors to our camp, where they had however preserved a strict *incognito*. Our inquiries as to the reason for the conditions we have sketched seemed to show that Deldung had been selected for his post of temporal chief and Foreign Minister on account of his bravery and skill in dealing with the Arabs in the old days (for which reason he had refrained from drinking beer). He was therefore put forward to deal with the Government, known or speedily discovered to have a way of demanding the attendance of the headman, not only to meet the District Commissioner but also to go to the District Office (*mamuria*) when cases were being tried. The rain-maker could not, dared not, leave his mountain, consequently if there was not to be perpetual friction it was necessary that someone capable of acting as the responsible head of the community should be prepared to attend the officers of the Government. The communities wise enough not to oppose the Government, and who also had a man of the calibre of Deldung to put forward as their chief, experienced no hardship and kept inviolate the sanctity of their rain-maker.[1] Where there was no man of suitable capacity the demand of the Government for the headman to come down and discuss matters might produce dismay, and in a strong community would be likely to lead to a point-blank refusal.

We lay some stress on this matter because it appears to us that we have here the explanation of some (certainly not all) of the difficulties that have arisen in the district, and we believe that an adequate realization of the relative importance of rain-makers and their executive officers (where the latter exist), and of the peculiar sanctity which forbids the former to leave their hill, may remove a source of friction.

[1] In 1910 Deldung had as assistant an "Arab" said to be from Omdurman, who had been taken prisoner by the Nuba and had adopted their mode of life.

The position occupied by the rain-maker is one of great dignity. Whereas adultery is not regarded very seriously, even by the injured husband, the idea of adultery with the rain-maker's wife—suggested by ourselves—was regarded as so heinous as to be unheard of. When the rain-maker drinks beer and eats with other important men he takes the first sip or mouthful and then tells the others to fall to; this makes the food sufficient, even if there is little there. On Jebel Eliri he keeps the fire-sticks with which the fire for the oath "by this fire and by Kalo" is made, and the plaintiff must give him a sheep before he will bring out the sticks and make fire. It does not appear that the Lafofa rain-maker receives any offering of first fruits, though his garden is made for him.

The following table shows the genealogy of the rain-maker Koko, of his assistant Bilola, and of Deldung. It is obvious that all three are descended from Toto, and that descent has been reckoned in the female line. Nalu, who though a very old woman was still active in 1910, was rain-maker after Geberatu, and as her grandchild Koko grew up she taught him her art.



[1] We first heard of Geberatu as a long dead hero of an almost legendary age. When the name of the first rain-maker was asked the answer was invariably the same: "Geberatu"; yet Nalu, the sister of Geberatu, though an old woman, was still alive in 1910, and on the Lafofa plateau there were ruins with much of the walls still standing of a group of huts said to be those occupied by Geberatu after he and his people left their settlement on the plain below. Nalu, with whom we talked, could scarcely have been older than 60 or 70 then. It was not possible to discover how many years separated her birth from that of Geberatu, but as she and the rain-maker had one mother the maximum can scarcely have been more than 25 years; probably it was less, and Geberatu must have been in his prime less than 70 or 80 years ago. Thus, in 1910, though Geberatu had lived within the memory of folk still living, and although his near relatives were alive, the identity of the rain-maker was fast being forgotten and for it there was being substituted the figure of a legendary hero gifted with extraordinary wisdom and foresight.

The men against whose names an asterisk is placed are the assistants of Koko in the rain-making ceremony, and are called *bitokware*, a term which the Rev. D. N. MacDiarmid informs us means "chief". A good deal of deference is shown them, and as they grow old they come to hold important places in the community, so that the wisest of them exercise authority second only to that of the rain-maker.

In the old days Deldung would have led the fighting men of the hill, yet Deldung must be regarded as something more than commander in the field and minister for foreign affairs, for he assisted in the rain-making at the foot of the hill, and he killed the black sheep which was sacrificed at the top of the pass before the rain-making ceremony and also before we were allowed to approach the sacred remains of Geberatu's hut. We came to look upon him as an assistant to Koko, whose priestly rôle stood entirely apart from the temporal functions forced upon the head of the hill by the Government.

At Dilling the rain-maker stands in much the same position. Our informants regarded him as by far the most important man in each community; all matters of importance are ultimately referred to him, and no one would act contrary to his orders. In the old raiding days he took a large proportion of any plunder as well as certain fines. Even now he takes a portion of the bride-wealth, and a larger proportion in the case of an orphan. He is in fact—as our informant put it—like a powerful sheikh. Under this priest-king are certain executive officers; when consulted by them the rain-maker might retire to his house, go into ecstasy (lit. shiver and shake), and while in this state give a message to one of his subordinates who would convey it to his questioners.

In spite of the ascendancy of the rain-maker the old men of the community enjoy considerable influence. At Lafofa they would constitute a court before which all claims for compensation would be brought, and it was said that orders made by this assembly were seldom or never disobeyed. Thieves would be ordered to make restitution, accidental killings would be condoned on the payment of three or four cows for a man and perhaps two for a woman; if the slayer could not pay he might have to assume very much the position of the dead man with regard to certain responsibilities, e.g. he might have to look after the latter's *imbing* (sister's son). Blood feuds did not seem to exist between members of the same community, all important folk exerting themselves to persuade the injured party to accept atonement.

There is no special thief-finding ceremony, but a suspect might pay Koko to bring out the sacred fire sticks, and swear his innocence before the old men, perjury being followed by death within twenty-four hours.

We did not hear of any blood covenant, but Eliri and Lafofa had a peace-making ceremony, when two men of the opposing communities faced each other with their sandals dangling from their wrists, and lunged past each other's sides with spears, their blades smeared with soot and ashes.

The power of the rain-maker and the other departmental experts of the Lafofa is due to the immanence in them of the spirit of a great predecessor; thus the spirit of Geberatu, the remains of whose homestead exists at the base of Jebel Eliri, is immanent in Koko. According to the commonly accepted belief, the spirits of the dead cause the ancestral spirit of the expert (i.e. the spirit of the great predecessor) to become immanent in the new expert. This is generally believed to occur while the future expert is quite young, and we have more than once been told of how a mother might wake in the night to find that her child was no longer by her side, though in the morning he would again be in his place; she would tell her friends, and it might be thought that the spirits had taken her child to make him an expert. It is believed that the spirits come to experts in dreams and help them, but our informants frankly admitted that they knew nothing about this at first hand, for, as one of them said, experts do not commonly relate their experiences.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

Genealogies were collected from members of five Nuba communities, each speaking a different language. It was not always possible to work out the kinship systems completely on the spot, and this accounts for some lacunæ.[1]

**Imba* . . (L.) *Ambi* or *Dembi* (E.) *Gnapa* . . (T.)	Father, father's brother, father's sister's husband (no example for Tt.), mother's sister's husband.
Ima. . . (Tt.)	Father's sister (T.).
Detai . . (Tr.)	Mother's brother (Tr.).

[1] The initials apply to place-names, as follows: T. = Talodi; Tt. = Tumtum; Tr. = Tiramandi; L. = Lafofa; E. = Eliri. When there are no initials in the second column the meaning given applies to all the localities in the corresponding section of the first column; meanings followed by initials apply only to the locality the initial letter of which is given.

Ia . . (L.) *Nembi* . . (E.) *Manemi* . . (T.) *Nimada* . . (Tt.) *Lengai* . . (Tr.)	Mother, mother's sister (L., E., Tr.), mother's brother's wife (L., Tt.), father's sister (L., E., Tr., no example for Tt.), father's brother's wife (L., Tt.). Mother's brother (E.).
Banembi . . (T.) *Kolangdadi* . (Tr.)	Mother's sister, sister's child, f.s. (Tt.).
Barenembi . (E.) *Baretibamanemi*. (T.) *Ugigadetai* . (Tr.)	Mother's brother's wife, father's brother's wife (Tr.).
Ingoto, m.s. *Imang*, f.s. . (L.) *Oringai* . . (E.) *Nyonjoni* . . (T.) *Baladadi* . . (Tt.) *Oreganye* . . (Tr.)	Child, brother's child (L., E., Tt., Tr.), child of brother of spouse (L., E., Tt., Tr.), child of sister of spouse (L., E., Tt., Tr.). Sister's child, m.s. (Tr.).
Imbie . . (L.) *Bambi* . . (E.) *Bambi* . . (T.) *Oreganye* . . (Tr.)	Brother, sister, half-brother, half-sister, father's brother's child, mother's sister's child, father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, also second and third cousins if relationship remembered.
Biladimadi . (Tt.)	Brother, sister (probably applied to cousin but information unreliable).
Imbing . . (L.) *Manemi* . . (T.) *Renima* . . (Tt.)	Mother's brother, sister's child, m.s. (L.).
Walangai. . (E.) *Nolengi* . . (T.) *Walamaiyi* . (Tt.)	Sister's child (m.s.).
Imbiki . . (L.) *Begebino* . . (E.) *Dad[illegible]* . . (T.) *T[illegible]* . . (Tt.) . (Tr.)	Father's father, mother's father, father's mother (L., E., Tt.), mother's mother (L., E., Tt.).
. (Tr.)	Father's mother, mother's mother.
(L.) (E.) (T.) (Tt.) (Tr.)	Son's children, daughter's children, sister's son's children (T.).

Imbi . . (L.) *Bedebing* . . (E.) *Bedebing* . . (T.) *Domaiya* . . (Tt.) *Unai* . . (Tr.)	Wife's father, wife's mother, husband's father husband's mother, daughter's husband, son's wife (L., E., Tt., Tr.). Sister's son's wife (L., Tt.; no examples noted for other communities). Husband's mother's brother (L. Tt.; no examples noted for other communities).
Imbor . . (L.) *Berobin* . . (E.) *Ngorongi* . . (T.) *Ngorimaiya* . (Tt.) *Ibai* . . . (Tr.)	Wife's brother, wife's sister (L., E., T.), sister's husband (L., E., T.), husband's brother (L., E., Tr.), husband's sister (T.), brother's wife, m.s. (L., E., Tr.), wife's sister's husband (E.).
Mingami . . (Tt.) *Iai* . . . (Tr.)	Wife's sister, sister's husband, brother's wife (Tr.).
Imbalang . . (L.) *Berebing* . . (E.)	Husband's sister, brother's wife (w.s.), husband's brother's wife.
Imin . . (L.) *Brepin* . . (E.) *Brepi* . . (T.) *Manai* . . (Tr.)	Husband, husband's brother (T.).
Imbo . . (L.) *Barebing* . . (E.) *Barebing* . . (T.) *Ugiganye* . . (Tr.)	Wife.

The southern Nuba kinship systems have the chief classificatory features and a general correspondence will be seen between them all. Most remarkable among the points on which they all agree is the fact that there is no sex distinction for brother and sister. In every dialect one word is used to designate brother and sister, including both forms of half-brother and half-sister. The word is also applied to the children of brother and sister, of two sisters and of two brothers, and the relationship is remembered for many generations. A man will often say, "This is my *imbie* (brother)," and when asked whether he and his "brother" were born of one mother or begotten of one father he may answer, "Neither," but that his mother and his "brother's" father were *imbie*. On being asked whether the parents were true sister and brother he may again reply, "No," but that their respective parents were *imbie*. Very often the genealogy cannot be traced, although the relationship is remembered, and so long as it is known relatives do not marry.

While a distinct word is used in three dialects for mother's brother,

Ia . . (L.) *Nembi* . . (E.) *Manemi* . . (T.) *Nimada* . . (Tt.) *Lengai* . . (Tr.)	Mother, mother's sister (L., E., Tr.), mother's brother's wife (L., Tt.), father's sister (L., E., Tr., no example for Tt.), father's brother's wife (L., Tt.). Mother's brother (E.).
Banembi . . (T.) *Kolangdadi* . (Tr.)	Mother's sister, sister's child, f.s. (Tt.).
Barenembi . (E.) *Baretibamanemi*. (T.) *Ugigadetai* . (Tr.)	Mother's brother's wife, father's brother's wife (Tr.).
Ingoto, m.s. *Imang*, f.s. . (L.) *Oringai* . . (E.) *Nyonjoni* . . (T.) *Baladadi* . . (Tt.) *Oreganye* . . (Tr.)	Child, brother's child (L., E., Tt., Tr.), child of brother of spouse (L., E., Tt., Tr.), child of sister of spouse (L., E., Tt., Tr.). Sister's child, m.s. (Tr.).
Imbie . . (L.) *Bambi* . . (E.) *Bambi* . . (T.) *Oreganye* . . (Tr.)	Brother, sister, half-brother, half-sister, father's brother's child, mother's sister's child, father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, also second and third cousins if relationship remembered.
Biladimadi . (Tt.)	Brother, sister (probably applied to cousin but information unreliable).
Imbing . . (L.) *Manemi* . . (T.) *Renima* . . (Tt.)	Mother's brother, sister's child, m.s. (L.).
Walangai. . (E.) *Nolengi* . . (T.) *Walamaiyi* . (Tt.)	Sister's child (m.s.).
Imbiki . . (L.) *Begebing* . . (E.) *Dadam* . . (T.) *Tadum* . . (Tt.) *Ornungai* . . (Tr.)	Father's father, mother's father, father's mother (L., E., Tt.), mother's mother (L., E., Tt.).
Begebing . . (Tr.)	Father's mother, mother's mother.
Imboi . . (L.) *Begebing* . . (E.) *Nyonjonyonji* . (T.) *Tada* . . (Tt.) *Orungai* . . (Tr.)	Son's children, daughter's children, sister's son's children (T.).

Imbi . .	(L.)	Wife's father, wife's mother, husband's father husband's mother, daughter's husband, son's wife (L., E., Tt., Tr.).
Bedebing . .	(E.)	
Bedebing . .	(T.)	Sister's son's wife (L., Tt.; no examples noted for other communities).
Domaiya . .	(Tt.)	
Unai . .	(Tr.)	Husband's mother's brother (L. Tt.; no examples noted for other communities).
Imbor . .	(L.)	Wife's brother, wife's sister (L., E., T.), sister's husband (L., E., T.), husband's brother (L., E., Tr.), husband's sister (T.), brother's wife, m.s. (L., E., Tr.), wife's sister's husband (E.).
Berobin . .	(E.)	
Ngorongi . .	(T.)	
Ngorimaiya .	(Tt.)	
Ibai . . .	(Tr.)	
Mingami . .	(Tt.)	Wife's sister, sister's husband, brother's wife (Tr.).
Iai . . .	(Tr.)	
Imbalang . .	(L.)	Husband's sister, brother's wife (w.s.), husband's brother's wife.
Berebing . .	(E.)	
Imin . .	(L.)	Husband, husband's brother (T.).
Brepin . .	(E.)	
Brepi . .	(T.)	
Manai . .	(Tr.)	
Imbo . .	(L.)	Wife.
Barebing . .	(E.)	
Barebing . .	(T.)	
Ugiganye . .	(Tr.)	

The southern Nuba kinship systems have the chief classificatory features and a general correspondence will be seen between them all. Most remarkable among the points on which they all agree is the fact that there is no sex distinction for brother and sister. In every dialect one word is used to designate brother and sister, including both forms of half-brother and half-sister. The word is also applied to the children of brother and sister, of two sisters and of two brothers, and the relationship is remembered for many generations. A man will often say, "This is my *imbie* (brother)," and when asked whether he and his "brother" were born of one mother or begotten of one father he may answer, "Neither," but that his mother and his "brother's" father were *imbie*. On being asked whether the parents were true sister and brother he may again reply, "No," but that their respective parents were *imbie*. Very often the genealogy cannot be traced, although the relationship is remembered, and so long as it is known relatives do not marry.

While a distinct word is used in three dialects for mother's brother,

among the Eliri *nembi*—the same word as that for mother—is used; we should have considered this a mistake had not *bara nembi*, literally "wife of my mother", been given as the word for mother's brother's wife. A distinct word, *walangai*, is used for the reciprocal of mother's brother by the same people. At Tiramandi the word for father is used for mother's brother; the absence of a special word for mother's brother must be correlated with the fact that on this hill the mother's brother is not socially so important as he is among the matrilineal hills.

The mother's brother's wife is called by the same term as the mother by the Lafofa and Tumtum, but in the three other dialects a descriptive term is used, and it should be noted that whereas at Tiramandi the mother's brother is called "father", so his wife is called "father's wife" (not "mother"), and the same term is used for the father's brother's wife.

The father's brother's wife is called "mother" among the Lafofa and Tumtum, but in the three other dialects descriptive terms are used which all mean "wife of the father".

In three dialects mother's sister is the same as mother, viz. Lafofa, Eliri, and Tiramandi. At Talodi *banembi* is possibly a contracted form of "sister of my mother", *bambi* being the Talodi word for sister and *manembi* for mother. Among the Tumtum a separate reciprocal term was used; this appears to be a descriptive term.

In all dialects the same term was used for father, father's brother, and mother's sister's husband, and we have no doubt that this is also true for father's sister's husband, but we have no example of this relationship for Tumtum. Father's sister is the same as mother among the Lafofa, Eliri, and Tiramandi, while at Talodi the same term as "father" was given, showing the same disregard for sex distinction as is seen in the use of the words for "brother" and "sister" in all dialects and in that for "mother" in Eliri. Distinct terms for "child" were used by the mother and the father among the Lafofa, a woman calling all those relatives who call her "mother" (*ia*) by this term, as well as her own children.

The Lafofa system is the simplest and is the only one of the five that does not resort to descriptive composite words to make distinctions, unless *imbalang* be considered such. This system is so directly in harmony with what we know of the social organization that it is tempting to look at it as the type system, associated with matrilineal descent sociologically but with bilateral descent for the

purpose of blood relationship as far as incest is concerned, and to suppose that the other Nuba systems have deviated from it owing to foreign influences. The chief features of the Lafofa system are: all cousins are siblings, and no cousins may marry; all the ascending generation are either "fathers" or "mothers" except the mother's brother, and there is a close social bond between mother's brother and sister's son. The terms for all other persons show their generation; thus there is one reciprocal term between a man or woman and the parents of his or her spouse, and another between a man or woman and the brothers and sisters of his or her spouse. There is a reciprocal term, *imbalang*, used between a woman and her husband's sister; this is a relationship between two women of the same generation connected by marriage, but does not demand special respect, and probably does not involve any "in-law" duties.

The Eliri system differs only slightly. In it the mother's brother is classed with the mother, to whose social group he belongs, and a descriptive term is introduced for his wife. A couple of other descriptive terms distinguish the wives of the two uncles from the mother.

The Talodi nomenclature places the father's sister in the social group to which she belongs, i.e. that of the father, and disregards the sex differentiation. It also separates the mother's sister from the mother and differentiates between the children of brother and sister (which the others only do in the socially important relationship of a man and his sister's son), and thus a number of descriptive terms are used.

At Tumtum and Tiramandi although a number of descriptive terms are used it must be noted that these are not employed as among the Nilotes to differentiate the half-brothers from whole brothers or to divide up the cousins.

The southern Nuba are organized on a matrilineal basis; succession to office is matrilineal. Marriage within the community is the rule, but is not permitted between persons who can trace relationship on either side of the family. As has already been stated, there are no clans, nor did we discover that the kindred group within which marriage was prohibited formed a recognized social group with any definite function.[1] As will be seen later, marriage is not usually of a permanent nature, and when a marriage is broken the children

[1] A further study might however show the existence of a bilateral kindred group with social function, cf. footnote, p. 375.

remain with their mother. The house however belongs to the husband, who is head of his own household. The early affection shown by a father for his children is usually retained, though the latter generally accompany their mother when she leaves him after a few years of married life.

The permanent sociological bond is between a child and its mother's family; this is seen in the duties incumbent upon relatives, as well as in everyday associations. The following example shows how the type of marriage dominates social groupings. The victor in a wrestling match came after the sport to show us his horn (*taro*, p. 393), which was very highly prized; he was accompanied by his brother, his mother and her present husband (not the young man's father), and his mother's brother.

On most of the southern hills inheritance is in the female line, property passing from a man to his sister's son (*imbing*), but we believe that household property belongs to the women and is inherited by their daughters.

Inheritance is patrilineal on Tiramandi, Tira el Akhdar, and at Dilling except for household property which passes from women to their daughters; on all these hills a man is expected to look after his father in his old age.

On most southern hills there is no exchange of bride-wealth on marriage; young people arrange their own love affairs, which are often precocious. A girl will tell her parents—who it is said never object—that she proposes to become the wife of so-and-so, naming a youth a few years older than herself. The girl continues to live in her mother's house, visiting her husband, who may not enter his mother-in-law's house nor see the latter face to face at least until his wife has borne him a child. Probably complete coitus does not occur until the girl has reached puberty. The girl continues to live with her mother even after her first child is born, and her husband meanwhile works for his wife's people, i.e. for her mother and her mother's husband, who is probably not the girl's father. A man helps his wife's family to cultivate their land; he may try to procure some cloth for her mother, and above all he should make the pieces of basket-work which serve as house doors. The young wife is scarred all over during her first pregnancy; her husband provides the millet and the one or more head of sheep that are given to the operator. After one or sometimes two children have been born, the husband takes his wife away from her mother's house. A new house is built

for the young couple, the greater part of the work being done by the wife's people, who provide most of the beer without which nothing can go forward, though the husband and his friends provide the roof. The bride's mother supplies the greater part, if not all, of the indispensable furniture of the house—grindstones, pots and gourds —and we noticed especially the generous scale on which provision was made for a bride on Jebel Talodi. When a youth marries for the first time his father gives him spears and hoes.[1]

Either party can break the marriage at pleasure, the woman keeping her children and her household property. Thus a wife is free to leave her husband whenever she likes, no bride-wealth is given, and separations and new attachments take place with little or no fuss so long as they are openly declared. A woman usually bears at least one or two children to her first husband, but after this she often leaves him, taking a new partner of similar age, for no old man can hope for a young wife—even the most influential old men of the hill would not attempt to take quite young women. The young girls will in fact marry no one but the youths who have recently been through their initiation ceremonies.

When a man marries a woman who has already had children he usually takes her to his house fairly soon, i.e. before she bears him a child, and the amount of work he does for her people is not great, for she may come to him direct from the house of a former husband. Infidelity on the part of the woman appears to be rare; it is not regarded as a very serious offence, and though a woman who erred would be reproached, and perhaps sometimes beaten, by her husband, it is improbable that he would send her away. Adultery on the part of a married man might lead to fighting between the men, but it would seldom become a serious matter; sometimes it led to an exchange of wives, and this was considered a reasonable solution. There is no hard feeling between husbands and wives who have separated, and the father continues to take a lively interest in his children and to be on friendly terms with their mother. The following incident is typical, and many similar incidents were observed.

One morning Deldung came with us to visit Koko, who was not in his house so we sat and talked outside. Deldung called a little girl about 3 or 4 years old, and told us with pride that this was Turda, his child by a wife now living with Koko. Deldung was clearly very

[1] Hoes, widely known by their Arabic name *malod*, are used as currency over a great part of the Sudan, and are everywhere recognized as a convenient way of storing iron.

fond of this child and of other children by former wives, and seemed not at all embarrassed by the fact that their mothers had become the wives of other men.

When husband and wife separate the man keeps the house, which, although built mainly by the woman's family and her friends, generally if not invariably stands upon ground belonging to the man's family, and the house or the site upon which it stands may ultimately be used by a man's sons, who in this take precedence of his sister's sons (*imbing*). In spite of this, a man's maternal uncles (*imbing*) stand in closer relationship to him socially than does his father, for as a boy grows up he spends more and more time with his *imbing*, though he often leaves them to visit his mother—or he may live with his mother, who may or may not be with his father. A girl may also leave her mother's house and live with her maternal uncle.

A menstruating woman does not cook or make bread, and never touches anything belonging to her husband or to any other man. Her food is cooked for her by her relations, and she eats it alone with a spoon and drinks from a special gourd. In spite of these restrictions she does not leave her husband's hut, but sleeps on a special mat made of millet stalks, which is readily thrown away when rotten and when not in use is kept on a rock somewhere near the house. After five days she takes a gourd of water brought to her by a relative, and seeks some sequestered place where she washes herself. She breaks the gourd and throws away the pieces. During the periods one of her own or husband's relatives does her work about the house.

Child-birth takes place in the hut in which the woman is living. The cord is cut with a fragment of millet stalk, the afterbirth is buried near one of the uprights of the house, but this does not seem to imply any future reference to it, nor is its existence mentioned to the child; no special care seems to be taken of the stump of the umbilical cord.

The following information applies especially to Talodi village unless the contrary is stated. There is however no doubt that, allowing for minor differences, it is a fair example of the common practice of the Nuba of southern Kordofan.[1]

A first son is called Kuku, the second Kafi, the third Tia, the fourth son (no daughter being yet born) by the female name Tutu, the

[1] See D. N. MacDiarmid, "Notes on Nuba Customs and Languages": *S.N. & R.*, x, 1925.

fifth Nalu. If a daughter is born first she is called Kaka, the second Toto, the third Koshe, the fourth Kiki, Ngori, or Kikingori, the fifth Nalu. The fifth child is always called Nalu, whether it is a boy or girl. It seems that names begin at each marriage, i.e. a man or woman may be the parent of any number of children called Kuku. If a first child (a boy) dies without brothers or sisters the second child, if a boy, is called Kuku and the list begins again; but gaps occurring after there is a family are not filled up.

When the first child of a marriage is born, a sheep may be killed, but this is merely a festivity without ceremonial importance. Besides the name which each child acquires in virtue of its order in the family, each man has a number of other names given him at various times, often for some seemingly trivial motive. Thus the headman of Talodi village was commonly spoken of by the name of Kamr—the name of part of the scaffolding of a building—a wrestling name given him on account of his skill in this sport, but he had also the following names: Kalu, given by his parents, the name of a powerful headman who formerly lived in a settlement near Tasumi; Saad Allah, the name of an Arab merchant; Kudi, meaning mongoose, because his father brought home one of these animals while he was still a suckling. Although Kamr is generally known by this name, his mother calls him Kudi, Kuku, or Kumadi, the last a name for which we failed to ascertain the reason.

Banat is the name by which one of the sons of Kamr is commonly known, but his other names are: Kafi, on account of his order in the family; Kapimale, the name of a big man of Tumtum village; Gidal, the name of a friendly headman of a neighbouring community; Ojumande, the name of an important relative, given in order that the name may not be lost when the old man who now bears it dies; Omdurman and El Birke, apparently taken by the boy himself because he heard the names and liked them. Banat is the name of an important Arab.

Only relatives, or men of the same age-class as a child's father, can give names. There does not seem to be any name-changing custom between friends, or at different ages.

The bond between a man and his sister's children (*imbing*) lasts throughout life. A man should gather his *imbing* round his death bed and give them good advice; after his death his weapons and other possessions (but not his house) are divided between his *imbing*. *Imbing* bring animals to be killed at the burial of *imbing* and help to

prepare the grave; they must provide a bull, on the skin of which the corpse is laid, and they may also assist the parents of the deceased to provide beads for the bead girdle, which is left on the body. When a man kills any game a liberal portion, generally one of the quarters, is given to his *imbing*; some of the meat is also given to his mother and father and to his wife's mother.

Brothers (*imbie*) are expected to help each other in house-building, but apparently it is not their duty to help each other to cultivate.

A man has no rights over his wife's sisters, and he cannot marry two sisters at once (in any case polygyny is rare), though he may marry the sister of a deceased wife. Nor has a man any right to his brother's widow, though he may marry this woman.

A man does not eat in his mother-in-law's house until he has taken his wife away, nor should he speak to his mother-in-law, and if son-in-law and mother-in-law meet on a path one of them should turn aside. A man observes the same rules with regard to his mother-in-law's sisters, but with these the avoidance does not terminate when he brings his wife to his own house. A man does not avoid his wife's sisters or brothers, and he calls these by name. He does not avoid his father-in-law, though he is said to avoid this man's brother just as he avoids his mother-in-law's sisters. Unmarried men generally sleep in the cattle enclosure.

As previously stated, the people of the more northern hills—Kanderma, Tira el Akhdar, Tiramandi, and Dilling—have patrilineal succession and inheritance; on marriage there is transfer of bride-wealth, estimated at Kanderma at from 20 to 30 sheep and 1 cow, and at Dilling at from 4 to 10 cows. On Dilling, according to Mr. Sagar,[1] whose notes were made between 1906 and 1909, a young man approaches the father of his future bride to ask her in marriage, the average amount of bride-wealth being about eight head of cattle.[2] After the payment of two head conjugal relations may begin, but the girl remains in her mother's house until she bears a child; the husband then completes half the payment and takes his wife to live with him. The transfer is usually completed when bride-wealth is received for a daughter of the marriage; if there is no daughter the son is said to be responsible for the debt.

[1] "Notes on the History, Religion, and Customs of the Nuba": *S.N. & R.*, v, 1922.

[2] Mr. MacDiarmid tells us that now the bride-wealth is fixed by Government at 12 cows and 2 goats, and that after seven head of cattle have been paid the husband may take the wife to live with him. Among the Uri niri the first cow is given to the rain-maker to guard against sterility. Sesame and millet are sometimes given to the bride's mother, who provides the gourds, pots, and other household effects.

The rules for divorce, Mr. Sagar states, vary slightly on the different hills. The general principles are that if the husband seeks the divorce he sends his wife back to her father or guardian (a paternal uncle), and when she marries again (if she is childless) he gets the cattle back from the second husband; if there are children the husband can either keep them and forfeit the cattle, or let them go with their mother. If the woman seeks the divorce she runs away to her father's house with her children. If she refuses to return, her father must repay the bride-wealth to the husband. Widows are taken by the husband's brothers, who bring up the children of the deceased and receive the bride-wealth for the daughters; if the widow is childless she may return to her father, but further bride-wealth must be handed over to the deceased's brothers. If a woman dies childless the father should return half the bride-wealth to the husband. Property passes from father to son, and a man has no right to the bride-wealth received for his sister. If a woman's father dies this goes to the father's brother, or failing him to his son.[1] Thus a man receives or inherits the bride-wealth not of his sister but of his ortho-cousin, and this is the only cousin with whom marriage is forbidden.

A man avoids his mother-in-law, his wife visiting him in a small house specially built for the purpose, and avoidances involving connections by marriage, especially those of the opposite sex, are also observed. A man salutes his father-in-law.

It was said that at Dilling a small cutting operation is performed on the vulva of every woman pregnant for the first time. This is done about the eighth month of pregnancy, and perhaps the clitoris is removed. An old woman operates, and the same night she oils the wound, and also the penis of the husband. Husband and wife then sleep together, but do not have connection. Next morning the wife rubs the husband all over with the remains of the oil. When the child is born the husband goes to the same old woman and gets more oil from her with which he rubs the breasts and umbilicus of his wife.

The afterbirth, at least so far as the first children are concerned, is buried under the threshold of the hut of the child's maternal grandparents, and the stump of the umbilicus which drops from the child's body is put in the gourd containing the remains of the oil used for anointing the mother's breasts. This is hung up in the roof of the hut, and its usual fate is to be eaten by rats. When the child is approaching puberty the mother explains that the afterbirth is buried

[1] Sagar, op. cit.

under the threshold of her parent's hut and the grandfather gives a boy his first spears and a shield.

There is a seclusion ceremony for boys, which takes place about the time of or shortly after puberty.[1] Special cattle kraals called *kwere* are built near the village before the beginning of the rainy season, the heavy work being done by the youths, who will live with the cattle and do the milking. These lads, who have all attained puberty, do not herd the cattle, this being done by younger boys. Apparently each lad goes to the cattle kraal during the rainy season, and at the end of each period of seclusion there is a dance called *kamilai* in which all the youths who have undergone three periods of seclusion take part. While living in the *kwere* the youths may not visit the village; they should drink much milk and beer, and they may eat bread and ground nuts, but no fruit. Boys who have not yet reached puberty bring food from the village and make bread for the initiates, who are called *ingomge*. They do not appear to be visited by the old men till the end of the wet season, when they send word that they desire to leave the kraal.

At the end of the third season the boys in attendance on the initiates bring them ostrich feathers for their hair, bamboo walking-sticks in the usual Nuba style, shields, and head ornaments adorned with cowrie shells. The initiates decorate themselves, the old men come to the kraal and they all feast there. After this the initiates walk through the village to the dancing ground. Then they return to the village, where the old men come, and each of their male *imbing* beats them once, i.e. gives one stroke to each boy with a long whippy stick, the women standing at a little distance looking on. After this the women bring out the beer and porridge that they have prepared, the drum is beaten, and there is a dance in which the initiates take part. While in the kraal the youths pour milk on their bodies as well as drink it, but at this final dance they smear butter on the face and body.

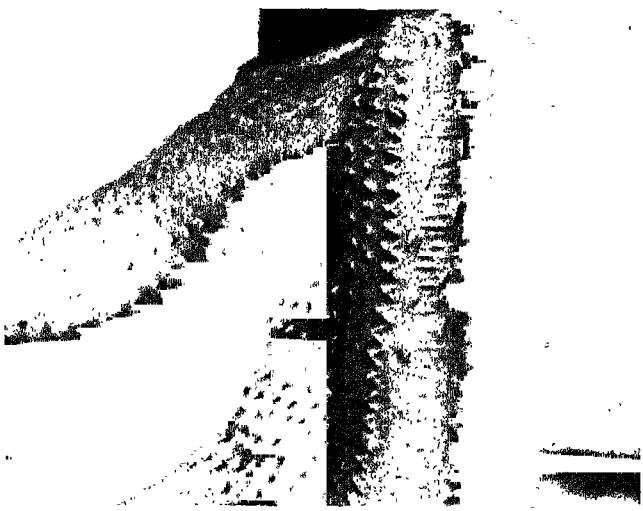
[1] Our account is certainly incomplete and may be inaccurate in details, but owing to the courtesy of Mr. MacDiarmid we are able to confirm its substantial accuracy by an account of a similar ceremony at Jebel Korongo:—

In the dry season the youths live in the cattle huts, which are far removed from the villages of the people. Each year at the close of the dry season when the cattle have been brought in the *ingomge* attend the ceremony of the *kwuedhu* (the form of lyre called by the Arabs *rababa*); the *ingomge* stand with their hands clasped above their heads, a *kwuedhu* is played, and the older men beat the youths on the backs. One informant's back was "a mass of small weals which were the result of this beating many years ago". The girls smear butter on the backs of the youths, who may now marry. Mr. MacDiarmid mentions a similar ceremony for girls—the youths chase them and hit them with whips, while the girls try to run away—but this is a much less severe ceremony than that of the youths.

PLATE XLI



Talodi, wrestling champions



Lafofa, woman's torso, showing cicatrices

Boys who are secluded in the kraal together stand in a special relationship to each other; they hunt together and help each other in work such as house-building, and frequently—if no kinship tie prevents it—marry each other's sisters.

On the day after the *kamilai* the initiates beat each other with long whippy sticks, the youths being arranged in pairs and each aiming alternate blows at the other's shoulders. The whole village turns out to witness this. Afterwards the boys visit their promised brides, who grease their wounds.

There is no seclusion ceremony for girls, though the ceremonial wrestling matches may possibly correspond to the beating with sticks that the boys administer to each other. When the catamenial flow is first established a treble or quadruple line of small scars is made from the xiphisternum to the umbilicus. No further scars are made until the girl becomes pregnant, when the whole of the face, body and arms, and legs as low as mid-thigh, are covered with scars. This applies particularly to the Lafofa of Jebel Eliri; in some of the villages of the Talodi *massif* the scarring is much less extensive and is limited to cicatrices on the abdomen and a few on the flanks, chest, and back.

Ceremonial wrestling occurs on many of the southern Nuba hills. Among the men it is apparently no more than a sport, but for girls it seems to some extent to take the place of a puberty ceremony. The girls of Talodi were said to wrestle once a year soon after the harvest in the same way as those of Lafofa, where wrestling by girls of from 8 to 15 took place three afternoons in succession while we were on that hill. The biggest of the wrestlers bore the four rows of scars from the root of the neck to the umbilicus which denote a married woman, the youngest being of such an age that after the wrestling (called *arageden*) courtship would begin. A girl ceases to wrestle as soon as she becomes pregnant and may not wrestle any more. Success and skill in wrestling is a matter of some importance, for the strongest girls are most admired by the opposite sex and a girl's fame as a wrestler will undoubtedly get about and attract the youths to her, though they are not supposed to watch the matches. There were, however, youths on the rocks a little distance off, and a number more occupied a big tree from which a good view could be obtained.

The wrestling ground was in the centre of the village. Amidst a crowd of women, two rows of girls faced each other, arranged

according to height with the tallest in the centre of each line. The crowd surged round them—young women scarred all over, with their babies on their hips, laughing and talking; old hags waving sticks, shrieking and gesticulating as they became more and more excited. Soon the business began. An old woman from each side brought forward a girl of equal size; each girl clasped her hands round her opponent's back, interlocking the fingers; they strained, struggled, and twisted until one succeeded in tripping the other. The defeated girl would get up without a murmur and join her side, while the victor would be greeted with shrill cries and escorted to her side by women dancing and singing excitedly. The older women acted as umpires, kept the crowd back, and looked after the girls, here pushing in a leaf, there pulling out a twig that was protruding too far from the waistband. When after a few minutes' struggle any pair seemed equally matched the women separated them, and though the girls never spoke their scowling faces showed great disappointment. At one time a big girl saw her little sister being beaten, and joined the fray, but was immediately pounced upon by the shrieking umpires. When all had had their turns they formed lines again—each with the left arm round her neighbour's waist and the right round her other neighbour's shoulder—and advanced and retreated, singing, while all the other women capered wildly in front of them. Suddenly the girls broke line and ran some four or five hundred yards off, where they took off their leafy garments and put on fresh ones.

We add here an account of the wrestling as practised by the men, though, as we have already mentioned, we believe that it has a sporting rather than a ceremonial significance. The following account applies specifically to the Talodi *massif*, but we understand that the technique is the same throughout southern Kordofan; the men of Jebel Korongo are particularly famed for their skill in this sport. The contests (*aura*) are conducted with the greatest fairness and good nature in catch-as-catch-can style. The antagonists in the match we witnessed were the picked wrestlers of the villagers of the Talodi *massif*, all stout, big-muscled men, grey with wood ashes and naked except for a belt from which hung bunches of feathers and "tails" made from sheep skins. After a fall it is etiquette for the defeated man to get up and jump into the air once with both feet together. The victor is surrounded by his friends, who sprinkle more wood ashes over him, whip him lightly with flexible sticks, and also strike the ground in front of him. This is to make him strong and prevent sickness.

After this he strides round the wrestling ground, coming up to his particular friends making absurd gestures to show what a great man he is, while the women closely related to him dance slowly round the ground singing and waving sticks, which are often held as though they were swords. Each man showed his triumph in his own way; some would prance and step high, one huge fellow with bells on his waist-belt threw his head and chest grotesquely forward and shook the lower part of his body to make the bells ring, while stretching out his hands and wagging his fingers in the most ridiculous fashion. The referees were old men who in their time had been celebrated wrestlers; each carried a gourd of wood ashes and a long flexible stick. Before the contest the men refrain from sexual contact, drink much milk, and eat oily food. There is no ceremonial purging, nor, so far as we could ascertain, are any taboos of a magico-religious nature observed, but preparation for the contest appears to be straightforward training. On Talodi a man does not wrestle after he has had two, or perhaps three, children, for it is considered that he has then lost the strength of his youth, but our Talodi informants said that on Jebel Korongo men wrestled until they had had five children.

We have already referred (p. 384) to the peculiar trumpets, *taro*, associated with wrestling, made from the horn of a kudu prolonged by a peculiarly shaped mass of wax and perhaps clay. Only important and successful wrestlers possessed them or were allowed to blow them; they were so highly valued that it was impossible to purchase an original specimen, but no difficulty was raised about copying one, and the specimen brought home is now in the British Museum.

Religion

We have little information concerning Nuba beliefs of their own origin; there is perhaps a widespread idea that the ancestor of each community came forth from its own hill. Thus on Jebel Kawarma there is the rock Eldu, from which emerged Arenjuk and his wife Kamara—together with pigs, an important animal to the Nuba—the ancestors of the Kawerma folk, while at Dilling an ancestor, Alinga, who came from the west, allied himself with a woman sprung from a rock on the Dilling range. Among the Lafofa of Jebel Eliri

Kalo is looked upon as creator and is associated with the firmament, indeed the sun and moon are said to be "in his house". Except that he is invoked to send rain he appears otiose. Mr. MacDiarmid informs us that Kalo means "rain", and adds that the word for sky signifies "God" both on Amira (Kando) and on Korongo (Masala).

On Jebel Kandarma Elo is the supreme being, living on high with the rain (*loma*), which he sends. Again, on Tira el Akhdar, Elo is the "most powerful" and lives where the rain is, while Mr. MacDiarmid adds that Elo signifies "God", and *ayin y'Elo* "the village of God", the sky.

On Jebel Kawerma Elo is the highest spiritual power, but here, so we were told, he is considered the great ancestor from whom all Kawerma folk are descended, and the site of his grave is known. According to one account it was Elo who came out of the rock Eldu in the beginning, with the pigs upon which the Nuba have always fed. He is invoked at the cattle-increasing ceremony held at the beginning of the rains. A bullock is killed, and a bowl of beer is carried round and over the body while Elo is besought to give increase, "Elo, we are hungry, give us cattle, give us sheep!" Elo sometimes appears in dreams, specially to the rain-maker; when this happens a sacrifice is made at the site of his grave.

Our information from Dilling does not indicate the existence of any agency more remote than a powerful ancestral spirit called Belet or Beleti,[1] who sends rain and causes the corn to grow; he does this when the rain-makers ask it of him. He also causes people to die, and punishes them for neglecting old customs by sending bad years. It was said that there was nothing higher or more powerful than Belet, who is associated with a cave called Kulgnala, a very holy place which only the rain-maker may enter. Sometimes this cave is spoken of as Twala, apparently the name of the "other world".[2]

[1] Belet is mentioned as Belebt by one of the early Roman Catholic missionaries in the Sudan. Father Kauczor writes of "*bil ipti*, i.e. "God the Creator"; he also mentions "a cave in which the *bil* (it is not certain whether this means 'God' or 'ancestor') is believed to dwell": "The Afiti Nuba of Gebel Dair and their relation to the Nuba proper", *S. N. & R.*, vi, 1923, 3. In answer to our question Mr. MacDiarmid writes that "Bil is God, Allah, Creator". He is a spirit but according to some was once a man. "Ibti and Biliti are modes of address implying creatorship."

[2] Presumably this is the cave of Bil (*Bil mbure*) to which, as Mr. MacDiarmid informs us, women resort to be cured of sterility. A barren woman decked with beads and other ornaments but without other clothing, accompanied by a man playing a lyre and two old women, presents herself at the cave and dances until she falls exhausted to the ground, when Bil will approach her. One of the old women listens to what she says and interprets her words, which are of Bil. A goat provided by the husband, who does not himself appear, is then sacrificed, and beer is poured on the ground. The flesh of the goat becomes the perquisite of the man who

It will be seen that the ceremony briefly described on page 403, indicates that the souls of the dead go to this cave, but it is not the burial place of Belet, for this is unknown. Belet comes to the rain-maker at night in dreams, and there can be little doubt that it is the spirit of Belet immanent in the rain-maker that gives him his power.

The following account of a ceremony held to protect cattle shows how Belet is invoked to give prosperity and increase. Youths about the age of puberty take a bullock and beat it with sticks in front of the cattle kraal. A man "with grey hairs", so old that he has ceased to have connection with women, slaughters the bullock with one of the sacred spears of Belet, saying "Belet, increase cattle, increase sheep, increase men!" The beast is then bisected down the middle line, and half is eaten by the young and old men respectively, the feast taking place outside the cattle zariba. This ceremony is performed when cattle plague is feared, or even when all is going well, to avert misfortune from the cattle. A big beer-drinking will begin by the rain-maker pouring a little on the ground and addressing Belet, "Drink you first, and give increase to others," for it is Belet who causes the crops to grow and the cattle to bring forth. Father Kauczor states that the Nuba of Dilling and Jebel Dair—but no doubt his statements hold for many other hills—regard Belet, the great ancestral spirit, as "guardian of the patriarchal traditions, any transgression of which he may punish with death, [proving] clearly that he combines the rôles of tribal ancestor and tribal god. If a man dies young . . . his death is assumed to be the consequence of such a transgression and people say *uri hurm*, the *aro* has killed him. For this reason the traditions which regulate the life and customs of the people and give them their characteristic note, are called *urin ier*, i.e. things of the *aro*, and the phrase used of one who has committed a breach of custom is: *urin jargi dwanyanga*, he has injured a thing of the *aro*. In a Dilling funeral song the dead man laments, 'which thing of the *aro* did I injure that he should have killed me?'".[1]

We now describe a number of men and women who control by hereditary power particular groups of objects or departments of nature; such individuals we regard as departmental experts. Logically the rain-maker should stand at their head, but since in

accompanied the woman (one of her own people) and the two old women drink the remainder of the beer. The wife then goes to her house and stays inside for seven days, during which time she does not wash her body and eats alone. After this she washes, and her husband may return to her; later she will be found to be pregnant.

[1] Op. cit., 3.

other chapters the rain-maker has a special section allotted to him we shall consider him and his functions later.

On Jebel Eliri there were said to be two departmental experts, but there were more on other hills to the north. There is no evidence that this was due to foreign influence—rather do we regard it as an example of the more developed organization of the northern groups, to which we have already referred.

On Jebel Eliri there was a Lafofa sickness expert and an Eliri grain expert. The former, Deboi by name, was much looked up to, but less consideration was shown to the grain expert, perhaps because he was an old and feeble man belonging to the weak Eliri community. The position occupied by Deboi was particularly interesting, though it is very difficult to appreciate its full significance. With the possible exception of old men—his immediate relatives—he ate and drank alone; no one would touch beer from which he had drunk, for he had the *korgo* of sickness and his mouth was "hot". Obviously he was a man much considered and feared, he exacted what seemed enormous fees for curing people (whoever he treated was assuredly cured, so many people told us), and he did not hesitate to refuse to treat people whom he judged unlikely to recover. All our inquiries as to black magic wrought by this man evoked negative replies, in fact magic against the person, with the exception of a charm used to produce sterility, seemed unknown to these singularly rational people. We are therefore tolerably confident that the awe in which Deboi was held was not due to his practising magic to induce disease or death. Probably the explanation of the matter is to be found in a remark made by Tia, the *mek* of Tumtum community. "The stronger a man is, the more important he is both in life and after death," and Deboi was certainly a striking person, in whom foreign blood might be suspected—he had the highest nose and the most finely modelled chin we saw among the Lafofa.

When a man is sick, someone—usually his *imbing* (mother's brother, sister's child)—takes some iron to the smith, which the latter makes into a bracelet. The patient's *imbing* takes the bracelet to Deboi, who puts it in the ashes of his sacred fire, situated under a tree near his house against a mass of rock on the heap of ashes left by many previous fires. Tree, rock, and ash-heap may be regarded as constituting a shrine (Pl. XLII, Fig. 2). Next morning the *imbing* accompanies the patient to Deboi, taking with him a sheep, or grain and beans. The patient does not go into Deboi's house, but sits

under the tree near the sacred fire, kindled by Deboi early in the morning by rubbing together two pieces of wood. The *imbing* takes the offering into the house; Deboi bleeds—presumably scarifies—the patient, the blood being buried in the ground. He then takes ash and rubs the wound, murmuring spells meanwhile; he also puts the iron bracelet on the patient's wrist.[1] He then washes his hands, sprinkles the patient's whole body with this water, and tells him to go away for he is cured. After some days, when the patient is better, he returns to the tree, where fire has again been kindled. Deboi pours some water over his head and tells him to have his head shaved.

Young men go to Deboi before their ceremonial beating, at the end of their first period of seclusion (p. 390); he pours sour milk on their bodies, and they smear themselves with ashes from his fire, so that they may not feel pain. Deboi, like Koko the rain-maker, may not leave the hill.

The corn expert, a decrepit old man, was a native of the Eliri community. He kept in a special gourd in his house a supply of millet of his own growing, which was mixed with the seed of the people of Eliri and Lafofa before sowing. The old man made no difficulty about showing us his procedure. We sat on a couch in the central space of the homestead. The expert went into the hut and brought out some twigs of basil which he ground with his fingers, spitting on it and muttering the while. Then he rubbed the spittle and basil over his face and scalp, and smeared some of the mixture on our hands. His wife came out of the house with a gourd containing millet, and he gave us a share of this, which we were expected to sow with our own seed corn. The technique of the grain expert on Jebel Kawarma was said to be essentially the same. At Kadugli there is a ceremony before planting and after cutting the millet; some of the grain is taken to the house of the *kujur* and hung there before anyone eats of the new crop.

At Talodi village (on the Talodi *massif*) there are a couple of upright stones which were formerly used in a ceremony to make the cattle fruitful. The beasts were driven round the stones and an expert named Kafota smeared ashes, from a fire burning at their base, on the animals' backs. The custom if not obsolete is now obsolescent. At Tumtum village medicine, kept in a sheep's horn, is scattered over the backs of the animals. This may be done over a single cow

[1] These bracelets are regarded as most potent amulets and must never be taken off.

when it is desired that she should become gravid. This is probably an example of magic, having nothing to do with a departmental expert; it is however included here on account of its resemblance to the Talodi ceremony.

The iron-worker of Lafofa worked in a small rock shelter above the main Lafofa plateau, and in 1910 was the only iron-worker in the community. This man, Kafi, learnt the art from his *imbing*, and he expected to pass it on to his *imbing*, who already helped him in various ways. Kafi was looked upon by his fellows as having very specialized knowledge, and in practice they seemed to treat him in much the same way as they treated the grain and sickness expert, though we could not find that any ancestral spirit was considered to be immanent in him. Nevertheless a sacrifice is made yearly before the rains, having for its purpose the production of a successful smelting year. A fowl is killed, its blood smeared on the stones used as anvils, wind-screens, etc., and the right wing cut off and hung on an upright stick, which is kept near the entrance of the cave.

Kurondi was probably the most important iron-working hill of the southern Nuba, and exported a considerable amount of iron to the neighbouring hills. Even in 1910, when there was an appreciable trade with Arabs, iron was relatively expensive; its value in local trade seemed to be about a shilling a pound.

Rain-Making

As already stated, the rain-maker is everywhere important, and at least throughout the southern hills there is a general pattern to which the rain ritual conforms, but except as displayed in these ceremonies religion appears to become more complex or is more organized as we proceed from south to north.

The rain-making ceremony varies on different hills; at Talodi its essentials are as follows. The rain-maker keeps in his house a potsherd on which lie one large and three small fragments of grinding stones. To bring rain he pours water on these inside his house and kills a ram or boar, cutting its throat in the central court of his house. The blood is caught in a gourd and brought outside the house, when first the rain-maker and then the people take some of the blood in their hands and fling some towards the skies and some into the house.

PLATE XLII



Jebel Fliii, Lafofa rain-shrine



Lafofa, Deboi's shrine

Then the rain-maker takes a gourd of water and scatters its contents skyward. Before he does this the people howl as on joining battle, while the rain-maker prays silently. The rain should fall the same day, or at most in two or three days; if it does not, the people come and lament loudly. When the rain falls the stones are brought out on a potsherd from the dark corner where they have been kept, and are placed where the drip from the roof will fall upon them during the rainy season. When the crop is cut the stones are brought back into the house, where the rain-maker should stay during the whole of the rainy season leaving it only when absolutely necessary; this holds equally for Kadugli.[1] A rain-maker will not give food to strangers (or perhaps to any people other than members of his own family), else the rain will not fall. The rain-maker takes beer with others, but drinks first, thus blessing the drink. According to one account the rain-maker does not perform the rain ceremony until the people from the neighbouring villages come and appeal for rain. Considerable difficulty was at first experienced in persuading our informant, the rain-maker, to disclose these details. It is certain that the account is incomplete, but we have little doubt that it is correct so far as it goes, for we obtained independent accounts of similar rain ceremonies in two other communities.

The rain-making ceremony of the Lafofa of Jebel Eliri was preceded by elaborate secret preliminaries. The site of the rain-making is at the foot of Jebel Eliri, where there are the ruins of a considerable settlement. Here are certain features traditionally associated with Geberatu: the foundations of his house, showing remains of large pots and of his granaries; his grave, indicated by a depression in the ground with pieces of wood at the sides of a narrow hole, and at the side of this a slab of rock bearing the foundations of a hut in which Geberatu performed the rain ritual (Pl. XLII, Fig. 1).

These remains were excessively holy, and it was only after prolonged negotiations that we were allowed to visit the spot. Certain preliminaries—said to be the same as those which preceded the rain ceremony—were necessary, including the sacrifice of a goat, which was eaten by all where it was killed.

We started early in the morning, taking with us the goat, and were joined on the outskirts of the settlement by Koko, Deldung, and a couple of other men, followers of Koko. When Deldung met us he had a gourd in his hand with some sprigs of basil projecting from it.

[1] This seems to be the general rule in the Nuba hills, even in the north; cf. Dilling, p. 404.

The gourd contained water, with which he sprinkled the goat; the animal shivered, but we could not ascertain whether this was considered an omen. We proceeded to the end of the valley, and were told to wait there while Koko and Deldung went forward. Soon the path ended in a gorge blocked with boulders; here Deldung sprinkled water from the gourd and prayed to Geberatu that all might be well, for this particular track "belongs" to Geberatu and may as a rule only be used by the *bitokware* and their families. After a few minutes the two men returned and we followed them, the goat being left at the top of the gorge. Descending the gorge was moderately difficult climbing, but after that, though the descent was steep, there were no difficult places. The speed at which Deldung, who was between 60 and 70, moved along was astounding, while the younger men were as nimble as goats. The plain at the base was strewn with great boulders, between which grew a low scrub and many *tebaldi* trees. After going a short distance through country where the grass had obviously been burnt recently, Koko and the others stopped, and, taking the sprig of basil from the gourd, Deldung sprinkled water in front of us and told us to go on. About 50 yards further we found the base of an old hut, where Geberatu had made rain; next to it was a grave, the top of which had fallen in and showed as a small hole. There was nothing else to be seen, yet the place was so sacred that the rain-maker and his followers dared only approach it when on the special business of rain-making. Some 50 or 60 yards away were the remains of another house site. This seemed to be a ruined homestead containing the usual number of huts and granaries. There were two large pots of a different shape from any we had seen in use on the hill, and the designs on these were also new to us. The base of the old hut and the foundation of the homestead had both belonged to Geberatu, and he was buried in the grave. A special hut, which as Mr. MacDiarmid informs us was built anew every fourth year, would be erected on or near the site of the hut used by Geberatu for the rain ceremony, and in this Koko would perform his ritual.

Although Koko and his companions did not mind waiting for us while we inspected all these things, they would not talk here, and all refused to smoke; indeed, they were silent until the gorge was passed, when they resumed their normal cheerful manner and stopped casually to pick fruit. The goat was killed at the top of the gorge near the spot where we had been told to stop on the way down Immediately its throat was cut Deldung pressed a bunch of leave

into the wound and ran back to the gorge, sprinkling blood on the sides as he passed, and finally threw the leaves into a cleft of the rocks. The goat killed here on the occasion of the rain-making ceremony must be entirely black, and is cut up in its skin. Our goat was skinned before being cut up; a fire was lit under a tree in a place where it was obvious that many fires had been lit before, and the pieces of meat were quickly cooked and distributed to us all, the choice parts of the viscera, which were considered delicacies, being given to Koko, who with Deldung and his two followers ate apart from the rest of us.

There is a ceremony that seems to be held only when the rain is late. A gourd containing grain is brought to the rain-maker and put down in front of the house, and he is asked to make rain come. Perhaps this occurs at night. Koko is said to accept the grain, but to tell those who bring it that he is not the master of the rain and that they must go away. We understood that there was a special person, one Geda, who asked Koko to make rain; this man was said not to be related to Koko. We only heard of him shortly before leaving the hill and were unable to satisfy ourselves as to his position. It seemed certain that he was not so important as Bilola or Deldung, nor was he a *bitokware*, yet it was said that when the rain sacrifice was about to occur he would bear the gourd of water and sprig of basil (carried by Deldung when we were taken to the site of the rain ceremony). On the occasion of the rain ceremony Deldung sprinkles the rocks of the pass with water, kills a goat, and smears its blood on the rocks, just as he did when he took us to the site of Geberatu's grave; this is done before sunrise. Geda would go down the hill with the other assistants of Koko (i.e. with Bilola, Deldung, and Nalu) to the hut in which Koko would perform the rain-making rites. The assistants outside the hut are said to hear Koko invoking Kalo (who is in the sky) to send rain.

We are indebted to Mr. MacDiarmid for the following account of the Lafofa ceremony. When rain is due the people come from their villages to the rain-maker's hut, carrying branches of trees. They dance and call on the rain to fall. The rain-maker then goes into his hut, where three fairly large white stones (*mone'e*), brought many years ago from the old home in the Tekeim hills, lie in a row. The rain-maker spits on his finger and places it on the ground near the central white stone, next touching his eyes, the front of his neck, his navel, and his big toe. The assistant kills a large pig provided

by the rain-maker and brings the blood in a gourd inside the hut, placing it on the ground near the central stone. The rain-maker touches the blood with his finger, which he carries to his eyes, neck, navel, and big toe. Then he takes the gourd of blood, comes out of the hut backwards, and turning round throws the blood into the air.

Mr. MacDiarmid tells us that the rain-maker works in his fields, though he is helped a good deal in his cultivation. The following information, unfortunately unchecked, was obtained from a Lafofa informant. The rain-maker has magic for good crops; he does not prepare his own ground for sowing, this being done by the people, who also sow his seed corn for him, and it is believed that the crops of the community will benefit because of the service done him at the sowing.

On Jebel Kawarma the rain-making ceremony was said to resemble that of Talodi, and the rain-maker should stay in his house during the wet season.

The rain-maker of Kurondi seemed to stand in a subordinate position to Koko, the Lafofa rain-maker, for before performing his rain-ceremony he visited Koko at Lafofa, taking with him a hoe as a present. Koko would sacrifice a pig and they would eat together; then Koko would give him a gourd of water, cover it with basil sprigs, and tell him to go back, not looking behind him or to either side. On arrival part of the sacrificed pig, regarded as an offering to Mabo (Allah), was eaten under an old *tebaldi* tree at the foot of which the rain-making stones are kept. In the rain ritual the rain-maker smears these stones with a mixture of oil and soot; he kills a black goat and a pig, and flings some of their blood towards the sky. A special fire is said to be kept up during the ceremony.

The general formula for rain-making which these observations disclose, viz. the use of rain-stones, the flinging of the blood of the sacrifice towards the heavens, and the necessity for the rain-maker to avoid exposure during the rainy season, is confirmed by Mr. MacDiarmid's observations at Jebel Shwai.

Here, in the house of the rain-maker, is the outline framework of a small "roof" roughly made of a few pieces of acacia twigs set upright and tied at the top; under this are seven stones. When rain is wanted the rain-maker brings water in a new gourd, breaks down the "roof", scatters the stones, and sprinkles water inside the hut, saying, "Come, rain! God, let much rain come!" If this

does not produce rain the people provide a pig or a black goat, which the rain-maker kills by cutting its throat with a spear-head. He receives its blood in a new gourd, mixes water with it, and sprinkles the mixture inside the hut, throwing part of the remainder into the air and the rest on the ground in front of his hut. Returning inside the hut, he next turns the gourd upside down on the stones and breaks it with his feet. When he wishes the rain to stop he reconstitutes the "roof", places the stones under it, and sprinkles ashes as he previously sprinkled blood and water.

Each community "makes" its own rain and the greatest wonders may be told of rain-makers only a little way off. Thus, the Lafofa believe that the rain-maker of Jebel Tekoi is associated with a red snake, which form he is said to assume at will, while to obtain rain the Tekoi people take milk and put it in a hole high on the hill, where it is taken by the rain-maker in his snake form.

At Dilling each rain-maker has immanent in him the spirit of Osera [1] the first rain-maker. Soon after the death of a rain-maker this spirit becomes immanent in his successor, possessing him by night and causing him to shiver, groan, and shout. The next morning the assistants of the dead rain-maker are told that the ancestral spirit has come. They take the new rain-maker to the holy cave, where he communes with Belet. When he comes out his most important assistant ties round his neck a very old piece of stuff which is kept in the cave, and at the same time he is given a bracelet said to have been the property of Belet, and certain sacred spears (*oro*),[2] which are taken to the cave Kulgnala whenever a rain-maker dies. These spears are used to kill the sacrifice at the rain ceremony, and are, we believe, kept in the rain-maker's hut. The newly installed rain-maker returns to his homestead, where cattle are killed and beer is drunk. It should be noted that the house of the dead rain-maker is destroyed and a new one is built on the same site with new materials, for if the rain-maker were to live in the house belonging to his predecessor he would soon die.

The rain ritual is performed in the rain-maker's hut. About this time a clean pot filled with beer, and a clean gourd, is left overnight for Belet in the sacred cave; in the morning the bowl is empty and it is considered that Belet has drunk it. Concerning the ritual itself

[1] We believe that Osera was thought of as the head of all ancestral departmental spirits, and we gathered that the spirits immanent in other experts might be regarded as followers of Osera.

[2] Ordinary spears are called *duen*.

we have no information that we consider reliable, but Mr. MacDiarmid informs us that in the rain-maker's hut under his couch are "a large number of small white stones about as big as marbles . . . and seem to represent rain or hail. The rain-maker says he can command the rain because he has it 'under his hand'." No doubt these stones are quartz pebbles. Mr. MacDiarmid adds that in most of the Nuba hill-dialects the words for "hail" and "stars" are identical.

As already stated for the southern hills, the rain-maker stays in his house during the wet season[1] and should never leave his hill; moreover, he should eat only in his own house, the remains of his food being consumed by his assistants, but it is doubtful whether the rule is observed in practice.

On Dilling and Jebel Daier Father Kauczor[2] has described a series of *kujur* each having within himself or herself an ancestral spirit (*aro*). At Dilling one of these men, the "chief *kujur*", is the most important man in the tribe, i.e. the spiritual and temporal ruler, and is obviously also the rain-maker, though this is not definitely stated except in Mr. C. A. Fletcher's Appendix ("The Dilling Ceremony") to Father Kauczor's paper. The other and less important *kujur* with particular functions, having within them *aro*, we have little doubt correspond to the men and women whom we have termed departmental experts pp. (395-8).

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

The southern Nuba bury in family graves shaped like an inverted funnel, the shaft corresponding to the stem of the funnel being so narrow that a living man can only squeeze through with his hands above his head.[3] The shaft is 6 to 8 feet long and expands below into a circular chamber with sloping sides, some 3 feet high in the centre and perhaps 8 feet across. In the centre of the floor, i.e. under the opening of the shaft, there is usually a mound of earth about 1 foot

[1] Mr. C. A. Fletcher describes the *kujur* of Dilling as having been "strictly confined in his *tukl* [hut] for some six months, for he had retired there for the purpose of rain-making . . . in the early summer" ("The Dilling Ceremony": *S.N. & R.*, vi, 1923, 31-2), while Mr. MacDiarmid writes that he should remain in his hut "until the grain is ready to eat and the ceremony connected with the ripened grain has been held. Actually the two periods may be very much the same, taking into consideration the duration and warmth of the wet season".

[2] Op. cit.: *S.N. & R.*, vi, 1923.

[3] We do not know how far north this type of grave extends; it is found at Dilling.

high. Anyone lowered down the shaft naturally lands on this. When a burial takes place a couple of men are lowered into the grave to receive the body, which is laid at the periphery of the chamber. The graves we were allowed to explore were at least four generations old, and the few traces of the bodies left were insufficient to allow us to determine the position in which they had been buried.

The matrilocal habits of the Nuba are specially well marked in their burial rites. Both men and women are buried with their *imbing* and other of their mother's relatives. Thus among the Lafofa the rain-maker, and indeed all *bitokware*, lie in one grave, that in which Geberatu was buried.

The eschatological ideas of the southern Nuba, though fairly uniform in principle, vary somewhat from hill to hill. Generally speaking the spirit of the deceased is considered to stay in the grave with the body, yet it leaves this at times to visit the village and to appear to relatives in dreams.

The animals killed at the funeral and afterwards are for the benefit of the deceased; one informant went so far as to say that if at least a bullock or goat were not killed the dead in the family grave would hold the newcomer to be a wretched fellow of no account. The near blood relations of the deceased alone eat the flesh of these animals, and husband or wife do not partake of the flesh of animals killed for a spouse; if a bullock is killed (as appears to be frequently the case) it is provided by the *imbing* of the deceased. It appears that the relatives should stay in the house of mourning where the feast is held for the first night after the funeral.

At Kurondi, where funeral customs were said to be the same as at Eliri, the shades of the dead were said to spend their time between the grave and the houses of the living, to whom they appeared at night in dreams Hoes, broken spears and knives, were buried with the corpse, avowedly because the spirit was thought to spend a great part of its existence in the grave. Death may be due to the dead calling the living, and in one case a bier with the dead body upon it was taken round to many houses, the homes of the dead who were supposed to have called the deceased to them.

The following account of a funeral that we saw on Jebel Eliri will make clear the procedure. One afternoon a couch was carried past our camp, a line of men and then women following it; upon it lay a man who, though still living, was very ill. He died early the next morning, when wailing began immediately. The man, an Eliri,

had been living at Talodi, but when it was recognized that his condition was serious a great point was made of bringing him back to his own village, where he was taken to his mother's brother's house to die. We went up to the house of mourning early in the morning and found a number of folk collected outside, the men more or less dejected, some wailing and sobbing, the women all wailing. The sight inside the hut was impressive—numbers of women were crowded around the couch on which the body lay, many were bending over it sobbing and swaying their bodies, all wailing loudly; every now and then one would come out with lurching steps, moisture streaming from eyes, nose, and mouth, her hands together above her head or pressed to her waist; the picture of abject misery, swaying as though her legs would scarcely support her, she would move to the group of wailing women outside and drop down beside them. Later, groups of Arabs and half-bred Eliri Nuba from the plains arrived, each party bringing an offering. A calf and two goats were killed outside the house—the calf with a spear, the goats by blows with a club—and left on the ground where they fell. A large party of Eliri men from the village high up on the hill now arrived in single file; the first man rushed forward, spear in hand, uttering a shrill cry, and shook his spear at the door of the house; then Koko, the rain-maker, charged with rifle aloft and retreated again, charged again, and fired his rifle over the house.[1] Koko retired to a rock in the shade, and the Eliri party entered the hut, leaving outside a pig as offering, which was promptly dispatched by a blow on the head. There was now an almost continuous stream of Eliri folk approaching the house, the leaders always charging with their spears. Numerous rifles were fired, presents of millet were taken inside the hut, and large sheaves of beans were left outside; several more pigs and goats were killed. The wailing never ceased, indeed with each batch of new arrivals its volume swelled, while the howling children increased the general misery. At last a couple of men set to work to skin the calf, and soon afterwards the dead man's *imbing* (mother's brother), Koko, Deldung, an old woman, and a few others went to prepare the grave, the *imbing* leading the way holding a gourd containing a very evil-smelling brownish substance said to be milk two or three years old. When the calf's skin was removed it was laid upon a wicker screen (used as door in these hills) and rubbed with dung from the beast's intestine; this was to absorb the blood and to dry

[1] All this was said to comfort the relatives of the deceased.

the moisture left on the skin. These men now took the skin towards the house in which the body lay, and four women held it stretched out hair-side upwards for some time while another woman sprinkled water over it. After a little while they gave it to a man, who rolled it up and squatted with it in his hands outside the hut door, but the women passed one by one into the house. At last the skin was taken inside the house and the cotton shroud—the first evidence we had seen of foreign habits—was removed from the corpse, which was now wrapped in the skin and then covered again with the shroud; four men carried the bier on their shoulders, walking quickly towards the house of the dead man's father, while the wailing crowd followed and men rushed to and fro charging at the corpse with spears and firing rifles. The bier was put down inside this house, and everyone who could crowded in, remaining inside for about three-quarters of an hour, the wailing continuing all the while except for a short time during which a drum was beaten. It was said that the women inside the hut danced at this time. The corpse was then quickly carried the short distance between the house and the grave, Koko, and the party who had gone to prepare the grave, meeting the procession near the house and joining it. The *imbing* of the dead man poured some rancid milk on the flat stone closing the shaft of the grave, dipped his fingers in this and with them touched his forehead, throat, umbilicus and toes. Two men then removed whatever slight clothing and ornaments they wore, rubbed themselves all over with rancid milk, and were lowered into the grave. The cloth and skin [1] were removed from the corpse and it was handed gently to the men below; a belt of three or four rows of beads was left on the body, though these, as we were told, would not be left in the case of old men.[2] A slight discussion arose, as one Hamedan, who looked upon the deceased in the light of an *imbie* (cousin or brother) because when young he had been captured by the latter's *imbing*, wanted him to be buried in the shroud which he had provided, but Koko refused, this being against Nuba tradition. Although Koko took no part in the proceedings he seemed to superintend procedure, and it was said that he would always be present at an interment. A gourd of oil was passed down into the grave, and the

[1] This skin is said to be used to make a couch for the mother or *imbing* of the deceased.

[2] This belt may be made from beads provided by the wife specially for burial. According to one account many relatives would bring beads and put them on the body, but take them away before it was buried. This was said to be an old custom. The beads would be washed and used again for any purpose.

body was again oiled (ever since death people had been rubbing oil on the corpse at intervals). The two men were helped out of the grave and the stone was quickly replaced. Koko then spilled the remainder of the milk on the grave, earth was piled over the stone, a little mound—about a foot high in the centre—was made, and a circle of stones placed around. The gourds that had held the milk were broken and placed on the mound, together with some twigs of thorn and the remains of a pot, a gourd, and a pipe, which had been removed when the grave was uncovered and which belonged to the old woman who had last been buried in this grave.[1] As soon as all was complete, the two men who had descended into the grave washed themselves very thoroughly with water, two women pouring it over them. From the time the procession left the house of the dead man's father there had been no wailing, and the few who had attempted to do so had been checked. All the visitors now went to their own houses, most of the women taking the opportunity of washing themselves in the stream on the way, and the family of the deceased returned to the house of mourning, where they prepared and ate the animals killed earlier in the day. The flesh must be boiled (not roasted) and every relative who eats of it takes a little piece of cooked liver, spits on it, and presses it to the temples, the suprasternal notch, and umbilicus, and then throws it away; after this the rest of the meat is eaten, including the remainder of the liver.

A man in mourning for his father, mother, or *imbing* does not oil his skin or dance, but leads a secluded life and stays much in his house for about a month. Then much beer is made and drunk, the dead man's grain being used for this. Later, at the appropriate time before the rains, the dead man's land is prepared for cultivation and a crop sown, seed from his granary being used; the grain that is harvested becomes the property of his *imbing*. Each time that beer is made dancing takes place, mourning proper ending with the first dance, held about a month after death, when the mourners oil their bodies and again move freely about in the community.

At Talodi burial is as at Eliri. Various objects may be interred with the dead, including a hoe, which is put under the head of all grown men; objects not of iron are broken, iron objects are removed when the grave is next opened and the iron worked up into new implements, which become the property of the deceased's sisters' sons. The more important a man the more objects are buried with him, and it is said

[1] Old people of both sexes have their pipes and sticks placed upon their graves.

that when a really influential man is buried his couch and shield are placed on his grave, indeed the whole usage of death ceremonial bears out the remark of Tia already quoted (p. 396): "The stronger a man is the more important he is both in life and after death." Hence when an ordinary man dies there is only one big feast, soon after death or about a year afterwards. Important men have two or three feasts held in their honour at intervals of about a year. These feasts appear to be held in or near the house of the deceased. Most of the graves seen had one or more gourds or pots upon them.

The belief is that the spirit of the deceased habitually stays in the grave, but can and does emerge to visit relatives and friends and is seen by them in dreams but at no other time. Tia, the headman of Tumtum village, said that he sometimes saw Ngele, his great-grandfather, in dreams. The morning after a dream in which Ngele appeared and exhorted him to look after his hill, Tia killed a goat at Ngele's old house site, now in ruins. Usually when anyone, man or woman, sees a deceased relative in a dream he will weep, and a woman may even wail as after a death. This is a genuine Nuba custom, but with regard to a sacrifice under these conditions the matter is somewhat doubtful and at Talodi the custom may be due to Arab influence.

On Jebel Kawerma it was said that as many as ten live sheep might be put in the grave with the deceased, and that a hoe was buried with him, while the bead ornaments commonly worn were left upon the body, which was wrapped in the skin of a pig killed for the purpose. The spirit (*longeru*) remains in the grave, and this is why the sheep are buried, for the spirit delights to look upon them; yet it comes out at times, and may be seen in dreams. If an important man appears in a dream his relatives pour beer on his grave and sacrifice an animal at the door of his house, themselves eating the flesh. All death feasts are held and all offerings made to please the spirits of the dead, who if this were not done might wreak their anger on the living.

On Jebel Kandarma burial is in the usual shaft grave; nothing is put in the grave with the body except the bead ornaments that are left on the corpse, but women's cooking pots are placed on their graves. The spirit (*ʔu*) persists in the grave, and is also seen in dreams; if it comes in a friendly way nothing is done, but if the spirit threatens a sheep is killed in the dreamer's house and a feast made, though nothing appears to be set aside for the spirit.

On Tira el Akhdar burial is in a family shaft grave, into which

spears, hoes, knives, cloth, and living sheep are lowered. The spirit (*kaiu*) remains in the grave, but is seen in dreams, when a sacrifice is made before the house of the deceased and the spirit of the sacrificed animal goes to his grave.

The Dilling folk do not appear to have any doubts concerning the existence of a life beyond the grave, for the feasts that are held in connection with a death are avowedly to pacify the spirit, while the ceremony held at the time of the harvest shows a very real belief in the presence of the spirits of the dead. We have no account of the proceedings immediately after death; doubtless these include sacrifices, and it may be supposed that up to the time of the disposal of the body events take place as at Lafofa. Certainly the grave is of the same form. We are uncertain whether one, two, or three feasts subsequent to the funeral ceremonies are held in honour of the deceased. Probably it will be found that two is the usual number, but that more may be held for very important men, while youths and children will have only one. In any case the last ceremony is said to be the most important, and this takes place in the second or third year after a death, about the time of the beginning of the rainy season. The relatives of the deceased prepare much beer; a strong man spears a bullock, and a woman, the *kodjuria*, collects the blood in a gourd and mixes it with beer and sour milk. This is put into a wooden vessel, from which the children drink without touching the bowl. After the feast the youths wrestle for five days. These ceremonies are performed to please the spirits of the dead, and if they were omitted the deceased would be so displeased that he would send sickness and death upon his children. If a man dies unmarried, or without a house of his own, the ceremonies take place at, or centre round, his mother's house or the house of one of his brothers.

At Dilling the spirits of the dead are thought to visit the living, especially at harvest time. When the millet is cut every widow believes that the spirit of her dead husband will come to her that night, so she sends her children away and prepares bread, beer, and sour milk. She puts a clean mat upon the floor and sleeps naked upon it, as though sleeping with her husband. A woman only does this for her first husband, and although there is no avowed idea of any congress with the spirit her second husband (if she has married again) will not remain in the hut. A mother will prepare a feast and a bed for a dead child in much the same way.

Note

Since this chapter was written a new theory has been put forward by Dr. Ernst Zyhlarz [1] as to Nubian origins, which cannot be neglected when considering the origin and connections of the northern group of Nuba speaking Hamitoid (Berberine) dialects. Actually it is a return to the old view that the homeland of the Nile Nubians was Kordofan, but instead of taking this as almost self-evident Dr. Zyhlarz has arrived at his conclusions as the result of a minute analysis of Sir Harold MacMichael's papers, "Nubian Elements in Darfur" [2] and "Darfur Linguistics".[3] The following résumé of Dr. Zyhlarz's views is taken from Mr. S. Hillelson's article, "Nubian Origins." [4]

> "The homeland of the Nubian race, according to Zyhlarz, is in Kordofan; they were a populous nation divided into many tribes which, on account of dialectical differences, are separable into two groups, A and B. During the last centuries B.C., sections of Group A left the homeland, some moving westwards and settling in Jebel Midob, while others made their way to the Nile where they dwelt side by side with the Libyan population already there. . . . Towards the beginning of our era the remainder of Group A emigrated from Kordofan. A recollection of this migration is preserved in a tradition of the Hill Nuba [speaking Hamitoid languages] which relates that their own ancestor, and that of the Barabra, were cousins who dwelt together until the latter left the country on account of a quarrel for the possession of a sacrificed pig. This second migration of Group A proceeded by way of the Wadi el Melik towards the Nile; certain elements occupied the oases on the Arba'in road while the majority made for the region of Dongola where they found the earlier migrants of their own group, who during the intervening period had acquired the more advanced culture prevailing there. . . . Towards the beginning of the fourth century A.D., group B, which so far had remained in the homeland, invaded the Gezira and put an end to the Meroitic Kingdom, but they did not coalesce with the more civilized Meroitic population, with whom they had nothing in common and whose cultural inheritance meant nothing to them. . . . [Later] the B group Nubians . . . were united to their northern kinsfolk by the tie of a common religion. During the Christian period the northern Kingdom of Dongola was pre-eminent both culturally and in political power; its influence extended to the western hinterland where it dominated the trade-routes into Central Africa; this westward expansion was based on Jebel Midob and explains the fact that the older Nubian stratum settled there regarded itself as a part of the kingdom of Dongola."

Reference to the original papers shows that this very ingenious argument is based almost entirely on linguistic evidence; it is further elaborated by Mr. Hillelson, who emphasizes the unfortunate confusion caused by the indiscriminate application of the term Nuba to all the black hillmen of Kordofan, whereas, as we have shown early in this chapter, there is good evidence that we are dealing with three stocks, the above argument only applying to the most northern of these, speaking a Hamitoid language.

Whether Dr. Zyhlarz is correct or not, the physical characters of both Nile

[1] "Zur Stelling des Darfur-Nubischen": *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands*, xxxv, 1928.
[2] *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918. [3] *S.N. & R.*, iii, 1920. [4] *S.N. & R.*, xiii, 1930.

Nubians and the hillmen of Kordofan speaking Hamitoid languages must be given full consideration. As already stated, we lack knowledge of the latter, but we do know that the Berberines (Nubians) of the present day are not very different physically from those of 2000 B.C. Consequently if their language reached them from Kordofan only two conclusions can be drawn: (1) either the language-bearing immigrants were of the same physique as the Nile Nubians, or (2) they were so few in number that they produced no effect on the physical character of the Nile Nubians, upon whom they forced their language and whose culture they themselves adopted.

Chapter XII

DARFUNG [1]

South of the Gezira the country between the White and Blue Niles is of the same general character as central and southern Kordofan, consisting of a flat open plain diversified by rocky hills. In the wet season the plain is covered with vegetation; in the dry season water is scarce, water holes are far apart and south of Goz Abu Guma are hardly to be found except at the foot or on the slopes of sparsely vegetated isolated rock masses which project from the level of the plain. Many of these *jibal* are of considerable size, and whenever there is water on or near them they support settlements, which, to judge by the stone implements found on the sites, date back to immemorial antiquity, indeed to the Old Stone Age.

The population of these hills resembles in a general way the Nuba inhabitants of the hills of Kordofan, of which the area is a geographical extension. Moreover the hills between the White and Blue Niles are as much an area of linguistic confusion as are those of southern Kordofan, while both the Nuba and the inhabitants of the Fung hills keep pigs, found nowhere else in the Sudan. On the other hand the throwing stick (Ar. *trombash*), which can best be summarily described as resembling the Australian non-return boomerang, but generally larger, is characteristic of the Fung hills, and though spreading westward was not to be found among the southern Nuba in 1910. It should be added that it is only in the south, among the Burun, that the bow and poisoned arrows are found. There is this further difference between the two groups of peoples, that the population of the Fung hills has been exposed far more continuously and for a longer period to foreign influence, for the most part from the east but also from the west; indeed the country between the two Niles was for some hundreds of years the seat of a kingdom of some importance, that of the Fung. At its greatest this Empire stretched from beyond the Abyssinian border to the neighbourhood of the third cataract, and for a short period included

[1] We use the term Darfung in a sense somewhat different from that of the administration, or whom the expression applies only to the district around Jebel Gule and to the Ingassana hills. We, on account of its ethnographical convenience, propose to extend the term to include the whole of the Fung Province.

much of Kordofan, and even without its furthest extension reached from the confluence of the White and Blue Niles to the swamp area north of the Sobat. Now, however, the Fung Province is limited to the southern portion of the old Empire, roughly the area lying between the two rivers, between 13° 30′ and 9° 30′ N.

Of the Fung themselves it may safely be said that the name corresponds to no ethnic unit. They appear in history towards the close of the fifteenth century as a horde of black soldiery led by one 'Amara Dunkas, who traced his ancestry to the Beni Omayya, of whom it is related that some few, surviving the massacre of their family by the Abbasides, fled to Abyssinia. Driven thence they settled in the hills towards the present eastern border, and intermarrying with their black inhabitants became known as Fung. 'Amara Dunkas overthrew the Christian kingdom of Alwa, or at least conquered its southern portion, was crowned King at Soba, and in 1504 made his capital at Sennar. There is a tradition that 'Amara Dunkas, fearing a Turkish attack, sent an embassy to the Sultan Selim, stating that he and his followers were True Believers and bearing a genealogical tree constructed to prove his Arab ancestry. This move was successful and the Turks recognized his authority as far north as the Third Cataract. There followed some two centuries of fighting and raiding, especially with Abyssinia and into Kordofan, until by the middle of the eighteenth century—the greatest period of Fung history—the Fung chronicles boast that visitors came to them from the Hejaz, India, Egypt, and even North-West Africa.

It was about this time, soon after war with Abyssinia, that the Fung invaded Kordofan, and their victorious commander-in-chief, Muhammed Abu Lekeilik, a "Hameg", was appointed "Sheikh of Kordofan". A revolt against Badi, the Fung king, although the latter was not actually deposed, led to Abu Lekeilik, now vizier, becoming the actual ruler, a position he was able to transmit to his descendants. It is not surprising that in these circumstances the "Hameg" rule proved unstable; there were ten kings in thirty years, and when Ismail Pasha invaded Sennar in 1820 the country surrendered without a struggle.

Sennar, the capital of the Fung Kingdom, was on the trade routes from Cairo to Abyssinia and from the Red Sea to Central Africa; among its exports were gum from Kordofan, slaves, ivory, gold, ostrich feathers, ebony, and hippopotamus hides. Though the Fung chronicles speak of the magnificence of the city, and the king kept

great state and moved with an enormous retinue, the houses were built of mud and nothing remains to show its departed glory. The Fung cavalry, recruited from the Hameg and the Nuba, were far-famed, and Bruce admired the condition of the horses, whose riders wore shirts of mail and copper headpieces.[1]

From the above account it is obvious that though forming a political unit professing Islam and using Arabic as a *lingua franca* the Fung were but a conglomeration of Sudan peoples, and this is the view taken by Bruce, who, as a result of his visit to Sennar in 1772, considered that the Shilluk had played a predominant part in the composition of the Fung people. In this we cannot agree with him and we shall return to this matter later.

At the present day the inhabitants of the Fung hills are called Hameg by the Arabs, though they usually speak of themselves by the names of their respective hills. As has been stated, the Hameg defeated the Fung, but whether they were a really distinct people in the racial sense may be doubted, they are probably to be regarded as southerners less arabized than the northern Fung, who constituted an aristocracy and as a ruling class imposed their sovereignty over a wide area.[2] Hameg in Arabic means "ignorant", and is used to indicate slave or vassal in the same way as *tigré* is used by the superior tribes among the Tigré-speaking Beni Amer; thus Skeikh Idris, the paramount chief of the Province, spoke of the Ingassana as Hameg and Professor Evans-Pritchard suggests that the Hameg are, or were, predominantly Berta-speaking. So-called Hameg are

[1] The Abyssinian connection or even origin of the Fung seems settled by an early seventeenth century identification of Fung and Balau to which Mr. Hillelson has drawn our attention. We take the following from Mr. H. Weld Blundell, *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia 1769–1840*, Appendix v, 531 :—

"They [the Fung] appear as 'Fund' in D'Almeida's Map (1662) transcribed from P. Paez (*c.* 1620) and . . . are called 'Funchos' and 'Funye' . . . in his history. . . . In another contemporary map they are placed together in the kingdom of Sennar. These Balaw or Balloos, Balloes as they are called by the Portuguese writers, are distinctly stated to be identical with the Fungs. . . . The Chronicles of Susneyos also treat them as identical but much oftener use the name Funj. . . . Their habitat is described . . . by D'Almeida and indicated by the Chronicles as being not only around Sennar but also in the North in the province of Holcait (Halqayt), the former calling them 'Cafres muito baixas e quents' and says they are called Ballous inland and Funchos on the coast of Suakim."

Now the Balau constitute the aristocracy of the Beni Amer of the southern Sudan and Eritrea, with the tradition that they are descended from Abbas the uncle of the Prophet, signifying at least an infusion of Arab blood (*see* our "Note on the History and Present Condition of the Beni Amer (Southern Beja)": *S.N. & R.*, xiii, 1930), so that not only is the Abyssinian origin of the Fung established but we get a hint of how it was that they were able to lord it over the mixed blacks of the Abyssinian-Sudan border.

[2] An analogy might perhaps be drawn with the Vongura aristocracy of the Azande.

found at Roseires, on Jebel Moya and Jebel Gule, and probably on other hills of which we have no knowledge, indeed Mr. L. F. Nalder writes to us of this "disappearing race" as formerly occupying a wide area in the Southern Gezira, through Jebel Mazmum and Dali to Jebel Moya and along the banks of the Blue Nile. This is only a fraction of their old territory; in the *Futuh el Habassah* they are said to extend from the Shiré to Kassala, territory now occupied by the Abyssinian people called Bazen. Whatever the precise relationship of Fung and Hameg may be, there is no doubt that the present day representatives of the latter are the mixed population of a number of the hills between the White and Blue Niles. These form groups of more or less arabized Negroids, who have, however, so far maintained their old habits that they speak non-Arabic languages while the majority of their customs are frankly pagan. The conditions prevailing on Jebel Gule may be instanced. Jebel Gule is a prominent landmark for many miles; it lies some 300 miles south of Khartoum and 50 miles east of Renk on the White Nile. It is over 1,000 feet high and probably has a circumference of about five miles. In the days of the kingdom of Sennar it was the capital of a province, but all that remain of its former greatness are two small settlements of people who call themselves Fung and appear to be generally known as Hameg. There are numbers of Arabs in both settlements, but though the Hameg (of this hill) all speak Arabic and profess Islam, many of them also speak their old language, and they still keep customs which they admit came to them from their pagan ancestors.

Jebel Tabi was not visited, but the Tabi men we met at Gule gave us the impression that their community was relatively little touched by foreign influence. This opinion, as was later discovered, did but confirm that expressed by Marno sixty years ago, and agrees with the experience of Professor Evans-Pritchard at the present day. In Marno's time the "Hameg-Fungi" of Gule admitted kinship with such neighbouring tribes as the Shilluk, Dinka, Burun, Gumus, and Berta, but denied all relationship with the inhabitants of Tabi. As Marno points out, this was to be explained by the fact that Tabi was a strong hill which had never been conquered, whose inhabitants were pagans and the boldest and most successful robbers of the district.[1] It is also worth noting, as bearing on the mixed population of the Fung hills, that in Marno's time there were three settlements at Jebel Gule—Helle el Burun, Helle el Mek, and Helle el Idris—the

[1] E. Marno, *Reisen im Gebiete des blauen und weissen Nil*, Vienna 1874, 228.

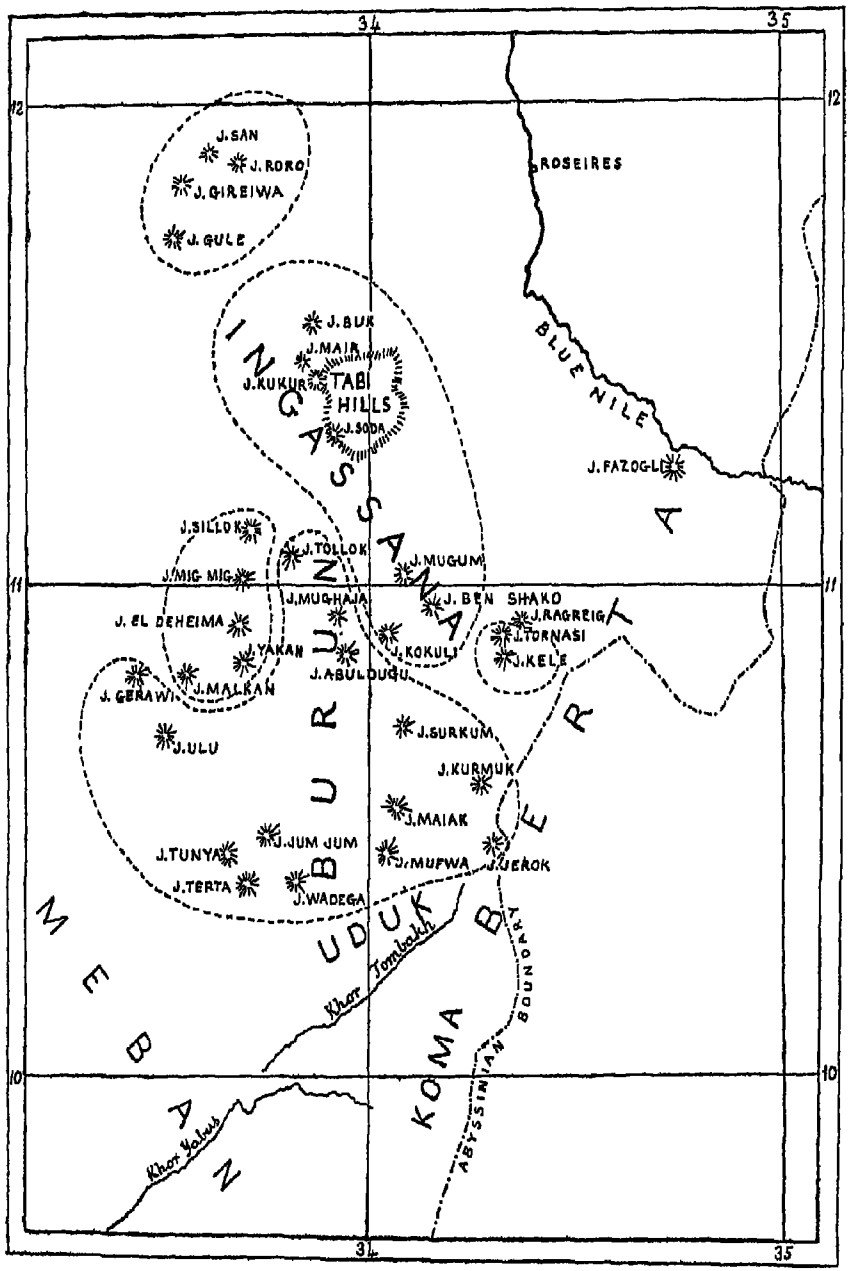


FIG. 28. Tribal map of southern Darfung.

[*Page* 417

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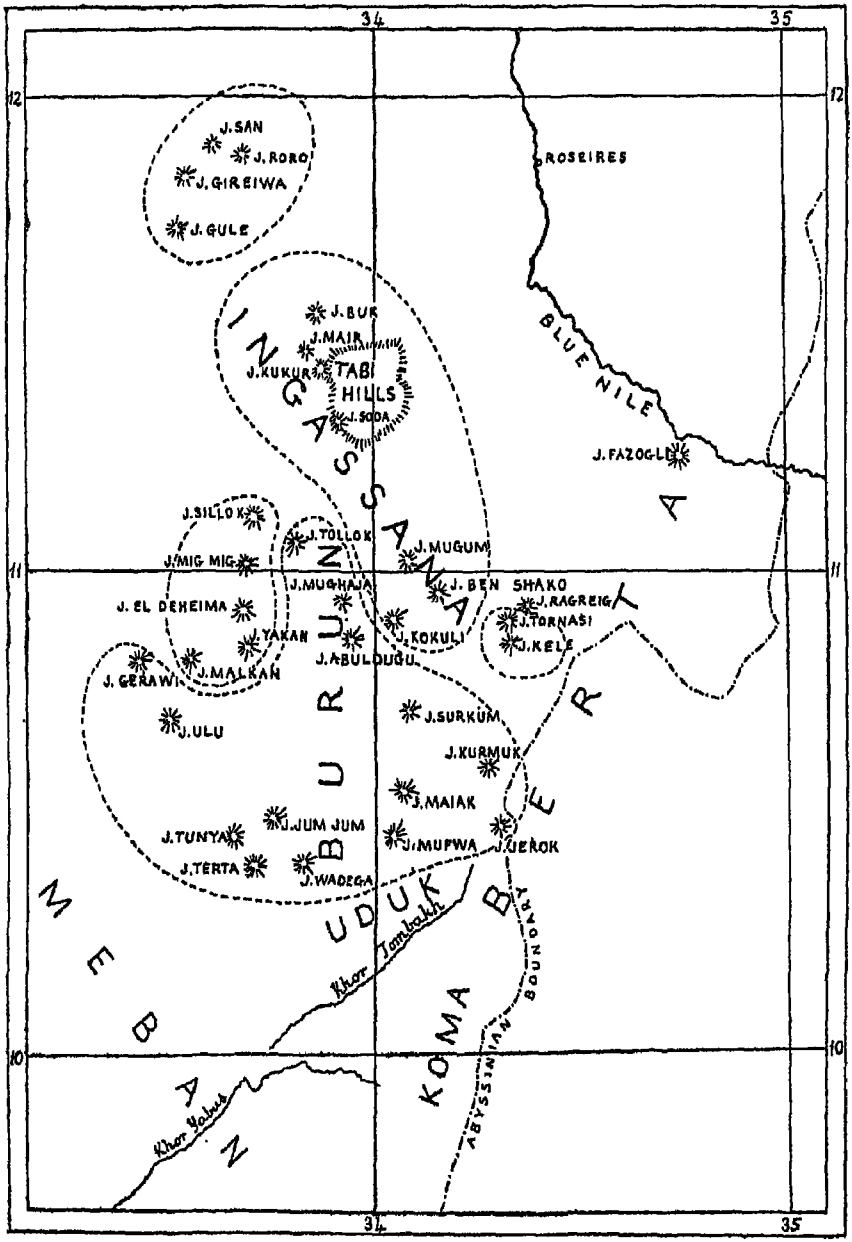


FIG. 28. Tribal map of southern Darfung.

[*Page* 417

two first inhabited by Hameg and Burun, the last by the Sheikh and his relatives, Berberines, Ja'alin, and other Arabs.[1]

At the time of our visit in 1910 the Gule language was disappearing rapidly; the settlement had been decimated by the Khalifa's forces and the young men and women had all been killed or taken captive, so that the population consisted of elderly men who had escaped, and having procured young wives had returned to their village. The children were growing up to speak Arabic only. The language of Jebel Gule is spoken on Jebel San and Jebel Roro, but the language of Jebel Tabi is quite distinct.

Although the Fung Province is an area of political and tribal confusion, it exhibits an underlying racial unity except in the south, where a sudden rise of cephalic index in the Meban (Gura) contrasts with the general dolichocephaly or low mesaticephaly of the Province. There is everywhere a general tendency to medium or tall stature, and highly platyrrhine noses, though one group, the Meban, consists largely of brachycephals and gives an average on the verge of brachycephaly. The data upon which these conclusions are based are in part set forth as indices in the following table[2]:—

Site.	*Tribe.*	*No.*	*C.I.*	*N.I.*	*F.I.*	*U.F.I.*	*Stature.*
Fazogli	"Fung"	5 *	74·6	83·3	84·9	46·5	1·70
Ingassana Hills	Ingassana	12 *	73·1	90·4	82·8	44·3	1·73
Jebel Sillok		11 *	75·5	95·7	81·9	48·7	1·73
Khartoum	Berta	8 †	75·8	101·2		46·1	1·66
Darfung	Berta	10 *	74·6	93·1	82·0	44·7	1·67
	Koma	7 *	73·4	96·3	82·0	45·9	—
	Uduk	9 *	77·4	97·0	77·9	43·7	1.67
Kurmuk	Burun	30 *	75·2	101·5	83·1	44·4	1·70
Abuldugu	Burun	10 *	75·3	92·5	85·3	45·6	1·77
Maiak	Burun	10 ‡	75·6	—	—	—	1·72
Mughaja	Burun	7 *	73·7	94·7	83·6	47·0	1·72
Wadega and Tunya	Jumjum	17 ‡	75·5	—	—	—	—
Khor Tombak	Meban (Gura)	9 *	80·9	96·7	82·1	45·5	1·78 (8)
"Sahahir"	Meban	43 §	79·1	96	84	47	1·76 (37)

[1] Op. cit., 227.

[2] Measurements in above table are distinguished as follows: * Pratt (communicated); † Tucker and Myers, "A Contribution to the Anthropology of the Sudan": *JRAI.*, xl, 1910; ‡ Evans-Pritchard, unpublished notes; § Pirrie. There can be little doubt that some, probably the majority, of Pirrie's "Burun" were Meban. On the very small-scale map published posthumously ("Report upon the Physical Characters of some of the Nilotic Negroid Tribes", *Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories*, 1908, 352) his route is indicated as traversing Burun country, but the return journey eastwards appears to have been through Meban territory. The high cephalic index can scarcely have any other significance than that suggested, though some of the individuals measured may have been Burun, not Meban. This is supported by the fact that in Professor Waterston's summary of Pirrie's results (*op. cit.*), the measurements of only eleven "Burun", having an average C.I. of 76, are given. This suggests that one particular group gave this figure, and these individuals are included in our total. Our figure of 79 is an average for 43 subjects, including the above eleven, derived from measurements communicated to us by Professor Waterston within a few years of Pirrie's death.

The conclusion that the population is fundamentally tall and mesaticephalic is confirmed in the most interesting manner by the result of Sir Henry Wellcome's excavations on a site at a considerable height above the plain, in a basin within the Jebel Moya massif in the extreme north of the district. Here, in graves of considerable antiquity, some going back to 700 B.C. or earlier, as determined by scarabs and plaques bearing Egyptian and Ethiopian cartouches,[1] was found a number of skeletons sufficiently well preserved to enable Professor Derry to determine that he was dealing with the remains of a tall, coarsely-built Negro race with extraordinarily massive skulls and jaws. The faces are Negro-looking, unusually massive, with prominent malar bones, and distinctly prognathous. The average C.I. of both males and females is about 76, equivalent to 78 on the living, while the average stature of 23 males measured at full length in the grave was 1·76 m. (about 69 inches).[2]

There can be little doubt that we have here a record of the character of the inhabitants of Darfung before the Arab-Abyssinian influence referred to on page 414 made itself felt, and that the old stature and skull form still persist to a very considerable extent in the modern mixed population of the district. Further, a skull shown by Professor Derry at the Royal Anthropological Institute obviously belonged to such an individual—with big jaws and relatively small calvaria—as the Nuba whose photograph is reproduced in Pl. XXXVIII, No. 1.

Studying the physical characters of the inhabitants of Darfung in more detail, we find not only that they vary from group to group, but even from hill to hill, indeed the striking peculiarity of the inhabitants of the district seems to be the considerable range of variation between neighbouring communities and of individual variation within the community. It is, however, true to say that the people are all negroid, always woolly haired and dark skinned, though not as dark as the Nilotes. They vary considerably in stature, but tall individuals predominate. Our own experience is limited to the northern hills, but Professor Evans-Pritchard came to much the same conclusions regarding the Ingassana. He describes men and women with typical negroid faces, with thick lips, marked prognathism, and skin of a chocolate colour, but also notes that apart from colour all these characters may be absent, and that many have well-bridged

[1] *Proceedings of the British Association* (Section H), 1912.
[2] *Proc. 17th International Congress of Medicine*, 1913, sec. 1, pt. ii, 99.

and straight noses, relatively thin lips, and are not generally prognathous. "In many men the breasts are very well developed, and owing to the similar method of dress and of doing the hair I have more than once been deceived as to the sex of a man . . . Women make cicatrices on the stomach, but do not cover any great area. Both sexes practice circumcision." Professor Evans-Pritchard also remarks on the number of men and women with "small narrow eyes, almost mongoloid".

In considering the physical characters of the population of the southern portion of Darfung we must point out that such time-honoured names as Fung, Hameg, Burun, have little significance ethnographically and scarcely help to disentangle the ethnic and tribal confusion of the area. It is probably true that "Fung" originally denoted royal connections, but after a time this would signify that any man becoming sufficiently powerful would call himself by that term. As to "Hameg", we are, as already stated, unable to attach any precise significance to the term, but the inhabitants of hills Sillok, Migmig, el Deheima, Yakan, Malkan, Ben Shako, and Tornasi are regarded as Hameg.

The Berta, with their centre in Abyssinia, are probably one people though confusion has arisen owing to their providing the mass of commoners of three petty Fung dependencies, viz. Kele—occupying part of the middle Berta area in our tribal map—with two others lying east of the present Abyssinian boundary. Again, the term Burun can no longer be applied indiscriminately to the southern inhabitants of the Fung Province now that Mr. Chataway has worked out the tribal distribution in that area. Our sketch-map, modified from the new Tribal Map issued at Khartoum, indicates the results of Mr. Chataway's investigations and Dr. Pratt's measurements; it will be seen that the term Burun is now applied to the inhabitants of a comparatively small area, having within it the hills Jerok, Kurmuk, Maiak, Mufwa, Surkum, Tollok, Abuldugu, Mughaja (with perhaps "Hameg" elements on the two latter), to which must be added the "Jumjum" of hills Tunya, Terta, and Wadega. Gura, which is the Berta name for the Meban, gives place to this name. Uduk is substituted for the older name Korara. Jebel Ulu was originally Meban, while the Koma constitute an as yet unplaced group.

Besides differing from other groups by their high cephalic index, the Meban are also taller. The average stature of Dr. Pratt's subjects (9) gives the high figure of about 1·80 m. (71 inches), though this is

PLATE XLIII



Darfung types. Above, Jebel Gule; below, Ingassana

face p. 420

Plate XLIV



Burun



Ingessana

in part due to the presence of one " giant " of 1·92 m. (over 75 inches). Even omitting this man, an average (8) of 1·78 m. is obtained, and the average of Pirrie's Meban (37) is 1·76 m. (over 69 inches). Professor Waterston's report includes a number of Pirrie's photographs; some have been retouched but others, obviously reliable, show naked men of muscular build with moderate to very broad noses, the average nasal indices of Dr. Pratt's men being 96·7 while Pirrie's Meban (" Burun ", 43) give an average of 96 with seventeen hyperplatyrrhine subjects, i.e. having noses broader than they are long.

We may add that a group of eleven men from over the Abyssinian border, whom Dr. Pratt calls Geberta (these are not Berta), have a C.I. of nearly 79 (men 75·4, max. 83·5) and a stature of 1·67 m. (nearly 66 inches), the extremes varying from 1·79 m. (about 70½ inches) to 1·59 m. (about 62 inches). Here again is a group of high mesaticephals of more than average stature.

Linguistically our material consists of a number of vocabularies brought together by Professor Evans-Pritchard, who (ignoring those of the northern part of the Fung Province, i.e. of the Gule hills and Ingassana) divides the languages of southern Darfung into the following groups, for the most part distinguished on our map on page 417 :—

(1) Berta, divided into two groups of dialects, the first spoken along both sides of the Abyssinian frontier from the Khor Yabus northward to Roseires, the second a group spoken on Sillok, Yakan, Malkan, el Deheima, Kele, Tornasi, and formerly on Migmig (now uninhabited).

(2) Uduk, unrelated to other languages of this area.

(3) Burun, divided into two groups, northern and southern. The northern dialect is spoken on hills Tollok, Mughaja, Abuldugu, Ragreig, Surkum, Kurmuk, Maiak, Mufwa, Jerok, and Kudul (the last not marked on our map). The southern dialect is spoken by the Meban, on Ulu and Gerawi, and by the " Jumjum " of Tunya, Terta, Wadega, and of the Khor Jumjum.

Dr. Tucker has compared Professor Evans-Pritchard's vocabularies with those of the Nilotic Shilluk, Dinka, and Nuer, and with Bari —a language with a strong Hamitic element—and finds a remarkably high percentage of Nilotic words in the Darfung vocabularies. He even distinguishes two categories of words, the one consisting of those that have apparently passed into the Darfung languages with little or no structural change, the other containing Nilotic stems,

i.e. words that have undergone change though undoubtedly descended from the same parent stems as their Nilotic equivalents.

	Size of vocabulary.	*Nilotic borrowings.*	*Nilotic stems.*	*Percentage of Nilotic borrowings and stems.*
Northern Burun.[1]				
Ragreig . .	29	5	15	66%
Mughaja . .	89	21	34	61%
Kurmuk . .	87	19	30	56%
Maiak . .	63	11	24	55%
Southern Burun.				
Meban[2] . .	41	13	19	80%
Jumjum . .	89	21	38	66%
Ulu . .	89	17	41	64%

The percentages in certain Berta vocabularies (Sillok 12%, Malkan 11%, Tornasi 10%) are much lower than in the Burun dialects.

Further analysis directed to determine which Nilotic language had exerted the greatest pressure indicated no real distinction in this respect, the percentages being Nuer 47%, Shilluk 46%, and Dinka 45%.

As to grammar, the only evidence available is a small number of plurals, which indicate that while many of the Nilotic words in these languages prefer the Darfung method of plural formation, i.e. by suffix, others—a minority—form their plural by stem changes, as in the true Nilotic languages.

To sum up: the physical characters of the peoples of the Fung Province indicate that they are not Nilotes but differ profoundly from the latter, though their languages contain Nilotic stems, or at least stems found in the Nilotic languages, the percentage of these being greatest in the south. It is, we suppose, possible that these stems are not confined to the Nilotes but have a far wider distribution. Whether this is so or not, the influence giving the Nilotic appearance to these languages is not recent; we know of no recent prolonged contact with the Shilluk[3] and Nuer, whose words form as large a percentage of the southern Darfung vocabularies as do those of the

[1] Dr. Tucker thinks that these languages show evidence of Hamitic suffixes in words with Nilotic stems, while both groups of Burun languages on being compared with Bari showed 34% of words in common, including a few words having no affinities with the Nilotic languages.

[2] From vocabularies supplied by Mr. Nalder.

[3] As already stated, we do not accept Bruce's account of the Shilluk origin of the Fung.

Dinka. The evidence indeed points in the opposite direction. Thus, while at the present day Nuer and Meban are in contact along a border running for about 60 miles at about 9° 30′ N., in a map printed in 1861 the Dinka are shown occupying what is now the Nuer area north of the Sobat,[1] and here, as Professor Evans-Pritchard informs us, are still to be found sites with Dinka names. We may add that the large area marked Dinka on the east bank of the river, between latitudes 10° and 12° N., in the recent Tribal Map of the Sudan is largely waterless waste, capable of being crossed by raiding parties but scarcely of settlement.

In the hills of the Gule group each village has its headman, while there are also headmen of groups of villages. The *naẓir* (paramount chief) of the Province, residing at Jebel Gule, has adopted the old Fung title of *mangil*, though it is generally agreed that he is a descendant of their Hameg viziers of Sennar. Descent, both of *mangil* and village chief, is in the direct male line; should a chief have no sons he is succeeded by his brother or his father's brother's sons.

The Fung king of this area was one of those monarchs who were habitually put to death by their own people on magico-religious grounds. Bruce's account makes this clear, while Professor Evans-Pritchard's recent researches indicate that the "Fung" chiefs or headmen of other communities or peoples included in the Fung Empire were subjected to the same fate, often indeed in quite recent times. Bruce's account is as follows:—

> "It is one of the singularities which obtains among this brutish people, that the king ascends his throne under the admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the State that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood. This officer is called Sid el Coom, master of the King's household or servants, but has no vote in deposing him; nor is any guilt imputed to him however many of his sovereigns he thus regularly murdered. Achmet Sid el Coom, the present regicide, and resident in Ismain's palace . . . seemed, by a strange accident, to be one of the gentlest spirits of any . . . at Sennur. His place of birth was a village of Fazuglo, and it appeared to me that he was still a Pagan." [2]

[1] Petermann, *Geographische Mittheilungen*, Ergänzungsband II, 1862–3, Map 6.

[2] James Bruce of Kinnaird, *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile . . .*, Edinburgh, iv (1790), 459–61. We are indebted to Mr. Hillelson for the following information concerning this official: "Etymologically his title *sid el qōm* is the colloquial equivalent of

It is in connection with Bruce's observation as to the mode of death of the Fung king that his account of the origin of the Fung nation from the Shilluk is specially interesting, suggesting as it does that the custom may have been taken from the latter:—

> "In the year 1504, a black nation, hitherto unknown, inhabiting the western banks of the Bahar el Abiad (White Nile) in about latitude 13, made a descent in a multitude of canoes or boats upon the Arab provinces. . . . This race of negroes is in their own country called Shillook. . . . At the establishing of this monarchy the king and the whole nation of Shillooks were pagans. They were soon afterwards converted to Mohometism for the sake of trading with Cairo and took the name of Funge, which they interpret sometimes lords or conquerors, and at other times free citizens." [1]

All this agrees in a general way with what has been written elsewhere concerning the death of the Shilluk kings. It is true that Bruce had not visited the Shilluk country, but apart from local information, which he regarded as reliable, there is no reason for his selection of the Shilluk as the ancestors of the Fung. Moreover his chief informant in Sennar was the king-killer, a high official whom he describes as a member of the royal family and whom he treated medically, in return receiving much kindness. This does not however necessarily indicate that the origin of the custom is due to Shilluk influence—it may only be an instance of a custom widely distributed in Africa. It is true that there is a certain amount of linguistic evidence [2] suggesting contact if not relationship between the Shilluk and the Fung, but it was easy to overrate the importance of this before we knew of the Nilotic elements deeply embedded in the languages of Darfung. Actually, in spite of resemblances in custom and language, any close genetic relationship between Fung and Shilluk seems negatived by the physical differences between the two peoples,[3] though we cannot summarily reject the possibility of a Shilluk-derived aristocracy.

classical *saiyid al qawm* 'master of the people'. The relevant fact is that *sīd el qōm* like *ǧindī* was the title of a high functionary of the Fung court, and that tribes subjected to the influence of Sennar frequently adopted these terms to designate their own functionaries. I have found the term *ǧindī* in use amongst the Dağo."

[1] Op. cit., iv, 458, 459.

[2] This evidence would run somewhat as follows: The word Fung is almost identical with the Shilluk word for "stranger", and the Gule (Hameg) word for Arab (foreigner) may be transliterated *bung* or *banj*; *b* and *p* are interchangeable, while the Shilluk *p* and *f* are indistinguishable. Bruce gives the word in the singular and plural, i.e. Fungo, pl. Fungi, agreeing with a regular mode of plural formation in Shilluk. Again, numerous villages in the Berta and Fazogli districts begin with *Fa*, a particle meaning "village" or "place" in the Shilluk language.

[3] Since this was written we have read a paper by Mr. Nalder, entitled "Fung Origins" (*S.N. & R.*, xiv, 1931), in which he gives examples showing that Bruce for all his merits

The other published accounts of ceremonial king-killing in this neighbourhood include three from Fazogli, which it will be noted is the district from which came Bruce's informant, the official king-killer of Sennar. The King of Fazogli was strangled, or according to another account hanged :—

"His relatives and ministers assembled round him, and announced that as he no longer pleased the men, the women, the asses, the oxen, and the fowls of the country, it was better he should die. Once on a time, when the king was unwilling to take the hint, his own wife and mother urged him so strongly not to disgrace himself by disregarding the custom that he submitted to his fate and was strung up in the usual way." [1]

A later account seems to indicate that the King met his death during an annual festival, at which it was determined whether he should live or die :—

"At Fazolglou an annual festival, which partook of the nature of a Saturnalia, was preceded by a formal trial of the king in front of his house. The judges were the chief men of the country. The King sat on his royal stool during the trial, surrounded by armed men, who were ready to carry out a sentence of death. A little way off a jackal and a dog were tied to a post. The conduct of the king during his year of office was discussed, complaints were heard, and if the verdict was unfavourable, the king was executed and his successor was chosen from among the members of his family. But if the monarch was acquitted, the people at once paid their homage to him afresh, and the dog or the jackal was killed in his stead." [2]

Later it seems that a dog was regularly killed in place of the king :—

"At a certain time of the year they have a kind of carnival, where everyone does what he likes best. Four ministers of the king then bear him on an anqareb out of his house to an open space of ground; a dog is fastened by a long cord to one of the feet of the anqareb. The whole population collects round the place, streaming in on every side. They then throw darts and stones at the dog, till he is killed, after which the king is again borne into his house." [3]

Another and less known account of king-killing among a people who had come under Fung influence is given in Sir Harold

was not a very accurate observer and that he was apt to be led away by verbal similarities; indeed Mr. Nalder suggests that Bruce was "misled by the superficial resemblance between Shankalla, in whom he was very interested, and Shilluk". He also cites an extract from Bruce's journal, given at the end of his work, in which is the record: "The Fung are originally Shankala or Hamidge and are, as they are called, Funge, Shankalla converted to Islam". We would urge that the theory of Shilluk connection neglects the Fungs' own tradition of their origin, namely that they came from Abyssinia. We would also point out that king-killing is fairly widely distributed in Africa, especially in West Africa, where there can be no question of Nilotic influence.

[1] R. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai*, London, 1853, 202, 204, quoted by Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 1911, pt. iii, 16.

[2] Brun-Rollet, *Le Nil Blanc et le Soudan*, Paris, 1855, 248 sq., quoted by Frazer, loc. cit.

[3] R. Lepsius, op. cit., 204, quoted by Frazer, op. cit., 17.

MacMichael's MS. D5, "evidently not copied from any original manuscript but . . . merely an oral tradition." The 'Abdulláb to whom the following passage refers are said to have been "viziers of the Fung" and to have ruled "from Hagar el 'Asal to the old kingdom of Ḳerri".

> "One of their customs was that their chief man was liable to death at any time whatsoever, for if any one of the sons of his father's brother wished to slay him he would inform him of the fact and appoint a date for him; and the chief would reply 'yes' for fear that report should become current that he was afraid. So he prepares himself to meet the demand of his cousin and shaves his head and gets out his sword and places it in front of him and prostrates himself twice in prayer and seats himself to await [his cousin's] coming. Then his cousin arises and takes his sword and goes to find the king we have mentioned and orders the chamberlain to procure him permission [to enter] from the king. Then the chamberlain informs him by knocking at the door, and he gives [his cousin] leave to enter. The latter enters drawing his sword and stands behind the king, who is facing southwards, and strike him on the neck without the king's saying so much as a word. Afterward the great men [of the tribe] gather together and place the king's hat on hi [*sc.* the slayer's] head and appoint him their ruler. Such were their custom of old."[1]

We may now turn to the hitherto unknown example of ceremonial king-killing discovered by Professor Evans-Pritchard in Darfung, noting that here again there is evidence of the presence of a foreign, i.e. Fung, ruling family, so that there can be little doubt that the members of the dynasty carried their old Sennar customs with them wherever they ruled.

Jebel Ulu, a hill in the Burun country some 70 miles south of Gule, is said to have been the seat of a strong Fung colony before the Turkish dominance and the establishment of the capital at Jebel Gule. The Fung of Jebel Ulu say that they came originally from Sennar, and established settlements in the Burun country, subjecting the inhabitants and levying tribute. As on so many hills, the Mahdia proved fatal to the prosperity of the community, but even before this the ascendancy of the Fung aristocracy of the hill was rapidly disappearing, indeed Professor Evans-Pritchard was informed that the practice of the ceremonial killing of their rulers—a practice which they had brought with them from their old home—had already considerably diminished their numbers. Though the rulers at Ulu seem to have been killed partly for political reasons, their deaths

[1] H. A. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge, 1922, ii, MS. D5 (*a*), 333.

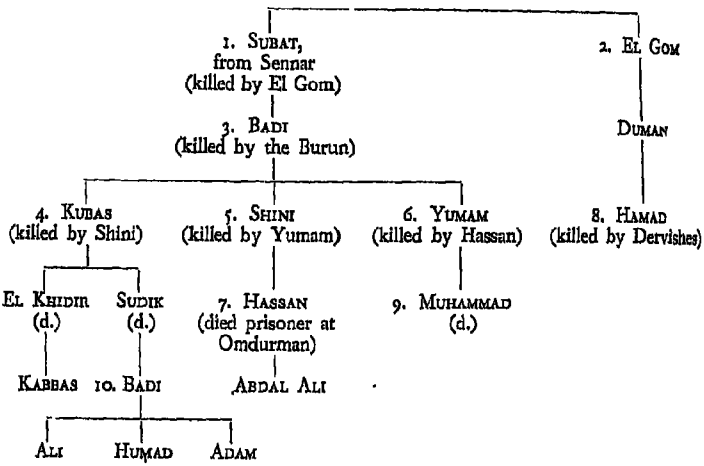
occurred with such regularity and conformed so closely to type that they cannot be regarded as the result of mere dynastic intrigues but must be referred to established custom brought from Sennar.

Professor Evans-Pritchard's informants stated that the ruler would be killed by a relative (and by no other) who was ambitious to occupy his high office, but that this could not happen until the deed had been sanctioned by a family council, since the killing was no individual murder but rather a joint execution; consequently only those kings who proved unsatisfactory to their Fung relatives were killed. The actual spearing appears to have been carried out by a brother of the king by the same father but having a different mother, though the mother's brother's son and the father's brother's son were also mentioned as fulfilling this function. When several brothers united to kill the king it was regarded proper that the eldest of them should succeed him.

The slayer might try and spear the king at night, or might lie in wait for him with a party in the bush, but he would seldom find him alone, as the king always went about with an armed bodyguard of slaves. He would regularly change his sleeping hut, not only nightly but several times during the night, sleeping only a little while in each hut and always surrounded by armed guards. It was the present head of the Fung line who told Professor Evans-Pritchard how little his ancestors dared to sleep at night; "He slept and woke, slept and woke, slept and woke," he said, while another man added how restless the king was at night, "always on the move, coming and going."

When it had been decided that the king should die he was wakened in the night by his guard and told that there was a party of armed men outside. He and his bodyguard fought to the death, and all with him were killed by his relatives and their retainers. His wives were not slain but were inherited by a brother, though not by his slayer. Age and sickness were not regarded as reasons for killing the ruler as among the Shilluk and Dinka, nor was he specially protected from the dangers of war but took part in the fighting. It appears that after the killing of a king the new ruler was confined for seven days to his hut and at the end of that time was brought out and invested with the kingship. It was considered likely that the son of the dead king would in turn kill the slayer of his father, and this is borne out in one instance in the genealogy of the rulers of Jebel Ulu. To-day it can hardly be said that Ulu possesses a

ruler other than Sheikh Idris of Gule, but Badi is regarded as potential king, and it was pointed out that were the old custom kept up Abdal Ali, son of Hassan, would be his probable slayer.



We have thus definite historical accounts of king-killing from Sennar, Fazogli, and Jebel Ulu. We may deduce that in this area it was an essentially Fung custom and that it occurred wherever there was a Fung aristocracy.[1]

Remains of non-Islamic practices are seen in the stone cults even of the northern hills, such as that of the Soba stone at Jebel Gule. These people say that the great Queen Soba, whom they worship, was their ancestress, but they also apply her name to certain stones, which they regard as sacred. The most important of these is a spherical water-worn stone (about 18 inches in diameter) of a brownish colour, with large quartz veins traversing it in every direction. This stone was believed to have been the "throne" of Queen Soba, and is still the "stool of kingdom" (Ar. *kursi memlaka*) upon which every paramount chief (*mangil*) assumes office. Besides this rock there are at least two others associated with Soba. Both are weathered boulders, partly embedded in the soil at the side of

[1] Mr. Chataway dissents from our conclusion, holding that our king-killing applies "to the intrigues and assassinations which ended the Fung period, and not to traditional customs. The establishment of Fung at Ulu was late. Gule was conquered and occupied, so far as can be gathered, somewhere about the time of Bruce. A member of the Fung family at Sennar was sent there, but it was not an independent dominion like Kele, etc., but was part of the Sennar kingdom. When Ismail conquered Sennar the then Hameg vizier fled to Gule, where he 'sat on the fence' until he saw it was profitable to throw in his lot with the Turks. In the meanwhile he had turned the Fung family out of Gule and sent them to Ulu to rule there as his subordinates".

PLATE XLV



Approaching Jebel Gule



Jebel Gule, Soba stone

the track round the base of Jebel Gule. A prayer spoken by a woman as she placed a handful of sand on one of these rocks ran somewhat as follows:—"Grandmother Soba . . . permit us to go on our journey and return in safety." Soba may also be asked to relieve sickness, and is invoked during a dance held for a woman after childbirth. It has been suggested that in the Soba of the Hameg belief there is preserved the memory of such queens as that Candace who ruled the Sembritae of the Gezira in the third century B.C., and of Soba, the great city which to the negroids of the Gezira no doubt appeared to dominate the north. Further evidence in support of this idea is offered by a form of oath that Mr. Nalder found in use among the "Hameg" of Roseires: "I swear by Soba, the home of my grandfathers and grandmothers, who make the stone to swim and the cotton boles to sink . . ."

When a new *mangil* assumes authority he is inducted by standing on the Soba stone, while his feet are washed with water. This ceremony is repeated when he returns from a visit to any foreign country. In 1910 the service of washing the feet of the *mangil* was performed by a woman, one Khamisa, but this happened only because she had no brothers; her father and grandfather before her had performed this service for previous *mangil*.

When Sheikh Idris—the *mangil* in 1910, still in office in 1927—returns from a journey Khamisa takes him by the right arm and walks with him seven times round the Soba stone, anti-clockwise. He then stands on the stone, facing a rock on the hill almost due north, and she washes his feet saying, "If you have any evil in your heart towards us, you will not live to return to your house. If your heart is pure may God prolong your life." When the millet is cut it is the same woman's duty to make beer and place some upon the stone, together with tobacco.

THE INGASSANA

Some 40 miles south-east of Gule are the Tabi hills, lying between 11° 45′ and 11° 15′ N. and 33° 45′ and 34° 15′ E. It is convenient to call the inhabitants of these hills by the name given them by the Arabs, viz. Ingassana, for though they have a common culture they have no common term for themselves, and each group calls itself by

a different name.[1] Thus the peoples living near Soda call themselves JokTau (the people of Tau), those of Badali, JokKuthulok (the people of Kuthulok), those of Kukur, JokGor (the people of Gor), etc. In contrast to the other hills of Darfung, Tabi forms a massif, perhaps some 60 miles in circumference, consisting of a number of small, hill-surrounded plateaux, and, as at Jebel Gule, it is at the base or on the slopes of these hills that the huts are built.

We did not visit Jebel Tabi, though we questioned a number of informants and have published elsewhere a suggestion as to the origin of their sun worship [2] and some remarks on their language.[3] Apart from these fragments there was nothing known concerning the Ingassana until 1927, when Professor Evans-Pritchard published an account of his recent visit. It is from his paper,[4] supplemented by a series of notes which he has most generously communicated to us, that the following account is written.

The Ingassana may be taken to number from eight to ten or twelve thousand souls, all speaking mutually intelligible dialects of a language unknown elsewhere in Darfung. This estimate includes the inhabitants of a number of small hills, namely Agadi, Bagis, Kilgu, Buk, Sidak, Bulmut, Mugum, and Kukuli.

Whereas the Fung had, and from Gule still have, a real hold over the other hills of southern Darfung, their rule ceased at the fringes of the Ingassana country. The Tabi hills were difficult of access and were never conquered; indeed the Ingassana were a continual terror to the Arabs of the plains, whom they raided regularly. For this reason the inhabitants of the Tabi hills have been less subjected to foreign influence than many of their neighbours and are readily distinguished by language, their belief in a sun-god, and, on the material side, by their shields, and the boys' metal-covered belt. On the other hand, they share the use of the throwing-stick with their neighbours, as they do the system of service-payment for a wife, which to a large extent takes the place of the more customary bride-wealth.

The Ingassana are both pastoral and agriculturalists, who, besides pigs in the villages, keep cattle, sheep, and goats on the grazing

[1] Professor Evans-Pritchard informs us that the inhabitants of the neighbouring non-Ingassana hills have different names for the Ingassana; at Jebel Ulu they call them Metabi, at Jebel Mughaja, Mamidza, while the Jumjum call them Muntabi.

[2] "Note on Jebel Tabi": *S.N. & R.*, vii, 1924, 111–14.

[3] Brenda Z. Seligman, "Note on two languages spoken in the Sennar Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan": *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, ii, 1911, 297–308.

[4] "A Preliminary Account of the Ingassana": *S.N & R.*, x, 1927, 69–83.

grounds some three to four hours from the villages. Donkeys are more plentiful than horses, but some possess fine white Abyssinian steeds, a breed which in the past bore the Ingassana on their raids against the Arabs of Khor Doleib.

There are two main harvests during the year. The first crop is of millet, grown on the slopes of the hills on small terraced plots adjoining the houses. The second, also of millet, is grown in clearings on the plains some two hours' distance from the habitations. Women do not normally work in the cultivation.

The Ingassana year is divided into three periods, each with important economic and agricultural processes, each having its special musical instruments, songs, and seasonal dances, as well as its ceremonial observances.

The Ingassana are ignorant of the art of smelting. Iron is imported from the White and Blue Nile, and in the past largely from Abyssinia; indeed Professor Evans-Pritchard believes that the use of iron has only recently become known, and that the curved throwing stick (*luin*) was their principal weapon in war and hunting. The *luin*, of which there are at least six varieties, is cut from a hard wood and is also used as a striking weapon at close quarters.

> "The country is divided up into a number of sub-divisions, which one may call cantons, each usually occupying a hill or side of a hill. Each of these sections has its chief, who is the religious head of the community and who also exercises political functions. He is called *aur*. Each section also has a *sēn* or war leader and secular head of the community.
>
> "Each of these sections has its grazing grounds, its hunting areas, its cultivation, and all the members act together for purposes of war.
>
> "A number of these sections or cantons form a tribe, that is to say a territorial grouping with a common dialect, with a tribal name, and with a common organization for purposes of war, and usually with well-marked cultural differences [from its neighbours]. This is a loose grouping and not always easy to define."[1]

The JokTau, the JokKuthulok, and the JokGor, already referred to, constitute such tribes.

Within the section (or canton), perhaps co-extensive with it, is a grouping with patrilineal descent, but which cannot be called a clan since it is not exogamous. Each such group has a place of ceremony, usually the house of its chief, all its members usually recognizing the same chief. Professor Evans-Pritchard considers that a few generations ago these groups were identical with the territorial groups

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., 72.

(tribes) and that their social functions included war and government; even to-day with one exception they are known by place-names.

The chief, *aur* (known in Arabic as *mek*), is the politico-religious head of the sub-division or canton, and takes a prominent part in religious ceremonies; he has also certain legal, economic, and other secular functions, and though without external signs of authority he wields a very real power; he does not go to war nor should he be absent frequently from his hill. Office usually passes from father to son. The enclosure of the chief is marked by the inclusion of a special hut called *punuk* or *we i tel* ("hut of the sun"), which is the centre of the religious life of the people. In the Soda and Kukur districts, at least, the chiefs (*aur*) have an additional mark of office in the *dar*, a wooden bench, which is kept in the *punuk*. Oaths are sworn on the *dar* and on ceremonial occasions it is rubbed with fat.

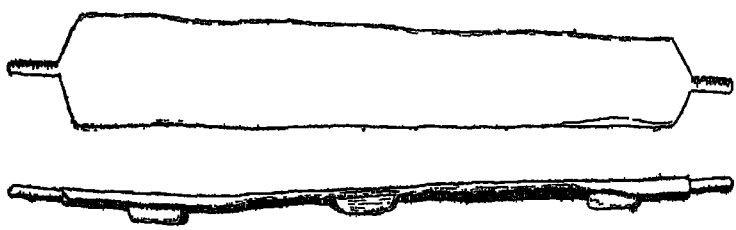


FIG. 29. *Dar* (from photographs by Evans-Pritchard).

In each canton the hereditary war leader (*sen i kung*) is the real secular head of the community. The *sen* is more or less the equivalent of the Arabic *sheikh*, and *sen i kung* is rendered *sid el gom* in Arabic. Besides leading the fighting forces the *sen i kung* deals with minor disputes; only if the matter is important is it taken to the *aur* and decided by the two together with the assistance of the elders. The *sen i kung* is regarded as the political head of the tribe, i.e. an inquirer for the chief of JokBuruk will be given the name of the *sen i kung* and not of the *aur*. There are four *sen i kung* (Ar. *sheikh el tarbush*) at Kukur, each being the war leader of one of the four hills that form the Kukur massif.

Other officials are: *Sen i tok* (leader of the cattle). In each canton the *sen i tok* acts as leader of the herdsmen, telling them when to change pasture, etc. To him falls the duty and privilege of being the first man to lead out his cattle to the grazing grounds when the rains have ceased.

Sen i serm (leader of the horn), the canton leader in hunting, who decides when to go hunting, summons the people, performs hunting magic, and orders the disposition of the hunt.

Gateth (man of the path). The *gateth* plays an important part in the ritual of peace-making and is regarded as having a special ceremonial knowledge of routes and paths. There is one of these officials for the road between Soda and Sillok, and another between Soda and Mughaja; they know the tracks between these places and act as intermediaries or foreign representatives of the Ingassana. Thus, after a quarrel between the people of Sillok and the people of Soda the *gateth* would go to Sillok with a sheep and perform a peace ceremony.

Mr. Chataway adds that on many of the hills there is an important leader, the *sen i sa'*, with power extending over an area larger than that of the *aur*. One of his functions is to fix the time of the Poing festival, which lasts for a fortnight, during which period he is temporal as well as spiritual chief, that is to say cases are taken to him and not to the *aur*.

> "The *calk* are players who function at marriage, the birth of twins, and the illness of children. The head of these players possesses a wooden figure of a man and of a woman, or both, and also a wooden phallus with which he plays [gesturing with it towards the women]. The office is generally hereditary, but anyone who learns the dances may play." [1]

The medicine man, *kai*, is quite distinct from the *calk*, though the two offices may be held by the same person. His main functions are the curing of disease and the discovery of witchcraft. The office tends to be hereditary, but anyone who cares to learn the procedure can practise. *Kai* do not practise black magic and are therefore not feared.

The Ingassana social unit cannot be called a clan, as it is not exogamous. There is however a smaller social group which is exogamous and is best termed a kindred. Descent in the kindred is reckoned bilaterally, i.e. a man belongs to the kindred of his mother as well as his father; further, relatives by marriage of members of the kindred are considered to belong to the kindred group. It is obvious that the limits of such a group are somewhat ill-defined and must depend to a certain extent on proximity as well as on the capacity of the members to remember genealogies. However, marriage is not permitted between members of the kindred group,

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., 74. *Calk* signifies testicles.

thus not only consanguineous marriages but also those where the connection is by affinity are prohibited.

Married sons or daughters may stay near their fathers, thus a hamlet may be composed of the houses of a man and his sons or a man and his sons-in-law. The children remain with their parents until puberty, when the girls are married and the boys either spend most of their time on the distant plains with their father's cattle or, if their father has no cattle, go to live with the maternal uncle or with some other relative.

The Ingassana kinship system is classificatory and closely resembles that of the southern Nuba. There is the same wide extension of the use of the word for father, mother, child, and brother and sister, but the last two are differentiated according to sex, whereas among the Nuba one word is used for brother and sister by both brother and sister. The Nuba systems have a certain number of descriptive terms; these are scarcely used at all by the Ingassana, the only one given by Professor Evans-Pritchard being "mother's brother's wife". The wife's brothers and sisters and the husband's brothers and sisters are not classed with the relatives-in-law but are called brother and sister, and it should be noted that these persons fall within the Ingassana kindred exogamous group.

The father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband are classed with the grandfather, not with the father as among the Nuba.

The following is the list of terms :—

abau . .	Father, and all whom the father calls *aaul* (brother).
ia . . .	Mother, and all whom the mother calls *aiyat* (sister); father's brother's wife, and all whom the father calls *ot*.
aaul . .	Brother, all sons of the father's, and the mother's brothers and sisters, wife's brothers, sister's husband.
aiyat . .	Sister, all daughters of the father's and the mother's brothers and sisters, wife's sister, husband's sister.
mum . .	Father's sister, and all whom the father calls *aiyat*.
abe . .	Mother's brother, and all whom the mother calls *aaul*.
aigya . .	Son, and sons of all *aaul*.
ainya . .	Daughter, and the daughters of all *aaul*.
atauwi . .	Sister's son, sister's daughter.
ammet . .	Father's father, mother's father, and all whom the mother and father call *abau*; father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, son's children and daughter's children, wife's sister's and brother's children.
atat . .	Father's mother, mother's mother, all whom father and mother call *ia*.
gyafui . .	Husband, all *aaul* of husband.
ot . . .	Wife and all wives of *aaul*.



Ingassana raised bench with grindstones



Ingassana wooden figure

oti abe . . Mother's brother's wife.
amer . . Wife's father, husband's father, all those called *amer* by *aaul* and all those called *aaul* by *amer*.
akalti (m.s.) . Sister's husband, all *aaul* of *amer*.

Names are given without ceremony by the father, and are usually names of members of his own or his wife's family, but he must not give a name to his first-born, nor ever call this child by name; the first-born must be named by the maternal uncle.

" Circumcision " is practised on both sexes, and usually takes place between the ages of 11 and 13. Though the operation is performed at one time on a number of young people of each sex, those who have been operated on together do not form any kind of age-group. The fees are paid not by the father but by either the paternal or maternal uncle, who will support a young boy during the operation, though an older boy will stand alone and exhibit no signs of pain.

Girls are betrothed young and pre-marital freedom is not permitted. When a youth desires marriage he or his father will approach the girl's father, but in any case the matter will be discussed among the youth's family and he will not persist in his choice in the face of family opposition. In the same way the suitability of the bridegroom will be discussed in the bride's family, and if he is not approved the bride's father will send the suitor away.

The bridegroom-elect compensates the girl's relatives by working on their cultivations. Not only he, but his father and brothers and other near relatives have to work on the cultivations of the girl's father and uncles, and are obliged to render service when it is required of them by relatives of the future bride. If the future bridegroom were to work alone without the assistance of his relatives the father of the girl would consider it an insult and would probably break off the marriage. Marriage thus involves a network of obligations and privileges in which a large number of persons connected with both parties are closely involved. The bridegroom also hands over a certain amount of wealth in livestock before the marriage takes place, but this wealth plays a subsidiary part in Ingassana society, for though regularly provided it is quantitatively ill-determined. A rich man is expected to provide a cow or two, as well as goats and pigs, sheep and cloth, but a poor man pays a few goats and his parents-in-law are satisfied if they get a good husband for their daughter, even if he is poor.

Marriages are seasonal, taking place when the new rains come,

when the Ingassana enter into the ceremonial season of *bal*, so-called because the whistle (*bal*) is played at this period. The order of the marriage ceremonies is as follows. First the carrying off of the girl by the bridegroom's relatives, the cutting off of the hair of bride and bridegroom, the walking of the bride over the bleeding bodies of pigs—which have been provided by the bridegroom—and the carrying of bread by the girl to her suitor's house. The bridegroom has meanwhile built a house for himself in the enclosure of his father-in-law, and here the marriage is consummated. The new husband reaches his wife's hut through a small opening in the enclosure fence; at the end of a month he finds that his father-in-law has closed this hole, and he now enters by a normal entrance, though different from that used by his parents-in-law. At the end of a year, or after the birth of a child, he and his parents-in-law use the same entrance. Residence for a year or two longer in the wife's home is usual, but a man will often build a hut just outside the enclosure of his wife's parents, or may take his wife to his own home.

In spite of the fact that a man lives within the same enclosure as his mother-in-law—at least for the first year—he avoids her strictly, and leaves presents for her at the door of her hut. As regards food avoidance is not difficult, as the sexes do not normally eat together, the son-in-law eating with his father-in-law.

Rights of access are allowed to the husband's brothers, but Mr. Chataway thinks that licence is more widely permitted.

Polygamy, though practised, is not common. Widows go to the husband's brother, and no extra service is required for them.

The sun, *tel*, is regarded as God, who made the world and all living creatures. Tel seems to be looked upon vaguely as a beneficent but very distant being, and when the sun is spoken of in ordinary conversation it is as a natural feature, not as a deity. Professor Evans-Pritchard could not discover any ceremonial worship, though Tel is invoked in the important crises of life or when misfortune such as drought is threatened. Thus, when a man dies the women say, *Tel dausineni atirige*, " God killed him, go away," and at the rain-ceremony, the people say, *Tel warre kwoi*, " God give rain." When a child is ill the *calk* say, " God being willing, there will be no more fever," and of a barren woman her husband or father will say, " You want fruit, God give you fruit." As already mentioned, each chief (*aur*) possesses a special hut, called *punuk* or *we i tel* (" house of the sun "), where religious ceremonies are performed. These huts are

regarded with great reverence and no ordinary person will enter without first removing shoes and hair fillet.

In the extreme west of the Ingassana country, on Jebel Kukur, there is a stone, sometimes called Soba but also Mit i Tel ("stone of the sun") and sometimes Mit i Gam. This stone, described as rounded and some 10 inches long, is stained a rich black colour by frequent applications of fat, and is believed to be the son of a much larger stone—standing in the shade of a tree a little distance away—which appeared from the ground with the first man, Gebir, and the first woman, Otianer, from whom the people are sprung. This big stone is also called Soba, or sometimes Doti, and some smaller ones nearby are called Mitige Nyulge. On the big stone are bones of animals sacrificed during past feasts, and on the heap of stone-children nearby is the blood of the sacrificial victims.

At the feasts of Poing, Ramadan, and Bairam [1] the people come together, rub fat on the stone Mit i Tel, which lies on a mat inside the hut of one of the *sen i kung* (p. 432), and place bread, beer, and fat before it. People pray at the shrine of the big stone and kill a sheep when they want rain; apparently they also do this before the little stone, allowing the blood to drip on the latter. Sick men will sit all day near the big stone in the shade of a tree.

The dead are buried where they die. For this reason a man who is seriously ill will always try to reach his own village, while a woman will leave her husband and go to the house of her father or brother. If a man is buried away from his home his relatives come to his grave and perform a ceremony to bring his spirit back to his own country.

The corpse is washed, decked with ornaments, and wrapped in cloth so that no part is visible. It is placed on a mat, lying on the right side with the head towards the east. At Kukur, and to some extent at Tau, the Moslim recessed grave has been adopted. A broken spear and a little tobacco is sometimes placed in the grave. There is a ceremony at the burial-place, and stones are laid round the grave, upon which is placed a couch; failing this, digging sticks are substituted.

[1] The Islamic feasts of Ramadan and Bairam have been incorporated into the Kukur ceremonial system, for it must be remembered that whereas the Ingassana generally have remained very free from Islamic influence—they even keep pigs—those of Kukur have been in contact for a considerable time with the Arab pastoralists, who with their flocks wander about the plain, often with the people of Jebel Gule.

THE TORNASI GROUP

South of the Ingassana area are two groups of hills whose inhabitants speak dialects of a common language. To the western group belong hills Sillok, Migmig, el Deheima, Yakan, Malkan; to the eastern, Tornasi and Kele. We know of no common name for the people of this linguistic group, but since Tornasi is a hill of some sanctity [1] we shall call these hills the Tornasi group. Here, as at Gule, the capture and death of the greater part of the old inhabitants at the hands of the Dervishes has led to the breaking down of custom, so that although much that is of the old pagan order survives it is reasonable to believe that much has also vanished, not necessarily always in favour of Islam, for the pagan people of other hills may be sufficiently numerous to influence old customs or even to introduce new features.

On Jebel Sillok the village chief is said to have once possessed a ceremonial bench, resembling the Ingassana *dar*. As the chief is said not to travel much—a restriction probably implying that he may not leave his hill—Government business is performed by the *segeni*, who appears to have secular functions similar to those of the *sen* of the Ingassana. When a chief dies and a new one is appointed he is confined for about a month to his hut, but whether this is before or after his investiture, when a feast is held and a red leather *tarbush* placed on his head, is uncertain. There is a rain-making expert, at present an aged man named Bihega. During the rains he draws a gourd full of water from the local supply; some of this he pours into one of his rain-holes but stores the remainder on a shelf in his hut. The place of rain-making is in the village and consists of two shallow rock holes (probably caused by grinding millet), and an upright stone, called Soba, some 3½ feet in height. When rain is required Bihega takes the gourd of water from his hut and pours it into one of the holes, while in the other he kindles a fire, beside which he sits for seven days, or perhaps longer—perhaps indeed until rain falls—wearing only a goatskin loincloth. On the seventh day, with the village folk collected round him, he takes fire from the one hole and quenches it in the water in the other; peering into the water he sees the rain coming, and tells the assembly what he has

[1] Perhaps because it is so rocky as to be difficult to ascend, and has so many springs that it is covered with green trees, in contrast to other hills around (Map 1 : 250,000, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, sheet 66 G). A rock at the foot of the hill is said to be its mother.

seen, calling on Allah (Gianga) to bring rain (*kwitshi*). Finally he takes some water from the hole and sprinkles it over the Soba stone.

There was formerly a house of ceremony called *bilu*, which was given a new roof every year though otherwise repaired only when needed. The only ceremony Professor Evans-Pritchard could elicit was that unmarried youths went to the hut in the period of the rains and stayed there seven days, taking part in a ritual during which they sat in silence round a fire, blowing on it through their hands.

Wherever among these hills Muhammadan usage has not superseded the older customs, the greater part of the "bride-wealth" is worked out in the form of labour—lasting for years—on the father-in-law's cultivation. It is true that bride-wealth is also handed over in the form of valuables, but, as among the Ingassana, this is relatively unimportant, and may be only a few goats, some piastres, and fat, varying according to the social position of the suitor. When marriage has taken place the husband will live for a year or more in a hut adjacent to that of his father-in-law, and afterwards takes his wife to his own home. The custom of mutual whipping has been taken over from the Arabs, marriage feasts providing the occasion for the young men to flog each other with a whip made of hippopotamus hide, the bridegroom alone abstaining.

The people of Sillok practise mother-in-law avoidance, and this is apparently extended from the mother-in-law proper to the brother's mother-in-law. Professor Evans-Pritchard tells us that it was amusing to watch this custom in operation during the process of brick-making. Whenever the women were seen approaching from the pond with fresh supplies of water all the male workers with the exception of two ran quickly behind some neighbouring bushes, and hid there until the women had emptied their water pots and departed once again towards the pond. All these men had a "mother-in-law" relationship with one or more of the women water-carriers, a situation which can well be understood in so small a community.

Mr. Nalder informs us that once a year the Tornasi folk sow millet on the graves of their relatives.

THE UDUK

The Uduk (Korara) appear to stand apart from the other folk of this area. Judging from their vocabulary, Professor Evans-Pritchard

regards them as coming from beyond the Abyssinian border, and this impression is supported by information given to Mr. Chataway by an old man, who told him that the original home of his people was five days beyond the Galla country.[1] We are indebted to Mr. Chataway for almost the whole of the following information.

The Uduk have hereditary village chiefs, and the office passes to the sister's son.

In marriage free choice of partners is allowed, and more than one wife is unusual. The man "kidnaps" his bride and takes her out into the bush, where for three days they eat nothing and drink only water. Their relatives then go and look for them and there is a more or less ceremonial return of the girl to her parents for a month, after which her husband takes her to his house. No bride-wealth is paid, but the man gives his wife as much as he can. If a woman gets tired of her husband and wants to marry another man she tells her husband and goes off with the man of her choice, relinquishing whatever property she has received from her husband.

During pregnancy for seven months, and for two months after birth, the husband must do as little work as possible and must under no circumstances cut anything—crops, grass, or wood—nor may he build a hut. His brother, or, if his brother's wife is also pregnant, a friend, does all his work, though the wife carries on her duties as usual. The umbilical cord is cut by grass, otherwise the woman would not give birth to more children, for as grass grows freely so will the woman be fruitful. The afterbirth (*dur*) is buried a few yards to the east of the hut. The child is taken out at sunrise for the first three days after birth and exposed to the sun for a few hours to make him strong and brave, and for a year he is washed at sunrise and sunset in hot water. At death a man's property goes to his sister's children, while his wife's brother takes charge of his children.

Rain is "made" by means of rain-stones. A hole is made in the ground, in this the stones are placed and water is poured over them; the stones are washed, and the blood of a sacrificed ox is added to the water. When rain is no longer wanted the stones are placed in a hole and covered with earth. There was some evidence to suggest that a nursing mother plays a part in this ritual. Early in the rainy season the rain-maker brings out a red, a white, and a blue stone,

[1] Mr. Chataway's informant was born in the south of Kurmuk district, and when about 7 was taken to Cali (Jaali on the map) where he now lives. He remembered that the Nuer was raiding the country at that time and said that the Burun were not in the neighbourhood then but were living further west.

and collects some leaves of the *subagh* tree. A gourd is filled with water which has been collected from the first rains. Into this is placed first the red stone wrapped in leaves, " and the wind rises," then the white (in leaves) " and the clouds come ", then the blue (in leaves) " and the rain comes ". The gourd is then taken out and some of the rain caught in it, a pig is killed and some of its blood poured in. All this is kept during the remainder of the rainy season in a special hut. If rain is needed the gourd is brought out into the open and sesame, beans, and flour placed on the ground round it. On the second day if the rain has not come a black cow or sheep is killed near the gourd and left, a little of its blood having been put in the water and poured over the rain-hut. On the third day if there is no rain all the people cease work and bring beans, sesame, and millet in gourds, which they place round the rain-gourd. On the fourth day the women too old for childbirth collect food and distribute it to the homesteads. On the fifth day if there is still no rain they go to the rain-maker's house intending to kill him, " but usually he manages to escape and sets up business in a distant village." At the end of the rains, when it is desired that the rain should stop, the stones are taken out, wrapped in *subagh* leaves, and put away.

The following notes on burial are taken from Mr. Chataway's MS. :—The Uduk grave is dug near the house and is circular, about 4 feet in diameter and about 3 feet deep; on the western aspect a somewhat dome-shaped chamber is excavated. In this are placed ten axes, ten hoes, sandals, and seeds for cultivation in the next world, but no spears as the dead man is considered able to make these. Food and a live ewe are also placed in the grave, a ram is killed by the grave-side and its flesh eaten by the mourners. The dead man—in a squatting position, well bound so that he shall not escape from the grave but with his right arm free so that he may use the tools—is brought to the graveside. Here his mother's relatives come and whisper in his ear, telling him where their relatives have been buried and can be found, and which is the best land near by to cultivate; then his father's relatives tell him where their people are buried. He is then placed in the grave on the ram's skin facing east, a pipe is filled, lighted, and put in his mouth, and the grave is filled in. Seven days later beer is placed near the grave at sunset; in the morning it is gone, " the dead and his dead relations having drunk it." If a man dies away from home his mother's relatives come and choose a burial site.

THE BURUN

We have indicated that the southern portion of Darfung, and especially the region north of the Khor Yabus, is inhabited by a number of peoples hitherto grouped together under the name Burun,[1] of whom we know that a colony existed at Jebel Gule a century ago. As already stated, the Meban are differentiated from the Uduk and Burun by their broader heads, but we lack that first-hand acquaintance with the people which is necessary to evaluate the factors which have led Mr. Chataway and his colleagues to separate the Uduk from their neighbours, and assume that full weight is given to the fact that they speak a language peculiar to themselves; the physical data certainly seem insufficient.

The vocabularies collected by Professor Evans-Pritchard, as well as the statements of the natives themselves, leave little doubt that the "Burun"—using the term in the older more inclusive sense to include the Meban—fall into two linguistic groups, northern and southern, as set forth on page 421. Of the southern group we should remember that the people of Ulu were at one time ruled by a Fung aristocracy and so have suffered changes in culture.

Concerning the tribal organization of all these hills Mr. Chataway remarks that "each Jebel is entirely independent and has a hereditary king, a hereditary Sid el Darb, and hereditary Sheikhs . . . The people work on the king's cultivation." This suggests that on these hills the same type of government prevails as among the Ingassana. He also states that the peoples of these hills were only conquered by the Fung after the viziers had seized the power, i.e. just over a hundred years ago. "At that time the people of one Jebel did not dare to enter the territory of another Jebel as they were promptly killed, which led to a blood feud. The only exception was the Sid el Darb, whose person was inviolate and who spent most of his time settling blood feuds, and this state of affairs continued till after the Mahdia." Cattle, goats, pigs, and chickens are kept, but are not killed except for sacrifice, when they are eaten with the skin. Gazelle are hunted with spears, bows and arrows, guinea-fowl with throwing-sticks, and fish killed in the khors

[1] Until the recent survey work of Mr. Chataway and Professor Evans-Pritchard our knowledge of the peoples of southern Darfung was limited to two short articles in *Sudan Notes and Records*, viz. J. P. Mostyn, "Some Notes on Burun Customs and Beliefs" iv, 1921, 209–11, and C. H. Stigand, "Notes on the Burun," v, 1922, 223–4. At least some of the "Burun" observed by the late Dr. Pirrie on the expedition that cost him his life are really Meban (p. 418).

at night during the rainy season by the use of a light and throwing-sticks. The crops are millet, sesame, beans, and a little tobacco, and all Burun, unlike other tribes of this area, cultivate a quick-growing millet, which they scatter thickly near their huts at the beginning of the rains and transplant in their cultivation some six weeks later. *Tebeldi* (*Adansonia digitata*) trees are planted, owned, and inherited, and on flat stones under these the men spend the heat of the day making spears, arrows, string, rope, and sandals.

Concerning marriage, Mr. Chataway writes of Jebel Maiak that the man asks the girl's father, and if he is agreeable starts work on the latter's cultivation for five years. For the first year he may visit the girl, who provides food which he eats out of doors in her father's compound. At the end of the year he presents a cow and one or more pigs, which are eaten by the girl's family. After the second year he kidnaps the girl and takes her into the bush, where consummation takes place. The young couple return to a hut, which the bridegroom has built in the girl's father's compound, but he does not take his wife away for another three years. Mr. Chataway also records many years' work for the father-in-law, and consummation of marriage in the bush, on hills Mufwa and Kurmuk. Professor Evans-Pritchard gathered that at Jebel Maiak a man works for about four years on his father-in-law's cultivations, handing over in addition a small amount of bride-wealth, and that some part of the marriage ceremony takes place at a watercourse at which the man's relatives are beaten by those of his wife. He was told that when a man dies his eldest brother takes his widow in marriage, making a payment of a pig, a goat, and some tobacco, though he does not work on his father-in-law's cultivation. At Kurmuk the amount of bride-wealth is much larger, while on the other hand a man works only a few months on the cultivations of his father-in-law. A man stays in the homestead of his father-in-law until his wife gives birth to a child, or at any rate for a year or two.

We have little information concerning burial. Probably the form of grave varies from hill to hill and may have been modified in recent times; weapons and other property are placed in the grave.

The Jumjum occupy villages at the foot of hills Tunya, Terta, and Wadega, to the south-east of Gebel Ulu, and along Khor Jumjum. They claim to have come from the far west, the word *kohala* being associated with their homeland, though whether this is the name of a place or a people could not be determined; it was only certain

that they had migrated from the direction of the White Nile. As already stated, their general appearance, culture, and speech indicate that they are of the Burun stock or at least related to them.

Both sexes have the two lower central incisors removed; a boy is expected not to show pain at the operation which he must undergo lest, when he seeks to marry, the girls should laugh at him and call him a dog.

The Jumjum at Wadega have a rain-maker, called *mun nial* or *mun dyong*, which appear to mean respectively "man of rain" or "man of God".[1] It is possible that there are two distinct departmental experts with these names in some parts of Jumjum country; at Wadega, however, the two names appear at present to refer to the same man, Uli.

We believe that the rain-maker may be regarded as both the spiritual and temporal head of his hill. His office is hereditary, with a special ceremony of investiture; his hut is sanctuary, and no one would dare to steal from him. Uli said that his ancestors had always had "rain" and "God" in them. On the death of a rain-maker the office goes to a son, but not of necessity to the eldest, while if the rain-maker has no sons then his sister's son and not his brother will succeed him. Professor Evans-Pritchard writes of Uli as a man of outstanding intelligence. "He took me first to see his shrine of God, which was a branched post with some pieces of goatskin on it, the remains of the sacrifice on behalf of some sick man. There was a piece of raised ground in front of the shrine, like a miniature watershed, on which, so Uli says, the rain never falls, so that if a fire is burning during a shower of rain it will not be put out. Having expressed wonder at his words, I then accompanied him a few yards further to the bottom of the hill, where he kept his rain-stones—rounded pebbles—in a hole in the rock. These were covered by a potsherd over which some large stones had been laid, and comprised about thirty pebbles of various shapes and sizes."

To make rain Uli, who alone may touch the stones, takes them from their hole, places them in the hollow of an old grindstone, pours

[1] These titles immediately recall the Nuer word for "rain" and the Dinka *nhial* "above", from which is derived *Nhialic* "God". *Dyong* too recalls the Dinka *jok*, which becomes *jong* in construction (e.g. *jongawa* "spirit of my father"). Professor Evans-Pritchard found that Dyong was thought of as living in the sky, though he sometimes comes to earth and is seen by people. Dyong is like a man, has a beard, is dressed in white, and rides a horse. He is also thought of as frequenting the top of Jebel Tunya, where no one goes, though sick men go halfway up the hill to a large stone (*pŏm dyong*, lit. "God's stone"), in which is a hole containing healing water. The sufferer cuts the throat of a goat and lets a little blood flow into the water, which he drinks.

water on them, and washes them with his hands. His assistant takes a hen to the hole from which the stones have been removed, inserts it, and then takes it out, finally bringing it to Uli, who cuts its throat and that of a goat over the rain-stones so that the blood drips on to the stones and into the water in the grindstone. The stones remain in the open while rain is required, only after the rainy season are they replaced in their rock hole.

Mr. Chataway considers that the art of the natives of southern Darfung is "more developed than that of neighbouring tribes". Their spears, pots, etc., are decorated with geometric designs and frequently there are pictures of giraffes, lions and leopards, in red and white mud on the walls of their huts. Professor Evans-Pritchard has seen similar drawings on the huts of the Jumjum.

THE MEBAN

As already stated, the Meban with their high cephalic index must be separated from the "Burun" group to which they have hitherto generally been assigned, on political and probably also on linguistic grounds.

Mr. Chataway regards the Meban as presenting

> "only the most primitive form of village organization. A man when he marries leaves his father's house and builds one for himself a distance away, where his brothers when married may join him. In consequence a village consists of scattered groups of huts, possibly over a large area. There is one man who is more or less recognized as the head of the village, but seems to be chosen either for the fertility of his wives or animals. He has not much influence, and if he tries to get it is promptly killed. As there is usually some blood feud they rarely go into other village areas."

The men are completely naked, they dye their hair with red earth and make patterns on their bodies with white ashes. Both sexes remove the two central lower incisors. Women wear a length of skin passed between the legs, or a piece of cotton cloth, to which if married they add a narrow strip, some 18 inches long, like a tail, and this may be decorated with pieces of ostrich shell. In some places tame ostriches are kept, their feathers and eggs used for ornamental purposes, and the birds eventually killed for food. They hunt with bows and arrows poisoned with the juice of a species of euphorbia; their bows are made of bamboo, the strings from the

sinews of cattle, while the ebony tips of their reed arrows are cut so that the point will break off in the wound. They also use the throwing stick.

Mr. Chataway says that a man does not have more than three wives, that he chooses his bride, and having made his choice presents her mother with a number of bangles, spears, hoes, etc. If the mother is satisfied he carries the girl off, mating time being from January to May. He has fenced an oval area outside the door of his hut, wherein the couple remain for six days (his mother or sister bringing them water), after which there is feasting in the homestead for seven days. A man cannot divorce his wife, but she can at any time announce her intention of going to someone else, when her new husband comes and carries her off, paying the equivalent of the bride-wealth.

At Seraf similar customs hold: the man abducts his bride, has relations with her in the bush and afterwards makes presents to her parents and builds his hut to receive her. At Allagabu on the Yabus Mr. Chataway records that bride-wealth consists of twenty spears, ten sheep, a varying number of pigs, and tools, which are collected from the man's relatives and are distributed among those of the bride. The husband and wife remain in the hut for nine days, and during this time may eat nothing and only wash their mouths out with water, it was indeed said that starvation at marriage was widely practised. On the tenth day they have one mouthful of food, and on the eleventh four, and on the twelfth a feast takes place. The woman stays inside the enclosure till she gives birth to a child, or for one year. Captain Mostyn's account [1] agrees fairly well with Mr. Chataway's. Neither says anything about working on the cultivations of the father-in-law, but Professor Evans-Pritchard was told by the Burun he met at Ulu that this custom is common throughout the area. They said that a man did not live in his father-in-law's village, but that after "stealing" his wife he took her to live permanently in his own village. They also said that mother-in-law avoidance was slight (they would not eat together), but that a man avoids his brother's wife until a chicken has been killed and eaten with her. They practise the levirate and will not marry near relatives on either side of the family. Property passes from father to son.

There seems good reason to suppose that the deity of the Meban

[1] Op. cit.

if not identical with the sun is at any rate definitely associated with the firmament. Captain Mostyn says that the rain and sun are both considered as gods, "The sun being the bigger god of the two, as he appears daily whilst the rain only comes in the rainy season. The rain god is called doam." He also says: "It seems that the first chief of the Buruns [Meban] who originally made the tribe became a spirit and now looks after them and guards them." [1] Mr. Chataway records that the medicine-man (*tinana*) "places a small white stone in a gourd of water with the blood of a chicken he has killed. The people who have brought offerings of corn, etc., meanwhile feast, drink, and dance, running about the forest carrying and waving branches. Then the rain comes."

Mr. Chataway, Captain Mostyn, and Professor Evans-Pritchard, were all told that a man was buried in a circular grave inside his hut. The body, in a contracted position, is laid on its side on a cowskin, with its head to the south, facing east, the head supported by a neck-rest, and a gourd put over it to prevent it being crushed. With it is buried the dead man's broken spear and various other possessions. Captain Mostyn adds that the relatives will keep the hut in which a man is buried in repair until the village moves.[2]

[1] Op. cit., 209, 210.

[2] Op. cit., 210.

Chapter XIII

DARFUR

West of Kordofan lies Darfur, the home of a number of little-known negro or negroid peoples. In spite of lack of precise knowledge it cannot be doubted that the majority, probably all, of these peoples are essentially of the same stock as the Nuba, though with varying infusion of Arab and Hamitic blood. Indeed old languages of the Hamitic (Nubian) group are spoken by the hillmen of Darfur just as they are in northern Kordofan. With regard to the latter province, Mr. D. Newbold has recorded the persistence of a Nuba language of Hamitic (Berberine) type at Jebel Haraza, about 100 miles north of El Obeid, i.e. in latitude 15° N.[1] We have not been so far north as this, but at Jebel Katul—a few miles north of 14° and about a degree west of Haraza—we saw obvious Nuba physical types, including a number of men with the characteristic fronto-parietal flattening alluded to on p. 370. We could not on our brief visit discover any language other than Arabic, but this is far from conclusive as everyone was anxious to impress us with their Arab and Islamic affinities.

At Jebel Kaja, further to the north-west—among a people with less marked physical traits of Nuba blood, who indeed had been Muhammadans for generations—although it was stated that rain was from Allah, a ceremony was held in honour of and to propitiate Abu Ali, a great ancestor and rain-maker who did not die but disappeared and whose spirit still possesses participants in the ceremony. Abu Ali is also a great snake; indeed in some villages of the Kaja massif he is known only in that form, and although he has not been seen since the Mahdiia a yearly ceremony is performed in and before a special hut, built beside the crevasse on the sacred hill, which was his place. A goat is killed, its blood smeared upon the rocks, and its flesh cooked at a fire newly made with fire-sticks and eaten by those concerned in the ceremony, who become possessed by Abu Ali and who described him as "riding" them.

[1] "Some links with the Anag at Gebel Haraza": *S.N. & R.*, vii, 1924, 126–31.

THE PEOPLE OF JEBEL MIDOB

About 150 miles west of Kaja, and well west of the Kordofan-Darfur boundary, is Jebel Midob, a confused hill mass between 100 and 200 miles in circumference. The Midobi are divided into four sections: Shelkota in the south-west, Urrti in the north, Turrti in the west, and on the northern slopes of the Tagabo hills the Wirdato, closely allied to the Shelkota.[1] The following information is taken from a paper by Sir Harold MacMichael[2]:—

The inhabitants of Jebel Midob are semi-nomadic herders of sheep and goats; they have little cultivation and keep no fowls. The villages are usually on the plain near the foot of the hills, but for the greater part of the year the majority of the people are away with their camels and flocks of sheep and goats. The Midob huts though circular are unlike the ordinary huts of the Sudan. They are somewhat larger and the sides are formed of long branches stuck in the ground and leaning slightly inward. The boughs do not converge at the top, but the space is filled in with smaller boughs interlaced horizontally, while over the framework grass is thrown—without any attempt at thatching—and kept in place by the insertion of forked twigs and sticks. Two or more stout roof-trees, forked at the top, are placed 2 or 3 feet apart in the centre of the hut to give stability to the structure, and a partition of grass-matting divides the interior of the hut into chambers.

Although the Midobi profess Islam, a matrilinear system of succession is still followed, and on the death of a *mek* he is succeeded by his sister's son—"The bone," they say, "is from the mother, the flesh from the father"—but, in order to conform to Islamic practices while preserving ancient custom, it is nowadays usual for a man to give his wealth to his sons before his death, leaving nothing for his sister's sons to inherit.

Marriage with the father's brother's daughter, the usual and most approved of Muhammadan alliances, is said to be forbidden, while one form of cross-cousin marriage—that with the mother's brother's daughter—is allowed.[3]

According to legend, in the dim past an unattended camel bearing a sword and drum on its back made its appearance one day in the

[1] E. Lampen, "A short account of Meidob"; *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1928, 57.
[2] "Nubian Elements in Darfur": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 37–42.
[3] MacMichael, op. cit., 40.

Turrti village on the slopes of Jebel Tannour. The folk regarded them as from God and a special hut was built to house them, while rites and ceremonies grew up in connection with them. During the time of the Dervishes the sword was stolen, but the drum still remains and ceremonies are held in connection with it.[1]

The first of these rites is carried out by the *mek* some two months before the rains. He sprinkles the drum with water from a special spring and then smears it with a mixture of flour and water in the form of a cross; he also sprinkles the assembled people. A heifer is killed and a dance held. A similar ceremony takes place after the first light rains, and the next morning the sacred drum is given a new tympanum by the *mek* and his attendants. The old skin is kept for a year and then burnt.

On approaching puberty the Midobi boys grow their hair long and plait it like women. They are taken to the hut where the drum is kept, and a dance takes place to the beating of another drum. The drummer chants: "O drum, this is a good boy, the son of so-and-so; bring him fortune and long life." At the conclusion the "sacred" drum is brought out and its skin smeared with fat, in the form of a cross, by an old man. A feast is afterwards held; when the boy returns home his head is shaved.[2]

The following ceremony, described by Sir Harold MacMichael, is held just before the rains, and may be regarded as a rain-making ceremony. There is a rough block of granite some 2½ feet high at the foot of Jebel Udru (called by the Arabs Mogrān), a prominent detached hill on the south side of Midob :—

> "The holy rock is called Telli (northern dialect) or Delli (southern dialect), and the same word at Midob means 'God'. Over it is built a rough hut of boughs, which is repaired yearly before the ceremony but left in bad repair for the greater part of the year. The rock, when I saw it in July, 1917, was still covered with milk stains. Another smaller boulder near by had similar stains upon it and some stones and cow-dung on the top of it. This second boulder was referred to as the son or brother of the larger one and the reasons of its having also been honoured was said to be that the hut built over the big boulder had so consistently fallen to pieces that the people thought the rock was perhaps annoyed at the neglect shown to the small boulder; so of late years they had taken to making offerings to both. The stones and cow-dung had been deposited by children in play. The ceremony at Udru is performed

[1] E. G. S.-H., "The Sacred Drum of Dar Turrti, J. Meidob": *S.N. & R.*, iii, 1920, 225 et seq.

[2] E. G. S.-H., op. cit. This ceremony seems to be connected with a feast observed before harvest and described by MacMichael, "A seasonal festival at Gebel Mīdōb": *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1919, 91–7.

by certain old women of the Ordarti section who inherit the privilege from mother to daughter. The offerings of milk, fat, flour, meat, etc., are handed by the votaries to these old women and by them placed on the rock. The rest of the people stand some way off and pass the time dancing and jumping and singing." [1]

THE BERTI

South-west of Jebel Midob are the Tagabo hills, peopled by the negroid Berti, a tribe of mixed origin having linguistic affinities with the Zaghawa to the west and a vague traditional connection with the "Arab" tribes of Kordofan and the Howara and Ga'aliin of the Nile Valley.[2] Large numbers of Berti have also settled to the south-east of the Tagabo hills, in Jebel el Ḥilla and Ṭawaysha district, and in western Kordofan.

The Berti are divided into innumerable sections, the names of the greater number of which correspond to the hills in or near Tagabo. They are entirely sedentary, and are described by El Tūnisi as "d'un caractère doux et bon, d'une physionomie agréable; leur femmes sont remarquables par leur beauté",[3] in all of which he compares them favourably with the neighbouring Zaghawa.

There are two or three holy stones and trees in or near the Tagabo hills, where rites are performed before the rains and at harvest time. As at Midob, the intermediaries are old women, in whom the office is hereditary from mother to daughter.[4]

THE ZAGHAWA

"West of Jebel Midob and the Berti live the Zaghawa. These are neither Arabs nor negroes proper but rather a Tibbu race from the north-west. . . . In the more southernly parts of their country the Zaghawa villages are much mixed with those of the Tunjur. These latter are not easy to place, but they appear to have entered Darfur as Arabs, some 400 or 500 years ago . . . and to have become subsequently negrified. Traditionally they are always connected with the Beni Hilal. . . ." [5]

[1] MacMichael, "Nubian Elements in Darfur": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 41.
[2] MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge, 1922, i, 64–6.
[3] El-Tounsy [El Tūnisi], *Voyage au Darfour*, Paris, 1845, 136.
[4] MacMichael, loc. cit.
[5] MacMichael, "Nubian Elements in Darfur": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 34–5.

THE FUR

The Fur, from whom Darfur takes its name, are a negro race inhabiting primarily the great range of Jebel Marra, which with Jebel Si and numerous smaller adjacent hills forms the main watershed of the province. These people are described by El Tūnisi as "véritable Fôriens d'origine, entièrement étranger à la langue et aux habitudes arabes".[1] He divides the race into three groups —Kungara, Karakirit, and Temurka.

With the exception of the Kungara, who live mainly east of the mountains and whose superiority is attributed to the presence of an Arab strain, the Fur are said to be socially, physically, and intellectually inferior to the average of the neighbouring tribes.[2] The Fur of Marra, Si, and the west are described as "small and skinny, with thin legs, small bones, and egg-shaped heads".[3] El Tūnisi writes that they are "une population à peau très-noire, ayant les yeux rouges sur la sclérotique, et les dents naturellement rougeâtres . . . brutaux et colères, surtout dans l'état d'ivresse . . . d'une grossièreté et d'une brutalité extraordinaire",[4] while W. G. Browne[5] also remarks on the blackness of their complexion and on their short and woolly hair.

We know of no measurements of Fur taken in their own country, but eighteen men measured at Khartoum[6] gave the following figures: C.I., 74·3; N.I., 102·6; U.F.I., 45·1; stature, 1·65 m.

Originally savage mountaineers, the Fur came under Arab influence in the early seventeenth century, the generally accepted story being that they were welded into a single political unit by one Sulayman Solong of the Beni Hillal, who established an overlordship and became ancestor of the royal line, the Kayra. The early sultans ruled from Turra, between Jebel Marra and Jebel Si, but towards the end of the seventeenth century the Fur were strong enough to leave the mountains. The Kungara branch conquered the plains and overran Kordofan, and by the second half of the eighteenth century their Sultan Tirab had carried his victorious arms as far afield as Shendi, Metemma, and Omdurman, El Fasher becoming the Fur capital at the end of the eighteenth century.[7]

[1] Op. cit., 134. [2] MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, i, 91.
[3] MacMichael, op. cit., 113.
[4] Op. cit., 141, 146, 148 (quoted by MacMichael, op. cit., 96).
[5] *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria*, 1799, 296–7.
[6] Tucker and Myers, "A contribution to the Anthropology of the Sudan": *JRAI.*, xl, 1910.
[7] MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, i, 91–4; and "Nubian Elements in Darfur": *S.N. & R.*, I, 1918, 35.

Circumcision of males was universal in Darfur in El Tūnisi's time; an operation on girls was not uncommon, but the aboriginal Fur did not practise it.[1]

El Tūnisi gives a full account of the system of government in Darfur under the Sultanate, and of the rank and privileges enjoyed by the various officials of the State, most of whom had their own land and drew their own revenue. It was customary to name the chief dignitaries after various parts of the Sultan's body, e.g. Abo Dima (the right arm), Abo Uma (the dorsal vertebrae), Abo Fure or Kâmneh, the neck of the Sultan. Of the latter El Tūnisi writes: "Le sultan est-il tué à la guerre, le kâmneh, s'il lui survit et s'il revient, est mis à mort; on l'étrangle en secret. Son successeur est élu par le sultan nouveau. Si le sultan meurt dans son lit on laisse survivre le kâmneh. . . . Il . . . a presque la même liberté de conduite et d'action que les sultan." [2] A very important dignitary was the Urundulu, a term said by El Tūnisi to denote "the head of the Sultan", though Sir Harold MacMichael interprets it as meaning "the threshold of the door".[3] Even at the present day each Shartai (head of the district) has his Urundulu, as did the Sultan at El Fasher, and it is through the Urundulu that anyone wishing to approach the Sultan or Shartai must proffer his request. After investiture the Sultan spent seven days in seclusion, at the end of which time a ceremony was performed by the *habbobah* (council of old women) who led him to a hut where the royal drums were kept. The re-covering of these drums was a yearly rite.[4]

Browne writes [5] that in Darfur at the beginning of the rainy season the king, accompanied by the lesser chieftains, goes into the fields while the people are sowing and makes several holes with his own hand, and this statement is confirmed by El Tūnisi:—

> "Le sultan possède, en propriété spéciale, des terres labourables. . . . À l'époque des semailles . . . il sort en grande pompe, escorté de plus de cent jeunes femmes. . . . Le prince, une fois arrivé en pleine campagne, descend de cheval, prend différentes graines, et, à measure qu'un esclave pioche la terre, il les jette et les sème. C'est la première semence qui tombe sur le sol, dans la contrée où est alors le sultan." [6]

The Fur are nominally Muhammadans, but snakes, stones, and trees are associated with local malignant genii whom it is considered

[1] *Voyage au Darfour*, 217.
[2] Op. cit., 172–3.
[3] *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, i, 105.
[4] El Tūnisi, op. cit., 160, 165.
[5] Op. cit., 283–4.
[6] Op. cit., 169.

well to placate. At Sergittu is a stone under which lies hidden the local spirit in the form of a short fat white snake about 2 feet long. The headman of Kerne district must never pass the stone without sacrificing to the snake, the ceremony being performed by an old woman whose position is hereditary. In the summer offerings are made to this same snake to ensure good rains for the crops.[1] Similar sites are reported on western Darfur and on the eastern side of Marra, and the cult has already been described among the Nuba of Kordofan (p. 448).

El Tūnisi gives a long account (in the main confirmed by MacMichael) of the *damẓoga* or guardian genii, to whom flocks and household gear were entrusted for protection. He was told that these *damẓoga* could be bought and sold :—

> " Pour s'en procurer il faut aller trouver quelque propriétaire de Damzôg et lui en acheter un au prix demandé. Une fois le marché conclu, on revient avec un carâ [gourd] de lait et on le donne au vendeur, qui le prend el le porte dans le lieu de sa demeure où sont ses Damzôg. En entrant il les salue, et va suspendre le carâ à un crochet fixé au mur. Ensuite il dit à ses Damzôg, ' Un de mes amis, un tel, très-riche, craint les voleurs, et me demande que je lui fournisse un gardien. Quelqu'un de vous voudrait-il aller chez lui ? Il y a abondance de lait ; c'est une maison de bénédiction ; et la preuve c'est qu'il vous apporte ce carâ de lait.' "

The *damẓoga* are at first unwilling, but after further appeal one of them relents :—

> " L'homme s'éloigne un peu, et aussitôt qu'il entend le bruit de la chute du Damzôg dans le lait il accourt et pose vite sur le vase ou câra un couvercle tissu de folioles de dattier. Il le décroche ainsi couvert, et le remet à l'acheteur, qui l'emporte chez lui. Celui-ci le suspend à un mur de sa hutte, et en confie le soin à une esclave ou à une femme, qui, chaque matin, vient le prendre, en vide le lait, le lave parfaitement, le remplit de nouveau lait fraîchement trait, et le suspend à la même place. Dès lors on est en securité contre tout vol et toute perte." [2]

El Tūnisi also relates the popular belief that the Fur of the Temurka division, and the Masalit, had the power to turn themselves into animals, the former into lions, and the latter into hyænas, cats, and dogs, and on this account he was warned by the chief of the Temurka against attacking lions in their country, " car tous ceux que vous verrez dans ces contrées sont de nos compagnons et amis métamorphosés." [3] Popular belief still attributes to all the Fur a power of metamorphosis.[4]

[1] MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, i, 100–1.
[2] El Tūnisi, op. cit., 150–1. [3] Op. cit., 358. [4] MacMichael, op. cit., 103.

Dar Furnung, a day's journey west-north-west of Kuttum, itself some 50 miles north-west of El Fasher, is inhabited by a mixed population of Fur and Tungur. In a rocky gorge of the hill-massif is a small boulder known as the sacred stone of Furnung, at which every new headman must sacrifice. At the performance of this rite he is accompanied by the elders of his tribe, among whom is a Tungurawi, the hereditary holder of the office of Urundulu. The latter kills a goat, makes the sign of the cross on the stone with the blood, and also marks the newly elected *shartai* on the forehead, stomach, and shoulder-blades; the *shartai* then jumps over the carcass of the animal, after which its heart, liver, and entrails are placed upon the stone.[1] There is another sacred stone at 'Ayn Sirra, also in the Furnung hills. Offerings to ensure rain are made at this stone and rites are also performed on four different occasions, viz. on birth, circumcision, marriage, and when a ruler visits the oasis. On all these occasions the sign of the cross is made on the stone.[2]

THE DAGO

The Dago are one of the most ancient peoples of Darfur, and though now comparatively insignificant were once predominant in south central Darfur, where they were the earliest known founders of a monarchy. El Tūnisi mentions them as one of the five aboriginal tribes of Wadai,[3] and Barth speaks of them as having dominated Darfur in the tenth century of Islam.[4] At the present day they form with the Birked and Bego a distinct, albeit heterogenous, negroid group east and south-east of Jebel Marra.[5] Further west they are the preponderating element of the population of Dar Sila (Sula in Wadai), and another branch occupies parts of the most westerly group of Nuba hills between 11° and 12° N., in south-western Kordofan.[6]

Legend tells that the Dago of Kordofan are an offshoot from

[1] E. G. S.-H., "The Sacred Stone of Furnung in Northern Darfur": *S.N. & R.*, iii, 1920, 223.
[2] MacMichael, "The Tungur-Fur of Dar Furnung": *S.N. & R.*, iii, 1920, 30–2.
[3] *Voyage au Ouaday*, Paris, 1851, 245. The other four are the Masalit, Mima, Kashmara, and Kura'an.
[4] *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, iii, 1857, 426.
[5] MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, i, 71 et seq.
[6] Hillelson, "Notes on the Dago": *S.N. & R.*, viii, 1925, 59 et seq.

Dar Sila, who under their leader Mōm reached their present home perhaps 100 years ago. Mōm while hunting killed a giraffe, and established friendly relations with the Nuba aborigines by sharing the meat with their chief, Tia, whose friendship and alliance permitted the peaceful settling of Mōm and his followers among the Nuba.

Nachtigal (1872) speaks of the Dago as "black as jet", strongly built, and hideously ugly, with many pagan beliefs though nominally Muhammadans: "They have a shrine for their deity whom they supply very freely with merissa. . . . They have also a sacred tree which they similarly water with merissa, and a holy stone."[1]

The Kordofan Dago are divided into a number of patrilineal groups or sections, which like the Arab *khasm biyut* are neither totemic nor exogamous; property however descends to the sister's son. The royal section is called Leoge, succession to the sultanate not being necessarily from father to son but often to a brother or other near relative.[2] In all Dago settlements functionaries called *letege* play a considerable part in the election and investiture of a sultan; they belong to a certain clan, "Ya'uge," and are next in importance to the sultan, acting as his colleagues in government and religious ceremonies.

"While both sultan and *lātēgē* take important parts in the religious rites of the Dago . . . they are not, strictly speaking, priests, since there is a special class of men (*togonyē*, Ar. *kuǧūr*) who correspond to the priestly element. Though strongly permeated by Arab influence, and nominally and perfunctorily professing Islam, the Dago maintain rites of a purely pagan nature with which the *togonyē* are particularly associated. In charge of the *togonyē* there are shrines dedicated to the High God of the Dago, Kalge, whom they identify with Allah. These shrines, called *perāri* or *perāri kalgē*, consist of miniature straw huts about a metre high, and decorated on the pointed top with an ostrich egg."[3]

Besides the *togonye* the Sudan Arabic term *kujur* is also applied to certain women whose function it is to treat sickness by means of ceremonies, in which gourds containing grain are shaken.[4]

[1] Nachtigal, *Voyage au Ouadai*, 68, quoted by MacMichael in *A History of the Arabs o the Sudan* i 72–2

Browne[1] refers to a custom practised by the Dago of lighting a fire at the inauguration of their king and keeping it alive until his death. When questioned by Sir Harold MacMichael the Darfur Dago denied the truth of this story, but believed the custom to have prevailed among the Dago of Dar Sila.[2] Mr. Hillelson's informants in Kordofan were likewise ignorant of the custom, but told him of a fire ceremony carried out on important occasions, such as the inauguration of a new sultan or the celebration of the two annual festivals, when a fire is lit in the meeting-place of the sultan and kept alight until the completion of the occasion for which it was kindled.[3]

The Dago have two cultivation festivals, one when the grain is ripe, and the second after the grain has been garnered. The essential parts of the procedure are the same on both occasions.[4] The sultan and *togonye* conduct the ceremonies under a *sahbāya* tree, the pouring of water and beer being the main features of the ritual.

The Dago bury their dead in the courtyards of their houses except their sultan, whose body is buried away from the village.[5] Captain Yunis witnessed the mourning rites celebrated by an important man on the anniversary of the death of his wife, when the inhabitants were invited to a great feast with music at the house. After dancing for about an hour the party moved to the site of the grave "in order to . . . honour it with a dance". At the end of the ceremony the whole party walked out of the village in a southerly direction.

> "It was about sunset when they returned each running as hard as he could while those who were riding were galloping at their fastest pace. The traditional custom is that everybody, men and women, should run without stumbling or stopping and without looking backwards. The belief is that when the procession is marching out of the village death is removed from the village and thrown into the forest; when returning they are supposed to run away from death and try to reach their houses as quickly as possible, expecting there to find perfect health. Should anyone have the misfortune to stumble or fall or look backwards he is sure to die during the coming year,

El Tūnisi gave them a bad character: "Les Birguid sont trâitres, voleurs et rapaces à l'excès, sans crainte de Dieu ni du Prophète."[1] He spoke similarly of those in Wadai, from whom, he added, "sortent les ouvriers en fer et les chasseurs."[2]

Nachtigal says: "The Birguid are . . . darker than the Mabas, and are of a negro type and have the character and customs of the Central Africans."[3] They speak a Barabra dialect and claim kinship with the people of Midob. There is a local tradition at Kaga, in the hills of northern Kordofan, that the Birḳed once ruled there, and this, with the occurrence of old ironworks at Jebel Haraza, has led Sir Harold MacMichael to suggest that they entered Darfur by way of northern Kordofan and Jebel Haraza.[4]

THE PEOPLE OF JEBEL MÛN

"Jebel Mûn lies in the region of long. 22° 45′, lat. 14°, 10′ and gives its name, Dar Jebel, to the northernmost of the three areas subject to the Sultan of the Masalit. It consists of a large number of massifs and peaks, of which some ten are named, the highest being probably rather more than 4,000 feet above sea level. . . . The area of J. Mûn is perhaps twenty-five square miles. . . . Three sections of the aborigines, the Lingāri, Nyingāri, and Ginwāri, survive as fairly distinct entities. They stick to their mountain villages, while the tendency of the rest of the population is to spread over the surrounding plain. The language of the Jebel is a variant of the Erenga language."[5]

The population of this region has become much mixed with Messiria Arabs from Darfur, but the language is still spoken by the present inhabitants, many of whom cannot speak Arabic.

The annual taking of omens from a snake survived among these people until recent years, the ceremony, which took place at a particular rock named Galid, being performed by the senior member, of either sex, of a certain family in which the office was hereditary.

"At the present time a woman called Mariôma Isagha . . . officiates. She succeeded her brother at his death. Immediately after the first fall of rain Mariôma sprinkles the rock Galid with merisa and with a mixture of flour and water, also slaughtering a ram or a goat. . . . She recites no formula. . . . The meat of the sacrifice and the remainder of the merisa are afterwards

[1] *Voyage au Darfour*, 136.
[2] *Voyage au Ouaday*, 249, 250.
[3] *Le Voyage de Nachtigal au Ouadai*, 67 (quoted by MacMichael, op. cit., 77).
[4] Op. cit., 79.
[5] R. Davies, "Omens at Jebel Mun": *S.N. & R.*, v, 1922, 167.

distributed as *karāma* to all and sundry. . . . Next morning at dawn Mariôma goes again to the rock and there finds a snake, which has deposited in the hollows of the rock omens of the fortune of the jebel population for the coming year. The tradition is that the omens are brought by the snake from Jebel Nyeiri in Dar Tama . . . until recently the residence of the Sultans of Tama. . . . The following are the omens which may be found, with their interpretations. A head or heads of grain means plenty; a few grains of dura, famine; red soil, death; a frayed rag, nakedness; much water, plentiful rains; little water, drought.

"The snake . . . is described as of a reddish-brown colour, about four feet long, and thick as a man's arm. It crawls all over Mariôma and returns with her to a specially swept and sanded house, where it remains for seven days, living on merisa which is placed for it in a *burma*. Mariôma denies that her family is descended from, or otherwise related to, the snake, but states that it will not injure them. . . . The head man of Dar Jebel claims to have seen the snake twice." [1]

[1] Davies, op. cit., 167—8.

Chapter XIV

TRIBES OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN BAHR EL GHAZAL

In this chapter we shall treat of a number of numerically weak and little-known tribes occupying that part of the Sudan that lies to the west of the central mass of Nilotes and of the Bari-speaking peoples to the south of these. Their position is shown somewhat diagrammatically by the shaded area in the sketch-map (Fig. 4) and it will be noted that it includes the northern portion of the Madi, whose main territory lies in Uganda but who also occupy both banks of the Nile at the extreme south of the Sudan.

These tribes possess certain common physical and cultural characters, which are also found among the Azande who have everywhere encroached upon them, so that the shaded area actually includes much Zande territory, though it has been thought unnecessary to complicate the diagram by indicating this by separate shading. We stress the numerical insignificance of these tribes at the present day, but less than 100 years ago their condition was very different, for although the Azande may have begun their attacks, there is no reason to suppose that extensive detribilization had taken place, and the misery and destruction wrought by Arab slavers and ivory traders was yet to come. We do not know and never shall know the particulars of the break-up of all these tribes, but there can be no doubt that enormous destruction has taken place, and we may without hesitation accept Professor Evans-Pritchard's simile that the tribes of this area present the appearance of a routed army:—

> "Numerous tribal units, often consisting of only a few families, have been cut off from the main body and swept permanently out of touch with men of their own language and blood. Some peoples have disappeared altogether as political and cultural units and survive only in tradition, e.g. Bangbinda, Abarambo, Mittu. Many tribes have been carried before waves of Zande invasion on to distant strands, there to be deplaced again before they have had time to settle, like debris carried backwards and forwards on a beach."

Thus it is that those cultures that have survived have done so at the price of separation and frequent dispersion. Such has been the history of the Madi, the Moro, the Mundu, the Baka, and others,

while a number of hybrid cultures and perhaps new dialects have arisen from contacts with neighbouring peoples.

> "The ethnologist is faced with a chaotic puzzle in which many pieces are missing and many are indecipherable. Much was indeed put together long ago by Schweinfurth, Emin, Junker, and more recently Calonne-Beaufaict, Hutereau, Van de Plas, and Czekanowski, but the greater part still remains unsorted and unplaced. It is hopeless to attempt any ambitious scheme of historical reconstruction for the peoples of the Bahr el Ghazal in our present state of ignorance; a good few of the tribes are no more than a name, and probably that is often wrong, while in many instances we cannot give even a rough estimate of their cultural and linguistic relationship to other peoples of the Sudan and Congo."

The process, though not proceeding to its extreme form of tribal extinction, is exemplified by the history of the Bongo, who by Schweinfurth's time were so weakened by Arab attacks that many had fled to Zande or Dinka country, where they naturally lost their independence even when they persisted as social units. Writing in the early 'seventies, Schweinfurth estimated the Bongo population at not more than 100,000, and regarded this as less than two-thirds of their former numbers. Their territory lay—

> "between lat. 6° and 8° N. on the south-western boundary of the depression of the Bahr el Ghazal basin. . . . In the extent of its area the land covers about the same surface as Belgium, but with regard to population it might be more aptly compared to the plains of Siberia or the northern parts of Norway and Sweden; it is a deserted wilderness, averaging only eleven or twelve people to the square mile. The country extends from the Roah to the Pango, and embraces the middle course of nearly all the affluents of the Ghazelle; it is 175 miles long by 50 miles broad, but towards the north-west the breadth diminishes to about 40 miles. On the north it is divided by the small Dyoor [Jur] country from that of the Dinka, which, however, it directly joins upon the north-east. The south-east boundary is the Mittoo territory on the Roah; and that on the west is the country of the Golo and Sehre on the Pango. The eastern branch of the extensive Niam-niam lands join the Bongo on the south; whilst, wedged between and straitly pressed, the Bellanda and the Babuckur have their settlements." [1]

Professor Evans-Pritchard considers that at the present day 5,000 would probably be an over-estimate of the Bongo, the bulk of this diminished population being concentrated in Tonj district, along the old Government road from Tonj to Miniobolo, while a settlement interspersed with Azande is found between Tonj and the first rest-house on the Wau road. Other groups exist between Tonj and the second rest-house on the Rumbek road, in Beli country in Rumbek

[1] Schweinfurth, i, 257–8.

district, on the Wau-Tembura road in Belanda country, and on the Wau-Dem Zubeir road. To these must be added a number of Bongo in Tembura district, and a small settlement in the extreme north of Yambio district under a chief named Toin, while a con-

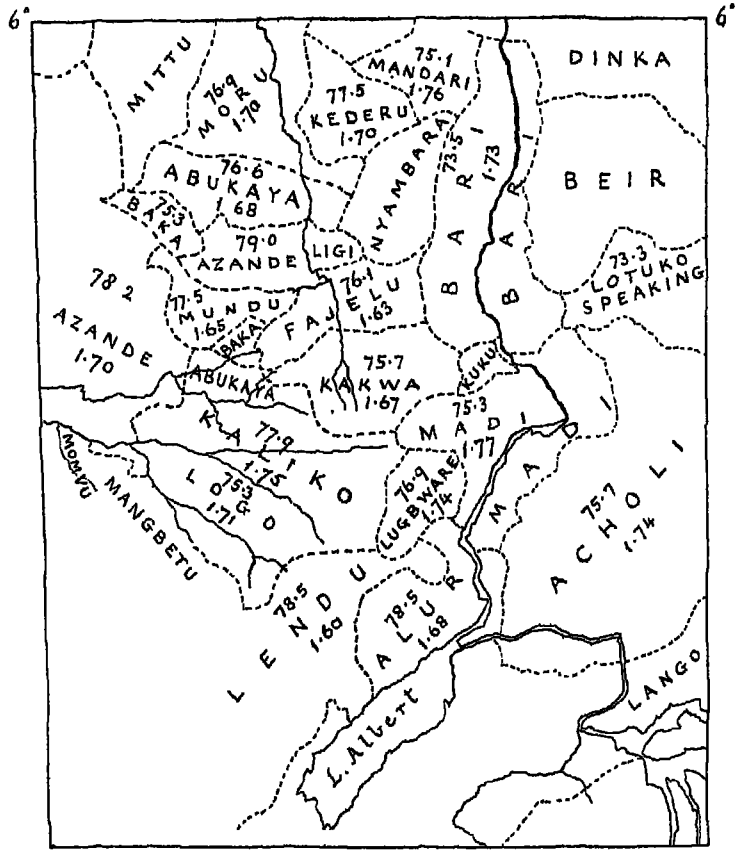


FIG. 30. Tribal map showing mesaticephals of south-western border. The figures indicate Cephalic Index and Stature.

siderable number have drifted into Wau, where they have settled permanently.

It is obvious then that the anthropologist is faced by almost insuperable difficulties in this area. There are however certain underlying physical and cultural characters common to all these tribes, suggesting a fundamental unity. They are predominantly

mesaticephals, of short or medium stature, who although falling into a number of distinct linguistic and probably cultural groups and sub-groups have this in common, that cattle play no part in their culture. It is not strictly true to say that they are all mesaticephals, for the Shilluk-speaking Luo, though they have lost their Nilotic interest in cattle, still bear evidence of their origin in their tall stature and long heads, the latter characteristic to some extent persisting among the Bor (Belanda), but these irregularities, as we shall see later, can be accounted for on historical grounds.

The following provisional grouping of these tribes is to a great extent based on data communicated by Professor Evans-Pritchard, who must not, however, be regarded as responsible for our conclusions.

(*A*) The Bongo-Mittu group, including the Bongo proper, the Mittu, the Gberi, the Beli (with whom may be classed the Sofi, who speak a dialect of Beli), the Löri, with the Moro Kodo and Moro Wadi speaking Beli dialects, the Nyamusa, the Baka, the Biti, and the Wira. Dr. Tucker adds that Beli and Sofi are said to have come from the south or east, and that Löri and Nyamusa, both of Amadi District, if not linguistically one are closely related dialects. Mittu and Bongo may be regarded as dialects of the same language.

(*B*) The Basiri group, called Sheri (the Sehre of Schweinfurth) by the Ndogo. This group comprises the Mbegumba element of the Belanda complex. Dr. Tucker regards Biri as the correct term for the Mbegumba—more correctly Mve-Gumba—and states that the Bai or "Bari" of the Pango (Pongo) river are identical with the Biri. He adds that the Golo, speaking a language related to Banda—a strong tribe of French Equatorial Africa—are giving up their language in favour of Ndogo, in fact he would prefer to call this group Ndogo rather than Basiri, since the former constitute the most numerous linguistic group in Sudan territory and the name for the latter was originally a nickname.

(*C*) The Madi-Moro group, including the Madi, the Moro proper (i.e. the Moro Endri, the Moro Mesa, the Moro Kederu—generally called Kederu—the Uggi, all south or east of Amadi); the Kaliko, the Logo, the Lendu, the Abukaya (and, beyond the Sudan border, the Lugbware). All these tribes are linguistically one.

(*D*) The Babukur group, including the Babukur (Babuckur) and Mundu.

(*E*) The Krej group, containing the unknown Krej (but not the Ndogo, called Krej by Schweinfurth); Dr. Tucker considers Gbaya to be the correct name for the Krej, and adds that there are many sections, viz. Gbaya Ndogo, Gbaya Naka, Yomangba, Woro.[1]

(*F*) The Luo group, comprising Shilluk-speaking peoples such as the Luo, the Mberidi (Bor)—more correctly Mve-Rodi—of the Belanda complex, the Dembo, and the Shat, and according to Dr. Tucker the Manangeir, who speak a Shilluk dialect though physically he considers they resemble Dinka rather than Shilluk.

[1] Nothing of any moment seems to be known of groups D and E.

The following table presents in condensed form some of the more important indices that we possess of the members of these tribes, arranged under groups A–F.[1]

Group.	*Tribe.*	*C.I.*	*N.I.*	*F.I.*	*U.F.I.*	*Stature.*
(*A*)	Bongo (20) * . .	74·6	—	—	—	1·70
	Bongo (4) § . .	76·1	104·3	—	48·13	1·69
	Nyamusa (25) * .	75·5	—	—	—	—
	Moro Kodo (10) * .	74·5	—	—	—	—
	Baka (18) * . .	75·3	—	—	—	—
(*B*)						
(*C*)	Moro Kederu (25) * .	77·5	—	—	—	1·70
	Moro Mesa (35) * .	75·3	—	—	—	1·68 (16)
	Moro Endri (41) * .	75·8	—	—	—	—
	Moro (20) † . .	76·9	86·3	85·5	47·9	1·70
	Lendu (291) ‖ . .	78·5	86·8	81·9	51·9	1·60
	Logo (145) ‖ . .	75·3	83·7	83·0	51·5	1·71
	Kaliko (7) ‖ . .	77·9	85·6	82·5	50·2	1·75
	Abukaya (28) ‖ .	76·6	84·5	83·3	52·4	1·68
	Madi (10) † . .	75·3	83·0	90·2	51·8	1·77
	„ (11) ‖ . .	76·6	81·4	84·2	52·6	1·68
	Lugbware (10) ‡ .	76·9	—	—	—	1·74
(*D*)	Bukuru (5) * . .	76·9	—	—	—	—
	Mundu (33) ‖ . .	77·5	82·0	84·3	53·6	1·65
(*E*)						
(*F*)	Bor (25) * . .	73·2	—	—	—	1·68
	Luo (8) * . .	70·7	—	—	—	1·77 (13)

We have little precise information concerning the social organization of any of the tribes of this area, and what we do know applies almost entirely to members of the Bongo-Mittu group. Here, thanks to the energy of Professor Evans-Pritchard, it is possible to refer to a paper dealing with the Bongo,[2] and it is from this that the following account is taken.

BONGO

Professor Evans-Pritchard considers the evidence to indicate that the Bongo and related tribes of Rumbek district, the Mittu, and

[1] Measurements in above table are distinguished as follows: * Evans-Pritchard; † ourselves —we include our own 20 Moro from the neighbourhood of Amadi, because although of less value than Evans-Pritchard's measurements since their origin is less precise, they do give nasal and facial indices; § Tucker and Myers, "A Contribution to the Anthropology of the Sudan": *JRAI.*, xl, 1910; ‖ Czekanowski, *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet*: ii, Leipzig, 1924; ‡ McConnell, "Notes on the Lugwari Tribe of Central Africa": *JRAI.*, lv, 1925. Mochi, "Osservazioni Antropologiche sui Bongo": *Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia*, Anno xxiv, fasc. iv, 1905, gives a C.I. of 73·3 (equivalent to about 75 on the living), derived from 14 Bongo skulls (unsexed)

[2] "The Bongo": *S.N. & R.* xii, 1929.

PLATE XLVII



Moro types

probably others, came from the south, from the basin of the Uelle in the Congo. According to Calonne-Beaufaict,[1] this area was invaded three or four centuries ago by a series of Sudanic-speaking peoples from the north-west—Madi, Bangba, Barambo, and finally the Azande—who swept the country in successive waves, creating great ethnic confusion and isolating scattered groups of people, some of which still persist. Thus Casati speaks of a group of Bongo in Congo territory just north of the Bomokandi river.[2]

Apparently all Bongo speak the same language, with slight and unimportant dialectical differences. It is predominantly monosyllabic, but differs from the type of Sudanic languages in some particulars, for instance in the structure of the genitive, the thing possessed preceding the possessor, e.g. *bihi ba nyeri*, "dog of chief." Bongo is related to the Baka, Mittu, Beli, Sofi, Nyamusa, Moro Kodo, Moro Wadi, Biti, and Wira languages, and possibly to others of the south and east. Though not intelligible to the peoples of these tribes it has so many points in common that it can be quickly acquired by members who spend a few weeks in Bongo country. Actually most of the Bongo are bilingual, speaking Zande or Dinka in addition to their own language; Arabic is little spoken, but is spreading gradually.

Schweinfurth wrote that circumcision was unknown.[3] To-day with its attendant rites—seclusion in the bush, etc.—it has been adopted from the Azande in the south, so that the whole complex is now part of social life among most if not all Bongo. The four (sometimes only two) lower incisors of both sexes are removed. According to Professor Evans-Pritchard's information this is done at puberty, according to Schweinfurth as soon as the milk teeth have been replaced by the permanent ones.[4] The large lip plugs worn by the women, mentioned by Schweinfurth, are no longer used by the Bongo, with perhaps a few exceptions, indeed Professor Evans-Pritchard suggests that their use was never more than local.

The Bongo are essentially agriculturalists. In Schweinfurth's time, as to-day, dogs, hens, a few goats and sheep, were their only domesticated animals. They are also good hunters. Their well-made conical huts, rarely more than 20 feet in diameter, are so thatched

[1] *Azande, Introduction à une ethnographie générale des bassins de l'Ubangi—Uele et l'Aruwimi*, Bruxelles, 1921.

[2] Here he found "a colony of Bongo people who had settled there a long time ago, and retained the language and traditional customs of their ancestors (*Ten Years in Equatoria*, 1891, 102). [3] Op. cit., i, 294. [4] Loc. cit.

that the peak of the roof terminates in a "pad of straw, very carefully made, which serves as a seat, and from which it is possible to take a survey of the country, covered with its tall growth of corn . . . this elevation . . . is surrounded by six or eight curved bits of wood projecting as though the roof were furnished with horns." [1]

The smelting industry has now been destroyed by imported iron, but in Schweinfurth's day the Bongo were expert iron workers, and he also comments on their skill in wood-carving.

The outstanding feature in all accounts of the Bongo is their lack of cohesion as a people. They were divided into a large number of tribes, which although speaking the same language were often separated by 30 to 50 miles of bush. Each tribe lived on the bank of a stream or near a water-hole, and the intervening country separating it from the next tribe was a wilderness in the dry season and a swamp during the rains. There were frequent intertribal feuds, and the social and political life of each tribe was distinct; they seldom acted together in any enterprise and were therefore unable to oppose a prolonged resistance to the successive invaders of their country.[2] Even at the present day they live as isolated a life as the Government will allow, alien groups seldom intermarry, and take little interest in each other's affairs.

Schweinfurth was no doubt mistaken in saying that the Bongo of his day were no longer separated into various tribes, for Professor Evans-Pritchard has recorded a large number of tribal names of still existing units.

Each tribe (*kohu*) is divided into a number of patrilineal exogamous totemic clans, moreover a man may not marry a woman of his mother's clan. In some tribes certain clans appear to be more closely connected than others and will not intermarry, but two clans having the same totem are not necessarily debarred from marriage. The Bongo deny that they pass at death into their clan animal, and the main feature of their totemism appears to be a taboo on eating the clan animal.

The clans seem to have been territorial groupings as well as groups of blood relations, each clan occupying its own area within the tribe.

To-day each family occupies its own homestead, and those living

[1] Schweinfurth, i,, 277, see also description and illustrations in *Artes Africanae*, pl. vi.

[2] Petherick alludes to this lack of cohesion: "The Dor acknowledge no superior chief, and the tribe is divided into separate communities; and these, although living . . . in close proximity, look upon each other as almost separate tribes, holding little or no communication" (*Egypt, the Soudan, and Central Africa*, 1861, 403).

in adjacent homesteads are usually relatives or relatives-in-law. Schweinfurth described the Bongo as formerly having extensive stockaded villages, which had however disappeared at the time of his visit. In some districts there are still small stockaded villages, each consisting of the huts of a few related families " under the same tree ", and numbers of these villages, all occupied by men of the same clan, are found within a few hundred yards of each other.

The Bongo chiefs (*nyeri*) never seem to have exercised great authority, nor apparently did their people pay regular dues, yet they were listened to on matters of law, and led inter-tribal feuds.

Girls are betrothed young, the bride-wealth consisting of five or six spears given at the time of the engagement and another fifteen or twenty at marriage when the girl is handed over to her husband. If the parents-in-law are dissatisfied with the young man because he does not work well for them (for he is expected to build their huts, hoe their gardens, and perform other labours), speaks ill of his mother-in-law, or otherwise misbehaves, they can dissolve the marriage by returning the spears.

A man will send his wife away for laziness but not for adultery. The Bongo attitude on this matter is very different from that of the Azande, and a man would regard it as foolish to kill or get rid of a woman on account of adultery, though if he caught her in the act he would beat her and perhaps spear the man or, if he did not, would demand compensation of twenty spears.

There are reciprocal duties and privileges between a man and his sister's son, and, while a young man must make presents of game and skins of wild animals to his maternal uncle, he may take anything within reason from the latter without asking permission.

Schweinfurth states that though some chiefs were assisted by their knowledge of magic there were no rain-makers. This is certainly incorrect, for Professor Evans-Pritchard discovered a highly organized system of rain-making, with a traditional origin from one Dudu, who fell from the sky with his stool, his pot for making medicine and, in the pot, rain-stones.

Surur, the rain-maker visited by Professor Evans-Pritchard, kept his rain-stones (*landa loma*, " stones of Loma ") in a pot under the verandah of his hut. They included five axe-heads from 2 to 4 inches long—one flaked, the rest ground—and two spheres, possible hammer stones. Near by was a mass of his hair.

Professor Evans-Pritchard only had time to obtain a summary

account of rain-making technique. The rain-maker went into the bush, dug up the various roots required, and placed them in his pot with the stones above them. He then drew water from a rock water-hole and poured it over the stones into the pot. He next took leaves of a creeper, called *badanggi* in Zande, " dipped them in... the water and threw the water to the east, and rain would come on the following day." [1] Surur was called upon to produce rain for hunting as well as for agriculture, so that the spoor of the animal hunted would be visible on the ground. After drinking beer with the applicant, he would " take a piece of bast-cord . . . chew it, . . . and make a piece of cord from it, which he binds round the wrist of the hunter. Rain will come on the following day ".[2] His medicine also has special virtue in war.

The person of the rain-maker is sacred. No one would strike him, or touch his " flies " as he calls his dependants, for either action would result in mortal sickness; moreover, his house is sanctuary. In legal cases both plaintiff and defendant would swear by a particular rain-stone, and the one who was lying would surely die. While the holiness of the rain-maker may in part be due to his medicines, Professor Evans-Pritchard thinks it is more on account of his association with Loma, for he is *be Loma*, a possessor of Loma. Loma is certainly a spiritual conception, probably the most important the Bongo have, and one which we should translate " God ", though for the most part otiose. It was not clear whether the spirit of a great ancestral rain-maker was thought to be immanent in his successors. Surur said that a rain-maker was not necessarily a chief, though he might be a chief and was always a man of great prestige not only in his own tribe but in other tribes as well. Surur himself comes of a line of chiefs, his father having been the most important chief of the Bongo before they came under Luo and Dinka rulers.

Surur said that he would make rain of his own initiative if he thought it was needed, but that often the people would come with presents, wanting rain. He would then tell them to leave the presents and to send a young man to him in the morning. After anointing the young man with oil the rain-maker bound his ankle with a strip of bast, which he first dipped in his water-pot, and told him to go home without speaking to anyone. " He was to go straight to a water-hole in a stone outcrop and was

[1] Op. cit., 24. [2] Op. cit., 25.

there to take off the cord from his ankle and place it in the water-hole. He was then to go home and to remain in silence, and the next day the rain would come." If rain did not fall it was because the rain-maker was angry and was withholding it. He would not be ill-treated on that account, but rather would be given more presents that he might be appeased and cause rain to fall. If in spite of the rain-maker's efforts the drought continued, the people would throw oil over his head and body, "so that it trickled from his face and trunk and kept on dripping off him as he went home. This would ensure rain coming on the next day." [1]

Two processes of rain-making in which rain-stones are not employed are recorded by Professor Evans-Pritchard. It may be surmised that both are foreign in origin, as one certainly is. This method is associated with posts, consisting of saplings with their main branches lopped short, erected under large trees. Medicine or food is generally attached to their branches and the ground at the foot of the post is kept swept and clean. The post is called *riak* and the practitioner *biriak*. When there was no rain in due season and the people feared for the crops they would send for the *biriak*, and everyone would collect under the tree near the shrine and would bring millet. The grain is boiled under the tree and water is brought from the river. This is poured on the boiled millet, which the *biriak* then throws into the air and amongst the assembly, crying the while: "*Mini aiba! mini aiba! toro aiba! toro aiba!*", "Water come! Water come! Rain come! Rain come!" It seems that "whilst one or two persons generally act as *biriak*, there is nothing to prevent others from doing so." [2]

Sometimes, perhaps before calling in a rain-maker, men and women collect millet and go to the bank of a stream, where they shout for rain, calling on Loma and crying, "Rain come, rain come! We shall die of hunger! Rain come and fall on our country!" [3]

In addition to rain magic, oracle magic is much used among the Bongo. A powder made from the seeds of a tree called *gwiya* (Zande *gero*) is used for consulting the oracle by the Bongo as well as by kindred peoples. The powder is placed with water in a pot and the whole heated, while the seeker puts questions which are answered by the behaviour of the powder. The ceremony takes place in the presence of many of the older men, and so carries such social weight as generally to produce confession. If the alleged

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., 22–3. [2] Op. cit., 27. [3] Op. cit., 28.

guilty party refuses to admit his guilt, three *gwiya* seeds are administered as an ordeal medicine with a large quantity of water. The innocent vomit, the guilty suffer from spasms, and presumably die if they do not vomit.

The traditional hunting medicine of the Bongo is *lingi*, consisting of two or three short carved posts "about a foot or 18 inches high, which are driven into the earth near the entrance to a hut.[1] They are not erected by everyone who hunts, but only by well-known hunters. The hunter takes a hen and cuts its throat over these posts, and speaks to the spirits as he does so, saying: 'Give me animals, let my crops succeed,' and so on. He throws the head of the hen into the bush and eats its body." [2]

The medicine-man proper is called *be mola* in Bongo, but has completely disappeared at the present day, a Zande medicine man (*binza* in Zande) being usually called in to heal the sick. *Bi togbo* (Schweinfurth, *bitaboh*) means the possessor of *togbo*, a type of black magic which is definitely *kaga* (medicine in the physical sense), and has nothing to do with the spirits of the dead. If put in the door of a hut the first person or animal to cross the threshold will assuredly die. The Bongo seem to have no belief in any physically inherited black magic comparable to the Zande *mangu*, which is believed to work without the use of medicines.

For spirits the word *loma gubu*, and sometimes *morijo*, is used. Illness is usually attributed to the *loma gubu*. *Hege* seems to be used by some Bongo, e.g. the Karakiti tribe, to signify the Deity; the idea behind all three words appears to be vague and associated with a deity, with the spirits, and with magic.

The grave is usually dug in the centre of the homestead near the hut of the deceased. It consists of a vertical shaft with a terminal chamber for the corpse, which is bound in a tightly contracted position. The entrance to the chamber is closed with wooden stakes, plastered on the outside with leaves and earth. The shaft is filled in and a heap of stones piled over the grave. These were formerly held in position by a palisade, but this practice is no longer followed, though such graves are still usual among the neighbouring Bor section of the Belanda.[3] A year or so after death a feast is held

[1] Professor Evans-Pritchard points out that it is probably a *ling i* which is figured on the centre of the grave in Schweinfurth, *Artes Africanae*, pl. viii, fig. 6. Allowing for conventionalization in Schweinfurth's drawing the *lingi* seems to us to resemble what we have called the "four-peg" shrine of the Acholi (p. 123, *cf.* also Moro, p. 487).

[2] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., 43–4.

[3] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., 34.

to which relatives and friends are invited, and holes are dug round the grave for the very puzzling wooden carvings described and figured by various authors, especially Schweinfurth.[1] Beer drinking goes on all night, and in the morning the posts are erected and arrows are shot at them (except only at the human figures) "so that the dead man may rest well".[2] The guests then place gifts of hoes, spears, knives, etc., on the ground, and these are taken by the master of the feast, who gives them to one or more of his sister's sons, retaining only a few small things for himself and his sisters.

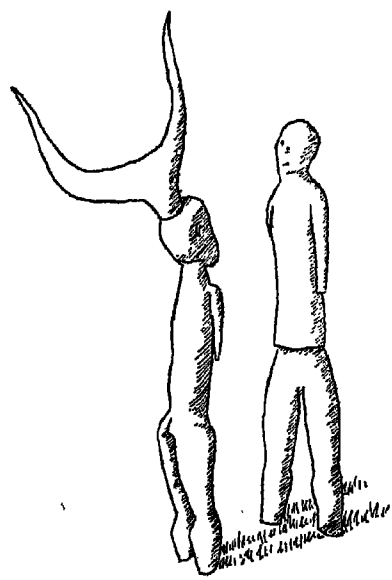


FIG. 31. Funerary figures of Bongo (Evans-Pritchard).

We shall ignore the accounts by previous writers of the carved posts and figures surrounding Bongo graves, and confine ourselves to a summary of Professor Evans-Pritchard's information and conclusions.[3]

[1] This type of grave is illustrated by Schweinfurth, ii, 461. [2] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., 39.

[3] In his account Professor Evans-Pritchard cites various early travellers. Thus Petherick described a Bongo village as approached by narrow footpaths, on each side of which were rough wooden posts carved into semblances of human figures. "These figures were said to represent the chief proceeding to a festival, and followed by his retainers bearing viands and mau to the feast." Two such wooden figures (one now in the British Museum) are represented in Wood's *Natural History of Man* (1874): "Africa," 500. Heughlin (*Reise in das Gebiet des Weissen Nil und seiner westlichen Zuflüsse in den Jahren*, 1862–4, 1869, 196) also describes the graves as surmounted by notched stakes. Schweinfurth illustrates the grave of a Bongo chief, where rough-hewn figures "represented the chief followed in procession by his wives and children, apparently issuing from the tomb" (i, 285; also *Artes Africanae*, pl. viii). A carved female figure also illustrated in *Artes Africanae*, viii, was said to have been set up in memory of a deceased wife. See also Seligman, "A Bongo Funeral Figure": *Man*, 1917, 67.

Besides the wooden figures of men there are other carved posts erected, which record the number of the larger animals killed by the deceased (Fig. 32), indeed the number of different species may be determined by adding the appropriate notches and considering the shape of the forked head of the posts. It can thus be determined whether a carving represents elephant, lion, leopard, or buffalo, or other of the larger and more dangerous animals, which alone are

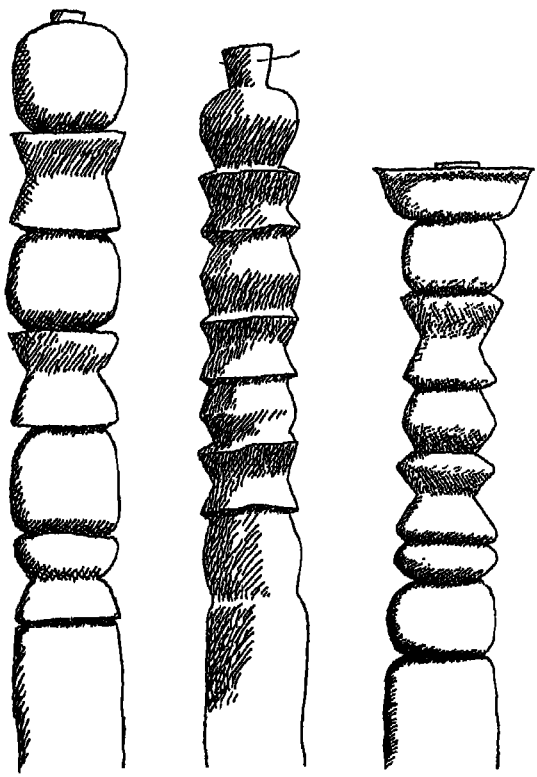


FIG. 32. Notched tally posts on Bongo graves (from photographs by Evans-Pritchard); the expansion at the top of the right-hand figure is a tin basin.

represented. The tops of the posts may be branched, and so resemble the horns of animals, which indeed they are supposed to represent, and are named according to the animal for which they stand, e.g. *dombura* (*do mbura*, the head of the *mbura*), *dokobi* (*do kobi*, the head of the buffalo), and so on.

"Carved images of persons are not erected over every grave, but only over the graves of old or important persons or their sons. There appears to

be no ritual associated with them. They are simply erected to honour the dead. All graves of men, on the other hand, seem to have carved [notched] posts erected on them to tally the number of animals they have killed. If the dead has not been a hunter of any note, then a relative or relative-in-law will honour him by recording his own kills on a post, and will put it up over the dead man's grave. Even in the case of women, who do not hunt animals, one sees such posts erected on their graves. These are put up by her husband, who notches thereon the animals which he has killed" [1]

At one grave, seen in the country of the Karakiti tribe (Pl. XLIX, Fig. 1),

"there were three carved poles surmounting the heap of stones over the grave. The carving on these poles represented a tally of twenty elephants. Round the grave planted into the earth were five other posts. Walking round the grave clockwise, the first post . . . was carved in the likeness of the dead, having bead eyes, and the face . . . stained blue with a dye bought from an Arab merchant. . . . the body being painted red with red ochre. Next came a carved branching pole erected by the son-in-law of the dead man in honour of his wife's father, but upon which he recorded his own game tally of buffaloes. Then came another carved post in the likeness of the dead, but with carvings also which represented two hippopotami killed. Next came a post (*do masha*) showing six carvings, each representing a rhinoceros. Lastly there was a post (*do kobi*) showing a bag of five buffaloes." [2]

Fig. 2 of Pl. XLIX is from a photograph sent us by Dr. Tucker. We regard this as representing a Bongo grave, though it has been alleged to be Mittu. The grave is surrounded by stakes about four feet high, with the central space filled in with lumps of iron-stone. The wooden figures outside the palisade were said to be effigies of a chief and his daughter, while a miniature arrow in the neck and a hole in the chest were considered to represent the chief's mode of death by arrow and spear.

Professor Evans-Pritchard's informants seemed to regard the provision of anthropoid carvings as a Bor (Belanda) custom rather than Bongo. All denied that such images were ever made except to place on graves, and nothing was known of the figures described by Schweinfurth as used in order to discover the murder of a relative or set up in the hut in memory of a departed wife.[3]

OTHER TRIBES OF THE BONGO-MITTU SUB-GROUP

The remaining tribes of the Mittu sub-group are very similar in language and culture to the Bongo. The Beli is the largest, and with

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., 38. [2] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., 38.
[3] Schweinfurth, i, 285–6; also illustrated in *Artes Africanae*, viii.

them we may class the Sofi, who speak a dialect of Beli. Further to the south are the Löri, a dialect of whose language is apparently spoken by the Moro Wadi and Moro Kodo. It is not easy to decide how far the languages of these tribal groups are intelligible to members of other groups, but it certainly appears from native accounts and on the basis of vocabularies that this Mittu sub-group of peoples speak three distinct languages, all related fairly closely to each other but not mutually intelligible. These are: (1) Beli-Sofi, (2) Gberi-Mittu, (3) Löri-Moro Kodo.

Of all these tribes the Beli are the most numerous. They extend from north of Toinya post, as far as the Ngok Dinka in the north, and the Agar Dinka and Bongo on east and west respectively. The Sofi live to the south of Toinya post and north of old M'volo. The Gberi live to the west of M'volo, and the Löri to the east of old M'volo and along the old M'volo-Gnop road.

The "easterners" of these tribes speak Dinka as well as their own language. Having been forced by Arab and Zande oppression and invasion to the very fringe of the Agar Dinka country, they have not only learnt to speak the Dinka language but have also taken over a certain amount of their culture, and the Dinka have likewise borrowed from them. The "westerners" often speak Zande as a second language, since a large number of them have at one time or another been subject to Zande kings, having been raided by both Tembura and Mange.

The Mittu, about whom Schweinfurth and Junker tell us a good deal, have to-day almost entirely disappeared. They call themselves by the name of Wetu, only a few families are left, and these are mixed with Mundu, Babukur, Moro Kodo, and other tribes. They appear to have had very much the same type of social organization as the Beli and other tribes of the Bongo-Mittu group.

Before the district was overrun by the Azande the Gberi, now occupying both banks of the Meridi river, lived to the west of their present position, with the Mittu and Bongo to the west of them. Assisted by the Mittu and Löri they fought intermittently with the Beli and Sofi, who also say they came from the west, indeed this probably holds for the whole of this sub-group.

At the present day the northern tribes, namely Beli, Sofi, and Gberi, occupy all the country bordering on the Dinka (Atwot), and Bongo. The Azande are reputed to have slain and eaten many of their children, and to have enslaved hundreds of their women and

PLATE XLIX



Bongo grave



Bongo grave

children, whom they took away to the kingdoms of Mange and Tembura, where their descendants still live.

The general political and social organization of these tribes seems to be much the same. Each tribe is divided into a number of sections, having clans, which appear to be totemic. The clans are exogamous, but the rules of exogamy often seem to include the more closely related clans of the same section. To-day these tribes live in small villages, inhabited by close relatives and sometimes relatives-in-law. In the past larger circular villages, containing from fifty to a hundred persons each, usually built close to a river or stream and heavily stockaded, were the rule. Sometimes there would be two or three such villages close together, more commonly there would be many miles of intervening bush between villages or between small groups of villages. If a number of deaths occurred in one of these stockaded villages it would be deserted and a new one built in the vicinity.

Among the Beli the mother-in-law is treated with respect, and direct contact with her is avoided.

> "A man may not during the early days of marriage eat any food in his mother-in-law's homestead. Your brothers may eat it, but you must go and beg food from some neighbour, and when you have eaten it you will return to the house of your parents-in-law to sleep there with your wife. Some few months after marriage your mother-in-law will take pity on your plight, and will give you a goat, so that you may eat, and a hoe, so that you drink, in her house. . . . These payments are made to quiet the shame which the young man has at eating at his mother-in-law's homestead.
>
> "When your mother-in-law comes to see you, you must give her five hoes, and a similar amount to your father-in-law, to enable them to eat at your house. Even your wife will not eat in your house unless you give her five spears, which she will later give to her father when she pays him a visit." [1]

There is no doubt that in the old days rain-makers were the most important people in all these tribes; apart from their ceremonial functions they had much the same political authority that we found among the Nuba. The great chiefs of the past were Maceki of the Idoki clan of the Gabi section of the Beli, and Tio of the Tobaguru clan of the Lŏri section, also of the Beli. Maceki ruled the northern, Tio the southern Beli. Under Maceki was a "secular ruler", or "assistant", instructed by him. This man was Ngaki, to whom Maceki entrusted rain-stones, which were returned on his death to the clan of Maceki. When Maceki died his brother or son, Deri,

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., 32–3.

became rain-maker, and on Deri's death Guruwel, a son of Maceki, learned the art and still practises it. Another clan or family who now make rain have learnt the art lately from the Gabi, i.e. Maceki's section. Similarly, Tio among the southern Beli seems to have instituted chiefs, such as Turu of the Ngira clan and Agari son of Gyar, who were not originally rain-makers. Agari's son, Ndiya, is the present chief.

It seems that there was at one time a feud between the Löri and the clan of Agari, and that it was settled by a ceremony in which rain-stones were handed over by the Löri to Agari, with licence to make rain, an art still practised by this section, though Ndiya, the present chief, considers himself too young to undertake the work, which is in the hands of an old man of his clan.

Among the Löri the rain-makers, or the main line of rain-makers, are the descendants of Gurutobo, who during a rainstorm fell from the sky with his drum, his rain-stones, his rain-medicine, and the special bell, called *kobo*, which is used in rain-making. The people placed him under a goat shelter and made him a fire of goat dung, and soon a woman called Tato bore him a child, Ndiyo.

The Mittu, as already stated, are virtually extinct, but Professor Evans-Pritchard was able to gain considerable knowledge of rain-makers and rain-making among other members of the group, the following account being taken from his unpublished material.

The Beli rain-making shrine (called *heri*) consists of a forked pole with one notch in it and a fragment of rope hanging from the notch. At its base are two ordinary spear-heads, lying by some turned-down potsherds. These are called *me ngeri* "spears of the chief", but they are not considered to be older than Tio, the father of the present rain-maker. Besides these, beneath the same potsherds, is a rain-stone, a small polished stone axe about 1½ inches long, said to be the only rain-stone in the homestead. Such axe-heads are associated with thunder; their Beli names are *pamu liri* or *nyolimu liri*, signifying "the teeth of thunder", and "the hammer of thunder" respectively (the ordinary Beli word for stone being *pai*).

The rain-maker is called *ngeri toro*, "chief of the rain". When he wants to make rain he places the stone on some leaves of the plants called in Zande *kpoiyo* and *badanggi* and pours water over it; he may also take it in his hands and wash it, when it is expected that rain will fall on the following day. If the rain-maker also cuts a hen's throat at the shrine, presumably allowing the blood to drip on the rain-stone,

it is thought that rain will fall the same day, and the fact was stressed that no one would venture out of doors owing to the expected downpour. On the other hand, if no rain has fallen by the next day the rain-maker will go to his mother's grave and there cut the throat of a hen and perform a ceremony similar to the first; for here he keeps his other rain-stone, a large axe-head sheltered under a potsherd, as well as a bell which he uses in his ritual.

When the rain-maker cuts the throat of the hen he says: "You are rain, come to-day, do not let the blood of this hen dry upon the ground; come and wash the ground, that the blood may not dry there." He also calls upon the ancestral spirits in rain-making, on Juko his mother, and on Ndiyo and Gurutobo (or, as he sometimes seems to be called, Tobaguru) to grant rain. He says: "Spirits of so-and-so, and so-and-so, and so-and-so, spirits of my ancestors, I am greatly distressed. My children will all die [of drought]. Why do you depart from me and leave me to die, me and my children?" It seemed to be the spirits, called *hege*, rather than the deity (Matoro) who gave rain, but probably there is confusion between the two. The ritual is performed in private.

The "working principle" (if we may put it so) of the rain-stones and other rain-making objects is that if they are exposed rain will come, and continue to fall during the time that they are uncovered. Hence at the beginning of the rainy season the stones are exposed on leaves near this shrine (*heri*). When the millet is ripe rain is no longer required, so the rain-maker replaces the stones under their potsherd shelter, the purpose of the covering being to protect the sacred objects from the sun, exposure to which would induce perpetual rain. Near the grave of the rain-maker's mother is a pot called *ndi*, in which is kept oil made from the fruit of the tree called by the Azande *kpakoli*. The rain-maker anoints his body with some of this oil, so that the butter tree will bear abundant fruit. Here is built a miniature hut, and under it is placed the pot, the axe covered by its sherd, and the bell.

At the rain-maker's homestead Professor Evans-Pritchard also saw certain special horns (*bila* in Beli, *bisa* in Zande), apparently three in number, said to be the only ones in the whole country. If after making rain by means of rain-stones the rain still refuses to fall, the rain-maker will summon his relatives, who come and blow on these horns and shout, "Rain fall! rain fall!" and also, "Rain is about to come!" The horns belonged to Gurutobo, who used

them to accompany his song, still sung at the present day, meaning somewhat as follows: "O my sisters, you see me how unhappy I am, come and sit by me, things appear to be going badly for me ahead, *He he! Ha ha!* [and then the horn is blown] *Fi, fi!*"

When Totio, the rain-maker, blew his horn in order to demonstrate his method it was emphasized that rain was sure to fall that day; this seemed unlikely, as it was still the dry season (April 4th) and an unusually fine day, yet in about half an hour there was a heavy shower.

The rain-maker will sometimes choose a child as his successor; he puts the last joint of the child's little finger into his mouth and bites it—but not particularly hard—telling him that one day he will make rain. Further, when an old rain-maker is dying he calls for his successor, and raising his own arm says: "I am dying, may rain come always, let this my son bring rain, may rain not depart, let rain come for my son." He then takes his successor's little finger and bites the tip of it fairly hard, often hard enough to draw blood. After his death an older relative will take the new rain-maker and seat him in front of the rain-stones, which are in a pot, and cut his waist-cord so that he sits there naked. He is then anointed with oil while the onlookers shout, "*Toro, toro!*" Finally, shielding his eyes, he carries the pot into his hut.

When the young rain-maker begins to exercise his power of making rain he will associate an older relative with him, and this man will get water and leaves of *kpoiyo* and *badanggi* for him and will help him generally in rain-making. It was however stated that it was preferable to leave the work of rain-making to old men, since the man who undertakes the work becomes useless as a hunter; however easy the target he is sure to miss it.

Should the usual methods of rain-making fail, the rain-maker takes a small pot called *ngwiya* and puts *gero* medicine into it, heating it over the fire to discover who is withholding the rain. Names are repeated, and he is held guilty at whose name the *gero* burns. The culprit is seized, bound, and left in the sun, and afterwards is thrown into water to compel him to withdraw his opposition. Only when the rain falls is he anointed with oil and given food to eat. It seemed that the same "medicine" was used to prevent and to produce rain, and even the rain-stones might be used, but the technique was not ascertained.

In the old days the chief rain-maker would often receive presents of grain, and such services as building his house would be cheerfully rendered; sometimes he would tour the country, and he would be given presents. If the rain-maker be angry or sorrowful when he makes rain, it will fall on his house alone and the rest of the country will suffer drought (a thing by no means impossible in this part of Africa, where showers are often extremely local). If he is thought to be depressed he will be anointed with oil, and goats and grain are brought to cheer him and so to produce rain.

A rain-maker must never see blood if he can possibly avoid it, nor will he be present at funerals of ordinary folk. If a man wounds his wife and she flies to the rain-maker and seizes his leg, he says, "You have killed me," and the husband will have to pay him compensation for the sight of blood.

The death of a rain-maker is said to be slow, it is only very gradually that he passes away. His immediate relatives may not bury him, but go away after they have washed and anointed the corpse. The rain-makers of the country collect to dig the grave, which should be near that of his mother. All the young men keep far from the corpse, but one blows the horns of an animal and the others stand round saying in series, "*He!*" "*Ha!*", "*Toro!*" in order that rain may not stop on account of the rain-maker's death. After burying their fellow the rain-makers wash themselves and gather together to blow on the sacred horns, beat a special drum, dance, and feast. The people should not mourn when a rain-maker dies. Normally a rain-making ceremony takes place in the house of the rain-maker, but if on consulting the *dakpwa* oracle (borrowed from the Azande) the order is given, the people go to the grave of the late rain-maker and cut the throat of a hen there and throw water into the air, calling for rain.

The rain-maker observes various taboos: he must not have frequent relations with women, and may not eat certain foods, nor may he carry a sharp spear but only a blunted one. When asked whether in the event of rain not coming the rain-maker would in any way be maltreated the answer was a decided negative. He is invariably shown respect, but in the event of his ritual being unsuccessful the old men of his clan will come together and blow on the horns, shouting "*He toro! He toro!*" and wash their bodies, when rain will come.

Among the Mittu proper, rain-making is no longer practised owing to the virtual extinction of the tribe, but in the old days it was a

flourishing art. The rain-making stones still exist, and the place where they lie in the bush is treated with considerable respect. Care is taken not to let them suffer in the annual burning of the bush, and Professor Evans-Pritchard, though permitted to photograph them, was not allowed to touch them. Besides these axe-heads—used by Bongo, Beli, and Mittu alike—there was a large stone of the Bushman digging-stick type, known to the Mittu as *dohu ndabi*, meaning "stone of thunder"; this type was unknown to the Beli.

If a man commits a crime such as theft or adultery, his accusers take the spears of Tio from the *heri* (shrine) and walk round the accused, saying, "If he has sinned then let him die." If he is guilty one of his brothers will die, then another, then his sister, his wife, and later he too will perish. The Bongo also swear by a blacksmith's hammer, which they hold in their hands, saying, "If I lie may this hammer kill me!"

THE BASIRI GROUP

For our knowledge of the second group we are in the main reduced to what Professor Evans-Pritchard could discover concerning the Mbegumba, that section of the Belanda tribe who are not Shilluk-speaking.[1]

The Mbegumba possess no livestock other than fowls; their staple crop is millet, but they also grow maize, manioc, sweet-potatoes, and yams. Some of their useful plants seem to have been introduced by the Azande, e.g. the banana, which however grows poorly in their country. On the other hand they appear to have added one or two plants to the gardens of those Azande who live in their vicinity, e.g. the oil-bearing plants called in Zande *bura* and *gali*. They have considerable reputation as hunters and as possessors of hunting magic. They hunt largely with bow and arrows, often climbing trees near which animals are known to congregate and shooting from the branches; they also drop spears from trees as the herds pass beneath, and dig pits along animal tracks leading towards salt-licks at the edge of the salt marshes. Another method is to hoe small paths round areas of bush and note the track of beasts entering, the animals being then driven into nets in the usual manner, or the bush

[1] The Belanda as a tribal unit has come into existence as the result of Zande pressure, and perhaps the raids of Arab slavers. It includes Shilluk-speaking dolichocephals and the Basiri-speaking tribes of our group *B* (p. 463), presumably mesaticephals.

may be fired in a circle round a herd of elephants or other beasts. Fishing is an important economic activity of this people, who make use of hooks, nets, dams, basket-work traps, and poison, which is thrown into the streams.

The Mbegumba have a high reputation as smiths. They understand spinning and weaving, though this is possibly due to Arab influence. They carve wooden bowls and stools and the women make pots. Their technique differs from any other so far described in the Sudan in that before firing the pots are coated with a slip of the special kind of black mud called *liki* in Zande; the finished pot has a high polish, presumably obtained by burnishing before firing. Professor Evans-Pritchard saw one specimen of xylophone and was told that both the Basiri and Ndogo play this instrument.

> "Before they submitted to Zande rule the Mbegumba were not highly developed politically. Their old men appear to have exercised limited authority over small areas and within their own clans, though it is difficult to say how far this authority went. It is perhaps worth quoting their own statement on this point: 'In the old days the Mbegumba had no chiefs [i.e. in the sense in which the Zande understand the word *gbia*], but were broken up into many small communities. An old man with his sons and younger brothers and other relatives lived together and everybody resided in similar groups. They were divided into clans, always at war with each other.'" [1]
>
> "The Mbegumba say that an average bride-wealth consists of about twenty spears, some scores of arrows in quivers, mats, hoes, axes, bark-cloth, baskets, gourds, knives, rings, waterbuck-skin waistbands, and so on." [2]

The common Mbegumba ordeal is by boiling water, but they also have the following very interesting mode of divination. If a man is seriously ill, his neighbours will gather at the home of an elderly man, each bringing with him earth from the grave of a relative. They sit round in a circle, each with his little heap of earth in front of him. The elderly man takes a fowl and placing its neck across a block of wood cuts off its head. The decapitated hen struggles away and falls dead near to one of the heaps of earth, when the sickness is held to be due to the spirit of the man from whose grave the earth was taken.[3]

[1] Evans-Pritchard, "The Mberidi, etc., of the Bahr el Ghazal": *S.N. & R.*, xiv, 1931, 36.

[2] Op. cit., 40.

[3] Professor Evans-Pritchard points out that divining by cutting a fowl's throat and noting the object opposite to which it dies is practised by a group of Moro near Amadi and has been described by Dr. R. E. McConnell for the Lugbware ("Notes on the Lugwari tribe of Central Africa": *JRAI.*, lv, 1925, 462). Both of these peoples speak dialects of the Madi language. In judicial trials among the Lugbware eight stones are arranged on the circumference of a circle at regular intervals. In the centre a peg is driven into the ground and a fowl is attached to it by a cord. When its throat is cut it runs round and round in a circle until it dies opposite one of these stones. One of the eight represent the accused.

> "The man who brought the heap of earth now goes to the grave of his relative and there collects some more earth, rolling it in a bundle of leaves which is tied round the sick man's neck. If the latter does not recover the body may be dug up, and a necklace of its teeth hung round the sick man's neck. If he dies they may use this method of divination again and if it is ascertained that his death was due to the spirit some kind of compensation can be extracted from the family, failing which a feud may develop."

The Mbegumba say that their method of burial has always been similar to that of the Azande, and this is so at the present time. The corpse is placed in a side chamber of a circular grave and the chamber closed with stakes of wood; a small mound of beaten earth marks the grave. A feast is held about a year after death, when a heap of stones is erected over the mound, and a wooden effigy of the deceased may be set up in the midst of the stones. Professor Evans-Pritchard suggests that the Mbegumba borrowed the practice of making these stone burial mounds from the Bongo, as they almost certainly did the wooden grave effigies, for neither the Basiri nor Shilluk-speaking cultures are recorded as possessing the latter and they are unknown to the Azande. He adds that those erected by the Mbegumba are the finest he has seen in the Bahr el Ghazal. They are draped with bark-cloth or a woven waistband, and are adorned with hats, ear-ornaments, and nose-pins; they are made for both sexes, the bodies well carved and in parts coloured with red and blue dyes. Sometimes there are three short diagonal cuts on each cheek, which may constitute a tribal mark. During the feast when these effigies are erected the Mbegumba shoot arrows into them, just as do the Bongo, and like them they also erect posts which act as a tally of the larger and more dangerous beasts killed by the deceased.[1]

The older information we possess about the Ndogo is slight and unreliable. Even Schweinfurth,[2] usually our best authority on the Bahr el Ghazal, is too overcome by the confusion existing in the north-west of the province to give a distribution of its peoples of ethnographical value. Professor Evans-Pritchard has however formed the opinion that the Ndogo originated from the Basiri. The main body of Basiri submitted to Zande rule and remained a coherent group. Some migrated northwards and have made several settlements in the north-west of the Bahr el Ghazal, where they now speak Ndogo, while others migrated north-eastwards and settled in the hills between Tembura post and the Bo river. Here they were

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., 39. [2] Vol. ii, 366–7.

again harried by Azande and Arabs, and a secondary dispersion took place resulting in the formation of widely separated pockets.

THE MORO

The following notes on the Moro are put together from information supplied by Professor Evans-Pritchard. The name Moro is applied to a number of tribes in the Amadi district. The Kederu, Mesa, Uggi, and Moro Endri may be regarded as Moro proper; their language, which is distinct from Bongo-Mittu and Bari, appears to be a dialect of Madi and akin to Lendu and Lugbware.[1] Here we mainly refer to the Moro Mise.

The Moro are an agricultural people, with but few cattle, for the country is subject to tsetse fly. They are keen hunters, using a bow with poisoned arrows and the spear for the final thrust; they also make traps. They are divided into a large number of patrilineal totemic clans, which possibly have a territorial basis. The tendency for totem clans to split is well marked, but Professor Evans-Pritchard gives no reason for it. The word for totem is *karo*, and all men become their totem animal at death. Married women observe their husband's totem taboos as well as their own, otherwise their children would die. Men of the leopard totem kill leopard, but do not eat it or use its skin.

In the past bride-wealth was given in cows, but now hoes are usual and even money payments are made. Fifteen hoes or three pounds is the usual fee. If a wife dies without children the bride-wealth is sent back, but if she dies after the birth of one child five hoes must be paid.

A woman returns to her parents' home for the birth of her first child, and usually stays there for about six months. Intercourse is forbidden for a year after birth, but lactation continues after this for a long time. Polygyny is common, chiefs having as many as ten wives. Each wife has her own hut and grindstone.

It seemed that there was no fine for adultery, but that the offended party could take vengeance on the adulterer, and before the coming of the Government he would generally have been killed.

[1] In order to avoid misunderstanding we may repeat that the Moro Kodo, Nyamusa, and two small tribes called Wira and Biti, belong to the Bongo-Mittu group, and live to the north of the true Moro.

The clan Mbori is considered to have special powers, as all its members are or can be possessed by the spirit of Lu (God), and only such persons can make rain. This clan is found in the Moro Endri territory, probably also among the Moro Uggi. In Zande Mbŏli is the Supreme Being, and throughout the Moro area the word has some kind of spiritual meaning.

Mbori rain-makers generally teach their eldest sons the art. Although their spiritual power may be very great it is difficult to ascertain to what extent they had direct political influence, as the country was overrun both by the Zande and the Dervish raiders before the coming of the British. All Mbori are potentially rain-makers, but certain men gain great reputations, and, as they also practise other magic, have got into trouble with the Government and have suffered imprisonment. This made it difficult to obtain information, and Professor Evans-Pritchard did not hear of the use of rain-stones. He was told that the rain-maker has a special pot, seemingly of quite ordinary make. There is water in this and the rain-maker cuts the throat of a hen over it; he then washes his face, dips a special creeper into the pot, and sprinkles water in the air, while praying to Lu. The remainder of the water is thrown on the ground, but the pot is left mouth upward for the rest of the rainy season, not inverted as at other times.

Rain-makers have a certain holiness. In the old days they wore their hair long and did not wash the upper part of the body. To eat or drink with a rain-maker, or to sleep on a bed on which one had slept, might cause illness, which could be cured by the Mbori sprinkling water on the sufferer. The rain-makers used their magic for the preservation of order and morality, and worked with the chiefs. A magic whistle would be blown to detect theft or other crime; the malefactor who thus became the victim of magic fell ill, and not until he repented would the Mbori remove his sickness. The Mbori used to organize great gatherings, when feasts were held and a general truce observed. All weapons—bows, arrows, and spears—were piled in the homestead of an important Mbori; the clan sat in a circle round the arms and the people sat in a large circle around them. The senior Mbori cut the throat of a hen and daubed the blood on certain men, telling some to bring meat, others to fetch termites, honey, beer, and so on. A great feast then took place, and anyone who broke the truce became ill by the magic of the Mbori. Iron is used by the Mbori to avert the contagion of their magic; when a

PLATE L



Moro man



Moro Lagi women with lip plugs

Mbori cures a sick man the illness comes to the Mbori, and he must then scrape his flanks with an old iron spearhead. One young Mbori suffered so much when he began to practice curing sickness that he ceased to officiate, nor did he become a rain-maker. The Mbori have power over leopards, who do their bidding.

Persons who are afflicted with tremors and loss of speech are called *mbori dominia* and are said to be possessed by Lu.

Among the Moro Kodo, where there are no Mbori, there are medicine men, called *odraba*, who do not seem to be associated with

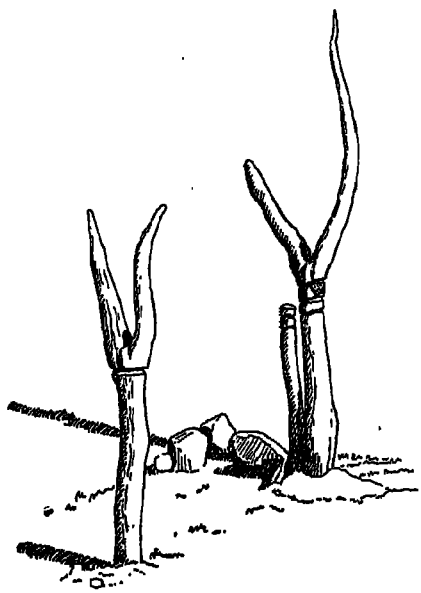


FIG. 33. Moro Kodo shrine (from photograph by Evans-Pritchard).

rain. The *odraba* seen by Professor Evans-Pritchard owed his power to medicine which had come into the family five generations ago, since when it had passed from father to son until the last generation, when a sister's son, who would otherwise have died, was cured and learned to become an *odraba*. Besides these *odraba* who had learnt the art in succession, it seemed that there were others who had bought their knowledge from some of the original *odraba*. Information was however hard to obtain, owing to the usual difficulties between medicine men and Government.

Besides the Mbori and the *odraba* there are various other experts

in magic who act professionally. The *mibia* uses snake poison, and is generally a woman; the *lendriba* is a diviner; the *milaba* seems to act as a guardian of social morality. When a man has a legitimate grievance he goes to a *milaba*, who causes sickness to the evildoer by means of a magic whistle or, when it is known who the offender is, by putting some magic object in his house.

Kole are persons who possess a malign influence similar to the evil eye. Men, women, or children, may be *kole*, and they can be recognized because they are morose when others are gay. They are not molested except when a death occurs, or they may be blamed for sterility. There is a special process by means of which such persons can be detected, and the *lendriba* is usually consulted. In the old days if a death was divined as due to a *kole* the latter would be put to death.

The *mberiju* seems to be a sorcerer—said to exist only among the Moro Kodo, Kederu, and Nyamusa—to whom are attributed deaths having no social sanction.

Mato may in some ways be confused with *kole*, but they also seem to be looked upon as ghouls or ghosts, who in a spiritual sense "eat" their victim's body. After a death it is necessary for relatives to sleep near the grave and to keep fires burning to drive away the *mato*, who it was said would be shot at sight.

Dimiti are connected with some secret cult, which has been suppressed by the Government. The *dimiti* call themselves sons of Lu and claim to be possessed by Lu.

Kwoso are medicine men, who use massage and claim to extract objects from the body.

Tori is the word used for the spirits of the dead and may also be used for sacrifice. The *tori* of a dead ancestor or relative may enter a man's head at night, when it becomes necessary to divine the spirit's identity.

The graves of the Moro are very characteristic. The Moro Endri excavate a chamber at the bottom of a shaft, down which the body is passed after being rubbed all over with oil. The floor is covered with fresh leaves, the body placed in a sitting position, males facing east, females facing west. The chamber is closed with wooden stakes over which stones are laid, and eventually a small earth mound is raised over the level of the grave.

The various Moro groups regarded as constituting the Moro proper (p. 463) erect remarkable megalithic monuments over their graves.

PLATE LI





"The normal form of grave in Mesa country consists of several stones of flat white granite leaning together in pairs one above another, the first pairs resting against the grave heap, with one slab much taller than the other—it may be 6, 8, or even 12 feet long—pointing either to the rising or to the setting sun. If the grave is of a man the stone points to the east, if of a woman the stone points to the west, for a man rises from sleep, shades his eyes and looks towards the rising sun, since his hunting day begins with the sun, while a woman rises from sleep in the afternoon, shades her eyes and looks to the west, as it is when the sun begins to set that she prepares the evening meal. A dolmen type of monument, generally about 2 ft. high, is erected over the graves of first-born children—or perhaps only first-born males—by the various divisions of the Moro proper, i.e. Endri, Mesa, Kederu, and Uggi. These two types of graves are then normal to the Moro proper, who of old did not erect posts on their graves, though the Kederu do nowadays. No doubt many of the stone slabs are used over and over again; admittedly it is the custom so to treat the fallen stones of the ancient graves to the forgotten dead, but no stone is used for any purpose from the grave of one known and remembered."

The graves of the Moro, Mesa, and Endri are made within the homestead enclosure. If a first-born infant dies it is not buried near its mother's house but outside the hut of its maternal grandmother.

"If the first-born or any other infant were to be buried near the hut of its mother it is believed that it would enter into the womb of its mother again and consequently be born and die once more. Therefore it is buried near the hut of a woman who is past child-bearing. A first-born appears to be connected far more intimately with the mother's family than any later children, and possibly more closely with its mother's family than its father's. Still-born children . . . do not have any stones put over their graves, but three little wooden pegs are driven into the ground above them."

South of the Moro live the Abukaya, whose language and many of whose customs are similar to the Moro; their graves however are always distinct from those of the Moro proper. They select a large ant-hill in the neighbourhood of the dead man's home and dig down from the summit. A trench is dug in this, and perhaps a smaller trench in the bottom of the first, the body being covered by a layer of horizontal stakes plastered over with clay; the grave is filled in, and a neatly plastered conical mound is built over it. This is surmounted by a tall carved wooden post, called *lusi*, made from the trunk of a tree rounded and carved at the top in the manner shown in Fig. 34. The *lusi*, while not carved in the likeness of a human figure, was nevertheless held to represent the dead man or woman, and the prominence given to the umbilicus will be noted. Thrust into the top of one *lusi* seen by Professor Evans-Pritchard were some half-dozen arrows, with their shafts in the air. This type

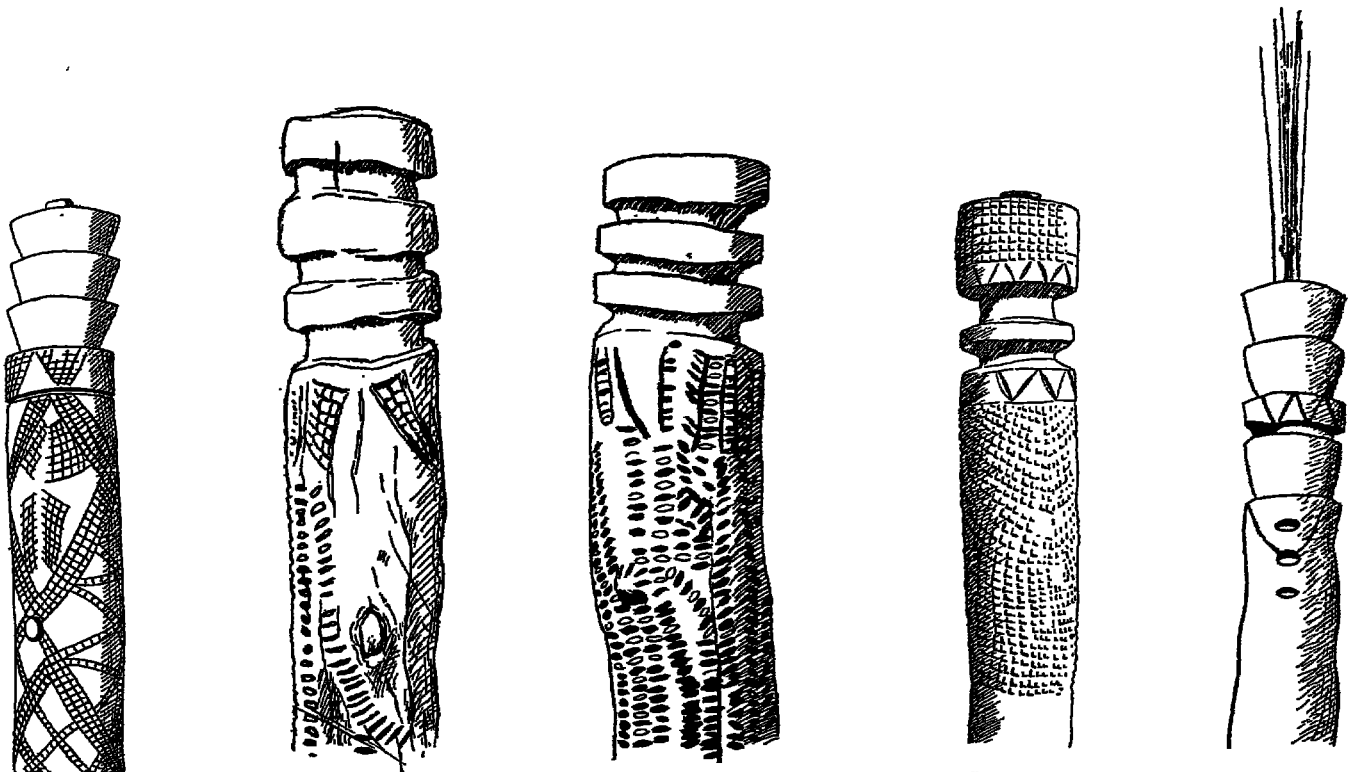


FIG. 34. Abukaya grave-posts (from photographs by Evans-Pritchard).

PLATE LII





Mon[illegible] megalithic [illegible] dolmen [illegible] pe

PLATE LIII



Moro village, with megalithic graves



Abukuya grave

[face p 485

PLATE LIV





of grave, i.e. a post emerging from the summit of a low conical pile of stones, is associated with certain tribes of the Bongo-Mittu group, including the peoples in the neighbourhood of Amadi other than the true Moro, i.e. Nyamusa, Moro Kodo, Abukaya, and perhaps the Biti and Wira, as well as a number of people to the north and north-west. Though the form of these *lusi* may differ in detail, some having one segment, others more than one, all show the same general technique. While in Abukaya country all graves save those of infants appear to have one of these posts surmounting them, in other parts only important people have this added distinction. Professor Evans-Pritchard was told that among the Moro Kodo the segments represent the number of persons or large animals, such as buffalo, elephant, and leopard, killed by the deceased, and as already stated this is certainly the meaning of the notches cut on the wooden grave-posts of the Bongo.

Posts similar to the *lusi* are sometimes erected where there is no grave, as in the enclosure of a chief, who was also an *odraba*, at Amadi. This man was living far from the grave of his father, for whose spirit the post was put up, sacrifices being made there from time to time. The post was probably also connected with the rites he performed as *odraba*.

The Moro Kodo grave, though apparently not built on a termite heap, resembles that of the Abukaya, i.e. a trench with an inner trench is cut at the bottom of the main shaft, covered with logs laid horizontally across it and plastered with clay. On top a heap of stones is raised some 4 or 5 feet high, and if the deceased is a person of distinction a *lusi* is placed at the side of the heap of stones. All Moro put a pot on the grave, and other belongings may be placed by it.

THE MADI

The Madi proper (not to be confused with the Amadi, a tribe in the Congo to the south of the Uelle River, nor with Amadi, a district in the Moro country) inhabit both banks of the Nile south of the Bari and extend westwards beyond the Congo frontier, their territory including the high, well-watered, almost mountainous country along the Nyiri range, where are found rich supplies of iron ore, used by them and the Kuku.

The villages are small and numerous, generally consisting of from five to ten huts grouped round a central cattle-yard. One chief may exercise authority over from one to forty such villages.[1]

Emin describes the houses as mushroom-shaped or semi-spherical, sometimes surrounded by an open colonade formed by the projecting roof, and with low doors that must be entered on all fours. The corn stores are of split bamboo, standing on four legs, with a conical roof. Eleusine, sesame, millet, sweet potato, yams, beans, and tobacco were cultivated in Emin's time, and bananas had been introduced. He saw votive trees here and there between the houses, with skulls, horns, etc., suspended from them.

Intermarriage with the Bari is probably common. Emin states that at puberty the girls sleep in special huts, and the boys who have reached maturity have free access to them. Should a girl become pregnant the youth must marry her and give the usual bride-wealth to her father.[2]

The men go naked, the women wearing a girdle with a tassel behind and a small apron in front. The lower incisors are extracted. Iron ornaments in the form of necklaces, bracelets, and anklets are much worn, while for weapons they have the spear and bow and arrow.

The Madi formerly had many cattle, but these have been greatly reduced in numbers by tsetse fly.

They are divided into exogamous clans with male descent, and are probably totemic, for one of our informants (mission lads at Bor) recognized that he had a close relationship with a bird, *kuloloro*, as had his father, while his mother recognized another animal, perhaps a dog. Another man said that if he speared a bush buck he would hand his spear to a comrade and never use it again, and if one were caught in his hunting net he could not use the net until it had been washed, and he would probably get rid of it, while although he might kill his animal he would not eat it, lest his hair and nails should drop off; another man recognized relationship to the ground squirrel.

The account of rain-making published by Mr. F. H. Rogers[3] suggests that the system of chieftainship is essentially similar to that of the Bari, for the stones used in rain-making are practically

[1] Dr. Czekanowski (*Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebeit*, ii, Leipzig, 1924, 524–5) publishes the figures of the 1904–5 census for Nimule District, which show a total of 228 villages, under 25 chiefs, the largest chieftainship, Pandikerri, having 38 villages and a population of a little over 2,200.

[2] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa* 1888, 102

identical, and a highly prized set of four, used in the Meteru District, was brought to the Madi ten generations ago from the Bari country by the ancestor of the present rain-maker. There are, however, many more rain-making centres among the Madi than among the Bari, and Mr. Rogers gives a list of over twenty places in Madi country where rain-stones are kept.

At Meteru there are two sets of stones, the first and most highly prized, alluded to above, consisting of four conical pieces of quartz—one male and three female. "They are much feared, and contact with them is avoided so far as possible. Except on special occasions, they may only be safely handled by boys or old men; that is to say, persons of maturity would be adversely affected in their relations with women, so that, although the stones are *nominally* n charge of the reigning chief . . . in effect, he deputes someone else to guard them and to carry out the rain-making ceremony." [1] At Meteru the stones are looked after by the chief's mother, and his son, a lad of about 14, is being instructed in their use. They are kept in a pot in a small hut set aside for the purpose (though children may occasionally be allowed to sleep there). Some stones are "said to be susceptible to lightning, and will jump about in a thunderstorm". Four cows and a bull were paid for a set of six stones (three of either sex) at Laropi near Dufile; a further set was acquired from the Bari chief Leju of Shindiru, while others are stones that have been picked up from time to time and are venerated on account of their shape and smoothness.

If the rains fail a meeting is held at the local *rudu*, or sacred grove, and if the matter is considered serious the guardian of the stones is asked to perform the rain-making ceremony. The method varies slightly in different parts of the country, but the general procedure is the same. The stones are washed, smeared with the kidney fat and sometimes stomach contents of a black sheep, and then replaced in their pot, and prayers are offered to the dead fathers, the former chiefs. Each set of rain-stones is kept in a pot containing water, "which is poured out in the dry season and replenished when indications of the new rains appear. The water so used must come from running water. . . . The water is emptied out also, in the case of excessive rain, as an indication to the controlling power that there has been enough." [2] Rain-stones must not be exposed to the sun. "Should occasion arise for them to go a distance, they must be wrapped up and guarded

against exposure; such occasions would be when changing ownership or to help some other country, but they can only be lent thus as a great favour and after much urging." [1]

Ori, the spirits of the dead, were said to cause illness, but we also heard of an agency, Juec, who may have been responsible for epidemics.

A man is buried on the right of the door of his hut (looking from within), a woman on the left, the grave being a circular pit in which the body is placed in the embryonic position, a man lying on his right side, a woman on her left.[2]

The highland Madi observe practically the same customs as do the Kuku with regard to the sacred groves in which their chiefs are buried, but the riverain Madi do not appear to possess such groves. Plate LV, Fig. 2, reproduces a photograph by Mr. Rogers of a sacred grove (*rudu*) at Moyo, showing the megalithic graves of former rain-chiefs.

THE LUO GROUP

Here we are again indebted to Professor Evans-Pritchard for the greater part of our material. As already stated, only a part of the tribe commonly known as Belanda (or Bolanda) [3] are Shilluk-speaking, the name really including the Mbegumba and Mberidi, of different origin, each with its own language and culture.[4] We now know that while the usual local name of the Shilluk-speaking group is Mberidi their true name is Bor, and that they are to be regarded as an offshoot of the Luo, as are the Fujiga. The latter seem to have constituted a Mberidi aristocracy and to have led these people to their present home along the old Yambio-Tonj road, between the Sueh and Iba rivers, on a tributary of the Sueh called in Zande Nangbanguru, "Lioness

[1] Loc. cit.

[2] A Madi grave described by Emin consisted of a circular hole, about 3 feet in diameter and 5 feet deep, dug in front of a hut, the corpse being placed in it in a squatting position wrapped in a skin; the grave was filled in with earth and then covered over with stone slabs. The grave of the mother of the reigning chief was in the middle of the village, marked by a flat stone and several long poles on which hung amulets. The chief's father was buried at the entrance to the village, his grave being marked by an upright stone about 7 feet high, and a post notched at its upper end. Emin notes that wooden memorial figures, such as were at one time thought to occur among the Bari, do not exist among the Madi (op. cit., 260–1).

[3] This name has a Bongo origin, *be landa* signifying "hill-dweller"; it was taken over by the Arabs and transmitted by them to the European travellers of the last quarter of the

PLATE LV



Moro Kodo grave



Madi *ruda*, with wives of rain makers

river." Another tribe, the Kamum, was involved in the Bor and Fujiga migrations, and this too may be regarded as of Luo origin.

Luo traditions indicate that the Bor have been in their present country for a considerable time, for they place the southern migration of the Bor at about the time of Nyakang and bring his name into the story, though the Bor themselves know nothing of these glories. Actually these Bor are the Baer of Petherick and the Behr of Schweinfurth, while the Azande class all these branches of the Luo tribe, together with the Mbegumba, as Abari.

The Bor have undoubtedly fallen upon hard times during the last few generations. Those whom Petherick met in 1858 he found at bitter feud with the Bongo,[1] while their relations with the Azande he describes as follows:—

> "Their fields were on a far more limited scale than those in the Dor country, as they said they were troubled by foraging parties of their southern neighbours, the Neam Neam, who pillaged their villages and committed great slaughter and devastation, their object being to carry off the youth into slavery. . . . They told us they had nearly been exterminated by these cannibals, of whom they professed the greatest horror; and stated that many of their communities had been obliged to fly and establish themselves in distant countries, but whither exactly they knew not, merely pointing to the east and west."[2]

Doubtless these Bor in Yambio District are one such migratory community, which fled north from the Azande only to find themselves threatened by subjection to the slave and ivory traders. Holding the Azande the lesser evil, they turned south again and submitted to Zande domination.

Physically the Bor, with a stature of 1·68 m., are shorter than the Shilluk and Luo, they are indeed even shorter than the Bongo (about 1·70), while their cephalic index (73·2) shows a tendency to mesaticephaly as contrasted with the Shilluk (71·3) and Luo (70·7).

The Bor have a hitherto undescribed clan organization, and Professor Evans-Pritchard heard of lion, leopard, and dura-bird as clan animals. They attribute sickness and death rather to the spirits of the dead than to magic, and in this we may perhaps trace their Nilotic heritage, yet the contact of the Bor and Mbegumba has been so intimate during their long association that it is speculative to attribute the origin of custom to one or other stock.

Summing up the very little we know about the Bor, we may quote Professor Evans-Pritchard's conclusions:—

[1] Op. cit., 454.
[2] Op. cit., 455–6.

"The Shilluk element of the Belanda (Bor) have migrated southwards in successive waves. The last two waves, Mberidi and Fujiga, must have broken away from the Luo during the last century, but the earlier waves (one of which is probably to be identified with the Kamum) may have moved southwards very much earlier, possibly even before Nyakang migrated from the Bahr el Ghazal to the present Shilluk homeland in the sixteenth century. Our knowledge of the Bor is negligible, but one may hazard a conjecture that very little besides language is left of their Nilotic culture." [1]

Certainly their low stature and relatively high cephalic index do little to recall their Nilotic origin.

[1] Op. cit., 42.

CHAPTER XV

THE AZANDE

THAT part of Zande country lying within the Nilotic Sudan includes the Nile-Congo watershed, where are the sources of numerous small streams, among others that of the Sueh river. The country is typical African savanna, with rain-forest on the watershed and in strips along the streams, impassable except along made tracks unless the grass has been recently burnt, the usual practice after the rains.

The following account of the Azande of the Nilotic Sudan (estimated at 185,000) is taken almost entirely from Professor Evans-Pritchard's unpublished material, the result of his ethnological research in the Yambio district of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan between the years 1926 and 1929.

The Zande nation, although extremely heterogenous in origin and split into numerous kingdoms, yet possesses a common language and common political institutions. Both these extend over a vast area, roughly from the Nile (Makaraka section of Rejaf-Yei district) to the main Congo river towards Buma, and the south-west of the Ubangi-Shari Colony of French Equatorial Africa.[1] The Azande, with a total population estimated by Professor Evans-Pritchard at about two millions, thus come to be ruled by three European Governments, those of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Belgian Congo, and French Equatorial Africa. The name Nyam-Nyam, commonly applied to the Azande and alleged to be omatopoeic, referring to the smacking of lips of the cannibal tribes, occurs under the variants of Lem-Lem, Dem-Dem, Gnem-Gnem, Jem-Jem, in the mediæval Arab geographers and in early maps, always to describe peoples of the cannibal belt of central Africa to the south of the northern Moslem area.

The Azande recognize three political classes in their society. The first is that of the chiefs, the Avongara, who led them to the conquest of the territories they hold to-day. Next come the Ambamu, consisting of those Zande clans that long ago were the neighbours of the Avongara and partners in their early victories. The term Auro,

[1] Capt. J. E. T. Philipps, "Geographical Names in the Zande Country": *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1926.

applied to the remaining population, is really used in two senses, either to signify all Azande not included in the Avongara or Ambamu, i.e. clans and peoples absorbed during the long process of conquest and expansion, or it may be applied to foreigners not included in Zande society. Actually the term Azande is often used to refer to all members of the Zande conglomerate except the Avongara, so that it may be said of so-and-so that he is not a Vongara but a Zande, but the latter term is also used in a wider sense to include Avongara and commoners together, in contrast to foreigners who do not speak the Zande language. In this chapter we shall use the term "Azande" for the people, and "Zande" as an adjective as well as to signify a single member of the tribe.

As might be expected from the many tribes subject to Vongara rule and constituting the Zande nation, there is much variation in physical characters, yet neither the earlier travellers nor Professor Evans-Pritchard mention the occurrence of an aristocratic type peculiar to the Avongara. Our personal experience of the Azande is limited to the individuals we met outside their own country. Schweinfurth, who measured the Azande (though his measurements were destroyed unpublished) describes them as of medium height with "round broad heads . . . which . . . may be ranked among the lowest rank of brachycephaly". He adds that the eyes "are of remarkable size and fullness; the wide space between them testifies to the unusual width of the skull, and contributes a mingled expression of animal ferocity, warlike resolution, and ingenuous candour. A flat, square nose, a mouth of about the same width as the nose, with very thick lips, a round chin, and full plump cheeks complete the countenance, which may be described as circular in its general contour".[1] He describes the ground tint of the skin as invariably "an earthy red", adding that among the women may be found individuals with skins of various copper-coloured shades.

In the Sudan, Azande have been measured by Dr. Pirrie (10) and Professor Evans-Pritchard (23), the C.I according to both authorities being 79, with stature of 1·72 m. and 1·66 m. respectively. The much larger number (216) of Azande measured by Czekanowski[2] in Belgian territory gives the following figures: C.I. 78·2, N.I. 82·5, F.I. 85·9, U.F.I. 54·0, Stature 1·70 m., indicating no great difference between the Azande of the Sudan and Belgian Congo. In Professor

[1] Schweinfurth, ii, 5; [illegible] (Berlin 1922), 406–17.

PLATE LVI



Evans-Pritchard's notes the subjects measured are described as black (*bi*) and red (*ɣamba*), really a reddish brown, some of the latter being as light-skinned as Berberines (a common but variable standard in the Sudan, as the Berberines have penetrated everywhere as servants and traders). It did not seem that either type of skin was specially associated with social rank, certainly both are found among Avongara, and if the latter are to be identified at sight it is by their air of authority, not by physical characters.

The Azande have been described as mentally keener and more alert than other tribes of the Sudan, and Professor Evans-Pritchard participates in this view. He emphasizes their more numerous interests, their attendance at court, and the place taken in their lives by court gossip, and comparing them with other tribes considers their outlook sophisticated in contrast to the "rustic" attitude of other peoples. The cannibalism for which they are renowned—never a Vongara practice—seems to have been largely a matter of individual taste, some liked human flesh, others did not; no doubt there was also an element of fashion, and naturally the supply depended on war. The Ambamu certainly practised cannibalism 60 or 70 years ago, and Ongosi (the patriarch of the photograph reproduced on Plate LVII) had in his youth seen baskets of human arms and legs prepared for food.

The Azande themselves often speak of their chiefs as if they belonged to a different stock, and it is probably this usage that has led some Europeans to maintain that a Vongara language, or at least its remains, exists. Professor Evans-Pritchard feels certain that this idea is mistaken. He points out that the existence of such a language is universally denied by commoners and chiefs alike, while the existence of a Vongara language would be in direct opposition to all Zande traditions concerning the origin of their chiefs, all of whom in the Sudan trace their descent to Mabenge, or even to Ngura, living three or four generations before Gbudwe (Yambio) the last independent sovereign, who was killed in 1905.

The Makaraka, properly Adio, who speak a dialect of Zande, are to be regarded as essentially Azande, though on account of the ethnic confusion of the country they occupy their position is not really clear. The usual view is that they belong to the original Zande-speaking nucleus and broke away from the Avongara a century or more ago. They have been described by Junker as having a skin colour inclining to a ruddy brown tone and a

well-developed muscular system, while the beard, which is usually little developed, may acquire a certain fullness.[1] They excel other Sudan tribes in plastic ability, the human heads modelled on the mouths of their flask-shaped water jars being not unworthy of West Africa.

The Government in its fight against sleeping sickness has lately forced the people into settlements of considerable size, but before this the Azande, in spite of their centralized government, built no villages but lived in homesteads (*kpolo*) loosely bound together by a system of winding paths (Fig. 35). Two types of homestead were constructed, the straggling and the oval or circular, the former being the more common, and both were practically self-supporting. In both types each married woman had her own hut and granary in a

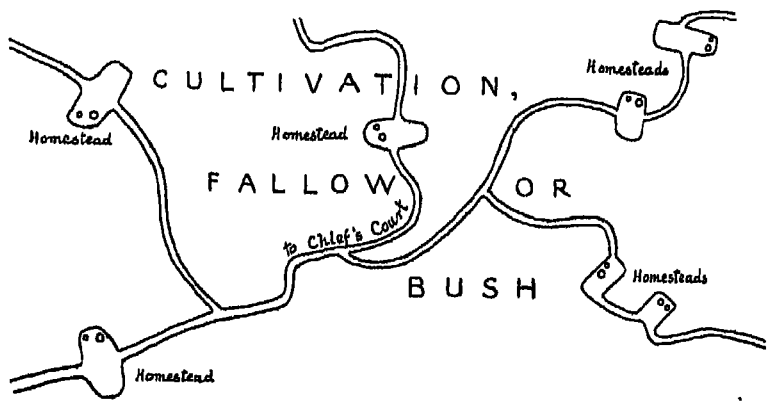


FIG. 35. Diagram showing distribution of Zande homesteads (Evans-Pritchard).

small cleared space, which in the straggling type occupied the centre of her permanent garden. A winding path led from hut to hut, these standing from 100 to 300 yards apart.[2] Surrounding the homestead was the man's cultivation, with maize, millet, peas, and oil-bearing plants; the central space of the homestead was enclosed by a garden bearing permanent crops such as sweet potato, arrowroot,

[1] *Travels in Africa during the years* 1875–8, 1890, 245.

[2] This Zande love of isolation was noticed by the earlier travellers, by Schweinfurth (i, 459) and by Junker (op. cit., iii, 1892), and lately Colonel Bertrand in his preface to Calonne Beaufaict's book gives a description of the solitude beloved of the Azande:—

"Il [the Zande] à l'horreur des agglomérations, Chacum vit isolé avec sa femme, ou ses femmes s'il en a plusieurs, ses enfants en bas âge, et, strictement séparés des femmes, un ou deux adolescents, fils de parents ou de voisins, dont il fait l'éducation. A quelques centaines de mètres, une autre famille, de constitution analogue, vit la même vie. Le long des galeries de forêt qui longent les ruisseaux, il se forme ainsi des chapelets de dix à quinze de ces établissements, parfois moins. (*Azande*, Brussels, 1921, xxii–xxiii.)

PLATE LVII



Ongasi, wives and family

[face p 496

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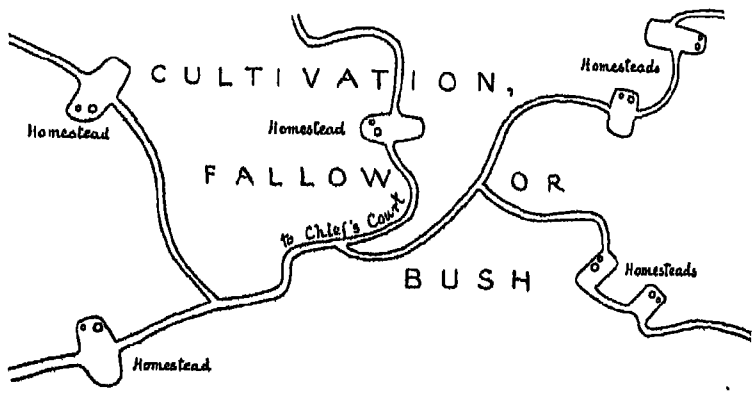


FIG. 35. Diagram showing distribution of Zande homesteads (Evans-Pritchard).

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[1] *Travels in Africa during the years* 1875–8, 1890, 245.

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"Il [the Zande] à l'horreur des agglomérations, Chacum vit isolé avec sa femme, ou ses femmes s'il en a plusieurs, ses enfants en bas âge, et, strictement séparés des femmes, un ou deux adolescents, fils de parents ou de voisins, dont il fait l'éducation. A quelques centaines de mètres, une autre famille, de constitution analogue, vit la même vie. Le long des galeries de forêt qui longent les ruisseaux, il se forme ainsi des chapelets de dix à quinze de ces établissements, parfois moins. (*Azande*, Brussels, 1921, xxii–xxiii.)

PLATE LVII



Ongasi, wives and family

[*face p.* 498

banana, and fig. The organization of the circular homestead was similar to that of the straggling type, except that the huts and granaries of all the wives were grouped in one cleared space, in which was usually an ancestral shrine, and this space was surrounded by the women's permanent gardens. Winding paths joined the many isolated homesteads and led to the court of the chief's deputy, who was the political head of the locality, while these were again connected to the greater roads leading to the chief's court.

The diffuse distribution of homesteads in bush clearings was partly an adaptation to economic needs. The Zande is essentially an agriculturalist, he possesses no cattle and game is not plentiful;

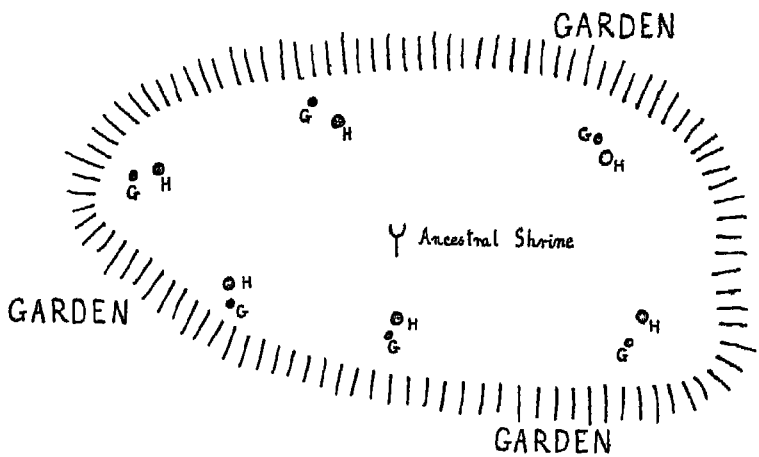


FIG. 36. Zande homestead, "circular" type (Evans-Pritchard).

since he often works a plot of land only two years in succession he needs a considerable area, of which part will be under cultivation part fallow, and part returning temporally to bush. In such an area each householder had his own supply of ant hills, his beds of edible fungus, and his supply of wild plants and herbs, while in the vicinity was his private hunting territory. Each homestead was an economic unit, and though there were no village settlements the locality presided over by a deputy chief formed a social group; the householders were all familiar with one another, while near neighbours were usually closely related, for parents liked their children to settle near them when they married. Besides the ties due to blood and marriage within a given locality, there were others formed by

common membership of other social groups, such as those created by circumcision, blood-brotherhood, and secret societies. Thus the followers of a single deputy chief formed a body in which there was considerable social cohesion.

To-day the natives have (as we have already mentioned) on account of sleeping sickness been concentrated into settlements along the Government roads, and the restrictions on their former mode of life which this change involves is already having economic consequences.

Regulation of Public Life

The tribe is a political group under a paramount chief; it has clear cut boundaries, each tribe being separated from its neighbours by river courses, and on either side of the river boundary there is an expanse of unoccupied bush lying between the territories of each tribe.

The Azande have a very large number of patrilineal clans, called *ngbwatunga*, whose members may be scattered over an enormous area, so that many members of the same clan will be unknown to each other. Many clans are non-Zande in origin. To-day in the Yambio area three distinct types of clan can be distinguished. The true Zande clans all belong to that section of the nation calling itself Ambamu, perhaps the people of the Mbomu river (whence they moved first southwards to the Uelle river and thence northwards into the savanna of the Sudan). In contrast to the Ambamu are the Auro or foreigners, some of these peoples, e.g. the Bukuru, still retaining their language and many of their old customs, while others, such as the Bangbinda and Amiangba, are now practically indistinguishable from the true Azande though their foreign origin is remembered. A third type of clan is sometimes referred to as *ga Azande Auro*, small and insignificant peoples now completely absorbed into Zande culture and scarcely recognized as of foreign origin.

The social obligations of clan members to one another are never clearly defined but may be summed up as reciprocal preferential treatment, and this is extended to members both of the mother's

PLATE LVIII



Zande huts and garden



Tuka, with offerings

and father's clan. Thus Professor Evans-Pritchard records that on one occasion he heard a youth who was in his service being asked by a woman for some salt, and when he showed reluctance to part with his salt, and in fact denied that he had any, she said, " But we gave birth to you, you are my son," meaning that she was a member of his mother's clan. The intensity with which any particular portion of a clan functions socially depends upon the density of its members, for whereas near relatives may travel a considerable distance to fulfil their social duties, members of the same clan do not assist one another on ceremonial occasions or in economic work unless they live within a relatively short distance. All clans are named.

Apart from the ruling class, the Avongara, for whom the ordinary incest laws do not exist, no man may marry or have sexual relations with any member of his clan, and this holds equally for all members of his mother's clan. These regulations are explicit, and the prohibition is extended, though not so rigidly, to include the clans of the grandmothers; it is most unusual for a man to marry into the clan of his father's mother, though probably such a marriage would not be forbidden. In any case this does not seriously curtail the wide choice of mates, for the Zande clans are legion.

A woman's relatives, her clansmen and those of her three related clans, should in theory be above suspicion of desiring her sexually. Thus men coming from a distance may claim hospitality owing to relationship to a woman; the husband will question such visitors carefully, then if satisfied of the *bona fide* relationship he will not refuse hospitality, though he may feel justified in taking his own precautions against such guests. Actually sexual relations do occasionally take place between those to whom marriage is forbidden, but such lapses are considered shameful and cases are known where a husband has sued a wife's brother for adultery.

Succession to political leadership is in the male line and is rigidly restricted to one class, the Avongara, often regarded as of foreign origin, though there is no evidence for this and there is a myth in which it is stated that they spring from Zande stock. The social weakness of the Zande clan organization, probably due primarily to the absence of strong local groups, is increased by the existence of this class of chiefs.

According to Major Larken[1] it is thirteen or fourteen generations since the Azande came under the influence of the ruling Vongara

[1] " An account of the Zande ": *S.N. & R.*, ix, 1926, 21.

dynasty, of whose origin we really know nothing, though one account runs as follows :—

Long ago there were no chiefs, though the Abökunde clan possessed a certain predominance, the Vongara clan being then known as Akulangba. A man of this clan married a woman of the Abökunde, by whom he had a son named Basenginonga, who when adolescent went to live with his maternal uncle. One day Basenginonga followed an adultery case in which his uncle gave the surprising verdict that both the disputants were right This so shocked Basenginonga that he spoke out, declaring that this was a bad judgment, for the men would resume their quarrel on the way home since both would say, "The chief said I was right." Therefore, Basenginonga heard the case himself, and ordered one party to pay 20 spears damages. His decision met with public approval, so that the people began to take their disputes to him, his maternal uncle willingly acquiescing, and so from Basenginonga has sprung a line of chiefs.

A similar story relates how the Abökunde used to go hunting with their sister's son, Basenginonga, a renowned hunter. When the Abökunde killed they used to eat the meat themselves, but when Basenginonga was successful he feasted his visitors with the meat, to which he added great bowls of gruel. As his reputation for generosity grew, his followers likewise increased in numbers, and these brought their disputes before him and accepted his decisions because of their merits.

Though scarcely historical, these legends may well reproduce actual happenings, and do embody the attitude of the Azande towards their chiefs, which is one of implicit obedience. If a Zande be asked why he is subservient to his chief he will reply that the chiefs are generous, or that they are courageous in settling disputes and do not mind giving their decisions quickly and straightly. The process of winning over followers by hospitality, justice, character, and prestige, is called in Zande *ka ɣoga aboro*. Thus it was that even in the old days if a man considered himself unfairly treated he could move into the territory of another chief and transfer his allegiance, the popularity of a chief depending mainly on his reputation for justice and generosity.

Under their Vongara chiefs the Azande overran the savanna of the Sudan from the area of the Mbomu river, colonizing and assimilating the tribes of the vast territory now characterized by the Azande language and political institutions. Ambitious sons and

brothers of paramount chiefs carved out independent kingdoms for themselves by conquering new territory and bringing foreign peoples into subjection. This was sometimes accomplished by warfare, in which the Azande were generally successful, but sometimes the inhabitants were induced to accept their new rulers peacefully.

The system of administration was always the same. The chiefs of the conquered people would often be regarded as deputy chiefs and their sons educated at the court of their lord, who in his rule scarcely differentiated between his fellow countrymen and his foreign subjects; a condition of prosperity ensued, and more and more Azande spread into the occupied area. The mutual cohesion of these kingdoms depended mainly on the character of the paramount lord, for there was always a tendency for the brother or son of the chief who acted as provincial governor to break away, while at the death of the ruler the country was plunged into civil war until one of his sons established himself as successor.

A chief must be succeeded by a son or brother, but apart from this there is no precise rule of succession and a younger son may be chosen in preference to his elder brother if he be considered more intelligent. The chief's deputy, *bakumba*, is appointed by the district, not the paramount chief, and is not a Vongara. Although the boundaries of his territory are but roughly defined there is no doubt as to the deputy to whom each man is subject, for the relationship is personal and not territorial.

There is no familiarity between a paramount chief and his sons and younger brothers, who fear their father greatly and are subjected to severe discipline. They may lord it over their provinces, but they have to show themselves completely subordinate to their suzerain. They seldom come near him unless specially summoned or to pay formal visits, and then they will approach him in a crouching position, just as their own subjects approach them. Between a chief and his deputies there is not the same strain; a chief is often seen joking with his old Zande deputies, but to his own sons he maintains an unrelaxed expression of severity, for they alone are possible rivals, since before the changes brought about by European administration it was impossible for any man not a Vongara to become a chief. The greatest power to which a commoner could attain was to hold an important governorship, with a small court of his own modelled on that of his chief.

The chief's deputy (*bakumba*) superintends the carrying out of the

chief's orders, sees to the collection of dues, to supplying labourers for the chief's estate and meat for his household, to the apprehension of criminals, the calling out of a district for war, the clearing of paths, the arrangements of religious ceremonies. He also frequently visits the court to report to his lord upon the state of his district and the loyalty of his subjects.

Members of the Vongara class claim a privilege denied to commoners: they recognize no marriage restrictions, and marry not only within the clan but within the family, a condition of things which on account of the vast number of their wives has had far-reaching effects through every rank of Zande society.

A chief's homestead may be very extensive, that of the chief Gbudwe is said to have stretched for five miles. An enclosure of grass or banana leaves shuts off the homestead from the eyes of those who are present in the chief's court, which is itself divided into two parts called *barundo* and *ngbanga*. The *barundo* is used by the chief's grown sons, who eat there, and by his pages and younger male children, who may sleep there. The chief may summon his deputies to the *barundo* when he wishes to speak to them, but ordinarily the deputies and any Zande who is visiting his chief must remain in the *ngbanga*.

As the Vongara women may marry and remain within the luxurious households of their father and brothers, few women of the royal clan will marry commoners, and those who do so tend to carry with them the Vongara idea of being above the law. Vongara men will, however, marry women of other clans, indeed the large majority of chiefs are born of commoner mothers, and a young chief increases his power and prestige by the number of his matrimonial ties among commoners.

In the old days the chief organized the war party, decided the number of fighting men, the order of battle, the use of magic, the disposal of prisoners, etc., but during the actual fighting he remained in the rear protected by a bodyguard of picked men. In peace time his principal rôle is to determine disputes and order punishment in important cases, for he alone can sit in judgment and only his oracle tests are official. Quarrels that can be decided at once on circumstantial evidence are settled on the spot by the chief, while disputes about which hangs an element of doubt are decided by oracle tests, carried out under the orders of the chief by his special diviners.

Disloyalty to a chief, striking any member of the Avongara, speaking against the ruler, using magic against him, having sexual intercourse with his wives, were offences whose penalty was death. The offender would be summoned to the chief's court and there hacked to pieces by his servants.

The custom by which Zande boys received their education in the chief's court was well established before European intervention. Lads and adolescents from perhaps 10 to 25 acted as pages to the chief and as servants to the older sons of the chief who had not yet been given a district to administer. Discipline was strictly observed.

The main service which his subjects pay a chief is to work in his gardens; court dues provide considerable income, while every

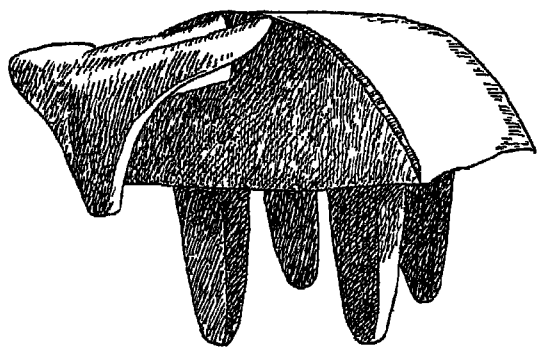


FIG. 37. Yambio's gong.

deputy hands over to his lord a quantity of the termite-oil produced by his subjects and every Zande is expected to make liberal contributions of the beasts he kills.

We know of no insignia of kingship among the Azande, though the big wooden gongs, always so far as we know in the shape of a buffalo, were closely associated with the more important chiefs and were regarded with respect because of that association. The original from which was made the drawing reproduced in Fig. 37 is preserved in the Gordon College. It is roughly life-size, with trunk and head hewn from a single block of wood. Colonel F. J. Brakenridge, who was a member of the expedition that broke Yambio's power in 1905, tells us that it stood in the open near Yambio's hut and "was an object of great reverence". He saw several, "all of the same shape, but none so big; apparently the size was relative to

each 'sultan's' importance." That the drum was carried away "was of great effect in assuring the people that Yambio was really done for".

The whole social life of the Azande, and hence the sexual behaviour of the individual, has been deeply influenced by their political organization. Since this organization has been broken up the power and prestige of the Avongara have naturally diminished somewhat and there have been changes in social behaviour, but it is still impossible to consider the ordinary life of the individual without reference to Vongara rule. The existence of the large polygynous homestead of the Avongara doubtless entailed considerable brutality, yet Professor Evans-Pritchard holds that this was one of the institutions that made possible the spread of one of the most powerful political systems of Africa, capable of extended conquests and assimilation of the conquered.

The military organization maintained by the chiefs has naturally been much curtailed, though it still functions in the provision of labour for the chief's gardens. It was, however, so important from the social point of view that some description is necessary.

Part of the male population between the ages of 20 and 35 was organized into *vura*, called *aparanga* for the unmarried and *abakumba* for the married. While the members of the *vura* were at court they lived in large houses outside the chief's enclosures, and near them, in smaller isolated huts, lived the chiefs' sons or near male relatives. The *aparanga* worked on the chiefs' cultivation in time of peace, organized under leaders, in units ready for military service when required. Some of these young men brought with them boys. These boys were sometimes spoken of as women, and were even addressed as such: the seniors might in jest call a particular boy *diare*, "my wife," and be addressed by him as "husband". The young men paid spears for their boy "wives", and the bond between the two was publicly acknowledged. The boys behaved as women in that they ate out of sight of their "husbands" and performed numerous minor duties for them, though they did not cook for them but fetched them cooked food. At night they slept beside them, and with these youths the elders satisfied their sexual desires. The custom was definitely recognized as a substitute for normal heterosexual union. Now that military service has been discontinued the practice is no longer necessary, nor does there exist any desire to continue it; it might be said that homosexuality is no longer fashionable, indeed homosexual practices between men seem non-existent at the present

day, though when referring to the subject the Azande generally express no shame or disgust. It should, however, be noted that penetration was never practised.

Besides the military service, which delayed marriage among commoners, the enormous size of the chiefs' harems and those of their sons made a serious inroad on the supply of young Zande girls, and this may be felt even more acutely now that conquest can no longer increase the supply of women. As well as the Avongara, the deputy chiefs and wealthy commoners modelled their homes on those of the chiefs, though they did not neglect the incest taboo. Thus the natural courtship and marriage of couples of whom both were young had little free play under the Vongara régime, and even now is much restricted. Hence adultery, in spite of the severe penalties of castration and mutilation, has always been a temptation and now that these punishments are abolished is very common.

Kinship, Family Life, and Marriage

The following kinship terms are in use:—

Buba . . .	Father, father's brother, and male members of the father's clan of the same generation as the father. The father's elder brother is also *unvuru fu buba*, and his younger brother *tame buba*.
Nina . . .	Mother, mother's sister, female members of the mother's clan of the same generation as the mother. *Unvuru fu nina* and *tame nina* also mean elder and younger sister of the mother.
Andŏmi. . .	Mother's brother, male members of mother's clan of same generation as the mother's brother.
Dewili buba . .	Father's sister. This is a descriptive term, "sister of my father," but is used in a classificatory way to mean all those clanswomen whom the father calls sister.
Diya buba . .	Father's wife (also addressed as *nina*).
Unvurēmi (m.s.) .	Elder brother (son of the father or the mother), sons of the father's brothers and sisters if older than ego, and all male members of the clan if older than ego.
,, (f.s.) .	Elder sister, daughters of father's brothers and sisters if older than ego, clanswomen if older than ego.
Tamere (m.s.) .	Younger brother, (f.s.) younger sister, is used in a similar way to *unvurēmi*.
Käwili (m.s.). .	Brother (son of father or mother), son of father's brother and sister, all male members of the clan of same generation.

Dewili (m.s.) . .	Sister (daughter of father or mother), daughter of father's brothers and sisters, and all female members of clan of the same generation as ego.
Wili buba (lit. father's child).	Can be used for father's brother's child.
Wili nina (lit. mother's child).	Can be used for mother's sister's child.
Wili andömi . .	Mother's brother's child.
Wili dewili buba .	Father's sister's child.
Wili . . .	Child, is used without distinction of sex and may be used to all members of the clan of the younger generation.
Tita . . .	Male and female grandparents and grandchildren, great grandparents and great grandchildren.
Kumbämi . .	Husband, lit. " my man."
Diare . . .	(*de re*, " my woman ") wife.
Gbiöre . . .	Wife's father, wife's brother, husband's father, husband's brother.
Negbiöre . .	Wife's mother, husband's mother.

The Zande relationship system has both descriptive and classificatory features. When discussing the Nilotic systems in Chapter I we pointed out that the characteristic feature of the descriptive systems was the absence of a distinct word for " brother ", that person being described as " father's son " or " mother's son ". The Zande system is peculiar in having two sets of words for brother; it combines this feature of the descriptive system with another distinctive feature of the classificatory. The words " father's son " and " mother's son " exist, and in common with many classificatory systems in other parts of the world (but not in the Sudan) the elder and younger siblings are distinguished by two separate words, used only by persons of the same sex, by a man to his brothers and by a woman to her sisters. Besides these there is a word used by men to their sisters and another by women to their brothers. These four words are used generally for the cousins, including the cross-cousins.

All the terms that are used primarily by a man or woman to own kinsmen related by blood can be extended to the clan members, and then are used in the ordinary classificatory way. Thus a man may say *buba*, and it is usually clear from the context that he refers to his own father; on another occasion it may be equally clear that he does not. An inquirer may then press the speaker for an exact relationship, and he may reply, " He is my father's elder brother," and on being asked again whether the person referred to is a true brother of the

father he may reply, "No, our clan is one." The words for elder brother and younger brother and sister, and to a less extent father and mother, can be used in a friendly way to anyone of a corresponding age to that of true relatives.

Besides this classificatory extension of kinship terms there is an exact descriptive terminology, which can be used when necessary and is used habitually where the distinction is socially important, as, e.g. between elder and younger brothers, but otherwise descriptive terms are not much used.

Kinship terms are used more by children than by adults. Thus a child will say *nina* (mother) or *tita* (grandparent), or *unvurëmi* (my elder brother), but an adult is more likely to use a proper name, or a term of polite address, such as *gbia* (chief) or *ba* (father) to denote an elder brother or cousin. The parents-in-law are seldom addressed by terms but are called "father" and "mother" in a complimentary way, or *gbia* (chief). Apart from the parents-in-law all the other relatives by marriage may be described exactly, as "elder brother of wife", "of husband", etc.

Although Zande society is founded on a patrilineal basis, the kinship tie with the mother's family is important throughout life. The brother-sister relationship is close: as children they have been comrades, though during adolescence their respective occupations tend to keep them apart and they acquire the usual attitude of commoners towards incest. It is in order to avoid temptation, and that he may never see his sister naked, that a man does not sleep in the same hut as his sister, and should he accidentally see her without her pubic covering when bathing he will make her a present "to quiet her shame". Besides the weight of public opinion the Azande give a sound practical reason against incest with a sister, in that it involves the collapse of the whole status of wife and brother-in-law.

There is a distinction between elder and younger brother. The elder brother in the oldest generation living is the priest of the family and carries out the family rites in honour of the spirits of the dead, so when a man builds a shrine it is his elder brother who first performs the rites. Again, it is the elder brother who normally receives from his father the larger part of the bride-wealth of one of his sisters and hence is enabled himself to marry earlier than his younger brothers, who will normally wait till the later marriage of a younger sister. He becomes a second father to his brothers and sisters, and in particular a protector to his married sister, who may come to him when in

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Gbiŏre . . .	Wife's father, wife's brother, husband's father, husband's brother.
Negbiŏre . .	Wife's mother, husband's mother.

The Zande relationship system has both descriptive and classificatory features. When discussing the Nilotic systems in Chapter I we pointed out that the characteristic feature of the descriptive systems was the absence of a distinct word for "brother", that person being described as "father's son" or "mother's son". The Zande system is peculiar in having two sets of words for brother; it combines this feature of the descriptive system with another distinctive feature of the classificatory. The words "father's son" and "mother's son" exist, and in common with many classificatory systems in other parts of the world (but not in the Sudan) the elder and younger siblings are distinguished by two separate words, used only by persons of the same sex, by a man to his brothers and by a woman to her sisters. Besides these there is a word used by men to their sisters and another by women to their brothers. These four words are used generally for the cousins, including the cross-cousins.

All the terms that are used primarily by a man or woman to own kinsmen related by blood can be extended to the clan members, and then are used in the ordinary classificatory way. Thus a man may say *buba*, and it is usually clear from the context that he refers to his own father; on another occasion it may be equally clear that he does not. An inquirer may then press the speaker for an exact relationship, and he may reply, "He is my father's elder brother," and on being asked again whether the person referred to is a true brother of the

father he may reply, " No, our clan is one." The words for elder brother and younger brother and sister, and to a less extent father and mother, can be used in a friendly way to anyone of a corresponding age to that of true relatives.

Besides this classificatory extension of kinship terms there is an exact descriptive terminology, which can be used when necessary and is used habitually where the distinction is socially important, as, e.g. between elder and younger brothers, but otherwise descriptive terms are not much used.

Kinship terms are used more by children than by adults. Thus a child will say *nina* (mother) or *tita* (grandparent), or *unvurëmi* (my elder brother), but an adult is more likely to use a proper name, or a term of polite address, such as *gbia* (chief) or *ba* (father) to denote an elder brother or cousin. The parents-in-law are seldom addressed by terms but are called " father " and " mother " in a complimentary way, or *gbia* (chief). Apart from the parents-in-law all the other relatives by marriage may be described exactly, as " elder brother of wife ", " of husband ", etc.

Although Zande society is founded on a patrilineal basis, the kinship tie with the mother's family is important throughout life. The brother-sister relationship is close: as children they have been comrades, though during adolescence their respective occupations tend to keep them apart and they acquire the usual attitude of commoners towards incest. It is in order to avoid temptation, and that he may never see his sister naked, that a man does not sleep in the same hut as his sister, and should he accidentally see her without her pubic covering when bathing he will make her a present " to quiet her shame ". Besides the weight of public opinion the Azande give a sound practical reason against incest with a sister, in that it involves the collapse of the whole status of wife and brother-in-law.

There is a distinction between elder and younger brother. The elder brother in the oldest generation living is the priest of the family and carries out the family rites in honour of the spirits of the dead, so when a man builds a shrine it is his elder brother who first performs the rites. Again, it is the elder brother who normally receives from his father the larger part of the bride-wealth of one of his sisters and hence is enabled himself to marry earlier than his younger brothers, who will normally wait till the later marriage of a younger sister. He becomes a second father to his brothers and sisters, and in particular a protector to his married sister, who may come to him when in

difficulties with her husband. The relationship set up between the two men who are brother and husband respectively to a woman is one of peculiar delicacy; the husband may find it a greater trial to show the tact and ceremonial politeness that is required of him towards his wife's brother, who may be younger than himself, than to his wife's father, yet such behaviour is necessary if he wishes to keep his wife with him. Professor Evans-Pritchard suggests that it is this peculiar relationship of the parents towards the mother's brother, affectionate dependence on the part of the woman and carefully veiled antagonism on the part of her husband, that to a considerable extent explains the attitude of the children towards their maternal uncle, Zande boys being privileged to raid the latter on occasion, behaviour in which, as Professor Evans-Pritchard noticed, their fathers were inclined to encourage them.

The whole social and economic aspect of the Zande "in-law" relationship throws emphasis on the need for marital stability, and hence the importance of the relationship between a man and his wife's relatives. The widespread reaction against all possibility of sexual relations between a man and his wife's mother is in force among the Azande, and such behaviour would be condemned and lead to the disruption of the marriage. The conception of mother-in-law is wide, including all the wives of the father and the sisters of the mother-in-law, and into the same group fall the wives of the father-in-law's brothers and the wife's brothers' wives. Adultery with any women who fall into this class is considered more serious than ordinary adultery, for as well as the normal fine the wife's relatives could break the marriage and demand back the bride-wealth. In spite of this, such cases are not unknown, witness the saying, "Your mother-in-law above the waist but someone else below it."

The covenant of blood-brotherhood (*bakure*) is very common among the Azande, indeed most men will have at least one blood-brother. Usually there is deep affection between blood-brothers who have been friends from childhood; occasionally Azande will make blood-brotherhood with a definite policy, such as to end a quarrel. Though the relationship is a personal one, made voluntarily between two individuals, its significance extends far beyond the individuals, for in theory a man owes hospitality and assistance to all the clansmen of his *bakure*. In actual practice he pays attention to those near relatives of the *bakure* whom he happens to know.

The *bakure* covenant is a typical magical ceremony, and by means of it a friendship which would otherwise have no social significance becomes an important bond.

> "When two men, A and B, wish to make a pact of blood-brotherhood they sit facing each other on the ground or on stools. At the side of each stands a relative, who acts as second during the ceremony. The second of A makes a small incision in A's arm or chest. He then takes a piece of rectangular wood cut from the bark of the *banga* tree (sometimes ground nuts are used instead), smears it with the flowing blood, and hands it to B on the other side. When B receives the stick of bast he breaks it in two and puts the half which has absorbed the blood into his mouth, having first dipped it in salt to improve the flavour. He chews the bast, swallows the blood, and spits out the chewed wood. Whilst B is chewing the bast, A's second takes some *bingba* grass or a piece of cord made from the inner bark of the *dakpwa* tree, and with one hand he holds one end of the cord in B's hair and with his other hand he twists round and round the other end of the grass or cord. Whilst he does this he addresses A's blood which is in B's stomach."

He says that B must act as a generous friend towards his blood-brother; he must not interfere with his women; he must not refuse him the hand of his daughter if she is not already espoused; he must render him hospitality, and assist him in quarrels. A man's *bakure* attends his funeral, or the funerals of his relatives, and according to Mgr. Lagae [1] assists the relatives-in-law to dig the grave. The sanction for the carrying out of these obligations is the blood of his *bakure* which he carries within his body.

The obligations of blood-brotherhood are taken seriously, and should any man shirk them the aggrieved partner will resort to magic to punish the defaulter. He takes the piece of *dakpwa* cord which during the ceremony was twisted in his partner's hair and twists it round into a little ball, at the same time uttering a spell to the blood and a series of curses on the offending partner. He then hides the ball in the roof of his hut. Illness will soon fall upon the offender, who on discovering by oracle the cause of his sickness will try to make amends by payment of spears and bark-cloth to his angry partner, and so get the spell removed.

Infant betrothal and marriage are the rule. Immediately on the birth of a girl, suitors come and make a ceremonial claim for her hand in marriage. The suitor goes to the door of the hut wherein lie the mother and the newly born child, and throwing down at the entrance some leaves of the *sesele*—a lichen-like plant grown by the Azande and used as a vegetable—he says that he has come to offer

[1] *Les Azande ou Niam-Niam*, Brussels, 1926, 209.

marriage either himself or on behalf of someone else. If the suit is not accepted the women will brush away the leaves from the door and wait for the next applicant. If all is well and the girl's father consents, the prospective bridegroom brings a present for the child, usually a bracelet, which is placed on her wrist as a legal symbol of the marriage.

From now onwards the bridegroom has to adopt the stereotyped subservient attitude of son-in-law to parents-in-law and is expected to work for them from time to time. He visits his child wife occasionally, and when she is about six years old he will begin payment of the spears. But before this he will consult the oracle magic *benge*, for without a favourable reply no man would be so rash as to marry, nor would the parents give him the child without a corroborative verdict from *benge*. If *benge* favours his suit the man will visit his parents-in-law and with a complimentary speech present the first two or three spears.

As the girl grows she will be taken from time to time by her mother to visit her betrothed, taking with her a gift of beer and food and perhaps a fowl, while the man will make a further presentation of spears. The girl pays three or four visits, each lasting a month or two, during which she lives in her husband's homestead under the supervision of his chief wife, or, if he is still unmarried, of his mother. Here she is trained in household routine and the duties of a wife. Her sexual life may begin at this early age, but her husband will take care not to hurt her and will not attempt penetration.

When the required number of spears (usually at least ten) have been given, the girl is escorted to her new home by her mother, who as on previous occasions takes with her presents of food and beer. The girl now receives a few months' final training from her mother-in-law before being installed in her own hut. During this period her father-in-law may call her *diare*, "my wife," and is permitted intercourse with her, though to exercise this privilege would be considered highly improper. The bride may now be about sixteen, when she is ceremonially installed by her mother-in-law (or, if her husband is already married, by his chief wife) as mistress of her hut. The older woman arranges three cooking stones in the centre of the hut, places medicine under and a new pot upon them, and addresses the bride on the subject of her new duties. It is only after this that the bride assumes the full status of wife and mistress of a household.

The completion of the marriage ceremony does not however mean an end to the payment of marriage spears. These continue to be handed over from year to year, unless the marriage is dissolved either by divorce or by the death of one of the partners. The number of spears given after marriage depends on whether the woman proves satisfactory as a wife; barrenness, laziness, or bad temper will cause a diminution in spears. In the case of barrenness the woman's family is expected to provide the husband with another wife. Should his wife be convicted of adultery the husband would normally hand over the whole adultery fine (two women or their equivalent, i.e. one woman and twenty to thirty spears) to his parents-in-law, but if he has a grievance against them, or it is their fault that the adultery has taken place, he might withhold half or even the whole. Should there be a divorce the spears are returned to the husband, unless his wife has first borne him a daughter, in which case he keeps the child and in due time the spears of her bride-wealth will balance those of her mother. If before the divorce there is a boy of the marriage the husband will keep him, and a certain number of spears will be subtracted from the bride-wealth that is returned.

Formerly exchange of sisters or daughters in marriage was a common custom, and in such marriages no spears were given by either party.

Though a man usually keeps the spears of the bride-wealth in order to procure another wife or to pay for one for his son, he is not restricted in this regard and may use the spears as he wishes. In actual fact he generally uses them to get a wife for his son, but he is not bound to do so; the son depends on his father's goodwill, and a lazy or disobedient son has no means of obtaining a wife for himself if his father refuses the spears of the bride-wealth. A father who spent his daughter's bride-wealth on beer or luxuries would however be despised, though permitted to use them to procure the necessaries for the funeral feast of a relative-in-law or for some other social duty.

In the event of a wife dying without children it is incumbent on her family to provide another bride from her clan if the marriage spears have been regularly paid up to date, and even if the husband dies the marriage is suspended rather than broken off, for the widow goes to live near the homestead of his male relatives and when the taboos of mourning are over she becomes a member of the household of one of his sons or brothers.

In his forthcoming monograph Professor Evans-Pritchard makes a most careful analysis of Azande marriages; he shows the functions of the bride-wealth very clearly, and how the marriage ties between individuals create social solidarity between kindred groups. Here it must suffice to point out certain salient features.

In the Zande social system marriage is not looked upon as the consummation of a love affair. Zande marriage was never based on mutual consent, nor is it arranged with regard to age or compatibility of temperament. For a girl marriage begins at birth, even in childhood her life and training is coloured by the fact that she is already promised in marriage. Her early training in marriage at her mother-in-law's house is somewhat in the nature of education at a boarding school, from which she returns for the holidays to her own parents. The bride-wealth that her marriage brings to her father has a definite economic value, and its return to her husband, if the marriage proves a failure, is a burden. Children are not taught that sexual indulgence is wrong, but that its only legitimate place is within marriage. As boys hope to marry they must be obedient and work for their fathers, who will give them the spears paid for their sisters. Long before they can reap any benefit, even from the very birth of their brides, they must begin to render services to their parents-in-law. This, like the girl's visits to her parents-in-law, is an apprenticeship, for if the boy is lazy or unreliable the girl's parents will accept another suitor when the bride is about six years old, i.e. before the unsuitable bridegroom begins to pay spears. But, if all goes well and the oracle is favourable, after many years of service the marriage takes place. The husband has a right to expect certain services from his wife—cooking, garden work, and the bearing of children, as well as sexual gratification—but all the time that these services are rendered he must continue to carry out his obligations to her parents. These in their turn look upon their daughter as a source of wealth. From the time of her birth services are rendered to the household (i.e. to her mother) on her account, and spears are given to the father, the number increasing with his daughter's moral and economic worth. It is true that even as a child she learns to render her services to another —not the parental—household, but in exchange spears are paid to her father which are not only the legal bond of his daughter's marriage, testimony that can be produced to show its validity,[1] but goods that he can exchange to bring another girl into his household

[1] A legitimate child is a child "born to spears", born in wedlock, as we should say.

as wife to himself or to his son. As the contract may at any time be broken, a carefully regulated pattern of behaviour is necessary between the contracting parties and their near relatives, so that though Professor Evans-Pritchard occasionally heard a Zande say in the heat of a quarrel that he " bought his wife with spears and could do as he liked ", it is well recognized that the exchange of spears is an essential part of a complicated contract which implies continual duties and responsibilities if it is to remain unbroken. If a husband has acquitted himself well as a son-in-law he will probably be able to obtain a second wife in the family or clan of the first, and although he must give the full number of spears this is looked upon as an advantage.

Finally, a word more must be said on the legal aspect of the bride-wealth. A man is morally, not legally, responsible for providing the bride-wealth for his son, but a woman appears to be legally bound to produce a daughter as part of her duties as a wife. If she does not do so her husband can divorce her, and, even though she may have borne sons, demand back some of his spears. Further, if there has been no divorce the son who has had no sisters can demand some spears for his bride-wealth from his mother's brother.

In the marriage of chiefs a different code exists. When the chief takes commoner wives he pays spears in the usual way, but his relatives-in-law become his faithful retainers; it may please him to be generous to them, but he need not fear that they will side with his wife in a quarrel as the relatives-in-law of a commoner might. The greater the number of his wives the larger his sphere of influence.

A Vongara may take his own daughter to wife and there is no one to whom he need give spears. When he marries his sister (almost invariably his half-sister) he gives spears to his father, but his sister-wives are treated more as privileged mistresses than as wives, for it would be difficult for a son to complain to his own father of his daughter's conduct and demand back the spears of marriage. So these women remain above the law and can take lovers as they choose; they seem to avoid having children as much as possible, and have a reputation for Lesbian practices. As a rule the Avongara object to their sisters and daughters going to commoners, as they want them for themselves, saying that they are more beautiful than the daughters of commoners, but even if a chief proposes to give his daughter in marriage to a commoner a wise man avoids the honour, for he could not control her or prevent her from receiving visits from her brothers, whom he would always suspect to be lovers.

Zande morality disapproves of any sexual intercourse outside marriage, not that it is considered impure, but on account of the early age at which girls are married it is generally synonymous with adultery. Parents will therefore enjoin chastity upon their children, pointing out that incontinence will invariably lead sooner or later to adultery with its consequent punishment. With the institution of European rule there has been a weakening of the sanctions enforcing chastity; to-day there is no penalty for sexual intercourse between unmarried persons, moreover the penalty for adultery is light compared with the older punishments. Love affairs, both with married and unmarried girls, are therefore more frequent.

But although to-day adultery is far more common than formerly, it has probably always been the most frequent class of case brought before the courts, for owing to the Zande system of marriage young men were forced to choose between adultery or continence. Formerly a man up to the age of 30 to 35 was in the main deprived of access to women, as they were monopolized by the older men, who would marry girls young enough to be their grand-daughters. If a man was caught committing adultery he could be and often was ferociously mutilated, his genitals, ears, upper lip, or both hands being cut off, while if he escaped this penalty he would have to pay an indemnity of a woman and twenty spears, or failing a woman thirty spears, to the husband. Nor did the woman go free; on the slightest suspicion a woman would be flogged, cut with knives, bound and tortured to make her confess the name of her lover.

In spite of the strict matrimonial laws, dances give an opportunity for a certain amount of natural love-play. There are always a few girls to whom access is easy, but others, young girls who are well brought up and already "married" according to Zande law, though still living at home, may be courted at dances and won.[1] A boy speaks of his beloved as *badiya*, and, although the intrigue must be kept from the girl's father and her husband, other young folk know of it and even her mother may do so, for such a relationship carries social duties and the lovers will exchange presents and small services. If the affair becomes serious the boy will begin to pay polite attentions to the girl's mother, and even to give her a spear or two. Nowadays such a courtship may lead to marriage, though it is not common. Professor Evans-Pritchard points out that the *badiya* custom existed

[1] On this matter see Evans-Pritchard, "The Dance": *Africa*, i.

in the old days, but that at the present time it is more frequent and less secret than of old.

The Azande set great store by legitimacy, and if a man suspects that his child may be a child of adultery he consults the oracle either before or after the birth. In the old days a man might kill a male infant if he believed it to be the result of an adulterous union—unless the real father were a clansman—but he would keep a girl in order to get her marriage spears. Even now shame attaches to both the mother and child, and the latter will usually be taken to live with its mother's father or brother, who will prosecute the mother's lover for adultery. If illegitimacy is recognized before the child is born, birth must not take place in the house but in the bush. Should a boy born of adultery remain in the household of his mother's husband, taunts would surely be flung at him during family quarrels, and as soon as he was old enough he would go to live with his physiological father, who would however have to pay ten spears for him in addition to the adultery fine. Nowadays a woman will leave her husband and marry a lover, taking her children with her, but the father seldom worries for he knows that as the boys grow older they will feel that their actual standing is better in the household of their legal father and will return to him.

Although when pregnant for the first time a young wife will normally be living in her own hut in her husband's homestead, the place of birth for the first and subsequent children is not a matter of fixed custom, but one on which the oracle must be consulted. According to the decree of *iwa* it is decided whether the birth shall take place in her own hut or in her father's or brother's homestead; the midwife is also chosen by oracle, and may be the mother or other relative, or a neighbour, or perhaps even the husband.

Before delivery the midwife will usually ask the expectant mother to confess the names of her lovers and to say whether she has had connection with any of them since she became pregnant. If she does not confess it is thought that the delivery may be delayed or even fatal, but she is not expected to give such information to her husband's mother or relatives should they be acting as midwives.

The afterbirth is buried with the umbilical cord in an ant-hill, and any maize or bananas planted afterwards over it are reserved for the use of the midwife.

Magic of various kinds will be performed throughout the delivery to assist mother and child. The smoke ceremony is performed

between three to six days after birth, and if the delivery has taken place away from the father's homestead the mother and child return home after this ceremony. A fire, on which special leaves are burned, is made at the entrance of the hut, and the baby is placed over the fire so that its whole body is bathed in smoke. This is done by the relatives and female friends of the mother, directed by the midwife, while the father, or someone on his behalf who has the knowledge performs magic; it is said that the object of the ceremony is to make the child strong, and also to show it to the spirits. The husband then gives the wife's relatives a bowl of flour, a hen, and a spear. Further to strengthen the new-born child it should each month be put on the heap of earth and rubbish which separates the homestead from the gardens, and this is sometimes done at the close of the smoke ceremony.

A still-born child is buried in the same way as an adult, the shaft of the grave being dug under the verandah of the hut where the mother gave birth. If a woman dies before her child is born the foetus is removed from the womb and buried separately.

Twins are considered fortunate, but it is regarded as normal that one should die within a few weeks of birth. It seems that twins are thought to possess one soul (*mbisimo*, p. 534). They are always given stereotyped names, the first being called Silo and the second Bi. When a twin dies he is buried near a public path and passers-by throw a stick on to the grave, so that gradually a small heap accumulates.

The teeth are not removed, but a v-shaped notch is cut between the centre pair of upper incisors.[1]

Circumcision is a recent introduction; it is, however, tending to become general in the Congo and is spreading in the Sudan. Mgr. Lagae states that it has no religious significance, but is insisted upon by the women, who like it and declare that circumcised men are cleaner. It was opposed by the chiefs, but since the waning of their power under European influence their opposition has not prevented the spread of the custom. Although circumcision has no religious sanction, like all Zande customs it has its correct magic ritual, though this varies in different localities. Boys are circumcized at any age that the father approves after consulting the oracle; this is usually between nine and fourteen. The ceremony takes place at the first quarter of the moon. The lads may never pronounce the names of

[1] Larken, "An Account of the Zande": *S.N. & R.*, ix, 1926, 13.

the operator or his assistant, to whom they should show respect and gratitude by making occasional small presents.

Religion and Magic

The existence of a spiritual agency, by name Mböli, is recognized by all Azande, and some investigators have stated that the conception of Mböli is that of a dominant all-pervading God. This is apparently the view put forward by Mgr. Lagae[1] and by Captain J. E. T. Philipps.[2] They state that Mböli is thought of as killing people by thunder to punish them for ill deeds. Mgr. Lagae[3] gives a solemn prayer which the Zande makes when menaced with misfortune or on the eve of a serious happening, e.g. a pregnant woman will utter it. The prayer, as written down by one of Mgr. Lagae's converts, runs as follows:—

> "The way in which the Azande pray is to blow water. The Zande takes water in his mouth and blows it near him and addresses it and says: 'Father, as I am here, I have not stolen the goods of another, I have not taken the goods of another without recompense, I have not set my heart after the goods of another, all men are good in my eyes.' And he blows water near him and says: 'Mböli, it is indeed you who settles the difference between us who are men.'"

Mrg. Lagae states that during a thunderstorm the Azande will take a mouthful of water and blow it on the ground, saying, "If I have fallen short of anything, there, it is finished, I blow water as a sign of my goodwill." Captain Philipps also states that during a violent thunderstorm the Azande will offer prayer to Mböli to protect them from the lightning-beast. "The remarks actually reproduced are those most frequently overheard in the mouths of different Azande on some dozen occasions . . . [text] . . . 'I have not stolen things of any man' . . . '*Mboli's* affair it is!' . . . 'If *Mboli* doth not desire it (then) let me not die to-day!'"[4] In addition to such special prayers both these authorities tell us that the Azande pray daily to Mböli.

All this is very precise, yet such good observers as Professor Evans-Pritchard and Major Larken consider that the idea conveyed by these

[1] Op. cit.
[2] "Observations on some Aspects of Religion among the Azande ('Niam-Niam') of Equatorial Africa": *JRAI.*, lvi, 1926.
[3] Op. cit., 70.
[4] Phillips, op. cit., 174.

passages is definitely mistaken. With regard to death by thunder, Professor Evans-Pritchard points out that the problem has been unduly simplified by selecting only a few of the complex of ideas which centre around the *gumba*, the thunder-beast. No Zande thinks of Mböli as the immediate judge of misdeeds, dealing out appropriate vengeance, e.g. to the Zande death from thunder is not the direct result of wrong-doing but is brought about by the agency of magic. It is a regular curse in spells to call upon thunder to come upon the adulterer or thief or possessor of witchcraft. Men frightened by thunder will say, "I have stolen no man's goods," and "I have not taken another man's wife", because they know that the thief or adulterer will suffer from the effects of the blowing of a magic whistle and an accompanying utterance of spell. It is true that Mböli permits the death of a thief by thunder, but the means of punishment is the power of the cultural weapon, magic, wielded by man himself. Mböli also permits witchcraft. Although it is recognized that no one would die even from magic without Mböli's awareness, yet he is hardly considered the directing agent. To a Zande the really strong and intimate forces which regulate his daily existence are magical. It seems that at the back of all magic there is the myth of Mböli as its originator and final sanction. 'Mböli gave magic to man, and he permits it to attain its end or he is able to frustrate it.' Further, while admitting that the word Mböli is constantly on a Zande's lips and that "Mböli made it" offers a common explanation of natural or cultural forces, it would be unwise to argue any precise theological idea from such utterances, comparing them rather with our use of the word "God" in such phrases as "God knows".

In support of these views it is pointed out that there is only one occasion on which Mböli is associated with public ceremonial. In times of drought or severe epidemic disease, the chief, if the oracles are favourable, orders his deputies to perform a ceremony. The deputies send the news to the homesteads in their territories, and on the day fixed the women bring leaves of the chief food-plants. They advance towards the pre-arranged spot, the head of a neighbouring stream, where there is a *monga* or granitic flat. Here they throw down their armfuls of leaves and sing a song:—

> "*Maẓiga oo oo ee ee uu uu*
> *Baeti fell ooo uu uu oo ooo*
> *Baeti fell from on high and broke his leg.*"

When asked who or what Maziga might be, Professor Evans-Pritchard's informants replied that they did not know, and most of them expressed equal ignorance as to the meaning of Baeti, a word which gives its name to the ceremony. The senior chief of the Yambio district told him that Baeti and Mböli were the same, and that the song came to a *boro atoro*, a man in whom there dwells an ancestral spirit, in a dream. Another old man said that Baeti is the son of Mböli and that in drought Mböli will tell someone in a dream that his son's legs are broken and that the people must not eat manioc leaves and other vegetables. The dreamer goes to the chief's court and informs his chief about the dream; the chief consults *benge* to discover whether the dream is true, and if the oracle gives an affirmative reply he gives orders for the ceremony to be held.

> "Several Azande have told me in good faith that the ceremony is carried out in honour of the *atoro* or spirits of the dead. When I asked such an informant why other people told me that it was performed in honour of Mböli, he replied that he did not know, but that he himself had always been told that it was carried out in honour of the ancestral spirits. Also the chiefs take no part in the ceremony, but at this time they place offerings in the shrines to their ancestors. These facts, if they show nothing else, at least demonstrate that the belief associated with the Maziga ceremony is not purely deistic but is coloured by and blends with belief in the ancestral spirits."

Here in fact Mböli and the *atoro* seem to be confused.

In spite of the saying *ga Mböli pai du*, "It [rain] is the affair of Mböli," in time of drought the chiefs appeal to their ancestral spirits for rain and make sacrifice at their shrines (*abise*). To prevent rain from falling the Zande does not address his request to Mböli but to the spirits, or he uses magic, and Professor Evans-Pritchard adds that magic to produce rain is looked upon with grave suspicion, almost as Black Magic. The chiefs especially fear and dislike those who have learnt the art of rain-making from neighbouring peoples, feeling that these men may as likely hide the rain as produce it. There is a general belief that certain folk can prevent rain, and that this runs in families, knowledge of a particular root or medicine being passed on from father to son. "If a drought occurs, and there be living in the neighbourhood a person credited with such power, he may be tied up, or beaten or dipped in a stream or sluiced with water until rain comes."[1]

Professor Evans-Pritchard mentions shrines erected to ancestors—usually the father—but so far has written no detailed account.

[1] Larken, "An Account of the Zande": *S.N. & R.*, ix, 1926, 44.

Mgr. Lagae[1] states that a hunter will offer the liver from the first animal killed at the ancestral shrine, where fowls may be sacrificed at other times, especially as the result of consulting one of the oracles. First-fruits of the plantation are also brought to the shrine, where the *atoro* (spirit) partakes of them invisibly, leaving the material part to perish. Other offerings are seldom made unless a bad dream or failure of crops remind men of their ancestors, except among the Avongara, who make daily offerings. The ancestral shrine, *tuka* (Pl. LVIII Fig. 2), consists of a stout stick with the end split crossways a number of times, the limbs being then separated and held apart by a ring of bamboo. An upright with a container at its top functioning as a roughly made basket is thus produced, the opposite end of the stake being thrust into the earth so that its "basket" head is 4 to 5 feet above the ground. In the old days the ancestral shrines of the Avongara were not of this pattern but consisted of roofed-over platforms about a yard square supported on stakes. These were called *abise* and might be regarded as miniature huts, though not of the pattern of the Zande dwelling-houses. They still exist in the Congo.

Though to a certain extent the Azande are dependent on the good-will of their dead relatives for prosperity, witchcraft and magic play a much larger part in their everyday life than do the *atoro*.

Throughout life in all its ordinary activities the Azande consider it necessary to guard against evil, which is not attributed to ancestral spirits (minor deities or personified forces scarcely enter their beliefs) but mainly to witchcraft (*mangu*), to be warded off by counteracting magic (*ngwa*) :—

> "The Zande does not deny nor shut his eyes to natural causation, but he sees the hand of witchcraft in the occasions of its incidence. He knows that if a man hangs himself from a tree he will die, but he is also aware that a man would not do so unless motivated by *mangu*."[2]

Mangu is not acquired, but is an inherited quality: all the sons of a man who has *mangu* will also have *mangu*, and women will pass it on to their daughters. *Mangu* is considered a physical entity, residing in the upper part of the abdomen and recognizable in post-mortem examinations. There have been many guesses as to what it is, but Professor Evans-Pritchard was unable to come to any

[1] Op. cit., 61 et seq.
[2] Evans-Pritchard, "Witchcraft (*mangu*) among the Azande"; *S.N. & R.*, xii, 1929, 247.

definite conclusion, and since the Government does not allow post-mortem examinations to be performed in order to discover witchcraft we must for the present remain uncertain.

Dogs can possess *mangu*, and naturally, as it is inherited, children have it, but it is undeveloped and can do little harm. The Azande do not believe that *mangu* causes a man to be bad, "jealousy, envy, and malice, go on before," they say, "witchcraft and sorcery follow after." A man actuated by envy and malice uses *mangu* and gets the reputation of a witch. Witchcraft is usually performed at night, and thus owls and bats are associated with it. It works as a sending, and manifests itself as a bright light. When the witch is asleep he projects the spiritual aspect of his *mangu* to devour the spirit-flesh of the victim, soon producing physical disability.

> "*Mangu* is ubiquitous. It plays its part in every activity of Zande life, in agricultural, fishing, and hunting pursuits; in domestic life of homesteads as well as in communal life of district and court. . . . it forms the background of a vast panorama of magic; its influence is plainly stamped on law and morals, etiquette and religion; it is prominent in such different spheres as technology and language; no niche or corner of Zande culture into which it does not twist itself. If blight seizes the ground-nut crop it is *mangu*; if the bush is burnt vainly in pursuit of game it is *mangu*; if women laboriously ladle out water from a pool and are rewarded by but a few small fish it is *mangu*; if termites do not rise when they are due and a cold, useless night is wasted in waiting for their flight it is *mangu*; if a wife shows herself sulky and unresponsive to her husband it is *mangu*; if a magical rite fails to achieve its purpose it is *mangu*; if, in fact, any failure or misfortune falls upon anyone at any time and in relation to any of the manifold activities of his life he believes that it is due to *mangu*."[1]

When any misfortune happens, the victim or his near relatives consult the oracle and ascertain who is causing the trouble. Then two courses are open: the witch may be accused personally or impersonally. The latter course is known as *kuba*. The accusation is shouted out in dramatic style after sunset or at dawn; everything is carefully stated except the name of the accused, and the witch is asked to withdraw his *mangu*. The witch may repent, and if so all is well.

To accuse the witch personally is a perfectly legal proceeding. The wing of a fowl killed by *benge* is sent by some reliable person, preferably the chief's deputy, to the suspected witch. There is a traditional manner in which to accept such missives, which every Zande is sure to receive some time. It is bad form to show anger

[1] Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., 178.

at the insult, nor should one violently disclaim *mangu*, for at heart every Zande is doubtful: any man may be a witch through no fault of his own. He should say he has not done this bad thing, but that should he indeed possess *mangu* it is unknown to him, he wishes to cause no harm. If he says this truly the damage will be repaired. A notorious witch is easily recognized: he is a person who is for ever speaking evil of his neighbours, showing jealousy and malice. A witch is not however a pariah, and many a well-respected man is known to be a witch, indeed neighbours are often anxious to show him respect lest he should send his *mangu* against them. Only chiefs are immune from accusations of witchcraft.

As is pointed out later, every death is believed to be due to witchcraft, hence every death is legally murder. In the past the correct procedure was for one of the near relatives to take on the mourning taboos, to consult *benge* and discover the murderer of his kinsman. Then he should send the accusing chicken's wing to the chief's court, where the chief's *benge* must confirm the accusation. After that the bereaved man was theoretically at liberty to spear the murderer or to accept spears as blood-money. Actually the chief seldom allowed blood revenge and the guilty paid blood-spears instead; it was necessary for the injured parties to obtain the assent of their chief if they insisted on revenge. The acceptance of spears was not always the end of the matter, for later, when the supposed murderer died, his relatives might insist on a post-mortem examination to see if *mangu* were really present in the abdomen. If *mangu* were not found, then the relatives could claim the spears paid as blood-money. A system of retributive destructive magic called *bagbuduma* is another way of avenging death; this method was encouraged by Gbudwe, and, now that post-mortems and death revenge are prohibited by Government and the payment of spears can no longer be enforced legally, is the usual method adopted in settlement of a death. This magic has only to be set in motion, and eventually the murderer will die. No definite person need be accused; when the next death occurs the avenger need only consult *benge* to ascertain whether the dead man was indeed responsible for the previous death, and if the answer is in the affirmative the affair is settled.

Besides the direct destructive magic already mentioned, there are numerous protective magics which will cause damage or death to malefactors. All such *ngwa* are legal or good magic; they are said to give true judgment, *pe zunga*. Evil magic, or sorcery, does not

however give true judgment, it is used with malice and harms the innocent and the wrong-doer alike; the person who uses such magic is definitely doing a wrong or illegal action. There are however many forms of magic that may be good or evil, legal or illegal, according to the way in which they are used.[1]

Though magic and sorcery bring about the same kind of results as *mangu*, their origin is very different. *Mangu* (witchcraft) is worked through the spiritual aspect of a physical formation upon the spirit of the victim, but *ngwa* (magic) is performed by any person with prescribed material (mainly herbs) according to definite ritual, and acts on the victim by direction of the performer.

Abinza (sing. *binza*) or *aira avule*, termed witch-doctors by Professor Evans-Pritchard, are men whose business it is to combat *mangu* and cure its victims. Every Zande knows some magic and can use it, but only a fully trained *binza* can detect and counteract witchcraft. Avongara never become *abinza* nor do deputy chiefs, for to become a successful practitioner demands an intimate knowledge of men and gossip, ill becoming the dignity of a chief. It is rare for a woman to be a *binza*, though a few women practitioners have gained reputations. To learn the properties of herbs and how to prepare the correct mixture to be taken into the body constitutes the essential part of the training of *abinza*. This knowledge and practice enables them to perform their two great functions, to prophesy (here there is no question of an ancestral spirit) and to cure the sick. *Abinza* are not necessarily held in reverence or awe, yet even men who openly criticize them as tricksters will hold to the belief in the power of their medicine. Important announcements made by *abinza* are tested afterwards by the *benge* oracle, in whose efficacy there is implicit belief. The powers of a *binza* depend on his knowledge and physical possession of magic and on his ritual preparation. Some people say that only a man who himself has *mangu* (i.e. is a witch) can really detect witches, but the *abinza* affirm that their power is due to their "medicine" (*mbiro*) whereas that of witches is inborn. A *binza* always keeps some *mbiro* paste in his medicine horn, and he may give some to his son or sister's son to eat when a small child; this will do no harm, but will prepare him for his ritual eating of "medicine" later if he becomes a *binza*.

A youth wishing to be initiated will apply to a practitioner and make him continual payments, for magic is a personal possession and is

[1] Evans-Pritchard, "Sorcery and Native Opinion"; *Africa*, iv, 1931.

only efficacious when willingly given and paid for. *Abinza* meet and together partake in ritual fashion of their medicine; initiates undergoing training will attend these meetings and take full part in them. One of the *abinza* (usually a senior practitioner) who provides the meal will be paid by the participants, and this must be done in the presence of the medicine, which is thought to realize what is happening. He collects the required ingredients, recites magic formulae over them, and cooks them in the presence of his colleagues; the noviciates hold their heads in the steam rising from the pot and all partake of the medicine in the prescribed manner. Incisions are made on the chest and some of the fluid rubbed in, the residue being preserved in medicine horns. The medicine gives both physical and spiritual strength, and during a séance a medicine-man feels it stirring within him (even though he may not have eaten a ritual meal for a long time) and then begins to dance. The novice will be taught to recognize the plants from which medicines are made, and will be taken to the ravines where the most secret ones grow. These ravines, where streams arise, are dangerous places, for here Mbŏli broods and the *atoro* dwell. This was the only connection that Professor Evans-Pritchard was able to find between spirits of the dead and magic, and this according to his informants was only accidental; in these ravines the secret herbs grew, and it was here that the spirits dwelt, but the efficacy of the herbs was not believed to be due to the spirits or to Mbŏli.

The initiate undergoes public ceremonial burial, he learns the treatment of disease, including massage, but it is only when he is fairly advanced that he is taught the sleight of hand that accompanies his operations and learns to palm the foreign bodies that he is taught to say are the cause of illness. Sometimes a magician will vomit *mangu* and give it to the initiate to swallow.

Although the Azande place more implicit faith in *benge* than in anything else, the medicine man is consulted frequently not only to cure sickness but to detect the witch who is causing the misfortune. For this a séance is held in the homestead of the man who consults the *binza* and it is an occasion for a social gathering; all neighbours will come, including both witches and other *abinza*. The proceedings are lengthy and many hours may pass before the *binza* answers a crucial question. The scene that Professor Evans-Pritchard describes, in which the *binza*—dressed in ritual garments wearing bells, accompanied by drums and gongs—works himself up into

a condition of semi-dissociation, frequently cutting his body and letting blood flow, is essentially similar to those in other cultures in which the dancer becomes possessed by an ancestral spirit.

Professor Evans-Pritchard has published a detailed description and analysis of oracle magic[1] so that only a brief outline need be given here. We may however cite one passage, prefacing it with the information that though four kinds of oracle magic are described —*benge*, *dakpwa*, *iwa*, and *mapingu*—*benge* is by far the most important socially, for *benge* does not lie and the decree of the *benge* of a chief is final.[2]

> ". . . Oracle-magic forms the prologue to all the more important social, economic, legal, and religious acts of a native's life. Without the oracle no economic work of magnitude can be started; no crisis in man's biological and social existence is unaccompanied by one or more forms of divination; no big religious ceremony would be held without first consulting the oracles; the oracle-magic forms the whole machinery of justice. . . . In the crisis of biological development, the 'rites de passage' of life, one of the major oracles is always consulted. Before the birth of a child, both father and mother will consult *benge* and *dakpwa* as to the dangers of delivery to mother and babe. Before the father takes the step of giving a name to his infant, he will ask *benge* to assure him that it will live. Before the cutting of the foreskin in the circumcision ceremonies, sometimes a mortal operation, the boy's circumcision tutor, and, I believe, the father and operator also, will consult *benge* whether the boy will survive the cutting. No man will ever enter upon the contract of marriage, nor will any girl's parents allow her to live with her husband without first having consent from *benge*. No man will enter the secret society of *bili* without *benge's* assurance that he will pass safely through the rites of initiation. When sickness and pain threaten a Zande he will at first have recourse to *iwa*, *dakpwa*, and *benge* to discover who is injuring him with Black Magic, so that he may be cured and healed. When the cloud of death is hanging over him he will ask the oracle whether he will die. When a man has died his grief-stricken relatives will rely upon *benge* to tell them how he has died, so that they may be avenged." [3]

Benge is a red powder obtained from a creeper growing in the wooded region south of the Uelle river in the Belgian Congo, in the land of the Mangbettu and Abarambo. The Azande are aware that it is poison, but their faith in it does not depend on this; neither is its action a matter of luck or what we should call fate. Rather

[1] "Oracle Magic of the Azande": *S.N. & R.*, xi, 1928.

[2] In the chief's court witnesses are called, but if any doubt arises the verdict is decided by *benge*. The actual test is performed by an old man of repute, one of the chief's councillors, chosen by the accused, who pays him a fee of ten spears whether proved innocent or guilty. For each oracle there is a definite procedure, and for all the performer must observe sexual abstinence and certain food taboos, for if any of the taboos are broken the oracle cannot work correctly.

[3] Op. cit., 51–2.

is *benge* with its wonderful powers to be regarded as a cultural possession given to the Azande by Mböli; they know the correct procedure, and when that is faithfully carried out *benge* can only tell the truth. The appeal is made to *benge* itself, ceremonially prepared, and approached only by persons in a correct ritual condition. If there is any failure in the ritual (which it must be remembered begins with the collection of the raw product), then, though poisonous, it is a worthless powder. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that *benge* is powerful only in association with the correct spell or invocation and traditional procedure.

The journey to the land where *benge* grows is difficult and dangerous, and the severe taboos on the gatherers make it more arduous, further, owing to sleeping sickness restrictions entrance to the Congo is now forbidden and *benge* gatherers run the risk of imprisonment. Hence *benge*-running has become a dangerous trade and the price of *benge* is high. Moreover there is always a chance with bought *benge* that the gatherers have cheated and not maintained the taboos, in which case the substance will be worthless, and high-priced *benge* has sometimes to be thrown away on this account.

Anyone who knows the ritual may act as officiator of the oracle (*puta benge*), and each chief employs one or more official *puta benge*, who exercise their functions for a month at a time, during which period they must abstain from sexual connection and observe stringent food taboos.

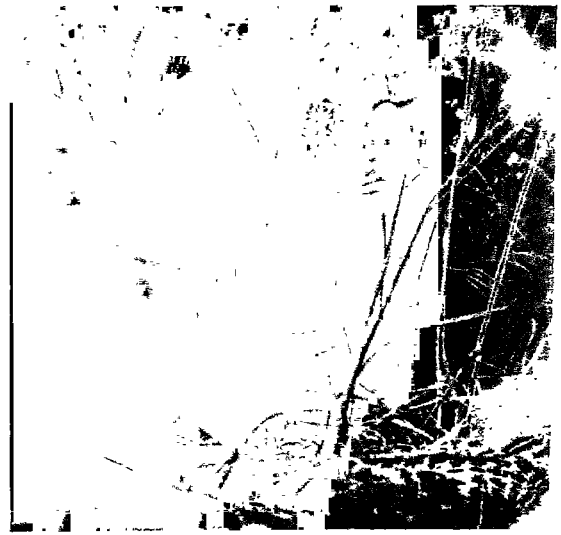
When a commoner wants to consult *benge* he must find someone to keep the taboos for him; a man already in mourning and hence in a state of taboo will usually act. The consultation is in private in the bush. Though the ritual is constant and the form of procedure always the same, the words that are addressed to *benge* are not a set formula. *Benge* is given to a chicken by the *puta benge*, and when considered to be at work in the fowl's stomach is addressed by a second man, the *sima benge*. Though there is no formula the address is in traditional phraseology and certain phrases will be used whenever *benge* is consulted, the rest depending on the circumstances of the case. The man who is addressing *benge* in the stomach of the fowl is careful to lay before the oracle the exact details of the case; thus he will reiterate the name of the man who is consulting the oracle and point him out to *benge*. In the case described by Professor Evans-Pritchard[1] the *sima benge* tells the oracle that Zingbondo

[1] Op. cit., 10 et seq.

PLATE LIX



Tuka, with "medicine" growing at base



Consulting *benge*

[*face p.* 528

of the Angbadimo clan, the son of Kperenge, has come to consult it about his marriage. He wishes to marry Auwa, the daughter of Ngere, of the clan of the chiefs. Someone else has already paid ten spears to the girl's father, but she does not wish to marry him, she wishes to marry Zingbondo. Shall the father of Auwa send back the ten spears and accept the ten spears of Zingbondo instead, and if he does this will his daughter die when she goes to live with Zingbondo, or will she live with him for five years, for ten years, always?

"'Now *benge*, you hear the position, you tell us the truth. If all is well, if Auwa is Zingbondo's wife, you kill the little chicken, *benge*, you hear it, kill the little chicken, chief, you hear it, kill the little chicken. But if all is not well, if Auwa is not Zingbondo's wife, if she will die when she goes to live with him in Ango's country, you spare the little chicken, you hear it, *benge*, you hear it chief, you spare the little chicken.'"

It is in this vein that the *sima benge* will address the magic inside the chicken, putting his case vehemently and with gesticulation.[1] If *benge* consents to the marriage the hen will be overcome by the poison and expire in spasms. If, on the other hand, *benge* sees trouble ahead and that Auwa will sicken and die in her new husband's home, then the hen will show no great signs of distress nor will it be seized by spasms.

Benge must be administered in turn to two chickens for the oracle to be complete, and if in the first case *benge* is asked to kill the chicken for an affirmative answer, then in the second consultation *benge* must be asked to spare the chicken. For a valid oracle both replies must be in the same sense. Professor Evans-Pritchard observed a certain plasticity in the procedure and the doses were not always the same, however after watching numerous oracles and much discussion he came to the conclusion that there was no cheating. If the oracle gave a definite result and killed the chicken quickly on the first consultation, the *puta benge*, knowing that *benge* was truthful and had given a decided answer, would not waste too much valuable *benge* on the second consultation, in which the chicken should be spared, while if the first fowl was spared it would not be right for the *puta benge* to save *benge* on the second consultation, in which the fowl should die. If both birds should live or both die it is believed that

[1] In spite of the mode of address, which cannot but suggest that *benge* is regarded as a personal agency, the Azande do not regard it as such, at least Professor Evans-Pritchard could obtain no evidence that they did.

there has been some fault in ritual. Someone concerned has not observed the taboos, or the *benge* has been kept too long, or else someone has worked *mangu* (witchcraft) against it. A certain magic, *zelengbondo benge*, may sometimes be worked so that *benge* gives a false oracle; that is to say, black or anti-social magic may be used against white or legitimate magic and may sometimes succeed. In such a case *benge* must be consulted again to detect the evil-doer, whose death would be the inevitable penalty for attempting to tamper with justice.

The *benge* oracle is thus definitely a legitimate social procedure, carried out on traditional lines. It is consulted on definite occasions, normally to obtain assurance of success in all social undertakings, or in tracking crime, adultery, or theft. Again, as all cases of misfortune, failure, or ill-health are believed to be due to witchcraft, *benge* is used to detect the witch.

In the past *benge* would sometimes be administered to a man or woman instead of to fowls, but only if the matter at issue were very grave, such as adultery with the wife of a chief or using black magic against the life of a chief. The subject's hair is ruffled so that it stands up; he drinks the *benge*, and the *puta benge* rings a bell and addresses the magic in the stomach of the man. He then throws the bell to a distance and the man has to run and bring it back while the company beat on a log of wood placed on the ground. His success or failure in doing this proves his innocence or guilt. In Mgr. Lagae's account [1] the accused person after drinking the *benge* had to pick up a number of feathers or sticks. If he tottered or fell he was deemed guilty and was often killed on the spot. Sometimes however his friends were allowed to give him an antidote to induce vomiting.

Benge magic is not privately owned but may be used by any man who will observe the necessary taboos; women are, however, excluded from its use and are not allowed near it lest they deprive it of its powers. The taboos for the other oracles are similar, but not so stringent, so that they can be consulted with greater ease, but their efficacy is not so great as that of *benge*.

For the *dakpwa* oracle branches of *dakpwa* and *kpoiyo* trees are placed in an ant heap, and the oracle depends on which of the two is eaten. Before placing the sticks in the ant-hill the man will address the termites. Suppose he has come to consult about a sick friend: "They say thus, O Termites, he will die this year, *dakpwa* eat, he

[1] Op. cit., 90.

will not die, *kpoiyo* eat." Early next morning he will go to see which of the sticks has been eaten. If the *dakpwa* alone it is a bad omen, while if the *kpoiyo* alone it is a good omen. In either case the oracle must be consulted again, as in *benge*.

Mapingo differs from the other oracles in that it can be consulted by women, and is so simple a procedure that it is frequently used, often as a preliminary to consulting the more important oracles; even children use it. It consists of arranging sets of three pieces of wood (three for each question) in a certain way in the evening and observing whether they are scattered in the morning.

Iwa, unlike the other oracles, consists of an instrument manipulated by the soothsayer, so that there is a distinct personal element, which

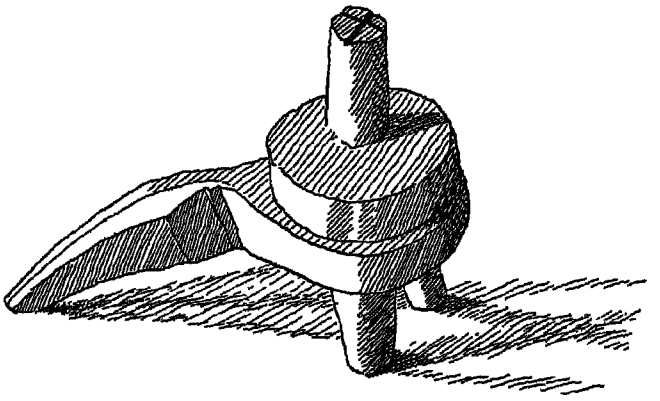


FIG. 38. *Iwa*.

the wise soothsayer undoubtedly uses. *Iwa* is a miniature wooden table with a cover, both made of special wood to a conventional design and treated with magic. The maker must observe the usual sex and food taboos during the whole process of construction. Though *iwa* magic is not a private possession, only a few people know how to operate it, and this knowledge must be bought. The juice of a wild tomato is squeezed on the *iwa* and water is sprinkled on it, which causes the mixture to froth, then the cover is held on and pushed to and fro by the operator, the answer of the oracle being judged according to the smooth running or sticking of the cover when the *iwa* is addressed. The advantage of this system is that many questions can be asked, e.g. a list of names can be recited when someone is suspected of *mangu* and the lid will stick at the name of the culprit.

With *benge* this is not possible, a chicken must be killed for every question asked. In important affairs, however, the answers made by *iwa* would be tested by *benge* later.

As for *benge*, the sex and food taboos must be observed when consulting the termites, *iwa* or *mapingo*.

The social and ethical value of oracle magic can be seen in every-day life. No man puts less energy into his work because of the magical verdict, but without it he would lack confidence to carry through those undertakings that he feels are specially prone to failure. Further, the belief in the truth of *benge* deters crime to a certain extent, for few guilty men care to face *benge*.

The various forms of magic considered so far can be used by anyone who knows the ritual, and such knowledge can be inherited or bought. So great is the desire for magic that foreign forms are constantly being adopted. In distinction to such individual magic is the magic of the so-called secret societies. These societies are all of comparatively recent introduction into Zande territory. It is known that Gbudwe crushed, if he did not actually exterminate, the *nando* society which entered the territory during his reign; *mani*, a society which is very popular and is continually spreading, was unknown at his death and was not established in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan before the death of Basongoda (1914).[1]

To-day the *mani* society is spread over the whole of Zande country in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and its members must number thousands. Owing to the hostility of the Government, members are compelled to be secretive, and the blue bead—emblem of the society—is no longer worn openly. There is a ceremonial initiation, at which members receive a special name and "medicine" is eaten, and they also learn the greeting that they use among themselves. Membership of the society is not restricted by sex, though unless a man is himself a member he strongly objects to his wife joining. Formerly each lodge commonly met in a specially constructed shelter near a stream, but meetings now take place quietly at night in the homestead of one of the members. The head of each lodge, the *boro basa*, owes his position to purchase of the *mani* medicines. He receives a small fee from new members, possesses a special oracle

[1] Mgr. Lagae has given an account of the *mani* society as it exists in the Congo. He emphasizes its recent origin, dating back no more than a generation, and—though this is doubtful—thinks it did not begin among the Azande (op. cit., p. 119). We add, on Professor Evans-Pritchard's authority, that two characteristic features of Lagae's society do not occur in the Sudan, viz. snake worship and wooden anthropoid figures.

called *yanda*, and exercises judicial functions. Another official, called *kenge*, cooks the medicines during the ceremonies of the society.

In the lodges the magic is owned by the society and is used for the benefit of members; only persons initiated into the various grades can perform the appropriate ceremonies. Though the initiation is secret and only initiated persons may attend the meetings, the existence of the societies is not secret, nor is their purpose or propaganda. *Mani* magic is, like other magic, performed with prescribed material, chiefly herbal, and is in the main protective against all ordinary social and accidental misfortunes, including the displeasure of chiefs and Europeans. *Mani* is not bad magic: initiates are strictly taught that when using magic for vengeance their motives must be *bape*, legal retribution for an offence, not *sogote*, vengeance actuated by jealousy or spite. The magic whistle plays a prominent part in *mani* magic. There is no distinction of class or sex. Women and even children may join (sometimes women bring their children with them, so they have to be initiated). Though the Avongara are not encouraged and the society is not in favour with the chiefs, such is the reputation of *mani* that some of the chiefs do join for the sake of its magic. In the society, though treated with respect as members of the Vongara class always are, the chiefs can claim no privileges, nor is it likely that they can help resenting the judicial power claimed by the masters of the lodges. For these can and do judge cases, which need no longer be referred to the chief's court. They do not however exercise this power very frequently or in the most important kind of case. Another factor that brings the *mani* society into disfavour with the chiefs is the admittance of women. Although women enter the lodge by a separate path, men and women sit apart, and the traditional sexual standard of morality is upheld by the society, yet the admission to the lodges does give women more freedom, which to a chief or wealthy commoner with a large harem means more possibilities of adultery. These two factors—the possible judicial authority open to masters of the lodges and the admittance of women—may tend to bring the *mani* society into bad odour with the chiefs, who may tend to class it with the *bili* society, for although the latter has the same objects as *mani*, viz. protection from witchcraft and immunity from punishment by chiefs or Government, yet *bili* has a frankly sexual aspect, its secrecy is more inviolate and its sanctions more severe. Actually the rapid spread of the *mani* society in recent years may be due to the greater need for self-help, which the Azande

feels now that so many of his institutions are crumbling under modern conditions.[1]

Death and Funeral Ceremonies

In order to follow the Zande belief concerning totemism and life after death it is necessary to understand the ideas held regarding conception. It is believed that the new life is formed by the entrance of a spirit from the father into the womb; both mother and father must contribute *mbisimo* (spirit), otherwise the union will be unfruitful. If the *mbisimo* of the father is stronger a boy will be born, if that of the mother a girl. At death the *mbisimo* becomes the *atoro* and lives near the heads of streams, sometimes visiting the shrines erected by the descendants, but at the same time the Azande at death becomes the totem of the clan—animal, plant, or some natural object. This comes about in a curious way: when the body dies it decays, excepting only the right hand, which changes into the totem species. The line of descent followed is peculiar, for a man passes into the totem species of his father and a woman into that of her mother, so that among commoners brothers and sisters pass into different totem species, and though a woman belongs to the totem of her father her soul passes into the totem species of her mother. It must not however be assumed that this belief is common to all Azande; there is considerable individual variation. The males of the Avongara (and females also if of unmixed Vongara descent) become lions or leopards at death. A particularly vicious old man-eater killed at Yambio was thought to be the deceased king Gbudwe.[2]

The corpse is washed and wrapped in a new bark cloth. Relatives of the dead, and neighbours, chiefly women, wail and sing death songs. While this is going on men dig a shaft grave with a lateral chamber, usually within the homestead. This labour is never done by own relatives of the deceased, nor by those of his wife, but by the husbands of all his near female relatives. The grave is dug 6 or 7 feet deep, the recess being lined with wooden blocks to receive the corpse, which lies flexed upon its side with rings, knives, and

[1] For a fuller account of *mani*, see Evans-Pritchard, "Mani, a Zande Secret Society": *S.N. & R.*, xiv, 1931, published since the above was written.
[2] "Notes on the Zande": *S.N. & R.*, ii, 1919, 26.

pieces of money beside it. The body is carried by the grave-diggers, who on the way to the grave uncover the face so that the relatives may look their last upon their dead kinsman. The burial chamber is closed with logs of wood and the earth is replaced. The relatives-in-law who assist in digging the grave also make payments of spears, which are divided among the kinsmen of the deceased. On the following day a temporary shelter is erected over the grave, later replaced by a more durable structure. Magic is also placed on the grave.

When a woman dies her corpse is taken away by her brothers and buried among her own people. Her husband removes his bark cloth and wears instead a cord made of bast from the *dakpwa* and leaves of the *doma* tree. He lies on his belly on the bare ground until the burial is over, only raising himself to look upon the face of the dead on its way to the grave. Then one of the dead woman's relatives says to him, "Speak her name"; this he does, and henceforward never mentions it again. He remains in a state of taboo, unable to eat, drink, or wash, until he is released on the following day by his sisters, who place a number of small gifts beside him; these are taken by the sisters of the dead woman, who then give the husband water to drink and sprinkle water over him. He has however to observe various taboos until the final mourning feast, when the memorial stones are heaped upon the grave. The widower must abandon his dead wife's homestead and go and live with one of his own kin. All her property and the utensils in the homestead, as well as her crops and garden produce, are taken by her kin.

When a man dies his wife must lie on the ground naked until the body is buried. She, too, is in a state of taboo, removed by the presents made by her sisters to the sisters of the dead man, who perform the ceremony of sprinkling the water and giving drink. Nowadays she abandons her hut and lives with her brothers, a thing which would never have happened under the old dispensation, when she would have sheltered with a senior male relative of her husband's family, e.g. his uncle or elder brother, until the mourning taboos were over, when she would have gone to live with her new husband.

Whether the deceased be a man or woman, the own kinsmen organize the burial, avenge the death, send the spirit to the spirit world, and keep in communication with it by means of sacrifice. Friends and neighbours always attend funerals, the women joining in the wailing, but they have no definite duties as have the kin and the relatives-in-law.

The Azande believe that whatever the mode of death the real cause is witchcraft (*mangu*) or magic, and that the spirit remains near the tomb until the duty of taking vengeance has been performed. *Benge* is consulted, and indicates who among the relatives shall observe the mourning taboos. It is again consulted, theoretically, in order to discover whether the death was due to witchcraft (black magic) or was the result of the dead man's own misdeeds. If the latter it signifies that he was himself the culprit, in that owing to some malpractice—adultery, theft, or black magic of his own performance—he has fallen the victim of someone else's protective magic, lawfully used: has in fact been killed by his own misdeeds. But frequently it is found that the death is due to the black magic of some envious person, and then vengeance is a duty. The person selected as avenger is given *likipwo*; this consists of some bark cloth worn by the dead man, together with nail-parings, hair, and sometimes in the old days a joint of the little finger. The avenger calls in someone with knowledge of the magic of death, really an expert, who may have learnt the magic from his father or even bought it. This man takes the *likipwo*, burns it, and places the ashes in the mouth of a magic whistle, which he blows, uttering a spell against the murderer. The whistle and some *bagbuduma* medicine are then hidden in the bark of a tree. The avenger is also given a magic whistle to blow and utter spells over by the medicine man, to whom he pays a spear for his services.

The avenger, now subject to many taboos, awaits the effect of the magic. Someone is sure to die in the vicinity within the next few weeks and the relatives will consult *benge* to determine whether this death is the result of their magic. If the reply is in the negative the avenger must suffer his taboos until someone else dies and an affirmative answer is given. When the victim of the magic is dead the medicine-man is again summoned in order that he may provide an antidote to the magic, which may otherwise fall upon the avenger and kill him also. The relatives eat the antidote and make over to the expert valuable presents, including several spears, also providing him with food and drink. The latter goes to the bush, takes the magic from the tree, and casts it into water to destroy its power.

The making of a heap of stones (as a memorial) over the grave ends the mourning taboos and is the occasion for a great feast, for which preparations must be made by the master of the feast at least a year ahead as extra millet must be sown for the large amount of beer that is given away on this occasion. Besides beer, porridge must

be provided for all the workers and guests. This ceremony may take place any time within four years of the death, and one feast may celebrate two deaths in a family. Professor Evans-Pritchard has described all the stages in the preparation of the feast, showing how the work is organized on a large scale, the part played by magic and by obscene songs in communal undertakings, the duties of hospitality, etc. The actual ceremony occupies five days; the stones are placed on the grave on the fifth day, while the taboos on the master of the feast are ceremonially removed on the sixth day.

The stones, collected from the bush by the relatives-in-law and blood-brothers of the master of the feast, are placed in position over the grave. They are arranged to form a pyramidal pile over the mound, one large stone being left to be placed at the summit at the conclusion of the ceremony. The following is taken from Professor Evans-Pritchard's description of an actual feast:—

> "The master of the feast now began to address the spirit of the dead [in this case his mother], waving in the air, as though brushing away flies, a branch of the sacred tree *bombili*. As he addressed her he frequently dipped the branch of *bombili* into a pot of beer placed upon the top of the grave-heap, and sprinkled beer over the stones and beat the branch against them. He saluted the dead in the following terms: 'Oh, spirit of my mother, why do I make a feast to weep for you at it? Why are you angry with me? Why are the spirits angry with me? Since I have not dealt ill with you. Spirits you remain quiet at the feast. Your spears are given very much. Oh, spirit of my mother, do not be angry with me. It is thus: I have risen to salute the spirits as I have made new your grave with stones. You have rested indeed in a smooth place. It is thus: I have risen to take beer. I have come with it to salute your spirit at the head of the grave. Do not let rain come down near the dance. Spirits prevent rain, prevent it up above. They dance much, they dance well in a dry place. It is thus: I take beer and come with it to the head of your grave, for the husbands of your children that they may drink beer and blow it on to your grave because they weep for you with that beer. Oh, spirit of my mother, it is I, Maunguru, that rise to take a sprig of *bombili* to salute the spirits with it. Do not be angry with us for the work of the stones. It is thus: I will take bad leaves of *bombili* to throw them to the east, but I will throw your good spirit to the west.' When the son of the dead woman had finished his address to the spirit of his mother he tipped up the gourd of beer, emptying much of it on to the top of the grave pile."

Then the brother of the deceased, the maternal uncle of the master of the feast, rose from the ground, and, waving the sacred *bombili* as his sister's son had done, he saluted the dead more briefly, followed by another brother and then by a son of a sister of the master of the feast. All the male relatives-in-law of the master of the feast then took draughts of beer and blew spray over the grave, but they did

not salute the dead with words nor with the branch of the *bombili*. Finally the rest of the assembled company came and drank the remains of the beer. "One large stone remained on the ground at the side of the grave, and this could not be placed on top of the heap, the concluding act of ritual, until one of the relatives-in-law had thrown a small present on to the ground near to the master of the feast." On the occasion described a sister's husband threw to the ground a large spear and shaft. The master of the feast then placed the final stone in position, and the gourd which had contained the beer, together with the leaves of *bombili*, was put on top of the pile, when all returned to the homestead.

Throughout the ritual of death the social importance of the marriage tie is emphasized. At the death of a man or woman the bereaved spouse adopts a rôle of extreme humility, but apart from this the behaviour of the members of the two families is not reciprocal. Both for a man and a woman their own kin are responsible for the obsequies, but it is the husbands of the female relatives who dig the grave, and the final ceremonial exchange at the mortuary feast is between a man who has been mourning his own relatives (male or female) and the husbands of his kinswomen. These men must give the bereaved man spears, in exchange for which they will receive beer. The closer the relationship of their wives to the master of the feast the larger the gift should be. There is often much haggling over this exchange, and meanness on the part of the relatives-in-law is openly criticized. These relatives must also collect the memorial stones placed over the grave.

A chief mourns for his wife for no more than a day or two. The hut is abandoned, and the path to it closed with thorn bush. He does not humiliate himself in the same way as does a commoner, but his hair is cut and notables bring him presents of knives, etc., which he sends to his dead wife's relatives. When a chief's son is mortally ill he will if it is possible be taken to die among his mother's people.

When a chief is seriously ill, and it has been ascertained through *benge* that he will not recover, he is taken secretly by night to some place known only to his sons and to some of the leading men. The serious illness of a chief is kept a secret from his court, and his sons appear there as usual; the eldest son does not attend his father during his last illness but is kept informed of his condition by his brothers and notables. A chief is buried secretly at night in the gallery forest on a river bank. The bottom of the grave, which has no side chamber,

PLATE LX



Consulting *ira*



Zande grave

[*face p.* 538

is littered with knives and spears; formerly several of his favourite wives were placed in the grave with their limbs broken, the chief's body supported by their outstretched legs. Mats were then put in, and more spears, the grave being closed with sticks and mats and the whole covered with earth. Formerly the earth was smoothed down so that none knew where the chief was buried, but at the present day a mound is raised and a roof built over the grave, as among commoners, though even now nobody is allowed to visit the grave.

APPENDIX

Installation of the Shilluk King at Fashoda, 17th January, 1918

The following account of the ceremony is that contributed by Mr. P. Munro to *Sudan Notes and Records*, i, 1918:—

"In writing the following description of the above event I have attempted to adhere as strictly as possible to what was actually observed. This is more difficult than it appears for two reasons: first, it is almost impossible to keep the mind oblivious of the innumerable traditions which have attached themselves to the ceremony and which are set forth in the main by Seligman[1] and Westermann,[2] and secondly the constant ebb and flow of the very large company present make accurate observation of detail in some cases almost impossible.

"The small discrepancies noted in the actual ceremony as compared with the account of the same as given by Seligman . . . are, in my opinion, probably due to the fact that any inquirer would certainly be told of any existing traditions as regards various separate installations. The main essentials are the same, but in small details each installation probably varies in accordance with its special circumstances. For the sake of clearness I have divided this article into two sections (*a*) Necessary preliminary remarks, (*b*) The actual narrative.

(*a*) Preliminary Remarks

"The previous Ret Fadiet wad Kwadker died on 22nd February, 1917. At his death there were various possible candidates for the Retship, of whom however only two were of real interest, Shoti wad Ajang, who owing to intrigue took up the attitude of claiming the Retship, and Fafiti wad Yor, whose claim, upheld for him by certain chiefs, was supported by Government. Shoti's position was much weakened by two factors: (*a*) by his presumptuous attitude,

[1] Seligman, *General Science 4th Report of Wellcome Research Laboratories*, B, 216 et seq.
[2] Westermann, *The Shilluk People*.

which was contrary to all decent Shilluk tradition, which even considers it correct for the Ret to disappear from his house on hearing of his probable selection, and (*b*) by the fact that his father, Ajang, was never legitimate Ret, having never entered Fashoda but having been allowed to usurp the position, when the Mudir of Fashoda imprisoned the real Ret, Kwadker. (N.B.—The Shilluk rule of Retship makes it essential for the new Ret to be the son of a previous legitimate Ret, thus Shoti did not have the proper qualification.) Fafiti wad Yor, the most suitable member of the house, whose turn it was to have the Retship, was therefore selected for the honour. As was customary a period of interregnum ensued, during which time although the Ret-to-be utters judgment he is merely voicing the matured opinions of a Council of elders. It was stated to me that this interregnum always continued till after new dura had been sown and was ready to harvest. The general expectation was that the installation would not occur till February, but Fafiti himself wished to have it completed at the first opportunity. This was most natural in view of the fact that there is no real recognition of the Ret as legitimate until after the actual installation and in consequence it is a period of grave insecurity. Fafiti therefore sent messengers to the village of Akurwa to ask if all things were ready for the bringing of Nyakang [1] to the ceremony. A short delay occurred owing to the people of Akurwa having to collect many ostrich feathers and also ambatch for the creation of the bodily appearance of Nyakang. (Tradition states that they obtain them from south of Jebelein and that any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile.)

"When all was ready Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January, 1918.

"As Nyakang draws near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dabalu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiti went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the fourth morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dabalu; it would

[1] Nyakang—the semi-divine hero and first king of the Shilluk race. Cf. Seligman, 216. During the ceremony he is represented by a tall cylindrical body probably made of ambatch, covered with light blue cloth, and with a roundish mass of ostrich feathers as a head.

appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoich of Akwom, whose duty it was, had neglected to give due notice to the southern chiefs, and so the Kwa Mal [1] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

(*b*) Narrative, 17th January, 1918

"I arrived at Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang [2] from outside, and the temporary huts [3] built for the Ret, and also the official residence of the Ret.[4] About 11 a.m. loud drumming in the distance gave us the first intimation that Nyakang was *en route* from its shrine in Nyagir and was now approaching Fashoda. In the distance on the slight slope north of Fashoda a large company could be seen with Nyakang and Dak [5] borne aloft in the centre. Hundreds of Shilluk warriors were in attendance on Nyakang and its people. The men of Golbaing and Nyagir were acting as flank guards, and the whole array with the sun on its spears was most impressive. Once and again, according to correct tradition, Nyakang turned back and retraced its way to very near its starting point in Nyagir. This, I understood, to be indicative of Nyakang's uncertainty as to whether it would accept the new Ret and bestow on him its divine protection. The pauses and returns

[1] Kwa (descendants of) Mal, stated by Westermann, 128, to be founded by a man and woman who came down from above. They left children on earth; their home is Malakal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that dally in following the Ret.

[2] The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well-built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Fenikang (Fig. 55). The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

[3] About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

[4] His house consists of four fine-built huts enclosed in a fence. The western hut is known as "Dukot", and in it are kept the sacred stool, the spear, the sword, and the shield. The eastern hut is for the Ret's wives and the other two are used for anything the Ret likes. The stool, etc., are brought out for the ceremony and redeposited in "Dukot" afterwards.

[5] Dak is the son of Nyakang; his effigy is much taller and thinner in body but smaller in head than that of Nyakang. Both effigies are in charge of Ador, son of Akol Adong of Akurwa.

of the concourse became more frequent, but shorter in time, and during them the warriors and maidens could be seen dancing. About this time a small band of four warriors sent by Fafiti appeared in Fashoda and proceeded to circle round it two or three times with the peculiar dancing stride of the Shilluks. This band was shortly increased to six in number, and finally took its stand on Nyakang's road. The blowing of a horn announced the appearance of the Ret's army from Akwom, a great crowd of warriors. They came on apace until near the small khor about a quarter of a mile south of Fashoda —they were chiefly from the southern sections, although Kodok itself immediately surrounded the Ret. It was impossible to see Fafiti himself as yet owing to the crowd.

"The small party of six above mentioned now plays its part as a post between the Ret and Nyakang. The messengers all ran at full speed and appeared to be changed at the half-way post. They are taking offers from the Ret to Nyakang. At first Nyakang refuses them and turns back. Eventually he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull, and five spears have been offered and taken. Further, I was told that the messengers carry straws, symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

"At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives came dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm upwards and chanting *Ya bia, Ya bia* ("Come, come").

"The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there Fafiti was taken across in his *toror* (Shilluk boat) but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service Fafiti gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

"I could not distinguish Fafiti, who in accordance with custom was

dressed in the ordinary Shilluk *lau* (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel.[1] In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then meet. Nyakang and his followers immediately put to flight the Ret's army with whips, and the Ret is captured by Nyakang. The Ret is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Nyakang's company. Fafiti could now be seen holding Nyakang by its cylindrical body, so that the ostrich feathers flaunted on his head.

"After a pause Nyakang and the Ret, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pond at Fashoda. Here the white bull of Kwa Okel is again seen. It has been enwrapped in clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Nyakang, the Ret, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Ret is lifted up and carried at full length by the Ororo,[2] in company with Nyakang, which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and the clothes are stripped off the bull and torn into shreds, presumably to be kept as mementos. Nyakang and the Ret are then carried to the Shrine of Nyakang and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a squat stool with four squat legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white dammur with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the shrine of Nyakang should presumably prevent any one seeing what occurs. Nyakang is then placed on the stool, and the Ret is said to hold its two front legs.

[1] Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their daughters to the king. The girl is known as Nya Kwer (i.e. a girl of the authorities, girl of taxes).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kelo, a section founded by Okelo, a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the *tuki* (hearth stones). Another tradition states that Okelo was a Nuba whose sister was married by Nyakang. Cf. Westermann, 129 et seq., lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill.

[2] Ororo. This class seems full of mystery; cf. Westermann, 129 et seq., paras. 10, 23, and 27. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they came was "Kwaret". According to Fafiti they were the men of Odak, son of Nyakang; a fight occurred between them and the Dinkas. All the older men were killed by the Dinkas, but some of the children were left. At this time Duwat should have become Ret, but his position was usurped, and much trouble fell upon the Shilluks. Finally Duwat came to his own, and he then took from these others the right of ever succeeding to the Retship. Since Duwat's time no one has become an Ororo, although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are (*a*) to carry the Ret, (*b*) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further, at the death of a Ret they make the shroud. The Ret on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Ororo.

Inside the cloth are three people, the Ret, the small girl of Kwa Okel, and the man holding Nyakang.

"Observation here was very difficult owing to the curtain, the moving crowd, and the fact that the Ret's most ancient wife would keep on dancing in front of the only possible view.

"I therefore moved my position to where I noticed some ancient crones, who were past the age of reverence and merely inquisitive, and from which place one could see behind the curtain. Shortly after I had moved the Ret's wazir was called for, he was Yomon wad Ker (Kwaniaret). Nyakang was then withdrawn by his attendant backwards and the Ret took his seat on the sacred stool. His wazir then grasped the two front feet of the stool presumably in token of the submission and fealty of the Shilluk race, and in recognition that Nyakang's mantle had descended upon him.

"Then occurs much tomtoming and dancing, in which the people concerned are wives of the Ret and people of Akurwa, while the Ret sat like a graven image on the chair. At this time I noticed smoke issuing from the temporary tukls and asked what it was for. I was informed that the Ret's wives were warming water for the ablutions. Presently when this was ready two or three of them came and washed the new Ret's feet in hot and cold water, the significance of which is that the Ret shall be neither too cold nor too hot with his people, i.e. just.

"The Ret was then lifted up by the Ororo and carried to where a bull covered with a leopard skin had been brought by Kwa Ujalu[1] on the threshold of his "temporary hut". He appeared to make certain passes, four in number, over this with a large sword, which was handed to him. The bull was then speared and carried away struggling for a short distance, and the Ret was then taken to his hut, which ended the proceedings temporarily. As we left the scene, the sacred stool was carried past us by four men running and taken up to the Ret's palace on the mound.

"I was told Fafiti was to stay in his temporary hut for three days, and at the end of that period is taken up to his palace.

"Unfortunately, I was unable to stay longer, and as the actual religious ceremonial had been safely completed I asked Yusbashi Hussein Farag, Mamur Kodok, to return to Fashoda on the 20th and

[1] Kwa Ujalu is probably identical with Kwa Ajal, who were founded by Jal. They live at Nyel Wak and lay out the circle for building the house of Nyakang (cf. Westermann, 128, clan list compiled by Rev. D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill). Local tradition says they have the right given them by Nyakang of taking captives any girls they may meet and holding them to ransom.

take note of any further ceremonies. The following information is from notes given to me by him. 'Apparently the Ret went up to his palace from the "temporary hut" during the night of the 19th. On the 20th in the morning the Ret left his palace accompanied by a large crowd. He was dressed in a game skin, and with him was the sacred stool. His escort were holding the shield. Nyakang also left his shrine escorted by a great company of people. Then there occurred the mock battle with dura stalks.[1] When the two "armies" meet, the Ret's people, as though frightened of the people of Nyakang, ran towards the palace. The young girl of Kwa Okel on this day was with Nyakang's people, and when the "battle" was joined, the Ret seized her and carried her off to his palace.

"'Nyakang then returned to the shrine, where he is said to remain till the rainy season. Four persons are left as his escort.

"'The Ret is said to stay another three days in his palace and then come out and meet his chiefs. Every orator speaks in his turn and before talking puts his spear on the ground. If his speech sounds good to the people, the drum is beaten as a token of applause. The spears laid down become the property of the Ret. The young girl stays with the Ret till she grows up, and the Ret can then wed her to any Shilluk he pleases'."

[1] Seligman, 224, states the mock battle occurs at the khor before the ceremony. No dura stalks were used on the 17th at the time of the mock fight seen by me. It would appear to be one of those instances in which different installations vary.

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The traditional hunting medicine of the Bongo is *lingi*, consisting of two or three short carved posts "about a foot or 18 inches high, which are driven into the earth near the entrance to a hut.[1] They are not erected by everyone who hunts, but only by well-known hunters. The hunter takes a hen and cuts its throat over these posts, and speaks to the spirits as he does so, saying: 'Give me animals, let my crops succeed,' and so on. He throws the head of the hen into the bush and eats its body."[2]

The medicine-man proper is called *be mola* in Bongo, but has completely disappeared at the present day, a Zande medicine man (*binza* in Zande) being usually called in to heal the sick. *Bi togbo* (Schweinfurth, *bitaboh*) means the possessor of *togbo*, a type of black magic which is definitely *kaga* (medicine in the physical sense), and has nothing to do with the spirits of the dead. If put in the door of a hut the first person or animal to cross the threshold will assuredly die. The Bongo seem to have no belief in any physically inherited black magic comparable to the Zande *mangu*, which is believed to work without the use of medicines.

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[3] Evans-Pritchard, op cit, 34.

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