

# african notes



## FEATURES

IGALA POLITICAL  
ORGANISATION

REPORT ON LAND  
USE PATTERNS IN  
IBADAN DIVISION

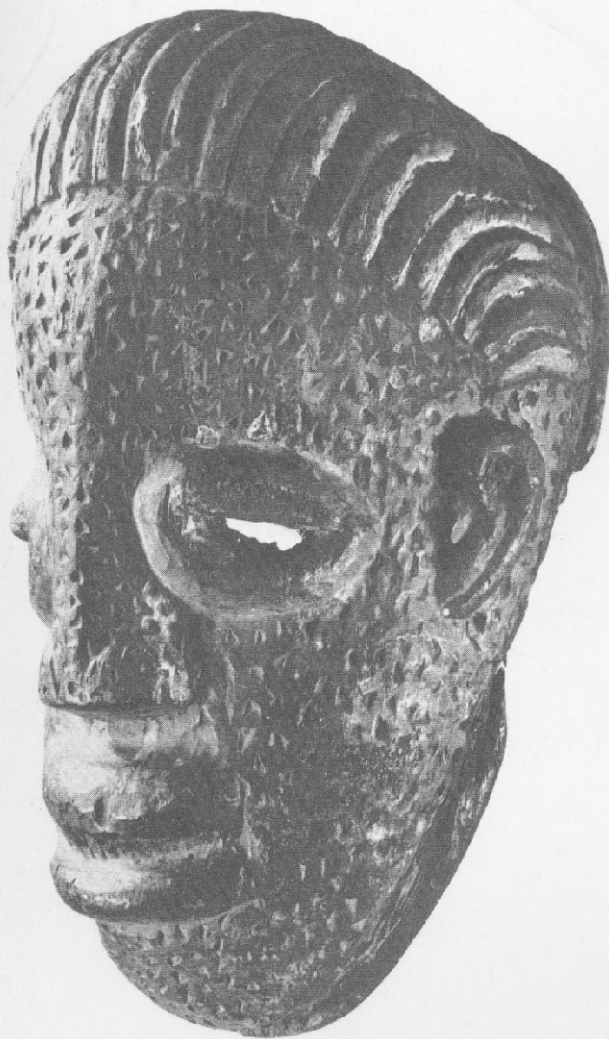
NOTES ON BRASSWORK  
OF EASTERN NIGERIA

TIV DANCE: A FIRST  
ASSESSMENT

**INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN - NIGERIA**

VOLUME 4  
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A F R I C A N   N O T E S

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University of Ibadan

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Cover

Egungun Mask in the University Collection.  
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INSTITUTE RESEARCH REPORTS

AN INVESTIGATION OF LAND USE PATTERNS IN THE FOREST LAND OF  
IBADAN DIVISION WITH THE AID OF AIR PHOTOGRAPHS

by J. O. Oyelese

Introduction

The previous report on the Land Use Survey Project enumerated the aims of the Project and discussed the plan to carry out a Pilot Study in Ibadan Division.<sup>1</sup> It was mentioned in the report that the Sub-Committee set up by the Institute had noted among other things that there is a substantial knowledge available about the physical, economic and social factors conditioning the existing land for agricultural purposes. What is sadly lacking is the basic information about the patterns of existing Land Use itself.

Furthermore, it was recommended that the most suitable technique, in terms of coverage and speed, for the study of Land Use patterns is with aerial photographs. This technique has, however, not been adequately tested under Nigerian conditions. The pilot survey is therefore aimed at testing the technique in order to provide a firmer basis for its application to Land Use studies in Nigeria.

The plan of the Survey

The plan to carry out the pilot survey within the forest land of Ibadan Division was based on the recommendation of the Sub-Committee on the determination of land use zones. It was recommended that vegetation, parent soils and population density be used as major factors in delimiting land use zones, and Ibadan Division was selected to test the recommendation.

Ibadan Division covers an area of approximately 2,221 square miles. This area can be divided into the forest land (which covers about half of the division) and the savanna land. Almost half of the forest land is occupied by the Ijaiye forest reserve in the north-west and the Onigambari forest reserve in the south. The distribution of population density within the forest and savanna lands shows that the majority of the people in the Division live in the forest zone. The difference between the soils of the forest land and the savanna land is not great and as much this factor has been neglected in determining the land use zones. It was, therefore, on the basis of vegetation cover and population density that Ibadan Division was constituted into forest land and savanna land.

The part of the forest land which is not occupied by forest reserve has been very extensively cultivated, and the main crops are tree crops such as cocoa, kolanuts and oranges. The cultivation of food crops predominates in areas which are not very suitable for tree crops cultivation, although patches of food crops cultivation are also found within the area of tree crops cultivation. Within the forest land, there are occurrences of open areas with savanna vegetation. Such areas were originally occupied by poor forest but have degenerated into savanna probably as a result of over-cultivation.

The pilot survey could not take the form of a complete enumeration of the land use types for the following reasons:-  
(i) There are no base maps drawn on a suitable scale, covering

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1. African Notes, Vol. 2, No. 3; April 1965; pp. 3-6.

Ibadan Division. (ii) There is no recent air photographs coverage of the area, and the scale of the available Canadian air photographs coverage of 1963 is unsuitable. (iii) It was not possible to fly air photographs for the purpose of the survey due to high cost. (iv) A complete coverage of the area would cost much and the result might not justify such expenses. The work, therefore, had to take the form of a sampling survey.

A plan for this pilot survey based on a random sampling technique was discussed in a previous report<sup>2</sup> but the original procedure was modified quite considerably when the actual survey was carried out. In the original plan the survey was to take the form of a stratified two-stage sampling survey. The basis for stratification was to be the density of the dominant crop which is cocoa. The basis for stratification assumes that there is accurate information on the distribution of cocoa cultivation within the area to be surveyed. Since this was found not to be the case, it was felt that the basis should be modified.

In the present survey, the stratification is based on distance from Ibadan. Ibadan city is regarded as the hub of the agricultural and economic activities of the division. It could be safely assumed, therefore, that the uses to which the land is put will vary according to the distance from Ibadan and these should form recognisable patterns. The strata were made up of concentric circles approximately 4 miles in radius and drawn with Ibadan as the centre. There were five such rings drawn.

#### The Selection of Sample Units

The area covered by these concentric rings was divided into squares with each square covering an area of about 2.5 miles square. Each of the squares constitute a sample unit. The area of land under cultivation, excluding the area covered by forest reserves, within each stratum was calculated and sample units corresponding to 10 per cent of the area calculated were then selected. During the selection, if a sample unit falls on a forest reserve, it is rejected and another one is selected. The first stratum was wholly occupied by Ibadan and its immediate environ. This stratum was excluded from this survey but it will be studied at a later date. The distribution of the sample units within the remaining four strata is as follows:-

<u>STRATUM</u>	<u>SAMPLE UNITS</u>
II	4
III	11
IV	13
V	<u>12</u>
Total	40

There are many villages located within each of the sample units. The central village within each of the sample unit was, however, selected as the focus of the unit. (Fig. 1)

#### The Scope of the Survey

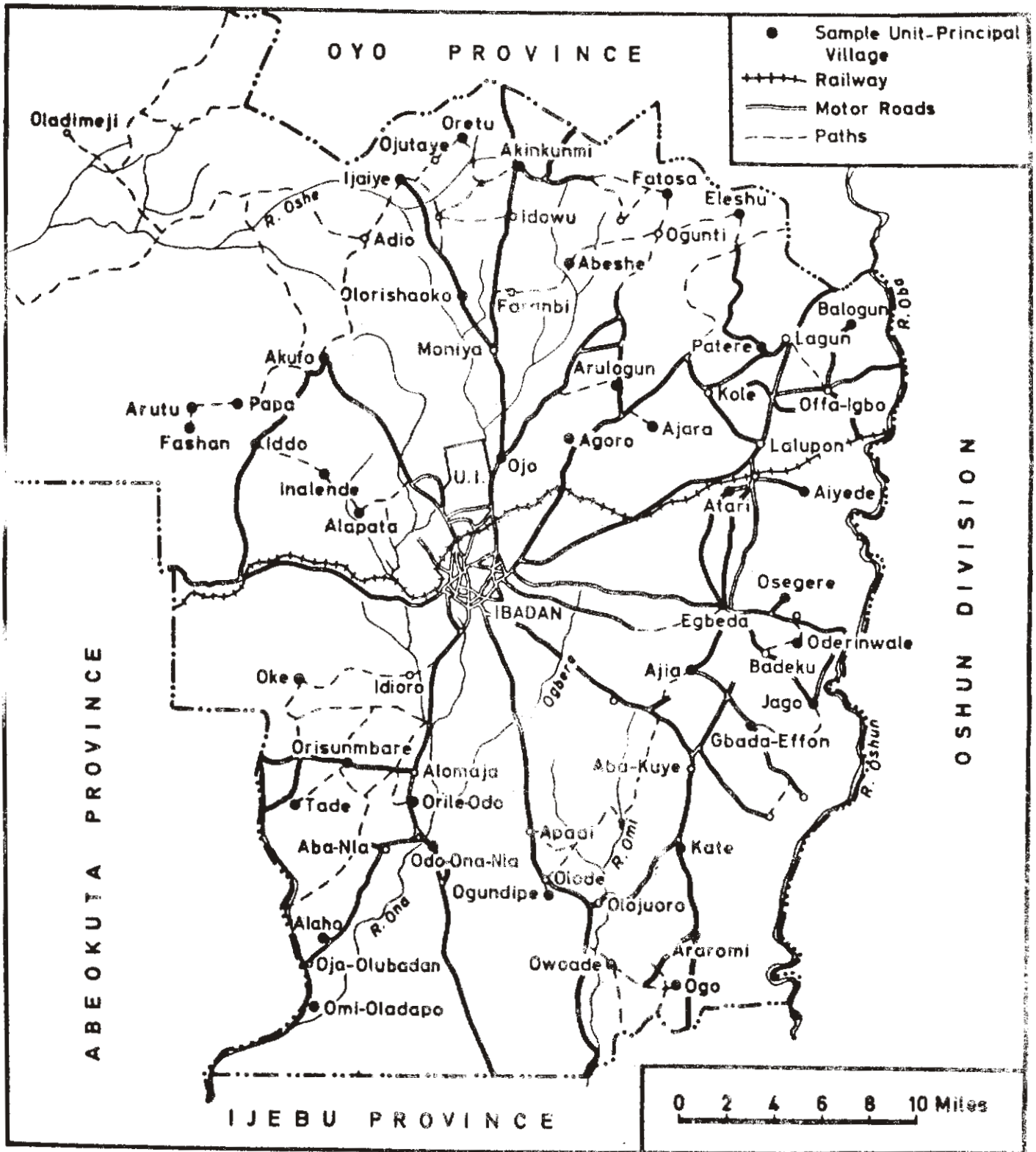
The air photographs coverage of the selected sample units were obtained and by using them an attempt was to be made to arrive at a classification that would be applicable to the whole forest land. In order to achieve this the survey was planned to

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2. African Notes, Vol. 2, No. 3, April 1965, pp. 14, 5

# LAND USE SURVEY-IBADAN DIVISION

## LOCATION OF SAMPLE UNITS





include the following: (a) tracing of the boundaries of the various patterns recognisable on the photographs, (b) checking on the field the accuracy of the boundaries traced and what land use types the different patterns represent, (c) correction of boundaries and the compilation of land use classes, (d) re-checking on the field of the patterns and their mapping. In addition to the above the field workers were to study the land use patterns around the central villages and determine the boundaries of the land exclusively cultivated by the villagers.

The survey was expected to be completed within a week during the month of August, 1966. It was decided that twenty-four students of the University of Ibadan be employed as field workers. The arguments for the employment of students were that (i) they would be easier to train, (ii) they would produce more accurate work at a faster rate because of their background and (iii) they would benefit from the field experience.

The Method of Survey

The possibility of flying air photographs to cover the area selected as sample units was investigated. It was discovered that such an exercise would cost a few thousand pounds and the idea was abandoned. The only air photographs coverage of the area to be surveyed, which is comparatively recent is the Canadian Aerial Photographs flown in 1963. These air photographs are, on scale 1: 40,000, a scale which is unsuitable for the study of land use patterns in the field. The air photographs were therefore enlarged to scale 1: 10,000.

The twenty-four students employed were divided into six equal groups and they were assigned to work on sample units situated along the same route. The distribution of the sample units as indicated by the central villages and also the air photographs reference number are as follows:-

GROUP	DIRECTION FROM IBADAN	SAMPLE UNIT CENTRAL VILLAGE	AIR PHOTOGRAPH REFERENCE
I	NORTH-EAST	Agoro	C - N75 - 56
		Arulogun	C - N75 - 56
		Ajara	C - N75 - 56
		Tatosa	C - N93 - 6
		Eleshu	C - N93 - 6
		Balogun	C - N105 - 139
		Apatere	C - N105 - 141
II	SOUTH-EAST	Ogundipe	C - N73 - 162
		Kate	C - N103 - 6
		Owoade	C - N73 - 155
		Ogo	C - N73 - 155
		Araromi	C - N73 - 156
		Ghada	C - N103 - 68
		Ajia	C - N103 - 75
III	EAST	Kupalo-Jago	C - N103 - 77
		Atari	C - N74 - 152
		Aiyede/Owobale	C - N75 - 60
		Egbeda	C - N100 - 7
		Osegore	C - N100 - 8
		Oderinwale	C - N100 - 8
IV	NORTH	Ojo	C - N75 - 54
		Olorishaoko	C - N89 - 193
		Ijaiye	C - N89 - 193
		Akukunmi	C - N89 - 194

GROUP	DIRECTION FROM IBADAN	SAMPLE UNIT CENTRAL VILLAGE	AIR PHOTOGRAPH REFERENCE
V	SOUTH	Odo Ona Nla	C - N74 - 50
		Orile Odo	C - N74 - 50
		Omi Ladapo	C - N73 - 166
		Alaho	C - N73 - 166
		Orisumbare	C - N74 - 49
		Tade	C - N74 - 49
		Oke	C - N74 - 49
VI	WEST	Inalende	C - N75 - 51
		Alapata	C - N75 - 51
		Papa	C - N75 - 49
		Arutu	C - N75 - 49
		Fasan	C - N75 - 50
		Akufe	C - N75 - 50
		Iddo	C - N75 - 50

The relevant photographs on which the sample units are located were given to the groups. It should be noted that the photographs covered much wider areas than each sample unit and more than one sample unit is sometimes located on a single photograph. The recognisable patterns within each sample unit were traced out in the laboratory and this was completed in two days.

After the patterns had been traced out the students went into the field to find out what the different shades on the photographs represent on the ground in terms of land use types. The different groups spent three days in the field after which they returned to the laboratory to compare their results. The points of disagreement were considered and the groups went back into the field to apply and test the land use classes agreed upon. In addition to this, each group carried out a survey within half a mile radius of each village to determine the boundary of the area cultivated exclusively by the villagers.

#### The Field Reports

The field reports submitted by each of the groups included the following main points:- (a) General difficulties encountered on the field (b) Comments on air photographs, (c) Interpretation of the land use patterns.

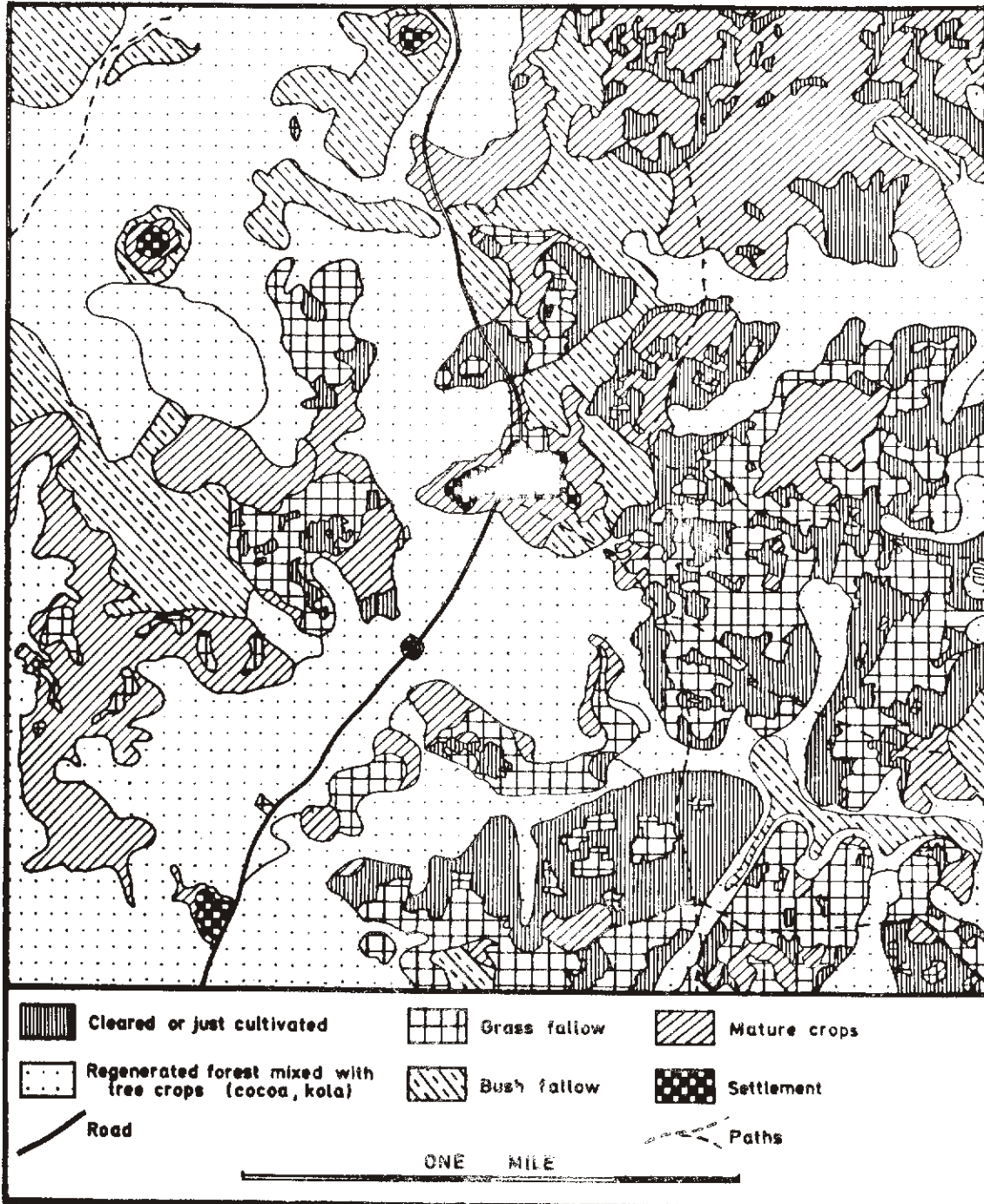
##### (a) General Difficulties

The field workers were instructed to acquaint themselves with the farmers in the villages within their sample units especially those in the central villages. This would give the farmers the opportunity to know what the field work is about and so ensure their co-operation. Some of the field workers, however, reported that they had difficulties with some villages.

It was not easy to trace some of the villages because of the inaccuracies in the place names shown on the available base maps. There was a glaring example reported by the field workers in the north-east, where Abeshe village could not be traced and Ogunranti village had to be substituted. There was also a case in the west where the village was located but the name had changed from Alapata to Onide.

Difficulties in transportation were also reported. There are very few good roads and some of the paths shown on the maps are wrong and misleading.

LAND USE PATTERN  
NEAR OWOBALE, IBADAN EAST



(b) The Air Photographs

The poor quality of the air photographs was generally commented on by the field workers. The field workers in the north particularly complained that several features on the photographs appear blurred and cannot be accurately identified. The date of the photographs which was three years earlier than the date of the survey was a set back. In areas where field crops are cultivated the field workers had to depend on what the farmers told them about previous cultivation. Unfortunately some of the farmers cannot give accurate description of the crops grown on the farms when the photographs were taken.

(c) The Interpretation of the Land Use Patterns

The field workers were instructed to check on the field the shade on the photographs that represent the following features:- (a) forest, (b) tree crops, (c) fallows, (d) field crops, (e) other features, e.g. rock outcrops and clearings. The reports of the groups showed considerable differences in the interpretation given to the shades recognised on the photographs. This is not unexpected since the shadings on the photographs depend on many factors such as the time of the day during which the photographs were taken, the condition of weather at the time and the angle at which the camera is focused as affected by the movement of the air-craft. The main shadings observable in the photographs were listed as (i) very dark, (ii) dark, (iii) greyish or whitish, and (iv) mixture of dark and grey.

The areas occupied by very dark shades were recognised by the groups working in the north and the south as forest reserves. In such areas outlines of the top of trees are easily recognised and towards the edges of such areas an idea of the height of these trees is given by comparison with the lower forest adjacent to them. The areas were identified as the Ijaiye forest reserve in the north and the Onigambari forest reserve in the south.

The dark shade was associated with the lower forest cover, especially in areas where outlines of trees were visible. A second category of dark shade was associated with cultivated areas. The group that worked in the east noted a lighter shade within the dark shades.

The areas with greyish or whitish and those with mixture of dark and grey were associated with fallow and field crops cultivation by all the groups. There was however much contradiction as to which of the shades represent crops and which of them represent fallow or cleared land.

In the case of forested areas, only forest reserves were recognised with any degree of certainty. The groups found it very difficult to differentiate between low forest and tree crops on the photographs. Those who worked in the south-east and the east, observed that areas which appeared like continuous coverage of forest were in several places tree crops farms with isolated trees. In the east, the areas around Osegere and Jago (within the dark shaded areas) were found to be lighter in shade, and on investigation an almost continuous coverage of cocoa farms was discovered.

The distinction between tree crops areas and bush fallow was also found difficult especially in areas where the tree crops are young. There are several areas, however, where the bush fallow can be clearly identified. None of the groups associated the occurrence of palm trees which are easily recognisable in the photographs with the types of land use.

The field crops areas are easily recognised in the photograph but the main difficulty is how to determine from the mosaic

presented the areas actually under crops as distinct from the areas under preparation or areas under grass fallow. The group which worked in the south-east concluded that the smooth dark shade is likely to be freshly cultivated areas while those who worked on the east recognised it as areas covered with mature crops. The group that worked in the north suggested that it must represent either areas cultivated with young crops or areas newly cleared or burnt or land under fallow. The west group concluded that such areas are cassava farms.

The interpretation given to the grey or whitish shades ranged from clearings in which crops are already growing to areas under grass fallow. In two particular cases, the greyish shade was identified as open swamp (western group) and as football field (eastern group).

The confusion in the interpretation of the different shades could be due to the reflection of the surface area during the time of photography and the dependence of the field workers on the information given by the farmers. It is quite possible for an area with identical land use types to have different shades on photographs. The differences could however, be reconciled if the photographs were recent but in the case of the present survey the photographs are over three years old.

The types of land use in the field crops areas were observed to be very dynamic, especially with relation to cultivated areas and fallow. It was noticed, however, that the field boundaries which were photographed in 1963 were essentially the same as those observed on the field in 1966.

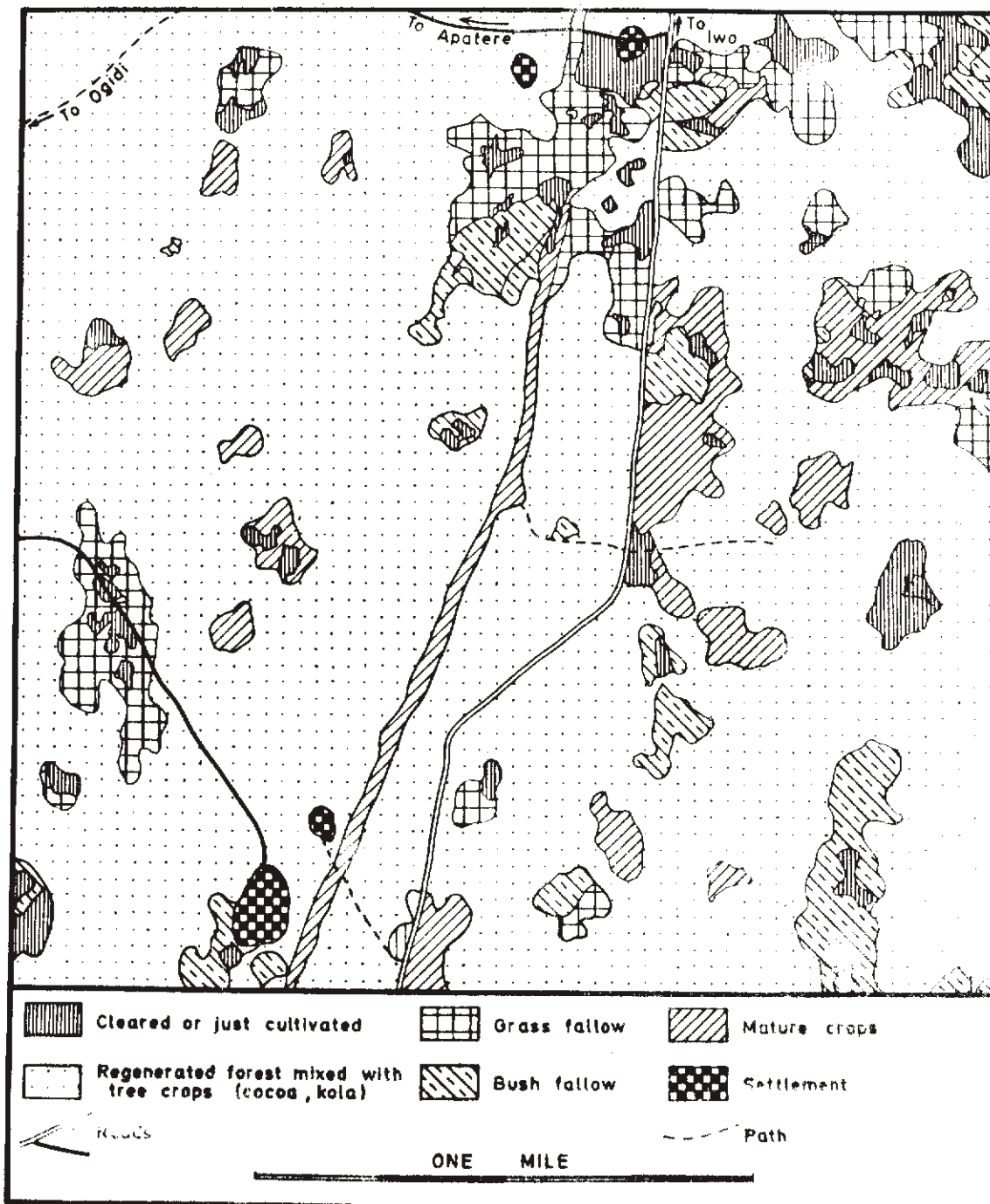
#### Deductions from Field Checks

The contradictions and the difficulties noted by the field workers in their reports were investigated on the field by the Research Fellow. The methods used by the field workers were adopted and the interpretation of the different shades were based on the oral information given by farmers. These were supplemented by the investigation of the crop residuals on the field where possible.

The identification of tree crops on the photographs was found very difficult. It was discovered in the field that what looked like a continuous forest cover in the photographs was mixed with cocoa and kolanut trees. The idea of using a few determinants in identifying areas of tree crops cultivation was tried. The determinants tried were: (i) occurrence of tall trees irregularly spaced; (ii) density of palm trees; (iii) the occurrence of dark grey shades and (iv) absence of tall trees in areas with vegetation apparently of the same height. The areas with (i) were found to be occupied with tree crops in some cases but in other cases they were not. It was assumed that areas with moderate to low density of palm trees and with visible forest vegetation under them are likely to be tree crops farms. Ground checks, however revealed that such areas could be re-generated forests. The third determinant which is the occurrence of dark grey colour was found inconclusive since such areas in the west are not associated with tree crops. The absence of tall trees in areas with uniform vegetation was also verified and no acceptable generalisation was arrived at.

In spite of the difficulties, it was possible to establish a generalised classification and this was tested in two different areas. In the first area near Lagun town, it was possible to recognise (i) forest areas with distinct tall trees and a few visible palm trees, (ii) forest areas having a general level and

# LAND USE PATTERN NEAR LAGUN, IBADAN NORTH EAST



mixed with tall palm trees, (iii) low forest areas mixed with many palm trees. The ground checks carried out in the area and verified in a few other areas showed that the first two groups are inter-mixed with tree crops farms. It was also discovered that the tree crops occupy more land than forest areas in most cases. The low forest areas mixed with palm trees were found to be bush fallow.

The area of predominately field crops cultivation in the east, the north and the western sides were also investigated. It was concluded after careful investigation that the areas which appear dark were probably freshly cleared lands in 1963. This conclusion was arrived at from the information given by the farmers and the Research Fellow's knowledge of the cultivation system in the area. A piece of farm in the area is cultivated for about two years before cassava which is usually the last crop is planted. Mature cassava crops were found on some of the farms which appear dark in 1963. This discovery coupled with the information received from the farmers led to the conclusion that the dark shade represents cleared land at the time the photographs were taken. Some areas have dark shade with white patches and such areas were discovered to be new farms with young crops.

The interpretation of the grey whitish shade was more difficult since it could represent either mature crop coverage or grass fallow. Field observations, however revealed that in the case of grass fallows the greyish or whitish shade was uniform and complete. In the case of mature crops, however, a few dark patches are, clearly visible. The deductions were tested in the second area near Owobale village and they were found to be applicable. (Figs. 2 and 3).

Conclusion

The purpose of the pilot survey is to test the suitability of the air photograph technique in the land use survey under Nigerian condition. There are three major considerations in determining the success or failure of this technique with respect to the pilot survey and these are (i) the length of time taken on the survey, (ii) the cost of the survey and (iii) the applicability of the classification arrived at to the whole area.

It has been stated that the survey took approximately a week with each of the field workers working approximately seven hours a day. This means that the twenty-four field workers have spent a total of about 950 man-hours (if Saturday which is half day is allowed) to map an area which is approximately 100 square miles. It should be remembered, however that the greater part of the time was spent on arriving at a valid land use classification. After a classification has been arrived at, it is estimated that the mapping of the land use patterns of the forest land covering over a thousand square miles should take less than 300 man-hour.

The approximate cost of the survey could be given as follows: (The actual cost cannot be given because the survey by air photographs was associated with a questionnaire survey.)

(i)	25 prints of air photographs at £4	£100. 0. 0
(ii)	24 students for 7 days at £30 per month	148. 0. 0
(iii)	Stationery	<u>2. 0. 0</u>
	Total	<u>£250. 0. 0</u>

Nevertheless, the cost could have been less, if field workers who were not students had been employed. The Research Fellow discovered that a Grade II teacher could be employed at

10 shillings per day instead of the one pound paid to a student. It should also be noted that the students were paid in full for Saturday when they worked half day and for Sunday when no work was done. The cost of air photographs was very high because the photographs had to be printed in Canada. Probably they could have cost less if they were printed in Nigeria. With all these considerations it could be deduced that the cost of the survey should have been less than £200.

It was pointed out that the ideal plan for this pilot survey should have been to fly air photographs to cover at least the sample units. This could have eliminated the limitations imposed on the survey by the scale and the date of the air photographs used. In spite of the date and scale of the air photographs and the poor quality of the enlarged copies, however, the survey has established a few facts:-

- (1) That it is possible to map with some degree of accuracy the land use patterns from photographs flown under Nigerian condition.
- (2) That it is difficult to differentiate tree crops from forest.
- (3) That the areas of field crops can be mapped and measured from air photographs with some certain degree of accuracy.
- (4) That the general pattern of land use changes very slowly within the forest area.

The classification of land use types arrived at as a result of the survey is as follows:- (1) Forest (2) Regenerated forest mixed with tree crops (cocoa, kola, orange), (3) Grass fallow (4) Bush fallow (5) Mature crop.

#### PRELIMINARY NOTES ON BRASSWORK OF EASTERN NIGERIA

by F. I. Ekejiuba

During my field work in areas which, up to the end of nineteenth century, came under Aro influence, I have come across some brass objects, a few of which are similar to those described by Robin Horton.<sup>1</sup> This article describes some of these objects and collates some traditions of their origin. The similarity of the brass objects in the Eastern Nigeria hinterland to those in the Delta may not be entirely fortuitous in view of the intimate link, through Aro traders, between the Delta people and those of the hinterland.

Common among these brass objects are bells of different sizes and shapes most of which were made locally. These bells are of considerable significance during the annual rites when all Aro freeborn go to pay their homage and perform sacrifices at the ancestral house of their leading hero, at Uguwakuma with the Eze Otusi Officiating. As they go up to the ancestral house Awada Akuma Nnubi - almost every elder carries with him a locally made iron gong-ogene consisting of two bells, without clappers, parallel to each other and connected by an unshaped iron bar which also serves as a handle. These elders are preceded by boys many of whom carry bells of considerable weight, often an imported ship's bell, strung over their shoulders by a long strip

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1. Robin Horton: "Notes on recent finds of Brasswork in the Niger Delta", Odu 2, 1, July 1965, p. 32.



of cloth so that it hangs below their buttocks. Thus at every step the boys take the bell rings without further effort on their part. Such big bells are few and are collectively owned by wards. Component families and compounds of a ward own and carry smaller bells which are said to have been cast locally by Abiriba smiths. The sound of the bells serve to warn any non-Amadi off the road during the Otusi ceremony at Ugwuakuma.

These bells are ordinarily kept at the shrine of the ancestors or at that of Inyamavia; a goddess responsible for successful trading ventures, whose representation is found in almost every important Aro compound. One of these which I recovered from a dilapidated ancestral shrine and which I was allowed to keep is a bell 8" high and about 5" in diameter at the base. It splays gently outwards from top to base, has a strap handle and is encrusted with designs of concentric coils and herring-bone patterns. Another bell of almost the same design was excavated in one of the Aro settlements 20 miles north east of Awka and is to be found in the Department of Archaeology, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Aro traditions also speak of Abiriba making bracelets, ornaments and various objects with brass. Some of these objects are products of simple beating and twisting but a few others, like the bells, show evidence of casting. Among the latter are brass keys and rattles roughly finished which people wear suspended on their wrists or ankles. An old smoking pipe had both the bowl and stem embossed with bright metal ornament with rude but artistic carvings of animals. One bracelet had carvings of tortoise on it while others have bands of simple coils encrusted on them. "King-size" manilas used especially for burial of wealthy traders, said to have been cast and embellished with figures of snakes, lizards, leopard and other animals by Abiriba craftsmen were dug up when the foundation of a house was being laid at Ndiowu, an Aro settlement. A number of old staffs used as walking sticks in Arochukwu have brass knobs and brass rings fitted at intervals. The brass rings are further embellished with figures of animals and reptiles. The staff of the Eze Aro consists of a carved wooden part about 3' long and with 6 inches of brass ending up with a knob. He says the wood was carved by an Awka man while it was capped with brass by an Abiriba smith. Of the objects made simply by beating and twisting of brass rods are spiral anklets - nja - and bangles which were worn by girls to mark the end of their puberty and their initiation into womanhood.

Of considerable interest is the insignia of office of one of the Aro Chiefs, Eze Ibom, the "warrior Prince of the Ibom Akpa", which is a brass sword. This sword has a long handle and a triangular blade, with the base of the triangle about 4" wide, forming the tip of the sword. The handle of the sword has spirals of brass encrusted on it. I have also come across another sword with a roughly finished blade about 18" long and 4 inches wide at the widest part and made locally after some swords imported in large numbers in the last century. It is part of the hoard at the Inyamavia shrine. The sword was said to be the weapon of the grand-father of the informant and was said to have been made for him at Bende by his Abiriba friend.

The most interesting of the Aro brass objects are a replica of a leopard and a crocodile, beautifully ornamented, which together with five other ivory and wood carvings of skulls of dogs, leopard and human head make up the seven sacred cult objects, collectively called Otusi, which are associated with the shrine of the head of the Aro heroes and his ancestors. The leopard and the crocodile are "royal" totems while dogs

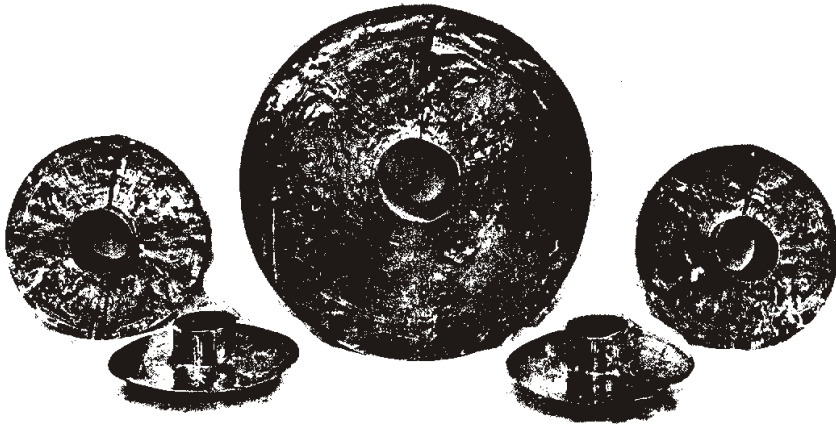
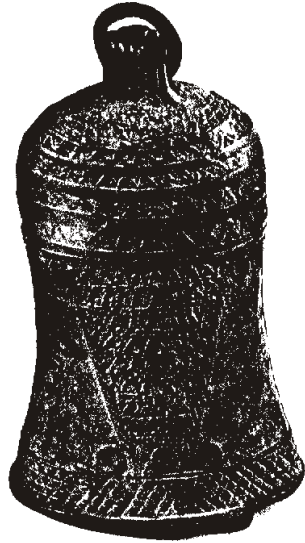
are of particular significance to this section of the Aros who are said to have combined hunting with some agriculture in the region from which they migrated to Arochukwu. The custodian is the high priest - Eze Otusi - who lives the life of a semi-hermit and who in the Aro traditional system held the highest ritual and legislative powers. In keeping with Aro love for secrecy, the whereabouts of those objects is known only to a very select group who are not only agnatically related to the hero but who must live an ascetic life and observe rigidly the set of taboos associated with the Otusi. Sacrifices are offered to the Otusi by the High Priest from time to time; but the major sacrifice takes place once a year. At this time all freeborn, Amadi, from all sections of the Arochukwu go up to the ancestral house to pay their homage to the hero and his ancestors. Even on this occasion these cult objects are never brought out; rather less sacred objects are sacrificed to.

It is in the presence of these less sacred objects at the ancestral house that the Aro renew the history of the foundations of their town of Arochukwu. Here they also assert and prove their claims to various titles of birth.

There is happily some corroboration between Aro traditions as to where these brass objects came from and the scanty documentary record on the subject. It is pertinent to quote some of the references here. The earliest reference to brass work in Eastern Nigeria is that by Baikie. He described the Aro people as "skilful artisans who manufacture swords, bells, metallic ornaments, specimens of all of which I have seen and can therefore testify to their being very neatly finished".<sup>1</sup> Now there is no reference in Aro tradition to Aro smiths, brass workers or other craftsmen and we can dismiss the idea that the objects Baikie referred to were made by the Aro. The Aro were carriers of articles of trade, both local and imported but did not make any of these. More illuminating is the reference in the account of A. G. Leonard and F. S. James of their journey in 1896 from Opobo to Bende. Leonard wrote: "So far as we had come, the people .... seemed to be well under the control of their chiefs who when they require silence .... send round a herald with a tom-tom .... of various kinds, from a wooden drum to a Brummagem handbell. One curious specimen of the Brummagem bell was composed of a piece of hollow metal, richly ornamented, that had been made in Abiriba, a town in the interior beyond Bende whose inhabitants consist of nothing but black smiths who do all the work in brass and iron for a very great distance around. Since we had started I had noticed several instances of their handicraft in brass keys.... in rings of brass and steel.... also in long sticks to which are fitted brass rings at intervals of four to six inches apart - sticks that seem to be greatly in vogue in all the towns through which we have passed. There are also smoking pipes.... the bowl and stem.... is embossed with bright britannia metal carved rudely but artistically on a systematic design that I am told was also made at Abiriba."<sup>2</sup>

The above quotation which is corroborated by several accounts of various missionaries of the United Presbyterian Church from 1852 to 1918 gives conclusive evidence and agrees with the Aro tradition that most of the Eastern Nigeria brass

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1. W. B. Baikie - Narrative of an Exploring Voyage London 1854, p. 310.
  2. Major A. G. Leonard, "Notes on a journey to Bende" The Journal of the Manchester Geog. Soc. Vol. 14, 1898, p. 196. The observation was made at Umuopara, a town ten miles North West of Aba.



work - cult objects, personal ornaments etc. - were made by Abiriba smiths. These objects in brass like those made of wood and iron were not mass produced but were cast to specification on order from individuals or groups of individuals. Abiriba smiths like their Awka counterparts were to be seen in many villages of Eastern Nigeria up till the end of the nineteenth century. The largest cluster of Abiriba smiths in the nineteenth century however, was to be seen at the monthly fairs and inter-group markets of the hinterland of which there were a number during this period. These flourished under the patronage of Aro traders who supplied the economic mainstay of the markets-seaborne manufactured goods and slaves among others. The most notable of these fairs up till 1896 was Bende, a big slave mart, the commercial emporium of Eastern Nigeria and a flourishing industrial centre. Even in 1910 Dodd noted that people came to the Uzuakoli fair - which had, from 1897 wrested from Bende its former importance - from as far west as Onitsha, as far north as Ogurugu and Akpoto and as far south as Bonny. Apart from the Aro specialist trading groups there were "wood carvers from Awka who carved several items of household and ritual furniture; blacksmiths from Awka, Abiriba, Nkwere who repaired guns and used local deposits and iron imported in the form of bars and rods to make guns and other iron implements; ivory workers in skin; copper and brass workers who work with brass and copper rods making bells, bangles and anklets". The Aro traders brought, among others, trade goods "head-loads of iron bars, copper and brass rods for sale to the blacksmiths and brass workers".<sup>1</sup>

Sir Ralph Moor in his report on Trade and Currency in Eastern Nigeria confirmed that manillas, copper and brass rods, which up till the first decade of the present century were widely used as currency, "had other economic values for the manufacture of brass ornaments and objects and for use as ammunition and weapon".<sup>2</sup> He was confident that if further importation of these currencies was prohibited and new coinage introduced, what was left of the old currency would soon be used up by brass workers.<sup>3</sup> It would appear that these currencies were the chief if not the only source of raw material for the brass workers. Manillas, brass and copper rods were imported in large quantities up till the end of the nineteenth centuries and were the trade currency in the Eastern part of Eastern Nigeria in the old Bonny and Calabar hinterlands.

The only reference to copper deposits I have come across is that by Rattray, who described the copper deposits in the Afikpo area but said they were not worked by the natives. In addition to brass rods, many brass objects were also imported, during the centuries of Trans-Atlantic trade in which the Aro actively participated. These imported brass objects consisted largely of "little brass bells" and basins.<sup>4</sup> Even now brass and pewter basins of different ages, sizes and shapes may be seen in many old Aro houses. Some of these basins have been

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1. A. J. Fox Uzuakoli, A short History "Notes on Early Days" by Rev. F. W. Dodds, (OUP. 1964), p. 94.
  2. Dr. Rattaray: United Presbyterian Missionary Record "Visit to Edda", May 1899, p. 281.
  3. Co. 520/12, Moor to F.O. 7th July, 1901.
  4. Mary Kingsley: West African Studies, (London 1899), p. 356.

further decorated locally by means of large headed nails and stones used to hammer fantastic designs on them, a hobby which Efik women specialized in.

It is clear from the above that many of the brass objects in the Eastern part of Eastern Nigeria were made by Abiriba craftsmen using mostly brass imported in the form of brass rods, copper rods and manillas. In view of the long trade link between the Delta and the hinterland it might be fruitful to look to this source for the origin of some of the Delta brass objects. Further enquiry among the Abiriba people may reveal for instance the method used for casting the objects, other sources of raw material if any, and what is left of the brass workers.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The writer has already started making these inquiries. A more detailed paper on Brasswork of Eastern Nigeria will be published at a later date.

I N S T I T U T E   N E W S

LECTURES, SEMINARS, CONFERENCES

LECTURES

In its efforts to encourage African studies in the University, the Institute organised and sponsored the following public lectures during the second and third terms of this session.

African Studies in Germany Today

Professor Eiko Haberland, Director, Institute of Ethnology, University of Mainz, Germany.

Part of the text of this lecture which was delivered on 31st October 1966 is reproduced on page 35 of this issue.

Admission Policies and Practices in Nigerian and American Universities (26.1.67)

Mr. Max B. Rossetot, Registrar and Associate Professor, Miami University, Ohio, U.S.A.

Muslim Education In West Africa (15.3.67)

Dr. Humphrey Fisher, SOAS, London.

Radio Carbon dates from Nigeria (24.2.67)

Professor Thurstan Shaw, Professor of Archaeology, University of Ibadan.

Excavations at Afikpo 1966 (3.3.67)

Professor Donald Hartle, Professor of Archaeology, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Archaeological Work in Bornu 1965-1966 (21.4.67)

Mr. Graham Connah, Research Fellow, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan.

SEMINARS

The Institute, in collaboration with the Department of History organised a joint staff and postgraduate seminar on Non-written sources from Nigerian History. Topics discussed are:

1. Inferring from Artifacts to people  
Professor Thurstan Shaw, Institute of African Studies.
2. Linguistic Evidence in Historical Reconstruction  
Professor Robert Armstrong, Institute of African Studies.
3. From Village to City-State in the Niger Delta  
Robin Horton, Esq., Institute of African Studies.
4. Oral Tradition and Chronology in the Niger Delta  
Dr. E. J. Alagoa, Institute of African Studies.
5. Some Problems in the Historical uses of Oral Tradition  
Dr. Ruth Murray, Department of Sociology.
6. Oral Tradition and the History of Igala  
Dr. J. Boston, Department of Sociology.
7. Oral Tradition as a Supplement to Documentary Evidence: Yoruba and Dahomey  
Dr. A. Akinjogbin, Institute of African Studies, University of Ife.

8. Problems of Nigerian Art History  
Denis Williams, Esq., Institute of African Studies,  
University of Lagos.
9. Ifa Divination Poems as Sources of Historical Evidence  
Wande Abimbola, Esq., University of Lagos.

In conjunction with the Departments of History and Arabic and Islamic Studies, the Institute sponsored the visit of Dr. Jamil Abun-Nasr to Nigeria. Dr. Abun-Nasr who is a Research Fellow at the Institute of African Studies, Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, conducted a 3-day seminar for 2nd and 3rd year History Honours students on the general theme of Religion and Politics in North Africa. Specific topics discussed were:

1. Religious heresy as an expression of Berber national sentiment: Donatism and Kharijism in the Maghrib.
2. Sufism and the Law in the Maghrib, with special reference to the political role played by the Sufi orders during the colonial period.
3. Islamic fundamentalism and Maghriban nationalism.

#### CONFERENCES

The Institute played host to the Second Conference of West African Archaeologists which was held from 8-10 June 1967 at the University of Ibadan. A number of topics were discussed including that of the necessity for a greater understanding among individuals involved in a scientific advancement. A large part of the conference was given to the question of standardizing Archaeological terminology. Reports were also given on present Archaeological research in Nigeria, Ghana and the Republic of Niger.

Sixteen representatives attended from Nigeria, Ghana, the Republic of Niger, Canada and the United States.

Full report of the conference and a summary of the discussions will appear in the next issue of the West African Archaeological Newsletter.

#### SEVENTH WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES CONGRESS

The Seventh West African Languages Congress met from March 26th - April 1st at the University of Lagos and was attended by over 70 Linguists from Africa, the United States and Europe. The Professor of Linguistics read a paper on Yala (Ikom), A Terraced-Level Language with Three Tones and distributed preliminary copies of a comparative study of Five Igbo Dialects. The Institute assisted the Congress in other ways, including mimeographing of Congress Working Papers, notably the paper of the Benue-Congo Working Group. The Professor of Linguistics was re-elected to the Council of the West African Linguistics Society.

SPECIAL ARTICLES

IGALA POLITICAL ORGANISATION - by John S. Boston

As the map accompanying this paper shows, the Igala live near the confluence of the river Niger and the river Benue and occupy a strategic position in relation to both rivers. Historically the Niger is more important in the history of the kingdom than the Benue. The Igala capital, Idah, has been an important trading centre on the Niger for many centuries, and the Igala have dominated their own section of the river from below the confluence. On the Benue on the other hand the Igala have not been very active, and their settlements do not quite reach the south bank of the river. Today the Igala number about 470,000; the population is distributed fairly evenly throughout the kingdom with concentrations around Idah in the south-west and around Ankpa in the north-east.

The names of surrounding peoples on the map are those of groups with whom the Igala have had important relationships in the past, and this list shows that the Igala have a wide range of contacts, as one would expect from their central position. Culturally the most significant of these external relationships is the link with the Yoruba. There is no direct contact between the Igala and the Yoruba today because they are separated by the river Niger and by the settlements of the Igbirra. But linguistic and other cultural evidence suggests that the Igala and the Yoruba are descended from a common stock. Professor Armstrong has compared the two languages using a basic wordlist of about one hundred words. And he finds that about 60 per cent of Igala and Yoruba words are cognate, which is a high percentage for this kind of comparison. The affinity between the Igala and the Yoruba appears in political organisation as well as in other social institutions. The Igala, like the Yoruba, have a system of sacred kingship and hereditary political offices. Succession to office is controlled by a rotating system of succession in which the major branches of a descent group hold office in turn.

One could expect to find other cultural influences on the Igala system of government since the Igala have at different times been connected politically with Benin and also with the Jukun empire. But Benin and Jukun influences on the system of kingship are not so obvious as the connection with the Yoruba system. So that of the three main phases in the development of Igala kingship, the periods of contact with the Yoruba, the Bini and the Jukun, we must regard the Yoruba phase as being the oldest and at the same time the most important. I stress the linguistic and institutional evidence for relating Igala kingship with the Yoruba system of sacred monarchy because of the confusion that has been created by misinterpretation of Igala oral tradition. The Igala use a highly condensed dynastic genealogy which spans only six generations in its main part. And popular Igala history traces the beginning of the kingdom to the period when the Igala rejected Jukun suzerainty and set up on their own. But Igala oral tradition is concerned as much with the political division of the dynasty into four major branches as it is with history. And it is a mistake to think that one can reconstruct the exact sequence of events in the past from a highly specialised dynastic model in which chronological features are subordinate to political function.

The Igala, like most of the Yoruba, are a patrilineal people. They trace descent in the male line and when a man dies they allocate the property, political offices and other positions of authority that he held to his patrikin. Patrilineal descent defines three important social groupings, the extended family, the lineage and the clan, and we will be dealing with the last

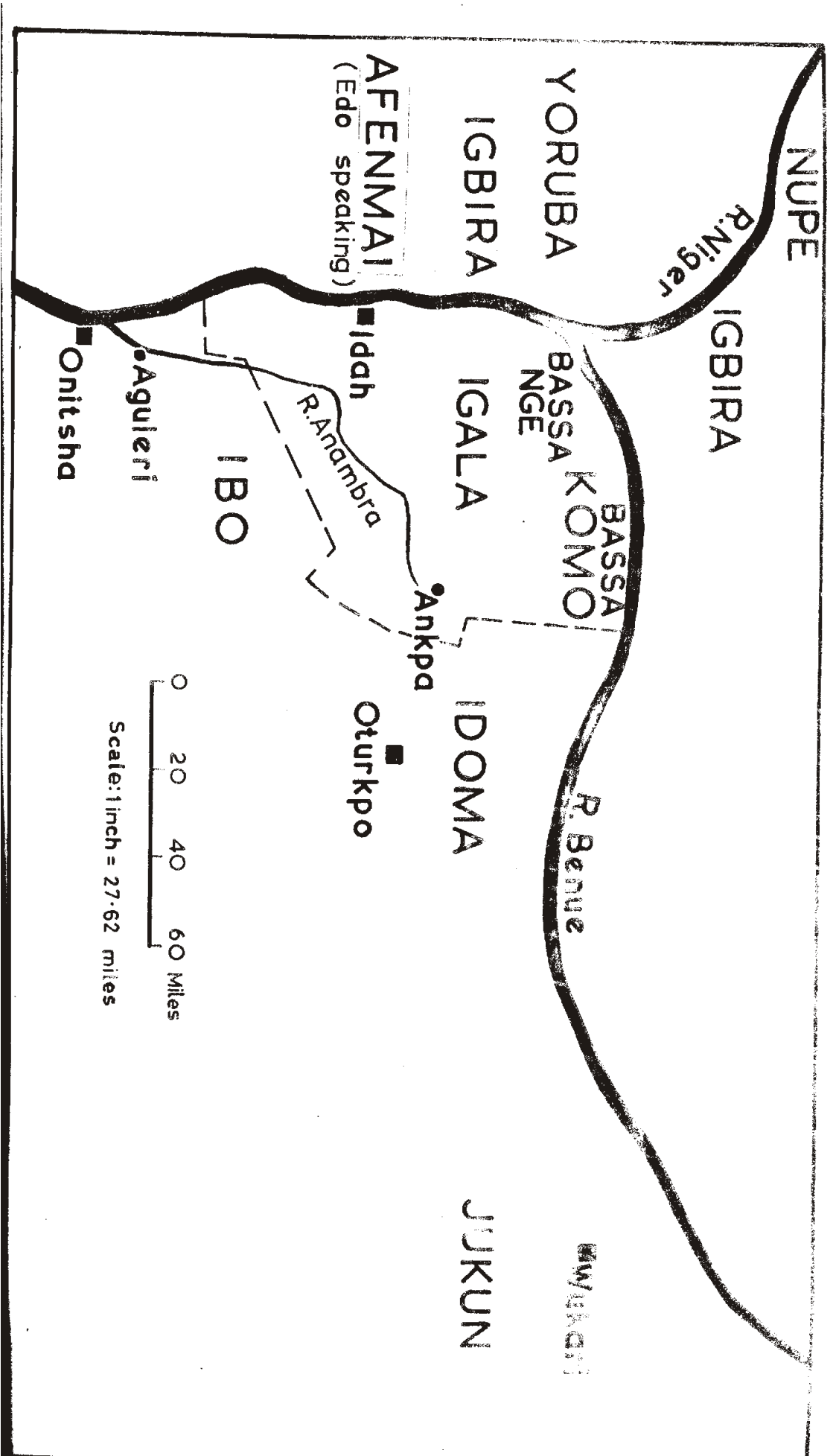


two here as they are politically important. All three are called olapu. Lineages in Igala are comparatively shallow in depth, commonly not more than three or four generations deep but sometimes increasing to a depth of seven or eight generations. Lineages are the structural divisions of a clan, and each clan divides into a group of lineages that takes it in turn to hold political offices and other rights that belong to the whole clan. The way in which Igala clans subdivide is quite different from the way in which descent groups subdivide within a segmentary system of descent. The Ibo, for example, have a system of lineages in which each lineage divides into a number of equal parts that are defined by the principle of contraposition. In the Ibo system the parts are not significant on their own but act in opposition to one another, like two teams on a football field. In the Igala system, on the other hand, the segments of the descent group are not constantly in interaction with one another. The authority of the clan is not fragmented amongst the different branches, but held indivisibly by them in rotation. An Igala lineage is either in office or out of office, and when it is out of office it has no right to interfere in the running of the clan's affairs. This is characteristic also of the Yeruba system.

This different approach to the management of clan property ties up with the fact that clans are dispersed in Igala, and not localised as lineages are among the Ibo. Each clan in Igala is centralised in the sense that it has its own territory where it is politically dominant. But the members of the clan are widely dispersed. And the segments of the clan only become involved as corporate groups in the management of their territory when it is their turn to hold office.

Igala clans vary greatly in size and scale, ranging from clans with a membership of only twenty or thirty persons to the royal clan which has a membership of over 50,000 persons. This variation in size is correlated with political function: the larger clans are those whose heads form the political elite, whilst the smaller clans play a comparatively unimportant part as groups in charge of local districts. As a result of their preponderance in numbers the royal and other aristocratic clans play an important part in coordinating and centralising government activities. The smaller clans in the outlying districts are attached to aristocratic clans by links of kinship and marriage. And these kinship links provide an extremely important channel of communication between the centre and the outlying areas. The division into patrilines is modified by the existence of networks of kinship ties so that each branch of the royal clan and of the other aristocratic clans forms the centre of a field of cognatic kinship relations. The political structure is based on a system of divisions into patrilines and patrilineages. But the patrilineal descent groups are interconnected by cognatic kinship ties in such a way that the major descent groups have a cognatic fringe of satellite lineages and clans. There are two terms in Igala for the descendants of a founding ancestor. The word olapu describes the clan or lineage as an agnatic group, composed of all the descendants of the founder in the male line. The second term aju, describes the grouping which is important in many social and political contexts where the descent group acts together with the children of its female members and with other cognatic relatives.

Political offices in Igala are associated with titles which may be either hereditary or non-hereditary. The great majority of titles are hereditary and are vested in patrilines. The non-hereditary titles are held by officials in special positions such as eunuchs, slaves, and palace officials. Title holders



NUPE

R. Niger

IGBIRA

YORUBA

IGBIRA

AFENMAI  
(Edo speaking)

Idah

R. Anambra

BASSA  
NGE  
KOMO

IGALA

Ankpa

IDOMA

Oturkpo

IBO

Aguleri

Onitsha

R. Benue

JUKUN



Scale: 1 inch = 27.62 miles

form a privileged elite with the right to represent the interests of a descent group and or a group of villages in government. They have the right to collect tribute from the area which they represent in addition to the right to be greeted by a special name and to wear beads and use other title regalia. Titles are arranged hierarchically, in the sense that every title is conferred by a superior title-holder. But the hierarchy is a simple one because most of the titles are awarded by the king, and from some points of view the hierarchy consists simply of a dichotomy between the king and the other title holders.

Titles in Igala are grouped in classes according to their functions and clan associations. To describe these classes I distinguish between central and local government, and will analyse the division of functions in the system of central government before going on to consider the contribution that office holders make at the local level to the system of government.

The first and most important group of titles in central government is that held by members of the royal clan, who are called collectively the amomata, children of the king. This group can be subdivided into a number of titles held at the centre, titles which are hereditary within the ruling house, and a second category of titles that are held by other royal subclans located in different parts of the kingdom away from the capital.

The ruling house at Idah possesses about eighteen hereditary titles, including the kingship and all the posts of chief councillors. All these offices rotate through the four major lineages that make up the ruling subclan at Idah. The kingship is inherited by the eldest surviving son of the last king to hold office in each lineage. The other seventeen office holders are appointed by the king himself from amongst the members of his own major lineage. Before I go on to describe this system of appointment, I want to emphasise the fact that when the king dies a whole lineage goes out of office - it is not simply a question of a change of ruler but of a complete change in the governing council. When the king dies the royal councillors were traditionally allowed to keep their beads of office and to retain the personal rank that went with this regalia. But they went out of office as councillors, and in fact the whole lineage of the dead king was formerly expected to vacate the capital in order to make room for the lineage of the incoming king. Anyone who disregarded this rule and stayed behind was liable to have his wives confiscated and his property pillaged. This system of rotating the principal titled offices still obtains today, but without the corollary of a physical move from the capital. The early District Officers at Idah found that Native Authority appointments tended to be brought into this system of rotation so that there was a tendency when a new king was appointed for N.A. officials appointed in the previous reign to be terminated so that the king's relatives could be given posts. This was also checked.

Coming back to the system of appointment to these posts, there is a tendency for each major lineage within the ruling house to subdivide into branches, and for each of the branches to regard itself as the hereditary owner of a particular title. But the king can if he wishes disregard this association between descent lines and particular titles, and award them to the candidate of his choice. And one of the king's major concerns is with the position of his own close relatives, brothers by the same father, and the grandsons of previous kings. In practice the king tends to award about half of the titles available to his own siblings and other close relatives in the same generation and to distribute the remaining half amongst collateral lines.

The royal title-holders are the king's closest advisers and have more influence on the formation of policy than any other class of title-holder. This is especially true of the five senior royal chiefs who form an inner council which meets frequently to advise the king. The five senior councillors, unlike the other councillors, are in constant attendance on the king. They also have traditional compounds at fixed sites in the capital where they are expected to live. These senior chiefs are also responsible for carrying on the work of government when the king dies, with the help of other officials whose position I shall describe later.

Most, but not all, of the royal title-holders had tribute areas associated with their titles from which they collected tribute and forwarded it to the king. They were allowed to deduct a portion of the tribute for their own remuneration. The tribute areas varied in size from a small group of village to a wide geographical region. One of the senior chiefs, for example, represented all the Bassa Ego, an immigrant tribal group (some strong) who live in the North-West corner of Igala. The royal chiefs also performed administrative duties in the areas from which they collected tribute, settling disputes, forwarding orders from the king and so on. But the connection between the councillors and their tribute areas was not so important politically as the councillors' connection with the region in which their own descent group was settled. There were in effect two systems of control centring on the royal councillors, one involving a purely territorial relationship with a subordinate group of villages and the other involving ties of kinship and marriage between the councillors' lineage and other lineages and extended families living in the same area. The area which the king controlled through the kinship links of the royal lineage was usually quite different from that for which the councillors were administratively responsible. And of these two areas of control the former was probably more important since kinship and descent ties created a greater degree of subordination to the royal councillor than the purely administrative relationship. In war, for example, the councillors mobilised their dependant kin rather than the inhabitants of the unit that paid tribute to them. And the significant groupings in the army organisation were based on kinship factors rather than on territorial divisions.

The royal councillors take precedence over all other classes of title-holders in Igala, and usually attend the king in a body. When the king goes to perform annual rituals for example, his titled kin wait for him in a group, and are the first to greet him after the ritual stage of the festival has been completed. When the King sits down in public the royal chiefs stand round him and hold up their gowns to screen the king's movements, so that he will always appear dignified and calm in public.

Apart from the distinction of five senior chiefs within the council there was no formal ranking of office and little specialisation of duties. The king was free to take advice from any member and could elevate any of the councillors in status by making him his confidant. When colonial government was first established in Igala the authorities tried to introduce order into the council by giving the councillors specific duties. But this experiment failed because the councillors could not be made to believe that they were fully in charge of a department. The councillors tended to wait for the king to take the initiative before carrying out any work, and they referred so many decisions to him that the work of individual departments became bogged down. The traditional council was

a coremonial sibling group, and this ideal was opposed to the notion of specialisation and delegation of functions within the council.

The royal chiefs, with their hold over many of the out-lying districts, were the king's main source of support in the political contest between clans and lineages, and no king could afford to alienate his own titled siblings if he wanted to stay in office. This appears even in modern times where the administrative functions of the council have been taken over by a professional and specialised Native Authority. The last king, for example, lost the support of most of his own councillors through taking the advice of untitled, non-royal elements. And the rejected councillors led a movement against the king which caused the Northern Region Government to depose him. This deposition was followed by the king's suicide in 1956. Before this incident relations between successive kings and their councillors have not always been good, and there is a considerable degree of suspicion on the king's part built into the system, based on the fear that the councillors will become too powerful and usurp the king's position. The royal councillors are restricted for example in their movements within the palace and only have access to the king in the public rooms. They do not attend the daily rituals which the king performs to his royal ancestors. Nor when the king dies do they hold any of the royal regalia or other appurtenances of office.

Before I leave the royal title-holders and go on to talk about non-royal chieftaincy titles I would like to describe briefly the position of the heads of the royal subclans that are located in the provinces. These chiefs hold titles which rotate through several branches of a subclan in the same way as the royal title at Idah. And the holder of each provincial title has the right to make appointments to a number of other titles including a small group of royal titles which are given to the provincial chief's relatives. Like the king at Idah, the provincial chief heads a small council of royal title-holders, and maintains a court which is attended by other title-holders. But the provincial chiefs are not independent of the king, since their appointments are controlled by the Ata. The judicial and administrative powers of the provincial chief are also limited by comparison with those of the king. They do not have jurisdiction over homicide. Nor are they allowed to retain eunuchs in their service, since eunuchs are a strictly royal prerogative. But apart from these limitations the provincial chiefs are virtually autonomous and rule the provinces without reference to Idah. Tribute for example is retained by the provincial chiefs and not forwarded to Idah, so that the royal revenues at the centre are made up of tribute collected from the metropolitan area, and do not include returns from the provinces. The independence of the royal provinces is most marked in the case of Ankpa, in the north-east, which has a long tradition of rivalry with Idah. The Ankpa subclan claims structural equality with the Idah subclan by arguing that its founder and the founder of the royal house at Idah are brothers. At Idah it is claimed that Ankpa should be politically subordinate to Idah, and in proof of this the Idah people maintain that the founder of the Ankpa subclan is the son of the founder of their own house and not his brother. This movement for independence on the part of the royal provinces came into the open again in 1965-6 when several of the N.E. subclans, led by Ankpa, tried to persuade the Northern Region Government to let them establish their own N.A. council and treasury at Ankpa.

I should perhaps point out in passing that not all the provincial subclans outside Idah are ruled by branches of the

royal family. There are several non-royal provincial subclans who have a somewhat similar degree of autonomy as have the royal subclans in the provinces. My own impression is that the non-royal groups in the provinces tend to claim royal descent as they increase in power and independence, and that the logic of the system would be for all the groups in command of provinces outside Idah to eventually claim membership of the royal clan. There are for example some marginal groups at present which claim royal descent for themselves but which are regarded by other branches of the clan as being related only through women or through other cognatic links.

Returning to Idah again the offices held by the king's relatives are opposed as a class to various groups of hereditary non-royal titles which are known collectively as Igala titles, ofe Igala. The royal clan is traditionally regarded as an immigrant group in the Igala state and this makes it possible to oppose non-royal to royal elements in government by the dichotomy Igala/non-Igala. The non-royal titles include two groups of offices which are held by the kingmakers on the one hand and by the town chiefs on the other. The kingmakers occupy two quarters of the town situated near to the palace, whilst the town chiefs are concentrated mainly near the waterside a mile or so away from the palace.

The kingmakers in Igala are the titled heads of a group of about eleven clans, which includes a nucleus of nine clans called the Igala Mela or nine Igala. This inner nucleus of nine clans represents the descendants of the indigenous population at Idah who are supposed to have handed over power to the immigrant royal dynasty. The Igala Mela are therefore the senior kingmakers in one sense. But they are overshadowed ritually and politically by another clan of more recent origin whose head takes the title of Achadu. The Achadu is the effective head of the kingmakers as a corporate body, representing them politically and also performing most of the ritual duties that symbolise the kingmakers' participation in central government. Politically also the Achadu is the most important office holder in the kingdom after the king. The Achadu has his own court at Igalogwa in the capital and makes appointments to a number of titles, including titles which are held by his own clansmen. The Achadu is also the head of a large and powerful clan, which is numerically stronger than the Igala Mela and the other kingmaking clans combined. The Achadu's clan is distributed in a wide arc through the eastern districts of the kingdom, and through his clansmen the Achadu controls an area equivalent in size to a large province. He is also responsible for relations with the Ibo living in the neighbourhood of Neukka, who used to come within the Igala sphere of political influence. And all petitions from this area concerning land or title cases were forwarded to the court at Idah through the Achadu. The Achadu did not advise the king on the conduct of day to day business. But he had to be consulted on major issues such as the decision to go to war. And the Achadu's office was perpetually counterpoised to that of the king, providing a focus for opposition, and threatening to turn the balance of clan loyalties against the king if he became unpopular.

The kingmakers' duties in government concern first the succession, and secondly the ritual of the national earth cult. When the king dies the kingmakers meet at the Achadu's court to elect a successor, and when they have made their choice the Achadu summons the new ruler to Idah. The heir elect takes on the status of Adokainya and goes to live in the Achadu's compound for several months whilst preparations are being made for the burial ceremonies of the dead Ata. During the Adokainya

period the Achadu asserts his authority over the king by flogging him and disciplining him. The subordination of the king to the Achadu is also expressed in the idea that the king becomes the Achadu's wife during this period. Similarly in the installation rituals some of the other kingmakers assert their authority over the king by assuming the role of his father and mother.

When the kingmakers meet to choose a new king they take into account the personal qualities of the candidates as well as their relative seniority. There are legends which record the choice of a junior son of a previous king because the elder son was not personally so well qualified. And one of these legends says that an heir elect was once driven away during the Adckainya period because he proved to be an unsuitable candidate for the throne. At the same time one of the decisive factors in the choice of a king was the degree of support that the king commanded within the royal lineage and amongst the people living in the outlying districts. The kingmakers had to assess the relative strength of the following of each candidate. And here again there is a legend which relates how the Achadu's hand was once forced in appointing the king by a rejected candidate who marched on Idah with an armed following and threatened to kill the Achadu if he was not made Adokainya.

The kingmakers' powers over the succession included the right to depose a king who became unpopular or who governed unjustly. Deposition in Igala is synonymous with arranging for the king to die since it is regarded as impossible for a new king to be ordained whilst an earlier king is still living. There is only one instance in Igala tradition of a king being put to death, and that concerns an Ata called Ekallaga who was murdered as the result of a conspiracy between one of the royal lineages, the palace eunuchs, and the kingmakers. Some accounts of this assassination say that the king ruled oppressively and quarrelled with the Achadu. Other accounts, and this is the generally accepted version, say that the king lived too long through the possession of powerful medicines which prolonged his life. His long reign blocked the path to office of the lineage in line for the succession, and aroused the hostility of all those who were waiting for his death to succeed to the kingship and to the offices of councillors. The kingmakers gave their consent to the murder, and the king was duly put to death by a form of suffocation. Whatever the reason for making the change, this legend shows the acceptance by would be revolutionaries in Igala of the principle that the kingmakers hold the final right to install the king and that there is no way of bypassing them in the procedure of appointment. I should add that the king had a reciprocal right to depose chiefs, even important chiefs like the Achadu.

The second main way in which the kingmakers assert their authority in government is by their responsibility for an earth shrine, erang, which is located between the two quarters occupied by the kingmakers. This shrine is important in the installation ritual, since one of the king's first ritual acts after being invested with the insignia of office is to go in the company of the Achadu to erang and to make offerings there for the welfare of the whole kingdom. There is also (or rather was, since the festival has now been abolished) an annual festival centring on the earth shrine at which the king repeated his offering to erang whilst the Achadu prayed that the king's life might be spared and that there might be peace and prosperity in the whole kingdom. The erang festivals is one of two principal royal festivals, the other one centred on the king's ancestors and concerned the prosperity of the royal clan rather than the welfare of the kingdom as a territorial group.

I come on now to the second important group of non-royal offices in central government, comprising the hereditary titles taken by the town or waterside chiefs. The town chiefs, like the kingmakers, are the heads of different clans, each clan possessing its own title which is conferred by the Ata. These clans are about the same size individually as the Igala Mela clans, probably containing a few hundred members each. Their members live either in Idah or in villages dispersed through the riverain districts of the kingdom.

The town chiefs unlike the kingmakers have no corporate organisation and are only united as a body on ceremonial occasions. The king deals with the town chiefs individually, and they have no leader to represent them in the way that the kingmakers are represented by the Achadu. Their functions are correspondingly diverse, ranging from purely ritual duties to administrative duties connected with control of trade on the river Niger. The town chiefs include the king's diviner, the keeper of the royal burial ground and other priests. They also include chiefs responsible for all strangers on the river, for providing the king with river transport and for collecting tribute from the villages on the river banks. The administrative duties of the town chiefs give an impression of duplication and overlapping. Thus one finds at least two chiefs claiming to have exclusive jurisdiction over all trade on the river Niger. This partly reflects competition amongst the riverain clans for power and influence. It also reflects the rotating system of succession in the ruling house. Each of the riverain clans has its own traditional ally amongst the different lineages of the royal house, and the political fortunes of the riverain clans followed those of the royal lineages closely. These political links were sealed by marriages and maintained as kinship networks, so that the obligations of the riverain chiefs to the king were to some extent expressed in a kinship idiom.

The town chiefs had little influence collectively on the formation of royal policy. But they were important in the period of the interregnum when each candidate for the throne was trying to build up popular support. The king could choose his confidants from among the riverain chiefs. In addition some of the other town chiefs were individually in a strong position to forward the interests of a particular political faction. The king's diviner was able to influence policy for instance through his manipulation of the Ifa oracle which was consulted before any major decisions were put into effect. Another priest, the Atebo, who was responsible for a cult of the early royal ancestors had ritual authority over the king and was permitted to reprimand the king in public.

I have mentioned already three groups of appointive title-holders at Idah, the eunuchs, slaves, and palace retainers or clients. It is important in considering these non-hereditary titles to know that the eunuchs were incomparably the most powerful of these three groups and that their influence at court in fact rivalled that of the royal councillors. The eunuchs were in charge of the actual buildings in the palace and maintained the physical structure of the palace compound. They guarded the king's person and also controlled access to the king, which are two important privileges in a system of royal government. This prerogative of attendance on the king was such an exclusive one that when the morning ancestral rituals were being performed all other title-holders with the exception of a few clients were excluded.

The eunuchs also played an important part in the administration of the kingdom by serving as intermediaries between the heads



of the outlying districts and the king. Each eunuch was ohiegba or mediator to a number of district heads and conducted all their business with the king. When, for example, a district headship fell vacant and a new title-holder had to be appointed the candidates for the post presented their case through the ohiegba, and when one of them was finally appointed the rites of installation and investiture were carried out under the supervision of the eunuch in charge of the title. Similarly court cases and other business affecting the districts were presented at court through one of the eunuchs, and tribute that was not forwarded through one of the royal councillors was forwarded through the appropriate ohiegba.

The eunuchs were excluded from the king's council, and in principle played no part in the formation of policy decisions. But behind the scenes they wielded great influence over the king and formed one of the most powerful pressure groups in the political system. The king depended on the eunuchs especially for continuity in government and for professional expertise in the management of the administrative machine. The eunuchs were the only officials close to the government who survived the change of office holders that accompanied the appointment of a new king. And they provided the link with the outlying districts that was essential to the maintenance of an effective administration. When the king died the eunuchs took charge of the royal regalia and of the royal cults and assisted the senior royal councillors to carry on the work of government. Many of the arrangements for the royal funeral and accession ceremonies were in their hands, and this clearly defined their position in government before the king took office. But it also seems to have been the policy of the Igala kings to increase the power of the eunuchs. Unlike the other title-holders, who were strongly attached to their own lineages and kinship groups, the eunuchs' chief loyalty was to the king, and they provided the king with an approach to a professional civil service. One of the chief eunuchs for instance, with the title of Ogbe could deputise for the king in the court at Idah, and give judgements in the king's name if the king did not wish to attend in person. Perhaps the most important aspects of the eunuchs position are first, that they were outside the kinship system, second they provided continuity of administration in a rotating system of succession. And thirdly they were permanently dependant upon the Ata for favour and position.

In general the eunuchs possessed high rank in the title system at Idah and were given great respect. The king allowed them to award minor titles to their own followers, and each eunuch's compound became the nucleus of minor network of power relationships extending outwards from the court. The only other title-holders in the Igala system, apart from the king, who awarded titles to their followers were all chiefs of the first rank, such as the Achadu and the heads of the provinces. And we can see from this prerogative the extent to which the king depended on the eunuchs for the efficient administration of his kingdom.

Slaves played a much less important part in the palace at Idah than the king's eunuchs, and had no clearly defined role in central government. The king employed slaves as messengers, to manage farms for him in the bush and to undertake trading enterprises. But they did not help to formulate policy, and neither did they perform any regular administrative duties. There was only one or perhaps two slave titles, and had no right to award titles to their own followers. Slaves readily assimilated.

The third group of non-hereditary titles is covered by the Igala term edibo, which I translate as palace retainers or clients. An edibo was a person who took a personal oath of loyalty to the king and who gave the king certain services in return for royal protection. An edibo was expected to make the king gifts of produce from time to time and also to attend the court during the royal festivals. If the palace buildings needed repairing the king could call on the services of the edibo to work under the direction of the eunuchs, and if the king went to war the edibo could be called upon to serve. In return for these services the edibo received the king's protection and immunity from local jurisdiction. A case against an edibo had to be taken to the king and could not be pursued in a local court. Similarly the edibo were exempt from local taxation since they paid a personal tribute direct to the king and gave him other services in addition.

Clientship never became as important in the Igala kingdom as in some of the Central African monarchies. Clientage was by no means universal in Igala and the proportion of the population who were edibo seems to have been rather small. The king's edibo did not hold a very high status, and had only two titles in the chieftaincy system. Although the edibo attended the king at the great festivals and on other occasions they did not develop any form of corporate organisation. They had no meeting place of their own, no distinctive names for members of the association and no emblems of unity. One of the factors weakening clientage in Igala was the tendency for clientship and kinship to overlap. On the whole clientship is strongest in Africa where it cuts across kinship ties. But among the Igala clients were frequently also kinsmen of the royal house. And the kinship ties between the king and his clients functioned to strengthen the political tie in some reigns and to weaken it in others. Each branch of the ruling house had its own clients and favoured these during its tenure of office rather than the clients of the former king.

From this outline of the different offices that made up the central government I want to go on to local government to show how the king had his commands put into effect and how the interests of the outlying districts were expressed and transmitted to the centre. Local government was based on the division of the kingdom into districts or 'lands' (ane) as they are called literally in Igala. A typical district comprises a small group of hamlets and villages clustered around a central village where the district headquarters are located. The key figure in local government is the district head or land chief (onu ane) as he is called literally. Each district is administered by the head of a clan that is socially, politically, and ritually dominant within the area of the district. This dominant clan regards itself as being descended from the first persons to settle in the area and as possessing rights to control the allocation and use of land within the district. On behalf of his clan the land chief allocates land within the district, settles land disputes, tries other cases and collects tribute. Persons who do not belong to this clan can hold rights of usufruct in the land and can transmit these rights to their children. But they recognise an overright on the part of the land chief and acknowledge this by paying an annual tribute of palm produce and other crops, and by presenting the hindquarter of any large animal killed in hunting to the land chief. It was from these payments of tribute that the land chief forwarded tribute to the king, either through one of the royal councillors or through one of the eunuchs.

In addition to his administrative and judicial duties in the district the land chief has an overall responsibility for

the ritual welfare of the district and its inhabitants. This notion that the inhabitants of a district form a ritual community is focussed on a district earth shrine for which the district head is responsible. Offerings are made at the earth shrine on two occasions in the course of each year, once at the beginning of the dry season when the land chief ritually inaugurates hunting. The second occasion for sacrifice to the earth occurs towards the end of the dry season when the reserve hunting areas are thrown open by the land chief and a communal hunt is organised which is attended by men from the district concerned and by members of other districts.

The ritual of the earth in Igala expresses the theme that the land chief is responsible for the increase of the community occupying the land of the district and also for the fertility of the land itself. Sickness, drought, and similar misfortunes are averted through the earth cult. And witchcraft and sorcery, potentially the most disruptive of all harmful social forces in Igala, are believed to be contained by the earth cult, so that a land chief who is carrying out his duties properly will make it impossible for witches or sorcerers to remain in his district. The association of the cult of the earth with the notion of communal welfare also appears in the setting up of household earth shrines to protect the interests of an entire extended family. When a family head sets up a new homestead and he sees that his family is thriving he asks the district head to establish a branch of the earth shrine in his own compound, and this is set up by making sacrifices and invocations over a heap of stones and over a tree specially planted. Like the district earth shrine this household cult is set up for all the members of family as a domestic and residential group. It does not make any distinction between members on the basis of descent or marriage but merges them all into an undifferentiated whole.

The ritual authority of the land chief supports his political privileges within the district and gives him the right to coerce offenders or even to expel them from the district for the sake of the other inhabitants welfare. The land chief controls a special type of masquerade called abule whose functions include the function of social control. When the abule masks come out they can ridicule anyone whose conduct is persistently anti-social, and in extreme cases they can compel the offender to leave the community by withdrawing from him the protective powers of the earth cult.

To conclude this outline of the land chief's ritual functions I should mention that the Igala, like the Ibo, believe that certain situations involve a grave pollution of the earth and that the welfare of the whole community will be affected unless this pollution is ritually removed. In Igala the classic situation of earth pollution is that caused by certain kinds of death which are classed as evil deaths, ukwu bibi. Deaths in this category include deaths caused by leprosy, deaths in which the body swells before or after death, and the death of a pregnant woman. A person who dies in these ways is not allowed normal burial near the homestead but must be buried in the bush. And before burial can take place the land chief has to give his permission and make special sacrifices to the Earth. Similarly if war breaks out in Igala the death of the people killed in war is said to have a polluting effect on the land, and the peace making procedure includes provision for sacrifices to be made at the earth shrine.

I have emphasised the part that the earth cult plays in defining the district head's position as a community leader. And it should also be emphasised that similar ideas underly

the king's position in central government, and that we are in a better position for understanding the king's role after studying the land chief than we were before. The Igala king claims to be a kind of land chief for the whole of Igala. And this claim is made explicit in the annual Earth festival at which the king goes out into the bush, symbolically sets fire to the grasses, shoots an animal and then brings his spoils back from the bush to the national earth shrine. But the whole point of the ceremony in the king's case is that ritual powers over the land are vested in the original inhabitants of the land. And the king therefore has to approach the earth shrine through the kingmakers and to make his offering through the Achadu, who represents the kingmakers. The ritual of the land, in other words, legitimises the royal dynasty and stresses the king's right to hold powers of ultimate territorial sovereignty over Igala land. But at the same time it stresses the limitations on the king's power that are imposed by the institution of the kingmakers on the one hand and by the delegation of powers to the local district heads on the other. Igala frequently say that the royal clan does not own land, and by this they mean firstly that primary rights over the land are vested in the non-royal clans who control the districts. Secondly they mean that the role of the royal officials in government is mainly a coordinating one, holding together the clan system on which the local government structure is built. There seem to be two models of government underlying the Igala political system, one based on the idea of a royal dynasty possessing a hereditary and inborn right to rule, and the other based on the idea of a territorial community delegating political authority to the head of the most senior clan in the group. These are the models in which the Igala use to describe their political system, and it would be possible by examining Igala oral tradition to show the interaction of these two models in Igala historical thought. But what I have tried to show so far is the constitution of the major political groupings in terms of this model, to illustrate the basic division of powers which underlies the political process in Igala.

To conclude this paper I want to widen the discussion of the political significance of the earth cult to include some other manifestations of these ideas in West Africa. As many of you know earth cults have a wide distribution along the West Coast, and some very interesting uniformities emerge if one compares these different cults from a political viewpoint. In Nigeria earth cults have been recorded among the Ibo, the Idoma, the Igala, the Yoruba and the Mbembe. In Ghana many of the tribes in the Northern Territories have earth cults, particularly those tribes that have no system of centralised government. These Ghanaian cults have been intensively studied among the Tallensi, the Konkomba and the Le Dagaba. In the former French territories earth cults have been recorded in Upper Volta, among the Bobo and the Mossi, and in the Ivory Coast among the Koulango, the Gagou and the central, northern and southern Gouro.

In all these societies the earth shrine is the focal point of a local community which may be either a village or a district. Goody describes the local community united in the worship of the earth as a parish and this sums up usefully the idea that people residing and farming in one area express their loyalty to their neighbours through a common ritual. In some cases the parishes combine to form larger divisions and these larger divisions may embrace the whole tribal group. Among the Tallensi, for example, one of the earth shrines is senior to all the others and stands for the community of all Tallensi. In Igala similarly the earth shrine at Idah serves

as a shrine for the whole nation. Where this process of merging occurs the emphasis is on the aggregation of local shrines rather than their subordination to a common head. The earth shrine at Idah, for example, is primarily a local shrine for the inhabitants of the capital. Similarly among the Tallensi the senior shrine is also the shrine for a particular parish, and in order to invoke the land of the Tallensi as a whole the senior earth priest names the various earth shrines responsible for the different localities in the country.

We can say then, that the earth cult defines a local, territorially organised community in the same way that the church defines a parish in Western society. It also sanctions the unity of this local community by stigmatising certain offences that could disrupt the unity of the group. Thus in most of the societies that possess earth cults bloodshed is regarded as an offence that causes ritual pollution of the land and thereby endangers the life of the whole community. Among the Yoruba if blood has been shed by murder or by wounding the ogboni society sends its messengers to summon the offender and bring the case to trial. Similarly among the Bobo, the Koulango, the Gagou, the Gourou, the Tallensi, the Konkomba, the Idoma and the Mbembe the earth cult prohibits bloodshed and murder or wounding have to be expiated by an offering to the land. In Igala, as I mentioned earlier, bloodshed in war has a polluting effect and has to be expiated by an offering to the earth.

Other forms of antisocial behaviour besides wounding and murder may be sanctioned by the earth cult. For example among the Ibo kidnapping, poisoning, and certain forms of stealing, including stealing of yams in the ground, are an offence against the earth. And in many Ibo communities when laws are made they are made in the name of the earth by making a sacrifice to the earth and announcing the decision of the community. The earth cult gives protection against witchcraft among the Igala and also among the LoDagaba. It operates against sorcerers amongst the Ibo and amongst the Bobo and the Koulango.

From one point of view the earth cult in West Africa is a fertility cult, maintaining the fertility of the land on which members of the parish farm, and also maintaining the numbers of the human population. But from another point of view there is a strong connection between the earth cult and ancestor worship. Several writers have stressed the connection between the earth and the ancestors, and there seems to be a sense in which the earth cult symbolises the collective dead of a territorial community. In Igala, for example, in the concluding rite of the earth festival the land chief addresses the earth by the name olokoto. This is an Idoma word which means "the last resting place of the dead", and I think that Igala use it in much the same sense in this ritual context. Similarly when the Igala king begins his morning invocation to the royal ancestors his first words are "Earth that eats up the chief with copper anklets, that eats up the chief wearing fine slippers". In Igala as in most other parts of West Africa the ancestors are believed to reside in the earth. When masquerades representing the ancestors appear in public they are said to have come out of the ground, and it is said that they go back into the earth after the performance. Similarly a man can invoke his ancestors wherever he may happen to be simply by pouring a libation onto the ground. The association of the earth with ancestral authority also appears in the rule that Igala women must not sit directly upon the ground.

The ancestors who are symbolized by the earth cult represent the collective dead of the whole community rather than the

ancestors of a particular descent line. When the earth priest invokes the earth he may recite the names of his own predecessors in office. But the authority which he possesses is not simply that of a particular descent line, but the authority inherited from and represented by the collective dead of the whole community.

The earth cult defines the local community of worshippers. It sanctions their unity by forbidding bloodshed and other acts that form the antithesis of the ideal of communal loyalty and cooperation. The cult also provides the congregation with leadership through the office of earth priest, which is usually hereditary but may be elective. The extent to which political functions are attached to the earth priesthood varies in different parts of West Africa. In Igala the earth priest is also the head of the district as a political unit and is responsible, as we saw earlier, for collecting tribute, for hearing lawsuits, and for carrying out the king's orders. In some of the former French territories, similarly, the earth priest is also an executive village head with judicial and administrative powers over the members of the parish.

In other areas again, there is a structural opposition between the ritual head of the parish and the political authorities. In the Nike village group for instance, among the Ibo, the earth priests are of slave ancestry. And one of the reasons for delegating this important office to the descendants of slaves is to prevent the earth priest from gaining political control of the village. The earth priesthood and political leadership are also separated among the Yoruba, but by a different process.

Where the executive functions of the earth priesthood are not highly developed the cult plays an important part in unifying members of a local community against the ruling body. For example the ogboni society amongst the Yoruba mobilises public opinion outside the council of titled chiefs and provides an alternative to the lineage based council for the expression of political views. And we have already seen how among the Igala the interests of local communities are expressed against those of the central government through participation in the earth cult. In societies without a system of centralised government the earth cult provides an alternative to the system of social control based on lineages or descent groups. The ideas underlying the earth cult seem to contain the germ of a notion of sovereignty, if by sovereignty we mean the expression of the will of a territorially organised community. The idiom in which this idea is expressed is a ritual one - the earth priest is essentially a ritual rather than a political leader. But the mobilisation of opinion within a local community inevitably has political aspects, and the earth cult forms one of the principal means by which antisocial behaviour is outlawed and the unity of the parish community maintained. These ideas have such a wide distribution in West Africa that it seems important to take this idea of sovereignty into account when discussing the evolution of kingship and the formation of states in this area. To centre discussion of these processes on the earth cult might be the most useful alternative that one can suggest at present to the Hamitic hypothesis of political evolution in West Africa. The emergence of a notion of sovereignty amongst several West African peoples makes the possibility that kingship evolved independently in West Africa seem much more likely.

TIV DANCE: A FIRST ASSESSMENT - by Charles Keil

In my ten months fieldwork to date I have witnessed a number of Tiv dance performances, asked the usual preliminary questions of a few informants and attempted a rough inventory of all known Tiv dances past and present. However, since this first phase of research was focused largely upon language learning, the only aspect of Tiv dance that I have studied in any detail is its conceptual vocabulary, the verbs, adjectives and adverbs Tiv use to talk about their dancing.

Until I have had the opportunity of concretizing this vocabulary, matching actual descriptions and judgements with specific dances and dance movements, its analytic utility is limited.

The simple question I'd like to answer here is "What can be talked about under the heading Tiv Dance?". If prizes were to be awarded for choreographic quantity, quality and inventiveness in Nigeria, perhaps even in Africa as a whole, the Tiv people could justifiably lay claim to all three.

Quantity: If all the lineages of Tivland were surveyed the list of dances named by informants would total at least 250, probably closer to 500. I have inventoried over 100 myself. Of these hundred, six or seven can be called traditional, "dance of forefathers"; these are imbedded in rites of marriage, death, and the acquisition of prestige by elders. Some of the traditional dances described by Akiga (Akiga's Story, 1966, p. 15) and R. C. Abrahams (The Tiv People 1940, p. 60, p. 65) are falling into disuse or have stopped altogether. A few dances may be in the process of acquiring traditional status. The rest have enjoyed widely varying degrees of popularity, diffusion and longevity. Of the 50 to 70 dances being performed in Tivland at the present time, the majority have been in existence less than five years and most of these will have disappeared within another five years. A few of the 50 represent current revivals of dances once discarded. A few are perennial favourites which have enjoyed 10, 15 or even twenty years of continuous performance. Others seem to represent the current phase of a long stylistic evolution. A man from one area may see the dance of another lineage, compose new songs for it, change the costumes somewhat, add a new twist or two, rename the "new" dance according to his fancy and organize his kinsmen to perform it. How many of today's dances are products of transformation and diffusion of this sort, and how many are independently invented it is very difficult to say. A Tiv likes to list the dances of his area in sequence, "first there was Kwaza, then Jiga, then came Inyon followed by Ihinga, Iceghel and Ingogh, then Gbangi which became Swange that we are doing today". Though similarities between dances in the sequence are often pointed out most Tiv insist that each dance is really a new dance, citing distinguishing features and an origin story or myth to prove the point. Only a few Tiv I have interviewed stress continuity rather than change, insisting that the "new" dance in question is a revision of a predecessor. Further observations, comparisons, and polling of the experts may resolve this question but in the meantime I assume that each dance name represents a distinctive style. In which case the variety of Tiv dancing is astounding. In terms of quantity it should also be noted that the most popular dances are performed by many groups e.g. in September of 1966 it was possible to witness three different groups of women practicing Ataga within 9 miles of each other along the road from Makurdi to Aliado. I suspect that the intense competition between minimal lineages and their elders is a factor here, i.e. "if so-and-so's women can do

Atasa my women can do a bigger and better version". The large (at least 15 dwellings), well established (20 years or more in the same location) compound that isn't the nucleus of one or more dance groups is an anomaly in Tivland.

Quality: Generally the high quality of dance performances in Tivland can be attributed to "Tiv perfectionism". For a concrete example of this perfectionism one need only gaze at the rows and yam heaps of any Tiv farm. In the language I have come across at least a dozen idioms conveying the same idea; "this task is too much for me". Proverbs and folktales with the message "if you cannot do it perfectly, do not try to do it at all" are equally numerous. The competitiveness alluded to above is also conducive to high quality. The annual competition in Gboko is usually a big event and smaller confrontations between men's groups are supposed to be frequent throughout the dry season, although I have never seen one. It is claimed that some groups practice daily for seven or eight months before the first performance. But I have been disappointed as often as not in my spot check visits to compounds where a dance practice at dusk was said to be part of the daily routine. In general a new dance may be organized in April or May, practiced sporadically through June and July, intensively in August and September, first performed in October and honed to "perfection" for the Christmas season. Finally, Tiv dances are usually very well organized. In fact, so far as I can determine dance groups represent the highest degree of organizational complexity to be found in Tivland. At any other Tiv event, religious, economic, legal etc. there are usually no more than four or five roles to be filled, parts to be played. A performance of Icough, a typical women's dance, requires: 1. a dance chief, 2. her assistant (both dance within the circle), 3. leader of the line, 4. members of the line, 5. two small girls (also dancing within the circle) 6. one of which is usually declared the "winner" toward the conclusion of the dance, 7. one or more policemen to keep the crowd from moving in on the dancers, 8. young men who press coins on the foreheads of their favourites, 9. senior women (mostly mothers of the girls) who mop the dancers' faces, hold coins, dust the dresses, ululate their support, 10. chief of the drummers who may or may not have 11. an assistant, 12. drummers, 13. onlookers, 14. sponsor or sponsors, usually the compound head and/or elders. This sort of role specialization and integration can not be found in any other Tiv activity.

Inventiveness: Why is dancing so important to the Tiv? Why half a dozen new dances every year? What motivates the Tiv to spend so much time and energy on dancing? To start with a platitude, a cultural universal perhaps, dancing is a life force. The counter forces, disease and death are very real in Tivland. This reality is intensified by the Tiv belief that almost all deaths and diseases are caused by the mbatsay, the sorcerers, and every elder is assumed to be a sorcerer in Tivland. Outwardly the Tiv are very cheerful and chipper; beneath this surface lies a thick layer of paranoia and hypochondria, and under this layer rests a core of optimism, for if you are loved by your elders it is theoretically possible to live in perfect health forever. This model is simple and speculative. I bring it into the discussion only to suggest that the root function of Tiv dancing is diminution of the paranoid layer or conversely reinforcement and expansion of the core optimism and surface cheerfulness which bracket that layer. Many of the men's dances which are currently popular notably Ingogh and Agatu make a mockery of disease, death and witchcraft. Ingogh parodies "dropsy"; at a signal a normal dance pattern is interrupted, the dancers distend their bellies grotesquely, take on idiotic grins, cross their eyes, dangle their arms, presenting a picture of complete affliction. Another signal



and the situation returns to normal. At one point a dancer rolls over on his back, feet stiff in the air, dead. But he is quickly revived by his fellows. In Agatu, a masked elephantiasis victim is featured, a soccer ball slung beneath his loin cloth. Onlookers come forward to kick his inflated testicles and put money in his hand. The climax of the dance is a drama in which a sorcerer slays a "doubting Thomas" with his "juju". This victim is also miraculously resurrected. Another item in the dance (and a Tiv dance usually has between 8 and 12 items or sections) parodies amar a mbatsay, the dance of the witches. The dancers spin about wildly and freeze in paired positions almost touching each other. It is said that if sorcerers touch each other during their nocturnal dances they will die. Different explanations are offered for this phenomenon (see Akiga's Story, p. 249 for one version) and I am not sure of its symbolic significance but it is interesting that dancing among witches can be deadly. Under the life-force heading one might also include the prominence of phallic symbolism. A large wooden phallus is often placed vertically on top of an ngo gbände (mother drum) in the very centre of Icough dances. And one of the most renowned dancers in Tivland has taken the name Norkoghkegh ("waiting erection"). The origin stories which are told about dances sometimes deal with death. One dance is alleged to have begun when a woman who lost all her children was staggering in grief and anger singing accusations at the suspected witch. Her distinctive stagger and part of her song were picked up by another woman and elaborated into a dance. In another origin tale a woman died, was duly buried and then revived by the mbatsay who took her to the forest of the dead and tied her to a tree. Night after night she watched the wizards dance until she made her escape and returned doing the dance she had seen. Such stories are not common, however, and almost anything can inspire a new dance. A man watches a squirrel stealing groundnuts, running back and forth, and Ihinga (squirrel) is invented. Kwaza began when tinminers returned from Jos with digging motions. Dasenda (police) mimics the drills and uniforms of the police force. And so forth.

The answers which Tiv themselves give to "why dance?" questions are fairly straightforward and easily summarized. Aside from the usual first response, "it is our nature" or "it is man's nature", there are three basic reasons,

1. to enhance the prestige and spread the reputation of the elders, the participants and the lineage as a whole;
2. to initiate and facilitate courtships and marriage;
3. to gain money and food. Permeating these three reasons is the idea of "heating up the land" and making everyone happy.

A very brief look at the Tiv dance esthetic will round out this first assessment. What do Tiv value in dancing? What attitudes toward the dance are revealed in the vocabulary? The questions lead into a maze of complexities, subtleties, connotations and even a paradox or two. Much depends on the dance in question. Most men's dances for example Gbercul ("strike the forehead" to the ground). Takara ("spurs") and Girnya (the traditional warriors dance which seems to have diffused from the Ibo), should be danced fero fe fero (quickly), gende gende (trottingly, light on the feet), tsogh tsogh (actively, with strength), sagher sagher (vigorously, as a hen scratches). Some men's and all women's dances should be done lugh lugh (softly, smoothly, cool, "like sleeping on a new mattress"), kindigh kindigh (deep, steady, respectfully, as if pressing down the earth), kule kule (slowly, steadily, controlled),

legh legh (carefully, properly, soothingly, gently, persuasively). Whatever the dance being done it should be executed perfectly, completely, clearly, without mistake - tsembelece, pero pero; in an orderly manner - sha inja sha inja; in detail - vighe vighe.

One of the paradoxes I have yet to resolve satisfactorily involves qualities of darkness and light. A very good dancer has ime (literally "darkness"), meaning that he may not necessarily be the best dancer, but he will win any competition by sheer force of personality. However, the very best dancers are also bright, clear, shining; in Tiv a vine amar wanger wanger - he dances clearly, brightly, without fear or error, and less commonly, a vine amar engem engem - he dances brilliantly, in a glittering, shining manner. A second type of personality force urum also has to do with brightness, and this force is commonly reflected in the fit and shine of a man's clothing or dancing costume. A truly fine dancer may have any or all of these qualities.

I hope that future research directed specifically toward dance will bring out the hard facts needed for an analysis of this focal point of Tiv culture in much greater depth and detail.

#### AFRICAN STUDIES IN GERMANY SINCE 1945 - by Eike Haberland

The end of the Second World War brought most serious consequences for German science: prominent scientists emigrated, or had been killed in the war; universities, libraries and museums had been destroyed, or were lost due to the new frontiers drawn in 1945. This period also meant that German Africa studies had to start all over again, and not under the most auspicious circumstances. A Germany under devastation and catastrophe, had other problems than sponsoring the studies concerned with an overseas continent. Up to 1955, a large number of good students were lost, due to the poor conditions at the Universities which, for years, did not increase their teaching staff despite the enormous increase in the student body. These students would have been a good succeeding generation of scientists for African studies, as well as for other disciplines. As it was, they went into other professions. Only at a very slow pace, new chairs and institutes were established or strengthened.

Not until recent years - say, during the past ten years - did this situation change for the better, largely due to an increasing interest of the German public in Africa, and mainly since the independence of the African states. New professorships and institutes were established. Thanks to the support of the German Research Council, long-term and expensive research projects have again become possible. The German universities, as is the case also with the state universities of the United States of America, are not administered by the Federal authorities as their highest German administrative unit, but instead by the Ministries of Education of the various federal states. This does not favour a concentration of certain disciplines, or the establishment of a scientific African centre for the whole of Germany. It is, at this point, that the German Research Council often lends a hand. As a central institution, it gives aid to German research. Most of the larger projects in Africa research, and almost all scientific journeys, have only been possible because of its aid.

Since the war, German Africa studies have, in the main, followed the path that their great initiators first marked out. They have remained fundamentally oriented to history and cultural history. We are still, however, far removed from an officially recognised specialisation in Africa studies. There are, to be sure, two chairs for African languages in Hamburg and Cologne, but African history, cultural history, sociology and ethnography are still lumped together under the extremely vague catch-all title of "Völkerkunde" - which might be translated as "Study of Peoples" (or "ethnology"). The same is true of geography in which there are still no professorships for the geography of Africa. There is still no official specialisation of the field. The holder of a chair in "Völkerkunde" (Study of Peoples) is still expected - at least theoretically - to give lectures on all the peoples of the entire world. Every new appointment to such a professorship still threatens to interrupt whatever tradition and continuity had existed up to that time. If the previous two incumbents of such a chair had been specialists for Africa, their successor may very possibly be a specialist in oceanic culture. However, the efforts in Germany are increasing to form African centres at several universities, if possible at those which already have good Africa libraries, and where lectures and research on Africa are in progress. This would be possible, and to be recommended, for Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Munich. Although at most of the nineteen West German universities "Völkerkunde" (Study of Peoples) is taught - though several universities do not even have a chair for this field - it is still not possible for the majority of students to pursue specialised Africa studies. Munich, Freiburg, Mainz and Frankfurt are the only German universities where chairs for Völkerkunde are occupied by teachers who lecture, and do research, primarily on Africa. Of the six East German universities, only two - Berlin and Leipzig - list lectures on "Völkerkunde" or African history. The situation is made somewhat less discouraging by the existence of a number of large ethnographic museums, the custodians of which often pursue African studies. Great, and even world-famous collections of Africana are to be found in Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, Stuttgart, Frankfurt and Munich. Here we are confronted with an enormous treasure of cultural documents waiting to be made use of. I should like to prophesy that the scientific importance of these museums will increase from year to year, and that soon, next to the Universities, they will develop into the most important research facilities for African culture and history.

And now let us turn to concrete research projects. First of all, there is the science of linguistics. There are two chairs with good-sized institutes. (Furthermore, African languages are being taught at the universities of Frankfurt, Marburg, Mainz, and Giessen.) Hamburg, with the Carl Meinhof chair, now occupied by Johannes Lukas, is the most important centre of African linguistics in Germany. It is here, too, that the only linguistic periodical for African languages - "Africa and Overseas" - is published. Johannes Lukas has - as his special field - usually grouped those central African languages under the heading "Chado-Hamitic" which, from the point of view of linguistics and cultural history, belong to the more important branches of the great Hamitic family of languages. Lukas has made several expeditions to investigate those language groups, largely in the vicinity of Lake Chad. A comprehensive work on this subject is to be published. In connection with Hamburg, it would be unfair not to mention August Klingenberg, who was the predecessor of Lukas, and who has worked for many years at the Institute there, and whose speciality is Fulbe and various other West African languages such as the Vai, along with the Ethiopian languages.

After the war, the Hamburg professorship was, for a long time, the only possibility for research in African languages, since the Berlin chair remained unoccupied after the death of Diedrich Westermann in 1955, who had held it up to that time. A new chair for African languages was then established in Cologne for Oswin Köhler, the friend, pupil, and spiritual heir to Westermann; this department has, since then, developed into a worthy successor of the Berlin Institute. Köhler, who has made several journeys to South Africa, is concerned primarily with the languages of the bushmen and hottentots (Koi-San) which, despite their great complexity, he masters with inimitable linguistic ingenuity. The element most characteristic for these languages is the so-called "click-sound" which has the value of a consonant and the appearance of which, in other languages, is a clear indication of remnants of ancient languages. True to the Westermann tradition, Köhler has not remained merely a linguist. He does not pursue language studies simply for their own sake, but considers them as part of human culture. In a whole series of publications, he has pointed out previously unknown relationships between the Bushman and Hottentot languages which could only be revealed in the light of linguistic materials, and which throw an entirely different light on the cultural history of these peoples. Furthermore, he has studied the language of the Kindiga and Sandawe in Central Tanzania which is also characterized by click-sounds; he is now preparing a comprehensive study of "click"-languages.

Among Leo Frobenius' most important undertakings were the reproductions of rock paintings, the paintings and engravings on cliffs and rocks, primarily in North Africa, in the Sahara, and in South Africa that have outlasted millenia. They are not only of the greatest significance for cultural history, since they give us information about the artistic sensitivity, the habitat, and cultural artifacts of long-dead peoples, but they are also in themselves wonderful works of art, the fascination of which is still working on us even today. Frobenius copied, or had copied by painters whom he had trained himself, whole galleries of these pictures. Although his hope was not fulfilled that these rock paintings would some day furnish so much visible material that one could refer to them like a picture-book of African history, still they continue to be one of the most important aids in reconstructing the cultural history of Africa. It must be our task to date them reliably; only when the chronological relationship of the rock painting with other facts of cultural history has been established, will the pictures have their full scientific value. This is being undertaken today by two men who came from the Frobenius-Institute and its tradition: Hans Rhotert, Director of the Museum of Ethnology in Stuttgart, and Helmut Ziegert, Lecturer at the University of Hamburg. Both have photographed rock engravings in Libya; both have achieved considerable success, working with different methods. Rhotert is trying to elaborate certain definite stylistic principles, by means of a comparative method, and also to correlate themes, such as races of domesticated animals, or cultural elements, with similar data of presently living African peoples, or well-documented older cultures, such as the Egyptian. He has already done this with good results in his book, published in 1953, on the East Libyan rock paintings, and is continuing in this method with his new West Libyan discoveries. Helmut Ziegert is using another method. He is attempting to correlate the rock-pictures with the original environment of the people who produced them. Starting with the questions: what kind of vegetation prevailed at the time the rock pictures were painted? and, what were the climatic conditions? These questions are often answered by the morphological findings. He likewise arrives at dates which,

in comparison with other chronological estimates, are characterized by their scientific exactitude.

In the period between 1950 and 1956, members of the Frobenius-Institute in Frankfurt, under the leadership of the Frobenius pupil and successor Adolf Jensen, who died in 1965, carried out a whole series of research projects, two of which took them to Ethiopia. I was able to take part in them together with my friend Helmut Straube. They were planned as a continuation of a shorter research in Southern Ethiopia which Leo Frobenius had started in 1935, and which had never been properly carried to its end because of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia and, later, the Second World War. Twice, a larger group of the Frobenius Institute was in Southern Ethiopia, during the years 1950 to 1956. On these two journeys which altogether lasted four years, it was demonstrated that a team with a coordinated plan can work much more successfully than an individual. During these expeditions, a general catalogue of the cultural inventory was prepared which has in part been published in a number of large volumes. Furthermore, a number of new insights were gained, significant for the history of Africa. The most important result was the investigation of the South-West-Ethiopian Negro culture. This culture represents one of the oldest population layers in Southern Ethiopia. The successive waves of peoples who later penetrated the South, presumably coming from central Ethiopia, pushed out, assimilated or decimated this oldest population element. It is now extant only in remnants in the high mountains of extreme South-West Ethiopia on the Sudanese border. This is proof that the spreading of the Negro culture from its centre, in the central and Western Sudan, did not take place in relatively late times, as some authors claim, but in earliest times. At any rate, it took place long before the immigration of the various Hamitic and Semitic groups into South Ethiopia. It is astonishing how the substance of this old culture has maintained itself despite the pressures of centuries and millenia. Thus one finds in South-West Ethiopia many elements which only appear much further to the West among the Nuba and the Bongo. I will mention only two of the most important elements: the custom of putting wooden statues on the graves of important men - a custom practically unknown in the rest of Ethiopia - and the construction of iron-smelting ovens which bear an astonishing resemblance to the ones built in the Sudan. The art of iron-smelting, as well as iron-manufacturing was brought to full flower by the African Negro culture.

Let me mention one more significant historical result of these trips. The linguistic and historical materials gathered in South Ethiopia lead us to believe that the states of the area between the lakes, such as Buganda, Kitara-Nkole, Ruanda, Burundi, etc. or at any rate the dynasties that have ruled them for 400 to 500 years, originated in Ethiopia. A number of states existed in Southern Ethiopia - which later were absorbed into the Ethiopian Empire - with their own royalty, state ideology, administration, and so many other elements to be found in the area between the lakes, that one can no longer believe in accidental borrowings. Still, these insights require more supporting evidence. We hope that the Frobenius-Institute will be able to further expand its position as the centre of studies on Africa (mainly of history and cultural history) in Germany. For this, the number of its members, its unique Africa library - considered to be the foremost one in Germany, and its large archives provide the best prerequisites.

Thanks to the personality of Hermann Baumann, a true successor to Frobenius' work, the University of Munich has now become an effective centre of research in African history and cultural history. I mentioned his name at the beginning of this lecture as one of the great founders of the genuine science of Africa studies. There are few who can compete with him in universality of perspective, scientific acumen and almost legendary mastery of detail. As a young man, he absorbed Frobenius' ideas about African cultural history, and has perfected them scientifically. At the age of 35 and 38, he published his two great works "Creation and Primeval Times in the Mythology of the African Peoples", and "Cultural Anthropology of Africa", both of which are unexcelled compendiums of African culture, although since that time, much new material has been found, and many new relationships discovered. The first of these books is just now being published in a revised edition. The second which has been translated into French, will - we hope - be published next year in an expanded and changed version, this time as a collaborative project, edited by Baumann, but written by him and twenty of his pupils and friends. Next to the "Ethnographic Survey" of the International African Institute in London, it offers the most comprehensive survey of African peoples, languages and cultures, although unfortunately, only in the German language. Hermann Baumann made two long journeys into Southern Africa where he worked among the Lunda and the Tschokwe. His studies on the Zimbabwe problem deserve special attention. You will recall these enormous ruins not far from Bulawayo which, since their discovery, have produced a flood of literature. Many authors were of the opinion that Africans could not have constructed these buildings, an idea demonstrating the most regrettable underestimation of the creative faculties of African culture. Baumann does not exclude the possibility of overseas contacts or inspiration. He does show, however, by means of examples of much smaller and largely overlooked stone buildings in other parts of Rhodesia, Zambia and Angola, that such structures were nothing new to South African culture, and that Zimbabwe simply represents a magnificent paramount example, an apotheosis of this structural concept. Baumann also established a close relationship between the Zimbabwe and the so-called Djaga, these wandering, politically creative groups who were instrumental in the formation of many an older state of Southern Africa. And when we consider that Baumann is at present working on a survey of African archaeology, then we see a life work that is not far behind that of Frobenius. By German standards, he has trained an unusually large number of pupils so that, at least in this case, the difficult problem of the succeeding generation in research seems to be partly solved.

Let me mention the Hamburg Ethnological Museum, a centre of German African studies rich in tradition, in part favoured by the cosmopolitan attitude of Hamburg's merchants and their old contacts with Africa. Kunz Dittmer who, before the war, built up a reputation with several ethnological works, has visited Western Africa twice in recent years. I should like to mention, above all, his monumental book on the "Forms of Authority among the Gurunsi" in Southern Upper Volta. Not only does it give an exhaustive portrayal of the social conditions among this people, it also attempts to illustrate certain historical processes on the basis of the forms of authority. Central to the book is the conflict between the ancient African institutions, such as the Lord of the Earth and the clan elder, with the divine kingship introduced by the newer immigrants, represented in this area by the Mossi. Kunz Dittmer not only wrote a convincing report, a reconstruction of the historical struggle between these two cultures, he also related

the kingship of the Mossi to other African states. One of Kunz Dittmer's collaborators is Jurgen Zwernemann, who today is working for the Ethnological Museum of Stuttgart, and who has likewise treated the cultural history and sociology of the Volta region.

Compared with the predominant historical-cultural perspective and research style of German Africa studies, the other disciplines, such as sociology, political science, economics and law, which are necessarily more tied to present-day perspectives, have not been able to make their weight felt. In the natural sciences which we have not treated here, the conditions are naturally different. In these disciplines, mentioned above, as far as Africa studies are concerned, only the first steps have been taken. In this connection, the names of two Institutes ought to be mentioned that have distinguished themselves, not so much by research, but by coordinating and planning, and have done significant work in the field of documentation: the Africa Society in Hamburg, and the IFO, the Institute for World Economics, in Munich.

Not to be overlooked, either, as an individual of distinguished reputation, is Kurt Arnsprenger of the Historical Institute of the University of Berlin, whose book on political parties in former French West Africa has been generally recognized.

German cultural geography has been active in Africa with a large number of individual projects since about 1955, but there is still no comprehensive research-planning. Among the names important in this area, I should like to mention Kuls in Bonn, who is working on Ethiopia, Troll in Bonn (Ethiopia and problems of Africa as a whole), Kayser in Cologne (Southern Africa), Hetzel in Bonn (Togo), Mensching in Hannover (Tunis and East Africa), Manshard in Giessen (Ghana and Nigeria), Büdel in Würzburg (West Africa and Ethiopia), Schultze in Berlin (Eastern Sudan). Although far more impressive in numbers than the few Africa ethnologists and linguists, the geographers have in their projects remained isolated scholars. Larger works, such as the excellent book on Ghana by Manshard, who was for many years a teacher of geography in Kumasi, or the book on the East Sudan by Schultze, have remained exceptions. This is due primarily to the instructional overburdening of German university teachers of geography. Only a few years ago, the individual teacher had to take care of 200 and more geography students. Due to the increased number of chairs and institutes, and the additional appointment of lecturers and readers, it has become possible to increase research activity.

Now, about three years ago, the German Research Council gave the funds with which to begin a major geographical research programme in Africa. It was begun as an experimental project, and is to be expanded if progress justifies it. The "Africa-Mapping Project" - which is the official name - is not intended to produce a work of original cartography, that is to say, a large topographical atlas, but is intended instead to result in a great collection of "applied cartography" with thematic maps. The soil-forms, geology, flora, and utility plants will be considered as well as linguistics, ethnology, history, or the problem of migrant labour. Maps on a scale of 1:1 million are to be the basis. To date, three African areas have been selected as examples, Tunis, Southern Nigeria, and Uganda. Central Ethiopia is to be the subject of the next map.

To summarize: I have tried to give you a survey of the present status of Africa studies in Germany, of the historical

development of these disciplines, their most important representatives and the most significant research projects. I have shown that in the disciplines referred to - linguistics, ethnology, history and cultural history - the point of view that has always been dominant in Germany, the historical approach, still prevails. We hope that the studies of African history and African cultural history will soon emerge from their fusion with general ethnology, and be recognised as individual disciplines in Germany. There are good beginnings for this. The possibilities for financing large-scale research projects are favourable. What is lacking are trained people to carry them out. Our number is small. With regret, we see how - before our own eyes - the traditional African cultures, the still living material of African history, is disappearing, without any hope of our being able to record it in its fullness. This process of disintegration is a historical event which is useless to deplore. Human cultural history is a process of incessant change. We would only wish that we had sufficient time to register the facts - whether it be gradually dying languages, or historical traditions, the manifold products of African arts, traditional forms of building, social structure, or religious life. These things are priceless witness to human creativity. They are also important elements in the cultural history of Africa that is yet to be written. "Save vanishing data" was the battle-cry of the ethnologists even at the beginning of the century. Today it is more urgent than ever. Of what use are all the well-meant investigations concerning sociological or structural-functional problems of the difficulty of adaptation to the machine-age without a profound knowledge of African culture? Science - if it is going to remain true science - must always be pursued for its own sake. Here we are not only talking about the interest of the scientist in the history of Africa within the frame of World history, but also about the thought that no people can know itself, or be conscious of itself and its potential, without knowing its own culture.

In speaking to you here today about German Africa studies, it was not my intention merely to inform you about our work and to promote contacts. I hope that I have been able to illustrate for you the significance of historical and cultural-historical research, even if at times it seems far removed from contemporary events. Far too few people are working on African cultural history in all its forms - in comparison with the vastness of this continent and the time that is still left to us. I should like to wish and hope that, in the future, more Africans will try to fill this gap. It is their country and their realm in which they should assume scientific leadership. In doing so, they can be assured of our help.



RESEARCH GRANTS

During this session a total of  $\text{£}1,385. 15/-$  has been awarded as research grants to members of senior staff of the University. The following grants are additional to those announced in African Notes, Vol. 4, No. 1.

1. Dr. C. Ikin towards expenses in connection with research into the History of the Western Ijo in the 19th Centuries and Traditions of Origin and early history of the Isoko and Urhobo.
2. Dr. Kay Williamson in connection with Transcribing of Kelokuma texts and inclusion of lexical items in dictionary file.
3. Professor A. F. C. Ryder towards expenses in connection with photocopying documents in Dutch and Portuguese archives in connection with a projected History of Sao Tome.
4. Dr. E. A. Ayandele in connection with a comprehensive survey of the impact of Westernism on the Ijebu.
5. Professor O. Aboyade and Dr. Bo Gorecki in connection with their research project into Household Consumer durables and shifts in Economic status.
6. Bernard O. W. Mafoni for Collecting and transcribing Isoko and Otuo linguistic data.
7. Professor C. F. Hoffman for Collecting Epira (Igbira) Folktales and/or Traditions.
8. Dr. J. A. Ballard and Dr. J. S. Boston in connection with their Comprehensive Listing of Nigerian Intelligence and Assessment Reports (first phase of preparation of a guide to Nigerian archival materials).
9. Mr. S. O. Inoagone for research into the Relationship between bride-wealth and marital stability in Woppa-Waro community - Etsakor division, Mid-western Nigeria.
10. Mr. R. A. Adeleye in connection with Classification, translation, annotation and commentaries on sections of a book, Correspondence of the Sokoto Caliphate 1850-1903.
11. Dr. J. A. Ballard in connection with an Ethnographic Survey of Southern Ineme of Etsakor Division, Benin Province and for Editing of Microfilms of Nigerian Newspapers 1950-1966.
12. Professor J. F. Ade Ajayi towards his Studies on Bishop Crowther and Henry Carr.

BENEFACTION

A grant of  $\text{£}170,000$  was awarded to the Institute by the Ford Foundation of America to cover professorial chairs over an eighteen-month period. Of this sum  $\text{£}12,000$  is to assist the publication of Mrs. Leith Ross' book on Nigerian Pottery, and  $\text{£}11,000$  is to cover the services and work of a film unit.

P U B L I C A T I O N S

The following Institute publications have appeared since the publication of the last number of African Notes.

West African Archaeological Newsletter No. 6

Principles of Ibo by late R. C. Abraham  
Institute Occasional Publication No. 4

Five Igbo Dialects by Robert G. Armstrong  
Institute Occasional Publication No. 5

Nembe Language Made Easy by L. Awotua Efebo  
Institute Occasional Publication No. 6

A N N O U N C E M E N T S

MRS. M. W. F. TALBOT deceased.

THE AMAURY TALBOT FUND ANNUAL PRIZE

The attention of Africanists is drawn to an Annual Prize being offered by the Amaury Talbot Fund.

The Trustees invite applications for the Prize, being the income of £5,333. 12. 1d. 4 percent Consolidated Stock less expenses (approximately £150 net). The Prize will be awarded to the author or authors of the most valuable of the works of anthropological research which are submitted in the competition. Only works published during the calendar year 1967 are eligible for the award. Preference will be given to works relating in the first place to Nigeria and in the second place to any other part of West Africa or to West Africa in general. Works relating to other regions of Africa are, however, also eligible for submission.

All applications, together with two copies of the book, article or work in question, to be received by 31st December 1967 by the Trustees, Barclays Bank Limited, Trustee Department, 35/37 Broadmead, Bristol 1.

Entries will not be returned to candidates but will be at the disposal of the Judges.

THE RESEARCH LIAISON COMMITTEE: A NEW SERVICE TO THE AFRICANIST COMMUNITY

The Research Liaison Committee was established under the auspices of the African Studies Association. It is supported by a Ford Foundation grant following the Ford-sponsored 1965 ASA exploratory mission to Africa.<sup>1</sup> This mission examined opportunities for new ways in which to increase cooperation between U.S. scholars concerned with Africa and individuals and academic institutions based in Africa.

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1. William A. Hance and Philip Curtin, "African Studies in Africa and the American Scholar". African Studies Bulletin, IX, No. 1, (1966), 24-32.

Scholars from the United States constitute the largest single national group engaged in African research. The responsibility for establishing friendly relations with our colleagues in Africa has, in the past, been assumed by the individual scholar. It becomes increasingly apparent that cooperation with Africanists in Africa itself will be of the greatest importance to future research, and that the Association can play a useful liaison role.

To facilitate communication the RLC is collecting information and identifying sources of information for scholars and students proposing research in African Studies. The Committee has established an office in New York at the same address as the Association's offices and under the direction of William C. Brown, with Shirley Fischer as Administrative Secretary.

The objectives of the Committee and its staff are: first, to develop and strengthen relations among scholars concerned with Africa, and, second, to maintain liaison with research institutions in Africa through visits to Africa by members of the Committee.

The first of these objectives is mainly the task of the New York office of the Committee. It exists to serve the interests of scholarship by providing a series of related services. These services are mainly designed to supply scholars with information about the constantly changing research scene in Africa, so that they can plan their own research with fullest possible information of field conditions and of work in progress. Among other things, the Committee's office stands ready:

1. To supply information about American scholars now in Africa, or who have recently returned, so that those who are about to begin research in Africa can establish direct contact with them.
2. To supply information on research in progress from an annotated list of proposed, on-going, and recently-completed research.
3. To provide a centre through which colleagues in Africa may address their research needs, recommendations, questions, or grievances relating to the role of American research in Africa.
4. To maintain a series of multilith information sheets, by country, and for Africa in general concerning such matters as living conditions, government regulations governing research, currency, health, climate, taxes, and visas.
5. To assist both younger scholars and established researchers in making appropriate contacts in Africa. The personnel of African universities and research institutes changes constantly, and the climate for research can also alter very rapidly. It is therefore of the greatest importance to make prior contact with the appropriate agencies well in advance of a field research trip.
6. To maintain liaison with other African Studies Associations, both in Africa and in other parts of the world.
7. To publish information of interest to Africanist scholars from time to time in the African Studies Bulletin.

These activities are designed to be of assistance to the community of scholars, but they can only be really helpful to the extent that the community of scholars will help in the work of the Committee. We should therefore like to make the following requests of the membership of the African Studies Association.

1. That all scholars going to Africa for research inform RLC office of their research project so that our files will be complete.

2. That scholars in Africa or recently returned will help others by giving the most recent information to those referred to them by the RLC office - and that they send copies of this correspondence to the office so that our files will also be up to date. If some matters should be kept confidential, they may be so marked and they will be treated accordingly.

3. That all scholars returning from Africa write a brief report on living conditions and other matters that could usefully be passed on to those who are to follow them.

Correspondence should be addressed to:

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RESEARCH LIAISON COMMITTEE  
African Studies Association  
622 West 113th Street  
New York, New York 10025

Research Liaison Committee

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Vernon McKay, Johns Hopkins University  
Benjamin Rivlin, Brooklyn College  
A. R. Zolberg, University of Chicago

A W A R D S

An Associate Research Member of the Institute, Monsieur Pierre Verger, has been awarded the degree of "Maitre de Recherche au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique".

These de 3<sup>o</sup> Cycle:

Flux et Reflux de la Traite des negres entre le golfe du Benin et Bahia de Todos os Santos (XVII<sup>e</sup> a XIX Siecle).

Monsieur Verger has been a member of the Institute since 1962.

CONCLUSIONS REACHED AS A RESULT OF A LECTURE TOUR OF THE AFRICAN STUDIES CENTRES AT UNIVERSITY IN THE U.S.A. AND PARTICIPATION IN THE AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE, INDIANA, 1966:

- I. On Research Into Dance In Africa.
- II. On The Use of Traditional African dance in Contemporary Theatre and Education.

I. ON RESEARCH INTO DANCE IN AFRICA

The Universities in America are seriously concerned with the study of dance in relation to the established disciplines of African Studies.

Indiana University plans to train anthropologists in techniques of dance observation and analysis.

Northwestern is to establish a department of dance and music within their African Studies Centre.

The A.S. Programme at Howard University aims to combine research and performing skills in creative work using African material.

The Institute of Ethno-musicology at U.C.L.A. teaches Ethnic dance as a performing art in relation to the study of music over a wide range of cultures which now includes African forms. In 1966 the African Studies Association devoted a panel of their Conference to African Dance.

There is demand and an urgent need for reliable material and information on African dance in America. At present, there is a danger of academic theories being based on too little evidence.

This vital concern with African arts in America should serve to remind African Universities of the importance of studying and recording the performing arts for the benefit of academic and cultural centres in Africa. Such records would be of immense value to contemporary and future generations and an important contribution to international culture and academic research.

In Africa, dance and its accompanying music traditionally serve a social and/or religious function. With the rapid social changes that accompany industrial development dance forms are changing, in some cases to the extent of disappearing, with the way of life they express. These dances are a valuable historical and sociological record as well as a highly developed art form. There is urgent need to record them as well and as soon as possible.

Dance is central to traditional and modern life in Africa, which makes the study of dance an academic and cultural imperative. If this study is to be seriously established then the first step should be a Research Project to record dance and music and make this material available for study and analysis. This project should be established without delay.

The work could best be initiated by a team of trained specialists familiar with field conditions in Africa. They would need time and facilities:

1. to locate the material
2. to record the material in the field
3. to produce it in a form which could be made available to study centres
4. to analyse the material and publish their conclusions.

#### The Research Team:

At present there are two methods of recording dance: notation and cinematography. Dance notations now available are based on movement studies made in Europe and need basic reconsideration if they are to be used for notating dance in Africa. This reconsideration can only be done by specialists who have studied a wide range of African dance forms: either the notators must spend many years in the field or have reliable visual material available to them. Even when this is successfully accomplished, it is doubtful that notation can convey the full form and character of a dance to those unfamiliar with it or with the society of which it is a part. Film with synchronised sound offers the most reliable record of dance if the film is made by a professional film maker experienced at handling the medium in the field, in conjunction with a specialist in dance observation able to direct the filming to those aspects of the dance essential to a faithful and comprehensive recording of it. The team should include a technical film director, an expert in dance observation in Africa and an African musicologist able to record and relate the accompanying music to the dance. I underline that this needs to be done by trained specialists as poorly made film is useless as a record or as research material.

#### Locating of Material:

There is an overwhelming amount of material to be recorded. It would take years to cover the variety of dance forms in Nigeria, so it is hoped that the work of an established team would encourage the development of similar teams in other parts of Africa.

The team would work in collaboration with anthropologists, musicologists and sociologists in the field, who could inform the film makers as to when and where good dancing is performed in their area, and gather the necessary sociological data relating to the social function and origin of the dance. This information is best collected by those familiar with the language and culture of the area.

#### Recording In The Field:

To obtain material of the necessary standard suitable for international exchange the best possible equipment should be used. This should include a soundless battery driven camera synchronised to a high fidelity portable tape recorder and a radio microphone should be used as it dispenses with wires and enables the microphone to be placed in the best position with minimum amount of disturbance to the performers. A 35 mm. still camera capable of taking a number of pictures in rapid sequence could be useful to cover additional material. The team of three specialists could handle this material efficiently.

After shooting in the field, the film needs to be processed and a working copy made which can then be edited. A duplicate negative should be kept as a complete record of the original shooting. Eleven minutes is a practical length for an edited film, concentrating on the movement of a particular dance for demonstration and teaching purposes and excluding sociological background material. The latter could be provided in a more comprehensive film for sociological study.

#### Analysis and Publication of Material:

The first generation copy of the musical tape should be placed in an archive of traditional music.

A comprehensive copy of the unedited film would remain in a film archive so as to be available for experts who wish to study the original material or make an alternative edited version in the future.

The edited film with synchronised sound would be available in a library for showing, hiring and of which copies could be sold.

It would be necessary for the team of specialists to produce a publication to accompany each film which would give the sociological background of the performers and the situation in which the dance was performed, a description of the musical instruments illustrated by still photographs with a formal analysis of music, and a formal analysis of the dance with photographs to illustrate basic body positions, etc. This would give a detailed study of a particular dance style.

Comparative studies could be based on reels of film showing edited excerpts from a number of contrasting styles of dance. This might require a spoken introduction and commentary on the film as well as written material in sociological, dance and musical terms.

## II. ON THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL DANCE IN CONTEMPORARY THEATRE AND EDUCATION IN AFRICA.

In America theatrical dance has broken away from the traditional ballet of Europe to create techniques and forms of dance for the theatre that draw their basic material from the variety of dance styles and movement patterns which are part of contemporary American life.

At the Universities, Educational Dance Departments produce work which reflects American culture in modern educational terms.

Africa is rich in dance and there is no need to import styles or techniques. The principle of basing contemporary creative work on the material available in the surrounding culture remains valid for theatrical and educational situations at all times and in all places.

Dance is highly respected as an art in Africa. In traditional societies, it is inseparable from ceremony, ritual, celebration or entertainment: central to the very fibre of the life of the people. In modern urban situations, dance remains an art that is understood and appreciated at all levels of society, and so it should remain central to modern forms of communication and entertainment. The media of theatre, television and film demand conscious and deliberate designing of

material in contrast to a traditional art which evolves as a statement of a way of life. But the building of techniques and designing of work for theatre and television can use elements and improvise on themes from the traditional performing arts which offer a rich store of material. This does not imply the imitation, or brushing up of dance which traditionally serves a social or ritual purpose; this can only result in a poor copy of externals and a loss of the essential qualities and meaning of the dance: it means developing and expanding those aspects and elements of the dance which can be imaginatively used to meet the requirements of modern theatre.

This principle is equally valid in Education. In schools and training colleges students should become familiar with a wide range of traditional arts. This would give them respect for and confidence in their cultural background as a basis for learning to use elements from these arts in new ways, so developing the imaginative use of their talents in terms of materials familiar to them.

In this context a library of films on traditional dance styles would provide valuable basic material for choreographers, theatre directors and educationists both now and in the future.

It would be of great value if a University in Africa would set up a training scheme for fifteen to twenty performers under the direction of a choreographer able to use African traditional material in theatrical terms. The trainees should be selected on a basis of talent and train daily in performing techniques and work steadily on productions for theatre and television. With talent such as is available in Nigeria, a theatrical dance company of professional standing would emerge over a period of two years. The work could draw from traditional literary, dance, music and visual arts, and would make an important contribution to African theatre and be of value as a model for the creative use of African arts in the educational programmes of schools and colleges. The dance company could work as such or as part of a larger company trained in the full range of performing arts.

Peggy Harper  
Director of Dance  
School of Drama