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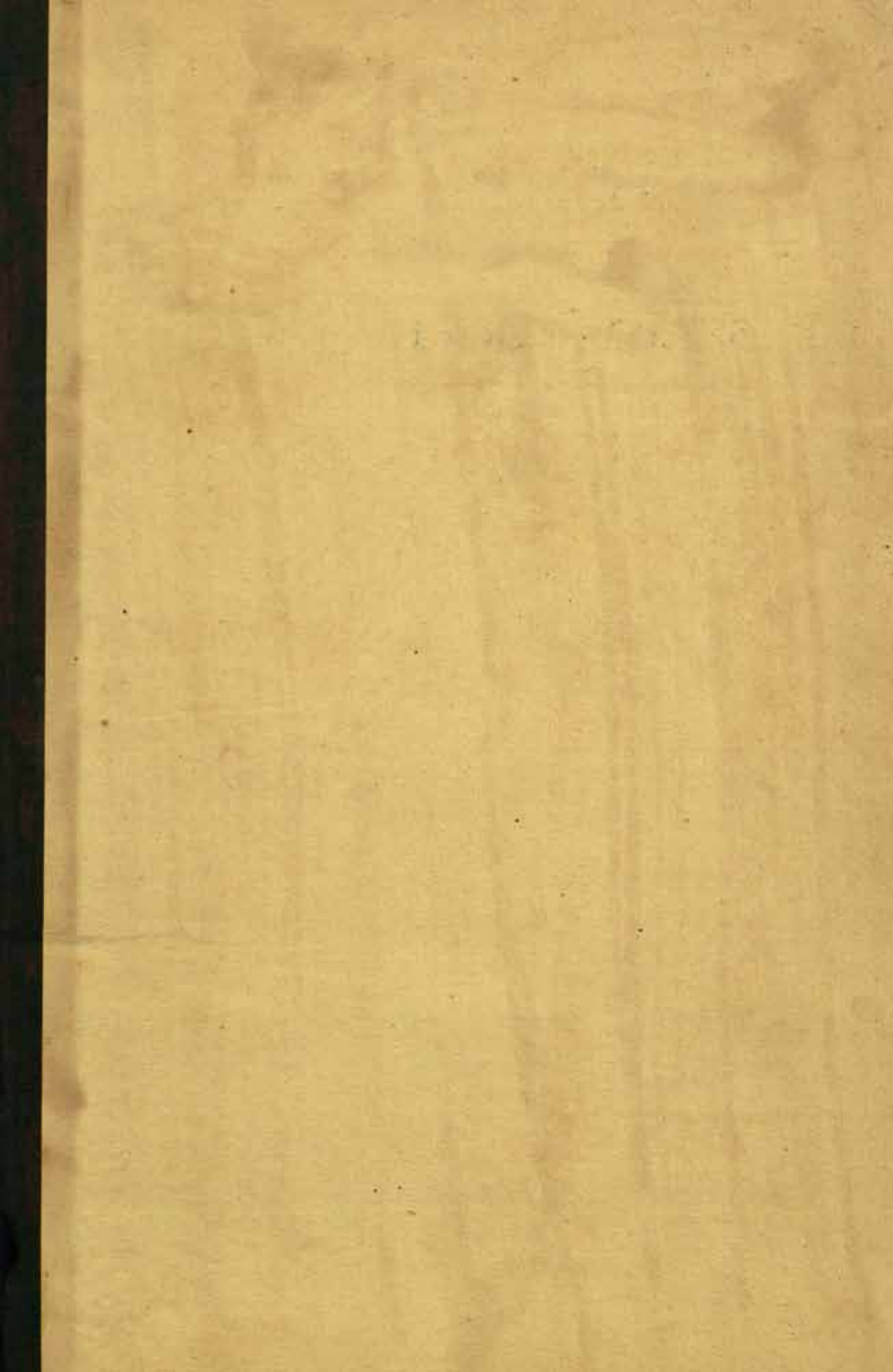
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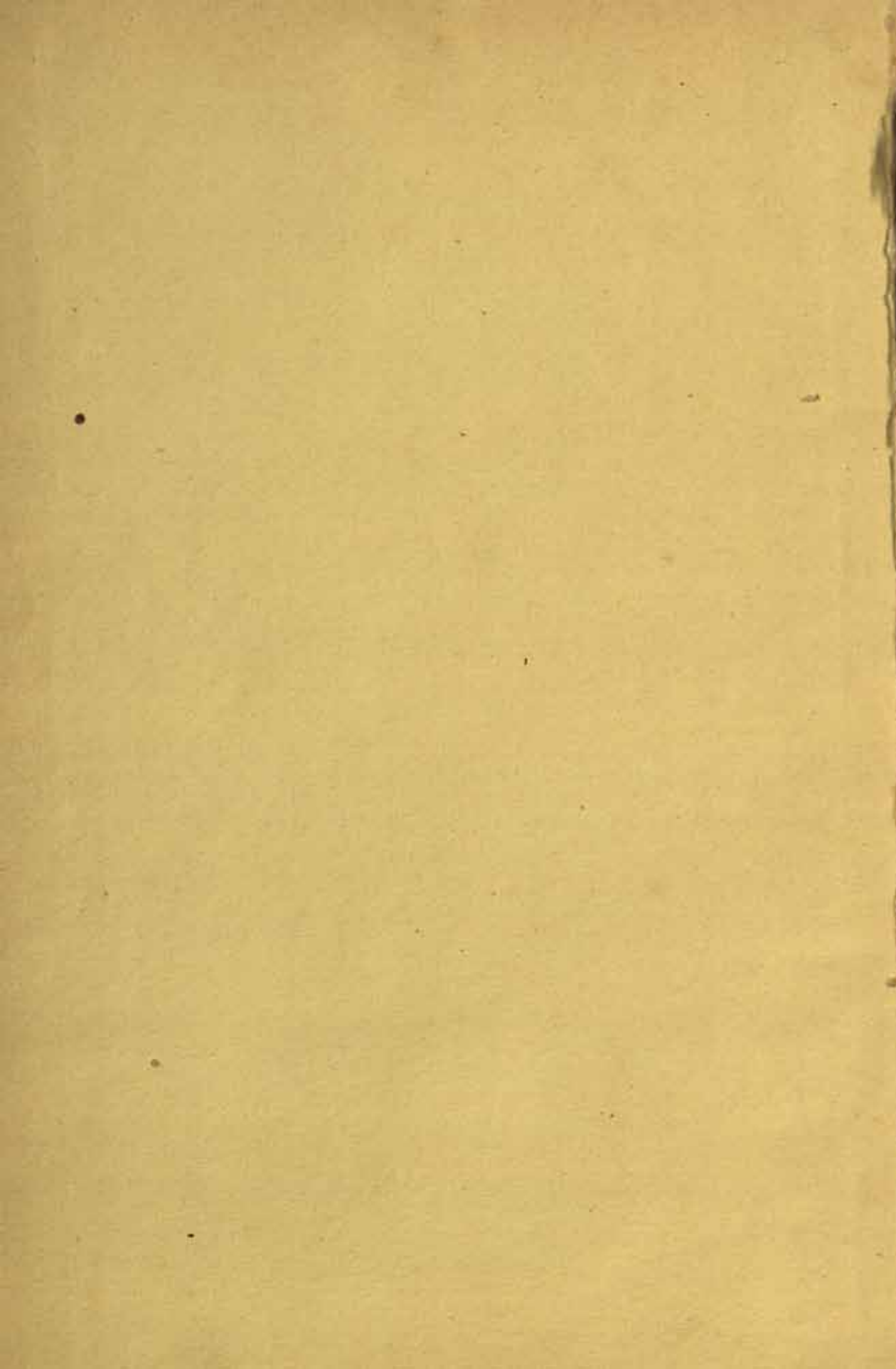
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THE JOURNAL

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ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

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GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.



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VOL. XLV.

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572.05  
J. R. A. I.

PUBLISHED BY THE

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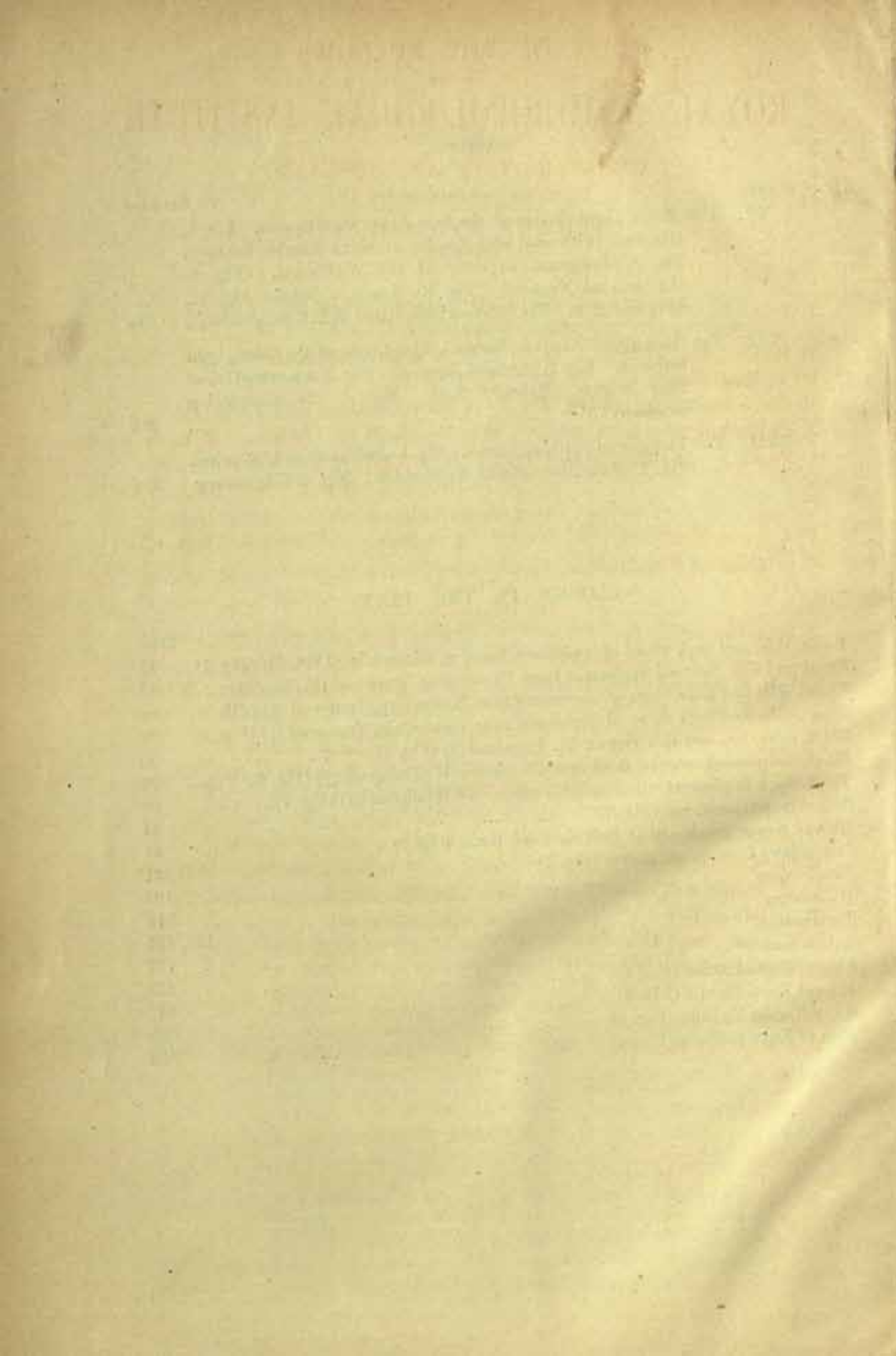
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- 1877 Clapham, Crochley, Esq., M.D., *The Gables, Mayfield, Sussex.* (\*¶)
- 1911 Clark, J. Cooper, Esq., *Station Hotel, Elgin; 30 Trevor Street, Knightsbridge S.W.*
- 1914 Clark, W. E. Le Gros, Esq., *Ingram House, Stockwell, S.W.*
- 1909 Clarke, H. E., Esq., *Jerusalem.*
- 1913 Clarke, Louis C. J., Esq., *Berkeley House, Hay Hill, W.*
- 1895 Clodd, Edward, Esq., *Strafford House, Aldeburgh, Suffolk.*
- 1908 Collett, J. W., Esq., M.D., *Senior Medical Officer, Freetown, Sierra Leone, W. Africa.*
- 1863 Collingwood, J. Frederick, Esq., F.G.S., Foreign Assoc., Anthropol. Soc., Paris, *8 Oakley Road, Canonbury, N.* (\*¶)
- 1888 Collyer, Henry C., Esq., *The Grange, Seaton, South Devon.*
- 1913 Coltart, Captain A. H., *9 Keble Road, Oxford.*
- 1907 Colville, Ernest F., Esq., *The Residency, Port Herald, Nyassaland Protectorate; New University Club, S.W.*
- 1895 Corner, Frank, Esq., M.R.C.S., *Manor House, Poplar, E.* (¶)
- 1914 Cornish, K. M., Esq., c/o *State Bank of South Australia, Pirie Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1912 Coxe, Eckley B., Junr., Esq., *Drifton, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*
- 1911 Coxhead, J. C. C., Esq., *Livingstone, N. Rhodesia.*
- 1912 Crawford, D., Esq., *Luanza Mission Station, Elizabethville, Congo Belgie, Africa.*
- 1907 Crewdson, W., Esq., M.A., J.P., F.S.A., *Southside, St. Leonards-on-Sea.* (¶)



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- 1893 Crombie, James Edward, Esq., *Parkhill House, Dyce, Aberdeen.* (¶)  
 1892 Crooke, William, Esq., B.A., *Langton House, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.* (¶)  
 1913 Cross, Mrs. E., "*Wayside*," *Pleasington, Lancs.*  
 1907 Cross, James, Esq., F.G.S., 4 and 6 *Church Street, Camberwell, S.E.* (\*)  
 1900 Crowfoot, J. W., Esq., M.A., *Ministry of Education, Cairo.* (¶)  
 1911 Cruickshank, J. G., Esq., *Audit Dept., British Guiana.*  
 1903 Cummins, Lt.-Col. S. L., R.A.M.C., *Cullompton, Highfields, Ashted, Surrey.* (¶)  
 1896 Cust, Miss M. E. V., F.R.G.S., *Twynford House, Fishpool Street, St. Albans.*  
 1914 Czaplicka, Miss Mary A., 58 *Torrington Square, Holborn, W.C.*  
 1911 Czekanowski, Dr. Ian, *Imperial Academy of Science, Petrograd.*
- 1895 Dalton, Ormonde Maddock, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Corr. Mem. Soc. d'Anthrop.  
*Paris, British Museum, Bloomsbury, W.C.* (\*¶§)  
 1902 Dames, M. Longworth, Esq., *Crichmere, Edgeborough Road, Guildford.* (¶§)  
 1902 Daniels, Major W. Cooke (U.S.A. Army), c/o *Messrs. Brown, Shipley & Co.,*  
 123 *Pall Mall, S.W.*; *Chateau de la Motte, Sonzay, Indre-et-Loire, France.*  
 1893 Davies, Rev. Prof. T. Witton, B.A. (Lond.), Ph.D. (Leipzig), D.D. (Geneva),  
*University College, Bangor, North Wales.* (\*)  
 1908 Dawkins, R. M., Esq., M.A., *Plas Dulas, Llanddulas, North Wales.*  
 1869 Dawkins, W. Boyd, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Honorary  
 Professor of Geology and Palæontology in the University of Manchester,  
*Fallowfield House, Fallowfield, Manchester.* (¶)  
 1909 Dayrell, E., Esq., District Commissioner, *District Office, S. Nigeria*; *Junior*  
*Army and Navy Club, Whitehall, S.W.*  
 1904 Dennett, R. E., Esq., *Benin*; c/o *H. S. King and Co., 9 Pall Mall, S.W.* (¶)  
 1912 Derry, D. E., Esq., M.B., Ch.B., *University College, Gower Street, W.C.* (§)  
 1913 Desai, Rao Bahadur Govindnar H., *Mehsana, Northern Gujarat, India.*  
 1915 Dickey, H. S., Esq., *Central Ansonia, Azua, Dominican Republic.*  
 1907 Dixon, A. F., Esq., Sc.D., Professor of Anatomy, *Trinity College, Dublin.* (\*)  
 1908 Dixon, Dr. Roland B., Instructor in Ethnology, *Harvard University,*  
*Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 1909 Dornan, Rev. S. S., *P.O. Box 510, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*  
 1912 Drew, Captain C. M., R.A.M.C., 28 *Albert Place, Stirling*; c/o *Postmaster,*  
*Khartoum, Sudan.*  
 1915 Driberg, J. H., Esq., *Lira, Lango District, Uganda Protectorate.*  
 1908 Droop, J. P., Esq., M.A., 11 *Cleveland Gardens, W.*  
 1899 Duckworth, W. L. H., Esq., M.A., M.D., Sc.D., *Jesus College, Cambridge.* (\*¶)  
 1913 Duke, A., Esq., *Bangkok, Siam.*  
 1908 Duke, D., Esq., M.R.C.S., *Great Easton, Uppingham.*  
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- 1911 During, C. D. H., Esq., F.R.G.S., *Ethgrace, 15 Pultney Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1901 Durnau, T., Esq., *Worsboro' House, Grove Road, Millhouses, Sheffield.*
- 1862 Eastwood, J. W., Esq., M.D., *18 Farndon Road, Oxford.*
- 1893 Ebbels, Arthur, Esq., *Tor Cottage, Temple Road, Epsom.*
- 1904 Edwards, C. Lewis, Esq., *Sta. Caternia, Loudwater, Bucks.*
- 1911 Edwards, Francis, Esq., *Davenham, Northwood, Middlesex.*
- 1906 Edwards, Capt. W. F. S., D.S.O., Inspector-General of Police, *Kampala, Uganda.*
- 1905 Eliot, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.A., LL.D., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield, *Endcliffe Holt, Endcliffe Crescent, Sheffield.*
- 1909 Entwistle, Peter, Esq., Assistant Curator, *Mayer Museum, Liverpool.*
- 1907 Ernst, Mrs. Lucy Hoesch, Ph.D., *Villa Hoesch, Godesberg, Germany.*
- 1891 Evans, Sir Arthur J., M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., F.R.S., F.B.A., F.S.A.; Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology in the University of Oxford, *Youlbury, Oxford. (¶)*
- 1913 Evans, Oswald H., Esq., F.G.S., *Casilla 46, Valparaiso, Chile.*
- 1913 Evans, Captain T. J. Carey, L.M.S., c/o *Grindlay, Groom and Co., Bombay, India; Lllysmeddya, Blaenau Ffestiniog, N. Wales.*
- 1903 Fallaize, E. N., Esq., B.A., *Vinchelez, Chase Court Gardens, Enfield.*
- 1900 Farnell, Lewis R., Esq., M.A., Litt.D., *Exeter College, Oxford.*
- 1911 Faulds, Henry, Esq., L.F.P.S., *36 Lichfield Street, Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent.*
- 1880 Felkin, Robert William, Esq., M.D., F.R.G.S., *47 Bassett Road, North Kensington, W. (¶)*
- 1913 Fenton, E. G., Esq., F.R.C.S.I., *Rio Gallejos, Argentine Republic; c/o Anglo-South American Bank, Ltd., Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1908 Fenwick, N., Esq., Jun., *Eldoret, British East Africa. (¶)*
- 1914 Ferreira, Dr. Antonio Aurelio da Costa, *Belem, Lisbon, Portugal.*
- 1902 Ferrers, Earl, *35 Victoria Road, Kensington, W.*
- 1908 Ffoulkes, Captain H. D., R.F.A., Resident, *Panshin, Banchi Province, N. Nigeria; United Empire Club, 107 Piccadilly, W.*
- 1911 Fleischmann, C., Esq., *21 Mincing Lane, E.C.*
- 1908 Fleure, Professor H. J., D.Sc., *Craig Fryn, Buarth, Aberystwyth. (¶§)*
- 1883 Forbes, H. O., Esq., LL.D., F.R.G.S., Hon.F.R.S.G.S., F.Z.S., Hon. Reader in Ethnography in the University of Liverpool, *Redcliffe, Beaconsfield, Bucks. (¶§)*
- 1885 Frazer, Sir James G., D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., *1 Brick Court, Middle Temple, E.C. (¶)*
- 1907 Freire-Marreco, Miss Barbara W., *Potter's Croft, Horsell, Woking. (¶)*

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- 1910 Friend-Pereira, J. E., Esq.; c/o Messrs. King, Hamilton and Co., Calcutta.  
 1910 Fuller, A. W. F., Esq., 7 Sydenham Hill, S.E. (\*)  
 1902 Furness, W. H., Esq., M.A., M.D., Wallingford, Pa., U.S.A. (\*¶)  
  
 1910 Garbutt, H. W., Esq., P.O. Box 181, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.  
 1901 Gardiner, A. H., Esq., 9 Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W.  
 1914 Garrad, Barry L., Esq., B.A., 54 Park Road, Westcliff-on-Sea.  
 1913 Garrett, T. H., Esq., Royal Societies' Club, St. James's Street, S.W.  
 1881 Garson, John George, Esq., M.D., Foreign Assoc., Anthropol. Soc., Paris;  
 Corr. Member Anthropol. Soc., Berlin, Moscow, Rome; Moorcote, Eversley,  
 Winchfield, Hants. (¶)  
 1913 Gask, G. E., Esq., F.R.C.S., 41 Devonshire Place, Portland Place, W.  
 1907 Geddes, A. Campbell, Esq., M.B., Ch.B., McGill University, Montreal, Canada.  
 1901 George, E. C. S., Esq., C.I.E., Deputy Commissioner, Meiktila, Burmah.  
 1907 Gibson, A. E. M., Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Dorunkeh Chambers, Calabar,  
 S. Nigeria.  
 1913 Gibson, Herbert, Esq., 24 Richmond Mansions, Richmond Road, Earl's  
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 1901 Gladstone, R. J., Esq., M.D., 22 Regent's Park Terrace, N.W.  
 1915 Glauert, L., Esq., Assistant Curator, Western Australia Museum, Perth, W.  
 Australia.  
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 1895 Gomme, Sir G. L., F.S.A., The Mound, Long Crendon, Bucks. (¶)  
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 1901 Gordon, Thomas H., Esq., B.A., Ivy Bank, Tarporley, Cheshire.  
 1887 Gowland, W., Esq., F.R.S., V.-P.S.A., F.I.C., F.C.S., PAST PRESIDENT (1905-  
 1907), Emeritus Professor of Metallurgy, Royal School of Mines, South  
 Kensington, 13 Russell Road, Kensington, W. (\*¶§)  
 1905 Graham, W. A., Esq., Bangkok, Siam; 35 South Eaton Place, S.W.  
 1888 Greatheed, William, Esq., 67 Chancery Lane, W.C.  
 1905 Green, F. W., Esq., M.A., Jesus College, Cambridge.  
 1899 Griffith, F. Llewellyn, Esq., 11 Norham Gardens, Oxford. (¶)  
 1913 Grimsdale, Harold B., Esq., M.B., F.R.C.S., 3 Harley Place, W.  
 1905 Grist, C. J., Esq., M.A., The Tiffin's School, Kingston.  
 1910 Gruning, E. L., Esq., Hervey Islands, Cook Group, S.E. Pacific, via Raratonga.  
  
 1889 Haddon, Alfred C., Esq., M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A., PAST PRESIDENT  
 (1901-1903), Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge, Assoc.  
 Anthropol. Soc. Paris; Corr. Mem. Anthropol. Soc. Berlin, Florence, Rome  
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- 1905 Haddon, E. B., Esq., B.A., *Gondokoro, via Khartâm.* (¶)  
 1913 Hambly, Wilfrid D., Esq., 15 *Lake House Road, Wanstead, N.E.*  
 1911 Hamilton-Grierson, Sir Philip, 7 *Palmerston Place, Edinburgh.*  
 1902 Harrison, Alfred C., Esq., 1616 *Locust Street, Philadelphia.* (\*)  
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 1904 Harrison H. S., Esq., D.Sc., *The Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, S.E.* (§)  
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 Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, *Winsields,  
 Headington Hill, Oxford.* (¶)  
 1902 Haviland, H. A., Esq., M.D., *Normans, Ruspur, Sussex.*  
 1905 Hay, Matthew, Esq., M.D., Professor of Forensic Medicine, *The University,  
 Aberdeen.*  
 1913 Haywood, C. W., Esq., *East African Estates, Limited, Gazi, Mombasa, British  
 East Africa.*  
 1885 Heape, C., Esq., *High Lane, near Stockport.*  
 1910 Heimbrod, G., Esq., *P.O. Nadi, Fiji (via Lautaka).*  
 1895 Hickson, Prof. S. J., D.Sc., F.R.S., *The University, Manchester.* (\*)  
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 1906 Hildburgh, W. L., Esq., M.A., Ph.D., *Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's  
 Park, S.W.* (¶)  
 1913 Hill, G. W., Esq., 21 *West Hill, Highgate, N.W.*  
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 1913 Hill, R. Gordon, Esq., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., M.B., B.Sc. (Lond.), c/o *Junior  
 Constitutional Club, Piccadilly, W.*  
 1906 Hilton-Simpson, Melville W., Esq., F.R.G.S., *The Museum, Oxford.*  
 1909 Hocart, A. M., Esq., 5 *Walton Well Road, Oxford.*  
 1909 Hodgson, G. F., Esq., Assistant District Commissioner, *S. Nigeria.*  
 1906 Hodson, T. C., Esq., SECRETARY, 10 *Wood Lane, Highgate, N.* (¶)  
 1914 Hollobone, Henry E. W., Esq., 25 *Sutherland Square, Walworth, S.E.*  
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 1881 Holmes, T. V., Esq., F.G.S., 28 *Croom's Hill, Greenwich, S.E.* (¶)  
 1915 Homer, John, Esq., L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Edin.), *S. Rhodesia Medical Service,  
 Rusapi, S. Rhodesia.*  
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 Aldermoor, Foreland Road, Bembridge, Isle of Wight.*  
 1913 Hooton, E. A., Esq., Ph.D., *Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge,  
 Mass., U.S.A.*  
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- 1894 Horsley, Sir Victor, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., 25 *Cavendish Square, W.*
- 1902 Houghton, B., Esq., *Sagaing, Upper Burma.*
- 1896 Howorth, Sir Henry H., K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., 45 *Lexham Gardens, W. (¶)*
- 1879 Hügel, Baron A. von, *Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Downing Street, Cambridge. (¶)*
- 1912 Hunt, Walter, Esq., 3 *Westcote Road, Streatham, S.W.*
- 1898 Hutchinson, Rev. H. Neville, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., F.Z.S., 17 *St. John's Wood Park, Finchley Road, N.W.*
- 1912 Hutchinson, W., Esq., B.A., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., 34-36 *Paternoster Row, E.C.*
- 1913 Hutton, J. H., Esq., I.C.S., Assistant Commissioner, *Mokokchung, Naga Hills, Assam, India.*
- 1898 Iles, George, Esq., c/o *Public Library, Ottawa, Canada. (\*)*
- 1915 Ishii, S., Esq., 54 *Redcliff Road, South Kensington, S.W.*
- 1863 Jackson, Henry, Esq., O.M., Litt.D., M.A., F.B.A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, *Trinity College, Cambridge. (\*)*
- 1912 Jackson, H. C., Esq., *Sudan Civil Service, Impens, North Petherton, Somerset.*
- 1915 James, Rev. Edwin O., *Dovedale, Wytham Street, Oxford.*
- 1910 James, Rev. W. Cory, M.A., *East Grove, Rhayader, Radnorshire.*
- 1872 Jeaffreson, W. J., Esq., M.A. (\*)
- 1869 Jeffery, F. J., Esq. (\*)
- 1913 Jelf, Arthur, Esq., *Ipoh, Perak, Federated Malay States.*
- 1908 Jervoise, S. P. V., Esq., Assistant Collector, *Entebbe, Uganda.*
- 1885 Johnston, Sir H. H., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc., F.Z.S., *St. John's Priory, Poling, Arundel. (¶)*
- 1901 Johnstone, H. B., Esq., B.A., H.B.M. Vice-Consul, *Mogador, Morocco.*
- 1907 Jonas, H. C., Esq., M.D., *Boutport Street, Barnstaple, N. Devon.*
- 1914 Jones, D. Hedog, Esq., M.A., B.Sc., *Boys' Secondary School, Grenada, British West Indies.*
- 1914 Jones, H. Sefton, Esq., 74 *Cadogan Place, S.W.*
- 1910 Jones, F. W., Esq., *School of Medicine for Women, 8 Hunter Street, Brunswick Square, W.C.*
- 1902 Joyce, T. A., Esq., M.A., VICE-PRESIDENT, *British Museum, W.C.; 119 Melrose Avenue, Willesden Green, N. (¶§)*
- 1905 Joyce, T. Heath, Esq., *The Royal Albert Yacht Club, Southsea.*
- 1907 Judge, James J., Esq., 15 *Hill Park Crescent, Plymouth.*
- 1913 Julian, Mrs. Hester, *Redholme, Torquay.*

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- 1896 Keith, A., Esq., M.D., F.R.C.S., LL.D., F.R.S., PRESIDENT, Conservator of the  
Museum, Royal College of Surgeons; 17 *Aubert Park, Highbury, N.* (§§)
- 1911 Khan, S. S., Esq., *Medical College, Lucknow, India.*
- 1911 Kidd, Dr. A. E., 10 *Prospect Place, Dundee.*
- 1910 Kingsford, H. S., Esq., 114A *King Henry's Road, N.W.*
- 1911 Kirkpatrick, W., Esq., P.O. Box 46, *Calcutta, India; Avondale, Moalcroft Road,  
Eastbourne.*
- 1914 Kittredge, T. B., Esq., *University of California, 2606 Bancroft Way,  
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- 1891 Kitts, Eustace John, Esq., *Dudley Hotel, Hove, Sussex.* (\*)
- 1902 Kloss, Cecil B., Esq., F.Z.S., *Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.*
- 1914 Knight, Captain C. Morley, *Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1909 Knowles, F. H. S., Esq., M.A., *Anthropological Division, Victoria Museum,  
Ottawa, Canada.*
- 1881 Knowles, W. J., Esq., *Flixton Place, Ballymena, Co. Antrim.* (§)
- 1914 Laidlaw, George Muir, Esq., M.A., *Pekan, Pahang, Federated Malay States.*
- 1915 Laidler, P. W., Esq., L.D.S., *Philipsdown, Cape Province, South Africa.*
- 1914 Lamb, Miss M. Antonia, *Elmwood Manor, 5900 Elmwood Avenue, Phila-  
delphia, Penn., U.S.A.*
- 1913 Landtmann, Dr. Gunnar, *Kenmore House, Cambridge.*
- 1888 Law, Walter W., Esq., *Scarborough, New York, U.S.A.* (\*)
- 1885 Lawrence, E., Esq., *Kama, Sunningdale Avenue, Chalkwell Park, Leigh-on-Sea,  
Essex.* (\*)
- 1904 Lennox, D., Esq., M.D., *Tayside House, 162 Nethergate, Dundee.* (\*)
- 1909 Leveson, H. G. A., Esq., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., *East India United Service Club,  
St. James's Square, S.W.*
- 1866 Lewis, A. L., Esq., F.C.A., Officier d'Académie, 35 *Beddington Gardens,  
Wallington, Surrey.* (§§)
- 1914 Loé, Baron Alfred de, *Curator of Department of Prehistoric Antiquities,  
Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Brussels, Belgium.*
- 1893 Longman, Charles James, Esq., M.A., 27 *Norfolk Square, W.* (\*)
- 1884 Macalister, Alexander, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy in the  
University of Cambridge, PAST PRESIDENT (1893-95), *Torrisdale, Cam-  
bridge.* (§§)
- 1901 Mace, A., Esq., 14 *Hill Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.*
- 1913 MacGregor, G. Laird, Esq., I.C.S., c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 84 *Parliament  
Street, S.W.*
- 1909 MacGregor, Rev. J. K., B.D., *Hope Waddell Institute, Calabar, W. Africa.* (§)



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- 1899 MacIver, David Randall-, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., 131 *East 66th Street, New York.*
- 1904 Mackay, J., Esq., *Craig-ard, Farcliffe Road, Bradford.*
- 1910 Mackintosh, J. S., Esq., M.D., 2 *Platt's Lane, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1899 MacLagan, R. C., Esq., M.D., 5 *Coates Crescent, Edinburgh.*
- 1908 MacMichael, H. A., Esq., Deputy Inspector, Sudan Civil Service, *Omdurman, Sudan*; 11 *Parkside, Cambridge.* (¶)
- 1885 MacRitchie, David, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., 4 *Archibald Place, Edinburgh.* (¶)
- 1911 Malcolm, L. W. G., Esq., c/o *The Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.*
- 1910 Malinowski, B., Esq., *Port Moresby, Papua.*
- 1881 Man, E. H., Esq., C.I.E., *St. Helen's, Preston Park, Brighton.* (¶)
- 1913 Mann, F. W., Esq., *Devonshire Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1892 March, H. Colley, Esq., M.D., *Portesham, Dorchester.* (¶¶)
- 1896 Marett, R. R., Esq., M.A., D.Sc., Reader in Anthropology in the University of *Oxford, Exeter College, Oxford.* (¶¶)
- 1905 Marten, R. H., Esq., M.D., 12 *North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1868 Martin, Sir Richard Biddulph, Bart., M.A., F.R.G.S., *Overbury Court, Tewkesbury*; 10 *Hill Street, W.* (¶¶§)
- 1894 Maudslay, A. P., Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., PAST PRESIDENT, 32 *Montpelier Square, Knightsbridge, S.W.*; *Morney Cross, Hereford.* (¶§)
- 1912 Maxwell, J. C., Esq., *Owerri, Nigeria, via Port Harcourt.*
- 1911 McConnell, R. E., Esq., B.A., M.D., *Uganda Medical Service, Nimule, Nile Province, Uganda.*
- 1904 McCulloch, Lieut.-Colonel T., R.A.M.C., 68 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1910 McDougall, William, Esq., M.A., *Wood's End, Foxcombe Hill, Oxford.* (¶)
- 1913 McLean, W., Esq., M.B., *Seaforth Sanatorium, Conon Bridge, Ross-shire.*
- 1915 Means, P. A., Esq., 196 *Beacon Street, Boston, U.S.A.*
- 1915 Mechling, W. H., Esq., *Exeter College, Oxford.*
- 1904 Melland, Frank H., Esq., *Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia.*
- 1908 Merivale, Reginald, Esq., 11 *New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*
- 1877 Messer, A. B., Esq., M.D., Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleet, *Kinlune, Carlisle Road, Eastbourne.* (¶¶)
- 1914 Migeod, F. W. H., Esq., *Northcote, Christchurch Road, Worthing.*
- 1910 Milne, Mrs. M. L., 212 *Woodstock Road, Oxford.*
- 1908 Milton, J. H., Esq., *Harrison House, College Avenue, Crosby, Liverpool.*
- 1916 Milward, Graham, Esq., 77 *Colmore Row, Birmingham.*
- 1914 Moir, J. Reid, Esq., F.G.S., 12 *St. Edmund's Road, Ipswich.* (¶).
- 1906 Morison, A., Esq., *Mombasa, British East Africa.*
- 1913 Morley, Bernard, Esq., *Cable Station, Labuan.*
- 1870 Morrison, Walter, Esq., M.A., 77 *Cromwell Road, S.W.* (\*).

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- 1908 Munro, N. Gordon, Esq., 91 *Bluff*, Yokohama.
- 1885 Munro, R., Esq., M.A., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., *Elmbank, Largs, Ayrshire, N.B.* (\*¶)
- 1871 Murray, Adam, Esq., F.G.S. (\*)
- 1911 Murray, G. W. W., Esq., *Dept. of Mines, Dawawine P.O., Cairo, Egypt.*
- 1905 Musgrove, J., Esq., M.D., Bute Professor of Anatomy, *The University, St. Andrews, N.B.*
- 1875 Muspratt, Edmund K., Esq., F.C.S., 5 *Windsor Buildings, George Street, Liverpool.*
- 1896 Myers, C. S., Esq., M.A., M.D., *Galewood Tower, Great Shelford, near Cambridge.* (\*¶)
- 1909 Myers, Henry, Esq., *Long Down, Maori Road, Guildford.*
- 1893 Myres, J. L., Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, Corr. Member Anthropol. Soc., Paris, 101 *Banbury Road, Oxford.* (\*¶)
- 1903 Myres, Miss J. L., c/o Professor J. L. Myres, 101 *Banbury Road, Oxford.* (\*)
- 1913 Newhall, D. V., Esq., B.A., *P.O. Box 42, Bryn Mawr, Penn., U.S.A.*
- 1898 Newton, Wm. M., Esq., *Summerhill Cottage, Dartford, Kent.* (¶)
- 1910 Noel, Miss Emilia F., 37 *Moscow Court, W.*
- 1913 Nuttall, T. E., Esq., M.D., F.G.S., J.P., *Middleton, Huncoat, Accrington.*
- 1906 O'Brien, Major A. J., C.I.E., Deputy Commissioner, *Shahpur, Punjab.*
- 1906 Oke, Alfred William, Esq., B.A., LL.M., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.L.S., *Orielton, Highfield Lane, Southampton; 32 Denmark Villas, Hove.* (\*)
- 1905 Oldman, W. O., Esq., 77 *Brixton Hill, S.W.*
- 1914 O'Malley, S., Esq., *Rajshahi P.O., Bengal, India.*
- 1913 Outés, Dr. Felix F., *Museum of Natural History, Peru Street, No. 208, Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic.*
- 1909 Page, John William, Esq., 14 *Glenhurst Road, Mannamead, Plymouth.*
- 1906 Palmer, Herbert Richmond, Esq., B.A., LL.B., F.R.G.S., Barrister-at-Law, *Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland; Zungeru, Northern Nigeria.* (¶)
- 1870 Parker, W. M., Esq. (\*)
- 1898 Parkin, Wm., Esq., *Broomhill House, Watson Road, Sheffield.*
- 1906 Parkyn, E. A., Esq., M.A., 1 *St. Mark's Crescent, N.W.*
- 1904 Parsons, F. G., Esq., F.R.C.S., *St. Thomas' Hospital, S.E.* (¶)
- 1891 Partington, J. Edge-, Esq., *Wyngates, Burkes Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.* (¶§)
- 1913 Passmore, A. D., Esq., *Wood Street, Swindon, Wilts.*
- 1891 Paterson, A. M., Esq., M.D., Professor of Anatomy, *The University, Liverpool.*



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- 1909 Patten, C. J., Esq., M.A., M.D., Sc.D., Professor of Anatomy, *The University, Sheffield.*
- 1907 Peabody, Dr. Charles, *Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
- 1911 Peake, H. J. E., Esq., *Westbrooke House, Newbury, Berks. (¶§)*
- 1903 Pearson, Karl, Esq., F.R.S., Professor of Applied Mathematics, *University College, London; 7 Well Road, Hampstead, N.W. (¶)*
- 1891 Peek, The Hon. Lady, *Widworthy Court, Devon.*
- 1902 Peele, W. C., Esq., *Dogpole, Shrewsbury.*
- 1910 Perry, W. J., Esq., *Pocklington School, E. Yorks.*
- 1912 Peter, Thurstan, Esq., *Town Hall, Redruth, Cornwall.*
- 1900 Patrie, W. M. Flinders, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.B.A., Edwards Professor of Egyptology, *University College, Gower Street, W.C.; 8 Well Road, Hampstead, N.W. (¶)*
- 1904 Petrocchino, L. D., Esq., *4 Clive Ghat Street, Calcutta.*
- 1914 Phillips, Rev. E. A., M.A., *The Vicarage, Lower Basildon, Reading.*
- 1910 Phillips, J. Gastrell, Esq., *Barnwood, near Gloucester.*
- 1914 Phipps, W. T., Esq., M.A., B.Sc., *3 Eldon Terrace, Bradford, Yorks; 7 Musgrove Road, New Cross, S.E.*
- 1898 Plowden, Sir H. Meredyth, *Leintwardine, Herefordshire.*
- 1913 Pocock, R. I., Esq., F.R.S., *The Zoological Society's Gardens, Regent's Park, N.W.*
- 1914 Poole, Walter G., Esq., *P.O. Box 35, Kampala, Uganda, East Africa.*
- 1912 Porter, Captain G. Fortescue, *Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam.*
- 1912 Posnansky, Signor Arthur, *La Paz, Bolivia.*
- 1907 Pycraft, W. P., Esq., A.L.S., *British Museum (Natural History), Cromwell Road, S.W.*
- 1904 Quick, A. S., Esq., HON. COUNSEL, *123 Loughborough Park, S.W.*
- 1907 Quiggin, Mrs. Hingston, M.A., *88 Hartington Grove, Cambridge. (\*)*
- 1909 Quinnell, Roland, Esq., *Deubrook, Blackboys, Sussex; c/o Messrs. Bannister, Ram and Fache, 13 John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.*
- 1868 Ransom, Edwin, Esq., F.R.G.S., *24 Ashburnham Road, Bedford. (\*)*
- 1907 Rattray, R. S., Esq., *101 Piccadilly, W.; Political Officer, Misahöhe, Togoland, via Lome, West Africa.*
- 1890 Ray, Sidney H., Esq., M.A., *218 Balfour Road, Ilford. (¶)*
- 1903 Read, Carveth, Esq., M.A., Grote Professor of Philosophy of Mind and Logic, *Psychological Laboratory, University College, London. (¶§)*
- 1875 Read, Sir C. Hereules, Hon. LL.D., P.S.A., PAST PRESIDENT (1899-1901), Keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography, *British Museum; British Museum, Bloomsbury, W.C. (¶§)*



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Election.

- 1886 Reid, Robert William, Esq., M.D., Professor of Anatomy in the University of Aberdeen, 37 *Albyn Place, Aberdeen.* (¶)
- 1863 Renshaw, Charles J., Esq., M.D., *Ashton-on-Mersey, Manchester.* (\*)
- 1913 Richards, J. F., Esq., M.A., L.C.S., F.R.A.S., c/o *Messrs. Binny and Co., Madras, South India.*
- 1914 Richardson, Hubert N. B., Esq., B.A., F.C.S., 12 *Morningside Place, Edinburgh.*
- 1902 Ridge, W. Sheldon, Esq., B.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., *Shanghai, China.*
- 1901 Ridgeway, W., Esq., M.A., Sc.D., F.B.A., Hon. LL.D., Hon. Litt.D., PAST-PRESIDENT (1908-10), Disney Professor of Archæology and Brereton Reader in Classics in the University of Cambridge, Hon. Member Anthropol. Soc. Brussels, Hon. Member Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, *Caius College, Cambridge; Fen Ditton, Cambridge.* (¶§)
- 1893 Rigg, Herbert, Esq., M.A., K.C., J.P., F.S.A., *Wallhurst Manor, Cowfold, Horsham.*
- 1900 Rivers, W. H. R., Esq., M.D., F.R.S., *St. John's College, Cambridge.* (¶§)
- 1913 Roberts, J. E. H., Esq., F.R.C.S., M.B., B.S. (London), 15 *Devonshire Place, W.*
- 1902 Robinson, H. C., Esq., *Holmfield, Aigburth, Liverpool; Selangor State Museum, Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.* (¶)
- 1912 Roscoe, Rev. J., *Ovington Rectory, Watton, Norfolk.*
- 1901 Rose, H. A., Esq., *via Sialkot, Punjab.* (¶)
- 1911 Rose, H. J., Esq., M.A., 27 *Pine Avenue Apartments, Pine Avenue, Montreal, Canada.*
- 1882 Roth, Henry Ling, Esq., *Briarfield, Stump Cross, Halifax.* (¶)
- 1882 Rothschild, Hon. Nathaniel C., *Arundel House, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.* (\*)
- 1904 Routledge, W. Scoresby, Esq., M.A., *Ewers, Bursledon, Southampton; 19 Wilton Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.* (¶)
- 1914 Ruffer, M. A., Esq., M.A., M.D., C.M.G., President of the Quarantine Board, *Alexandria, Egypt.*
- 1913 Rutherford, N. C., Esq., M.D., *Frith Manor, Mill Hill, Middlesex.*
- 1913 Sabine, C. L., Esq., *Willowbrook, Hampton Hill, Middlesex.*
- 1905 Salaman, C., Esq., *Treborough Lodge, Roadwater, Somerset.*
- 1863 Salting, W. S., Esq., F.R.G.S. (\*)
- 1886 Sarawak, H.H. the Ranee of, *Grey Friars, Ascot.*
- 1876 Sayce, Rev. A. H., M.A., LL.D., Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford, *Queen's College, Oxford.* (¶¶)
- 1900 Seligman, Charles G., Esq., M.D., VICE-PRESIDENT, 36 *Finchley Road, N.* (¶§)
- 1885 Seton-Karr, H. W., Esq., 8 *St. Paul's Mansions, Hammersmith.* (¶)

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Election.

- 1908 Shakespeare, Lieut.-Col. J., C.I.E., D.S.O., *Burton House, Staines Road, Twickenham.* (¶)
- 1866 Shaw, Lieut.-Colonel F. G., *Heathburn Hall, Riverstick, Ballinhassig, R.S.O., Co. Cork.* (\*)
- 1898 Shrubsall, Frank Charles, Esq., M.A., M.D., *4 Heathfield Road, Mill Hill Park, Acton, W.* (¶¶)
- 1901 Skeat, W. W., Esq., M.A., *Sunnyside, Church Crescent, St. Albans.* (¶§)
- 1911 Smallbones, R. T., Esq., *British Vice-Consul, St. Paul de Loanda, Portuguese W. Africa.*
- 1909 Smith, Rev. E. W., *Baila-Batonga Mission, Kasenga, N.W. Rhodesia (via Kalomo).*
- 1910 Smith, G. Elliot, Esq., M.A., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy in the University of Manchester, Hon. Member Anthropol. Soc. Paris, Munich, Rome; *The University, Manchester.*
- 1865 Smith, Worthington G., Esq., F.L.S., *121 High Street South, Dunstable.* (¶)
- 1907 Smith, W. Ramsay, Esq., D.Sc., M.B., Permanent Head, Health Department, *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1905 Smurthwaite, T. E., Esq., *134 Mortimer Road, Kensal Rise, N.W.*
- 1907 Solano, E. J., Esq., *4 Park Lane, W.*
- 1910 Sollas, W. J., Esq., M.A., Sc.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Professor of Geology in the University of Oxford, *173 Woodstock Road, Oxford.*
- 1893 Somerville, Captain Boyle T., R.N., *Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, S.W.; H.M.S. King Alfred, c/o G.P.O., London.* (¶)
- 1913 Spence, Lewis, Esq., *6 Sylvan Place, Edinburgh.*
- 1909 Spencer, Captain L. D., Egyptian Army, *Wau, Khartoum, Sudan; Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.* (\*)
- 1908 Stannus, H. S., Esq., M.D., *Zomba, Nyasaland; Savile Club, W.*
- 1913 Stefánsson, V., Esq., *Canadian Arctic Expedition, The Navy Yard, Esquimault, British Columbia.*
- 1880 Stephens, Henry Charles, Esq., F.L.S., F.G.S., F.C.S., *Cholderton, Salisbury* (\*)
- 1911 Stigand, Capt. C. N., *Kajokaji, Sudan (via Khartoum).*
- 1913 Stolyhwo, Dr. K., *Pracownia Antropologiczna; Warsaw ul Kaliksta 8, Poland.*
- 1911 Strachan, W. H. W., Esq., L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., F.L.S., F.Z.S., C.M.G., c/o *F. Strachan, Esq., Jamaica Constabulary, Half Way Tree, Jamaica.*
- 1883 Streeter, E. W., Esq., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., *49 Compayne Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.* (\*)
- 1903 Strong, W. M., Esq., M.A., B.C., *3 Champion Park, Denmark Hill.*
- 1908 Stubbs, W. W., Esq., Assistant District Commissioner, *Lagos.*
- 1909 Sundar, Donald H. E., Esq., Commissioner of the Sundarbans, c/o *Messrs. Grindlay and Co., Hastings Street, Calcutta.*
- 1902 Sykes, Lt.-Col. Sir P. Molesworth, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., Resident, *Mewar, Udaipur, India.* (¶¶)



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- 1899 Tabor, Charles James, Esq., *White House, Knott's Green, Leyton, Essex.*  
 1915 Tagart, E. S. B., Esq., *Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, via Cape Town.*  
 1911 Tagliaferro, Professor N., I.S.O., 82 *Strada Teatro, Malta.*  
 1905 Talbot, P. A., Esq., *The Cottage, Abbot's Morton, Worcestershire; Degema, via Bonny, S. Nigeria.*  
 1906 Tangye, Sir Harold, Bart., 5 *Spanish Place, Manchester Square, W.*  
 1906 Tata, D. J., Esq., c/o *Jeremiah Lyon and Co., 4 Lombard Court, E.C. (\*)*  
 1906 Tata, R. J., Esq., c/o *Jeremiah Lyon and Co., 4 Lombard Court, E.C.*  
 1892 Taylor, Frederick, Esq. (\*)  
 1915 Taylor, Leslie F., Esq., *Principal, Government High School, Bassein, Burma.*  
 1912 Temple, Mrs., *Vintners, Maidstone, Kent.*  
 1879 Temple, Lieut.-Colonel Sir R. C., Bart., C.I.E., *The Nash, Worcester. (¶)*  
 1905 Tench, Miss Mary F. A., 35 *Drayton Court, S.W.*  
 1881 Thane, George Dancer, Esq., Professor of Anatomy in University College, London, *University College, Gower Street, W.C. (¶¶)*  
 1915 Thomas, J. Lynn, Esq., C.B., *Greenlawn, Penylan, Cardiff.*  
 1904 Thomas, N. W., Esq., M.A., Corr. Mem. Soc. d'Anthrop. Paris; *Egwoba, Manor Gate Road, Norbiton; Freetown, Sierra Leone. (\*)*  
 1884 Thomas, Oldfield, Esq., F.R.S., F.Z.S., 15 *St. Petersburg Place, Bayswater Hill, W. (¶¶)*  
 1904 Thompson, H. N., Esq., c/o *H. S. King and Co., 9 Pall Mall, S.W.*  
 1914 Thompson, W. B., Esq., *Warren Bank, Brampton, Cumberland.*  
 1890 Thomson, Arthur, Esq., M.A., M.B., Professor of Human Anatomy in the University of Oxford, *The Museum, Oxford. (¶)*  
 1882 Thurn, Sir Everard F. im, K.C.M.G., C.B., VICE-PRESIDENT, 39 *Lexham Gardens, W. (¶§).*  
 1911 Thurston, Edgar, Esq., C.I.E., *Cumberland Lodge, Kew, Surrey.*  
 1896 Tims, H. W. Marett, Esq., M.A., M.D., *Zoological Department, Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W.*  
 1899 Tocher, James F., Esq., B.Sc., F.I.C., *Crown Mansions, 41½ Union Street, Aberdeen. (¶)*  
 1895 Tolley, Richard Mentz, Esq., F.H.S., *Moseley Court, near Wolverhampton.*  
 1904 Torday, E., Esq., 40 *Lansdowne Crescent, W. (¶§)*  
 1912 Tozzer, A. M., Esq., 20 *Holworthy Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*  
 1901 Travers, Major John A., *Tortington House, Arundel, Sussex.*  
 1912 Turnbull, A. H., Esq., *Wellington, New Zealand.*  
 1911 Turner, G. A., Esq., M.B., D.Ph., Medical Officer, Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, *P.O. Box 1198, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*  
 1889 Turner, Sir William, K.C.B., M.B., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.S.E., Principal of the University of Edinburgh, 6 *Eton Terrace, Edinburgh. (¶)*



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Election.

1867 Tylor, Sir Edward Burnett, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., PAST PRESIDENT (1879-81, 1891-93), Professor Emeritus of Anthropology in the University of Oxford, *Linden, Wellington, Somerset.* (¶§)

1891 Tylor, Lady, *Linden, Wellington, Somerset.*

1911 Uganda, the Right Rev. the Bishop of, *Uganda.*

1913 Upward, Allen, Esq., 131 *Croxted Road, Dulwich, S.E.*

1910 Vellenoweth, Miss L., *Dunedin, Baldwin Crescent, Myatt's Park, S.E.*

1912 Vickers, Douglas, Esq., *Chapel House, Charles Street, Mayfair, W.*

1915 Vines, T. H., Esq., M.A., *Principal, Sind Madrasah, Karachi, India.*

1911 Vischer, Hans, Esq., 32 *Rosary Gardens, S.W.*

1902 Visick, H. C., Esq., M.D., 18 *Roslyn Hill, Hampstead, N.W.*

1891 Waddell, Lt.-Col. L. A., C.B., C.I.E., LL.D., 33 *The Park, North End Road, Hampstead, N.W.* (¶¶§)

1901 Waddington, S., Esq., B.A., 15 *Cambridge Street, Hyde Park, W.*

1905 Walker, Basil Woodd, Esq., M.D., 6 *Dawson Place, Pembroke Square, W.*

1912 Waller, Rev. C. L., 37 *Camperdown, Great Yarmouth.*

1902 Warren, S. Hazzledine, Esq., F.G.S., *Sherwood, Loughton, Essex.* (¶)

1913 Watkins, O. F., Esq., c/o *Administration, Nairobi, British East Africa.*

1907 Welch, H. J., Esq., HON. SOLICITOR, 9 *Homefield Road, Bromley, Kent.*

1907 Wellcome, Henry S., *Snow Hill Buildings, Holborn, E.C.*

1912 Wells, S., Esq., 32 *Oakholme Road, Sheffield.*

1905 Westermarck, E., Esq., Ph.D., *Adregoton 7, Helsingfors, Finland.* (¶)

1911 Westlake, E., Esq., F.G.S., 31 *Market Place, Salisbury.*

1910 Whiffen, Captain T. W., 14th Hussars, *United Service Club, S.W.; Ardwick, Sussex.*

1907 White, James Martin, Esq., 1 *Cumberland Place, Regent's Park, N.W.*

1913 Williams, J. Leon, Esq., 30 *George Street, Hanover Square, W.; 84 Fellows Road, Hampstead, N.W.*

1910 Williams, S. H., Esq., LL.D.S., R.C.S. (Eng.), 32 *Warrior Square, St. Leonards-on-Sea.*

1909 Williamson, R. W., Esq., M.Sc., TREASURER, *The Copse, Brook, near Witley, Surrey.* (¶§)

1914 Wilson, W. A. R., Esq., 6 *Edgemount Road, Sheffield.*

1913 Wiltshire, H. G., Esq., B.A., *King's College Hospital, Denmark Hill, S.E.*

1869 Winwood, Rev. H. H., M.A., F.G.S., 11 *Cavendish Crescent, Bath.*

1915 Woodford, C. M., Esq., C.M.G., *The Grinstead, Partridge Green, Sussex.*

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Election.

- 1916 Woodford, C. E. M., Esq., 14th Notts and Derby Regt., *The Grinstead, Partridge Green, Sussex.*
- 1906 Wray, Cecil, Esq., *Hillview, Grayshott, Haslemere, Surrey.*
- 1909 Wright, A. R., Esq., *H.M.'s Patent Office, Southampton Buildings, W.C.*
- 1911 Wright, Rev., F. G., *Cranbrook, London Road, Portsmouth.*
- 1903 Wright, W., Esq., M.B., D.Sc., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., *London Hospital, E.; Villa Candens, Vicarage Way, Gerrards Cross, Bucks. (\*¶§)*
- 1906 Young, Alfred Prentice, Esq., Ph.D., F.G.S., c/o *Grindlay and Co., 54 Parliament Street, S.W.*
- 1906 Yule, G. Udny, Esq., F.S.S., *St. John's College, Cambridge. (¶§)*

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AFFILIATED SOCIETIES [under By-Law IX].

- 1915 Brighton Public Library, Museums and Fine Art Galleries, *Brighton.*
- 1909 The Oxford University Anthropological Society, c/o *R. R. Marett, Esq., M.A., Exeter College, Oxford.*
- 1910 The Cambridge University Anthropological Club, *Cambridge.*
- 1912 The London School of Economics, *Clare Market, W.C.*

AFFILIATED MEMBER.

- 1914 Simpson, R. Harvey, Esq., *Brasenose College, Oxford.*



## SOCIETIES, ETC., EXCHANGING PUBLICATIONS

WITH THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.

## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

*Dublin*... Royal Dublin Society.

— Royal Irish Academy.

— Royal Society of Antiquaries.

*Edinburgh*... Royal College of Physicians.

— Royal Scottish Geographical Society.

— Royal Society of Edinburgh.

— Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

*Glasgow*... Philosophical Society.*Liverpool*... Institute of Tropical Research.

— University Institute of Archaeology.

*London*... African Society.

— British Medical Association.

— Folklore Society.

— Geologists' Association.

— Hellenic Society.

— Index to Periodicals, Athenæum Office.

— India Office, Whitehall.

*London*... Japan Society.

— Nature.

— Palestine Exploration Fund.

— Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076.

— Royal Archaeological Institute.

— Royal Asiatic Society.

— Royal Colonial Institute.

— Royal Geographical Society.

— Royal Society.

— Royal Society of Literature.

— Royal Statistical Society.

— Royal United Service Institution.

— Society of Antiquaries.

— Society of Biblical Archaeology.

*Taunton*... The Somersetshire Archaeological Society.*Truro*... Royal Institution of Cornwall.

## EUROPE.

## AUSTRO-HUNGARY.

*Agram*... Kroätische Archäologische Gesellschaft.*Budapest*... Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.

— Magyar Nemzeti Néprajzi Ostálya.

*Cracow*... Akademia Umiejętności.*Sarajevo*... Landesmuseum (Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien).*Vienna*... Anthropologische Gesellschaft.

— K. Akademie der Wissenschaften.

## BELGIUM.

*Brussels*... Académie Royale des Sciences.

— Collection de Monographies Ethnographiques.

— Institut Solvay.

— Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles.

— Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles.

## DENMARK.

*Copenhagen*... Société des Antiquaires du Nord.

## FRANCE.

*Lyons*... Société d'Anthropologie de Lyon.*Paris*... L'Anthropologie.*Paris*... École d'Anthropologie.

— Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.

— Soc. des Americanistes.

— Société d'Anthropologie.

— Année Sociologique.

## GERMANY.

*Berlin*... Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte.

— K. Museum für Völkerkunde.

— Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen.

*Brunswick*... Zentralblatt für Anthropologie, etc.*Cologne*... Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum.*Giessen*... Hessische Blätter.*Gotha*... Petermann's Mitteilungen.*Halle-a-d-Saale*... Kaiserliche Leopoldina Carolina Akademie der Deutschen Naturforscher.

— Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.

*Kiel*... Anthropologischer Verein für Schleswig-Holstein.*Leipzig*... Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.

— Archiv für Rassen und Gesellschaft Biologie.

*Leipzig...* Verein für Erdkunde.

— Orientalisches Archiv.

*Munich...* Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte.

*Stuttgart...* Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie.

#### GREECE.

*Athens...* Ephemeris Archaïologikè.

— Annual of the British School of Archaeology.

#### ITALY.

*Florence...* Società Italiana di Antropologia, Etnologia, e Psicologia Comparata.

*Rome...* Accademia dei Lincei.

— Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana.

— Società Romana di Antropologia.

*Turin...* Archivio di Psichiatria.

#### NETHERLANDS.

*Amsterdam...* Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.

— Publications of the Koloniaal Instituut, Amsterdam.

*Leiden...* Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.

*The Hague...* Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.

#### PORTUGAL.

*Porto...* Portugalia.

#### RUSSIA.

*Dorpat...* Publications of the University.

*Helsingfors...* Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Arkakauskirja (Journal of the Finnish Archaeological Society).

*Moscow...* Imper. Obshchestvo Lubitelei Iestestvoznania, Antropologii, i Etnografii.

*St. Petersburg...* Imper. Akademia Nauk.

#### SWEDEN.

*Stockholm...* Academy of Antiquities, National Museum.

— Nordiska Museet.

— Ymer.

*Uppsala...* Kungl. Universitetets Bibliotek.

#### SWITZERLAND.

*Neuchâtel...* Soc. Neuchateloise de Géographie.

*Zurich...* Musée National Suisse.

### AFRICA.

#### CAPE COLONY.

*Cape Town...* Royal Society of South Africa.

#### EGYPT.

*Giza...* Archæological Survey of Nubia.

*Khartum...* Wellcome Laboratory Reports.

### AMERICA

#### ARGENTINE.

*La Plata...* Museum.

#### BRAZIL.

*Rio de Janeiro...* Museu Nacional.

#### CANADA.

*Ottawa...* Royal Society of Canada.

*Toronto...* Canadian Institute.

#### UNITED STATES.

*Berkeley, Cal....* University of California.

*Cambridge, Mass....* Peabody Museum, Science.

*Chicago...* Field Museum.

*New York...* American Museum of Natural History.

— Columbia University.

*Philadelphia...* Free Museum of Science and Art (University of Philadelphia, Department of Archæology).

*Michigan...* American Antiquarian.

*Washington...* American Anthropologist.

— Bureau of Ethnology.

— Smithsonian Institution.

— United States Geological Survey.

— United States National Museum.

*Worcester, Mass....* American Journal of Psychology.



# ASIA.

## CHINA.

*Shanghai...* Royal Asiatic Society  
(China branch).

## INDIA.

*Bombay...* Anthropological Society.  
— Indian Antiquary.  
— Royal Asiatic Society.  
*Calcutta...* Bengal Asiatic Society.  
*Colombo...* Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon branch).  
*Ranchi...* Behar and Orissa Research Society.  
*Rangoon...* Burma Research Society.  
*Simla...* Archæological Reports.

## AUSTRALIA AND PACIFIC.

*Honolulu...* Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.  
*Melbourne...* Royal Society of Victoria.  
*New Plymouth, N.Z...* Polynesian Society.  
*Sydney...* Australian Museum.

## JAPAN.

*Tokio...* Asiatic Society of Japan.  
— Tokio-Daigaku (Imperial University).

## JAVA.

*Batavia...* Bataviaasche Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

## PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

*Manila...* Ethnological Survey of the Philippine Islands.

## SIAM.

*Bangkok...* National Library.

## STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

*Singapore...* Royal Asiatic Society  
(Straits Branch).

# EXCHANGES FOR "MAN."

## ENGLAND.

*Hull...* The Naturalist.  
*Liverpool...* Institute of Tropical Research.  
— Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society.  
*London...* Annals of Psychical Science.  
— British Association.  
— Church Missionary Review.  
— Eugenics Review.  
— Journal of the East India Association.  
— Lancet.  
— Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist.  
— Saga-Book of the Viking Club.  
— Sociological Review.  
— South American Missionary Society.

## ARGENTINE.

*La Plata...* Museum.

## AUSTRO-HUNGARY.

*Budapest...* Magyar Nemzeti Museum.  
*Kolozsvár...* Dolgozatok.  
*Lacoue (Lemberg)...* Ludu.

*Mödling...* Anthropos.  
*Uh. Hradiště...* Pravěk.

## BELGIUM.

*Brussels...* Bulletin de la Société d'Études Coloniales.  
— Bull. de la Soc. Géographie.  
— Instituts Solvay.  
— La Revue Congolaise.  
— Missions Belges.  
*Ghent...* Volkskunde.

## FRANCE.

*Dax...* Société de Borda.  
*Paris...* La Nature.  
— La Revue Préhistorique.  
— L'Ethnographie.  
— L'Homme Préhistorique.  
— Revue des Études Ethnographiques.  
— Revue des Traditions Populaires.  
— Société Préhistorique Française.  
— Statistique Générale de la France.

GERMANY.

- Danzig*... West Preussisches Provincial-Museum.  
*Dresden*... Bericht des Vereins für Erdkunde.  
*Frankfurt a/M.*... Völker-Museum.  
*Giessen*... Hessische Blätter.  
*Gotha*... Petermanns Mitteilungen.  
*Guben*... Niederlauitzer Mitteilungen.  
*Hamburg*... Museum für Völkerkunde.  
*Kiel*... Mitteilungen des Anthropologischen Vereins in Schleswig-Holstein.  
*Munich*... Correspondenzblatt.  
 — Geographische Gesellschaft.  
 — Prähistorische Blätter.  
*Nürnberg*... Bericht der Natur-historischen Gesellschaft.

INDIA.

- Simla*... Archæological Reports.

ITALY.

- Como*... Rivista Archeologica della Provincia de Como.  
*Naples*... La Scienza Sociale.  
*Rome*... Rivista Italiana di Sociologia.

NATAL.

- Pietermaritzburg* ... Museum.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

- Sydney*... Science of Man.

NORWAY.

- Trondhjem*, K. Norske Videnskabers Selskab.

PORTUGAL.

- Lisbon*... Archeologo Português.  
*Serpa*... A Tradição.

RHODESIA.

- Bulawayo*... Proceedings of the Rhodesian Scientific Association.

RUSSIA.

- St. Petersburg*... Zhivaya Starina.

SWEDEN.

- Uppsala*... Kungl. Universitetets Bibliotek.

SWITZERLAND.

- Zürich*... Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde.  
 — Jahresbericht der Schweiz-Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte.

SYRIA.

- Beyrouth*, Mélanges de la faculté orientale de l'Université de St. Joseph.

UNITED STATES.

- Andover, Mass.*... Phillips Academy (Dept. of Archæology).  
*Berkeley, Cal.* ... University.  
*Boston*... American Journal of Archæology.  
*Chicago*... Open Court.  
*New York* ... American Museum of Natural History.  
 — Popular Science Monthly.  
 — Science.  
*Philadelphia*... Proceedings of American Philosophical Society.  
*Washington* ... Bureau of American Ethnology.  
 — Bureau of Manufactures.  
 — Records of the Past.

SUBSCRIBERS TO PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE.

- Barrow-in-Furness*. Public Library.  
*Birmingham*. Central Free Library.  
 — University Library.  
*Cincinnati*. Public Library.  
*Liverpool*. Free Museum.  
*London*. Guildhall Library.  
 — London Library.  
*Lucknow*. Provincial Museum.  
*Madras*. Connemara Public Library.

- Manchester*. John Rylands Library.  
*Manchester*. Free Reference Library.  
*Newcastle*. Public Library.  
*New York*. Cornell University.  
*Ottawa*. Library of Parliament.  
*Oxford*. Indian Institute.  
*Salford*. Royal Museum.  
*Sheffield*. University Library.  
*Tokyo*. Imperial University.



JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE  
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

JANUARY 26TH, 1915.

Professor A. KEITH, *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The PRESIDENT appointed Professor W. GOWLAND and Mr. A. L. LEWIS as scrutineers, and declared the ballot open.

The PRESIDENT, in the absence of the Treasurer, read the financial Report, which was accepted.

The ACTING SECRETARY read the Report of the Council, which also was accepted.

The PRESIDENT then delivered his address, entitled "The Bronze Age Invaders of Britain."

The SCRUTINEERS then handed in their report, and the following were declared duly elected as Officers and Council for 1915-16:—

*President.*—A. Keith, Esq., M.D., LL.D.

*Vice-Presidents.*

T. A. Joyce, Esq., M.A.  
Sir R. B. Martin, Bart., M.A.

Sir Everard im Thurn, K.C.M.G., C.B.

*Hon. Secretary.*—T. C. Hodson, Esq.

*Hon. Treasurer.*—R. W. Williamson, Esq., M.Sc.

*Council.*

H. J. Brauholtz, Esq., B.A.  
Miller Christy, Esq.  
M. L. Dames, Esq.  
D. E. Derry, Esq., M.B., Ch.B.  
W. L. H. Duckworth, Esq., M.A., M.D.,  
Sc.D.  
J. Edge-Partington, Esq.  
H. J. Forbes, Esq., LL.D.  
R. J. Gladstone, Esq., M.D.  
H. S. Harrison, Esq., D.Sc.  
H. G. A. Leveson, Esq.  
R. R. Marett, Esq., M.A., Sc.D.

S. H. Ray, Esq., M.A.  
W. H. R. Rivers, Esq., M.A., M.D.,  
F.R.S.  
C. G. Seligman, Esq., M.D.  
H. W. Marett Tims, Esq., M.D.  
E. Torday, Esq.  
Lieut.-Col. L. A. Waddell, C.B., C.I.E.,  
LL.D.  
S. Hazzledine Warren, Esq.  
W. W. Wright, Esq., M.B., D.Sc.,  
F.R.C.S., F.S.A.  
G. Udny Yule.

Professor GOWLAND proposed a vote of thanks to the PRESIDENT for his address, and asked, in the name of the Institute, that he would allow it to be printed in the *Journal*.

The proposal was seconded by Professor THANE and passed by acclamation.

The Institute then adjourned.



## ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1914.

The Council is happy to be able to report that, in spite of the conditions, so adverse to progress in scientific work, prevailing throughout Europe for the last half-year, the progress of the Institute has been maintained.

The total membership now reaches the record figure of 539, the actual number of subscribers being no less than 400. Of these, one was elected in December, and his membership therefore must be reckoned as from January 1st, 1915.

The numerical gains and losses are expressed in the appended table:—

	Total Jan. 1st, 1914.	Loss by death or resignation.	Since elected.	Jan. 1st, 1915.
Honorary Fellows ... ..	43 <sup>1</sup>	—	—	43
Corresponding Fellows... ..	1	—	—	1
Local Correspondents ... ..	32	—	5 <sup>2</sup>	37 <sup>2</sup>
Affiliated Societies ... ..	3	—	—	3
Affiliated Members ... ..	—	—	1	1
Ordinary Fellows:—				
Compounding... ..	71	2	—	69
Subscribing ... ..	393	14	21	400
Total (ordinary) ... ..	464	16	21	469
Total Membership ... ..	533	16	22	539

<sup>1</sup> By an error this number appears in last year's Report as 44.

<sup>2</sup> All these are also Ordinary Fellows.

<sup>3</sup> Of these 12 are also Ordinary Fellows.

The losses which the Institute has suffered through death are the following: Brigade-Surgeon W. J. Busteed (first elected in 1867), Mr. W. Erasmus Darwin (elected 1885), Mr. Norman Hardy (elected 1890), Mr. Reginald Murray (elected 1910), and Mr. E. G. Ravenstein (elected 1883).

An obituary notice of Mr. Norman Hardy, whose loss will especially be felt, has been published in *Man*, 1915—4.

## MEETINGS.

During the year 1914, 11 ordinary meetings were held, at which 12 papers were read: 7 on ethnographical subjects, 2 on physical, and 3 on archaeological. Seven exhibitions of specimens were made.

## HUXLEY MEMORIAL MEDAL.

This year the medal was awarded to Dr. (now Sir) J. G. Frazer, but owing to peculiar circumstances he has as yet been unable to deliver his lecture.

## PUBLICATIONS.

During the year two half-yearly instalments of the *Journal* have been issued, viz., Vol. XLIII, Part 2, and Vol. XLIV, Part 1. Of the former 110 copies have been sold, of the latter, 92. These figures, though showing a decrease when compared with those for the last two years, cannot be considered unsatisfactory under the peculiar circumstances, since they are practically the same as those for 1911.

The usual 12 monthly parts of *Man* have been published, the number of pages of two of these parts being increased from 16 to 24 pages. The sales show a slight diminution as compared with last year, but the difference is less than two pounds, and this can hardly be considered unsatisfactory under the circumstances.

## LIBRARY.

The number of accessions to the Library amounts to 335. The exchange list has been augmented by 6 publications, all foreign.

Circumstances prevented the publication of the Catalogue, since the Council judged it unwise to incur the necessary expense at the present moment. During the first half-year, Mr. H. G. A. Leveson devoted a great deal of time to the proper organization of the library, paying especial attention to the arrangement of current publications, and to supplying deficiencies. For the last six months his work has been taken up by Mr. J. Edge Partington, who has also been engaged in the preparation of an index to the whole of the *Journal*.

Professor C. G. Seligman and Mr. E. Torday have commenced a re-arrangement of the collection of photographs, and Dr. W. L. Hildburgh was kind enough to assist in tabulating the blocks used for the illustration of *Man* and the *Journal*.

The Council desire to express its thanks to these gentlemen for a great deal of time and labour expended on behalf of the Institute.

## INTERNAL.

The revision of the Articles of Association has been completed, and the revised draft has been approved by the Fellows at two special meetings. The necessary legal steps have been taken, and the new Articles are now in force. The revision of the By-laws is in progress.

During the early part of the year the question of providing proper premises for the Institute engaged the attention of a special committee. Several sites and buildings were considered, and negotiations were set on foot with regard to acquiring the leasehold of a building which seemed in every way to fulfil the



Institute's requirements. In fact, an option had been obtained and preparations had been made to start a fund to cover expenses of moving and installing the library in a suitable manner, but at the outbreak of war the Council felt that it would be best to postpone all consideration of the matter for the present.

The administration of the Institute has to some extent been upset by the political situation. The Honorary Secretary accepted a commission as an Interpreter and is now on the Continent; the Assistant Secretary has obtained a commission in the 11th (Service) Battalion Sherwood Foresters, and expects shortly to leave England; the boy clerk is also in service in H.M. forces. In this connection the Council desires also to record that Mr. A. W. F. Fuller, one of its members, and Dr. D. Randall MacIver, a former member, have also entered the army. The Council wishes them all good fortune in the performance of their duty to their country, and a safe return to England. The work of the Honorary Secretary has meanwhile been performed jointly by Messrs. J. Edge Partington and T. A. Joyce; that of the Assistant Secretary by his sister, Miss K. Martindell; and a new boy clerk has been engaged. Considering the short notice at which the Institute was denuded of its office executive, the Council is able to report that ordinary business has been carried on with a minimum of derangement.

#### EXTERNAL.

Finally the Council desires to renew its congratulations to Major S. L. Cummins, one of its members, who has been awarded the Croix d'Officier of the Legion of Honour, for services in the field between August 21st and 30th, and to Professor W. J. Sollas, who has been awarded one of the Royal Medals by the Royal Society.

#### TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1914.

The expenditure of the Institute on revenue account during the year 1914, including library expenditure, has exceeded its income by £127 6s. 8d. This is a matter for regret; and, if it pointed to a financial position which would render necessary a permanent curtailment in the future of the operations of the Institute, it would be a matter for very grave concern. I am convinced, however, that this is not the case; the deficiency is mainly due to a combination of circumstances which is hardly likely to recur, and the worst that I anticipate is a period—let us hope it will be a short one—during which the Institute will have to be careful and economical in its work.

The remarkable advance of the Institute, to which I referred in my report for 1913, encouraged the Council to adopt a policy of development of the Institute's operations. This policy found expression mainly in two specific ways: the size and value of the *Journal* was enlarged, and the Hall of the Medical Society of



London was engaged for the holding of the evening meetings. The desirability of keeping the *Journal* well to the front in the arena of current anthropological literature is obvious; and it was thought that the substitution of the spacious and convenient Hall of the Medical Society for the miserably inadequate accommodation in Great Russell Street would stimulate larger attendance at the meetings.

I think that this policy was a sound one, and would have been successful, but for the disastrous outbreak of war, which completely upset all anticipations and calculations of income and expenditure. The unfortunate effect of the war upon revenue is made manifest by a comparison of the amounts of Fellows' subscriptions received in 1914 with those of 1913. Notwithstanding the increase in the number of Fellows, the amount received from current subscriptions in 1914 was £11 less than in 1913, the gross amount of *current year's* arrears owing at the end of 1914 having, in spite of special and repeated efforts to get them in, been £76, as against £36 in 1913. Also, as regards subscriptions paid in advance, the large amount of these received in 1913 was to a considerable extent due to the influx in November and December of new Fellows, whose subscriptions were, under the constitution of the Institute, credited in advance to the following year; the difference of about £56 between the figures of 1914 and 1913 under this heading is probably largely due to the mental disturbance produced by the war, and the need for economy, which makes people reluctant to enter into fresh obligations. It will be noticed that the total diminution of subscriptions for 1914, as compared with 1913 is £128, which is just about the amount of the deficiency of the revenue of 1914.

The Council are meeting these changed conditions by such economies as may be found most desirable under the circumstances; in particular they are endeavouring to reduce somewhat the dimensions and cost of production of the *Journal*, reverting to the figures which prevailed prior to 1913; and they have discontinued the use of the hall of the Medical Society of London. Unfortunately this precaution has had but little effect upon the accounts for 1914, as, when the war broke out, one number of the *Journal* had already been published, and another was on the eve of publication; and the cost of the use of the Medical Society's hall for the session 1913-14 had to be paid. I am confident, however, that a careful and conservative policy during the period of the war will be found to be sufficient to meet the difficulty, and that no very drastic measures will be requisite. But I seriously beg of Fellows, who are in arrear with their subscriptions, that they will pay up their arrears, and endeavour to be prompt in payment of their subscriptions (due in advance) for 1915; it is, I think, obvious that, during this period of trouble, a grave duty rests upon all the Fellows not to increase the financial difficulties of the Institute, if they can possibly avoid doing so.

It will be seen that the balances of expenditure, still remaining unrepaid by sales, in connection with past minor anthropological publications again appear in the balance sheet. It may be desirable that these balances, or most of them, should be written off in the capital account. In the meantime, I may say that the



Council has decided that miscellaneous publications of this character, involving substantial financial loss, shall not, in the absence of cogent reason, be undertaken in the future, until the Institute's financial resources are sufficient to justify the expenditure.

I am not introducing here detailed comparisons of figures with those of other years, such as have appeared in my previous reports; because under the abnormal conditions now prevailing comparative statistics of this character could have but little or no value.

ROBERT W. WILLIAMSON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

# ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

## ACCOUNTS FOR

		REVENUE	
RECEIPTS.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
BALANCE in hand, 1st January, 1914 .....			232 9 6½
SUBSCRIPTIONS :—			
Current .....	722 13 0		
Arrears .....	25 4 0		
Advance .....	23 2 0		
			770 19 0
SALE OF "JOURNAL" .....			163 11 1
SALE OF "MAN" .....			170 16 2
SALE OF "HUXLEY" LECTURE .....			1 10 2
SALE OF OLD PUBLICATIONS .....			0 8 10
DONATION BY PROFESSOR THANE .....			10 10 0
ADVERTISING .....			2 2 0
DIVIDENDS .....			55 13 2
SUNDRIES .....			0 8 1

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£1,408 8 0½

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### LIBRARY

TRANSFER FROM REVENUE ACCOUNT.....	£ s. d.
	65 3 2

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£65 3 2

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## OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

THE YEAR 1914.

## ACCOUNT.

## PAYMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
RENT (including £23 12s. 6d. for use of Hall of Medical Society of London) .....				252	5	0
'JOURNAL' .....				383	14	7
'MAN' .....				173	4	0
SALARIES .....				173	2	8
HOUSEKEEPING .....				30	2	7½
ADVERTISING .....				14	15	9
STAMPS AND PARCELS .....				78	8	9½
TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAMS.....				7	12	4
PRINTING AND STATIONERY .....				63	6	9½
COAL, GAS, AND ELECTRIC LIGHT .....				8	10	1
LANTERNS .....				12	9	0
INSURANCE .....				5	10	0
TRAVELLING .....				2	3	10½
HUXLEY MEDAL AND LECTURE .....				14	6	6
FURNITURE (dining boards).....				8	13	3
EXPENSES IN CONNECTION WITH PROPOSED SCHEME OF UNIVERSITY TRAINING .....	11	15	9			
Less Share of British Association.....				5	17	10½
				5	17	10½
SUBSCRIPTIONS TO OTHER SOCIETIES, DIRECTORIES, ETC.....				10	8	5
GOVERNMENT DUTY AND FEES ON REGISTRATION OF NEW ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION .....				2	10	4
EXPENSES OF TRANSFER OF STOCKS TO NEW TRUSTEES.....				0	7	7
ADDRESSOGRAPH .....				1	2	3½
CYCLOSTYLE AND TYPEWRITER .....				1	5	0
ASSOCIATION FOR PROTECTION OF TRADE .....				1	4	0
POST OFFICE (for abbreviated address).....				1	1	0
BANK COMMISSION AND CHEQUE BOOK .....				0	13	10
REFUNDS FROM PETTY CASH.....				0	8	0
SUNDRIES .....				3	2	5
TRANSFER TO LIBRARY ACCOUNT.....				65	3	2
Balance in hand, 31st December, 1914 .....				86	18	10½
	£1,408	8	0½			

## ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.
BALANCE (overpaid) 1st January, 1914 .....	18	4	0
BOOKS AND BINDING .....	46	19	2
	£65	3	2

## CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD 1st JANUARY, 1914				4,939	4	11
INCREASE IN VALUE OF £300 METROPOLITAN CONSOLIDATED 3½ PER CENT. STOCK:						
Now worth, at 98 .....	294	0	0			
Valued 31st December, 1913, at.....	286	10	0			
				7	10	0
INCREASE IN VALUE OF SUBSCRIPTIONS IN ARREAR						
Now estimated at .....	51	3	9			
Valued 31st December, 1913, at.....	14	3	6			
				37	0	3
				£4,983	15	2
DECREASE IN VALUE OF 2886 BURMA RAILWAY STOCK:						
Valued 31st December, 1913, at.....	934	15	0			
Now worth, at 105 .....	930	6	0			
				4	9	0
Balance 31st December, 1914 .....				4,979	6	2
				£4,983	15	2

## BALANCE SHEET.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Amount due for Anthropological Notes and Queries on 1st January, 1914 .....	20	13	1			
Received during 1914 .....	12	8	7			
				33	1	8
				33	1	8
Books, Publications, and Stock .....						
Furniture .....				3,493	6	0
Burma Railway £886 stock at 105 .....				200	0	0
Metropolitan £300 Consolidated 3½ per cent. stock at 98 .....				930	6	0
Subscriptions in arrear, valued at .....				294	0	0
Publication Balances, stated at the amounts at which they stand in the accounts, but probably only of small value:				51	3	9
Hobley's "Uganda" .....						
Less received in 1914 .....				20	11	0
				10	0	
Total outside Liabilities .....				20	1	0



## Balances of previous Accounts :

Revenue Account .....	86 18 10½
Capital Account.....	4,979 6 2
	<hr/> 5,066 5 0½

Bibliography .....	51 4 8
Less received in 1914 .....	5 7
Physical deterioration.....	7 2 2
Less received in 1914 .....	10 2
Sir E. Ray Lankester's lecture.....	2 1 0
Add further cost paid in 1914.....	21 8 7
Less received in 1914 .....	23 9 7
	1 3 1
Cofhead, N.E. Tribes of Rhodesia.....	26 17 0
Less received from British South African Company.....	25 0 0
	<hr/> 1 17 0
	<hr/> 101 15 7

Deduct Report of Anthropometric Committee.....	3 7 3
Add received in 1914 .....	1 6 5
	<hr/> 4 13 8

Dayrell's "Ikoni Folk Stories" .....	19 7 3
Less received in 1914 .....	9 4
	<hr/> 18 17 11

Half Share Expenses of University Training Scheme (to be paid by British Association).....	115 19 10
Cash :	
In Bank.....	5 4 8
In hand (petty cash) .....	3 8 7
	<hr/> 8 13 3

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£5,066 6 8½

ROBERT W. WILLIAMSON,  
*Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct subject to our Report of this day's date.

JACKSON, FIXLEY, BROWNING, HUSEY & Co.,  
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,  
*Auditors.*

58, Coleman Street, E.C.  
26th January, 1915.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

THE BRONZE AGE INVADERS OF BRITAIN.<sup>1</sup>

By ARTHUR KEITH, M.D., F.R.S.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

If public affairs had run a normal course this would have been the last occasion on which I should have had the honour of addressing you as President. You have seen fit, however, to continue my colleagues and myself in office for another term, trusting that we shall soon be again free to devote our minds and our means to the interests of this great Institute. These twelve months past I have studied the printed and written records of our Institute and of its predecessors, examining their expedients and their policies, noting the scientific movements they fostered, marking the men who have given our Institute a foremost place amongst the Anthropological Societies of the world, with a view of laying the results of my study before you, and of indicating the bearing of the past on the future of the Institute. Early in the past year your Council had determined, as you will see from its report, that the time had come when the Institute must take another step forward and secure more ample means of carrying on the work of its Fellows. Our proposals, and, as a minor matter, my intended address, have necessarily been postponed. In place of dealing with the Past and Future of the Institute, I wish to speak to you of a former invasion of England by a race which has both interested and puzzled me for a number of years.

<sup>1</sup> I have not given full references to the authors to whom I am indebted for the evidence I have relied on in preparing this address. To a large extent my statements are based on a personal examination of the collection of ancient and modern European crania in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, England; but there are certain authors to whom I am glad to have an opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness. First of these I must place Dr. William Ripley; his standard work on *The Races of Europe* has been to me, as to many others, of the greatest service. I have also become indebted to the writings of Professor Deniker (Huxley Lecture, 1904); of Professor Gustav Retzius (Huxley Lecture, 1909), and many other works, particularly his edition of *Ethnologische Schriften von Anders Retzius*, 1864; of the Hon. John Abercromby, *A Study of the Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1912; to the papers by Professor F.G. Parsons and of Professor William Wright in the *Journal of the Institute* and in the *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*; and the Report given by Professor Fleure and Mr. James at the Meeting of the British Association, 1913, on the



Before taking up my subject, however, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the able officers with whom I have had the good fortune to be associated. Mr. Hodson and Mr. Martindell have answered their country's call; Mr. Hodson's secretarial work has been temporarily undertaken by Mr. T. A. Joyce and Mr. Edge Partington, while Miss Martindell is carrying out most efficiently her brother's duties. Our office attendant, Mr. T. W. Davis, is also on active service. Members of our Council and many of our Fellows are at the Front. Here, too, I must acknowledge the splendid personal assistance which Mr. H. G. A. Leveson and Mr. Edge Partington have given the Institute in placing its library on a better footing. Another step we have taken in a right direction: the Council has appointed Dr. H. S. Harrison editor of our *Journal*. Last, and not least, is our indebtedness to our Treasurer, Mr. R. W. Williamson.

Somewhere about the year 2000 B.C., when the peoples of Western Europe were beginning to learn the uses of bronze and to alter the style of their pottery, a race of invaders began to reach our shores who were totally different from any race which had lived in Britain before that time. The ancient British, although of various strains, were all of them of the long-headed type: they had projecting occiputs: their heads appeared as if compressed from side to side. But those Bronze Age invaders had rounded heads, with flat occiputs: their heads had the appearance of having been compressed from back to front. European anthropologists name this round-headed type of man "Celtic"; they regard him as an offshoot from the racial type which now attains its greatest purity in the mountainous countries of central Europe—the "Alpine" type or race. We may take the Bavarian or Savoyard as good modern representatives of the ancient Celtic or Alpine type. They are usually men of short stature, with dark hair and skins, with short and wide faces, regularly modelled features and rounded heads. The men who invaded England early in the Bronze Age, and buried their dead in "round barrows," were of a different build of body; they were strong, tall and muscular; they had long faces, rugged features, prominent noses, overhanging eyebrow ridges; we have reason to believe they were fair in hair and complexion. Although these early invaders of Britain had the "Alpine" form of head, it is not among the modern inhabitants of Savoy or of Bavaria that we can hope to find their ancestral stock.

physical anthropology of the people of Wales. The three classical works—Barnard Davis and Thurnam's *Crania Britannica*, 1865; Rutimeyer and His' *Crania Helvetica*, 1864; Quatrefages and Hamy's *Crania Ethnica*, 1882, have proved as useful to me as to my predecessors. I have also received help from the following papers and monographs: Mortillet's *Formation de la Nation Française*, 1897; Bloch's "Origine et Evolution des Blonds Européens" (*Bull. et Mem. Soc. d'Anthropologie*, 1911, vol. ii, p. 54); Niederle's *La Race Slave*, 1911; Dr. O. Reche's "Anthropologie der jüngeren Steinzeit" (*Archiv für Anthropol.*, 1908, vol. vii, p. 220); Dr. Schlitz's numerous writings in recent numbers of the *Korr.-M. Deut. Anthropol. Gesellschaft* and in R. R. Schmidt's *Die Diluviale Vorzeit Deutschlands*, 1912. The numerous papers which Sir Henry Howarth has contributed to past numbers of this *Journal* have also provided me with many clues. Two other works I must mention, the one called the other forth: Quatrefage's *La Race Prussienne*, 1871, and Virchow's *Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Deutschen*, 1876.



We are all agreed that they were continental in origin. Those who have studied our Bronze Age invaders—who have investigated their physical characters, their methods of burial, their domestic animals, their pottery, their weapons and ornaments—are almost unanimously of opinion that we must seek their ancestral home somewhere in that part of Europe which now lies within the bounds of the German Empire. Every year our knowledge of Europe during pre-Roman times becomes more exact, and I propose once again, in the light of more recent discoveries, and particularly from the point of view of one who is a student of the human body, to seek for the origin of our round-headed ancestry. We shall find that this early invasion of England was but a side eddy of a racial movement which affected almost the whole population of Europe.

How far the British people were exterminated and replaced during the invasions which took place after Roman domination had come to an end is not easily decided. If the Anglo-Saxons brought a new tongue to England they brought no new physical type; in stature and in headform we cannot distinguish them with certainty from the Britains of the period of Roman occupation, nor from the older pre-Roman population. But in this earlier invasion, which began 2,000 years before the Roman legions crossed the Straits of Dover, we have not the same difficulty; so distinctive is the headform of the Bronze Age or "round-barrow" men that we recognise the type at a glance; the type was then new to England. Along all the counties on our Eastern sea-board, from Caithness in the north to Dorset in the south, we have found the graves of this distinctive round-headed race. The Hon. John Abercromby, who is our leading authority on British pottery, weapons and ornaments of the Bronze Age, is of opinion that the round-headed invaders were few in number, and that, after gaining a foot-hold in Kent, they gradually spread northwards and westwards throughout our country. With that conception I cannot agree. The south-eastern part of England was apparently only one of the landing places; the researches which were carried out by Canon Greenwell and Mr. Mortimer leave us in no doubt as to their arrival in Eastern Yorkshire; the round-heads became masters of it. The counties which bound the Firth of Forth formed another centre of the invasion: the round-heads conquered that part of Scotland. For our present purpose their extensive settlement in the lowlands of Aberdeenshire and along the southern shores of the Moray Firth are the most important. In recent years Professor Reid and Dr. Alex. Low,<sup>1</sup> of the University of Aberdeen, have made us familiar with the Bronze Age men of the north-east of Scotland. These more northern invaders had their own peculiar kind of round-headedness, a kind peculiarly flat on the crown—just as they had their own kind of graves, their own kind of pottery and ornaments. Sixty years ago that pioneer of anthropology, Professor Anders Retzius, of Stockholm, identified a certain physical type in Aberdeenshire as similar to that which he had seen amongst the peoples in some of the Baltic provinces of Russia. The invaders who settled

<sup>1</sup> See various papers contributed to the *Proceedings of the Anatomical and Anthropological Society of Aberdeen University* between 1902 and 1908. See particularly a paper contributed to *The Book of Buchan*, 1910, by Professor Reid.



on the shores of the Firth of Forth, in Yorkshire and in the south-eastern part of England, had, like their more northern allies, their own distinctive traits in form of head, and in fashions of weapons and pottery. We find a difficulty in explaining the distribution and characters of the "round-head" invasion if we suppose, as Mr. Abercromby does, that there was only one point of landing, but all our facts find an easy solution if we suppose that the invasion which occurred in the Bronze Age was similar in character and in extent to that which took place in Anglo-Saxon times.

We must presume, then, that those round-headed people, like the Anglo-Saxons, crossed the North Sea; we must presume, further, that the round-heads were then the dominant power in the North Sea. There are certain considerations which make such a presumption difficult to accept. Then, as now, the continental shores of the North Sea were inhabited chiefly by long-headed peoples. We do know, however, that before the beginning of the Bronze Age the round-heads had broken through from the hinterlands of Germany, and had reached the coast at various points between Scandinavia in the north and Brittany in the south. It is somewhat difficult to believe that a round-headed people were master-mariners; sea power has usually been the appanage of long-headed nationalities. The Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Dutch, Norwegians and British were, and are, predominantly long-headed. However that may be, we know the round-heads reached the Orkneys, the Hebrides and the western shores. They spread across the lowlands of Scotland and crossed over to Ireland, where they formed numerous settlements in the north and east. The late Sir William Wilde believed—sixty years ago—that they were the aboriginal inhabitants of Ireland, but we know now that Ireland had been the scene of many an invasion before the round-heads reached her shores. The invading race spread over the richest parts of England; it reached Wales.

We are not yet in possession of sufficient evidence to determine how far the round-heads replaced the older inhabitants of Britain. There were several parts of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland which they failed to penetrate; at least, we have not found in these parts their peculiar "round-barrow" graves; but in other parts their influence was pronounced. In the Museum of Comparative Anatomy at Oxford there are 70 skulls of people buried in round barrows during the earlier part of the Bronze Age; 30 of them are apparently pure representatives of the round-headed race; among 67 skulls gathered from the older or long barrows there is not a single representative of the round-headed people. Dr. William Wright found that the round-heads formed 29 per cent. of the people buried in the round barrows of Yorkshire. In the Aberdeenshire graves of the Bronze Period, Professor Reid observed that eleven out of twelve skulls were of the rounded type. Were we to argue from the people buried in the peculiar graves of the Early Bronze Period, we should infer that the invaders had influenced the British population to a profound degree. We have reason to believe that the people buried in the barrows or in cist-graves represent not the population as a whole, but only a class



—the richer, or governing, class. I had occasion recently to examine a hundred skulls from a disused London cemetery—representative of the working population—and found that only three showed clear signs of a Bronze Age ancestry. It is unusual to see a head of this rounded type on a British artizan. It is otherwise in the classes from which we draw our civil servants, our squires and professional men. In a West-End Club, chiefly recruited from these classes, the Bronze Age type of head can be traced in about 20 per cent. of its members. I have said that the counties round the Firth of Forth were centres of settlement. Sir William Turner found that 25 per cent. of modern skulls from these counties were of the short or rounded type. The population of Kent, which has been the scene of more than one round-headed invasion in pre-Roman times, tends to be short-headed or brachycephalic.<sup>1</sup>

We may speak with equanimity of an invasion which overwhelmed our country between 3,000 and 4,000 years ago; it brought in a strain of blood which still exerts its influence on certain classes of our population, and which has given us some of our most eminent men. I will cite only three instances—the first being Charles Darwin, one of the most acute and best-balanced intellects ever bred in England. No one who has examined the bust which Woolner modelled from him in life can doubt his Bronze Age ancestry. His resemblance to Tolstoi is more than a superficial one. The second instance I shall cite from Scotland. We know the head-form of King Robert the Bruce, for a cast of his skull was taken before his remains were re-interred in 1819. An examination of that cast shows that Bruce possessed all the essential features of the Bronze Age race. Lastly, I take an instance from Ireland, where there are many descendants of the Bronze Age invaders, selecting that most lovable of men—Oliver Goldsmith. It is also a matter worthy of note that John Bull, as portrayed by "Mr. Punch," carries in his form of head a distinct impression of a Bronze Age ancestry.

So far as concerns the basis of the British population, the invasion of the round-heads remained without effect; the mass of the people retained the long-headedness which had characterised their ancestors in the Neolithic and later Palæolithic Ages. When we turn to France and mark the changes which occurred in her population at a corresponding period, we find the end result was totally different—there was a complete revolution in head-form; from being a long-headed people the majority of the French became round-headed. Long before the end of the Glacial Period we find long-headed races in possession of France; even when the Glacial or Pleistocene Period had ended and the Neolithic Age was well begun, the native tribes of France retained the more ancient type of head, but even in the older or Pleistocene Period we find some trace of the short-headed race. The skull found at Chancelade, in the Dordogne, under circumstances which convince us that its owner must have lived in one of the later phases of the Glacial or

<sup>1</sup> See paper on "Hythe Crania," by Professor F. G. Parsons, *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1908, vol. xxxviii, p. 419.



Pleistocene Period, possesses certain definite features in its hinder, or occipital, region, which show affinity to the round-headed type. In the more superficial strata of a gravel-pit at Grenelle, a suburb of Paris, a series of skulls have been found<sup>1</sup> which show all the features of our invaders of the Bronze Age. In deeper and more ancient strata all the skulls were of the long type. There is good reason for believing that the Grenelle skulls, from both the deeper and more superficial strata, are of Pleistocene Age. Apparently, then, the round-head invasion of France had begun at a much earlier date than in England. M. Salmon collected measurements of the skulls of 688 people who lived in France during the Neolithic Period—or, to make my meaning more clear, in a pre-Bronze Age—and found that 58 per cent. were long-headed, 21 per cent. round-headed, the rest (21 per cent.) forming an intermediate group. A late neolithic sepulchre in the Marne (Petit Morin) yielded a higher percentage of short-heads—viz., 27 per cent., while the long-headed group had become much reduced—34 per cent. We see, then, that the round-headed invasion of France took place at a much earlier date than that of Britain. We must also note that the French invaders appear to have belonged to a different branch of the round-headed stock. It is true that north of the Seine one frequently sees amongst the skulls of neolithic France the identical type which invaded Britain: we note the same strong and rugged faces, the same prominent supra-orbital ridges, and the same flattened occiputs which characterise our British invaders. We suppose these northern forms must have come, like our ancestors, from across the Rhine. But the majority of the round-heads which then invaded France were of a different type: their foreheads were full and wide, and destitute of great brow ridges; their faces were short and wide and of a less massive cast; their occiputs were rounded rather than flattened. They represent exactly what modern anthropologists have in mind when they speak of the "Alpine" race or type. The type deserves that name, for it evidently issued from the western flanks of the Alps and spread gradually over the whole of France. The revolution in head-form never passed beyond the Pyrenees. Long before the arrival of Caesar in Gaul the majority of the French people had become of the round-headed type. From Caesar's time onwards the people who lived between the Loire and the Seine have been regarded as representative of the true Celtic race. Our Celtic-speaking people—the British "Celtic Fringe"—belong to a very different European stock.

The anthropological history of Italy is not unlike that of France. Very few remains of the people who lived in Italy before the dawn of the Neolithic Period are known, but such as have been found lead us to believe that the early inhabitants were long-headed and apparently members of the dark-haired stock which inhabited the lands surrounding the Mediterranean—members of Professor Sergi's "Mediterranean Race." Italy, like France, was apparently invaded from the flanks and passes of the Alps. In some of the graves of Lombardy, belonging to a later phase of the Neolithic Period, we find skulls of a short-headed people. Some of

<sup>1</sup> See *Crania Ethnica*, Quatrefages and Hamy, 1882.



these have the massive faces, the great supra-orbital ridges, and the peculiar occipital flattening which characterise the Bronze Age invaders of Britain, but others—apparently the more numerous—are of the true Alpine type, the type which has left its influence on France. Long before the Etruscans and Romans had risen into prominence, the round-heads had permeated the northern half of Italy. I have lately examined the collection of crania which Dr. Niccolucci gathered from ancient Etruscan and Roman tombs—they are preserved in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons; fully a fifth of them manifest distinct traces of a round-headed ancestry. Collections of modern Italian crania show that the population has become increasingly brachycephalic since Roman times. In that Italy does not stand alone: it has been so with the population of France, Germany, Russia, Austria, and Greece. The anthropological surveys which have been carried out by Dr. Ridolfo Livi on army recruits drawn from all parts of Italy prove that in the southern half of the country the long-headed, dark-haired Mediterranean race is still the dominant population. But northern Italy is eminently round-headed.

It is generally agreed that the ancient Greeks were long-headed and were members of the Mediterranean race, but apparently before they reached the heyday of their civilization and of their power, a wave of round-heads had already penetrated the Balkan Peninsula and reached the shores of the Mediterranean. The vast majority of the peoples inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula and the Austrian Empire manifest a high degree of brachycephaly. It was not always so along the valley and across the plains of the Danube. For instance, Professor Toldt, of Vienna, did not find a single round-head in a collection of skulls gathered from ancient graves in Upper Austria; 80 per cent. of the modern population is round-headed. So far as we can yet judge, the Danube Valley, in its width and length, was inhabited by a long-headed population in the Neolithic Period. There is, however, an exception—the skull discovered fully thirty years ago by Professor von Luschan at Nagy-sap, in Hungary, deeply embedded in the loess of the Danube, and presumably pre-neolithic in date. Apparently before the Neolithic Period had ended, the round-heads of the true Alpine type began to penetrate the modern bounds of the Austrian Empire. The inrush of German-speaking peoples in post-Roman times did not stay the growing dominance of the round-heads. Professor Matiegka, of Prague, found that the remains of people buried in Bohemia during the ninth century A.D. yielded 14 per cent. of brachycephalic skulls, those of the sixteenth century yielded 70 per cent., modern graves 85 per cent. The diverse peoples of the Austrian Empire—they are really more differentiated in speech than in racial type—have thus become dominated by a round-headed stock in comparatively recent times.

North of the Carpathians the story is the same. On the plains of Russia there are numerous mounds or tumuli—"kurgans"—containing the remains of ancient Russians. Seventy years ago Russian anthropologists began to investigate these mounds; they found from their contents that some of them dated back to the Neolithic Period, others were of the Bronze Age. They found, too, that the people



buried in the older mounds were of the long-headed type—not unlike the men whose remains lie in our long barrows. The best modern representatives of this type are the inhabitants of Scandinavia—I shall speak of this form as the Scandinavian type. I have examined lately a series of accurate casts—forty in number—made from skulls found in these ancient Russian mounds. Twenty-seven of these are of the Scandinavian type; only eight of them are round-headed. Of these eight, five show the features of our invaders of the Bronze Age—the massive face, the strongly marked supra-orbital ridges, the flattened occiput. The remaining three are more of the Alpine type. The vast majority of the people within the bounds of European Russia are now brachycephalic; only in those Baltic provinces which lie to the south of the Gulf of Finland has the ancient Scandinavian type succeeded in surviving. In Finland itself, the Scandinavian type has been replaced by the modern brachycephalic Finn. So far as we have gone the western parts of Russia afford the most probable cradle for the British invaders of the Bronze Period.

The anthropological history of Germany is very similar to that of western Russia. To the eye of the anthropologist the modern German Empire falls into three very distinct, but very unequal, parts. There is, in the first place, the western or coastal area—embracing Oldenburg, Holstein, Hanover and parts of Westphalia where the Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon form of head is still the dominant type. From the evidence afforded by ancient graves, we have no doubt that the coastal or western German does represent the neolithic population of Germany, and he does not differ materially from the ancient long-headed native of western Russia. Then there is the second or southern area, including Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and the upper areas of the Rhine Valley. The modern population of these lands is eminently brachycephalic. Anthropologists are agreed in regarding them as typical representatives of the Alpine race. When and how the change in head-form was effected in south Germany we do not know definitely, but ancient graves, even down to the time of the disruption of the Roman Empire, yield skulls of the long or Scandinavian type. Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden have undergone a revolution in head-form, not unlike that which has overtaken the Austrian Empire and France. In all of them the primitive population has become "Alpinised." In the remaining part of the German Empire—the part which may be described as Prussian, and which contains at least two-thirds of the total population of the Empire—a transformation in head-form has occurred very similar to that which has overtaken the earlier inhabitants of Russia. German anthropologists have made no attempt to estimate the extent to which the modern Prussian population has assumed the Russian or Slav form of head, nor has any special endeavour been made to ascertain when the change took place. Professor Welcker, of Halle, found that out of a small collection of thirty German skulls eighteen were brachycephalic. In an ancient Russian cemetery which had been used between the ninth and twelfth centuries, 30 per cent. of the skulls were of the long type and 18 per cent. of the round. Four centuries ago, Vesalius regarded



flattening of the occiput—such as frequently occurs in our Bronze Age invaders—as a characteristic feature of the German head.

We look in vain for the ancestors of our Bronze Age invaders among the modern peoples who live along the German or Dutch shores of the North Sea. When, however, we turn to the investigations carried out by Danish anthropologists during the last seventy-five years we find a key to our problem. The classical researches of Nilsson brought to light a people with exactly the same rounded form of head as our British invaders in the neolithic graves of Denmark. It was at first believed that these round-heads were the original inhabitants of Denmark, but later discoveries showed that the long-headed race of the long-barrow or Scandinavian type—which also occurred in neolithic graves—was the older form. Our Bronze Age ancestors had reached the Danish Peninsula in the Neolithic Period. Recently Professor Nielsen has published a very instructive table, showing how the head-form has altered at various periods in Denmark. His table is as follows:—

			Dolicho- cephalic.	Meso- cephalic.	Brachy- cephalic.
Neolithic Period	...	...	30	44	26
Early Iron Period	...	...	60	29	3
Modern	...	...	12	55	33

The table shows that after the neolithic invasion round-heads became almost as common as long-heads in Denmark. It will be remembered that the round-barrows have revealed a similar proportion in England. A further parallel between Denmark and England is seen in the fate of the round-heads. By pre-Roman times the long-head had again asserted its dominance in both countries; in Denmark the round-heads form only three per cent. of the pre-Roman grave skulls. But after the Roman period the histories of the two countries diverge; the high proportion of long-heads disappeared from the Danish population, so that now they form only about 12 per cent. There can be little doubt as to the cause of the recrudescence of round-heads in Denmark. Her land frontier is open to Germany, and her population has undergone a change in head-form similar to that which has overtaken the people of Prussian Germany in post-Roman times.

In Denmark, then, we may recognise two invading waves of round-heads; but it is the oldest—the neolithic wave—containing men marked by all the physical characters which we recognise in the English round-barrow men, which interests us here. That was the first wave of round-heads to break through the long-headed population in western Europe and reach the shores of the North Sea. Before the



next wave broke, the Danes had apparently become again a long-headed people. Denmark was not the only country to suffer from the first invasion. Our "round-barrow" race had formed settlements in the south of Sweden and on the south-western coasts of Norway. Even now, as in parts of England, the descendants of that early invasion can be traced in the lands in which the round-heads settled. The round-heads also reached the lands at the mouths of the Elbe, Wesser, and Ems. Oldenburg, between the estuaries of the Wesser and the Ems, has yielded neolithic graves. Out of four skulls from such graves one is similar in form to that of our Bronze Age invaders. Apparently, too, they reached the coast by way of the Rhine. At least, the Dutch people living in districts near the mouth of the Rhine show a much higher degree of brachycephaly than their neighbours either to the north or south. We have already traced the entrance of our Bronze Age type into northern France in the Neolithic Period. They reached the coast of Normandy.

We have made a tour round Europe in search of the native land of our Bronze Age invaders. We have merely found secondary settlements along the eastern shores of the North Sea and the possible points of their embarkation. Their native land we have not discovered. Our predecessors, when in difficulty over the origin of a European race, fell back on Asia: they had an infallible belief in the racial potentiality of that continent. There is now a distinct change amongst European anthropologists in their attitude towards such problems. They believe that our own continent may have produced its own races. But so far we have searched in vain for the cradle of the European round-headed stock; we have found neither the beginning of the dark-haired true Alpine type, nor of the fair-haired northern form from which our round-barrow men sprang. But it is lawful for us to infer that the centre of dispersion is the probable cradle of origin. Now all the evidence at our disposal points to the central mountainous region of Europe as the centre of dispersion. It is therefore in the plains along the northern flanks of the central mountainous region of Europe that we may expect to find the cradle of our round-headed British ancestry.

The conquest of Europe by the round-heads is one of the most amazing revelations of prehistoric research. The outlook for the future of the fair-haired, long-headed stock does not, at first sight, seem very promising. Professor Gustav Retzius, when he delivered the Huxley Lecture before this Institute in 1909, gave expression to such a view. "There lies," he said, "in the circumstances to which I have called attention, a very real danger of the north European long-headed race not being able to hold its own. Just as it has been ousted during the past thousand years from Germany and other countries in central and eastern Europe by the dark-haired, small statured round-heads, it will probably have to yield in Britain too, and be reduced in numbers, perhaps by degrees disappear entirely out of the fatherland of their ancestors and of themselves, by reason of the ever-increasing might and power of industrialism with which they seem ill-fitted to cope successfully in the long run. The prospect is depressing, it cannot be denied, but the development of things in the world is not seldom harsh and unmerciful."

Professor Retzius' statement is that of a man who commands the respect and esteem of all anthropologists; he speaks of the fate of his own—the Scandinavian—racial stock, and is therefore predisposed to take the most hopeful outlook possible. It is beyond denial that in France, Austria, Russia, and in the greater parts of Germany and Italy a round-headed stock has ousted a long-headed one. Scandinavia, England and Spain have escaped this domination by reason of their comparative isolation. Yet I dare think the future of the big-bodied, fair-haired, long-headed European stock may be more prosperous than Professor Retzius is inclined to think. In the first place we have clear proof that at one time—some 4,000 or 5,000 years ago—the round-headed stock did break through and reach the western shores of Europe. It leavened England, but became submerged; it met a similar fate in western Germany and in Holland. In the earlier centuries of the present era the long-heads in north-western Europe must have undergone a recrudescence in numbers and in power. They broke eastwards on the plains of the Vistula and Danube: they imposed their speech on the conquered peoples, but the vanquished imposed on them their features of face, head and body. They broke westwards into France and lost both their tongue and their head-form; they crossed the North Sea and kept both their tongue and their shape of head. Sea power is also a potent factor in anthropology, and so far such power in Europe has been in the hands of long-headed stocks. What the long-head has lost in Europe he has gained in countries which lie beyond the seas, by virtue of his command of the sea. It is too soon to speculate on what the head-form of these new trans-oceanic settlements is to be—but all the signs point rather to a victory of the long-heads.



## BORI BELIEFS AND CEREMONIES.

By MAJOR A. J. N. TREMEARNE, M.A., LL.M., M.Sc., Dip.Anth.

(WITH PLATES I AND II.)

### *Foreword.*

IN *The Ban of the Bori*, published last year, I described the cult of the demons amongst the Hausa people of West and North Africa, the material contained therein being the result of work in Ashanti and Northern Nigeria between 1900 and 1909, and in Tunis and Tripoli in 1913. I subsequently paid another visit to the last two countries and to Algeria, and intended visiting the Hausa colonies there again, and those in Egypt, on my way home from Australia, in the hope of including the results in an enlarged edition of the book. As the war has rendered that idea impossible of realisation, however, and several authorities have asked for more particulars, I venture to give them here in the form of more or less connected notes. I hope readers will excuse the style, but there is not much time for writing at present. For the convenience of students of the subject, I have given the numbers of the chapters<sup>1</sup> and pages of *The Ban of the Bori*, where more information can be obtained. My new authorities are :—

Zainabu, Hausa of Kano, servant of Haja Gogo.

Abu-Bakar, father an Arab of Kano, mother Hausa of Kano. Came to Tripoli from Kano three years ago. Married the Mai-Bori Ayesha.

Sambo or Baraka, Fulah of Katsina. Lived first in Tripoli, then Tunis, now in Algiers. Second in seniority at the Gidan Katsina.

Nomo, a Ba-Maguje of Katsina. One of the sacrificers at Algiers.

### *Introduction (I).*

The Hausa is pursued all through his life by the fear of the bori, and various measures are taken to avoid the attentions of these demons (p. 20).—The rite of initiation into the sect is supposed to render the dancers themselves immune from the attacks of the particular demons which they profess to follow, while the periodical ceremonies seem to inoculate them afresh on behalf of the whole community. These ceremonies are akin to the early sacrifices, in which a selected human being (not an animal) suffered to save others.

### *The Origin of the Hausa Colonies in North Africa (II).*

There are many curious legends regarding the Creation (p. 28).—According to Sambo, the *aljannu* were created first, and then Allah fashioned clay with His Own

<sup>1</sup> These are given in Roman numerals after each section heading.



hands and formed Adam. After having breathed upon him, and thus caused him to live, He created Eve in a similar manner. These two remained among the *aljannu* in the sky, they ate grass, but did not digest it in the ordinary manner. This displeased Shaitan, so he brought Eve a looking-glass, and said "Look, Eve! Adam has married another woman, you can see her here." Eve was deceived, not recognising her own reflection, and accused Adam of infidelity, and, when he denied it, she called him a liar. So violent and noisy did their quarrel become that Allah threw them out of the sky on to the earth, Adam landing in the east, Eve in the west, and each wandered about alone for many years. In the end, however, they met again, made up their quarrel, and married and had children.

Tanko says that Allah took six kinds of coloured earth, white, black, grey, brown, blue, and red, and kneaded the whole into a lump. The angels then picked out balls indiscriminately, and these became men of different colours. Abu-Bakar doubts this, and thinks that the shades of man were accidental at first, for a goat can have kids of quite a different colour to her own.

According to Haja Gogo, Eve gave birth to everybody, and all were white at first. She could not cease child-bearing, and at last she became ashamed of the number of her offspring, especially as she had used up all the water in the world in washing them. Others kept arriving, however, and, as they could not be washed, they remained black, so she condemned them to serve their white brothers, making them all the more conscious of their inferiority by not letting them appear more often than she could help. "It is because of this that blacks always run away from whites to-day."

Nomo says that the people of old were formed just as we of to-day are, but were giants. Everything in the world was in proportion, the ears of barleycorn being as large as ostrich eggs. But gradually men and plants degenerated until they became no larger than they are at present. We are becoming smaller, for not so very long ago the Hausa hunters could overcome elephants in fair fight, and carry them home on their shoulders; now they have to use magic—also the poisoned arrow.

The *Sarikim Bayi* (Chief of The Slaves) in North Africa is chosen by the people themselves (p. 30).—On election, he has to make a donation to the public purse (*sandukan Kuri*) of the community, and to hold a bori dance for some fixed period—generally three days. A folk-tale suggests that a chief should not sleep on the first night of his reign, but this tabu does not apply to the *Sarikim Bayi*.

### *Totemism and King-Killing (III).*

Certain tribes have a *wasa*, or friendly understanding, between them (p. 31).—There is also an entente between half-sisters and brothers, and between children who have been brought up together, each being the *taubashi* of the other. In Sokoto this understanding is limited to the children of a brother and a sister. In Algiers the custom seems to be dying out.



Young members of the red-legged Shamowa clan must not use henna (*lalle*) at times (p. 35).—Abu-Bakar agrees with Salah, and says that the reason is that the Shamowa's staining has been done by Allah, so it is better than anything that human effort could bring about, and should not be basely imitated.

When the Shamowa was about to leave on her annual migration, the priests would go to her and sing, and then she would gradually rise in the air and fly to the outskirts of the town, moving slowly so that she might not go faster than her worshippers walking beneath, and accompanying her to their boundary. On arrival there, the priests would halt, and the Shamowa would rise high in the air and fly off quickly. When she had come back again, a soup was offered to her, and songs were sung in her honour at the foot of her tree, after which she would foretell the events of the coming year.

Haja Gogo's *Kun-Gida* (totems) were Kuri and Doguwa (family spirits), Gajeri (protecting her in her profession), and the Fakara (francolin). This bird was killed and eaten at harvest time each year at the foot of a kuka tree outside the town. The rites lasted for seven days. A bull and a cow would be set apart for Kuri and Doguwa respectively, after the rites had been completed, and the milk of the cow would not be drunk by any member of the clan concerned, though it might be sold to outsiders. If the cow gave birth, the calf would be sacrificed at the festival with its mother. If either of the two sacred beasts died, its flesh would be given to pagan Magazawa, and another of the same sex would be substituted. The Fakara clan must not take up fire with pincers or sticks.

Sambo was a member of the Zaki (Lion) clan. Some clans kill their totem each year, others every second, while some let three years pass between the rites. Priests who were very full of medicine would catch the lion with their hands—there were only three of these priests. The animals were killed so that they should not become too numerous, and they had to submit because they obeyed the incense. The flesh would be given to men, and to those women who were *Godiyas* (female dancers), but other women and children could not partake, for they would be in danger of injury. Members of the leopard and lion clans let their nails and hair grow long, and did not use henna. The priests could go to either of these animals and sing its *kirare* and rub its tail, this making the beast purr with delight and sway its body from side to side. It would then inform them of the future, not by speaking words, but by some means which only the priests understood.

Nomo followed the *Bauna* (buffalo), this being killed every second year with arrows by three priests—one being called Bauna. Nomo also followed the *Giwa* (elephant) because once an elephant which had been wounded in the foot by a stake went up to Nomo's father (also a hunter), and asked to have it removed. The hunter complied with the request, and after that the animal greatly increased the yield of corn on his farm. Nomo remembers the event well, because he was suffering from smallpox at the time when his father came home with the news. The elephant or buffalo would always answer worshippers, but would first transform itself into a woman so that they should not be afraid.



Abu-Bakar says that totemism was really a treaty of peace between man and animals, the latter promising to aid the former if worshipped in the proper manner, and provided with offerings. A somewhat similar idea is found in the folk-lore, where the animals agree together to give the lion a meal a day, provided that he himself does not kill any of them.

P. 40.—If a youth wished to procure a special guardian-spirit, he would wait until the month of Azumi, and then he would make beer, and take it to the bush to a spot indicated by a medicine-man. He would then strip, except for his loincloth and skin-covering, and would stay there for four days, calling upon Mai-Inna, Dodo, or Magiro, one of which bori would indicate the particular animal to be followed. This *Kan-Gida* would then appear to him in human form (so as not to frighten him) at the end of the four days, and would go to the market with him, but on returning to the forest it would transform itself into an animal again, and leave him.

#### *Totemism and King-Killing*<sup>1</sup>—continued (IV).

At the periodical totemistic ceremonies, the priests dressed in turn in the skin of the victim (p. 49).—Only the skin of the victim itself was used, and then, naturally, only after the animal had been sacrificed. If any other person had put on the skin, he would have become ill at once, and would have died unless he had managed to appease the bori.

In certain clans, worshippers are forbidden to resemble their totem (p. 51).—In the case of the lion and leopard clans, however, the followers actually copy the appearance of the totem, as do those of the crown-bird, who wear a tuft of hair.

The tree found in each compound is said by some to be a *Kan-Gida*, and offerings are made to it annually. Haj Ali sacrifices two fowls to the pomegranate opposite to the room which he leases. Should such a tree fail in its duties towards its followers, it may be dug up and replaced by a plant of the same kind. Should the tree die it may be removed, for it has lost its virtue.

#### *Personal Enhancement and Dress* (V).

The Hausas are fairly careful of their appearance (p. 55).—In Tripoli, a black substance (*gariba sinad*) is rubbed in the armpits to keep down any odour. *Shab* boiled with *mustika* (incense) may be used instead.

Various measures are tried to cure baldness (p. 56).—For instance, the urine of a horse, mixed with a pinch of the earth taken from its picketing-place, and a little butter, may be rubbed on with great effect. Other remedies are given in the chapters on magic.

Negro hair is much more powerful in magic than that of other people, so the Arabs of Algiers and elsewhere buy it to cure fever. They burn some, and make

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the custom of King-Killing will be found to have existed in Southern Nigeria also. See *Folklore*, March, 1915.



the patient smell the smoke, putting the remainder in a *laya*. Finger nails may be used in a similar way, and are even more powerful. The negroes will sell their hair because they can avoid the results of the Arab charms by taking precautions, but they will not sell their nail-parings, as the spells produced are too strong to be overcome. If the hair was stolen, the owner might be injured, but even so, some people let their clippings blow about, and thus expose themselves to the risk. "There are always some fools in the world," according to Sambo, who is careful to spread a cloth in order to catch his own severed locks.

In North Africa, hair may be removed by boiling sugar and lemon-juice together, and after this has been made into sticks, called *halawa*, it is wetted and rubbed on when necessary. In Algiers, a yellow earth, *kirishti*, is used. During *Ashura*, and when in mourning, no shaving or hairdressing is done, nor are the nails pared, but all prepare themselves for the annual *Ziara*. A person should not bite his nails in public, for he may not know where the bits go. All milk-teeth should be burnt.

Some say that neither *dabga* nor *lalle* (p. 57) is used during the period of *Ashura*, nor should scents be used. Others, however, hold that antimony, *dabga*, and *lalle*, if used then protect the person from harm during the coming year. This difference of view is to be expected, for whereas most people say that *lalle* and *dabga* ward off spirits, the Masu-Bori use both at the dances, and think that the more heavily the eyebrows are coated the better will the bori be pleased.

When a person is ill, neither his hair nor his nails should be cut, lest too much of the vital force should be thus removed, and the patient rendered incapable of throwing off the malady. Indeed, even if he were not to become worse because of the original attack, some other bori would probably take advantage of his state of weakness. A woman should not even plait her hair when ill.

Ears are usually pierced with a needle (p. 58), but a safety-pin may be used for the purpose. One day I saw Kadejiya with a ring and one pin above it. A week later she had two rings, and two safety-pins in fresh holes made still higher up.

Circumcision is not the result of Islam (p. 61).—Generally, it is said that the operation should not be performed during cold weather, as wounds heal more slowly then. A few, however, hold the opposite opinion.

A few say that a boy could certainly be killed by a magician who possessed the discarded foreskin.

Eunuchs were not numerous (p. 62).—Nomo says that when he was captured with forty-seven others, forty-four were "ruined" at Zinder. Some had a nerve in the back severed, this preventing future erections; others had only the testicles removed; while the rest were shaved quite clean, and nearly all of these died.

Trousers are worn in certain religious ceremonies (p. 65).—There is some magic in the garment, and a woman must be careful, else by wearing a man's trousers or loincloth she may become pregnant.



The women's head-dress may be a protection against the bori (p. 66).—In one of the photographs, it will be seen that the women are wearing very high turbans, the reason being that the spirits like a high head-dress, since they have all the more to rest upon. This accounts in part for the wearing of the *dauka* (ridge) during the dances in North Africa.

It is most unlucky to put on a garment inside out, for it betokens misfortune or bereavement, so, contrary to our custom, the wearer immediately rectifies his mistake. Trousers, shoes, and socks must not be placed under the head at night, for they would cause bad dreams. Black clothes must not be sewn with white cotton, nor *vice versa*, for they will disagree, since like seeks like.

### *Habitations and Domestic Life (VI).*

An influence may sometimes be captured (p. 71).—It may be that the influence was originally a bad one, and had to be rendered harmless in this manner, for the Roman chief magistrate warded off evil annually by driving a nail into the wall of Jupiter.<sup>1</sup>

Fowls may be offered by the builder of a house (p. 72), though he should provide a ram if he can afford it. The sacrifice is always offered up at the threshold, before the owner has completed building.

A Hausa must be careful when cooking (p. 74).—Light attracts the *Mutanen Kassa* ("People of the Earth") and they enter the food along with it. On a certain night during the wet season, however, all the water turns to blood. Only Jews know exactly which night it will be, and, since they will not tell Moslems, the latter have to use a light for several nights running to see that the blood is not used in mistake.

There are many other "don'ts" connected with cooking, for not only the eating but also the preparation of food is dangerous. Do not let anyone step over the food while it is being cooked. No harm would be done if the person was quite innocent of any ill-intention, but who would know whether he was innocent or not? If evil-minded, harm would come to the person eating the food. Another explanation is, however, that food is a king and must not be insulted. For that reason, any bread lying upon the ground should be reverently picked up and placed where it will not be trodden upon. Meat must always be covered up, else it will become dangerous. Naturally so in a country where the climate is hot and the flies numerous. Do not taste the food by dipping in the fingers while it is being cooked. If necessary to test it, dip in a spoon and sip from that, but do not look at it.

It is not only the food which has to be considered. If your totem is a tree, do not eat food which has been cooked on a fire fed with its wood, for if you do you will become ill, and perhaps die. That, of course, is only in accordance with the

<sup>1</sup> See Doutré, *Magie et Religion*, p. 435.



principle. A woman carrying a black cooking-pot must not pass in front of men. If she sees a group sitting down she must go round behind them, otherwise their charms will perish.

Honey is a favourite article of diet (p. 76), but it is not given to a guest who arrives in the evening in North Africa, although there seems to be no objection in Nigeria if the guest is a great man. A bridegroom should not eat of it, however, for "he must not have two sweet things, honey and maidenhead."

There are several stimulants (p. 77).—Aphrodisiacs are in great demand. The best of all are the following, but the first is so strong that none but men with many wives should venture to eat it. Pound up *murichi* (the seed tree of the *deleb*) with *ya-yan dauka* (a fir cone), ground-nuts, *kimba* (black beans), ginger, and pepper. Then add some dried and powdered flesh of a manatee and a bull's private parts. Boil these together and eat with broiled meat. *Gangawari* and *gagai* are two powerful roots found in many of the potions, and these may be mixed with pepper, *kimba*, *fashakwori*, *massoro*, and millet. The flesh of the manatee is always a great help, but if this is not available, place a piece of the skin under the tongue—this was Haj Ali's recipe.

There are certain rules regarding the serving of food which must be observed strictly. Do not take food—or anything—from a person standing outside the door: make him or her enter the room and give it to you. Never take the dish if the person is holding it with his thumb up, but if eating with one suspected of witchcraft, hold it thus all the time. Do not accept a thing held above the head, there is evidently some evil influence in it of which even the holder is afraid. Make him come right in front of you and put out his hand properly.

Meal-times are always dangerous. If while eating, someone calls you, do not answer at once, else you will be injured. Some say that the reason is that the food is a king, and that you naturally would not call out to someone else when talking to one, so you remain silent until the person comes up and stands in front of you. Others, however, say that you would be safe in replying after the third call, but a few hold that even after the tenth time you ought to rub the ground before replying, thus showing that it is the bori which cause the injury. In this case, any evil influence invoked will recoil upon the person responsible. Never eat food in which a spoon is sticking up like a spear, or in which a knife has been left, for each indicates mischief, and the eater will get indigestion if the cook has ill-wished him. Do not eat or drink with your mouth full, else a bori will get in with the food and attack you. Do not move the dish either nearer to or farther away from yourself after it has once been placed upon the ground. If another person snatches a piece of food from your hand or from the dish, or moves your dish, do not eat another bite, for he intends harm. It is curious how we object to taking a helping from another's plate, even though he may not have touched the contents.

Do not eat while reclining on one side as if ill, or while putting a hand (necessarily the left) on the ground, and do not squat like a monkey, but sit up naturally, knees bent, and eat with the right hand, showing the proper respect to the food.



Do not drum upon your dish with your spoon, else you will be ill. Do not mix heat and cold, *e.g.*, do not drink cold water with hot porridge. Do not keep nibbling all day long: one big meal is better than many pickings. Never eat without having first washed your hands, and afterwards scoop the dish clean and lick your fingers before washing—"why waste good gravy?" asked Haja Gogo. Another said that Allah is glad to see that you are not wasteful like a horse, and therefore blesses you. But never eat the remains of last night's porridge in the morning if going to war or a hunt, for it may have been tampered with during the night. Do not eat anything against which you feel a repulsion, especially if your heart rises, your hair stands on end, or your flesh creeps, for your guardian-bori is setting you against it for your own good. From personal experience I can vouch for the fact that a European often experiences such sensations when near a Hausa dainty dish.

Sneezing is supposed to expel the bori (p. 79).—The belief regarding sneezing is rather curious, for Abu-Bakar says that Azrael pulls people's souls out of their noses to kill them. However, the people affected seem to be able to tell when this is the case, and the general opinion is that sneezing gets rid of an evil spirit—the Ganawa have a similar belief.<sup>1</sup> Belching is also due to the bori, as will be seen in chapter XVI, and if the wind will not go back it must be allowed to escape. Do not let anything come near you when praying, and do not yawn then, but count your prayer-beads openly, for he who tells them inside his robe is a thief. Do not sit outside the door when paying a visit, but come right in, otherwise you will be suspected of fearing the effect of the presence of the bori or of the charms under the threshold. You ought, however, for your own safety to say "*Bismilla*" when crossing it. On rising and stretching your body, do not forget to say "*Sallati*," otherwise those with you will abuse you, for all will be in danger of attack by the bori. Never enter a house in the dark, but always get a light if there is no fire inside, and hold it in front of you. So long as you get past the threshold, you will be safe, even if the light goes out. Possibly this has more to do with burglars or snakes than with bori—but snakes are bori. Do not get up in the night and grope about in the dark, but strike a light before rising, else you may press Ma-Halbiya against the wall or floor, and she will shoot you. If, when going out at night, your hair rises as you cross the threshold, lock the door behind you, for someone is waiting to get in and work mischief.

Never give anything to a person who puts out his hand behind his back, or the wrong way round, for there is something secret and injurious in such acts. Do not take a knife or a pair of scissors directly from a person's hand: make him put it on the ground first so that the evil influence—if any—may pass out. Do not pick up a sou if you see it lying near your threshold in the early morning, for some illness has been passed into it in all probability, and if you touch the coin you will be attacked. It is quite safe, however, if there are several sous, for they must have been dropped accidentally.

<sup>1</sup> Douffé, *op. cit.*, p. 367.



Traces of cannibalism are still found (p. 80).—In fact, Abu Bakar (who was in Kano at the time) told me that the Sarikin Kano, before fighting us in 1903, killed one of his officers, took his heart, eyes, and private parts, and, having had them cut up and cooked with the flesh of a ram, gave a small piece to each of his principal officers. This subject will be considered further in the chapters on magic. In North Africa, as well as in Nigeria, the flesh of a young child is supposed to be the proper remedy for *kabba*, one of the stages of syphilis. According to the late Capt. G. F. Lyon,<sup>1</sup> the patient should also bathe in the blood.

The idea that there is magical virtue in human flesh, and the subject of cannibalism, must not be dismissed peremptorily, for I had proof of the Hausa faith only this year (1914). On March 25th last, I was talking to Haj Ali in his house when a little Arab girl, named Munjiya, whom I had petted during my previous visit, was brought by her mother to see me. She would not go near Haj Ali, although she had been very fond of him before, but called him a cannibal, whereupon he drove her away. On asking him the reason, I was told that four days previously public cryers had given notice in Tunis that certain cannibals had entered the city, and that children should not be allowed out by themselves for fear that they might be captured and eaten. The Arabs said that the cannibals were negroes, but Haj Ali maintained that they were not blacks at all, but Turks or Arabs called Sanadaglub, sent over by the Sultan of Turkey. They caught children, according to him, and hung them alive over a fire, collecting the fat which dripped from the bodies as they gradually melted. No one could punish them because of the auspices under which they worked ("Would the French dare to interfere with the great *Sarikin Duniya*—King of the World?"), and all that the parents could do was to keep their children indoors. That was why Munjiya had waited for her mother to bring her—a little Jewess living near them had been caught, but had been allowed to go again as she was not quite suitable for the purpose. That the fright was not confined to my informants is shown by a paragraph in *La Dépêche Tunisienne* of a few days later, but, alas for Haj Ali's opinion, it was not the Sultan of Turkey who was accused.

#### *Habitations and Domestic Life—continued (VII).*

Wells are not dug without proper preparations (p. 84).—According to Tanko, some of the dowsers know the situation of water because they have learned the secrets, and so recognise the signs, but others feel its presence internally, being warned by their bori. Haj Ali says that when the diviner first finds water it is very deep down, but by offering a sacrifice, according to his directions, the owner of the land can make the water approach the surface. An annual offering must be made in this case.

At first I could obtain no legend regarding the origin of fire (p. 86), but on my last visit I was told that long long ago, an old female *iblis* (devil) brought sticks to

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in North Africa* (1821), p. 314.



a certain town in order to sell them, but, as the people there had no use for them, they naturally would not buy them. The old devil then rubbed two sticks together, and, having lighted them, made a fire, and warmed herself, and, on seeing this, the people bought her stock readily and learned the use of fire. The original fire was never allowed to go out, and many people in Hausaland still preserve the ancient flame.

The colour of horses' stockings is important (p. 90), but all, or at least a pair, of the legs should be coloured, for if only one, or both on the one side, are stockinged, the horse will prove unlucky to his owner. A horse with a lighter mane and tail is unlucky.

Cats are useful pets (p. 91), but it is most unwise to allow them to enter store-rooms, for they may be men in disguise, transformed for the purpose of theft, or, at any rate, animals in league with thieves. Cats and mice often appear in the folk-tales as having been employed to steal.

#### *Birth and Puberty (VIII).*

Many means are taken to induce pregnancy (p. 96).—If the woman follows the bori, she will not hang a rag in the tree, but during four Thursday nights a candle will be burnt to Jato in the *salanga*, and Jato will cause her to conceive. A good charm for conception is made as follows:—Take the fruit of the *jaririya* and the *fara biya rana*, and, after having pounded them up with the shell of an iguana's egg and the pollen of a male palm tree, give to both parents to eat in the evening. The woman should sleep with the remainder of the egg in her vagina.

Sometimes in the case of a false pregnancy the *iska* is driven away by drinking and washing with a medicine made by pounding up the roots of the *uwal magangua*, *yadiya bakka*, *yadya ja*, *dam-magoraji*, *baure shadad*, and *tsatsagi* and mixing with water. The belly should be rubbed downwards. If these medicines are unavailable use *gautan kaji* and potash instead.

The expectant mother sometimes inhales incense (p. 97), the rite being, in fact, the dedication of the future child to the spirits and the placing of it under their protection.

According to the folk-lore a woman can conceive by swallowing. Thus, a man who had transformed himself into an iguana so as to be eaten by a girl whom he desired, caused her to bring forth a son like him. In another tale a cow eats flowers, which are really children, and later on they are born and become children again. If a woman wishes to have a son like her husband, she will kneel over him when asleep and take seven sips from a cup of water while in that position, making her request each time either to Allah or to the bori, according as to whether a *mallam* (priest) or a *boka* (medicine-man) has directed the proceedings.

Birth-marks are easily explained. Haja Gogo instanced the case of Khadejiya, who has dark rings round her mouth because her mother wanted *dabga* (black



stain) at that time, and, not being able to get it, rubbed her mouth. According to Tanko and Haja Gogo, the spirit of the thing wanted enters the womb and impresses itself upon the foetus.

The changeling theory (p. 99) perhaps explains the name of *Aljanjanni* given to an obstinate and disobedient child. In Tripoli, the evil bori has the shape of a native dog (*selugi*), the sex being that of the child concerned—evidently known beforehand by the spirits. If the woman dreams of it, she will offer up a fowl, and it will then be satisfied and will go away. If she does not dream of it, she will sacrifice a black cock or hen, according to the sex of her child, as soon as she has been delivered. In Tripoli, some say that a black line drawn round the wall of the room in which the woman is, will protect her against the bori, others say against Iblis. Still others, however, hold that this is an old custom, now going out of use. It is not quite certain whether the bori while waiting for the child can hide in open pots or not. Some say that there is no danger of this, but others think that no opportunity should be given, and this is comparable to the practice found by M. Theiller (the French Vice-Consul at Tripoli), who tells me that in Syria the people close up all their bottles, etc., for fear of Al Basti, "The Red One," who waits for the new-born babe, and kills it and the mother, the victims turning different shades of red. Al Basti seems to partake of the nature of Lillith.

When charms are to be drunk, the *mallam* may write the magic words upon the inside of a white china plate, the palms of the woman's hands, or upon beans, the ink in each case to be washed off and drunk. Or he may write upon an eggshell, the whole of which is then eaten. The husband can help his wife by washing his left foot in water, which he then drinks, or by putting on his burnous inside out—this apparently distracting the attention of the malignant spirits responsible for the difficulty. But when a case of painful labour is expected, take the dried after-birth of a cat, put it into a vessel of water, and give it to the woman. At the third mouthful she will give birth. A somewhat slower method, but really efficacious, is to make her inhale the fumes of a burning snake slough.

Medicines can be made from the umbilical cord (p. 100).—The dried end of the cord, mixed with the liver of a hedgehog, dried, powdered, and moistened with the mother's milk, is a sure cure for internal complaints if administered by the mother's finger.

The dried caul, mixed with the after-birth of a cat, a little of the flour which has fallen upon the ground from the grinding-stone, a piece of a broken pot (powdered) which has fallen from the head of a person carrying it, and a piece of a spoon broken during the stirring of food, will make a charm which will cause every friend to believe you, and every enemy to fear you.

Candles should be burning at the time of the birth, in North Africa (except in Algeria, I am told), and after the child has been wiped, the women-in-waiting shout three times for a boy, twice for a girl—but remain silent if the child is still-born. It should be dressed in a silk gown and cap, and put upon a cushion.



After this its eyebrows are painted with henna or *dabga*, and a charm against the evil eye (made of cowries and wet rubber) is stuck upon its forehead. If a boy, some of the midwives take sticks (swords amongst the Arabs) and march round him, others playing upon the *karakab* (clappers) and *guraya* (guitar).

Twins have powers out of the ordinary (p. 101).—If a twin licks his finger and rubs it over the bite of a scorpion, the pain ceases immediately. If a twin is angry with you and stares into your eyes, you will lose your eyesight until you have appeased him. Do not curse a twin, for if you do, the evil will recoil upon yourself. In fact everything will go wrong with you.

The power of a twin is due to the *zafi* (hot heart), or *kwari* (strength) with which Allah has endowed him, and to avoid evil consequences a mother should destroy this power. She can do so by making a porridge of flour, and then scraping it off from the stirring-spoon with her fingers, and giving it thus to each twin to eat. Food touched by another's fingers destroys the consumer's magic powers just as it would an adult's charms.

Other persons are similarly blessed, however. Haja Gogo was born between two sets of twins, and had as much power as any of them. Her father before going to war always rubbed his right hand over her head as a protection for himself. In spite of this fact, there seems to be no doubt that the fear of twins is due to their rarity, a double birth being regarded as strange, and even terrible. According to Abu-Bakar, twins always repel one another. "If you leave two of them, however small, in one bed, and go out of the room, when you return one of them will be in the bed at the other end of the room." Some of their power to injure ordinary mortals seems to be connected with this idea of negative electricity.

Many precautions are taken by a mother who has lost former children (p. 104).—She will procure a written charm from a *mallam*, and will place it in a grave, and will then obtain certain drinks from a *boka* made from the *madowachi*, *sabara*, and *rundu*, before conception. She will observe other precautions also.

When delivery is approaching, the woman will procure charms for the child. One in Haj Ali's house had obtained a sou from each of forty namesakes, and with the two francs thus collected had bought a little silver charm, in shape something like a prayer-board. This was suspended by a green cord to the baby's neck, and, in addition, there were a pink silk bag containing *shab* (resembling camphor in appearance, but odourless), and a "daisy" of cowries kept in position by rubber, having a red bead as a centre. These were put on to the child as soon as ever it had appeared in the world, and silver earrings were inserted immediately afterwards—heavy weights for such tender lobes.

A special goat or ewe may be set apart for the child. It shares the milk of the animal with her young, but no other human being will be allowed to partake of it, and, if there is any surplus milk, it is not sold—the child has its mother's milk as well. When the animal runs dry it is given to a *mallam*, and, if any further danger is feared, another is substituted. Haja Gogo had a white ewe.



It is not quite certain which spirit kills the children, but Haja Gogo says that it is the mother's bori-lover, while in Tunis there seems to be a general idea that a night bird called the Karina is responsible. This is confused with Lillith, apparently, for if it passes over the child and "makes a noise like a goat or a crow," the child dies. *Godiyas* (female bori dancers) are always *wabi* (cursed), for the male bori upon them kills the children just as a rooster does chickens.

During the first forty days, no *godiya* would be allowed to nurse the child, for perhaps she would become possessed by *Auta*, and would throw it down and kill it. If the mother herself were a *godiya*, she would cense herself and keep clear of the bori temples so as to avoid being possessed.

For the first forty days the child is always in danger, since its guardian-bori, being a double, is not very strong.

A piece of iron also should be placed at the head, for Uwal Yara is always to be found near her children. Another spirit to be avoided is Gajere, who will retard the growth of the child if he attacks it.

If the child is long in getting its teeth, burn some quills of the *bushiya* and rub the ash upon the gums. If there is no hair, shave the head, and stain the skin with *lalle*. Some or all of these treatments will be necessary in the case of a child born during *Ashura*, for it is almost certain to be weakly—but probably not sterile, although an Arab would be, according to M. Doutré, *op. cit.*, p. 568.

Not many girls become pregnant before marriage (p. 106).—One mixture to prevent conception is the dried and ground root of the *fidili* with *henna* in equal parts. Each mouthful of this will render the woman barren for one year, according to Haja Gogo. Conception is not always due to the girl's own fault, for if she were to sit upon any spot hot from the body of a man, she would be in danger. Sambo and others say that if a girl sleeps upon the skin of a lion or a leopard, she will be rendered barren for an indefinite time, and, if enceinte, she will abort. Others, however, hold that this would not be the case, but that the next child born would be fierce. According to the folk-lore, a wife may miscarry by kneeling over her husband when asleep. If she could determine the sex of her child by such means (see p. 10) she ought to be able to exert an evil influence also, for in such rites—especially those of stepping over—much depends upon the wish of the actor. I am informed, however, that this is not so.

An old Tripoli custom is mentioned by Captain G. F. Lyon,<sup>1</sup> women at that time stretching the spinal cord of an *aselis* (lizard), and telling by the number of snaps how many children they were to have. This method does not seem to be employed at present.

Education of a kind is highly prized (p. 108).—When a boy has read through the whole of the Koran, a feast is held in his honour, and readings are given from the holy book all through the night, *mallam* succeeding *mallam* without pause.

Not every child is inclined to be industrious. A mother noticing that her

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

child is lazy, will buy new pots, make *kuskusi* in them, and then take them to the mosque and leave them there. On her return, she will find the once idle boy or girl hard at work!

Sambo and Nomo gave me still another account of the *Fittan Fura* (p. 111).—In the pagan towns of Katsina, girls and boys between seven and nine years of age were shut up for a week at the same time, but the sexes were not allowed to intermix. There was feasting and ordinary dancing, but only the children of the Masu-Bori were taught the dances of the spirits, although all were instructed in the duties due to the totem. The boys did not wrestle. One child always died: this was simply the *la'ada* (fee) due on account of the fact that the *Fittan Fura* was *abin tsafi*, i.e., a rite of (*bori*) magic. Two fowls were offered to Kuri, Uwal Dowa, Magiro, and Uwal Gwona each day. With some clans, the boys were circumcised immediately after having been let out, and the harvest was then gathered in. With others, the circumcision took place after the harvest, but all three acts were connected. Haja Gogo adds that after the *Fittan Fura*, the children went round the town and took toll of all the traders, obtaining from each a sample of every kind of food, except live animals, which he sold.

#### *Marriage and Divorce (IX).*

The presents given at marriage should be (p. 114):—

1. *Kurđin Tambaya* (asking-money), the first present to the girl's parents.
2. *Kurđin Damren Aure* (binding marriage-money), when the wedding has been arranged.
3. *Tazkira, Gufa*, or *Leŋi*, the "glory-box" sent to the bride by the bridegroom, consisting of a basket containing *henna*, *swak*, and antimony, clothes or ornaments, and accompanied by a ram and some articles of furniture, the latter being exhibited upon a *danki* (stand) at the marriage.
4. *Kurđin Budar Kai*, { both given at the same time to bribe the bride to
5. *Kurđin Buden Baki*, { unveil and speak to the bridegroom, as the names
- denote.
6. *Sadaki*, the remainder of the dower, due at marriage but seldom given before divorce.

The bride-elect is allowed a little licence in Hausaland (p. 114).—On the night before the actual marriage (*kwanan tsiwa*), the bride wanders about with her bridesmaids, and the latter sing:

"Save yourself, save yourself, O Love, [it is] the day of marriage,  
 O One with a white breast like a magpie [for she is in white].  
 The day has come, O Magpie.  
 O Friend of the Bridegroom, take medicine,  
 He has a disease, take medicine."



The bride pelts them with stones or beats them, and cries and tries to run away to the bush, or to some house—for she may enter in if she likes and no one will punish her. Her bridesmaids catch her, however, and bring her home again.

The bride is brought by her mother and others (p. 115), and four girls carrying lighted candles. On arrival at the house in Tunis and Tripoli, the bride or an attendant throws an egg at the lintel, and the best man should break a pot in front of the bridegroom, but these customs are not observed by the Hausas in Algiers, I believe. On entering, the bride's feet are washed, and a key is given to her together with some yeast, both of which are placed under her pillow for seven consecutive nights. Then both bride and bridegroom are given a glass of some sweet drink, and, after they have sipped from their own, they exchange glasses and drink what is left.

The bridegroom ought to wear a special head-dress, but if he cannot afford one a clean ordinary fez will do.

The bridegroom leaves his bride (p. 115), but he will have consummated the marriage, in all probability, so, as soon as he has gone, the bride's mother comes and asks her daughter how she is. The girl shows her mother the usual signs, and the latter takes these to the other members of her family to prove that all is well. In Egypt, a brother of the bride may then fire a gun. If the girl is not a virgin, she and her mother sometimes stain a cloth with fowl's blood so as to avoid awkward explanations.

He does not live with her at once (p. 116), and M. Theiller (French Vice-Consul at Tripoli) tells me that it was for a long time the practice of the French Roman Catholics not to touch their brides during the first three nights (Mme. de Sevigné mentions this when writing of the marriage of her son), and that the Armenians still observe a similar custom, because of their fear of the spirit displaced by the bridegroom.

Usually the procedure in Tripoli is as at Tunis (p. 117).—Soon afterwards, he goes out, and the chief bridesmaid enters, and obtains the proof, and, on taking them to the mother, all the women utter the *guda* when all is well. The cloth is kept for a week by the mother and any female friends may see it.

In Algiers, the Hausas do not use candles. The bridegroom enters about midnight with his best man, and coffee is served by the two to five bridesmaids there. Then all leave except the newly-wedded couple. Next morning, the best man brings some *fankasu*, and, after he and the couple have eaten all of them, he procures some meat and leaves it. The bride and bridegroom then go to their ordinary work, for the honeymoon is over.

One of the bridesmaids impersonates the bride in certain countries (p. 119).—The false bride, or *amariya boko*, is also known as the *kanuwar rana* (Sister of the Day), because she is not related to the bride, but has come during the day. She attracts attention, according to Abu-Bakar, because people might say that the real bride was pretty or the reverse, and she would be injured. The friend rides along



a different road, and only while the bride is being taken to her husband. Professor Westermarck has found something like this in North-west Africa.<sup>1</sup>

There are certain rules regulating the sexual act (p. 122).—It should not take place in the open, either by night or by day, for a son conceived then would be a thief, or a dwarf, while if in a boat, the child might be affected by water spirits. A man should not approach his wife against her will or without her knowledge (*e.g.*, when drunk), for a resulting son would be a rogue. Several other rules exist, but all we need notice is that the eves of Wednesday and Saturday are bad times, and Friday is doubtful, but a son conceived on a Monday or a Wednesday night or on a Thursday morning will be good and—more to the point—powerful. The Moslem Hausa utters a *Bismillah* at the critical moment in order that *Sheitan* may be driven off and so allow a good son to be born.

#### *Death and the After-Life (X).*

The ordinary work of the house is suspended when a death takes place (p. 130), this being to show that the women are too sad to work: if they went about their ordinary duties, people would think that they did not care. Men should not work on the day of the actual death or of the funeral, but may do so directly after the last rites, when these take place in the morning, *i.e.*, on the day following the death.

On the day of the funeral, cakes of flour are taken to the graveside, and are given first to the readers and grave-diggers, then to any others present. On the following Thursday and Friday, dates, sweets, pomegranates, figs, and bread are given to the mourners and other people present, or sweets and nuts to the children if the deceased was a child.

On the night of the death, if the corpse is in the house, all the family and friends sit round it and talk all night, for anyone going to sleep would die. A knife is placed upon the breast of the corpse so as to keep the *kuruwa* from leaving it, and this, or another knife, will be kept by a wife during her three months odd of *takabba* as a protection. A wife can hear it crying *chi-chi-chi*, and she is naturally frightened, so she tells some of her friends, and they abuse it until it has stopped, but she herself must not abuse it, else she would die. So sensitive of abuse is the *kuruwa* in Algiers, that no knife need be placed upon the corpse, the number of people present being sufficient protection for the widows. Animals are not allowed in the room, for they would make the *kuruwa* angry. Candles are kept alight for three nights, and the clothes of the deceased are washed at the end of three days.

Slaves are often liberated on the death of their master or mistress, but it is not clear whether this is due to Islam, or is the survival from a time when dependents were slaughtered to serve in the next world.

<sup>1</sup> *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 165, 187, and 330.



The idea of the soul is interesting (p. 131).—The *kuruwa* is the *hankali* (sense, understanding) according to Abu-Bakar, but it is not the brain, although connected with the *rai* (life).

There was once a belief in an external soul also (p. 132).—To give one instance : A queen who desired to enable her lover to kill her husband asked the latter where he kept his soul (here *rai*), and was told "My soul is far away. Iron will not hurt me, sticks will not hurt me, knives will not hurt me, spears will not hurt me, stones will not hurt me. My soul is in the hair surrounding the horn of a white gazelle which waters at a lake far away." The lover killed the gazelle and at the same time the king lost his life.

Many people awake with a start (p. 136).—This fright is not due, therefore, to the nightmare, which is variously described as a male bori, a *shaitan*, an *iblis* named Bu Telis, or as a female *iska* called Jitama. Apparently, it is not a proper bori, for it is not danced, but is a spirit created by Shaitan himself.

The familiar bori, or better, "bori-double," usually protects its human host, (p. 137), but it is not always good, for some people are prompted wrongly, and they sin accordingly, the nature of the bori-double naturally determining the character of the human individual. As Haja Gogo says, the double "looks after you as does a herdsman after cattle : some are kind, some are not."

The bori-lover may try to keep up relations after the marriage of the human being (p. 138).—In Algiers, however, it is not the bori which causes the trouble, according to Sambo, for Shaitan knows the frailty of man, and brings him real women while he is asleep. Abu-Bakar says that a man who has married a female bori will never be allowed to have relations with a mortal woman, but, if he has not actually married the bori, he may be quite safe. Abu-Bakar himself used to have a spirit like a beautiful Fulah, who came to him, but has not appeared since his marriage some months ago. He never married the spirit—the relations being irregular—because she was fond of him, and told him not to do so. Otherwise she would have rendered him impotent, at least as regards human women, and have probably killed him on his marriage. At the same time, cases have been known of a bori allowing her human husband to marry a woman, and, again, a bori may render a man impotent towards women although not properly married to the spirit, the bori agreement being sufficient to constitute the union, apparently. Abu-Bakar had a narrow escape. One night when he was about eighteen, he was walking home, and on the way met a Fulah girl alone, whom he accosted and invited to come home with him. "She said 'Give me kolas and ground-nuts,' and I did so, and she came with me. When we reached my hut I lit a light, and immediately my hair stood on end, so I knew that she was an *aljanna*. I shook with fright, and she noticed this and said 'Do not be afraid, if you fear me you will be injured.' I said, 'I am afraid.' She said, 'Very well, I leave you, but in health for I like you,' and immediately she made a noise like '*Chip*' and disappeared, although the door was closed." Abu-Bakar was so terrified that he ran out of the hut, and slept at a friend's house, afterwards coming back and destroying



his own. Had he not done this, the *aljanna* might have returned some night and killed him.

The *rai* (life) is not the *kuruwa* (soul), breath, or pulse (p. 139), but Tanko says that all are connected, for, if there is no breath there is no pulse, no *rai*, no *kuruwa*, and no bori. Certainly all are agreed that at the resurrection the *rai* and the *kuruwa* will be brought together again in a body like the original one. According to Sambo, the pulse is connected with both the *rai* and the familiar bori. Abu-Bakar says that his *rai* often wanders about in his body—just as does that of anyone else. Both *zuchiya* (heart) and *rai* may be used to denote the mind in phrases such as "he imagined in his own mind," or "he said to himself"; they may also stand for disposition or nature.

After they have left the corpses, the souls go to the well of Life (p. 140).—The souls become hungry and thirsty, but they are satisfied at once internally. They excrete nothing except perspiration, and this they wipe off. "Long long ago, people used to go to the Rijiyai Rai and talk to the spirits there, but Mohammed forbade the practice, owing to the fact that the visitors used to fall in and die."

Legends regarding the origin of death are hard to obtain. So far I have not heard of a serpent being the cause. Azrael brought early death into the world: the first people lived for hundreds of years. There was a virgin who had lived for five hundred years and then died. One day Moses found her anklets—which had been taken off before her death—and prayed to Allah to let him see the owner. Allah then caused her to rise from the grave, and she and Moses talked together, but she complained of having been brought back to life, for she said that she had already lived too long, and had become tired of life. The Prophet, on hearing this, begged Allah to let people go earlier, especially as they were becoming too numerous, so Allah decreed that they should die after some sixty or seventy years, and told Azrael to see to this. He commanded the Angel of Death to become invisible, however, so as not to make his victims afraid or to give them warning. Thus we never know the day. He plucks the *rai* out of the nostrils of the victim, and after that the dying person breathes only three times more. The foregoing was given me by Abu-Bakar and Sambo, but there is another version. Azrael is sometimes figured as an old man—probably Mallam Tsofo—who collects the souls (*rayuka*) in a basket, after having first clubbed them to death and then cut their throats. A folk-tale gives this spirit the power to lengthen individual lives at his pleasure, but this idea is not generally accepted.

There are five individuals who have never died. The first is the prophet Idrisu, who was born about one hundred years after the death of Adam, and was the inventor of astronomy and arithmetic. He lives amongst the *aljannu*, who like him so much that they will not let him go. Some commentators think Idrisu to be identical with Elias or Iliyasu, others say Enoch. The second immortal is Heliru, who is still in the river. The third is Yunisu or Jonah, for he has not yet come out of the whale—this belief being contrary to the teaching of the Koran. The fourth is Iliyasu, who is enclosed in a rock. The fifth is Isa or Jesus, who is



between heaven and earth, and will return to govern the world for some years, during which time he will marry and have children, but he will die in the end.

The ghost in Hausaland is called *Fataluwa*, but (p. 143) in North Africa it is called *Gula* and is (as is the Hausa) a female. She is not the same as Ghul or R'ul (described on p. 245), nor is she like the *aljanna* which enticed Abu-Bakar. Tanko says that each is a female spirit of the dead. A friend of his met one, in the shape of a female mule, one night some years ago near Jibaliya's house. He knew what she was at once for his hair stood on end, so he ran home and was censed—as for a bori seizure. The *Gula* has a light with her, and she puffs at her victims, “thus causing bori to enter them, these bori drinking up the blood.” Another friend of Tanko's (a Sokoto man named Mohammed) saw a *Gula* near Siara Sait (Tripoli) one night fourteen years ago. She came out of a house just ahead of him, and walked to another one further on. He, being curious, followed, and she turned and breathed upon him, and he was immediately enveloped in flames. He fell down unconscious, and lay there until found by friends, but, on being taken home and censed, he recovered. The *Gula* does not have sexual relations with men, although she may tease them so as to amuse herself, but no one who can keep a stout heart has anything to fear from her. Sambo has often seen a *Gula*, and, on account of his familiarity, treats such beings with contempt. The *Gula* is not the same as *Afrit*, a wicked spirit which kills.

According to Abu-Bakar, *Afrit* is *Iblis*. There is only one in the world, and it will last until the end of the world. But there are plenty of *iblisai* (the plural form), which die like human beings. In Algiers, I was told that the first *afrit*—for Sambo says that there were many of them—was killed by Sefli Hazil before the time of Jesus, and that Antar, a freed slave, killed the rest of the *afriti*. The latter also fought so well with Er Ras El Ghul that the latter had to promise not to ride a horse again, so Sidi Ali (see p. 245) really had rather an easier time than is generally supposed. According to Haj Ali, *Afrit* is *Shaitan* and a kind of *Ghul*, for it has horns and spurs, but it may have several heads, say some, and even hair on its body, and a tail. All agree that it is not a bori. The Hausas use the word in a much more restricted sense than do the Arabs, amongst whom *afrit* seems to be a fairly common term for *jinn*.<sup>1</sup>

Each person is attended by two angels (p. 144).—The angels pray with their human charge in the mosque on Fridays, and are always present at prayer-time, so a man should bow left and right to them afterwards and also point the first finger of each hand.

The spitting to prevent evil after a dream should be performed in the same manner as is the bowing at bori sacrifices, viz., the person should first spit to his front, then to the right, left, and back. This averts evil in all directions.

Should a wife or a girl dream of an egg, the former will be divorced immediately, but the latter will marry. If a wife dreams of clothing she is to

<sup>1</sup> See Douffé, *op. cit.*, pp. 121 and 197.



have a child. A ship may signify a long journey, but if the person sees himself in a boat in the middle of a stream, he is to die. A ring signifies to a man that he is soon to be married, to a woman that her next child will be a girl.

To see green grass in a dream is lucky, because it is alive; so burnt is bad. A fire means war, and conversely fighting signifies a conflagration. Should a dog catch you in your dreams, you will know that an enemy is trying to do so in reality, but should a snake follow you there is going to be a birth in the family. A fish seen in a dream is lucky, as is also the raw flesh of a ram, but that of a bull signifies death. "If you see a bird called *Alfidafidda*, you may be proud, for it means that you will soon be able to read well."

Certain dreams are always to be interpreted in the contrary sense, for instance, laughter means sadness, and crying foretells joy, while riding a horse (a pleasure) indicates sickness.

One should not laugh at a *mallam* (p. 149) who begs in Allah's name. Near Tanta is a town in which everything has been petrified because a *mallam* once begged at all the houses in vain. He left the town in anger, and, meeting a boy with a drum upon his back, said "Pass quickly through the town and if you hear a noise do not look back." The boy went on, but, on emerging from the other end, heard sounds like thunder, and looked back. Immediately he and his drum became turned into stone, together with all the people and animals in the town.

The question is often asked, "Do the people really believe in the efficacy of the charms which they procure?"<sup>1</sup> The obvious reply is that if they did not, they would not waste their money upon them, for some cost anything from five francs upwards, and yet the purchaser earns perhaps only a couple of francs a day. But since an example is more satisfactory than an argument, it is as well to draw attention

<sup>1</sup> The present war has shown how even those people who claim to be the most "cultured" revert to barbarism when moved by intense emotions. Paganism is rampant too, for according to "An Eye-Witness" (*The Times*, 26.1.15), "not a few of our prisoners are in possession of so-called 'prayers,' which are really written charms against death, wounds, disease and every imaginable evil. One such document recently found on a prisoner begins thus: 'A powerful prayer, whereby one is protected and guarded against shot and sword, against visible and invisible foes, as well as against all manner of evil. May God preserve me against all manner of arms and weapons, shot and cannon, long or short swords, knives or daggers, or carbines, halberds, and anything that cuts or points, against thrusts, rapiers, long or short rifles or guns, and such like, which have been forged since the birth of Christ; against all kinds of metal, be it iron or steel, brass or lead, ore or wood.' After further circumlocution, the list goes on to include 'all kinds of evil reports, from a blow behind, from witchcraft and well-stealing' (poisoning?). But, curiously enough, it omits the only mischance which actually befel the owner—that of being made a prisoner of war. The document is of inordinate length, and ends with some cabalistic letters and numerals and with an obscure reference to a 'blessing upon the Archangel Gabriel.' Many of these amulets or charms are probably of very ancient origin, and have been handed down among the German peasantry from generation to generation."

The practice is not all upon the enemy's side, for many of our officers wear charms, and "the young Jewish soldier—Private Labofski—scribed his immunity from wounds to the fact that he wore round his head and hand as an amulet bands of parchment inscribed with the Hebrew Commandments." (*The Evening News*, Portsmouth, 12.2.15.)



to the account of Abu-Bakar about his being "tied" by his wife (p. 24). Abu-Bakar is very intelligent, has worked under us in Nigeria and for the Italians on ships in Tripoli, so he is anything but a bush savage. An even more interesting case occurred in Jemaan Dororo, when one of my police was charged with having a charm which had enabled him to enter the house of the chief's eldest son, without waking the attendants, lift him and his bed out of the way, and dig out a box sunk in the ground which contained his money and clothes. As the only proof was the possession of a charm, the case lapsed, but all thoroughly believed him guilty. And I fear that they were right, for afterwards a few of the articles were found hidden with some of the policeman's own property, he having been in the meantime sent to gaol for extortion.

The Chief Priestess, or *Arifa*, may have pet bori in the shape of animals (p. 151).—Haja Gogo also had snakes in her old house. When the Italians had been in Tripoli some time and wanted to hire houses, the Arab landlord told Haja Gogo to go, as he could get higher rent from Italians. She went, therefore, and the landlord came in, meaning to look after his lodgers, but ran away at once, for snakes and bori drove him out, and no one would live there. Abu-Bakar, who gave me the account, took me to see the house, and I found it to be in a state of disrepair, although an Arab family had just taken it. When Haja Gogo was asked if this was true she became quite confused, and it is evident that some trick was played, for she told me that she had sent *Kuri* in the form of a black goat to frighten the landlord.

There was much rivalry between the different *arifas* (p. 153).—Azusa and Jibaliya often had little trials of strength. Once the former sent a snake to bite her rival; but Jibaliya knew that it was a bori, so she censured it, talked to it, and sent it back. Later on Jibaliya sent hers, but with a similar result. In either case, had the snake not been censured, it would have bitten the one to whom it had been sent.

Jibaliya has now practically retired from active service, although she did consent to be present when my fortune was told, and is reaping the reward of her good deeds; but poor Azusa went mad, and did many foolish things before her death. For instance, she once gave a necklace of gold coins to a butcher for a piece of meat. The necklace was returned, owing to the butcher's honesty—or fear—but in another case the loss could not be replaced, for she emptied a can of valuable oil upon the ground just because she had seen a boy watering the street.

Men of rank can exert a powerful influence (p. 154).—I suppose that since my recognition as a Bori Medicine-Man I have Hausa as well as the ordinary European magical influence, for when last in Tripoli I was asked for my *albaraka* by a woman (Sidi Halili's nurse), who was going to have a case against another woman tried by the authorities of the Italian hospital where both were employed. I put both my hands upon her head, and she was greatly pleased.

The *albaraka* (the Arabic word, of course, with the article prefixed) is not the same kind of blessing as the *gafara*, given when a person is dying or going on



a journey. Haja Gogo asked for my *gafara* for herself and her household when I left at the end of March. She placed her face upon my left shoulder, then on my right, then on my left again, each time clasping me afresh, my arms being crossed above hers over her back.

Persons practising certain professions have peculiar powers (p. 157).—Haj Ali says that a prostitute knows much more than the ordinary woman, because she is always wanting something and seeking charms to get it, and, if unsuccessful, afflicting whoever is responsible with her evil eye. A man of loose habits should wear a *guru* (girdle) of *bancon kalgo*, for this will fall off and warn him if he speaks to any woman who is diseased.

Owing to his association with iron, the blacksmith is a person to be avoided, for this metal usually makes his breath smell badly. If not, beware lest the breath should burn your clothes and even your flesh. No females, except young girls, are allowed near smelting works or forges, for the iron would never harden if women were present. A he-goat and a pair of fowls used to be sacrificed when a lump of iron had been made. The iron ore is called *tamma*, but what the proper name for the finished article is I do not know. It is always called *karifi*, which means "strength," and no doubt its real name must not be mentioned.

The butcher and the barber also are dangerous persons, for they are just as much in contact with blood as the blacksmith is with iron; and both are *haram*, almost meaning *tabu*. All these classes are despised, and should be made to marry amongst themselves. (It is not so very long ago that the English army surgeon was considered unfit to mix with the regimental officers.) If any of the three classes comes to the house of an ordinary citizen, he should be given his food in a new pot and dish, which should be broken afterwards, and no other person should share his food. Should you have relations with a woman whom you believe to be a butcher's daughter, place a gourd of water under the bed without her knowing it. If your suspicions are well founded, the water will have become blood by the morning.

The hereditary power of witchcraft can be brought out in a descendant of a witch (p. 158), and the following procedure is said to produce this effect.—A real *maiye* sits with a brother or sister anxious to be initiated into the profession, and calls the girl to bring them a bowl of water. She comes into the room, and, as she is handing it to the *maiye* he catches her *kuruwa*, and both he and the initiate eat it: it tastes like a sweet fat hen. The initiate then becomes a full-fledged *maiye*, and the girl dies.

I have not been able to hear of any regular "Witches' Sabbath," although M. Doutté has no doubt that the belief exists in North Africa<sup>1</sup>; but witches are said to gather in human form in parts of Hausaland, and dance while holding coloured pebbles in the hand, afterwards swallowing them so as to renew their powers. During the dancing human beings are condemned, and they may die

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 51.



afterwards, so perhaps we have the clue here. Witches are supposed to have an insensitive spot, and the unconsciousness of pain there is said not to be due to possession by the bori, as is the case with the dancers.

*Magic in the House—Love Charms (XII).*

Amulets and talismans must be prepared (p. 159) and treated properly, and should not be worn when in the *salanga*. It is only natural to suppose that the more complicated the rite the more certain it is of success, and so no *mallam* need ever be discredited, for by laying down sufficient rules he can make certain that his client will make some mistake.

The Hausa youth makes many attempts to attract the maiden (p. 163).—Another way is to sleep with *gero* in the mouth, and next morning scrape a little of the chewed grass from the bit of a mare, and grind this with the millet and a kola-nut. This put in the girl's food has the usual effect.

There may be some difficulty in getting the girl to eat of the delicacies so thoughtfully provided. If so, take some of your own hair-cuttings, and, having wrapped them in a charm obtained from a *mallam*, hang them in a tree by an old grave. Whenever the wind blows the parcel to and fro, the girl's heart will beat for the lover. A more severe method is as follows: If you can, procure a human bone, such as a rib, or one of the bones of a hand or foot, stick it in the ground near a fire, and call the girl's name three times. When you hear her coming you must hide the bone, for if she should see it she would die.

Girls naturally wish to know with whom they are to marry, and there are several ways open to them. If they follow the bori they should go to cross-roads at midnight, and, having stripped quite naked, offer up incense. The bori will soon appear, and will give the desired information upon this or any other subject. The girl must be careful not to look back when leaving the spot.

A girl in an Arab city, however, would find it difficult to get out at night. So she takes a broom, and, having dressed it in a man's clothes, stands it in the centre of her room at midnight on a Thursday. She then strips, washes (standing on a basket), combs her hair, and then censes her body in front of the broom, after which she goes to bed. She must do this for seven nights running, being by herself all night, and on the last night she will dream of her future husband, and will marry him soon afterwards.

To attract a lover a girl may give him the dried heart of a fowl, the after-birth of an ass, and the wizzard of a fowl, dried and powdered up with *mantowa*. A wife may find some difficulty in getting her charm into the stomach of the intended victim. If so, buy an appropriate charm from a *mallam*, and bury it under the threshold, and the husband (unless warned and armed with a stronger counter-charm) will be affected when stepping over it. The best method of all is as follows: The wife purchases a folding mirror, and, having purified herself, retires with her husband. She then passes the mirror between his legs—or places



it under his head if he is awake and suspicious—closing it at the same time, and saying to herself the proper spell for rendering him impotent with all women except herself. Next morning she wraps the mirror in her body-cloth and hides it, perhaps in an old grave, and the spell will not be broken until the mirror is opened again.

As to the firm belief in such measures, I may mention that Abu-Bakar has been "tied" by his wife. Soon after his arrival in Tripoli the girl Ayesha wanted to marry him, but he was not anxious for the union. Later on they ate some food together, and she must have put something in his dish, for after the meal he agreed to marry her, although she was a Mai-Bori and older than Abu-Bakar. He has sent to Hausaland for a counter-charm to break the spell, for he wants to return to his parents, but is quite unable to do so, since nothing he can obtain locally is strong enough. She knows of her power, and so is quite at her ease; but she does not know that he has sent to Hausaland, where the charms are much more powerful.

A method open to a lonely wife anxious to recall her husband (p. 165) is for her to put her head into an empty cooking-pot, and to call her husband's name three times slowly, both at sunset and at sunrise for three days running. The body of the absent one will tremble until he starts off home. Three days is the usual period, but sometimes the rite is so powerful that one performance is sufficient. Sambo knew of a case in which a woman who suddenly got into trouble recalled her husband in a single day. He also knew another woman who achieved a similar result by placing a gourd containing a hen's egg on the roof at sunset and removing it to a place in the shade at sunrise. Soon afterwards the wanderer appeared. In each case, I am told, the husband's heart was affected, and remained so until he had turned his face towards his wife.

A separated wife (not completely divorced) often desires to return to her husband. I saw one, called Fatuma, when last in Tunis at Haj Ali's house, who had been sent away by her husband, Rashid, because she had quarrelled with one of his sisters. The whole household asked me for a charm to reconcile the parties, pointing out that she was a good wife and had three little children. I could find nothing suitable, but at last, remembering that a charm written backwards has the opposite effect, I reversed and wrote out the formula for separating a husband and wife, and, having wrapped the precious document in the red cover of a film-pack, and tied the whole with green string, I gave it to the delighted woman. Whether it acted or not I am unable to say, unfortunately, as I left Tunis that night for Tripoli, and had no time to enquire later when passing through to Algiers.

Other methods would have been open to Fatuma. If she could have procured some earth from her husband's footprints, she might have gone to cross-roads at midnight, and have called out three times, "O husband, I have taken earth from your footprints; take me back to you," holding it in her hands at the time. But the best method is as follows, according to Haj Ali's wife:—At midnight on



a Wednesday or Thursday stand naked in front of a fireplace and tie an onion to your right side, some garlic on your left, and fasten a broom across your chest. Then put *mustika*, *karwiya*, *tabl*, seven red peppers filled with whitening, and *kuskus* into a pot on the fire, and walk to and fro in front of it seven times, touching your private parts as you pass. Then place the pot in a corner and sit down at some distance off, but do not go to sleep all night. If in the morning the *kuskus* has disappeared—eaten by the spirits—you will be reconciled to your husband.

An erring wife may send her husband to sleep by various means (p. 165).—A pin is not always safe, however, a needle which has been used in the making of a shroud being much more reliable, especially if a piece of the cotton has been left in it.

She may also contrive to control him when awake (p. 166).—A nasty method is as follows:—The wife takes some small pieces of hair cut from various parts of her body, nail-parings, drops of spittle, eye-matter, ear-wax, and *mantouca* with her husband's food. In this case, she puts deteriorated parts of herself into his system, and so is enabled to rule him.

A girl can be "tied," of course, and even a wife, according to some. In Algiers, and elsewhere, Hausa women follow the Arab customs of tying with a mirror, knot, or needle in cloth, while the tying by means of a loom is common even in Nigeria. The girl is made to pass between the treadles and threads three times, and to undo this she must repass in a similar manner and then be beaten.

A rejected youth may manage to punish the faithless one (p. 167).—A mild form of punishment consists in wearing upon your wrist a charm which, whenever it is rubbed, will cause the girl to break wind and so be ashamed to go amongst her companions.

It is possible that the girl may be so much afraid of you after this that she will consent to allow you to visit her secretly. If so, procure a monkey's brain and skin, and get a *boka* to wrap the former, together with some herbs, in a small piece of the skin, and wear it upon your arm. You will then be able to walk so silently that you will be in no danger of discovery. The father may try to give you the flesh of a lizard in food if he finds out, as this will cause hopeless impotence.

To guard against being rendered impotent the youth must take care not to take food in any household which might be averse to the marriage. The mother herself may close a knife or pair of scissors, while pronouncing his name, several days before the marriage, opening it only when he goes to the bride.

Mohammedan and pagan beliefs are curiously intermixed (p. 168).—A burnt dog's head has many uses. If ink is made from the ashes and used in an appropriate charm, a jealous wife will kill a rival, will desert her husband for the man using it, and the mouths of any other wife or wives seeing the intrigue will be shut.

#### *Magic in the house—Self-Preservation (XIII).*

*Mollams* (priests, magicians, etc.) give written charms and even poison (*sammo*) (p. 169).—"If suspicious that someone has given you *sammo*, cut a frog



open lengthwise, and rub the blood upon your chest. If done soon enough, you will be quite safe."

Burglary is rife in Hausaland (p. 171).—A charm made from the ashes of a black cat will enable a burglar to open walls, render himself invisible, and paralyse anyone attempting to interfere with him.

If the householder is expecting burglars, he should procure an appropriate charm, and bury it under the door or other place of entry. On crossing it, the burglar will become paralysed, and easily caught. The midnight visitor should avoid taking such risks, therefore, and should have with him a little earth from a grave to sprinkle near the beds of his hosts so as to keep them quiet. If he has a charm for invisibility, he should not reply if anyone calls him, otherwise the charm will perish.

Many charms can be had for self-preservation (p. 173).—The brain of a vulture, if put, together with *gamji*, *kurna*, *bacon maje* and *madowachi*, in water for a day, will counteract an enemy's poisons if used for seven days as a lotion and a potion.

Abu-Bakar showed me a charm—or rather, the outside of one—which he said contained *kassan zanzarro*, wrapped in a written charm in order to make Europeans favour him whenever he came into contact with them. Apparently, Europeans and others were apt to be too complimentary, for he had to wear another charm consisting of cotton-wool and certain herbs, wrapped in pink cotton, as a protection against flattery. He who can curry favour with Europeans is fortunate, so it is useful to know that decoctions can be made from many roots, which, if rubbed on the tongue, will give a person a sweet and convincing voice, while *shashato* used in a similar manner will make an evil-doer tell the truth. Haja Gogo had many clients seeking a means to pervert justice.

She did not confine her attentions to natives, for she gave me an amulet which consists of a lion's claw and a bag containing forty different kinds of herbs. She had had this for thirty years, and it had protected her against all the machinations of enemies. On going aboard the Italian boat for Tunis, one of my uniform cases (containing most of the photographic plates and phonograph records) fell into the sea, but floated long enough to be saved. I was wearing the charm at the time, so no doubt the good fortune was thus accounted for, and a further piece of evidence is that the native who had let it fall certainly trembled with fright—always an effect of the working of a charm.

The transference of illnesses, or rather bori attacks, to other persons or objects will be considered later, but it is well to say here that if the nail-parings and hair-cuttings of a patient are thrown into a running stream, he ought to recover. Or a fowl may be killed and cooked in a new pot, some of the flesh being eaten by the patient, the rest, with the pot, being thrown into the stream.

The evil-eye and the evil-mouth are occult powers to conjure up an evil spirit residing in an evil-wisher. We all know what harm would be done "if a look could kill," but while smiling at this, we have to agree that staring at a person



will make him look towards one. We cannot be altogether surprised, therefore, to find that although there are many means used by the Hausas to destroy the effect of both the evil-eye and evil-mouth, somehow one is caught napping some day. There is some difference in the action of the two influences, for, while in the case of the evil-eye, the presence of the victim is necessary, he with the evil-mouth can work his wicked will at a distance and in greater secrecy and safety.

The evil-eye and the evil-mouth are often confused (p. 174).—The confusion, however, is not confined to Fedia, for M. Doutté<sup>1</sup> writes that at Mogador a man who had the evil-eye saw a stone while out walking, and remarked, "What an enormous stone," and immediately the stone broke into three pieces. This, say Haj Ali and Sambo, was a clear case of evil-mouth, for the words did the mischief. The evil-eye could have acted by itself. Nomo holds that this was probably a combination.

Sambo gave a better instance of the evil-eye. One day he saw one man ask another to sell him one of the bulls which he was driving to market, but the owner refused. The other said "Very well, but I shall eat of its flesh to-day nevertheless." Soon afterwards the bull fell, and as it was apparently dying, the owner cut its throat, and had to beg his fellow-travellers to buy the meat. The other then came up and bought a portion for about one-tenth of what it would have cost him in the market.

The *mugun ido* (evil-eye) is, of course, bad, and a person possessing it is avoided by everybody, but one with the *kandun ido* is much sought after, for he can tell what is inside a box or basket simply by looking at the outside of it, and such information is particularly useful to thieves and to parasites. A person with a cast in his eye (*idon mage*) is lucky, for he can see in the dark just as does a cat, but one who squints (*idon kare*) is not to be trusted because, since he sees on two sides at once like a dog, he knows too much for the ordinary individual. Strangely enough, a blind man also is considered to be extremely cunning.

The influence of the evil-eye and evil-mouth is exerted by means of a bori (p. 179).—Further support for this statement is found in a folk-tale in which a certain chief broke wind and then sent this emanation to kill a herdsman, collect his cattle, bring them to the chief's *zariba*, and tie them up,—causing it afterwards to re-enter his body whence it had come. Of course this is only *tatsuniya*, or fable, and the Hausa does not believe now that it could really happen, but the tale gives the very idea which I had already elaborated with regard to the evil-eye and evil-mouth.

Children's ailments are treated magically, being bori attacks (p. 180).—For teething troubles, the cheek-bones of a fish, and the teeth of a cat and a rat should be hung around the child's neck. The same can be used against the evil-eye, as also can the claws of a cock or an eagle. In the case of adults, certain letters should be written on the wall, and nails driven into them in order until the pain has ceased, the patient touching the offending tooth with the first finger of his right hand. At least, that is what Haj Ali thinks, but Abu-Bakar's opinion is that hot water held in the mouth and some lotion rubbed on the cheek answer better.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 320.



If one man has been bitten by another, he should take a fowl's droppings and put them on the wounds. Not only will these be healed, but the other man's teeth will drop out. The influence of fowls is peculiar, for if you suspect that a man has elephantiasis, put feathers on the fire and the affected testicles will immediately cry out. You will not hear the sounds, but you will see the patient trying to compress the parts. This procedure is of use only as a diagnosis, it is not a cure. The body of a lizard cooked and served like a fish is a certain remedy for a cough. *Uwal Māganguna* and *Jibda Kassa* will cure rheumatism if rubbed upon the body, or the parts affected may be seared. Mr. Dickson tells me that he knows a man who was quite helpless with rheumatism, but was cured by means of the hot iron (after all, only our mustard plaster in a more severe form). If a person is addicted to drunkenness, put *ka fi mallam* (a herb) and a written charm into his beer—or better still, mix urine with it. The drunkard will never indulge again.

Eye troubles may yield to a red and black stone (*idon zakara*) ground and mixed with antimony. The following is a method of procuring a certain remedy for blindness: Go to an owl's nest and blind all the young ones, and then line the nest with cotton-wool. The mother on her return will bring medicines to cure her young ones, and some of it will fall upon the cotton-wool. Go later, therefore, and take it and use it on human eyes. A bandage soaked in lotion made from the *fidili* and *runhu*, and tied round the head, will act through the eyes and cure headache, but a *laya* containing a written charm is just as efficacious; thus Doguwa, a woman in Tripoli, wears one continually tied to her hair on the right side, and never suffers now from headache. A cheaper preventive is a string of black and yellow beads, and these also serve to throw back the evil-eye.

An enemy's building may be knocked down by means of a charm made with the blood of a chameleon (p. 181).—A house may be burnt down by means of a written charm (Haj Ali was seeking one of these), or by lighting a candle upon which certain characters have been scratched, but Abu-Bakar thinks that the best method is to employ a thief to set fire to the house, for he can avoid detection and capture by means of his charms—also, you yourself are safe.

The chameleon has been mentioned above. If you eat the flesh and blood of such an animal mixed with a *khenfusa* (beetle), however much you are afflicted by an enemy's medicines you will recover. In some manner, the bori Lahidi is connected with the chameleon, for a person seeing the latter is in danger of being seized by the spirit. One day Haja Gogo saw the reptile, and immediately afterwards Lahidi compelled her to wave her arms violently to and fro until she collapsed. Since then she has always fainted at the sight of a chameleon. Any person killing one intentionally would immediately turn different colours, and would die in the evening. The *waral* (lizard) also has a bad effect upon people, for it makes the sweat pour from the skin and the body shake. The eating of its flesh is supposed to cause impotence. Women in Tripoli used to ascertain the number of their future children by breaking the backs of the *aselis*, as has been said.

The effects of stepping-over are various (p. 182).—In the greater number of



cases the person stepping is affected, thus a wife kneeling over her husband will have a son like him; a man stepping over a donkey's bori is seized by that spirit; a person passing over blood is attacked by bori near it; the burglar or spouse is held by a charm under the threshold; offenders stepping over magic gourds or fire are detected; a candidate for magical powers receives them from a bowl placed between his feet; and a new king used to step over the body of his predecessor in order to obtain his virtue. There are some cases, however, in which the person stepping exerts an influence, viz., when passing over food or over another person lying down—Uwal Yara injures infants by flying above them.

A person's soul may be summoned by calling his name over a bowl of water (p. 183).—So powerful is this charm that if you make a mistake in the name, the person whose name you use will die. The only protection against such danger is the blood of the *bishiya*. Cut the throats of three or seven of them and collect the blood. Drink a little at once and put away the remainder to be used periodically in future.

According to Haj Ali and Abu-Bakar, models of enemies are made of wax (a candle in North Africa, beeswax in Nigeria), and placed in cooking-pots over a fire. This would be done at night and in secret. Hunters used to practise this rite to secure success over beasts. A frog is useful in this connection, for if its tongue be slit in the shadow of an enemy, whatever happens to the frog happens to the enemy.

#### *Magic in the Fields—Agriculture (XIV).*

There are certain ceremonies to make rain fall (p. 189).—In Algiers, Arabs and Hausas pour water over each other's heads and clothes, and promenade with a spoon dressed as a doll, throwing water over it and each other; bathe in the sea; and turn their cloaks from left to right over their shoulders in the mosques on a Friday. In Algiers and elsewhere in North Africa, *kora* (football) is not popular with the Hausas. They have no farms and so would prefer fine weather, since many of them work at the docks or on the streets. If the Arabs require rain, they must pay for the Hausa magical rites, and non-paid but influential assistants at the *kora* would probably render the former unnecessary.

Agriculturists practised many rites (p. 196).—After the harvest, the Magazawa used to sacrifice a bull, and smear the blood upon the outside of a corn-bin. One or two ears of guinea-corn and millet, and a piece of sugar-cane were then tied to the roof of the living-hut, and not eaten until the following year, in order to induce Allah (or the bori) to give plentiful crops again. If, however, the crops then were not good, beer would be drunk in the forest for seven days at the next "First Rains," men, women, and children indulging together. Nomo denies that there was any promiscuity—"The Hausas are not Nails or Shawayas."

Certain trees on earth may be bound up with the lives of certain persons (p. 197) and, according to Sambo, there is an enormous tree of life in Allah's garden,



and every human being is represented by a distinct leaf. When that leaf falls, the person has only forty days more to live.

Nearly every compound has a tree in the centre to which offerings are made, as we have seen, but certain trees require more than fowls. According to Sambo and Nomo, there was a kola-nut tree at Dan Lahidi, near Zinder, to which a human victim was offered annually. Nomo saw the throat of a boy (ill with smallpox) cut at its foot, the earth being banked up so that his blood would flow to the roots. The tree had already begun to show signs of fruit, but after this, there was a tremendous yield.

*Magic in the Fields (continued)—War, Hunting, and Games (XV).*

Human flesh is particularly valuable to warriors (p. 200).—According to Haja Gogo, the proper ingredients were the flesh of an albino, the hearts of a lion, a leopard, and of a ram which had bleated when the men came to the flock, and as many flies as had settled upon any of the meat during the preparation. This mixture was given to war-horses also, and they would then smell out enemies, however well they were concealed, and would carry their masters to them. Another way of rendering warriors recklessly brave was to give them the hearts of fowls, together with appropriate herbs. "Just as a fowl will keep on returning to corn, however often driven away, so will the warrior seek the enemy."

The flesh of an albino would be available only for officers of the army, so the rank and file had to content themselves with something more easily obtainable. The body of the electric eel, dried, and made into a girdle, would paralyse the arm of anyone attempting to strike the wearer, or a small piece of it would do if mixed with a shaving from the base of a horn which was loose in a cow's head. Again, the thorns of the *adduwa*, *fara kaya*, *dumshishi*, *sarakakiya*, and *gagaro*, if mixed with the hearts of a lion, leopard, and a brave enemy, together with as many flies as had settled, will render both horse and rider invulnerable to sword and arrow. This will act better if *tamba*, *acha*, and *shea*-butter are added, and in any case, the cooking-pot, ladle (which must be of metal), and dish must be new and broken immediately afterwards. In all of the above, no word must be spoken from start to finish. Squashing and sucking a centipede or millipede is excellent.

Blood is not always necessary, for *mallams* can give clients written charms which will cause stones to break like eggs on hitting them, and gunpowder to be converted into water and so become useless. Abu-Bakar tells me that he saw the Chief of the Damaraghu fighting against the French some years ago, and that several bullets hit him, but rebounded and fell to the ground. Only a silver bullet could have wounded him, for the Sariki had procured every medicine possible, including the head and skin of a lizard made into an amulet. The head and feet of an ostrich or gazelle enable the eater to run as fast as the bird or animal concerned, and so escape from foes in war.

Hunters were usually under restrictions only as regards areas after the opening day (p. 208).—They were not absolutely free, however, for according to Nomo,



anyone killing a lion for sport without permission from the chief, was punished, for it was a royal beast and had to be treated accordingly. If, however, the lion had done damage, it might be shot, for by its behaviour it had shown that it was not fit to be a king.

Animals may be forced by magical means to appear before the hunters (p. 203).—If a certain charm is written by a *mallam* upon a stick, and this stick is censed for seven days, elephants will follow the person who carries it. Immediately he has come near to his town, he plants the stick in the ground, and the animals thereby become powerless to move. To summon the hunters and kill the game is then an easy matter.

The Chief of the Water was responsible for the safety of travellers (p. 207).—One of his duties was to light incense on the banks of his river so as to render hippopotami and crocodiles harmless to travellers. So tame would they become that they would gently tap fishermen or swimmers to warn them to get out of their way. Probably he had to be present at the making of a canoe. A red cloth was tied round the trunk of the selected tree, and if after three days it was still there, the tree was cut down and hollowed out. On the launch of the canoe, fowls were sacrificed to the bori. There was an annual *Garan Ruwa* (Cleansing of the Waters) at Argungu and elsewhere which ought to be noticed. At this, black goats (to the bori generally) and red goats (*Sarikin Rafi*), red cocks (to Kuri), speckled fowls (to Jato), and white hens (to Doguwa), were offered up on the banks, and the blood was made to flow into the water. Unless this were done, fishermen who entered the river would sink and drown, and even so one of them was generally taken by the *aljannu* annually.

A boxer might obtain a charm which would render him unconquerable under ordinary circumstances (p. 211), but unfortunately he was not safe against a base opponent who hid needles between his fingers, or sprinkled pepper upon his "glove," for the bori are powerless against both of these substances—at least that was the explanation given to me.

Since a stranger is a suspect, it is extremely dangerous to go on a journey to a far country, so the Hausa, who has always been a great traveller, has to take many precautions. Before starting upon a journey, he should go to his parents and stand before them with his head bowed, and then cross his arms over his breast three times. Wherever he wanders, their *albaraka* goes with him, just as our parents' good wishes accompany us. When leaving home the Hausa should get his wife to pour water in front of his horse, and behind it near the threshold, for the water exerts a good influence. No one who has been fortunate in his own town should leave it without having taken a pinch of its earth, otherwise he may lose the town's *albaraka*. On reaching the top of a hill, the traveller should throw a stone behind him in order to get rid of "that tired feeling," but he must not look round to see where it has gone. Before entering a strange town, or when landing from a ship, the Hausa eats a little of the earth and drinks some of the water as soon as possible, for this puts the *mallams* of the new country on his side. "If, on entering



a strange town, your hair stands on end, your heart rises, or your flesh creeps, do not eat any food until you have bought a lemon or a lime, and have squeezed a drop or two of the juice into some food or drink ordered at a café. If anyone in the town is seeking to injure you, the vessel will fall to pieces immediately!" When entering and when leaving a town, spit upon a stone and throw it behind you in order to get rid of all evil influences which are in the rear.

In the case of persons of rank, elaborate ceremonies may be performed. As soon as my bori-mother (as Haja Gogo had become) knew that the date of my departure from Tripoli was approaching, she said that I must have a *Yunkan Lafiya* (literally, a "Sacrifice for Health") in order that I might reach home safely. I agreed, of course, and, since I could not photograph the rite—which took place on the actual day upon which I left—I took a French photographer with me. At first, objection was taken to him, not merely because he would see sights familiar only to members of the sect, but also because he himself would be in great danger from the spirits. However, a little persuasion proved successful.

The Arifa, having given the officiating sacrificer a franc-piece and some grains of incense, he retired to the spirit-house, and censured his knife by holding it horizontally over the pot—the point towards the north—and waving it a few times to and fro. The instrument was an ordinary dinner knife with a black handle.

The Arifa then put her own franc-piece in the lid of a box containing the incense, and, having taken some of the grains, threw them into another censer with which she purified the place of sacrifice. In this case the censer was not placed on top of the money, but alongside it. She then knelt in front of the incense, inhaling it, and prayed as follows: "We are seeking you, not because [we think that] we are equal to you, not because [we think that] we are greater than you, [but] because of our love and obedience. Give us safety by night and by day, cause good to come to us, not evil, [and give] health of body to us, to our young ones, and to our old ones. Whoever invokes you [in faith], give him health and strength of body. That which he asks with his heart give to him for the sake of Allah's greatness and your own. Have pity upon him wherever he goes, [cause] good fortune to go before him, and if he enters the presence of the king [let] his words have more weight [than those] of anyone else. The enemy who dislikes me, seize him; if he pursues me with an evil purpose, [let] it rebound upon him. As for me, my parents, my great ones, and my little ones, whatever I ask [for myself or for them] go and do for my sake, even [if it be] in the middle of the night. Stand up for me, and cause [the evil] to cease. Be for me a parapet of stone, a shield of iron. As for him who does me evil, I leave [him to settle] with the rising and the setting of the sun"—not with Allah, for that would remove him from the power of the bori. It will have been noticed that Haja Gogo changed from the third to the first person during the prayer. (See Plate I, c.)

As soon as she had finished, a sacrificer appeared with a pair of fowls (which had been waved round above the incense three times), a red cock for Kuri, a white hen for Mai-Inna, and I was placed in front of the incense so as to be purified.



After a few minutes, I was made to face towards the east (the censer being then on my left), and the Arifa stood on my right, also facing east; I was then told to place my feet well apart and look straight to the front.

The sacrificer then came behind me, and cut the throat of the cock, holding it down on the ground so that it did not struggle and splash my clothes. In this case the mouth of the fowl was not held open because there was no evil influence to be set free. The assistant sacrificer (Abu-Bakar) then held the cock while the other cut the throat of the hen, taking the same precautions. The blood was made to flow between my feet, so that the spirits would follow it and bless me by giving me their *albaraka*. I was not allowed to look behind to see what was going on, and Haja Gogo's servants had to stay in the room because the atmosphere of the courtyard was full of danger to persons not properly prepared. (See Plate I, *d*.) I had to explain that the blood of the French photographer would be upon his own head in the event of disaster, and to promise that the Masu-Bori would not be blamed in any way.

As soon as sufficient blood had flowed, I was made to walk towards the east as far as the wall, then back to the place of sacrifice, and then into Haja Gogo's room, where I was forced to remain until the completion of the ceremony.

As soon as I had gone the sacrificer stuck his knife in the ground, and, after he had pressed as much blood as possible from the fowls so as to make a good stream, he took them away. Then he returned, and held the knife horizontally, point towards the north, while the Arifa poured water upon it, afterwards retiring again to the spirit-house, and censuring the knife in the same manner as before. Lastly, it was wrapped in a special cloth and put inside the Dakin Kuri (see Plate II, *b*). The knife is never used except for such sacrifices.

Meanwhile the Arifa washed the blood from the ground, examining its consistency in order to read the augury, and then swept and censured the courtyard so as to remove all danger from the bori. After that her servants came out and, taking the fowls from the sacrificer, started to pluck them—for, of course, the offerings are the perquisite of the priestess. I also was allowed out, and, the rite being ended, the sacrificer, his assistant, and the photographer went home.

The franc paid to the sacrificer was his fee, but the coin placed in the box of incense by the Arifa was to buy candles to be burnt for me while upon my journey. As these were to be placed in the spirit-house, Haja Gogo took me inside to say farewell, and we stood by the Dakin Kuri, back to the door. She invoked all the chief spirits (again using the incantation given above), meanwhile clapping her hands, and then opening them, backs up, towards the offerings. Finally, she pulled up Kuri's screen, so that I gained a momentary glimpse of the inside, and we returned to her room. Here she and her servants asked for my *gafara* (literally forgiveness, but also containing the meaning of blessing), and, having given it to them by pressing the head of each in turn upon my shoulders, I took my departure, and saw them no more.



Very few traders or soldiers like marching for its own sake, so any means of shortening the journeys are welcome. It is comforting to know, therefore, that the earth can be "rolled" (*nadde*) towards the traveller so that he can pass in an instant to a distant place by means of a charm prepared by a *mallam*. The forest can be "tied" (*dauve*) to enable him to traverse it in safety. This charm paralyses all the denizens, but the traveller must be careful not to look round else it will fail, and he will lose his life.

It is not unnatural that the Hausa should dream of treasure trove—though he would not share the secret with his chief if he could help himself. "If you think that you know where riches are hidden, sacrifice a red cock above the spot, and burn incense. Soon Iblis will open the earth, and you can enter, carrying the censer with you, and take what is inside. But be careful to keep the incense alight, for should it go out while you are inside, the earth will close upon you, and you will be killed. No one, human-being or jinn, likes giving up his property, so Iblis will try to frighten you, and will not let you go away with the treasure unless forced to do so by the proper performance of the rite." The Arabs tie a charm to the neck of a cock so that he will scratch the earth above the treasure,<sup>1</sup> but the Hausas do not seem to use this method. The bori themselves may show the hiding-place to those mortals who have served them well. The worshipper must purify himself, put on white clothes, and spend a night telling his beads, praying to Allah, and calling upon the *aljanna*. Towards morning the bori will come in various animal forms, and try to frighten the person invoking them, sometimes lighting a fire all round him, or throwing him through the air as far as Medina. But if the person shows no fear, a bori like a human being will appear, and will answer the necessary questions.

One of the principal forms of property in former times was the slave, and it was most important that a master should be able to keep his purchases. If one had run away, the master would trace a certain design upon the ground<sup>2</sup> and stick a nail in the centre to which was tied a scarabæus. The insect would walk round and round, thus shortening his radius, and as it approached the nail, so would the fugitive be forced to come nearer and nearer to the house. Sambo once saw this charm tested in Tripoli, when a slave from the next house had run away. He had to return three days later, worn out and starving, having lost his way in the desert. His master only laughed at him, well knowing what the result would be, but the lesson was not lost upon the negroes. Sambo says that if the slave had urinated upon his hands and feet, he would have counteracted the effect of the charm—such an act also enables one to swear falsely.

#### *Superstitions and Omens (XVI).*

Charms may be made from moon's juice (p. 217).—According to Nomo, the woman takes a large calabash of water, places it so as to reflect the moon's beams,

<sup>1</sup> See Doutté, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> See Doutté, *op. cit.*, p. 245.



and stirs it round and round "so as to mix the moon up with the water." The worst of this method is that the moon will never go back until the woman has promised it the life of a member of her own family, or that of some child. No one else knows that the moon has come, for all seem to see it still in the sky, but on the day upon which it really returns the person who has been named will die. The woman can practically work any evil she likes with the water.

Explanations are forthcoming of all meteorological phenomena (p. 218).—The wind has to pass through the eye of Allah's needle: if not so restrained, it would destroy everything upon earth. Thunderbolts are droppings of the spittle of an angel who has let them fall when telling the rain where to descend, according to Abu-Bakar. The lightning is the invisible part of the thunder, but some in Algiers say that it is the reflection from Allah's mirror.

Many of the ruins are *ganwar Amina*, i.e., walls of cities built by a mythical queen who caused towns to spring up immediately at all of her halting-places. Perhaps she was a wise conquerer who turned her camps into colonies.

To know a lucky day (p. 220) is valuable, but it is not sufficient for all purposes, so fortune-telling of various kinds is practised. Usually, patterns are drawn in the sand, and beads or beans are counted by men to be found sitting in the streets, as in Tunis, and this *duba* and *aruwa* are firmly believed in. Thus Abu-Bakar was told before leaving Kano that all would be well on the road, that he would arrive in Tripoli well, and would remain a long time and marry there. After his arrival the Italians went to Tripoli and the roads have been closed ever since, so he thinks that the war was really foretold. Others draw inferences from the position of lumps of charcoal and cowrie shells, while more venturesome Hausas will proceed to an old grave at night, and, after having plunged the arm to the elbow in the mound, will seek instruction from the ghost. A more elaborate method is to approach the bori, and since the best way of discovering a rite is to take part in it oneself, I persuaded Haja Gogo, my bori-mother, to arrange with a celebrated mai-bori, Ayesha, to communicate my fate to me when in Tripoli last April. Abu-Bakar could not arrange this although Ayesha was his wife.

The following is an account of what happened, the rite being performed in Haja Gogo's house, a special singer or minstrel, Ambarra, being engaged to salute each spirit. Jibaliya, Haja Gogo's former head, was also present as a compliment to me in return for having cured her sore eyes with a magic charm of a boracic solution.

Ayesha sat upon a cushion in front of a pot of incense, and began to inhale it, meanwhile rubbing her right hand to and fro on the floor (the palm up) in order to salute the bori in the ground, and also to show when they had taken possession of her, i.e., when she had lost her senses. Haja Gogo knelt opposite to Ayesha, on the other side of the incense, elbows on the ground, both hands open, and began moving the right hand over and towards the left, turning it over again, palm up, as she moved it away. This also was to salute the bori, and to ask them to help, lest they should be angry at being disturbed. Soon Haja Gogo began belching (because the bori were passing her by, leaving her at once), and Ayesha



belching and yawning (some passing by, some entering), and, at these signs, Jibaliya and Ambarra began rubbing their right hands (palms downwards) round and round on the floor. Soon Ambarra began turning both of her hands over and back, and then, having put her hands behind her back, she leant forward and kissed the ground three times, this being a regular bori salute—the position of the hands being magical, the kissing being due to Islam, in all probability.

As Ayesha's yawns grew in number and intensity, and the movement of her hands more and more erratic, Haja Gogo began saying "Allah is true." Ayesha then began to grunt, her hand gradually stopped, and she seemed about to collapse, and, on seeing this, Haja Gogo jumped up and held her. Then, having tied a knot in each sleeve lest the bori should tear her clothes, she bound a broad band ornamented with gold thread round Ayesha's bosom (else the bori would have burst her chest), and then let her loose. Immediately Ayesha (or, rather, the bori in her) began roaring and wandering about on her knees, cursing and laughing foolishly, Ambarra singing the incantation of Kuri and then that of Gajere, these being the first spirits to appear. Others followed, all being greeted with their appropriate songs, and all of us when summoned in turn had to kneel before Ayesha so that we could receive the *albaraka* of the bori. This was transmitted by Ayesha pressing our right arms (held stiffly behind us) on to our backs, then our left arms, and then our right again. After this, Haja Gogo and Jibaliya embraced, and kissed each other, thus conserving their own personal *albaraka* possessed by them by virtue of their office of *Arifa*.

My fortune was not told at once. Several of the Magazawa followed Gajere and after them came Sha Jini, Jato, and Ba-Toye. It was not until Dan Manzo (one of the warrior-jinns) arrived that my anxiety was relieved, for it was considered appropriate that I should hear my fate from a fighting spirit. Directly he came, he caused Ayesha to reseal herself, and Haja Gogo took her former place in front of the incense, bending on hands and knees. Ayesha, by means of grunts and strange words (there is a special bori language), communicated the demon's reply to Haja Gogo, and she in turn interpreted it to me. It is hardly necessary to say that I received it as reverently as possible, in spite of its being very similar to the fortunes told by those who understand the meanings of cards.

After the oracle had been given, other bori replaced Dan Manzo, and Ayesha again wandered about and jumped as before, but, as the effect was evidently wearing off, I asked them to come outside and be photographed. Haja Gogo told me that it would not be safe for Ayesha to sit down for such a purpose, since she would be possessed by some of the violent spirits and injured if she did so, and, as the others corroborated this, I had to let her stand. Ambarra, however, sat in the proper position, and Haja Gogo and Jibaliya embraced each other while I pressed the lever. (See Plate I, B.)

On a certain night of the year, *Deren Al-Khadari*, when men, trees, and rocks are all asleep, Allah decides all the events of the coming year. According to Sale (note on Sura XC VII of the Koran), most Moslem doctors hold that it falls upon the



23rd/24th day of Ramadan, but in Algiers I was told that it was on the 26th/27th, the night upon which the rest of the bori are allowed to go. In Tunis, Haj Ali said that no one except the priests knew, else everyone would watch and pray, and so get the information at first hand. Upon this day, or upon the first day of the year, people should behave well for—as in the case of our birthdays—they will continue in the same manner during the next twelve months.

A person may be possessed by a donkey's bori (p. 222).—The cure for this, in Algiers and Tunis, is to place a pot containing the flesh of a fowl upon a chest of drawers at night, and leave it there for an hour or more in the dark. Then other members of the family eat the flesh, but put the head, claws, bones, and feathers into the pot again, and leave it upon the road for some passer-by to touch and take the malady.

There are very many omens (p. 223).—The *Suda* foretells war, the *Zakaran Douwaki* appears only when your opportunity to grasp success has come. If, when going to market, you knock your right big toe, no harm need be feared, according to Haj Ali and Nomo, but if your left, go back at once. Abu-Bakar holds the opposite view, but is probably wrong, for the right side is usually lucky. A flickering of the left eyelid signifies the coming of a friend, while that of the right indicates tears, and a twitching of the right eyebrow lets you know that people are praising you, while the left shows that you are being abused—like the burning of our ears. Others, however, hold the contrary opinion in each case. If a hen crows like a cock in your house, catch it at once, take it to the bush, and beat it to death—do not cut its throat—and eat it there. Should you be unable to catch it, leave the house immediately, for this is a warning of grave misfortune.

#### *Pilgrimages and Festivals (XVII).*

Offerings are made to the spirits in the river at the shrine of Sidi Sa'ad (p. 227).—Raisins, dates, red and white sweets, and ground-nuts are thrown into the water for Mai-Inna, who appears in the form of a tortoise. Immediately there is a loud *gula* from the women, and several dancers become possessed.

The bori pilgrimage in Tunis lasts for four days (p. 230).—In Tripoli and Algiers, the *Ziara* lasts for one day only. In the former city, the people go on the first day of Rajab to Sidi Makari, march seven times round the *kuba* of the saint, sacrifice a goat, call up the bori, and return in the evening, holding a bori dance in the town at night.

In the month of Sha'aban, similar rites take place at Sidi Masari, but on the people's return to the town, two different parties of women put a lump of *henna* into a calabash at Haja Gogo and Jibaliya's houses, and stick four or five lighted candles into it. A *godiya* in each house places the dish upon her head, and each party then parades in the town in different directions till the early hours, being accompanied by musicians. The *henna* is for Mai-Inna, who is then and thus released.



In Algiers, the seven different communities unite about 8.0 a.m. near the wharves—in 1914 the ceremonies took place on May 6th. A black bull is procured, and this, decorated with the trappings of Kuri, Mai-Gizzo, Mai-Inna, Mai-Ja-Chikki, Nana Ayesha, and Adamawa, is taken to the shrine of Sidi Abd-El-Khadri. One rope is tied to the neck and one to each horn, these three ropes being held by men on foot. Then the *Arifa*, surrounded by her priestesses, leads the way to the abattoirs, followed by the bull, behind which are musicians, flag-bearers, drummers, and *karakab* players, while in rear come the rest of the negroes, and a motley crowd of sightseers. On arrival at the abattoirs, all dance round the bull, and soon *takai* is commenced, after which there is some bori dancing, interrupted only by the meal at noon.

At about 4 p.m. the bull is placed with its head towards the east, and then six fowls for various bori, one ram for Abd-El-Khadari, and a black and a red he-goat are sacrificed, these having been given specially by some persons anxious to invoke the spirits. Then the bull is censed and fed by the *Arifa Karama* with *fura*, ground rice, and milk (not *ridi*, which is only for rams and goats), and one of the sacrificers—of whom there are seven, one for each spirit-house—twists its horns, another turns its tail, while others seize the legs, and the animal is thrown upon its left side. M. Doutté says<sup>1</sup> that the negro sacrificer kisses the bull before killing it, but I am assured that this is not done by any negroes, certainly not by the Hausas. The principal sacrificer cuts the animal's throat, and immediately the *masu-bori* fall upon the ground, lapping up the blood and rubbing it upon their faces, clothes, and instruments, and begin to dance. The *Arifa Baba* sprinkles the *masu-bori* round her, and the *Galadima* divides the meat. Then the *Arifa Baba* eats a small piece of the meat as soon as it has been cooked, together with some new beans, this ceremony enabling all of the *masu-bori* to eat these vegetables afterwards—they must not touch them previous to this. When the dancing has gone on until sunset, and the people have got their share of the viands, the rites come to an end, and all return home as they like, some driving, some walking.

It is said that only the *masu-bori* are sprinkled with blood, because it is the spirits who want it; there is no *albaraka* in it. But there is virtue in the flesh, and once pieces were given to Arab members of the audience, the practice being stopped only because the struggles and subsequent fights of the Arabs to get the meat brought the negroes into trouble with the French authorities.

Wells also have offerings (p. 234).—The people of Kabbi, in the north-west of Nigeria, still throw—or did throw until quite recently—flesh, fish, and money into a well as an offering to the serpent in it.<sup>2</sup>

The *Takai* is danced by men only, or by both sexes together (p. 242).—In Tripoli, last March, some men danced it in order to celebrate the fact that the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> Edgar, *Litafi Na Tatsuniyoyi Na Hausa*, iii, p. 435



Italians had given them permission to live in settlements, as before the occupation, instead of being compelled to rent rooms in the city. Each man would hit the stick—or pickaxe in some cases—of another, take five steps outwards, turn, take five steps inwards, and hit again. Each moved round very gradually, having the same opponent for some minutes. Another performance was the *Zakar*, in which a man with bagpipes (having horns against the evil-eye) lay down in front of me, and wriggled about while onlookers stuck coins upon his forehead or sprinkled him and his attendant drummers with scent. When the contributions had ceased, he and the drummers hopped round in a circle several times. This dance is said to be performed at marriages while the bride is being brought to her husband.

*Bori—the Spirits and their Powers (XVIII).*

The bori have some substance (p. 246).—When a bori flies over water, it makes a ripple all along the surface.

In Tripoli, *Uwal Yara* is identified with the owl and also with the *gagafa*, a mouse-eater. Haja Gogo says that it can kill children merely by calling them three times from a distance, so a mother should catch a young owl and give it some of her own milk, and, after having kept a few feathers to place in the charm for the child, replace it in the nest. This child and its offspring will be quite safe from *Uwal Yara*, even when she appears—as she sometimes does—as a woman spotted white and red. Such a being appears in the folk-lore.

Whenever you use incense (p. 255) do not throw it into the fire without having first said, "I praise Allah and Mohammed," else the smoke will injure you.

The bori are everywhere (p. 257), but certain places are much more dangerous than others. Thus, when a person falls in the *salanga*, he is more likely to be injured than if he trips elsewhere, since the bori will pounce upon him before he has had time to get up—and, of course, he is almost certain to injure one of them, because there are so many of them there. The threshold is another dangerous spot, and children, who do not understand this, are always coming to grief there, their falls being due entirely to the presence of the spirits, not at all to the sunken space for the slippers.

The time, too, is important, for, although the adult bori go off in the morning to their work—farming, herding, or whatever it may be—they all return for the rest at noon, so no one should enter the temple between that hour and *Azuhur* (about 2.30 p.m.) for fear of disturbing them. In the afternoon they go off once more, returning again at sunset to the temple. "You may be going along a road and see a woman sitting down under a tamarind tree at some distance ahead of you, combing her hair. When you arrive at the spot there will be no sign of the woman, and you will know that it was Mai Inna." A European who has read my stories in *Man* last year might consider that the immoral character of the man rather than the spiritual nature of the woman was responsible for her disappearance.

During the dry season the black spirits are said to predominate—or, at least to be particularly active—while the water-jinns naturally rule in the wet, after it



has once set in, although certain "Red Ones," viz., Jam Maraki, Sidi Ali, Jato, Yerima, Mai-Ja-Chikki, and Gajjimare have a turn during the first rains. At harvest time, Magiro, Kuri, Magajiya, Doguwa, Uwal Gwona, Nana Ayesha and Ennuwa (Dundurusu) are supreme, while during Azumi, Jato is the only one able to go far from the temple.

A silver coin (p. 258) always finds a place in bori ceremonies, for it has a double effect: first, it enables the bori to see that the incense has been paid for; secondly, it confers upon the mount a greater capacity to respond to the spirit's promptings.

I had an opportunity last year when in Tunis of seeing a case of exorcism (p. 261) by the Hausa chief priestess, the *Arifa*, Khadeja. An Arab woman living in the Sabat Ajam had been ill for some four and a half months, her body being so lax that she had been unable to do anything. She had tried the charms of marabouts without success, and at last the marabouts told her that the illness was not from Allah, and, therefore, not curable by them, but from the spirits. Allah could deliver a mortal from a bori attack, although he hardly ever does, but he would not tolerate any interference by the spirits with one of his own victims. She consulted the *Arifa*, therefore, and on her advice gave her a franc-piece, which was wrapped in a handkerchief and placed for Kuri in one of the china pots in the recess. She immediately became somewhat better, and additional offerings secured further improvement, so she decided to give a dance for all the bori, and this was held on March 27th, 1914, just seven months after her first attack.

After some preliminary dancing, incense was burnt, the censer being taken to one of the rooms opening into the courtyard, and placed upon a franc-piece upon the floor, the patient then kneeling down in front of it. A pair of fowls had been provided by the woman, and these should have been a red cock and a white hen, but, owing to a mistake, she had bought a pair of speckled fowls, and at first it was doubted whether the ceremony could proceed or not. However, it was decided to take the risk, and the *Arifa* took the birds in her right hand, and waved them over the incense seven times. She then touched the patient's breast with them three times, then waved them three times over the incense. Then she touched her right thigh, left shoulder, and back of the neck three times with the censer. Immediately the other women in the room emitted their cry, the *guda* or *kururuwa*, and the incense was replaced upon the franc-piece. The *Arifa* then gave the hen to an assistant, but placed the cock upon the patient's head, and stroked it downwards with both hands three times, saying as she did so, "O Kuri, the Runner, keep my secret for me; Allah has given you a chance; keep my secret for me; do not put us to shame. We pray to Allah, we pray to you. We are your children, by Allah and the Prophet." The women in the room then repeated the *guda*. The *Arifa* then lifted the patient's right hand, placed it upon her (woman's) head, and drew it down her body. By this time the illness, or a part of it, was supposed to have gone into the cock, so the bird was given to the assistant, and the hen was substituted. It was placed upon the patient's head, and Mai-Inna (Kuri's wife) was invoked thus: "O Mai-Inna, keep my secret for me, O you who give milk of gold."



There was then a third *guda*. After this the patient's hand was again drawn down her body, and the illness was supposed to have been completely transferred to the fowls.<sup>1</sup>

The birds were then taken outside, and given to the officiating sacrificer, Nasar, who placed some white and black *mustika* (incense) and a franc-piece (his fee) in his mouth so as to prevent his being affected by the bori, and he and the *Arifa* bowed to the four points of the compass in salutation. Nasar then placed the fowls upon the ground, and, treading upon them, opened the mouth of the cock, held the tongue to the mandible, and cut its throat. He then threw it upon the ground at some little distance from him, and treated the hen in the same way, then sticking his knife in the ground. The reason for opening the beaks was to give the disease-bori free exit. The *Arifa* then took a cup, and caught some of the blood from each fowl, taking this inside the room and leaving it there. (See Plate I, a.) A few feathers were then pulled from each fowl, and were placed in the censer, these giving the incense a special virtue when next used. One of the fowls struggled for several minutes, this being a very good sign, for it showed that the spirit had really got a good hold of the bird. The sacrificer then censured his knife, and the *Arifa* poured water upon it, afterwards sprinkling the place of sacrifice and sweeping it.

The bori then began to mount in real earnest, for, although some women had begun screaming from the moment of sacrifice, they had not been allowed to dance because the space was so limited. Immediately I was ordered to leave, for, although the negroes did not object to my presence, the Arabs did. I heard next morning that the drumming and dancing had gone on until midnight, the woman herself joining in, and that the blood had then been examined and found to be in a thick clot, thus indicating certain recovery. A final *guda* completed the ceremonies. Next morning the woman was walking about, I believe.

A bori may make a victim's face swell (p. 261), but the punishment may be inflicted in a much more violent manner. Two and a half years ago Mohammed Ben Ali, the lessee of the Gidan Katsina at Algiers, was seized suddenly by an enormous black spirit. It caught him under the armpits, and lifted him up three times, saying, "Don't do it again." After the third time Mohammed was thrown to the ground, and he knew no more. On his recovering consciousness, he found that he could not rise, and he is now helpless and half blind. He has sold nearly all the furnishings of the temple (which belonged to him) in order to provide money for incense, incantations, and offerings, but all to no purpose. I saw Mohammed, and his story was corroborated by several of the *masu-bori*.

The belief in disease-demons is of immense antiquity, as will be seen elsewhere, but it is interesting to note here the prevalence of the idea in Europe in historical

<sup>1</sup> In Abyssinia a black hen was swung round the head of a person afflicted, and then flung on the ground. If it died the patient recovered, for the spirit had passed into the hen and killed it. (J. Borelli, *Ethiopie Meridionale*, p. 133.) The disease-demon never enters the body of the exorcist, of course, although another bori may do so.



times. Just as the West and North African imagine many complaints (*e.g.*, boils) to be wounds caused by the shafts of some demon-huntsman or bori, so Apollo was pictured as the god who spread the plague by arrows shot from his bow, while to-day the Arabians speak of being "stung" or "pricked" with plague, and even modern physicians call the poisons of pestilence "toxines," as though they were arrow-poisons. In Biblical times pestilence was regarded as being a special evidence of God's displeasure. So an angel was the agent by which He spread the plague, and the drawn sword—Israel's favourite weapon—replaced the bow and arrow, or the club wielded by gods such as Rudara. The sheathing of the sword was, of course, the sign that the pestilence was ended. Such imagery appears again and again in Christian literature and art.<sup>1</sup>

A bori must not be derided (p. 262).—When the name of Kuturu is mentioned, or that of Magiro and a few others, the persons present rub their hands round and round upon the ground at once, asking forgiveness for taking the name in vain.

Any regular sacrifice must be kept up (p. 263).—If a person has once offered to a bori during a recurrent festival, *e.g.*, a dance, he will have to repeat it every successive year, or else suffer. Thus Haja Gogo would not let me offer a sacrifice at either of the dances in Tripoli, for on the anniversary I might be unable to sacrifice, and so would be liable to an attack. The sect could have sacrificed, of course, as it does at the Ziara, for some members would always be available and free; but apparently there was no money. There was no objection to my sacrificing when leaving Tripoli, however, for that is not a periodical event. The same thing holds good in cases of sickness.

#### *Bori—the Temples and the Sect (XIX).*

Dolls are offered to child-spirits (p. 269).—These dolls may be hung upon the sheet or amongst the other offerings; the position in the temple does not matter so long as it is not inside the "Holy of Holies." Thus Mai-Nassara (a man) had hung up the one on Kuri's sheet because he thought it would attract more attention from his spirit namesake. The dolls are sometimes called "wives" of the spirits, but this seems to be in jest.

The principal temple at Tunis had a special Holy of Holies—*Dakin Kuri*—for Kuri and others, and a recess for the trappings of the spirits generally (p. 270).—The niche on the left was hidden by a red curtain, and formerly that of Doguwa was covered in a similar manner, but it had been removed because of the danger of fire. This niche was not always sacred; at first it was empty, but one night a former *Arifa* saw in a dream fire coming out of it, and she knew then that Doguwa had taken up her abode there.

It is dangerous to enter the Holy of Holies (p. 271).—Mai-Ja-Chikki, the snake, is the source of danger, for he kills intruders. He makes a noise like

<sup>1</sup> See R. Crawford, *Plague and Pestilence in Literature and Art*, Clarendon Press, 1914, pp. 5, 8 and 19.



a he-goat (one of his manifestations) and prevents sleep. On a Friday morning his track may be seen, and the eggs will be found to have been sucked—at least, so says Haj Ali. Alas! I was too late to see the track when I went! On my last visit I surprised the Arifa by suddenly looking inside and remaining alive.

The Holy of Holies in each temple is dedicated to Kuri, Mai-Inna, Mai-Ja-Chikki, and certain other spirits which vary in different parts (p. 272).—The head-dress at Tunis was the cap of Sarikin Gwari, who has special honour in that city.

In Tripoli, Sarikin Gwari is replaced by Dundurusu, although the former has his trappings hung with those of others of the Babbaku upon strings running across the chamber. The sheets are only two in number, the second hanging parallel and close up to the first, placed as in the Gidan Kuri at Tunis. Inside the second sheet Mai-Inna is represented by twenty *gurayu* covered by a white cloth, these instruments never being used except in this manner. (See Plate II, B.) There is sand in front for her to sit upon, because she is a Fulah, also milk which is changed every ten days, or every three during the *Ziara*. Candles are burnt, both inside and out, every night, also incense. Two large Italian wine-flacons covered with black cloth represent Dundurusu, who is placed opposite to Mai-Inna and next to Kuri's beer-bottles and Mai-Ja-Chikki's eggs.

In Algiers, at the Gidan Katsina, there is no Dakin Kuri in the principal room, and I am told that beer is brought and drunk directly after a dance, instead of being kept for any length of time, and that eggs and milk are offered only periodically. When I visited the temple I was given water to drink. This contained incense, and by having no evil effect proved me a follower of the bori, and at the same time I received some *albaraka* from them. (See Plate II, A.)

Some say that the flagstaves in the temples represent the *geza*, this being a tuft of corn, rice, or wheat, and apparently standing for fertility. The *geza* is particularly sacred to the bori.

Owing to the fact that the Hausas rent their houses from the Arabs, temples have to be changed at times (p. 273).—The changing should be done at night, all the weapons, etc., being first placed upon the floor, and then removed to their new home, with the exception of those belonging to Sarikin Gwari in Tunis, Dundurusu in Tripoli, Kuri, Mai-Inna and Yerima. After a little while these also will be transferred, the fowls will be killed, and all the *masu-bori* will step over the blood so as to come into contact with the spirits in their new abode.

During the fast most of the bori are imprisoned in the temple. Mallam Albaji sits outside, however (p. 275), and Jato also has not been imprisoned, for he always runs off to the *salanga* and cannot be caught, and is responsible for the orgies at night after the day's fast.

In Algiers no spirits are released on the fifteenth day, but on the 27th fowls are sacrificed, and there is bori-dancing for three nights, at the end of which all the spirits are released together.

The bori-dancers must prepare strictly for their dangerous ceremonies (p. 277).



—Previous to and during the rites food should be but sparingly indulged in, as before inoculation. On the eve of a bori-dance the *godiya* grills a small piece of meat very slightly, and puts a little incense and ash upon it. That is all she is allowed to have; she must not touch bread. Next morning she drinks a little bori-medicine, taking a little more at noon. This goes on till the dances are finished, if she is a real *godiya*. The musicians must cense their instruments before using them. (See Plate II, c.)

Beer is offered to Kuri in the Holy of Holies (p. 277).—Ordinarily (except at Algiers) this beer should be left for one year, but the bottles may be replaced indiscriminately, for it becomes very powerful, and only *masu-bori* would dare to touch it. At the end of the year nothing will have been left in those bottles still there, because the bori will have emptied them. Beer is not now a harvest offering, but possibly was so once, for ears of corn were kept in the private houses for twelve months, as we have seen.

There are several grades of priestesses (p. 278).—The titles *Arifa* and *Kasheka* would seem to have come from *Arifa* and *Chikha* respectively, both of which mean "wise," the former indicating a woman in charge of other women, and probably connected with *arrafa*, "a diviner," and *arif*, "a magician," the latter also meaning a singer, possibly in religious rites particularly. Except for the fact that the *Arifa* is always the chief, the ranks seem to differ (as do those of *Galadima*, etc., in Nigeria), for sometimes the *Kasheka* is higher than the *Magajiya*, being as it were the Vizier of the *Arifa*. At the same time the *Magajiya* will be the next *Arifa*, for the *Kasheka's* work is different. The *Uwar Sariki* is so named because she is said to have some particular relation with Yerima, the prince or chief. *Kallankuwa* may mean charm, but is more likely to be the word used for a coping-stone. In Algiers there seem to be but two priestesses of rank, the *Kauniya* or *Arifa Baba*, and the *Arifa Karama*.

In some parts men and women dance separately, but in Tunis they appear together (p. 281).—In Algiers also, the sexes intermingle, this being due to the fact that there are seldom enough dancers of one sex to satisfy the desires of all the bori wishing to be present. Also, there is money in it, and the strict rules break down so far away from Hausaland.

The bori are very particular as to their acquaintances (p. 287).—They always arrive in a regular order. Mai-Ja-Chikki must appear first because he prepares the way or "sweeps the ring" for the others, and if he does not come no other bori will be able to do so. After him come the leaders of the various classes, not necessarily those of the Black Spirits for, in Tripoli, the Mohammedans were first upon the scene.

In Algiers, the dances at the Milud and Sha'aban last for seven days, men performing by day, women by night. The animal to be sacrificed is smeared with henna on the previous evening, the staining being in the form of a cross running from nose to tail and from fore-leg to fore-leg, the henna being applied three times. Fowls will be sacrificed first. The *Galadima* puts in his mouth whatever silver and



copper coins and incense have been given by the persons supplying the fowls, and washes the legs of the birds. He then waves them seven times over incense, holding several in each hand, and touching his breast with them, looking first towards the east, where he salutes Mai-Guraya (Doguwa), and then towards the north, west, and south. Then he puts his hands behind him, holding out the fowls to an assistant, who takes them and puts others there, or else a ram or a goat as the case may be. Sacrifice is then made in the usual way, and the spirits mount.

The sacrificer must be extremely careful to perform his duties correctly (p. 290).—Although I could not see it because of the crowd, I know that the sacrificer in Tunis bowed to the different points of the compass before killing the animal and birds, and purified the knife afterwards. In Algiers, however, the knife is not washed ceremonially afterwards, but the blood is scraped off with the first finger of the right hand, and dotted upon the forehead and point of the nose of each *godiya*—one dot on each—and upon the drums. The knife is not censured again, but the sacrificer may wash it privately, after which it is sheathed and placed in the temple. It must be censured before use again, however, else the sacrificer would cut his finger.

The Hausas are rapidly spreading their magic amongst the Arabs, many of these now joining in the rites,<sup>1</sup> but they are also converting a number of Arab saints into bori (p. 291).<sup>2</sup>—The performances of the Masu-Wuta suggest those of the Aissawias, and in Algiers I was interested to note that Sidi Ben Isa seems to be almost as much a bori as is Sidi Al Khadari, and candles are burnt to both. Still, they are said to be not bori but “White *Mallams*,” and do not appear until midnight—after the bori have had their turn. The dancers are Arabs and others, not the same as those who are possessed by the ordinary spirits, I am told, but they are also called *Dowaki*.

Sidi Abd El Khadari is supposed to have come from Medina to Tunis, but went to Bagdad, where he died. The dancer wears a burnus, and covers up his eyes. “If you are lost at any time, call thrice upon this saint, and he will guide you home.”

Sidi Ben Isa, founder of the Aissawia, lived in Morocco, dying at Meknas. Any number of dancers can be possessed simultaneously by this spirit so long as they are “all of one heart.” They eat snakes, and torture themselves in various ways.

<sup>1</sup> In Egypt we find a parallel, for the great popularity of the Zar “at the present day among the women of the upper classes is due to the influence of black slaves received into the harems on a footing of perfect intimacy. Here their cult of the dead was soon modified into a general belief in spirits which reinforced that which had perhaps already reached Egypt from Abyssinia.” B. Z. Seligmann, *Folklore*, Sept., 1914, p. 323. The fellahin apparently confound the disease-demons with the Jinn and Afrit (*ibid.*, p. 305). The priestess is called *goudia*, evidently the Hausa *godiya*.

<sup>2</sup> Something similar is found in the Egyptian Sudan, where a flag of red velvet with a yellow Coptic cross is said to have belonged to “a Christian spirit called Silisilia (? St. Cecilia), who had possessed a woman in the battalion, and had been made according to the directions which the spirit gave during a Zar.” *Ibid.*, p. 306.

The *Arifa* often touches a dancer in order to protect him (p. 293), and may show special appreciation of his efforts by waving a silver coin round his head. (See Plate II, D.)—Sometimes the *Arifa* puts her arms over a dancer's back, and the head of the latter upon her breast (as in the passing of the *albaraka* described before), or she may lean both hands upon the shoulders of the leading *godiya* three times. These acts not only enable the *Arifa* to obtain more *albaraka* for herself from the bori, but also actually add to the power of the spirit itself from the reservoir, as it were, contained in the *Arifa*. The idea seemed strange, so I questioned Haja Gogo and Jibaliya closely. They had no doubt about it.

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#### PLATES.

I.—Bori Beliefs: A—The *Arifa* takes some blood for purposes of divination (the sacrificer is bending down).—Tunis. B—Haja Gogo and Jibaliya embrace while Ambarra (sitting), salutes the bori in Ayesha (giving the oracle) with the appropriate incantation.—Tripoli. C—Haja Gogo offers a prayer to the bori for my preservation on the journey to England.—Tripoli. D—The cock being sacrificed between my legs.—Tripoli.

II.—Bori Beliefs: A—Bori offerings and trappings.—Algiers. B—The shrine of Mai-Inna (partly covered) and Dundurusu.—Tripoli. C—Censing the instruments before a bori rite.—Tripoli. D—The *Arifa* (standing on right) shows her appreciation of a dancer by waving a coin round her head.—Tripoli.





B.—AMBARRA SALUTES THE BORI IN AYESHA.

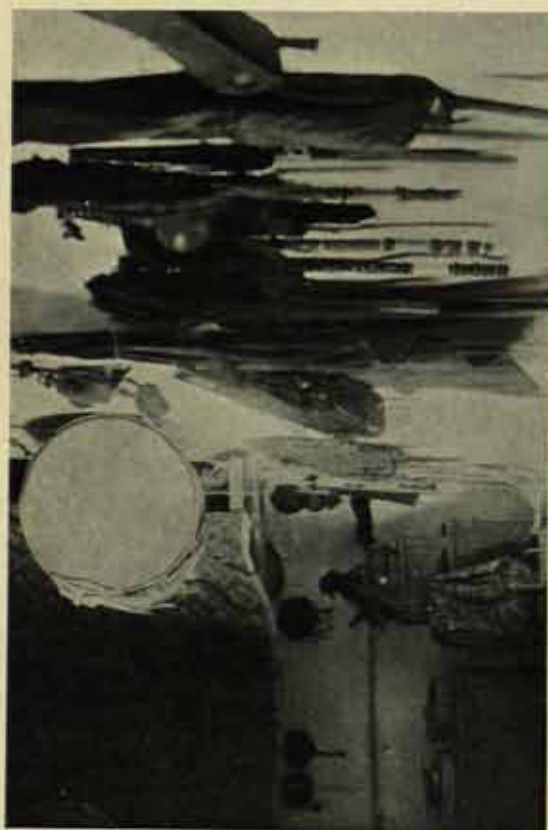


A.—THE ARIFA TAKES SOME BLOOD FOR DIVINATION.









A.—BORI OFFERINGS AND TRAPPINGS—ALGIERS.



C.—CENSING THE INSTRUMENTS BEFORE A BORI RITE—TRIPOLI.



B.—THE SHRINE OF MAI-INNA (PARTLY COVERED) AND DUNDURUSE—TRIPOLI.



D.—BORI RITE—TRIPOLI.





## NOTES ON THE INITIATION CEREMONIES OF THE KOKO, PAPUA.

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THE initiation ceremony which we describe is known as the *Thaw, Thaw Shiango* or *Geweta Shiango* (Dance of the Spirit).

The people among whom the ceremonies have been principally observed are the Tutufa, Manua, and Kare sections of the tribe more generally known as Koko, who inhabit a portion of the Yodda Valley along the head waters of the Mamba River and almost immediately adjacent to the present Government Station at Kokoda. The Kokos are a well-made race of medium stature, dark brown in colour, with a cephalic index of 72, and differ very little in general appearance from the rest of the "Orokaiva" tribes of the Kumusi administrative Division.

While the fact that they are invaders or immigrants into the Yodda Valley is beyond all doubt, their original home is not altogether clear, though it is fairly well established that before their arrival on the Yodda the Kokos dwelt at the head of the Nimuni (a tributary of the Kumusi). Their advent into the Yodda Valley was attended with more or less fighting, the warfare raging to a great extent round the fertile Kokoda plateau. This was first held by the Ungora section of the Ugu mountaineers, who were driven out by the Autembo (Men of the Bush), a tribe closely related to the Koko. Later on a number of the latter occupied the plateau until exterminated by the Ugu, with the exception of two men. This happened within quite recent times, and when the Government of the Colony settled on the plateau it was actually at the time without occupants.

The ceremonies described apply more particularly to the Yodda Valley tribes of Koko, Autembo, Huriri, and Sisirita, all of whom are more or less closely related. These ceremonies, however, extend with comparatively slight differences throughout the bush country almost to the coast, the resemblances being closest among those tribes which call the Kumusi "Inafa." The bullroarer is used throughout. The somewhat close connection between the peoples of the Yodda and the so-called Orokaiva tribes, who form a very considerable portion of the population of the Kumusi Administrative Division, does not appear to have been generally grasped, but it should be understood that the differences both of language and custom are even less than might have been expected in so large an area.

We do not lay claim to be able to present an exhaustive account of the



initiation ceremony, but we believe that the information in this paper can be regarded as correct as far as it goes. Mr. Chinnery has seen the proceedings and was to a certain degree initiated himself into the Kokos. In all, or almost all, matters connected with initiation, most natives are rather reticent, and no little difficulty is experienced in obtaining information or explanations, and naturally secrets are carefully guarded from the uninitiated. We were questioning three young men, of whom only two, we ascertained, had passed the initiation. One remarked quietly to his fellow, "Don't say too much now, this man might hear." When Mr. Chinnery witnessed the Koko ceremony he had to promise that he would not divulge anything to any uninitiates, and, of course, the necessity for secrecy is one of the cardinal points impressed upon candidates prior to initiation.

It might be mentioned that in the case of the Koko people no initiation had taken place between 1904 and 1911, principally on account of a somewhat unsettled state of the various tribes, and in the 1911 ceremony witnessed by Mr. Chinnery both men and women were inducted in addition to boys and girls. Indeed several of the women were married, and some were in an advanced state of pregnancy.

The ceremony, or rather series of ceremonies, together with the necessary preparations, cover a considerable period, extending over two or three months; in this particular instance, owing to the lapse of time since the last initiation, probably a longer time was taken. Ordinarily initiations are going on continually throughout the year. Invitations were issued to practically every tribe or village whose ceremonies were similar and who were friendly, and representatives were included from villages along the Buna-Yodda Road as far as the Kumusi; but the principal actors in the ceremonies were the Autembo, Sisirita, and Huriri tribes, and of course the Kokos themselves. These latter came to Mr. Chinnery, who at the time was District Officer at Kokoda, with a request that he would not call on them for Government work for some time, as they had preparations for a big dance in hand.

His attention was first drawn to the advent of the ceremonies by weird noises in the bush. Puzzled, he questioned his servant, a local lad, who at once bolted with his fingers in his ears and a look of abject terror on his face. Mr. Chinnery then went down to one of the Koko villages, where he was met by the local policeman and a couple of old men, who after some deliberation showed him some of the preliminary arrangements.

Not far from the village, but in the bush, a cleared space about fifty yards square had been made. At the entrance to the track the men of the tribe were drawn up in double lines, each in the attitude of springing, and preserving absolute silence. Under the guidance of one of the leading elders, Mr. Chinnery entered the lines. On reaching the first two men he was clasped by each round the body, and at the same time the whole assembly broke into a chant, "Shi . . . Shi . . . Shi!", and he was passed from one to the other to the end of the line. This being finished, he was instructed to stand at the end of the line and cautioned against turning round. Most ghastly sounds were made from behind, and on being told to turn his head he saw the lines of men coming towards him in a semicircle, making horrible



grimaces and guttural noises, at the same time crouching and stamping with their feet, this being continued until a complete circle was formed. Still stamping they retreated, and suddenly Mr. Chinnery's legs were pulled apart, and one after the other the men passed through and stamped away, forming up behind him and breaking into a wild chorus, "*Meni nauka kambe-u sihu U-U*" (i.e., calling on the "devil" not to harm their children). It seems probable that each man calls upon the "devils" or spirits of his own particular dead ancestors, although the exact significance of "devil" is not clear. After the singing of the chorus all the men rushed into a small house and produced bullroarers (*wuwu*), which were brought into play.

Immediately after these proceedings he was invited inside a large house in the centre of the clearing, which was stocked with food consisting of game, birds, and fish only. No food was offered, but it was explained where and how the food was obtained. The assortment had been collected not only by the Kokos but also by the Autembo and Sisirita.

In addition to the bullroarers a number of long reeds were produced, open at each end and pierced with a small hole like a flute. These flutes are of two kinds, one long (*inaku*), about five feet, and one short (*isaku*). They are blown in pairs, a pair consisting of one long and one short flute. These instruments are stated to be used by the girls after their initiation. Flutes of a very similar nature have been seen by Mr. Beaver at Sangara (near Mt. Lamington) and on the Upper Waria where they were regarded as intensely sacred, and on no account to be viewed by the women or children. Similar instruments are also regarded as sacred at Humboldt Bay (Netherlands New Guinea), and in certain districts of "German" New Guinea.

The bullroarers are made of *goroba* palm (*Ptychosperma* [*Archontophoenix*] *Jardinei*)—the same palm as is used for making the best spears. The string by which the implement is attached to the handle is made of *genda* fibre, while the latter is made of any wood, provided that it is sufficiently hard to be secure against breakage. Extreme care is taken during the whole time they are used to see that the instrument is not broken. Should one break and a chip strike anyone, that person when next he goes hunting or fighting will be wounded by a boar's tusk or spear, as the case may be, in the place where he was struck by the bullroarer. There is absolute belief in this, and one or two men have marks to show where they have been struck by a bullroarer and afterwards gored by pigs. Similarly the string must be very strong. Among the tribes on the lower Kumusi if a bullroarer strikes anyone he will die. Among one of them, the Arumafu, it is stated that each man makes his own mark on the bullroarer and paints it red, but in the Yodda Valley the instruments are quite plain.

The underlying idea about the bullroarer is that it is a spirit that makes the noise, and this belief is strongly impressed by every device upon uninitiated women, children, and those who have not passed through the ceremony. This belief will usually be found wherever the bullroarer is used in Papua.



The explanation of the embracing, as described by Mr. Chinnery, is that it will bring luck while hunting and fishing. The passing between the legs will give strength, and this action, needless to say, is done solely to those considered to be strong men. It should be understood, however, that the passing between the legs is not part of the actual ceremony for the candidates.

After the first proceedings witnessed by Mr. Chinnery, matters were held up for a couple of weeks before the real and actual business of putting the candidates through was taken up, the reason for the delay being that it was necessary to visit each of the villages which were going to take part, and obtain a few feathers. Feather headdresses should be worn in as large a number as possible, and on ceremonial occasions they almost completely cover the upper part of the back, falling nearly to the waist. There is no significance about the loan of the feathers, which are duly returned at the conclusion of the proceedings.

Preparatory to the true ceremony of initiation certain matters have to be attended to. A large supply of food is necessary, and certain houses must be constructed in the bush, one for the lads and another for the girls. These structures are known as *thrar* (the "th" is spoken with a kind of lisp). All candidates are secluded for some time in these houses and strongly warned against making a noise, and the necessity for secrecy is even more strongly impressed upon them. Previous, however, to their being brought to the actual ceremony, a certain man is told off to bring the lads (in the case of the girls a certain woman), who covers their hair with net bags (*kiapa*) for fear of sorcery, and takes off their armlets and leg-bands, after which they are conducted to the spot. The candidates being usually in a state of terror, they are warned that if they make a noise the spirit will take up the house and carry it away to some mountain and capsize it—their guide now tells them they are only going to see their fathers, but it does not appear that they are greatly reassured.

During the preparatory stage, while the supply of pigs is being hunted, whenever one is killed the hunters pull down a tree, and make a noise with the bull-roarers. Any boys who may happen to be about run away in fright. The broken trees are pulled on to the road, and when the children ask "What is this?" they receive the answer, "The spirit has broken the trees." During the preparatory seclusion all the candidates are crammed with food, as much as they can eat and more, and this cramming extends almost up to the very time of the ceremony. We do not know of any particular food restrictions in this connection.

Candidates for initiation of both sexes should be about the age of puberty (the particular case at Koko was exceptional) and each male candidate at any rate should be the owner of a pig. If he does not possess a pig of his own, it is supplied by one or the other of his parents. Speaking generally, most of the necessary arrangements are undertaken by the boy's father. It does not appear that an individual has any particular status in his village until he has undergone the ceremony. To some extent he is regarded as of no great account, but beyond this it is not at all clear what particular rights, privileges, or status are conferred by initiation. One thing, however, is absolutely certain and that is that



the ceremony as a whole is regarded with awe and terror by those, even adults of foreign tribes, who have not been through it.

The time for the ceremony is largely dependent upon the ripening of crops, the state of the food supply, and of course the moon, which should be at the full.

When the Kokos prepared for the principal portion of the ceremony Mr. Chinnery was summoned and taken to the village by several of the headmen. The approach of the party was signalled by loud shouts, which were answered from all parts of the bush, the object being to frighten any children who might be in the vicinity. After proceeding a short distance men sprang out of the bush, and the same ceremony of embracing as already described was again gone through, and was repeated at intervals as each tribe which was taking part was passed. On arrival at the village the same course of stamping feet and uncanny noises was repeated. Mr. Chinnery was asked to sit down in an open house, and individual natives now came up and handed to one of the three headmen food, native bags, lime pots, etc., all of which were passed twice under and around his legs, and in some instances his arms as well. This continued for a couple of hours. Women who were pregnant made a special point of doing this with their food and valuables, the reason being to give strength to the unborn babe. This again is not part of the proceedings for the candidates, but it seems as well to mention here, although out of its order, the circumstances under which a variation affects them. The passing of food through the legs of the "big" men is carried out *after* they have "seen the spirit" and have entered the *thrar* or initiation house. On entry, single lads are given no food for four days (should it happen that a candidate is a man and married, he fasts for one day only), and then all their food is passed through the legs of the "big" men, as described. After leaving the initiation house for good, they eat no food until the fourth day and then their food is similarly charmed, not necessarily for obtaining strength, but as a protection against swollen testicles and swellings of all kinds; it might be mentioned that food is always cooked in special pots, in order to avoid the possibility of the ordinary utensils having been contaminated by any of the prohibited foods. Among the Arumafu and almost all the lower Orokaiva tribes the lads when entering the initiation house, and for their first meal after seeing the spirit, pass their taro through the legs of the "big" men, as a charm against baldness. When the initiation house is left for good, food eaten on the day after is similarly treated, as a charm against the prominent corns so frequently seen on the hip bones.

During the period of waiting, dances of an ordinary nature were performed, in which all the women joined, except those preparing for initiation.

To return to the candidates. As the moon rises, all present become deadly silent. The men depart for the bush, at the same time putting out all fires and lights. When the moon shines, a long procession emerges from the bush into the village, moving very silently and stealthily, figures wearing huge headdresses, masked with frames of pigs' teeth, and armed with stone-headed clubs. Women are present, but do not join the line.



Having entered the village, they form two advancing lines until a large scaffolding is reached, erected at one end of the village. Turning, the men kneel down facing the entrance from which they have come and remain in this position, still keeping silence. It is at this stage that the candidates are presented. Faint cries arise from the bush, becoming louder and louder, and the words "Shi! Shi!" mingled with yells and shrieks are distinguished, and at the same time the candidates are marshalled in, led by their guides. They advance between the lines of men who, hitherto silent, now break up into groups, each catching a lad and running madly up and down the village, followed by the women, waving spears and all uttering cries and yells and rubbing the youngsters' arms, legs, and bodies. They now make a wild rush towards the scaffolding, throwing the lads on it, who endeavour to climb up out of reach, but are torn back by the mob and undergo further agony, until, utterly exhausted with fright and fatigue, they are allowed to climb away, not knowing what they may still have to put up with.

Still retaining their group formation, the men rush forward to the scaffold, uttering horrible yells, waving their heads sideways with faces upturned to the lads, and swinging their clubs, only to retreat again. Now and again a man will yell from the group, "*Namo shiango*" (I am the spirit), swinging his club to strike, but the other men will rush in upon him, throw him to the ground, and take his weapon away. Sometimes a woman, spears in hand (the Koko women carry spears at dances), will rush at the candidates, shrieking at them. Among other tortures, the occupants of the scaffold submit to a drenching with cold water.

Next, one or more men perform a kind of catherine wheel evolution on the cross bars of the scaffolding, uttering bird calls, and all the groups stamp round madly. This is kept up unceasingly until near day-break, when the girl candidates are led in, and go through the same performance, although treated much less roughly. Immediately after daybreak, hoods of tappa cloth, which cover the body from head to foot, are passed to the scaffold and worn by both girls and boys. They are now instructed to turn their backs to the village, and several men climb up and attach lianas to adjacent pandanus or other trees and pull them down. The candidates are later informed that the spirit has broken these trees.

Under ordinary circumstances both boys and girls would be without clothes or ornaments, but in the special case at Koko, owing to the number of grown women undergoing initiation, grass petticoats were worn.

The treatment received during this part of the ceremony depends a good deal upon what sort of character a boy bears. A good and obedient lad will get off rather more lightly than one who is not considered so. At the same time a boy undergoing initiation, if he is not too frightened, will keep a sharp look out for any man who is treating him over harshly, with the idea that he will pay back when the time comes for that man's son to be initiated in his turn. In spite of the rough handling it is believed that if any actual injury is caused to a lad he will die from it sooner or later. Among the Aramafu, during an initiation a lad named Sefa (well known to the writers) told the other boys that he was not scared, and



intended to fight the spirit. Somehow he was bitten in the finger by one, and a few years later Sefa did die (while away working on a plantation), and as a matter of fact his death had been anticipated by his people for some time. Another lad informed us that when on the scaffolding a spear was thrown at him by someone, just missing its mark; he stated he was going to give that man's son a particularly bad time when his turn came. On one occasion the Siroarata lads boldly protested before the ceremony that they were not scared, but when they were actually in the thick of it, they became so terrified that they were unable to contain themselves.

After the trees are pulled down, the bullroarers are exhibited for the first time (at Koko about thirty were brought into play), the candidates being told that the spirits are present. The men shout, "*Mene nauka kambe-u sihu U-U*" (Do not kill my child), and utter the names of the spirits (apparently dead ancestors). The effect on the lads and girls, who are in complete darkness owing to being enveloped in the hoods, on hearing the noises and shouts of "Do not kill my child," can easily be grasped.

After this the hoods are drawn off and some of the men, coming up to the scaffolding, explain and show the bullroarers to them for the first time.

Again they are ordered to turn their backs, and the men take the bullroarers away into the bush and return in procession, carrying pigs, wallaby, taro, bananas, and other foods. These are placed on the ground, and the candidates are told to look as much as they wish, but they are not permitted to eat; they may now descend from the scaffolding and rest on the ground.

All visitors sit down, and the tribe performing the ceremony distributes the food among the guests, keeping up a jog trot all the while.

The boys are now taken to the special house in one part of the bush, the girls to another, the rest of the party dispersing.

Reference has already been made to the special initiation houses for boys and girls. Round each—and each house is a long distance from the other—is a large high fence (*haranji*) made of coconut-leaf screens, or palm leaves. After the conclusion of the ceremonial portion of the initiation it is necessary for the candidates to remain in close confinement for about a month. The lads are given their food by the old men, and the women are not permitted to go near them, though among some tribes the food may be brought by the old women, who place it on the platform outside the house; but otherwise they are not allowed to approach the lads. A similar procedure is adopted with regard to the girls. During their confinement the boys remain inside, the old men taking their places underneath the floor. Large smoky fires are kept going which make the boys sweat and steam. They are not permitted to talk much and then only in a low voice: their principal occupation is sleeping. Should a boy happen to talk over loudly, one of the guardians would say, "Be silent, I will thrust a spear through the floor." Should a boy happen to drop taro through the floor, he would be killed. The father, of course, would know of his death, but the mother would not until the boys came finally out of the house. When any one has been killed, one side of the faces of



the remainder are painted red, the other black, and if the mother does not see her son among the emerging batch she knows by these signs that he is dead, but she is not permitted to comment or complain. When the boys have to go outside the house for necessary purposes, they are clad in the tappa hoods and taken to the bush. Early in the morning an old man goes out on the track and clears the cobwebs from it, as, should a boy get one on his body, it would be harmful. No clothing at all is worn during this confinement.

After two or three weeks, instruction is given to the lads, both of a moral nature and relating to the ordinary occupations of life. The moral code runs something after this fashion:—It is wrong to steal. It is wrong to commit adultery, for if you do you will die quickly. It is wrong to beat your wife, if you do, other people will say you are like a dog. It is wrong to steal food from gardens. If you live well, you will live a long while. It is good to make big gardens, in order that your wife may be faithful to you. When you take a wife, live with the single men until your gardens have plenty of food; until they are ready, let your wife live with your father and mother. If you have connection with your wife and she becomes pregnant before your gardens are ripe, you will incur the contempt of the village. Matters relating to fishing and hunting are explained; for instance, the boys are taught how to catch pigs. Among the Arumafu, before initiation, if the boys hear the sound of men hunting and catching pigs, they climb trees to get out of the way.

Boys are also warned never to sit down where a man with swollen testicles or swollen glands has sat, or where a woman with withered buttocks has been, lest they might become similarly affected.

In addition to these instructions given to the boys in the initiation house, the lads were told, "Now you have seen the Spirit and you are fully a man. To prove yourself you must kill a man," thus making a murder a social requirement. In reality a payment must be made at some time by the candidates to the "owners of the *Thrar*," or headmen, who at the present time among the Kokos happened to be old men named Sombiri, Yethu, and Purari. In the old days the payment would take the form of a man ready cut up; if a man could not be obtained, a pig was substituted, as of course happens at the present day.

While little or no information could be obtained as to what goes on in the girls' house, it is believed that instruction on various subjects is given by the old women, including methods of preventing conception, procuring abortion, and other sexual matters.

Among the Koko and allied tribes, yams, bananas, and potatoes are prohibited after initiation. This prohibition lasts until the initiates have hair on their faces, and until they have grown a large and successful garden. The prohibition is then removed by the giving of a feast, after which anything may be eaten. Among the Arumafu and allied tribes the following foods are prohibited: pumpkins, *towa* nuts, large yams, *taitu* and potatoes, *humbari* (a large red fruit with seeds), snakes, *jongo* bananas, *ururu* bananas, *kombura* bananas, bandicoots, the hindparts of wallaby,



breadfruit, *nathithi* (a green vegetable) and the *owa*, *pesa*, and *owetha* fish. These foods may not be eaten until the old men have given permission after a special dance. Prohibition commences when candidates enter the initiation house.

Among the Arumafu, after the boys leave the initiation house they are sent out to hunt pigs. If successful they return to the village, and burn the game on fires together with taro. Then the old men say, "You must not make a garden until we have eaten the pigs." These are then served out and the boys are told, "You must not eat anything until you are really hungry; just bite the food and then put it aside," and accordingly the lads bite the pigflesh and set it aside. The women cook some taro in pots, which the boys are permitted to eat, while the pigflesh is consumed by the old men. As the pigs are being cut up, the men, as each cut is made in the pig, strike at the boys' legs with their axes. This is a charm to prevent the boys' axes slipping when they are working in the gardens. After this the ordinary routine is resumed. At the same time the bullroarers are dismantled, and the handles, together with all ornaments, such as crotons, etc. (except feathers), are burned. The small blades of the bullroarers, together with the strings, are carefully packed up and secretly stored away.

In ordinary circumstances an initiation is a time of somewhat general licence, promiscuous intercourse being permitted between any initiated man and woman.

We have not been able to ascertain any special name for uninitiated persons, for candidates, or for the initiated. The latter may be referred to as *Thaw Mene* (i.e., people who have seen the *Thaw* ceremony). There are no special marks to denote or distinguish those who are or are not initiated.

At Koko during the period of confinement it happened that the village men were instructed to turn out for some Government work, under a misapprehension that the ceremonies were at an end. A few weeks later an old man came up to the Station with half a sovereign, and a request that the men be permitted to return to the villages. In explanation it was stated that the candidates were still in confinement, awaiting the return of the men to complete the necessary concluding ceremonies, such as the burning of the handles of the bullroarers.

As far as can be ascertained at present, the underlying idea of the ceremony seems to be to instil absolute and lasting terror into the candidates, and to make them think that their elders have beaten off the spirits; while in this receptive and chastened frame of mind, the lads, imbued with the idea of the power of the men, will pay attention to the instruction given. There appears to be an idea that the spirits of the dead are present, and that the initiated, i.e., the living, are keeping them away from the candidates. It seems tolerably obvious that almost every step in the proceedings is calculated with the view of impressing these ideas on the young. The whole ceremony is without doubt regarded with absolute terror by the uninitiated; evidence of this is the case of a non-commissioned officer of police sent to make some arrests at a village where one of these initiations was being performed. He was ordered by the corporal in charge to go to this particular village, but, hearing the bullroarers, objected strongly, saying that he had not been

initiated and would therefore die if he saw them. The corporal insisted, saying that as he was a policeman he must obey orders. Accordingly they separated, the corporal going to one village and the lance-corporal to the other. It was not ascertained until a long time subsequently that after all the lance-corporal did not go himself, but despatched some of his men who happened to have been initiated.



## STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM SOUTH AFRICAN GRAVELS.

Discovered by Major E. R. COLLINS, D.S.O.,

with additional Notes by REGINALD A. SMITH, F.S.A.

DISCOVERIES of stone implements *in situ* in South Africa are rare, and are all the more valuable on that account. Among the best attested are the following, made in recent years:—

- (i) In the Umhlatuzane river-valley near Mariannhill, Natal, a hand-axe of reddish porphyry was found in 1907 in a bed of white sand nearly 20 feet from the surface, the bed of loam between the humus and white sand being about 15 feet thick.<sup>1</sup> It was recognised as a typical *coup-de-poing* by Dr. Obermaier.
- (ii) At Haagensted saltpan, about 30 miles north of Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, stone implements were found in 1912, under two distinct layers of peat, each 8 to 10 feet thick. In peaty sand below lay also broken bones of extinct animals, burnt wood and wooden pins, but all the implements were lost but two, described as a spear-head and a knife.<sup>2</sup>
- (iii) Several implements were found not only in the bed of the Vaal but in the gravel of its banks, at Windsorton in Cape Colony, 30 miles north of Kimberley, where according to a recent report by Mr. J. Lee Doux, in *MAN*, 1914, No. 30, the section was as follows:—  
 Red brick-earth, 6 to 12 feet thick.  
 Gravel, 12 feet thick, containing implements.  
 Shale bottom.  
 Possibly another gravel-bed below.
- (iv) Mr. J. P. Johnson illustrated in *MAN*, 1907, No. 54, an implement found in the tin-bearing gravels of the Embabaan valley.
- (v) Extensive finds have been made on and in the gravels of the Zambesi, both above and below Victoria Falls, and in certain of its tributaries, by Mr. Henry Balfour, Mr. Lamplugh and others, and the full publication of these undoubted paleoliths from a gravel of extreme antiquity is awaited with interest.

<sup>1</sup> Plan and section in *Anthropos*, iv (1909), 972; and note in *L'Anthropologie*, 1910, p. 541.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of South African Museum*, vol. xii, 13; *Nature*, July 17th, 1913, p. 512. Dr. Broom mentions a species of wildebeest intermediate between the two South African living forms.

The following account of implements discovered by Major E. R. Collins, D.S.O., during the Boer War of 1900-2, is mainly compiled from his methodical notes taken on the spot; but being a prisoner of war in Germany, he is unfortunately prevented from making a final revision. Like Major Feilden in the Zulu War, he seized the opportunity presented by the digging of trenches to obtain implements straight from the gravel, which are described in the paper together with several picked up on the surface in various parts of South Africa.

Before following Major Collins northward through the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, it will be convenient to mention his discoveries in Natal and Cape Colony; and the first in this order was made in Natal during a period of convalescence at Pinetown, near Durban. It consists of a quartzite flake 3 inches long, found in the gravel of a cutting near the railway station, the bed in question being 1 foot thick and 5 feet below the surface. According to the *Institute's Journal*, xi (1882), 158, the drift here is often 6 to 7 feet deep, resting on yellow marl: quartz chips occur at the junction of the marl and white sand, as in Fig. 4 on Pl. XII accompanying Mr. Gooch's paper. The position is marked on the diagram given on p. 163; and the type compared with the Cape Flats series, though the latter are scoured by sand action.

In gravel 50 feet to 80 feet above the stream that flows through Burghersdorp into the Orange river, was found an implement of hard, pale yellow metamorphic rock resembling flint, but only a few flakes were found in addition, and this implement is difficult to classify. It may be an imperfect ovate palæolith, broken across one end, where there is now a sharp straight bevelled edge; the curved edges are sharp all round and the faces trimmed flat. The present length is 3 inches and the workmanship suggests St. Acheul. I. The edges are sharp, but the ridges, especially on one face, rather worn.

On the sand-dunes along the Orange river in the neighbourhood of Hopetown, Cape Colony, not far from the railway bridge, were found a number of end-scrapers, described as "duck-bills," of basaltic stone. These varied in length from  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, the larger specimens having two ribs, the smaller generally one along the centre. A borer made from a flake of the same material may be of the date suggested by the end-scrapers, which closely resemble specimens from the French caves, and contrast with small implements and flakes of quartz, chert and agate from South Africa, where these materials are generally found in the form of small pebbles. It was noticed that implements occurred in groups along the Orange river, and the basaltic groups were distinct from the others. A peculiar implement of pale green stone, polished at both ends, found with several others of agate and greenstone, is only  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch long and  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch wide. It is worked along both sides and may rank as a pygmy, especially as one of the recognized pygmy forms, the crescent, is represented in the same series. The small end-scrapers are of a very stumpy appearance.

In the south-eastern corner of Orange Free State is a farm called Riversdale, on the high watershed of the Orange and Caledon rivers. The only specimen



of palæolithic type was found on a ploughed surface, a pointed ovate of fine-grained basaltic rock, with one face trimmed nearly flat and the other very convex, with central ridge: careful flaking with curved cutting edge nearly all round and small platform at the butt. L. 5.5 inches (Fig. 1). On the same ground was found, with

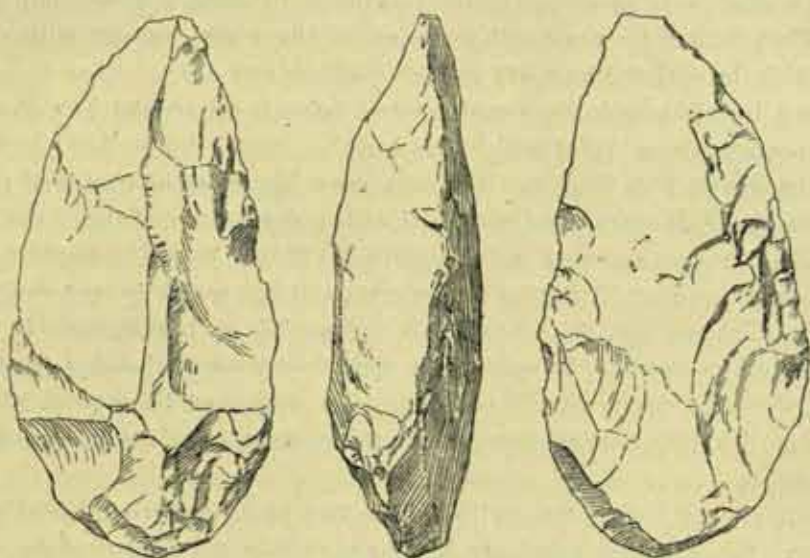


FIG. 1.—FRONT, SIDE AND BACK VIEWS OF IMPLEMENT FOUND AT RIVERSDALE, O.F.S. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

neolithic flakes, half a thick sandstone ring of a well-known type, usually considered to be a weight for a Kaffir digging-stick and called locally a !Kwè.<sup>1</sup> The central perforation has been begun from both faces and is of the hour-glass form, the surface smoothed regularly, and slightly polished at the mouth of the perforation on both faces. D. 3.4 inches.

At Harrismith, in the Orange Free State, not far from the Natal border, worked flakes were found in some quantity along a spruit flowing at the back of the hospital and rising in the Plaatberg, a large hill north of the town. The ground in places was strewn with them, the majority being very small and most of them scrapers or flakes with secondary work. The materials were agate, chert and a kind of greenstone, all of which occur in pebble form locally. The Major compares his finds here with those at Spytfontein and Kroonstadt.

The Wet and Zand rivers rise near the Basutoland border and flow north-west across the Orange Free State into the Vaal above Bloemhof. Presumably in the gravels of these rivers, though the localities are not stated, the Major found a heavy quartzite flake (Wet river) with a steep rounded scraper-edge 3 inches wide in the style of Le Moustier; a black triangular point, 1 inch long, with one flat face and steep edge-trimming in the Aurignac style; an end-scraper on a blade a trifle

<sup>1</sup> Péringuey, *Stone Ages of South Africa*, cap. xii, p. 107. The note of exclamation represents a special click peculiar to the language of the Sans.



longer, and diminutive scrapers with comparatively broad ends, of jasper, white quartz and agate, very much like the Harrismith series.

In passing through the Orange Free State on the way to Pretoria, the Major found miscellaneous specimens in some quantity, near water. At Kroonstadt, for instance, a great many small specimens were picked up along a spruit south of the town. The principal forms were the scraper and flake with secondary work, and the materials banded chert, quartz crystal, quartzite and agate. They range from  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch to 1 inch in length, the scraping edges being nearly straight. One greenstone end-scraper (on a blade) is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches long.

In the Orange Free State two specimens were found on the watershed of two tributaries of the Modder river, at a farm called Spytfontein, south of the Karee ridge which runs east and west and about 20 miles N.E. of Bloemfontein. The sub-soil is mostly red loam, 2 feet to 3 feet deep, and below this is contorted drift, varying in thickness from 3 feet to 8 feet and resting on basaltic rock, of which the kopjes are composed. It was in the drift that a rough basaltic implement occurred, with the ridges abraded and the surface weathered brown. It is almost trefoil in outline, with cutting-edge interrupted at one side of the butt, and large flaking on both faces. L. 3.4 inches. The only other specimen from the site is a rolled flake, 3.3 inches long, with bulbar face plain and the other ridged at the centre. It might rank as a blade, but the work is at the top end of one side.

A large number of neoliths were picked up near a dam where horses were watered, about 1,000 yards north of the camp on Spytfontein farm, Karee siding, in the Orange Free State, between Brandfort and Bloemfontein. They resembled those from the river itself, but no large specimens were found, and some were made of an unfamiliar banded chert. The end-scraper was the dominant type: some were on short blades, others were broad and steep ended, recalling the Aurignac style, as did a slug-shaped tool with trimmed sides and triangular section, 1.9 inches long.

A desultory search on the bank of the Modder river at two points—Krants Kraal and Glen Station (12 miles north-east of Bloemfontein)—added a few specimens to the collection, but nothing very characteristic of any period. There are two small ovate implements of black stone, weathered respectively red and yellowish grey, possibly of the Cave period, and two trimmed flakes, one with a side-edge in the style of Le Moustier. Another flake from the Modder battle-field, pointed and trimmed steeply along both edges, is in a slightly later style; and the short end-scrapers on blades from Modder Bridge confirm the view that palæolithic types of the French caves are represented in South Africa.

After the fall of Pretoria in June, 1900, trenches were cut on the line of communication at Meyerton and Vereeniging, which are nine miles apart, the latter being situated on the Vaal river at its junction with the Klip. The soil was light and easy to work, consisting of a red loam, which hardened in the sun. About 4 feet from the surface was fine gravel and sand containing a small percentage of quartz, pebbles, and some quartzite. Several struck flakes were found in the undisturbed gravel; and though the trenches were not taken deeper than  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet,



some worked specimens were found at the base of the gravel, resting on limestone or other rock.

The terrace on which the gravel rests is 40 to 60 feet above the present river, and this feature has been already discussed by Dr. Péringuey and Mr. J. P. Johnson. The latter states<sup>1</sup> that it extends some distance east and west of the town, and the deposit consists of gravel and small boulders embedded in and overlaid by loam. The pebbles in one pit are all of quartzite and are mostly chipped, so much so that the former existence of a factory in the neighbourhood seems the only explanation. Complete implements are rare, but failures in quartzite are common, and the good specimens are mostly of greenstone (diabase), exceptionally of chert. The quartzite seems to have been of too coarse a grain for suitable working. Mr. Johnson thinks that the dulled edges of a minority are due rather to weathering than to wear; while Dr. Péringuey maintains that the diabasic implements are much more rolled than those of quartzite, and notices a difference of style in the two groups, the quartzite forms being rather of *Le Moustier* character. He infers a difference of date, and uses as an argument the occurrence of quartzite alone in one pit, whereas in other pits there is an accidental mixture of materials, such as agate, quartz, jasper and chert. Mr. Leslie stated that the large implements were found on the river banks within a distance of 200 yards along the river, and about 50 yards from it, but his opinion that the worn surfaces are due to weathering is contested by Dr. Péringuey, who quotes the *Nooitgedacht* group to show that the implements were worn by gravels in course of formation.

The best specimens came from section 4 in Vereeniging itself, which showed:—

1. Red sandy soil, 4 feet to 5 feet thick.
2. Gravel and sand of unknown depth, containing sharp and well-formed implements of quartzite and one of chert. The gravel here is much more even than in section 1, though the two sites are not far apart and belong to the same drift deposit.

Implements from this section were not made from pebbles and were not so waterworn as elsewhere. Though from a greater depth, these specimens are probably not older than those resting on the limestone near the river, 20 feet below section 4. Though the limestone was not reached at this section, it is known to occur along the *Klip* river almost as far as Meyerton.

The best specimen from Vereeniging is of light colour, heart-shaped, with cutting-edge all round. The sides are zigzag, and the implement rather thicker than usual with such an outline. The flaking is bold but fairly regular, and there is no sign of rolling. L. 3.9 inches (Fig. 2).

Besides the quartzite specimens there is a rough ovate of greenstone with one face largely pebbled (L. 3.2 inches), and an irregular pointed tool of palæolithic appearance, unrolled, with a slender point, and platform at side of butt.

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. South Afric. Phil. Soc.*, xvi (1905), 107; *Stone Implements of South Africa*, 2nd edit., 25.



Next is a darker implement more roughly flaked, but with cutting-edge all round and unrolled. It resembles a Cissbury celt, except that the broad edge has a platform at the side and was not intended for cutting. The point is thin and well

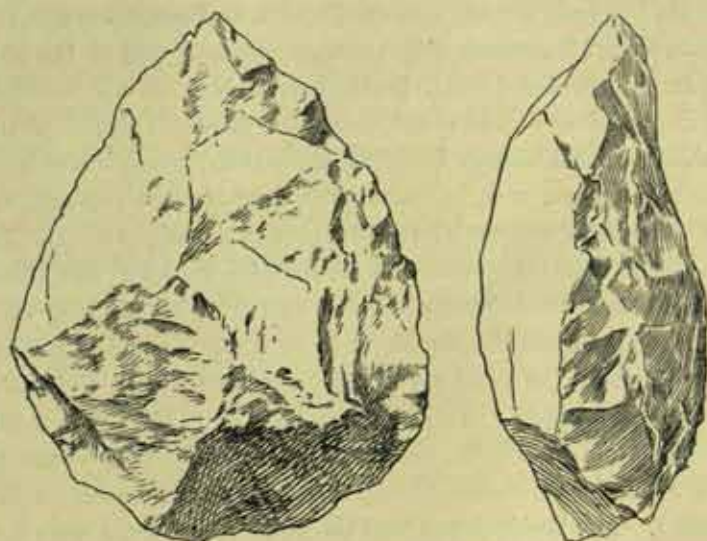


FIG. 2.—FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS OF IMPLEMENT FROM VEREENIGING, TRANSVAAL. ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ).

formed, the greatest thickness being about the middle. L. 4·4 inches. What seems to be a parallel is quoted by Mr. Johnson<sup>1</sup>:—"Among the Vereeniging specimens . . . celts are well represented. One example found by myself is so neatly and symmetrically shaped that, but for the evidence of the others, it would certainly be taken for a neolithic axe-head. . . . It is uncertain whether the implements are contemporary with or more recent than the gravel bed, but they are undoubtedly older than the overlying loam." Major Collins' discoveries throw some light on the last point.

The majority, however, are specimens of various forms produced by detaching a few flakes from a quartzite pebble. In some cases both faces retain the pebbled surface, in others one face is flaked all over; but no particular pattern predominates, and it is hard to find a name for any but a heavy side-chopper, 4·2 inches long. One ovate specimen is unevenly flaked on one face and on the other is steeply flaked all round, the centre being left flat. It is suggestive of the European Cave period, as is another with curved point and scraping edge one side; but it is thick for the period of Le Moustier, and is, moreover, trimmed on the underface. L. 3·3 inches. There are several flakes struck from quartzite pebbles, and more or less used at the end, and on one or both sides. The longest flake (4·5 inches) is ribbed but hardly used; and there is one that would rank as an end-scraper (*grattoir*). Another has a hollow side and curved point, the notch being still more apparent on one with a pebbled ridge.

<sup>1</sup> *Prehistoric Period in South Africa*, 26.



Four specimens marked V (Vereeniging):—

1. Greenstone, steep ended horseshoe scraper. L. 3.3 inches.
2. Quartzite flake, sharp, unused. L. 2 inches.
3. Rolled greenstone (?) flake, with flat face. L. 1.9 inches.
4. Stained quartz flake, ridged and used on both edges, point blunt. L. 2.1 inches.

Three small specimens from Vereeniging are ascribed to the Neolithic period, and are all chipped from chalcedonic pebbles. They range in length from 1.5 inches to 1.8 inches, and are roughly triangular, two having median ridges and the third a worked notch, giving a hooked appearance to the point. The edges of all show signs of use or secondary work.

The specimens found at Meyerton were mostly small and of poor workmanship, a few being made out of quartzite pebbles. They were mostly pear-shaped, and only one ovate implement was found. Other implements are recorded, and among the flakes one was remarkable for its double bulb of percussion.

A typical section here showed:—

1. Red sandy soil, 2 feet to 3 feet thick.
2. Fine sand and gravel, containing sharp implements and flakes. This drift appeared to be undisturbed, being evenly bedded and not contorted. Depth unknown, but the rocks of the district are crystalline and quartzite. The implements not so abundant as at Vereeniging, and made from pebbles or quartzite blocks.

The series from Meyerton is made of quartzite, and one specimen of spotted stone is of peculiar form, 4.7 inches by 3.5 inches, resembling a small "tortoise" core like those described from Northfleet, in Kent, and Montières-les-Amiens, in the Somme valley. One face is conical and the other convex, perhaps intended for the upper face of a flake-implement, to be detached by a blow at the butt. An ordinary double-faced ovate implement with large flaking, measures 4 inches in length and has a cutting-edge all round; and there are three examples of the pointed hand-axe with sharp rounded butt, and the maximum thickness at or just below the centre. The longest, measuring 3.7 inches, approaches in form the Cissbury type, and the faces are not equally convex. A heavier implement, 4 inches long, consists of a thick flake struck from a pebble, with the bulbar face left plain, and the side edges rather steeply chipped and meeting in a point, but it can hardly be classified as a Le Moustier "point," as the edges have not been formed by use as a side-scraper. A flake 1.9 inches long might rank as an end-scraper on a blade (*grattoir sur lame*), and there is a notch at one side. A broad amorphous flake is interesting as having started the Major on his research in this district, as two bulbs of percussion are clearly visible. It is worth noting that no specimens referable to the Neolithic period were found at Meyerton.

The district marked No. 4 on the Major's map includes the Pan, and an isolated patch west of the mines and about three miles from Vereeniging. The Pan lies in



an old watercourse that starts on high ground west of Vijfontein farm and runs into the Vaal; but, though it is situated in a considerable hollow, the Pan does not contain water except in the wet season. On its western edge, however, there is a spring, round which there is a certain amount of water throughout the year. Its bed is hard, and covered with gravel consisting of quartz pebbles and other metamorphic rocks of various and striking colours. Running round the edge and extending some yards into the Pan is old gravel drift, in which one or two odd implements were found after prolonged search. These were of basaltic rock, much rolled and also decomposed owing to the oxidation of their iron. An implement of quartzite, much rolled, is 4·4 inches long and resembles Cissbury type of celt.

Another implement from the Pan is of chert, with the ridges slightly abraded, and a soapy feeling like steatite. It is an irregular disc, 2·6 inches across, with a cutting-edge nearly all round and both faces roughly flaked to a convex form. Besides these were a few flakes of quartzite not worth keeping, and an important point is that here alone in the neighbourhood of Vereeniging occurred implements of basaltic rock. Further west nearly every specimen is of that material, which is far easier to work than quartzite, but not so durable.

The other patch of drift in No. 4 district yielded nothing but enormous flakes of close-grained quartzite, rudely shaped before being detached from the core. All measured over a foot in length, and were not portable in the circumstances. They lay on the surface, but the gravel is exposed at the spot in question, while their colour and worn edges suggest that they are contemporary with the Vereeniging series.

The search for neolithic (or surface) specimens at Meyerton was unsuccessful, but nine miles south, on the Vaal at Vereeniging, a few were found of agate and chert, contrasting with the quartzite palaeoliths from the river-drift. The latter were often quite sharp and fresh, and difficult to distinguish on that account from the neolithic, which were mostly scrapers, knives, and flakes showing secondary work. These were larger than usual (1¼–1½ inches), but exhibited no striking characteristics. An agate end-scraper on a thick blade from the Klip river here is, however, exceptionally well made, and has rather a straight end; and some basalt flakes were found on the same site.

On a farm called Panfontein, between Heidelberg and the Vaal river, and east of Vereeniging, was found a pointed ovate implement, perfect except for the extreme point and having an even cutting-edge all round. L. 6 inches. It was lying in a heap of sand and gravel thrown out by the ant bears, which dig about 4 feet deep into the gravel and then proceed horizontally. This and a few flakes found in similar circumstances sufficed to show that the Kalkespruit gravel was implementiferous, and might be classed with the Vereeniging and Meyerton drifts. The implement would pass as late Chelles if found in Europe, and is made of metamorphic rock highly crystalline, and containing mica of a very rare description called Vaalite, from the fact that it occurs only on the Vaal. The Major considers



this his best find in South Africa, and notes that nothing came to light further east, the formation being sandstone almost to the Swaziland border.

Two specimens of quartzite are included in the collection, both presumably palæolithic:—

Pointed implement, unrolled, of lozenge outline, the faces rather flat (chipped and pebbled surfaces respectively), with steep edge-flaking along the two longer sides of the pebbled face. L. 4·7 inches.

Slightly rolled implement of oval outline made from a pebble, a slightly zigzag edge produced by bold flaking on both faces. L. 3·8 inches.

The Western Transvaal is not well watered, and the finds are consequently concentrated near the watercourses. The most important were in the neighbourhood of Klerksdorp, the gravels occurring along the Schoonspruit north of the town, on the farms called Beentjeskraal, Kaffirskraal and Elandsheuvel. On the last named is also a small spruit running into the Schoonspruit, a mile north of the town. Neoliths were abundant on the surface, but several implements of palæolithic appearance were taken from the gravels, which also come to the surface in several places. The beds are not more than 30 or 40 feet above the present level of the Schoonspruit; and the Major's map shows the gravel patches divided into three groups, a typical section being taken from a pit 7 feet deep in No. 2 division, as follows:—

1. Sandy subsoil from 2 feet to 3 feet thick.
2. Fine gravel and sand, very like the Meyerton drift, containing small pebbles and quartzite flakes; 2 feet to 3 feet thick.
3. No clear line of demarcation, but the gravel becomes coarser, and there is a regular band of large quartzite and other stones or pebbles. In this stratum were found two quartzite implements, and indifferent specimens or flakes; depth to 7 feet total.

The area between the two spruits was covered to some depth with what was probably river-drift, which sloped gradually up to about 40 feet. Some of the following specimens were picked up on the surface where the gravel was exposed, but others were found quite deep in pits and on the whole resembled those from Meyerton.

Pointed hand-axe of quartzite, slightly rolled, with bold flaking and heavy, irregular butt. L. 5·5 inches.

Another, hardly rolled, with one face chipped nearly flat and cutting-edge all round except in the middle of one side, where the surface is battered. The pointed end is better flaked than nearer the butt. L. 6·1 inches.

Another, with both faces convex, and thin butt resembling a celt, the whole much rolled and corroded. L. 6 inches.

Flake implement of quartzite, with bulbar face plain, flat platform; central ridge and edge-trimming in the style of Le Moustier. L. 5·5 inches.

Another with bulbar face slightly trimmed, oval outline and undercut scraper-end, the sides being more roughly chipped. L. 3·7 inches.

Flake with nearly parallel edges (a broad blade) and ridge not central; rounded scraper-end and butt with two bulbs of percussion.

Ovate implement of greenstone with cutting-edge along the sides, but the ends thickened; fairly symmetrical, and weathered to a rough brown surface. L. 3·9 inches.

Cordate implement of chert, with stout point like the last, but a broad cutting-edge at the other end, with sharp and rounded angles (Fig. 3). The faces are almost equally convex. L. 2·6 inches.

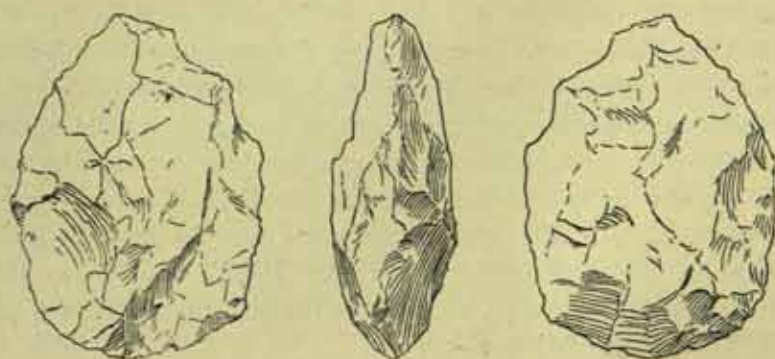


FIG. 3.—FRONT, SIDE, AND BACK VIEWS OF IMPLEMENT FROM KLERKSDORP, TRANSVAAL (3).

From Kaffirs Kraal, one of the farms north of Klerksdorp, came a well-shaped implement of palæolithic type with point broken, sharp, straight sides and butt, and rather flat faces with patches of weathered surface, rough and brown like the ovate just mentioned. L. 3·8 inches.

Quartz hammerstone, made from a pebble, battered at both ends and along the sides. L. 2·6 inches.

Two flakes with side edges resembling the Moustier side-scraper.

Two small implements like late hand-axes, possibly of the Cave period.

Doornlagte farm lies about 40 miles north-west of Klerksdorp, practically on the watershed of the Schoonspruit, Harts river and the Vaal. The divide is not well marked, being merely a rise in the undulating high veldt, and the country all round is typical rolling veldt. A spruit rises on the farm, and consists in the dry season of a series of mud holes containing water a little below the surface. On the northern slope the rock crops out, and implements and worked flakes of it were found, the material being basaltic, greenish in colour, close-grained and heavy. The search was continued over three days only, and all were found on the surface. The following specimens, all considered palæolithic in type were exhibited:—

Long oval implement, brown surface, with both faces chipped fairly flat and a cutting-edge all round. L. 6 inches.



Cordate implement flaked on both faces, the flatter being brown, the other greenish. The work is bold, but fairly regular, and the cutting-edge is interrupted only by a small platform at one angle. The ridges are slightly rolled. L. 3·8 inches.

Small ovate implement of chert or hornstone, yellowish on both faces; cutting-edge interrupted at side of butt, and sinuous along the opposite side; bold, irregular flaking. L. 2·8 inches.

Two worked flakes and one pointed implement made from a flake, greenish on one face and weathered brown on the other. L. of largest, 4·3 inches.

Flake of siliceous stone, triangular, with butt blunt and the two sides roughly trimmed on one face. L. 3·4 inches.

Though some specimens were rolled, no signs of a gravel drift were observed in the neighbourhood, though such may once have existed and been washed away. The worked pieces were of the same material as the outcrop, but if the flaking took place *in situ*, the rolling cannot be easily explained.

Other finds in the Western Transvaal include a fine sub-triangular implement 4½ inches long, thickest towards the butt, with rounded point and cutting-edge all round. It is of green igneous rock, probably basaltic, and weathered brown, the ridges slightly dulled. Found with three flakes in some gravel at a dried-up pan called Palmeitpan.

In a trench at Vlefontein was found an elongated oval implement (Fig. 4) which

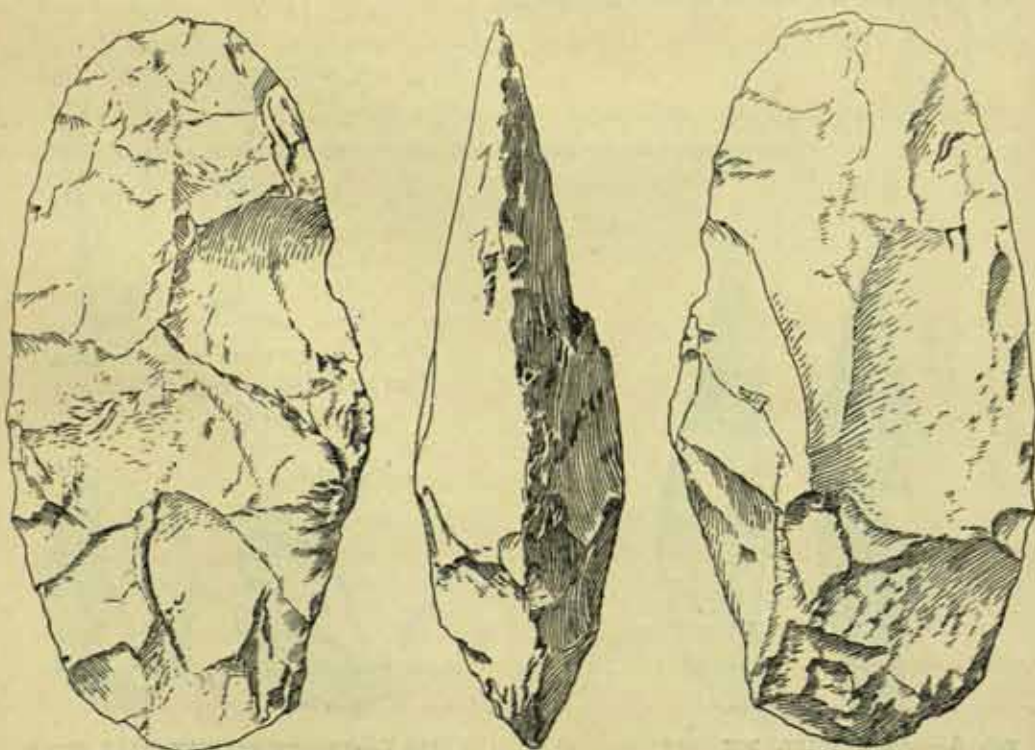


FIG. 4.—FRONT, SIDE, AND BACK VIEWS OF IMPLEMENT FROM VLEKFONTAIN, TRANSVAAL (4).

had evidently come from the gravel. It is of the same rock as the last, and is the largest found by Major Collins in South Africa. It measured 7·3 inches by 3·6 inches, and has a cutting-edge all round, the greatest thickness being below the centre towards one side. The faces are not equally convex, the flaking bold and irregular. The site is on the highest ridge of the Witwatersrand, well over 6,000 feet above the sea.

A diabase flake, weathered brown, 8 inches long, has a facettied butt, and with it, as usual, a large bulb of percussion, as in the Northfleet series of Le Moustier date. Some of the flakes exhibit the *racloir* edge.

Neoliths were most abundant in the Western Transvaal—that is, west of a line through Pretoria and Johannesburg to the Vaal river. The best sites lay west of the Klerksdorp—Ventersdorp—Lichtenburg line, along the spruits, near the pans, and in the old Kaffir strongholds. Some of the finest specimens in the collection, apparently of Lydian stone, came from the Schoonspruit valley, between Klerksdorp and Ventersdorp, chiefly scrapers, knives, and borers. But here, if anywhere, the Aurignac facies can be recognized, two fine points (Fig. 5) with steep edge-trimming, a stout blade with steep sides and point like a graver, and a heavy blade-scraper, 2 inches long (Fig. 6), being specially noteworthy. There are other specimens approaching a triangular form, with worked sides and point, that may possibly be pre-neolithic; and two lumps of rough oval form, about 2 inches long (Fig. 7), look much like the last stage of the palæolithic hand-axe before its extinction in the middle of the Cave period.

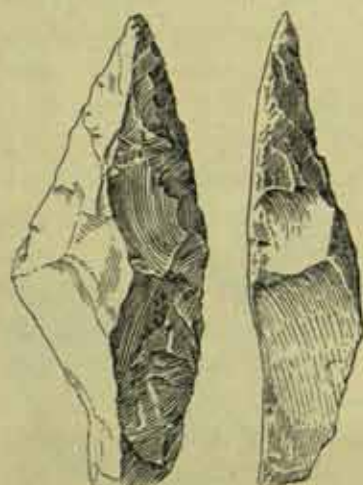


FIG. 5.—BLACK POINT, TOP AND SIDE VIEWS: W. TRANSVAAL (3).

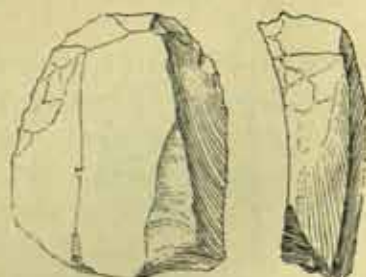


FIG. 6.—BLACK STEEP-ENDED SCRAPER, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS: W. TRANSVAAL (3).

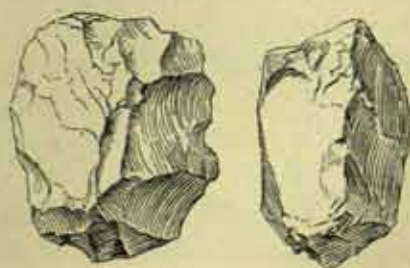


FIG. 7.—THICK BLACK IMPLEMENT, FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS: W. TRANSVAAL (3).



From Klerksdorp itself were collected two small and stumpy end-scrapers under an inch in length, two flatter blade-scrapers, and three sub-triangular flakes with worked edges; also several pieces of pottery, both thin and thick (0·2 inch to 0·6 inch), mostly with black body and red faces, the paste being in some cases very gritty. The vessels were evidently of large size, but there is not sufficient evidence of shape.

An exceptional quartzite specimen of cylindrical or barrel form,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, battered at both ends by use as a pounder, came from Barbers Pan; and another implement worthy of notice from the Western Transvaal is a ribbed blade of quartz, with signs of use on the broad sloping end, as well as along both side-edges. It measures  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Quartzite and basalt are the ordinary materials for the larger implements, and chert and agate for the smaller.

A more prolific area was that near Devondale siding, north of Vryburg, in British Bechuanaland, on the edge of bush country two miles from the railway running north to Mafeking. A series of hollows in the line of a dry spruit, probably water-pans in the wet season, were full of gravel containing neolithic flakes in places, but the following specimens of palæolithic character were also recovered:—

1. Flat, pear-shaped implement, point broken, with fairly even cutting-edge all round. L. 5·2 inches.

2. Similar, but heavier, implement, with thick squared butt and fairly flat faces, approaching the cordate form. From a similar pan, near another spruit. L. 5·9 inches.

3. Pear-shaped implement, much rolled, with rather zigzag sides and sharp butt. L. 6 inches. From the surface.

4. A small sub-triangular implement of crystalline rock, with one flat face and cutting-edge all round; dug out of the gravel. L. 3·5 inches.

## SAXON GRAVEYARD AT EAST SHEFFORD, BERKS.

By HAROLD PEAKE and E. A. HOOTON.

(WITH PLATES III-IX.)

## I.—THE GRAVES AND THEIR CONTENTS.

By HAROLD PEAKE.

It was in 1890 that this graveyard was first discovered by the workmen engaged in constructing the Lambourne Valley Railway, now a branch of the Great Western Railway system. In digging a cutting behind the manor house at East Shefford a number of bones were discovered, and with them various articles which were rapidly dispersed among collectors of such objects.

Mr. Montague Palmer, F.S.A., was early on the scene and secured many of the articles discovered, and arranged with the workmen to bring him everything that turned up. He also obtained permission to explore the land on either side of the cutting within the limits of the railway fences, and, as our explorations have shown, sometimes went beyond the boundary.

Unfortunately Mr. Palmer died soon after the completion of his inquiries, and before he had had an opportunity of drafting a report. A few hastily written notes in pencil, with a rough sketch of a plan, was all that he left, but these notes showed that the graves that he had met with numbered at least 46. The objects found were sold soon after his death, to the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be regretted that Mr. Palmer did not think it worth while to study or preserve any of the skeletons met with, the more so as, being a medical practitioner, he was in an excellent position to do so. He seems to have paid attention only to such objects as were interesting from a collector's standpoint, as the number of iron objects in the collection is comparatively small.

Shortly after Mr. Palmer's death, Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries, a sword, a fibula, and some knives, which had been found at the same place, and gave a short account of the discovery; this, which is almost the only account of the graveyard written at the time, is short, and, owing to the paucity of Mr. Palmer's notes, far from complete.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Newbury Dist. Field Club*, iv, pp. 196-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*; *Proc. Soc. Antig.*, 2nd ser., xiii, pp. 107-8; *Journ. Berks Arch. Soc.*, i, p. 81



The line was left for some years unfinished, and during the interval the workmen on the farm found several articles, which appeared from the side of the cutting as the surface weathered. One pot, said to be as large as a man's head, was thus discovered and passed into the hands of Mr. Barnes, of Lambourne.<sup>1</sup> In 1893 some children found a few beads and a saucer brooch, which are now in the Reading Museum with one skull, the only one preserved before the recent explorations; these belonged to a woman of 45 years of age.<sup>2</sup>

Since 1893 no further finds were reported, though it was well known in the neighbourhood that other graves were almost certainly there. But in 1911, when the question of excavations was being discussed by the members of the Newbury Museum Committee, it was suggested that a fresh exploration should be undertaken. In May, 1912, this suggestion was seriously entertained, and the Committee requested me, as their Honorary Curator, to undertake the work, while Mr. F. Quekett Louch, the Town Clerk, kindly undertook to act as treasurer of the excavation fund and to get the necessary permission.

The Manor Farm of East Shefford is now both owned and occupied by Mr. George Baylis, of Wyfield Manor, who very readily gave the necessary permission, and in the meantime I arranged with Mr. Ernest A. Hooton, of University College, Oxford, to assist me in the exploration and to undertake the care and description of the bones. I arranged also for the assistance of Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, a fellow of this Institute, Mr. P. H. Fox, Mr. E. G. Toye, and Mr. G. A. Curnock, all of whom kindly volunteered their help, and the exploration received further the assistance of Mr. J. H. Hopson and Mr. J. H. Godding, who kindly undertook that one of them should be present each day to photograph the remains *in situ*. These preparations were all completed in time for the excavations to begin on September 16th.

Before describing the work of excavation it may be well to say something of the position of the graveyard. The parish of East or Little Shefford lies on both sides of the Lambourne Valley, less than half way from the source of the stream to its junction with the Kennet. It would appear to be only a part of the original township of Shefford. As early as the reign of Edward the Confessor there were three separate estates or manors at Shefford, now represented by West or Great Shefford, East or Little Shefford, and the westernmost part of the parish of Welford, known as Elton and Oakhanger. The graveyard lies on a level terrace about 50 feet above the river level, and 100 yards from it on the north side, and as is, I believe, usual with graveyards of this date, it is in a very sunny position. If, as seems probable, the farm buildings of the Manor House represent the site of the ancient *tun*, and have had a continuous existence since Saxon times, the graveyard lay only a few yards without and on higher ground, in fact just at the beginning of the arable land. It lies also almost exactly in the centre of the original township.

<sup>1</sup> Since then a full description has been given by Mr. Reginald Smith, F.S.A., in the *Vict. Hist. of Berks*, i, pp. 239-40.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, i, p. 155; *Trans. Newbury Dist. Field Club*, iv, p. 199.



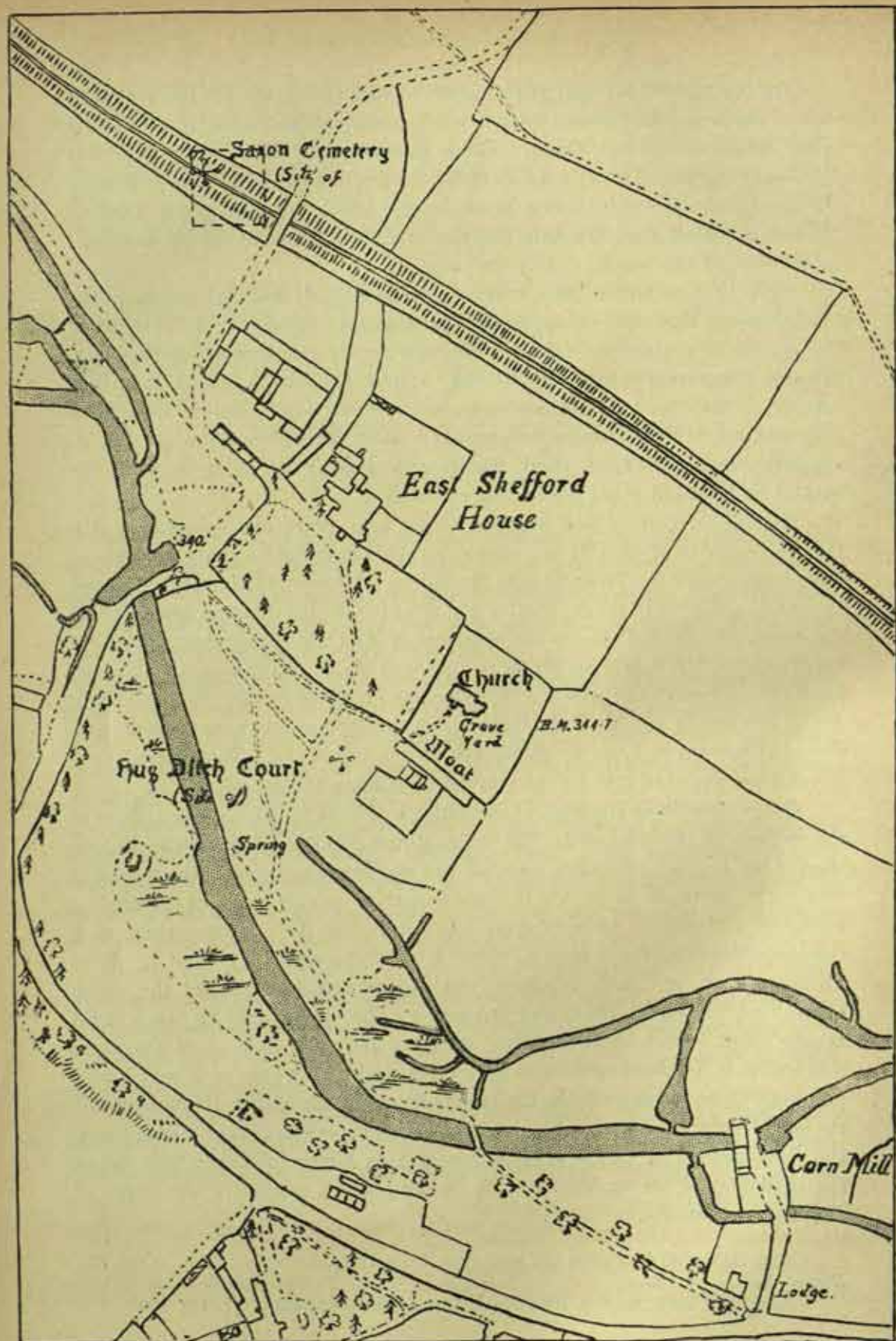


FIG. 1.—SITE OF SAXON CEMETERY.



Our explorations showed that the graveyard formed a rectangle, nearly a square, and was almost a quarter of an acre in extent. Though no signs of a fence or boundary were noticed (in fact such could hardly be expected), the regular shape of the space occupied by the graves leads one to suppose that a definite piece of land had been carefully laid out for the purpose.

With our colleagues we met the foreman and two other men at Shefford station on Monday, September 16th, and proceeded to the site. Information that had been received from men who had been present in 1890 led us to believe that the greater part of the graveyard lay to the north-east of the cutting, as proved to be the case; we were also assured that all the remains had been found to the north-west of the bridge behind the Manor House.

As a result of this information two trenches were dug, 3 feet apart, parallel to the railway fence, beginning at the bridge. These were dug out to the depth of 2 feet, through red clay full of flints and chalk rubble, until the foreman announced that he had come to undisturbed ground. No remains were met with, but towards evening, when probing deeper in a soft place, a skull was discovered. The following day this grave was opened out, when the remains were found to be lying about 2 feet 9 inches below the surface; the trenches were, therefore, continued to that depth. Most of the bodies were found lying due east and west, and trenches were dug, 3 feet apart, at right angles to the graves, and continued at the depth of 2 feet 9 inches or more for several yards beyond the last grave found.

When the graves on the north-east of the line were nearly exhausted, an attempt was made to locate those on the other side. A trench was started from the bridge, parallel to the fence, and continued for some way without success. It was then thought that perhaps the continuation of the graveyard lay more to the south-west, and another trench was opened in that direction. As this proved unavailing, both trenches were continued until they met, and it was near the junction that further graves were met with.

On the discovery of any remains our method was to remove the workmen, and to leave the further uncovering of the body in the hands of the foreman, working under the directions of Mr. Hooton. When all but the last few inches of soil had been removed, the foreman usually left, and two or three of our colleagues set to work with knives and small tools to lay bare the skeleton inch by inch, cleaning the bones finally with little brushes. Small objects such as beads and brooches were removed as soon as discovered, but replaced in the position in which they had been found when the skeleton had been cleaned. Then everything was ready for the photographer.

Most of the photographs were taken vertically with a camera affixed to a board supported on high trestles. Owing to the disturbed state of the ground around the graves it was no easy task to fix the trestles and camera securely, but Mr. Godding, who had charge of these arrangements, showed great ingenuity in overcoming the difficulties. A compass was in most cases placed near the skeleton to show the orientation.



On the discovery of each grave a wooden peg was driven into the ground close by, and to this was affixed a card with the number of the grave. A wooden box, marked with the same number, was then brought up, and in this all the remains found in the grave were stored after removal.

When the excavations were finished, all the bones were carefully washed, and the skull, long bones, and pelvis of each, mended as far as was practicable. As most of the graves had been filled in with clay, which was still very wet when uncovered, the bones were not in a very sound condition, though they improved considerably after a few hours' exposure to the air. As the graveyard lay not far from the farm buildings, there had been much traffic of farm carts over the site for many centuries, and to this is due, no doubt, the fact that most of the skulls had been fractured before we found them. The custom of burying the dead with the head slightly raised on a pillow of flint or chalk, caused the workmen often to come in contact with the skulls before any other evidence of the presence of the grave had been noted; in spite of the care shown by the men, this often resulted in fresh fractures.

Of the twenty-six skeletons found, eighteen lay with the feet pointing to the east, four pointing a little north of east, three to the north-east, and one a little south of east; there was nothing which indicated that the north-east position was earlier than the others, for in graves Nos. XVIII and XXIV, in which early types of brooches were found, the feet were found pointing absolutely to the east. Though the bodies were lying in an extended position there was in most cases evidence that they had not been laid out, but had been buried in the attitude assumed at death; in some cases the knees were flexed, though usually only to a slight degree. In all cases the head rested upon a pillow, either a large flint or a ledge of the natural chalk. No case of cremation was found, nor was any evidence of this method of disposing of the body noted in 1890. There were no signs which indicated that the deceased or their friends were Christians.

The grave furniture is of the type usually found in Saxon graveyards in this part of England, and contains nothing remarkable, though several of the brooches are interesting. Only one glass vessel was found; this was in grave No. XXIV at the head of a young woman of 25 years of age. It is a tumbler of a type not uncommon in this part of England, and one precisely similar was found in 1890 and is now in the British Museum, where there are others like it from Kempston, Beds; this type has also been found on several occasions in Kent. As it was standing in an upright position, with the top considerably above the head of the deceased, it was unfortunately broken before its presence was suspected, though the fragments have been very carefully pieced together (Pl. III). When found it was covered on the inside with a purplish-red stain, which might be that of wine.

Five pots were found, two of them in one grave, No. XX; in every case they were placed near the head, and always, as far as we could judge, with the remains of women. One large pot is quite plain and was evidently old and worn at the rim when placed in the grave; the small pot accompanying it is ornamented with





incised patterns and is similar in shape to those found in Frankish graves on the Continent. Of the other three pots two were ornamented and one plain. The pottery closely resembles that found at Frilford, Berks (Plate III).

Large numbers of beads were found of glass, amber and other materials; these again present no unusual types, but are similar to those found elsewhere in this region and in the Isle of Wight. Some of the glass beads are opaque and of two or more colours; one melon-shaped bead seems Roman. There was one bead of crystal, two of jet and two of flint. They were generally found in the graves of women and children, though a single particoloured bead was found in a rifled grave, No. XV, which had contained a body thought to be that of a man of more than forty years of age. Sometimes the beads were found around the neck, but quite as often near the pelvis, as if worn on the wrist or round the waist.

Amongst iron objects found were two large spear-heads, and one small one with a boy of about sixteen years of age. About a dozen knives were found, many of them small, and accompanying men, women and children; they seem to be domestic rather than warlike implements. Iron buckles were common—at least eleven were found—besides many fragments of iron which seem to be parts of others. The only other iron objects were what appears to be half of a pair of tweezers with a bronze ring attached, and half a snaffle bit. This last is interesting and was found near the waist of a lady of fifty years of age or more. It seems uncertain whether it was part of her girdle, or whether it had been held in her hand. At the cemetery at Garton Slack, in grave No. X, Mr. Mortimer found all the metal work necessary for two snaffle bridles with martingales, almost similar to those now in use, lying on the ribs of a youth from fourteen to seventeen years of age.<sup>1</sup> It is curious that no swords were found on this occasion, nor by Mr. Palmer, and the only one recorded from this graveyard is that exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Walter Money in 1890.<sup>2</sup>

Amongst the bronze articles found were one buckle (No. XII), a needle-case (No. XIII), two toilet sets, each consisting of two pins and an ear-pick, attached to a wire ring, three pins, one attached to a wire ring, two pieces of bronze with rivets, which appear to have been used to bind some substance, probably leather, and a number of brooches (Plate III).

The brooches were always in pairs and were usually found over the clavicles, though sometimes the cloak which they had fastened had slipped to one side and they were found together near the shoulder. There were two pairs of thick disk brooches, one of which had been tinned, and another pair, each consisting apparently of two thin plates with some other substance, already decayed, between them. The upper plates had in each case been perforated and an iron rivet had been inserted through these, and continued in one case through a large rosette-shaped glass bead. These upper plates had become detached from the lower, and

<sup>1</sup> Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches*, Plate LXXXVI, figs. 659-60.

<sup>2</sup> *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser., xiii, p. 107; *Trans. Newbury Dist. Field Club*, iv, p. 196.



were found resting upon the lower rib, but it seems certain that they must have belonged to the lower plates. Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds states that this type is common in North Germany, where it is found with both plates pierced and the tall rivet, though he was unable to state what was the ornamented material which the rivet served to secure<sup>1</sup>; as in our case the glass bead was found lying upon the disks, this problem may be considered as solved.

Two square-headed brooches, tinned, of an ordinary pattern, were found with No. XVI, and with No. X was found another, of an earlier type, in association with a cruciform brooch of fifth-century type. Two large applied brooches, very much decayed, but showing signs of their original gilding, were found with No. XXI, and with No. XXIV were two small brooches of the same type and of peculiar interest. These show a very marked zoomorphic design, less degenerate than is usual in these types; it consists of a number of oxen in a curious attitude with tridents for tails. Mr. Leeds has drawn my attention to a similar design found by the Abbé Cochet in a Merovingian tomb at Sigy, near Neufchatel, Seine-Inférieure; it is imperfect, and is figured in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, iv, 237. Professor Baldwin Brown has kindly lent me a photograph of this, which is in the Museum at Rouen. These are probably the earliest applied brooches that have hitherto been found in this country.

Only one saucer brooch was found, and this is of a not uncommon type; it is thickly gilded. With it was found an equal-armed brooch (Plate III).

The only other metal object was a small finger ring of silver or tin with a spiral ornament, found on the finger of a child of twelve months old in grave No. XI.

Impressions of cloth were found in two cases, once on clay and on another occasion on the rust of the tweezer already referred to. A large ring of bone in No. XXI appears to have been used as a buckle, and with it were the remains of a bone comb, too decayed to be capable of restoration.

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## II.—OSTEOLOGICAL REPORT ON THE SAXON CEMETERY AT EAST SHEFFORD, BERKS.

By E. A. HOOTON.

From the contents of twenty-seven graves (of which four were rifled, four contained infant remains, and one animal bones only), it was possible partially to reconstruct fifteen crania so that certain measurements could be taken. But in most of the cases the facial portion and the base are more or less fragmentary.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, lxiii, pp. 193-4.

## DETERMINATION OF SEX.

As is usual in the case of Anglo-Saxon skeletal material, the characteristics by which the sex is usually distinguished are poorly marked and dubious in the majority of the specimens.

This ambiguity was particularly noticeable in the skulls. On many of the female crania the muscular attachments were more strongly marked than on the male skulls, and the bones were heavier and thicker. The mastoid processes were poorly developed in both sexes, and there was no distinction in size between the males and the females. No entirely satisfactory criteria for the determination of sex were afforded by the supra-orbital ridges, the orbital margins, the basal portions of the crania, or by any other of the usual cranial features upon which anthropologists commonly base judgments as to the sex of skeletal remains.

In a lesser degree the same lack of sexual definition characterized the long bones. Many of the females had large, heavy bones with prominent ridges for the attachment of muscles, while, on the other hand, the muscular development of the male bones was often relatively, if not absolutely, less. The size of the articular heads of the humeri and of the femora exhibited a large range of variation in each sex, but the average was greater in the male specimens. The pelves were in most cases fragmentary.

In spite of these ambiguities an accurate determination of the sex of all of the adult specimens was possible by taking the cumulative evidence of the skeletal material and using the archaeological evidence as a final check. In Saxon burials of the pre-Christian period pots, beads, and brooches are found, as a rule, only in the graves of females, while the distribution of spear-heads is confined to the males.

Of the remains of twenty-seven individuals, thirteen were ascertained to be females and nine males. The sex of the other five is doubtful; four are infants, and the other is an adolescent, about fifteen years of age and probably a boy; but his grave had been rifled and only a few bones were left in it.

## CRANIAL TYPES.

Repeated handling of the specimens enabled me to distinguish two separate types, one of which is entirely confined to the female specimens and the other is confined to the males, with a possible exception of two cases. There also exists an intermediate type composed of adolescent individuals. In the last-named type the characteristics of the others are mixed. In accordance with the distribution of the two main types, I have designated them as the Female Type and the Male Type respectively. The third type will be called the Intermediate Type.

*The Female Type.*—The Female Type is represented by 10, which is the best preserved specimen in the collection (Plate V). It is the skull of a woman past



middle life. Viewed in the *norma verticalis* the skull is ovoid and cryptozygous. It is mesocephalic, the index being 74·7. The frontal region is of medium prominence; the sagittal region is oval; the temporo-parietal region is full, and the occiput is moderately convex. The lambdoid region exhibits a slight flattening.

Viewed in the *norma lateralis* the skull is of medium height (height index 71·9). There are moderate supraorbital ridges over the medial halves of the orbits, the depression for the nasion is medium, and there is a noticeable alveolar prognathism.

The orbits are megaseme (index 89·4), approaching a rectangle in shape, and with the inner angles slightly elevated. The nasal arch is low and broad. The nasal aperture is very wide, and the nasal index (55) places the subject in the platyrrhine class. The inferior border of the nasal aperture is not sharply defined, but exhibits distinct sub-nasal fossæ. The sub-orbital fossæ are medium. The malars are small.

The muscular impressions on the skull are well marked for a female, the mastoids are feebly developed and the foramen magnum is large.

*The Male Type.*—As an example of the Male Type, 4, the cranium of a man past fifty years may be taken. Unfortunately the temporal, facial, and basal regions of all of the male skulls are very defective, partly because they have been much crushed and broken by the weight of the earth and the heavy cart traffic which for many years has taken place over the ground where the cemetery is located. Moreover, the skulls having once been mended at Mr. Peake's residence in Boxford, were practically all rebroken in the process of transportation to the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London (Plate IV).

Viewed in the *norma verticalis* 4 is pentagonoid and cryptozygous. The cephalic index is 70·6, which is markedly dolichocephalic. The frontal region is less prominent than in the Female Type. The occiput is decidedly protuberant.

Of the facial portion of 4 nothing remains. Viewed in the lateral position it may be observed that the height of the skull is somewhat small in proportion to its length, the vertical index being only 69. The glabella and supra-orbital ridges are of medium prominence. In 2, a male of about forty-five years, the supra-orbital ridges are prominent and the nasion depression is marked. The nasal arch is narrow and high and the nasal aperture is very narrow. The nasal index is 45·4, which places the specimen in the leptorrhine class. Moreover in this skull the inferior borders of the nasal aperture are well-defined ridges and not grooves as in the case of the female specimen described above<sup>1</sup> (Plate IV).

The orbits are not so high in comparison to their width as in the female specimen (orbital index of 2, 77·5), and the malar bones are much larger.

*The Intermediate Type.*—In the Intermediate Type of crania the characteristics of the Male and Female Types are mixed. For instance, the cranium of 3, a young

<sup>1</sup> In the original reconstruction of 2 the facial portion was attached to the calvaria, but it does not appear in the photograph which was taken after the skull had been broken and remended in the Museum of the R.C.S.



woman of about twenty-one years is sub-brachycephalic and pentagonoid in shape (Plate IV). The orbits are low as in the Male Type; the nasal arch is low and broad as in 10; the nasal aperture is wide and there are distinct sub-nasal grooves. There is also a marked degree of alveolar prognathism. 13 is another example. It is also the skull of a young woman. It is pentagonoid and brachycephalic (index 81). It has the occipital flattening characteristic of the Female Type, the orbits are again low, while the nasal arch is low and broad and the nasal aperture is wide. Both of these crania approach the Female Type.

On the other hand 13, a woman of about twenty years, has a very long narrow skull, pentagonoid in shape, and with an index of 71. There is a pronounced flattening in the lambdoid region; the frontal arch is high and there are no brow ridges. The orbits are megaseme as in our Female Type specimen, and similarly the malar bones are small. The nasal arch is narrow and high; the nasal aperture is exceedingly narrow (index 41), a characteristic in which it approaches the Male Type. But the inferior nasal borders are channeled as in 10. On the other hand there is no alveolar prognathism. It may be seen that this skull exhibits a mixture of the features of both the Male and the Female Types.

#### *Mandibles.*

Profile tracings of all the mandibles that were sufficiently preserved have been made, and I attempted to arrange these in a series according to type by superimposing the tracings on the line of the teeth. However, this method did not yield a satisfactory result because of the small number of specimens. The Male Type has the Nordic jaw, with its strongly developed mental prominence and lofty ascending ramus. The Female Type of mandible has a shorter ascending ramus, and a less prominent chin. But the series is too small to permit one to venture any broad generalization (p. 121).

#### *Teeth.*

In eight of the specimens there were dental caries. All of these were female skulls. In many cases there had been alveolar abscesses, and teeth had been lost during life. Often the teeth were coated with tartar. There is a larger proportion of decayed teeth in this small series of crania than in the large series of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon crania from Frilford in the University Museum at Oxford. In fact the teeth of the East Shefford crania are much worse than one would be led to expect from a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon crania hitherto reported upon. I have noticed that the present natives of the Lambourne Valley have unusually bad teeth. The fact that none of the males was found to have carious teeth, while eight out of thirteen females exhibited one or more decayed teeth each, may be significant, and this point I shall consider later.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. G. Turner, F.R.C.S., has kindly reported upon the teeth of this collection. Unfortunately, he does not seem to have had access to all of the specimens; his report, therefore, is incomplete.



There were observed several cases of congenital absence of molars. 2, a middle-aged man, had apparently never cut his second and third lower molars. 9 and 21 showed a corresponding deficiency with regard to their third molars. This may have been a family characteristic, for 21 and 9 are two women, the former middle-aged and the latter very old, who, together with 4, an old man, and 19, an infant, constitute a group in the extreme south-east corner of the northern half of the excavations.

#### ETHNIC SIGNIFICANCE OF TYPES.

The two types of crania which have been described as our Male and Female Types exhibit differences which cannot be set down as mere sexual variations. The Male Type of skull with its narrow pentagonal shape and protruding occiput, its high narrow nasal opening, its heavy jaw with outjutting chin and lofty ascending ramus, shows unmistakable Nordic affinities.

On the other hand, it seems to me that the Female Type of cranium with mesocephalic ovoid shape, with its high orbits, its low nasal arch and wide nasal apertures and sub-nasal grooves, its alveolar prognathism and its differently formed mandible, has little in common with the Male Type. I have been unable to find this type of skull amongst any of the Saxon crania from the Continent which I have been able to examine. In so far as I have been able to ascertain, the Saxon women and the Nordic women in general, as represented by ancient remains from North Germany and Scandinavia, are dolichocephalic with narrow leptorrhine faces, and without any of the features which characterize our skull 10. They are, in fact, much like the males in type. A few of the Frilford Anglo-Saxon female crania are of this Nordic type, and one of our collection, 9, an old woman buried with horse trappings, had a skull approximating to this description.

An examination of all the crania marked Saxon in the large collection of the University Museum at Oxford, and in that of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London, disclosed the presence of a large number of crania of our Female Type, both males and females. It is my belief that the Saxons invaded England and married the Romano-British women, and that the majority of the crania in our museums which are labelled Anglo-Saxon are the intermediate type resulting from this cross. Most of the Anglo-Saxon crania which I have examined are of this type. But the progression of this intermediate type was rather toward the Romano-British form of skull, as would naturally be expected where a body of invaders have married the native women. The British population seems largely to have absorbed the Saxons, and for proof of this statement I would refer the reader not only to collections of ancient crania in the museums of England labelled Anglo-Saxon, but also to the present-day population of England, in which the Nordic type is by no means dominant, except perhaps in a few limited localities.

I have sought to analyse the constituent ethnic elements of our Female Type, which is in itself the result of a mixture of several distinct types. The



neolithic or Long Barrow people in England were, in general, small and slightly built. They had long, narrow, and ill-filled skulls, of which the nasal apertures were of moderate width, and the lower jaws were rather feeble, without prominent chins. On the other hand, the Bronze Age invaders of England, or the Round Barrow people, were tall and muscular; they had brachycephalic crania with prominent supra-orbital ridges, wide faces, boldly projecting noses of a good width, heavy lower jaws with prominent chins. The Round Barrow people mingled with the neolithic population, and the result was an intermediate type. This modified type is already found in the Round Barrows, the crania from which are by no means all brachycephalic. It tends rather to dolichocephaly, since the number of round-headed invaders sufficed only to modify the extreme long-headedness of the neolithic population. The result of this mixture, however, was a taller and more muscular type than that of the Long Barrows. The face was broader, the nose was wider and more prominent; in many cases the incisive segment of the upper jaw projected somewhat so as to constitute alveolar prognathism. Skulls of the Romano-British period are usually of this modified British type. A large series of crania from a Roman cemetery in York, now in the University Museum at Oxford, consists almost wholly of this type. The skulls which are Roman and not Romano-British are easily distinguished by their rectangular platycephalic form. I noticed, in examining this series, that it contained many crania which were identical with our Female Type. The subnasal fosse, which are not common in Long Barrow crania, frequently occurred in this Romano-British series.

In the skeletal remains from East Shefford under discussion I believe we have examples of the original Saxon invaders of the district, represented by our Male Type, the Romano-British women whom they married represented by our Female Type, and their offspring, our Intermediate Type, composing the first generation of their progeny. This conclusion is borne out by the condition of the teeth in the specimens. None of the men had carious teeth, while the majority of the women had. Presumably the deterioration of teeth is due to the change from a coarse to a fine diet. Assuming that the two sexes subsisted on the same diet, it seems probable that the change took place at too late a period to affect the teeth of these particular Saxon invaders.

It may be admitted here that the series of skeletal remains under consideration is unfortunately so small and the specimens are in such a fragmentary condition that the evidence is inconclusive. I am, however, confident that subsequent excavations of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in this vicinity will substantiate the view here set forth.

#### GENERAL REMARKS.

These people were small, slightly built, and of submedium muscular development. Living on the chalk, they suffered greatly from rheumatism. No peculiarities of any particular morphological significance were observed. Mr. Turner observed



that some of the specimens seemed to have suffered from oral sepsis. In the case of one woman the sacrum was ankylosed to the left os innominatum. One case of Colles fracture was observed and one case of a fractured clavicle.

Several of the tibiae exhibited squatting facets on the anterior border of the inferior articular surface.

#### STATISTICAL SUMMARY.

##### *Heights.*

The lengths of the skeletons were measured in the graves, and their heights were afterwards estimated from the length of the long bones, according to Professor Karl Pearson's formulæ. In each case the largest number of long bones intact formed the basis of the estimate. The greatest height in the case of the women was 1,635 mm. (5 ft. 4 in. app.), and the smallest was 1,528 mm. (5 ft.). The average height of the women was 1,578 mm. (5 ft. 2 in.) (10 women). The tallest man was 1,710 mm. (5 ft. 7 in.), and the shortest 1,590 mm. (5 ft.  $\frac{1}{2}$  in.); the average was 1,622 mm. (5 ft. 4 in.) (5 men).

##### *Ages.*

Of 27 individuals 20 were adults, 12 female and 8 male. Six of the women were between the ages of 19 and 30, and six between 40 and 70. Five of the men were between the ages of 21 and 30, and three from 40 to 70. There were four infants under 3 years, one of which was probably still-born, one child about 4-6 years, two between the ages of 13 and 16.

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### III.—GENERAL CONCLUSION.

By HAROLD PEAKE.

It will now be necessary to consider the date of the graveyard. In 1890 Mr. Money assigned the remains then found to the sixth or seventh century—that is to say, between the Battle of Old Sarum in 552 and the eighth century, when the Saxons began to bury in churchyards and churches.<sup>1</sup> But much light has been thrown on the Saxon conquest of England during the last twenty years. In 1890 it was still the fashion to attach the greatest importance to the early events recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and with Freeman and Green to look to this chronicle as the only source of information. The latter writer, following this authority and filling in the gaps from his imagination, makes the descendants of Cerdic, who landed at Southampton in 495, capture Old Sarum in 552, and push

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. Newbury Dist. Field Club*, iv, p. 197; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser., xiii, p. 108.

on thence by Marlborough to Barbury Hill, where they fought a successful battle in 556. After this the whole of Berkshire fell without a blow to the conquerors.<sup>1</sup>

The earlier parts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle do not now command the confidence that they did some years ago, and the history of the house of Cerdic is specially open to suspicion, as it is entirely ignored by the Venerable Bede. If it is to be accepted with Green's explanations, it must, at least, be held to be an incomplete account of the conquest of Berkshire.

In a very valuable paper recently communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds, F.S.A.,<sup>2</sup> the author has made a detailed study of the distribution of saucer brooches, and of the applied brooches, which with much probability he considers to be the earlier form. He has shown that with few exceptions these are found in the plain that lies to the north-west of the Chiltern Hills and the Berkshire Downs, and that they have been noted from the border of Gloucestershire as far as the Wash. These brooches were formerly considered to be a definitely West Saxon type, but Mr. Leeds has shown that they have been found in great numbers in regions where West Saxon influence cannot have penetrated, while they are conspicuous by their absence in the truly West Saxon region of Hampshire and South Wiltshire. These brooches have also been found in the lower valley of the Thames, though at no great distance from the river, and in the valleys of the Kennet and its tributaries.

From this evidence Mr. Leeds concludes that the brooches belonged to tribes who forced their way up the Thames in an unrecorded expedition, though other allied tribes may have approached by means of the Wash. The whole question is full of interest, but we will not pursue it further than to suggest that the Berkshire graveyards, including the one under review, in which saucer and applied brooches have been found in great numbers, are the burial places of tribes who came here from the mouth of the Thames, before the arrival of the people of Cerdic in 556.

Bede, our earliest authority for the Saxon conquest, tells us of invasions by Saxons and Picts between 429 and 447,<sup>3</sup> and he implies, on the authority of Gildas, that many Saxons were settled among the British before the middle of the sixth century.<sup>4</sup>

The brooches that we have been describing include several fifth-century types, and among the applied brooches, which are at present undatable though undeniably early, we have a pair that appear to be the earliest yet discovered in this country. One of the bronze pins seems to be of a Roman type, as does one of the glass beads, while among the brooches from this graveyard in the British Museum is one

<sup>1</sup> Green, J. R., *Making of England*, pp. 94-96.

<sup>2</sup> "The Distribution of the Anglo-Saxon saucer brooch in relation to the Battle of Bedford, A.D. 571," *Arch.*, lxi, p. 159 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *Ecc. Hist.*, xii-xvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xxii.



containing a glass intaglio representing a raven with its head turned back,<sup>1</sup> which seems also to be of Roman workmanship. Added to this there were found in 1890 a number of coins, pierced for suspension, which date from 271 to 350.<sup>2</sup> All this seems to point to an early date.

To turn to the evidence furnished by the bones, we find that the majority of the adult men had taken wives among the natives, for out of six women over forty years of age only one was of the invading type. That such intermarriages were the rule rather than the exception may be concluded from the fact that among nine skeletons of those who died under the age of thirty, six are of an intermediate type, while three, though resembling the invading type, nevertheless exhibit some mixed characteristics. We seem here to be dealing with the two first generations of invaders, and it is to be noted that all those over forty years of age are of one or other of the pure types, while of those showing intermediate characteristics none exceeded the age of twenty-five. If these features were present throughout the whole graveyard, we should expect that all the burials had taken place within a period of thirty years.

The character of the grave furniture to a certain extent supports the shortness of the period, for there is no great development of ornament to be noted. The prevalence of geometrical ornament on some of the saucer brooches, while early forms of zoomorphic ornament are found on the small pair of applied brooches, leads one to suspect, however, that rather more than thirty years must be allowed.

The graveyard seems to have been a little less than a quarter of an acre in extent, and the two corners explored show that it was to all intents and purposes completely filled. Had the remaining portions been occupied with equal density, we should expect to find ninety-five graves in all; as it is we can account for seventy-three and we know that there were others. Our results show that the rate of infant mortality was not high, for it is clear that if a still-born child was buried here, other infants would not have been disposed of elsewhere. The chief mortality seems to have been among the younger women,—those between twenty and thirty years of age,—perhaps owing to a lack of skill in midwifery. As the data as to age and sex do not exist for more than a quarter of the people buried here, it would be rash to base any conclusions upon statistics; but even with a small community a graveyard of this size could not have lasted longer than 100 years,—it is possible that it was in use for a much shorter period.

From the foregoing evidence I would suggest that some time in the fifth century Saxon invaders arrived by the mouth of the Thames and settled upon the banks of its lower reaches. Towards the latter half of the century fresh comers penetrated further inland, both through the Goring Gap and up the Kennet and Lambourne Valleys. These brought few women with them and took wives of the

<sup>1</sup> *Vict. Hist. Berks*, i, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Trans. Newbury Dist. Field Club*, iv, p. 198.

country, living more or less peaceably side by side with the British for two or three generations. Finally, the descendants of Cerdic and his followers, more warlike than the others, perhaps because they had encountered a fiercer resistance, defeated the British at Barbury Hill in 556. Then they passed along the Ridgeway into Berkshire, which they found already peopled with kindred tribes. It was, perhaps, the coalition of these two sets of invaders which gave rise to the term "Gewissae," which Professor Oman suggests means "The Allies."<sup>1</sup>

It seems strange that the Teutonic tribes, who had burned the bodies of their dead in their continental home, should so rapidly have been converted to the practice of inhumation, for no sepulchral urns have been found at East Shefford. The admixture of race may perhaps account for this. Though the Saxon invaders may have destroyed churches and driven out the priests,<sup>2</sup> yet the women that they took into their houses must have been Christians, in name at least, though probably tainted with the Pelagian heresy. That their Christianity was not very deeply rooted is probable, and doubtless they were pagan at heart. Nevertheless, they had probably been accustomed for some generations to burying their dead, and I would suggest that it was to their influence that this change in the mode of disposing of the bodies must be attributed.

## DESCRIPTION OF GRAVES.

### GRAVE No. I.

This skeleton was found at a rather less depth than the others, for the top of the skull was only 2 feet beneath the surface. It lay extended, with the head to the east but with the feet pointing rather north of west as the body had been slightly bent at the waist; the left arm lay by the side of the body, but the right was bent at the elbow and lay across the breast.

1. *Cranium*.—Dolichocephalic and pentagonoid. Fragmentary condition, facial portion lacking. The muscular attachments are not well marked. Glabella and supra-orbital ridges prominent. Pronounced post-orbital constriction. Mastoid processes poorly developed. Temporal bones missing. The nasal arch was high and the subject was probably leptorrhine.

*Estimated capacity*.—1,624 c.c.

*Mandible*.—Powerful bone with strongly developed mental process. Teeth slightly worn except third molars (p. 121, Fig. 3, 1).

<sup>1</sup> Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> Gildas, *Hist.*, xxiv.



*General Remarks.*

The long bones are large and with strongly marked muscular attachments. Epiphyses ossified. The right clavicle had been fractured during life.

*Age.*—About twenty-five years.

*Sex.*—Male.

*Estimated Height.*—1.65 m.

With the skeleton were found a small iron knife and a small bronze object with rivets, which appears to have been used for binding some substance, probably leather; the latter was found under the neck.

## GRAVE NO. II.

This grave was again rather shallow, the top of the skull being only 1 foot 9 inches below the surface of the ground. The skeleton, which lay extended with the limbs parallel and the feet to the east, was that of a man about forty-five years of age.

2. *Cranium.*—Sub-dolichocephalic. Post-mortem distortion. Muscular attachments not well marked. Prominent glabella. Post-orbital constriction. Prominent supra-orbital ridges and mastoid processes. Sagittal suture ossified. Lambdoid suture partially ossified. The parietal bones are unusually large. Estimated capacity 1,669 c.c. (Plate IV, 2).

*Facial Portion.*—Fragmentary.

The subject was leptorrhine.

*Teeth.*—Upper. The retention of a milk incisor on each side of the upper jaw has crowded the canines back and the second incisors forward. The second molars are unworn but the rest of the teeth are well worn down. The third molars have been broken away. The palate is parabolic.

*Mandible.*—Prominent mental process and high ascending rami. The second and third lower molars were probably never cut or were lost very early in life.

*General Remarks.*

*Long Bones.*—Large with well-marked muscular attachments. Epiphyses ossified. The right femur has a very strongly developed linea aspera and the left femur has a third trochanter. Marked backward extensions of the inferior articular surfaces. The anterior border of the inferior articular surfaces of the tibiae exhibit squatting facets.

*Pelvis.*—The opening of the great sacro-sciatic notch is very narrow.

*Age.*—About middle life.

*Sex.*—Male.

*Estimated Height.*—1.710 m.

With this skeleton were found a large iron spear-head and a piece of iron, the use of which is not clear.

## GRAVE NO. III.

This grave was comparatively shallow, the top of the head being only 2 feet 2 inches below the surface of the ground.

3. *Cranium*.—Sub-brachycephalic and pentagonoid. Ceph. index 78. Muscular attachments indistinct; mastoids well developed; glabella prominent; frontal arch high; sutures open (Plate IV, 3).

*Face*.—Orbits microseme; nasal arch low and broad; nasal index 50; sub-nasal fossae; a slight degree of alveolar prognathism.

*Teeth*.—Upper: palate hypsiloid; teeth slightly worn; third molars unworn, deep set and inclined labially; second molars have only three developed cusps.

*Mandible*.—Prominent mental process: broad and rather low ascending ramus with deep sigmoid notch; gonial angle obtuse (p. 121, Fig. 3, 3).

*General Remarks.*

*Long Bones*.—In both humeri the olecranon fossa is perforated. Squatting facets on the anterior border of the inferior tibial surface. On the long bones the muscular attachments are poorly marked. The epiphyses have united to the shafts.

*Pelvis*.—The opening of the great sacro-sciatic notch is rather narrow; the sub-pubic angle is rather small. The iliac crest is not completely united to the body of the bone.

*Age*.—About twenty to twenty-five years.

*Sex*.—Female.

*Estimated Height*.—1.532 m.

An earthenware pot was found at the head, and a bronze pin, with a wire ring through its head, on the breast.

## GRAVE NO. IV. (Plate VI.)

This grave was deeper, the top of the skull being 2 feet 10 inches below the surface. The head was lying over to the right side.

4. *Cranium*.—Dolichocephalic (70.6) and ellipsoid; tapeino-cephalic (69). Est. capacity 1,569 c.c. Cranium slightly distorted in mending. Facial portion missing; base fragmentary. Sutures ossified. Mastoids fairly well developed. Glabella prominent; well-marked ridges over mesial half of orbits; marked occipital protuberance (Plate IV, 4).

*Mandible*.—Horizontal ramus heavy with strongly developed mental process; ascending ramus low and broad with shallow sigmoid notch (p. 121, Fig. 3, 4).

*Teeth*.—Lower: very much worn down; second and third left molars missing and alveolar border absorbed.



*General Remarks.*

*Long Bones.*—Muscular attachments very strongly marked. The tibiae exhibit squatting facets.

*Pelvis.*—Fragmentary. The opening of the great sacro-sciatic notch is very narrow.

The subject had suffered from arthritis.

*Age.*—Probably over fifty years.

*Sex.*—Male.

*Estimated Height.*—1·566 m.

An iron spear-head was found with this skeleton.

GRAVE NO. V.

This skeleton was found 2 feet 6 inches deep, but in too fragmentary a condition to note its position with accuracy.

5. Fragmentary remains of an infant.

*Cranium.*—Frontal bone with metopic suture closed; right temporal bone, fragments of base, etc.

*Face.*—Right half of palate containing milk teeth.

*Mandible.*—Right three-quarters of mandible containing milk teeth; second left molar imperfectly erupted.

*General Remarks.*

Epiphyses have not yet appeared on long bones which are preserved in fragmentary condition.

*Age.*—About twenty months.

*Sex.*—Indeterminate. On archaeological evidence female.

With it were found a glass bead and a small knife.

GRAVE NO. VI.

6. This grave contained only animal remains.

GRAVE NO. VII. (Plate VI.)

7. *Cranium.*—Post-mortem deformation. Brachycephalic (82·4); pentagonoid. Base fragmentary. Sutures all closed and ossified. Sagittal depression. Prominent glabella, supra-orbital ridges and mastoid processes. Muscular attachments well marked.

*Face.*—Apparently mesorrhine and mesoseme. Inferior nasal borders not well defined.

*Teeth.*—Upper: much worn down; molars missing except 2nd left, palate hypsiloid.

*Mandible.*—Prominent mental process; low ascending ramus.

*Teeth.*—Much worn down and encrusted with tartar. Signs of decay in 1st and 2nd molars on each side and in 2nd left premolar. Alveolar abscess about 2nd left molar.

*General Remarks.*

Long bones are large and with prominent muscular attachments.

*Pelvis.*—Fragmentary. Signs of arthritis. Opening of sacro-sciatic notch narrow.

*Age.*—Over forty years.

*Sex.*—Doubtful on osteological evidence but certainly female on basis of associated finds.

With this skeleton were found the remains of two applied brooches with iron rivets and one large glass bead, which appears to have been the front of one of the brooches (Plate III). There was also a piece of bronze binding with rivets, like that found with No. I.

GRAVE NO. VIII. (Plate VII.)

This skeleton of a child was lying about 2 feet 2 inches from the surface. Before it was moved it measured 3 feet 1 inch in length.

8. *Cranium.*—Cranium of a child too fragmentary for reconstruction. Mastoids well developed for size.

*Teeth.*—First molars of permanent set erupted. First upper incisors coming through.

*Mandible.*—Small but heavy, infantile.

*General Remarks.*

*Pelvis.*—Rami of pubes and ischium not yet completely ossified.

*Age.*—Five to seven years.

*Sex.*—Male (?)

With this skeleton were found twelve glass beads, and some fragments of iron which might be the remains of pins or buckles.

GRAVE NO. IX.

This skeleton, which was 2 feet 6 inches deep, measured 4 feet 9 inches.

9. *Cranium.*—Fragmentary, mesaticephalic. Sutures all ossified. Small mastoids and poorly marked muscular attachments.

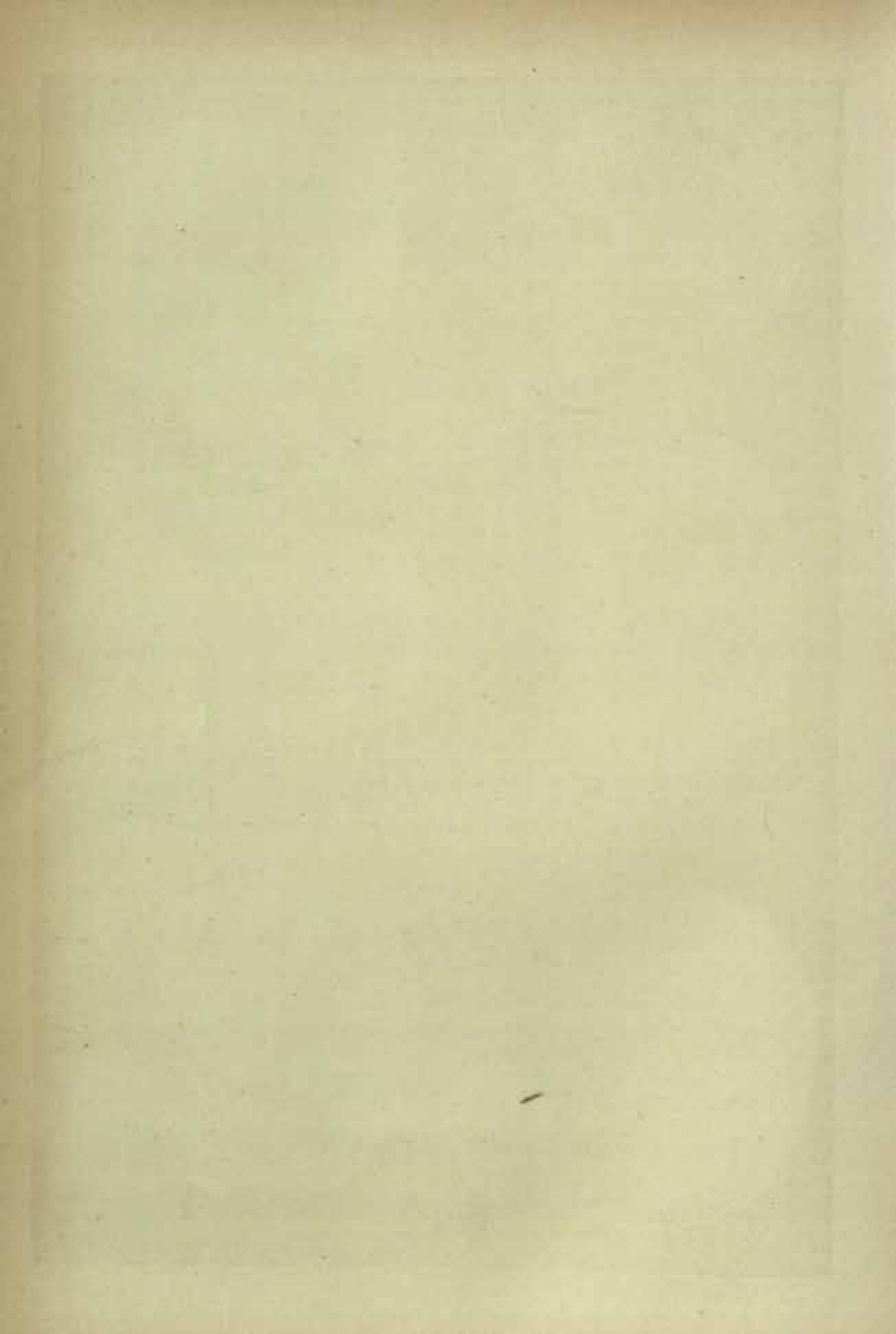
*Face.*—Missing.

*Mandible.*—Prominent mental development; low ascending ramus with deep sigmoid notch.

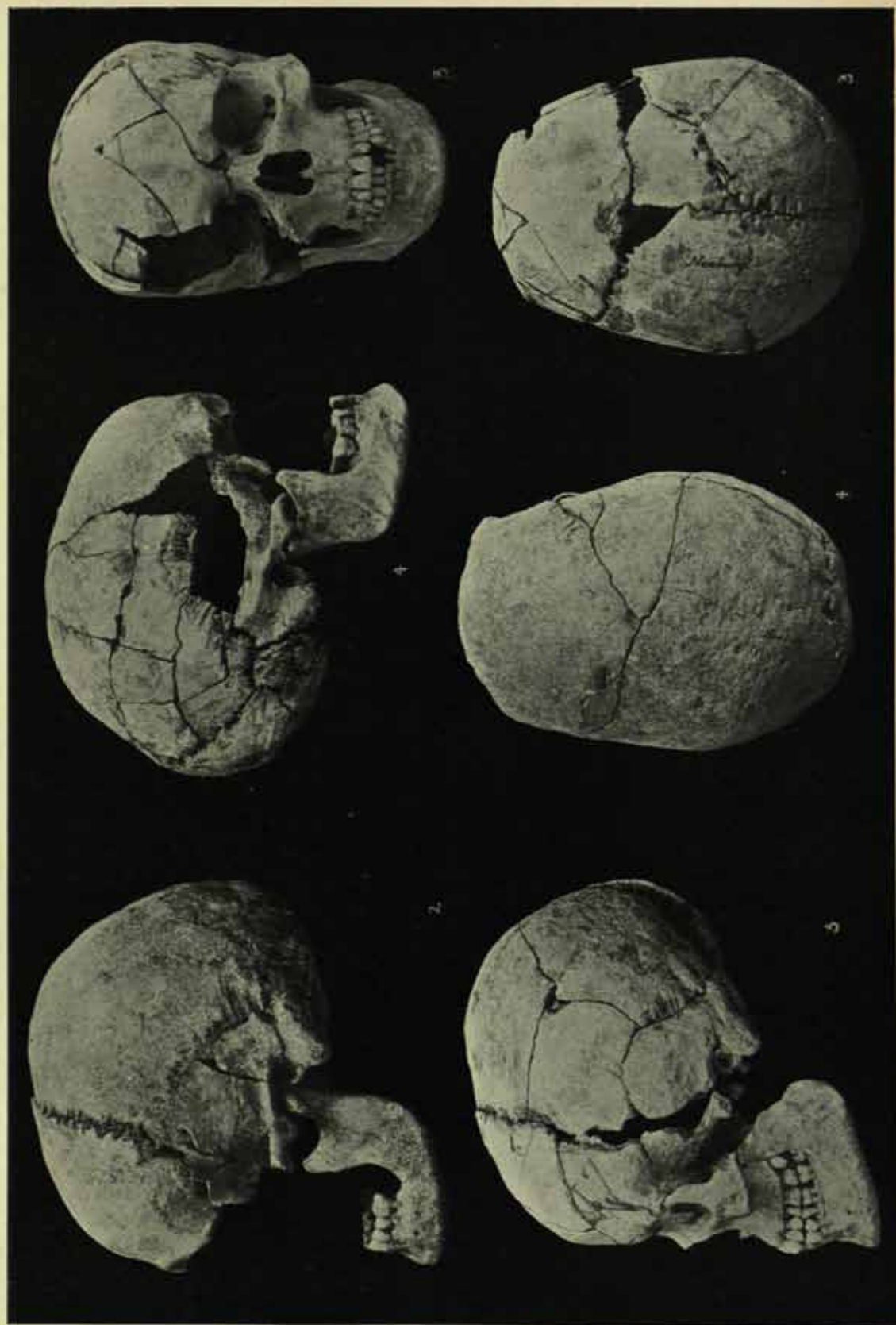




OBJECTS FROM SAXON GRAVES, NOS. VII, X, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXI, XXIV.







SAXON SKULLS FROM EAST SHEFFORD.



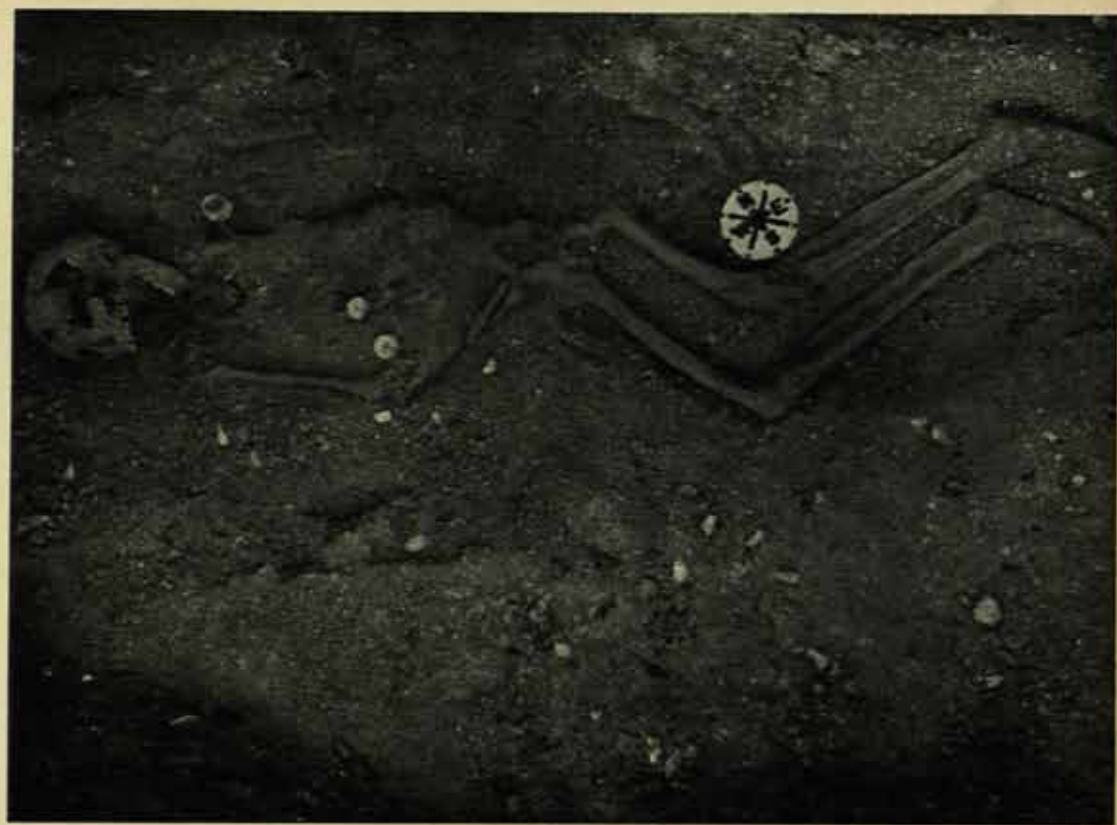




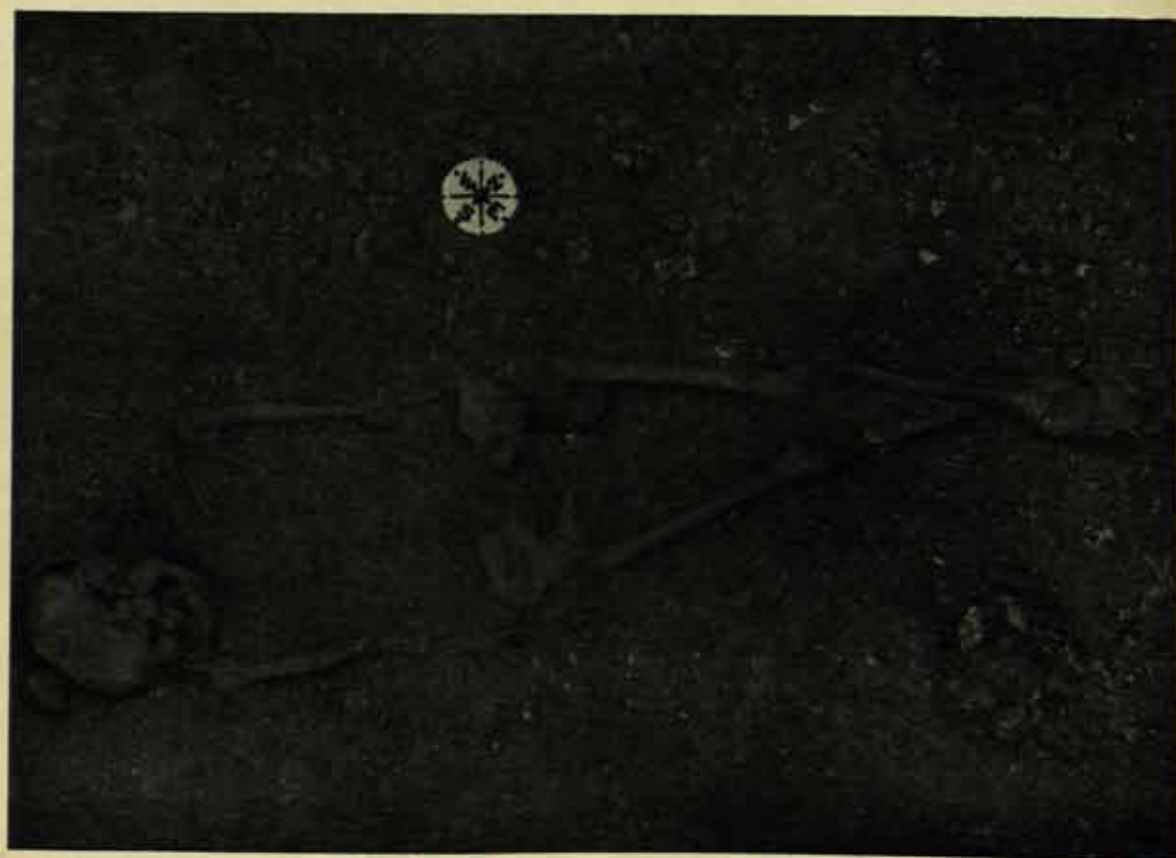
SAXON SKULLS FROM EAST SHEFFORD.







SAXON GRAVE, NO. VII.



SAXON GRAVE, NO. IV.







SAXON GRAVE, NO. X.



SAXON GRAVE, NO. VIII.







SAXON GRAVE, NO. XIII.



SAXON GRAVE, NO. XII.







SAXON GRAVE, NO. XX.



SAXON GRAVE, NO. XIV.





*Teeth.*—Very much worn down. Third molars never erupted. Second left molar lost by abscess. Caries of first left incisor. Much tartar on teeth.

*General Remarks.*

*Long bones.*—Fragile, fragmentary, rheumaticky.

*Pelvis.*—Female: acetabulum shows signs of acute arthritis.

*Age.*—Over fifty years.

*Sex.*—Female.

*Estimated height.*—1.532 m.

With the skeleton were found a bronze pin, a pair of circular brooches, twenty-eight amber beads, one blue glass bead, a large iron knife, part of a snaffle-bit, and other fragments of iron.

GRAVE NO. X. (Plate VII.)

This skeleton was lying 2 feet 8 inches deep and measured 5 feet.

10. *Cranium.*—Complete. Mesaticephalic, ovoid; sutures almost completely ossified, traces of metopic suture in region of glabella. Heavy skull with small mastoids, well-marked muscular attachments on the occiput but poorly marked elsewhere. Prominent ridges over mesial halves of orbits. Small foramen magnum, spheno-occipital suture closed. Flattening of occiput in lambdoid region (Plate V, 10).

*Face.*—Megaseme; low nasal arch, platyrrhine (55), subnasal fossæ; alveolar prognathism.

*Teeth.*—Upper: very much worn down; right third molar absent.

*Mandible.*—Low ascending ramus, deep sigmoid notch, poorly developed mental process (Fig. 3, 10).

*Teeth.*—Signs of caries in right first molar, alveolar abscess. Abscess about roots of left third molar. Teeth encrusted with tartar.

*General Remarks.*

The long bones are small and the muscular attachments are not well marked.

*Age.*—Past fifty years.

*Sex.*—Female.

*Estimated height.*—1.545 m.

With the skeleton were found a bronze toilet set, a cruciform brooch and a square-headed brooch, a large glass bead and an unornamented pot (Plate III).

GRAVE NO. XI.

11. Fragmentary remains of an infant. Anterior milk molars in process of eruption.

*Age*.—About twelve months.

*Sex*.—Indeterminate.

With this skeleton were a small silver ring, a small iron knife, five beads of glass and two of amber.

#### GRAVE NO. XII. (Plate VIII.)

The skull in this grave was considerably raised above the body, and was lying on a large flint; the top of the skull was 2 feet 4 inches below the surface. The skeleton measured 4 feet 10 inches before it was moved.

12. *Cranium*.—Dolichocephalic and pentagonoid. Flattened in the lambdoid region and with a protruding occiput. Sutures open. Frontal suture persistent. Mastoids and muscular attachments, glabella poorly developed. Estimated capacity, 1,616 c.c. (Plate V, 12).

*Face*.—Orbits megaseme. Nasal arch high and narrow, leptorrhine; sub-nasal borders not well defined. Palate small and parabolic.

*Teeth*.—Upper: wisdom teeth not yet erupted; second molars very little worn.

*Mandible*.—Heavy horizontal ramus with strong mental development; lofty ascending ramus.

*Teeth*.—Large cavity in second left molar; abscess about the roots. Teeth very little worn.

#### *General Remarks.*

The long bones are long and slender with poorly marked muscular attachments. The pelvis is in a very fragmentary condition, but exhibits female characteristics. Epiphyses mostly united to shafts.

*Age*.—Nineteen to twenty years.

*Sex*.—Female.

*Estimated height*.—1.528 m.

With the skeleton were a bronze buckle, an iron penannular buckle, a small iron knife, five plain glass beads, two cylindrical beads, an amber bead, a stone bead, and a string of small black and green beads.

#### GRAVE NO. XIII. (Plate VIII.)

The legs of this skeleton were flexed.

13. *Cranium*.—Pentagonoid and brachycephalic (index of 81.2). Base and greater portion of left side missing. Sutures open. Flattening in the lambdoid region. Muscular attachments not well marked. Mastoids fairly well developed. No supra-orbital ridges; glabella not prominent.

*Face*.—Orbits microseme. Bridge of nose low, platyrrhine (index of 58); sub-nasal borders channeled. Large hypsiloid palate.



*Teeth.*—Upper: complete, but little worn. Signs of decay setting in in left first molar.

*Mandible.*—Rather feeble mental prominence; low ascending ramus with deep sigmoid notch; very obtuse gonial angle. The bone is very slender and light. Signs of decay in first left molar (Fig. 3, 13).

#### *General Remarks.*

The long bones are large, but the muscular markings are not prominent. The pelvis exhibits female characteristics. All the epiphyses are united to the shafts and bodies of the bones.

*Age.*—Twenty-two to twenty-four years.

*Sex.*—Female.

*Estimated height.*—1·635 m.

With the skeleton were a bronze needle-case, a pair of bronze disc brooches tinned, eight glass beads, more than 120 amber beads, an iron knife, two iron buckles, and some fragments of iron wire.

#### GRAVE NO. XIV. (Plate IX.)

This skeleton was lying 2 feet deep, the length was 4 feet 3 inches, and a spear-head was found near the skull.

14. *Cranium.*—Pentagonoid and brachycephalic (index 80·3). Sutures not closed; muscular attachments not well marked. Well-developed mastoids. Prominent glabella, but no supra-orbital ridges.

*Face.*—Largely missing. Root of nose depressed.

*Teeth.*—Upper: second molars just erupted.

*Mandible.*—Prominent mental process, low wide ascending ramus.

*Teeth.*—Second right molar and second left premolar not fully erupted.

#### *General Remarks.*

The epiphyses are not united to the shafts of the long bones. The long bones are small, and with poorly-marked muscular attachments. The pelvis has male characteristics.

*Age.*—Twelve to fifteen years.

*Sex.*—Male.

*Estimated height.*—1·495 m.

With the skeleton were found a small iron spear-head, an iron knife, and an iron buckle.

#### GRAVE NO. XV.

This grave lay partly within the railway fences, and had been opened before. Only the leg bones below the knees were found undisturbed.

15. Remains from a rifled grave.

*Cranium*.—Fragment of occipital bone and of left parietal. Very thick and heavy bones with sutures ossified.

*Face*.—Fragments of malar bones.

*General Remarks.*

There were also found fragments of tibiae, of the right femur and right humerus, of the left ulna and of the fibulae. These were large heavy bones with well-marked muscular attachments. The epiphyses were united to the shafts. The anterior borders of the inferior tibial surfaces exhibit squatting facets.

*Age*.—Probably past middle life.

*Sex*.—Male.

Among the disturbed remains was found one cylindrical glass bead.

GRAVE NO. XVI.

This skeleton was found at a depth of 2 feet 6 inches.

16. *Cranium*.—Basal portion fragmentary. Pentagonoid and mesaticcephalic. The shape is decidedly Alpine. The mastoids and glabella are well developed, but the muscular attachments are not clearly marked. The sutures are all ossified. The parietal bones are unusually large.

*Face*.—The orbits are mesoseme, and are inclined outward. The nose has a broad low bridge, with the subnasal borders not sharply defined (index of 49). The zygomatic arches are broad, and there is a considerable post-orbital constriction. The palate is parabolic.

*Teeth*.—Much worn down and encrusted with tartar, but sound.

*Mandible*.—Heavy horizontal ramus with well-marked mental process. Low broad ascending ramus with deep sigmoid notch. Teeth much worn down and covered with tartar.

*General Remarks.*

The axis is ankylosed to the third cervical vertebra. The long bones are long and slender, and with poorly marked muscular attachments. The subject suffered from arthritis. The opening of the sacro-sciatic notch is broad.

*Age*.—Probably over fifty years.

*Sex*.—Difficult to determine from osteological evidence, but certainly feminine on the basis of associated finds.

*Estimated height*.—1.61 m.

With the skeleton were found an earthenware pot, two bronze square-headed brooches, tinned, a large bead, two iron buckles, an iron knife, and some fragments of the same metal (Plate III).



## GRAVE NO. XVII.

This skeleton was lying at a depth of 2 feet 6 inches, and measured 2 feet 3 inches. The fingers of one hand were close to the neck.

17. Fragments of skeleton of infant; milk anterior molars beginning to come through.

*Age*.—Ten to twelve months.

*Sex*.—Indeterminate.

Near the neck were found some fragments of iron wire.

## GRAVE NO. XVIII.

This skeleton was lying on its left side at a depth of 2 feet 6 inches.

18. *Cranium*.—Dolichocephalic and pentagonoid (index of 70). Base of skull missing. Sutures are open. There is a small Inca bone. The mastoids are small, and the muscular attachments are not prominent. The frontal arch is high. The glabella is not prominent, and there are no supra-orbital ridges. The edges of the orbits are sharp.

*Face*.—Nothing remains of the face except fragments of the palate.

*Teeth*.—Upper; not much worn, but decay is beginning.

*Mandible*.—Small light bone with wide gonial angle, low and slender ascending ramus and deep sigmoid notch.

*Teeth*.—Very little worn; third molars just cut. Decay beginning on the left side.

*General Remarks.*

The long bones are slender, but of fair length. The muscular attachments are poorly marked. The pelvis exhibits female characteristics. The acetabulum shows signs of arthritis.

*Age*.—Twenty-three to twenty-five years.

*Sex*.—Female.

*Estimated height*.—1.586 m.

With the skeleton were found a bronze saucer brooch, gilt, an equal-armed brooch, a toilet set, an iron buckle, an iron knife, seven amber beads, a quartz bead and some fragments of iron (Plate III).

## GRAVE NO. XIX.

19. Fragments of a newly-born infant. No teeth erupted.

No grave furniture.

## GRAVE NO. XX. (Plate IX.)

This skeleton was lying on the right side with the knees much flexed.

20. *Cranium*.—Pentagonoid and dolichocephalic (index of 71). Flattening in the lambdoid region and occipital prominence. Sutures closed and ossified. Traces of metopic suture. Mastoids eaten away. Muscular attachments well marked. Prominent glabella, no supra-orbital ridges, sharp orbital margins. Frontal arch very lofty.

*Facial portion*.—Missing.

*Teeth*.—Two lower molars, much worn down, one upper molar, one upper canine, one lower canine (decayed), one premolar, one incisor.

*Mandible*.—Missing.

*General Remarks.*

The other remains consisted of a fragment of the acetabulum showing the ravages of arthritis; a fragment of a muscular right ulna, and a piece of a radius.

*Age*.—Probably over sixty years.

*Sex*.—Female.

Two earthenware pots were found at the head of this skeleton, with which were two iron buckles, an iron knife, other fragments of the same metal, and eighteen beads.

## GRAVE NO. XXI.

This skeleton was lying 2 feet 3 inches below the surface and measured 5 feet 2 inches.

21. *Cranium*.—Very fragmentary. Dolichocephalic. The sutures are ossified, but traces of a metopic suture are visible. The muscular attachments are not prominent. The glabella is well developed, but there are no supra-orbital ridges. The base and the facial portion are missing. The root of the nose is narrow and arched.

*Mandible*.—Heavy with a strong mental process, a short broad ascending ramus with a wide gonial angle and a deep sigmoid notch. Teeth very much worn down; alveolar abscess at base of 1st left molar; 2nd left molar decayed; teeth on right side missing.

*General Remarks.*

Long bones were of good length but slender and with feebly marked muscular attachments. Colles's fracture of left radius. Epiphyses all ossified. The fragments of the pelvis exhibited no clearly marked sexual characteristics.

*Age*.—Over fifty years.

*Sex*.—Female (on basis of associated finds).

*Estimated height*.—1.615 m.



With this skeleton were a bronze pin, two large applied brooches (Plate III), a bone comb, a bone ring, a stone bead, two amber beads, four glass beads, an iron knife and other fragments of the same material; also half a pair of tweezers of iron with a bronze ring.

## GRAVE NO. XXII.

This and the following graves lay on the other side of the railway line. The skeleton in this grave was lying only about a foot below the surface.

22. *Cranium*.—Too fragmentary for reconstruction. Heavy thick bones; sutures not closed; mastoids prominent; muscular attachments well marked; prominent glabella. Apparently dolichocephalic.

*Face*.—Left half of palate and superior maxillary. Broad nasal aperture.

*Teeth*.—Little worn, molars all present.

*Mandible*.—Broad and heavy horizontal ramus but with the ascending ramus low and slender. The sigmoid notch is deep. The teeth are little worn.

*General Remarks.*

The long bones are short, heavy and with prominent muscular attachments. The epiphyses are ossified to the shafts. The pelvis is in a good state of preservation. It is deep and the basin is rather narrow. The sub-pubic angle is small; the sacro-sciatic notch is of moderate breadth at its outlet. The foramina obturata are triangular. The iliac crest has not united with the body of the bone.

*Age*.—Twenty-three to twenty-five years.

*Sex*.—Male.

*Estimated height*.—1.59 m.

With the skeleton was an iron buckle, and on a piece of clay was found the impression of some woven fabric.

## GRAVE NO. XXIII.

This grave had been disturbed, and only fragments were found.

23. Remains from a rifled grave.

(A.) Fragments of long bones and pelvis with epiphyses united to shafts. Pelvis exhibits male characteristics. The bones are large and heavy.

(B.) Fragments of large and heavy parietal bones with sutures open.

Fragments of long bones with epiphyses separate from shafts and a fragment of the ilium with the crest not united to the body of the bone. The size and muscular impressions of the bones make it probable that the subject was of the male sex.

*Age*.—(A.) Man over twenty-five years.

(B.) Man about twenty years.

*Sex*.—Male.

*Estimated height*.—(A.) 1.59 m.

No grave furniture had been left.

## GRAVE NO. XXIV.

This skeleton, which was lying 2 feet below the surface, measured 5 feet.

24. *Cranium*.—Pentagonoid and brachycephalic (index 80). Flattening in lambdoid region and bulging occiput. Muscular impressions indistinct; mastoids small. Sutures open. Glabella fairly well developed; no supra-orbital ridges. Sharp orbital margins. Traces of metopic suture.

*Face*.—Missing except for portion of palate, hypsiloid with teeth slightly worn; third molars recently cut. Signs of decay.

*Mandible*.—Broad, high ascending ramus with a deep sigmoid notch. Mental prominence well developed. Gonial angle narrow.

*General Remarks.*

Heavy long bones with poorly marked muscular attachments. Epiphyses ossified to shafts. Pelvis shows female characteristics.

*Age*.—c. twenty-five years.

*Sex*.—Female (basis of osteology and associated finds).

*Height*.—1.60 m.

With the skeleton were a glass beaker, which was standing upright near the head, two small applied brooches, and a glass bead (Plate III).

## GRAVE NO. XXV.

This grave, which lay close to the railway fence, had been disturbed.

25. Rifled grave.

Fragments of skeleton of immature person. Portions of long bones. Epiphyses of long bones are not united to shafts. Lesser trochanter is ossified and united to shaft. Bones are large but not muscular.

*Age*.—Fifteen to seventeen years.

*Sex*.—Probably male.

No grave furniture had been left.

## GRAVE NO. XXVI.

This skeleton, which was lying 2 feet 3 inches below the surface, measured 5 feet.

26. *Cranium*.—Ovoid and mesaticephalic (index 74.8).

Base and facial portion missing. Sexual characteristics not well marked. Muscular impressions slight; mastoids small. Sutures open. Full brow ridges and prominent glabella.

*Palate*.—Teeth slightly worn; third molars recently cut.

*Mandible*.—Feminine in appearance. Broad high ascending ramus; mental process well developed. Wide gonial angle.



No. of grave.	Age.	Sex.	Feet pointing to	Glass objects.	Pottery.	Beads.			Iron objects.				Bronze objects.					
						Glass.	Amber.	Other materials.	Spear-heads.	Knives.	Buckles.	Other objects.	Buckles.	Needle-cases.	Toilet articles.	Pins.	Brooches.	Other objects.
I.	circa 25	♂	S. of E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (small)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (binding with rivets)
II.	circa 45	♂	E.	—	—	—	—	—	1 (large)	—	—	1 (piece of iron)	—	—	—	—	—	—
III.	21	♀	E.	—	1 (small ornamented)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (with ring)	—	—	—
IV.	50 +	♂	N.E.	—	—	—	—	—	1 (large)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
V.	circa 20 months.	♀ ?	E.	—	—	1	—	—	—	1 (small)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
VI.	Animal bones only.			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
VII.	40 +	♀	E.	—	—	1 (large)	—	—	—	—	—	Fragments	—	—	—	—	2 (disk, 1 with rivet)	1 (binding with rivets)
VIII.	4-6	♂ ?	E.	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	Fragments	—	—	—	—	—	—
IX.	50 +	♀	N. of E.	—	—	1 (blue)	28	—	—	1 (large)	—	½ (snaffle bit)	—	—	—	1	2 (disk)	—
X.	50 +	♀	E.	—	1 (small plain)	1 (large)	—	—	—	—	—	Fragments	—	—	1	—	1 (cruciform)	—
XI.	12 months.	♀ ?	E.	—	—	5	2 (1 broken)	—	—	1 (small)	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (square headed)	1 (finger ring ? silver)
XII.	19-20	♀	E.	—	—	7 (many small bl. and gr.)	1 (broken)	1 (stone)	—	1 (small)	1 (penannular)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
XIII.	22-24	♀	N. of E.	—	—	8	37 (large) 88 (small)	—	—	1	2	Fragments	—	1	—	—	2 (disk, tinned)	—
XIV.	circa 16	♂	E.	—	—	—	—	—	(1 small)	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
XV.	40 +	♂	E.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Previously rifled
XVI.	50 +	♀	E.	—	1 (small ornamented)	1 (large)	—	—	—	1	2	Fragments	—	—	—	—	2 (square headed, tinned)	—
XVII.	circa 6 months.	?	N. of E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Fragments	—	—	—	—	—	—
XVIII.	23-25	♀	E.	—	—	—	5	1 (quartz) 2 (jet)	—	1	1	Fragments	—	—	1	—	1 (saucer, gilt) 1 (equal-armed)	—
XIX.	Stillborn.	?	N. of E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
XX.	60 +	♀	N.E.	—	1 (large plain) 1 (small ornamented)	18	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
XXI.	50 +	♀	N.E.	—	—	4	1 (large) 1 (small)	1 (stone)	—	1	—	1 (part of tweezers with bronze ring) Fragments	—	—	—	1	2 (large applied)	1 (comb) 1 (bone ring)
XXII.	23-25	♂	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	Pattern of cloth
XXIII.	21-23 25-30	♂ ♂	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Previously rifled
XXIV.	25	♀	E.	1 (tumbler)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 (small applied)	—
XXV.	circa 15	♂ ?	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Previously rifled
XXVI.	25-28	♀	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
XXVII.	25 +	♂ ?	E.	—	—	—	—	—	—	(part of)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Previously rifled
Total ...	26	7 ♂ 12 ♀ 7 young	—	1 tumbler	5 pots	61 beads (many small beads)	163 amber beads	5	3	12	11	—	1	1	2	3	16	2 bindings 1 finger ring





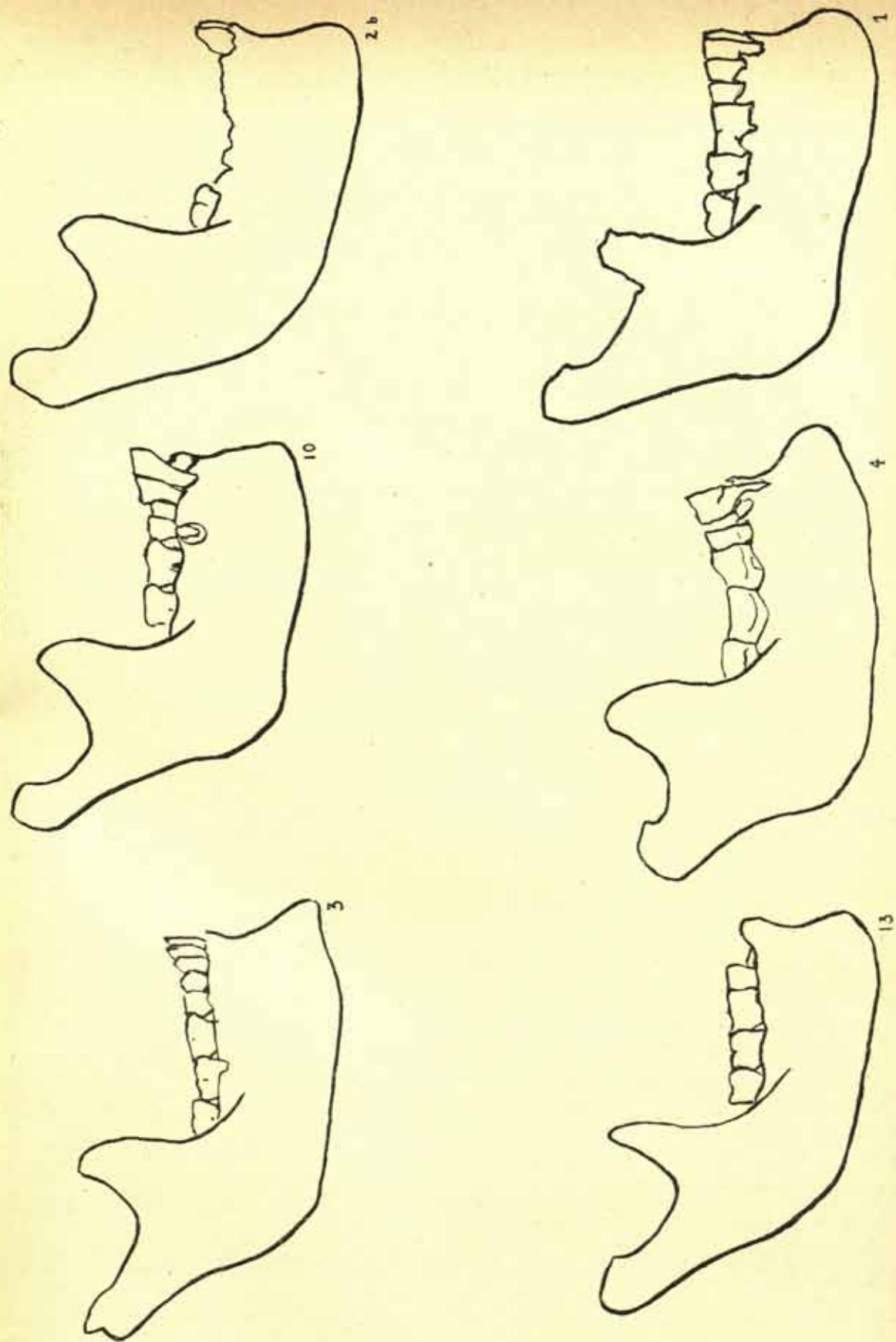


FIG. 3.—LOWER JAWS FROM SAXON GRAVES.

*General Remarks.*

The epiphyses of the long bones are ossified to the shafts. The bones are fairly large and with well-marked muscular attachments.

The sacrum is ankylosed to the left ilium. The pelvis shows female characteristics.

*Age*.—c. twenty-five years.

*Sex*.—Probably female.

*Estimated height*.—1·59 m.

No grave furniture was found in this case.

## GRAVE NO. XXVII.

This grave had been disturbed, and only a few fragmentary bones were found.  
27. Rifled grave.

Fragments of long bones, large, but with not particularly strongly marked muscular impressions. Epiphyses all united to shafts.

*Age*.—Over twenty-five years.

*Sex*.—Probably male.

A piece of a knife was all that was found.

## MEASUREMENTS OF EAST SHEFFORD

## CRANIA.

No.	Approximate age.	Glabello-occipital length.	Width lateral, maximum.	Index, cephalic.	Height, basi-bregmatic.
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## MALES.

		Years.	mm.	mm.		mm.
1	...	25	190	132	69·4	c. 147
2	...	40-45	192	143	74·4	c. 138
4	...	50-60	194	137	70·6	c. 134



MEASUREMENTS OF EAST SHEFFORD CRANIA—*continued.*

No.	Height index (length).	Arc long (nasion- opisthion).	Arc trans.	Minimum frontal diameter.	Length of foramen mag.
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MALES.

		mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
1	... ..	77	335	—	c. 31
2 <sup>1</sup>	... ..	71·8	388	310	34
4	... ..	69	c. 378	288	c. 39

<sup>1</sup> Very large parietals.

No.	Circum., max. (including brow ridges).	Basi-nasal length.	Basi-alveolar length.	Bi-zygomatic breadth.	Naso-alveolar length.
-----	--	-----------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

MALES.

	mm.			mm.	mm.
1	...	—	—	—	—
2	...	c. 547	—	c. 124	67
4	...	541	—	—	—

No.	Nasal height.	Nasal breadth.	Nasal index.	Orbital height.	Orbital width.	Orbital index.	Palate.		
							Ext. L.	Ext. B.	Index.

MALES.

		mm.		mm.	mm.		mm.	mm.	
1	...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	...	55	25	45·4	40	31	77·5	54	68
4	...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

MEASUREMENTS OF EAST SHEFFORD CRANIA—*continued*.

No.	Approximate age.	Glabello-occipital length.	Width lateral, maximum.	Index, cephalic.	Height, basi-bregmatic.	Height index.
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## FEMALES.

	Years.	mm.	mm.		mm.	
10	50	178	135	74.7	128	71.9
7	40	181	149	82.4	—	—
16	50	186	140	75.2	—	—
20	60	191	136	71.1	—	—
24	25	185	141	80	—	—
26	25-28	183	138	74.8	—	—
9	70	179	137	76	—	—
21	50	193	142	73.5	—	—

## FEMALE (ADOLESCENT).

3	21	183	143	78	—	—
12	19-20	187	133	71	—	—
13	22-24	175	143	81	—	—
18	23	186	130	70	—	—

## MALE (ADOLESCENT).

14	15	175	141	80.3	—	—
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NOTE.—In the cases of 7 and 20 there was slight post-mortem deformation.

No.	Arc long.	Arc Trans.	Minimum frontal diameter.	Length of foramen magnum.	Circumference, maximum (including brow ridges).	Basi-nasal length.
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## FEMALES.

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
10	358	285	104	33.5	540	98
7	—	—	98	—	c. 517	—
16 <sup>1</sup>	368	286	96	—	525	—
20	—	—	99	—	528	—
24	—	—	91	—	—	—
26	—	—	101	—	—	—
9	—	—	—	—	—	—
21	—	—	—	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> 16 had unusually large parietal bones.



MEASUREMENTS OF EAST SHEFFORD CRANIA—*continued.*

No.	Arc long.	Arc Trans.	Minimum frontal diameter.	Length of foramen magnum.	Circumference, maximum (including brow ridges).	Basi-nasal length.
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FEMALES (ADOLESCENT).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
3 ...	380	300	—	—	—	—
12 ...	373	277	98	34·5	524	110
13 ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
18 ...	—	—	89	—	—	—

MALES (ADOLESCENT).

14 ...	—	—	90	—	497	—
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No.	Basi-alveolar length.	Bi-zygomatic breadth.	Naso-alveolar length.	Nasal height.	Nasal breadth.	Nasal index.
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FEMALES.

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	
10 ...	91	126	67·5	51	28	55
7 ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
16 ...	—	131·5	74	57	28	49
20 ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
24 ...	—	—	67	48	23	48
26 ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
9 ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
21 ...	—	—	—	—	—	—

FEMALES (ADOLESCENT).

3 ...	—	—	63	45	22·5	50
12 ...	99	124	69	53	22	41
13 ...	—	—	58	46	27	58
18 ...	—	—	—	—	—	—

MALES (ADOLESCENT).

14 ...	—	—	—	—	—	—
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MEASUREMENTS OF EAST SHEFFORD CRANIA—*continued*.

No.	Orbital height.	Orbital breadth.	Orbital index.	External palatal length.	External palatal breadth.	Palatal index.
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## FEMALES.

	mm.	mm.		mm.	mm.	
10 ... ..	34	38	89.4	52.5	60	114.2
7 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
16 ... ..	35	41	85.3	50	66	132
20 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
24 ... ..	34	40	85	51	60	115.7
26 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
9 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
21 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—

## FEMALES (ADOLESCENT).

3 ... ..	31	39	79	50	61	122
12 ... ..	32	36	78	52	68	130.7
13 ... ..	33	42	78.5	51	64	125.5

## MALES (ADOLESCENT).

14 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
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## MANDIBLES.

No.	Symphysial height.	Condyllo-symphysial length.	Minimum breadth of ascending ramus.	Inter-condylic width.
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## ADULT MALES.

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
1 ... ..	34	104	31.5	123
2 ... ..	29	106	32	128
4 ... ..	28	105	34	124

## ADULT FEMALES.

10 ... ..	31	97	33	122
7 ... ..	29	c. 99	—	—
16 ... ..	33	c. 115	33	c. 119
20 ... ..	—	—	—	—



## MANDIBLES—continued.

No.	Symphysial height.	Condylor-symphysial length.	Minimum breadth of ascending ramus.	Inter-condylic width.
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## FEMALES (ADULT)—continued.

		mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
24	... ..	26	95	30	119
26	... ..	31	106	33	c. 125
9	... ..	—	—	—	—
21	... ..	31	112	30	—

## FEMALES (ADOLESCENT).

3	... ..	30	104	32.5	110
12	... ..	30	100	33	117
13	... ..	31	c. 98	30	c. 120
18	... ..	26	104	28	—

## MALES (ADOLESCENT).

14	... ..	24	96	32	114
8 (male (?) )	... ..	24	78.5	25.5	97

## LONG BONES (FEMORA).

No.	Max. length of femur (oblique position).		Diam. below lesser trochanter.				Index of platymeria.		Max. diam. art. head.	
			Sagittal.		Trans.					
	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.

## MALES (ADULT).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.			mm.	mm.
1	437	—	36	—	38	—	94.6	—	—	—
2 <sup>1</sup>	468	—	36	—	38	—	94.7	—	52	—
4	—	c. 473	34	34	—	35	—	97	—	—

<sup>1</sup> (2) The right femur has a very strongly developed *linea aspera*. The left femur has a third trochanter. (4) has an unusually strongly developed *linea aspera*.

LONG BONES (FEMORA)—*continued*.

No.	Max. length of femur (oblique position).		Diam. below lesser trochanter.				Index of platymeria.		Max. diam. art. head.	
			Sagittal.		Trans.					
	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.

## FEMALES (ADULT).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.			mm.	mm.
10	423	—	25·5	—	30	—	85	—	43·5	—
7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
24 <sup>1</sup>	448	—	25·5	—	35·5	—	71·8	—	—	—
26	—	443	—	26	—	32·5	—	80	—	41
9	—	—	—	26	—	30	—	86·6	—	—
21 <sup>2</sup>	—	454	27	24	33·5	32·5	80	73·8	43	44

## FEMALES (ADOLESCENT).

3	417	—	27	—	31	—	87·9	—	39	—
12	c. 398	—	22·5	—	28·5	—	79	—	—	43
13	463	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	42	—
18	—	441	—	22	—	30	73·3	—	—	40·5

## MALES (ADOLESCENT).

14	368	—	26	—	28	—	93	—	40	—
22	411	—	24·5	—	25·5	—	96	—	42	—

## MALES (FRAGMENTS FROM RIFLED GRAVES).

27	413	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	42	—
23	410	—	24	—	30	—	80	—	41·5	—

<sup>1</sup> Platymeria is distinct in (24), (21), left tibia, (18).<sup>2</sup> Fragment of right femur shows signs of third trochanter.



## LONG BONES (TIBIÆ).

No.	Max. length (without spine).		Level of nutrient foramen.				Index of platycnemia.	
			Diameters.					
			Transverse.		Sagittal.			
	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.

## MALES (ADULT).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.		
1 ... ..	344	—	28	—	33	—	84·8	—
2 ... ..	378	382	22	22	36	38	61	57·9
4 ... ..	—	—	—	21·5	—	35	—	61·4

## FEMALES (ADULT).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.		
10 ... ..	341	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 ... ..	—	—	—	23	—	33	—	70
16 ... ..	367	—	—	22	—	31·5	—	69·8
20 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
24 ... ..	—	—	23·5	—	30·5	—	77	—
26 ... ..	362	358	23	23·5	35	32·5	65·7	72·3
9 ... ..	—	—	—	20·5	—	27·5	—	74·9
21 ... ..	—	366	—	20·5	—	30	—	68·3

## FEMALES (ADOLESCENT).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.		
3 ... ..	c. 329	—	19	—	30	—	63·3	—
12 ... ..	332	—	20·5	—	25·5	—	80·4	—
13 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18 ... ..	—	—	21·5	—	30·5	—	70·4	—

## MALES (ADOLESCENT).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.		
14 ... ..	304	—	22	—	28	—	78·5	—
22 ... ..	343	—	21	—	29	—	71	—

## MALES (FRAGMENTS FROM RIFLED GRAVES).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.		
27 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

*Note.*—Platycnemia is seen to be very marked in (2), (4), males, and in (3), a female. It is less pronounced in (10), (7), (26), (9), (21), (18), (22). Manouvrier remarked that platycnemia is most marked in male tibiae, and it is more frequent in short than in tall individuals.

## LONG BONES (HUMERI, RADII, ULNÆ).

No.	Humerus.				Radius.		Ulna.	
	Max. length.		Max. diameter art. head.		Max. length.		Max. length.	
	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.

## MALES (ADULT).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
1 ... ..	329	—	49	—	—	—	—	263
2 ... ..	352	—	48	—	258	—	280	—
4 ... ..	—	293	—	42	—	—	—	—

## FEMALES (ADULT).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
10 ... ..	292	—	42	—	—	—	—	—
7 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	c. 260
16 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
24 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
26 ... ..	326	328	—	44.5	239	239	—	—
9 ... ..	293	—	45	—	219	—	—	219
21 <sup>1</sup> ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	c. 250

## FEMALES (ADOLESCENT).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
3 <sup>2</sup> ... ..	297	290	39	39.5	218	—	241	—
12 ... ..	—	c. 285	—	37	—	—	—	—
13 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

## MALES (ADOLESCENT).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
14 ... ..	—	235	—	37	—	—	—	—
22 ... ..	299	—	41.5	—	219	218	—	240

## MALES (FRAGMENTS FROM RIFLED GRAVES).

	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.	mm.
27 ... ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23 ... ..	305	—	43	—	—	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> Left radius shows Colles' fracture.<sup>2</sup> Olecranon fossæ are perforated.



BELIEFS AND TALES OF SAN CRISTOVAL  
(SOLOMON ISLANDS).

By C. E. FOX and F. H. DREW.<sup>1</sup>

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PART I.

1. INTRODUCTION.

THE people of San Cristoval are closely connected in many ways with the people of Mwala (also called Mala, Malaita or Malanta), Ulawa, Ugi and south-eastern Guadalcanar (or Marau). Over all this area there may be said to be only one language, with four or five dialects, and a number of sub-dialects differing but little from one another. To the west another language, not very different in grammar, is spoken in Florida, Guadalcanar and Ysabel, while to the south-east, though at a considerable distance, the language of the Banks Islands shows many similarities. In this area of the south-east Solomons there seem to be no exceptional languages, and Lau, Saa, Wango and Fagani are types of the leading dialects. In physical appearance, too, the people are much alike, and distinct on the whole from the people to the west. In social customs and in the arts of life, as well as in their religious beliefs, the same similarity cannot fail to be observed.

While, therefore, we describe in this paper the beliefs of the people of San Cristoval, we shall illustrate the agreement of their beliefs with those of the Eastern Solomons, and to a much less extent with those of the people of the Banks Islands and the Florida Group.

Dr. Codrington has partially described these people in his well-known book *The Melanesians*. But he was led into two serious errors as regards San Cristoval. He believed there was no division into exogamous clans with mother-descent, in parts at least, of San Cristoval; and he denied the existence of the worship of spirits, considering that ghosts alone were the objects of worship.

<sup>1</sup> The news of Mr. Drew's death in the Solomon Islands has been received since this paper was read.



Thus he writes<sup>1</sup> that there is one very remarkable exception in Melanesia to the general rule of division into exogamous clans: "it is not to be found in Ulawa, Ugi and parts of San Cristoval, Malanta (Mala), and Guadalcanar, a district in which the languages also form a group by themselves, and in which a difference in the decorative art of the people and in the appearance of the people themselves, thoroughly Melanesian as they are, can hardly escape notice. In this region, the boundaries of which are at present unknown, there is no division of the people into kindreds as elsewhere and descent follows the father. This is so strange that it seemed to me for a time incredible, and nothing but the repeated declarations of a native who is well acquainted with the division which prevails in other groups of islands was sufficient to fix it with me as an ascertained fact."

Again he writes<sup>2</sup>: "It would seem that the absence of exogamous divisions of the population in that region of the Solomon Islands in which descent follows the father (namely in Malanta about Cape Zelée, in Ulawa and in San Cristoval) must make the system of family relationship very different from that which has been described as prevailing in the Banks Islands and Florida."

And he even explains the existence of *couvade* in San Cristoval by this supposed absence of mother-descent there, *couvade* occurring "where the child follows the father's kindred."<sup>3</sup>

In all this, misled by his informants, he could scarcely have been farther from the truth, at least as regards San Cristoval. In all the villages known to us, whether on the coast or in the interior, and certainly in the parts known to Dr. Codrington (Fagani and Wango), exogamous clans, generally in some numbers, with mother-descent, everywhere prevail, and form, indeed, the most outstanding feature of the social organisation of the people. We hope to return to this subject in a later paper; but Dr. Codrington's authority in such matters is so deservedly high, that it will be well, perhaps, to give at once some particulars in support of our statement.

At Bore, not far from the part of San Cristoval which Dr. Codrington knew as Arosi, there are now eleven exogamous clans: Atawa, Amwea, Araha, Aopa, Bora, Mwara, Amaeo, Urawa, Adaro, Kahuko, Mwa. Each clan (there called *huo*) has its *burunga*, its forbidden thing<sup>4</sup>. For example, the *Kahuko* (owl) clan may not eat owls, because the woman from which the clan derives its origin, fleeing from her mother and climbing a tree, was there and then transformed into an owl. Bore may be taken as representative in this matter of Arosi, the same thing prevailing at other places, such as Heuru and Wango, where also the clans are called *huo*, and the forbidden thing *burunga*: each *huo* has its *burunga*. Occasionally, of course, marriages have taken place within the clan, but these have always been considered by the natives as unlawful marriages, and have involved either the death of the offending party, or the payment by him of a very heavy fine.

<sup>1</sup> *The Melanesians*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 41.      <sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Like the *buto* of the Florida *kema*.



Exactly the same state of things exists in the division of San Cristoval called Bauro. For example, at Rafurafu, within a mile of us, there were formerly, as the older people remember, eleven clans, *kumu* (corresponding to the Florida *kema*), the names being as follows: Atawa, Amwea,<sup>1</sup> Uraua, Mwara, Adaro, Aopa, Pagewa, Fari, Kari, Kafiko, Araha. Here, however, all have died out except the first three. Here again each clan has its *burunga*, the same word being used as in Arosi. This state of things prevails at Fagani, Mwanihuki, Rumatari on the coast, and in the bush villages, and, in fact, everywhere where we have been able to make enquiries. The number of clans varies, the restrictions are different in different places, the physical marks of each clan are thought to be everywhere the same. But nowhere is there father-descent and nowhere are clans absent. Needless to say, every native of San Cristoval is well aware of the name of the clan to which he belongs, for these divisions are the very foundation of his social system. Even animals are thought by natives to be so divided. For example, there are three mice clans recognised, the members of which are known by the way in which they nibble almonds, either at one end, or at the other, or in the middle, reminding us of one of the names of the Banks Island divisions, named at Mota "the one side of the house," "the other side of the house" and "the middle post," the last consisting of adopted children marrying with either moiety.

After becoming aware of the existence of clans in San Cristoval, we naturally enquired whether they exist also in Ulawa and Saa. The San Cristoval people, who frequently cross over to both places and sometimes intermarry, replied "Yes, the clans exist there just as they do here, and descent is reckoned from the mother." Several Ulawa and Saa natives denied this when asked, but further enquiry showed the information to be correct. A woman in an Ulawa tale was called an "Amwea" woman. A native of Ulawa who persistently denied the existence of clans there, was proved to belong to the shark clan, another to the *adaro* (*akalo*) clan, and so on, till no doubt remained in our minds that exogamous clans are the rule in Ulawa, and mother-descent general. The same is true of Saa, though the clans there have other names. The word for clan is *komu*, a word which in Florida means island or village; which is very like the San Cristoval name *kumu*. The reticence of the natives in regard to their clans is remarkable. When one of us first began to make enquiries in San Cristoval, a Wango native, educated at Norfolk Island, told him there were no clans at Wango nor mother-descent. Yet this native knew perfectly well the facts which he then denied, and had known from childhood to what clan he belonged and what food was forbidden to him.

The second error into which Dr. Codrington was led was that he considered the people to be ghost worshippers, but not spirit worshippers; they merely, as he thought, invoked and sacrificed to the souls of their dead ancestors, *i.e.*, to ghosts (using ghost to mean a disembodied spirit, and reserving the term spirit for beings

<sup>1</sup> Atawa and Amwea seem to underlie the other clans.



who have never been men). In this he distinguished the religion of the Solomon Islands from that of the Banks. "Spirits," he writes, "have no position in the religion of the Solomon Islands, the ghosts are objects of worship." And again, "in the western islands (including San Cristoval) the offerings are made to ghosts, and consumed by fire as well as eaten; in the eastern islands they are made to spirits, and there is no sacrificial fire or meal. In the former nothing is offered but food, in the latter money has a conspicuous place."

In San Cristoval, however, spirits are worshipped as well as ghosts, and have sacrifices offered to them, money as well as food. In fact the worship of spirits may be said to be more complete than in the Banks Islands, as the stories of spirits given below and the account of the worship paid to them will show. But in this case it is not difficult to see how Dr. Codrington was misled.

In the first place all the *hiona* or *figona* of San Cristoval have a serpent incarnation, from Agunua the creator, worshipped by everyone, to Oharimae and others, only known to particular persons. These were thought by Dr. Codrington to be the only spirits believed in, although there are other spirits, called *ataro*, who might be incarnate in almost any animal. The Christian natives, however, with whom alone Dr. Codrington seems to have had any intercourse, had learned to associate with the devil a spirit with a serpent incarnation. They had been worshipping, as they supposed, the devil, and a feeling of shame kept them silent. They were of course quite wrong, as their spirit Agunua, who took the form of a serpent, was good, not evil. They had no belief, or very little belief, in any evil *hiona*. But the idea became firmly rooted in their minds that they had been worshipping the devil; and although the story of Genesis has never been translated into their language, the belief is now quite general, among heathen as well as Christians, through the spread of Christian teaching; and their reluctance to describe their worship of the serpent remains to this day. It has already led to a certain confusion in their minds, and is a not uninteresting example of the influence of a foreign culture on native belief.

But apart from this it appears clear to us that the cult of the serpent-spirits was already on the decline when Englishmen first came to San Cristoval. We believe that here we have the meeting of two cultures, one which we shall call the *Figona* culture, native and original; the other, which we call the *Ataro* culture, brought in from without and much later. We shall enter more fully into this below, but here we may note the evidence offered by the meanings of these two words *figona* and *ataro* as used by the people of San Cristoval.

The people clearly distinguish in their minds between a spirit and a ghost, but they have no words to express the two conceptions, their language in this respect being no better than English. A *figona* is a spirit and never a ghost, but it does not include all spirits. All *figonas* appear to have a serpent incarnation. An *ataro* means a ghost, but not only a ghost: among the *ataro* are almost as many spirits as ghosts. If *figona* worship were earlier and *ataro* worship had grown up later among the people themselves by a process of evolution, we cannot



conceive such a use of terms. *Ataro* would have been restricted to ghost, since there already existed among them a word for spirit. But if the *ataro* culture came in from outside, then the word would already have its double meaning,<sup>1</sup> and the result would be a confusion in native belief as to whether certain spirits should be rightly called *ataro* or *figona*, which is exactly what we find at the present time.

This touches the question, too, whether Melanesians believe in evil spirits. Dr. Keane has written that in Melanesia "there is very little true demonolatry. Dr. Codrington says none at all: 'It may be asserted with confidence that a belief in a devil, that is in an evil spirit, has no place whatever in the native Melanesian mind.' This seems to be stated rather too forcibly." Of San Cristoval it may be said that there is little belief in evil *figona*; there is a belief in evil *ataro*, both ghosts and spirits; but there is little sacrifice to *ataro* spirits, much to ghosts, and there are few prayers offered to the former, though there are plenty of charms to drive them away. But this belief, such as it is, in evil spirits, came in chiefly, if we are right, with the later culture: when the *ataro* landed, fear was multiplied sevenfold in San Cristoval religion. Belief in evil spirits is rather introduced than original. Nor did the people ever really learn to worship them as they did the ghosts: though from that time the woods and the sea have been haunted by such beings, ever on the watch to injure and destroy living men.

## 2. FIGONA.

The word *figona* means a spirit. Elsewhere in San Cristoval *figona* becomes *higona*, *hi'ona*. In Florida to the west the word is again found as *vigona*, and it is not improbable that the Saa *li'oa*<sup>2</sup> is a variant. At Ulawa the form is *hi'ona*. The apostrophe marks a break in pronunciation.

A *figona* did not always have an incarnation. Very many pools, rocks, waterfalls or large trees were thought to be the abode of *figona*, but these *figona* were never seen. But the chief *figona*, who really received worship and sacrifice, had all of them a serpent incarnation, and so far as we know, no *figona* had any other incarnation, differing markedly from *ataro* in this, for the latter took freely the form of men, dogs, birds, snakes, trees or clouds. These serpent spirits could, however, take the form of a stone, or retire within a stone, and sacred stones seem to be connected with *figona* rather than with *ataro*.

It would seem that every spot where a man felt awe, such as a deep gorge, a waterfall, a dark pool, or a wide-spreading tree, was likely to become a *dora maea* or *apuna*, a sacred place, thought to be inhabited by a *figona*. Thus there is a large tree not far from Fagani where a *figona* lived. No offering was ever made there, no prayers were addressed to the spirit; but travellers would go silently

<sup>1</sup> As, for example, *atua* in Maori.

<sup>2</sup> Wrongly spelt *li'o'a* in *The Melanesians*.



past the spot, or speak in whispers. There is a deep river gorge near the inland village Rauma, and a *figona* is said to inhabit it. If a man ventures into the gorge, his soul (*ataro mauri*) may be taken captive by the *figona*, and the man on his return sickens and dies. He may, however, recover by the help of a sorcerer, who has power in sleep to send out his own *ataro mauri* and recover captive souls from the gorge, just as he sends out his soul in sleep to discover where things lost or stolen have been hidden. This *figona* seems to act like an *ataro*, and probably sacrifices are made to it. There is a pool near the source of the Wango river, deep and dark, surrounded by walls of grey limestone on whose ledges ferns cluster. This is the abode of a *figona*, and the traveller as he passes throws in a bit of *bua* (areca-nut), from which act the place is called *Hau gasi bua*, "the stone where one throws areca-nut." Passing this spot and crossing the low ridge of hills at the watershed, one comes to a steep descent, at the summit of which there is a prominent rock, called *Hauroroboa*, "taboo stone." Here the traveller plucks and places on the rock a green branch of *eye* (a shrub). As long as the branch does not wither, his feet will not grow weary, however long the way, but when the *eye* withers, the charm has lost its power. No prayer is said and no sacrifice made. It is interesting to compare similar practices elsewhere. There is near the top of the mountain at Mota in the Banks Group a spot where stones are piled together. Each visitor in turn takes a stone and adds it to the pile, first resting his hands on top, while his companion lays the stone on them, saying, "May your days in the world be many." Here, too, an overhanging creeper is twisted round the finger. Both acts are explained as a protection, the spot being sacred to a *vui* (spirit). The stone placed on one's hands holds one down in the world of the living. Dr. Codrington describes the same sort of thing,<sup>1</sup> and mentions a case noted by Mr. Forbes in Sumatra,<sup>2</sup> where the porters placed handfuls of leaves on a stone and prayed for a dry day and good luck; and again in Timor, where at the commencement of a steep and precipitous descent the natives laid leaves and twigs on a mound to ensure a safe descent,<sup>3</sup> a practice very like that at *Hauroroboa*, and there connected with the presence of a *figona*.

But the principal *figona* are very different from these, and they have a serpent incarnation. There is one, indeed, who seems almost like a supreme spirit, called *Agunua*. It is hard to discover exactly what is meant by *Agunua*, whose cult was once widespread. Particular places worship particular serpents, or particular *figona* incarnate in serpents, but all these seem to be considered as local representations of *Agunua*, who, as one native said, is "all of them." The centre of the cult is at Haununu on the south-west coast; but though this is the cult of *Agunua*, there is a serpent at Haununu, to whom the actual sacrifices are made, who is called *Kagauraha*, and is in some way the representative of *Agunua*. *Kagauraha* is a *figona*, and is said to have created things; but *Agunua* is the creator. Almost

<sup>1</sup> *The Melanesians*, pp. 185, 186.

<sup>2</sup> *Naturalist's Wanderings*, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 481.



all of these local *figona* are represented as female snakes, Agunua as a male snake. The following is the story of Agunua as told us by some men of Ngorangora :—

“The centre from which the worship of Agunua spread over the island was Haununu. When nuts are gathered and yams dug, the first-fruits are taken and hung up in the gardens and in the houses; part is allowed to remain there and part is sacrificed to Agunua. With these are also placed *awarosi*. Agunua created all things—the sea, the land, men and animals, thunder, lightning, rain and storms, rivers, trees and mountains. When the time has arrived for the offering of the first fruits, the people place them ready, and wait for the signal from the priest at Haununu. On a certain day the priest, Haganihinou, son of Pwari, who was priest before him, takes the Haununu offerings and sacrifices them to a real snake, a *figona* named Kagauraha. Then the people of Haununu perform the proper rites, and pass on the word to the next village by the sound of the drum. Suppose in this way word has come to Waimumura from village to village, night by night, till it reaches the other side of the island. The people of Waimumura have for some days been expecting it. Their offerings hang ready in their houses. Then the drum beats out the message, ‘The Pwirisu (a rail) goes on to you at midnight,’ i.e., the *figona* Agunua. Next day at evening each person in Waimumura, man, woman and child, takes a dracaena leaf and sets it up in his doorway. They then drum on the message to the next villages up and down the coast, ‘The Pwirisu goes on to you at midnight.’ Then they lie down each on his sleeping mat, and wait for the first cock-crowing. When the cocks crow everyone rises, takes his dracaena leaf and sweeps the house, sweeps the beds, the platforms, the cooking vessels, and everything in the house, saying as he does so a *Hoga-rahe*, a prayer :—

Agunua !

Take thou away fever and ague,  
Take thou away headache,  
Take thou away thieving,  
So that our bodies may be light.  
Take thou away a bad season, bring in a good.  
Keep my feet when I climb an almond tree lest a branch break,  
Keep my people when they climb lest any fall,  
Preserve the taro so that when planted it may thrive,  
And the banana that it may bear good fruit,  
Let none steal from my garden, none steal my pigs,  
May the pigs increase; preserve the dogs.

Then all go outside, each carrying his dracaena leaf; no one must remain in the houses, but all, men and women, children and cripples and sick folk, go together to the sacred grove near the village, sham fighting as they go; for besides the dracaena leaf each man carries his weapons, and the women and children carry



*kafito* (a tree with dry wood used for making fire) to rub fire for the sacrifices. So they go fighting and singing, and the words of the song are these:

The almonds shall ripen,  
The pigs' tusks shall curl.

When they come to the sacred grove each plants his dracaena leaf in the ground, and they stand round the central tree, and one of them builds a platform of twigs and burns sacrifices of pudding, made from the first-fruits, and they all say aloud to Agunua, 'Do thou remain here: when a man shall come for thee from yonder (pointing to the next village), go with him on thy rounds till thou comest again to Haununu.' Then they put a creeper by the tree, so that in that year all creepers by which men climb may be strong and hold them securely, being blessed by Agunua, and they put a stone to represent puddings, so that Agunua may bless all the cooking in that year, and a crooked stick to represent adzes for cutting down trees, that wood-felling may prosper; and they take a small stick and thrust it through a dracaena leaf, and bend the leaf over to represent a house, that Agunua may bless all craftsmen who build houses in that year, and a pandanus leaf to represent mat-making, and so all these are blessed by the *figona*. Then they return to their village."

This ceremony takes place once a year, and everyone in the village must take part in it.

Agunua created men. He created a woman, who, when she became old, went one day to change her skin in the stream, for that was then the custom. She had a daughter whom she left in the village. When the old woman had changed her skin she came back, looking young and lovely once more, but her daughter said, "This is not my mother, this is a strange woman," and would have nothing to do with her. So the old woman went back to the stream, but the water had carried away the old skin, and she wandered some way down the stream before she found it, where an eddy had carried it against a bough overhanging the water, on which it stuck. She put on the old skin and returned to her daughter. "Now I know you," said her daughter; "you are my mother." And so death came into the world, because the child cried and did not know her mother. Otherwise men would always have changed their skins when they grew old.

The same story is told in the Banks Islands of *Iroul*, the grandmother of Qat; and in Florida of *Koevasi*, who is said to be superhuman. The stories are exactly alike, even in details. According to the Banks Islands story, the child who cried would be Qatgorosom, Qat's mother. The connection with a serpent explains the change of skin in the Banks Islands story, where no serpent is mentioned.

There is another story not told of Agunua, but of Kagaauraha, Kahausibwari, Kahuahuarii, and other local representatives of Agunua, all of whom were *figona*, and female snakes; and this story has also its parallel in the Banks Islands. The story varies in details in different places, but is in substance as follows:—



One day, the daughter of Kagauraha, who had grown up and married and had a boy, left her boy in charge of his grandmother the serpent. The boy's father did not know of this and was away fishing for bonito. Kagauraha coiled round her grandson and he lay on the coils, but began to cry. Kagauraha said to him, "Grandson, I have no legs: I can't stand up and nurse you." While the child was crying his father came in and seeing the serpent strangling his son, as he supposed, he chopped it up with a knife. But as he chopped it up, the severed pieces reunited. At last the serpent could stand it no longer, but went off, first to the island Ugi, seven miles from San Cristoval, saying as she went, "I go, but now your crops will fail." And that year there was a famine, all the crops failing as had been foretold. When Kagauraha reached Ugi she climbed a tree, but she could still see her home, so she left Ugi and went on to Ulawa, and then to South Mwala. But she could still see her home (various places on the north coast, different in the different stories). She then went to South-east Guadalcanar, Marau, but after a time swam down the south coast of San Cristoval to Haununu. When she got near Haununu she saw two boys in a canoe, who were alarmed and called out, "You are an *ataro* and will eat us." Said Kagauraha, "It is you two who are *ataro*, I will do you no harm." So they took her home, made a temple, and there she has lived since. She took a yam with her, and gulped this out of her mouth at Haununu, and from this came all sorts of yams.

The Banks Islands story is as follows: A woman who was descended from a large snake, married a man and they had a child. The man used to go out fishing, and the woman to the gardens, and she used to leave the child in charge of her grandmother the snake, of whose existence her husband was ignorant. One day the man came home and found the snake nursing his child. Surprised and angry, he scolded his wife, who confessed that the snake was her mother. He watched his chance and one day when his wife and child were away, he set fire to the house in which the snake lay and burnt it to the ground. The wife came home and the snake's head spoke to her, "I die, but bury me yonder, and what comes up will be me." So the woman buried the snake and fenced in the spot, and a coconut sprang up there. After a time the first nut was formed, and one day when the man went fishing, the woman noticed the nut. It was a drinking nut and she plucked it and said to her son, "This is your grandmother," thus explaining the eyes of the nut. When she opened it the milk spurted up, and fell on the face of the husband fishing in his canoe far away. He thought it was sweat, but as it ran down his nose he tasted it, and cried, "This is something new." Then he went home and said: "What have you two been eating?" They gave him the nut and he drank it and said: "This is what fell on me in my canoe." Said his wife, "Do you know that what you are drinking is my mother's blood?"

The first drinking nut from a coconut tree is sacred to Agunua, and the milk is poured out as a libation in the sacred grove. Many stories are told of Agunua. He was thirsty and rain fell to assuage his thirst. This was the origin of rain. A flat circular valley near Mwanihuki is called "Agunua's oven"; a winding river, Waiatana, is said to wind because Agunua lay there to rest, and the ground was



marked with the impress of his coils. The way in which Agunua created things was as follows: He had a twin brother who was a man, and one day he remarked to him, "Here have we been a long while, and there is nothing yet to eat." Presently the man saw the serpent with a yam on its head, and the *figona* said to him, "Plant this for food for my children and let the garden which you make be a large one." But the man replied: "What is the use of clearing a large garden for one small yam?" "Never mind," replied the *figona*, "make a large garden and try planting the yam, and if the garden is too large you can come back and tell me." So he took the yam and made an immense garden, but he had nothing to slice up the yam with. The *figona* gave him a shell and he cut up the yam and put the pieces in a basket and began to plant. He kept taking out piece after piece, but the basket never emptied: there were always as many pieces as before. After a time the garden was all planted and he waited for the yams to come up. When the shoots appeared, he found there were all kinds of yams, large and small, red ones and white ones, smooth and prickly, wild and cultivated, and also bananas, coconuts, almond trees and fruit trees of every description. "But," said he, "these are all too hard to eat, how am I to make them soft?" The *figona* gave him his own staff and said, "Rub on this and see what happens." This was the origin of fire and of the art of cooking. Then he cut up some yams and baked them over the fire. Some he did not look after: they were burnt, and this is the reason why some fruits are uneatable: they came from the pieces he burnt. Some pieces he didn't bake, and hence came wild taro and bananas and other wild things. Other pieces he partly burned, and from these came almonds and other trees, of which some fruit is sweet and some bitter. "Well," said the man, "now I have all food that I need, but how am I to cut a tree to make a food bowl?" The *figona* gave him a stone and told him to tie on a handle with creepers; from this came adzes, and he cut down a tree and made a bowl.

When all things were ready the *figona* bore a child, who grew up to be a man, but he was helpless in such matters as cooking, making a fire, and weeding a garden. When the *figona* saw this he gave birth to another child, a girl, who grew up to be a woman and understood these matters: "Be it your part," said the *figona* to the woman, "to get food and prepare it by cooking and distribute portions of it." And so it has been ever since.

The chief sacrifice to Agunua was the one described as occurring once a year at the sacred grove at early dawn. But people also sacrificed with shell money, and by burning pudding made of yams and almonds in their own gardens or separately at the grove. Also prayers were frequently made to the *figona* as well as to *ataro* to restore health to a sick man, or to give rain in a drought, or to increase the crops. No doubt there was some confusion with prayers to *ataro*. At the great annual sacrifice described, sacrifices were offered to *ataro*, especially to those incarnate in sharks, after the completion of the sacrifice to the *figona*, usually on the following day, or even on the same day; but nothing could be sacrificed to an *ataro* till the rites connected with the *figona* had been performed.



There seems to be some reason for thinking the cult of Agunua to have been much more widespread in the past than it is now. The people themselves say it was once all over the island, the drums carrying the message rapidly to all parts. In a letter written in 1856, Bishop Patteson mentions the serpent worship. "Is it not a significant fact," he writes, "that the god worshipped in Gera and in one village in Bauro is the serpent!" By Gera is meant, no doubt, Marau Sound in South-east Guadalcanar, a district with which the Bishop was well acquainted, and by Bauro probably Arosi, at the north-east end of San Cristoval, from which he had obtained boys and where he was well known.

In *A Naturalist among the Head Hunters*, Mr. Woodford tells how one morning at Aola, on the north coast of Guadalcanar, "the whole village turned out to sacrifice to the *tindio* presiding over the Canarium nut, or Solomon Island almond. The almonds had been ripe a week, and I had expressed a desire to have some, but my boy, Hogare, had informed me that it was quite impossible to have some until the offering to the *tindio* had been made." Mr. Woodford then describes the proceedings. They all went down to the sea shore, and "a space was swept clean beneath the spreading branches of a *Barringtonia*." They then made little altars of dry sticks, and first-fruits were sacrificed, fire being made by rubbing. This so much resembles the sacrifice made to the *figona* that we would suggest it really was the same. *Tindio*, or *tindao*, is the equivalent, however, of the San Cristoval *ataro*, not *figona*. But in San Cristoval sacrifices were sometimes made to the *ataro* practically at the same time, as soon as the *figona* rites were concluded, and Mr. Woodford may easily have failed to hear any mention of the former; or possibly the *tindio* had really displaced the *figona* in that part of Guadalcanar. At all events, if not now the same thing, it appears to be a survival of the *figona* cult and an evidence of its former extension.

A native of Ulawa informs us that, in ancient times at any rate, the worship of Agunua was practised in Ulawa. It was still practised when the islands known as the Three Sisters were inhabited by natives. These islands are half-way between San Cristoval and Ulawa, and it was the practice in those days, we are told, for a party of natives from Ulawa to paddle over to the Three Sisters and wait there for tidings from Haununu. In the meanwhile a party from the Three Sisters had gone over to San Cristoval. When the worship and sacrifices began on the San Cristoval coast, these men brought the news to the Three Sisters, whence it was carried on to Ulawa by the party who were waiting. When Mendana discovered the islands in 1567, they were inhabited. Surville saw them in 1769, but whether inhabited or not we do not know. When Englishmen began to know them about 1850, they were uninhabited, and had long been so according to native accounts.

If, as we suppose, the *figona* worship was already waning long ago, driven out by the newer worship of *ataro*, introduced by foreigners, then the discovery by the natives that in worshipping the serpent they had been worshipping (as they supposed) the devil, merely helped forward its extinction, and made them reticent in speaking of their former beliefs and practices.



*Tales of Figona.*

1. *Wanimaniaru and Waniwagawaga*.—The people of the village were afraid that Wanimaniaru and Waniwagawaga would kill some of them in revenge for the waste of their yams, which the people had thrown at one another in a sham fight. Then the spirit Agunua brought on a famine to punish them, and they all went to Kufe, inland, all except those two, that is; they still remained, but grew weak with hunger, eating a pig and nuts only. But the spirit pitied those two, and let them have again the food that grows in the gardens; so that Waniwagawaga saw one day yams shooting up at the door of his house, and, taking stakes, he twined his yam vines round them; and at the same time Wanimaniaru saw taro springing up, and he fenced it round. When the yams and taro came to maturity, the two made puddings of the roots, and they sacrificed to the spirit; and they worked together in their garden, and found the food very plentiful. Then their people noticed the garden and came back from Kufe, inland, to those two men, and when they came near they asked them, "Are you two still alive?" "Yes," said they, "we are still alive"; and their friends said, "But what have you had to eat to keep you alive like this?" "Oh," said they, "nothing but a pig and nuts: Waniwagawaga killed the pig and cut off its head and gave it to Wanimaniaru."

2. *Karamunagau*.—The serpent Karamunagau came at first from an island in the open sea to a village called Fafara, near Rumahui, on the north-west end of San Cristoval. Her head reached the shore and told them to make for her a house, tall and long. When the people had made the house the serpent landed and coiled herself within it. She told them to go and mark out a garden, but when they had done so she was not satisfied, as the garden was too small. They therefore marked out another. This time she was pleased, and told them to cut down the trees. When the trees had been cut down and the fallen timber burnt, the garden was spaced out with lines of logs, and then a charm was uttered over the stakes up which the yam vines would run, and another for the stone axes with which they were cut. Then the garden was planted with yams, which in due course sprouted, were staked up, grew to maturity and were dug. A small yam was first dug and put in the house sacred to the serpent.

After this she told them to go and look for opossums; only the male ones were to be eaten. Soon the people of the village were plagued with sickness, which was inflicted on them by the serpent because it desired to eat the flesh of a pig and no pig had been offered. They sacrificed a pig and all recovered. At another time a number of them fell sick because no shell-money had been offered. Those who refused to sacrifice any died. About this time the people got tired of the serpent and told her to leave them. She went south-east to Mwanigatoga. When she reached this place she said to the people, "I come here to dwell among you, but I bring with me no sacrifices." Until this time the people of Mwanigatoga had not made any sacrifices for the fruits of the ground, but the serpent told them that



henceforth they must do so before any of them ate their yams or taro. "Don't take your yams and taro without giving thanks," said the serpent; "but do as I tell you and sacrifice to me." The people, however, had no wish to make sacrifices of first-fruits to the serpent, and told her she might go to some other place. "I go," replied the serpent, "but remember I have begun among you this practice of sacrificing the first-fruits of your gardens." She then swam out to sea, swimming with her head and tail out of the water. On that day there was only one man in the village of Haununu; the rest had gone up into the bush to work in their gardens. This man looked out to sea, and saw the head and tail of the serpent standing up out of the water like an enormous tree. Those in the bush hurried down, but meanwhile the serpent had landed at the point called Mararo and the solitary man in the village advanced trembling to meet her. "Fear not," said the serpent, "but go and look for a place where I may dwell." He showed her Wainaou and she told him to build her a house there. The rest of the people were afraid and wished her to go away, but she said to them "Fear not, my children, I am your mother." While she lived here she gave birth to two young serpents, the first a female named Kafinuagigisi and the second a male named Finuagigisi. The people of Bofarito, an inland village, now claimed the serpent, as the man who had welcomed her to Haununu was really a bushman, a native of Bofarito. So there she went and there she remained, but of the people who sacrificed to her there, only two remain, and the rest are all dead.

3. *Hatoipwari*.—This serpent came from Marau Sound to Ngongo near the south-east point of Marou Bay. Here he made his home. His coming took place in this manner. A certain woman went one day to the reef gathering food, various kinds of shellfish. She saw a stone coming in on the waves, and the surf threw it close beside her. She picked it up, without taking any particular notice of it, but thinking it a good stone for cracking shells with, and she put it in her basket. After a time she went back to the shore and began looking for a stone to crack her shellfish with, forgetting the stone which she had put away in her basket. Presently however she remembered it, and sitting down by a large flat rock, she took out the stone which the waves had thrown at her feet and lifted it up to crack her shellfish; but as she held it up in the air, flashes of lightning darted backwards and forwards between the two stones. "Awii!" cried the woman; "what have I got here I wonder?" and she held up the stone once more, and once more the lightning flashed back and forth, and thunder muttered between the stone in her hand and the rock below. "Ah," she said, "thunder and lightning, this needs looking into;" and she put the stone away carefully, wrapped up in a pandanus leaf. Then she packed up her shellfish and set off home, and when she reached the village, she gave the strange stone to her father, Teheraha, and told him to examine it. He took it from her and placed it in a cave in the middle of a row of other holy stones and offered *ura'i*, i.e. money of dogs' teeth and porpoise teeth and strung shells. He slept and dreamed. He dreamed the stone came to him and spoke with him, saying, "I am the bearer of news. My father, a serpent spirit, is coming hither. The people of Hunganaibwari have driven him away from the place where he formerly



dwelt. He will soon be here." He woke from his sleep and prepared a pig for burnt sacrifice. While he was doing so the people saw birds hovering in a flock round something far out to sea. They took a large canoe and paddled out, and as they paddled out the flock of birds drew nearer and nearer to meet them. Presently they saw a serpent floating in the water. They came close to it and their canoe was made to rock violently. "What can you be?" said the people, and they got its head into the canoe and so paddled ashore. When they landed the people came running, and said, "Put the whole of it into the canoe." They got it all into the canoe at last, and carried the canoe in triumph to the men's house and left it there that night. Next day they transferred it to a cave and then began offering their first-fruits to it. When they offer they take first some fruit of the *ahuto* tree, the tree with which fire is made by rubbing, and this they tie up in the mouth of the cave. If any of the fruit fall it is a sign that someone will fall that year in the nutting. Every year too they bring a small yam, but no nuts, for which the *ahuto* fruit is substituted, as that is also used for making fire. Prayers are made to the serpent by the people and their neighbours.

4. *Kagauraha*.—*Kagauraha* is a female serpent worshipped at Haununu. She and her numerous brood live in a house erected for them, at one end of which is an enclosure, within which is a hole in which the serpent lives. On the walls of this house are native carvings of sharks, frigate birds, and the turtle with a bird's head which causes earthquakes. Only certain men can enter the house, all old men. They enter to sacrifice and to ask the will of the serpent about any matters of importance. When they go in they bend low with hands spread out before them. The serpent asks for what she wishes, sometimes a pig and sometimes a human sacrifice. If anyone is ill it is a sign that a pig is desired and the person who is ill pays for it. A portion is given to the serpent and the rest is eaten by the worshippers. When a young coconut bears its first nut, the milk is drunk in the house in the presence of the serpent, after which men may eat and drink the nuts of the tree. When the first yams are dug some are sacrificed to the serpent, and other sacrifices are made when the gardens are planted. If they wish to know whether to go to war or not, the priest takes strips of dracaena leaves warmed over the fire and pulls them apart in the presence of the serpent. If the strands break they refrain from war. The breaking of one strand means the death of one man. A sign of anger is the swelling of the serpent. This takes place for example if a woman approaches, and was very marked when a missionary landed and asked for a school to be built there.

5. *Bonguru*, "Pig-who-grunts."—This *figona* lives in the forest. If a man walking in the forest hears near him what he supposes to be a pig grunting, and says to his companions "There's a pig, do you hear it grunting?" then in a moment he is surrounded by snakes: snakes in front of him, snakes behind him, snakes on either hand, and snakes in the air above him. This is because the *figona* has an objection to being called a pig.

6. *Owaroi*.—There was a certain man named Oharimae who sacrificed to *figona*,



and there was another man named Ohimae who was eaten up by these *figona*. He was throwing away the entrails of a pig, and the entrails changed into snakes and ate him up, and when they saw he was already dead, they carried him (*sic*) to a village called Funarafa and left him there. There was another *figona* named Owaroi, and all the *figona* went to another village called Pagoki, and when they reached the place they saw at the door of a house a very large dark green stone, and they carried it back with them to a place called Narafa, to the man named Oharimae who sacrificed to them.

7. *Panfoufou*.—There was a woman living at Paone in Ugi, and one day she went into the forest with her child. Towards evening she was returning when she saw a *figona*. She had sat down to rest on the path and took some cabbage out of her bag and put it on a stone which she had found and placed on the path. The stone thereupon changed into a snake which rose up fold on fold, taller and taller. The *figona* told the woman to go away, but she refused, and watched the snake gliding across the path, fold on fold, and there the woman sat from sunset to midnight, by which time it had crossed the path. The woman then returned home and her child died.

8. *Kapwaranihira* and *Kapwirona*.—These two *figona* had a dispute as to which was the taller. *Kapwaranihira* stood on her tail and rose up fold on fold, but failed to touch the sky. Said *Kapwirona*, "You are standing on a hill, and here am I at the bottom of a valley, and yet you can't reach the sky." Whereupon *Kapwirona* stood on her tail and rose fold on fold, reaching to the sky and down again to the earth and up again to the sky.

9. *Kafiomwaporu*.—*Kafiomwaporu* was a huge man-eating snake who lived underground. The entrance to his lands was a deep hole with steep sides, which was once covered up on top. Once upon a time there were two brothers who stole some yams from the gardens of the people of their village. They decided to plant these yams at the mouth of the hole, not knowing of its existence. So they took two yams and planted them as they had planned at the mouth of the hole by which one went to the home of the snake. One day the two boys went to see the yams they had planted and found them already grown up and ready to dig. They were surprised but rejoiced and ran to get sticks for digging up their yams. But as they began to run the hole suddenly opened its mouth and the boys fell down and down, down and down, past walls of rock, till they came to the land underground where the man-eating snake lived. The mouth of the hole meanwhile closed up again above their heads. The two boys walked on till they came to a town, but it was deserted and overgrown with grass, with young trees already half-grown, only they could see that once there had been a town there. Then they went on once more, and after a time they came to another town, which also was deserted, but the posts of many of the houses were still standing, and the grass and trees not yet grown up. When the two brothers saw the posts of the forsaken houses they became very sorrowful, thinking of their father and mother and friends. However, they went on till they came to a third town, and in this one not only were the posts of the



houses still standing, but even the rafters, and nothing was decayed, for though the great snake had eaten all the people there, it had only done so a short time before. However, the two brothers went on till they came close to the home of the snake, and here they paused for fear of him, thinking he would be sure to eat them also. But the elder said to his younger brother, "Come on, don't let us be afraid of him," and they went on till they came to the snake himself, and the snake was asleep. But the smell of the two boys came into its nostrils, and it woke up and saw them standing near it. "What do you come here for?" said the snake. "Our people deceived us," replied the boys, "by planting yams at the mouth of the hole, so that we might fall down it and be eaten by you." But the snake said, "I shall do you no harm, only you must work for me and plant my gardens." Then the two boys felt light-hearted and stayed and worked for the snake as he told them. They planted coconuts for him, and yam gardens, and taro gardens. They worked very hard, especially at the taro gardens, doing all the snake bade them. After they had worked a whole year the snake gave his daughter in marriage to the elder. After they had worked five years for the snake in this manner, he said to them one day, "Do you still think of your friends and wish to see them again?" "Yes, indeed," replied the boys, "but how are we to climb up again to our country above?" However, the snake said that if they wished to go back they might do so, and they begged him to tell them how. "Well, I will tell you," said the snake, "but you must do exactly as I say," to which both the brothers agreed. "Gather together into a heap all the taro you have planted," said the snake, "and take five thousand roots from each garden." This they did, all three working very hard, till they had heaped together five thousand roots from each garden, a very great pile. "What next?" said the brothers. "Make a platform," replied the snake, "and put the taro roots on it." So they made a huge platform and piled the taro roots on it, and said to the snake, "What next?" "Get up on top, the three of you, and all your pigs," said the snake. So they climbed up and sat on top, the three of them with all their pigs, and they called out to the snake "Here we are on top and what is to be done next, the platform is too heavy to move." But the snake replied, "Never mind, sit down firmly, the three of you and your pigs." Then he came under the platform and put his head to it, and stood up on his tail, and lifted them up and up, higher and higher, till they came out above ground again. Then the snake returned to his home, and the brothers ran to theirs. But one of them went first to tell the news, and when he got to the village he said to the people, "Come all of you and carry hither the taro my brother and I have brought back." So all the people of the place went to the platform and carried the taro, going backwards and forwards, but there was so much of it, that before they reached the last roots these had already grown rotten. Then the people all rejoiced at the return of the two brothers and beat all the drums, and blew upon the conches and played all the pipes, and made a great feast for them, and invited the people of neighbouring villages, saying, "Come and rejoice and feast with us to the two who have come back alive again." So everybody came and the pigs were killed, and the taro and



yams were cooked and they all feasted together; and the two brothers related the story of their wanderings, until at length when the feasting was over the visitors returned to their homes.

The snake Kafiomwapuru is not called a *figona*, but merely "a snake"; but it is difficult to see much difference between it and Faufonofono for example. To sum up the matter, there seems to be one *figona* superior to the rest, called Agunua, to whom once not only all the island, but people farther off also, sacrificed and prayed. But there were many local *figona* incarnate in serpents, representing Agunua to the people of that particular place. These too had prayers and sacrifices made to them. Besides these, many a deep pool, large rock or tree, stream and waterfall, contained a *figona*. People would sacrifice to these if they passed near, and pray to them. At Valuwa in the Banks Islands there is a deep hole, Dr. Codrington writes, "into which no one dares to look; if the reflection of a man's face should fall upon the surface of the water he would die; the Spirit would lay hold upon his life by means of it." So if a man approached the gorge of the Wairafa River in San Cristoval, the *figona* there would take captive his soul. But these *figona* were not evil; it was the man's own fault, he had treated carelessly a sacred place. People fell ill too if the serpent *figona* were not satisfied with the sacrifices; but the *figona* were not feared like *ataro*. An ordinary snake was always killed when found in the gardens. All *figona* were spirits, never the ghosts of the dead; they were not usually seen; they were connected with remarkable stones, and contained in them; their incarnation, when they took form, was a serpent.

10. To conclude, we give a story of a snake *figona* from Mwala. It was told by an old man named Walakalia of Langalanga, on the west coast, in sight of both Boromoli in Florida, and Marau Sound in Guadalcanar, as the story tells. This is the San Cristoval story of Kagauraha with considerable variation, and it is known in South Mwala and Ulawa. It is particularly interesting as showing the extension of the serpent cult to North Mwala and Florida; and as definitely connecting that cult with the *pirupiru*, the sacred grove. Wherever the snake landed, there was a *pirupiru* afterwards. According to the story a *pirupiru* was founded in this manner at Marapa in Marau Sound, South Guadalcanar, and at Boromoli in Florida. In the story eight seems to be a charmed number. The serpent's name is "Eight fathoms." She comes to life after eight days' rain. She makes her house with eight leaves. She is cut into eight pieces. She is killed a second time, and the bones re-unite after eight showers of rain. She submerges a village with eight waves. This last connects her story with that of the hero Rapuanate, who went to Ulawa (newly fished up from the sea with a hook by the hero Mauua), and bought eight waves, with which he submerged Teonimanu (Hanua asi). We do not give the whole of the story. When old Walakalia had brought the serpent back from its wanderings in Florida, he remarked, "We have now completed the trunk of the tale; here it divides into two long branches. We will follow one and when it is finished we can return to the other." Which he did. So, too, we have condensed the story of Rapuanate, which, say the natives, "takes one whole day to tell, beginning at



sunrise and talking steadily till sunset." The following is "the trunk of the tale" of the *figona* serpent Walutahanga.

Her mother was a woman named Huapiaoru and her father's name was Porokalihidani. Her father and mother lived at a place called Sihora near Langalanga on the west coast of Mwala. One day Huapiaoru conceived, and in due time her daughter was born, but it was a snake, and her mother was startled and afraid as she had only expected an ordinary child. There was no one else present, however, and the snake said "Don't be afraid of me, mother, but take care of me and I shall do you nothing but good." So her mother took her and hid her under a pile of firewood by the wall. When the husband came home he said, "Well, wife, where is the child?" "It is dead," she said. After a time she conceived again and bore a daughter. All this time her husband knew nothing about the snake which lay hid in the house. When he and his wife went to work in their garden she made him go first and she would remain and call out her snake daughter to take care of her little girl, the snake's sister. The snake coiled round her and made a cradle for her. Then the woman followed her husband to the garden and when he asked her, "What have you done, wife, with our little daughter?" she would reply, "I left her with her grandmother."<sup>1</sup> So when they went home again after their day's work she would go first, and when she got near the door she would rap loudly on the flat roots of a large tree, and the snake daughter would slip away and hide. But after a time her husband noticed that she always went out last and came home first, and he felt sure she was concealing something, so when he went off down the path one day he did not go far, but slipped back through the bush and hid near the door. Presently, his wife came out, shut the door, and went off to the garden. The husband stood listening, and presently in the house he heard the sound of singing, and it was the snake singing to her sister the following sleeping song:—

Ro ruru ro, ia ruro, osa ngarangara,  
No kaa too a aeku ni ura hai inio,  
No kaa too nimanimaku humi akololoio;  
Ro ruru ro, ia ruro.

That is to say:—

Ro ruru ro, ia ruro, don't cry,  
I have no feet to stand with you,  
I have no arms to embrace you,  
Ro ruru ro, ia ruro.

The baby was just sinking into a soft sleep when the man came in and saw the coils of a snake round his daughter. "You are making my child cry," he called out, and chopped up the snake into eight pieces with his axe, and threw the pieces outside. Presently, Huapiaoru came home to see what had become of her

<sup>1</sup> Really her sister.



husband, and there before the doorway lay scattered the eight pieces of her snake daughter. Her mother sat down and began to cry, but the severed head said to her "Don't cry, mother, I must go away, for my father doesn't like me, and wishes to kill me; go and get me eight leaves of giant caladium" (a sacred leaf). Her mother went for the caladium leaves and the snake called to the sky that rain should rain upon the earth, and a great rain rained for eight days. On the eighth day, the severed pieces of the snake reunited, and she lay by the stream which the rain had brought down, ready to depart on her travels, but as yet she had no canoe.

After a time a banyan came floating down upon the waters, and Walutahanga climbed on to it, but it was too short. "This is not my canoe," said she. Presently another tree, an *atare*, came floating by, and the snake climbed upon it, but it was too short. "This is not my canoe," said she. At last a third tree came down, a *mute*, and this was the right length. "This is my canoe," said she, and she floated away down the river and out to sea. First she went to Marapa, the ghost land (Marau Sound), and landed at Qaeralo. But when she had landed she looked back and saw her home. "I am still in sight of home," said she, "I must go farther." Where she landed there is a *pirupiru*, a sacred grove, to mark the spot. She went off again on the *mute* and this time she came to Boromoli close to Siota in Florida. Since that time there has been a *pirupiru* there, where she landed at Lumu. But she looked across the sea and saw her home. "I am still in sight of home," said she, "I must travel farther." So she set off again in her canoe and came to the farther side of Florida, where now there is a great cave up which a canoe may be paddled, but there was no cave there then. Here she encountered an octopus; "Where are you going, evil long body and crooked tooth?" said the octopus; "don't come near my canoe-house." She made no answer. "If you come any nearer," said the octopus, "I shall kill you." "But I don't want to harm you or drive you away," said the snake. "I am a wanderer. I have no home." The octopus called out wicked words to her, and she became angry and rushed upon him. He backed suddenly in fear and broke a large rock behind him. She rushed at him again and he backed away from her, right into the cliff, breaking a passage into the solid rock, and that is why there is a cave there now. The snake followed him, till at last he squeezed into a cranny where she could not see him, and she passed him, and went on, up into the island. She went into the bush and found a cave in which to live, and here she stayed. No one knew of her arrival, till one day a party went fishing on the reef and one of them felt hungry. The cave where Walutahanga was living was in his garden. He said to the others "Wait here for me and I will go and get some bananas." Now the bananas grew just at the mouth of the cave. So he went, and one bunch was ripe, just at the cave's mouth, but as he put out his hand to pluck it, the snake seized him, pulled him into the cave and devoured him. His companions waited some time, but as he did not return they supposed he had gone back to the village, so another of them went to the garden to get the bananas, and he too was devoured in the same manner, and



so was the third. Then the people said to one another, "Something must be the matter. Let two go together." So two of them went; one stood a little way off and the other went to pluck the bananas. Out came the snake, seized him and pulled him into the cave. His friend who saw all that happened returned to the others and all of them hurried up to the village, where they and all the people armed themselves and set out for the cave, to kill the intruder. But though they went out valiantly very few came home again, for the snake pulled them down one by one and devoured them in the cave. So they began to look about for a charm, and one of them remembered two famous man-eating dogs living at Langalanga in Mwala. Two of them took a canoe and paddled over to Langalanga. The owner of the dogs lived up in the bush, so they went to him, and there he sat at the door of his house with his two famous dogs, who barked with joy at the sight of men to eat, but were restrained by their owner. "What do you want?" said he. "We have come here," they replied, "to hire these dogs to destroy a terrible man-eating snake which has come to live in our country." So he said, "Very well, you shall have the dogs, but go first into the garden to get some taro, and I will send the dogs to show you the way, and to-morrow you can go home." "All very fine," said they, "but the dogs will eat us." "No," said he, "I will tell them not to." So the dogs ran before and they followed them and dug taro in the garden and came back again and slept there one night. Next day they set off for home again, taking the two dogs, who had been told what was wanted of them, and were howling with delight at the thought of fighting the snake. When they got near the shore, the dogs smelt the snake and nothing could hold them back. They jumped out of the canoe into the sea, swam ashore, and rushed off into the bush, straight to the cave. The younger said to the elder, "Do you go to the mouth of the cave and draw the snake out with your barking, and I will climb up above and jump down upon it when it comes out to seize you."

So they did. And when the snake heard the dog barking she came out, one fathom of her. But the dog called to his brother above, "Not yet, let her come out farther." So the snake came out farther, and when she had come out three fathoms, the dog above leapt down on her and bit her neck, and the other dog rushed in and helped, and the people who were all standing round with spears and axes rushed in also, and Walutahanga was cut to pieces, and stabbed in a hundred places till she was dead, eight pieces lying on the ground.

Then they divided the portions and gave one to a woman and child, and this was the head of the snake. Each man made a fire, and cooked his portion and ate it, and the woman and child made a fire to cook the head. But the smoke blew into their faces, and they began to sniff, and the tears stood in their eyes with the smoke. "Ah," said the head to the woman, "you two pity me, you two alone out of all these people; you shall not regret it; you may cook me, but don't eat me." So the woman and child cooked the head but did not eat it. Then the rest said, "Each of us must bring the bones of the portion he has eaten, and when all have been collected on a day we will take them far out to sea, and throw them



into the water." So they did, but the head bones were absent. They asked the woman and child where they were, and they replied that they had cooked the head but had not eaten it; so the people took it from them and ate it. Then they chose a day, and all launched their canoes and carried the bones far out to sea and threw them overboard into the sea, where they sank to the bottom out of sight, and all the people cheered lustily. But they might not have done so had they seen the bones re-uniting bone to bone at the bottom of the sea. Then came eight showers of rain, and at the eighth the snake was whole again, and stretched herself at the bottom of the sea with a noise like thunder. "What is that strange noise?" said the people, and paddled home as fast as they could go. But still faster went the snake under the water, and as she went she made eight great waves, and the eighth overturned their canoes and drowned the people in them, and rolled over their village, destroying everything in it. Then Walutahanga bethought her of the woman and child, and went to seek them. She found them in the branches of a banyan, safe and sound. "Come down, friends," said she, and made to grow for them coconuts, yams and taro, and made a stream to flow, and gave them pigs. "Now," said she, "I have prepared all this for you, but I myself must go away, for I see clearly that the people of this land do not want me, and only wish to kill me."

So she set off again and came back to Langalanga, but not to Sihora, her home. On that day a man was fishing with a net, and saw her coming in from the sea, a snake of terrible size. "Don't be afraid of me," said Walutahanga; "I, like you, am born of woman, receive me kindly and all will be well." "But," said the man, "I am afraid of you, long evil body and crooked tooth." "If you will receive me," said the snake, "your garden shall be fruitful, and you shall be successful in war." "But," objected the man, "my canoe is much too small to hold you." "Let me but rest my head in it," replied the snake, "and paddle ashore with me." So he did. When they got ashore people began to come together, and the snake said to the man, "Go and build me a house to dwell in." "How am I to do that?" said he; "I shall take years to make one big enough." However, she told him that all he had to do was to get eight leaves of cane and eight leaves of giant caladium, and with these he made her a house. So the snake lived there and helped him in all his undertakings, and has been worshipped ever since by the people.

Walakalia, who told the tale, is one of her worshippers.

### 3. PRAYERS AND CHARMS.

Before describing the *ataro* it will be well to give some account of the way in which they and the *figona* were approached, and the spots where this took place.

The word used for prayer in translations of the Bible is *rihungai*. This word appears again in Ulawa and Mwala as *lihungai*, and in Florida as



*liulivuti*, the root *liu* or *lihu* being the same. According to Dr. Codrington *lihungai* was used when *ataro* ghosts were applied to for help in battle, in sickness and for good crops. "*Lihungai*, the word they use, conveys rather the notion of charm than of prayer. The formula is handed down from father to son, or is taught for a consideration." This, however, is *feiaru* or *feirunga*, not *lihungai*. *Lihungai* can never have been so important a word, as its original meaning is now unknown to many natives. Another expression for *lihungai* is *ha'a oheche*, which seems to mean "to fence off," while *lihungai* means rather "to separate." Both words were used of setting apart a man or woman from evil influences. Thus, if a man were wounded in battle by a spear, he would lie up in his house and only one man would tend him: no one else must go near him. Thus they would *lihungai* (or rather *rihungai*) *inia*, fence off on his account. So if a woman had given birth to a child, she was kept apart, no one, especially an adulteress, must approach her; the people *rihungai inia*, fence off on her account. It will be seen that *rihungai* is a very poor word for prayer. It has for some years been discarded, though it still remains in the translations.

*Fagarafe* is the word now used. *Rafe* means weary, and *fagarafe* to make weary, to importunate. In the account of the Agunua rites, a *fagarafe* has been given, asking Agunua to bless and protect the people during the coming year. Any one might *fagarafe*, and any words might be used. Thus a man going fishing would go first near some rock by the stream and *fagarafe* to the *figona* of the rock for a good day's sport, or a man hunting pigs or opossums in the bush would stand near a rock, the abode of some *figona*, and say a *fagarafe* for good luck. There was, as a rule, no blowing on lime or leaves, as in a *feirunga*, and no special words handed down as in the *feirunga*. *Fagarafe* were made both to *figona* and *ataro*, and accompanied sacrifices. When, for example, a sacrifice of a pig was made to an *ataro*, the sacrificer would say, "This is your pig, given on account of my sickness for your eating, that I may recover my strength." But no special words were used, other words would do as well. And in the account of the sacrifice to the *ataro* Harumae, to be presently given, there occurs a *fagarafe*, "Harumae, chief in war, we sacrifice to you this pig, that you may help us to smite that place; and whatsoever we shall carry away shall be your property, and we also will be yours." But another form might equally well be used. *Fagarafe* means, then, a request to a spirit or ghost for help, and is in no sense a charm. *Feirunga*, or *feiaru*, or *heiaru*, is the other word in common use, and this is a charm. It must consist of certain words handed down from father to son, or from some man to his friend, and it is evident that these charms have been handed down for some considerable time, since they now contain archaic words no longer used in San Cristoval, though, perhaps, found elsewhere. For example, the word now used for lightning is some form of *fireia*, but in the charms *parapara* is used. In Mota in the Banks Islands *manu varavara* is an expression for lightning. Besides consisting of particular words a *feirunga* is almost always accompanied by particular acts, of which the chief is blowing upon something to impart *mena*, or power, to it. The technical



term for blowing upon the object is *memena*. *Mena* is probably a form of the widespread *mana*, and also occurs in another form in San Cristoval as *manawa*, the breath, or to breathe; *mana* or *mena* perhaps means originally the breath, and power is a secondary meaning, owing to the fact that it is the breathing upon an object which imparts power. While a *feirunga* is generally addressed to an *ataro* or *figona*, it may also come to mean a mere charm or omen. Thus there is a story of a famous ogre named Watarokaoka, who set out one day to look for food, and coming to the bank of a fast-running stream, saw a woman planting taro on the other side. He wished to eat her, but the stream was too deep and swift, so he pronounced a *feirunga*:—

Turita ahe su i tara  
Wai tarau wau, wai gara.

(*Translation.*) Sink and flow back from the path,  
I shall cross over and eat her.

But the woman, without turning her head, immediately pronounced a counter spell—

Rangi rangi mai ma nai Hau  
(*Translation.*) Rain hither from the face of Hau.

And the stream still flowed as fiercely as ever, so that he could not cross.

A party going to war, *feirunga* first (*feiaru* or *mawaru* it is called at Marogu, where this was obtained). Each takes a dracaena leaf and says a *feirunga*, breathing upon the leaf, as follows:—

Siri ngatangata ura mara waraefu fata  
Siri ngatangata ura mara waraefu kaura.

(*Translation.*) Dracaena firm stand, like the plume of the eagle  
Dracaena firm stand, like the plume of the frigate bird.

Then he folds up the leaf, partly bites it through, unfolds it, and holds it up, straightening it out. He then lets go the top. If the leaf stands up straight, he will go and fight, if it falls over he will refuse to go. Probably this was addressed to an *ataro*. If he decides to go to war, he will then sacrifice and pray to an *ataro ramo*, an *ataro* of war, and then say a *feirunga* to it, so that the spears of the enemy may miss him. He takes lime, breathes upon it, smears a streak under his right eye, and pronounces the following words:—

Bubuni maana, mwani rurukape  
Ta gugua oo, mai tatare  
Ma bubuni, maana, mwani kekewa.  
Ta gugua oo, mai akere.

(*Translation.*) Paint his face, all wagtails,  
The spear aimed at me will miss;  
Paint his face, all fantails,  
The spear aimed at me will glance off.

If a man has fever or a cough he goes to a stream, takes a dracaena leaf, breathes on lime and puts it in the leaf, stands in the water, and says the following words to a *figona* :—

Tatare au me ne su na ringa  
Gu tatare au, susu kokoro au, me ne su na ringa  
Gu kokoro na ringa, gu kokoro, gu tatare.

He then sprinkles the lime over his body.

We have a very long *feirunga* for rain, addressed to a *figona*, of which part may be given as an example of such charms. The man takes a dracaena leaf, breathes upon it, and holds it out towards the quarter of the sky from which he expects the rain, saying as follows (the language—Kufe—is that of Raturafu) :—

Siriaku ni tangitangi rafa  
Tangitangi raga fita faitanga  
Siriaku ni paraparaga  
Ngungurufi matawa rafa  
Ngungurufi matawa riki  
Furuia ta mai wai ta maramara  
Totoragaraga ta mai rungana i wai ta maramara  
Tora pokea gana fau kangurafa  
Regea ta mai gana bwaoro rafa  
Totorea tanga na matawa rafa  
Furu marumaru tanga na pakewa rafa  
Siri tapurara, ta nga, ni tangitangi rafa  
Torotoro fagi piringe  
Toro ragea ta gana pena fata rafa  
Totora mamaopasia tamai wai rafa  
Totora tanga napena mara rafa, etc.

(*Translation.*) My dracaena, let the great storm come,  
A great storm, surf rushing both ways.  
My dracaena, let the lightning flash,  
Let the thunder sound on the far horizon,  
Let the thunder sound on the near horizon,  
Lightning speed hither, waters of Maramara,  
Strike hard the source of the waters of Maramara :  
Strike and tear out where the great rocks go deep,  
Sweep down thence the great banyan,  
Drag it to the far horizon,  
Let it overshadow darkly the great sharks.  
O red dracaena leaf, what is that? a great storm,  
Roaring and pressing down;



Roaring and dragging out the trunk of the great Fata,  
Carrying down the landslip from the great river,  
Carrying its trunk to Great Mara.

These are only the opening words of the *feirunga* which is a long and very fine description of a great storm on the coast.

There are *feirunga* to be said on all occasions. For example, a man wishes to drink in a pool where a *figona* or *ataro* may be present. He first takes a stone, breathes on it, says the following charm and throws it into the water:—

Fora, wai kakai robo, fora, ma wai kono  
Fora, wai kakai asi, fora, ma wai ta wai.

After he has caught a fish and baked it on the embers of the fire, he says:—

Au ngaungau mamaru na ari kapukapu  
Ataro i siofi au  
Au ngaungau mamaru na ari wekowaneko  
Ataro i siofi au  
Nga ni moamoaragi fitofito  
Nga ni moamoaragi gapu

The following *feirunga* would seem to put the user of it under the protection of *figona*, lest any *ataro* should harm him:—

Au ngaungau i bwauna unu  
Adaro si abwai ngou  
Au ngaungau i bwauna mwa  
Adaro si abwai wana.

(*Translation.*) I am eating the head of the snake;  
*Adaro* over yonder, let him not speak.  
I am eating the head of the snake;  
*Adaro* over yonder, let him not see.

Naturally there are a great many charms connected with the management of a garden. There is a charm used when the place is chosen, another when it is marked out, another when some of the earth is cast hither and thither, another when the yams are planted, another at weeding, another when giving the yam a pull to make it grow, another when mourning over a garden which is not successful, another at training the yam up the stake, another at tying up the shoot, and so on. We give a selection of these from Tawatana in the part of San Cristoval called Arosi. This is the language of Bishop Patteson's vocabulary used by von der Gabelentz.

In choosing a spot for a garden a Tawatana man goes into the bush with his axe, breathes upon the axe, and cuts through a sapling or creeper, calling on an *ataro* known to him, or on the *hiona* of the place, to observe whether it is a

suitable place for his garden. If the cut is a clean one the spot chosen is a good one, but if a bit of the sapling is left sticking up, someone will die. If several bits are sticking up, another spot is sought. If the spot chosen proves to be a good one, four stones are then put at the four corners, and these stones remain after they have been charmed, to keep off anyone who may come to spoil the garden. The following is the first *heiaru* used for the stones :—

Au didiusi mou mana mata raha oi boi ta e mata raha, nagu ano ta tabara, oi boi mata gegena mou agaraa, oi omeome ta e mata raha, oi ome tarihana sae nai haataia i mou agaraa, e sae e boi haataia i mou agara oi ngahuia ta e mata raha, oi taba nai waera ana, oi taba magamagaa, oi boi taba abaabana oi taba haamaranga, ma e sae na e taha moi haraana, ma oi ua, oi nigaa ta mai taro tahataha, moi itai tarai agaraa, ma e sae na e babasia e dora iagaraa ma oi ngahuia ta, oi ngahuia ma oi gasi ngangahuia mou agaraa, maragu unu garaa sae garaa aia toora haa ni wate uru bwarasigaraa ami oi waa maegu mae nai ruma iana, maraigu unua do e adaro na ngahuia nai ruma iana.

(*Translation.*) I make a spell for the garden and for you, great Mata. Come, great Mata, and my land will yield plenteously, come and sit by the side of the garden of us two. Look after it well, great Mata. Notice carefully anyone who spoils our garden. Should anyone come to spoil our garden, slay him, great Mata. Strike at his forehead, strike and crush it. Strike his shoulders and dislocate them. Should a man come without evil intent, let him go free. Should a man come to spoil our garden, kill him, etc.

This charm is used for the first and third stones. Another to the "Little Mata" is used for the second and fourth stones, as follows :—

Au didiusi mou mana mata rii, au didiusia nagua ano ni uhi ano mamauri, oi boi ta e mata rii oi boi mato nai nagua didiusi, oi omesuria mou agu ni, e sae nai e maataia ni mou agu ni, oi reia e mata rii, oi boi taba i huna nai bwauna isi, oi taba romo isi, oi boi taba nai bwauna abaabana isi, oi taba haa mararanga isi, oi ngangahuia, o gasi ngahu haamaesia isi, sae agaraa toora haa ni wate uru bwarasi garaa isi, oi waia ma oi gu ngahu haamaesia nai ruma i ana isi, maraigu unua do e adaro na ngahuia isi, au gege usi mou mana mata rii, au didiusi mou mana mata raha.

(*Translation.*) I make a spell for the garden and for you, little Mata; I make a spell for the ground that my yams may live. Come, little Mata, come into my spell. Look after this my garden. Should anyone come to spoil my garden, thou wilt see him, little Mata. Come and strike the back of his head. Strike him on the point of his shoulder. Put it out of joint. Kill him, but do not strike him dead there (in the garden). Let our friends who have money give it for us. Do thou take him and strike him dead in his house away from here and they will say that a ghost has killed him there. I make a charm for the garden and for Little Mata; I make a charm for the garden and for Great Mata.



After this a dracaena leaf is taken, and the action of sweeping the garden with this is performed from end to end, after which the leaf is thrown away in the bush. The following charm is used:—

Au dedehe mou nae wai na rafa, au dehe gasingai ie ni ano ta taa, au dehe gasingai ie ni ano haasiriani, au dehe gasingai ie ni ano susuhari ana, au dehe diohainia nai urungana i wai na raha, au dehe nugaa nagua ano ta tabara, ano na gorogoro ni hingana, mai boi ai rafa tagua uhi ana, au dehedehe mou urungana i wai na rii, au dehe gasingai ie ni ana haihasiri, au dehe gasingai ie ni ano ta taa na isi, au dehe diohainia nai urungana i wai na rii, au dehe nugaa nagua ano mamauri, ni ano na gorogoro ni uhi, au dehe mou urungana i wai na rii, au dehe mou nai wa na raha.

(*Translation.*) I fan the garden towards the great water. I fan and clear away the poor soil, I fan and clear away the clayey soil. I fan and clear away the soil in which are scorpions. I fan them away into the source of the great water. I fan here soil that will bring forth plenteously, good soil for the seed yams, that on its coming my yams may be big. I fan the garden towards the source of the little water. I fan away all the bad earth, I fan it away to the source of the little water. I fan hither living soil, good soil for the yams. I fan the garden to the source of the little water, I fan the garden to the great water.

A yam is next planted in the garden and a charm said while breathing on the yam:—

Au hasia nagua na hua i uhi totora raha, au hasia nai duina i mou agaraa au hasi ia nai bae uru nai mou agaraa, nagua huhua i uhi totora raha, au hasia mae boi tabara nai raroni i mou agaraa, wai hasio o gasi roborobo bwaranga, wai hasio oi tari hane nai ranga i hata, oi riosia ahoi ni mou agaraa moi reia ni waana ni uhi agaraa, oi omesia ni haibu usuri ana ni waana i uhi agaraa, oi reia nai haidaa ohi ana ni uhi nai raroni i baraa, oi reia nai hai regesi ani ni uhi nai mou agaraa, rai taha naganaga inia i uhi agaraa, marai mwaosia suri oma, maraigu waa taringa ada nai oma ma waigu rahia ta ana toba raha, ai gu goni ni mwani wagi raha i oma, raigu suuhia ni ano nai uhi agaraa, agu ari wou gere hasi oou taa agu ura nai maa nai taoha raha, ma gu awara haida agu aoni moui haataa ana ma idingare raha ma moi oraora bewabewa, makasa suruia gasia mano i tari waa, a onaa magewa i raboo raha na waro moi abu i haa, a gasi magama, moi ha moia ta ma idingare raha.

(*Translation.*) I plant my big well-growing yam. I plant it in the corner of our garden. I plant it at the big stake in our garden. I plant my big well-growing yam, and it will bear plenteously in our garden. I plant you, but do not run to leaf only. I plant you, and do you climb up to the branch of the *hata* and hang down again into our garden. Thus will you see the beginning of our yam. You will see the top of our yam beginning to rise up. You will see it lifting itself above the ground in our garden. You will see the yam springing high up in our garden. The chief men will come along the path, they will come and covet our yam. And all the village will be astonished at it. And they will take them into



the village, and I will take down a big food bowl. Then will the wives of the chiefs gather together in the village. And they will peel one of our yams. Then will a poor maiden go and stand at the door of the big men's-house and call out with laughter: Cut off a large piece and cut it up in pieces, then you can lift it on one side on to the split coconut-leaf, do not take rattan to lift it whole, lest it should fall and break like a big food bowl. Take only a large piece.

This long charm is pronounced by the man alone in the garden; others come afterwards to help him to plant. It is said over four yams, one of which is planted at each of the four corners of the garden.

Later, when the yams begin to sprout, the shoots are twined round stakes driven into the ground beside each mound. The following charm is used when staking the yams. The man takes his axe, breathes upon it, and cuts his stakes, four in number. If the man to whom the garden belongs does not know a charm, he seeks a man who does, and sacrifices to this man's *adaro*. The man who has dealings with the *adaro* eats the sacrifice, and then says the charm for his friend's garden:—

Au taunia nagua ira mahera raha, au taba i waana to marawa, au suruia nagua waroi mananga, au hioa nai waana gagamwa hata, oi tari hane nai raana gagamwa hata, oi tari hane ma o gasi roborobo bwaranga, gasi robo mara waroi dahihi, au horo raha, oi robo hai ano ni uhi agaraa oi robo raesia tamua baeura nai mou agaraa ra tae ngona i mwara raha, naohia mai ni robona i uhi agaraa, ra unua do ona hungana i asi rii raha, au taunia nagua ira mahera rii, au taba nai waana to mauri, au suruia nagua waro i uhi, au hiriia nai waana gagamwa rigi, oi tari hane nai raana gagamwa rigi, oi tari hane moo gasi roborobo pwarii, oi robo mara uhi, o gasi robo mara waro i dahihi, o robo pwarii, ra tae ngona i mwara rii, ra naohia mai nagua robo i uhi, ra unua do ona hungani i asi rii, au suruia nagua waro i uhi, au suruia nagua waro i uhi marawa, nagua uhi tototo aba.

(*Translation.*) I take up my big broad stone axe. I chop the butt of a green to tree. I lift up the vine of my *mananga* yam. I twine it round the stake as big as a *hata* tree. Do thou climb up to the branches of the *hata* stake. Climb up, but do not make much leaf, without tuber; do not spread like the creeping vine of the *dahihi*, spread and make the tuber of our yam. Spread and break down the growing stake in our garden. They will embark at the point of Great Mwara (Malaita), they will point hither at the spreading vines of our yams. They say that it is like the mountain Asi rii raha. I take up my small broad stone axe. I chop the butt of a living to tree. I lift up the vine of my yam. I twine it round the big *rigi* stake. Do thou climb up to the branches of the *rigi* stake. Climb up, but do not deceive with thy spreading vines. Spread as should a yam, not deceitfully like the creeping vine of the *dahihi*. They will embark at the point of Little Mwara, they point at the spreading vines of my yam, they say that it is like the mountain Asi rii. I lift up the vine of my yam. I lift up the green vine of my yam.



When the time for weeding arrives, another charm is said, breathing on the first weed as one pulls it out :—

Au amuamu tahamwa, au amuamu taha i tara na hura agu boi ranga, agu boi hane taha, ma na uhi a bwani raha, au amuamu taha i toohoro na hura agu mato mana mou a bwani robo, agu ari mato mana uhi a bwani mato, au amuamu taha i toohoro, au amuamu taha i tara.

(*Translation.*) I weed for the first time. I weed up to the path. The new moon appears and gets high in the sky, and the yams are already big. I weed up to the boundary logs. The moon sinks down, and the garden is already covered with vines, it sinks down and disappears, and the yam already has sunk down in the ground. I weed up to the boundary logs, I weed up to the path.

To make the ground fruitful, four handfuls of earth are taken up and cast forth over the ground, the man who does so first breathing on the earth. The following is the charm :—

Au rarasa hairiu, a rerei naho nai Bwararii na mou agua abwai dorai riu, au rarasa hai tanga, a rerei i naho nai Mwara, mou agua abwai dora i riu taha.

(*Translation.*) I sprinkle in all directions, like the breaking surf at Bwararii, that there be no space left in my garden. I sprinkle in all directions, like the breaking surf in Mwara, that there be no way through my garden.

To increase the size of the yam, some leaves or grass are held in the hand, and breathed upon. This handful of grass is then held over the top of the growing yam, while the following charm is pronounced :—

Au amuamu gare huhusu, nabwauna i uhi agua nai husu, nagaona nai susu, au amuamu gare rerege, na bwauna i uhi nai rege, nagaona nai tere, amuamu gare rerege, amuamu gare huhusu.

(*Translation.*) I weed the springing child, may the top of my yam spring up, may its base push downwards. I weed the jumping child. May the top of my yam jump up, may its base go down. Weed the jumping child, weed the springing child.

If the yam is backward, the man breathes upon his hands, gives the yam a pull, calls aloud, and says the following charm :—

Au taho uhi kewakewa, uhi agua ai husu mara baewa, au taho uhi kirokiro, uhi agua ai husu mara girio, au taho uhi kirokiro, au taho uhi kewakewa.

(*Translation.*) I pull the yam, jutting up, that my yam may spring up like a shark. I pull the yam from side to side that my yam may spring up like a porpoise. I pull the twisting yam, I pull the jutting yam.

When the yams fail to come up a charm is used, called a charm "*ini angisia i mou*," that is, for lamenting over a garden. The man breathes three times on the



soles of his feet, and walks through his garden over the bare places, where he wishes the yams to spring up, saying the following words:—

Basu na uhi, boi basu mauri, basu na hana, boi basu manawa, boi pwira manawa, boi pwira mauri.

(*Translation.*) Sprout at the side yam, come, sprout and live, sprout at the side prickly yam, come, sprout with vigour. Come, shoot up with vigour, come, shoot up and live.

If a vine falls from its stake, the man picks it up and puts it on another, where it shall cling like a snake or bat. The following words are used:—

Hihiri na roi, totoki na roge, kakaka na roge, hihiri na roi, kakaka na roi, totoki na roge.

(*Translation.*) Twine yellow snake, hang flying fox, stretch out flying fox, twine yellow snake, stretch out yellow snake, hang flying fox.

When he ties up the vine, he says:—

Au hoo hoo rau, au hoo buria ni au, au hoo hoo uru au hoo buria mumu.

(*Translation.*) I tie up the shoot, I tie it close to the bamboo, I tie up the head of shoots, I tie it close to the *mumu*.

While saying this, he breathes on dracaena leaves and then tears them to pieces.

It will be noticed that in these charms, of which there are very many, we have the germs at least of true poetry. Many of them in fact are poems, rich in simile, with a rude rhythm, and showing considerable command of language. The set of garden charms from Tawatana given above, contain several words, such as *mara*, "like," which are not ordinarily used in that part of San Cristoval (where "like" is *ona*), but which are the common words in use in other parts. It is worthy of note, that there is a *heiaru* used in a bush village inland from Wango, in which the name of Jesus is used. The name has not been inserted in very recent times, though no doubt since the introduction of Christianity along the coast.

#### 4. ATARO.

*Ataro* or *adaro* is the name given by the natives of San Cristoval to beings, other than *figona*, whom they worship. In some parts (for example ten miles inland from Pamua) the soul is called *ataro mauri*, i.e., living *ataro*, while still in the body, and *ataro* merely, after death. Elsewhere, as at Wango, there is a separate word for soul, *aunga*; when the *aunga* leaves the body it becomes an *ataro*. One great class of *ataro* consists therefore of ghosts, and it is these chiefly that are worshipped. There is, however, a second class of *ataro*, perhaps not as numerous as the former—spirits of the sea, woods, and shore, and others found in the rainbow and the waterspout. These are not ghosts.

The same word is found in the form *akalo* at Ulawa and in Mala, and the same distinction holds. Some *akalo* are ghosts and some are spirits. Farther west the



Florida word *tidalo* is thought to be another form of *ataro*, but apparently *tidalo* never means anything but a ghost.<sup>1</sup> To the south-east the word is believed to reappear in the Banks, where *tataro* is used for prayer, but is properly the name for beings addressed in prayer, each prayer beginning with this name. The word may have an even wider extension if the Samoan *talo* a prayer, the Tahitian *tarotaro* a short prayer to the gods, the Hawaiian *kalokalo* prayer, and Gilbert Islands *tataro*, are really the same word, the use in the Banks Islands connecting the two meanings of ghost or spirit and prayer.

Natives of San Cristoval firmly believe in the continued existence of the soul after death. Death is merely a migration. The soul may pass into an animal, or may be born again in a descendant, or may merely exist without any incarnation. A ghost may also possess a living man, or as many as one hundred ghosts may do so. A soul may also be held captive in some sacred place, the outward sign being the decay of the body. The soul goes out in dreams and in unconsciousness. Death affects the body but not the soul. *Mae*, death, is the going out of the soul from the body, so that a person who is unconscious is said to be *mae*, dead. A person may be very ill, there may be obviously no hope of his recovery, but he is not *mae* till he becomes unconscious.

All souls are believed to go to *Rotomana*, which is variously situated, and live there a life more or less like their former earthly life. There is an *ataro* at the entrance to *Rotomana*, a spirit not a ghost, who only admits ghosts who have their ears and nose perforated and the proper marks under the right eye. There is also a spirit ruler of *Rotomana*. The Three Sisters are *Rotomana* to the people of a large part of San Cristoval. Islands in Marau Sound are the *Rotomana* of others. Living men may go to *Rotomana* and see ghosts and ghostly footmarks and hear strange noises. What seems at first sight illogical is the fact that along with this belief in *Rotomana*, there is a firm belief in the continued presence in the village or near it of the souls of the dead. In this double belief there is perhaps the evidence of the meeting of two cultures and two beliefs as to what happens after death. After death a great many ghosts become incarnate in animals. It may be wondered in what way natives determine the particular animal into which the *ataro* of a dead relative has entered. It depends partly on where the man is buried. It is a common practice to bury in the sea both chiefs and common people, and their *ataro* naturally become incarnate in fish, especially in sharks. But even if a man is buried on shore his *ataro* may enter a shark. After his death his skull and other relics may be put into a wooden figure of a shark, which is then securely sealed with canoe gum, and allowed to float in the sea. Watch is kept, and the first thing seen to approach it is the future incarnation of the *ataro*. Usually a shark, it may also be an octopus, a skate, a turtle, or a crocodile. But all *ataro* have not a sea incarnation. When a man or woman grows old, natives watch to see whether any animal persistently associates itself with them. This is often a bird. The

<sup>1</sup> *The Melanesians*, p. 127: "Every *tidalo* was once a man."



bird comes to the house and perches on the old man's shoulder. It must be a young bird. It is fed and treated respectfully as the future home of the man's soul. When he dies his soul is known to be in the bird. His children will not eat any bird of that sort. This taboo seems only to last for a generation. There is a man now living at Raumae whose father's *ataro* went into a hawk, *tehe*. This man cannot kill any hawks or eat them, though other people do so quite freely. Birds into which the *ataro* goes are the hawk, the *afitaronga*, another kind of hawk, the *aususuwai*, a kingfisher, and the *wafirufiru*, a small black and white bird. Or again, the *ataro* may go into a stone or a tree. This is known by dreams after a man's death. If in the dream the *ataro* of the man is seen at a stone, or by a tree, that is known to be its incarnation. Thus there is an *ataro* in a *topaga* tree near Raturafu. The man's children will not cut down this tree, or any other *topaga* tree. Sacrifices are made there to the *ataro*. Dr. Codrington mentions the case of a man at Ulawa whose soul entered the banana, so that bananas became taboo. A man will say, I cannot eat such and such a fish or bird, because it is my father or my mother. Such beliefs of connection with animals should be compared with the Banks Island belief in a *tamanu*, but the association with the *tamanu* begins at the time of birth, while in these San Cristoval examples it begins at the time of death. Obviously totems might originate in this manner. The natives have other opinions as to the origin of totems and clans among them; the Ataro clan, for example, is thought to have originated in the actual resurrection to life of a dead woman and her child, from whom the clan has sprung. But after all, these native stories to explain the clans are simply the theories of the native anthropological society as to the origin of totemism. They are exceedingly interesting, and some of them may be true. The following are native explanations of the origin of San Cristoval clans:—

The Kafiko or Owl clan began in this manner: A child was crying for her mother, but her mother did not come quickly, so the child ran off by herself into the bush. Her mother followed her, but the child climbed a tree to escape her. The mother climbed after her, but the child climbed higher, crying as she climbed, and finally changed into an owl. She was the mother of the Owl clan, and their forbidden food is an owl.

A woman and her child died and were buried. One day the child rose from the grave and came into the village and played with the children till sunset. Then she went back to the grave. The other children wondered where she had gone, and next day the same thing happened. At sunset the strange child went back to her grave. The children began to talk to their elders, and these determined to set a watch. On the third day, as the child was about to descend into the grave, the watcher seized her. "Leave me alone," cries the child; "I must go to my mother, she is waiting for me below." "You are not telling the truth," says the watcher; "if your mother is indeed waiting for you below, call her up." The child did so, and the mother rose from the grave. The two then returned into the village, and the child became the mother of the clan called Ataro.



In these cases wonders are related to account for the origin of the clan, transformation into an animal and resurrection from the dead. But other explanations are more prosaic. For example, the Uraua clan is said to be an offshoot of the Amwea. An Amwea woman, according to one account, was living at Pounamou in the interior. She was carried away in a freshet of the Wairafa River, but saved herself by clinging to the trunk of an *uri*. On this she was carried out to sea, and right across to Ulawa, forty miles away. After this involuntary visit, she returned, having married a man of Ulawa (called Uraua in this part of San Cristoval). Their daughter was the mother of the Uraua clan. In this case there is no food restriction, since the *uri* has no edible fruit. But a member of the clan may not cut down an *uri*, or carry any part of the tree. The name of the clan is not the *uri*, but *Uraua*, to commemorate the visit. But twenty miles along the coast, there is a different though similar story to account for the origin of the clan.

When the souls of the dead dwell in animals, the animals are endowed with human understanding, and may aid the living. In some cases a snake of this sort was sent to kill a man. It should be observed that this snake did not attempt to bite the victim, but merely went to the man's house and lay coiled in some corner. The man would fall sick and die. A man who buried treasure in the ground would send a familiar snake to guard it; the snake would lie coiled round the stone where the treasure was. Some, however, consider that these snakes were *figona*.

Undoubtedly the chief incarnation assumed by *ataro* was the body of a shark. All sharks are not sacred, but a great many are thought to be possessed by ghosts. At Ulawa there were two familiar sharks who were widely known and respected: Sautahimatawa (mentioned by Dr. Codrington) and Huaahu. Huaahu has been slain, but his rival is still said to exist. These ghost sharks did not harm their worshippers, but were often sent by them to kill men at a distance. Familiar sharks were sent from Ulawa to Ugi and San Cristoval, forty miles, to kill an enemy. The following account of the proceedings in such cases comes from Ulawa, but it applies equally well to San Cristoval. At the village where Huaahu was venerated, if it were decided to send a shark on such an errand Huaahu was called by the priest, and told to go for his servants. Presently he returned with the other ghost sharks who would then fall in, their noses in a straight line. The next thing was to select one of them for the job, and this ghost shark was given some of the earth on which the victim's spittle had fallen, or some of the earth from his footprints in the sand. The ghost shark named then went off accompanied by a ghost skate, his helper. They would come upon the man in his canoe. The skate struck the canoe with its tail and overturned it, and then the shark swallowed the man struggling in the water, or rather held him in its mouth, the man's legs sticking out, and set off for home. Arriving at the little bay, the shark threw the man out on the sand, not dead but weak and crying. He was then strangled and thrown back dead to be eaten.

The end of Huaahu was a melancholy one. He was missed one day and diligent inquiries were made. The people heard that a very large shark had been



killed in another village. They went to this village but nothing remained except the head. They inquired of the head, "Are you Huaahu?" and the head stood up to signify that it was. His people thereupon destroyed the gardens and canoes of the offending village.

One of the sharks known throughout these islands was partly human. The head was that of a shark, but part of the body and the legs were those of a man. Here, as sometimes in San Cristoval, the sacrificial stone was a large block of red jasper. The priest was said to be able to make this stone float in the water, and it certainly was very sacred, for if the man's shadow fell upon it, he would waste away. When the ghost shark Wairowo was killed by the people of Mwanihuki, the sacred tree in the *pirupiru* at Kaunasuku, where his home was, broke in two of its own accord.

Sometimes there were fights between these ghost creatures. Some while ago the people of Ulawa heard by means of a ghost shark that a famous and terrible *ataro* of Mwala was on its way to Ulawa. It was in the form of a monstrous snake. Word was quickly sent round Ulawa, and all the ghost sharks and ghost-octopuses assembled for the defence of home and children. At length the great snake *ataro* was seen coming across the sea from Mwala. The octopuses went out in the centre with sharks on each side of them. The octopuses then squirted out great volumes of ink, darkening the sea all round and half blinding the snake. The sharks attacked it on the flanks, biting it to pieces. The fight was long and fierce, but victory rested with the assembled *ataro* of Ulawa, and the tooth of the huge ghost-snake now adorns an Ulawa canoe-house.

#### *Sacrifices and Shrines.*

Sacrifices were made in San Cristoval to ghosts and to spirits, to *figona* spirits and also to *ataro* spirits.

A sacrifice to a ghost is described by a native of San Cristoval. This ghost (Harumae) is still known along the north-east coast, but the account of the sacrifice of a pig to him seems to have been given by a Wango native. The sacrifice was made when the people were proposing to go to war. The men assemble. Then "the chief sacrificer goes and takes a pig, and if it be not a barrow pig they would not sacrifice it to that ghost; he would reject it and not eat of it. The pig is killed (it is strangled) not by the chief sacrificer but by those whom he chooses to assist, near the sacred place. Then they cut it up; they take great care of the blood lest it should fall upon the ground; they bring a bowl and set the pig in it, and when they cut it up the blood runs down into it. When the cutting up is finished, the chief sacrificer takes a bit of flesh from the pig and he takes a coconut shell and dips up some of the blood. Then he takes the blood and the bit of flesh and enters into the house (the shrine) and calls that ghost and says, 'Harumae! Chief in war! we sacrifice to you with this pig, that you may help us to smite that place; and whatsoever we shall carry away shall be your property,



and we also will be yours.' Then he burns the bit of flesh in a fire upon a stone, and pours down the blood upon the fire. Then the fire blazes greatly upwards to the roof, and the house is full of the smell of pig, a sign that the ghost has heard. But when the sacrificer went in he did not go boldly, but with awe; and this is the sign of it; as he goes into the holy house, he puts away his bag and washes his hands thoroughly, to show that the ghost shall not reject him with disgust; just as when you go into the really Holy House you take off your hat from your head, a sign that you reverence the true Spirit."<sup>1</sup>

The pig was afterwards eaten. Things sacrificed in the shrine (*hare ni asi*) are called *raherahe*, while those sacrificed in the grove (*pirupiru*) are called *ura'i*, at Wango; where the word for sacrifice is *ho'asi*, elsewhere *fogasi* or *pogase*. Besides a pig, there was sometimes human sacrifice, especially to *figona* spirits; but the commonest sacrifice is a pudding made of grated yam or of almonds; this also is burnt, and part of it consumed by the worshippers. Other things sacrificed are areca nut, a drinking coconut, and various kinds of native money, shell money, dog's tooth money or fish tooth money. Fish also are sacrificed, especially to spirits of the sea. The first flying fish caught with a new float, or in a new net, are sacrificed.

Besides the annual sacrifice to Agunua or other *figona*, at the harvest, and also to *ataro* at the same time, there are sacrifices on all special occasions, both public and private, as when the village goes to war or when a man plants his garden. The following account of sacrifices was written for us by Maekasia, a native of Fagani:—

"We used formerly to attend to sacrifices. They did not sacrifice only in the shrine (*rima ni asi*); on the contrary our fathers sacrificed everywhere—in the sea, at the grove, on rocks, and in the village. Sacrifices in the sea were made, first to the spirits of the open sea (*Ataro ni matawa*) and secondly to men who died and were buried in the sea. They sacrificed fish, and puddings when the yams were full grown, and almonds. The fish and puddings were sacrificed to spirits of the sea because spirits of the sea are in the habit of eating fish, and coming to the shore they ate puddings and found them sweet in their mouths, and so they came to have a great partiality for eating puddings with fish, and so they sacrificed puddings and fish to them (my friends! how these spirits can eat!). Yams and almonds were sacrificed to men who died and were buried in the sea. For example, if one of you two, Drew or Fox, were to die, and he was buried in the sea at Tawapuna (a sacred place near Pamua), next year perhaps the survivor would be thinking of his friend who died, and he would get yam and almonds and take them to the place where the body was let down into the water, and he would throw them into the sea there with some such words as these: 'My friend (or my brother, or my uncle) this is my sacrifice to you, so that you may protect me this year when I dig my garden and look kindly on the produce of the garden.'

"At the rock in the sea sacred to sharks they sacrificed to sharks and to men

<sup>1</sup> *The Melaneseans.*



who died and were buried there. At the shrine in the village they sacrificed to sharks, spirits of the sea and the dead, and in the village also they sacrificed to the spirits of the land, and to snakes and to those who died and were buried anywhere in the ground or in caves. So a living man would sacrifice to his dead friends, hanging up yams, almonds (fresh nuts), strings of shell money, dog's tooth money, fish tooth money and bat's tooth money."

Yams and nuts are hung up in the garden and in the house. After a time some of these are burnt, but merely to hang them up is to sacrifice. A green drinking coconut is put in the sacred place and afterwards removed and drunk. Private sacrifices are made when there is sickness, or when a man goes on a journey, plants a garden, or goes fishing or hunting. In the case of war, those who worship special ghosts will sacrifice to them first, and afterwards join the rest in a common sacrifice to some famous ghost like Harumae. People going fishing or on a voyage sacrifice first to spirits of the sea (*ataro matawa*) and people going hunting to wood spirits (*ataro hasimou*), ghosts (*ataro*), and spirits (*figona*).

As Maekasia remarks, sacrifices are made in many places, in the shrine of the village, in the sacred grove, in the canoe-house, in the guest-house, at rocks in the sea or on the land, by pools, under trees, and in the people's own houses.

In each house relics of the dead are preserved, the skull, or jawbone, a tooth, or hair. These are placed in a coconut leaf basket, and hung up at the top of the main post of the house. Sacrifices are burnt below and the smoke and savour of the burnt sacrifices ascends and is pleasing to the ghost. These ghosts are probably lately deceased members of the household, a beloved wife or child.

The ordinary place of sacrifice is the village shrine called *hare ni asi* or *ruma<sup>1</sup> ni asi*. This is a small house about six feet square or less, only entered by the priest. In this is probably a small platform on which are five or six skulls or other relics of great men, underneath which sacrifices are burnt; or a bamboo may be stuck into the ground with the upper end split so as to form a conical basket in which the relics are placed. Here, too, are probably found some memorial stones of people of whom no relics have been preserved. The name given to this shrine is a curious one, *rima*, or *ruma ni asi*, i.e. sea-house, and in Bauro *hare ni asi*. At Bauro the ordinary word for house is *rima*, only the shrine is *hare* (the Florida *vale* house, the Polynesian *fare* or *fale*). *Hahare*, however, is a shed, and probably the usage is like that mentioned by the Rev. C. Bice in Oba, New Hebrides, where *ima* is an ordinary house and *vale* a shed for storing things in. But the expression *ni asi*, belonging to the sea, is a strange one, for the same name is given to it in the bush. An old native was asked why the bush people called their shrine the sea-house. He replied that in an ordinary village there were two houses where sacrifices were offered—the one called *tawao*, where spirits of the land and souls of those buried in the bush were worshipped and sacrificed to, and the other called *hare ni asi*, where the spirits of the sea and ghosts of those buried at sea received worship and sacri-

<sup>1</sup> Also *rima ni asi*.



fices. The bushmen, he said, worshipped the spirits of the sea as well as of the land. Possibly the invading people, who brought in the *ataro* cult, introduced also the name for the shrine, along with the worship of sea spirits (*ataro matawa*), sharks and ghosts.

The *Tawao* mentioned above is an ordinary native house, used as a guest house, and reserved for men only. There are no relics in it, and no priest connected with it, but it is usual to offer sacrifices on a pile of stones, at the foot of the main post; though at Wango the people say this was not done, and the *tawao* was there merely a guest house.

The *Pirupiru* is a name given apparently to two different places. The spot outside the village where one or several sacred trees grew is called *Pirupiru*. These trees are banked round with flat stones or enclosed in a stone fence. The usual tree is a small coconut with yellowish leaves called *niu maho* (the forbidden food of the Atawa clan in some places, though not in others); other trees common are the *pirupiru* itself (Mota *pirupiru*), the *sagirima* and the *taro*. Besides these trees it is usual to find dracaenas, and crotons planted about them. Within the enclosure skulls are buried. On the stones sacrifices are offered both to *figona* and *ataro*. Anyone may come here at any time and sacrifice privately. This is the scene of the Agunua worship. At Raumae in the interior a similar spot is called not *Pirupiru* but *Aritengari*, i.e. the *arite*, a tree (*Catappa terminalis*) and the *ngari* or almond. This fact, and the name *pirupiru*, apparently from the tree *pirupiru*, seem to point to "sacred tree or grove" as the original meaning of *Pirupiru*. There is, however, a different place called *pirupiru*, the rock on the reef, where a shark comes, and where sharks are worshipped, and now at any rate most natives would think of shark worship when *pirupiru* is mentioned.

Besides these was the canoe-house (*oha* in Wango) where relics were preserved often in wooden sharks, and sacrifices were offered, where young men and those engaged in bonito fishing lived secluded for months at a time.

In the bush are many rocks connected either with *figona* or *ataro*, where a man offered a sacrifice of pudding. The natives are confused as to whether *ataro* or *figona* haunted these places. There is one near Rafurafu which contains a cave. This is haunted at times by a small, dark, long-haired *ataro*, a spirit, not a ghost. His presence is recognized by the fact that when he is at home the rock sweats blood, which oozes out in great red drops. Whether the *ataro* is there or not a man passing will offer a sacrifice, probably a little betel nut.

Sacrifices are also offered in the houses built for sacred snakes, and in the sea as mentioned above.

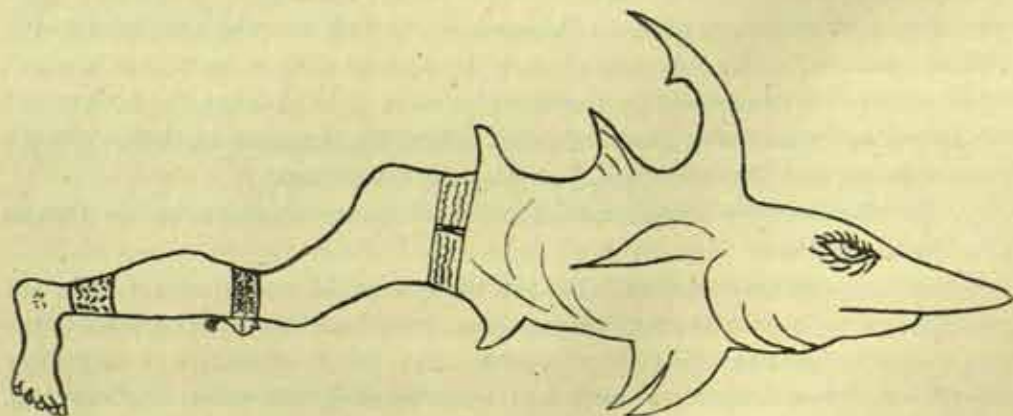
Not anyone may sacrifice in the *hare ni asi* or at the shark *pirupiru* or to the snakes. Only the priest may do so and his office is hereditary, passing from father to son, either real or adopted or bought. The priest, of course, is a man of influence. He becomes possessed, and tells the people the wishes of the ghosts. He tries by omens in the *hare ni asi* the will of the ghosts as to peace and war, heating dracaena strands and pulling them apart to see whether they break.



Priesthood may be bought, at least in the shark worship. The following account of such a purchase as told by Maekasia of Fagani is interesting:—

"Perhaps at first there was only one *pirupiru* in the land and only one priest who had ghostly knowledge, the first of all priests of sharks. And he did his work regularly at the spot called *Pirupiru*, offering money, and dog's teeth, and the proper sacrifices. Other people had no power to do so, and there were no places where they could go. But then if a man wished to become the friend of a shark and worship him, such a man could not say, "I am a shark man," but he must send for the original shark man and he would make him a shark (by hunching up his right arm in imitation of a shark swimming, and touching him with it), and then he could perform the sacrifices with success; then the man who made him a shark by touching him would appoint him some place on the beach, where there was a rock where he might sacrifice to sharks. Thus, perhaps, many became the friends of sharks, and *pirupiru* were multiplied along the shore.

The following story is told of two persons called Karifia and Hagasuimae: "Karifia was a man of this place Fagani, Hagasuimae came from a place called Rara asi, in Bwauro. Karifia was a shark man with great ghostly power, very busy with his friends the sharks. Hagasuimae was quite a small boy, very beautiful to look upon. He was going through what we call *maraufu*, a period of seclusion for bonito fishing, and could not leave the canoe-house, where he fasted. His father and mother begged him to eat a little of the food which they had prepared for him, but he refused to eat anything, and sat quietly thinking to himself, 'I want to change into a shark, but how is it to be done?' His whole longing was to be with the sharks, and he cared nothing for food, but ate only coconuts: all other food he cast aside and lived on coconuts only. So he continued till he became ill with hunger, and as he lay ill on his mat, he said, 'Let someone go to Fagani and fetch Karifia to touch me for a shark, so that I may have ghostly power.' So Karifia went to Bwauro and touched Hagasuimae and said the proper words to turn him into a shark, and so the boy died and became a shark. It was Karifia



KAREIMANUA.

(Drawn by Maekasia, a native of Fagani, San Cristoval.)



who laid his hand on him, so Karifia chose out a spot on the beach where he should be worshipped, a place we call a *pirupiru*, and the people there continued to worship Hagasuimae till they began to go to school."

Men like Karifia could send their souls into sharks, while their bodies remained in a trance. In this way they could hear news of absent people and learn of their doings. We give on p. 168 a drawing by Maekasia of the ghost shark Kareimanua, known by the same name in Mwala, Ulawa, and San Cristoval.

Possession by *ataro* is common. The priest who has charge of the village shrine becomes possessed in the ordinary course of business in order that he may know the will of the ghosts. He may become possessed in the *hare ni asi* or elsewhere. But other men too become possessed. A party on the war-path will wait while one of their number becomes possessed, to learn the issue of their expedition. A possessed man sees into the future, forewarns of coming events, gives news of the absent, decides who should lead the war party, whether they should allow a school in the village, and so on. A party in a canoe wishing to know whether it is wise to go on, wait while one of them becomes possessed. The canoe rocks violently from side to side when the *ataro* comes into the man. If it happens in a house, spears and clubs are first piled against the middle posts; these rattle and are violently agitated when the ghosts arrive and possess the man. No one is standing near them. The natives remark that much deception is practised and that many cases of possession are fraudulent, but that in their opinion there is also real possession, which may be known partly by the real change of voice, and partly by the eyes, out of which a strange soul looks, not the soul of the man possessed. Possession is often brought on purposely, but is often involuntary. In the latter case the natives remark that other people of the same family are similarly affected. No doubt madness is considered to be a case of possession. While this article was being written, a case of so-called possession occurred among one of the boys at the school. The other boys came to us and told us that one of their number had become possessed. He first showed it by swallowing live coals from the fire. This desire to eat fire is a common sign. He then threw lumps of wood at the others when they tried to stop him and, breaking away from them, with a strength of which he was quite incapable at ordinary times, he rushed into the sea. They followed and succeeded in bringing him into the house. It was at this point we reached him. But the fit seemed to have passed, for although he appeared incapable of speech, perhaps from fright, he understood quite well what was said to him, and after his head had been cooled in cold water he went to sleep, quite happily, and was apparently all right next day. But the boys certainly considered it a case of possession by an *ataro*.

A case of possession was witnessed by one of us where the symptoms were different. This was a Banks Islands boy, but San Cristoval boys who were present said that it differed in no respect from San Cristoval possession. The boy referred to, about 18 years old, complained of headache. He went to sleep, and after about three hours became "possessed." He was extraordinarily strong, about



eight men, most of whom were powerful young fellows, endeavouring vainly to hold him. In the intervals of these violent paroxysms he spoke, certainly in a voice quite unlike his own. A compatriot, staring into his eyes, said to him, "What is your name?" "We are many," replied the possessed boy. "Is it so and so in you?" to which the possessed replied "Yes" or "No" till it was ascertained who were in him (various dead natives, some of whom were known to the writers). He was then asked for news of friends in other islands. Some inquiries he answered (his answers proved to be wrong in some cases: when the *Southern Cross* arrived, one native who was said to have fallen and hurt himself being quite well, and another, who was said to have gone on a journey, having stayed at home). Other inquiries he did not answer, saying, "None of us have been there lately." All this time he was exceedingly strong, and sometimes violent, and apparently insensible to pain. In about an hour he suddenly appeared to come to himself, staring wildly round, asking where he was and what we were round him for. After a long sleep of some 12 hours he appeared to be normal again.

An *ataro* which possesses a man is called a *hane ataro*—i.e. a leaping ghost, one which leaps upon a man.

A man may send his soul into other animals besides sharks. His body remains in a trance, while his soul passes for a time into a hawk (*hada*) or opossum (*huto*).

At Bore, in the bush, there is an *ataro* which is seen in the form of a dog. It appears as a different dog on different days. Some days it is a white dog, on others a black one; it may appear as a native dog or a foreign one.

An *ataro* lives in an opossum near Waitaa River. The opossum is called *Huto Kapo*; another name for it is *Aranga Mae*. If a man sees it, he will die.

#### *Tales of Ataro.—1. Ghosts.*

An *ataro* named Wowotagai, probably a ghost, lives at the source of the Aupare River, near Marogu, on the west coast. The bush people offer sacrifices to him. One night this *ataro* went to a village called Funauri. There he found a woman and child alone in a house. He tried to enter, but they barred the door against him. Wowotagai then climbed on to the roof, broke through the thatch, and killed both of them, and when the woman's husband returned he found his wife and child dead, the *ataro* eating them. The man rushed at him, but he climbed up through the broken thatch on to the roof. The man ran outside and waited there for him. Down jumped the ghost and the man chased him. The *ataro* ran right through the trunk of a big *rigi* tree, and the man went through after him. The *ataro* then ran along the path leading to Funariwo, came to the Aupare River, and dived in. The man followed. Both came out on the opposite bank, and the chase grew hotter than ever. The *ataro* came again to the Aupare and dived in, the man close behind. In the water the man seized the *ataro*, who cried out, "Don't kill me, or your wife and child will die for good and all." They clambered out on to the bank, the man holding the *ataro* and saying, "Now this very



day you shall die." "Don't do me any harm," replied the *ataro*, "but go and look for a *rata*," a bamboo used for drawing water. "But," said the man, "if I go and look for a *rata*, that is the last I shall see of you." "No, indeed," replied the *ataro*, "I will wait here for you." So the man went to a clump of bamboos and chopped off one for a *rata*; and that stump may still be seen, it has not died and decayed. Then the man took the bamboo to the *ataro*, who charmed it, and vanished. The man drew water from the river in the charmed bamboo, and washed the corpses of his wife and child, who revived and lived. The bamboo he threw into the Aupare, and it floated away upon the stream. Sometimes you may hear the voice of Wowotagai, but no man has seen him again from that time.

A somewhat similar incident happened at Bore, on the same coast. An *ataro* found and killed a woman and child, and was proceeding to devour them, when the husband appeared. He chased the *ataro*, and succeeded in catching it by its long hair, just as it was going down a hole into the ground. He tied it by its hair to a tree and was proceeding to beat it, when it cried out, "Don't beat me, go and get some water in a bamboo." The man did so, the *ataro* charmed the water, sprinkled the corpses with it, and the dead woman and child came to life again. The man then released the *ataro*.

In the following two stories, told by natives of Bauro, the dead also come to life again. Waipumaremare had in reality died and been living with the dead. Part of his story is not unlike that of Kamajaku, recorded by Dr. Codrington.<sup>1</sup>

*Taracmatawa*.—Taraematawa was going through *marau* seclusion in the canoe-house by the shore at the time of bonito fishing. They were secluded there for three months, ten of them, living apart from all women. One day they went fishing for *waiu* (bonito), and Taraematawa went off by himself. A sudden great storm came up on the sea; the canoe was swamped and Taraematawa was drowned, and his body washed up on a sandy shore far from his home, where it was soon buried from sight by the sand. There was nothing to show where he lay except the string of shell money he had worn round his neck, which lay above, half hidden in the sand. But now there came down to the shore two beautiful girls. They walked along by the edge of the waves, and one of them saw the shell money. They dug and found his body, and laid it on the sand, bewailing the death of such a fine young man. After a time they went back to their village and told the priest. The old man gave them two dracaena leaves, on which he breathed, saying a charm. "One of these," said he, "will restore to life and one will kill." The two girls returned with the dracaena leaves to the corpse on the sand, and first tried the leaf which killed. This had no effect on the dead man. They then touched him with the other leaf. He opened one eye. They struck him with it. He lifted an arm. They did so again. He lifted a leg. They did so once more, and he stood up on his feet, a living man. The girls had their dog with them, so they said to the stranger, "See if you can race the dog to that tree." He tried to, but there was no strength in his limbs, and the dog won. They struck him again with

<sup>1</sup> *The Melaneseans*, p. 365.



the dracaena leaf, and this time he got first to the tree. Then the girls gave him a green coconut to drink from, but he was sick. They used the dracaena leaf again, and he drank. So it was with the eating of yams and taro. At first he could not eat without being sick, but with the help of the charmed dracaena leaf he became sound and whole. Then they took him up to their garden and sat talking, loath to leave him. At last he said, "Have you no house work to do?" "Yes," they replied, "we must go back to the village, but we will meet you again here." They went home, and he took his way to the canoe-house, where the men of the place were secluded for bonito fishing, but there was no one there but one lame boy, all the rest being away fishing. So Taraematawa said to the lame boy, "Let us take this canoe and go after bonito." But the lame boy replied, "That canoe is forbidden." However, he persuaded him, and they went. When they had put to sea, Taraematawa asked for a hook, but the lame boy had none, so Taraematawa took out a dog's tooth and pretended to fish with that, to the amusement of his companion. Fishing with two rods, one in each hand, Taraematawa caught two fine bonito, and they returned to the canoe-house. He told the lame boy to climb for coconuts, and gave him a piece of soft wood to husk them with, so as to keep him employed for some time, and then he went off to see his friends in their garden. When the fishers came back empty-handed they stared in surprise at the two bonito, but the lame boy took all the credit for catching them. "There were plenty close in to the shore," said he; "you went too far out." They looked doubtful, but after a time went out again in their canoes. Taraematawa appeared again when they had gone, and he and the lame boy went out as before, this time taking the chief's canoe, and Taraematawa caught four bonito, which they put in the canoe-house. The same thing happened as before, but this time the fishers could not believe the lame boy, and, unknown to him, they left a watcher on shore when they went, and the watcher saw Taraematawa go out with the lame boy and catch five fine bonito. Taraematawa, on his return from the garden, disclosed himself to them, and next day was the great feast in the village to mark the conclusion of the *maraufu*, fine mats being laid all along the path from the canoe-house to the village, since none of the secluded men must set foot to the ground. While they were all feasting Taraematawa suddenly heard the sound of the winding of a conch far off. "The sound," said he, "is like that of my own conch at home in my big canoe," and cries with grief, but the people have heard nothing. It came nearer, only three or four miles away, and they all heard it. Nearer and nearer came the sound, and they saw the canoes, and the people in them called out, "Have you seen Taraematawa?" for they were his people. "Here he is," answered the people on the shore. The two girls began to weep at the thought of the departure of their guest, but their father said, "You shall go with him too." So they dried their eyes, and their father loaded Taraematawa's canoe with shell money, hanging it on the bow of the canoe till the bow sank and the stern rose up in the air. Then Taraematawa and his two beautiful wives embarked and set out for his home, where they lived together.



*Waipumaremare*.—He was the elder of two brothers. His younger brother went one day to a stream near the village, and found a bunch of *pua* (areca nuts) floating down with the water. He took it and carried it into the house, and leaving it in his bag he went out again. Presently Waipua came in and asked for some *pua*, but no one had any to give him. However, someone said, "There are some nuts in your brother's bag over there, which he has just brought back from the stream." So he took it and began to *tamu* (chew areca nut, leaves and lime) and used it all up. Presently his brother came in again and asked where his areca nuts were, and when he learnt that they were all eaten he began to cry. Nothing would console him. Waipua put strings of shell money round his neck and gave him presents, but he only cried the more for his areca nut, so at last Waipua said "Well, don't cry, I will follow the stream till I come to the tree itself from which your nuts came." So he took his spear and club and bow and arrows and set out to look for the tree. After a time he came to an areca nut tree standing by the brink of the stream, but the nuts were not quite the same, so he went on. Presently he came to another areca nut tree, but again the nuts were not quite like those his brother had found, so he went on again. Night came on and he slept by the stream and went on again next day, but it was well on into the afternoon before he reached the tree he was seeking. He saw some fine branches, so he climbed up, but just as he stretched out his hand to pluck them, the tree lengthened and they were high above his head once more. This happened again and again till he was almost crying with vexation, but he was determined not to give in. At last he noticed the branch of a banyan which almost reached him, and he thought if he stood on the branch he would then be able to grasp the bunch of areca nuts, so he stepped on to the branch; but as he did so the areca nut tree sank down away from him, and sank lower and lower out of sight, and there he was perched upon the bough of a large banyan in another country, the country of the sky. He sat there wondering what he should do, and presently he saw two very beautiful girls come down to the stream to draw water, but instead of a bamboo they carried the skull of a dead man. Suddenly they saw his shadow in the water and started, thinking it was a man, but he moved and they did not look up. Then he dropped some leaves he was chewing, and the two girls saw the leaves floating by and wondered how they came there. Then he dropped a piece of areca nut and finally some of the red juice from his mouth. "It must be a bird," said they, and looked up and saw Waipua sitting on the bough of the banyan. "You are a ghost," said they. "No," said he, "but you are certainly ghosts; no one else would use a skull, we don't do such a thing in my country."

However, he came down, and they took him home to their village, but left him outside in an enclosure, and went and told their father and mother to go out to the enclosure and see the thing they had found. So their father and mother went to look and found Waipua all decked out in his bravest ornaments, shell necklaces, and shell armlets, and a flower in his hair, and they were delighted with him and brought him in and scolded their daughters for leaving this fine fellow outside.



After a time the father and mother went away, but before going they said to their daughters: "Be very careful not to lift the stone so that he looks down and sees his home and desires to return to it"; but Waipua heard their words, and when they were gone he asked the girls what their parents had said to them. "Oh," said they, "they only told us to stay at home and cook"; but he shook his head and said, "No, that was not what they said." "Well," said the girls, "if you must know, they told us to go to the garden and get coconuts." "No," said he, "they said something else." So at last they told him, and he persuaded them to lift the stone, and when the three had lifted it, he looked down and saw his own country down below him, and a great longing seized him to return to his home. So for four long days the three of them collected strong lengths of rattan and made a small platform, and sat on it, and let it down by the four corners, through the hole. They let themselves down and down, but it was a long way and night came on, so they tied up for the night and slept. Next morning they went on again and reached the ground. But there was no longer a house where the village had been, for after his death the people had scattered far and wide, and the trees had grown up in the village, and the houses had rotted away. So they made a new one, and when the new village was finished they made a great feast, and there were great rejoicings. And there Waipua lived happily with his two wives.

#### *Ataro.—2. Spirits.*

All the *ataro* so far described have been ghosts, but there are many *ataro* which are spirits, *i.e.* they have never been men. There are three chief divisions of these: (1) *Ataro ni matawa*, sea spirits; (2) *Ataro hasimou*, woodland spirits; and (3) *Ataro here* or *haaheu*, the grasping or changing *ataro*. Besides these there are a few other special ones.

1. *Ataro ni matawa*.—*Matawa* means the open sea or the horizon. These spirits of the sea are a favourite subject for San Cristoval artists. They are represented as partly human, partly fish-like.

In a paper contributed to the Royal Society of Victoria in 1879, called "Notes on the Customs of Mota, Banks Islands," Dr. Codrington gives a drawing of such a being, which is described as "a Tamate (Ghost or Dead Man) of the Sea—Facsimile of the original drawing by a native of Mota, Banks Islands," and in the notes he writes: "Some of them (the ghosts) frequent the sea and do mischief there as their fellows do on shore. They are supposed to be malevolent towards the living. The accompanying sketch, which was made by a native, represents one of the sea-frequenting ghosts—in the language of books, spirits of the sea. To represent them as belonging to the sea, or because the natives suppose them to have suffered a sea change, they are drawn as much like fishes as may be. These and the land-haunting ghosts appear in travellers' and anthropologists' writings as spirits of the sea, the woods, the rivers, etc., but the natives call them all *tamate*, which is simply dead men." The whole of this was no doubt simply a mistake, and is partly corrected



in *The Melanesians*, where the same drawing appears correctly described as to locality, "A Sea Ghost, San Cristoval, Solomon Islands," but the mistake of regarding it as a ghost remains. The paper is only mentioned lest it should be supposed that such beings are known in the Banks Group and are there called *tamate*. The nearest approach to them in Mota seems to be a being represented with a bird's head and a body banded like a variegated sea-snake and called a *tamate*. But it should be observed that though the word *tamate* means etymologically "dead" or "a dead man," the Banks Islanders believe in *tamate* which were never men, as we shall show later. To return to San Cristoval, these *ataro ni matawa* are not ghosts but spirits.

They are thought to live far out to sea or near small islands along the coast. The chief of them is called Ngoriaru. He is known by this name in South Mwala, Ulawa, and all over San Cristoval. Two subordinate chiefs are named Huaholai matawa and Hanai matawa in Ulawa. Prayers are made to Ngoriaru when people embark on a voyage and sacrifices offered to him. *Ataro ni matawa* are malevolent beings. They shoot men with flying-fish. A man fishing in his canoe will feel a sudden pain in his back or neck and the bone will be broken. He will return to the village and ask the priest what has affected him and will be told after inquiry that he has been shot by an *ataro ni matawa*. Men learn dances from them. In a dream the soul goes out to the sea and is conducted by an *ataro ni matawa* to a sandy beach where in the surf the drowned people of *Hanua asi* are dancing. The soul goes night by night and learns the dance. The *ataro ni matawa* move in waterspouts, and the rainbow is their path. One who lives in the rainbow is worshipped at Ugi. A rainbow is always a sign for people to go indoors, not only because *ataro ni matawa* use it, but because it is a favourite bridge for other *ataro* as well. The soul of a man may use it to go afar while the body sleeps. Woodland *ataro* use it. If a man points at it with his finger, the finger is bent and can never be straightened again. A Heuru boy named Maeraha played out of doors when a rainbow was shining and his soul was seized by a wandering *ataro*. His body grew weaker and weaker till other *ataro* were called in by the priest to his aid. One sees an *ataro ni matawa* on his journeys as a wandering fire, or if one fails to see him, one smells a fish-like smell, a sign that he is near.

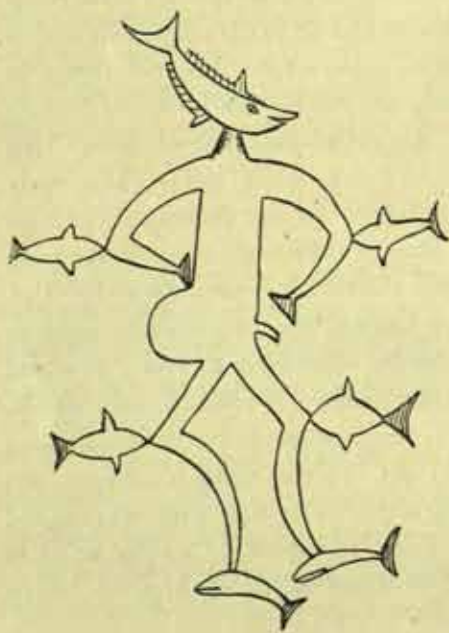
We give drawings of *Tararamanu* and *Rakerakemanu*, two famous *ataro ni matawa*, known along the north-east coast, and also of *Wakatarau* on the opposite coast (pp. 176-7). The last named lives at an island called Goroa. Some time ago he devoured two brothers who lived on the mainland opposite his island. He came up from the sea, changed himself into a cloud and came and rested on a stone on the shore. The two brothers came from a place called Rangi, where all had lately died. One was standing idly outside his house in the cool of evening, when he noticed the cloud on the stone. He called to his brother to come out and see it and asked him what he thought it was. "It is only a cloud of sunset," replied his brother. It came up from off the stone towards them and they fled into their house, and barred their door against him. They heard him come up close and



stamp against the wall. Then he climbed up on the roof, looked down and saw them, broke his way in, and devoured them both.

*Tararamanu.*—Maekasia of Fagani describes as follows the beginning of the cult of the sea spirit Tararamanu:—

"Tararamanu is a true spirit of the open sea, he has no home on shore to which he belongs. Now this was the time of which I am telling when people first began to make a shrine for him, when he appeared to some men who were chasing bonito. There were three brothers, comrades, whose names were Waisi, Gaumafa and Fagarafe. They were living in the village and made a canoe for bonito fishing and they got their canoe ready, and all that belongs to such a canoe, fishing lines and tortoise



WAKATARAU.



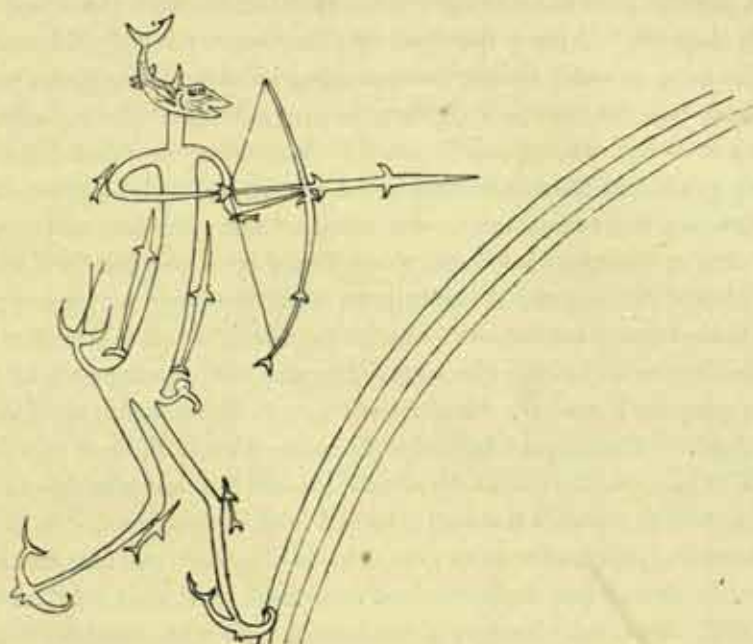
TARARAMANU.

*Ataro ni Matawa.*

(Drawn by Saunitiku, Fagani.)

hooks, both large and small ones. Then they hired from a chief named Pairi a bamboo fishing rod to fish with from the stern, and Pairi gave them two lengths and said to them, 'Friends, the name of this rod for which you are giving me money is Wakio' (the bird Wango people call Aragan), a bird that darts down swiftly on the fish beneath it. Gaumafa replied, 'It shall be the name of our bonito canoe, we will call it Wakio.' They often went fishing for bonito in the Wakio and sometimes caught three and four and five fish, but no more than that. One day they





TARARAMANU.

(Drawn by Wataroto, Rarurafu.)



RAKERAKEMANU.

*Ataro ni matawa, Wango.*

(Drawn by Oroaniia, Wango.)

went out, and paddling towards the open sea they failed to find the shoal of big bonito, though they kept dipping their rod into the water, but they did not get a single bite with large or small hooks; however they let their canoe float on and on towards the open sea far from land. Then looking towards Ugi they saw a red rainbow right across Ugi, like a piece of scarlet cloth, crosswise against the island as one pulls up a sail, and they were afraid that something would happen to them. 'No doubt,' they said to one another, 'some spirit of the open sea will presently shoot at us.' The red rainbow faded and was followed by a grey drizzle of rain, and when this lifted and the sun shone brightly on them they saw far off a streak of white, like a peeled tree standing out white in the forest, but this stretched across the horizon, flashing swiftly along like a spreading fire, the foaming path of bonito, rushing and leaping on the small fish for their prey. What were they like? like monstrous things! for Tararamanu had already come down in the red rainbow and the grey drizzle of rain, and the bright sky afterwards, and he it was who drove towards them the ecting bonito, towards the men who had been seeking bonito in the open sea far from shore, and now he began to give them bonito three and four and five and six, and the bonito shoal contained a hundred or perhaps more than two hundred of them, so that their canoe was already almost sinking. Then he possessed Waisi and spoke with Waisi's voice to the other two, saying, 'You call your canoe "The Wakio," call it so no longer, but call it after my canoe "Sautatare-i-robuo," "He who follows up the bonito to their home," and make me a shrine in it and I will give you fish in it and sacrifice to me both in the sea and in the village shrine.' So that was the beginning of it and these are the very words spoken in the beginning to the people who worship him and knew him well, so that he gave them bonito and they sacrificed to him some of the fish which they caught, and the spirit Tararamanu gave them generously all kinds of fish, that is to those who worshipped him and prayed and sacrificed to him, but a man whom he disliked he killed. Such a one he would shoot with his bow and arrow, the arrow one of those garfish which comes skimming over the surface of the sea and then suddenly dives down alongside one, this is a fish a spirit has shot at one. There are two characteristics of Tararamanu: if he gives he gives generously all sorts of fish, but then again he may attack one. This strange spirit of the open sea has two characters and is two, like two men who are fast friends and have but one name. But his cult was dying away at Fagani before the day came when Christianity was introduced; men did not seek him because they were afraid of him."

2. *Ataro hasimou*, i.e. bush *ataro*, correspond on land to the *ataro ni matawa* in the sea. They are spirits, not ghosts, and they are malevolent. But it is sometimes difficult to say in a particular case whether it is an *ataro hasimou* or an ordinary *ataro* that is spoken of: the natives themselves are sometimes uncertain. It is possible, for example, that Wowotagai mentioned above is really an *ataro hasimou*, a spirit, not a ghost, and *Tapia*, of whom we shall write presently, is possibly a ghost, though probably a spirit. Again there is manifest confusion as to whether the being connected with a certain tree, pool or rock is a *figona* or an *ataro hasimou*.



Native opinion is uncertain. And finally there is confusion between *ataro hasimou* and *kakangora*, the little people to be described later. All *ataro hasimou* have straight long hair, unlike Melanesians, described as like the hair of Polynesians. They are about at the shining of a rainbow, in a sunshower, and during heavy rain when everything is grey and half hidden. There are certain trees where they are known to dwell like the *uri* in the tale of *Hasihonu*. They are found at particular rocks or pools. Children are warned not to go near these places. The result would be the stealing of the child's soul, his body would waste away. Should such a thing happen, the priest is called in to obtain the help of the ghosts. Ghosts are stronger than woodland spirits, and can recover from them the souls they have seized. The natives going through the bush at night hear a crackling and rustling near the path. It is an *ataro*. If the traveller calls out to it to go away and it does so, he knows it must be a ghost, not malevolent, like an *ataro hasimou*, which would not go when asked to. *Ataro hasimou* are not sociable like ghosts, and refuse to chat when met with. The mere sight of one is enough to make a man waste away and die. They do not decorate themselves with ornaments. They are less powerful than ghosts. Some of them live underground.

There is one near Pamua at a spring called Pupu. This *ataro* lives underground. A native friend of ours, named Mamake, recently saw it. It was about three feet high, a woman, with long straight hair down to her knees, dark skinned and speechless. It was during a steady downpour of rain that he passed by and saw her. Her head, like that of an *ataro here*, was fixed the wrong way, her face towards her back. He ran home and was none the worse, but he tells us a friend of his saw her some time ago, and when he got back blood flowed from his mouth, nose and ears, till he died.

*Tapia*, known along the northern coast of San Cristoval, is probably an *ataro hasimou*. Dr. Codrington, who considered all *ataro* to be ghosts, wrote of him as "a malignant ghost, who seized a man's soul and bound it to a banyan," when a sacrifice of substitution was offered, so that the man, who was wasting away, might recover. *Tapia's* priest burnt pig or fish on the sacred stone.

Maekasia of Fagani writes as follows of *Tapia*:—He is either a ghost or a spirit. He can change himself into a man or woman; he has no pity, and only searches for men to destroy them; he properly belongs to the eastern part of the island Kahua and Rumatari and beyond, but our fathers at Fagani also worshipped him and sacrificed to him on the black rock at the mouth of the river near Tomare, on the little hill Qarusunafau. There they sacrificed to him the fat of pigs for a burnt offering and sweet savour; his nature was to destroy men, and he was utterly without pity. But in the end he married a woman, and was kind to her, doing her no injury, until the day when she died of a sickness. She was the wife of *Tapia's* priest, so that she had two husbands, the priest and *Tapia*. She knew that *Tapia* came into her and stayed with her, and she would say, "*Tapia* came to me to-day and stayed with me." Often and often he came and stayed with her and did her no harm.



In the following tale told by Bo, the old chief of Heuru, to his son Takibaina, an *ataro hasimou*, named Warungarae, takes the form of a man's wife to deceive him, and goes off with him in his canoe, destroying him. The wife, left desolate, is saved by a ghost, in the shape of a turtle; at least it is probably a ghost, though it may possibly be a family guardian spirit.

*Warungarae*.—Two people were married; the name of the man was Bworouharimamu and the name of his wife was Saumamaruitaaru. They lived in their village by the shore. When Saumamaruitaaru was about to bear a child, they went for a walk along the sand, and they saw a large fruit of the *uri* (*Spondias dulcis*),<sup>1</sup> which the current had carried out from the neighbouring river and the sea had washed up on the beach; and they took it and asked one another whence it could have come. So they carried down their canoe, launched it through the surf, and paddled along the coast till they came to the mouth of the river, which they turned. Bworouharimamu told his wife Saumamaruitaaru to cover up carefully her body and said to her, "When we land we will go to this side of the *uri*, the side nearest us, and don't you go in to the farther side; and when there is a sunshower we must hurry into our canoe." So they went along gathering the fruit, but the woman wandered away to the farther side of the tree under an overhanging branch. Then the woodland spirit became changed again and came down from the tree, and then there was a sunshower, and the spirit took the form of the woman. The name of the spirit (*ataro*) was Warungarae. Then the spirit said to the man, "Come, jump quickly into the canoe with me or Warungarae will see us and devour us." So they embarked, Warungarae first and then Bworouharimamu, who took the steering paddle, and they paddled away down the river. And now Saumamaruitaaru came back from the farther side of the tree and saw her husband and the spirit paddling away and already some distance off. She began shouting and calling out to her husband, "Here am I, here am I, it's I myself, but that is the evil spirit you are carrying off with you in your canoe." But the spirit said to him, "Ah! what a clever deceiver, that is the evil spirit himself all the time; paddle hard or he will devour us both." It was all in vain that his wife shouted herself hoarse on the bank, for neither of them paid any further attention to her, but paddled on along the edge of the harbour till they were lost to sight.

So she climbed up a tall *daro* tree, whose branches bent down over the water, and made her way along them. Then she untied the necklace of fish teeth which she wore round her neck, and unstrung it. She took off one of the teeth and threw it down into the water, and all the fish of the sea rose up and came to her. "No," she said, "I can't go with any of you, for soon, perhaps, you will be pursuing your prey and will throw me off, without troubling about me; you will never think of me, you will be sure to lose me." So then she threw down into the water another tooth from her necklace, and all the sharks rose up and came to her.

<sup>1</sup> The fruit which the Uraua clan are forbidden to carry.



But she said to them, "No, I dare not trust myself to you, for presently, perhaps, you will be chasing some canoe, and you will throw me away, without troubling what becomes of me." And so with the next tooth, she spoke the same words as before. At length there was only one tooth left, the very last tooth of all, but she threw it down into the water and up rose the turtles, for it was a turtle's tooth. Then she said, "Good, now I can jump down safely," for she called the turtle her ancestor. So she sprang down from the overhanging branch of the *daro* tree on to the back of the turtle, whose name was Hasihonueero, and there she crouched. The turtle dived down with her and took her right out to the open sea. Then she (the turtle) dived again, down and down, till the woman on her back felt as though she must die for lack of breath, but they came up safely again to the surface of the sea. Then the turtle took a long breath, and leaving the woman at the surface, went down and down to the bottom and brought stones to make a place for the woman to walk about on. When she had brought four or five and saw that they nearly reached to the surface of the sea, she brought the woman there, but the water still reached to her throat. Then the turtle brought some more and piled them up on the island and they very nearly reached to the surface, the water now came to her armpits. She brought four or five more and the water came to her breast; four or five more and the water only came to her waist. So she stood there while the turtle went for a few more, till the water came to her knees and then only to her ankles. And at last, when the turtle had brought some more stones the place was dry, above the waves: it was an island.

The woman walked about on it, but as yet there were no trees on it, and said to herself, "Yes, it has indeed become an island, this work of my ancestor, but still there are no trees on it." And then at the sound of her speaking, trees sprouted from the ground, and the grass and fruits good to eat—breadfruit and almonds, Barringtonia nuts and coconuts, food of all kinds, yams, both smooth and prickly, and taro. Then the woman said to herself, "Yes, now indeed there are all sorts of food for me to eat, but still there is no fire," whereupon the turtle who had befriended her, came to the shore of the island and said to her, "Choose out a flat piece of shell from my back and make with it a house for yourself, and as for that other thing you desire, rub on the shell till a spark comes." And so she did, and there she lived. At length she bore the child, whom she was expecting when she and her husband set out in their canoe, and she took him joyfully in her arms and brought him to the turtle to nurse, and said to her, "Grandmother, you must nurse my child for awhile." So the turtle came and set him firmly on her back, and carried him off far out to sea.

3. *Ataro here*.—This is the general name for this spirit *ataro*, but it is also known as *haaheu*, or "changeling," in Ulawa (as well as *akalo hele*), and on the south coast of San Cristoval as *ataro ngaungau*, devouring *ataro*, or *ataro maramara inuni*. It takes the form of a man or woman, appearing at daybreak or at dusk. To a man it takes the form of a beautiful woman, tempting him to go with her and eat with her. It is generally the form of some woman known to



him, but gorgeously decorated. If a woman sees the *ataro here*, she sees it as some man she knows.

The chief point of interest with regard to the *ataro here* is the widespread belief in it, in Polynesia as well as in Melanesia.

There is a good account of an *ataro here* in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Beach of Falesa*, so no doubt the story is current in Samoa.

In the Polynesian Reef Islands this spirit is called *atua fafine*. The *atua fafine* appears usually at dusk on the rocks, to a man in the form of his wife, to a woman in the form of her husband. It has red hair and a red throat. If he says to the *atua*, "My wife!" the man dies.

Another account from these Polynesian Reefs makes the *atua fafine* appear as two women joined together like the Siamese twins. They follow a man walking alone at dusk. They are fair and ruddy and sometimes accompanied by two light-coloured men. A man was one day followed by these handsome women, and accepted from them a wild coconut, of which he ate a portion. "Now," said the *atua*, "he is already one of us, we have him for certain." He reached the village, was sick, and "died," *i.e.*, he became unconscious, but recovered by the application to his nostrils of a certain sweet-smelling leaf.

Besides the *ataro* spirits there are other *ataro*, some of whom were certainly spirits and others probably so. A certain *ataro* presided over Rotomana, the abode of the dead; another guarded the entrance; both were spirits.

The rainbow has been several times mentioned as the path of *ataro*. Maekasia, of Fagani, says "it was the great road of the spirits of the sea; if people saw a rainbow they thought there was a spirit coming towards them along it, and this is why they were so afraid of it. Even now when they see a rainbow they all run into their houses."

"A turtle," he adds, "holds up a rock at Haununu. He knows when an earthquake occurs, hurries to the stone, and clasps it. They think if that turtle should fail to do so and did not clasp the rock, then that would be the end of the island, but because he looks after the rock the island still stands. They think that rock is the supporting pillar of this island of San Cristoval, and they say of the turtle that if he had not attended to that rock the island would have already sunk and been destroyed in the sea."

This turtle is famous everywhere in San Cristoval, and is often said to have a bird's head. It is represented by native drawings on the posts of the serpent house at Haununu. The name Haununu means earthquake-rock. It is not a ghost, of course, but we do not know whether it is called an *ataro*.

Maekasia writes of meteors that "the people think falling stars also are *ataro* and we call them *Ataro tari*—wandering *ataro*—and the heathen used to be very much afraid of them when they saw them, thinking it was an *ataro* coming down. They used to run into their houses and bar the doors." Perhaps these were ghosts. Fireflies at evening were spoken of as souls of the dead, but *Ataro ni matawa*, who were not ghosts, were seen as wandering fires.



The guardian spirits of families, not clans, are also called *ataro*, but are not considered to be ghosts. These were in the form of animals. Each family has its guardian animal, and a man inherits this from his father, and it continues to guard his son. This, then, is a case of inheritance from the father, and it should be noted that, though a spirit, the animal is called *ataro*, not *figona*. The only other case of such inheritance we have mentioned is that of the priest of the *hare ni asi*, the shrine for ghost worship, who inherits from his father and passes on to his son, but the son may be adopted or bought. These two cases of inheritance from the father are connected with *ataro* beliefs. A boy ordinarily inherits from his mother's brother.

The guardian animal is very often a snake, sometimes an opossum, either a *hito* or a *kunu*, and often a frog. Its haunt is known. It comes to the house from time to time when any event of importance occurs, such as a birth or death in the family, or a case of sickness. It is fed and thought to have a connection with the family. Sau's father, when he became a Christian, was horrified to discover that, as he supposed, his family had always been specially connected with the Evil Spirit, since his family guardian took the form of a snake.

The following is Dr. Codrington's account of the *ataro* here in the New Hebrides:—

"Beings called Tavogivogi must be classed as spirits; they are certainly not human beings, and correspond to the mysterious snakes called *mae*, which in neighbouring islands are believed to assume the form of men. A Tavogivogi is not thought ever to have the appearance of a snake; one of them appears in the form of a youth or woman, in order to entice one of the opposite sex, and the young man or woman who yields to the seduction dies. . . . The young man goes home and sickens; he remembers the sudden disappearance (like a bird), knows what has befallen him, and never recovers. The name means 'changeling,' from the word in the Banks Islands *wog*, to change the form.

"The belief is most strong in all these islands (Banks and Northern New Hebrides) that the snake (called *mae*, a banded sea snake) turns itself into a young man or woman—generally into a young woman—to tempt one of the opposite sex; to yield to the temptation causes death.

"It is possible to discover the deceit, but the discovery is often made too late. . . . In the Banks Islands a young man, as one has related his experience to myself, coming back from his fishing on the rocks towards sunset, will see a girl with her head bedecked with flowers beckoning to him from the slope of the cliff up which his path is leading him; he recognises the countenance of some girl of his own or a neighbouring village, he stands and hesitates, and thinks she must be a *mae*; he looks more closely, and observes that her elbows and knees bend the wrong way; this reveals her true character, and he flies. . . . At Gaua, Santa Maria, a man met one of these standing or variegated snakes as they call them, *mae tiratira*, *valeleas*, on the beach at night in the form of a woman of the place. Seeing by her reversed joints what she was, he offered to go to the village and bring her



money. When he returned he found her waiting for him in her proper form, as a *mae*; he scattered money upon her back, and she went off with it into the sea."

One of us well remembers the excitement caused by a *mae*, seen at Mota one evening by a man of the place ten years ago. We were sitting talking in the village, when this man rushed up the path from the landing-place in great excitement, declaring he had seen a *mae valeleas*. We immediately repaired to the spot on the cliff where the *mae* had been seen, but found nothing. The man saw the *mae* in the form of a woman of the village named Mary. She sat by the path, and he spoke to her and said, "Shall we go up to the village?" "Not I," she replied, "you go up by yourself." He then looked closely at her and saw she had decorated her hair with two kinds of hibiscus, red and white, which no native woman would think of doing. He recognized her as a *mae*. The real Mary was sitting with us in the village. Nothing happened to the man.

The same thing exactly is known in San Cristoval, and natives declare that many deaths are caused in this way. It is worth while observing that, though the Banks Island appearance is not a ghost, and no one supposes it to be so, yet they call it a *tamate*. It seems hard to believe they would use this term for it unless it were a foreign belief, it would certainly be called a *vui*. The following are interesting facts regarding this *ataro*, showing how details vary in different islands with the same underlying idea.

1. There is always a change, generally into an animal.

In the New Hebrides the beautiful woman changes into a bird.

In Santa Maria (Banks Islands) into the stalk of a creeper.

In other parts of the Banks Islands into an amphibious snake.

In San Cristoval into a brush turkey; also in Mwala.

In Ulawa it turns into a butterfly.

In the Polynesian Islands, referred to above, no change is mentioned.

2. If you see the change you die. This seems to be everywhere the case. Generally also if you eat food offered to you, you die. In some places, as in San Cristoval, if you can understand what it says to you, you die.

3. It is not quite human. Everywhere the joints are reversed.

In the Polynesian Reef Islands it has a red throat.

In the Banks Islands the skin at the back of the neck is snake skin, and the creature has a bright red tongue.

In San Cristoval and Mwala the head is reversed as well as the joints.

4. It does not understand human conditions, and there is sure to be something it does not know how to do, by which it may be detected for what it is. This is very characteristic.<sup>1</sup>

In the New Hebrides, ask it the name of some common tree, and it cannot

<sup>1</sup> These and other characteristics seem to show that it belongs to an introduced foreign cult. Every man of the place knows the nature of a nettle; not so foreigners, as Englishmen in the Islands have several times proved.



tell you. Here, too, you may ask it to sit on a nettle, and its ready compliance betrays it.

In the Polynesian Reef Islands it is known if you offer it a drink from a coconut cup: it doesn't understand drinking, and holds the cup upside down. Or you may give it a twig to break, and the creature holds it aimlessly, wondering how to break it. It does not understand the use of areca nut.

In San Cristoval you may ask it where the sun rises: it will be thrown into confusion and point all round the compass; or you may throw a spear at it and see whether it knows enough to jump aside.

5. In its attempt to entice it overdoes things, from ignorance of local customs.

In the New Hebrides it blackens its hair, if a man; and powders its hair white, if a woman; but always in excess of what is proper.

In the Banks Islands the tatoo marks are of so gorgeous a pattern as no mortal skill could fashion. It puts more hibiscus flowers into its hair than men do; or mixes the colours, which native women never do.

In San Cristoval and Mwala it is beautifully tatooed and has more rings, and finer ones, than living men and women.

6. It may be charmed by the application of sacred leaves. In the Banks Islands it cannot even bear the sight of a white amaranthus flower, and if you strike it with a croton leaf its tail starts out. A dracaena leaf is equally efficacious in San Cristoval.

7. It never appears at any time except in the morning or evening; and always by the shore.

In Ulawa it is thought that there are really only two, a male named Pwaai, who always takes the form of a man to appear to women, and a female, his wife, who undertakes the seduction of men and always appears as a woman. Everywhere in the Banks Islands as well as in San Cristoval, Mwala and Ulawa, it is much more usual for Pwaai's wife to be seen, than for Pwaai himself to appear.

*(Continuation in next issue.)*





## BELIEFS AND TALES OF SAN CRISTOVAL

By C. E. Fox and F. H. DREW.

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## 4. KAKAMORA.

THE *kakamora* are not *figona* or *ataro*; but neither are they quite human.

The following is the natives' description of them:—

They vary considerably in height, from six inches to three or four feet, but in San Cristoval there are none larger than that: six inches is the ordinary height. They also vary in colour from very dark to quite fair. Most of them are considered to be quite harmless, but sometimes they have been known to attack men. When they do so they use their fingers, which are furnished with long sharp nails with which they stab. They have no weapons of any sort, build no houses, plant no gardens, and have no arts. They wander about the forest eating nuts, ripe fruit, and opossums: the last they are fond of. Sometimes men have come across two of them, one at the top of a tree throwing a dead opossum to his mate. They are exceedingly strong; one is said to be as strong as three or four men. They live in holes and caves, and sometimes in banyan trees. They are exceedingly fond of dancing, and many of their dancing grounds are pointed out. They dance by moonlight and in heavy rain, and sing as they dance. They have a language, but not like Melanesian languages. They have long straight hair coming down to their knees. They have a king—in Mwala it is a queen. They know nothing about fire or cooking, but they like to snatch brands from native fires, and play with them, presently throwing them carelessly aside. Some of them are fond of deluding men. One plan is to beat another *kakamora*; men suppose it is a child crying, follow it, get lost in the bush, and are mocked by the *kakamora* from the tree tops. They are naked, have very small teeth, and are afraid of anything white. They like to

<sup>1</sup> Part I appeared in the first half of this volume (see p. 131).



steal ornaments, but soon throw them away. If they find a Melanesian asleep they count his fingers and toes and discuss him, but do not harm him. Some kill and eat men. Many stories are told of their capture. One was captured at Ugi many years ago. A native of Guadalcanar told us that he had seen one of these creatures tied up in his village, where the people mocked and made fun of him. However, he escaped, seizing a child as he ran off. The people followed his tracks in the bush till they came to a cliff. High up on the cliff and quite inaccessible, they saw a cave, at the mouth of which the *kakamora* was sitting with his mate. They succeeded in shooting him. The child they never saw again. Some bush people from Maipua in San Cristoval described the capture of one, by a man who had hidden near a nut tree. They took the *kakamora* to their village, where he remained for a time, and they decked him foolishly with all their choicest necklaces, and then at the sudden unaccustomed sound of a drum he started up and rushed off to his cave, a deep cleft in the rock where they could not follow him. They killed a pig and left the carcass at the mouth of his hole and so killed him. The same method of killing *kakamora* was generally employed, so that they have become extinct. The South Mwala *mumu* are the same as the *kakamora*, but some of these, like the *dodore* of North Mala, are described as large. Some have only one foot, one arm, and one eye. They have long red hair like horses' tails. They stab and kill men with their long finger nails, or by spitting into their eyes. The large kind wander in pairs, and, smelling a man from a distance, follow him to kill him.

A remarkable fact is the number of names by which they are known. Along the San Cristoval coast they are *pearonga*, *kakangora*, *kakamora*; in the bush *toku*, *katu*, *waitarohia*, and other names; *mumu* in South Mwala, *dodore* in North Mwala, *tutu-langi* and *mumulou* in parts of Guadalcanar. This is remarkable, since it is obviously the same people everywhere who are named so differently.<sup>1</sup> If the accounts of them are descriptions of earlier races, or if they date back to a time when the languages were more different, this variety of nomenclature would be intelligible.

Obviously some of the beings now called *ataro* are very like the *kakamora*. For example, the *ataro* with face reversed, near Pamua, is described as a very small woman, about three feet high, with long straight hair and long finger nails, but she changes into a brush turkey, which the *kakamora* never do. Others like the one in the tale given below are very like the beings called *vui* (spirits) in the Banks Islands, who are in turn like the woodland *ataro* of San Cristoval. No doubt the gigantic one-legged red-haired ogres of Mwala and the tiny six-inch mischievous fairies of San Cristoval are both exaggerations of the Melanesian fancy, but it would seem that there must be some basis of fact for the stories as a whole. The *kakamora* actually captured are always about the size of very small men, not much smaller than the pigmies of Bugotu or New Guinea.

The tiny mischievous *kakamora* have their counterpart in the Banks Islands *nopitu*, whom they resemble in many ways, but the latter are called *vui* (spirits).

<sup>1</sup> The *Masi*, to be presently described, are called by the same name in Mwala, San Cristoval and Ulawa.



An old man named Islavno, a native of Motalava in the Banks Islands, described to us the *nopitu* as follows: "They come up from the waves and turn into men, whom they bewitch. And there are other kinds of *nopitu* who live in caves and holes in the ground, and are very small indeed, but if they take a fancy to a person they go to him and make him foolish and he says, 'I want a red yam and a red coconut,' and he says this laughing. They dislike dark people, but like beautiful fair people. They change into men and these men find money in their hair. They don't like evil men, only men who are straightforward. They are about six inches in height, with long hair and sharp finger nails. All the people did not see them, only those whom they favoured. They would do much for such a one, carrying long strings of money to his house, where they buried it for him. They gaily decorated themselves with nosegays of flowers and loved dancing. If they entered a man or woman that person said 'We' in talking, meaning that *nopitu* were within." A very interesting account of the *nopitu* may be found in *The Melanesians*. Bishop Wilson has seen a woman possessed by a *nopitu* producing native shell money in profusion by rubbing her hands together. He was quite close to her and could see no method of concealment. The money did not vanish afterwards, but is said to do so when the *nopitu* departs. A woman possessed by a *nopitu* will often produce money from her hair. A case lately occurred in Florida, in the Solomon Islands, of a native claiming to produce money freely from his hair, golden sovereigns in this case, and he declared he did so through the power of a snake (*vigona*) with whom he had intercourse. The association of the *nopitu* with *vui* (spirits) in the Banks probably accounts for the production of riches through their help, that is to say the *nopitu* would seem to be the San Cristoval *kakamora* with the attributes of *vui* (spirits) added to them. More may be read about the *kakamora* under the heading "Wild Men" in Dr. Codrington's book, *The Melanesians*.<sup>1</sup> It seems obvious that in each particular island they have been more or less confused with other beings, *vui* in the Banks Islands, and *ataro* in the Solomons, but on the whole we are inclined to think the stories relate to an earlier race, either in these islands or in the islands from whence the Melanesians came. "To myself," writes Dr. Codrington, "so far as the belief has any foundation at all in fact, it appears to be a fanciful exaggeration of the difference, which the coast people are much disposed to exaggerate, between themselves and the men of the *uta*, the inland tracts, who have no canoes and cannot swim, the true *orang utan*, or man of the woods, the 'man-bush' of pigeon-English." This is no doubt a natural supposition on the part of anyone who has not himself seen the *uta* and the people there, but to anyone who has it is obviously inadequate, as regards San Cristoval; and if it is inadequate in one case it probably is so in all, since the stories are the same.

In the first place, one suspects that it is the white observer and not the native who is disposed to exaggerate the difference between the coast man and the bushman. The coast man laughs at the bushman as a bungler at the coast man's crafts,

<sup>1</sup> P. 354.



but he does not consider him different from himself. Perhaps exceptions should be made of large islands like Guadalcanar, and still more New Guinea, but this is true of San Cristoval. There are in San Cristoval loose alliances formed of a number of villages, which live in amity and help one another in war. Such an alliance includes, perhaps, three or four bush villages and three or four coast villages, not *only* coast villages nor *only* bush villages. There is no constant warfare between bush and coast "tribes." People often walk from coast to coast, never more than thirty miles apart. The bush people are well known, and all related to the coast people in their vicinity. The people of the inland villages are known quite as well as the people along the coasts. So far as we know, the languages of the bush people do not differ from the coast languages any more than those differ among themselves. The people of the coast do not differ from the bush people in appearance, nor, so far as we know, in customs or beliefs. To suppose that these imagine their bush relations, well known and constantly visited, and speaking their own language, as creatures six inches high, with straight hair, no houses, gardens, weapons or arts, and talking an unintelligible language, is obviously absurd. White men are very apt to imagine the bush, because unknown to them, to be mysterious, and the home of strange people. Natives know better. But besides this, the bush people have the same belief in the *kakamora*, certainly not an exaggerated idea of the coast people, since the *kakamora* they describe live in the interior, in caves and holes, like the coast *kakamora*. They have their own names for them; and precisely the same stories that the coast people tell are told in the bush. The *kakamora* are certainly not the bush people of the present time. But they may be the people who held the land before the Melanesians entered it, in very ancient times, and who are now extinct; or they may be memories of other people from other islands whence the Melanesians came. We therefore incline to Dr. Codrington's opinion that the tales, if they have a foundation in fact, relate to people of the interior; but not to the present people of the interior, perhaps not to people of the interior of the present islands; and it is possible that they are only the vague traditions of some race whom the Melanesians have known. If reliance could be placed on the very circumstantial descriptions of natives who say they have seen the *kakamora*, then we should have to suppose the stories to relate to the former inhabitants of the land.

(1) *The Blind Pwaronga (Bore).*

A small boy heard that there was to be a dance among the blind *pwaronga* of north-west San Cristoval. He knew where their dancing ground was, and decided to venture among them, since they could not see him, and view their dance. So he went to the place and sat among them while they feasted. In the moonlight they danced, but during the feast they suspected that there was a mortal among them, and said to one another, "When we dance let each of us tie a wisp of grass round his wrist, and feel for anyone who has none." And so they did; each tied a wisp of grass round his wrist, and they felt and found the boy, and knew he was a stranger and killed him.



(2) *The Pwaronga and the Boy (Heuru).*

As the evening was falling in, the boy was crying because he wanted his father and mother to give him a lizard to play with. They told him to be quiet, and he obeyed, but he sat very sulky on the bamboo platform outside the door of the house, where they had put him. So they shut him out, went inside and lay down to sleep. When they were asleep he began to cry again, and went on crying. A *pcwaronga* heard him crying, and came out of his cave near by. Now the boy lay on a coconut leaf mat spread on the bamboo platform, and the *pcwaronga* came near, climbed up on to his bed, groped about till he felt him, and carried him off, mat and all. He carried him off towards his cave; but the boy knew he was being carried away, and managed to grasp the branch of a maradara tree as they passed under it, and hung to it like a bat. But the *pcwaronga* did not realize what had happened, and trudged along with his burden till he came to the cave. Meanwhile the boy's father and mother awoke, and sat up listening for the boy. But hearing nothing, they came out and set about looking for him, and soon found him still hanging to the branch of the maradara tree. As for the dwarf, when he reached the cave, he set down the coconut leaf mat and, as soon as he was inside, said, "*Kokomo wabwa*," "Close up solid, O cave!" And the cave closed up again solid rock. Then he sat down to his meal, but could not see it anywhere, and said to himself, "Now where is that nice little bit of meat for my crunching." Then he jumped up, ran out of the cave, and retraced his steps along the path he had followed; but there was nothing to be found. The name of the village where this happened is Marouna.

(3) *The Stolen Mat (North Mwala).*

One day a man went wood-cutting in the forest, and he came to a banyan tree, the home of a *dodore*, and sat down and made a mat from what he found growing there. When he had cut his wood he went home, and spread out his new mat to sleep on, and found it very comfortable. But for two nights in succession he dreamed in his sleep that the *dodore* came to him with his companions, other *dodore*, and they said to him, "Give us back what is ours." But he took no notice of these dreams. The third night they came and carried him away on his mat, but they had not gone far when he woke up. They were frightened, and dropped him, mat and all, nor did they trouble him again in his sleep. These were very small harmless *dodore*, not man-eating ones.

(4) *The Story of Lulumae (North Mwala).*

This story was told us by Lulumae himself, and he certainly believes it to be true. "The *dodore*," said Lulumae, "frequently bewitch men so that they become foolish and lose their wits. Sometimes you are only bewitched for a few moments.



For example, you climb a tree, leaving your bag near the foot of it, come down again, and the bag is nowhere to be seen, although you are quite sure you know exactly where you put it. Presently you find it somewhere else close by, where you are sure you did not put it. You may be sure it was some mischievous *dodore*.

"But sometimes it is a more serious matter. One day I went cutting wood in the forest with a number of my people. I was only a small boy, and after a time I wandered off by myself, looking for *siko*, as small boys will. Presently I heard someone near me breaking the boughs of the trees. Of course it was a *dodore*, but I thought it was one of our people and called to him, and when he did not reply, went to look for him. But I could not see anyone; the sound of breaking boughs was always a little ahead, and I followed. Then my mind became quite confused; I lost all remembrance of my home and people, and had no thought of returning to them, but went on and on, through a swamp, along streams, up and down, wherever the sound led me, till my wits were quite gone. Only once in all this time did I see the *dodore*. He was very tall, with long, coarse, red hair. All day I wandered about, and at last I sat down on the broken bough of a tree, not knowing who I was or where I was, or who my friends were. In the meanwhile they had missed me, and very soon guessed what had happened, and knew quite well what to do. They took the leaves of certain plants, such as the giant *caladium*, leaves which are used for charms, and threw them into the forest, shouting as they did so, 'You, whoever you may be, who have bewitched Lulumae, restore him to us.' Then they set out to search for me, and next day found me; but I did not know them, and only wondered who they were and what they had come for. No doubt I had disturbed some *dodore*. My people thought it very wonderful that they should find me alive. Many people in Mwala have been bewitched in this manner, and never heard of again."

#### (5) *The Eight Dwarfs (South Mwala).*

There were eight very small *mumu* with long hair, and they used to come down to a stream near Sarobaha and lie in wait for men to eat, but only children or impotent folk who could not run away fast enough, and they were very much afraid of anything red. One day a man went to the stream wearing in his hair a red hibiscus flower, and he lay in the water with only the flower visible. The eight little *mumu* smelt him and came running down, but as soon as they saw the red flower they ran away as hard as they could go. Later, however, in the evening, they remembered the pleasant smell, and came down to the village, where the people were all indoors. They came to this man's house and stood in a row outside, looking in at the people through the cracks. But the people inside saw them, and took the strong hooked midribs of sago palm leaves and gently drew the dwarfs' hair through the cracks in the logs and tied it firmly inside the house, all except the hair of one dwarf who was standing a little way away from the



house. Then the people raised a shout and all the dwarfs rushed off, but were dragged back violently by their hair, except the one who had been more cautious. The people ran out and began striking the dwarfs; but blows seemed to have no effect on them, till their treacherous mate, standing on the edge of the forest, called out loudly, "Their death is in their buttocks," and the people struck them there, and stabbed them and killed them, seven *mumu*, but the eighth got away.

The *wui* spirits of Raga are very like these *mumu*; "They are seen in rain, have long hair and sometimes long nails, and appear to be confused with the wild mountain creatures in human form, of whom tales are told in all the islands; for one that Tapera saw not long ago was a Sarivanua of the hills, standing in the rain by a banyan tree, with bananas in his hand. He was like a man with small legs; when spoken to he did not answer, and when struck he did not feel."<sup>1</sup> But perhaps they did not know his vulnerable spot.

#### (6) *The Capture of the Kakamora (Wango).*

One day a man went into the bush to climb for almonds. He climbed the tree, and went along one of the branches and filled his bags. Then he heard the sound of voices far off, and it was the *kakamora* talking to one another on the farther side of the valley. He thought that one of them would climb up to him, and he listened to them to make sure that they were *kakamora*. Then he looked down and saw that they had already reached the foot of the ladder by which he had climbed up. They each had a bag, and began to collect the fallen almonds. Then he slipped down with his bag of nuts, and emptied them out on the ground under the almond tree, and lay down on the other side of the tree. The *kakamora* did not see him come down, and came along saying, "Gather up the green nuts and put them in a roughly plaited basket." Another said, "Gather up the purple ripe nuts and put them in a dirty black bag." Then as they came along picking up the nuts one said, "What is that on the other side of the tree?" and they suddenly saw the man who was lying there. But he spread out his legs and arms, and they ran away. Presently they came back. He did not breathe, but pretended to be dead, and some of them began to count his fingers. One of them stood some distance away, but the rest came up and felt all over his body. Then the one who stood some way off said, "There, take care, don't go too close to him, but only look at him." Then they said, "The soles of his feet are like ours, his heels are like ours, his ankle bones are like ours," till they had examined all the different parts of his body, while the one at a distance kept saying, "Take care, stand well away from him and only look." But they finished their examination and came to the hair of his head, and then suddenly started away as he tried to grasp them. However, he had already seized one of them when the others ran away. But the one who had stood far off said to the rest, "Did we not say that

<sup>1</sup> *The Melanesians.*



this would happen?" And some of them said, "Let us wait and see what he will do."

Then the man took the one whom he had caught back to the village, and tried to tame her. They wanted to shave her head with a piece of flint, but it would not cut her hair. Then she said,<sup>1</sup> "You and I passed on the path the thing that our people shave with, a long leaf growing close to the ground." The men did not know what she meant, but said, "Perhaps she means the sword grass." "Yes," said she, "that is what I mean; go and get a blade of that." So they fetched a blade and shaved her head.

Then the man who caught her married her, and they began to make a garden, clearing the undergrowth and cutting down the large trees. Now in this garden of theirs there were numbers of small bamboos, and when they were well dried and withered the two went to burn them, the *kakamora* carrying the bag of money belonging to her husband. They came to the edge of the garden, where he told her to stop, saying, "Stand here and I will go down and burn off the garden. If the fire should spread and come close to you, then get out of its way." The garden began to blaze and the bamboos to crack, and the fire began to come near the woman, so she ran off with the money bag. When the man came back he could not see her, and called out, "Where are you?" Then she said, "Here I am." "Come here," he cried, and went towards the place whence her voice came, but he could not see her. Then he cried, "Where are you?" And she said again, "Here I am." And he followed her again, saying, "Stand still and wait for me"; but when he got to the place whence he had heard her speak, he still could not see her. This happened several times; he followed her about till he was tired, and at last called out to her, "Go away now, but when our garden is in bearing, then come and visit it, and I will plant some sugar-cane along the edge for you." Then she went off with the bag of money, and he planted a row of sugar-cane as he had promised along the edge of the garden.

And when the garden was mature she began to visit it, and to chew the centre shoots of the sugar-cane. He came also and noticed that she had already chewed one plant. On another day he noticed that she had been there again. A third time he came and set a trap in a clump of cane, and she came again, wishing for some more sugar-cane, and fell into the trap. She saw the insects crawling near her, and said to them, "Let me free, I pray you, from this trap," but they would not. She heard the pigs grunting, and said to them, "Let me free, I pray you, from this trap," but they took no notice. She saw the birds, singing in the trees, and said to them, "Let me free, I pray you, from this trap," but they sang on unheeding. So she died.

Then the man came to see his trap, and there she lay dead in it, and he set her free, and threw her dead body out into the bush, far from his garden; and then he went back to his village with his money-bag, rejoicing at its recovery.

<sup>1</sup> The Wango people think the *kakamora* talk in Fagani, a neighbouring language rather different from their own.



## 5. MASI.

There is a body of tales in San Cristoval of people whom they call *masi* or *a masi*. The word *masi* apparently means foolish. A person who does anything carelessly or badly is told that he is *a inuni masi*, a stupid man, and the article *a* shows the word is not a proper name, which would be *o masi*. Nevertheless, the people called *a masi* in the tales form as it were a tribe by themselves; their villages, now uninhabited, are pointed out; none of them is seen nowadays. The tales of them may be said to be the favourite tales of story tellers sitting round the fires at night. They are sure to raise a laugh. They take the place of the Qat tales of the Banks Islands in this respect. Every tale has for its point the stupidity or the ignorance of the *masi*. As a rule no names are known: "a certain *masi*" did so and so. But in many of the tales one of them is represented as wise, or at least wiser than his brethren, and rather fond of leading them into difficulties. Many of the tales lead to the death of all the *masi* concerned, so no wonder they have become extinct. No tales like these seem to be told in the Banks Islands, though some places are pointed out there where the people were stupid and never did anything in the right way, burning down their coconuts, for instance, when they were clearing the land for their gardens. As in other matters, the people of Ulawa and Mwala share these tales with the people of San Cristoval, and the same name is used. The *masi* must be distinguished from the small, long-haired people living in holes and caves, who could not make a fire, and planted no gardens, and were, indeed, hardly human. The *masi* were men in all respects like the Melanesians themselves, except in their ignorance of the commonest matters, and their general lack of understanding. Of the tales which follow, two are given in the original, the bush language of Kufé.

(1) *The Masi go to a Feast.*

The village where they lived was called Gefarisi, but now there are only piles of stones to show where it was. They set out one day to go to Maewo, where a feast was being held. When they had gone part of the way they heard the frogs croaking in a pool, and thought it was the people of a large village making a great feast. So one of them said to the rest, "Let some of us go on to the feast at Maewo, and the others remain here." So some of them went on to the feast at Maewo, and the rest remained staring at the pool in which the frogs were croaking, and there they continued to stand till the light of the dawn fell upon them, but they got no pudding at all to take away with them, while the others who went to the feast at Maewo got plenty.

(2) *The Masi who married a Frog.*

He was following the course of a stream and looking for eels when he came upon a frog, and he said to himself, "This frog shall be my wife," and took her



home to his house. And when he got home he hung up the roots of taro from his garden, and set about lighting his fire, and threw to the frog some roots, and put them on the fire and said to her, "Do you bake these roots over the fire for our meal," and then he went out, leaving the frog sitting by the fire where the taro was cooking. He went to the men's house and sat there a long while chewing his betel nut, trusting to the frog's cooking his meal for him; and after a long while, feeling hungry, he went back to his house to eat the meal prepared, but when he got there all he saw was the taro burnt to cinders. This made him angry, and finding the frog he struck her and drove her outside, when she went and hid inside a large stone. Presently the *masi* went to look for her, and finding the stone in which she was hidden he addressed it, saying, "Where is your daughter? If she is with you you must give her to me," to which the stone made no reply. This made the *masi* very angry, and he said to the stone, "Very well, you refuse to speak. I shall have to make you," after which he went home and got his spear and shield. "Now," he said, when he reached the stone once more, "you must give up your daughter to me or I shall kill you." The stone made no reply, whereupon the *masi* took his spear and broke it to pieces on the stone, and also his shield, which was in the form of a club.<sup>1</sup> Finding he made no impression on the stone he gave way to despair, and returned home without his wife, the frog, whom he saw no more.

### (3) *The Masi who married a Dog.*

This *masi* was married to a dog. One day he went to the woods to gather almonds, and said to the dog who was with him that she was to break them open with a stone, but the dog only stared at him. So he broke them up for himself, and when he had finished doing so, he said to the dog that she was to bake some food for them, but the dog only stared at him. So he had to bake the food for himself, and when that was done he said to the dog that she was to go and fill the bamboo with water from the stream, but the dog only stared at him. "Very well," said the *masi*, "you must bake the food, and I will go and draw the water," and he gave her the kernels of the nuts and told her to pick out the best ones. But when she saw the man was gone she ate up the kernels, about which he had just given her directions. When the man came back he saw the fire for the taro still burning, and said to the dog, "Why ever didn't you peel the taro roots?" and began to peel them for himself, and then he asked her about the kernels of the almonds, "Where have you put them?" But the dog only stared at him. "Well," said the *masi*, "are you deaf?" and struck the dog, who ran out of the house. He went to look for her, and she came back into the house, where he found her, and asked her again about the almonds, and when she said nothing in reply he killed her.

<sup>1</sup> The San Cristoval paddle shaped club is used as a shield.



(4) *The Masi who met an Opossum.*

One of the *masi* who was walking in the forest saw a tree on which was an opossum and its young one. Said he, "Wait here, my dear mother and sister, while I go home and get food for you, and some shell money." So he went to his house and got a drinking coconut and some pudding, and some shell money to put round their necks, and returned to the tree, but they were gone. Instead of them there was a large tree-frog. Said the *masi*, "Well, Pworeo" (for that was what he called the frog, a name of his own invention), "well, Pworeo, where have my mother and sister gone, you must, no doubt, have seen them?" The frog made no reply, and, being frightened, began to crawl up the tree. But he crawled after it, gazing at it over the coconut and the pudding, which he held in front of him, and saying over and over again, "Pworeo, Pworeo, come now, tell me where my mother and sister have gone." So they crawled up the tree, the frog retreating before him, till at last it retreated to a thin branch which could not bear his weight. But he crawled along it, saying, "Come now, Pworeo, do tell me where my mother and sister have gone," and the branch broke, and he fell and was killed.

(5) *The Masi and the Pohui.*

One day the *masi* were sitting together in their village, talking, when they heard a bird called a *pohui* calling from a neighbouring tree. One of the *masi*, who was wiser than the others, said, "He is calling us names because we have given him no portion of our food, no nuts and no yams or taro." So he made each of them put a portion of food in a bag, which he said he would give to the *pohui* to satisfy it. But he took the bag and emptied out the contents in his house, and hid the different kinds of food, replacing them by leaves till the bag was full again. Then he hung the bag on a branch of the tree where the *pohui* was, and after a while went and brought it to the others, saying, "See, the *pohui* has eaten all the food we gave it, there is nothing left but leaves." But the *pohui* still continued to call, so he said to the others, "He is still angry with us, we must leave our village." This they did, and went and made a platform high up on the branches of a tree, where they thought the *pohui* would not see them; and with great toil they dragged up their possessions, even their heavy drums made of tree trunks. When they were all safely lodged on the platform, the wise one said, "Now let us make a fire, for the night will be chilly." So they made a fire, not on stones, but on the platform itself, which caught fire, and all of them were burnt to death, except the wise one, who climbed down by a creeper, and took possession of the village and what was left of their possessions.

(6) *The Masi are frightened by a Fish.*

The *masi* one day went fishing on the reef, and after a time one of them caught a large red fish, a fish which makes a noise like grunting. The one who was



wise stowed the fish into his bag, and by and by, when they were on the road home, the fish in the bag began to grunt. Then they all cried out that it was a ghost—so they said, "Brothers! a ghost, a ghost!" and they all began to run. They ran till they came to a tree covered with a white-blossoming orchid, and as they ran they kept saying, "It's a ghost, it will eat us all." So they all began to climb, but they merely kept striking their heads against the boughs, and crying out, "It's the sky we are striking," and that was all they did. Then the first who climbed jumped down again to the ground and was killed, and so they each did in turn down to the last. But the last one was the only one who was not killed; he was the wise one, and he it was who stowed the red fish away in his basket.

(7) *The Masi dive for the Sunbeam.*

Some of the *masi* who lived by the seashore found some bait used for catching porpoises, so they said to one another, "Come, let us launch our large canoe and see if we can catch a porpoise." So they launched their canoe and took their places in it and began to paddle, saying to one another, "Paddle swiftly, paddle swiftly." Those who embarked in the canoe were six in number. Then the first one who had taken his place in the canoe happened to look down into the water beneath him, and there he saw a sunbeam. "Friends," said he, "down there there is a mother-of-pearl crescent-shaped ornament which we can get for ourselves; don't paddle hard, but all back-water with your paddles." They all sat very still, and looking down into the water underneath they saw the sunbeam. "Yes, yes, a mother-of-pearl ornament which we can certainly get." So they said, and the leader said to the rest, "I'll dive down and bring it up to you." Then he jumped over, and the others all kept their paddles stiff so as to steady the canoe, but the leader could not reach the bottom where the sunbeam was. So the second said, "Well, keep your paddles stiff, and I'll try what I can do, surely I can reach it." But he could not, nor could any of them, though they all tried in turn. So they said to one another, "Come along, comrades, let us paddle back to the shore." Back they went to the shore and searched for stones with a hole through them and tough creepers to tie to them, and then, each taking a stone, they once more embarked in their canoe. The next thing was to paddle out again to the deep water, and there they saw the sunbeam again, just the same as before. "There it is, comrades," cried the leader, "steady the canoe and I'll go down." When the canoe was steady they tied a large stone to his foot, while he said to them, "You wait about here a long time, for I shan't come quickly to the surface again, no doubt I shall have some trouble with that bit of mother-of-pearl." Well, they let him down over the side, and down he went, down and down, deeper and deeper, but he never came up again. They waited about, watching the bubbles floating up to the surface in the spot where he dived, and saying to one another, "He's sure to get it." After a time the second one says, "Well, he seems to be a long time, I'll dive down too and give him a hand." So he, too, has a stone tied to his foot, and



is let down over the side, and goes down and down, deeper and deeper, while they say to one another, "The two of them are sure to get it." And when he, too, does not return, they all do the same as those two had done, one after the other; not one lived to tell the tale, nothing ever came up again but bubbles, where the *masi* were drowned diving for the sunbeam.

(8) *The Masi go on a Voyage.*

One day the *masi* decided to go for a voyage. They got a stout rope and tied the stern of their canoe to a large tree on the brow of the cliff. Then the one who was to do the steering said to the others, "All of you get in, and get out your paddles and sit ready." This they all did, and put into the canoe, too, all their possessions, and all got into it and sat ready. Then said the leader, "When I get in, all of you begin to paddle," and then, getting in, he cried, "Come, off we go," and they all began to paddle, and the rope was cut through, and down they all fell together to the bottom of the cliff and were all crushed to pieces, and lay dead at the foot of the cliff Mamarawa.

(9) *The Masi who climbed for Nuts.*

One day one of the *masi* went to an almond tree to get the nuts. He chose a long bamboo to take up with him to break off the nuts, and tied a string to the bamboo so as to draw it up after him when he had reached the branches, but the bamboo he chose was one still growing in the ground. He climbed up and tugged at the bamboo, but he tugged in vain, for the bamboo was fast in the ground. So he climbed down again and searched carefully along the bamboo to see why he couldn't draw it up. He found some ants on it. "So it's you, is it?" said the *masi*, and carefully killed the ants and climbed up again, but the bamboo held fast. Down he climbed again and found a butterfly on the bamboo. "So it's you all the time, is it?" said the *masi*, and drove away the butterfly. He tried again and again to pull up the bamboo, and again and again came down and drove away what he found on it. At last he asked the wise one, "What is the matter?" "Why," said he, "the bamboo is growing in the ground; cut the root." But the *masi* in trying to cut the root cut off his legs, and was killed.

(10) *The Masi cook a Fish.*

There were eight *masi* living in their village, Ololo, near Hulihuli, and one day they went down to a stream called Waipaina to buy a fish which the people used to catch there, a fish called *a'are*. They bought one, asked the name of it, and were told it was *a'are*, but on the way home they could not remember what the fish was called, so they all went back to ask the name again. When they got nearly home they found they had forgotten the name again, so they returned once more. This happened eight times. At last, the ninth time, they managed to



remember the name. When they got home, they got an enormous bowl for their one fish, and poured four bamboos of water into the bowl and cooked their dinner. When it was done they all sat round the bowl and drank up the water till the bowl was dry. In doing so one of them swallowed the fish. When the bowl was dry they stared about them in surprise. "Why," said they, "where is our fish?" Then the one who had swallowed it said to the others, "I rather fancy it is inside me; I felt something hard going down." "Well," said they, "in that case we must look for it there," and they held him firmly and cut him open, and there sure enough was their fish. They did not understand that they had killed their fellow, and took and cooked the fish once more. When all was ready they said, "Wake him up; he is still sleeping, poor fellow; he is tired, no doubt." But they could not wake him. "Well, let him sleep," said they, and waited a day and a night, till the corpse began to smell. "Why," said they, "he must be dead; whatever can have killed him? It certainly is very strange."

#### *Confusion of Belief.*

We have no wish to rest any theories of origin or intercourse on the facts set forth, but no one who discusses these beliefs with Melanesians can fail to be arrested by one striking fact—that there is a large amount of confusion in their naming of supernatural beings.

The chief confusion in San Cristoval is whether to call certain spirits *ataro* or *figona*. There is no doubt at all in the native mind that they are spirits, and not ghosts; the question is what sort of spirits. With some spirits there is no doubt: Ngoriaru and Tararamanu, spirits of the open sea, are *ataro*; so is Karingamou, the guardian spirit of Rotomana; while, on the other hand, Kagauraha and other snake spirits are undoubtedly *figona*; but when it comes to spirits connected with particular rocks, pools and trees, a native is very doubtful as to whether it is an *ataro hasimou* or a woodland *figona*—that is, one without a serpent incarnation.

There is a further confusion as to whether some of these rocks, pools and trees are inhabited by *figona* or ghost *ataro*; rocks along the sea coast seem now to be given up generally to shark *ataro*, that is to ghosts.

The worship of *ataro*, whether ghosts or spirits, has not destroyed the worship of *figona*, but exists alongside it. Both beings are sacrificed to, both are prayed to, both are believed in.

It would seem possible to separate the two as distinct cultures, the one the *ataro* culture, showing a belief in ghosts and a worship of them, with a belief also in spirits, the *ataro* of the sea and land, the *ataro here* and the *ataro* presiding over the unseen world of the dead. No *figona* are connected with Rotomana, but *ataro* spirits are; so the belief in Rotomana appears to go with the *ataro* culture, and naturally is prominent in the worship of ghosts. The confusion regarding the naming of the spirits at rocks, pools and trees seems to show that the one culture has not grown out of the other, but has probably come in from without. There



appears to be a tendency to substitute *ataro* for *figona* in these cases. Moreover, if ghost worship had grown up in San Cristoval, a ghost being called *ataro*, the spirits of the sea, about whom the natives have no doubt that they are spirits, would still have been *figona* if they were already known; when they came to be called *ataro* they would have become ghosts in the native mind. We take it, then, that we have to do with two cultures, one of which has been introduced from without and has since existed side by side with the other.

The question naturally follows as to which is the later, and therefore introduced, culture. To this we think the answer must be, the *ataro* culture.

In the annual sacrifices of first-fruits, the first-fruits are offered first to the *figona* and afterwards, sometimes on the next day, sometimes on the same day, to *ataro*.

Taking a more general survey, there seems to be reason for thinking the *figona* culture a survival. The same stories of creation, naming of remarkable phenomena, origin of death, are told of Koevasi in Florida and Qat in the Banks Islands as of Agunua in San Cristoval, but Agunua is worshipped and Qat and Koevasi are not: merely stories are told of them now. We do not know very much, however, about Florida: snake worship survives there, but has never been described. In the case of Qat, it is hard to disentangle the stories of Qat, the *vui* spirit, from those of Qat, the hero, which seem to have mingled in the tales. But in the light of San Cristoval facts, one cannot help thinking *figona* worship has been wider once. What Mr. Woodford described as the offering of the first-fruits to *tidalo* is so like the Agunua worship of San Cristoval that it is hard to resist the conclusion that *tidalo* have been substituted there for *figona*. So in South Mwala Dr. Codrington describes an early morning sacrifice by all the people to *li'oa*, which is very like the Agunua worship in San Cristoval; *li'oa*, in fuller form *ligoa*, for the break shows a *g* lost, means, Dr. Codrington says, a ghost. The people themselves say Agunua was worshipped more widely once—at least, over the greater part, if not all, of San Cristoval; and the Ulawa people once took part in this worship, though they have long ceased to do so.

The *pirupiru*, too, would seem to be properly the scene of *figona* worship. In the story, wherever the serpent *figona* landed there a *pirupiru* was formed. Since the tree *pirupiru* is often found at a *pirupiru*—and at Raumae, in the interior, the *pirupiru* is called *arite-ngari*, the names of two trees—it seems natural to suppose the *pirupiru* to have been originally a spot where there was a sacred tree or trees. Now, however, *pirupiru* is more often than not the name of a bare rock in the sea where shark ghosts are worshipped, a misuse of terms showing that the shark ghost worship is later.

The grove seems to go with *figona* worship, as the *hare-ni-asi* (sea-house) does with ghost worship. Why "sea-house" we do not know. It was the shrine for ghost worship generally, not only sea ghosts or sea spirits, and it was not always by the shore, but in the village.

Here we leave the question to others of wider knowledge than ourselves. It is



not only in San Cristoval that there is confusion. In Florida, Dr. Codrington says, the people think now that all *vigona*, beings that blessed the crops, are *tidal*—that is, must once have been men, but no San Cristoval native would dream of speaking of *figona* as formerly men, so it is probable Florida natives would not once have done so. Even they are sure that one *vigona*, Koevasi, was never a man.

In the Banks Islands it is not thought that *vui* were ever men, but there is confusion in a different direction, some beings recognised as spirits are not called *vui*, but *tamate*, which properly means a ghost. Dr. Codrington writes that *Tavogivogi* in the New Hebrides "must be classed as spirits; they are certainly not human beings and correspond to the mysterious snakes called *mac* in the Banks Islands." The *mac valeleas* of the Banks is a spirit not a ghost; and yet it is not called a *vui* by most natives, but a *tamate*; some natives will say that it is a *vui*, but the majority call it a *tamate*. It is surely significant that this spirit is also known in San Cristoval, but is there not classed with the *figona*, but with the *ataro*, *ataro here*.

"In these stories" (of Banks Islands *vui*), writes Dr. Codrington, "and no doubt in common belief there was a certain confusion between these spirits and the ghosts of the departed," and again, "it is true that the two orders of beings get confused in native thought and action, they think so much and constantly of ghosts, that they speak of beings who were never men as ghosts."

Investigation along other lines, such as clanship and relationship terms, will probably prove or disprove the supposition that in this confusion we have evidence of the meeting of two cultures, the later *ataro* culture surely and steadily ousting the earlier one of *figona*.

## 6. WONDER TALES.

Before bringing this paper to a conclusion we give some "wonder" tales which do not tell of *ataro* or *figona*, but of men, heroes of old times, ogres and ogresses. The first tale is that of the hero Warohunugamwanehaora. It is interesting not only because it shows how full these native stories are of the marvellous, even when they include no *ataro* or *figona*, but also because it is clearly the San Cristoval version of the Banks Island story of Qat. It certainly is not the result of any recent intercommunication, it is much too different to be so. In this tale the San Cristoval Qat is not a spirit at all, but merely a man, yet his feats were certainly more than mortal. Andrew Lang has suggested that Qat the spirit and Qat the hero have been confused in native accounts. Indeed the New Hebrides people, while they had heard of Qat, considered him only a great man of old times, very high in the secret society. Qat is in many ways not unlike Maui the Polynesian hero, who also, perhaps, is a composite character, made up from several tales, and really a hero of old time. Warohunuga is a man of old times, of the times which produced also the giant Rapuanate and the hero Mauua, who fished



up the island of Ulawa from the bottom of the sea. But that Warohunuga is Qat in San Cristoval dress cannot be doubted. He was the youngest of a band of brothers, he grew up as soon as he was born and did wonderful feats, which caused his elder brothers to envy and hate him and try to compass his death. Even details are the same. One of the brothers, having persuaded Warohunuga to climb a tree, causes the tree to lengthen by a charm, so that he could not descend from it. But Warohunuga makes the tree bend down a long way off and descends safely. So Qat's brother charmed a tree to make it swell; and in another Qat tale, the tree on which Qat stands lengthens, bends, and he comes down on another island.

(1) *Warohunugaraiia and Warohunugamwanehaora (Ugi).*

In old times a family of brothers were living together, the eldest of whom was named Warohunugaraiia. The brothers began to build a new canoe-house, and while they were still building it another brother was born whose name was Warohunugamwanehaora. He grew up immediately and went off to see his brothers, with the umbilical cord still unsevered and coiled round and round his neck. At this time the brothers had just begun to build. They had put up the centre posts and were now trying to get the ridge pole into position, but up to this time no one knew how to hollow out the tops of the main posts, so that the ridge pole should lie firmly and evenly upon them. The brothers had merely cut down trees and set them up with square tops, and as often as they got the ridge up and shook the posts it fell down again. "Why is this," said the brothers to one another, "what can be the matter with our ridge pole?" While they were debating the matter, their youngest brother was on the way to them, and as he came along the path, a dog, attracted by the smell of the newly-born Warohunugamwanehaora, ran out after him. The dog came up from behind and the sun was shining on Warohunugamwanehaora's back, casting shadows in front of him, and suddenly he stopped and stared earnestly at the shadow of the dog's head on the ground, with the two ears sticking up, one on each side. Then he went on again to his brothers. But they were not at all pleased to see him. "What do you want here?" they cried to him, "you will be sure to bring some bad luck on our new canoe-house. Off home with you to the village." "I only want to look at your work," said Warohunuga, "there seems to be something the matter with your ridge pole." The ridge pole was lying on the ground where it had fallen, and Warohunuga went up to it and examined it and the main posts, and then taking an adze he cut the tops of the posts to represent the dog's ears as he had seen them in the shadow, just as all main posts are cut nowadays. "Now," said he, "put up your ridge pole again and shake it as much as you like, it will never fall." And so they did, and found when they hoisted it up once more that it lay firmly and evenly in the hollows of the posts. But they began to hate their youngest brother Warohunugamwanehaora. The main posts and the ridge pole were now finished, but they still had to put up the side posts and the wall plate, and the same thing happened



as before. They put them up a good many times and the least shake made the wall plate fall. At last their youngest brother offered to help them, and taking his adze, he adzed the tops of the side posts as he had the tops of the main posts, like the shadow of the dog's head on the path. His brothers had to admit his cleverness, but they disliked him none the less, and laughed at him, saying, "That's all very well, you have carved the tops of the posts, but let us see you go and get a post yourself, and set it up in its accustomed place in front of the canoe-house." So Warohunuga went off into the forest, and came across a *hata*, a very large tree, and he pulled it out, roots and all, and took it back to his brothers. He dug no hole, but simply drove the tree into the ground with great force, and there it stood firmly, branches and all. The brothers remarked to one another that they would like to eat him, but the eldest, Warohunugaraiia, said to the others, "Never mind, I know how to settle him; all of you must begin digging the holes for the posts on the other side, dig them deep and we will see whether we cannot get rid of him somehow." So the brothers dug the holes, and when the first of them was very deep, Warohunugaraiia said to Warohunugamwanehaora, "Get down into this hole and scoop the earth out with your hands." The hole was rather narrow, but he got down into it. "Now," said the eldest brother to the rest, "take up the biggest post, all of you, and let it down into the hole on top of him." So they all lifted the heaviest post and let it fall into the hole on top of Warohunugamwanehaora. As they did so a voice said to them from the top of the post, "Let it down carefully, that's right"; and there was Warohunugamwanehaora perched on the top of the post looking down on them. His brothers stared at him without saying a word, and finished the canoe-house, thatching the roof without saying anything more to Warohunugamwanehaora.

But when it was finished they said to one another, "We must kill him some other way," and at last the eldest said to them, "We will take our canoes and go out in them, two of us in each canoe, and I will go with him; we shall say we are going to look for a giant clam, and when we get near it, leave the rest to me."

So they announced to all the village that they wished to get a giant clam shell, and all got down their canoes, the brothers among the rest, and Warohunugaraiia said to Warohunugamwanehaora, "Come with me, we will go together in my new canoe." So all the canoes paddled out to look for the giant clam, and when they got near it, it was such an enormous clam that all the canoes sheered off in fear, lest it should close upon them. But the one canoe, in which the two brothers were, kept straight on towards the clam, and soon got to where it was, for they were well able to see it, looking down on it through the clear water. "Jump down and bring it up," said Warohunugaraiia to Warohunugamwanehaora. Now Warohunugamwanehaora had been chewing betel nut, and the red liquor was still in his mouth. He jumped overboard and dived deep, and as he did so he spat out the red juice, and all the waters were stained blood red. His brother was sure the clam had seized him and was tearing him to pieces, and paddled off as fast as he could go to the rest, shouting to his brothers, "Cheer, brothers, cheer,



Warohunugamwanehaora is dead at the bottom of the sea," and they all raised a shout of triumph and paddled home.

Meanwhile Warohunugamwanehaora took the giant clam and swam under water with it to the landing place, which he reached long before the others in the canoes. He carried the clam to the canoe-house and set it up in front, and went and sat down inside in the shadow. Presently the brothers landed, and came up talking about the success of their plan, when suddenly they saw the clam in front of the house, close to them. They stared at it, wondering how it could have got there, and a voice came to them from the shadow inside the canoe-house, saying, "Well, brothers, you have been very slow, I have been back a long time with the clam," and there was Warohunugamwanehaora sitting inside. "It's he," said they to one another, "but how did he get here?" They said nothing more, and the clam was cooked, and a great feast made in honour of the killing, and when it was all eaten the brothers met to consider what they should do next.

At last Warohunugaraiia said to his brothers, "We will all go out again in our canoes to catch an *ulahu*, a large man-eating fish, and I will take him with me as before in my canoe, and we shall see what will happen." So they told the people of the village, and they all took their canoes and paddled out to sea, Warohunugaraiia and Warohunugamwanehaora in the first. When they got near the *ulahu* it was so large that all the other canoes paddled off to a distance, but the two brothers kept straight on. Warohunugaraiia said to his brother, "Land on the reef, and go along to the *ulahu* and see if you can catch it." So he went along the reef, but he had put a sharp piece of obsidian in his mouth, unknown to the others. When he got near, the man-eating *ulahu* jumped at him, and seized him in sight of everybody. "Cheer, brothers, cheer, for Warohunugamwanehaora is dead," shouted Warohunugaraiia, paddling off to the rest.

Meanwhile the *ulahu* had swallowed Warohunugamwanehaora, but he cut his way out through the belly, and swam rapidly under water with the great fish till he came to the landing place. He set it up in front of the canoe-house, and sat down in the shadow as before, waiting for his brothers. They came up, talking of his death, when suddenly they saw the fish in front of them. They stopped staring at it, when a voice came from the shadow, saying, "Well, brothers, I have been waiting for you some time, there is our fish"; but they had nothing to say. The fish was cooked and a great feast made; and when it was all eaten the brothers met together again.

When they had all discussed different plans, Warohunugaraiia said to the rest, "Let us take him up into the hills to the place where the great wild boar lives, and when it comes out to us we will all run away and leave him alone." This was a famous boar of enormous size and strength, so old that bamboos growing out of the dirt on its head were tall and thick, and no man in all those parts dared venture near the hill where it lived. So the brothers set out, taking Warohunugamwanehaora, and when they got near they saw the boar coming at them in the distance, and all were afraid. Then Warohunugaraiia said to Warohunugamwane-



haora, "Go up and kill it," and Warohunugamwanehaora had no fear of it, but went forward, carrying in his hand a coconut. The wild boar saw him and charged, but he held out the coconut, and while the boar seized it he managed to spear and kill it. Meanwhile the brothers had all run home, thinking all was over with Warohunugamwanehaora, but he took the boar on his shoulders and ran home fast through the woods, and got there before his brothers, and set the pig before the house. When they got home, talking to one another about his death, they suddenly saw the pig, and stared at it in astonishment. "Well, brothers," said a voice from the shadow, "where have you been all this while, I have been back some time?" The brothers had nothing to say, so the pig was cooked and a great feast made, and when it was all eaten, the brothers met together again.

"Well," said Warohunugaraiia, the eldest, "we must kill him with a charm. We will get him to go with us to get betel nut, and when we get to the tree I shall tell him to go up and get us something, and then we will charm the tree and get rid of him." So they went off to get the betel nut, taking Warohunugamwanehaora, and when they got to the tree they sent him up. Then Warohunugaraiia stood at the foot and pronounced a charm, and the betel nut tree lengthened and grew taller and taller, and carried Warohunugamwanehaora up into the sky till he was lost to sight. Then the brothers gave a great cheer and went home. Meanwhile Warohunugamwanehaora plucked a bunch of nuts, and with a charm made the tree bend over till it bent down before his home. Then he got off and sat down to wait for his brothers, chewing betel nut. They were still a long way off, but at last they came out from the path before the house, and there was Warohunugamwanehaora, chewing betel nut, and waiting for them. "Well, brothers," said he, "here you are at last; I came home without waiting for you." But the brothers had nothing to say.

When the brothers met together again, the eldest said to the rest, "I see the only plan is to kill him ourselves; let us make a big oven and throw him in and cook and eat him." To this they all agreed. The eldest made Warohunugamwanehaora help them, and they dug a large oven, and made him collect firewood and pile it on top till the fire was very hot. "Take off the fire," said the eldest to Warohunugamwanehaora; he did so. "Put two leaves at the bottom"; he did so, after removing the stones above. Warohunugaraiia then seized his brother and threw him in, and all the brothers hastily threw the hot stones on top and piled them up and sat watching the oven, talking gaily about the coming feast. Presently they heard something crack. "That's his eye," said they. Presently they heard something crack again. "That's his other eye," said they; "he must be about cooked by now." "Let us make quite sure," said Warohunugaraiia, "when we touch the stones and they are quite cold to the touch we will open the oven, but not before." So they all sat round and waited a long while, till at last the stones were cold enough for them to put their hands on them, and then they opened the oven. It had been so hot that even the stones were cooked and quite soft, but as they removed the last a voice behind them said, "Is it quite cooked,



brothers?" and there was Warohunugamwanehaora sitting behind them, looking on. Then Warohunugamwanehaora got up and came to Warohunugaraiia, for he had become annoyed at the continued attempts on his life, and coming up to him he said, "You do nothing but try to take my life, whereas I have never tried to harm you, but now it is my turn." Then he made a small oven, and took only a small amount of firewood, and heated it to a gentle heat. He removed the fire, and said to his brother, "Lie down in the oven." He did so, thinking no harm could come to him in such an oven. Warohunugamwanehaora piled on the stones, but did not wait long, and soon took them off and opened the oven, and there lay Warohunugaraiia done to a turn; and Warohunugamwanehaora and his brothers ate him.

*The Story of Kamusigauwi (Kufe).*

Kamusigauwi (Madam Claw Finger) lived near the village of Hunahau. In a neighbouring village lived a man and his wife, and they had a son. The woman used to frighten her little son when he cried by saying to him, "If you cry, Kamusigauwi will hear you and come and eat you." One day the man and woman left their son in the bush and he cried, and Kamusigauwi heard him crying and came up and ate him. She took the entrails and hung them up on the branch of a tree which overhung the path, saying, "If your father and mother pass by this way, drip blood on them, otherwise not." Presently they came by and the blood dripped on them and they knew it was their son and that he had been eaten by Kamusigauwi. Soon afterwards the dead boy's two brothers were playing with the other children in the village and began to hit them. Said the children, "It is easy to hit us, but you are afraid to revenge the death of your brother on Kamusigauwi." So they set off and gathered nuts and rattan and sticks near the village of Kamusigauwi and then came into the men's house there. Kamusigauwi heard they had come and went to the men's house and tried to persuade them to sleep with her in her house, but they refused. Presently they climbed for coconuts and when they came down Kamusigauwi was standing by and said, "There is a stick to husk your nuts with," but when they came to it, it was a snake. Then they took their coconuts into the men's house and one slept while the other watched. Kamusigauwi came to them and gave them a pudding to eat in which she had cooked the finger of their dead brother, but they refused to eat the food she offered them. Again one slept while the other kept watch. Kamusigauwi came and tried to climb in under the eaves, but the brother who was on watch threw coconuts at her. Several times during the night she tried to climb in, but was always driven back by coconuts. In the morning she came to them and asked them to pick the bugs out of her hair. They agreed to do so, but instead of biting the bugs as people do, they bit nuts and deceived her. At last she became weary and went to sleep. Then the brothers tied her up firmly with a good stout rope, carried her to her house and staked her down to the ground in the middle of the floor. When she woke they set fire to the house and burnt her alive.



*The Ogre and the Boy (Rumatari).*

One day two boys were climbing an apple tree, and while they were still among the branches, a man-eating ogre came and stood under the tree and said to the boys, "Throw me down some apples," but they refused. "Very well," said the ogre, "I shall eat you instead." The boys tried to climb out of reach along the branches, but a branch broke and one of them fell to the ground. The ogre seized him and dragged him off to his house, where he shut him up till it should be time to cook the meal, and when he went out to get yams and taro to eat with him, he told his son to look after their dinner. When they were left alone, the captive said to the ogre's son, "Do you see that pretty bird out there, just go and get it for me." "No, no," said the ogre's son, "you will run away while I am gone." Presently the boy said to him, "Where is your mother's bed?" "Over there," said the ogre's son. "Where is your father's?" "Over here," said he. "And where is yours?" said the boy. "Here, close beside me," said the ogre's son. "Lie on it and let me see," said the boy. But as soon as he lay down on it the boy sprang upon him, killed him, cooked him, and took his entrails to wash in the stream close by. No sooner had he gone than the ogre returned, smelt the human flesh cooking in the oven, and heard the boy washing his son's entrails in the stream, with a sound like a person flapping water. Thinking it was his son, he called out, "Come along, my son, or you'll be too late for dinner," and with that opened the oven and ate the right eye of his son. Then he knew he had eaten his own son and, crying out, he rushed after the boy. But the boy made a fire, and when the ogre came near he ascended in the smoke. The ogre came to the fire and poked about in the ashes, but could find nothing. As for the other boy, he returned home and said to his father and mother, "An ogre has seized my brother, but I don't know whether he has eaten him or not."

*Rapuanate and the Wars of the Three Sisters (Ugi).*

The following tales of Rapuanate, the giant, who lived on Marau Raro, one of the islands called the Three Sisters, differ from the foregoing in that they are largely history. There can be little doubt that such wars really happened, and that Rapuanate really lived. Some time must have elapsed, for though the Three Sisters were inhabited when the Spaniards visited the group in 1567, for more than sixty years at least they have been deserted. Moreover, in the tales the bow and arrow are as prominent in war as the spear, but this state of things has long passed away, and neither of us has ever seen a war-bow, either on the coast or inland. When the Spaniards visited San Cristoval the same state of things prevailed as that described in the tales. In some respects Rapuanate resembles Orormal, the gigantic hero of the Banks Islands. Both were giants. Rapuanate's thigh bone may still be seen at Marau Raro, his home, and is said to be the size of the main post of a house. His canoe was enormous. The canoe of Orormal was so large that it stuck in the passage between the island Ravenga and Vanua Lava. The stone that he cracked his nuts with is still to be seen at Rowa and weighs half a



ton. Both were great fighting men and killed numbers of people. Both went on a voyage to buy winds, Orormal to Maewo, where he bought wind and rain, and Rapuanate (in some stories) to Mwala for the same purpose. The introduction of mosquitoes into their islands is ascribed to both. Orormal brought them from Maewo in a bamboo, and when his canoe stuck, the bamboo was overturned and the mosquitoes got out, which is why there are so many at Vanua Lava. Rapuanate went to Ulawa, not long fished up from the sea by Mauua, and brought the mosquitoes from there in a bamboo, in order to keep his followers awake at nights, since his enemies were so many that a watch was always necessary.

The stories of Rapuanate were told us by an old man named Liohaa. He is a famous tale-teller and wherever he goes people collect to listen to his tales. The old man, now becoming infirm, sits on his mat as he tells the tales, the boys who have collected round him drinking in his words and uttering exclamations from time to time. As he tells of the great deeds of the hero his eyes flash, his voice kindles, and he lifts his right hand as he shouts aloud the brave words of Rapuanate. One feels one has seen a story-teller as he ought to be, not writing in a book, but giving life and colour to the story with voice and gesture.

We venture to think that there is no better method for getting true information about natives than that of listening to their stories. Every native has a story to tell. Boys are as good as old men in this respect, or even better in many cases, as they have freshly heard the stories from their mothers. Some boys know quite a number of tales. In this way many things are mentioned, about which the natives might otherwise be reticent; and if the story-teller is not interrupted he may be questioned afterwards about certain customs he has mentioned in the course of his story, which he will willingly try to explain to make the story clear. For example, in these Rapuanate stories, we learnt of a sacrifice quite new to us, that of a coconut on landing from a voyage. When the canoe touches the shore, the first duty is to climb a coconut tree. Only one nut is taken, each of the voyagers touches it, and it is put in the bow of the canoe and left there, after which the travellers may eat food. In the stories many customs that have died out are referred to, customs which one would not be likely to hear of in any other way.

The following stories relate to Marauraro (Rapanate's home), Maraupaina, Ariite, the three islands now called the Three Sisters, and Teonimanu, the submerged island half-way between Ariite and Ulawa, where there is now shoal water only seven fathoms deep. One story tells of the destruction of this island.

#### *The War with Maraupaina.<sup>1</sup>*

The name of Rapuanate's father was Poroirohatautauwaiu; his mother's name was Huaaratanapwalo. His eldest, and his favourite, brother was named Rohimanu,

<sup>1</sup> The word *paina*, great, is a common Ulawa word, but is only found in names in San Cristoval, e.g., Takibaina, son of the chief Bo.



the second brother Ruairokalani, and the third Ruawaliata. Rohimanu was married to Pwaholasau. Rapuanate was not yet married. He and his brothers were passing through the period of seclusion (*marau*), learning to catch bonito. They could not have any intercourse with women for a year. One day the brothers went fishing, and landed at Maraupaina. The people of the place welcomed them, and they said to one another, "Who will climb the coconut tree to get the nut for the landing sacrifice?" But the tree was covered with hornets' nests, and no one could climb it. Rapuanate's brothers would not; Kalitalu of Teonimanu refused, so did Sohoimanu of Mwala and Ruangangataiealuawa. At last Rapuanate said he would climb it. He climbed up a little way, but the hornets stung him and he fell back. "You are very brave," said they; "but even you can't do it." Then he climbed half-way up, threw away the climbing line, and climbed unaided to the top, the tree swaying from side to side with his weight. He threw down all the nuts, broke the top off the tree and threw it down, and descended to his brothers. Taraeramo, his bought and adopted brother, broke open the nut; they all touched it and put it in Rapuanate's canoe. Then they all returned to their homes, Kalitalu to Teonimanu, Rapuanate and his brothers to Marauraro, Roraimanu (the young chief of Ariite) to Ariite, and the Mwala chiefs to Mwala. Thus they met together at the sacrifice as friends, who were to slay one another till the islands were desolate, and hundreds of the people had been killed.

Now when Rapuanate climbed the coconut tree he was seen by two beautiful girls of Maraupaina. He was the last to leave, and these two beautiful girls, called Ruatakanie (the two flowers of the tree), followed him about, admiring him and desiring to be his wives. But at this time he was forbidden all intercourse with women, and tried to avoid them; but they stood in his path, and when he embarked they tried to climb into his canoe, his bonito canoe into which no woman may go. Four times this happened, till at last Rapuanate said, "Let them come, they shall be my wives," and he and Rohimanu and Ruatakanie paddled back to Marauraro, where he took the two girls as his wives. But all the women of Marauraro admired Rapuanate, and used to follow him about; and seeing this, Ruatakanie grew jealous, and one night took a canoe and paddled home to their father, Porongarimwane, taking the splendid strings of shell money which Rapuanate had given them. Now there was a man named Kalimatawarepa, who had relations in all the islands, so that all called him *marau* (mother's brother), and even in time of war he could go backwards and forwards without fear. Him Rapuanate called, and sent to Maraupaina with instructions to bring back Ruatakanie or the shell money; but neither would Ruatakanie return, nor would they send back the shell necklaces. Then Rapuanate set out himself one night alone, and landed on Maraupaina, where the branch of a tree hangs over the water at Rongofote, and he climbed up into the tree and set his canoe in the branches out of sight, and walked up to the village. There on the platform, before the house of Porongarimwane, he saw Ruatakanie with the youths of the village, and two young chiefs lay with their



heads on the bosoms of Ruatakanie, while Rapuanate watched them unseen from the shadow of the wall. Then he took a dracaena leaf, and tied it round his big toe. When he tied tightly they slept heavily, and when he loosed the knot their slumbers grew light. But now he tied the leaf tight, and all the people of Maraupaina slept heavily. He walked hither and thither, but all were sleeping. Then he returned to the house, and stamped with his foot on the platform. "Do you sleep, you two? Why don't you sleep within the house, Ruatakanie?" cried Rapuanate. But they heard no sound. Again he stamped his foot and cried aloud, "How is it, Ruatakanie, that you sleep without?" But they slept on. Then Rapuanate took from his bag a sharp shell, and seized the two young chiefs by their hair, and cut their throats. He put their heads into his bag, and went back to his place in the shadow; but none of the sleepers so much as stirred in his sleep, for the knot was fast. Then Rapuanate loosed the knot of the dracaena leaf, and the people woke, and Ruatakanie started up, for they were covered with blood, and two headless corpses lay beside them. Porongarimwane ran out of the house and quickly divided his people into six bands, led by his brothers, and they spread out, looking for the murderer along the paths. Then Rapuanate came out from the shadows and walked boldly into the midst of the first band, led by Saupurutapia, where he asked if the murderer was found; and so he went to all the bands, and no one knew him, because it was a dark night and because of his magic, until he came to the last. "Sit down," said he to the captain of the band, "and I will creep out and look for the enemy." So he crept down to his canoe and launched it, and paddled silently out to sea. And when he was already far out, he stopped and called aloud to Porongarimwane, his father-in-law: "I came but to get my shell money. I have done no harm, save that I stumbled on two leaves in my path. Is it peace or war, Porongarimwane? It shall be whichever you wish." And Porongarimwane answered and said, "You have gone too far, Rapuanate, and now I will do as you wish, and I will destroy you and your people." "Very well," said Rapuanate, "your relations and friends are very many. Send messengers and call them to your aid. As for me, I shall not call in my friends and relations at Ulawa and Teonimanu; but I and my people, one hundred and sixty, will wait for you within the bounds of our village."

Then the people of Maraupaina equipped thirty war canoes and set out for Marauraro, and the people of Marauraro set out in twenty canoes led by Rohimanu, but Rapuanate himself took no part as yet in the war. They met between the two islands in the open sea, and the people with Rohimanu wounded ten men and killed two of the enemy, who fled in their canoes back to Maraupaina. But in all this Rapuanate had no share. Then Porongarimwane put out money all along the north-east coast of San Cristoval, from Bauro eastward, and told all his friends to assemble in ten days' time. Presently they began to arrive in their canoes, till two hundred canoes were drawn up on the beach at Maraupaina, and two thousand fighting men were assembled to attack Rapuanate at Marauraro. A Maraupaina man, secretly friendly to Rapuanate, went in the night to Marauraro and told



them of the plans of the enemy, and warned them to keep good watch on the two following nights. Next day before they set out Porongarimwane sacrificed, but when he did so the sky darkened, the thunder crashed, and a great storm of wind and rain passed over them. As night fell the two hundred canoes paddled quietly away for Marauraro.

Early next morning Rohimanu rose and went out of his house with his wife. Two spears flashed by and stuck into the wall of his house, the first spears of the fight. "The enemy have come at last," said Rohimanu. He and his wife withstood them and gathered together their followers, eighty in number, while eighty remained at Tawaodo with Rapuanate. A thousand of the enemy landed at each end of the island and drove their foes steadily before them till they came to Salukawe. The people of Marauraro then sent a messenger to Rapuanate at Tawaodo, saying, "You sit quietly at home, while we are being defeated and your brother Rohimanu has two arrows and two spears in his body." "What is that?" said Rapuanate, "let him fight awhile. This is nothing much yet. I see no spears or arrows." After a time another messenger came to Tawaodo saying, "The enemy are carrying all before them, and spears and arrows are sticking into the body of your brother, Rohimanu, as thick as the hairs upon his head." "What is that?" said Rapuanate, "let him fight awhile yet." However, he went into his house and took four areca nuts and four leaves for betel chewing, and his famous club, Apohonuwainiora, with a hundred pieces of inlaid mother of pearl on each side of it. Then he went outside and threw his club into the air, and such was his strength that he finished chewing his four areca nuts before the club came down again. Then he caught it and struck it once with his great hand, and a hundred mother-of-pearl ornaments fell out to the ground with the force of the blow; again he struck, and again a hundred ornaments fell out; and then with his great club, Apohonuwainiora, he set out for the battle with eighty of his people, while eighty went towards the other band of the enemy, with Taraeramo as their leader. Rapuanate strode along through the shallow water of the lagoon, and before him were the canoes of the enemy following the fight along the shore. They soon saw him, and a great chief named Poroamae exclaimed, "The day has come for him to die," and sprang from the canoe to meet him. So great a man was Poroamae, that when he sprang from the canoe the prow, relieved of his weight, flew up into the air. Then Poroamae began to shoot arrows like a shower of rain, but Rapuanate took no notice and came on to meet him. Poroamae then threw six great spears which struck Rapuanate, but he came on as though untouched. When he came near he kicked up the water in Poroamae's face and taking one of his eight huge spears, he threw it so straight and with such force that it pinned Poroamae to a casuarina tree. Rapuanate laughed and cried to his people, "Don't kill him, leave him where he is, he will do no more harm, and strode on. Another chief came out against him and shared the fate of Poroamae, and each of his eight spears killed a great chief. Then he took Apohonuwainiora in his hands, and as he went he struck down forty, as he returned he struck down forty more, and then another twenty in one fierce rush at the other end of Marauraro. Taraeramo and his



band were doing similar feats of war. With one arrow Taraeramo shot four men. So the battle went, till only two hundred were left alive of the two thousand who set out, and twenty canoes alone went home to Maraupaina of the great fleet that set out the night before. As they fled, Rapuanate cried to his father-in-law, "You have had a welcome to my home, soon I will repay the visit, but no crowds of bought strangers shall go with me, only I and Taraeramo and our men. Wait four days; on the fifth I shall be with you."

On the fifth day Rapuanate set out in his war-canoe, Tohutalan, with his one hundred and sixty men, and the rest of the men of Marauro in twenty other canoes. Again he landed at Rongofote and surrounded the village of the enemy in the night. There were only forty men in it, as forty were afraid and had gone off into the bush and hidden themselves. In the morning Rapuanate destroyed and burnt the village and killed everyone in it except Porongarimwane, whom he forbade his followers to harm. Rapuanate then sent his people to find those in hiding while he went down alone to the canoes. As he went his huge body stuck fast between two rocks where the path was narrow, and the enemy, coming up, riddled him with spears, but he caused them all to stick into his belt. Then Porongarimwane cried, "Let him stay where he is, with our spears sticking into him. He will do no more harm." The people of Marauro now came down to the canoes and embarked, but Taraeramo looked vainly for Rapuanate. "Where," said he, "is Rapuanate?" "The enemy have killed him," replied his people, and they began to put to sea. But Taraeramo sprang ashore, taking his famous bow, and as he did so, Rohimanu said to him, "Why go to look for him, is he not the cause of all this war? Let us return." But Taraeramo replied, "Let me but see the place where he died," and went off alone to find him. He came to where Rapuanate stuck fast between the two rocks, with the spears of the enemy sticking into his belt. "Is that you, Rapuanate, are you still living?" cried Taraeramo. "Yes," replied Rapuanate, "their spears have not hit me." Taraeramo went up behind him and gave him a powerful kick, whereupon Rapuanate, with a struggle, split the rocks that held him. They went down to the canoes and paddled away from the shore and Rapuanate called to Porongarimwane, "Porongarimwane, is it peace or war? Choose which you please," and then went home to Marauro. Porongarimwane sent Kalimatawarepa to Rapuanate, saying, "Let us have peace, you have killed very many of us," and he gave two lengths of money for Rapuanate; Rapuanate then sent in return the same amount, and peace was agreed on. "Is he already afraid?" said Rapuanate, "Did he think I was a child, but let there be peace if he wishes it"; and he accepted forty fathoms of choice money and ten yards of other shell money. Then he gave the same amount to the four bearers, and the war was ended.

## (2) *The Drowning of Teonimanu.*

Teonimanu was formerly an island between Ariite and Ulawa, but now it is only Hanua Asi, the land of the sea, and the ghosts of the dead of Teonimanu dance on the beaches by night among the breakers, and are sometimes seen there by living



men. This is the story of the drowning of the people of Teonimanu, by the magic of Hualualua, a woman of Mwala.

The people of Bio gave a great feast, not of pigs, but of giant clams, and invited the people of Maraupaina (what was left of them), Marauraro, Ariite, and Teonimanu, and all went to the feast. Rapuanate went and Roraimanu, chief of Ariite, and one of his wives, Paakeni, but his other wife, Sauwete, refused to go, and remained behind at Ariite. But in all the four islands the only chief who did not go was Kalitaalu, who was catching fish for his mother at Maraupaina, a woman fasting from all ordinary food. As he went past Ariite on his way to Maraupaina, Sauwete asked him from the shore where he was going, and he told her. When he came to Maraupaina they stayed one night, and when the people pressed him to stay another night, he replied that he must hasten home to Teonimanu, as he was afraid the enemy might arrive in his absence, but really he was thinking of Sauwete, whom he had seen on the shore, and wished to return to her. They came again to Ariite, and one of them said, "Let us go on to Teonimanu and not land here," but Kalitaalu rejected his counsel, and they landed, and Kalitaalu and Sauwete went off together in talk. When night came, Sauwete spread mats for the travellers, but for Kalitaalu apart by himself; and in the night they made their plans. As soon as it was day Sauwete took the eight famous bonito hooks of her husband and went off with Kalitaalu to his home in Teonimanu.

Two days later all returned from the feast and Roraimanu found his wife gone and his eight bonito hooks, and sat sad and silent, especially because of the eight hooks, for there were none like them in all the islands. Kalimatawarepa was sent to make inquiries, and he came in his canoe to Teonimanu, and went up to the village of Kalitaalu. Kalitaalu's sister cooked food for them and then Kalimatawarepa asked Kalitaalu to return the hooks and there should be no war. But Kalitaalu refused. "Rather let there be war," said he. So Kalimatawarepa went home and passed on the way Haurapa, the entrance to the home of the dead, Rodomana; and came to Ariite and told Roraimanu the result of his visit. Roraimanu listened and sent him back to Kalitaalu. "Tell him," said he, "that if he will only give me back two or three hooks there shall be no war." But Kalitaalu refused. Again Kalimatawarepa made the journey with the message, "Give back but one hook and there shall be no war." "Tell him," said Kalitaalu, "the giant clam has closed on his hooks." "Very well," said Roraimanu, "let him keep them, let him build a canoe-house, let him go and catch bonito." Then Roraimanu called his friends and relations together and they took four strings of choice money and went to Mwala to buy magic. They came to Saa, but went on to Ramarama and past there to a big rock, where they spent the night; and next day they came to Asitai, where they landed and went inland to Kao, where they had relatives. Roraimanu gave the shell money to Hualualuaikau, a woman full of magic, but she refused the money and would only take a shell chisel. She gave him eight dracaena leaves, and eight coconuts, and eight dogs' teeth, and said to them, "Land nowhere till you come to Teonimanu; eat no food, and take no drink; bury four of each in Teonimanu, and four sink



in the sea; return to Ariite and on the fifth day look towards Asitai." So they took the magic and went fasting till they came near Teonimanu, and lay on their paddles till the night came on. Then they landed secretly and went up into the bush, and buried four dracaena leaves and four coconuts, and four dogs' teeth, and returned to their canoes and paddled off from the land and sank what remained of the magic things. After this they returned to Ariite, and sacrificed a coconut, and landed and waited four days. On the fifth day they climbed the hill of Ariite and looked towards Asitai, and a storm was coming up over the sea. Then they saw four great waves coming from the direction of Ulawa, and they rolled over Teonimanu and covered it to the tree tops, and then four other great waves came from Guadalcanar and sank Teonimanu deep under the sea. Some of the people of Teonimanu floated away on tree trunks to Ulawa and San Cristoval, but these were few. Kalitaalu was drowned and with him Sauwete.<sup>1</sup>

### (3) *The War for the Rao Belt.*

Amaeoo, chief of Alai in Mwala, went on a voyage to Ariite, taking his famous belt of *rao*, flat pear-shaped pieces of shell strung together. Roraimanu welcomed him to Ariite, and the news of his arrival reaching Marauraro, Rohimanu, the brother of Rapuanate, went to Ariite to see the belt. No sooner had he seen it than he determined it must be his. "It is mine," said he, "I must have it, if anyone else desires it he must marry my wife." Amaeoo, however, refused to let him have it and he paddled home very angry to Marauraro. Now Roraimanu also desired the belt, and when his guest was returning to Mwala he persuaded Amaeoo to sell him the belt. Soon after this the men of Ariite, fishing for bonito, chanced to meet the men of Marauraro, who were also out fishing, midway between Marauraro and Ariite. The canoe in which Rapuanate and Rohimanu were sitting passed close to that of Roraimanu, and as they passed Roraimanu was bending over in the act of pulling in a bonito and Rapuanate saw the belt. Instantly Rapuanate stopped the canoe. "Why do you stop the canoe?" cried Rohimanu, "Do you not see we are close to a bonito? We shall lose it." "Why think about bonito," replied Rapuanate, "when the thing which you desire and swore to have is here before your eyes?" They paddled home, but Rohimanu would neither eat nor drink, for his eyes saw nothing but the *rao* belt. After a time Rapuanate said to him, "Well, if you must have the belt I will help you to get it," and, taking his bonito canoe, he paddled off alone one night to Ariite. He landed and went to a betel pepper plant, which Roraimanu had tabooed, which was creeping over a stone near the village. He took stone and all, put them into his canoe and paddled home to Marauraro.

<sup>1</sup> If Teonimanu was really destroyed by volcanic forces, there might very likely be a recollection of great waves. The Rev. W. G. Ivens writes of the word *walu*, eight, that it expresses a large number. "*Walu malau*, the world (many islands), *walu ola inau*, all my belongings, etc." *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. xxii, No. 2.



In the morning Roraimanu saw what had happened, and who had stolen the plant and broken his taboo, and sent to all his people to assemble and make war on Marauraro; and that evening ten canoes set off. They landed at midnight and surrounded the village in which Rohimanu lived. That night Pwaholasau, the wife of Rohimanu, dreamed a dream, in which she saw an enemy kill her husband, and waking, she warned Rohimanu to be careful. Rohimanu, however, took no notice of his wife's warning. The Ariite people, who still lay hid in the bush, saw him go to the reef to fish, and surrounding him, killed him, and then all went back to Ariite. They knew that Rapuanate would avenge his brother's death, and decided to flee to Mwala, all the people of Ariite, and accordingly set out in their canoes. First, however, Roraimanu sent Kalimatawarepa to try to make peace with Rapuanate. Rapuanate sent the message, "I must go seeking my brother Rohimanu"; whereupon the Ariite people embarked. Rapuanate with his three brothers, and Taraeramo steering, went first in one canoe, and his people followed in other canoes, in pursuit of the Ariite people. They came to Ariite and found it deserted, and some proposed to turn back, though they could see the Ariite canoes, far away, making for Mwala. But Rapuanate said, "I must go seeking my brother Rohimanu," and they all followed him. Rapuanate took nothing in his hands but stout poles. When they drew near he threw these with great force, breaking up and sinking the canoes of the enemy, and leaving his followers to spear them as they struggled in the water. All were killed, but they saw one other canoe far ahead, the canoe of Roraimanu, and Rapuanate followed it. When he came near, Roraimanu cried to him, "Spare me, Rapuanate, all my people are dead save these four with me, and my home is destroyed; why will you take my life?" "Go unharmed," said Rapuanate, "and live if you will on Mwala, I have no desire to kill you, I am seeking my brother Rohimanu," and he turned back home. Roraimanu came to Mwala, and stayed there for a time with the four men who were with him, but after a time he began to think of home, and longed for Ariite. So he and his followers embarked again in their canoe and went back. When they reached Ariite, Roraimanu sent Kalimatawarepa to Rapuanate, saying, "Tell Rapuanate I have come back, will he accept money and pigs, and make peace with me?" Kalimatawarepa came to Tawaodo, and saw Rapuanate sitting in front of his house. He gave Roraimanu's message, and Rapuanate replied, "Have I not called him Rohimanu? No one shall slay him. Tell him to come here on a visit to me, I shall spare him." So Kalimatawarepa went back with his message, and Roraimanu went to Tawaodo. Rapuanate received him in a friendly manner, calling him Rohimanu, the name of his dead brother, and sending Taraeramo with a message to Pwaholasau to "cook some food for Rohimanu." "Rohimanu!" said Pwaholasau, "Who is he? Rohimanu is dead." "No," said Taraeramo, "he is sitting with Rapuanate; cook his food, and take him some betel pepper." So Pwaholasau cooked his food, and took it and the betel pepper to the canoe-house where they were sitting, and placed it outside by the wall where women put the food for their husbands, and Taraeramo went in and told Rapuanate. Rapuanate turned to



Roraimanu and said, "Rohimanu, go and get your food," and as he went out Rapuanate called to Pwaholasau, "That is your husband Rohimanu going out to you, give him his food and betel pepper." And so she did, and Roraimanu took and ate the food, and began to chew the betel pepper. Then Rapuanate said to Pwaholasau, "Go back to your house and make some pudding for Rohimanu." When she had gone, Rapuanate rose and said to Roraimanu, "I thought you would never come back again, but you have, and you have eaten my brother's food and drunk his drink, without understanding that it is my brother you killed," and he sprang upon him and threw him heavily to the ground, where his people despatched him with clubs. Pwaholasau heard the shouting, and hurried back. "What!" said she, "have you killed Rohimanu?" "I have indeed," replied Rapuanate, "because he could not understand what it was to kill my brother; now you can marry whom you please." Then as they had themselves killed him they paid themselves with ten pigs and 2,000 strings of money. All gave; and then each took what he pleased.

#### 7. TALES IN FOUR DIALECTS OF SAN CRISTOVAL.

In conclusion, we give some tales in the original, in order to illustrate the language of San Cristoval, as represented by four main north-eastern dialects:—Heuru, Wango, Fagani and Kufe.

##### (1) *Heuru.*

Na onioni inia Hasihonueero.  
A tale concerning Hasihonueero.

Ma e rua haiwai na sae mwane na atana ia Bworouharimamu  
And two marry the man male the name-his Bworouharimamu  
ma na ata na i urao ana ia Saumamaruitaaru raru na one na i  
and the name her the woman his Saumamaruitaaru the two on shore in the  
oma ada rua. Mia S. a bwote ma raru a ari suria i one  
village their. And S. conceives and they go along it the shore  
ma raru omesiia i hua i uri, na taresia huraa mai, suria  
and they see it the fruit of the uri, that floats out hither along it  
i wai raha ma gu hatara na i one, ma raru haua,  
the water big and then reached on the shore, and they seize it  
raru haate oa ni "Na hei na wa mai ie hua i uri ni?" ma  
they say like this, "Where that originates hither at there fruit of uri this!" and  
raru suruia i taetaai, raru tae. Ma raru ari wou,  
they carry it the small-canoe, they embark. And they go out,  
raru siri suria i wai raha. Mea B. a oa ni inia urao ana  
they go in along it the big water. And B. thus to the woman his

S. "oi kukuha haagorohia i abe, ma na i oha  
 S. "Thou wilt cover carefully the body, and in the time  
 gara i suria i bobo i uri bo huraa mai me ioe oi abu  
 we shall follow it the side of the uri side out hither and thou, thou must  
 i siri wou na i oha na i utaora na gara i tae raurau ahoi."  
 not go in onwards in the time in the sunshower that we shall embark quickly again."  
 Ma raru sio uri wou na i muri na i uri baaro bo araa wou.  
 And they pick uri onwards in the back of the uri overhanging side out onwards.  
 Ma na adaro a gu orisia ahoi a ru mai mana na gu  
 And the spirit then changes itself back comes down hither and then  
 utaora mana adaro si a haaheuben inia, do na urao si;  
 sunshower and the spirit that one changes-form at it, so that (it is) the woman that-one;  
 na ata na i adaro si ia Warungarae; a haate oani, "gara i tae raurau,  
 the name his the spirit that one Warungara; says thus, "We shall embark quickly,  
 a gasi gu ngau garaa ia Warungarae." Ma raru tae, mana adaro  
 lest then eat us Warungarae." And they embark, and the spirit  
 si a tae na i nao, mea B. na tae muri, a harutanga ini rarua. Ma  
 that-one embarks in front, and B. embarks behind, paddles away with them. And  
 oha raru huraa mau wou ia S. urao ana moo si,  
 the time they go out still onwards S. woman his that one yonder,  
 a gu boi, ome, ma raru bwani tae, ma awara a haate oani,  
 then comes hither, look, and they long-ago embark, and cries says thus,  
 "Inau ni nau mau ni, e na adaro o rutangia si." Mana adaro a haate  
 "I this I still this, the spirit thou carry her that." And the spirit says  
 oani: "A pwarii na si, na adaro na na gu nasi, o i haruta raurau,  
 thus: "Deceives that one, the spirit that then that one, thou must paddle quickly,  
 a gasi ngau garaa." Mana urao si a totoro maato ma  
 lest eat us." And woman that calls-loudly in vain and  
 raru aia araisuria, ma huraa suria i rau na i suu, ma  
 they do not agree to her, and go along it the side its the harbour, and  
 ome haaia rarua, ma raru ahunia. Ma gu hane araa  
 see make lost the two, and the two lose-to-sight her. And then climbs up  
 suria i daro na maoro huraa i asi ma tatarau huraa suria i  
 along it the daro that leans out the sea and crosses outwards along it the  
 rarua na maoro auru i asi ma ruhasia i duru ia na awa na  
 branch that leans down the sea and loosens it the necklace fish that stays on  
 i uuna ma sasahua e taai riho ia, ma gasia auru ma ra tatae  
 the neck hers and breaks it off, one tooth fish, and throws it down and they come-up  
 mai mwani ia nai asi rau a boi oa si, ma oa ni ini rau:  
 hither all fish in the sea they come hither thus, and thus to them:  
 "Au bwai ari wou be iamou, mou gasi gu tarihanga ini amou inia  
 "I cannot go on with you, you lest then chase for yourselves for it



maho mou i ngaui, ma mou tegera ini au moi, mou bwai adoado au,  
 the things you eat them, and you throw-off me merely, you cannot think (of) me,  
 ma moi haai au moi"; ma gasia rou auru i taai riho ia rou, ma  
 and you will lose me merely"; and throws it again down one tooth fish again, and  
 tatae mai baewa, ma oa ni rou, "Au bwai ari wou be iamou, mou gasi  
 come up hither sharks, and thus again, "I cannot go on with you, you lest  
 tariha inia moi ta ora, ma mou haa tegera ini au moi." Ma na  
 chase it merely some canoe, and you cause-to-throw off me merely." And the  
 riho a gasia rou auru, ma unua mau oa si. Mana taai riho haa-hako  
 tooth throws it again down, and says it still thus. And the one tooth last  
 na gu gasia auru ma rau tatae i honu, ma gu haate oa ni, "Oi ta!  
 that then throws it down and they come up turtles, and then says thus, "Well!  
 wa gui rege wou na si," ma unua ia waeana. Ma rege  
 I shall jump onwards that one," and calls it the grandmother hers. And jumps  
 wou bania i rara i daro a abwa na i hunga na i honu si, ia Hasi-  
 out from it the branch of the daro sits on top of the turtle that one, Hasi  
 honueero ma suu be ia, a waia ari matawa, ma haua oa ni,  
 honueero and dives with her, takes her to (goes) the open-sea, and does it thus,  
 a suu auru, a arungana i garangia ana i maesia i bwae, ma ranga  
 dives down, feels near it it will die of breathlessness, and comes-up  
 ahoi araa i urina i asi. Ma manawa hako ma gu suu ahoi rou.  
 again up the skin its the sea. And breathes finish and then dives again back.  
 Ma haua oa ni na i oha na suusu ahoi si, a waiwai hau ma haua i ariari,  
 And does it thus in the time that dives back that, takes stones and makes a path,  
 ma na oha na taringa hau mai, a omesia i gere totoo araa i urina i asi,  
 and the time that a few stones hither, sees it a little reaches up the skin its the sea,  
 a haa urasia naie, ma na asi a tari na i konokono na. Ma na honu  
 makes stand it there, and the sea reaches at the throat. And the turtle  
 si oha na taringa hau totoa i marau ma gere taritari a araa  
 that one the time that a few stones round the island and a little (almost) reaches it up (to)  
 bwaebwae na, ma taringa hau moea mai, ma taria na i waipo na  
 armpits her, and a few stones only hither, and reaches at the breast her,  
 ma taringa hau moea mai, ma taria na i waa na ma uraura ta, ma na asi  
 and a few stones only hither, and reaches at the waist her and stands, and the sea  
 a taria na i ruruna ma na honu si a taringa hau ta mau mai,  
 reaches at the knee her, and the turtle that one a few stones only still hither,  
 ma na asi a taria na i pwapwangosi na i uwa na. Mana honu  
 and the sea reaches it the ankle her of the foot her. And the turtle  
 si a taringa hau mau mai, ma na asi a taria na i pwapwahe uwa na,  
 that one a few stones still hither, and the sea reaches it at the sole foot her,  
 ma na honu si a taringa hau mau mai, ma ome, a mamata a,  
 and the turtle that one a few stones still hither, and see, dry already,

ma haua i marau. Ma tatariori na iei, ma ome, aia hasi ei, ma  
and makes it an island. And walks about there, and see, no trees, and  
haate oa ni, "Io, na gu marau na haua ni a wae, mana hasi ei  
says thus, "Yes, that then island that makes this grandmother, and trees  
moi na gu aia." Ma ome, ra rabwoa mai i hasi ei, mana haharisi,  
only that then not." And see, they spring up hither the trees, and the grass,  
mwani ngarutanga i mwani hasi ei nei ra ngangau, mana nei  
all sorts of all trees those they eat them, and those  
ra aia ngangau —bwareo, ngari, ei tabi, niu, mana mwani  
they do not eat them —breadfruit, almond, nut, coconut, and all  
maho-i-ngau— uhi mana hana mana bwaa. Ma haate oa ni, "Io gu  
food— yam and prickly-yam and taro. And says thus, "Yes then  
gui mwani maho i ngau nai ra ini, mana eu moi ta na gu aia." Mana  
all things-for-eating those here, and the fire only that then not." And the  
honu si a boi garangia i one ma haate oa ni, "Oi sigihia ta  
turtle that comes here near it the shore and speaks thus, "Thou must choose it one  
baba i una bania i surigu, ma oi ha i ruma inii, ma  
slab of shell from it the back my, and thou must make house with them, and  
ta nei oi rabasia ta, oi sie eu na i hungana," ma haua oa si, ma  
a certain thing thou wilt wish, thou must rub fire on top its," and does it so, and  
awaawa wou. Ma ha susua i gare, na bwote inia si, ma na gare  
stays on. And bears the child, that conceived it that one, and the child  
a abara waewae, ma haa hairihua i honu si inia,  
carries on shoulder joyfully, and makes-to-nurse it the turtle that concerning it,  
a haate oa ni, "Wae, oi rihua gau tana au i gare ni."  
says thus, "Grandmother, thou must nurse a little-while for me the child this."  
Mana honu si a boi ma haa heinagua na i hungana, ma na honu  
And the turtle that comes here and makes-to-sit it on top its. and the turtle  
si a waia ari matawa.  
that carries him to the open sea.

(2) *Wango.* (See p. 193.)

Mamani usuri ini Kakamora.  
Tale handed down about Kakamora.

E noni a ari hane ngari ma hane araa noa ma haneia ta  
A man goes climbs almond and climbs up already and climbs it  
rara ma hane haa honu i anga, na waii ma gu rongo  
a branch and climbs fills the bags, that takes them and then hears  
rau i Kakamora haatau rau manene ta gege i abaaba. Mia adou  
them the Kakamora afar they chatter one side of the slope. And he is



monoa gau tanei ni      araa i aro,      ma gu      rongo bahu rau.      Ma  
 silent entirely awhile certain one this      up above,      and then      listens to them.      And  
 irara      monoa      huni      e rai      Kakamora.      Ma gu ome wou,      marau  
 knows      certainly      that      they are      Kakamora.      And then looks out,      and they  
 taha noa      araa mai      i tarahane.      Rau      ado      anga      tatarasi,  
 arrive already      up hither      the ridge.      They bring      bags      gather (nuts on ground)  
 ma nasi      oha na gu dio.      Ma dio beia i kaokao i anga      i hua i  
 and that      the time that then descends.      And descends with it half a bag      the fruit of the  
 ngari.      Ma ringi      sikohainia      noai ano      noai maruna i      ngari  
 almond.      And pours      spreads it out      on the ground      in the shade of the      almond  
 na haneia si.      Ma gu dadao      i gege i ahora.      Ma ra gu  
 that climbed it that one.      And then lies down      the side farther.      And they then  
 boi tarasi,      ma rau gu      haate oani,      "Siohia i hasi      hua      marawa  
 come gather up,      and they then      say thus,      "Gather together it      fruit      green,  
 toonia      i hasi ei rawa      a raha."      Tanei rou      na      haate oani,  
 stow-it-in      the basket of leaf      large."      A certain one again      that      says thus,  
 "Siohia i hua rorodo,      toonia i hasi anga      doo."      Ma rau tarasi  
 "Gather together it fruit dark (purple)      stow-it-in the bag      dirty."      And they gather up  
 monoa      araa mai,      tanei ni,      "Taha i ahorana      i ngari?"  
 entirely      up hither,      a certain one this,      "What the farther side      the almond?"  
 Ma rau      ome sadoia      moo ani na dadao.      Ma gu      gasii heirin  
 And they      look and see      certain one there that lies down.      And then      throw about them  
 i uwa na      mana ruma na.      Marau      hora      gau.      Marau gu  
 the legs his      and the hands his.      And they      flee      awhile.      And they then  
 ahoi mai,      ma rau omesia      mia aia mamanawa,      i mae      koerau ana,  
 come back hither,      and they see him      and he does not breathe,      the death      deceives them his,  
 ma rau      ohainii      kakau na      tarainei.      Ma ta wera tai      a oa  
 and they      count them      the fingers his      some (of them).      And one      remains  
 haatau      nasi;      mi rau      angohia      monoa.      Mana nei      na oa      haatau  
 afar      there;      and they      feel him      entirely.      And the one      that stays      afar  
 ani a oani,      "Ai, kakarewa, kokone      mwa tage, wauramoru."      Mirau rau  
 there thus,      "Hi, take care,      look      only,      brothers."      And they  
 oani,      "Na pwapwafe      uwana      ni mara ikia,      na kakauna      ni mara ikia,  
 thus,      "The sole      foot his      it like us,      the toe his      it like us,  
 na poupon      ni uwana,      na mamarou      ni uwana,      na pwaruruna,      na kotana  
 the heel      of foot his,      the bend      of leg his,      the knee his,      the ankle bone  
 ni uwana,      na huki uwana,      na tangana      ni mara ikia."      Ma na nei      ani a  
 of leg his,      the calf leg his,      the crotch his      it like us."      And that one      there  
 haate monoa      tanarau      oani,      "Kakarewa, kokone      mwa tage, wauramoru;  
 says      only      to them      thus,      "Be careful,      look      only,      brothers;  
 na boona      ni mara ikia,      na waana,      na agoagona,      na ahuna,      na  
 the flank his      it like us,      the waist his,      the shoulder blade his,      the stomach his,      the



waipona, na waiburuna, na susuna, na rumana, na kakauna, na ngona,  
 navel his, the chest his, the nipple his, the hand his, the finger his, the mouth his,  
 na tatetena, na rihona, na meameana, na bwarisuna, na maana, na  
 the chin his, the tooth his, the tongue his, the nose his, the eye his, the  
 hauraena, na karingana, na bwauna, na waraehuna ni mara ikia."  
 forehead his, the ear his, the head his, the hair his it like us."

Ma rau gu idirai ma daua noa tanei, marau hora.  
 And they then start away and seizes him already a certain one, and they flee.

Ma na nei na oa haatau ani a oani, "Ki bwani tatawaia ta mwa."  
 And that one that stays afar there thus, "We before told it only."

Nei na wari rau horahora bania. Tarainei rau oani, "Ki totori,  
 Ones that old they flee from him. Some they thus, "We wait,  
 ki totori." Mai waia monoa tanei ni ani taha i oma,  
 we wait." And he takes her only a certain one this there reaches the village,

ma haa manata. Ma rau gu raba ririsia ini nagi, mara bwai marisi  
 and makes tame. And they then wish shave her with flint, and they cannot shave

warehuna. Mia na gu oani, "Iami na hereho mi ririsi inia, garaa  
 hair her. And she that then thus, "We the thing we shave with it, we two

boi surii ani, rawa tewa moi i ano." "Mi ae irari," ma oani,  
 come follow them there, leaf long merely on the ground." "We don't know," and thus,

"E rei ta gasi, ae." Mia oani, "Io na ia mou tu arihia  
 "Rei grass, perhaps, you." And she thus, "Yes that it you just go for it

ta rawa, mamou risiau inia." Ma rau arihia i rawa, rau risia  
 a leaf, and you shave me with it." And they go for it the leaf, they shave her

inia, ma gu marisi warehuna inia. Ma na Kakamora nasi nini  
 with it, and then shaved hair her with it. And the Kakamora that one here

e urao. Ma raru gu haiwai, ma raru haua i mou, ma raru tagua  
 a woman. And they two then marry, and they make it the garden, and they weed it

hako, ma raru araia hako, ma na mou si a rago e kehasu noai iei,  
 all, and they cut it down all, and the garden that plenty of bamboo there,

ma sinaria, a maria goro, ma raru ari ini sungia, mana Kakamora  
 and sun-dry it, withered properly, and they go to burn it, and the Kakamora

a wawaia i anga i haa adarua. Raru ari wou i bo rungana i mou,  
 takes the bag for money their. They go on the side its the garden,

a haa urasia iei, ma oani inia, "Uraura tai ini, wai tere sungia  
 stands her there, and thus to her, "Stand a little here, I will go down burn it

i mou nani, ai neanene araa mai eu garangio ma oi horahora."  
 the garden this, it will blaze up hither fire near thee and thou wilt flee."

Ma gu noro i mou ani, agu rareae i kehasu, ma nene araa  
 And then burns the garden there, then crackles the bamboo, and blazes up

mai hunia, ma hora monoa tanei ni beia i anga i haa ani.  
 hither upon her, and flees only certain one this with it the bag for money there.



Mia moo ani a gu taha araa mai, a ome tarisia, ma totoro oani,  
 And the man there then arrives upwards hither, sees misses her, and shouts thus,  
 "Ioe ihei?" mia oani, "Inau ni," ma oani, "O boi,"  
 "Thou where?" and she thus, "I here," and thus, "Thou come here,"  
 ma ari wou i dora na rongoa iei ani, ma ae reia,  
 and goes on to the place that heard her there that one, and does not see her.  
 Ma oani, "Ioe ihei?" ma oani rou haatau, "Inau ni." Ma suria  
 And thus, "Thou where?" and thus again afar, "I here." And follows  
 rou wou, ma totoro rou oani, "Ura nasi au i isi." Ma taha  
 her again on, and shouts again thus, "Stand wait for me there." And arrives  
 rou wou iei dora na rongoa iei ani, ma ae reia. Ma  
 again on there place that heard her there that one, and does not see her. And  
 oani rou, "Ioe ihei?" ma oani rou "Inau ni." Ma oasi monoa.  
 thus again, "Thou where?" and thus again "I here." And so only.  
 Ma torai susuria wou, na rahe, oani, "O aari wou, ma o gui  
 And in vain follows her on, that is tired, thus, "Thou go on, and thou wilt  
 gagariria mai mou agaraa i oha nai meo: mumui i ohu,  
 then visit it hither garden of us two the time that mature thy sugar canes,  
 wai hasii i bo runga." Mana kakamora ani a ari monoa tanei ni  
 I will plant them on the side." And the kakamora there goes only this one  
 beia i anga i haa ani. Mia moo ani agu ahura i mou  
 with it the bag for money there. And the man there then digs up the garden  
 ma hasia i tatara i ohu noai bo runga. Ma na oha na meo i mou,  
 and plant it a row of sugar cane on the side. And the time that mature the garden,  
 na kakamora ani agu boboi tanei ni, magu ngangasia  
 the kakamora there then comes hither certain one this, and then chews it  
 i ahui i ohu noai uruha, mia moo ani a ari wou omesia ma ngasia  
 the shoot of cane in the middle, and the man there goes on sees it and chews it  
 noa ta abe i ohu ani. Ma ari rou wou, ta dangi, ma rosia i huna  
 already a stalk of cane there. And goes again on, a day, and sets it a trap  
 noai ahui ohu ani. Agu boi rou i kakamora agu raba  
 in the shoot of cane there. Then comes here again the kakamora then wishes  
 haua rou ta abe ma too monoa i huna ani. Ma gu omesii  
 to take again a stalk and strikes only the trap there. And then sees them  
 i mwamwa ra riurin, ma gu oani, "Gere gawasiau ta, ae, bania i  
 the insects they go about, and then thus, "Please loose me, you, from the  
 huna ni." A torai haate oasi, ma gu buna mae monoa. Mia moo  
 trap this." In vain says so, and then until dies entirely. And the man  
 ani agu ari wou gariria i huna na haua ani, mana kakamora  
 there then comes out visits it the trap that put there, and the kakamora  
 ani a bwani too, ma mae noa. Mana anga i haa monoa  
 there, before struck, and dead already. And the bag for money only

na gu hana      ma na kakamora      ani      a ahosia,      a gu waia  
 that then took      and the kakamora      there      takes down her,      then carries her  
 ma gasia      haatau      bania i mou.      Mia a taha      ahoi i oma  
 and throws her      afar      from the garden.      And he arrives      back at the village  
 beia i anga      i haa,      ma a goro ahoi      i ahuna,      iui hau ana ahoi  
 with it the bag      for money,      and good again      the stomach his,      because of getting his again  
 i anga      i haa ani.  
 the bag      for money there.

(3) *Fagani.*

Ginia      o Tararamanu.  
 Concerning      Tararamanu.

O Tararamanu      a mora      nataro      ni      matawa      i gae      wagarana  
 Tararamanu      a true      spirit      of      the open sea      not      beginning his  
 finua ana.      Hoi na matora      gana      ni      gau tarawaga      agi faga rapea,  
 land his.      Well the time      that      it      first began      make a shrine for him,  
 mara,      i fatagi      tangara      na      mwane      na taori.      Wafagiasita<sup>1</sup> a  
 thus,      he appears      to them      the      men      who follow-bonito.      Brothers  
 rou,      waira rou,      atata orou      maraa,      o Waisi,      o Gaumafa,      ma  
 three,      comrades three,      names their      thus,      Waisi,      Gaumafa,      and  
 o Fagarafe,      ira orou      nga      o wafagiasita.      A ogaoga mara mana rou  
 Fagarafe,      three      those      brothers.      Dwelling and they  
 tafea na      iora ni waiau,      mara mana      rou fagafoa      na iora taorou,  
 make a      canoe for bonito,      and      they make ready      the canoe their,  
 mana rou gau      gurimagi      tauni gana,      a waro      mana tikus<sup>2</sup>      mana taki.  
 and they then      prepare      utensils its for it,      lines      and large hooks      and small hooks.  
 Mana rou tafaria      na gau      ni muri tanga      o mwarefa      o Pairi.      Mara ma  
 And they hire it      a rod      for the stern from      the chief      Pairi.      And  
 o Pairi      ni watea      ni rua      apena tanga orou      na gau      ni muri      gana      na iora  
 Pairi      he gives it      two      stocks his      for them      a rod      for the stern      for      the canoe  
 taorou.      Hoi,      ma o Pairi      ni      farau      "A mwane wa!      na gau      aku      morou  
 their.      Well,      and Pairi      he      says      "Friends! (Men!)      the rod      my      you  
 foria ai      atana nga na Wakio"      (a manu iraira      na Wango      na tomani  
 buy it that      name its that the Wakio"      (a bird they      at Wango      call  
 ana      aragau).      Mara ma      Gaumafa      ni farau,      "Atana noga      na iora  
 that is to say      aragau).      And      Gaumafa      he says,      "Name its already      the canoe  
 akaorou      nga na Wakio."      Maraea      mana rou      gau fautana      na iora      taorou  
 ours      that the Wakio."      So      and they      then call      the canoe      their

<sup>1</sup> There are a number of terms in San Cristoval for two (or three) people of a certain relationship, taken together.

<sup>2</sup> The *tikus* and *taki* are tortoiseshell hooks, the *gau* a bamboo fishing rod.



ana Wakio. Fagagafu iraira na taori iai na Wakio are  
that is to say Wakio. Often they followed-bonito in it the Wakio this  
mana agoago waiau iai na iora, agoago ni oru ma ni fai mani rima  
and catch bonito in it the canoe catching three and four and five  
waiau mwanoga maraea. Maraea iai tani na tangiana a orou tageagi  
bonito only so. So in it a certain one its day they go  
taori mene. Mara nga na rou farutai fagapapere ginia na imoro  
following-bonito again. That they paddle missing concerning the  
i koa, i arou rafusi, arou rafusi, ma marisina atafua na nai tabworia  
of the big-bonito, they dip the rod, they dip the rod, and its failure a single fish taking  
ta tiku, iaiga ma ta taki, iaiga taenoga. Mara mani arafu na imoro  
the large hook, nor the small hook, not one. And it is lost the  
i waiau ia, arou gau atataorou mwa, na rou rararago suria  
of bonito that, they then float merely, they go and go towards  
na matawa. Arou kone, mara mana sifo a mera, ni mara makarina  
the open sea. They see and a rainbow red it like piece its (of)  
bwana merameraga na rasia noga bwarasia na Ugi na rofea;  
cloth red that spread already against Ugi that pulled up;  
mara mana maagufa ni togofi raorou, arou farau, "tai tataro  
and they were afraid (lest) it strikes them, they say, "Soon some spirit  
ni matawa ni fafanasi kaoru," mana mani fato na sifo amera, mana  
of the open sea he shoots us," and it is finished the rainbow red, and  
sifo rangi ni sifori raorou mara ni fato fano na sifo a mera mana  
drizzle of rain it wets them and it is finished going on the rainbow red and the  
sifo rangi ni arito gurimagi tanga raoru kone mara mani mara  
drizzle of rain, it shines (the sun) clearly for them see and it is like  
na apena<sup>1</sup> uguugu na kusia mara na gabworaginia fagaforo suria  
the form its white that peeled like that spread over across towards  
na matawa, mara mwa na giu ni nene goro ni ginia na imoro i waiau  
the open sea, like merely the fire it burns bright it concerning the imoro bonito  
ngaungau ni rerefia mai Imara tafa? rafa igi? Ginia  
eating it is leaping for food hither. Like what are they? big things! Concerning (for)  
o Tararamanu ni sifotora noga mai, iai na sifo a mera, sifo na rangi  
Tararamanu he comes down already hither, in the rainbow red, drizzle of rain  
ma sifo rara. Ma iaia nga ni toraia mana imoro waiau ngaungau ia,  
and shining sky. And it that it brings him and the imoro bonito eating that,  
nga raorou na mwane na taori ira, na rago sua i matawa, mara ma  
that they the men followed them, that went right out to the open sea, and  
o Tararamanu i fafaganega agi watewate waiau noga ni oru ni fai  
Tararamanu he begins giving bonito already three four

<sup>1</sup> That is, like a tree barked, whose white form can be seen far off.

ni rima ma ni ono. Mana imoro waiau are na agoa ni, tagai tangarau,  
 five and six. And the of bonito this that catch it, one hundred,  
 ka nai rua tangarau, mana i matara, mana iora ea i gani toto tagini  
 perhaps two hundred, and some over, and the canoe that it nearly sinks from  
 raoru noga, mara mani tatawe noga i ngona o Waisi ginia  
 them already, and he possesses already the mouth his Waisi concerning  
 na iora, i farau mara i ngona wani are, "A iora a murua muru bwafe agi  
 the canoe, he says like the mouth his person this, "The canoe you two you two don't  
 fautana natana na Wakio, ma muru fafautana natana ginia  
 call the name its the Wakio, and you call the name its concerning  
 na iora aku na 'Sautatare Irobwo,' ma mu fafagarape au irarona ma inau  
 the canoe my the 'Sautatare Irobwo,' and you make-a-shrine-for me in it and I  
 au wawate tanga gamiu irarona, mamu fogasiau i asi  
 give to you in it and you sacrifice-to me in the sea  
 ma i rima ni asi i finua." Maraea na tarawagana o wani are o Tararamanu  
 and in the sea-house on shore." So the beginning its person this Tararamanu  
 mana ateatenga tafamora tangara na mwane na fafagafoua, inara  
 and words from the beginning to them the men that venerate him  
 ma na kone giraraa ani wate waiau tangara, i raira na fogasi  
 and see clearly him that he gives bonito to them they that sacrifice  
 tanga agi tani na iga era na agogi ira, o Tararamanu ataro  
 to him certain fish those that catch them they, Tararamanu spirit  
 ni papane waiasinga, tangara na mwane na fafagafoua mana  
 he gives freely all-sorts-of fish to them the men that venerate him and  
 fafagarafesia mana fofogasia. A inuni ni fafaga tai opwana  
 pray to him and sacrifice to him. A man he makes bad the stomach his  
 i nanafuia i fafanasira ginia na ipage ana, a omo nga na mwarore  
 he kills him he shoots them with the bow his, the arrow that the garfish  
 na tari raaraa mai i asi, mani tari raaraa mai, i gau ato su i kekera mu,  
 that skins hither over the sea, and he skins hither, then he dives down at thy side,  
 ataro na iaia ni fana ea. O Tararamanu irua katomagifa nga i fagina:—  
 spirit that he he shoots that. Tararamanu two thoughts that with him:—  
 i wawate ka ni papane waiasinga, ma mene ni fafaifainafu mene,  
 he gives perhaps he gives freely all sorts of fish, and again he fights again,  
 irua mwane na katomagifana<sup>1</sup> na bwai ataro<sup>2</sup> wafagimarafuta<sup>3</sup> ia.  
 two men the thought his the spirit, two friends he.

<sup>1</sup> Tararamanu is said to be two, like a man and his friend (*marafu*) with whom he has exchanged names.

<sup>2</sup> *Bwai* or *bwei* is prefixed to words with little alteration to the meaning; cf., *Kufe gai*, tree; *pweigei*, stick.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1, p. 224.



(4) *Kufe.*

'Ragaragakifa ge nago, Tale of old,		Wanimaniaru Wanimaniaru		ma and	Waniwagawaga Waniwagawaga		Mara (Connective)	
maaku afraid	takini of	rarua the two	kine of	nafi killing	ra, them,	tara na the reason of it	na fai arifa the fighting	
takine na ngaufa with the food <sup>2</sup>		mara mana figona and the spirit		taua, took it,	kasia threw it <sup>3</sup>	na ngaufu the food	banira, from them,	
mara mana nuni and the men		na rago went	fato all	bani from	rarua the two	nogai to	Kufe, Kufe, and the two	
neka, not,	na ru the two	maesia die of	na fioro the hunger	mai rarua and the two	na ru the two	ngaua eat it	mana poo both the pig	
mana ngari and the nut		mara mana figona and the spirit		ni tagafi he pities	rarua the two	mara mani watea and he gives		
poki mai na back hither the		ngaufa food	tanga to	rarua the two	mara ma and	o Waniwagawaga Waniwagawaga	rike sees	
na ufi the yam	ni pwito it shoots	i ma rima ana, at the door of the house his,			mana mani pakea and he twines it		mara mao and	
Wanimaniaru Wanimaniaru		ni rike he sees	naro the taro	ni pwito it shoots	mara mani parapara and he fences		mara mani and it	
maua matures	na ru the two	gapase make pudding	na ganoni, the tubers,	na ru the two	pogase sacrifice-to	na figona the spirit		
mara manaru and the two		perange work	na mu the garden	manaru and the two	puru cut up	riki ki small them	na ngaufa the food	
ni gafu it plentiful		i mu at the garden	mara mana inuni and the men		atarua their	rike see	mai hither	mu tarua the garden their
mara mana and		poki back	mai hither	ge-fa-kini with	rarua, the two,	mara mana tafa and arrive		mai hither
na fagate rarua, ask the two,		"Kamurua "You two		muru you	tatafi live	mau ? " still ? "		Mara mairau And the two
a marare, thus,	"Miri "We two	tatafi live	mau," still,"	mara mana inuni and the men		atarua na their	seinga ask-of	
kini rau the two	a marare, thus,	"Ta nga "What that		muru you two	ngaua ? eat it ?	muru you	tatafi live	
mau ia ? " still ? "		Mai rarua And the two	a marare, thus,	"Kamiria "We two	na poo the pig	mwa only	nga that	miri we two
ngaua," eat it,"		mana and the	ngari, nut,	Waniwagawaga Waniwagawaga	ni nafia he kills	na poo, the pig,	ni porose he cuts-off	
na pwauna the head		tanga for		Wanimaniaru. Wanimaniaru.				

<sup>1</sup> This dialect called Kufe is really a bush dialect but is now spoken between Fagani and Mwanihuki, and widely known.<sup>2</sup> That is throwing it about.<sup>3</sup> Took it away.

A masi      na agago.  
The masi      catch fish.

A masi      na agago,      mara mana      ago      na ika      ni      ngungurunguru  
The masi      catch (fish),      and the      catch      the fish      it      grunts,  
mara mana      na mwane      ni aitangi      ni      tugune,      mara mana rarago  
and      the man      he is wise      he      stows away it,      and they go  
ge tara      mana ika ni      ngunguru      mara mana      tomane      ana ataro,  
in the path      and the fish      it grunts      and they      say      that it is a ghost,  
a mara mana      tamasi      "mara ataro, Ware!"      mara mana      asifura,  
so and      they say      "like a ghost, friends!"      and they      run,  
mara mana rago      togona      na gai      na munui      ni oga iai,      mara mana  
and they go      reaching      the tree      the white orchid      it stays there,      and they  
asifura      mana rongo      ni ngunguru      mana tamasi,      "ataro,      ni ngau koru,"  
run      and they hear      it grunts      and they say,      "a ghost,      it will eat us,"  
mara mana fane      akau,      na      totogo sua na bwauta,      mana tamasi,  
and they climb      up,      they      strike right on the heads their,      and they say,  
"a      bwabwe aro      ni marare,"      ma wani ge nago ni      reke      a ru  
"the      sky      it like this,"      and the person in front he      jumps      down  
ge sora,      ma ni mae,      a tua      marare ea,      ni tafa      kene wani ge muri,  
on the ground,      and he dies,      it is done      like this that,      it reaches      to the person last,  
mara ma wani      ge muri      nga      ni tafi kene iaia,      ni      aitangi      wani,  
and the person      last      that      he lives he,      he is      a wise      person,  
ni tugune      na ika gana garao.  
he stowed away      the fish in the basket.

A masi      ma na pwipwi  
The masi      and the frog.

Ni sasa wai      mara ma ni atia      na pwipwi      mara ni tamasi      ana fefene  
He goes eeling      and he meets      a frog      and he says      that it is woman  
ana,      mara ma ni torea      mara ma ni tafa      ge funaa      mara mani tuki  
his,      and he takes her      and he reaches      the village      and he hangs up  
na aro      mara ma ni      guro na ki,      mani kase      akau na aro,      ma ni tamasi  
the taro      and he      lights the fire,      and he throws      up the taro,      and he says  
tangaa,      "Gu      fanu      gakaraa      aro,"      mara ma ia      na mwane      ni rago  
to her,      "Thou      broil      food of us two      taro,"      and he      the man      he goes  
pane      na pwipwi,      fakine na      ki ni aro,      ni goga      ge tofe,  
from      the frog,      with the      fire for taro,      he stays      in the canoe-house,  
ni tatamu,      mara ma ni      fagaukure      ani fanu gatarua,      ni tamu  
he chews betel,      and he      trusts her      as to broiling food their,      he chews  
arere,      ma ni fiore,      mara ma ni rago      ge rima      ane ngaungau  
a long time,      and he is hungry,      and he goes      in the house      to eat,  
i rago mai      ma na aro      ni tifu fato.  
he comes hither      and the taro      it is burnt all.



## DESCENT AND CEREMONIAL IN AMBRIM.

BY W. H. R. RIVERS.

THE idea that the widely different examples of human society found throughout the world have been the result of a number of processes of independent evolution has had many consequences. Among others it has fostered the belief in the uniformity of human progress, and this uniformity has been accepted as a foundation on which to build schemes of the growth of human society.

There is no topic in which this belief in uniformity has had more influence than the vexed question whether mother-right or father-right represents the earlier stage of human society. We have a number of examples in which mother-right has changed into, or in the direction of, father-right, and belief in the uniformity of human progress has led to the generalisation founded on these examples that this has always been the time-order of the two conditions, not only in the more recent transformations of human society, but through the whole course of its history.

If, on the other hand, we hold that the growth of human society has been the result of a long series of interactions between migrant and settled peoples, it will become most unlikely that there has been the uniformity which is assumed by the believers in independent evolution. Just as the settlement of a patrilineal people among the practisers of mother-right may lead to a change from the matrilineal to the patrilineal mode of transmission, so is it possible that matrilineal settlers may influence a patrilineal people some way, if not wholly, towards the principle on which their society is founded. We have no right to assume uniformity in this matter, but should examine every case separately and on its own merits.

In my work on the *History of Melanesian Society*,<sup>1</sup> I have attempted to do this for one region of the world, and the object of this communication is to bring forward a body of new evidence which corroborates in the most emphatic manner the conclusion reached in that work. This material comes from the island of Ambrim in the New Hebrides. Before my visit to Melanesia last year the apparently archaic character of the language of Ambrim had led me to assume that its social organisation would also be archaic, and since I had been led to regard the dual organisation with matrilineal descent, such as exists in Pentecost Island, as the early form of Melanesian society, I expected to find this form of society in Ambrim, perhaps in an even purer form than in Pentecost. It was, therefore, at first somewhat of a shock to my confidence in my scheme of

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge, 1914.



Melanesian history when I found that the society of Ambrim was organised on the most definitely patrilineal basis. An examination of the social structure of the island showed no signs of matrilineal institutions, nor of any dual system. The existence of local exogamy made the village a social unit of great importance, and this grouping was strictly patrilineal, while another social group, called the *vantinbul*, of especial importance in connection with the tenure and transmission of property, consisted mainly of persons related through patrilineal ties, though it also included the sister's son and certain other relatives through the mother. It was only on examining the ceremonial observances of the people that there came to light a number of facts pointing to earlier matrilineal institutions.<sup>1</sup>

The ceremonies of Ambrim can be divided into two groups: those which are known to have been introduced, and those believed to be indigenous on the island. The traditions concerning the introduction of the former are extremely definite; not only is the place whence they came known, but also the villages in Ambrim which first acquired the ceremonies before they passed over the island.

Of the introduced ceremonies by far the most important in the life of the people is the *Mangge*, which is said to have been introduced from a district called Marivar in Malekula. The *Mangge* is a highly complex organisation having certain points of resemblance with the *Sukwe* of the Banks Islands. It resembles still more closely the organisations of Malekula and adjoining islands, with which it is linked by tradition.

It is an organisation in which men, and also to some extent women, gradually rise in rank. There are about twenty stages, the ritual of which becomes more and more elaborate on passing upwards in the hierarchy. The record of its ritual forms a large mass of data of the most varied kind, but I did not hear of a single feature which brought the participants in the rites into any sort of relation with the mother's relatives or the mother's village. On the other hand, there were observances which showed the existence of the closest ties with the father's relatives. The whole organisation is founded on a cult of dead ancestors. In most of the higher grades an image in human form is made, which becomes the abode of the ghost of the father's father of the man who is taking new rank, or if his father is dead, it may be the ghost of the father who inhabits this image. In either case it is the business of the ghostly resident to look after the welfare of his descendant, to shield him from injury by others and to further his material prosperity. The ritual of the *Mangge* rests most definitely on a belief in the close relation between a man and his paternal ancestors. Though the living relatives play a small part in the ritual, the highest stage, called *mal*, has a rite in which a ceremonial duty must be performed by the son of the *mal*, but if he has no son this duty is performed by the son of another *mal* and not by any relative of his own. In the only case of a social function clearly assigned to a specific relative, this relative must be the son of a *mal*.

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to Mr. W. Bowie for his help in obtaining these facts.



In other ceremonies said to have been introduced, no definite parts are assigned to relatives. Certainly there is no trace of any social duty or privilege falling to the lot of relatives through the mother or to members of the mother's village.

If, now, we turn to the group of ceremonies believed to be indigenous, we find that in nearly every case most important social duties are assigned to the mother's brother or to some other member or members of the mother's village. Thus, in a ceremony called *Pāripārpār*, an image is made by a man for his sister's son, in the belief that it will become the abode of the ghost of the maternal grandfather of the boy. The ceremony is performed in order to smooth the path of the boy to his mother's father after death, and the spirits of the pigs killed in the ceremony are said to clear a track to the grandfather ready to be used by the boy when he comes to die. The main distinction between this ceremony and the *Mangge* is that in *Pāripārpār* the function of the maternal grandfather only comes into action when the grandson is dead, while in the *Mangge* the father's father looks after his descendants while they are alive.

Another ceremony, called *Wör*, has a similar motive. In this ceremony a heap of stones is made for a boy by his mother's brother, and various ceremonial functions are performed by the relatives of the boy's mother. The whole ceremony is said to be connected with the belief that a man goes to his mother's father after death.

Again, in the ceremony called *Pakvi*, the chief feature of which is the operation of incision, the mother's brother and the people of his village take the leading part. The mother's brother holds the boy during the operation, applies the first dressing, and carries the boy from the reef where the operation is performed to the *himel*, or Ambrim representative of the Melanesian club-house, where the boy undergoes a period of seclusion with his companions in the rite. At a later stage of the ceremonial the boys go to their mothers' villages and perform certain rites, while throughout the whole ceremony contributions of food are made by the mother's people.

In an indigenous ceremony, called *Lengfa*, which gives women the right to wear certain ornaments, the mother's brother of the woman and his wife take a leading part in the ceremonial.

Two of these indigenous ceremonies which thus connect the fate of a man with that of his mother's people emphasise the importance of this connection after death, and as this would lead us to expect, the connection with the mother's people shows itself also in the ceremonial of death.

If, as is practically always the case, a dead man is a member of the *Mangge*, his funeral ceremonies are an almost exact replica of those which took place when he attained his last rank in the organisation, but they include a rite carried out some time after death which is not represented in the ceremonial of the *Mangge*. All the pigs killed in connection with this rite go to the people of the village of the mother of the dead man, and the mother's brother of the dead man also kills a



boar ceremonially and gives a boar of the most important kind in return for the pigs received by the people of his village.

The social relations between a man and his mother's brother in a patrilineal community have long been regarded as an indication of a pre-existing condition of mother-right. The Ambrim condition differs from most previously recorded cases in that the social ties with the mother's brother show themselves only in ceremonial and not in the transactions of everyday life, but this only makes the case for regarding these social functions as survivals all the stronger, for even the most determined opponents of the doctrine of survival will acknowledge that if survival occurs at all, it is in ceremonial.

An important feature of the Ambrim practices is that the social functions of the mother's brother clearly fall to his lot as a member of the social group formed by the mother's relatives. Feature after feature of the indigenous ceremonial of Ambrim shows that this ceremonial embodies an old order in which social relations of the most definite kind must have existed between a man and his mother's people.

Last, and I think most instructive, of all these Ambrim customs is the persistence of the old social order in connection with death. The repetition of the rites of the *Mangge* as the leading feature of the funeral ceremonies shows definitely that the *Mangge* has permeated the whole ritual of death, but it has not been able to exclude the fulfilment of certain obligations towards the village of the dead man's mother. This persistence of the old order in connection with death is shown even more decisively in the duty of the mother's father to look after his descendant in the world of the dead while his father's father is responsible for his welfare during life.

The evidence now brought forward comes only from one island of Melanesia. Standing alone it would not justify us in accepting the precedence of matrilineal institutions as a general feature of Melanesian society. There is, however, much evidence from other parts of Melanesia showing that an earlier matrilineal mode of transmission has changed in the patrilineal direction.<sup>1</sup> The Ambrim evidence only reinforces a conclusion founded on a large body of facts. There is reason to believe, however, that the change in Ambrim, at any rate in so far as it is connected with the introduction of the *Mangge*, is relatively recent, and because it affords such decisive evidence of a change from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions, we must not conclude, even in Melanesia, that mother-right represents the earliest form of Melanesian society. I have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> shown reason to suppose that the matrilineal dual organisation of Melanesia is itself the product of the contact and blending of peoples, and it is possible that the indigenous element of this complex may have been patrilineal.

Still less does such evidence as that provided by Ambrim justify the conclusion

<sup>1</sup> *History of Melanesian Society*, ii, 90, 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, ii, 556.



that mother-right is the earliest, or even the earlier, form of social organisation in other parts of the world. While in Melanesia the general social condition of the matrilineal peoples supports the idea that they represent an earlier stage of social progress, elsewhere, and especially in North America, the matrilineal peoples have on the whole advanced in general culture beyond the level reached by those who practise father-right. It is possible that some mechanism has been in action here which has produced a change from father- to mother-right, or has led to the development of each from some state of society which cannot strictly be regarded as either patrilineal or matrilineal. Only when far more attention than hitherto has been paid to the social functions connected with relationship, both in ceremonial and secular life, can we expect to reach conclusions of any value concerning the relation to one another in time of mother- and father-right.

# THE ORGANIZATION AND LAWS OF SOME BANTU TRIBES IN EAST AFRICA.

BY THE HON. CHARLES DUNDAS.

(WITH PLATES X-XIII.)

## PREFACE.

AN attempt is made in the following pages to collect the principal points in the jurisprudence of three East African tribes, namely, the Akamba, the Akikuyu, and the Atheraka.

In different localities minor details may vary, but as there may be more material differences in certain sections of these tribes, I may mention that my acquaintance with the Akamba has been with those of Kitui district; with the Akikuyu those of Kyambu and Nyeri districts, and the latter may be divided into three sections—(1) Tetu, (2) Mazera, (3) Ndia. The Atheraka I have had to deal with have been those on the south banks of the Tana River. It is only of these sections that I can speak, but the similarity of custom among all of them is very close, and when we reflect that their collective population amounts to some 500,000 souls, it seems probable that their customs may be taken as fairly representative of the whole or any one of these tribes.

My object will be primarily the recording of such information as may be useful to others working in various capacities among these tribes, but I venture to hope that this information will not be without its interest to the anthropologist.

The fact that the subject touches the whole science of law makes it precarious ground for the layman. There are also many with a much greater knowledge, both of the subject and of natives in general, who may not agree in what I shall say; and, finally, the anthropologist may find my investigations incomplete or my conclusions erroneous. For such critics it may be of use to know the method adopted to arrive at my information, in order that they may judge of its reliability. Having daily experience of native affairs and native litigation, I have been careful to learn from the natives how they themselves would settle various cases, and often I have put imaginary cases to them. The results thus arrived at have been tried or experienced in various parts, and where a difference of opinion has appeared, my endeavour has been to ascertain if such was due to a misunderstanding, a wrong decision, or an existent difference of custom. Not infrequently I have found a conflict between an existent and a half-forgotten custom. As far as possible I have avoided direct questioning, which so often leads to hopeless confusion. I have, however, found that the most valuable source of information is to be obtained from the remarks of the natives themselves respecting our own methods and ideas. This source has the great advantage that it often discloses the deeper-lying ideas, and that it reflects more of the spirit of their methods than



the mere superficial facts. In questions of law in particular it is essential to endeavour to get at the theory, for wherever a point seems to be at variance with this, we may be sure that there is more to be investigated, and besides this it is impossible for us to take an active part in native law unless we know its objects and foundation.

It may appear here and there that I have diverged to some extent from the immediate subject under discussion. It is, however, somewhat difficult to convey the meaning of the law without explaining certain customs connected therewith. Indeed, I fear that to those who have not a close acquaintance with native life, there may be much in the following which will not appear sufficiently lucid. A clear dividing line between custom and law is difficult to establish in a society of which it may be said that custom is as binding as law. It must therefore not be supposed that in selecting certain rules devised for such a state of society, and representing an approximation to our own code of law, I have summed up all those duties and rights which determine men's obligations towards each other.

Owing to many circumstances customs may have changed, and therewith the law was subjected to variations. These would, however, be no more frequent than was demanded by necessity, and every alteration was finally based on one guiding principle, namely, that the foundation of law was custom. But at the present day variations of native law are too frequently mere evasions of inconvenient rules. They are made on the spur of the moment for the benefit of one, or at most a few. Obviously such legislation is opposed to all true native instincts and ideas of law, and is merely the outcome of corruption. I have therefore been careful as far as possible to discover the law as it was before we came among these tribes. As such it is still well remembered and respected, and though it may be corrupted and designedly neglected, I am convinced that if any permanency can be hoped for this primitive law it must continue as closely as possible in the model of its original form. I would, however, warn the reader that he will not always find these tribes practising the law as it is here described.

## PART I.

### TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

#### *Conditions prior to Establishment of European Rule.*

It is probable that before European government established complete order in East Africa changes of power and race composition took place frequently and rapidly. Small tribes were broken up and scattered, sections of tribes wandered further afield in consequence of feuds, famines, hostile neighbours, scarcity of land or grazing, and these would quickly form new tribes or be assimilated with others. Of all this little or nothing is known, the few legends remaining often giving a wrong picture and being based on facts which point to other circumstances. As



an instance may be quoted the legend that the Akamba, Masai, and Galla were sons of one father—which we may with certainty assume they were not.

The memory of natives is short, and they are little disposed to dwell on that which is past, either in great or small matters. Therefore, when we meet tribes closely related to each other in customs and character, we need not assume that if they sprang from one stock the division was a matter of ancient history, though they may have no remembrance of a closer relationship.

The Akamba, Akikuyu and Atheraka are so closely related by custom, as will appear in the sequel, that it is natural to assign a common origin to them. Whether this origin dates from remote times or is comparatively recent, the separation of these tribes has been of sufficiently long duration to enable each one to develop a distinctive character. The Akamba are a very intelligent tribe of a passive but stubborn character. They despise manual labour, and therefore look down on the Akikuyu, but they were formerly keen traders and went in large caravans to the coast, principally to barter their ivory. Although scarcely warlike, the Akamba must at all times have been dangerous in war by reason of the poisoned arrows used by them, and which the nature of their own country made particularly formidable. The Akikuyu are a submissive and comparatively industrious people; they vary considerably both in outward appearance and minor characteristics—in fact, wherever they border on the Masai and Ukamba countries, the tendency is to become assimilated with these, or at least to ape them. The Atheraka are likewise disposed to be industrious, but they are chiefly remarkable for their exclusiveness. Having jealously guarded their country against all intruders, they were amongst the last to submit to us. The clans keep each to its own area, and they rarely venture beyond their tribal lands; hence they are extremely ignorant of the world outside. They are, in addition, not very intelligent.

The terror of the Akamba and the Akikuyu were the Masai,<sup>1</sup> but I am inclined to think that the power of this latter tribe has been much over-rated. The Akikuyu have often told me that they were more afraid of the Akamba than of the Masai. I have more than once found Masai women in the possession of Akikuyu and Akamba, and they appeared to have been taken in raids. In Ukamba, Masai spears and ornaments, and even Masai cattle, may be found, while the fact that the Akikuyu did go raiding into Masai country is proved by certain circumcision ages being called after places where these raids took place. The abject terror which they are often supposed to have entertained for the Masai was, therefore, not always a fact. The truth is that the reputation of the Masai rests largely on two circumstances: the first, not so much their more formidable inroads as their unceasing minor raids, which might better be described as robberies; the other circumstance was that they were often employed by ourselves to

<sup>1</sup> They never raided the Atheraka, probably because this tribe was too poor to offer prospect of loot, but I am inclined to think that had they done so they would have found it no easy undertaking.



subdue other tribes, and were therefore regarded as in league with the all-powerful European. As regards the Akamba in particular, the Masai raids are very instructive. I am far from denying to the Masai a daring spirit and courage unequalled among the Akamba, but when we consider the long distances from which they had to come, the climate (from which the Masai suffered greatly),<sup>1</sup> and the effective resistance which a few men armed with deadly poisoned arrows could offer against the Masai equipped only with spears, and the relative values of these weapons in a thorn-bush country, we cannot but see that the Akamba should have had little to fear from them. The Galla were probably a much fiercer race than the Masai, and were fighting for their existence, yet the Akamba successfully drove them back over the Tana River. Krapf does not speak much of the Masai, but repeatedly mentions the Galla, of whom he says, "Give me the Galla and I have Central Africa." From the time when the Akamba fought the Galla, until they were harassed by the Masai, a great change came over them; they must have combined against the former tribe, but they certainly did not unite against the Masai. At that time, and until our coming, an extraordinary state of affairs prevailed in Ukamba, and particularly in the country now known as Kitui: every man's hand was raised against his neighbour, no two villages were at peace, and fighting was the order of the day. From this time date numberless feuds and claims, which are now daily matters of dispute; the people themselves attribute these to a succession of famines during which whole villages died out, or were so weakened as to be defenceless, and were therefore pillaged by their neighbours. The Akamba thus fell into a state of extreme disorder and confusion. The anarchy of the time was no doubt abnormal, nor do the Atheraka and Akikuyu appear to have had like periods of disorder, though there was at all times considerable hostility between various sections, and much brawling from village to village. There appears to be no reason why either of these tribes should not have imitated the example of the Akamba, and the state of affairs described above must be regarded as an example of what was possible as a result of the weakness in a state organized in the form we are about to discuss.

### Chiefs.

Over sixty years ago Krapf came to Kitui and there made friends with Kivui, a Mkamba who is still spoken of as a chief, yet Krapf speaks of the "republican Akamba," and says of them, "In connection with the elders of the place the head of every family village rules the people who belong to him in accordance with the old customs and usages of the country." Kivui was, in fact, not a chief, but a leader in war, or *muthiani*. The Akikuyu called such leaders *musigani*; they were usually three in number, and had first to give a proof of their courage by going alone into the Masai country to locate the cattle. In Theraka a leader in war

<sup>1</sup> It seems that the Masai always knew that mosquito countries harbour fever; they are still averse to going to such countries.



was called *kithoga*, and there also he had to prove his valour by killing a man alone outside his country. These leaders would consult a medicine man before commencing operations; on return they received a larger share of the loot, and during the raid all who went submitted to their authority. In Theraka the warriors live in batches of about thirty in one hut, each hut being governed by the senior warrior, who in time of war commanded them under the *kithoga*. The *muthiani*, however, far from being a chief, was merely a warrior himself, and as such was subordinate to every elder at home, so that when the Mkamba now describes Kivui as a chief, he cannot in reality compare him with the chiefs of to-day. When any of these people refer to a chief they have only the word *munene*, i.e., the big man, or "chief," the derivation of which need not be explained.

After the most careful enquiry and consideration of what is still in evidence, I feel convinced that these tribes had no heads or leaders who could be dignified with the name of chief. This opinion has been disputed, but it would be too much to go into all the arguments for or against it; I may, however, mention that those who suppose that chiefs formerly did exist have been unable to discover any powers, distinctions, privileges, or marks distinguishing the chiefs from their subjects.<sup>1</sup> But the principal refutation of the theory of chiefs must follow from the organization and character of the tribes and their customs, which will, I trust, become clearer in the following pages. I will not say that there were no individuals more prominent than others: some were respected for their wisdom or wealth, medicine men gained a certain importance in proportion to their real or supposed abilities, and so also the *muthiani* could not fail to become a prominent figure, though, perhaps, equal respect was accorded to the experienced leader of hunting parties and trading caravans. Even particular charms could command obedience. Between fear and submission there is little distinction among primitive men, and the supernatural was always that which inspired fear. So smiths and hunters were dreaded for their peculiar supernatural powers, the evil eye or even the anger of an old woman<sup>2</sup> could bring disaster, and thus a number of superstitious fears might intimidate each one, and their very multitude debarred any one of them from rising supreme above the rest. The conception of a chief as a functionary essential to the welfare of the tribe had not become familiar to the people, and therefore the office of such an authority formed no part of the tribal organization. Whether at any time there were heads of clans exercising authority over the clansmen it is impossible to say, because the clans are now scattered over the whole country, and there is even no definite distinction between clans and families. The Atheraka form an exception in this respect: they are clearly divided into clans residing each in its own area, under the headmanship of its senior member. But although he has rather more standing than most present-day chiefs, he can scarcely be described as a chief. One of the clans

<sup>1</sup> Compare these facts with what is known in tribes in which the establishment of chiefs is undisputed.

<sup>2</sup> The curse of an old woman may kill a man.



seems to occupy a peculiar position superior to the rest, on account of its descent from the rain; its present head is also a medicine man, and thus he commands considerable respect, and has the nearest approach to a traditional authority that I have met with in any of the three tribes. Even in Theraka there are now two families claiming to be distinct clans, and thus the breaking up of the clans has perhaps already commenced.

The lack of authority vested in individuals may lead us to the assumption that the state of society before us is wholly disorganized and uncontrolled, yet it is not entirely so, though its actual foundation is difficult to discover, and it is possibly inadequate to provide for more advanced conditions.

### *Village Communities.*

Ordinarily a village comprises simply the huts of the wives of one man.<sup>1</sup> Very often brothers and uncles build on to the same village; the whole is enclosed within a continuous hedge of thorn branches and poles, but each man's family is partitioned off, and often also each hut. With the exception of Chief Kinyanjui's village, I have not seen one numbering more than thirty huts. The head of such a village is then the senior member of the family. The villages are generally built in groups, which at times are so close together that they form almost one continuous village; in other cases they are more scattered, but rarely completely isolated. Such groups form what is called a *thome*; the name is used both by the Akamba and Akikuyu<sup>2</sup>, and is derived from the open space in front of a village where the people foregather, hold drinking bouts and dances, and beyond which the stranger is not admitted to the village. Very often the members of a *thome* are of one clan, or the majority of them are so, and therefore the *thome* is referred to as the place of such and such a clan, although it by no means contains any considerable portion of the clan. In practice the head of each village is alone recognised, because he is the head of the family, but since he is vaguely subordinate to the senior elder of the *thome*, the senior elder of the group is invested with a certain authority. The *thome* is almost the most extensive combination natural to the tribes, and the authority of its elder is the greatest individual authority comprehended. At the present day when a headman wishes to assemble the people he will send to the heads of the *thome*, and these will always suffice at a council, sacrifice, or other occasion. With a little support the heads of *thomes* would assume a much greater authority; the *thomes* would easily increase in size if the natives had better protection from each other, and thus by a natural process competent heads of the tribes would be selected, which in course of time might very easily lead to the creating of a chief on a real tribal foundation.

From the above we conclude that the State is simply the family, and for certain purposes it extends to groups of families. It was between these groups that internal fighting broke out, but not infrequently also within the *thome*.

<sup>1</sup> Each wife has her own hut.

<sup>2</sup> Theraka *ndora*; another Kikuyu name for this is *itura*.



there were dissensions and hostilities. On the other hand, there are common objects, if not common rule, which form ties extending beyond the *thome*, and whereby at any rate a loosely connected community is made possible. Most important in this respect are the common places of sacrifice.

Places of sacrifice in Ukamba are called *ithembo*, and they are most commonly trees (Plate X, Fig. 2), but often also rocks. In Kikuyu they are invariably trees, called *mgumu*, and among the Atheraka they are trees, rocks, and waterfalls, called *ilii*. There is much that is of interest about these places of sacrifice, but it belongs to another subject, and in this place we are concerned with their influence on the social life of the people. Sacrifices are offered by elders, and every elder belongs to one (or in some cases to two) such place of sacrifice. Thus a religious union is formed which centres around the sacred places, and combines the village groups through the common interest that their elders have in them. Apart from religion there is a great deal in ordinary custom which tends to create ties between certain groups. Thus a peculiar manner of performing a dance will draw together the members of certain families, even from youth. In Ukamba such minor differences are noticeable all over the country, but larger subdivisions may be traced by the various methods of chipping the teeth. In Machakos six front teeth are cut into very fine points, and at Kitui four are shaped into blunter points. In Mumoni only two teeth are chipped at the adjoining edges, and in the south the same is done, but in addition the outer edges are removed.<sup>1</sup> Between the sections thus demarcated there is little fellow-feeling, and they will often speak contemptuously of "the people who cut two teeth," or "four teeth," as the case may be.

The Atheraka retain their divisions into clans, between which there is so little feeling of kinship that when two men of different clans meet they will often not speak to each other.

Among the Akikuyu there is more difference of custom than one might anticipate, and this is, in my opinion, to be attributed to two main causes. The first is that this tribe has constantly extended its settlements, mainly because they have followed in the wake of the forests, receding through ruthless extermination.<sup>2</sup> A certain number have remained behind, whilst others have gone on and thus become alienated from the original stock. The other cause lies in the physical formation of their country, which is naturally divided into ridges very sharply outlined by deep rifts. It is also divided into highlands and lowlands, between which there are considerable differences of climate. These circumstances have tended to cut up the tribe into a multitude of sections, each of which has some slight distinguishing peculiarity of custom. The extension of these groups is in

<sup>1</sup> This is nowadays perhaps less rigidly adhered to. The teeth are not filed, but chipped with a chisel. The popular belief that this custom denotes cannibalism is without foundation, I think, as the practice is said to be a comparatively modern one. One of the oldest men in Kitui, who had not his teeth cut, told me that in his day it was not customary; the same is related of a very old man in Machakos District.

<sup>2</sup> This is plainly in evidence to-day, and but for recent restrictions by law there would be little left of the forests.



general discernible by the *rikas*, or circumcision ages. Each *rika*<sup>1</sup> has a name derived from some event of the year, but the various sections hold their circumcisions at different times; nor do they all adopt the same names, although certain names may be found all over the country. A comparative list of these names in different areas will show the various parts in which the *rikas* are identical, or at variance, and therefore indicative of the extent of each community. I am speaking, of course, of communities, as distinct from sections of the tribe, between which there was formerly often great hostility, as, for instance, between the Tetu and Ndia Akikuyu.

The foregoing shows that there are many influences which, by creating distinctions between certain groups, form barriers between them, whilst at the same time giving rise to common ties between the members of each group. They are, however, merely ties of religion and custom, and are only binding in so far as any common interest tends to create common feeling, to which the individual is attached, or not, according to character. There is also too little adherence to locality to make hereditary friendships possible. Any misfortune will signify to the Mkamba that the place he lives in is unlucky, and he will then move his village; the Mkikuyu must move his village on the death of his father or uncle,<sup>2</sup> and he will generally move some six or eight miles away. To these facts must be added a constant change of population through famines, quarrels, lack of the necessities of life, and other circumstances, so that few, if any, elders can be found to be living in the locality where they were born.

#### *Divisions and Ranks.*

I will now endeavour to describe the organization of these tribes by detailing the degrees and ranks devised by them, and the position of each of these:

(A) *Akamba*.—The first stage of manhood is that of the *mwanake*, which may best be interpreted as "warrior." It is often taken to mean an unmarried man, but this is not so, for so long as a man takes part in the ordinary dances he is designated a *mwanake*, and he will dance until he has reached the stage when he is called *nthelle*: both the *mwanake* and the *nthelle* used to take part in the raids and fights of former times. The next degrees are those of the elders, the junior degree of which is *mutumia* (elder) *wa kisuka* (in some parts called *kyau*); the duties of these elders are principally the digging of graves and disposing of corpses.<sup>3</sup> After this comes *mutumia wa nzamu*, and, finally, *mutumia wa ithembo*:

<sup>1</sup> A recent *rika* at Nyeri is called *simu*, because in that year the telegraph line to Nyeri was put up; another at Kyambu is called *sengenge* (wire), because in that year many wire fences were constructed for quarantine purposes. We may note that these are Swahili names and not Kikuyu.

<sup>2</sup> The paternal spirit is particularly malignant and will cause disease and death among the people and stock.

<sup>3</sup> Burial is not the common manner of disposing of corpses, but important elders and their senior wives, and also medicine men, are buried; corpses of other persons are thrown out into the bush.



but prior to this last degree there is a sort of semi-stage called *mwanake wa ithembo*, which is composed of elders who have not finally entered the highest degree, and are novices at the sacrificial ceremonies. The designation "elder of *nzama*" may lead to the supposition that these are the elders who compose the judicial council called *nzama*, but this is not so; they are, rather, the lowest degree admitted to the *nzama*. The senior elders were very indignant when they were excluded from the councils owing to this mistake being made, especially as they should constitute the sort of jury or secret council which decides the case after it has been heard, and from which the whole council derives its name.<sup>1</sup> The senior elders never withdraw from their legislative functions, though they may sometimes practically retire by reason of great age. Their most important duties, however, are the offering of sacrifices at the *ithembo*, and these are more important to the community as a whole than the medicine craft of any medicine men.

There is one other grade of which I cannot forbear to speak, and this is the *ukuu*. If space allowed of a closer study of native life we should see that the individual is constantly menaced by malignant spirits, the propitiation of which is not merely by sacrifices and charms: not only is the native called upon to perform certain acts and refrain from others, but the detail of many acts is of the highest importance. Observances which are matters of everyday life belong to the education of every child, but others of rarer occurrence cannot be learnt until the proper occasion presents itself; for instance, how, but by experience, is the native to know every detail in the ceremonies connected with the burial of a father? For such information he must go to the elders of *ukuu*, and by payment of fees he is instructed and assisted; in the course of his life he will have learnt this and that until at an advanced age, and rarely before then, he is thoroughly versed in the mysteries of custom, and he will then be called an elder of *ukuu*. Some may desire to acquire this knowledge at an earlier age, but this can only be done on certain conditions, the principal one of which is that he must have lost a near relative by death.<sup>2</sup> I cannot but point here to the curious yet familiar notion that out of misfortune a man gains wisdom, until he himself is able to help others. Now breaches of custom not directly connected with law often bring their own punishment, which is the anger of an offended spirit, and is manifested by a sore disease which breaks out all over the body. This is called *makwa*, the direct cause being a breach of custom. The elders of *ukuu* know best the cause, and they also know its cure. This they will effect by many curious performances, but it is clear that before they can do so they must question the sufferer about all that he has done, in order that they may diagnose the cause; thus an open confession is essential. This fact gives a great value to the belief in *makwa*, for however secretly a breach of custom may have been committed, it will not fail to require an open confession. The disease designated as *makwa* is invariably venereal, and is now often cured by medical treatment—particularly by certain missionaries, to

<sup>1</sup> *Nzama* means a secret.

<sup>2</sup> The learning of *ukuu* is very secret and is only imparted on payment of large fees.



whom even Akikuyu flock for treatment. The practical result of this may be good, but indirectly it is bad, because the public confession is evaded, and the moral restraint of the belief is in consequence destroyed. Thus we see that the elders of *ukuu* are of considerable consequence; they help others to avoid calamity, and are in a sense the censors of the people.

(ii) *Atheraka*.—The Theraka warrior is called *ngoromo*. As among the other two tribes, the warrior has no house of his own, but in Theraka the *ngoromo* of several villages live together in large huts, and in each hut there is a senior warrior. In addition they are under the supervision and instruction of a junior elder. As regards the degrees among this tribe, I am little acquainted with them, but Mr. A. M. Champion gives the following account: "To make a Mukurru ya Chiamia, a *kisungu* (a man who has a circumcised child) must undergo a probationary period with the Akurru ya Chiamia, and then if he is considered to be a man of wisdom he can become one of them by payment of two goats. He has then the right to sit on the Chiamia. There are Ngoromo ya Chiamia who wait on the Akurru ya Chiamia; whether these are undergoing probationary periods or whether their functions are purely those of servants of the court I do not yet know: I am told that a part of their work is to cut up and distribute the meat. Inside the Akurru ya Chiamia are the Akurru ya Nthuli, whose special function is to arrive at the decisions, and for this purpose they go apart just as the *nzama* of the Akamba." From my own information of this tribe I know that the elders form a judicial council identical with that of the Akamba, and that they perform the priestly functions at sacrifices; they also do the curing of *makwa*, or as it is here called *thahu*, and those who do this are called *akurru*; but whether there is any special degree of this name or whether the word merely signifies the elders, I do not know.

(c) *Akikuyu*.—The circumcised youth is called *morán*,<sup>1</sup> but as soon as he is circumcised he must first give a present of cassava to the senior *morán* in order to be allowed to wear certain ornaments. After that he must pay them one goat to become a full *morán*, and to be allowed to enter the *Njama iya Ita ya Ndundu*, or the council of the *morán* before they go to war (*njama* means a secret assembly of any sort, when the common object is the use of force or fighting). From this stage on, and until the *morán* is married and has a child circumcised, he comes under the general term of *moranja*, or *komatimo*, as it is called in parts; these may be present at the judicial council, but are not members of it, and may not take part in the deliberations. The married *moranja*, when they have passed the *morán* age, may carry bunches of *matathi* leaves (used as whisks, and to wipe off the perspiration), but they may not plait the string with which they are tied together. Next a large goat and a supply of honey beer is paid to the elders of the *kiamia*; the payer then becomes a full member of the judicial council and may carry *muturrangurru* leaves. Certain men are known for their wisdom in the council, or possibly even from childhood they have taken the lead owing to their intelligence:

<sup>1</sup> In the vicinity of Nairobi the word *mwana* is used instead of *morán*.



such persons are called *muthamaki* or *mumathaki*.<sup>1</sup> The word has a very elastic meaning and is often applied to the principal elders on the council, or to individuals of any age who are noted for their ability.

After a man has entered the *kiama*,<sup>2</sup> and when he has attained a certain age, he may be selected by the elders, who offer sacrifices, to take his place among them.<sup>3</sup> He must then pay four goats<sup>4</sup> to the elders of the senior generation; batches of elders are selected because the payment made at one time must not be less than eighteen goats and one bull, which is the price of the *mugumu*.<sup>5</sup> They continue on the *kiama*, in which they form the *ndundu*, or secret jury, identical with the secret *nzama* in Ukamba, but they are of considerable age before they reach this degree; some say they must have three wives, but the idea is simply, I think, that they must be wealthy, and senior in years.<sup>6</sup>

#### *Generations in Kikuyu.*

A very important matter connected with the organization of the Akikuyu is that of the generations. As I have said, each *rika* is given a name, but each generation also has its name. (Plate XI, Fig. 1.)

The names of the generations most widely known seem to be the following:—

- |            |              |
|------------|--------------|
| 1. Ndemmi. | 4. Mwangi.   |
| 2. Iregi.  | 5. Mwirungu. |
| 3. Maiina. | 6. Chuma.    |

In Ndia an older generation than Ndemmi is known, called Matathi.

In Kyambu district the naming of the generations seems to be after a different system, only two names, Maiina and Mwangi, being used alternately. The sons of Maiina are therefore called Mwangi and vice versa, but the younger generation of each name takes the additional appellation of Mwirungu. I may be mistaken about this, and in fact the naming of the generations is altogether a little obscure. The elders in Tetu have told me that Mwangi used to be called Iregi, that Mwirungu are so called "in place of Maiina," and that Chuma will in course of time be called Mwangi. It was further explained that the youngest generation is given a name, yet they are said to "have no name as yet," and that this name is changed when the generation has grown up, but at the *Itwika* ceremony it is changed again, so that one generation changes names altogether three times. In Ndia, however, I

<sup>1</sup> This word may possibly be derived from *ko-mathaka* (to investigate).

<sup>2</sup> I do not know the exact meaning of this word, but its similarity to *nzama* and *njama*, two words signifying secret assemblies, is obvious.

<sup>3</sup> It is said that when a man is thus selected he may not refuse, or even delay, to pay the fees.

<sup>4</sup> Among the Akikuyu near Nairobi these goats seem often to be paid at intervals. The first goat is called *ndongo*, the second *njokerro*, the third *hako*, and the fourth *ndundu*.

<sup>5</sup> There are two kinds of *mugumu*, one a tree at which private offerings are taken (these are of little importance), and the other a tree for communal sacrifices. The latter are called *mugumu ya ngai* (god's tree); it is only such trees that I have been speaking of.

<sup>6</sup> They are often referred to as the *athamaki* elders.



was told that this was not so. The name Chuma is taken from a very old generation and its application is both curious and characteristic. The older generation of Chuma was so called because at that time metal ornaments were worn for the first time in the ears. They were, therefore, called *iron* (ears); a very old prophecy foretold that one day children would be born without ears, and the elders, seeing that the children of to-day will not give heed to their fathers, interpreted the prophecy into the meaning that a coming generation would not listen to them, and hence they reverted to the old generation and called them Chuma.

The practice of reverting to the grandfather's generation in Kyambu, and suggestions of a similar system elsewhere, as also the actual recurrence of old names, lead me to think that there is, or was, some system whereby the names recur. It is possible that in the past there has been a break in the chain which has led to confusion. Much in the same way there is in Ndia, for instance, an older and younger branch of each circumcision age, but latterly the younger branch of one *rika* has elected to take a new name, and hence there are great doubts as to what name the following *rika* should take.

The Akikuyu of Kyambu have not been settled there for more than a period of two generations, I believe, and it may be that the new-comers, recollecting only Maiina and Mwangi, have adopted these names for all generations. The name Mwirungu, however, has probably a fixed origin as to date, because it is derived from a certain eclipse of the sun which I believe to be identical with that which gave a name to a *rika* (Watuke) in Ndia.<sup>1</sup> Iregi in the same district is a general name applied to all uncircumcised children.

There is in every age one generation which is the ruling one, or, as the natives say, "the generation which owns the country." The generation occupying this position at the present time is Mwangi, whilst Maiina have withdrawn from all the duties of the elders. This retiring of one generation, and the assumption of their place by another, takes place at a great ceremony called *Itwika*, at which the succeeding generation is said to "buy" the country. I have not witnessed this ceremony, and as much of it is a matter of great secrecy, details of it cannot be obtained from the natives themselves. It has been described to me by a Swahili who has seen it, and I have elicited sufficient information from Akikuyu to justify the assumption that the substance of what I have been told is correct; the ceremony seems to be so interesting and enlightening as to the true position of the elders that I cannot omit a description of it:—

The first step in the *Itwika* is the collection of great numbers of goats, and food of all kinds, as payment by the younger generation to the older, from whom they are about to purchase their inheritance. The whole ceremony is presided over, and conducted by, a medicine man of great note, and he selects certain elders of the senior generation, whom he initiates into the mysteries of the *Itwika*. On

<sup>1</sup> Both *mwirungu* and *watuke* mean (people) of darkness.



the first day of the ceremony a horn is produced, and the medicine man makes medicine for this; next day all the elders collect again and the medicine man must cohabit with his wife during the day time.<sup>1</sup> The goats brought are eaten by the elders of both generations, and they sleep outside the village of the medicine man. Before evening of the same day the medicine man sends the elders he has selected to the river-side, where they hide all night armed with sticks; no one is allowed at this time to carry weapons of any sort whatever. Early next morning six or seven of the elders of the younger generation are given a small bowl, and are told to go to the river, where they must fill the bowl with water, and return with it to the place where the horn is laid. They go, followed by the whole multitude, but as soon as they try to draw water from the river, the elders in hiding set upon them and drive them away; those of their own generation help them and the bowl is handed from one to the other, each endeavouring to get the water, while the members of the senior generation hinder them, beat them away, and spill the water. A general fight ensues which may become so severe that strangers will mistake it for a faction fight in earnest,<sup>2</sup> but if it becomes too violent the medicine man will put a stop to it and recall them all to the village. On arrival there he will address them somewhat as follows: "You want to get the country for nothing, for you cannot defeat your seniors, therefore return home and prepare another *itwika*, with larger payment, that the others may be kindly disposed to you and give you the country." Apparently it does not often happen that the younger generation is defeated, and I fancy that there is often more show than reality about the resistance of the senior generation, but they have in this the means of delaying their retirement should the younger generation be too impatient of replacing them. If the water is obtained and brought to the horn, the bringers may blow the horn, and they are then masters of the country. Finally a great dance is held, but during all this time the women, children, and *moran* must remain in their villages. The detail of the procedure is kept secret, and communicated by those who know it, only on their death-beds and under a dying injunction of secrecy, to a man of the same generation.

When the younger generation has thus taken over the rulership of the community, the retiring generation withdraw from their religious functions, both in connection with the offering of sacrifices and the curing of *thuhu*<sup>3</sup> (the same as *makwa* in Ukamba), and in fact from all public functions; they may, however, be consulted on occasions, and, as stated before, those who enter the Mugumu pay their fees to these. One very important duty of the ruling elders is the purifying of the country from disease, which is done in many and various ways; the principal cure is that for epidemic diseases. A root or bulb called *kikoithia* is

<sup>1</sup> This is otherwise quite contrary to custom, as ordinarily if a man and woman have sexual intercourse in the daytime it is a breach of custom which will bring sickness among the people and stock.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the prohibition against the carrying of arms. No compensation can be claimed for any hurt done.

<sup>3</sup> Certain cases of *thuhu* can only be cured by medicine men.



scooped out, and certain butterflies and insects put in it, after which it is buried in some muddy place; this must be done by a man who is the last born of his mother—that is to say, his mother must be incapable of bearing more children by reason of age.

The last *itwika* held was when Maiina ceded the country. At the next one Mwirungu will take it over from Mwangi, but it will probably be some years before this happens. There is by no means only one ceremony for the whole tribe, or for any large part of it, but the *itwika* is probably an occasion of more extensive combination than is otherwise known to the Akikuyu; in the district now known as Nyeri there appear to have been only three areas forming separate *itwikas*.

We are accustomed to think of a generation as comprising persons of a certain age, although this is not its real meaning. If we would compare the genealogy of any two Europeans we might find that although their ages might be equal, the order of their respective generations might be vastly different. In polygamous societies there is of course a much greater range of age between the sons of one father, and in fact there is often a surprising difference of age between members of one generation in Kikuyu; illegitimate children are reckoned to the generation of their legitimate brothers and thus it is possible for a man to beget a son who belongs to a generation senior to his own. Although there are many instances in which the disparity of age is remarkable, still the majority of persons of one generation are of approximately one age or period of life; in any case, however, this point does not affect the transfer of rights from one generation to another. Persons of all ages (except children) take part in the *itwika* at which their generation either takes over, or hands over, its duties. It follows that if a young man belongs to a senior generation which retires before he has attained an age at which he could take part in the common sacrifices, he will for ever be excluded from the exercise of such priestly functions.

The judicial *kiama* seems to form somewhat of an exception to the public duties from which a generation completely withdraws. Some elders continue actively on the Council, but others take no part in it; mostly they seem to be guided by considerations of health and vigour, and those members of Maiina who to-day attend the Councils certainly enjoy considerable respect. Nevertheless the responsible body of the *kiama* is taken from the ruling generation. Thus at the present day, if the Government has any demands to make upon the *kiama*, or important dealings with them, the elders of Maiina will not consider themselves responsible. So also when Administrative officers travel in a district the elders of Maiina do not appear, or if they do, are regarded only as spectators. At the present day Mwangi form not only the responsible body of the *kiama*, but they are undoubtedly also numerically in the majority, so much so that I have heard the *kiama* referred to simply as Mwangi.



## SUMMARY.

We have now reviewed the forms of organization peculiar to the three tribes, and we have seen that although there is some difference of detail and method, there is little variation in the underlying objects and principles. These are simply the establishment of the elders as collective heads of the communities. It has often appeared as if the older a man becomes, the greater is his importance, but this is so only within certain limits. The mistake has arisen, I think, from the fact that in Kikuyu the present-day ruling generation is approaching the close of its term of office, and Mwangi is mostly composed of men of advanced years.

It is curious that the Akikuyu have devised a method whereby, in theory, the reins of government are not left to men who may be declining into dotage. That this scheme, through various circumstances, does not in every case answer its purpose suggests that it is an imperfect expedient. Its most practical issue, however, is saved through the *kiama* being in some measure excluded therefrom. In Ukamba there is no such scheme, but mental decay makes a man less alert as a legislator, and physical weakness at last inclines him to retire from all active duties. On the other hand, very definite restrictions are devised to prevent persons of too young an age from participating in the administration of the community, and further provision is made for entrusting the more important functions to men of very mature years. All this is provided for by the institution of grades and ranks.

We have adopted the word "Council" to interpret the native *nzama* and *kiama*, but the word may be misleading, since it will easily suggest a body of people having jurisdiction over a certain area. Such are the "duly appointed" tribunals of to-day, but it is obvious that as there were formerly no chiefs, or districts with defined boundaries, there could be no specified councils, nor was there any requisite number of elders composing a *nzama*. The councils have been conceived in too precise a form, both as to local composition and as judicial institutions, largely because we have been apt to deduce their constitution from the nature of institutions familiar to ourselves. On the other hand, the existence of the *kiama* has somewhat overshadowed the more important fact that the functions of the elders extend much beyond judicial work. Whenever the elders met they would certainly discuss topics of common interest, and they would debate whether special circumstances did not warrant departures from recognised customs. Had this not been so, custom would have stagnated and become sterile. I have spoken of the importance of each elder in his village, and of the position of such as are heads of village groups, but when they met in council they represented for the community what each one counted for in his village. Thus custom, law and religion were all in the hands of the elders. I cannot emphasize too strongly that judicial work was but one department, and by no means the most weighty one, in the duties of the elders; authority in the tribe must be sought in the assembly of elders, and when this assembly met for judicial purposes it was called a *kiama*. But in practice



there was no distinction between those who legislated, judged, or acted as priests for the people—there were only various duties vested in the fathers of the people, and nothing could supersede their standing.

We have now reviewed the form of State known to these tribes and considered some influences which could be of consequence to it. The foundation of the State is the family, and groups of families loosely connected by custom and religion, and in some cases by the physical features of the country in which they live. Such ties as there are must, however, be regarded as voluntarily submitted to, there being no central authority to whom all submit. Disintegrated as such a form of society appears, it is yet based on a certain system, which not having strength to maintain itself must have been powerfully supported by custom. We can therefore imagine that in former times custom must have possessed a force amounting to necessity, which it is difficult to form an idea of at the present day. It is certain that the present-day disregard for custom would break up any community based upon it.

One fact is particularly in evidence, namely, that the whole organization of the tribes is essentially patriarchal. Whatever authority and submission there is, springs out of the simple submission of youth to age. Under such a system nothing can exceed the paternal control, and all else is based on it, whether it be that the elders as fathers of the tribe perform the functions of priests and judges, or that the elder of the *thome* takes precedence as father of the *thome*, or that the elders of *ukuu* give instruction in the customs because they are the fathers of custom. In such primitive tribes this constitution had its advantages and drawbacks. On the one hand the people never experienced the tyranny of an ignorant despot, but, on the other hand, they never enjoyed the power that such a despot might give the tribe, nor the discipline which in the long run is necessary to internal peace. In times of famine and disorder there was no one to check the liberties taken by anyone: there was no combination to enforce the law, and, when peace was restored, no one to redress the wrongs committed. The lack of discipline is perhaps one of the most deplorable results, and one which is in evidence to-day. Comment on the methods now adopted is not intended, but it will be instructive to note the influence of past times and national character on modern conditions. It is natural that when more effective control by a superior race has to be established, it becomes impossible to deal with the tribe through every village elder (especially when those who undertake this task are very limited in number) and therefore chiefs or headmen had to be established. The *nzamas* were, however, not known, or at least were not recognized, until fifteen years later, and during that time the establishment of authority in the persons of chiefs proved a very doubtful success. This was entirely due to the character of the people, since not only did they continue to look to their elders, but they failed to comprehend the idea of a chief. They asked themselves what authority the chief could have: was he father to every one of them, was he aged, and therefore wiser than the assembly of elders, or did he know the customs of the tribe better than



they? Neither young nor old understood this innovation, but when the elders were reinstated in their councils matters became more comprehensible. On the other hand, so soon as they regained their natural authority, supported by ourselves, the newly-appointed chief's position became more problematic than ever, and gave decisive proof that in the original organization there was no place for him.

Government through the elders alone is also not entirely without its problems. Rooted in their time-honoured customs and ideas, they are incapable of following the course of modern conditions. The younger generation, debarred from military occupation and training, is becoming a loose rabble, destitute of the sense of veneration which is necessary to patriarchal control. The elders are unable to manage them, but they are of course incapable of understanding the real cause of this degeneration, and of perceiving that more rigorous discipline must take the place of their former training. The bulk of the people to be considered are, however, still men the greater part of whose lives belongs to a time prior to our coming, and an absolute break from their tribal organization is therefore as yet unfeasible.

## PART II.

### LAW.

#### THE COUNCIL.

##### *Procedure.*

The *nzamas* and *kiamas* of to-day are "duly appointed councils," with fixed powers of jurisdiction over definite areas, and are therefore not quite the same as the original assemblies. The methods adopted at once when they were reinstated, and which have since then never been disputed, are, I conclude, the same as in former times, and have only quite lately been subject to alterations by the attempts of a few to suppress the majority. Nowadays most of them have large huts for their meetings (Plate XI, Fig. 2), but they still prefer to sit in the open under the shade of a tree; they still congregate in a circle or semi-circle with the senior elders foremost, while the parties sit in the centre. The discussions are conducted with decency, and I have more than once seen a man severely rebuked for showing a lack of respect. In Theraka they have a curious custom of speaking through a proxy. A, a plaintiff, will address his remarks and refutations to B, who has nothing to do with the case, and C will address D; but both A and C address B and D by the names of A and C respectively. The Theraka are remarkable for their hot temper, and it is more than likely that if the parties addressed each other they would be unable to restrain themselves, and therefore this roundabout method is used.

The claim made before the elders is represented by a bundle of sticks which every man carefully preserves, particularly when they represent the dowry he has



paid for a wife. The Akikuyu, however, very often rely on memory, and I think that claims are often lost merely because the claimant cannot recollect the details of his case sufficiently to satisfy the elders. For it is not enough that a man should claim a goat: he must say exactly what sort of a goat it was,<sup>1</sup> and this is very difficult when the claim is fictitious. If the count is made up by the aid of sticks, those representing what the defendant may admit are set apart, and the remaining items discussed. When at last everything has been considered, the elders go aside to consult; this is the real *nzama* in Ukamba; in Kikuyu it is called *ndundu*. In Ukamba there seems to be no formality signifying that the elders have come to a decision, but in Kikuyu it is customary for all the elders to beat the ground with their staffs, after which they lay them flat on the ground so that all the points meet in the centre. Finally they adjourn to the general assembly and pronounce judgment.

The decision the elders have to give is principally the point of custom in dispute. Where a fact is in issue they will generally rely on their knowledge of the probable course of events in the case, but unless this is very clear the elders will not take upon themselves to decide a fact. I am afraid that the main object is the evasion of responsibility, which, in fact, is one object of the secret consultation. No one can say who decided the case, and therefore no one can be blamed. Whenever then a doubtful fact has to be determined, a test of veracity has to be decided by an oath or ordeal.

#### *Oaths and Ordeals.*

(A) *Ukamba*.—By far the commonest test by ordeal is the licking of a hot knife blade called *kiviu* (*kaviu*=knife). I have seen this ordeal performed, and can say for a fact that the knife blade is brought to a great heat, and is freely licked on both sides. I have never seen a man show any signs of fear on account of the pain inflicted, nor have I ever seen anything but the very slightest scorching result. I was told that it is never more serious, but that this is quite sufficient to prove the sufferer's guilt. I have heard it argued that the scorching depends on the amount of saliva on the person's tongue, the idea being that if he is nervous about it his tongue will be dry, but natives treat the performance far too lightly to justify the supposition that they have any fear of it, and I would not myself recommend anyone to lick a hot blade, no matter how moist his tongue may be. The explanation of this is, I think, quite different. The ordeal is administered by a medicine man, who smears his medicine on the blade and on the man's tongue, hands, and nose. This medicine is a white powder,<sup>2</sup> which, I am told, is probably diatomite, and I conjecture that it suffices as a heat insulator if it is sufficiently applied, or evenly distributed in the licking. If this is so, the medicine man can arrange the result as he pleases, and of late the elders have expressed doubts as to

<sup>1</sup> Every kind of domesticated animal has a specific name according to its colour, sex, age, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This same powder is used in almost all varieties of medicine craft.



More commonly the oath of *muma* is resorted to; this must not be confounded with *muma* in Ukamba, which is almost exclusively used for the taking of an oath by large numbers of people. There are many kinds of *muma*, but the most generally used in Kyambu is the following:—

A sheep is killed and a piece of the meat cut from the neck over the shoulder is roasted on two skewers of *mugere* wood,<sup>1</sup> on which seven rings are made by removing the bark. The parties sit on either side of the fire. Seven of the elders' staffs<sup>2</sup> are bound together with *mugere* bark, together with a bunch of *mugere* leaves (grass can be used if no *mugere* is at hand). Two of the senior elders, standing each behind one of the parties, encircle the fire with the bundles of staffs (Plate XII, Fig. 1), after which they are thrown horizontally backwards and forwards seven times over the heads of the parties. After this the staffs are laid on each side of the fire, between it and the two men. The parties then each in turn jump seven times over the fire, and in doing so declare what they maintain to be the truth. Next each takes half of the meat, and each half is cut into seven slices which are not entirely severed. Into each such slice two acacia thorns<sup>3</sup> are stuck. The slices are bitten off one by one, and in doing so the eater pulls the thorns out of the next slice, saying, "if I lie let me fall like this thorn." This ends the ceremony, the staffs are unbound and the fire covered with a little grass.<sup>4</sup>

The Akikuyu of Nyeri District have many forms of *muma*: the following is one used in the detection of a wizard. The procedure varies in different parts of the district, but the description of one method may serve as an example: three goats are supplied by the person taking the oath, and one of these is skinned by the elders after they have killed it by suffocation. A banana flower is scooped out and stuck on three legs of *mugere*, and is thus given the appearance of a tripod.<sup>5</sup> The goat has been skinned along the belly, and is held over the tripod so that on its throat being pierced the blood flows into the banana flower, into which, also, the milky juice of a plant called *mwatha* is squeezed; a little blood and the same juice is also poured into a large leaf. An elder dips a fragment of a very old earthenware cooking pot into the leaf, and imitates therewith the process of shaving the man's head. Two small bows of *mugere* wood are made and strung with *mugere* bark, which is passed through seven *sodom* apples and entwined with a creeper called *njegenne*. Meantime a piece of meat from the goat, cut from the throat down the breast, is cut into fourteen pieces and roasted on skewers of *mugere*. The heart also is roasted and scooped out in the centre to make a ring,

<sup>1</sup> *Mugere* is a certain plant much used on ceremonial occasions; the wood cannot be used for other purposes.

<sup>2</sup> These staffs are called *mwithege*.

<sup>3</sup> Thorns of the *muguyu* tree may also be used.

<sup>4</sup> The laying of grass always denotes a prayer for hearing and sanctification.

<sup>5</sup> I know of no utensil similarly shaped of which this might be an imitation; it is curious that a shape should be used which is otherwise not familiar.



which is placed over the man's penis. He then sits before the tripod, on either side of which are placed the skewers with the pieces of meat, and taking a piece from the left-hand side he dips this into the banana flower, and declaring his innocence, eats it. Next, taking a piece of meat from the right-hand skewer, he repeats his statement, throws the meat over his shoulder, and says, "if I lie let me fall like this." Finally, he eats the heart of the goat. Then the tripod, the *mugere* bows, skewers, and everything used in the performance are passed seven times in and out of his legs by a very old man, and are then thrown into the bush. Of the other two goats, one is used for purification and the other for *koringa-thenge*, which follows as a second affirmation.

The Akikuyu of Nyeri seem to use variations of this oath for many purposes; other matters in dispute are settled by peculiar forms of oaths—thus, there is a special oath used in many parts only for the refutation of charges of adultery. In a dispute as to ownership of land the disputants eat a little of the soil mixed with the blood of a goat or sheep; when this is done the land is not used by either until the results of the oath become apparent.

A suspected murderer is often required to jump seven times over the corpse of the person killed. This is much feared; a case arose of a man who induced a woman to swear by *muma* that she would not tell her husband that she had committed adultery with him, but the husband required her to take the same oath, whereupon she discovered the secret to him. In course of time she died, as it was believed in consequence of the first oath, and the husband claimed for blood-money; but the elders would not admit this, as they said the woman had died by her own imprudence. The husband then demanded that the other man should jump over the corpse, but the elders again would not support him in this. For the same purpose an oath is sworn by pounding the bones of a person killed (Plate XIII, Fig. 2). Such oath is supposed to cause death within seven months, but the most dreaded of all is an oath known as *koringa-thenge*. A goat is tied with *mugere* bark in such a manner that its four feet meet. During this oath the opportunity is taken to curse all those who practise evil of any kind; every person wishing to do so places a stick of *mugere* between the legs and belly of the goat. The one taking the oath then beats the legs of the goat until they are smashed on either side, and continues to smash every bone in the animal, ending by breaking in its skull. During the whole performance he declares his innocence, and repeats all the curses represented by the sticks of *mugere*. After the oath is complete the carcase is left on the spot, and no one may touch it. Before leaving the place a sheep is killed, and the contents of the stomach strewn across the path; everyone present must stamp his feet in this.<sup>1</sup> This oath is commonly used in all Kikuyu districts.

In all these ceremonies the person taking the oath should be naked. Such oaths differ from ordeals in that they are not intended merely to betray the guilt

<sup>1</sup> All those present should wear sprigs of *mukengiria* in the ear.



of a man who will thereafter be dealt with; they signify, rather, that the matter is thenceforth beyond the sphere of human justice, and that the guilt as well as its penalty is left to divine judgment. Ordeals of all sorts are administered by medicine men. One of the most celebrated in this direction is Kamiri wa Itherrero, whose powers of detecting offenders are supposed to be infallible and inimitable. On one occasion two men were suspected of cattle theft, and Kamiri volunteered to prove their guilt or innocence. Having ordered some lizards to be caught, he selected one and produced a medicine gourd with which he encircled its head, and afterwards those of the suspected men. Kamiri then held the lizard close to the nose of one of the men, and having advised him to speak the truth, asked him if he had taken the cattle. He denied it: nothing happened; but when the second man denied it on being asked, the lizard immediately bit him in the nostril. Kamiri held that the first man was innocent, but that the second man knew about the case, though he could not be the actual thief as the lizard would not do more than bite him and let go again. On another occasion Kamiri's son (and heir to his arts) performed the same ceremony, and on this occasion the lizard not only bit, but also hung on to the man's nostril. I endeavoured to discover how the trick was done: it was not by any pressure of the hand, as the same happened if the lizard was held in the open palm of one's hand. Kamiri's son, seeing I was sceptical, told me to pick out anyone from the crowd, but nothing would persuade the lizard to take any notice of the person chosen, and I came to the conclusion that the lizard's action was most probably due to the person's breathing. I scarcely believe that by mere trickery a medicine man could maintain a reputation for long. The most successful method will always be that which works automatically, as, for instance, something which will make a man betray himself.

On the last-mentioned occasion Kamiri's son offered to make two other experiments, but as the one included the taking out of a man's eye and the other the hanging of a snake round his neck, I could not permit either, although the man himself was perfectly ready to submit to either of these tests.

An ordeal seen at Nyeri was as follows:—A gourd was placed on the man's back, and in this were put two glass bottles sewn in skin. The man's blanket was drawn over the gourd, and after a few moments it was uncovered, and the gourd was found to be full of blood. This was supposed to be that of the man submitting to the ordeal, and the blood of course betrayed his guilt. This was sheer trickery, but it was very cleverly done, as the ordeal was repeated five or six times. I assured myself that the bottles and gourd were empty before they were placed under the blanket, and it is still a mystery to me how sufficient blood was carried by the one administering the ordeal, and how he got it into the gourd.

I have described somewhat lengthily the forms of oaths and ordeals used; it is interesting to note that all of them must be administered in the presence of the elders, and those which may be described as oaths and not ordeals are administered by the elders themselves. These in particular bear the appearance of being



religious practices, and they are said to be "bad," which always signifies that they are connected with the spirits.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that oaths and ordeals are applied in suits without any proof as to offence or liability, seems to imply that a person is not held innocent until he is proved not guilty, but an unfounded charge is certainly not sufficient. Both parties are merely required to submit to tests which cannot injure them if they are innocent. On the other hand, refusal to comply with such a demand is always regarded as sufficient proof of guilt, and in fact a suspected person will often demand to be allowed to disprove all suspicion by the performance of some test or other. It may happen that a man cannot forego the attempt to prove a claim of such ancient date that he is not acquainted with the circumstances. Possibly he knows of it only by hearsay, and in such case he brings calamity on himself. This is entirely in the interests of justice, for the native is far too inclined to make claims of the most fanciful nature without any foundation. There being no necessity for caution in appealing to the European courts, the native takes advantage of this and regards them, I fear, very much as a convenient institution whereby he may obtain advantages which he could not get from his own tribunals. I have, in fact, heard natives make the most definite statements before magistrates such as they would not even repeat in the presence of the elders.

#### JUDICIAL POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE ELDERS.

In speaking of the powers of the Council of Elders we must be careful not to start from the assumption that these must necessarily be confined within certain limits, or extended to meet the requirements of an established code of laws. We must imagine ourselves in a time before men began to systematize in every department, and were capable of adapting a very few methods to a great variety of circumstances. We must also bear in mind the very loose connection between the units of their society.

I have heard it said that formerly a man could be imprisoned by the order of the elders, but I feel assured that this was not so, and I fail to see where and how such imprisonment could be effected. Punishment in the form of fine is also unknown, unless we would speak of compensation as such; I shall revert to this point later, but I may mention here that the payments made to the elders must absolutely be regarded as fees only. Often they are required merely for a purification ceremony, and it may be taken as a general rule that where compensation is awarded the fees are paid to the elders, either by the aggrieved party only, or by both defendant and plaintiff.

The functions of the elders being both religious and judicial, they exercised powers spiritual and temporal over the people. Of the former order the most commonly known was the cursing of a disobedient person by the elders. This was

<sup>1</sup> A man cannot sleep with his wife on the day when he has taken the oath of *muma* or *kithito*.



a very potent curse, but it could be removed again on submission and petition for forgiveness. In Theraka the curse was invoked in the following manner:—

The elders assembled and a large fire was made, beside which was laid a palm leaf; an elder stood up and proclaimed, "As this leaf shall wither and the fire burn, so let him wither and die." In all three tribes the curse was removed through the elders spitting on the victim.<sup>1</sup> In Ukamba and Theraka a large goat had to be paid, with the fat of which the person's body was anointed; in Kikuyu a number of extremely aged elders<sup>2</sup> go to the offender's village, where they kill a goat and sprinkle the contents of the stomach on branches of two plants called *maturranguru* and *matathi*. It seems as if this ceremony was most commonly used against elders who had either committed crimes themselves, or instigated others to do so. The Kikuyu also had a very sensible custom of boycotting an elder who was guilty of misconduct.

In the same tribe the elders used to curb the excesses of the young men by going to the place where they danced, and placing there a cooking-pot and a stick of *mugeri*; no dance could then be held there until the young men had returned from a raid.<sup>3</sup>

A more temporal form of punishment was exercised by the elders in what is known as *kingolle* and *mwingi* in Kikuyu. This is generally thought to be a sentence of death, but it was not necessarily so. The term *kingolle* includes almost every form of force used by competent authority, and therefore it is nowadays often applied to imprisonment and forcible measures adopted by the present government. In its milder forms, in Ukamba, an offender's village was destroyed, and he was expelled from the district. If this was done in consequence of a wrongful withholding of property, it was taken by force, but in no case was violence to the man himself permitted, and he could claim for injuries done to him. Such measures were often adopted in cases of a man refusing his brothers their rightful share of inheritance; it was usual to warn the man by sending him a fire-stick. It was only on persons who repeatedly offended that *kingolle* was inflicted, and when it amounted to a sentence of death this implied that the offender had become so incorrigible that he was regarded as a danger to the public. If such was the case the elders would assemble and consult as to what should be done. If they found it was necessary to kill the offender, elders from remoter parts were called, and the case was explained to them. Everyone who made charges against the man had to declare these on the oath of *kithito*; the fact that the offender's death would exclude the possibility of false declarations being amended later, would, of course, debar them from venturing frivolous charges. This done, the elders called to aid consulted in secret, and if they decided that the man must be killed, his nearest

<sup>1</sup> The spitting of an old man confers a blessing. It is customary for an elder meeting anyone whom he wishes well, to spit on his chest or hand.

<sup>2</sup> It is said that they must be impotent by reason of age.

<sup>3</sup> This was done at Kyambu in 1912 to prevent the performance of a *livata* dance, which dance often leads to fighting.



relative was called and asked if he would give his consent. If he refused it, the sentence could not be carried out, but the relative was required to swear by *kithito* that if the man repeated his offences he would not withhold his consent to the sentence. If such consent was obtained everyone armed himself, the offender was hunted down, and, when found, the relative who gave his consent commenced the attack by throwing earth at him.<sup>1</sup> This gave the pursuers the right to attack the victim, and to despatch him with arrows or any other weapons. He was, however, entitled to defend himself as he could, and no claims for bloodmoney or hurt could be made on either side. Thenceforth the matter was never spoken of, and no one could ask who had killed the man. In Kikuyu the procedure was identical with that in Ukamba, excepting that the consenting relative had actually to kill the man by strangulation.

In Theraka there was no such death sentence, but under the same circumstances a man was publicly beaten.<sup>2</sup> The beating would, of course, be very severe, and could go to any extent short of causing death. A man so punished was thought to be able to bring a terrible curse on people if he spoke, and, therefore, if he made any efforts to speak he was immediately gagged.

The procedure in the death sentence is of great importance, as any omission would deprive it of its essential grounds for justification. I have only known of one case of *kingolle* in which a witch was killed, and although her own son took the principal part in the execution, the perpetrators admitted later that the omission to call in elders from remoter parts invalidated the plea that it was a legal sentence of death under native law.

The procedure in this form of punishment is a remarkable example of native justice, for we may be sure that when a native consents to his brother's death, the penalty must have been fully merited. We may, of course, suspect that his participation was required in order to take off all responsibility from others, but if the omission of the brother's consent would give a right to claim compensation, that right is only accorded from a sense of justice, and the impartial decision of elders from other parts certainly aims only at equity.

Since there is no higher authority in the tribe than that of the elders, it follows that their decision is in theory final; there is no further appeal, and a suggestion for the formation of an appeal *kiama* met with decided disfavour in Kikuyu. Nevertheless, the judgments of the elders are wrangled over, submitted to other elders, retried and reversed, until one is inclined to doubt if there is such a thing as a final decision. It is also inconceivable to a native that a claim should ever be allowed to drop, or fail for lack of proof, wherefore he will never content himself with a philosophic resignation to inevitable loss.

In former times when two men had a dispute it was customary for one to send a few elders to ask the other if he would pay the debt without further proceedings; if not, they would agree to "make a *kiama*."

<sup>1</sup> The throwing of earth at a person or at his hut implies a curse.

<sup>2</sup> Called *loamba*.



We now speak of "trial" before a *kiama*; the native speaks of a consultation (Kikuyu=*chira*, Kikamba=*silu*); the use of this word is significant, and places the whole proceedings in a very different light.

Supposing, then, that one party refused to pay what the council had awarded, the elders would tell the other to take it by force while they were present to prevent fighting. I have, however, more than once in such cases known the whole assembly to be driven away by a truculent litigant. When asked about this the elders generally say that the parties fought, and had it not been so, there would formerly have been no fighting. More often, however, one party would engage a wizard to put witchcraft on the other, or he would do it himself by *kithito*, *kisasi*, or other means. Before, however, the elders could hear the case, it was necessary for both parties to appear, and if either refused there was no one to force him to attend; it is true that they then generally assumed that party to be in the wrong, but if he refused to appear he was also likely to decline to obey. The fact is that as both parties came with their own elders, so they had agreed to "make a *kiama*"; in fact the case was submitted to the elders by mutual consent. The consent of the defendant to do so may be taken as an admission of some liability, even if not exactly corresponding to the claim made against him. If he recognised no claim he would not appear. Hence at the present day it is difficult to induce a native to appear to answer a charge which he entirely repudiates; his mere appearance is regarded as an admission, and accordingly the native carries this idea further and presupposes that when he is arrested and brought before a court the case has already gone against him.

If we now consider the methods adopted by the elders and the means available to them, we shall see that we must regard the council in a light quite different from that of a court as generally understood by us. They have no measures whereby they could command the submission of anyone: they met on the invitation of both parties, and they consulted as to the case, but they did not decide obscure facts; they left these to divine judgment. When they actually settled a case they did not enforce that settlement, though they might support the successful party in his endeavour to demand satisfaction.

If the elders can be induced freely to express themselves on the subject, they will always say that their chief duty was to prevent strife between creditors and debtors, and to prevent both from resorting to supernatural powers and open hostilities; nor was it their duty to condemn and punish this one or that. It was for them to say how the matter could be settled in accordance with recognised custom, and they were in fact witnesses to such a settlement. The judicial council of elders may therefore be described rather as a court of arbitration than a court of decision. This is the true character of the council, though I will not say that occasionally it did not assume a more decisive attitude. Such a change would, however, only come about when a dispute occasioned general concern, either because of the frequency of a crime or because it appeared extraordinarily dangerous. Then the matter would be taken up, perhaps regardless of precedent,



from motives of self-preservation. Thus *kingolle* or *nwinge* was resorted to only when no other course could ensure the security of the community. The necessary consent of the relatives, and the secrecy observed regarding the occurrence, convince me that it was not regarded as a legal measure, but rather as a violation of law rendered necessary for self-protection against a dangerous character, who, by his misdeeds, had deprived himself of the protection of the law.

The mediatorial character of the council of elders is in evidence to-day, and must be continually borne in mind when dealing with them. It often appears that the elders are negligently indifferent to what results from their deliberations, and that they wantonly debase their authority by allowing it to be defied. At one time it was feared that they would abuse their powers of imprisonment, but it soon appeared that they reluctantly exercised this power, and in fact elders have expressed doubts as to whether they would not be liable for blood-money should a man convicted by them die in goal. This betrays merely the old desire to evade responsibility, and unfamiliarity with the idea of decisive and authoritative action.

The native council, when it assembles, must contain many members who know the facts of the case before them. Often they are known to all of them, and in fact a council in which there are no such persons is regarded as incompetent to deal with the case. This marks a great difference from our own courts, which are supposed to be unacquainted with matters which come before them. The result is, of course, that the magistrate asks questions which make obvious his ignorance of the matter, and the native does not see the advantage of enlightening him where such would damage his cause. Hence much perjury is occasioned, more by our peculiar methods than by the natural untruthfulness of the native, to whom nothing could be more astonishing than that a case should be settled by one who himself knows nothing about it. When, therefore, an elder acting as an assessor in a high court case, blandly told the judge that he could give no opinion as to the "guilt" of the accused, "because I was not there," he was merely speaking as a member of the council, and expressing what to him was the only reasonable opinion.

#### COMPENSATION AND OFFENCES.

Since the law of "might is right" was suppressed in Europe, an offence became mainly a breach of a law, and it is primarily this, and not the injury resulting to anyone, which constitutes the offence. We have, however, means of claiming damages for injuries done to us without the commission of an offence coming into question, and our law is thus divided into criminal and civil law. It is natural, on the other hand, in a community in which there is no supreme authority, to stamp this or that act as an offence. It is not the disobedience to any law which constitutes the offence, but the injury done to a person. In consequence the whole attitude of the law is transformed from its public to a private character. By



agreement the public authority steps in to arbitrate between private persons, and no offence concerns the public, unless its frequency threatens the public welfare; and while we cannot make good our defaults towards the State, we can compensate the individual. The distinction between that which can be amended, and that which cannot, therefore does not exist in native law, and hence there is no division into criminal and civil law. Any such distinction is therefore quite out of place and unmeaning when applied to native law.

It is no doubt a reasonable theory that compensation is not an adequate deterrent from crime, but we should not condemn it hastily. It should be borne in mind that the fact that compensation has taken the place of punishment, has excluded a vast amount of cruelty which might otherwise have been inflicted, not merely wantonly but in ignorance. Punishment is almost unknown and therefore the fear of injustice in the form of cruelty is a mere spectre. Punishment, especially with natives, is apt to be forgotten; it is of a certain duration only, but compensation is lasting. As long as a man lives, and after his death, his children will see his cattle increasing in the village of another.

However cruel English law was in times gone by, it was incapable of deterring from crime those whose ignorance forced them to it, and this applies in a greater degree to primitive men whose feelings and emotions are largely beyond their control. The native has no natural inclination to crime. In his proper mode of living the criminal class is practically non-existent, but on the other hand he is not easily to be deterred from doing that which his inclinations for the moment suggest. It cannot, however, be seriously thought that the infliction of punishments, without any other aid to intellectual development, would raise the standard of society, and therefore compensation was adequate to the state of society. A sterner law under the old condition of things could have served no purpose, and must have led to much oppression and crime. Nevertheless, we must not overlook several circumstances which acted as deterrents. Although the respectable native had little to fear, and the gravity of an offence was not the telling point, the frequency of crime rendered a person liable to public vengeance. Those who fell into depraved habits would not easily know when their acts had exasperated public patience, and the uncertainty as to this must have been a matter of real fear. The decrease of a man's wealth by frequent demands for compensation would affect the interests of clan and family alike, and we may be sure that both would do their utmost to restrain their members from excessive crime. The greatest deterrent must, however, have been the fear of private revenge, just as it was among ourselves before organized government substituted public revenge for it. Revenges might be by *kithitos*, curses, poisons, but most frequently by open violence. There being no State to protect the individual, he was safest who had fewest enemies, and he who had many went in constant fear of his life.

Attempts are now made to restore the useful elements of the old order of things, but while we have allowed the law of compensation, we have abolished the



fear of private revenge, without which compensation is indeed an insufficient means of restricting crime.

I hope to show more clearly later that compensation implies more than the mere payment for an injury. It seems that every offence leaves the dregs of its evil, which can only be wiped out by compensation. In Kikuyu, the custom of *lokwaru*, or purification, is observed in every case of injury done. This is performed by the elders, who offer a sacrifice and attach a piece of the skin of the animal sacrificed to the injured part of the body. Among the Akamba there is no such custom, but the idea seems to prevail that unless compensation is paid the bad effects of the crime will remain.

From the schedules of compensations given it will appear that these are not reckoned haphazard, but on a certain basis. Some elders, being asked once what compensation a man should pay for causing the loss of both legs to another, replied that they had never heard of such a case, but since a man who had lost both legs would not be regarded as a man at all, full bloodmoney should be paid. Bloodmoney is perhaps the basis of all compensations for bodily injuries, but how other offences were determined at their present amounts we cannot say; they are, however, all representative of the degree of gravity attached to them, and incidentally also of the general wealth of the tribe.

## HOMICIDE.

### *Definition of Homicide.*

The killing of a human being is always one and the same offence, regardless of the circumstances under which it is committed. Neither in this nor any other offence are provocation, self-defence, or unintended acts, accepted as extenuating circumstances. Severe as this general rule may seem, it has its reasons. Undoubtedly any relaxation in this respect would result in increased bloodshed, and its maintenance prevents fine distinctions being drawn between intentional, and unintentional or negligent acts, while it enforces care and restraint upon men's actions. I recollect a case in which a man had found a cow in his field eating the crops, and in driving it out he struck it sufficiently hard to cause its death; he was obliged to pay its full value, the elders holding that he had struck it with unnecessary violence, and they remarked that if protection of property were accepted as a justification, human beings might be killed under the same plea.<sup>1</sup> So strict is this broad rule that Kikuyu elders have told me that if a man were seized by a lion, and his friend wishing to save him were to throw a spear, he would be liable for compensation if he inadvertently struck the man instead of the lion.

In this connection we may note the following rule: In Ukamba, if a man

<sup>1</sup> See exception under "Theft."



strikes a corpse he is liable for full bloodmoney,<sup>1</sup> in Kikuyu he must pay approximately half (but in Ndia one-third). The same payments are due if he should take any part in a fatal fight, although he may have inflicted only the slightest wounds, and in such case he must observe the ordinary ceremonies required for purification.<sup>2</sup>

It is by no means necessary that death should ensue immediately or within a given period: it is sufficient that a blow or wound inflicted is ultimately the cause of death, no matter how many years may have elapsed between the two events. To European ideas these rules may appear unreasonable, perhaps pointless, but in view of the lenient methods adopted to prevent homicide it is a wise precaution to give a wide meaning to this offence.

The custom of the Akamba provides an exception to the general rule of liability, accidental killing being here compensated by only half the amount of bloodmoney. This is called *mbanga*. The same word is used in Kikuyu but in a different sense. *Mbanga* in this tribe signifies the killing of a man by some property or animal belonging to another; I have had cases of this order such as death caused by a hive falling from a tree, and one or two instances of people killed by bees. Most frequently, however, they occur through injury done by cattle. In these cases the elders in Kyambu adjudge half bloodmoney, but possibly this is not the original custom, since no such practice exists in other sections of the Akikuyu or among the Akamba; with these the general rule is that the article or animal which caused death is given to the deceased's relatives. In the case of female animals their unweaned young are also given, but no other of their progeny;<sup>3</sup> nothing, however, can be claimed if the person killed was previously warned of the danger, nor, of course, if he was at the time attempting to steal. But on the other hand if he was sent, or engaged, to handle the article or animal, full bloodmoney is due, provided that he was not so sent by his father or guardian.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Exemptions from Payment of Bloodmoney.*

The following exceptions to the general rule as to liability for bloodmoney may be noted. If two men kill each other in a fight, compensation is dispensed with, and a man may kill another whom he sees in the act of killing his brother, without paying compensation. So also, if a murder is committed and compensation refused, it may be taken by force, and if anyone is killed in the fight no bloodmoney is paid. Akikuyu elders have also told me that a man may refuse to accept bloodmoney, and may instead kill the murderer or his relative. In short,

<sup>1</sup> But in such case the elders would sanction no use of force in the recovery of bloodmoney; they would sweep the path between the two villages with their *matathi* leaves and the goats would go of their own accord to the claimant's village.

<sup>2</sup> I have not enquired as to this latter point in Ukamba.

<sup>3</sup> In Ndia this is called *ndirro*, meaning "I have no luck."

<sup>4</sup> In Ukamba the father would in such case give a cow to the deceased's brothers, who hold it as common property. A cow so held is called *kiuamba*.



any two deaths may be treated as a set-off one against the other, provided that the slayer in the second instance was nearly related to the first victim; in reality, this is, of course, only so because equal compensation is due from both sides, and therefore payment would only be an exchange. In Ukamba, this is said to have been recognised as lawful only since the great famine, and it must not be supposed that it is regarded anywhere with approval; in fact it is to prevent such retaliations that the elders at once intervene when a man has been killed.

*Causing Death of Relations.*

Although the circumstances under which a man is killed are immaterial, the relationship between him and the slayer is a point upon which the crime and manner of compensating it greatly depend. In all three tribes a man may kill his wife without paying any compensation, for the simple reason that no one could claim for the death but himself. Any balance of dowry due at the time must, however, be paid, and in Ukamba the father of the woman claims by right one cow, whereas he could only receive it by gift if the dowry had been paid in full. In this tribe no other relationship entirely exempts from compensation. If a man kills his own daughter, her brother is entitled to two cows and a bull, but if he kills his mother he must pay four cows and a bull. If a son is killed by the father, half bloodmoney is claimed by the deceased's son, or failing a son, by a full or half brother; failing any of these the claim is made by a nephew, but an uncle can make no claim. A man who kills his father must pay seven cows and a bull (half bloodmoney) to his brothers or, if he has none, to his uncle's sons. In all these cases it appears that the claim can be made only by near relatives, but in absence of these the maternal grandfather may claim one cow in exchange for a bull. The clan is excluded from any share, although it contributes as in any other case of homicide. If a man kills any distant relative, or a clansman living in the same locality, he must pay half bloodmoney, but if he slays a clansman not residing in his district he is liable for full bloodmoney. No further reduction is made if in these cases the death was accidentally caused, but in such case it should be settled by arrangement with the clan and family. In fact most cases between relatives are dealt with by these, and not by the council of elders.

Some doubts may be entertained as to whether the custom in vogue in respect to these cases is original to the Akamba, but the reason given for it is that payment alone can finally settle the matter, which might otherwise be revived between descendants who, having drifted apart, would not regard it as an inter-family affair. I am told also that the custom is the same in Machakos, where the old laws are said to have been more purely retained than in Kitui.

In Theraka if a man kills his brother he pays only one bull to the clan, but for the death of a clansman full bloodmoney is due. I regret that I am unacquainted with the rules applied by this tribe to homicide committed against other relatives.

Among the Akikuyu of Kyambu district, a man who kills his brother must



pay three bulls to his clan, and two sheep to the elders; in Tetu (Nyeri), one bull and eighteen goats are paid to the clan and two goats to the deceased's mother. The elders assemble and make a mock settlement, in which a hundred pellets of goat dung are given to the father. At Mazera, nine goats are paid to the mother's and father's clan each, plus two large sheep to the latter. I have not enquired further into this subject in Kyambu, but in Nyeri district the following is the custom: the killing of a father, mother, sister, or daughter, is not compensated at all, excepting in Ndia, where a man who kills his father has to pay one bull to the clan. If a woman is killed by her own son one large sheep must be given to the father. In Tetu and Ndia a man who kills his own son must pay one bull to his clan, but in Mazera nine goats are paid to the father's, and nine to the mother's clan. For the slaying of a member of the clan, half bloodmoney is paid in Kyambu and Mazera, besides one bull to the clan and a cow to the mother, but in Tetu full bloodmoney is paid. It may well be that there is a certain amount of confusion in these rules, and it must be remembered that such cases are so rare that the elders generally can only go by what has been done in some previous case which they recollect.

It must appear as curious that relationship and clanship tend to reduce the amount of compensation due, but this is largely because bloodmoney, being intended to replace by goods a life, and the slayer having an interest or share in that life, the amount is reduced accordingly as his share is greater or less. Thus a husband has sole share in his wife's person, and therefore he can compensate no one. From these facts we must, however, more clearly perceive that compensation is not to be confounded with punishment, for it is least where the relationship is closest, and among people with whom the family bond is so remarkably close we cannot assume that the slaying of a father or son is regarded as a minor offence. Indeed it is said that a parricide is doomed to die himself. An incident related to me as absolutely authentic, told of a man who, having speared his father, was cursed by the dying parent, and forbidden ever to drink water or eat food excepting from remote localities. For some time the unhappy man lived on sugar cane juice, but one day, forgetting the curse, he drank water from the river, and being unable to swallow it, died of suffocation. Leprosy is believed to be one of the results of parricide. Compensation, it must be remembered, wipes out the offence, but where nothing is paid the crime remains, and we can imagine the resentment shown to a man who deprives his own family of a member, yet cannot replace him in any way. In Kikuyu if the one who kills his father survives, his family deprives him of his inheritance, and in Ukamba if he refuses to pay, his brothers will kill him. A man who kills his mother is said never to find a woman who will marry him.

*Causing Death of, and by, Strangers.*

If a Mkamba kills a foreigner in Ukamba he must pay full bloodmoney to the Mkamba with whom the stranger lived, if he was an adopted son (i.e. if his host



had bought him a wife), otherwise only four cows are paid, or two only if the stranger was not able-bodied.<sup>1</sup> In Theraka and among the Ndia Kikuyu the life of a stranger must be compensated, even though he was staying with the one claiming only for one day.

In Ukamba, Theraka, and Ndia, if a stranger kills anyone his host must under all circumstances pay full bloodmoney.

Among other sections of the Akikuyu, bloodmoney for murder of, or by, a stranger can only be claimed if the stranger was fully adopted by the claimant, or if he had entered into blood-brotherhood with a member of the family.

### *Causing Death of Cripples.*

From the lists of compensation for hurts, it appears that the loss of a leg, for instance, is reckoned at about one-third of full bloodmoney. Now if a man has received such compensation it is deducted from the bloodmoney due if he is subsequently killed. This rule is, however, only applicable in cases of very serious injuries, and in Kikuyu there is a difference of opinion as to whether it holds good if the death is caused by some person other than the one who inflicted the hurt. Such cases are perhaps too rare to have established a general rule, but the underlying idea seems to be that more than the value of a man's life must never be paid for his person. No deduction is made if the person killed was crippled or deformed from birth.

### *Payment of Bloodmoney.*

Homicide seems to be the only offence affecting not only one individual. A man who has committed such an offence goes to all his clansmen and begs contributions towards the bloodmoney; this is done to the present day, and to refuse such assistance is regarded as shameful, and as equivalent to a denial of kinship. Yet the clan will not commence the payment: the debtor must first say what he is prepared to pay, and if he is destitute of means the clan will not subscribe. This explains how it is that occasionally daughters are given in payment, a practice which would otherwise be impossible. The Ndia Akikuyu do not resort to this means. There, and elsewhere most commonly, it is found better to obtain dowry for a daughter, and to give this in payment. Not infrequently I have known land to be given in lieu of stock.

The greater part of the bloodmoney is subscribed by the clan, but not in the form of a loan. For while the clansmen pay at one time, in the reverse case, when one of that clan is killed, they receive a share of the bloodmoney; in fact the claimant by no means retains the whole of the amount paid.

<sup>1</sup> Strangers are very often detained and housed on account of sickness.

*Distribution of Bloodmoney.*

Bloodmoney is divided as follows in ordinary cases of homicide—that is to say where no relationship exists between the parties:—

*In Ukamba.*<sup>1</sup>—The senior member of the family, the maternal grandfather, a half-brother (provided he does not live in the same village as the deceased), and any village of the same clan situated in the neighbourhood,<sup>2</sup> are each given a cow in exchange for a bull. The bulls are slaughtered to provide a feast for the clan. The cows thus obtained may not be sold or disposed of, but should this be done, the recipient must pay another cow to the family. The remainder of the cattle are retained by the claimant, but are allotted to the deceased's wives.

*In Theraka :—*

5	goats	given	to	the	deceased's	mother.
20	"	"	"	"	claimant.	
8	"	"	"	"	clan	(these are intended for purchase of a large bull to be eaten).

The balance is divided amongst as many members of the family as they will suffice for; each is given two or three, but nothing is given in exchange. The one who makes the claim is of course ordinarily the eldest son, but if he is married the twenty goats retained are given to an unmarried son. The reason given for this is that the father had provided for the elder son by buying him a wife, but left the younger son unprovided for. In addition to the sixty goats, twenty are paid to the elders settling the case; these twenty goats are supposed to be assessed, that is to say, for every act so many are paid. As, for instance, for shooting an arrow, two goats, for going out armed, two goats, etc., etc.; this is, however, merely a nominal calculation, since the elders will always make the sum up to twenty, including those eaten by them while settling the case.<sup>3</sup> As these twenty goats are sometimes quoted together with bloodmoney, and at other times omitted, bloodmoney is variously stated to be sixty and eighty goats; some have made it to be a hundred, but this I feel sure is a confusion with the Kikuyu custom, which the Atheraka are very fond of imitating.

*In Kikuyu :—*

(a) Kyambu District : Bloodmoney 109 goats.

9	goats	given	to	the	maternal	grandfather.
20	"	"	"	"	clan.	
50	"	"	"	"	claimant.	
30	"	"	"	"	deceased's	brothers and their sons.

<sup>1</sup> In matters of bloodmoney fourteen sheep or goats are reckoned equivalent to one cow, but ordinarily a cow is valued at thirty sheep and goats. This may indicate the former price of cattle.

<sup>2</sup> From these, of course, the principal contributions have been obtained.

<sup>3</sup> During this time the elders live at the murderer's village and are given a sheep every day.



(b) Tetu: Bloodmoney 110 goats.

Each brother of the deceased is given ten goats, and the clan takes ten to buy a bull for slaughtering, the balance going to the claimant.

(c) Ndia: Bloodmoney 15 cows, 1 bull, and 4 goats, or 159 goats.<sup>1</sup>

9 goats are given to the maternal grandfather, the bull is slaughtered by the clan. The rest is divided among the sons or brothers as the case may be, but a half-brother has no share, though he may be given one cow.<sup>2</sup>

With all these tribes the rule is the same with regard to compensation for a married woman; the husband is the only claimant and the only recipient. In Ukamba, however, it is customary to give the woman's father one cow and a bull, and in Kikuyu it is usual to give him ten goats, but this cannot be claimed by right.

It should be remarked that when a native speaks of killing a woman, he instinctively contemplates only death in childbirth resulting from illicit intercourse. He cannot conceive that a man should intentionally kill a woman, for this would not be done even in time of war, nor is it likely that a woman should be mixed up in brawls.

Bloodmoney for a woman is in Ukamba approximately half, but in Kikuyu one-third of that for a man. This amount corresponds to the average price of dowry, excepting in Ndia, where one-third of bloodmoney for a female is twenty goats in excess of ordinary dowry.

#### *Purification after Homicide.*

Although the price of human life is the highest known, since it is paid by many individuals it comes in actual fact less heavily on the offender himself than many other crimes of a less serious nature. If, however, we would gain a just idea of the light in which the native regards homicide, we must look below the mere legal facts, and know all that he himself connects with the subject.

The weapon which has destroyed human life is looked upon with awe and dread. Having once caused death it retains an evil propensity to carry death with it for ever. Among the Akikuyu and Atheraka, therefore, it is blunted and buried by the elders. The Akamba pursue a different method, more typical of their crafty character. The belief among them is that the arrow which has killed a man can never lose its fateful spirit, which abides with the one who possesses it. The bow also is possessed of the same spirit, and hence as soon as a Mkamba has killed anyone he will induce another by deceitful means to take it. The arrow is at first in possession of the relatives of the person killed; they will extract it from the wound and hide it at night near the murderer's village. The people there make search for it, and if found, either return it to the other village, or lay it somewhere

<sup>1</sup> Bloodmoney should be paid in cattle.

<sup>2</sup> Relationship is very close between sons of one mother, but not so between half-brothers of one father.



on a path, in the hopes that some passer-by will pick it up and thus transfer to himself the curse. But people are wary of such finds, and thus mostly possession of the arrow remains with the murderer.

The Kikuyu who has killed a man washes his head and is shaved by his mother or some other old woman.

The Akamba call an arrow which has caused death *etumo*, which means a spear.<sup>1</sup> They themselves say that formerly they used very small spears instead of bows and arrows, and possibly, therefore, when the word for a spear denotes an arrow in this sense it is a relic of archaic times and customs. The following ceremony is also called *etumo*. The first portion of the bloodmoney to be paid consists of one cow, a bull, and a goat, and these are called *ngombe sya etumo*. These animals are taken to the murdered man's village, where the elders assemble towards evening; the murderer and members of his family may not be present. The goat is first killed and seven pieces are cut from the throat, and handed on wooden skewers to the widow and her brother-in-law to eat. A small portion of meat is generally taken secretly to the murderer's village and buried there, in doing which the bearer says, "Now I return the evil to you." After the eating of the meat the elders retire, and the widow and her brother-in-law must have sexual connection. The elders then return and the bull is killed. Half the meat is eaten by the elders, and the other half by the murdered man's family, but a little is sent to the murderer, who must eat it the same night and have connection with his wife. If he cannot by reason of distance observe this, he *must do so* on the following third, fifth, or seventh day.<sup>2</sup> The meat in the village must all be eaten on the same night, and none of the bones may be broken or cut. In the morning they are taken away by the elders and thrown into the bush; the hide must also be taken away and may be used by one of the elders, if he is not of the same clan as the deceased. The cow is given to the widow as her own property.

The Theraka after killing a man must kill a goat, the blood of which is smeared on small incisions made all over his body by an elder. I have already mentioned the custom observed by the Akikuyu in this respect.

These rites are intended for purification, and if omitted the direst consequences ensue, for the murderer will continue to slay friends and foes alike. In Ukamba, not only the murderer but the family of his victim are subject to this baleful fate. So essential is the *etumo* ceremony that whereas formerly, when fighting became the order of the day and it was regarded as justifiable to avenge the death of a relative, the *etumo* was always faithfully paid and performed, further compensation was dispensed with. Even when a man's son is killed in war, a goat is slaughtered for the performance of a reduced form of the *etumo* ceremony.

<sup>1</sup> Arrow = *mirye*.

<sup>2</sup> Odd numbers are unlucky and so also the uneven number of days after an unlucky event. A man must not cease to herd cattle on a day which makes an uneven number after the day he commenced. Seven is the worst of all numbers; witchcraft is said to have a seven days' period of incubation.



Purification is performed in all cases of homicide, no matter of whom and under what circumstances.

There is one curious point about the custom in Theraka, namely that, if a man has killed a stranger, the purification is performed in public, but if he has killed a member of the tribe it is done secretly. If the aggrieved party can prove that it was accomplished, he may claim seven goats in addition to bloodmoney. In either case if it is omitted the slayer is shunned by everyone. He is turned off the path if he meets people or cattle, and even his own mother may not eat out of the same bowl of food with him.<sup>1</sup> The difference thus made between the murder of a tribesman and of a stranger can only be explained, I think, by assuming that in the former case the relatives of the man killed resent the murderer's evasion of the just reward of his crime; while in the latter case the tribe approves of the purification. It is evident, however, that the evil attaching to homicide is not confined to such offence committed within the tribe.

#### *Peace-making after Homicide.*

The *etumo* ceremony in Ukamba seems to effect a certain amount of reconciliation between the hostile families. In Kikuyu this is achieved by both parties taking the oath of *muuma*, and one of the principal duties of the elders is to insist on this being done, and that both swear to be reconciled.

In Theraka, immediately after a man has been killed, the elders of his neighbourhood go to the murderer's village, and remain there until the affair is settled. Their object is partly the settlement of payment, partly the prevention of hostilities, and, finally, the performance of the following ceremony of peace-making:—The offender and claimant are taken to a river by the elders. A sheep and a goat are provided, of which the sheep is killed first and its fat smeared over the eyes of the two men so that they cannot see. They are then led up to a hole which has been dug in the ground, and between them the goat is placed. The two men must then between them force the goat's head into the hole, which is filled up, and the animal is thus held until it is suffocated. After this the two men must break the legs of the goat with their hands and as they do so an elder speaks to them thus: "You are now as brothers, if you quarrel you shall be broken as these bones." The burying of the goat's head, and the breaking of its bones, are, of course, more than two men can ordinarily do, especially when blindfolded, but the elders assist them as much as may be necessary.

I have related these mysterious and primitive customs because they seem to me to indicate more clearly that these tribes conceive homicide to be an offence entailing a fatality which is almost inexorable. Those who can attribute to a crime such direful results cannot be supposed to regard it as a trifling affair, and there must be an inborn horror of taking human life. The native is, in fact, not often guilty of murder, as we commonly understand the term. Of premeditated

<sup>1</sup> I remember the indignation expressed by some Theraka convicts at being put in one gang with a suspected murderer.



murder I have only known two cases, but ninety per cent. of the cases of people being killed may be said to be due to drunken brawls, and invariably these arise between persons whose youth would, under the old custom, have prevented them from drinking intoxicating liquors.<sup>1</sup>

Should the native, in the general downward course of degeneracy, which is all too conspicuous to-day, lose his natural ideas as to the value of human life and the consequences of destroying it, there will be little left that could deter him from this offence. Such ideals as he has are based upon a general principle as to the sanctity of life. To destroy it is something unnatural, and opposed to religion, but now he sees capital punishment inflicted as an act of justice, and this must be a revelation to him which may easily detract from the strength of his former beliefs—the more so as the judicial proceeding makes him a party to the act. A life for a life is not a familiar doctrine to him, nor an equitable measure: it only became so in a time of disorder. Therefore, to the respectable native capital punishment is repugnant, and to all alike it is a useless measure. Natives see no object in increasing death, but, worst of all, so far from improving matters, it only tends to augment the evil by keeping alive revengeful feelings which their custom is at such pains to eliminate.

The native regards the subject in this light, and whether he is right or wrong is another matter. It will be difficult to disillusion him without the most undesirable results to his morals, and I cannot but think that, primitive as his ideas are in this matter, there is yet much that commends itself even to civilised minds.

#### HURT.

In general there is no difference made in the compensation paid for hurts done intentionally, or accidentally, and whether done to a man or a woman. It will, however, be noticed that in some cases of serious injuries the ordinary compensation would amount to more than bloodmoney for a woman; in such cases the compensation is reduced to half the amount, but in Kikuyu it is reckoned at about one-third.<sup>2</sup>

In parts of Nyeri District no such reduction is made, and in consequence the compensation for a woman's life and the loss of a finger is, in both cases, thirty goats. The elders admit the inconsistency of this, but do not know how else to compensate such hurt. The truth as elicited from the elders is that a woman would so extremely rarely be embroiled in any serious fight that the councils have never had to deal with such cases, and having no rule established by precedent, they merely abide by the established law, which awards thirty goats for the loss of a finger.

Compensation for hurt done to a female is appropriated by her father or husband, as the case may be. In Ukamba, however, that which is paid or

<sup>1</sup> Young men were never allowed this privilege. The old rule was that a man could not drink liquor until he had a circumcised child. At the present day youths of all ages drink.

<sup>2</sup> In Kikuyu, bloodmoney for a woman is only one-third that paid for a man.



due ultimately belongs to the husband when the girl gets married. If it is already paid, the husband will claim it from the father; if the injury was caused at any time previous to the girl's marriage, but was not compensated at the time, the husband may claim it from the offender. The Atheraka have some curious and primitive rules in this respect. If a man severely injures a girl, he is obliged to take her in marriage, and to pay full dowry for her; if he injures a man's wife so as to impair her usefulness, he must pay the amount of dowry to enable the husband to buy another wife. In this tribe, and among the Akikuyu, a man cannot claim for compensation due for hurt done to his wife before he married her, but his children can. If a girl has two suitors and the father quarrels with one and injures him, he is bound to bestow his daughter on that suitor. Another curious law among the Theraka provides that if a man is damaged on the right hand or arm the compensation belongs to him, but if he is damaged on the left hand or arm, half the compensation belongs to his mother's family, because "the left arm belongs to the mother's family."

In Kikuyu a man can claim, in addition to any other compensation, two large goats, if he is so injured as to be laid up in his hut, or incapacitated from his ordinary pursuits. A claim to this amounts to a definition of the hurt as "grievous," similar to that under the Indian Penal Code. The Akamba are good surgeons and skilfully sew up wounds with thorns. The amount of compensation for wounds not otherwise provided for is then reckoned by the number of thorns required to sew up the wound; each thorn is reckoned as one goat, to which is added another goat for slaughtering, and a third for the suffering in the event of many "stitches" being required.

#### SEXUAL OFFENCES.

In Ukamba free love is permitted among young boys and girls, but not to the warrior class and marriageable girls. In Kikuyu no such indulgence is permitted to any class of persons. A contrary opinion is often gained owing to confusion in the terms used; the fact is that young men and girls may go to any extreme of intimacy short of actual sexual connection, and such intimacy is generally practised.<sup>1</sup>

All sections of the Akikuyu in Nyeri District seem to follow much the same rules in respect to sexual offences, and it is curious that whereas no difference is made between illicit intercourse with a married woman and a girl, there is a very much more severe penalty for causing a girl to become pregnant<sup>2</sup> than in the case of a married woman. The reason for this may appear from the following: If a man marries a girl and then returns her to her father after she has conceived for the first time, ten goats are deducted from the dowry to be returned to him, and so also if a married woman is seduced and made pregnant for the first time the adulterer must pay ten goats. It seems thus that a price is set upon primipares which is fixed at ten goats, and hence also is charged for causing a girl to become enceinte.

<sup>1</sup> This is called *ugwiko*.

<sup>2</sup> Provided it is the first time that she has been with child.



Rape appears to be regarded as the same whether committed upon an unmarried girl or a wife, but the elders seem to require extremely little proof in the former case, for the fact that a girl complains is quite sufficient. I have not enquired into the first of these two points in Kyambu, but I do not think that any such rule exists, as I never heard of such cases, whereas in Nyeri they are constant subjects of litigation.

Sexual offences are very leniently dealt with, and at the present time the resulting immorality, especially among the younger men, is keenly felt by the elders, who often show an inclination to increase the penalties prescribed by the old customs. I am inclined to think that custom was rigorous in sexual matters, and that the relations between unmarried people were probably less loose. The intimacy I have spoken of generally indicated that marriage would result, and was thus as it were a period of affiance.

It was believed that if men and women cohabited during the hours in which the cattle were out grazing, this would cause the stock to die. It would also bring ill-luck upon the village if a man had sexual intercourse with a woman when on a journey. Such customs must have effected a good deal of restraint in respect to sexual passions, but most effectual was the belief in *makwa*. There is, therefore, reason to suppose that formerly sexual immorality was not rife in these tribes. At the same time, however, offences of this nature were not to be controlled by law, but the weakness of the law was supported by custom. There may be, and probably are, a great many other points of custom which tend towards the preservation of morality. It may be well to point out here that in almost every ceremony, among the Akamba in particular, the act of cohabitation is introduced, and seems more or less to sanctify the ceremony. Sexual relationship thereby acquires a peculiar aspect of importance, and in a certain measure raises women above the position of mere drudges. We can therefore reasonably suppose that custom aims most strongly at the preservation of this morality.

I have heard it asserted, and it is an assumption which one is prone to accept, that the law empowered a man to kill another caught in the act of adultery with his wife. I have been assured in all three tribes that this is not the case; it was certainly regarded as a justification which would not lead to continued hostilities, but it did not exempt from compensation. It is inconceivable that these people should hold an offence so easily compensated as sufficient provocation to justify the most serious and disastrous of crimes. Even defence of a man's life did not exempt him from liability for homicide, and I am therefore convinced that the killing of an adulterer was not permitted under any circumstances; in fact, it is often said, though not rigorously adhered to, that if a man had not been an eye-witness to the adultery of his wife he could claim nothing. On the other hand, adultery would frequently lead to hostilities and revenge, the absence of which is again, I think, contributory to the present-day laxness of morality.

It is customary for a man to offer a visitor the hut of one of his wives, and the *usus* of his wife, provided that the visitor is of about the same age as his host.



Children born of such, or of unlawful unions, are in all cases taken possession of by the father or husband of the woman, as the case may be, but the child of an unmarried woman is taken by her husband when she marries.

No difference is made between illegitimate and legitimate children.

Very frequently an old man will allow his sons to have sexual relations with his young wives. I cannot say if this was sanctioned by ancient custom, but at the present day it is regarded as perfectly lawful.

At the present day native women may leave their homes and live as prostitutes in the towns, or in concubinage with aliens, but prostitution among women within the tribe seems to be unknown.

Speaking generally, I should say that the women are at least loyal to their husbands, nor should I be inclined to charge them with faithlessness. Real affection between husband and wife is by no means uncommon, and we cannot too often be mindful of the fact that instances of the reverse, however numerous they may be, must by no means be accepted as the rule. There are infinitely more numerous cases in which conjugal ties are faithfully observed, and these must be regarded as the rule.

#### THEFT.

##### *Theft of Stock.*

The offence of theft would formerly be most commonly restricted to the taking of stock, and this is the only form of provocation known to me which is admitted. Both in Ukamba and in Kikuyu a man was entitled to kill a thief caught in the act of taking stock, without being liable for compensation; in Ndia, it is said that the elders themselves would give the order for this to be done, if they were present. I am inclined to think that this right was not frequently exercised. Indeed, many elders are not prepared to say whether a claim to compensation would be waived if the thief were a man of the locality in which he stole, and nothing could prevent the relatives retaliating through witchcraft, if there was any possibility of their discovering the slayer. It was, therefore, always at least unwise to kill even a thief. Natives are very apt to maintain that there was a definite rule on this subject, but nearly always it will be found that they contemplate only cases of strangers stealing stock. In fact it would be very difficult for a man to steal stock in his own neighbourhood, since he could not easily hide it. A man who frequently stole stock would in the end be put to death by public consent, and the same fate awaited the one who stole honey or hives.<sup>1</sup> Hives being placed in trees in uninhabited country, often several days' journey from the owner's village, it is natural that very severe penalties were required to protect the owners<sup>2</sup>; the mere fact of being found in a tree containing

<sup>1</sup> In Kikuyu when a thief was thus killed the head was severed from the body and thrown away, and the body was placed on the pathway somewhere; this is said to have been done in order to make discovery of the slayer more difficult.

<sup>2</sup> They were also protected by very potent charms.



hives was in Ukamba regarded as equivalent to theft. In the last-named country, theft of honey or hives was punished by payment of seven goats, in Kikuyu ten goats had to be paid.

The penalty for stealing stock in Kikuyu was otherwise ten times the value of whatever was taken, besides three sheep for the elders, and this penalty was imposed on every person taking part in the theft. Any man who ate the meat of a stolen beast had to pay three sheep. If the thief had entered a hut<sup>1</sup> by excavating a hole through the wall, or if he had opened a kraal, a large sheep had to be killed for a sacrifice before the stock could be kept there again, and this also had to be paid by the thief.

### *Theft of Property other than Stock.*

Theft of articles of trifling value was punished in Kikuyu by payment of a sheep to the elders, and the article had to be restored. Theft of arms in Kyambu District entailed a penalty of two goats, but elsewhere in Kikuyu it is said that a new spear, or other weapon taken, had to be supplied. In the same country, if field produce is stolen one sheep is paid to the owner and one to the elders; in Kyambu it is said that this form of theft was dealt with by payment of six goat-skins and one sheep for the elders; the skin of the latter, together with the six others, were given to the owner. Owing to the enhanced value of field produce at the present day the elders recognise that the old custom is not severe enough, and as they have no precedent for dealing with it otherwise, they leave such cases to the European Courts.

The Theraka do not seem to have devised any degrees of theft. If the attempt is discovered before it is actually committed, only a fee of one goat is paid, but if the theft is committed seven goats are claimed. If a man steals from a member of his clan the penalty is in all cases only one goat, but the clan will compel him to take an oath that he will not steal from anyone again.

Thefts from members of one tribe or section of a tribe are uncommon, and the offence is, comparatively speaking, severely dealt with. Above all it is recognised as provocation which may be a justification for causing death. It should be noted here that theft is the only offence in which we may speak of a fine being imposed, for, although the offence is amended by restoration of the property, over and above there is a payment due which far exceeds the value of that taken. Nevertheless this payment is made to the aggrieved party, and not to the public authority, so that the advancement of this crime to a matter of punishment, and not mere compensation, has still left it in the light of a private matter. It is a wrong done to the individual and not to the community. The name of thief (Kikamba *kingei* and Kikuyu *mwichi*) carries a peculiar stigma with it, and while almost every other offence is attributed to circumstances rather than to character, that of theft signifies to the natives an unpardonable nature. Indeed, whereas they consider

<sup>1</sup> Sheep and goats are kept in dwelling huts.



that in general we deal too harshly with crime, I have often heard them regret that we are too lenient with thieves: the following uncomplimentary observation was overheard on one occasion, "The Government has come to help thieves and wizards."

Practically always when a native commits theft from another he is taking by force or stealth something which he claims, and this is regarded as a perfectly legitimate procedure. The offence is not lessened when committed against a stranger in the country, but theft, and, in fact, all other offences, committed in another country (tribe) are not dealt with; the law is not really different with us. At the present day natives can, of course, sue each other for offences committed in any part of the Protectorate, because we have made all tribes as one nation, but if this is contrary to the natural rudiments of law it is not to be wondered at, if, in consequence, the elders are biased in favour of their own countrymen. Yet even prior to our rule the beginnings of such litigation were established between the Akamba and Akikuyu, and although these two tribes were bitter enemies, the Akikuyu were allowed for a small price to redeem their wives and children taken from them in war, such transactions being settled by the elders. Similar exchanges would not have been contemplated between Akikuyu and Masai, and it is said that this difference was due to the tradition that long ago the Akamba and Akikuyu were friends, by which is probably meant that they were of one tribe.

#### WITCHCRAFT.

Natives do not believe that a man's life ceases from any natural cause other than sickness, but sickness may be due to many things. Therefore, when a man dies his relatives will review the whole of his life, and enquire if at any time he was struck or injured, and if such was the case they very naturally try to prove that this was the cause of his death. In some cases the proof will be that, ever since the deceased was damaged in such and such a way, he had been known to be ailing. If there is no such proof, or the injury was of recent date, or showed external symptoms, elders are summoned and the corpse is dissected. They do this with considerable skill, and undoubtedly by long practice they are often able to detect an injury to some organ. On the other hand, ignorance results often in the most absurd diagnosis.

If none of this appears likely, the death is invariably put down to witchcraft. The medicine men from far and near are consulted, and such and such a one is fixed upon as the culprit. Although, however, innumerable deaths, diseases, lunacy, and injuries to people and stock, are all attributed to witchcraft, and the evidence of medicine men supported by suspicions of others is accepted as conclusive proof, there is in none of these tribes any legal compensation due, or admission of litigations in respect to witchcraft. It seems that a man must resign himself to regarding such as part and parcel of the everyday risks of life, and the work of supernatural powers no less than of the wizard. On the other hand, a wizard ran

great risk of suffering death by the speedy method of public execution. The justice of this appears to us, of course, extremely doubtful, but the native spares no means to obtain proof, which to him is conclusive, and it is certain that many cases of so-called sorcery are real instances of poisoning.

Sorcerers in Ukamba and Theraka are almost exclusively women, but in Kikuyu they are mostly men; in the former country witch-doctors are constantly employed at great expense, and I have known them to be summoned from the coast to exhaust the evil spirits, the treatment costing in one case fifty rupees for every one treated.

In Kikuyu, sorcery may be practised by many methods, and certain people, such as hunters and smiths, may put witchcraft on others through the secrets of their professions. It is very common to obtain redress of injuries by engaging a wizard to bewitch the offender, who in order to be cured must first make amends and pay the wizard; such wizards often abuse their powers by picking some quarrel in order to be paid to bring about the cure which they alone can effect.

#### MARRIAGE (p. 284).



TABLE SHOWING COMPENSATION PAID FOR OFFENCES.

## UKAMBA.

Offence.	Amount.		Remarks.
	Kitui.	Mumoni.	
Killing of a man ...	13 cows and 2 bulls...	12 cows and 1 bull ...	In the south of Kitui 12 cows and 2 bulls are paid.
Ditto of a woman ...	7 " " 1 bull ...	7 " " 1 " ...	Ditto ditto 6 cows and 1 bull are paid.
Accidental killing of a man ...	7 " " 1 " "	...	...
Ditto ditto of a woman ...	4 " " 1 " "	...	...
Striking a corpse ...	Bloodmoney ...	Amount of bloodmoney ...	Called "second killing."
Causing loss of finger, toe, eye or nose ...	1 cow and 1 bull ...	1 cow and 1 bull.	...
Ditto ditto of both eyes ...	14 cows " 1 " "	7 cows " 1 " "	...
Ditto ditto of leg or arm ...	7 " " 1 " "	14 " " 1 " "	...
Ditto ditto of both legs, arms, or emasculation.	14 " " 1 " "	...	For destruction of one testicle, 4 cows and 2 bulls.
Breaking a leg or arm ...	1 cow " 1 " "	1 cow and 1 bull ...	Fracture above knee, 2 cows and 1 bull; if the leg is crippled, 7 cows and 1 bull are paid.
Causing loss of a tooth ...	1 goat ...	...	If accidental, a present of <i>liener</i> suffices.
Ditto ditto of an ear ...	5 goats ...	10 goats.	...
Tearing an ear ...	1 goat ...	1 goat.	...
Adultery and unlawful sexual connection.	1 bull and 1 goat ...	1 large bull, 1 goat, and honey ...	Formerly the bull had to be a very large one, such as is reckoned equal in value to a cow.
Ditto ditto if issue results and the child dies before compensation is paid.	2 bulls " 2 goats ...	1 large bull, 1 goat, and honey ...	In any case of adultery if the father of the woman has sold her to the husband and the adulterer, the bull has to be paid by the father.
Ditto ditto if issue results and the mother dies in childbirth.	Full bloodmoney ...	Full bloodmoney ...	This also applies to the case of an unmarried girl, but is formerly said not to have been so.
Rape ...	1 large bull and 1 goat ...	1 large bull, 1 goat, and honey.	...

TABLE SHOWING COMPENSATION PAID FOR OFFENCES.

## KIKUYU.

Offences.	Amount.	Remarks.
Killing of a man ... ..	100 goats or sheep ... ..	Accidental killing is compensated as intentional killing.
Ditto of a woman ... ..	30 " "	
Instrumental killing of a man.	Half bloodmoney.	
Ditto of a woman ... ..	" "	
Causing loss of finger or toe	For each joint 1 goat and 3 to the elders.	
Ditto of nose... ..	1 goat, and 1 goat for the elders.	
Ditto of an eye ... ..	30 goats and 3 for the elders	
Ditto of both eyes ... ..	60 " " 3 " "	
Ditto of a leg or arm ... ..	50 " " 3 " "	
Breaking a leg ... ..	30 " " 3 " "	
Ditto an arm... ..	30 " " 3 " "	
Causing loss of an ear ... ..	10 " " 3 " "	
Tearing an ear ... ..	1 goat " 1 " "	Owing to the frequency of fights resulting from drinking, the elders will now only allow the goat paid to themselves.
Emasculation... ..	?	
For inflicting any cut or wound causing the loss of any part of a bone, or for a sword or spear thrust.	30 goats " 6 " "	
Adultery or sexual connection which is unlawful.	3 rams ... ..	In adultery the offender must be caught in the act.
Ditto, if there is issue and the child dies.	... ..	There is no additional payment for causing pregnancy.
Ditto, if there is issue and the woman dies in child-birth.	Full bloodmoney.	
Rape ... ..	4 rams.	
Ditto, if pregnancy is caused	10 rams, and 3 goats to the elders.	



TABLE SHOWING COMPENSATION PAID FOR OFFENCES.

## THERAKA.

Offences.	Amount.	Remarks.
Killing of a man ... ..	60 goats ... ..	No difference is made if the killing was accidental.
" " " woman ... ..	40 "	
For causing loss of finger, toe, or eye.	7 "	
For causing loss of nose ...	?	
" " " " both eyes	?	
" " " " an arm ...	14 goats.	
" " " " a leg ...	20 "	
" " " " both legs	60 "	
" breaking a leg ... ..	?	
" " an arm ... ..	?	
Emasculation... ..	?	
Causing loss of a tooth ...	?	
" " " an ear ... ..	?	
Tearing an ear ... ..	?	
Adultery and unlawful sexual connection.	3 goats.	
Adultery, if there is issue and child dies before compensation is paid.	40 " ... ..	If the child is female 28 goats are paid.
Adultery, if there is issue, and if the woman dies in childbirth.	?	
Rape ... ..	7 " ... ..	If pregnancy is caused 14 goats are paid.

TABLE SHOWING COMPENSATION PAID FOR OFFENCES IN KIKUYU (NYERI DISTRICT).  
COMPENSATION DUE FOR OFFENCES.

	Tetu.	Mazera.	Rurunga's.	Munge's and Kechuri's.	Ndia.
Homicide.					
Killing a man ...	110 goats, and 9 for elders.	100 goats, and 9 goats to elders.	10 goats, and 10 for elders.	...	159 goats.
" " woman ...	30 goats, and 3 for elders.	30 goats and 3 ngoima	30 goats, and 3 for elders.	...	60 "
Accidentally killing a man	Same as intentional killing.				
" " woman					
Killing of a pregnant woman ...	60 goats and 6 ngoima	30 goats and 3 ngoima.	...	50 goats...	50 goats.
Striking corpse or causing any wound to a man who is killed in the same fight.	50 " ...	...	...	...	...
Death caused by property ...	Payment of the article or animal causing death. <sup>1</sup>				
Hurt.					
Causing loss of nose ...	1 sheep and 1 large goat.	...	...	...	1 cow.
" " ear ...	" " "	...	...	...	" "
" " eye ...	30 goats and 3 for elders.	...	...	...	" "
" " finger or toe <sup>2</sup> ...	10 goats for each joint	10 goats for each joint	15 goats <sup>3</sup>	...	" "
" " leg or arm ...	30 " and 3 sheep for elders.	50 "	...	...	5 cows.
Breaking a leg or arm ...	...	1 female sheep...	10 goats and 1 ngoima	...	1 goat.
Tearing an ear ...	...	...	...	...	" " for <i>lokearu</i> .
Wounding a person ...	2 goats ...	1 goat ...	1 goat for <i>lokearu</i>	...	" "
Wound causing loss or damage of a bone.	10 "	...	...	...	" "
Theft ...	...	...	...	...	1 goat for <i>lokearu</i> .



## COMPENSATION DUE FOR OFFENCES—continued.

	Tetu.	Mazera.	Rurunga's.	Munge's and Kechuri's.	Ndia.
<b>Sexual offences.<sup>1</sup></b>					
Adultery ... ..	1 sheep, and 1 for elders	1 sheep, and 1 for elders	1 sheep and 1 goat	...	1 goat for <i>lokearu</i> .
" if pregnancy is caused...	1 goat and 1 sheep	" " " "	" " " "	5 goats	" " " " 1 for elders.
" " and the woman dies in childbirth.	30 goats, and 3 for elders.	30 goats " 3 "	30 goats, and 3 for elders.	...	20 goats, and 1 bull for elders.
Adultery, if issue dies at birth ...	3 goats	...	3 goats	...	2 goats.
Rape ... ..	10 " and 1 ngoima	10 goats...	" " "	5 goats	3 " and 1 for <i>kiama</i> .
" if pregnancy caused	" " " "	" " " "	" " "	...	" " " " "
" " and death ensues.	30 " 3 "	30 " and 3 for elders	30 goats, and 3 for elders.	...	20 " " bull for <i>kiama</i> .
Unlawful sexual connection	2 " "	10 " "	1 sheep, and 3 for elders	...	5 goats, and 2 for elders. <sup>2</sup>
Unlawful sexual connection, if pregnancy is caused.	10 " and 1 ngoima...	" " "	11 goats, and 2 for elders.	10 goats...	10 goats, and 2 for elders. <sup>3</sup>
Unlawful sexual connection, if death ensues.	30 " 3 "	30 " and 3 for elders	30 goats, and 3 for elders.	...	3 cows, and 1 ram given in return.

NOTE.—Goats include also sheep. For *lokearu* (purification), see p. 263.

<sup>1</sup> This is deducted from the bloodmoney payable.

<sup>2</sup> A thumb is reckoned as equivalent to other fingers although there are only two joints.

<sup>3</sup> 1 joint, 7 goats; 2 joints, 10 goats; 3 joints, 15 goats.

<sup>4</sup> The same is paid for a whole or any joint of a finger or toe.

<sup>5</sup> If the one committing any of these offences afterwards marries the girl, the payment of 10 goats is deducted from dowry.

<sup>6</sup> At lower Ndia 9 goats.

<sup>7</sup> At lower Ndia 14 goats.

## MARRIAGE.

Of all questions in native law the most difficult to investigate is that of marriage, partly because inflexible rules regarding the relations between two persons are difficult to maintain, and partly because it is in this direction that native law seems first to fall into disuse. I have taken pains to arrive at the original customs and views on this subject, not only because the present corruption of these cannot be regarded as permanent or legal, but also because after several years of daily experience of questions arising out of native marriages, I have been forced to the conclusion that the original customs are the only ones capable of maintaining marriage as it is understood by the natives.

*Woman's Liberty of Choice.*

The great evil at the present day is the early age at which native girls are married, and it is an evil which seems to increase year by year. In many places the scarcity of girls is now such that the ordinary dances cannot be held. Often girls are bespoken while they are children, and in many cases dowry is then paid, without the girl having any voice in the matter. Hence it appears as if custom did not give them any liberty of choice as to husbands, and when it suits their purpose the elders will maintain that such is the case. But a little discussion will dispel any such idea, and I have repeatedly been assured by elders in all three tribes that this was not so formerly. Nor is this present-day breach of custom by any means the rule even now, though it may appear so by reason of the many divorces and consequent litigation which arise out of such cases, and which, therefore, more frequently come to our notice.

The native woman, however oppressed she may be, has certain rights, and the limitations of these have taught her to maintain them with a tenacity which is unexampled amongst the men. So soon as a man tampers with any of these rights he loses all control over his wife or daughter. The number of cases in which girls defy all authority, and the futile attempts of the elders to insist on forced marriages being maintained, are proof that the law never provided for such events; it was not so foolishly designed that it did not recognise that a permanent relationship between men and women must rest on mutual consent.

To dogmatise on this subject by saying that the girl alone can choose her husband would be unwise. The proper method is undoubtedly for the suitor to approach the girl first, but after that he must agree with the father. It is distinctly recognised that mere inability to pay dowry should not be a reason to refuse a suitor chosen by the daughter, for there are many other ways of overcoming this difficulty. The father may, however, raise other objections, and then it becomes a conflict between paternal influence and filial independence. After careful observation, I have come to the conclusion that a girl has under native custom as much freedom of choice, and the father as much paternal influence, as is customary with us. An arbitrary decision and giving away of a girl is certainly contrary to good



custom, but, on the other hand, submissive and often indifferent as the native female is, she is not likely to insist upon marrying one whom her father objects to. Nevertheless, this does happen. A father is considered to have the right to reject the choice of his daughter if she chooses a disreputable suitor, and if she persists the father may in Theraka put the curse of *kirumi* on her,<sup>1</sup> while in Tetu he may assemble his clan to curse her. In such case the father will refuse to accept dowry, and it is then an open question whether the husband has any legal claim to his wife. The Atheraka resort to this means in order to prevent their daughters marrying Akamba, as they are often tempted to do, though such unions are strongly disapproved of by the tribe.

#### *Dowry.*

The only legalisation of marriage is through payment of dowry. It might be thought that by demanding an exorbitant price the father could withhold his consent, but it must be remembered that although a forced marriage may be brought about when matters have gone so far as the payment of dowry, it is often broken off by the girl's refusal to live with her husband. The matter will then come before the elders, who will nearly always decide that the girl shall be given to the husband she has chosen, and they will not admit an exorbitant dowry, or more than was stipulated for the intended husband. Nor is there an entire absence of limit to dowry. Thus in Theraka and Ndia dowry is fixed at thirty goats, and is never varied excepting by voluntary agreement—which in Theraka is extremely rarely done. In the other sections of the Kikuyu tribe dowry is determined by the amount paid for the bride's mother, though here also the suitor may wish to pay more, rather from a desire to have a greater security for his wife than from any other motive. The Akamba have no such fixed dowry, but it ranges between two and five cows; an average price is four cows and a bull. I am strongly inclined to think that dowry and bloodmoney for a woman are intended to be identical, and that formerly in all these tribes there was a fixed amount of dowry, but as the latter is a matter of daily transaction, it has through the fluctuation of wealth become less definite, while bloodmoney has remained at the original figure. Were it not so, it would be inconsistent that a man should pay thirty goats for the life of a woman for whom her husband paid, perhaps, seventy goats. If I am right in this it gives an instance of the manner in which inconsistencies arise in native custom, because it is subjected to a change in one direction and not in another.

#### *Deferred Dowry.*

In, perhaps, two out of every ten marriages dowry is not paid in full at once, but is either given in part or wholly deferred; in fact, in Ndia more than one cow is never paid until the woman has given birth to a child. On the other hand, it is often customary, and particularly now when the young men go out to work for the

<sup>1</sup> *Kirumi* is a curse or injunction by a dying man or woman. It may, however, be equally effective if uttered during lifetime and not recalled at death.



object of earning sufficient to pay for a wife, to commence payment long before the time of marriage.

If dowry is either not paid at all or only in part, the most respectable course to take is to wait until the husband is in a position to pay. Nowadays the father often takes back the girl and sells her to another suitor who is able to pay, but this is very bad custom; that it is not permissible is indicated by the provisions made by custom for the recovery of dowry. The husband will, of course, be in a position to pay when his own daughter is married; in Kyambu the father may claim the whole dowry obtained for one of his granddaughters, whether in satisfaction of a portion or of the full dowry due; in Tetu it is held that he may take the whole dowry for the first daughter less two goats, the whole for the second daughter less ten goats, the whole for the third less fifteen goats, but not if he is merely claiming a balance of dowry. In such case he can only claim what is due, but if it is refused he may take the whole amount paid for his eldest granddaughter, and one for each subsequent daughter of his child.<sup>1</sup> In another section in Nyeri district he may take two-thirds of dowry for each granddaughter.

These claims show that absolute right to a woman and her children can only be given by payment of full dowry, but as a matter of fact where the relations between husband and father are at all friendly, the father will always content himself with payment of what is due only. The rules quoted cannot, however, have come into existence had it not been intended that the husband should under all circumstances have the right to retain his wife. The most difficult point is to say how the husband's right is created if he has not paid, and this, I think, rests on two conditions: one, that the father has at least received some present which will furnish proof of the agreement, and the other, that the woman elects to stay with the husband. A wife usually resents being married without dowry, this being a slight upon her, and if, therefore, nothing has been paid and the woman declines to live with him, the husband's claim is generally reckoned to be invalid. If the woman connives with her father to desert, the elders will not maintain the right of a husband under such circumstances.

When once full dowry has been paid, the husband's sole claim to the woman is unquestioned. It is customary in Theraka for a rich man to return twenty out of the thirty goats paid for his daughter, nominally as a gift to the bride, but in actual fact they are given to the husband. Among the Tetu Akikuyu three goats, and in Ndia four goats, are returned when the woman has borne a child, but in all cases this is merely a gift and cannot be claimed. The father is entitled to expect liberal hospitality in his daughter's village, and this is claimed almost as a right.

#### *Prohibitions.*

Marriage is prohibited between persons of one family, one clan, and between children of men who have entered into blood-brotherhood. Certain other prohibitions will be mentioned presently. So long as a man has paid full dowry, and

<sup>1</sup> The claim is made when the child's ears are pierced.



has the woman's consent, it cannot be disputed that he is lawfully married to her. But one of the main principles of marriage, which is rarely disregarded, is that a woman can never be married twice, in the sense that she is paid for twice, excepting in the following cases: (1) If her husband dies before she has borne children. (2) In Ukamba a woman who cannot be remarried is lent as a mate to another man, but if she leaves him and goes to a third man, her brother-in-law or son, as the case may be, may consent to accept dowry for her from that one, and she is then lawfully married to him. A lawful marriage may be said to exist only when the man to whom the woman is given has full claim to all her children. Herein lies the distinction between a man who is a mere companion to the woman, and a husband who may have paid nothing at all in dowry.

The first wife married by a man (styled the "big wife") can never be remarried to anyone after her husband's death; as widows they live either with the brother of the deceased or quite alone, but in either case they are frequently allowed to live as mates with strangers,<sup>1</sup> who are, however, in no way regarded as husbands.<sup>2</sup> The younger wives are bequeathed by the father or allotted by the elders, to his sons, and they are therewith lawfully married. Younger brothers may also marry such wives, but a man cannot marry the wife of his deceased son, or the widow of a younger brother, and the general rule is that the senior wife can never be remarried. This rule forms at the present day one of the chief difficulties with regard to Christian natives, whose widows are regarded by the pagan relatives of the deceased as their lawful inheritance. The idea that a single wife of a convert should remarry is repugnant to the pagan code of morality.

When a man has paid dowry, or as much of it as was stipulated, and the time has come for him to take the bride to his village, the relations are very fond of protracting this event in order to extort presents from him by vain promises that such and such shall be the last gift demanded. But when he has given as much as he considers reasonable he will go and steal away the bride at night. In any case this is done in Ukamba, the parents affecting not to be aware of the intention, and if the bridegroom be a young man his friends will act a sham robbery. At other times there is less fiction about this, and the girl is carried off by stealth because she cannot be got by other means.

After marriage the relations between the husband and his parents-in-law are very curious, for although this relationship is very close, a Kikuyu, for instance, cannot sit together with his father-in-law, and a Mkamba may not meet or look at his mother-in-law; if he meets her on the path he will make a detour off the pathway.

<sup>1</sup> This applies, of course, to every woman who is the single wife of a man.

<sup>2</sup> Such mates are called *mwendia roho* in Kikuyu. In Ukamba old women who cannot be remarried are given to Akikuyu who take employment with the Akamba, and the Akamba are therefore very popular employers with the Kenya natives, many of whom are too poor to buy wives. In many cases, however, they are adopted by their employers, who buy wives for them.



## DIVORCE AND RETURN OF DOWRY.

*Grounds for Divorce.*

Divorce and return of dowry may be taken as one and the same thing, for so long as a woman's father holds the dowry paid for her, the husband's claim cannot be challenged, and, *vice versa*, the marriage is annulled so soon as the dowry is returned. There can only be two grounds for a divorce—either the wife runs away, or the husband voluntarily returns her. I have not been able to discover any grounds which are considered to give lawful cause for the divorcing of a wife, but I think that as a general rule the discovery that a bride is pregnant is generally accepted as a just reason for returning her to the father. At the present day women are often returned merely because they are found to be delicate or barren, but neither of these circumstances was formerly a ground for divorce, and the father has the option of refusing to return dowry, while custom makes amends to those who are unfortunate in the choice of their wives.

In case of desertion by a wife the husband has two courses open to him. He may refuse to accept back dowry, in which case the woman may never be resold and her children remain the property of the husband. If under such circumstances she goes to another man, and not to her father's village, the husband has in addition the right to claim bloodmoney when she dies. In Kyambu and Ukamba he can claim this for any of the children who may die also, but in Tetu this is said not to be so; the seducer must, however, throw away the child's corpse, which is an unlucky duty for anyone but the father to perform, in addition to which he must pay three sheep. In Ndia the corpse cannot be thrown away without the father's consent, and if this is not obtained the father may claim bloodmoney for the child. In Theraka the husband cannot claim the children born subsequent to the wife's desertion, but he may take the children living at the time, and claim twenty goats dowry. In addition to this he may claim bloodmoney for his wife when she dies.

If these rights of the husband are maintained, it is obvious that women will rarely desert their husbands, and other men will not be anxious to harbour them when they do so. Provided that the woman's right to a free choice of her husband is maintained, the husband's right should be insisted upon, but at the present day those rights have largely fallen into disuse. The result is the most frivolous conduct on the part of the women, who freely bestow themselves from one man to the other.

*Return of Dowry.*

The other course open to the husband is to claim back the dowry paid, and the majority of cases are, perhaps, settled in this way now. In such case return of dowry includes every item given by way of gift to the father or his relatives. The general rule is that dowry must be returned together with the offspring, but in Ndia this is only so when dowry is paid or refunded by the seducer. In Theraka,



where it seems that the woman cannot under any circumstances be resold without the husband's express agreement, if he agrees to such a course he receives only half his dowry plus half of the progeny.

In Ukamba, if a woman returns to her father's village, being pregnant, no return of dowry is made until she has given birth, for the following reasons:—

1. If the woman and child survive, the dowry, or as much of it as was paid, is returned. 2. If the child dies the same is done, but the husband must pay the father one large bull. 3. If the woman dies the dowry is returned if paid in full; but if not, the husband receives no return, but may beg a calf (of one of the cows) in return for a present of liquor and one goat.

In Kikuyu, a deduction is made from the dowry returnable, corresponding to the amount of the penalty for causing an unmarried girl to be with child.

In the event of a woman dying childless it is customary in Ukamba to give the husband one cow out of the dowry, but this is only a gift given in friendship. In Kyambu the Akikuyu appear in such case to return two-thirds of the dowry, or if the woman has borne only one or two children, or has miscarried, a fixed sum of ten goats is given back. The same is done in Ndia, but elsewhere in Kikuyu only one goat is given to the husband, though in a certain section it is usual for the father to return five goats in exchange for one. In Theraka nothing is returned in these cases.

It should be noted that while a father is almost bound to pay for a wife for his son, in the event of a divorce, dowry is claimed by, and belongs to, the son, and not the father.

The Akamba say that if a woman deserts and is sold again to another man without the husband's consent, the father ought to pay in the event of a claim being made for the adultery committed. The Akikuyu have told me that this is not so, but I doubt whether this denial is trustworthy, and reason would certainly seem to justify such a rule.

When dowry is returned it is always understood that the husband has the right to demand back the identical cattle or sheep and goats given by him. In Kikuyu he can demand these if they are still with the father. The difference in value between a number of goats and two or three cows bears no comparison, and therefore the Akamba are very much more particular in this point than the other tribes. In many cases, however, the father has already disposed of the animals, and then follows complicated litigation. The original owner will expect those who have since received them to return the animals, and it is altogether according to their ideas inequitable that a man's cattle should be with anyone with whom he has no connection. In many cases I have known the elders to order cattle to be restored after they have passed through five or six hands; in others they have required the first recipient to redeem them from the subsequent owners. This point gives rise to many difficulties, and apparently did so for some time previous to our rule, for it is said to have been the cause of much fighting. The tribal custom seems herein to be inconsistent, but the true explanation is quite otherwise.



The fact is that formerly cattle received in dowry were never parted with. It was considered most shameful to sell such animals, as this alone could sever all connection between the daughter and her parental village. This custom is constantly denied at the present day, but many with whom I have got into closer touch have told me of it, and the fact that formerly only stock received in dowry was branded seems to indicate that such was the practice. Under such circumstances, of course, no complication could arise, and the present-day confusion is an example of how a breach of custom creates an impossible position when allowed to become a rule. This question has much puzzled the elders of late, and the only solution they have been able to arrive at is that stricter regard must be had to the laws of divorce, and that if the husband agrees to receive back his dowry he shall relinquish all claims to the animals disposed of.

During the great famine in Ukamba many women fled to Kikuyu, and were generally accompanied by men, who sold them to Akikuyu in exchange for food. Such women are now often redeemed by the Akamba, and the ransom price has to be paid by the one who took a woman to Kikuyu, although she would probably have died had he not done so. The elders argue that if the proper husband wished to abandon his wife it was his affair, but when another man undertook to save her he voluntarily burdened himself with a responsibility which he must discharge. Nor can they conceive that a husband should pay anything to redeem his own wife; neither can he be deprived of her if she is still alive. Curious as this logic may be, it is not without its element of justice, for at the time of the famine the men were afraid to go into Kikuyu. The women were, of course, safe from danger, and men, therefore, not only followed them, but often enticed them away and sold them as a peace-offering to the Akikuyu.

### *Legal Status of Marriage.*

The rules we have been considering express clearly the fact that tribal custom discountenances divorce. It lies with the husband alone to grant this, and if he does so he invariably loses a part of what he paid. Altogether one must be impressed with the idea that marriage under native law is intended to be a very permanent union, particularly in respect to the first wife, who can never be the wife of more than one man. All this is especially in keeping with native society because of the importance of the family and clan, whose purity must be preserved. In addition to this we should consider many other customs which indicate that there is a religious relationship between man and wife which gives a very sacred meaning to marriage.

It is to be regretted that Europeans have not given sufficient consideration to this subject—in fact, we are apt to regard native marriage merely as a commercial transaction. So long as we speak of “purchasing wives” we shall probably continue to think of matrimony among natives as a matter of sale and barter. I must refer here to the old custom under which cattle received in dowry were not parted with, and this seems to suggest that dowry was considered far more in the



light of a pawn or security than as a purchase price. If women were bought and sold as any animal might be, then they could also be traded and transferred, but this is certainly not so. On the contrary, there are very definite rules to make marriage even more permanent than with us. Careful consideration will, I think, show that a woman is in no way regarded as a chattel, or, if we insist that dowry is only a purchase price, we must admit that once a woman is sold she ceases to be a chattel and becomes a wife in every sense of the word.

I have, in the above, spoken of the custom or law as it was, and I know of few matters wherein the custom of these tribes is so precise. There is also, however, no direction in which it has become so lax as in respect to matters of marriage and divorce. To-day dowry is disposed of, women are sold without regard to their inclinations; often they are taken back and resold because a higher price has been offered. In Ukamba the prohibition in regard to second marriage of a single wife has almost become obsolete, and on one occasion quite a large number of elders seemed quite unaware of it, though they knew that *makwa* often resulted from such marriages. It is impossible to believe that this could be supposed to result from a practice sanctioned by custom.

These and other breaches of custom are creeping in, and marriage is rapidly becoming a matter of trade. The elders admit all this, but attribute it to the altered times. Nor are we entirely without blame in the matter. Because we have seen so many cows paid, we have taken their value to be the principal object of a contract, and we have treated marriage and offences against it as matters properly dealt with as civil suits, in which the only question in issue has been a fixed value due from one to the other. So our attitude towards native matrimony has been identical with our manner of treating any other commercial transaction, and when we think of the hundreds of cases thus dealt with, we cannot be surprised if we ourselves have given marriage the stamp of trade, until this has well-nigh superseded every other consideration.

Yet there are thousands of marriages contracted and maintained according to true native custom, and obviously a fairly high ideal of marriage is not remote from native ideas. Thus there is much room and possibility for improvement, but it requires that we should carefully encourage this. Otherwise we can only appear to acquiesce in, or even encourage, the degradation of marriage, and therewith the woman's position and rights.

#### PROPERTY.

##### *Ownership.*

A man's right of ownership in respect to his property is so absolute that perhaps even the public authority has no sort of dominion over it, and much lack of authority is thereby explicable. It seems, however, that the family and clan always have a certain right of control in the property of their members. If a man should recklessly expend his substance they would intervene, nor would they allow him to deprive them of this control by taking his stock out of the country. It



must be considered that the wealth of each member makes up the wealth of the clan or family, and both may make demands on the individual, just as he may avail himself of their wealth. Such mutual assistance we have already remarked in discussing the mode of compensating for homicide.

There is nothing to prevent a young man from owning property during the lifetime of his father in Ukamba and Kikuyu. Whatever property he may obtain is placed in his father's village. In Kyambu and Ndia it is held that the father cannot dispose of such property without the son's consent, but in Tetu he appears to have this right. In Ukamba the father can appropriate the whole, unless the son is married, in which case he can only take half. The property of a son is, however, in neither of these tribes so absorbed into that of the father that it is included in the general division of inheritance. In Ukamba, if the son moves from his father's village he will take with him the whole of his property, but it is said that he cannot move without the father's permission. It is not very clear how he can be prevented from doing so, except that the father seems in such case to have the right to withhold the property. At Tetu a father is apparently not obliged to give his son his personal property if he leaves his village to settle elsewhere; but if such property is given to anyone else the son may sue for it. In Ndia a son never seems to get his property until he has married, when the father gives it as a present to the son's wife.

#### *Debts and Liabilities.*

Debts may be recovered at any time and are inherited. They may be claimed by or from descendants as well as principals, but the claim can only be made good against the one who has inherited the debtor's property. It seems to be a general idea that a debt can be enforced against a brother, but this is not the case, though of course in most cases a brother will pay voluntarily. It is very usual, particularly with the crafty Mkamba, to leave a debt over indefinitely, partly because the creditor regards it as a fund laid by against a "rainy day," and partly because he runs no risk with the property so long as it is not in his possession. Thus if a man owes a cow, the claim stands good for all time despite stock diseases and other risks. This, I think, explains why a creditor generally has to pay something to recover a debt, the debtor being, as it were, paid for his risk. A distinction is, however, made between a debt of an animal placed with a man, and a debt consisting only of the value of an animal. If a cow placed with someone or paid in dowry dies, it is sufficient to return the skin and the meat to absolve from any liability for it, but if, for instance, a cow paid in dowry is sold, or a man owes a bull in compensation for something, this can be left over as a debt of undiminished value. Incidentally this also seems to mark the fact that stock given in dowry is not regarded as an out-and-out payment, but as a security.

The liability for debts or acts of children, lunatics, and wives, falls on the next of kin in Ukamba and Theraka.

It seems that a creditor is entitled to take anything from his debtor, but not



until his claim has been awarded by the elders. In Ukamba it has been asserted that wives and children may be taken in this way, but this was denied again by a large assembly of elders. Debts are, however, frequently settled by giving the creditor a daughter, and in such case the girl cannot be redeemed by subsequent payment of the debt. A girl thus paid cannot be forced to marry the one she has been given to, and if she refuses him he must content himself with appropriating the dowry paid for her. Bloodmoney is often settled in this way. It is said that in Theraka if a girl refuses to marry the man she is given to, and he insists on taking her as a wife, all the women of both families go to persuade her, by representing the mischief that may be averted or created by her action.

The Akamba and Atheraka award only one daughter as equivalent to blood-money, but the Akikuyu formerly reckoned three daughters as equivalent to the life of a man.<sup>1</sup> In Tetu, however, it is said that four daughters ought to be given, but in Ndia this is not done at all. When a daughter so given had borne a male child the murdered man was regarded as replaced, and in Kikuyu the father could then claim half dowry; in Ukamba full dowry was paid. In Tetu three of the girls should be sold and only the dowry retained by the claimant, while the one who becomes his wife should be paid for when she had given birth to a child. In Theraka, only twenty goats were paid in dowry when the woman had given birth to two or three children, irrespective, however, of whether they were male or female.

When the payment of a debt is disputed, the elders will require the defendant to state which elders were witnesses to the payment, and if he cannot name them it is not admitted that the debt has been paid. Hence debts are not paid except in the presence of elders, or before a council. This is often erroneously taken to mean that no native will pay a debt unless sued. This is not so, but, on the other hand, it is not the duty of the debtor to pay without demand—the creditor must go and demand what he claims.

As we have already seen in speaking of homicide, a liability may be incurred without any intended, or direct, result of an action. Thus a woman, going to her hut to get some liquor for a man, fell down on the way, cutting her leg severely. According to her account she had been knocked down by the man and kicked on the leg. We might suspect that the truth of one or other of these stories would be material to the case, but the elders waived this point altogether and held that whether she had been knocked down or whether she fell was immaterial, since the man was liable for the damage in either case.

Not the smallest item is ever allowed to go by. It appears to us often ludicrous that the elders should sit in solemn conclave about some trivial claim of remote origin, but the Mkamba in particular is persistent beyond belief. He seems actually to take a delight in litigation, in the pursuit of which he will expend his last penny. We can conceive that when this is protracted through generations,

<sup>1</sup> In Ukamba and Theraka bloodmoney for a woman is approximately half of that for a man, but in Kikuyu it is only one-third.



and that so long as a claim is not settled there will be no peace for either party, a wise man will always pay his liabilities. Even between the best friends and nearest relations, compensation is paid which one might otherwise expect would be waived.

I may mention that quite recently I have observed that the practice of pawning property is well known among the Akikuyu. Generally fields are pawned; in one instance a loan of nine rupees was obtained, for which a field was handed over to be redeemed again on payment of twenty rupees. I have not had the opportunity of enquiring into this elsewhere.

#### INHERITANCE.

Ordinarily a man's property is inherited by his son, father, brother, or uncle, in this order. There is no division amongst these relations, one of them taking the whole of the property.

Natives will often say that the eldest son inherits everything, but this is not so in actual fact. He will claim outstanding debts, and so long as the brothers live together he will be called the owner, in the sense that he is the representative of the family. The property is, however, divided among all the brothers, and legitimate or illegitimate children have the same rights as to inheritance. If the stock is not sufficient for all, it is kept until its increase suffices to pay for a wife for the eldest son, then for the second son, and so on. If there is a marriageable daughter the dowry paid for her is used to pay for a wife for a younger son, but in such case he owes the amount of dowry to the family. The eldest son will always get more than the rest: in Theraka he is given one animal of each kind more than the others, *i.e.*, one cow, one bull, etc.

#### *Wills.*

When a man has several wives, the whole of his property is portioned out among them and the senior wife has the largest portion. Each wife keeps a certain number of goats in her hut, and milks a certain number of cattle. These are said to be hers and are increased by whatever she may realise by sale of produce of her patch of cultivation, of ghee made from the milk of her cattle, and so on. As previously stated, the father will during his lifetime bequeath the younger wives to his sons, and on his death each one takes with the wife her portion of the property, together with her daughters and small sons. In addition, the eldest son takes the whole of the "big" wife's portion, and a certain proportion of that belonging to the others. Among the Akikuyu, inheritance by will is so much the rule that no fixed custom as to distribution can be laid down; but in Theraka this is said never to be done, and the distribution is arranged by the elders after the father's death. It is customary for a man making a will to confide the same to one or two elders, but there may be many adjustments and disputes which have to be settled by appeal to the elders.

The father's power to make a will may be said to be confined to bequeathing



his property to his immediate heirs only, so that it is in practice only the distribution which he decides. Nevertheless, he may, for instance, entirely disinherit a disobedient son, and there are certain other provisions which he may make. As a case in point, I know of a Kikuyu who adopted a Masai boy and bequeathed to him thirty goats in inheritance out of his property, but the elders state that, an adopted son having no right to inheritance, the boy could not have obtained these had the property not been left to him by will.

#### *Inheritance by Minors.*

If the direct heir or heirs are minors, the property is taken charge of by the next heir. Because of this it is often said that the brother is the heir, but this is not so. The guardian (generally the brother of the deceased) may not appropriate anything or dispose of it excepting in the interests of the minor. The widow and her child should, however, except in some cases which I shall mention, live with the guardian, and it seems that if she refuses to do so she cannot claim the inheritance for her children. If the guardian is a blood-relation he is morally bound to pay for a wife for the minor, but he may pay for this out of the inheritance also, though this is rarely done.

#### *Inheritance by Women.*

Judging from the position of women we might suppose them to be entirely debarred from inheritance. On the contrary, the widow appears to be always the nominal heir, and the actual heir cannot dispose of the property without her consent, which, though it may be nominal, is never disregarded. A woman by herself cannot, however, have the control of property. Now if a man dies leaving no adult heir, the father is the trustee for the property, but a younger brother may marry one of the wives. In such case, however, they may not settle far from the trustee's village.

In Ukamba and Theraka, if a man dies leaving no male relations, his property remains in possession of his widow, but under the control of the clan. On the death of the widow the property cannot descend to a daughter of hers, and if she has no son it will be appropriated by a distant relative or by the whole clan.

#### *Creation of Heirs in Kikuyu.*

In Kikuyu it appears that there is very little chance of property going out of the immediate family, for a widow will either be married to her brother-in-law, or she will be given a mate (*mwendia rohio*), and any children she has by either of these become the lawful heirs. If a widow is too old to have a child, there is a curious means by which she can create an heir, namely, she may buy a girl out of her deceased husband's property, and this girl (who is called the "wife" of the dead man) cohabits with any member of the clan. Her male children then become the direct heirs to the property, and this is justified by the argument that their mother was bought with the stock belonging to the deceased.



I am unable to say whether the last-named practice occurs in Ukamba or Kyambu, but it is the custom all over Nyeri District, and may, therefore, very possibly be known elsewhere. From the above we may conclude that a woman is in name always the heir to her husband's property, in which she has a certain right but no dominion.

*Inheritance by Converts.*

In these days the question of inheritance by Mohammedan and Christian converts often arises. The natives are distinctly averse to converts, and, in particular, fear that conversion entails estrangement from the family. The Akikuyu have in all parts assured me that in this respect no difference is made between converts and pagans, but in Ukamba, where the number of converts is infinitesimal, other theories have been propounded.

It must be remembered that the elders here are faced with a problem for which they have no precedent; if, for instance, the Atheraka should say that by their custom a convert cannot inherit, we should be inclined to ask when and how this custom was evolved, since a Theraka convert has probably never existed. In Ukamba it is not greatly otherwise: the number of converts until recently, at any rate, having been so inconsiderable that a special custom and law regarding their rights cannot have come into existence. Discussion with the elders will soon disclose the fact that there is no one who could deprive a man of his lawful inheritance, but on the other hand the clan and family can deprive the owner of his right to dispose of his property improperly. What the Mkamba, therefore, really means when he says that a convert cannot inherit is that if he left the country and settled among foreigners so that he had entirely broken with his own family, the clan would step in and forbid him to take his inheritance out of Ukamba; but if he remained in the country no one could deprive him of his inheritance, whatever his creed or manner of life might be. A typical case occurred lately when a Mkamba convert to the Mohammedan faith deserted from his pagan father's village and got into difficulties in Nairobi. The father anxiously followed him with sufficient money to help him out, and held up his hands in horror when I suggested that he might disinherit his prodigal son.

LAND TENURE AND INHERITANCE OF LAND.

*Ukamba.*—In Ukamba wherever a man cultivates or builds a village on virgin soil he acquires a right to that land, and no one can cultivate or settle there without his permission.<sup>1</sup> At times this permission is given gratis, but more often it is bought; three rupees is at the present day an ordinary price for a field.<sup>2</sup> The one who buys the land obtains the title to it. From him it passes on to his eldest son, who alone has the right to sell it, but other sons have the right to use the land. The title to the land never lapses, whether it is abandoned for cultivation or not; as a rule it is easily purchased, but certain fertile patches along the river beds,

<sup>1</sup> Privately owned land is called *ngũndo*.

<sup>2</sup> In Machakos the price is generally one goat, but large patches may go up to two goats.



which form the much coveted sugar-cane lands, are rarely sold. The insignificance of the value of land makes the purchase too small a matter for dispute, and therefore the question has scarcely been raised. Unowned land is plentiful, and therefore if a man cannot agree with the owner of a patch he will go elsewhere. It must be understood that the ownership relates only to the right to build on or cultivate the land. Grazing, timber and water are common property everywhere, and an attempt by a few in Mumoni to mark off particular areas for grazing caused considerable indignation. On the other hand, small patches of ground adjacent to villages and fields are very often fenced off, and such plots, which are called *kisesi*, are reserved for private use. Other people may neither take stock there nor cut timber.

When a man goes to settle in a new district he is required to pay a bull to the elders. This payment is not intended to purchase a right to the use of the land, but for the taking of the oath of *muma* between himself and the people, in which both swear to be loyal to each other. It may, however, be regarded as a purchase of title, in so far as without it the new-comer would not be admitted. Incidentally this oath explains in a great measure the extraordinary support that persons of one settlement give to each other against strangers, even though they may otherwise not be on good terms; it would, for instance, be a breach of loyalty to give evidence which would go against a neighbour in favour of one from another settlement.

*Akikuyu*.—The nature of land tenure in Kikuyu is closely connected with the history of the tribe. Various localities in East Africa are given as their original country, but a positive commencement is traceable to Mount Kenya, from whence they have spread. As they advanced they encountered the Derrobo; a mythical people called Gumba are also often spoken of, but these may be identical with the first-named tribe. They appear to have found it more politic to purchase the land from these than to conquer it, and accordingly the more wealthy Akikuyu bought the land ridge by ridge, and the purchasers became owners who threw open the whole country to their tribe. Possibly in recognition of this service their claims have remained established to this day. In Kyambu district many of the original purchasers are still alive, and an old Derrobo who lives on the Chania River can show each parcel of land which he sold and what he kept for himself—for some of the Derrobo were wise enough to retain a part of their land, and in several instances these have become the recognised headmen.

In Nyeri another form of acquisition is to be found which must be explained as follows, I think. Simultaneously with the spread of the tribe southwards, they advanced towards the Aberdare Hills, always following in the wake of the receding forests, as they have done until a few years ago. Now after the earlier settlers had purchased the land, they had to clear it of forest, and this labour probably came to be regarded as proof of ownership. It also much enhanced the value of the land, and hence the clearing became the prominent feature of ownership. In time the Derrobo decreased in numbers, or were absorbed into the Kikuyu tribe. Thus the remoter parts of the forest land were regarded either as abandoned, or the



original inhabitants were no longer in a position to maintain their rights, and therefore anyone who cleared the land could use it. Clearance then conveyed ownership. Such tenure is only to be found on the slopes of the Aberdares, and ownership is there not nearly so rigidly upheld as elsewhere, and resembles much more the type in vogue among the Akamba.

In some cases the owners do not live on the land, but their right is never disputed. In one case a man, being ejected from the Government forests, where he had lived for many years, immediately took possession of a ridge extending some eight miles, and although he had not lived there for years it was admitted to be his and no one disputed his claim. In fact, with the exception of two cases in the older settlements in Nyeri, I have never heard of any disputes as to landownership.

In speaking of land tenure, we must clearly distinguish between the land itself and the cultivated soil: the former is called *gethaka* or *terri* (earth) and the latter *mugunda* (field). The *mugunda* is rented from crop to crop and conveys no right whatsoever to the land; in fact, the owner may turn the tenant off at any time and even root up his crops. The rent varies according to the value of the land; for instance, in Kyambu, owing to European settlement, as much as two sheep a year may be paid for a field; in the higher lying parts of that district a pot of honey beer may suffice. In Nyeri district rent is rarely collected, but in the fertile parts the right to cultivate is not nearly so freely accorded as in the higher altitudes.

The original purchaser is of course the sole owner, but on his death the *gethaka* belongs to all his sons equally and is inherited by all sons from generation to generation. It is thus held as common property by the entire family, in which no one member has a greater share than another. Here also the eldest son is designated as the sole owner, but only as representative or trustee of the family. He has no individual right in it, but it seems that several of the senior members of the family may agree to sell a portion without consulting the others; no one member may dispose of the land by himself. A case came to notice of a man who sold a portion of the family estate, as a result of which he was dispossessed of all share in the remainder. It seems that in the higher altitudes of Nyeri, of which I have already spoken, land is often divided up among the sons, and each may sell his own plot; but this is not always the case, and some are beginning to find that they are by this means being left destitute of family lands. In every other part of Kikuyu land is very rarely sold, but most jealously is it guarded in Kyambu district, where it is practically impossible to purchase any nowadays.

Any member of the family may give a right to cultivate, and marriage relationship (*uthonvi*) practically gives such right. Although such claims are not inherited, they are generally accorded to the relatives of a deceased tenant. Where rent is paid it may be claimed from the guardian of a widow; but if she has only a small son it is often waived, in return for which the son will, when he grows up, give liberal liquor supply to the *gethaka* owner.

I know of few native customs so definite as those relating to landownership in this tribe, yet the purchase of land in many parts cannot be of long standing. It



is therefore surprising that such rigid rules should have become established. I think this may be explained by the supposition that in every new settlement the people brought with them the customs evolved in other parts where landownership had existed for a considerable time.

*Atheraka*.—Among the Atheraka on the south side of the Tana River there is no sort of landownership, whereas on the north side I am told that the contrary is the case, though I have not had the opportunity of investigating the question there.

The Atheraka on both sides of the river are of one tribe, and are so closely allied that members of the four clans live on either side of the river. The marked difference as to land tenure is therefore curious, and might very possibly be attributed to Kikuyu influence among those of the north bank. The following information given to me by the principal headman of the tribe would also seem to explain the matter. If not correct in all details, it is probably so in general, and in so far as it concerns the present subject:—

The Atheraka were formerly of one tribe with the Mweru natives, but internal strife arose with a certain section who were led by a man called Katheraka. The latter, with his supporters, was defeated and driven out of the tribe. They settled on the banks of the Tana River, which were uninhabited, and Katheraka distributed the land among his followers. Thus landownership was created and the descendants hold the land to this day. In course of time the land did not suffice for all, and again a certain number were forced to find new land on the other side of the Tana. The south side of the Tana was also uninhabited<sup>1</sup>; the new-comers were few in number and land was plentiful, so that a division of the soil was not necessary. Possibly those who settled there were the poorest, and were therefore landless, and they may have had sufficient experience of the evils of landownership. Thus on this side of the Tana River the Atheraka never instituted any form of land proprietorship: the land is held in common and everyone may build, cultivate, and graze his stock where he pleases.

It is interesting to note that these three tribes present four different forms of land tenure—in Ukamba it is by right of acquisition, in Kikuyu by right of purchase, and in Theraka by right of distribution by a leader and of communal claim.

A question which will probably become one of paramount importance concerns the individual's right to sell his personal land estate to an alien. It is not possible that any legal rule can have been established as yet, because of the standing hostility between the tribes: and it can only very rarely have occurred that aliens settled within the tribal land unless they became completely naturalised members of it. It is true that the Derobo sold their lands, but they were not a Bantu tribe, nor did they put any value on the land, being purely hunters. We can thus only

<sup>1</sup> The settlement of Akamba in Mumoni is of recent date. Mutia, the headman of that part, lived at Gai, which was the furthest point of settlement of the Akamba, and a short time ago he contemplated returning there.



conjecture what the law would stipulate were it called upon to decide such a question, by considering what are the obligations of the present-day landowner towards the tribe.

In Kikuyu the landowner will very often put witchcraft on his own waste land,<sup>1</sup> particularly where small groves or patches of forest are to be found, and this is done in order to prevent anyone cutting timber or grazing stock there. Otherwise all untilled land is free to anyone to use for timber and grazing. So also water, grass, or salt-licks are used as common property, nor can anyone prevent a person from travelling over private land. Not infrequently the community even compels the landowner to remove the witchcraft put on his land.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the tribe seems to assert a right to utilize waste lands, and it will certainly not abandon that right for the caprice of any one of its members. The territory at least must also be assumed to belong to the tribe, and their territorial extension can scarcely be limited for the pecuniary gain of a few.

I think that on the whole we must assume that the tribe has a collective interest in the land, which it has often enough maintained with arms, and that this interest is sufficiently secure to justify the tribe prohibiting the sale of land to aliens. At the present day parcels of land are sold out of the tribe, but this is not only due to lack of foresight on the part of the community, but largely also to the fact that few natives as yet comprehend the difference between selling the land and giving a right to use it. They are particularly liable to think that they are merely parting with a temporary right, because they cannot believe that the Europeans have come for permanent settlement.

#### NOTES ON PERSONAL STATUS AND RELATIONSHIPS.

I have referred to the family and relationships in connection with many matters, and it may be useful to consider this subject collectively, in order to gain a more lucid idea of this very important factor in native society.

Relationship is among these tribes not merely a bond between certain persons, but it assigns to each a rank and place which has a much more real significance than with us.

Ordinarily the father is the head and ruler of the family; wherever he lives his children must follow him, and their property is his, or at least at his disposal. This authority is to a certain extent extinguished by the father's death, but to some extent it is inherited by his eldest son, while in a great measure it is transferred to the senior member of the family. Each son has then his share of the property, and may establish his own village. This is rarely done, however, and in practice the stock is held jointly by the sons, of whom the eldest has the greater authority. At the same time, however, an elder uncle is generally designated as father to them,

<sup>1</sup> That this has been done is made known by marks set up, consisting of bunches of grass or banana leaves suspended from poles stuck in the ground.

<sup>2</sup> Though this is not possible where *kirumi*, i.e., a dying injunction, has been put on the land.



and he occupies very much the position of the deceased parent. In certain cases a son might be older than an uncle or a cousin older than the son, in which case the rank of the father is transferred to him. I am speaking, of course, of a rank voluntarily accorded, but it is, nevertheless, of importance to note that the senior member of the family is regarded as its head, and its responsible representative.

As we have seen, a father cannot marry his son's widow, nor can an uncle, and this prohibition extends to an elder brother, who is debarred from marrying his younger brother's widow, but there is no bar to marriage in the reverse case. An elder brother, therefore, bears the same spiritual relationship to his younger brother as exists between a father and son.

I may mention that no complication can arise on account of twinship, because twins are either not permitted to survive, or one is given to a family of another clan, and becomes the child of that family.

Relationship by maternal descent is closest of all, and thus it is that a man is more closely related to the illegitimate son of his mother than to a half-brother. In matters of bloodmoney, for instance, all sons of the deceased's mother have an equal share, but half-brothers can only receive a part by gift.

A fictitious relationship is created by blood-brotherhood, which is held to be so close that children of blood-brothers cannot intermarry. A blood-brother may often become an adoptive child to the father, who may even pay for a wife for him. But he cannot inherit property (except by will), and this is so because through such inheritance the family stock might pass out of the clan. By will, however, he may obtain such inheritance, which is otherwise confined to the family.

A woman may be said to be regarded all her life as a minor. She has certain rights which extend even to possession of property, but she is never given the control of the same. Similarly a woman is held to all intents and purposes to be irresponsible, and her father or husband is, under all circumstances, liable for her actions, as he is for those of his children.

If we judge from the labours imposed upon native women, and the restrictions set upon their liberties, we shall probably regard their position as one of semi-slavery. We should, however, hesitate to suppose that the native takes a like view, and since his estimate of the position of the weaker sex can alone define the true position of the women, I trust that it will not be out of place here briefly to discuss this subject.

The daily tasks of the native village in its original form were apportioned as follows:—The men took upon themselves: (1) the general conduct of family affairs, both internal and in relation to the whole community; (2) the herding of stock; (3) the rougher work, such as felling of trees, and the breaking up of the soil preparatory to cultivation; (4) the manufacture of household implements and utensils, and also the making of clothes and ornaments, including most of those worn by women, and of arms (excepting those made by smiths); (5) hunting and honey collecting and, above all, warfare. To the women fell: (1) the tilling of the soil after it was broken up, sowing, weeding, and reaping; (2) the fetching and carrying of firewood



and water; (3) the preparation of food and the milking of cattle. In particular tribes there might be special duties, as, for instance, in Ukamba, where the men went in large caravans to trade on the coast. Other labours are shared by both sexes; thus, in the building of a hut the frame is made by men whilst the thatching is done by women; the guarding of crops shortly before harvesting is done by old and young of both sexes. Now if we compare these various duties we shall see that there was no very great difference in the labours. The work of the men might be described as skilled labour, that of the women being unskilled. When ordered government was established, the two most important duties of the men were eliminated, namely, warfare and the conduct of government, but the women's duties were in no way affected. It is unthinkable that such an old-established division of labour should become revised within a few years—indeed, the women would by no means relinquish any part of their duties. To the native it is as inconceivable that a man should, for instance, fetch and carry water as that a woman should bear arms; similarly a woman would no more contemplate fashioning a bee-hive than would a man cook the family food. I think that if we could enter into the native's thoughts we should picture to ourselves that it is for the man to perform the hardest and most skilful work, to provide for the family wealth and welfare, and at the same time to give protection to the family, while the woman's sphere is the provision of all home comforts.

It seems probable that until an age of chivalry was reached, women were always regarded as in the debt of the men, whose lives were constantly at stake. In a state of society such as we are discussing, the debt was in a great measure repaid, because in bearing children the woman sacrificed herself and gave strength to the family.

In ministering to the wants of the family, the woman has reduced man to a state of considerable dependency on her in all domestic affairs, just as she is dependent upon him for bodily protection. In the course of ages this has gone so far as to foster a peculiar helplessness on the part of the men, which manifests itself in a somewhat childlike reliance of the husband in his wife. In fact, it may be said that the native is to all intents and purposes incapable of maintaining himself without the aid of a woman. But the material importance of the woman's sphere of labour is not without advantage to her, and she well knows how to use this. Hence in actual fact the husband is not in a position to enslave his wife, and down-trodden as she may appear, she holds her own so far as she considers right.

The native woman certainly claims few rights, but their paucity has taught her to value them all the more. Hence it is, I think, that she has developed a tenacious character which resents with vigour any intrusion on her rights and sphere. Natives have often admitted to me, that there is no way of coercing a woman into what she has set her mind against. They warn against driving a woman to desperation, and I have in fact known of two cases in which women have resorted to suicide as a last resort.



The most winning virtue that we discover in natives is the affection existing between parent and child. The tender treatment accorded to children is, if possible, carried to excess, for a native will ruin himself to indulge a prodigal son. It is in her children and in parental affection that the greatest stronghold of the woman lies. As wife and as mother she is treated with indulgence and consideration by all in the village; as provider of comforts she is looked to as the mainstay of the family. As such she takes her place, and it is probable that the last position she would assign to herself is that of a mere drudge. The situation was well put by an old woman who remarked to me, "As long as there are women they will till their fields, for what would a woman be if she did not work?" Women will continue to work as long as they are physically capable of doing so, and although the Akamba employ many Akikuyu, I have seen no case in which any wealthy man's wives do less work than others.

In matters concerning the tribe or community, women have little personal share, but where the family is so closely bound up with the State it is unavoidable that the influence of women within the family should be felt in all matters. Undoubtedly the actions and projects of the men are dependent to a great extent on the female element of the community, for the interests of the men are centred entirely in their families, and therewith principally in their wives.

I would give no exaggerated impression of this point, but undoubtedly the unobtrusive and passive life of the native woman is still a remarkably telling factor, and one the extent of which we can never be sure of.

In matters of religion the tribe may appear to take little account of women. In Ukamba, however, there are certain *ithembo* to which only women are devoted, and it is remarkable that in all that is mysterious and awful the rites of the women seem to excel. Indeed in Ukamba the only mysteries that have led to disturbances have emanated from the women. They are superstitious and subject to the persecution of spirits to a far greater degree than are the men. The latter, however, in no way treat this fact lightly; it is not to them a matter of feminine weakness but of actual reality, possibly even female superiority. This side of the woman's life, therefore, vitally affects the men, and its practical consequence may, unfortunately, be the retarding of advance in the men as well. And it is well to bear in mind that we may enlighten the men and persuade them to much, but the real measure of actual advance for the tribe is that of the women, who will always abide as a drag on the men. I think I am justified in saying that this point is not always sufficiently reckoned with, but it will certainly be of greatest consequence in every endeavour to raise native society. Of this fact the following is a practical example: Some years ago a great attempt was made to introduce among the Akamba the use of iron hoes. The men were perfectly prepared to take up the new idea, but the women from superstitious motives<sup>1</sup> declined to use the hoes, and the result was that the project completely failed. I have previously made mention of the peculiar importance attributed to sexual relations. Perhaps the

<sup>1</sup> The use of iron in tilling the ground is believed to drive away the rains.



mysterious power of generation has given birth to this idea, but whatever it was, the belief gives to the woman an importance which must overshadow all her weakness, and which has probably impressed deeply on the native mind the prominence of the female element in humanity.

I have tried to indicate in the above the principal points which appear of consequence in arriving at a true estimate of the position of women in native society; although these may not harmonize with European ideals, yet I trust it is clear that a mere transformation of the scene from Africa to Europe will not interpret truly the actual condition of the women of these tribes. The principal point to be remarked is that the native woman is neither drone nor drudge: she is an active partner. Between the two sexes there has been established a relation of mutual support, demanding reliance of the one upon the other. By courage and strength men supported and protected their homes, and by diligence and activity women created something worthy of protection. Else by what means were men roused to stake their lives for the defence of those homes? I need scarcely say that among races with whom the State and the family cannot be distinguished the one from the other, the domestic influence of the woman reacts upon the State. None are better aware of this than the women themselves, and in view of this it may be surprising to us that they keep so strictly aloof from all public affairs. But if we reflect that it was by a division of labour that these women maintained their rights, we may not find it difficult to imagine that instinct enjoins upon them a respect for this partition of rights and duties. In so far as we are concerned the indirect influence of the women should be none the less carefully studied; in fact those who have to deal with native tribes can make no greater mistake than to regard the women as a negligible quantity in political or domestic matters. Indeed, because it is indirect, it is the more difficult to control, and therefore to us the more hazardous to overlook.

#### CONCLUSION.

I trust that, however far the information contained in the foregoing may be from an exhaustive enquiry into native jurisprudence, it will serve to give an idea of its aims and principles. I will not take upon myself to theorise on the subject, but I venture upon some remarks which suggest themselves to those who are in daily occupation with native societies. It is often assumed that primitive men are deficient in a sense of justice; indeed, of all that we pride ourselves on revealing to them, nothing is so often quoted as the boon of law and justice. We think of injustice and cruelty as inseparable from primitive government, yet the laws here discussed do not seem to me to display any characteristic trace of this. In fact, if it is deficient in anything it is in the direction of severity.

For good or for evil we have taken upon ourselves the direction of affairs for these people; the good is everywhere apparent, but we cannot deny that much evil also has come with us. In native custom there is unquestionably a



morality of a certain quality, and could we but preserve this, much deplorable degeneracy might be averted, since when native morality is destroyed European immorality too easily takes its place. Indeed the struggle to raise native society to a higher level is perhaps not so much hampered by original primitiveness, as it is menaced by a tendency to sink to a lower stage. The tribes we have discussed have not yet reached the age of kingship and despotic rule: they are guided merely by what always has been, and they are wise in assuming that what always was cannot be entirely evil. But despotic rule seems by the teaching of history to be a long period of training necessary to the normal development of nations, and before this period has ripened these tribes have been taken under the wing of the most enlightened and modern of nations. Thus they spring over that dark but disciplinary stage, and as primitive men they yet enjoy the fruits of civilization. In this sense they are perhaps happier than the greater part of humanity, but will they avoid with impunity the drilling which belongs to the life of nations as it does to that of individuals?

The introduction of our laws does not merely bring obligations, but it gives rights, and it is this that weighs so heavily in the balance. Take, for instance, the young native. Under normal conditions he would be entirely subject to his father and under parental control all his life. Of a sudden he is released from these restraints and becomes equal in every way to his elders. In Roman law we see that the emancipation of the son from the father's control was only gradually relaxed through centuries, but can we judge of the state of Rome had this been effected by one single act of law in early times? So also the native woman is naturally at all ages a minor, nor can it be said that her mental development assigns any other status to her. But European government steps in, and she has the same rights and duties as her father or husband. If she wishes to leave her parental village and attach herself to strangers, or if she goes to the towns and there leads a loose life, she is a free agent, and may follow her own inclinations.

This sudden grant of rights falls like a thunder-bolt into the midst of native society. All precedent and custom are cast aside, and the controllers of society are disabled. Based as the law and organization of the tribe are on parental control, the ruin of this quickly spreads, and undermines the fabric of tribal constitution. We may bolster it up with laws, but we have robbed it of its foundation; for if the son is no longer subject to his father, no longer are the sons of the tribe subservient to the elders, since the family is but the miniature of the tribe. Thus, perhaps, no state of society is so frail before civilized rule as that peculiar to these tribes.

Many of our own laws may be the calculations of some astute mind, but those of our Africans are born of custom. How remote must be the time of that birth, and what multitudes of circumstances and events must have arisen before the infant custom became mature! Customary law is the experiences of generations which successively have cast this and that aside, tried many methods and found them to fail, until at last some course remained open which proved itself the most workable and acceptable, not because it met merely one requirement, but because it



fitted into all other circumstances. Therefore it is a deeply-thought-out code, and the experience and intellect of generations have worked to make it one link in a chain of usages and ideas. For the law as approved by custom is but part of the mechanism of society. It is nothing separate as with us, and how far any alteration in this part may prove to be irreparable injury to the whole we cannot say. It is one of the most pernicious errors to tamper with native custom. We are not in touch with it, have never experienced the conditions of life to which it is adapted, and therefore cannot completely enter into its reasons. To interfere with native customs is too often like blundering with an instrument the use of which we have long forgotten. Despite all, we cannot be blind to the fact that the conditions which formulated native custom are no longer intact. There are new surroundings, new problems and influences which cannot be disregarded. With a rush the twentieth century has burst upon the native, bringing powers too mighty to be controlled by his simple institutions. It follows that changes must be made, but it does not follow that these changes must transform primitive society into the most modern of forms. The twentieth century has blended itself with prehistoric conditions, and cannot but receive their impression.

To us it falls to reconcile these two extremes and to make or modify such changes as are inevitable. This is a delicate task indeed, requiring much sympathy with the past, for we are to frame new laws for the ancient. To that end it seems to me that first and foremost we shall require a knowledge of what we are dealing with; if we set out even only with the idea of destroying, let us by all means know what it is we destroy. Therefore it seems to me that a study of native law and custom is above all things necessary, and it is in the hope that to this end the foregoing may aid, that I have recorded what I know of native law in East Africa.

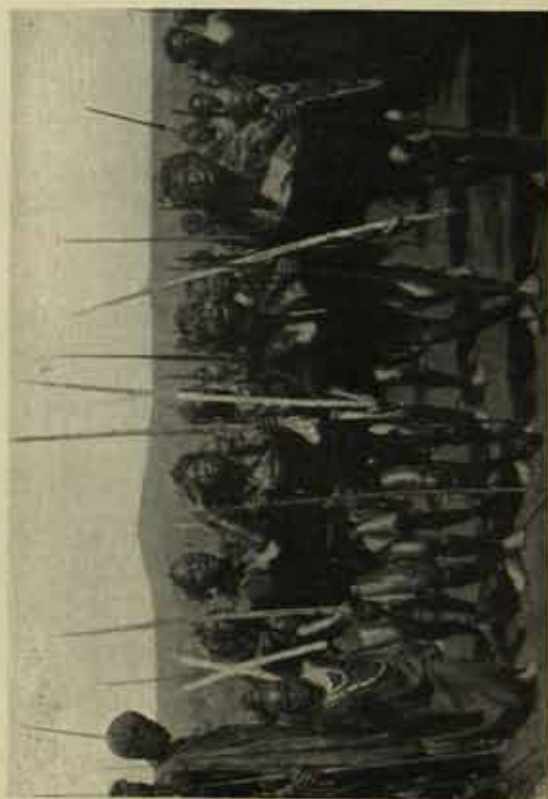




FIG. 1.—MKAMBIA HEADMAN.



FIG. 2.—ITHENDO TREE IN KITUL.



FIGS. 3 AND 4.—KIKUYU DANCES PRIOR TO CIRCUMCISION RITES.  
THE ORGANIZATION AND LAWS OF SOME BANTU TRIBES OF EAST AFRICA.





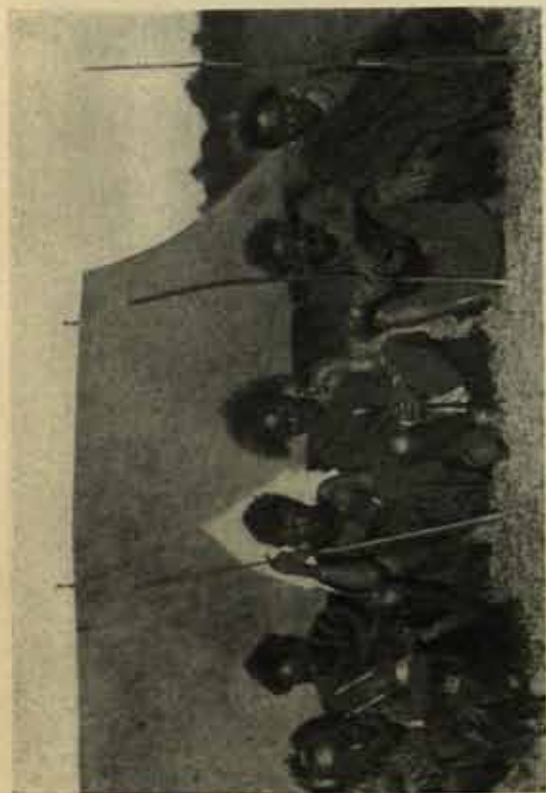


FIG. 1.—FOUR GENERATIONS.  
From left to right: No. 1, Mwirungu; Nos. 2-3, Mwangi; No. 4, Mwirungu;  
Nos. 5 and 6, Maina.



FIG. 3.—TAKING THE OATH OF "KITHITO."  
(Note the man with ashes on his hand and arm.)



FIG. 2.—KIKUYU "KIAMA."



FIG. 4.—THE OATH OF "KITHITO."  
(Note the man in foreground taking the oath with two stones under his feet.)







FIG. 1.—THE OATH OF MUMA IN KIKUYU. ELDERS ENCIRCLING THE FIRE WITH THEIR STAFFS.

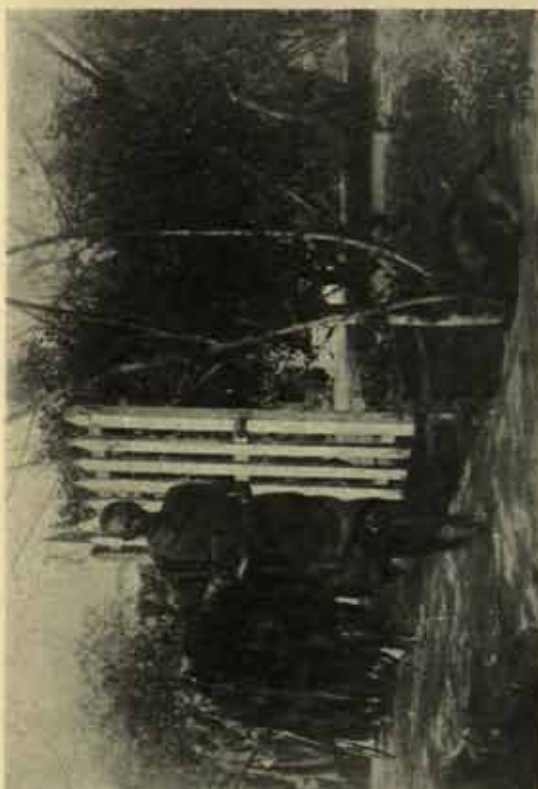


FIG. 2.—AKAMEA ELDERS TAKING AN OATH BY STEPPING OVER A STICK.



FIG. 3.—MUMA OATH TAKEN BY A SUSPECTED WIZARD (NYERI DISTRICT).  
THE ORGANIZATION AND LAWS OF SOME BANTU TRIBES OF EAST AFRICA.

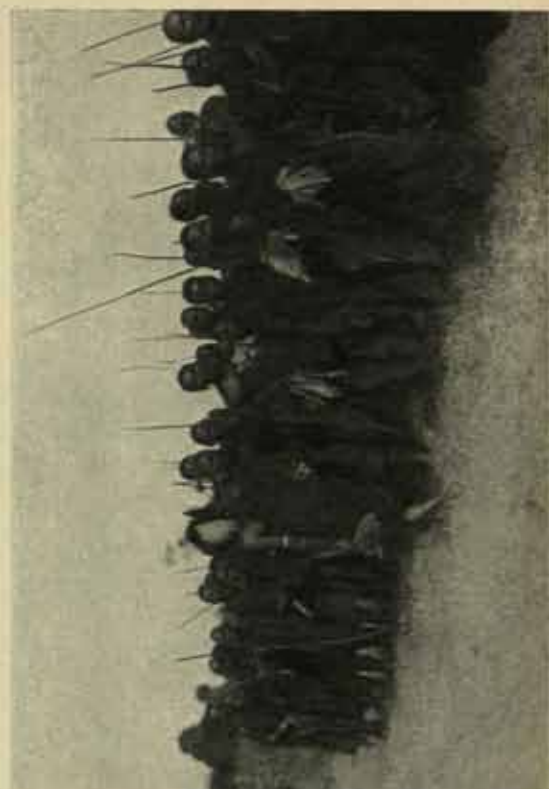


FIG. 4.—KIKUYU ELDERS PARADING BEFORE GOING TO COUNCIL (NDIA).







FIG. 2.—KIKUYU TAKING THE OATH OF POUNDING A DEAD MAN'S BONES.



FIG. 4.—NATIVE WITH BROKEN ARM SET AFTER MKAMBA METHOD.



FIG. 1.—KIKUYU ELDERS AT AN "NDUNDE."



FIG. 3.—WAKATIMO WITH HIS "KISASI."  
THE ORGANIZATION AND LAWS OF SOME BANTU TRIBES OF EAST AFRICA.





## ROYAL MARRIAGES AND MATRILINEAL DESCENT.

BY MARGARET MURRAY.

I AM not concerned in this paper with the origin of Matrilineal Descent, nor with the reasons for the custom. I merely wish to point out that it occurs among peoples whom we are accustomed to look upon as civilised, and that it is therefore of considerable importance for the right understanding of certain points in ancient history, which are often slurred over or looked upon as too obscure for elucidation.

It is obvious that the reckoning of descent in either the male or female line can be of value only when there is something to inherit. Land is naturally considered as the most important of all heritages, and the chief land-inheritance is the kingdom. Therefore it is among noble, and particularly royal, families that we expect to find genealogies carefully kept, and it is in these genealogies that we must look for the records of female inheritance.

The working of the law of female inheritance in modern times is found in the kingdom of Travancore. (Succession in the family of the Raja of Cochin on the Malabar Coast is also governed in the same way.) I quote from Sir Charles Aitchison's *Treaties*,<sup>1</sup> which is the authoritative work on the subject.

"The laws which govern the succession to the State of Travancore are very peculiar. The descent, according to the usages of the Nairs of the Western Coast, is in the female line. Thus on the death of the Raja the sovereignty passes not to his sons, who can in no case inherit, but to his uterine brothers if he has any. Failing these, or on their demise, it passes to his sister's sons, or to his sister's daughter's sons, and so on. Hence it follows that the only adoptions which are performed by the Rajas of Travancore are not of males to supply the place of sons of their own body, but of females through whom the line must be continued. Any failure of the direct female descent requires the selection and adoption of two or more females from the immediate relatives of the family who reside at certain places in Travancore. The females so adopted are designated the Tumbrattees or Ranis of Attingah, and by the laws and usages of Travancore are assigned a distinguished rank as alone entitled to give heirs to the state, and enjoy many important privileges. Such an adoption occurred in 1788, when two sisters were selected and adopted as Ranis of Attingah. The younger sister died after giving birth to a female child which also died. From the elder sister the present family of

<sup>1</sup> Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds*, v, p. 422 *seq.*, ed. 1876.



Travancore are descended, the late Raja being the grandson (daughter's son), the present the great grandson (daughter's daughter's son). In 1857 the line of Travancore was again threatened with eventual extinction. The sister of the late Raja (granddaughter—daughter's daughter—of the elder of the two sisters adopted in 1788) left five children, four sons, the second of whom is the present chief, and one daughter. The daughter died suddenly, leaving two sons. The Tumbrattees of Attingah thus became extinct, and although the state after the death of the Raja would devolve successively on his four nephews and his two grandnephews, the line, unless recruited by the adoption of Tumbrattees as before, would have expired with them. Under these circumstances the late Raja intimated to the Resident that, in strict conformity with former usage and precedent, he proposed to bring in two, the most eligible female members from among his relations, as senior and junior Ranis. Two ladies were accordingly adopted with the sanction of the British Government."

With living examples before us it is possible to follow the working of the custom of inheritance in the female line in ancient times, when the laws against consanguinity in marriage were not so strict as at the present day. It must be fairly obvious that when property descended through the woman, the man who could obtain possession of the heiress obtained also possession of the property for himself during his lifetime and for his children after his death. The natural protector of the woman and the natural owner of the property would be her nearest male relative. Hence the custom in ancient times of consanguineous marriages in every degree of close relationship. As an example familiar to us all of succession to the throne by right of marriage with the heiress, I would cite the play of "Hamlet," where the murdered king is succeeded, not by his son, though of an age to reign, but by the new husband of the queen. The hurried marriage after the first husband's death was due to the eagerness of the murderer to seize the crown; the people accepted the new king, never looking upon him as a usurper; the marriage aroused no indignation or horror among them, and the king's only fear was the discovery of the murder by which he had cleared his way to the hand of the heiress and the possession of the throne.

I am concerned in this paper with pointing out that where in ancient history we find consanguineous marriages in the closest possible degrees of relationship, we are not always dealing with records of licentiousness and vice, as the historians, ancient and modern, would have us believe, but with a system of matrilineal descent and female inheritance preserved in a royal family. Royalty being more strictly bound by ancient tradition than the people, such a custom would be observed in the royal family long after it had vanished from the rest of the kingdom. It is therefore only to be expected that the system should be completely misunderstood and its results often held in utter abhorrence by the historians who have handed down the accounts to us, especially by those who were either not contemporary with the events they related, or were observing the customs of a foreign country. This is to my mind so much the case that I am convinced that



wherever marriages are found to be closely consanguineous, there one must look for inheritance in the female line, and the genealogy must be carefully scanned with this idea in mind, remembering that the man's descent is not necessarily of any importance; it is by marriage and not by inheritance that *he* lays claim to the throne. Therefore it is the woman and her maternal genealogy which must be followed.

To prove my point I will take only three nations, the Egyptian, the Jewish, and the Roman. The custom occurred in most of the nations of antiquity without doubt, but these three will be sufficient.

In Egyptian history I propose to take only two periods, the early New Kingdom, *i.e.*, about 1600 B.C., and the Ptolemaic era; for at both these periods the records are more complete than at any other. Chronologically the Biblical history should follow on between these two Egyptian periods, but I prefer to divide the subject geographically. In Egypt one sees very clearly that the king succeeded by right of marriage only; so much so that it is possible to put the principle of female inheritance shortly thus: the queen is queen by right of birth, the king is king by right of marriage. The resulting intermarriages can also be expressed by the Kalmuck proverb, "Great people and dogs know no relationship." Though this is, perhaps, clearer in Egypt than elsewhere, it can, I think, be proved in the House of Judah, and among the Claudian Emperors.

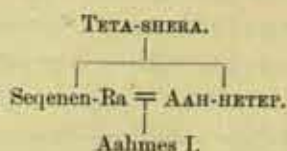
#### EGYPT.—NEW KINGDOM.

Amongst the Pharaohs of the early New Kingdom the principle of matrilineal descent is very strongly marked, and as I have said before, marriages in every degree of affinity are found. I do not propose to go into any detail of proof here, as Egyptian history is still a highly technical subject, but I take eight successive queens who lived in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries B.C. It is acknowledged by all Egyptologists that when a queen has the titles "King's sister, king's wife," those epithets apply to the relationship between her and the king with whom she is mentioned, but when the title "King's daughter" occurs at the same time, it is usual to say that it applies to the previous king. My contention is that such titles apply to the king with whom the queen is associated in the inscription.

If these titles are taken as I propose to take them, it would show that when a queen is daughter, sister and wife to the king, the previous queen was both mother and wife of the same man, *i.e.*, the reigning queen is daughter to the king because her mother was his wife, and she is also his sister because she was born of the same mother as himself.

It will be noted that the king might have any number of wives at the same time, as he appeared to marry all the heiresses in order to secure his own position and prevent claimants to the throne; but a queen could only have one husband at a time, though any number consecutively, as her husband was the rightful ruler by reason of his marriage with her.

The relationships are so complicated that it is impossible to make a genealogical table in the ordinary way. The genealogy of Aahmes I. appears quite simple when written out thus—



but Sequen-Ra was the father, brother, and husband of Aah-hetep, who on his death married the son, Aahmes I., whom she had borne to him. I have therefore expressed the marriages by a different method, though the filiation of the kings is shown in the usual way. The relationships of the queens to the respective kings is given after the name of each king.

## EGYPTIAN QUEENS.

Women's names in capitals.

TETA-SHERA.	Sequen-Ra. King's wife, King's mother.
	Sequen-Ra. King's great daughter. United to White Crown.
AAH-HETEP.	Aahmes I. King's wife, King's sister, King's mother.
	Amenhetep I. King's wife, King's mother.
	Thothmes I. King's wife, King's mother.
NEFERTARI.	Aahmes I. King's daughter, King's sister, King's wife.
	Amenhetep I. King's wife, King's mother.
AAHMES.	Thothmes I. King's wife, King's mother.
	Thothmes I. King's daughter.
HATSHEPSUT.	Thothmes II.
	Thothmes III.
MERYT-RA.	Thothmes III. King's wife.
	Amenhetep II. King's wife, King's mother.
TYAA.	Thothmes IV. King's wife, King's mother.
ARAT.	Thothmes IV. King's daughter, King's sister, King's wife.
MUTEMUYA.	Thothmes IV. King's wife.
	Amenhetep III. King's mother.

The position of Hatshepsut is confused, as she reigned alone and used the titles of a king for herself. She was certainly the daughter of Thothmes I. and was associated with him as a queen, which leads one to suppose that she was married to him. She was apparently the wife of Thothmes II., and it seems likely that she was married to Thothmes III. also, for her daughter Nefru-ra, when represented between Hatshepsut and Thothmes III., is called King's daughter.



## EGYPTIAN HISTORY: PTOLEMAIC PERIOD.

There is always a certain difficulty in tracing the beginning of a genealogy, and the Ptolemies are no exception. The fact that the father of Lagos was unknown even to his grandson, Ptolemy Soter, is a proof that the male descent was not of great importance. The theory that the genealogy of Berenice was invented in later times in order to prove that brother-and-sister marriage was practised by the founder of the dynasty, cannot be maintained. Marriages of relatives closely allied by blood are, as I have mentioned before, the custom in certain stages of society only when there is some material advantage to be gained by such a union, *i.e.*, when the advantage is gained by inheritance by or through women.

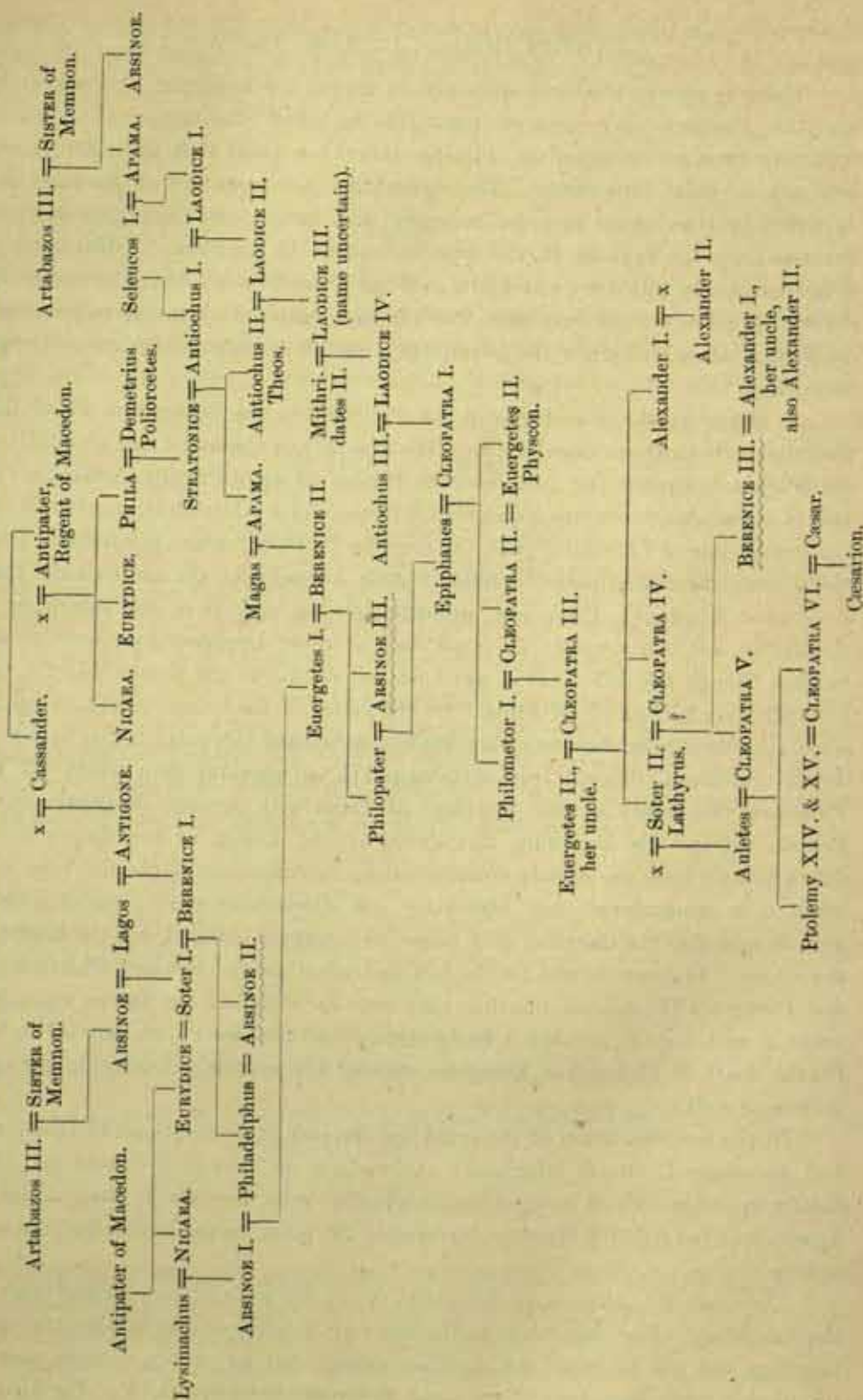
A glance at the genealogies of the Ptolemies in the female line shows that they derive from three main stocks. The first is from Cassander, the second from his brother Antipater, the third from the Persian satrap of Phrygia, Artabazos III., one of whose daughters was considered a fit match for Alexander himself. When the female line of Cassander ends, the reigning Ptolemy marries the heiress of the eldest daughter of Antipater, he himself being descended on the mother's side from a younger daughter. There are, unfortunately, no records of the marriages of Antipater, and consequently no proof that his three daughters were born of one mother, though the difference in age lends probability to the theory that the two younger were half-sisters of Phila. On the failure of the female line of Antipater, a marriage is effected between Ptolemy Epiphanes and Cleopatra I., the heiress in direct matrilineal descent from Artabazos III., an ancestor from whom all the Ptolemies descended by the marriage of Lagos with Arsinoe, daughter of the Persian satrap. By accepting this theory of the descent of the throne in the direct female line, the closely consanguineous marriages are explained, especially when it is remembered that legitimacy and illegitimacy were ideas of a later growth, and that the daughter of a queen, by whatever husband, was the heiress of the crown. It accounts also for the fact that when the two brothers, Philometor I. and Euergetes II., reigned together, they were associated on the throne with their sister in such way as to make it fairly certain that they were both married to her. On the death of Philometor, Euergetes ensured his position by marrying the next heiress as well.

In the troubled times of the tenth and eleventh Ptolemies, Soter II. (Lathyrus) and Alexander I., female inheritance throws light on some of the problems. The family squabbles, which in royal families lead to wars, were due to the question as to who was the rightful king, the husband of the queen or the husband of the next heiress.

The doubtful filiation of Cleopatra V. is the weakest link in the chain of the genealogy. She claimed to be the sister of Auletes; and as brother-and-sister marriage was not practised for mere wantonness, but for certain definite reasons, her mother must have been of the royal line, possibly Cleopatra IV. The filiation

## THE PTOLEMIES.

Women's names in capitals. Waved lines under a name show extinction of female line.





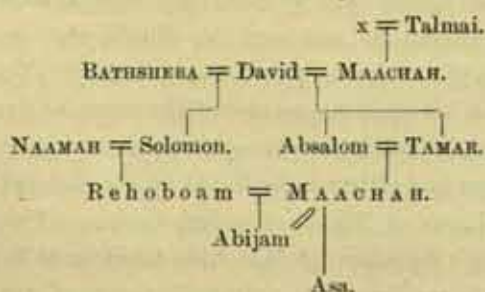
of Cleopatra the Great must also be accepted in view of her successive marriages with her two brothers; for the theory of the descent of the throne by and through women can alone explain her further marriages also. Cæsar, by conquest ruler of Egypt, legitimised his position by marrying the queen. Antony became king of Egypt by the same means; his marriage with Octavia was binding in Rome, but in Egypt the queen was his lawful wife, and Octavia, who was not of the Egyptian royal line, took a second place. The Roman historians, imbued as they were with the idea of monogamy, utterly failed to understand the position. With the death of Cleopatra Egypt ceased to be a kingdom and became the private property of the Emperors of Rome, and was then governed by Roman laws of inheritance and marriage. Cleopatra's son by Cæsar was killed, her children by Antony were illegitimate according to Roman law, he having a wife at the time of his marriage; but Zenobia claimed the throne of Egypt, and was for a short period successful in that claim, by right of descent from Cleopatra.

#### BIBLE HISTORY.

In the Bible records, the genealogies and the early history have been so rigorously excised by later editors that it is often difficult, if not impossible, to follow them. [As an example of such excision, I would draw attention to 1 Chronicles vii, 14, which begins the genealogy of the tribe of Manasseh: "The sons of Manasseh: Ashriel whom she bare," where it is obvious that a woman's name has been cut out, for as the words stand, "she" refers to Manasseh; which, as Euclid says, is absurd<sup>1</sup>.] The custom of female inheritance in historic times appears to have been followed in the southern country only, where we have to do with the tribes of Judah and Benjamin; in the north, the kingdom of Israel went to any man who could take or hold it by force of arms.

#### THE HOUSE OF JUDAH.

Women's names in capitals.



In the account of the early kings, kingship appears to have been dependent on two facts: (1) appointment by the chief sacerdotal authority or by the reigning monarch; (2) marriage with the heiress. The history of Saul is so fragmentary that

<sup>1</sup> The verb is in the feminine in the Hebrew without a pronoun.



although we know of his appointment by Samuel, we know only the name of his wife and not her genealogy beyond her father's name. But when we come to David we are on firmer ground. David was appointed and anointed king by Samuel, and in connection with this event Josephus<sup>1</sup> makes an interesting remark: "The Divine Power departed from Saul and removed to David, who, upon this removal of the Divine Spirit to him, began to prophesy." Here I think we see the reason for the appointment of a king: by this means the Divine Spirit was handed on to the successor that he might be the receptacle of the deity, in other words the incarnate god. This idea remains down to our own times among the Shilluk at Fashoda.<sup>2</sup> This was what may be called the spiritual side of kingship; the actual rule was obtained by marriage with the heiress. In the case of David the appointing and anointing came first, then came the marriage with Michal the daughter of Saul; and it was after this marriage, when David was thus the acknowledged heir, that Saul's hatred grew virulent: "and Saul was yet the more afraid of David; and Saul became David's enemy continually." It is necessary to remember that Saul had four sons, Jonathan, Abinadab, Melchi-shua, and Ishbosheth; of these, the first three are never looked upon as having a claim on the throne, which shows that inheritance in the male line was not yet established in Judah and Benjamin. As for Abner's ill-starred attempt to put Ishbosheth on the throne after Saul's death, it is noticeable that the great mass of his forces were drawn from the northerly tribes.

There is some discrepancy in the Biblical account of Michal, the daughter of Saul. In I Samuel xviii, 17-21, two daughters, Merab and Michal, are mentioned; Merab is said to have been the elder and to have married Adriel the Meholathite; while in II Samuel xxi, 8, there is mention of the "five sons of Michal, the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel the son of Barzillai the Meholathite." Josephus speaks of only one daughter of Saul, namely Michal; therefore it seems likely that there was but the one daughter, who was married first to Adriel, by whom she had sons only, and then to David, by whom she had no children.

When David was driven out by Saul and was a wanderer with but few followers, Saul gave Michal in marriage to Phalti the son of Laish, hoping perhaps to destroy David's claim to the throne thereby. That David recognised this danger is shown by his insisting, as one of the terms of peace with Ishbosheth and Abner, that Michal should be brought back to him. As Michal had no daughters, a new heiress had either to be found in a collateral branch, or adopted as in the case of the Rajas of Travancore and Cochin. This heiress appears to have been Tamar, David's daughter by Maachah, daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur. Matrilineal descent is to my mind the only explanation of two episodes, the first of which is given in II Samuel xiii, where Amnon, David's first-born son, fell in love with Tamar. It would seem that primogeniture in the male line was already recognised among some part at least of the people, though not in the royal family;

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, viii, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Seligmann, *Report of Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories*, vol. B.



for the three sons of David who made attempts on the throne did so in the order of their birth; Daniel the second son, who is also called Chelub, is merely a name, and possibly died young. Tamar's words to Amnon show that brother-and-sister marriage was allowable: "Now, therefore, I pray thee, speak unto the king, for he will not withhold me from thee." It is difficult to see why this episode should have been preserved when others equally scandalous have probably been omitted. In itself the provocation was not sufficient for Absalom to run the risk of outlawry by murdering Amnon; but if marriage with Tamar carried the kingdom with it, and Amnon had established the prior right to her, then Absalom, the next in age and of royal blood on both sides, cleared his way to the throne by murder. Tamar had taken refuge with Absalom, who was her full brother;<sup>1</sup> and according to Josephus<sup>2</sup> they were married. Josephus does not speak of the marriage in so many words, but mentions the daughter of Absalom by Tamar.

The second episode is that of Abishag the Shunammite, as given in 1 Kings, i and ii. The position of this woman can only be made clear by seeing in her the next heiress in case of the death of Tamar or Tamar's daughter. First, she was "sought for throughout all the coasts of Israel"; hardly a likely proceeding if all that was wanted was a pretty girl to take care of the old king, his wife Bathsheba being still alive; but extremely likely if the genealogies of possible claimants had to be scrutinised; then, it is distinctly said it was a purely ceremonial marriage between David and Abishag. When David was almost *in extremis*, Adonijah, his eldest surviving son, got himself proclaimed king by the help of Abiathar, though not appointed and apparently not married. The more wily Nathan, ably assisted by Bathsheba, persuaded the dying king to appoint Solomon as his successor, and Solomon was at once proclaimed and publicly anointed. This news so terrified Adonijah as he sat feasting with his adherents that he fled to the altar for sanctuary, and there remained till Solomon swore to spare his life. Adonijah's attempt to secure the throne by right of primogeniture having failed, he then reverted to the custom in vogue in the royal family. He persuaded Bathsheba to ask Solomon to give Abishag to him to wife; and he artfully suggested that as the king could not refuse any request to his mother, she should induce him to promise to perform whatever she asked before knowing her request. Bathsheba faithfully fulfilled her part; she said, "I desire one small petition of thee; I pray thee, say me not nay. And the king said unto her, Ask on, my mother: for I will not say thee nay. And she said, Let Abishag the Shunammite be given Adonijah thy brother to wife." Now note Solomon's significant answer and action: "And king Solomon answered and said unto his mother, And why dost thou ask Abishag the Shunammite for Adonijah? ask for him the kingdom also; for he is mine elder brother. . . . Then king Solomon sware by the Lord, saying, God do so to me, and more also, if Adonijah have not spoken this word against his own life.

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book VII, ch. viii, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.*, Book VIII, ch. x, 1.



Now therefore, as the Lord liveth . . . Adonijah shall be put to death this day. And king Solomon sent by the hand of Benaiah the son of Jehoiada; and he fell upon him that he died." Solomon's sudden outburst of fury at the proposed marriage and the breaking of his solemn oath to spare Adonijah can be entirely accounted for by the theory that he himself was as yet king only by appointment and anointing, and not by marriage, and that Adonijah's daring proposal was to marry one of the heiresses and thus claim the throne.

Solomon's matrimonial alliances were so numerous as to cause grave scandal to the later editors of the history, and the record appears to have been expunged with great thoroughness; so much so that, with the exception of the marriage with Pharaoh's daughter, the wives are only mentioned as the reason for his apostasy from the state religion. The Arab historian Masoudi, however, takes it for granted that Solomon married the Queen of Sheba, and records as a matter of history that Solomon possessed the Yemen (or Sheba) for twenty-three years, and that after his death the kingdom reverted to the family of Himyar. This suggests that Solomon was king of Sheba by right of marriage.

But though we have no detailed records of Solomon's marriages, we have a very marked instance of matrilineal descent among his immediate successors; and seeing that the custom of female inheritance occurs both before and after his reign, we are justified in believing that he followed the same custom.

Rehoboam, Solomon's son and immediate successor, married, according to II Chronicles xi, 20, 21, Maachah the daughter of Absalom, "and Rehoboam loved Maachah the daughter of Absalom above all his wives and his concubines." In other words, she was the chief wife. The marriage is not specifically mentioned in Kings, but is implied thus: "And Rehoboam slept with his fathers . . . And Abijam his son reigned in his stead. . . Three years reigned he in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom."<sup>1</sup> From her position as chief wife of Rehoboam, Maachah would appear to be the heiress, deriving her rank from her mother Tamar. This position is confirmed by what follows: her son by Rehoboam, Abijam, succeeded to the throne, and was in his turn succeeded by Asa. "And Abijam slept with his fathers . . . and Asa his son reigned in his stead . . . And forty and one years reigned he in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom."<sup>2</sup> Thus Maachah married first her cousin Rehoboam and then her own son Abijam. In II Chronicles xiii, 2, Abijam's mother is given as Michaiah the daughter of Uriel; but as the book of Kings is older and more authoritative than that of Chronicles, and as such consanguineous marriages were known among ancient nations who followed the custom of female inheritance, there is no reason to suppose that the more ancient record is wrong.

<sup>1</sup> I Kings xiv, 31; xv, 2.

<sup>2</sup> I Kings xv, 8, 10.



## THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

We turn now to the early emperors of Rome, from Julius Caesar to Nero. It is, I believe, acknowledged that matrilineal descent and female inheritance were the practice among the Roman kings, and I hope to prove that the custom was continued in the imperial line, and that the amazing matrimonial alliances in every degree of consanguinity, which have scandalised all historians from Suetonius down to the present day, were due not to vice but to political motives. There is no contemporary historian of this period, and when a chronicler did arise he was imbued with the ideas of male inheritance and patrilineal descent, and could not suppose that the haughty Claudians would follow any other custom, though he knew that they beyond all others clung to ancient custom and tradition.

As I have said before, kingship appears to depend on two things: (1) Appointment by the virtual ruler of the country, and (2) Marriage with the heiress. I think that this rule will be found to hold good, on the whole, among the early emperors. The appointment of his successor by the reigning monarch was called "adoption" by the Romans, and of these seven emperors, two only were not adopted: Julius Caesar the founder of the empire, and Claudius, who was elected by the army. The adoption, however, does not appear to have been so important as the marriage; and in this paper I am dealing, with but few exceptions, with the legal and acknowledged marriages only.

There is another point in which the Roman emperors followed the custom of kings of other countries, and that was the claiming of divinity in their own persons. Thus in the three points—appointment, marriage, and divinity—the Roman emperors were precisely similar to the kings of earlier and often more barbarous times.

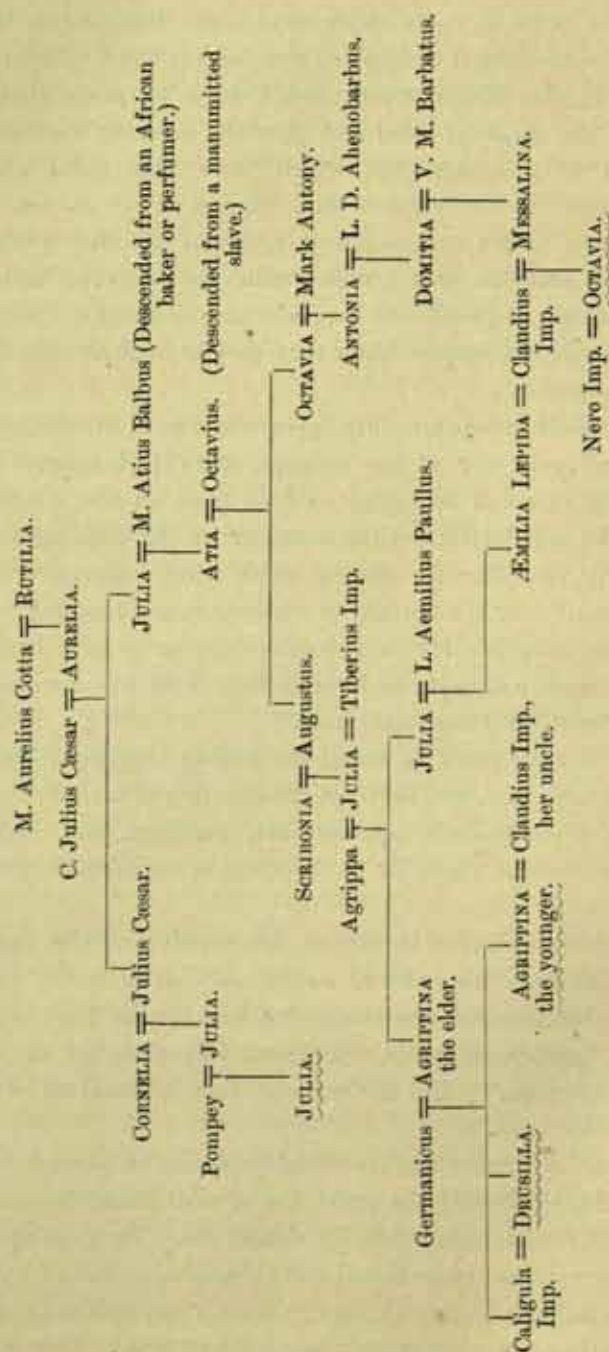
*Julius Caesar.*—Julius Caesar, as the founder of the imperial family, was possibly exempt from the rules of succession; but he was of royal blood through his paternal grandmother, who descended from Ancus Marcius, king of Rome; so that, to use Caesar's own words, "Kings whose persons are sacred helped to make our family illustrious." His mother was Aurelia, daughter of Rutilia, and there the maternal line ends.

*Augustus.*—A Roman was free to adopt whom he pleased, but it is significant that Julius Caesar followed the strict law of matrilineal descent. He adopted his sister's daughter's son, rather than his sister's son. The male ancestors of Augustus were of low extraction: his paternal great grandfather was said to be a manumitted slave and his father a money changer, while his mother's paternal grandfather was an African, either a perfumer or a baker [Suetonius]. This seems to me a clear case of rank descending in the female line, as Augustus never appears to have been considered as of inferior position.

By adoption—in other words, appointment by the reigning monarch—he was

## ROMAN EMPRESSES.

Women's names in capitals. Waved lines under a name show extinction of female line.





raised to the throne; and then comes the question of his marriages. He was married four times:—

1. Servilia, daughter of P. Servilius Isauricus. Before his adoption
2. Claudia, daughter of Fulvia and P. Clodius. Sent home.
3. Scribonia, already twice a widow. Divorced. One daughter.
4. Livia Drusilla, taken away from her husband.

The first two marriages were practically betrothals only, the interest lies in the third and fourth. And here I must confess myself at fault to a certain extent owing to the lack of particulars as to the descent of these two ladies; but judging by the analogies of other countries, Livia at least must have been in the direct female line of the royal house. Scribonia<sup>1</sup> was divorced when she had borne a daughter, this daughter Julia being a most important person in the genealogies. Livia was taken away from her husband in a manner which reminds us of David's action when he claimed Michal from Phaltiel; Livia's husband, like Michal's, not objecting, in public at least, to what we, in the present day, would consider an intolerable outrage. The only explanation is that Augustus, having obtained the throne by appointment, legitimised his position completely by marriage. Livia had no daughters; and her line, according to matrilinal usage, ended with her. The Julian line continued through Octavia, the sister of Augustus, but the position of his daughter Julia can be accounted for only by seeing in her either the rightful heiress by descent through the mother from a royal ancestress, or the adopted heiress as in the case of the Ranis of Attingah. Whichever it may be, it is from these two women, Octavia and Julia, sister and daughter of Augustus, that the wives of the emperors and some of the emperors themselves descend.

To take Julia first. Her betrothals and marriages were:—

- |  |              |
|--|--------------|
| 1. Antonius, son of Mark Antony.                             | } Betrothed. |
| 2. Cotiso, king of the Getæ.                                 |              |
| 3. Marcellus, son of Octavia.                                |              |
| 4. Agrippa, already married to Octavia's daughter, Marcella. |              |
| 5. Tiberius, after his adoption by Augustus.                 |              |

She had five children by Agrippa, of whom two were daughters. But in this connection Caligula's statement must be remembered that his mother Agrippina was the daughter of Julia, not by Agrippa, but by her father Augustus; *i.e.*, Agrippina was the offspring of a father-and-daughter marriage. If this were true, it would

<sup>1</sup> It is very remarkable that Scribonia should be divorced directly after the birth of her daughter. It is hardly possible that the sex of the child should be the reason; for if a son were absolutely necessary for the inheritance of the empire, the mere fact that Scribonia had already borne a child would be in her favour. But it is a possibility, which must be taken into account, that an heiress was required; and that having borne the heiress, Scribonia was no longer needed. In this connection it is worth noting that Poppæa Sabina received the title of Augusta as soon as she had borne a daughter.



mean that Augustus, like the ancient Egyptian Pharaohs, made certain of the throne by marrying both the immediate heiress (in this case Livia) and the next in succession as well. The importance of the marriage of the heiress is shown by the law promulgated by Augustus, when punishing the lovers of the two Julias, his daughter and his granddaughter; of this law Tacitus<sup>1</sup> says: "By giving to a fault common between men and women the heinous name of treason and sacrilege, he departed from the lenity of his ancestors." In matrilineal countries, in earlier times, the man who was the *de facto* husband of the heiress, even though not so by law, had the right to the crown. The enactment of this law gives colour to the supposition that this was also originally the case in Rome itself. The laws against adultery in women, which were passed in the times of the earlier emperors, point to a state of society where the position of women, originally that of a matrilineal people, was steadily changing, inheritance passing into the male line and marriage laws becoming more stringent. Adultery in the case of an heiress belonging to a family which practised female inheritance was, under these circumstances, considerably more criminal than in the case of a less highly-placed woman, and the mere accusation of such a crime blasted her character more completely, for it threw doubt on the position both of her own husband and of the husband of her daughter. This also puts a more poignant meaning on the saying, "The wife of Cæsar must be above suspicion."

*Tiberius.*—If Livia carried the succession, as by her forced marriage with Augustus seems to have been the case, then her son, by whatever husband, would have the first claim on the throne and would be expected to marry the heiress. This is exactly what happened. Tiberius, Livia's eldest son, was adopted by Augustus, but—and this is an interesting point—he was already married to a woman of no particular rank, Vipsania Agrippina, by whom he had sons. His brother Drusus, however, had married the daughter of Octavia, whom I take to be also an heiress; the sons of Drusus were therefore the rightful heirs, as obtaining the right through the mother. In no other way but that of matrilineal descent can one explain the adoption of the son of Drusus to the complete exclusion of the sons of Tiberius, about whose legitimacy there was no question. Tiberius was obliged to adopt Germanicus as his heir before he himself was adopted by Augustus; he had also to divorce his wife, to whom he was greatly attached, and marry the heiress Julia, who treated him with contempt as beneath her in rank. The senate appears to have been aware of the law of female inheritance, for they passed a decree that Tiberius should be officially styled the son of Livia as well as the son of Augustus.

It is in this reign that we see most clearly the struggle between the old order and the new; the haughty Claudian women fighting for their ancient rights, the dark and wily Tiberius taking advantage of every mistake of his adversaries, of every atom of his own power, to defeat them. Against his mother Livia he could

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, iii, 24.



make no headway: she arrogated to herself the hereditary right to rule, and after a time he retired from the contest till her death. But his wife was practically imprisoned on charges of adultery, which according to Augustus's new law was treason; her daughter Julia was banished for the same reason; there remained only her other daughter Agrippina, against whom as the idol of the army no one dared to make any accusation. Yet even Tiberius could not altogether accept the idea of inheritance in the direct male line, for when the senate conferred honours on the two elder sons of Germanicus he administered a sharp rebuke, saying, "That no one should encourage the giddy minds of young men to indulge in presumptuous aspirations by premature distinctions."<sup>1</sup>

Tiberius was persuaded that Agrippina had designs on the sovereignty,<sup>2</sup> and after her husband's death he was adamant in his refusal to let her marry again. He so persecuted her that her proud spirit could endure no more, and she preferred death to life. By the death of Agrippina the succession was removed to the next generation; Agrippina's daughters were young enough to be kept in subjection, and Tiberius reigned in peace. Though he does not appear to have adopted Caligula legally, it is possible that the adoption of Germanicus, Caligula's father, would extend to the son, for Tiberius left all his property by will to be divided between Caligula and his own grandson.

*Caligula.*—Though Tiberius wished his own son to succeed him, he had no power to alter the regular succession, and the throne passed to the son of Agrippina. The heiresses were her daughters, Drusilla, Agrippina, and Julia. Here we are confronted with a condition of affairs which frequently occurred among matrilineal peoples, that the chief heiress was the sister of the principal male. The solution of the problem was the same here as in other places under similar conditions, the marriage of the brother and sister; Caligula and Drusilla were openly married. Caligula is also said to have intrigued with his other two sisters; in an earlier stage of society he would have married all three heiresses, but in monogamous Rome this was impossible, and though he secured his own position in the best way he could, he succeeded in scandalising all later historians. The great importance of the sisters is shown by his command that the army should swear allegiance to himself in the words: "Nor do I esteem myself nor my children more dearly than Cæsar and his sisters," and that the consuls should insert this phrase in all their public acts and reports: "Wishing all happiness to Caius Cæsar and his sisters" [Suetonius].

Caligula's marriages were:—

1. Junia Claudilla. Died. Before he had hope of succeeding.
2. Drusilla, his sister. Wife of L. C. Longinus. Died.
3. Livia Orestilla. Wife of C. Piso. Divorced.
4. Lolliæ Paulina. Wife of C. Memmius. Divorced.
5. Cesonia. Killed at the same time as Caligula.

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, iv, 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.*, iv, 12.



The matrilineal descent of these ladies, with the exception of Drusilla, cannot be traced, but it is worth noting that three were taken away from their husbands and that Lollia Paulina was married to Caligula and twice married to Claudius, which argues that her position was of importance. Caligula's two younger sisters were banished, perhaps because public opinion refused to countenance further marriages within the family. Caligula had only one child, a daughter, who was killed at the same time as her parents. The succession thus remained with the banished sisters and with the descendants of Octavia.

*Claudius*.—Though the army took upon itself the right to choose the Emperor, it chose the man who, according to matrilineal descent, had the best claim, and whom Tiberius had indicated as his heir,<sup>1</sup> viz., Claudius.

His marriages were :—

1. *Æmilia Lepida*. Divorced because her parents offended Augustus.
2. *Livia Medullina*, surnamed *Camilla*, descended from *Camillus* the Dictator. Died.
3. *Plautia Urgulanilla*. Divorced for adultery and suspicion of murder.
4. *Ælia Petina*. Divorced for slight and trivial reasons.
5. *Valeria Messalina*. Killed.
6. *Lollia Paulina*. Twice married and divorced, then killed.
7. *Agrippina* the younger, his brother's daughter.

His children were :—

By *Urgulanilla*: *Drusus* and *Claudia*.

By *Petina*: *Antonia*.

By *Messalina*: *Octavia* and *Britannicus*.

Of his children, *Drusus* the elder son never seems to have been considered as the future emperor, and *Antonia* and *Claudia* were apparently inferior to *Octavia*; a glance at the genealogies will show the reason for this preference for the children of *Messalina*.

The marriages of *Claudius* with *Messalina* and *Agrippina* are the most interesting, as each was the heiress of her respective line; *Æmilia Lepida* was also of importance, as her genealogy shows, which was, perhaps, the reason why *Augustus* insisted on the divorce.

The circumstances surrounding the death of *Messalina* are only explainable by the custom of female inheritance and succession by right of marriage with the heiress. *Agrippina* and her sister being for the time under a cloud owing to their intrigue with *Caligula*, the heiress of the other line became prominent. *Messalina's* marriage with *Silius* was no hole-and-corner affair, but was open and public. *Claudius* himself signed the documents for the settlement of the dowry upon the contract of marriage.<sup>1</sup> *Tacitus* says, "I am aware that it will appear

<sup>1</sup> *Suetonius*.



fabulous that . . . in a city where everything was known and talked of, anyone, much less a consul elect, should have met the emperor's wife on a stated day in the presence of persons called in, to seal the deeds, as for the purpose of procreation, and that she should have heard the words of the augurs, entered the house of the husband, and sacrificed to the gods." In short, she appears to have legally married Silius, having previously legally divorced Claudius. Tacitus ends his description thus: "I would not dress up my narrative with fictions to give it an air of marvel rather than relate what has been stated to me or written by my seniors." Suetonius says of this affair that Claudius "slackened his burning affection for Messalina, not so much out of any resentment . . . as out of fear that she sought to advance Silius to the throne; at what time he fled in a most shameful and cowardly manner to the camp, solicitously enquiring all the way whether the empire was his or no." Tacitus says that Messalina took advantage of Claudius's absence to solemnise the marriage; but his description of the care that was taken to break the news to the emperor cannot be reconciled with Suetonius's statement that Claudius was a party to the proceedings. What, perhaps, really caused Claudius's agitation was the result of the marriage, which Narcissus explained to him in unvarnished terms: "Know you, Caesar, that you are in a state of divorce? in the face of the people, the senate, and soldiery, Messalina has espoused Silius; and unless you act with despatch, her husband is master of Rome," [xi, 30]. It was then that Claudius asked whether he were still emperor, and Silius still a private citizen.

Callistus, one of the murderers of Caligula; Narcissus, who plotted the murder of Appius; and Pallas, the reigning favourite, were the formidable trio who controlled Claudius at this juncture. They were, as their later conduct shows, in favour of the other matrilineal heiress, Agrippina, to whom Messalina, as the strictly legitimist heiress, had always been a relentless enemy; but that there was a party who held by Messalina we know by finding mention later in this reign of those who revered her memory. The ruthless advisers of Claudius prevailed, and Messalina was killed; then came the question of the emperor's re-marriage. Agrippina, of course, carried the day, and thenceforth she was empress in fact as well as in name, so much so that Tacitus—a great stickler for what our grandmothers called "female propriety"—is shocked at the way she arrogated to herself the functions and position of royalty, actually making herself equal with the emperor himself. She had no daughters, therefore the matrilineal succession on that side ended with her.

*Nero.*—We are again confronted with the fact that in the imperial family the son did not succeed the father. Claudius adopted his step-son and great-nephew Nero to the exclusion of his own son Britannicus. Though the later writers, imbued with the idea of patrilineal descent, try to explain the matter by saying that Nero succeeded because he was older [only two years as a matter of fact] and therefore fitter to take on the government than Britannicus, the fact remains that in the cases where the early emperors had sons, those sons were always set aside



and another heir adopted, a condition of things impossible in a patrilineal people.

Nero's marriages were:—

1. Octavia. Married when Nero was about 16. Divorced and killed.
2. Agrippina [?]. Killed.
3. Poppæa Sabina, wife of Rufus Crispinus, then wife of Otho. Married 12 days after divorce of Octavia. Called Augusta after birth of daughter.
4. Statilia Messalina, wife of Alticus Vestinus, whom he put to death. Otho intended to marry her on Nero's death.

Agrippina continued to rule the empire at first, and during that time she is said to have carried on an intrigue with Nero.<sup>1</sup> If this were true it would mean that Nero legitimised his position, like the ancient Pharaohs, by marrying all the heiresses without regard to degrees of affinity. But against this theory is the character of Agrippina herself; Nero dared not marry her openly, and so proud and haughty a woman would not have consented to anything less than marriage. She leagued herself also with Octavia against their common enemy, Poppæa Sabina. Agrippina had no daughters, but there was always a possibility of her re-marriage, and therefore she was removed.

Poppæa's part in the tragedies of the Claudian house has been explained by her ambition to become empress. The methods she used were, to say the least, barbarous and clumsy: banishment for Agrippina and divorce for Octavia would have been sufficient to attain her end under ordinary circumstances, but when we see that the death of Agrippina ended the matrilineal line from Julia, daughter of Augustus, and the death of Octavia the direct matrilineal line from Octavia, sister of Augustus, it would appear that she desired not only advancement for herself but the extinction of all possible rivals. The re-marriage of Octavia was a great danger, as Poppæa pointed out to Nero, after the riots in favour of the banished Octavia had been calmed down: "The first commotion had subsided under moderate applications, but if they [the populace] should despair of Octavia's being the wife of Nero they would give her another husband."<sup>2</sup> Octavia was accordingly recalled, accused of adultery—the usual charge brought against the heiress of the imperial family when in the way of those in power—and in consequence put to death.

With the deaths of Agrippina and Octavia the direct female lines came to an end, and the imperial crown passed to usurpers and finally to another family.

The genealogies of the mothers and wives of claimants to the throne show that the claim was made on the basis of matrilineal descent and female inheritance.

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 2.

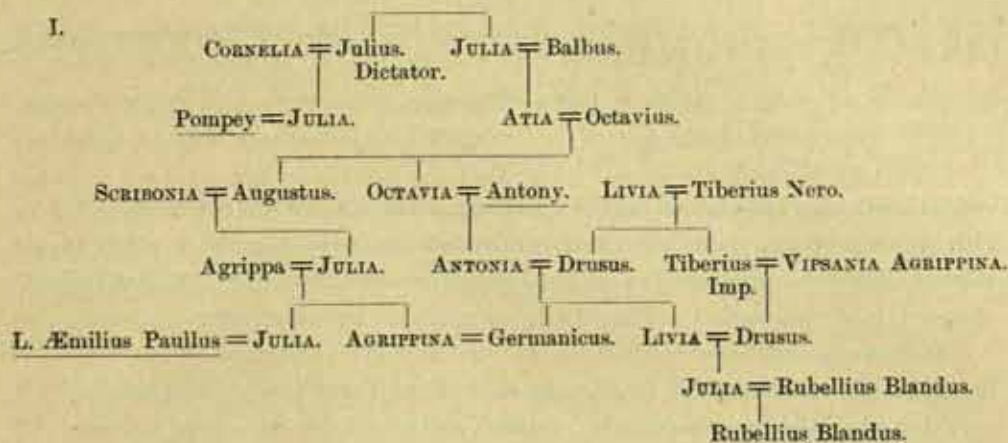
<sup>2</sup> *Id. ib.*, xiv, 6.



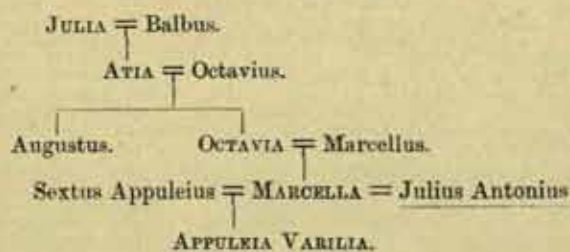
## CLAIMANTS TO THE IMPERIAL THRONE.

Women's names in capitals. Claimants' names underlined.

I.



II



## THE BANTU COAST TRIBES OF THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE.

BY A. WERNER.

(WITH PLATES XIV AND XV.)

THE title of this paper is not entirely accurate, since the Swahili, who are not dealt with on this occasion, are almost the only coast tribe in the strict sense of the words. Nor is it proposed to include the tribes usually known as the Wataita, who certainly come into the Coast belt, taking it in the wider sense.

Our survey embraces the Wapokomo of the Tana Valley and the tribes called Wanyika, a term sometimes found very convenient, though with no pretensions to anything like scientific exactitude. In fact, so far as I can see, there is no bond of connection between the nine tribes to whom the name is applied which does not extend also to the Wapokomo and Wataita.

Wanyika, it is scarcely necessary to remark, merely means "people of the wilderness," as all the inland tribes, without distinction, were called by the Swahili and Arabs of the coast. The name does not seem to occur in the Portuguese records before the beginning of the eighteenth century; but it is clear that the same tribes were known to the Portuguese from a much earlier period, under the term "Muzungulos." Eighteenth-century documents speak of "Muzungulos or Vanica."<sup>1</sup> The Nyika traditions tell of a great southward movement which must have been in progress about this time, and which we will presently discuss in greater detail.

Krapf, when he landed at Takaungu in December, 1843, heard for the first time of the Wanyika, and saw some individuals of the Kauma tribe. He says the "Wanika" are "divided into twelve tribes," but nowhere gives a consecutive list, and appears to have included some (*e.g.*, Shimba, Lungu, and Mtawi) which are probably subdivisions of the Wadigo.

The four most important Nyika tribes, in the order of their geographical position, from north to south, are: GIRYAMA, RABAI, DURUMA, DIGO.

East of these are the five minor tribes: Kauma, Chonyi, Dzihana (Jibana), Kambe, Rihe (Ribe). One informant gave me, in addition, the name of Kawieni, which, if it exists at all, seems to be a comparatively recent offshoot from the Chonyi tribe.<sup>2</sup>

The northern border of the Wagiryama is not very clearly defined—there are a good many of their villages north of the Sabaki—including the important

<sup>1</sup> See Strandes, *Die Portugiesenzait von Deutsch- und Englisch-Ostafrika* (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> One informant said it split off "five generations ago," which, if he really meant generations and not *rikas*, is not so very recent.



settlement of Garashi; and, indeed, of late years, it seems as though there were a trickle of migration setting northward again. Kipepo, of the Amwa Ngowa clan, was, in 1912, living with his family on the shore of the Sumiti Lake, north of the Tana, and, before I left Ngao, in November of that year, he had been joined by his brother. On the south, the Mleji stream is recognized as the boundary between Giriyama and Rabai, as the Mtsapuni (now crossed by a bridge about half-way between the C.M.S. Mission at Kislutini and Mazera's Station on the Uganda Railway) is between Rabai and Duruma. The Wadigo, I believe, are mostly in German territory, but they have a few outlying villages on the Shimba Hills, south of Mombasa. Kaya Kauma, the headquarters of the Kauma tribe, is about a day's march south of Mtanganyiko; but there are some Wakauma at Sungwaya, north of the Sabaki: there is likewise an important *kaya* of the Wakambe in the same neighbourhood, and there are also Wachonyi living near Garashi.

The Arabic chronicle of Mombasa, of which a French translation is printed by Guillain, in the Appendix to Part I of *Documents sur l'Histoire, la Géographie et le Commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, enumerates (p. 620) thirteen "Wanika towns" (*kayas*) whose names are transliterated as follows:

M'taoué (Mtawi).	Kouma (Kauma).
Tihoui (Tiwi, probably a subdivision of the Digo: the present town of Tiwi is on the coast, south of the Shimba Hills).	Djebane (Jibana).
Rebabé (Ribe).	Rabaye (Rabai).
Chiboubi (possibly misread for Chonyi).	Gueriama (Giriyama).
Kambé (Kambe).	Dérouta (Duruma).
	M'taoué Chim'ba (Mtawi Shimba).
	Lounggo (Lungo).
	Deboug (Digo).

Anyone familiar with the difficulties of Swahili words written in Arabic character will see that (except in cases of palpable misreading) most of these names are as near the original as could be expected under the circumstances.

There seems to be a general consensus that the "Wanyika" came from Sungwaya,<sup>1</sup> which appears to be in Somaliland, and was described to me as over two months' journey beyond the Tana. This is not the same as the Sungwaya already mentioned, which can be reached in a day from Jilore: we shall find other instances of place-names transferred in the migrations of a tribe. Bulushi, brother of Mkowa (the Government headman residing at Garashi), told me that the Giriyama, Taïta, Kauma, Digo and Pokomo tribes all came from Sungwaya, whether successively or simultaneously he did not make clear. But as to the Giriyama, he added, "our origin is from Medina in Arabia, and we are of the same stock as the Wagunya"—i.e., the Swahili of the Lamu Archipelago and adjacent mainland. I

<sup>1</sup> A Portuguese map of 1596, reproduced by Strandes, shows "Sungaya" on the coast, north-east of Ampasa (Faza) and Pate, which are marked as on the mainland, separated from Lamu (also on the mainland) by the estuary of a river.



give this assertion for what it may be worth, and do not know how it may be affected, one way or the other, by information subsequently received, that Mkowa and Bulushi are not Wagiryama at all, but Wadigo, who crossed the Sabaki from the south in 1890. The hint at a connection with the Wagunya, who are descended from the early Arab settlers, makes the Medina story possible, if not probable.

The account given me by a very intelligent Kauma, Stefano Shoka (also known as Zamani), tallies to a certain extent with the above, though—as is perhaps only natural—it gives the Wakauma the first place. He said that “the beginning of the Wanyika is that they came from Sungwaya, three months’ journey from Nyika,” meaning probably the neighbourhood of Rabai—“and near the Bworana Galla.” They were driven south by the raids of the Galla. Burton (*Zanzibar*, ii, 76, 118) makes the *Swahili*—or at any rate the Wakilindini clan, come from “Shungaya,” but of this I heard nothing. The Kauma tribe were the first to leave, the Giriyama followed them. (“The Wagiryama originate from the Wataita,” said this informant.) At this time the Pokomo were living at Buu, on “the old Tana,” beyond (*i.e.*, to the north of) Lake Sumiti. “And from the old Ozi as far as Chadoro” (between Golbanti and Chara on the lower Tana) “were the Wasegeju. . . . The origin of the Wasegeju and us, the Wakauma, and the Wadigo is one—we are one clan, *mlango mmoja*”—lit. “one door.” The Wakauma and Wasegeju left their country together, in order to escape from the Galla, whom they were not strong enough to resist; the Wapokomo, however, “agreed to be conquered” and were quite enslaved by the Galla.

It must have been at this time that some of the Wapokomo took refuge in underground chambers or pits (*dindi*, pl. *madindi*). The name of the Wakalindi tribe is said to be derived from these pits. Pokomo traditions on the subject have been recorded by Herr Böcking.<sup>1</sup>

The Wasegeju are mentioned by Diogo do Couto, under the name Mosseguejos, as having helped the Portuguese to defend Malindi against the “Wazimba,” in 1589. As they are said to have been still settled near Malindi in 1640, it is probable that some remained behind while the rest marched on southward with the Wakauma. When they reached Usegeju (no doubt the district about Vanga), where the Wasegeju are now to be found, the Wakauma looked about for a place to settle in, and found a spot called Kivara, “and this was where Buni is.” I understand this to mean Buni Hill, near Rabai.

When they left Usegeju, the Wanyika had become the following tribes:

Mkauma (Zamani spoke of them in the singular, as if personifying them—no doubt the kind of expression which has everywhere given rise to myths of eponymous ancestors), who went forth first and built a kaya at Kivara.

Mrabai, followed Mkauma and built at Mbuyuni.

Mduruma, who followed Mrabai and dwelt at Kaya Duruma.

<sup>1</sup> *Ztschr. für Afrik. u. Ozean. : Sprachen*, ii (1896), pp. 33 et seq.



Mr. H. B. Johnstone<sup>1</sup> says: "The Wa-Duruma claim descent from the Makua soldiers brought to Mombasa from Mozambique by Vasco da Gama in the fifteenth century." I had never heard of this, but it may throw some light on another statement of Zamani's—"Waduruma wengine asili yao Wasambaa"—the origin of some Waduruma is (from) the Washambala—he added that there were "many tribes" of Waduruma.

The Washambala (of Usambara, German East Africa) are, of course, very different from the Makua; but I have found that "Wasambaa" is very commonly used, at Malindi and places north of it, as a general term denoting imported slaves and their descendants. "Makua," I fancy, is similarly used by the Portuguese in East Africa.

Zamani said that Kivara is the old Kaya Kauma, about eight hours' journey from Rabai, beyond the C.M.S. Station at Kaloleni, and (probably) two or three days' march south-west of the present kaya. I do not think this contradicts his previous statement, as no doubt they had moved on from the first Kivara on Buni Hill.

Mbuyuni may be the place still known by that name, a few miles up the railway line from Mazera's<sup>2</sup>: in fact Zamani said it was at Mazera's that they built their kaya. But, as the name means "at the baobab," there might be any number of Mbuyunis in the Seyyidie coast districts.

As might be inferred from the above, the Wakauma were then more numerous than they are now, whatever we may think of the claim that they once occupied all the land since usurped (according to them) by the Wagiryama.

When the Warabai left Mbuyuni, according to Zamani, they built the kaya on the hill at Rabai Mpia (*i.e.*, New Rabai), which still exists and is used for council meetings and "corporation dinners," though people no longer live there, and the houses have fallen into decay. Krapf says that this kaya was founded about thirty years before his time—*i.e.*, about 1815, and that "old Rabai" was a place called Vokera, which I have failed to identify.

A MS. account, which I owe to the kindness of Miss Austin (C.M.S.), agrees with Krapf's information in stating that the Warabai came originally from the neighbourhood of Kilimanjaro, being "a section of the Warombo tribe" in the Taveta district. They migrated in consequence of a quarrel, and built their kaya on Mriale Hill, within a walk of Rabai. The site of the kaya is now covered with dense bush, but I was shown a little spirit-shrine which probably stood within its area. Krapf says<sup>3</sup>: "The people of Malande and Kamfuda left this kaya, some returning to their fatherland, Rombo, in Chagga, others going to the Wadigo, others to the banks of the river Pokomo (*i.e.*, the Tana), and became lost to their tribe.

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Roy. Anthro. Inst.*, vol. xxxii, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly called Maganjoni, "at the ruins," by the Waduruma—perhaps this indicates the deserted site of the old Rabai Kaya. The present name is derived from the headman, Thomas Mazera, once a distinguished *muganga*, and, later, one of the first converts of the Methodist Mission.

<sup>3</sup> *Sesakili Dictionary*, s.v. MUTZI MUIRU (*i.e.*, *Mudzi Muiru*).



One division took refuge with their brother tribe, the Chognis (= Wachonyi), and in consequence of a plot against them returned after a year or two and founded another kaya called Vokera, which existed for nine generations, when a division again took place . . . .” Nine generations must be an over-estimate, if Krapf is correct in saying, as he does elsewhere, that Vokera was founded after the Portuguese had left Mombasa in 1729.

James Mkoba (the writer of the MS. translated by Miss Austin) gives substantially the same account, but adds some details of the “conspiracy” at Kaya Chonyi, in consequence of which the Warabai “returned to this locality and established themselves at Kaya Kubwa” (= Vokera—apparently somewhere north of Rabai Mpia Hill), “from whence they gradually spread to their other three kayas,” apparently Rabai Mpia, Fimboni, and Chang’ombe.

He also says: “To this day the section which went to Pokomo are said to be distinguishable by their Rabai names.” It is interesting to find this confirmed by my Pokomo boy, Isaya (Matandua) Zakaria, who tells me he has heard his father say that one Malande came from the south, and that the Wapokomo derived their “great Ngadzi” from the same quarter.

This clearly does not mean that the Wapokomo as a whole originated thence; but a statement once made to me that they “came from Taita” may to some extent be based on it. As to the composite origin of the Wapokomo, something will be said later.

As to the Kambe, the head of Kaya Kambe, near Ribe (a very old man named Nasoro), said that they left Sungwaya as a separate tribe, flying from war with the Galla. Another old man said that both his grandfather and great-grandfather were buried in the kaya. Kaya Kambe ya Bati—the one near Jilore—must have been founded a little later, for Kalama, the headman, said “he came into the country when there was no one here—only elephants and buffaloes.” Apparently he meant “no settled inhabitants,” for he presently added that “the Galla were here in those days.” His great point seemed to be to establish the priority of his own tribe as against the Giriama and Chonyi, who were *wageni*, “strangers,” whereas the Kauma and Kambe were the first to come from Sungwaya.

But Kalama must have been quite a young man at the time—if he really meant that he, personally, came into the country, for he showed me the grave-posts (*vigango*) of his father and grandfather in the kaya.

Zamani spoke of Mbodze and Matsezi as the ancestral pair at Sungwaya from whom all the Wanyika are descended, and these seem to be known to Giriama as well as Kauma. Curiously enough, the wife, Mbodze, is always mentioned first, and this point may be of importance in connection with another to be mentioned later on. Bundi, the old headman of Kaya Kauma, reckoned back his descent, through thirteen generations, to a woman named Uchi, wife of Mwambuye, who seems to have come out of Sungwaya.

This old man said that the doors of the kaya were made in his grandfather’s time and renewed in his father’s, but he did not say when the place was first built.



He remembered, when a boy, seeing Wasanye hunting in the neighbourhood—they never come south of Mtanganyiko now.

Two Giryama, who told me that Mbodze and Matsezi lived at Sungwaya, gave me the names of the *rikas* which have intervened between their time and ours. At least my informants, Noah Kaviha and Mbai Mgala, called them *rikas*, but the names do not correspond with those of the "circumcision-cycles" (*marika*) given by the Rev. W. E. Taylor (*Giryama Vocabulary*, s.v.). However, as they said that *rika* means "all those who enter the *kambi* at the same time," it seems probable that the relation between the two expressions is like that between the Galla *luca* and *gada*;<sup>1</sup> and in this connection it is worth noting that D'Abbadie<sup>2</sup> long ago used the word *gada* (= *kambi*) for what the Equatorial Galla call *luca* (= *rika*). Six out of the seven names given me correspond with those of the "parliaments or councils of elders called *kambi*" given by Mr. A. J. Maclean,<sup>3</sup> but the order is different.

The *rika* following Mbodze and Matsezi is Amwendo,<sup>4</sup> followed, in the order here given, by Mijoga, Kalalaki, Ngunyele, Kaumba, Makwavi and Kavuta. The Nyere, young men not yet admitted to the *kambi*, will be the next *rika* and will receive a name when they enter. A man is admitted after the birth of his first grandchild, i.e., roughly speaking, between the ages of thirty-five and forty. But if A is admitted when his son B has had a son C, A's father will have been admitted on the birth of B, and the duration of each *kambi* should therefore be about eighteen or twenty years. Mr. Maclean says the period is a variable one, which is what one might expect, seeing that the appearance of grandsons does not take place with mathematical regularity. Writing in 1909, he gives the death of Fundo wa Gona, an important elder of the *Kambi ya Makwavi* (predecessors of the Kavuta now holding office), as having taken place about thirty years ago. But he does not say whether Fundo died early or late in the Makwavi period, or how long it is since the Kavuta were admitted.

Taking the period at twenty years, it would only be 140 years since the migration from Sungwaya, which seems far too short. But Mr. A. M. Champion says that the Kavuta left Kaya Giryama between forty and fifty years ago. If they were already constituted a *kambi*, this means an enormous extension of the period: perhaps the men of this particular *rika*—or their sons—married earlier than the average. One old man belonging to the previous *Kambi*, the Makwavi, was still living last year (1913).

Mr. Champion's list of the *kambi* since the Amwendo (taken from a MS. report I was allowed to inspect by the kindness of the District Commissioner) is the same as Noah Kaviha's, except that Mijoga and Kalalaki are transposed and Ngunyele is written Nguneli.

<sup>1</sup> Discussed in *Journal of the African Society* for April, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> "Sur les Oromo, grande Nation Africaine," *Annales de la Société Scientifique de Bruxelles*, vol. iv (paper read April 5th, 1880).

<sup>3</sup> In an unpublished paper kindly lent me by Mr. A. C. Hollis.

<sup>4</sup> I find this is borne out by Mr. A. M. Champion, who says the Giryama retreated before the Galla during the *kambi* Amwendo.



The old men at Kaya Kambe, near Ribe, said that there had been nine *marika*, including the present one, since the migration of the Kambe from Sungwaya. The names of the first and second they could not give me, the rest are: Kaumba, Katozi, Kalalate, Mwavua (these were living at the present kaya; they did not seem certain whether Kalalate were), Kavuta, Kilamuma, which was the *rika* of Nasoro's father (Choga), Kanyandia, to which Nasoro (now a very old man) belongs.

As already stated, Nasoro insisted that the Kambe were a separate tribe when they left Sungwaya. "*Mrihe' na Mkauma ni ndugu mmoja, Mkambe Mkambe.*" "The Rihe man and the Kauma man are brothers" (literally "one brother"—but I do not guarantee the old man's Swahili)—"the Kambe man is the Kambe."

The period of the Galla luya is eight years—that of the Pokomo, so far as I can make out, corresponds more nearly with the *Giryama kambi*.

Noah and Mbai further remarked that the *Giryama* started from Sungwaya, went south to the Taita Hills (presumably shedding the *Wataita* there) and returned to Mount Mangea, whence they went to Ribe.

Mount Mangea is also named by Rev. W. E. Taylor as a centre of dispersion for them, but if (as there seems no reason to doubt) they came from beyond the Tana, it can only have been a secondary one. Krapf<sup>2</sup> notes that "the Teita [Taita] tribes are said to have formerly lived at Mangea, on the banks of the Ozi, whence they were driven southward by the Galla to the hills where they are still living."

Krapf had never visited Mangea and may have been misled by vague hearsay, but it is also possible that the *Giryama* carried the name with them as they did that of Kivara.

As for the Pokomo, we seem to find indications (1) that they had left Sungwaya before the *Wakauma*; (2) that they did not migrate into the Tana Valley in a homogeneous body; and (3) that their blood is largely mixed with that of the aboriginal *Wasanye*. I have never discovered a tradition accounting for the whole thirteen tribes, and the most detailed account I heard applies to the *Wabun* only. As this has already appeared in print in some detail,<sup>3</sup> I will not repeat it here, except to say that one of the principal *Bun* clans (the *Katsae*) traces its descent from a *Musanye*, *Mitsotsozini*, who, moreover, taught the progenitor of the tribe, *Yere*, how to make fire and various other arts of life.

<sup>1</sup> *Rihe* and *Dzihana* are the correct pronunciation (as heard on the spot from the people themselves) of the tribes whom the Swahili call *Ribe* and *Jibana*. But "*Ribe*" has become so well established as a place-name that I always write it so in that sense.

<sup>2</sup> *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, I, 411.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society*, January, 1914, and *Journal of the African Society*, July, 1913. "*Mitsotsozini*" means "at the *mitsotsozi* trees"—the *mitsotsozi* (also called *mufeketso*) being a tree highly esteemed by the *Wapokomo* for making spoons—or, rather, "spurtles" for stirring food while cooking. I find that *Were* is the name of a deity among the *Wawanga* (or "*Bantu Kavirondo*"). See the Hon. K. B. Dundas's paper in this *Journal*, vol. xliii, p. 31.



\* The Pokomo legends of Liongo Fumo, which show a surprising agreement with those handed down by the Swahili (for which see Steere, *Swahili Tales*), show that at any rate the Wapokomo were settled on the Tana in his time. As to this (for, in spite of the mythical elements in his story, I think he may be accepted as an historical character) there is some uncertainty. One informant said that he warred against the Portuguese, in which case the time of his activity must be placed later than A.D. 1500; but according to a document which the Provincial Commissioner of Lamu kindly allowed me to copy, "the year of the power of Liongo is not recorded, but it was before the reign of the fifth Sultan of Pate, called Sultan Omar." This is placed about A.D. 1304-1344. This document says that Liongo was descended from the Persian colonists sent to Africa by Harun al-Rashid. An informant at Witu told me that Liongo was a Segeju; this statement may be of interest in connection with the disputed origin of the Wasegeju. If this chronology can be trusted, the Wapokomo must have left Sungwaya long before the Wanyika, as in fact appears from the Kauma account previously given.

The Galla invaded Abyssinia, coming from the south, in 1537. Perhaps it is not too much to suppose that this invasion was part of the same movement which sent them southwards upon Sungwaya, and which was caused by the Somali driving a wedge into the middle of their area.

There are other indications, besides their own traditions, that the Wapokomo may have originated in a mixture of migrant Bantu from the north with the autochthonous hunters of the Tana Valley. The *fufuriye* mysteries (one of the lower grades of the Ngadzi) are derived from the Wasanye, while, as already stated, the highest degree, the "Great Mwanza," comes from the Warabai. They are more distinctly a hunting tribe than most other Bantu, and their elaborate system of hunting taboos and ceremonies shows that they have been so from a very remote period. There are a great many words in their language entirely non-Bantu in appearance; but neither, so far as I can make out, are they Galla. I think one notices a fairly well-marked physical type among them, but there are considerable variations of colouring, even within the same family; a Pokomo once remarked to me that of his brothers and sisters (children of the same father and mother), some were "black" and some "red." The Giryama are much more uniform, and very dark.

If I am right in this, the case of the Wapokomo would greatly resemble that of the Lihoya (Leghoya) and other Bechwana tribes of the earliest immigration into South Africa, who maintained friendly relations—and even to a large extent intermarried—with the autochthonous bushmen.

The clan system of the Pokomo and "Nyika" tribes has many features in common. Owing to their longer persistence in one area, it seems to be most complete—at any rate least confusing to an outsider—among the former. I must premise that, though the Wapokomo have in many cases adopted Galla names for their clans, the system itself seems quite untouched by any Galla influence, and I do not believe these names have any greater ethnic significance than Lee and Stanley



among the English gypsies. The *luva*, to which we shall return presently, is a different matter.

There are thirteen tribes (*vyeti*, plural of *keeti*) of Wapokomo, each at the present day occupying a definite district, called by its name.

As we have already seen, the tribes do not seem to have any traditions common to all. The Buu, who are settled on the bend of the Tana, round Ngao and Golbanti, claim descent (direct or indirect) from a single ancestor, Vere,<sup>1</sup> who came into the Tana Valley no one knows whence—the exact locality where he settled being pointed out as on the former course of the Tana, north-east of Lake Sumiti—a district called, in some traditions, Limotho. The Ngatana are said vaguely to come from "the other side of the river," i.e., the north or north-east. An old man at Kulesa (Ngatana district) told me that the Ngatana (his own tribe) and the Buu were the first to enter the Tana Valley, and came from this direction (he did not seem to know anything about Vere), bringing their names with them: "God said to one of them, 'You are Buu,' and to the other, 'You are Ngatana.'" Another informant said they were not the first, for that the Mwina, Dzunza and Kalindi tribes were there before them. I have already referred to the tradition of the pits in which the Wapokomo took refuge from the Galla. Krapf, whose knowledge of this tribe was derived entirely from hearsay (much of it is wonderfully correct, considering), says (*Reisen* I, 265): "When the Galla conquered the region of the Pokomo river" (as he always calls the Tana), "tradition says that a large part of the Pokomo migrated southward to the Wanika country (the Wasegeju especially are considered as descendants of the Pokomo),<sup>2</sup> while another part of those who remained behind entrenched themselves in pits near the river. When the Galla came and grazed their cattle on the banks, they were shot down by the poisoned arrows of the Pokomo without being able to discover the whereabouts of the enemy. The Galla now retreated to the other side of the river, but the Pokomo followed them by night in their little boats, killed them, and returned before daybreak to their hiding-places, concealing their boats in the sand. The Galla at last became tired of the business and tried to make friends with the Pokomo, who took an oath that they would not again attack the Galla if the latter would cease to molest them. Since that time the Pokomo on the north bank of the river" ("east bank" would be a more accurate description through a great part of its course) "have remained in peaceful possession of their country, but take good care not to provoke the Galla, who, in the end, also found it to their advantage to

<sup>1</sup> Vere is usually spoken of by the Wabuu as the ancestor of the whole tribe; this need not conflict with the statement that Mitaotsozini is the ancestor of the Katsae clan, as Mitaotsozini, or a son of his, may have married a daughter of Vere's. As to Vere's children, I have several rather confused and contradictory accounts, but most people seem to agree that he had a son named Sango. All insisted that the first ancestor was Vere—not, as stated by Böcking, Sangoyere. See *Journ. Af. Soc.*, July, 1913, pp. 363, 364.

<sup>2</sup> The confusion is not unnatural. In what follows, Krapf's informant credits the Wapokomo with a greater capacity for self-defence than Zamani would allow.



refrain from attacking them, as they can at all times get grain from the Pokomo."

As the tradition recorded by Herr Böcking is not very readily accessible, I give it here, translated from his German version, checked by the original Pokomo text:

"Long ago there was a man Sangowere, he was not born, he was a man without father or mother; we call him 'the man who appeared.' Well, when he appeared and came into the world, he produced the Buu tribe. And the Buu tribe increased. And while they were cultivators (*waima*), they (also) had many cattle, and they made friendship with the Galla. When the Galla saw that they had cattle, they strove and strove and strove, and the Wapokomo were conquered, and the Galla took away from them all their cattle, and they became subject to the Galla. And when the cattle fell sick, the Wapokomo were called in to cure them,<sup>1</sup> and God (*Muungu*) helped them, till the great sickness of the cattle was cured; but at first they did not cease killing them.<sup>2</sup> Well, during the first fighting they (the Pokomo) left the country, but the Galla did not want them to leave and go to another country, but they just went.<sup>3</sup> Those who stayed behind hid themselves in pits—some lived there for years, others died there in the earth.

"Well, when they met again, they lived on the river Sukutu and submitted to the Galla; the Swahili (*Watsawaa*) had not yet come, (in fact) they too had been conquered by the Galla.

"Well, (afterwards) they came to this river, the 'Long Tana of Ngambwa,'<sup>4</sup> and that is when the wars of the Swahili *Liongo Fumo* began. He started one day from Kipini, near Shaka,<sup>5</sup> and went to Gana, and bathed, and then went back

<sup>1</sup> This is no longer the case. I was told that both the Wapokomo and the Galla call in the Wasanye when there is sickness among the stock (the former do not, as a rule, keep cattle, though they have goats and sheep); but a Galla denied this, and said the true state of the case was that the Wasanye bewitch the cattle and have to be called in (and, if necessary, compelled by drastic treatment) to take off their spells. Perhaps the tradition conveys a hint of the partial fusion between Wapokomo and Wasanye. The expression used is *wabige madzi*, literally "they struck the water," which Herr Krafft explains as "praying to the river-spirits of the Tana." Herr Böcking renders it simply by "make medicine."

<sup>2</sup> *Ntawakueayatsa kuwayaga*, lit. "they did not leave them to kill them." The text does not make it clear whether it was the cattle or the Wapokomo who were killed.

<sup>3</sup> *Ela wenda tu* (sc. "all the same").

<sup>4</sup> From information received from natives at Ngao it appears that the Tana has changed its course once within the memory of men yet living. On this occasion the new channel branched off at Marfano; the old one, I believe, can still be traced about an hour's walk to the east of Lake Sumiti. This seems to have taken place about fifty years ago. This "Old Tana" (*Tana ya kae*) was due to a previous deflection of the river somewhere above Marfano; this former course is known as the "Long Tana" (*Tana Ndeya*), or the Tana of Limotho, and is the place where Vere appeared. It is said to be visible at a place some eight hours' walk from Mijeni. That the "Long Tana of Ngambwa" is not identical with the "Long Tana of Limotho" seems to be implied in the narrative, as will be apparent a little further on.

<sup>5</sup> The ruins of Shaka (Böcking calls it "Shagga," and Bishop Steere "Shanga") are a few miles north of Kipini. Gana is said to be "a lake existing at that time between Ngao and Marfano." It is mentioned in a fragmentary Swahili ballad about *Liongo*, which I heard at Kipini:

*Liongo Fumo endapo Gana* . . .



to Shaka at noon, and said his prayers at Shaka. He conquered the whole Tana from Kalindi to Nderani, but he was not able (to subdue) the Nderani people.

"Many people again emigrated, and their going out was to (or from?) Fanga Kuu."<sup>1</sup> And when they went, they took precautions (*wahenda mambo*) just there (*i.e.*, in the place they were leaving): they dug pits, each family a great pit; they put in their things,<sup>2</sup> and the sick people, and the old people who could not be carried, and they made planks to cover the pits, and then they scraped up plenty of earth on top of them. And they did their business, and when they had finished, they left behind one woman, who pounded (grain) every year, and sang. And her song was one only:—

<i>Muke wa Limotho</i>	...	...	...	"The woman of Limotho,
<i>Kahwaa kadzinu na kadzindi</i>	...	...	...	She took her mortar and pestle.
<i>Kenda tsokoa</i>	...	...	...	She went to pound,
<i>Hii (huyu?) muke wa Limotho</i>	...	...	...	This woman of Limotho."

The account goes on to say that the emigrants returned, having made up their minds to submit to the Swahili and Galla, and found everything safe as they had left it, "not even a needle had been taken by anyone." They paid tribute to the Galla in cloth and food, to the Swahili (Watsawaa) in "heads" (*i.e.*, slaves)—from every large village two boys and two girls, and from small ones a boy and a girl apiece. Böcking thinks this tribute was imposed by Lioño Fumo.

Every *keti* contains a number of *masindo* (clans). A list of these will be found in the appendix, with the exception of the Korokoro and Ndera *masindo*, which I have been unable to obtain. Many of the names, as already stated, are Galla, but some have alternative names, which are probably older. Some of the tribal and clan names have a meaning in present-day Pokomo—for others, so far, I have been unable to discover any. Thus, I am told, Buu is the name of a kind of fish; Kalindi has already been explained. The prefix *kina*, I cannot discover to be used in Pokomo, except in inseparable compounds such as "Kinambare," etc. Its use in Swahili is similar, but slightly more elastic: it might be explained as a collective plural, like the curious Zulu idiom by which the plural of a proper name, such as *oNgidi*, means "Ngidi and his family, companions, faction, etc." In Swahili, it is usually heard in such phrases as *kina Hamisi*—"Hamisi and those with him"; but Krapf explains it as "genus, family, race," etc., and connects it with Arabic قَيْن, "slave." Whatever may be thought of this etymology, the meaning of "family" is probably the primitive one, whether the word is Bantu (for which I cannot at present see any evidence) or imported by the early Arab

<sup>1</sup> Fanga Kuu. I am informed that *fanga* means "a river with steep banks," and that the place in question is near Lake Sumiti. The migrations, as here described, are confined to a very small area. It would seem that only the sick and helpless remained behind in the pits. Böcking says in a note that the woman was left behind "in order to pound rice for those who travelled up and down the river." This is not very clear; it seems more likely that she remained to prepare food for the people in the pits.

<sup>2</sup> Probably stores of grain, etc.



settlers. One of the most ancient Lamu clans, who are said to have brought the first coco-nut seedlings (*mite*)<sup>1</sup> from "Kalhindi" (كلهندي) were called Kinamite.

Several of these names compounded with *Kina* are easily intelligible: *Kina hafa* = "those here" (*hafa* = Swahili *hapa*); *Kinamongo* = "those of the hither bank," i.e., the right or south-west bank of the Tana, which the Pokomo call *Mongo* = behind, while the further bank is *Mbo* = in front. Other names of this sort are *Kinambare* (*mbare*, in other dialects called *nzare*, is a pelican), *Kinangombe* (*ngombe*<sup>2</sup> = "cattle"). *Katsae* means "people of the arrow" (*nsak*), *Yuu* "above" (*Wáyu*, a Galla name, must be distinguished from *Wa-Yuu*, the name of this clan with the plural prefix); *Katsoo* means "cunning," as in *mwakatsoo*, the popular title for the hare (*katsungula*); but this name is possibly derived from a tree called *tsoo*.

It will be seen by a comparison of the lists of clans in the appendix that some names are common to two or more divisions of the Wanyika. Thus the Amwa Kiti and Amwa Toya are both *Giryama* and *Chonyi* clans, Amwa Fondo both *Kauma* and *Giryama*, etc. This does not apply so much to the *Wapokomo*, yet we find a *Mbura* clan of the *Akauma* and another of the *Arihe*. *Mongwe* is found in *Chonyi*, *Kauma*, *Kambe*, and possibly *Dzihana*. *Gomeni* may be the *Chigomeni* of *Dzihana*, and *Dzundza*, which is a tribe (*keeti*), not a clan, is found among the larger divisions both of the *Akauma* and *Akambe*. None of the Galla names occurs in any of the other lists. *Kombe*, which occurs as the name of a clan in *Giryama* and *Chonyi*, is, I am told, in *Pokomo*, a personal name, special, if not peculiar, to the guild of sorcerers (*wayangana*).

The distinction between the *vyeti* and *masindo* is not so clear in the Nyika tribes, where I found it very difficult to discover a commonly accepted name for the larger divisions, and, in some cases (e.g., *Duruma*), to make out the distinction—if any exists. The Swahili (or rather Arabic) word *kabila* is very often used for these divisions, while the clans are usually called *mbari* (sing. and pl.). The *Kambe* appear to use the word *lukolo* in this sense, but I am not quite certain of this. But the *Chonyi* and *Kauma* seem to use *mbari* indifferently for both, or to call the larger division *mbari* and the smaller *nyumba*.

The six *kabila* of the *Giryama* seem fairly clear, though two of them (each including three clans) are placed by Mr. Hollis as single clans under the third and fourth *kabila* respectively. In any case, they do not seem to be so markedly differentiated as the *Pokomo vyeti*, about which there is no manner of doubt,—probably because they have occupied definite areas for a period of several centuries.

The question can sometimes be settled by seeing which of the divisions have separate club or council-houses (*nyanda*, pl. of *lwanda*; but the Swahili word *baraza* is very generally used) within the fortified *kaya*. In all the *kayas* I have

<sup>1</sup> The MS. might equally well read *miti* = "trees," but the native authority consulted says it is *mite* (= *miche*), "shoots."

<sup>2</sup> Not *hombe* (*ng'ombe*) as in most other Bantu languages.



visited, except Kaya Chonyi, it seemed to be the *kabilas* (using this term for convenience) which had the *barazas*; there are usually four or five, but at Kaya Kauma there were only two, one of which served for two *Kabilas* and the other for three. In Kaya Chonyi, however, there were fourteen *nyanda* used by seventeen clans (*mbari*), three being appropriated to two clans apiece. I had no clue to the principle on which this was done: possibly these pairs of clans are results of recent fission, or there is in each case some special relationship between them.

As already mentioned, the *mbari* is the exogamous unit: a man may not take a wife of his own—which means his father's—*mbari*. This rule holds good for all the tribes we are considering, except, I believe, the Wadigo. But the Rabai and Duruma clans present a curious feature, no doubt occasioned by the transition from mother-right to father-right. Their clans are divided into male (*mbari za kuume*) and female (*mbari za kuke*), and, so far as I can make out, every person inherits both his father's and his mother's clan; the latter, the one which she has derived from *her* mother, being the *mbari ya kuke*. There appears to be no restriction on marriage into the *mbari ya kuke*, it is only the *kuume* that is barred. This is illustrated by the pedigree on the next page, given me by Gideon Mganga of Chang'ombe, who belongs to the A-gambani *kabila*, the Amwa-Mganga *mbari kuume*, and the Kuva *kuke*, his mother being Kuva on her mother's side. (See list of Rabai clans in Appendix.)

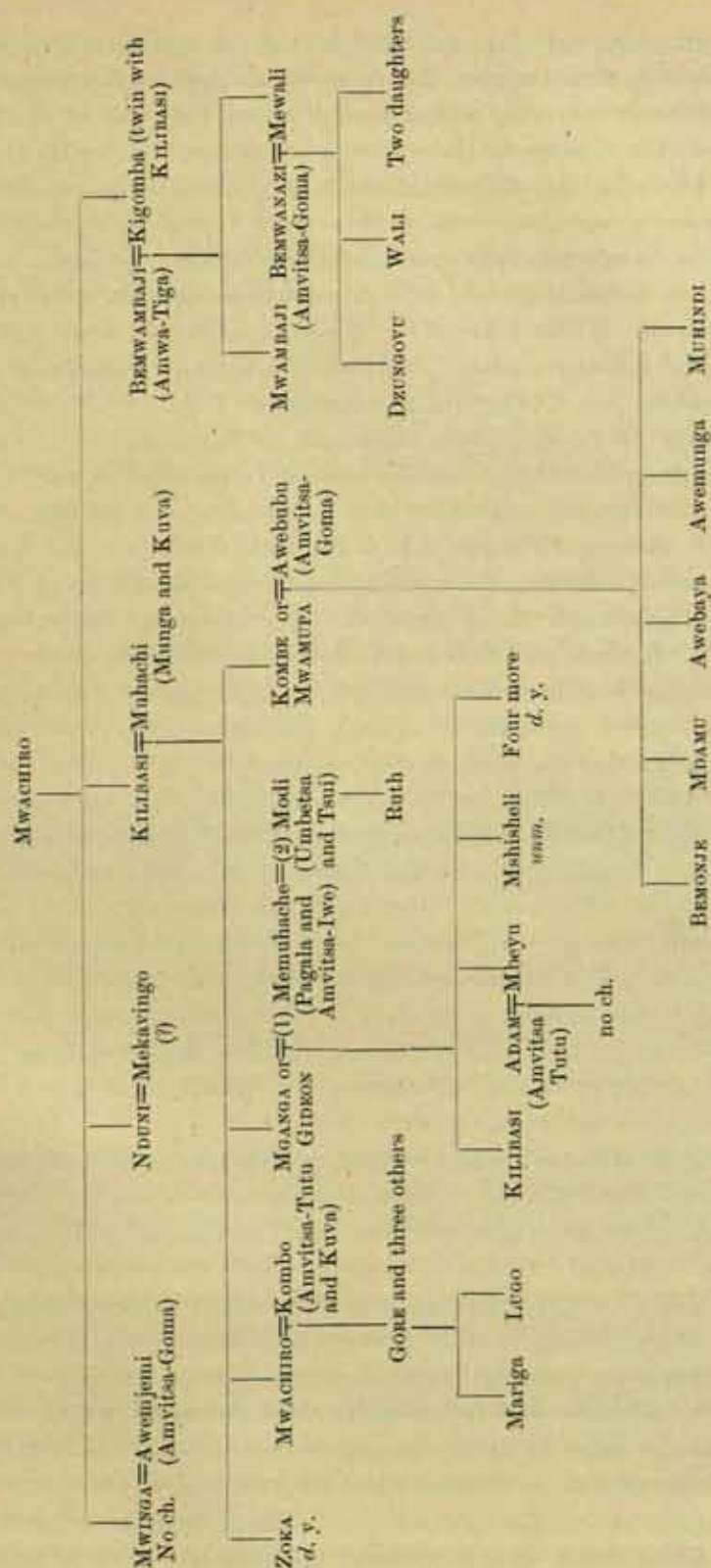
Bundi, at Kaya Kauma, gave me the names of his ancestors for thirteen generations, as follows:—

His father was Munga, son of

	Bundi	"
	Chivatsi	"
	Chai	"
	Katama	"
	Chachisi	"
	Mwakere	"
Minyazi, wife of Katama and daughter of		
Ndzalambi	"	Mwatsuma "
Mkambe	"	Ndzamba "
Medza	"	Nyondo "
Mwaka	"	Kalama "
Uchi	"	Mwambuye, who seems to have come out of Sungwaya and been contemporary with Matsezi and Mbodze.

It is very remarkable that, down to Mwakere, descent seems to have been traced in the female line. It struck me, in taking down the names, that from Minyazi onwards they seemed to be those of women, and on inquiry I found that this was so, and moreover that all these women belonged to the Amwa Kaiwe clan. A little further inquiry elicited the names of the husbands—also the rather puzzling statement that all these, too, belonged to the Amwa Kaiwe—because in





Unfortunately my informant could not give the clan in all cases.

old times they were not particular (as they are now) about marrying inside the clan. I cannot help thinking that this is merely a conjectural explanation, and that the fact of the descent being traced through women only, and of the husband being in every case an outsider, has been forgotten. If I am right in my conjecture, and if the pedigree is correct, it fixes the period at which the Kauma disused the matrilineal system.

A word must be said about the system of *names* in use. It seems to be the universal practice to name the eldest child after the paternal grandfather or grandmother; but the system followed for subsequent children is not everywhere the same. The Giryama have a fixed series of names repeated in the same order in alternate generations, *e.g.*, Gunga, younger brother of Toya and elder brother of Msandzu, Mwanyale and Kaenge, cannot give any of these names to his own sons. His eldest son will be Chea, which was the name of Gunga's father, and the rest in order, Zia, Baya, Ndurya, etc. Each of them, in his turn, will call his eldest son Gunga. Thus Gunga and Baya, *e.g.*, or Toya and Chea can never occur in the same generation. There is a different set of names for every clan, and an expert can at once tell, on hearing a man's "house name" (he has at least one other), what clan he belongs to: a Mumba is sure to belong to the Amwa-Hindzano, etc.

The Pokomo system differs from this in naming a second son, not after his grandfather's next brother, but after his great-grandfather, unless his father is the eldest of the family, when the result would be to give the son the father's name—which is never done. An eldest son, in naming his second son, skips a generation and gives the name of his own great-grandfather. Thus Bwashehe, son of Komoro (or Kinape), son of Bwashehe, son of Kolide, son of Oda, will call his eldest son Komoro, his second Kolide, his third Ana, his fourth (if any) after his (Bwashehe's) wife's father. The reason why Bwashehe's great-grandfather is Kolide, not Komoro, is that Komoro was not the eldest son of his father Bwashehe, the eldest being Kolide or Bonaya.

A Pokomo seems to have four, if not more, names: thus, the Bwashehe just mentioned (a Christian at Ngao, usually known as Andrea Kinape) has:

- (1) A name given by the clan at birth: Fumo.
- (2) One bestowed by his mother, and not used by anyone else: Ndarama.
- (3) His *sari dya asili*, literally "name of origin": Bwashehe.
- (4) One given by his father "as soon as he is old enough to come when called": Silaha.

These are exclusive of (a) nicknames used by friends between themselves or current in the family, (b) a set of Galla aliases, which seem to run in families, and (c) temporary names for averting ill-luck—*sari dya mfwisea*, literally "a name of causing to die." Christians seem to use any or all of these concurrently with their baptismal name (*sari dya ku topya*), and it is usual to add the father's name without connecting particle, as Komoro Bwashehe, Oda Bonaya, etc.

An example of the *sari dya mfwisea* occurs in the pedigree just referred to. If one or more children have died in infancy, the next one born is given some



ridiculous or contemptible name, and everything is done to make the (presumably envious) ancestral spirits think it is of no value and will not be missed. This was the case of Isaya Zakaria of Ngao, whose grandmother, on receiving him at birth, named him Masinzi ("soot") and smeared his face with soot—then, by way of extra precaution, she carried him out into the bush and left him there, pretending to expose him. She waited a little, then returned and, with great demonstrations of surprise, discovered the infant lying on the ground, carried him home and named him Matandua, "the one who was picked up (by accident)." This custom accounts for names like Mavi ("dung"), etc., but they are usually discarded as soon as it seems safe to do so. This kind of name is called in Giriama, *dzina ru uhoko*.

As to (b), I was somewhat puzzled by Andrea Kinape's telling me on one occasion, "I am Oda, the son of Komoro, the son of Oda, the son of Bonaya, the son of Oda, the son of Ana"; but he subsequently explained that "every Oda is Bwashehe, and every Bonaya Kolide," and, as all these names are Galla, it is probable they were adopted in the same way as the Galla designations of the clans. It may not be idle to refer, as I have done once before, to the parallel of the Gypsies in this connection. I believe that while the old Romany names existed (I do not know whether they are yet extinct) they were used concurrently with the English names given to outsiders, e.g., the Smiths, who were also Petulengros.

Before leaving the subject of the clans, I should like to call attention to the question of the prefixes used with clan names. All *mbari*, or clans in the proper acceptation of the term, as a rule begin with A-MWA. I fancy *mwa* is a contraction of *mwana*=son, and that the meaning is "those of the son of . . .," limiting the expression to the descendants of one particular man. I do not think it can be wholly an accident—though I cannot explain it—that the *kabila*, the larger divisions which, everywhere except at Kaya Chonyi, have their *barazas* in the *kaya*, should have the simple plural prefix A-. There are some exceptions, for which I have been unable, so far, to account, and I have given up the attempt to educe consistency from the Duruma list, recording, provisionally, the unprefix name only.

I have repeatedly mentioned the *kayas*, which are, or rather have been, such a feature in Nyika tribal life and are, I believe, in this part of Africa, peculiar to these tribes. The Wapokomo, who, of course, in the Tana Valley, had no heights to fortify, constructed underground refuges when they attempted to resist their oppressors. The word *i(li)-kaya*, meaning "home, place of abode" (with the universally-used locative *ekaya*), is found in Zulu; *kaya*, in Nyamwezi, is rendered "Stadt" by Dr. Velten, and the root doubtless exists in other Bantu languages. Here it has the special meaning of a fortified village on a hill-top. Krapf describes the old *kaya* of Rabai ya kale or Vokera, even then only inhabited in war time, the people preferring to build outside, near their gardens,—and now quite deserted, so much so that I never even heard of it, the only site shown me being the (according to Krapf) still older one of Mriale. He also visited the *kayas* of Ribe, Kambe,



Jibana and Chonyi, though he does not seem to have reached Kaya Kauma; and he built his first house within the enclosure at Rabai Mpia. The Rev. K. St. A. Rogers, of the C.M.S., who kindly showed me over this *kaya* (uninhabited, though still used by the elders), pointed out the site of the building, of which, as might be expected, no trace is to be seen. Krapf does not mention a stockade, or gateways, but they must have existed, as he says the place had been occupied for about thirty years; and the remains of the gates are still visible.

The *kaya* is a circular clearing in the forest on the highest hill-top available, surrounded by a fence of stout stakes, and approached (usually on the north and south) by two, three, or four gateways. The narrow path leading to the entrance was sometimes (if not always) fenced with poles on each side: at Kaya Chonyi there is a little avenue of trees which have grown up from these poles. The gates were closed by strong wooden doors fastened with heavy bars; but, so far as I have been able to make out, there was not a second ring fence. No doubt the bush—which was never cut down within a certain distance of the *kaya*—constituted sufficient outworks. As the trees have thus been spared, there is some magnificent timber to be seen round these places.

Unfortunately, I could not go either to Kaya Duruma or Kaya Giryama, also called Kaya Bomu (the great *kaya*) or, sometimes (though not habitually by the Wagiryama themselves), Kaya Fungu. But I visited those of the five smaller tribes, also Kaya Kambe ya Bati, near Jilore, and the old *kaya* on Rabai Hill, previously mentioned.

Kaya Kauma is within a day's march of Mtanganyiko, and seems to have been a large and important one. As nearly as I could estimate the distance, it is a quarter of a mile from the northern gate to the southern. There are still a fair number of houses in it, some of a good size and very neatly constructed; but, now that it is no longer unsafe to live near their gardens, many people have moved out, and there are large vacant spaces. There are many coco-nut palms inside the *kaya*, also bananas, and some orange and lemon trees (by whom introduced I do not know), and patches covered with bush or overgrown with grass and weeds. In the centre, under some large trees, is the *moro*, or "council chamber"—I am not sure whether it is a roofed structure, or merely an open space with seats for the old men, as I was not allowed to go near it, being told that if any unauthorised person sets foot on this sacred ground, he (or she) immediately falls down, blood issues from his eyes, nose, ears and mouth, and he is unable to move till treated (*ku topolewa*) by the elders. Probably the spirit-house and *mwanza* (friction-drum) are in the same place.

There are only two *barazas* in Kaya Kauma: the northern (1) is shared by the A-Mvitsa and A-Mongwe, the southern (2) by the A-Dzakaa, A-Dzunza and A-Ndarari. The names on the plan indicate where the different sections of the tribe live, except on the eastern side, where there are no houses, as the Andarari have all moved out into the *shambas*.

In the southern *baraza* is one drum (an ordinary drum, not a friction-drum)





FIG. 1.—PLAN OF KAYA KAUMA.

used by all five divisions. The young men who told me this said they, being only "children," knew nothing about a *mwanza*.

Each of the gates is approached through three outer gates, with side-posts and lintel and heavy wooden doors, which have not been shut for a long time, though the southern gate has the iron hasp and wooden bar, by which it was closed, still in working order; it also has a bolt below, which could be fixed into the ground. This gate is reached by rough steps, made by piling up large stones; the threshold is nearly three feet above the level of the path. Between the third and the outer gate is the burial ground, many of the graves being marked by carved posts (*vigango*) like those of which photographs appear in *MAN* for October, 1909. In most *kayas*, *vigango* are found within the enclosure, sometimes quite near a hut, but I cannot recall any inside Kaya Kauma. On some of these graves I noticed sham traps made by tying down a bent branch with a piece of string—these are intended to frighten away hyenas or other animals which might attempt to dig up the body.

At Kaya Chonyi, and also at Kaya Kambe, and at a small Giryama settlement near Magarini, I saw some very neatly carved *vigango*—some being surmounted by a more or less realistic human head, others being merely decorated with simple geometric patterns. The one at Magarini was not unlike the bust of Octavianus Augustus, while one of those at Kaya Kambe had a certain resemblance to a well-known living politician. At Kaya Kambe ya Bate, the headman, Kalama, showed me the carved grave-posts of his father and grandfather, beside which were four smaller stumps representing his grandmother, his father's two wives, and his own deceased wife.

The Wapokomo do not erect posts of this sort, nor, so far as I could make out, do they mark graves in any way. There is an old burying-place some distance below Ngao, known as Chiko la Wakala—"the Galla shore"—meaning that there is no escape from death, ruthless as the Galla raiders. But I only learnt of its existence after I had left the place.



There are four other *kayas* of the Wakauma, one of which is at Sungwaya, near Garashi, and another (Kaya Bore) in the same neighbourhood.

Kaya Chonyi is seven or eight hours' march south of Kaya Kauma. There are few or no people now living in it. I was taken over it by Rongoma, the old headman, who has his village at the foot of the hill. The rough plan given in the Appendix shows approximately the relative positions of the *nyanda* belonging to the several clans. One of the gates on the southern side is fairly well preserved, the others much dilapidated—those on the north side I did not see.

Kaya Jibana is perched on a very steep and rocky hill, and must have been still more difficult of access than any of the others. There were a tolerable number of people living there. The gates were scarcely traceable, but were pointed out to me.

Kaya Kambe seemed tolerably flourishing. I was not able to ascertain whether different parts of it were assigned to different clans; the *baraza* where the elders received us (I had been very kindly escorted and introduced by the Rev. U. Bassett, of Ribe) seemed to be used by all in common; it was a neat thatched building open at the ends, with seats ranged along the sides. I had seen similar ones at Garashi and Kaya Kambe ya Bate.

Kaya Rihe is entirely deserted and about half an hour's walk from the present mission village of Ribe. The *moro* in the centre was pointed out to me, with the stones on which the elders sat, and we made out the sites of the four *nyanda*, but the whole is a tangle of grass and scrub.

The *kaya* of Rabai Mpia, on a hill to the south-east of the C.M.S. mission at Kisulutini, is no longer inhabited, but the elders still hold meetings there, to which people are convened by blowing the buffalo-horn (*Mbiu*). Two out of three gates are still standing, and the seats of the elders can be seen in the *moro*. There is a little spirit-hut containing five friction-drums (*mwanza*), the largest of which is about four feet long. They are laid on a staging under the thatch of the hut, about three feet from the ground. I have heard the *mwanza* sounded twice at night, during the month of February. At Kisulutini, about two miles away, it sounds more like the buzzing of an enormous beetle than anything else. I believe that at this time, before the beginning of the rains, certain dances are held, but could get no very precise information. This festival, in anticipation of which the path to the *kaya* had been cleared of grass and weeds some time beforehand, seems to be called *kuri*.

Besides occasions like this, the old men sound the *mwanza* when they wish to promulgate a new law, or when some serious offence has been committed—rather, perhaps, when they are dissatisfied with the state of morality in general and feel the necessity of inspiring awe in the younger generation.

There was another Rabai *kaya* at Fimboni, between Rabai and Ribe, and possibly yet another at Chang'ombe, close by (I have failed to make out whether these are really one or two); but little, if any, trace of it remains.

The clan organization is quite distinct from that of the *kambi*, or council, and this, again, from the "secret societies" or "clubs" (*chama* of the Giriama) and the



*marika*, or circumcision-ages. These are four different things; yet, because some of them coincide in time and affect the same persons, they are apt to be confused.

In a paper which appeared in the *Journal of the African Society* for July, 1913, I have endeavoured to discuss the *ngadzi* of the Wapokomo, which corresponds more or less, though not exactly, with the *chama* of the Wagiryama. The Pokomo *lura* seems to answer to the *kambi*, though the name is borrowed from the Galla; but in another way it is more like the *rika*. The subject requires further investigation, and the relation of the Galla *lura* to the Pokomo institution is a question of especial interest.

It remains to say a few words about totemism. So far as appears at present, the indications of its existence among Nyika tribes are few and uncertain. The prohibitions in force for some of the Pokomo clans may or may not be totemistic in character: *e.g.*, the Mbaji clan of the Mwina tribe do not eat the *mukungo* or *fyoka* fish, which is highly prized by others. More certainly of the nature of totems are three little birds which are revered by the Giryama, Chonyi, and some of the Kauma clans. I could not ascertain anything in this respect as to the Kambe, Dzihana, or Rihe. These birds are the *kasiji* (*tsiji*, *chiji*), a small blue and grey finch, the *katsendzere*, also a finch, a very small grey bird (about the size of a wren), with a crimson spot at the back of the head, and the Kasegene (or Usegene), whose prevailing colour is a shade between purple and crimson—nearly the tint of a Victoria plum. Mr. Hollis has assigned these as "totems" to various clans in a way which my inquiries have failed to confirm. Mr. A. M. Champion says that the *Kabilas* are divided into two sections, according to the bird they "avoid" (*zira*—*i.e.*, neither kill nor eat): the Kiza, Maganjoni and Parwa "avoiding" the *kasiji*, the Milalani, Kidzini and Milulu the *katsendzere*. Bundi, the headman at Kaya Kauma, said that none of the Kauma *Kabilas*, except the A-Mongwe, have any scruple in eating any of the three birds, while the A-Mongwe avoid all three; but Zamani at Ngao, who, as already stated, is a Kauma, said that all the Wanyika "honour" the *kasiji*, and denied (in opposition to the Pokomo, who regard it as a nuisance) that it did any damage in the rice-fields. Probably it might still be possible to ascertain, at least in part, what ideas are—or once were—associated with the finch in the minds of these people. Another animal, which some Chonyi clans call *zira*, and which may be, or have been, a totem, is the ant-bear (*loma*), concerning which some curious beliefs are current. Rebmann says (*Nika Dictionary*, s.v.): "When one is killed, a lamentation is held over it"—this looks as if it were a totem—"hoping that by so doing the meat will prove very fat," and that when they are digging for it they call it *godzo*, not *loma* (*id. ib.*, p. 107, s.v. *godzo*); otherwise it will escape them.

Mr. Hollis has also entered as totems "fish," "pig," and some other animals whose flesh is not eaten, but I doubt whether these should be so classed.

## APPENDIX.

1. List of Pokomo Tribes and Clans.
2. " " Giriyama " "
3. " " Rabai Clans.
4. " " Duruma "
5. " " Kauma "
6. " " Chonyi "
7. " " Kambe "
8. " " Rihe "
9. " " Dzihana "

## (1) POKOMO TRIBES (VYETI) AND CLANS (MASINDO).

VYETI.	MASINDO.	VYETI.	MASINDO.
Kalindi ...	Mamboo. } <sup>1</sup> Gomeni. }	Ndera ...	
	Nzamba.	Gwano ...	Kinauru.
	Palana.		Kinakale.
	Mongwe.		Kinajasi.
	Bure. <sup>2</sup>		Nyumba ya Gulu.
	Mwiti. <sup>3</sup>	Kinakomba ...	Kinambolo.
Buu ...	Karya.		Kinamwiani.
	Kamwelo.		Kinambura.
	Katsae.		Kinamlunde.
	Deno.		Kinanguu.
	Chomo.		Kinamagazo.
	Kale.	Ndura ...	Kinagava.
	Yuu.		Kinanato.
	Katsoo, or Kinamwiti.		Kinagasere.
Dzunza ...	Mbura.		Kinambura.
	Ngutsu.	Zubaki ...	Karayu.
	Viranga or Urunya.		Kinagasere.
Ngatana ...	Kidziwi.		Jaya.
	Bure.		Meta.
Mwina ...	Mbaji.		Kinakaliani, or Garijela
	Kinambare.		(Galla, Gardyed).
	Kinahafa.		Uta.
	Kinamongo.		Karara.
	Kinambato.		Ilani.
	Kinangombe.		Kinagava.

<sup>1</sup> These two are the original Kalindi clans; the others are "only strangers."<sup>2</sup> These immigrated in recent times from Ngatana.<sup>3</sup> An offshoot of the Katsoo clan of the Buu tribe.



Malalulu ...	Meta.	Malinkote ...	Wayu.
	Ilani.		Karayu.
	Garijela.		Waidugu.
	Uta.		Abula.
	Wayu.		Haicheche.
	Dulu.		
	Karara.		
	Wayu Chereti. } <sub>1</sub>	Korokoro ...	
	Wayu Goduko. }		

## (2) GIRYAMA TRIBES (KABILA) AND CLANS (MBARI).

This list is based on one supplied to me by Mr. A. C. Hollis in 1911. It has been repeatedly checked by inquiry from natives, and also compared with information supplied by Mr. A. M. Champion.

Kabila.	Mbari.	Kabila.	Mbari.
A-Kiza ...	Amwa-Wale. <sup>1</sup> Amwa - Fondo or Amwa-Chuka. Amwa-Iha. Amwa-Hindzano. <sup>2</sup>	A-Kidzini ...	Amwa-Mkweha. Amwa-Mweni. <sup>3</sup>
A-Maganjoni...	Amwa-Ziro. Amwa-Ngowa. Amwa-Kiti. Amwa-Ngore. Amwa-Kibohe. <sup>3</sup>	A-Milalani ...	Amwa-Kombe. Amwa-Ndundi. Amwa-Dundu. <sup>3</sup> Amwangari - Amwa - Yeri. <sup>5</sup> Amwangari - Amwa - Kadzangala. <sup>5</sup> Amwa-Kiringi.
A-Kidzini ...	Amwa-Toya. Amwa-Nyundo. } <sub>4</sub> Amwa-Mitsandze. } Amwa-Nzaro. Amwa-Mkare. Amwa-Baya Mwaro. Amwa-Baya Gunga, with subdivision Amwa-Mbora.	A-Parwa ...	Amwa-Fondo. } Amwa-Nguma. } <sub>6</sub> Amwa-Kiwe. }
		A-Milulu ...	Amwa-Shungu. } Amwa-Mboro. } Amwa-Mbogo. } <sub>7</sub>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps these two should be entered as subdivisions of Wayu.

<sup>2</sup> This, I am told, is Digo, not Giryama.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Champion omits this.

<sup>4</sup> Some give these two as branches of Amwa-Toya.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Champion has only the undivided clan "Mwangari."

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Champion includes "Mparua" as a single clan under Kiza.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Champion includes "Milulu" as a *mbari* of the A-Milalani.

## (3) RABAI CLANS.

Male (Mbari za Kuume).	Female (Mbari za Kuke).
A-Mvitsa.	
A-Mvitsa-Goma.	Umbetsa.
A-Mvitsa-Tutu.	Kuva.
A-Mvitsa-Iwe.	Tsongo.
A-Mwezi.	
Amwa-Kulavya.	Meiwe.
Amwa-Joha-Dzuya.	Kulo.
Amwa-Mumba.	Pagala.
Amwa-Tsui.	Mele.
Amwa-Moni.	Mehutu.
A-Gambani.	
Amwa-Mtukuyu.	Mehare.
Amwa-Wesa.	Nyani.
Amwa-Daha.	
Amwa-Mganga.	
Amwa-Gumo.	
Amwa-Saga.	
A-Yombo.	
Amwa-Mruu.	
Amwa-Tiga.	
Amwa-Munga.	
Amwa-Mudzugu.	



## (4) CLANS OF THE WA-DURUMA.

(As given to me by David Godoma of the Amwa Dzine clan.)

Male (Mbari za Kuume).	Female (Mbari za Kuke).
Amwa-Dzine.	Mbua.
Amwa-Tsangari.	Tsongo.
Amwa-Mundu.	Kumbi.
Amwa-Nyota.	Mapingu.
Amwa-Chanda.	Ngomwe.
Amwa-Kai.	Kuva.
Amwa-Beja.	Nguvu.
Amwa-Zikuta.	Chombo.
Amwa-Vande.	Mahigya.
Amwa-Mlaire.	Mbodze.
	Gori (Goro ?). <sup>1</sup>
	Nikabu.
	Ngamba.
	Mika.
	Nyari.
	Nimbiti.
	Nidzame.
	Dziyana.
	Mtongori.

## (5) KAUMA CLANS.

A-Ndarari	...	...	...	Amwa-Jefwa.
				Amwa-Fondo Ndenge.
				Amwa-Mdima.
A-Dzakaa	...	...	...	Amwa-Mbura.
				Amwa-Rome Nyambu.
				Amwa-Kogo.
A-Mongwe	...	...	...	Amwa-Kudza Mzungu <sup>2</sup> (some say this is a branch of Amwa-Koba).
				Amwa-Rumba Ziro (?).
				Amwa-Nguwa.
				Amwa-Koba (or Amwa-Tsola).
				Amwa-Maya.

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes given as Magoro.<sup>2</sup> "Those of the white man's coming." I could not get this explained.

I have not been able to procure a satisfactory list of Digo clans.

A-Dzundza	...	...	...	Amwa-Kaiwe.
				Amwa-Raji Mkoka.
				Amwa-Raji Duka.
A-Mvitsa	...	...	...	Amwa-Fondo Mngwari.
				Amwa-Kubo.
				Amwa-Chipa.
				Amwa-Ngala a Msandzu.

## (6) CLANS OF THE A-CHONYI.

(As given by Rongoma and Kirevu at Kaya Chonyi, August 8th and 9th, 1913.)

The figures refer to the plan.

A-REMERE.		A-SIRINI.	
Amwa-Kombe (1)	} 1	Amwa-Rumba (9)	} 2
A-Muvo (2)		Amwa-Gwama (10)	
Amwa-Tela (3)			
Amwa-Dzuya (4)			
A-MONGWE.		A-DZAKAA.	
		Amwa-Kiti (11).	
		Amwa-Toya (12).	
		Amwa-Rome (13)	} 4
		Amwa-Ngemi (14)	
A-BORANI.			
Amwa-Chakwe (5).		Amwa-Kidziga Gambo (15)	} 5
Amwa-Bonje (6)	} 2	Amwa-Dzombo (16)	
A-Buta (7)		Amwa-Ngata (17)	
A-Mwadhi (8).			

The larger divisions have no *barazas* in Kaya Chonyi, but each has its area, including the *barazas* of its component clans. The A-Dzakaa and A-Remere appear to be regarded as the most important, the former having their position inside the north gate, and the latter inside the south.

<sup>1</sup> In Mr. Hollis's list, A-Remere and Amuvo are transposed, but the latter is certainly the larger division.

<sup>2</sup> Have one *baraza* between them.

<sup>3</sup> Have one *baraza*.

<sup>4</sup> Not in Mr. Hollis's list.

<sup>5</sup> One *baraza*.



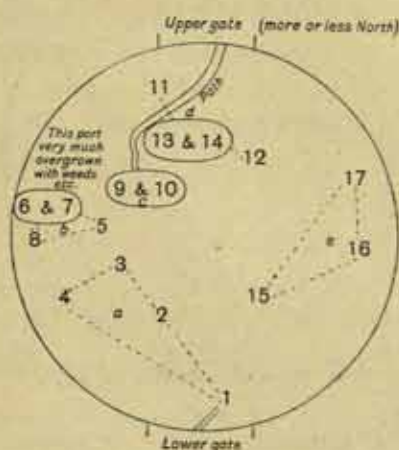


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF KAYA CHONTL.

*Barazas* belonging to the same *Kabila* (using this name for the larger division) are connected by dotted lines.

## (7) LIST OF KAMBE CLANS.

Tribe (Lukolo ?).	Clan (Mbari).	Tribe (Lukolo ?).	Clan (Mbari).
A-Mongwe ...	Amwa-Tsuma.	A-Kalondzo ...	A-Mugao.
	Amwa-Taka.		Amwa-Rome (1).
	Amwa-Mumba.	A-Dzundza ...	Amwa-Dena (2).
	Amwa-Dubi.		Amwa-Ruwa.
A-Kwareni ...	Amwa-Kuriwa.		Amwa-Mrira.
	Amwa-Dena.	A-Dzakaa ...	Amwa-Gova.
	Amwa-Yayi.		Amwa-Pande (1).
	Amwa-Lewa.		Amwa-Ndarawe.
A-Kalondzo ...	Amwa-Karo.		Amwa-Dubi.
	Amwa-Gungu.		Amwa-Deri.
	Amwa-Temo.		Amwa-Dzua (3).
	Amwa-Ringa.		Amwa-Chitseri (3).

These are taken from Mr. Hollis's list, except (1), which I added at the Kaya Kambe ya Bate near Jilore, and (3), which I added at Kaya Kambe, near Ribe. But I do not feel satisfied about it, because the old men assented to the list when I read it out and I only got hold of the additions incidentally, in taking down Nasoro's pedigree. Had it been possible to get this and others in full, probably more would come to light, and the *barazas*, no doubt, would settle the matter. Neither could I quite make out whether the Chitseri clan belongs to the A-Dzakaa.

(2) These are separate from the Dena of the A-Kwareni and may intermarry with them.

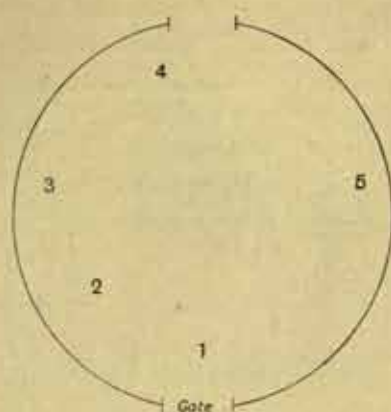


FIG. 3.—KAYA KAMBE YA BATE.

1. A-Kalondzo.                      2. A-Kwareni.                      3. A-Mongwe.  
4. A-Dzaka.                      5. A-Dzinza.

## (8) CLANS OF THE A-RIHE.

(Obtained from Abewashe, of the Ana-Mriri clan, at Ribe, August 11th, 1913.)

Amwa-Mbura	...	...	} These two had one <i>Lwanda</i> in Kaya Rihe.
Amwa-Ngiri	...	...	
Amwa-Kivatsi	...	...	} Anadzombo—These had one <i>Lwanda</i> .
Amwa-Kere	...	...	
Amwa-Kizango	..	...	
Ana-Mriri	...	...	} One <i>Lwanda</i> .
A-Mvitsa	...	...	
Ana-Vidima	...	...	} One <i>Lwanda</i> .
Amwa-Maya	...	...	
A-Kambe-Mboga <sup>1</sup>	...	...	

Mr. Hollis's list includes, beside the above, the Amwa-Mendza, but the *mzee* whom I consulted was positive that there was no such clan: "there was only a man Abemendza," whose name, I suppose, got put down by mistake.

The Amwa-Maya are subdivided into Amwa-Maya Chula and Amwa-Maya Tsafi, who may intermarry.

I think, but could not get it clearly stated, that the four larger divisions, to which the four *nyanda* of the *kaya* are assigned, are: Amwa-Mbura, Ana-Dzombo, A-Mvitsa, Ana-Vidima (the first and third including only one other clan).

Mr. Hollis says, "The Ribe<sup>2</sup> are the most ancient of all the Nyika sub-tribes, and if members of all the sections meet together, the Ribe representative has the

<sup>1</sup> One informant seems to treat this as a subdivision of Vidima. He also added Amwa-Dzombo Chitiro and Ana-Mudhiri.

<sup>2</sup> Ribe is the usual Swahili pronunciation, and the station of the United Methodist Mission about half an hour's walk from the old *kaya* is now usually known by that name.



right to speak first." Fundi Ambale told me that Kaya Rihe was first built by Mwa Maya Nyoka, who was followed by Mwa Dzombo Chitiro, but I could not ascertain definitely whether he meant clans or individuals by these names.

## (9) DZIHANA CLANS.

A-Mongwe <sup>1</sup> ...	...	...	...	Amwa-Gongo.
				Amwa-Rumba. <sup>2</sup>
				Amwa-Kaha. <sup>3</sup>
				Amwa-Ndaza. <sup>4</sup>
A-Borani ...	...	...	...	Amwa-Yura.
(A-Dzakaa) <sup>5</sup> ...	...	...	...	Amwa-Ngujo. <sup>6</sup>
				A-Mwinga.
				Amwa-Tija. <sup>7</sup>

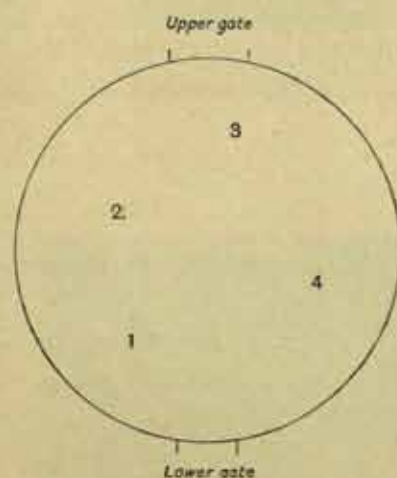


FIG. 4.—PLAN OF KAYA DZIHANA.

1. A-Mongwe.      2. A-Borani or A-Dzakaa.      3. A-Vumbi.  
4. A-Remere.

<sup>1</sup> Rongoma, elder of the Achonyi, says the Adzihana have no Amongwe, but as the local people showed me the Amongwe *baraza* in the *kaya*, I have entered them.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hollis has "Amwa-Lumbo." I could not hear of this clan at Jibana, but they insisted that there were Amwa-Rumba in their tribe as well as in the Chonyi.

<sup>3</sup> There are now no houses of this clan at Kaya Jibana.

<sup>4</sup> One of my informants, Kafwani, son of Mudachi, son of Dawadeni, belongs to this clan. The first houses you come to after entering the lower gate are theirs.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Hollis's list has A-Dzakaa, but the Dzihana themselves gave me Borani, though they seem to recognize the name A-Dzakaa as applied to them.

<sup>6</sup> None now at Kaya Jibana.

I was told that this is a "women's clan" (*mbari ya waanawake*). Otherwise I found no indications of a two-fold division existing in the Rabai and Duruma clans. But the matter needs further inquiry.

A-Vumbi <sup>1</sup>	...	...	...	...	Amwa-Gongo (?).
A-Remere	...	...	...	...	Amwa-Gunga (?).
					A-Chigomeni.
					Amwa-Rumbi.

Here it is only the larger divisions that have *barazas*. The Dzihana Borani seem to be the same as the A-Dzakaa.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hollis gives this as a sub-clan of A-Remere, but the A-Vumbi have their own *baraza*, as shown in the plan. I have entered Amwa-Gongo (which was given me at Jibana) as a sub-division of A-Vumbi, though not quite certain of it, and have left the other three under A-Remere as in Mr. Hollis's list.





FIG. 1.—ISAYA ZAKARIA, POKOMO,  
BUU TRIBE, DENO CLAN.



FIG. 2.—FUMO, POKOMO, BUU  
TRIBE, KATSAE CLAN.



FIG. 3.—BAENABA, POKOMO,  
BUU TRIBE.



FIG. 4.—BULUSHI (A DIGO,  
BROTHER OF MKOWA, CHIEF  
OF THE GIRYAMA IN THE  
JILORE DISTRICT).



FIG. 5.—GIRYAMA, AT GARASHI.



FIG. 6.—KAUMA, FROM SUNG-  
WAYA, AT JILORE.







FIG. 7.—GIRYAMA (WITH CAP) AND KAMBA, AT KAYA KAMBE YA BATE.



FIG. 8.—RONGOMA, AN ELDER OF THE WA-CHONYI.



FIG. 9.—GIRYAMA AT MAGARINI.



FIG. 10.—KONDA, A BABAI.



FIG. 11.—GIRYAMA GIRLS.



FIG. 12.—TWO LITTLE BABAI GIRLS, CHANG'OMBE.





## THE TAUNGBYÖN FESTIVAL, BURMA.

By R. GRANT BROWN.

(WITH PLATES XVI AND XVII.)

ACCORDING to Sir Richard Temple, in his richly illustrated account of the Thirty-seven Nats, a Burman's Buddhism is "a thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of animistic belief." The fact that the statement is already in inverted commas shows that it has been made before. Indeed some such remark has appeared in successive census reports and gazetteers, and probably in almost every work in which religion in Burma is dealt with. Yet I venture to think it is misleading. The use of the word "veneer" implies that the Burman's Buddhism is superficial to a greater degree than the religion of the Christian, the Muhammadan, or the Jew, or than Buddhism itself in other countries. This is certainly not the case. The Burman Buddhist is at least as much influenced by his religion in his daily life as the average Christian. The monks are probably as strict in their religious observances as any large religious body in the world, and compare very favourably with those of other Buddhist countries. Most laymen, too, obey the prohibitions against alcohol and the taking of life, though these run counter both to strong human instincts and to animistic practice. The suppression of these habits, while animistic beliefs remain and order the Burman's daily life, is surely a remarkable proof of the power of Buddhism and the depth of its influence on the people.

But the statement quoted above draws attention to an important fact. The truth is that there are in Burma two religions existing side by side—or, if you please, one overlying the other—though the influence of both is deep and genuine, and neither is a veneer. In Europe, where through so many centuries Christians killed each other because they differed in their interpretation of what was nominally one religion, this state of things is perhaps difficult to understand; though any student of comparative religion knows that pagan beliefs are still very active in the south of Europe, where they have been incorporated in the dominant religion. Among the yellow races, however, it was never considered necessary to kill your neighbour because he differed from you in his religious beliefs, unless these threatened the security of the State; and in Japan we have what is to most Europeans the puzzling phenomenon of two religions, which might be expected to be mutually exclusive, professed at the same time by the same individuals. Shintoism, the State religion, is a development of animism, which in Japan has never quite fallen to the disreputable position occupied by animism in Burma. It



is now honoured by the State as the official wife, whereas in Burma animism is a mere concubine. But a concubine is often powerful, and the cult, with its thousands of years of life behind it, is so ingrained in the nature and instincts of the people that even their Buddhism, real and deep as it is, has never been able to kill it.

The practice of sacrificing individual lives for the good of the community, which is so utterly opposed to Buddhist teaching, may be traced in Burma at the present day in all its stages, from the killing of a human victim to the mere offering of plantains at a shrine. A few miles beyond the administrative border of the Upper Chindwin district a boy or girl is annually bought from a distant village and killed with much ceremony, the blood being sprinkled on the seed-paddy.<sup>1</sup> The people here are Nagas. Their language, though differing widely in vocabulary from Burmese,<sup>2</sup> belongs to the same group; and the people are indistinguishable from Burmans when they wear similar clothing. Farther south, where civilized influences have made themselves felt, the Nagas have substituted cattle for human beings. In villages along the Chindwin, people calling themselves Burman Buddhists still sacrifice fowls annually to the god of the harvest, though the thing is done somewhat surreptitiously and shamefacedly, and if enquiries are made from a villager he will very likely say that the practice exists in some other village but not in his. Before the Taungbyôn festival two hares are caught and killed without ceremony, and their sun-dried carcasses carried in procession through the streets and placed before the image of the guardian of the Brothers, and then before those of the Brothers themselves. At the foot of Kyauksè hill, south of Mandalay, there are two mighty boulders called the Brother and Sister. If there is sickness in the house a dead fowl is bought in the market and offered to each of these. In most villages, though the custom has begun to decay, offerings of meat, fish, or other food are made to the village god on certain occasions. Lastly, every Burman offers food (including sometimes fish but not meat) at least once a year to the spirit of Min Magäyi, the mighty blacksmith, who watches over every house in the country; and an offering to the same divinity is placed at the top of the first post erected for a monastery. This may consist of fruit, cakes, a silk kerchief, or leaves of the sacred *eugenia*, and here we have the principle of sacrifice in its most attenuated form.

As is well known, there are two schools of Buddhism, the Northern and the Southern. The former has incorporated within itself to a far greater degree the ancient beliefs and ceremonies of the people, and is therefore usually referred to as "debased." The southern form is stricter, and religious devotees frown on these customs, though obliged more or less to tolerate them. Mahayanist or Northern

<sup>1</sup> *Human Sacrifices near the Upper Chindwin*, in the first number of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, June, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Among the yellow races similarity of structure seems to be accompanied by diversity of vocabulary to a much greater extent than in Europe.



Buddhism was the prevalent form before the time of the great Burman king Nawayāta<sup>1</sup> (Anuruddha) of Pāgan, though to what extent it was accepted by the people can only be guessed. It appears to have been overgrown with the animistic beliefs incorporated in it, for Nawayāta's predecessor, slain by him, is described as a snake-worshipper, and the priests of the cult as habitually immoral. But even Southern Buddhism has not freed itself from the ancient beliefs of the country from which it was brought, and Brahman gods, reduced to mere archangels and angels, but still powerful and revered, compete with the indigenous deities, and are regarded as much more respectable than they by the monks. In fact they may be worshipped by a good Buddhist layman, and monks even take part in the ceremonies—such as the pouring out of water in honour of the Earth-god Wāthōndāye (Vasundharā) at feasts and funerals—which have no reference to the Buddha, but are regarded almost as an integral part of Buddhism.

Northern Buddhism has long disappeared from Burma. There remain only the southern cult, in which a certain amount of animism has been incorporated, and the indigenous worship of spirits, or "nats," as they are called in Burmese. It is likely enough that some of the native gods have been identified with those imported from India, but on the whole the two classes have been kept fairly distinct, and the reverence paid to the former is disapproved of by orthodox Buddhist monks. This is true even of Min Magāyi, the most universally honoured of all.

The stronghold of spirit-worship among the Burmese is at Taungbyôn, a village some sixteen miles north of Mandalay, and the principal festival is held during the five days preceding the full moon of Wagaung, about August. No monks are to be seen there, and there is a good deal of drunkenness, which is comparatively rare at Buddhist festivals. The festival is mainly in honour of the twin brothers called Shwe Pyin Gyi and Shwe Pyin Ngè (Great Golden Bowl and Little Golden Bowl), who, according to the legend, were put to death by King Nawayāta because they failed to contribute bricks to a pagoda which he was building.

The story is that they were sons of an Indian, whose duty it was to provide flowers daily for the king's use, by a female *bilu* (a creature half man and half beast), who lived on the sacred mount of Pōppa, an isolated peak near Nawayāta's capital of Pāgan. On their father's death they were put under the guardianship of a Brahman who is known by the title of Bodaw, and whose image is allotted a special shrine at Taungbyôn together with two others representing his brother and sister. The twins through their mother inherited supernatural powers, and were employed by Nawayāta to lead an expedition against the Chinese for the purpose of obtaining the sacred tooth. This they did by magic, but on its arrival in Burma the king was tactless enough to order the holy relic to be handed up to him as he sat

<sup>1</sup> This is the modern Burmese form of the name, spelt according to the phonetic system prescribed by the Government of Burma with the substitution of *d* for *a* to represent the indeterminate vowel (as in *among*). The other is the Pali form transliterated in accordance with the Geneva convention.



on an elephant, whereupon the tooth, offended, vanished never to return. The king then directed a pagoda (still existent) to be built at Taungbyôn. It was for failing to contribute bricks to this pagoda that the Brothers were put to death, with their guardian Bodaw, and his brother and sister. After the executions the king's raft was mysteriously held back on its way to Pagan, and on his striking the water with his magic rod to ascertain the cause the Brothers appeared and told him that it was they who had prevented him from going on his way. He then promised to give them, as spirits, dominion over all the country as far as Mādāya.

The Brothers are said to have been Muhammadans, and it is possible that their father may have been an Arab adventurer. At any rate no pigs are allowed in the village, and no one connected with the shrine will touch pork.

The images of the Brothers (Plate XVI, fig. 1) are now kept in an uninteresting corrugated iron shed, but till some six years ago they lived in a golden palace richly carved like that occupied by the Burmese kings. This was, as usual, of teakwood, and was burnt before the present ugly structure was erected.

The images are only about half a century old. Their predecessors, with the palace in which they were kept, were burnt by King Mindôn (1853-78), who, as related by Sir Richard Temple, disapproved of the cult as contrary to the teachings of Buddhism.

On the first day of the festival the images are taken to the Irrawaddy River on the *waw*, or platform, on which they sit, and there washed on a raft by water being poured over them from their own bowls of lacquer covered with glass and gold mosaic. On the fourth day the carcasses of two hares are carried in procession round the village to the accompaniment of music and dancing, shown to the image of Bodaw at his shrine, and then offered to the Twins. The main entrance to the Brothers' abode is roped off before this to prevent the vulgar herd from using it. The hares are carried by wives (see the next paragraph) of the Bodaw *nat* selected by the *nattein*, or keeper, of the Bodaw shrine. On arrival at the "palace" the hares are made over to hereditary male *yônzet*, persons so named because it is their duty to offer them to the images.

Round the palace is a long line of booths occupied by *natkādaws*, or wives of *nats*. These are women from all over Burma who follow the profession of fortune-tellers; or rather mediums, for they foretell the future after working themselves into a trance. Before entering their profession they go through a ceremony of marriage with some *nat* or other whom they believe to have fallen in love with them in their dreams or trances. The ceremony may be conducted by another *natkādaw*, but every bride, no matter where she lives, must report herself in person to the *nat-ök*, or high priest. *Ök* means "govern." A married woman may become a *natkādaw*, and a *natkādaw* may take a human husband after obtaining permission from the *nat*.

There are four hereditary *natkādaws* at Taungbyôn who are priestesses of the cult, and who wear the remarkable headdress shown in Plate XVI, fig. 2. It is entirely unlike anything worn at the Burmese court in modern times, or appearing



in old pictures or carvings. They also wrap a man's *pāso* (silk robe) round their waists over their ordinary clothing. Each image has its *nattein*, or keeper, and each shrine or "palace" its *nandain*, or palace custodian. These and a host of minor officials are all hereditary, and may be either male or female. Ma Tôk, the present custodian of the Brothers' shrine, claims to be a direct descendant in the female line from a Chinese princess.

On the last day is held the culminating ceremony, and the most interesting to anthropologists,—the cutting up of the *teinbin*, or coffeewort tree (*Nauclea cordifolia*). This tree does not appear to be held sacred elsewhere, but is specially connected with the Brothers. Two large branches are obtained from the forest, drenched with water,<sup>1</sup> and planted one in front of the shrine, on the west side, to represent the elder brother, and one on the north side to represent the younger. The tree on the north is cut first, by the keeper of the younger brother's image; and then the tree on the west, by the *nat-ôk* himself, dressed in a military officer's uniform as worn under the Burmese king (Plate XVII, fig. 1). Plantains are first thrown as far as possible to the four points of the compass; water is poured in a complete circle round the tree; rice is cast to the four quarters, and over the people; and a performance follows, which is called the dance of the Seven Great Nats, apparently because there are seven distinct dances in honour of Māhagiri, Taunggyiyin, Shwenābe, Thônbanhla, Bodaw, Sēgādaw, and Kingādaw. Some images of *nats* are ranged on a shelf before the dancers, but they are not the Seven. The dancers include the four hereditary priestesses and a man representing the Māhagiri Nat (Maung Tin Dè—Plate XVI, fig. 3). They carry in their hands sprays of the *kāya* tree, *Acanthus ilicifolius*.

In the intervals between the last dances the performers walk round the tree three times, returning twice for another dance. The last procession round the tree becomes a kind of sword-dance. The four priestesses, who carry swords throughout, lay them on the ground two by two, parallel to each other, the points together, and repeat the action alternately in opposite directions. Finally the head priestess seizes the top of the tree in her left hand, and with her right severs a branch with the sword. (Plate XVI, fig. 4.) Instantly the crowd falls on the tree and tears it to pieces. The fragments are highly prized, and are planted in the fields to bring a good harvest.

Each *natkādaw* attending the festival brings with her the images of the *nats* she worships, and ranges these on a shelf in her booth, where she tells the fortunes of anyone who pays the necessary fee. Probably all the seven *nats* enumerated above are in one booth or another, but not all are equally popular. The following are the legends as told me by the present *nat-ôk*, U San Hla (Plate XVII, fig. 1), who claims to be the only *nat-ôk* in Burma, and to whom I was referred by all whom I consulted at Mandalay as being the best authority on the subject. It will be seen that they differ in some respects from those told by Sir Richard Temple and in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Magic Art*, i, 248, ii, 47. (*The Golden Bough*.)



*Upper Burma Gazetteer.* This is only natural. Each part of the country has its own version of some of the legends.

1. The Mābagiri Nat, also named Min Magāyi or Maung Tin Dè,<sup>1</sup> has already been referred to as the beneficent spirit who watches over every Burman household. He was a blacksmith of Tāgaung, and a man of prodigious strength; and when he struck his anvil the whole town shook as if in an earthquake. The king, offended, ordered his arrest. Maung Tin Dè fled to the hills, whereupon the king seized his sister Saw Mè Ya, and installed her in his palace. He then announced for the benefit of the doughty blacksmith that his sister was already queen, and that he would be received into the royal favour if he returned. Maung Tin Dè fell into the trap, and was burnt alive in a *sāga* tree (*Michelia Champaca*). While he was burning his sister ran out of the palace and threw herself into the flames. She became (2) the Taunggyiyin Nat.
3. Shwenābe Nāgāma (Plate XVII, fig. 2) was the wife of the last, found by him in the hills. (*Shwe* is gold and *nāgāma* a female dragon, but the *nābe* is unexplained.) She could take the form of either a woman or a snake. When Maung Tin Dè went back to Tāgaung she was very wroth, and laid two eggs, which she dropped in the Irrawaddy. These floated down to the present town of Pāgan, and became men and afterwards *nats*.
4. Thônbanhla, or Dwe Hla (the Beautiful), was the blacksmith's younger sister, who fled to Pegu when his arrest was ordered, and became the wife of the Thāmeintaw Yaza, a minister in the service of the Pegu king. But she longed for her brother and sister, and tried to return to them. She died from exhaustion on the way.
5. Bodaw, the guardian of the Brothers, is dealt with above.
6. The Sēgādaw, in spite of her name, which means weir-lady, seems to have nothing to do with the Sēdaw Mibāya (or weir-queen) of the irrigation system to the south of Mandalay. She and (7) the Kingādaw (Lady of the Watch) were sisters of Bodaw, and were killed with him.

Next to the Brothers, however, the images which appear most frequently at the great festival are perhaps those of Yeyingādaw, Tibyuzaung, and Maung Po Tu.

Yeyingādaw (Plate XVII, fig. 3) belongs to the order of evil *nats*, and is said to be from the wild country to the west of the ancient shrine of Powindaung in the Chindwin. Either nothing is known of her, or my informant was reluctant to tell her story.

<sup>1</sup> *Mīn* (transliterated *mañ*) means any kind of ruler or official, and is applied also to *nats*. Magāyi is obviously a corruption of Mābagiri. Maung (younger brother) is the ordinary prefix to Burmese names. Tin Dè (transliterated *Tañ Tai*) is the real name of the mythical blacksmith.





FIG. 1.—ONE OF THE TAUNGBYŌN BROTHERS.



FIG. 2.—THE HEAD PRIESTESS.



FIG. 3.—A PERSONATION OF MIN MAGĀYI  
(MĀHAGIRI NAT).

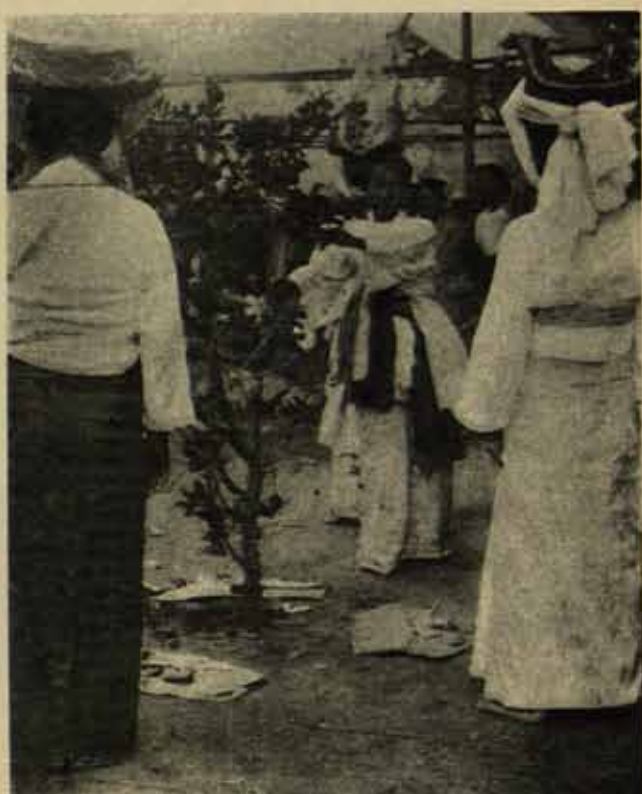


FIG. 4.—THE TREE-CUTTING CEREMONY.







FIG. 1.—THE NAT-ÔK, OR HIGH PRIEST.



FIG. 2.—SHWENÂBE.



FIG. 3.—YEYINGÂDAW.



FIG. 4.—TIBYUZAUNG.

THE TAUNGBYÏN FESTIVAL, BURMA.





The title Tibyuzaung (Plate XVII, fig. 4) means bearer of a white umbrella, the mark of kingship. It was borne by Kunzaw, the last king but one before Nawyāta. He was deposed by his son and successor Sōkkāde. A dethroned monarch has a right to retain the white umbrella. He became a monk, and appears in the ancient costume of the Buddhist order.

Maung Po Tu was a trader of Ava, who was killed by a tiger when he was going to buy tea from the Pālaungs in the Shan States. He had the misfortune to offend the *nat* of the Kālādaung ("Indians' Hill") by sticking upright in the ground the spoon with which he stirred the contents of his rice-pot. The story, seemingly modern, may possibly be connected with phallic worship, of which there are survivals in the Tai country.

All the above was written in Mandalay, and that part which deals with the legends in the presence of U San Hla. Since my arrival in England I have had the advantage of reading Professor Ridgeway's *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*, which contains some of the same legends, drawn from quite a different source, and a description of the festival by Mr. J. A. Stewart. As pointed out by Professor Ridgeway, all these *nats* are regarded as disembodied spirits of former men and women. Indeed it has long been my habit, on hearing of a new *nat*, to ask what he did when he was alive. It must be said, however, that when the *nat* in question was connected with a village, a whirlpool, or a mountain, the answer has always been that nothing is known of his mortal existence.

The rite suggests various questions. Does the coffeewort tree, as *The Golden Bough* would seem to suggest,<sup>1</sup> represent the Spirit of Vegetation,<sup>2</sup> slain at the ceremony and reborn in the fields? If so, why should the coffeewort, a worthless tree with no sacred associations, be chosen? Is the rite a survival from the days, not so far distant, of human sacrifices, a tree being substituted for a man as gentler habits prevailed? Again why the coffeewort? Was the rite performed in the same place long before the time of the Brothers, and were they merely identified with the tree-spirit, they and the tree representing it in duplicate?<sup>3</sup>

Or, to adopt Professor Ridgeway's theory, is the rite merely a commemoration of the dead men, and extraordinary virtues attributed to the trees only because they were in some way connected with them? Again, why the coffeewort?

It must be said that Professor Ridgeway's theory supplies a simple answer to the last question, which Sir James Frazer's does not. A coffeewort tree may have happened to grow near or over the graves of the Brothers, and have been, in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Dying God*, chap. viii, "The Killing of the Tree-spirit." *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i, 252.

<sup>2</sup> *The Magic Art*, ii, 49, 50.

<sup>3</sup> *The Magic Art*, ii, 73. *Balder the Beautiful*, ii, 22, 23.



belief of the people, impregnated with their virtue.<sup>1</sup> The original tree may have been cut up and distributed, and when it failed a tree or branch brought from the forest may have been treated in the same way, as is done now. The sacrifice of human life has already taken place, once for all, and the tree is dismembered, not in substitution for a man, but because the virtue of this particular man has entered it.

It is not necessary to assume a single origin for any custom, and a custom may be continued for reasons altogether differing from those which initiated it. But it is a natural instinct in every man to hold on to a good thing when he has it. He is reluctant to believe that an individual who has been specially useful to the community can be of no further use after death, and in an agricultural community such an individual's most obvious function is to give good crops.<sup>2</sup> From being able to control the crops he gradually becomes identified with their spirit. Thus while a primitive community—and the Burmese must be reckoned as such for this purpose—looks for help to the souls of persons known to have lived in it, and to everything that may be connected with them as individuals, a more civilized one tends to rely on abstractions such as the corn-spirit.<sup>3</sup> In *The Dying God* (p. 253) Professor Frazer recognizes that abstractness of names bespeaks a modern origin, and that the notion of a tree may have supplied a basis from which, by a gradual process of generalization, the wider idea of a spirit of vegetation may have been reached.

Other motives and ideas must have combined to keep alive the notion of powers vested in the spirits of the dead. One, which was probably strong in Burma, must have been the desire of the people to make tyrants fear revenge on the part of their murdered victims. Akin to this is the need of mothers and nurses for something to frighten children with and keep them in order. A Burman has told me that he did not believe in the *thdyè*, an unpleasant form of ghost with a long slimy tongue, but that he found it useful for controlling a small boy in his charge and curing him of certain childish habits.

But the ceremony is of great interest from quite another point of view. Why should these brothers, reputed to be Muhammadans and put to death because they opposed, or at least neglected, the Buddhist religion, have been exalted into national heroes, and given the place of honour at one of the most important festivals in a country where the profession of Buddhism is universal? It is difficult to avoid the belief that they were honoured for the very reason that they defied the

<sup>1</sup> *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> It is quite common at the present day for a Burman to tell an official that the crops have turned out well owing to his wise and just administration. He may not believe this, but the flattery does not strike him as absurd, and the habit of saying such things is no doubt due to the fact that they were once believed rather than to a lack of the sense of humour.

<sup>3</sup> The languages of the group to which Burmese belongs are very rich in the names of concrete things, while abstract nouns are almost lacking. See also Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, p. 49. The terms of relationship mentioned by him are all to be found in Burmese and also in the languages of the neighbouring wild tribes.



great Buddhist king. There are no greater haters of tyranny than the Burmese, and none that dislike more being compelled to do even what they are inclined to do. It may be supposed that, while accepting the religion forced on them by Nawayāta, they resented his proselytizing methods (just as, in spite of their outward tolerance, they now resent any semblance of an attack on their religion by members of the ruling race), and deliberately honoured the rebels for that reason. There is an oft-quoted Burmese proverb which represents rulers as one of the five evils. It is significant that though Burma has had at least three great kings, besides others remembered for their virtues, not one of them is worshipped as a *nat*. The only king in the list given above is one that was deposed. The national heroes are not the great conquerors, but their victims.

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## MISCELLANEA.

### PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, 1915.

*January 26th, 1915.*

Annual General Meeting. (See p. 1.)

*February 23rd, 1915.*

Ordinary Meeting. Professor ARTHUR KEITH, President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. CHARLES DAWSON read a paper on "Sussex Ouse Valley Cultures," illustrated by lantern slides.

The paper was discussed by Mr. REID MOIR, Mr. HAZZLEDINE WARREN, Mr. GRIST, and Mr. BARNES.

The thanks of the meeting were returned to the lecturer, and the Institute then adjourned.

*May 18th, 1915.*

Ordinary Meeting. Professor ARTHUR KEITH, President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. J. O. KINNAMAN, who had arranged to deliver a lecture entitled "Who were the Cliff Dwellers," unfortunately failed to attend.

The PRESIDENT gave an account of contemporary work in America as observed by him in his recent tour.

Discussion followed, in which Dr. A. P. MAUDSLAY and Professor THANE took part.

A hearty vote of thanks to the President was passed unanimously, and the Institute then adjourned.

*November 2nd, 1915.*

Ordinary Meeting. Sir C. HERCULES READ, Past President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. H. J. E. PEAKE read his paper entitled "The First Siege of Troy," dealing with the destruction of Hissarlik II., and certain movements of peoples in Europe and the near East. The paper was illustrated by lantern slides. The paper was discussed by Professor FLINDERS PETRIE, Professor ELLIOT SMITH, and the CHAIRMAN. Mr. PEAKE replied. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Peake for his very interesting paper.

Mr. MILLER CHRISTY exhibited a curious sandstone object found in a Bronze Age interment in Essex.

The Institute adjourned till November 16th.



*November 16th, 1915.*

Ordinary Meeting. Professor ARTHUR KEITH, President, in the chair.

Professor H. J. FLEURE read a paper written by himself and Dr. J. C. JAMES on "The Welsh People: An Anthropological Analysis," illustrated by lantern slides.

The paper was discussed by the PRESIDENT, Sir HENRY HOWORTH, Mr. A. C. LEWIS, Mr. H. J. E. PEAKE, and Dr. J. S. MACKINTOSH.

The hearty thanks of the Institute were accorded to Professor Fleure for his valuable paper.

The Institute then adjourned till December 14th.

*December 14th, 1915.*

Ordinary Meeting. Professor ARTHUR KEITH, President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. J. REID MOIR read a paper entitled "The Evolution of the Earliest Palæoliths from the Rostro-Carinate Implements," illustrated by lantern slides.

The paper was discussed by Mr. REGINALD SMITH, Mr. HENRY BALFOUR, Mr. A. S. KENNARD, Sir EDWIN RAY LANKESTER, Mr. H. E. HAYWARD and Mr. A. S. BARNES. Mr. REID MOIR replied. Major MARRIOTT exhibited an implement found on Dartmoor.

The hearty thanks of the Institute were accorded to Mr. Reid Moir, and the Institute adjourned until the Annual General Meeting, January 18th, 1916.

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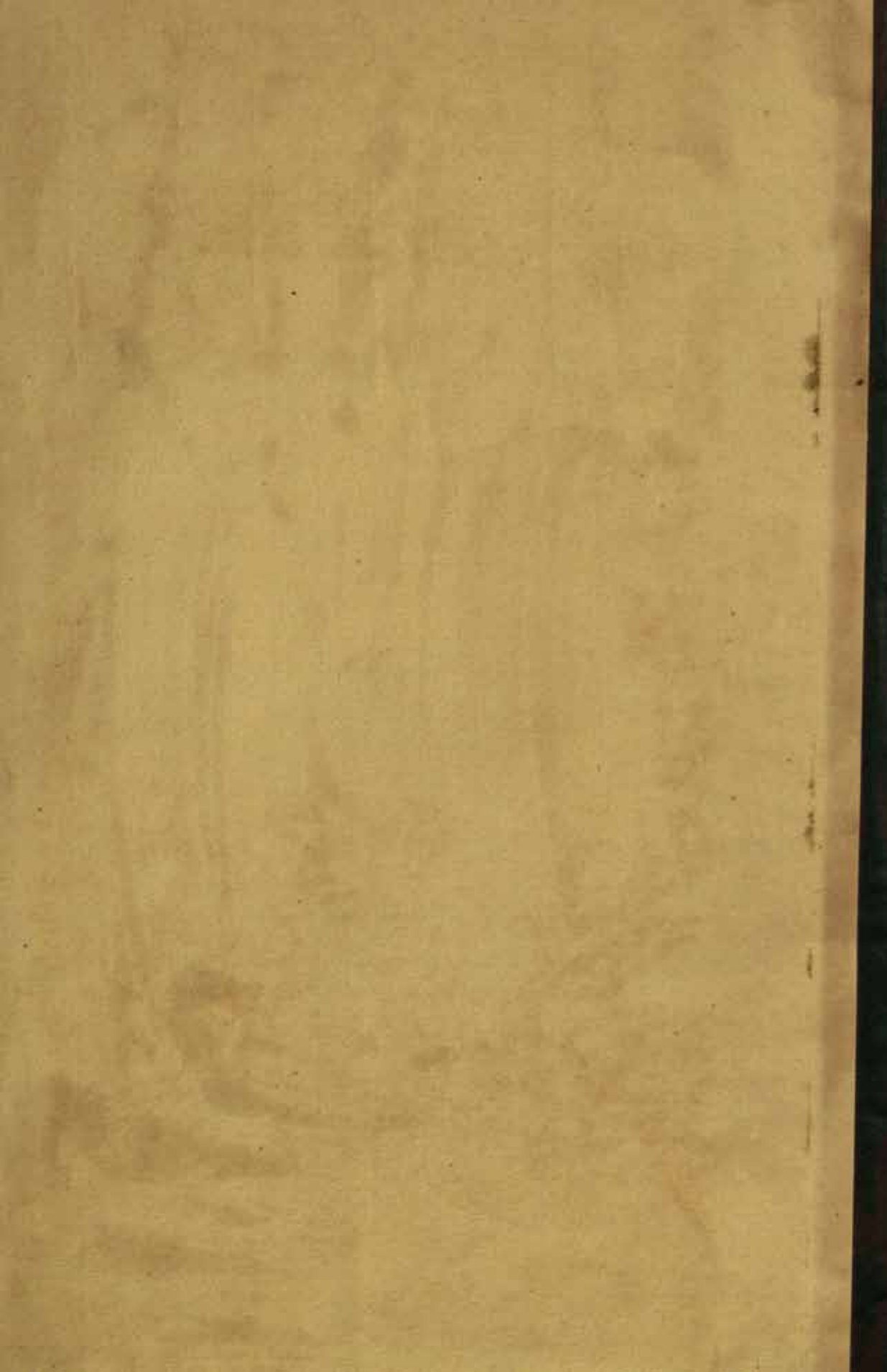
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