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SOMMAIRE — CONTENTS

Continuity and Change in the Development of a Preliterate State

by NIELS WINTHER BRAROE

RÉSUMÉ

Depuis quelques dizaines d'années, les anthropologues parlent beaucoup de *processus* et d'*équilibrium*. Ces notions sont étudiées ici par rapport aux analyses de Max Gluckman. On soutient que Gluckman a une vision quelque peu erronée des conflits et des tensions lorsqu'il les envisage comme facteurs d'intégration.

I

The notions "equilibrium" and "process" have had wide currency in anthropology in recent decades: it is these I wish to consider in the following pages.[1] Specifically, the historical development of the Zulu conquest state will be considered, and critical attention will be given to Max Gluckman's analysis of it. We shall be concerned for the most part with his thoughts about conflict as it relates to continuity and change. A central place in Gluckman's treatment is given to the discussion of rebellion, revolution, and rituals of rebellion as they effect stability in sociopolitical systems. It will be maintained that his preoccupation with the integrative consequences of these phenomena leads to a misunderstanding of their role in Zulu history, and reflects a static quality in his general approach to change.

In addition to this, an alternative interpretation of the Zulu case will be offered, with the claim that certain changes may be seen to have had endogenous causes; that is, they may be deduced from the structure of the Zulu state itself and need not be sought outside the system. Preceding this, a brief account of some events in Zulu history is provided, as groundwork for the argument to follow.

[1] This paper has benefited from the critical comment offered by numerous readers of previous versions, including E. M. Bruner, J. R. Gusfield, G. L. Hicks, P. Puritt, L. Schneider, J. H. Steward, and G. P. Stone. Naturally, the author alone is responsible for factual and logical defects.

II

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the migrations of Nguni-speaking Bantu people from the north had left what is now Zululand and Natal dotted with numerous small tribes. In Zululand there were about fifty of these exogamous "clans," as Bryant calls them (1929:82), varying in size from a few hundred to seven or eight thousand persons. The corporate, patrilineal kraal was the basic structural unit. Each of these was a separate, self-sustaining establishment (Kay 1834:109-10). At the death of the head, the kraal split, the inheriting son and sons of "secondary wives" establishing new homesteads (Krige 1936:41). At this time, tribal and sub-tribal divisions were still kinship units, over which senior male members of major lineages presided.

These tribes were not, apparently, very stable (Kridge 1936:217; Bryant 1964:125-41). Fission occurred as a result of disputed succession between brothers, quarrels between sub-tribes, or through a breach of the rule of exogamy, when the wife's lineage would then be regarded separate from her husband's. Sub-tribal and tribal divisions were continuously proliferated by these stresses. Before the early nineteenth century, each of these tribal groups was relatively autonomous — loosely linked by ties of affinal kinship. Chiefs of separate tribes organized "love dances" at which young persons were given the opportunity to mingle and seek out prospective spouses (Bryant 1929:190-91). Such occasions seem to have been the nearest to any sort of supra-tribal integration. Conflict between chiefdoms — over some breach of bride-payment or cattle raiding — resulted in fighting between the two groups. Such hostilities were neither very destructive nor decisive. Rival armies met at a prearranged time and place, drew up in lines facing one another and took up an elaborate exchange of formalized insults (Gibson 1911:7-9). Following a duel between two champions, each group hurled spears at the other. Casualties were never high, and there was not the slaughter that attended battles in later days (Bryant 1929:48). In fact, following such a "battle," a young man might retire with the enemy tribe to resume his courtship of one of its girls.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century this pattern was disrupted. Some of the larger and more powerful tribes, perhaps in the

interest of protection of their territories from cattle raids, undertook to subdue the smaller, and make them tributaries. One of these, the Metwa under its chief Dingiswayo, with an army of about 500 men, expanded its hegemony rapidly. Still, apart from payments of cattle and military aid, the surrounding tribes retained a great deal of autonomy; the original chiefs were left in control of their people, subject to Dingiswayo's protective authority (Bulpin 1959:9; Gibson 1911:17-18). Many submitted voluntarily to Metwa domination. The small Zulu tribe was one of these.

Shaka, chief of the Zulu, had been installed in office with the assistance of his patron Dingiswayo by the loan of the regiment to which Shaka belonged (Bird 1881, I:65). Shaka reorganized the small tribe's warriors along lines he had learned from his paramount. More than this, he introduced novel fighting techniques which put warfare on an entirely new plane (Ferguson 1918:219-21). The javelin was substituted by a short stabbing-spear, and in the interest of rapid mobility he forbade his men to wear sandals. To this he added a new and soldierly discipline: warriors who returned from battle without their spears or who fled were put to death as cowards.

Along with these innovations in the technology and the tactics of warfare, Shaka adopted an entirely new policy toward his enemies. The objective of his aggression was the conquest of his immediate neighbors, and the annihilation of those more remote (Grout 1864: 72).

> Whatever was to fear in the tribe must be eternally removed; whatever was good and serviceable must be appropriated by the victor as a reward of triumph and applied as a further strengthening of his position . . . Shaka's army, therefore, would charge the enemy, and, when it fled in panic, as inevitably it would, they would follow it vigorously home, kill its chief, and return with its cattle and women as booty. Then reduced, without a head, without women, without cattle, a vanquished clan had no resource but to avail itself of the "clemency" offered it with incorporation with the victor's own people (Bryant 1929:132).

Shaka built *ekandas* (or military kraals) in the territory of his new subjects and drafted their young men into his army. In some cases, his favorites were appointed chiefs *(induna)* of these districts as a reward for loyalty and military achievement. Other small

groups, attracted by the glory of his military success and the rich loot his armies brought home, joined him voluntarily (Bulpin 1952: 17).

In 1818, Dingiswayo's Metwa tribe was defeated by another powerful chief in a battle in which the Zulus had not participated. In the following year, Shaka himself crushed this tribe, and soon after incorporated them, along with his former rulers, the Metwa, into the budding state. Every year, he engaged in more extensive and violent campaigns. By 1823, he had crossed the Tugela river and invaded northern Natal (Gibson 1911:232-40). As a result of his ferocity, most of Natal was depopulated — either by the Zulu armies, or indirectly in the slaughter of lesser tribes fleeing before them (Fynn 1839:69). Shepstone estimated the total number of people thus dispersed at nearly a million (Gibson 1911:8-9).

In 1824, when the English trader Henry Fynn arrived in Natal, he found Shaka at the apogee of his career, installed in a capital two miles in circumference, with a standing army of 12,000 men (Bird 1888, I:76). Shaka dominated the witchfinders, and was able to use them to punish recalcitrant chiefs and members of his own council (Abrousset and Daumas 1842:274-75). "Proving" a rebellious *induna* to be an unconscious witch, Shaka had him executed, his kraal burned, and his cattle added to the royal herds (Bird 1888, I:109). Personal loyalty of the *indunas*, rewards of war booty, ritual and magical power, great wealth — all these factors gave Shaka tight rein over his council and the nation (Issacs 1939: 170). He ordered those of his brothers who seemed in the least capable of displacing him killed. Moreover, he never legally married so that there would be no sons to plot against him (Abrousset and Daumas 1842:279). He was able to delegate much more authority to his *indunas* than later kings; by Mpande's days, the right of life and death powers over their subjects was no longer legitimately part of chiefly office (Gluckman 1940:38).

Shaka's reign is usually described as tyrannous and cruel. He put many people to death for no apparent cause and demanded unquestioning obedience. He forbade trade with the British establishment at Port Natal (now Durban), since the king owned all ivory in the nation (Bird 1888, I:262). Annually, his wars added to the immense herds — in 1826, for example, he took 60,000 cattle from

the Ndwande tribe, and massacred nearly 40,000 of its people (Gibson 1911:28).

In 1828, while his army was engaged in a raid on the Swazi to the north, Shaka's brother, Dingane, murdered him. Dingane took the precaution of killing all of those who might challenge his succession, including brothers of Shaka. Then, he dispatched his fellow conspirators to remove all obstacles to his claims (Grout 1864: 76).

The campaign in the north had been a fiasco: the army, weakened by hunger and fever, never managed to corner their elusive quarry. Had Shaka been alive, many of the soldiers would surely have been executed for their failure. Thus, when the army returned and was met with Dingane's assurances that his rule would be more peaceful and merciful, it was disposed to support his succession (Bulpin 1952:50-51). He sought to win over the warriors by allowing the youngest regiment to marry (Ferguson 1918:203).

Initially, Shaka had clearly regarded Fynn and the other traders at Port Natal as another tribe (Grout 1864:70). The English adventurers were called upon to participate in his battles, and they began to attract to their district more and more retainers who fled from the more oppressive authority of their chieftainships. Under Dingane, relations between Zululand and the British were considerably more strained; in 1831 a Zulu force attacked and looted Port Natal. When it was reoccupied, a treaty in 1835 bound the British to turn back any refugees from Zululand. In addition, Dingane ordered all Zulu subjects living in Natal to relocate across the Tugela (Eybers 1918:149). His relations with the immigrant Boers were even less amicable. In 1837, a group of 70 trekkers petitioned Dingane for permission to settle in the vacant areas of Natal (Colenso 1855:xvi). He agreed, but required them first to demonstrate their good intentions by recapturing some cattle which had been taken by a northern tribe. When the party returned with the cattle, Dingane signed a treaty granting them all of Natal, including Port Natal (Eybers 1918:148). But the Boers never quit the royal kraal: Dingane ordered them all killed. Having observed the success of a small number of men armed with guns, the king responded in characteristic Zulu fashion to a potential threat of deposition (Holden 1963:57-63). He then mobilized the army and sent them to destroy

those Boers who had already begun to spread over Natal. By February 16, the Zulus had killed nearly 300 Boers and captured a large number of cattle (Gibson 1911:65-66).

For the next several years, the Zulu warriors and Europeans, both British and Dutch, struggled for the control of Natal; in 1839, 400 Boers defeated an enormous force of Zulus, killing 3,000, in the famous Battle of Blood River (Bird 1888, I:247). Dingane, now completely blocked on his southern and eastern frontiers, resolved that he must extend his territories, and initiated devastating raids on the northern tribes (Gibson 1911:79).

Dingane was rapidly losing command of the situation. In October 1839, his brother Mpande, accompanied by 17,000 followers, fled Zululand to the safety of white-occupied Natal (Colenso 1855: xxii). There the Boers proclaimed him "prince" of all Zulu refugees; Mpande's part of the bargain was to end witch-hunting and to appoint a successor on approval of the Boers (Holden 1963:93-95). Mpande received no direct military assistance from the Boers, but under their protection he was able to group his forces and successfully invade his brother's kingdom. On February 9, 1838, the Boers declared Mpande king, and the remainder of Dingane's army transferred their allegiance to the new ruler (Shepstone 1873:5). As payment for their services, the Boers claimed all the land between the Tugela and Black Umfolzi rivers, leaving Mpande only a small portion of the original Zulu territory (Bird 1888, I:595).

Mpande assiduously played the British against the Boers throughout his reign, and in 1842 a treaty was signed which returned most of Zululand to him (Bird 1888, II:65). Now, for the first time since before Shaka's days, there was relative tranquillity. Mpande staged no aggressive campaigns of any importance, and gave free entry to itinerant European traders, allowing them to deal directly with the commoners (Gibson 1911:100). He also granted game rights to professional ivory hunters, and allowed the missionaries who had fled in 1839 to re-enter Zululand (Bulpin 1952:101-19). Mpande was the first Zulu king to take wives legally, who bore him many sons in his 32 year reign.

Mpande's subjects came to feel that his rule was ineffectual, and that Zululand was drifting towards European dominance.

Eventually, competition between his sons for succession led to civil war. In 1856, the issue was settled on the battlefield. Thousands were killed, including six of Mpande's sons and there was a great exodus of refugees from the kingdom (Shepstone 1873:5). The king's son, Cetshwayo, was placed in control of the nation, though Mpande continued as titular sovereign. But he was substantially powerless to regulate internal disputes — in 1860, for example, Cetshwayo ordered the execution of one of his father's favorite sons and his mother, to insure his own succession to the throne (Bulpin 1952:125). When, in 1872, Mpande died of natural causes, his council requested British Secretary of Native Affairs, Sir T. Shepstone, to preside over Cetshwayo's coronation. Shepstone secured a promise of civil reform in Zululand, including the king's public oath that no citizen would be executed for a crime by any other authority than the king and, only then, after due process through a public trial (Shepstone 1873:15). Shepstone's interference in Zulu internal affairs was but an isolated example of many more that were soon to follow. By 1880, the Zulus and the English had fought a violent and bloody war, and Zulu independence was completely lost.

This short review of Zulu history illustrates several significant trends. The original, pre-Shakan, consolidations of tribal groups produced loosely integrated "federations" in which the component tribes retained a large measure of autonomy. Cattle-raiding was one of the most important motives for attacks on neighboring tribes, and success in these ventures made it possible for the Zulus to develop their military strength further, since the king used the spoils to support an increasingly larger standing army. The military kraals protected the king's wealth, allowed him to expand it, and provided a means of control over the defeated tribes. Those tribes too distant from the seat of central authority to be managed effectively, were dispersed or utterly destroyed, so that the borders of his kingdom were uninhabited. Under Shaka, kinship lost importance as a determinant of full political status. The districts were occupied by fragments of defeated tribes, and new ones were created. Shaka led his army personally and, through a network of spies, through loans of cattle to retainers, and other techniques indicated above, managed to keep tribal autonomy at a minimum.

But the system itself brought about its own disintegration: cruelty and harsh discipline made his brother's *coup d'état* possible. Indeed, Dingane was obliged to re-conquer much of Zululand after his succession:

> The Zulu nation, however, being composed of a multitude of tribes, that had been combined into one of Shaka, and which he alone had the ability to control, became insubordinate under Dingane, who was regarded by the tribes that had been annexed as having no claim on their allegiance (Fynn, quoted in Bird 1888, I:100).

Starting with Dingane, there was a process of gradual increase of tribal autonomy at the expense of central authority. This was a result of two factors, one "internal," another "external." First, Dingane found it expedient to relax the rules on marriage for his regiment. This was because the returns of looting were fewer in the depopulated Natal, and it had the consequence of diminishing his standing army. Instead of allowing these men to reside at the military kraals where he would have to feed them, they returned to their home districts where their local loyalties could wax more intense, proportionately enhancing the independence of district chiefs. While the Zulu state was expanding, new regiments were formed yearly, and very few were allowed to marry and pass into reserve. But,

> Under Dingane, the situation changed. The opportunities for profitable boy, girl, and cattle raids were much reduced . . . the king was tempted by the desire of saving his cattle to allow his regiment to marry, and therewith, to pass over into the reserves which he did not have to feed (Ferguson 1918:203).

Similarly, Shepstone observed that Dingane carried out Shaka's policies with less success and ability and that, when Mpande took over ". . . Zulu power was gone, never again to revive to its former dimensions" (Shepstone 1873:4). Mpande's "weakness" was clearly a consequence of decreasing material resources :

> The captains and chief men of the regiments on service are expected to spend their time mainly at the king's residence, or principal kraal, where they have huts; their food being forewarded to them from their own people. The custom of the land is that these chiefs in attendance should receive gratuities of cattle from the king, in recognition of their services. In the time of Shaka and Dingane, the payment was easily made. There was then constant war, and there was always abundance of spoil to be divided. Pande

> (Um-Pande), however, came into power in the interests of peace. As soon as he was firmly seated on his throne, he found himself closely hemmed in by his Dutch and English neighbors, and had to depend entirely upon his own internal resources for carrying on his government. The consequence has been, that the chief men assembled at the king's palace have often been in a starving state; and when they have gone home to their kraals, at the expiration of their court-attendance, they have often been forced to do so empty-handed. Now and then, an excuse has been found to get rid of a wealthy subject, in consequence of a snake having made its appearance at some particular spot: and to constitute the royal person his heir. Pande's soldiers have, nevertheless, had but small pickings since his accession, and upon more than one occasion have had to disperse in search of food for themselves. This state of matters has furnished grounds for a growing dissatisfaction with the king (Grout 1864: 346-347).

In these straits, Mpande was led to relieve the pressure on his resources by allowing his eldest sons to establish their own kraals. Immediately, the most dissatisfied of the king's followers attached themselves to one or the other of these new chiefs, and Mpande was unable to restrain the rivalry that developed between them. At the time of Mpande's death, of his negotiations with Cetshwayo, Shepstone wrote:

> My proposals were unpalatable to the nobles, but were warmly supported by him (Cetshwayo). He evidently felt that the heads of the people had become possessed of a power which it was in his interest to curtail. I held the balance between the two, and, as it seemed to be my duty, I took advantage of the position I occupied (Shepstone 1873:19).

Indeed, Vijn's account of Cetshwayo's administration demonstrates vividly his incapacity to maintain internal order (Vijn 1880). His chiefs disobeyed him, the people poached from the royal herds, and in the end, overruled by his councilors, he went to war with the British against his will.

Viewed broadly, Zulu political development can therefore be characterized in terms of the autonomy of its tribal components: in its phase of most accelerating expansion, these system parts had low autonomy; and, as the economic resources of the state necessarily shrank, tribal autonomy was reasserted.

The "outside" factor which contributed to decentralization was the arrival of Europeans. At first, these traders were an insignificant

threat to the king's authority, but this state of affairs did not last long. The first real evidence of a European threat is Dingane's treaty of 1835 in which Port Natal agreed to turn back renegade Zulu subjects (Colenso 1855:xi-xii). In effect, the small colony was no longer a Zulu tribe. By 1838, natives from Port Natal were raiding into Zululand proper and skipping back to the settlement where they were secure from Dingane (Bird 1888, I:354). By Mpande's time, the king was compelled to request permission of whites for raids, and this was always refused.

The Zulu State: Stability and Pluralist Politics

In *African Political Systems* Gluckman describes the Zulu nation during the reign of king Mpande in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (1940:25-55). Outside of the royal capital, the nation was divided into numerous tribal districts, each subject to the authority of a chief, which were further subdivided into what Gluckman calls "wards," each under the control of a subchief or *induna.* According to Gluckman, "It was this military orientation of Zulu culture under the king which largely unified his people" (1940:31). The regiment of soldiers belonged to the king, and lived in barracks surrounding the capital. Only the king could mobilize the army, and only he could organize national hunts or command the men to labor in the fields. Chiefs, who comprised the king's council, had no military authority attached to their office — the regimental system, in fact, intersected territorial divisions, so that any regiment included residents of many districts. The commanders of regiments were princes of the royal lineage, and, in some cases, important district chiefs. Gluckman observes that the loyalty soldiers owed to them deprived the king of personal followers.

Gluckman portrays the Zulu state as a collectivity of tribes, whose separate identities were symbolized by their chiefs, who were sometimes supported by loyal followers in dispute with the king or over the kingship. There was bitter hostility and rivalry between districts, and between chiefs in competition for royal favor. Similarly, there was opposition between wards within a district. But this common territorial loyalty was disjoined by membership in regiments: soldiers from many districts might join together in support of their prince-commander in, say, disputes over succession, thus aligning themselves with men from otherwise hostile chieftain-

ships and against fellow district residents who belonged to other regimental groups. Segmentation of descent groups was associated with political and economic mobility — war booty, rewards from the king, and increase in the herds multiplied territorial units and created new officials who represented kinsmen and retainers.

For every level in the administrative hierarchy, Gluckman describes checks on the abuse of political power. Kings, and chiefs as well, were wise to rule justly lest their subjects revolt against them or desert them. The Zulu, furthermore,

> had no idea of any political organization other than hereditary chieftainship and their stage of social development did not conduce to the establishment of new types of regime ... the king ... had to meet rivals, not revolutionaries (1940:42).

> The tension between the king and his brothers was a check on the king's rule ... In addition, because the Zulu were strongly attached to their immediate political heads, the chiefs, and would even support them against the king, the chiefs had power to control the actions of the king (1940:43).

Still, chiefs were dependent on the king; he could increase the power of a favorite, plot with the rivals of a troublesome chief, or even accuse them of sorcery. Chiefs ruled under analogous conditions within their districts, except that they were liable to additional sanctions, since their subjects could appeal over their heads to higher authority — the king.

Gluckman views the maintenance of this system as dependent on the juxtaposition of structurally equivalent groups, and (potentially) conflicting loyalties to different authorities. Ultimate sovereignty belonged to the people, among whom "... the main opposition was between similar groups, co-operating as parts of a larger group" (1940:54). In Zululand,

> ... under the conditions of communication prevailing over the vast Zulu territory, the nation was stable as its component tribes were hostile. A tyrannous king would unite the tribes against him, but they combined under him to prevent any tribe from becoming too powerful (Gluckman 1958:33).

Consequently, the nature of kingship produces competition for the office, and the opposition between tribes prevents any one tribe from dominating the others :

> ... social life breeds conflict, and societies by their customary arrangements (which I accept as given) accentuate conflicts (Gluckman 1959 a:46).

And :

> ... I do feel that the principle that, in some circumstances civil war can keep a nation united, might be applied more fully than it is (Gluckman 1959 a:47-48).

This brief account of Gluckman's analysis shows his discovery of the persistence of political structures in the balanced opposition of "interest groups." In this respect, he shares concern with numerous writers in the pluralist theory of politics. Indeed, Gluckman finds this analysis appropriate in many other contexts. He applies it to Nuer, the Swazi, and Great Britain (1959 a); and elsewhere to Plains Indians, the Northern Bushman, the Tikopia, and factory workers of the "bank wiring room" (1959 b:76-77). In short, he views pluralist opposition as a necessary feature of every integrated social system.

In effect, Gluckman speaks of two types of pluralism among the Zulu :

1. *Linked pluralism,* in which a balance is struck by the cross-cutting of alliances and interests. This was observed in the overlapping of military and territorial status.

2. *Superimposed pluralism,* in which balance is reached between exclusive conflict groups, in this case the tribes, in which no one group is able to dominate the other. [2]

Now, Gusfield (1962) has argued that pluralist opposition, especially of the second type, promotes conflict in any society, and that there is nothing in pluralist politics *per se* which guarantees the existence of substantive consensus in a society. That is, groups whose interests are threatened, or who lose out in the game of politics, must have some commitment to the society as a whole, to its goals and constituted authority. Otherwise, they will withdraw from the game, or attempt extremist alterations of the system.

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[2] Readers will note the difference in the usage of this term "pluralism" in the anthropological and sociological literature: with exceptions, it refers to superimposition of divergent interests in the former, and their intersection in the latter.

Gluckman's analysis does not adequately provide for such consensus among the Zulu. He merely asserts the common belief in cultural values — takes them "as given" — and does not show how such commitment is maintained. Moreover, he accounts for stability *in spite of* the central authority, in the automatic balancing of conflicts. We have seen, in reviewing Zulu history, that the nation was in fact least stable and most subject to change at just those periods when intranational hostility was the greatest. The hostility which he sees as integrative was in fact quite disintegrative when it was not controlled by a resourceful authority.[3]

We must then agree with Shapera (1956:175-176) that the evidence does not fully support Gluckman's conclusions. Political alienation, expressed for example, by mass movement out of Zululand, was most intense when tribal autonomy was at its highest. So, equilibrium was not a function simply of the extent of intergroup hostility.

Gluckman, as I indicated, finds stability flowing from both linked and superimposed pluralism. He does not, however, discuss the relationship between these two types of segmentation : whether they are complementary or opposing tendencies, or whether one of them or the other is more indispensable for political integration. Later, in discussing endogenous and exogenous change, we shall return to this problem; I suggest here that, to maintain a given degree of stability, strong commitment to central authority is required more when superimposed rather than linked opposition is greatest.

Rebellion and Revolution

Gluckman asserts that the incumbents of political office were replaced by rebellion, but that the political structures persisted intact (1940:42; 1958:32-33; 1959 b:1-26). Thus, Zulus did not *revolt*, he maintains, because they conceived of no other system, and because their rebellions served to reassert the moral value of their political beliefs. The data do not confirm this interpretation. As we have seen, when Shaka, the first great Zulu king, was murdered by his

[3] Note in this context Kaberry's statement regarding the Soga: "Clearly, a state which is continually riven by civil war in which kinsman is set against kinsman and villager against villager, is more unstable than one in which civil wars do not occur and in which basic social alignments tend to persist" (1957:229).

brother, the new king agreed to relax the rule that warriors in the standing army might not marry. This, and other changes which he introduced indicate that, while the principle of hereditary kingship was not abandoned, the nature of public duty for citizens was discernibly recast. Similarly, when king Mpande deposed his brother with the support of Boer trekkers, he agreed to numerous constitutional changes, including the abolition of "smelling-outs" or witch-hunts (Bird 1888, I:1509).

These were instances of obvious constitutional or structural change, suggesting that the distinction between revolution and rebellion is not a simple qualitative one. Attempts at governmental change, violent or not, may be directed at only part of the total structure. As Ralf Dahrendorf has proposed, the intensity, violence, and radicalness of political change are profitably treated as *variables* (1959:206-40). Rebellion and revolution, in the sense which Gluckman employs the terms are not absolutely different in kind, because both may be accompanied by political change. Perhaps the terms may be more appropriately used in this context to designate the amount of the total structure which a movement seeks to replace. The two modes of change are extremes on a scale of radicalness of structural change.

Finally, Gluckman fails to appreciate that armed resistance was not the sole response to an oppressive king. The component tribes were not always united in their struggle *against* a tyrant, for on many occasions large portions of the nation fled to safety. As I have suggested, the tendency to adopt this alternative seems to depend on the degree of political alienation of groups and, the extent of the resources of the kingship.

Rituals of Rebellion

Each year, the entire nation gathered at the capital for the most important phase of the agricultural cycle, the First Fruits ceremonies (Krige 1936:249-60). This was also an occasion for review of the army, and the king's prime minister proclaimed new laws to those assembled. Another outstanding ceremony of this event was a period of "free speech" when Zulus, commoners and nobles alike, approached the king and attacked his behavior in a most abusive fashion. At any other time, one would have suffered

immediate death for such action. Gluckman (1959a; 1963) believes that such rituals of rebellion can take place only in an established and unchallenged social order. Then, they function as a means of catharsis (1963:126), and serve to demonstrate national cohesion. They express the society's ultimate values — some of them contradictory — on a "mystical plans," and the moral order is reaffirmed (1959a:136). Ritual rebellions support divine kingship just as real ones do.

> When a kingdom becomes integrated by a complex economy and rapid communication system, palace intrigues may continue, but the comparatively simple process of segmentation and rebellion are complicated by class-struggles and tendencies to revolution (Gluckman 1963:131).

Norbeck (1963) has challenged Gluckman's interpretation on both empirical and theoretical grounds. First, he argues that ritual acts may not always have moral significance. Secondly, Norbeck claims the data do not indicate that real conflict attended all such ceremonies. Finally, he maintains that antagonism and hostility are not necessarily equivalents of rebellion. To these points I would add that Gluckman neglects the *instrumental* consequences of these occasions, and their potential contribution to political change.

Ritter's account of this ceremony indicates that it was something more than an opportunity to "work off steam"; people were free to make quite reasoned requests, and to debate the wisdom or legitimacy of the king's policies (1955:161-63). An observer of the ritual relates,

> ... the king could be insulted with impunity ... and there are free interrogations to which the king is bound to reply. Sometimes they denounce him in the presence of all, blame his acts, stigmatise them as infamous and cowardly, oblige him to explain, destroy the reasoning in his answer, then dissecting them and unmasking their falsehood ... (Delegorgue, quoted in Krige 1936:260).

In addition to their cathartic effects, Gluckman's rituals of rebellion appear to have had the important consequence of allowing direct participation by the people in the governmental process. Their wants and complaints could be expressed so that the king might consider them in his decisions. These rituals can be seen as sources of change as well as stability — a means of participation in legislation at the same time as they provided the king with a measure of popular support for established national policy.

Conflict, Change, and Equilibrium

Gluckman's examination of change within his model of the social system begins with a discussion of conflict. He considers discord a universal social process which operates in all types of equilibria. "All social relationships have two aspects, one, of fission, in which divergent interests tend to rupture the relationship, the other of fusion, by which the common ties in a system of social cohesion reconcile these divergent interests" (Gluckman 1958:47). Social groups, then, are defined in terms of their opposition to other groups. Up to this point, we are substantially in agreement. However, his subsequent analysis of the relation between change and conflicts reflects the misplaced emphasis of an integrationalist position. Insofar as Gluckman is tied to a model of dynamic equilibrium, he is absorbed in demonstrating how systems maintain themselves intact in the presence of conflict.[4] What is more, his position leads him to seek causes of extensive change "outside" of the system.

Gluckman contrasts repetitive with changing social systems. In the former, "... conflicts can be *wholly resolved* and co-operation wholly achieved within the pattern of the system" (1959a:54, italics added). Only partial resolution of conflict is possible in changing systems, and a "dominant cleavage" develops which represents unresolvable inequalities that color or shape all other subsidiary social conflicts.[5] Gluckman is never clear about just *how*, or through what mechanisms, conflict gives change, but he asserts that "... every change heightens the disturbance, accelerates, and the ultimate alteration of pattern is violent and rapid" (1958:47). The process, then, is one of cyclical periods of stability and change. Numerous difficulties in such an analysis would be avoided with the incorpora-

[4] Cohen (1965) points out that, in Gluckman's and others' work, there are logically other outcomes to the tensions in social systems than the balancing of opposing forces; and the equilibrium theorists have in fact chosen the least probable one. Concerning Gluckman's analysis of Bemba succession, Cohen notes that, "He simply assumes that the system will not change over time, even though unconstitutional means for gaining the throne have been and will continue to be used" (1965:955).

[5] The distinction between repetitive and changing systems is, of course, akin to that of Marx between changes *of* and changes *within* systems. Coser (1957:201), in a discussion of equilibrium and continuity, recognizes that the distinction is, moreover, a relative one.

tion of considerations such as those of Dahrendorf (1959), who sees conflict as an inescapable result of dichotomously distributed authority in "imperatively coordinated associations." The existence of conflict is not merely asserted, but deduced from the necessary divergence of certain social roles. For this reason, conflict can never be resolved, but only regulated. It must generate structure change, however imperceptibly, because its existence implies, for at least one party to social transactions, dissatisfaction with the *status quo*. Conflict does not exhibit these properties in Gluckman's work, as is demonstrated by his qualitative distinction between stationary and changing systems.

Dahrendorf takes the heuristic posture of Marx in which conflict and change are deduced from structures themselves. Accordingly, replacing a bad king with a good one, would not remove the necessary opposition in king-subject power relations. Nor would it insure against change in the structure of these relations. The problem consequently becomes one of determining empirically the *variables* of change. Systems may change violently or not, rapidly or slowly; the parties to conflict may be more or less intensively involved in the struggle, but change itself procedes. Change is *endogenous* — built into the structure of society. Gluckman, on the other hand, looks "outside" of the system for the sources of change. The explanation for the instability of early Nguni intertribal relations lies in the limits of productiveness of the natural habitat (1940:16), and not in the structure of the groups who exploited it. The decline of the Zulu empire, similarly, was ultimately brought about by events of European commercial history which deposited whites in Africa. In both cases, the integration of the parts of the system — its equilibrium — is disturbed by some change in its environment. He thus describes Zulu history in three successive stages of equilibrium (1958:47). The first is represented as pre-Shakan tribal juxtaposition; second, the period of Zulu national sovereignty; and finally, the native-white Zululander community. Initial consolidation was the outcome of population pressure on available resources that made further segmentation impossible. Social equilibrium was upset, and smaller tribal groups began to lose their independence.

The data presented above seem to me to admit of other conclusions. The development of centralized authority was the result

of the structural and economic "program" of Nguni society. Since wealth in the form of cattle was a motive for inter-tribal raiding, and since any differential increment in these resources or the ability to exploit them (i.e. technological) would give one group an edge over others, rapid and violent conquest might have been predicted. But what produced *centralized* authority was, among other things, the existence of age-grading and the support of military personnel at *ekandas*. The concentration of force was necessary to protect the chief's resource, and this in turn made extension of his wealth possible, which demanded still more security. Had any of numerous factors been absent, say, dispersal or war spoils among individuals rather than their concentration in the hands of the chief, then a centralized political state would probably not have emerged.

For Gluckman, "The problem is, why Nguni development did not continue to produce an increasing number of small tribes whose relations with one another were alternately friendly and hostile, but instead led to the establishment of a centralized authority" (1958: 30-31). What I am suggesting is that conflict between rival groups that were structurally equivalent and different in size was to be expected. Furthermore, the structural "solution" to this antagonism existed in the system just as did the forces which produced it. Gluckman points to segmentation of the tribal units, but fails to appreciate that the principles of hereditary political leadership, delegated authority and military organization also existed before consolidation, and provided a blueprint for that consolidation.

This argument is borne out by the facts of ensuing Zulu history. Marx saw the seeds of destruction of bourgeois society in those very structural features that made capitalist enterprise so successful. Success itself generated tensions which ultimately destroyed the system. I contend that analogous processes were at work in Zulu political development. The extraordinary success of Shaka's military expansion and the organization on which it rested imposed limits to the extent and duration of effective central control over previously more autonomous tribes. In this light, Shaka's policy of annihilating the Natal tribes was eminently sound. Given the importance of force as one means of control, the nature of his military organization, and the limits of his reach (Zulu companies were capable of marching about 50 miles per day), it was necessary that the territory surrounding

his own should be vacant. A structurally similar buffer state would not have been acceptable, because it would have been competitive, and would have provided a source of convenient asylum for dissidents among his subjects.

It is important to recognize, moreover, that after the state crystallized — when its borders were more clearly defined — the pattern of Zulu raiding changed accordingly. No longer interested in campaigns of conquest, Shaka's annual forays were directed to replenishing his herds. Dingane, we recall, did not consider the *conquest* of Swaziland until his southern and eastern frontiers were threatened by Europeans.[6]

No less significant than the territorial limits to the extent of Zulu control, was another restriction of its structural persistence. First, since many of the northern tribes did not keep cattle, and because they developed techniques for evasion of Zulu war parties, expeditions against them became unprofitable. Secondly, thoroughness in the plunder of neighboring tribes made it necessary for Shaka to go farther and farther afield each year. For example, in 1828, Fynn managed to dissuade Shaka from his scheme of descending on Cape Frontier natives (Ludlow 1882:190-95).

The arrival of Europeans, it is true, inhibited the continuation of foreign raids. Nevertheless, the efficiency of Zulu political organization already had had the same effect. It was therefore to be expected that every year would see a diminution in the number of cattle added to the royal kraals. This was a consequence of the structure of the Zulu state, and must be seen to have produced instability and conflict within the state which engendered alteration of that structure. Since cattle were the substance of Zulu economy and since the size of the king's herds gave him the means of binding his chiefs to the support of his office, then the shrinking of these herds must have resulted in a proportionate loss of commitment *to the office* and change in the outcome of conflict between the ruler and his subordinates. Note, in this context, that Mpande

[6] Otterbein (1967) documents thoroughly the changes in Zulu warfare, showing the transitions from simple dueling battles to campaigns, with intermediate stages of battles of subjugation and of conquest. Note here, some differences in estimates of numbers of casualties, size of armies, etc. In spite of these differences and the difficulties in making such estimates, the "evolution" of warfare patterns is quite clear.

began to use the strategy of divining sorcery to confiscate the cattle of wealthy *indunas*. Foreign raids were no longer profitable and he had to look within the kingdom to maintain his herds. Again, Ferguson insightfully observed that Mpande's successor was able to revive the Zulu regimental system only because he placed it on a new political and economic basis (Ferguson 1918:216).

I do not, of course, deny the relevance of ecological variables in understanding the development of a centralized state.[7] I do, however, insist that the Zulu data are an instance of the persistent processes of change. Gluckman does acknowledge that conflict is inherent in social relationships, but does not sufficiently recognize that it causes social systems to change *continuously*. It may be methodologically useful to insist that repetitive change is comprehensible only insofar as it refers to regular processes within phenomena that have structure (e.g., role-allocation and socialization). But to distinguish change and conflict absolutely *within* and *of* the system discloses traces of the integration preoccupation in social analysis. Such analysis reflects a static conception of the social system, because if conflict is indeed ubiquitous, then "system" is no longer the point of reference.

Social continuity, then, does not contradict the actual absence of structural stability. As Dahrendorf notes, the very idea of structure is an "analytic expedient." The temporal borderlines between successive structures must be fictitious : "... at any given point of time they (structures) either are no longer, or not yet what they appear to be. Process and change are their very nature and indicate therefore superordinate categories of analysis" (1959:121).

Earlier, I pointed to an ambiguity in Gluckman's treatment of superimposed and linked pluralism, and also suggested that the distinction between revolution and rebellion is not a qualitative one, in the sense that their distinguishing characteristics, for example their respective consequences for change, are better understood as variables. There is a related ambiguity in his conception of the "boundaries" of the Zulu political system : he does not adequately portray that the relationship between the various component tribes

[7] Leach (1954) has argued against seeking the causes of social and political change entirely in ecological considerations, and has analyzed a case of cyclical change with its source in a "defect" of a social system.

of the nation was variable in the extent to which they were "in the system," i.e., to which their autonomy was low. Similarly, in the relationships between the Zulu and neighboring states such as the Swazi and Tonga (and the Europeans, for that matter), it is seldom possible to clearly draw a line of demarcation between them. In this case too, interdependence and autonomy were highly variable. Gouldner's suggestions concerning "functional autonomy" of system parts are illuminating in this matter. Criticizing Parsons, he writes :

> Here the point is stressed that social systems may be looked upon as composed of parts having varying degree of functional autonomy and interdependence; thus the difference between the external and the internal, the "inside" and the "outside" of the system, is not an absolute distinction, and the thickness or permeability of the system boundaries varies at different zones (1959:264).

This idea is indispensable in following Zulu history : I have spoken of the "tribes" that eventually comprised the state (in modified form) as undergoing a process of loss of autonomy to growing central authority. Similarly, districts of the nation were seen to have reasserted autonomy as economic and other means of control over them waned. In both phases, *interdependence* was high. The autonomy of districts with respect to the kingship was enhanced after 1880, but almost completely lost with respect to the British political hierarchy. The perspective of change expounded here agrees with Gouldner's in that he finds that the very striving of the system to satisfy its needs can generate tension insofar as it encroaches on the functional autonomy of its parts (remembering that the boundary between parts and non-parts is ambiguous). Tension or conflict between mutually interdependent parts is one source of "endogenous" change (Gouldner 1959:261).

This, however, means that an absolute distinction between endogenous and exogenous change can no longer be maintained. We are required to recognize a quantitative distinction between repetitive and changing processes. Thus, change arising from conflict between Zulu districts is merely different in degree from change which involved, say, the Zulu and the British. The poles of the continuum of endogenous and exogenous change correspond to a similar contrast in linked and superimposed pluralism, i.e.,

Pluralism :	Superimposed	⟷	Linked
Source of Change :	Exogenous		Endogenous

Consequently, since we may focus on variables such as violence, that are affected by the extent of superimposition or dissociation of conflicts, in considering the extent to which change originates inside or outside of the system, our attention is directed to the functional autonomy and degree of interdependence of the parts involved. Cases of "culture contact" are at one of the poles of the continuum. Less superimposed was the conflict between the seventeenth century Nguni tribes, since these were not culturally heterogeneous. [8]

Summary and Conclusions

That many anthropologists have seen qualitative differences between processes of change may have been a result of having studied relatively isolated societies, of stressing environmental influences on their structure and its modification, and of working with empirical situations of culture contact or acculturation. Students of acculturation, for instance, ought to consider it a phenomenon of change not absolutely unlike others "within" societies. Social mobility, socialization, and urbanization of rural populations are process of change which involve features similar to the acculturation of tribal peoples to Western values. Recognition of this should lead us to search for the *variables* that describe similarities and differences in structure and process.

Gluckman's treatment of Zulu history has been found lacking in certain respects. Still, it is reasonable to expect, for example, that conflict and its expression can play a role in structural continuity. The position advanced here is that any comprehensive model must accommodate both possibilities simultaneously. Complete analysis of a case such as the Zulu empire is a prodigious undertaking, demanding both structural and dynamic approaches. Even on a smaller scale, we must be ready to see elements of "rituals of rebellion" that both insulate a system from change and, at the same time, promote change.

A final word. The stature of Gluckman as a theorist is clearly reflected in his willingness to consider new points of view, and to

[8] See Murphy (1964). This article came to my attention after the present argument was formulated. It agrees in principle with Murphy's insistence that acculturation is a process not qualitatively different from other types of culture processes. He maintains, rightly, that assumptions about the autonomy and isolation of primitive societies have not been warranted.

effect far-reaching alterations in his own thinking. A great many of the criticisms made of Gluckman's past work could not be said to hold today, as he seems less attached to a qualitative image of the social system. Witness, for example, a statement from his introduction to *Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa*: "I now abandon altogether the type of organic analogy . . . which led me to speak of civil war as being necessary to maintain the system" (1963:38).

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On Iroquois Incest

by THOMAS H. CHARLTON

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente plusieurs déclarations contradictoires au sujet de la règle de l'inceste chez les Iroquois. L'auteur suggère que la règle de l'inceste n'est pas matrilatérale mais bien bilatérale.

INTRODUCTION

While carrying out research for a seminar paper dealing with the Iroquois kinship system, I encountered a great deal of ambiguity, uncertainty, and a general lack of specific data on things Iroquois.[1] This situation held true for such specific features of the kinship system as the incest tabu, the nature of descent, and the kinship terminology. Other aspects of Iroquois culture, such as post-marital residence, also lacked precision of definition.

Although there were some original contributions both from more recent field work and from historical studies, much of the literature I examined relied quite heavily on Morgan's classic studies of the Iroquois. It is possible that a detailed analysis of the many historic documents pertaining to the Iroquois would clear up some of the difficulties encountered. For such a task I possessed neither the time nor the resources.

I would like, however, to present a survey of various statements made about the Iroquois rule of incest, with their consequent implications for the Iroquois rule of descent. It is my contention that any kinship system which has been used by many authors as a major "type" in their schemes of kinship classification should have much better documentation than that of the Iroquois. Through an examination of the various statements in the literature concerning the incest rule I shall illustrate the lack of consistent documentation on

[1] This is a revised version of a paper submitted to Dr. M. S. Edmonson at Tulane University, June, 1962.

this aspect of the Iroquois kinship system. Subsequently I shall offer an explanation to reconcile these differences.

STATEMENTS ON THE IROQUOIS RULE OF INCEST

Morgan, in 1851, indicated that marriage was prohibited only between members of the same matrilineal clan, and that this prohibition at one time extended to include moieties. The rule did not apply to paternal relations (1954:79). He stated again, in 1857, that an individual could marry into his father's clan, but that marriage was forbidden within his own clan, and formerly within his own-moiety (1857:134). He repeated essentially the same statements in 1877 (1877:90) and 1881 (1881:10).

In the work of Morgan one can see an extension of basic incest tabus to members of the matrilineal clan and moiety. Murdock (1949:303-306) suggested that the Iroquois had, in his terms, a Normal Matrilineal Extension of the incest tabu. He defined this type of incest rule extension as "marriage prohibitions extended matrilineally to sibmates or other persons with whom kinship is assumed but cannot actually be traced genealogically" (1949:303). He also noted an absence of any bilateral extension of marriage regulations beyond secondary relatives and an absence of such extensions in the patrilineal line.

Carr (1887:219) supported Morgan's earlier work with the statement that there were no marriage restrictions aside from the restrictions against marrying a member of the same matrilineal clan. Parker (1916:42) has shown that the Iroquois constitution included a clause prohibiting marriage between members of the same clan through all the tribes.

In 1917 Barbeau (1917:392-396) stated that the original exogamic units were the clans although the rules of exogamy previously had included members of the same moiety. He suggested that with the decline in importance of the moiety in the social structure there had been a recession of the rule of exogamy from its extended position.

Later authors have reiterated the general position on Iroquois incest regulations as first expounded by Morgan. Murdock (1934;

1949; 1957), Quain (1937), Fenton (1940), Lowie (1948), Voget (1953), Jenness (1958) and Driver (1961) have accepted Morgan's statements. Yet there are other works pertaining to the Iroquois which indicate features of kinship and social structure which, if correct, differ fundamentally from the position outlined by Morgan.

Beauchamp (1886:86) pointed out certain inconsistencies in Morgan's data on Iroquois clans and political structure. He indicated the possibility of patrilineal descent and clan membership among the Oneida and/or Onondaga.

Speck (1923:285) recorded a case of patrilineal inheritance of land privileges among the northern Mohawk. He interpreted the presence of patrilineal inheritance among an otherwise matrilineal people as being due to diffusion from the Algonkian people to the north.

According to Quain (1937:266) there was a "tendency for seasoned warriors to take charge of the early military training of their sons and grandsons." This fact is suggestive of some affiliation with patrilineal relatives.

The possibility of patrilineal descent and kinship affiliation received its greatest elaboration and discussion by Métais (1956) who suggested that the Iroquois possessed a form of double descent, with named matrilineal clans and unnamed patrilineal clans (1956: 297, 385, 393, 400). An individual would inherit different essential elements from each of these clans. The patrilineal clan was a territorially localized group.

With this descent system he has associated bilateral cross-cousin marriage occurring between two moieties, each composed of several matrilineal clans. The incest rule originally included matrilineal clan members, but was extended later to include the moiety, from which it had recently receded (1956:293). The preferred, and possibly only marriage, was between two individuals who stood in the relation of cross-cousin to each other (1956:384). Métais also agreed with Quain in stating that the paternal grandfather and a male grandchild had a particular friendship relation (1956:373, 377).

Eggan (1955) also suggested that Iroquois social structure may have been based on cross-cousin marriage. Richards (1957:40) men-

tioned that an informant told her that the Mohawks reckoned descent through the father.

There are no statements in the literature about the application of incest tabus to these patrilineal relations, with the exception of the bilateral incest tabus to be discussed later. Yet the existence of socially significant patrilineal relationships, which appears to have escaped notice, is a fact which should be accounted for if an ambiguous situation is to be cleared up. Are they aboriginal or are they diffusions from a dominant patrilineal society? Are there incest tabus associated with them?

Although I do not possess any information about the extension of incest regulations to patrilineally based social groups, there are definite suggestions that these regulations did apply to the matrilineal clan of one's father. In the terms of Murdock (1949: 303) this would be Maximal Matrilineal Extension of marriage regulations, "marriage prohibitions extended to the actual or assumed matrilineal kinsmen of the father, as well as to those of Ego and his mother."

Swanton (1905:668), cited Hewitt, when he stated that: "The same abhorrence to marriage into the clan of one's father exists among the... Iroquois..." He used the term clan to refer to an exogamic matrilineal descent group. There was no reference to any publication by Hewitt concerning this statement.

Two years later, Hewitt (1907c) made a similar statement in an article on the family. He stated that with the birth of a child certain rights and obligations of the father's clan to the child became effective. The child's family contained both the mother's clan and the father's clan. He (1907c:450) added:

> These two clans are exogamic groups, entirely distinct before the child's birth, and form two subdivisions of a larger group of kindred — the family — of which any given person, the propositus, is the focal point or point of juncture. Strictly speaking, both clans form incest groups in relation to him.

This is the only reference made by Hewitt to such an extension of the incest tabu. In his article on Clan and Gens (1907b) he did again mention the obligations which existed between the husband's clan and the clan of his wife and children, but merely indicated

that individuals practiced clan and moiety exogamy. He mentioned the presence of this type of incest tabu in articles on the Cayuga (1907a), the Iroquois (1907d), the Mohawks (1907e), the Oneida (1910a), the Onondaga (1910b) and the Seneca (1910c).

He repeated the clan and moiety exogamy regulations in 1914 at which time he also mentioned that the two moieties represented the masculine and feminine in nature. This classification appears to have greatly influenced the work of Métais in his elaboration of a basic bipartite social organization of the Iroquois and in his statements concerning both patrilineal and matrilineal clans associated with a division of the external world found in the world view of the Iroquois.

In 1932 Hewitt made several more specific statements about Iroquois incest rules. He (1932:476) described the clan as being composed of a number of *ohwachira* or matrilineal extended families. An *ohwachira* is :

> an organized body of persons tracing descent of blood from a common mother, the members being bound together by the ties of common blood, the strongest bonds known to primitive men, and so forming an exogamic incest group by a rigid inhibition of sexual relations among its members formerly under the penalty of death to the guilty couple.

This incest tabu extended to the clan formed by the combination of several *ohwachira*, creating larger exogamic units. He does not mention any further extension to the clan of the husband, although he (1932:481) again indicates the important obligations and duties which existed between the husband's clan and that of his wife and children.

> So strong was the tabu of incest among the members of an ohwachira that, in the event that a child was engendered by an incestuous act, it was declared to have no father's kinsmen, and so could not share in the rights due it from a father's clansmen and clanswomen.

Quain (1937:274) pointed out the important relationships which often occurred between boys and men of their father's clan. "Though friendships thus established were essentially of a ceremonial nature, the older man often took a permanent interest in the child." Fenton (1951:44) also mentioned the importance of the father's

clan to the individual. Métais (1956:366) indicated that the two clans were linked through marriage and the birth of children to the couple.

The statements I have examined so far have referred to unilineal relations, and the possibility of an extension of incest tabus to include any or all of them. Besides these there are also statements in the literature indicating a bilateral application of incest rules, which would include the unilineal relations mentioned as well as the mother's patrilineal kinsmen.

Goldenweiser (1914a, 1914b) affirmed the presence of regulations prescribing clan exogamy for the individual and suggested that these regulations had previously extended to include the moiety. At the time of his field work this extension was no longer in effect. He (1914a:467) did note, however, the presence of bilateral kindred among the Iroquois.

> On the one hand a family was constituted by one's relatives on the father's and the mother's side. This group was united by ties of the classificatory system of relationship . . . The group also figured in a number of family ceremonies, and was important in connection with marriages; it was also appealed to by the individual in numerous matters of personal behaviour . . . Of far greater significance, however, was the group we may designate as the maternal family.

He also mentioned (1914b) that the incest rule among the Iroquois had no totemic implications, although it extended to all persons bearing the same clan name despite lack of actual genealogical relationship.

Goldenweiser (1922:73-77), however, failed to mention this family group, which in his earlier statements appears to have been a bilateral kindred. Instead he put forward the usual statements that the smallest unit in Iroquois society was the maternal family, which combined with others formed the clan, several clans in turn being combined into moieties. The incest rule formerly applied to the moiety, although by this time it had become restricted to the clan.

I have interpreted Goldenweiser's statements to indicate the presence of a bilateral kindred among the Iroquois. Fenton (1941: 44), however, has described a kindred among the Iroquois which consisted of a combination of the clans of the two parents.

> Locally the household is a powerful unit of public opinion and the core of Iroquois polity. It is balanced on the father's side by his maternal household or lineage, one's father's kinsmen (agadoni) and by extension his clansmen presided over by the father's sister, or her female forebear. The two comprise the kindred, one's body of relations.

Statements by Swanton (1905) and Hewitt (1907c) also suggest the presence of a body of relatives comprised of the matrilineal clan of each parent. It is perhaps this group to which Goldenweiser (1914a) refers.

Voget (1953) suggested that in recent times there had been a shrinking of interaction with one's relations, and that one knew very few beyond the limited segment of the bilateral kindred with whom he was on intimate terms. Voget considered this bilateral kindred a recent emergent, resulting from changed economic conditions and residence patterns. He (1953:391) indicated that the emerging bilateral kindred was coming to play an increasingly important role in the regulation of marriage through an extension of the incest tabu to kindred members.

Murdock (1957) noted that the bilateral kindred had been reported among the Iroquois, but he indicated no incest regulations attached to this group. Earlier (1949:302) he had suggested that the Iroquois possessed a Bilateral Non-Extension of marriage regulations, the "absence of any bilateral extension of marriage prohibitions beyond secondary relatives; marriage fully sanctioned with some or all first cousins." He further noted, in 1957, that marriage with a patrilineal parallel cousin was prohibited. This rule conforms to a Bilateral Non-Extension of marriage regulations and Murdock apparently considered this sufficient explanation. However, in the fully functioning moiety system, such a relative would be a member of Ego's moiety.

Shimony (1961:30,31) has recently given one of the fullest description of incest regulations in a modern Iroquois community. Her statements on them are worth repeating here.

> In general marriage and incest rules are at present diverse, due to the changes in social organization which have taken place, so that informants are confused . . . The common opinion is that marriage is prohibited with any known relative . . .

> In the definition of incest tabus the relevant connections are not limited to the more common Iroquoian uterine, or matrilineal, relations, but also include agnatic links. Therefore, an Iroquois is forbidden to marry into his ohwachira (his matrilineage, or, as the informants say, "the main family") and into his father's kindred (agadônihô'no ?). The group of persons termed agadô'nih includes all bilateral relatives related to ego through an initial ascending link, i.e., through the father, but not the father himself; some informants also omit from this group the lineal relatives in the second and higher ascending generations, e.g., the FaMo, FaFa, etc., but this causes no confusion, since marriage with one's father is obviously forbidden and unlikely. The group does include siblings and cousins of lineal ancestors, therefore precluding marriage with a patrilineal uncle or aunt, and it does include all degrees of patrilineal cousins, be they parallel or cross. The group termed kheya'?dawêh includes all the bilateral relatives through an initial uterine line in the ascending or same generation, i.e. through ego's mother or ego's siblings. This of course means that the ohwachira is a subgroup of the kheya'?dawêh. To the Iroquois, however, the two groups seem quite distinct; the ohwachira is always considered more closely related and is "my own family" or "my main family". While the marriage prohibition is more stringently observed in the ohwachira, it also applies to the kheya'?dawêh.

Shimony has further noted that the clan and moiety exogamy rules are no longer important. In her work the incest rule is presented as essentially a bilateral extension from the nuclear family. Charles Torok (personal communication, 1965) has reported a similar situation on the Tyendinaga Reserve near Deseronto.

Quain (1937:250) citing Fenton also pointed out that the importance of the clan in regulating marriages had disappeared. Fenton (1951:46) confirmed this and stated that: "To marry in the same maternal household is a far greater sin than to marry in the same clan." Thus, at the present, the matrilineal extension of a rule of exogamy applies only to the *ohwachira*, and then not alone, but with other rules which apply to those related to ego equally through his father and mother. The modern incest rule among the Iroquois is bilateral in application.

All of the material I have discussed above is of relatively recent origin, the oldest data being those of Morgan, collected around 1850. Europeans have written of the Iroquois for several centuries. I shall

now present summaries of the work of two authors who deal with some of the many historic documents available.

Beaugrand-Champagne (1939:275-276) working from documents from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, described the matrilineal clan as the nucleus of social organization and indicated that it was an exogamous social grouping. He (1939:279, 283-284) also mentioned that one could marry neither within his own clan nor that of his father. These marriage regulations extended collaterally in the patrilineal line to include first and second degrees of relationship, and possibly more distant relations.

Richards (1957:40) who in her own fieldwork had received information which indicated that for the naming of a child both the father's and the mother's sib had to be known, and that a person could shift his moiety and sib affiliation to that of his father, examined documents with an eye for evidence of Iroquois social change. From the documents she consulted, she concluded that it was quite apparent that the incest regulations (as well as other aspects of social structure) had undergone changes since Cartier first encountered the Iroquois on the St. Lawrence River (1534-35).

According to Richards incest regulations had originally (ca. 1624-35) extended indefinitely in a bilateral direction. This type of extension is equivalent to Murdock's (1949:303) Maximal Bilateral Extension of marriage regulations, in which marriage is forbidden "with any relative, however remote, with whom an actual genealogical connection can be traced in any line."

By 1724 this bilateral extension had receded from its wide application. In the matrilineal line the incest rule applied only to members of the matrilineal clan with whom an actual relationship could be traced. This would be a Minimal Matrilineal Extension of marriage regulations, "marriage prohibitions extended further in the female line than in at least some other, but not further than an actual genealogical connection can be traced" (Murdock 1949: 303). In the male line the incest rule extended only to include relatives in the first degree and possibly in the second. As I have already indicated, by 1851 the incest tabus extended to include the matrilineal clan and formerly the moiety, but had completely receded from any application to patrilineal relatives.

SUMMARY

In the literature I have found statements of four different, but interrelated, incest rules of the Iroquois :

1. There is substantial agreement concerning the orthodox statement on Iroquois incest rules, that the incest rules applied to the maternal family, the clan, and the moiety, and that recently they have receded to apply only to the maternal family.

2. There are some statements which indicate a further extension of the above incest rules to include the father's clan.

3. Other statements mention an extension of the incest tabu to include members of the direct and collateral patrilineal line.

4. A bilateral extension of the incest tabu is described both for the early historic period Iroquois, and for the modern Iroquois communities.

DISCUSSION

The four incest rules stated in the literature are by no means mutually exclusive or antagonistic. They can all be reconciled by positing the bilateral extension of the incest tabu, which includes the three rules, as primary, and by indicating that the others are associated only with particular social, political, economic and religious groupings of kin selected from those kin found within the group formed by the bilateral extension of the incest tabu.

This, of course, places what has been considered to be the diagnostic feature of Iroquois social structure, matrilineality, into the position of being merely one aspect of a bilateral extension of incest tabus. It also rejects a theory of change in Iroquois incest tabus from bilateral to matrilineal to bilateral in a period of 350 years (Richards 1957).

My underlying theoretical assumptions hold that incest tabus are a human invention, creating relations and lines of descent among people by removing the competition for sex from among them. With this group of people freed from sexual competition kinship based social institutions can be formed to carry out essential functions of a human society. The incest tabu itself, however, has the sole function of creating a descent group and a body of relations among

whom sexual competition is removed. It has no necessary connection with any of the social institutions created using this group of people, social, economic, political or religious, except insofar as people to whom the incest tabu applies are found in the institutions. The institutions may select all or only a few of the people considered related through the presence of a particular incest tabu. Thus in our own society, with a rather restricted bilateral incest tabu, we have patrilineal inheritance of name, goods and title.

I suggest, therefore, that the incest tabu is primary in the social structure of any society and not a mere adjunct to other social institutions which I view as being constructed on the personnel released by the incest tabu. These persons may include all or only a few of those related through an incest tabu.

It is with reference to these theoretical assumptions that I believe the incest rules stated in the literature at our disposal may be reconciled. The basic or primary rule of incest among the Iroquois is that which is definitely documented for 1624-35 (Richards 1957) and 1961 (Shimony 1961), the Maximal Bilateral Extension of marriage regulations. This rule, I believe, has always been present in Iroquois social structure. However, during the intervening period, the presence of rather outstanding (to a patrilineal European) social, political, economic and religious institutions, the matrilineal clan and moiety, overshadowed the presence of bilateral incest tabus to most observers.

Some scholars have suggested that matrilineal clans and moieties were not original parts of Iroquois social structure but had diffused to the Iroquois or developed after white contact in response to a particular contact situation.

> The situation included constant warfare with a necessity to recruit new members rapidly; pressure from Europeans to alter behaviour patterns; and observation by Indians of alternative procedures among the Europeans. Such circumstances combined with population loss from diseases, and pressure from increasing European settlement produced a condition of cultural stress wherein change was inevitable and even essential for social survival (Richards 1957:40).

"With such radical shifts in economy to trading and dependence on metal tools, we may expect comparable shifts in social structure

and political organization" (Fenton 1961:266). Quain, citing Fenton in a footnote indicated that moieties and clans may have diffused to the Iroquois (1937 159, footnote 4). Shimony also postulated that clans "are not a very old and therefore not a very integrated element of Iroquois culture..." (1961:32) as one of two explanations for the loose integration of clan and phratry divisions.

Only matrilineal relatives were selected to be members of these groups, clans and moieties. Yet the probability is that the bilateral incest tabu remained but was not recorded by ethnographers who were more concerned with these matrilineal institutions. This would explain the scattered references to the application of the incest tabu to patrilineal and bilateral relatives which I have noted.

It is only when the clans and moieties began to lose their functions toward the end of the nineteenth century that the exaggerated importance given to the incest tabus associated with them was reduced and the other incest tabus which had been present were again seen. Shimony (1961) has clearly stated the diminished importance of the clan and moiety in the regulation of marriage. Even when Morgan was working the moiety had lost its importance and the reduced importance of the clan can be traced through the work of Goldenweiser (1914a, 1914b), Barbeau (1917), Hewitt (1932), Quain (1937), Fenton (1951) and Voget (1953).

This, of course, suggests that works which interpret the recently noted bilateral extension of the incest tabu as something new in Iroquois kinship, resulting from changed socio-economic conditions, miss the main point. It is not new to the Iroquois, but only to the ethnologists who had failed to note it during the period of well developed matrilineal clans and moieties.

CONCLUSION

Statements concerning Iroquois incest rules, differing as they do through time, have been explained as examples of change in incest rules through time (Richards 1957, Voget 1953). Rather than concede that there had been, within a period of 350 years, a complete change in incest rules from bilateral to matrilineal to bilateral, I have offered an alternative explanation for the differing statements on Iroquois incest rules.

I have postulated that the Iroquois incest rule has always been bilateral in application. I have considered the clans and moieties as institutions with social, political, economic and religious functions which have been added to the Iroquois social system at some time and have selected their membership on a matrilineal basis, thus giving the impression that Iroquois society was matrilineal, with a matrilineal incest tabu. Prior to their addition and after their demise the incest rule was recorded as bilateral. While they were strong it was recorded as matrilineal with some observers noting variations. It is my contention that the clans and moieties distracted observers from recording the bilateral incest tabu and influenced them in recording only that aspect of it associated with them.

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The Role of Alcohol among North American Indian Tribes as reported in The Jesuit Relations

by R. C. DAILEY

RÉSUMÉ

On a toujours soutenu que l'alcool avait été la cause principale de la dégénérescence des Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord. Cette opinion est exprimée très clairement dans les Relations des Jésuites. Un examen de ces documents nous révèle, toutefois, que les Jésuites se trompaient en affirmant que les comportements exagérés des Indiens — license, violence, etc. — étaient dus à l'alcool. L'alcool ne faisait qu'intensifier l'expression d'émotions déjà présentes. On termine par un index sur l'usage de l'alcool tel que rapporté dans les Relations.

Whenever one considers the reasons for the destruction of the North American Indian it is commonplace to find alcohol cited as the principal cause.[1] Certainly this was the opinion of the early French Jesuits who sought to convert the Indian tribes of New France. For them, alcohol was the major obstacle to the success of their mission. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Thwaites 1896-1901) are filled with references to liquor and its adverse effects. As the subject of Indian drinking is currently of interest to several disciplines, particularly anthropology, I felt it might be of value to assemble all the data from this important ethnohistoric source in one place. In view of this, I have analysed in some detail what the Jesuits wrote about Indians and their use of alcohol as they witnessed it in the early historic period. As a further aid to interested readers, I have included at the end of the paper an itemized index of all entries in the Relations which pertain to Indian drinking and related topics.

Though the idea that alcohol destroyed the Indian has been accepted since the days of the Jesuit mission, it is, on the other

[1] I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Miss Merike Lugus for her assistance in the preparation of this paper.

hand, often overlooked that liquor was not the only item of European culture that had an impact. It is, therefore, virtually impossible to isolate the effects of one European culture trait from those of another. Here, even the role of the Jesuits themselves cannot be omitted.

Initially, alcohol was introduced to the Indian through the fur trade. However, it quickly came to have far-reaching social, economic, and political implications for Indian and white alike. In evaluating its place in history the popular view has been to stress the role of liquor as the villain and to accept the fur trade as an absolute necessity. This is not unexpected since despite the threat of both secular and ecclesiastical punishments, ranging from the stocks to excommunication, nonetheless, efforts to abolish the liquor traffic were unrealistic. For one thing, without a successful fur trade the solvency of the colony could not be assured. For another, even if the French had ceased to use alcohol in their relations with Indians, there was no agreement with the Dutch or the English that they would also stop the practice. Indian allies were important in the power struggle for the control of North America. The regular distribution of alcohol was a means of maintaining Indian loyalties as well as gaining new friends.

Though the Jesuits inveighed against what they saw as a wholesale debauching of the Indian, they were unable to secure more than token support for total interdiction. Bowing to church pressure the colonial administrators in France did agree to stop the liquor traffic, and several of the governors of New France actually attempted to enforce the regulations, notably Champlain and the Governor of Tadoussac but in the long run they were ineffective. In his *Canada and its Provinces,* Shortt (1914:468) has nicely summed up the problem : "The real issue, therefore, which the church and the colonial government had to face was whether the Indians should have brandy and orthodoxy at the hands of the French, or rum and heresy at the hands of the Dutch and the English."

My concern here, however, is not to review the history of the problem further, but to examine the effects of the introduction of alcohol on the Indian. Three questions come to mind : (1) What behaviour among the Indians was attributed to the effects of liquor?

(2) Was this behaviour new to the Indian way of life? and (3) How did the Indians view this behaviour, and in particular, was it disruptive to them?

As to the first question, a few direct quotes will serve to identify the kind of behaviour most frequently condemned by the Jesuits. Liquor was blamed for most of the general disorders and physical violence among the Indians. "Every night", they wrote, "is filled with clamors, brawls, and fatal accidents, which the intoxicated cause in the cabins" (Vol. 46, p. 105). Whole villages were sometimes affected : "It (drunkenness) is so common here, and causes such disorders, that it sometimes seems as if all the people of the village had become insane, so great is the license they allow themselves when they are under the influence of liquor" (Vol. 51, p. 217). These drinking parties are said to have lasted as long as the liquor supply, usually three to four days but sometimes as long as two weeks.

The "disorder" to which the Jesuits refer, included fatal accidents, murders and maimings — not even one's own friends and relatives were spared : "Last summer, four Onneiouts (Oneida) were killed by their comrades, while Drunken; yet this accident did not make the others any wiser" (Vol. 51, p. 125). "I count seven who were murdered by drunkards in two months" (Vol. 62, p. 67). "When these people are intoxicated, they become so furious that they break and smash everything in their houses; they utter horrible yells and shouts, and, like madmen, seek their enemies to stab them. At such times, even their relatives and friends are not safe from their fury, and they bite off one another's noses and ears" (Vol. 67, p. 39).

In addition to physical violence, drinking "disorders" included immorality. Young men would cause girls to get drunk in order to seduce them, or they would both drink willingly and solicit one another. Drunkenness was blamed, too, for the breaking up of families : "Disunion and the dissolution of their marriage invariably result from their drunkenness, owing to the sorrow and despair of their wives when they see themselves despoiled by their drunken husbands who take everything from them to obtain liquor; and who are deprived of the proceeds of the hunting, which belong to them, but are taken from their husbands before they reach the village

by their creditors" (Vol. 67, p. 39, 41). Consequently, women and children went hungry and villages were neglected. "... drink is a demon that robs them of their reason, and so inflames their passion that, after returning from the chase richly laden with beaver skins, instead of furnishing their families with provisions, clothing, and other necessary supplies, they drink away the entire proceeds in one day and are forced to pass the winter in nakedness, famine, and all sorts of deprivation" (Vol. 46, p. 103). One case was reported where a whole village was destroyed by a warring Iroquois band, because all its members were drunk and had neglected to leave even one sentinel (Vol. 47, p. 141).

Now to the second question, how much of the above behaviour which so bothered the Jesuits was new to the Indians' way of life? Or to put it another way, what behaviour patterns would have manifested themselves following white contact even if liquor had never been introduced? While no conclusive answer is to be expected, one might begin by examining the behaviour patterns reported at the time of contact. Consider first their mode of eating, and especially the custom of consuming everything at one sitting. It becomes clear then that it was only the alcohol which was new, not the practice of consuming everything at once. Hence, the "brandy feasts" as they were called, were on the same pattern as the "eat-all feasts" described in the following quotations : "In feasts, it is the rule by general consent and custom of the race, that all the food shall be consumed. If anyone eats sparingly and urges his poor health as an excuse, he is beaten or ejected as ill-bred, just as if he were ignorant of the art of living" (Vol. 1, pp. 285, 287). Similarly, in the case of liquor, "... give two savages two or three bottles of brandy, they will sit down and, without eating, will drink one after the other, until they have emptied them" (Vol. 6, p. 253).

Even more important was the question of physical violence. Though the Jesuits blamed alcohol for increasing murders, and a general diminishing of the Indian population, there is no evidence to confirm this. Indeed, murders motivated by dreams or sorcery or revenge in gambling bouts may have been just as prevalent before Indians began using alcohol as they were afterwards. Hence, it seems appropriate here to consider the similarity between intoxicated behaviour and that resulting from dream experiences. Moreover, since

the effect or power of alcohol was not understood by the Indians, intoxication was included in the category of the supernatural. Under its influence the inebriated person was given full license to behave as he pleased, even if it meant killing a person. This was the identical treatment accorded those compelled to act out their dreams. The significance and power of these is demonstrated in the following passage : "What each boy sees in his dreams, when his reason begins to develop, is to him thereafter a deity, whether it be a dog, a bear, or a bird. They often derive their principles of life and action from dreams; as for example, if they dream that any person ought to be killed, they do not rest until they have caught the man by stealth and slain him" (Vol. 1, p. 287). This kind of murder was not restricted to their own people : the French, too, were in danger of becoming victims : "If during the night they dream they must kill a Frenchman, woe to the first one they meet alone. They attach great faith to their dreams" (Vol. 4, p. 217). On this point it would be interesting to know whether there was a decrease in the traditional methods of attaining spiritual experience after the introduction of alcohol, i.e. fasting alone for days, and whether alcohol was used as a short cut, as seems probable.

It was considered essential for the welfare of the community as well as for the individual that his dream be carried out in detail, for only then would the soul of the man be satisfied. The soul was a powerful part of the person, acting independently from the rest of the body, making its wishes known through dreams : "For they think that there are in every man certain inborn desires, often unknown to themselves, upon which the happiness of individuals depends" (Vol. 1, p. 259). Actually, more than the happiness of the individual was involved : "All that they dream must be carried out : otherwise, one draws upon himself the hatred of all the dreamer's relatives, and exposes himself to feel the effects of their anger" (Vol. 51, p. 125). It was as important to discover the desires of the soul as it was to carry them out. Many of their illnesses were believed to be caused when these wishes remained unrecognized or forsaken. The only cure was to satisfy them. If the desire was not recognized, a medicine man would provide the service of drawing it out. Since dreams were the sole means of communicating with the spiritual part of the body, it is not surprising that the dream quest was so prominent. Everyone

was at one time or another involved in this quest, particularly the young males. A person in the process of dreaming was considered somehow sacred; as was an intoxicated person. There must have been much similarity in the behaviour of the inebriated man and the dreamer half starved, full of expectations and hallucinating. Both could be seen running about seemingly possessed, disturbing the village with their screams.

There was another social situation in which violence or disorderly behaviour occurred. Gambling was a common recreational activity. As the stakes were high it was not unusual for a man to lose everything he owned, including his children (Vol. 16, p. 199-201). "Gambling never leads to anything good; in fact, the Savages themselves remark that it is almost the sole cause of assaults and murders" (Vol. 10, p. 81). Again this suggests that brawls and murders were not unknown before the introduction of liquor, despite the fact that the Indians were noted for their stoicism and lack of aggressive demonstrations.

There was one celebration in particular which provided a social setting wherein it was legitimate to display behaviour similar to that shown in drunken brawls. "This celebration is called Ononhouaroia, or 'upsetting of brain', because all the youth, and even the women and children, run about as if they were mad, insisting upon obedience being paid to their Demons by making them a present of something which they proffer with an enigma, and which has been suggested to them in a dream" (Vol. 23, p. 53). To these Indians the idea of "upsetting the brain" was known and accepted. Losing control over their mental processes had no shame attached, and indeed, was a sought after means of transcending the physical to obtain a spiritual experience. Because this experience was highly valued and admired, they would openly and proudly announce their intention to drink, shouting, "I am going to lose my head; I am going to drink of the water that takes away one's wits" (Vol. 52, p. 193).

In the early historic period when only traders were in contact with Indian communities, these forms of explosive behaviour while dangerous were not disruptive. However, as white settlements were built and contact became more and more regular, the Indians soon realized that the act of "losing one's wits" had to be controlled.

A common method was to tie down those of their comrades who became violent when intoxicated. In other instances potential inebriates were required to surrender their weapons: "... indeed, so sensible are they of their own infirmities when in this state that when a number of them are about to get drunk, they give up their knives and tomahawks, etc., to one of the party who is on honour to remain sober, and to prevent mischief, and who generally does behave according to this promise. If they happen to get drunk without having taken this precaution, their squaws take the earliest opportunity to deprive them of their weapons" (Weld, p. 480, this was already 1795-1797). However, it is impossible to be sure to what extent such precautions were used, or to what extent these methods were influenced by the laws and penalties of the white man. A murder excused by the Indians would receive the death penalty from the whites. "... an Algonquin in a drinking-bout killed with three stabs of a knife a poor soldier who was quietly working in a house at Montreal. Arrested on the spot, the Algonquin thought he would escape punishment because he was drunk and did not know what he was doing. He was condemned notwithstanding to be hanged; but as the executioner was away he was killed by a blow on the head" (Vol. 68, p. 267). Most of the reports of attempted control describe Indians who were in fairly close contact with whites, either under the influence of the Jesuits or the surveillance of the white man's law. Even though some of the restrictions were undoubtedly voluntary, they were still dependent on the co-operation of the white traders. Also, the restrictions were meant to curb extreme violence and bloodshed more than intoxication itself.

The frequently reported drinking brawls where violence occurred do not seem so unusual when compared with gambling behaviour as already discussed, or with the torturing of captives. The Iroquois, for example, were noted for their fierce torture practices, though many authorities suggest that this reputation is highly exaggerated. Many of the cases where individuals were assaulted or murdered by intoxicated men actually involved Christians as was the woman in the following passage: "A drunken man who had just crippled another old woman entered her cabin. The only person who was with her at once ran away, and abandoned her to that furious man,

who with a wooden pike, bruised her entire face, broke her jaw, pierced her shoulders and left her for dead on the spot" (Vol. 57, p. 171). The important difference made by alcohol was that now such hostilities were turned against their own friends and relatives, particularly if they happened to be Christian. However, it is uncertain on what scale this took place. It is possible that it did not happen very often but that when it did, it created such an impact on the minds of listeners that it became a sort of infamy that was reported several times without reference to time or place. It must be remembered that the Jesuits were writing to an audience in France, whom they were obliged to please and shock in order to get financial support. This is not to deny the violence against their own friends that was touched off by liquor, but only to question its frequency and intensity, and motive. These incidents demonstrate, among other things, that the Indians could not have completely "lost their minds" since when they drank they were sufficiently aware to carry out purposive and directed action.

These kinds of murders were not too different from those committed by Christians in Europe, who tortured and burned infidels and "witches" in the name of God. In a way, this type of behaviour is a defensive reaction against forces which threaten the cohesiveness of the society. Also, this was one way that the Indians could demonstrate their aggressiveness towards whites. Symbolically it is very neat: the white man provided the means, liquor, with which the Indian could murder those who had fallen under the white man's influence. Furthermore, no guilt or blame was attached since it was the liquor that had control over the person.

As for the increase in immorality and licentiousness imputed to the effects of liquor, there is not much to say. The native's moral code which among other things condoned premarital sex was so removed from the Christian code that the Fathers could conceive of it only as caused by some evil force such as liquor.

I think one may conclude with some justification that alcohol did not introduce any strictly new forms of behaviour. Of course, some were intensified, and as frequency was increased, daily routines were upset. The only unique behaviour that could be attributed to liquor was the actual search for alcohol. This led inevitably to more

contact with the white man, to dependency on him for its supply, to loss of their own goods, to the neglecting of homes, women, and children, and to indebtedness and economic penury.

Yet it would be incorrect to conclude that liquor really caused no problems that were not already present. Such would be premature since the dangers of liquor were recognized by the Indians themselves. But I believe it is necessary to recognize the similarities between drunken and socially accepted behaviour with the understanding that intoxication was somehow alien, thus leading to some sporadic attempts to curb it.

This brings me to the final question : was drunken behaviour causing disruption to the Indian himself ? There were many who believed that liquor caused misfortunes, and that it would someday bring about their destruction. This was especially true of mission Indians but there were others too who wanted restrictions on the liquor supply and on insobriety. "Some of their captains have come to plead with the French not to sell them brandy or wine, saying that they would be the cause of the death of their people" (Vol. 5, p. 51). Another captain (Abenakis) wanted to address the Deputy of the English : "Thou deputy of Pleimot and Boston, paint our words on paper and send them to those on whom thou art dependent; and say to them that all the allied Savages dwelling on the river Kenebek hate fire-water," or brandy, "as much as they hate the Hiroquois; and that if they have any more of it brought hither to sell to the Savages, the latter will believe that the English wish to exterminate them" (Vol. 38, pp. 35, 37). The Indians themselves began to exercise a measure of discipline and in some cases with the help of whites, formed councils to decide on penalties for drunkenness. Offenders were even put to the chevalet or were forced to leave the village and their plot of land. Acts of murder were not everywhere excused and some murderers were executed (Vol. 9, p. 145; vol. 9, p. 203; vol. 62, p. 53; vol. 63, p. 103; vol. 68, p. 267).

Despite these rather severe penalties Indians continued to use alcohol on a grand scale. And while to the white man it was the liquor itself which caused the disruption, to the Indian it was the difficulties involved in obtaining it. For example, it was the long trips to trading centers, or towns like Three Rivers, that were

disruptive — not only to those who went but also to those who were left behind in the villages. Even if they did not seek out the liquor, the French would travel 200-300 leagues to meet up with the Indians to entice them with brandy. Cases where liquor was brought back to the village for the purpose of feasts could not be called disruptive from the Indian's point of view if the feast involved the members in a common activity and followed a familiar pattern. Rather, the major disruption occurred when the men left the villages to go on hunting parties and returned sometimes weeks later, empty-handed, indebted, and intoxicated. Meanwhile, the women and children were left without food in the villages.

Interaction with whites was always to the disadvantage of the Indian who could not control his desire for liquor. Even when he had no money, he would run up such debts that for months to come he would receive nothing in return for his furs. As already mentioned, families starved over the winter, or they broke up because the husband could not provide for them. "These savages, loaded with debts and despoiled by their creditors, who leave them not even their guns, are frequently obliged to quit the country and go among the English, because they cannot hope to pay what they owe" (Vol. 67, p. 41). When the Indians pleaded for the restriction of liquor trade, they were at the same time pleading for the restriction of any contact with whites. Liquor came to symbolize white contact and its demoralizing effects. The assumed relationship between drunkenness and disruption was a serious one — perhaps it never occurred to the Jesuits that the white man's way of life and his business practices could have negative effects. For them, liquor became the scapegoat. Drunkenness was the catch-all category that was to blame for any vices or disorder that occurred. Their own shortcomings were rationalized to be the fault of liquor, so that drunkenness was blamed even for the fact that the Indians were hard to Christianize. "But the greatest evil done here by drunkenness is, that its consequences Utterly estrange the savages from Christianity" (Vol. 62, p. 67). The Fathers lamented that if only drunkenness could be abolished, the natives could and would settle down to the Christian way of life. As the Jesuits saw it, there were two demons, drunkenness and dreams, and they could not decide which caused the greater disorder or which interfered more with the

conversion of the natives. Later, even the dream quest was thought to be due to drunkenness, as it was inconceivable that someone would voluntarily involve himself in non-Christian rites unless he was somehow possessed. But the evil connected with liquor had to do at least as much with its procuring as with its intoxicating effects. It is true that while inebriated they would commit crimes against their own people which they later regretted. It is interesting though, that the blame was attached to the white man and his liquor, not to oneself. This is evident from the following statements : "It is thou... and thine, who killed him; for, if thou hadst not given us brandy or wine, we would not have done it." "Thou art my brother, I love thee; it is not I who wounded thee, but the drink which used my arm" (Vol. 5, p. 49, 51). They were well aware of who supplied them with liquor, even against their own wishes at times, so that any disorder stemming from it could ultimately be blamed on the white man. If the Indians made any causal connection, it would probably have been between disruption and white man, not merely disruption and drunkenness.

Perhaps it is not valid to distinguish between drunkenness and contact with whites since in a way they are inseparable. On the other hand, the white man's behaviour and business tactics added considerably to the consequences of Indian drunkenness. He was in control of the amount of liquor sold, the prices charged and the credit and loans given. Indirectly, he determined whether a man would have any money left to feed his family or whether he would in fact, go back to his family at all. It was not the case that the Indian had the power to *force* the white man to give him liquor — in fact, he was happy when the white man refused. Quite aside from the management of liquor, the white man's way of life and his values were very different, and when imposed on the Indian, helped greatly to disorient or demoralize him. This aspect of social contact and the problem of assimilation has already been the topic of many books, and concerns this paper only indirectly. In any case, it was not white man's liquor alone that caused disorder.

The question of moral blame here is a very interesting one as it helps us to understand how the Indian could ask the white man to stop supplying him with liquor at the same time as he was drinking it. How can one blame the white man if the Indian sought

him out and demanded liquor at any price? On the other hand, how can one blame the Indian if the white man continued to supply even after the former had pleaded him to stop? In the eyes of the whites, the Indian was the weaker, in fact, they often thought of them as children. Anybody who understands the law of supply and demand would realize that a plea to stop the supply is not equivalent to an actual reduction in demand. It was up to the Indian to show a determination to end the demand. Unfortunately, he was not familiar with this economic law. His behaviour was based instead, on a moral code involving trust and honour. On this account the Indian and white man never understood each other. If anything, the Indian, to the white man, appeared untrustworthy and immoral. The Indian made his situation very clear to the white man, a tactic which to us seems naive, but to the Indian, honourable. He admitted he could not resist alcohol as long as it was available. He never thought of this as constituting a weakness. Thus he put the onus on the white man to stop the trade. Here may lie the roots of the long historical dependency of Indians on whites. If the white man complied with the code of honour, he should stop the supply. Since he did not, the Indian put all the blame on him and his liquor. He could not blame himself for his behaviour while under the influence because he was not even in possession of his mind at the time, and as has been intimated, they thought when one can transcend one's body, the person is qualitatively different. Another mistake the Indian made was to trust the white man to be interested in his welfare. This may have been a touch of ethnocentrism on his part. At that time, whites were not interested in his welfare. They only wished him well enough to trap more furs, with liquor providing the principal incentive.

Why did the Indian drink? There is no single explanation, but this analysis of the Relations suggests the following. One of the most obvious is the novel physical sensation brought on by the physiological effects of alcohol in the body. Many Indians seem to have felt that under its influence they became exceptional people such as great orators. Secondly, there is the suggestion that some Indians used alcohol so that they would be excused for committing acts of violence they would otherwise have had to suppress. Thirdly, as whites assumed more and more control over Indian affairs, the

former integrating effects of warfare and other village-wide activities were replaced by the search for and communal use of alcohol. Lastly, and most important, liquor greatly facilitated the attainment of dreams which was for the Indian his most valued experience. Through alcohol he was able to achieve a degree of ecstacy never possible in prehistoric times. But though the Indian interpreted these intense emotional outbursts as the only real form of human experience, to the early European and particularly the Jesuits, alcohol remained, as Parkman has written (1909:388): ".... a fiend with all crimes and miseries in his train: and, in fact, nothing earthly could better deserve the epithet infernal than an Indian town in the height of a drunken debauch. The orgies never ceased till the bottom of the barrel was reached."

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Index

Notes de recherche sur la famille et le mariage à Sémeri

par P. BERNARD LEMELIN

RÉSUMÉ

Based on kinship and marriage patterns, this article describes the social organization of Semeri, a small village in India.

On ne saurait exagérer l'importance de la culture paysanne de l'Inde car c'est encore celle de plus de 80 pour cent de la population totale du pays, au bas mot 380 millions d'habitants. Ce bref article peut tout au plus décrire quelques aspects de cette culture dans une aire très limitée à la suite d'observations, du reste non systématiques, faites d'août 1955 à mai 1962. Ces observations portent sur des villages situés à l'intérieur d'un triangle dont les sommets seraient Bénarès, Ballia et Faïzabad. Deux des côtés de ce triangle coïncident avec des cours d'eau importants : le Gange au sud et le Gogra au nord. Une autre barrière naturelle vient presque fermer ce triangle : la rivière Gomati dont les crues sont si fortes qu'elles rendent difficiles les communications avec Bénarès. Cette portion de territoire se trouve donc considérablement soustraite aux influences qui lui viendraient de l'extérieur, surtout d'un grand centre comme Bénarès.

La population rurale de ce secteur est assez homogène et le peuplement semble s'être fait dans la portion inférieure à partir de Ghazipur, chef-lieu de district situé à mi-chemin entre Bénarès et Ballia, sur la rive nord du Gange. On appelle Bhojpuri le dialecte parlé dans cette région. On le retrouve dans sa forme la plus pure entre Ghazipur et Ballia et les variations qui s'introduisent dans la terminaison des mots augmentent à mesure qu'on s'éloigne de ces deux centres. A Sémeri par exemple, village situé à une quarantaine de milles au nord de ces deux villes, on parle un Bhojpuri presque pur.

Ce village perdu dans la campagne sera choisi comme type dans cette étude car on y trouve réunis presque tous les éléments de la culture villageoise observés à travers cette portion de territoire.

On se limitera ici à la description de l'organisation sociale villageoise pour autant qu'elle découle des systèmes de parenté et de mariage. Cette description ne s'étendra à l'extérieur de Sémeri que dans le cas où les échanges matrimoniaux nécessitent la référence à un autre village.

ÉCOLOGIE

Le village de Sémeri apparaît dans la plaine comme une agglomération de maisons de terre dominées par le feuillage de quelques arbres clairsemés. Ce qui surprend à son approche c'est le caprice des chemins tortueux qui y conduisent. Longeant des terrains aux contours les plus fantaisistes, lopins minuscules semblables aux pièces d'un immense casse-tête, le marcheur ne peut résister à la tentation de piquer à travers sur les talus de glaise qui divisent les lots. Ces talus de quelques pieds de hauteur appelés *méra* servent durant la mousson à retenir l'eau des rizières et sont tout juste assez larges pour être utilisés comme sentiers. On parvient ainsi au village où il n'y a pas de rue principale, pas de chemin orienté. Les maisons disposées n'importe comment sont faites de terre. Les toitures de bambou sont recouvertes de tuiles de fabrication domestique. La glaise servant aux constructions a été prélevée par tous au même endroit. On a abouti à la formation d'une dépression de terrain que les eaux de pluies ont transformée en une mare permanente de 150 pieds de long par 80 de large. C'est là qu'on abreuve les bestiaux et que l'on fait baigner les buffles. Il n'y a pas d'enceinte, pas de démarcation entre les terrains affectés à la résidence. Entre les maisons sont attachés les bestiaux devant des mangeoires semi-sphériques appelées *nad* enfoncées dans un tertre en glaise. Un étranger peut difficilement trouver son chemin à travers le village car toutes les avenues se ressemblent.

La division entre hautes et basses castes est immédiatement perceptible, cependant, car les demeures de ces deux groupes de castes sont séparées par un intervalle de quelque trois cents pieds. D'un côté se trouvent les propriétaires terriens avec leurs serviteurs, de l'autre les *tchamars* et autres basses castes. Le lieu de

résidence des basses castes se situe comme dans la plupart des cas au sud du village car le *lou*, vent de saison chaude, souffle toujours d'est en ouest et les tempêtes viennent généralement du nord. Les hautes castes éviteraient ainsi d'être incommodées par l'odeur des carcasses d'animaux dont le dépouillement est le lot des basses castes. Cette division des villages est de règle. A Karauni [1], petit village où je me rendais pour la première fois, je demande au premier venu : « Est-ce bien ici Karauni ? — Non Sahab », me répond-il. « Le *tchamtola* [2] est là-bas, de l'autre côté. Ici, c'est le *thakurtola*. » Il m'indiquait deux hameaux bien distincts et nettement séparés l'un de l'autre par une piste de chars à bœufs. Cette réponse me renseignait également sur le fait que mon interlocuteur connaissait déjà mon identité et savait que je m'intéressais surtout aux basses castes. Malgré l'absence de communication facile entre les villages, la rapidité avec laquelle les informations se transmettent de proche en proche est étonnante.

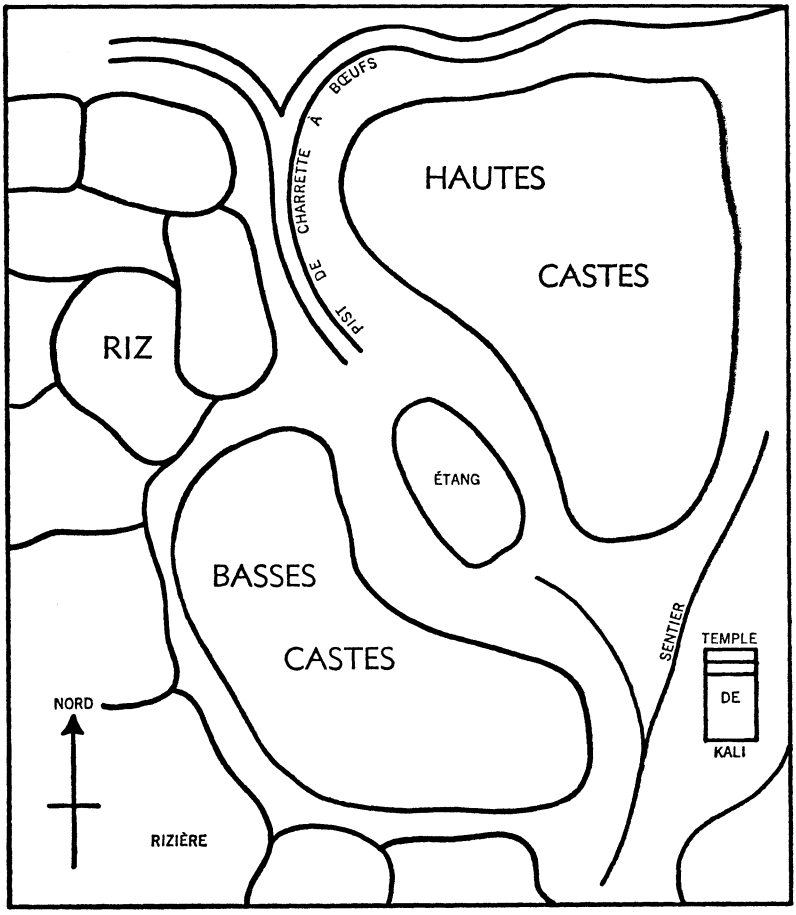
Une famille de basse caste peut s'estimer heureuse si elle possède à elle seule une acre et demie de terre. L'exploitation agricole est basée sur le système de la *joint family*, groupe composé du père, de la mère, des garçons avec leurs femmes et parfois d'une vieille tante, veuve d'un des frères du père. Ils cultivent ensemble les lopins de terre qu'ils possèdent en commun. La langue *bhojpuri* ne connaît pas le verbe avoir. On dit : *yehe méré pas hè* (ceci est auprès de moi), tournure habituelle pour exprimer la possession. La résidence est patrilocale et après le mariage des garçons, à mesure que le nombre des bouches augmente, la terre cultivée par la *joint family* devient insuffisante quand elle ne l'était pas déjà au départ. Quelques-uns réussissent à acquérir des *zamindar* [3] quelques portions de terre dispersées ici et là dans la campagne. Quant aux autres, ils continuent de recourir à la solution traditionnelle de ce problème : aller travailler dans les champs des *zamindar*. Environ 80 pour cent des terres sur lesquelles les *tchamar* travaillent appartiennent à des *zamindar* de

[1] Karauni est situé à 20 milles au nord est de Sémeri.

[2] *Tcham* : de *tchamar* et *tola* : groupe d'habitations. *Thakur* : haute caste, autrefois des guerriers. Comme elle est prépondérante à cet endroit, le *tola* prend son nom.

[3] *Zamindar* : mot employé pour désigner les grands propriétaires terriens. Bien que le système d'exploitation appelé *zamindari* ait été aboli officillement, il continue de se pratiquer dans des villages de cette zone, notamment à Sémeri.

REPRÉSENTATION SCHÉMATIQUE DU VILLAGE DE SÉMERI MONTRANT LA DISPOSITION RELATIVE DES DEUX GROUPES D'HABITATIONS PAR RAPPORT À L'ÉTANG ET AUX VOIES D'ACCÈS



la caste des *bhumiar brahmane*. Les petites gens les appellent aussi *babu*, terme voulant dire seigneur. La majeure partie du salaire des travailleurs est versée sous la forme de *bataya*, distribution quotidienne durant le temps des moissons et représente environ un cinquième des grains récoltés par un *zamindar*.

L'ORGANISATION SOCIALE

La parenté

On ne tiendra compte ici pour l'étude des structures de la parenté que des termes exprimant la référence et non des termes d'adresse si ce n'est dans quelques cas très particuliers. Tout d'abord, dès les premières conversations on s'aperçoit que le terme *bhaï* est employé sans distinction pour désigner les frères et les cousins d'Ego, des deux côtés. Les enfants auprès desquels on insiste pour obtenir plus de précisions vous regardent avec de grands yeux étonnés : « c'est mon frère... et quoi alors ? » Les plus dégourdis se sortent de cette difficulté en employant l'expression *khas bhaï* qui veut dire : *spécialement frère* pour distinguer un *sibling* d'un cousin. Il n'y a pas de terme spécial pour opérer la distinction entre cousins croisés et cousins parallèles. On décrit cette relation de la même manière pour tous les cousins. Le mariage entre cousins n'est du reste pas favorisé par la coutume hindoue. Dans la région couverte par cette étude, le cas ne se présente que dans les familles musulmanes et les hindous en parlent avec mépris. Dans le sud de l'Inde la coutume est différente [4]. Pour décrire la relation d'Ego à cousin les informateurs emploient toujours un adjectif ajouté au mot frère en disant : *tchatchéra bhaï* que l'on pourrait traduire : frère par l'oncle paternel. Le suffixe *ra* ajouté à un substantif marque une relation difficile à classifier [5]. Frère par l'oncle maternel se dira : *maméra bhaï* et ainsi de suite pour tous les cousins et cousines parallèles ou croisés. Voici la liste des principaux termes de parenté :

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[4] Cf. S. C. Dube, *Indian Village*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1955, p. 119.

[5] S. H. Kellogg, *A Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1955, p. 359, n° 618.

GÉNÉRATION D'ÉGO

Frère: *bhaï*, sœur: *bhain*.

Cousins et cousines: on emploie le terme *bhaï* et *bahin* en y ajoutant sous forme adjective le nom de l'oncle par lequel ils sont rattachés.

Femme du frère aîné pour un sujet masculin: *taou*.

Femme du frère cadet pour un sujet féminin: *bhayahou*.

Epoux: *pati*, épouse: *patni* ou *méhrarou*.

Frère de la femme: *sala*; son épouse: *sarahedge* ou *sali*.

Sœur de la femme: *sali*; son époux: *sarhou*.

Frère aîné du mari: *djét*; son épouse: *déwarani*.

Sœur du mari: *nanad*; son époux: *nandoï*.

GÉNÉRATION DES ENFANTS

Fils: *béta*, fille: *béti*.

Neveux et nièces: les termes *bhatidja* (m) et *bhatidji* (f) sont employés pour désigner les enfants des frères d'Ego. Les enfants des sœurs d'Ego sont désignés par les termes *bhandja* (m) et *bhandji* (f).

GÉNÉRATION DES GRANDS-PARENTS

Arrière-grands-parents paternels:

Arrière-grand-père: *pardada*, arrière-grand-mère: *pardadi*.

Grand-père paternel: *dada*, grand-mère paternelle: *dadi*.

Grand-père maternel: *nana*, grand-mère maternelle: *nani*.

Les expressions *dadihal* et *nanihal* étymologiquement veulent dire: maison de la grand-mère paternelle et de la grand-mère maternelle (*hal* = maison). Il est évident, d'après l'usage qu'on fait de ces termes dans les récits et dans les conversations, que c'est le contenu plus que le contenant qui est signifié, v.g. *dadihal*: maisonnée du grand-père paternel et ainsi de suite.

GÉNÉRATION DES PARENTS

Père: *pita* ou *bap*, mère: *mata* ou *man*.

Frère du père: *Tchatcha*; sa femme: *tchatchi*.

Sœur du père: *foufi* ou *foui*; son mari: *foufa* ou *foua*.

Frère de la mère : *mama*; sa femme : *mami*.

Sœur de la mère: *mausi*; son mari: *mausa*.

Père de la femme d'Ego: *sasour*; sa femme: *sas*.

Les autres termes pour désigner les alliés sont purement descriptifs.

GÉNÉRATION DES PETITS-ENFANTS ET SUIVANTES

Petit-fils par le garçon d'Ego: *pota*, petite-fille par le garçon: *poti*.

Petit-fils par la fille d'Ego: *nati*, petite-fille par la fille: *natini*.

Autres petits enfants en ligne masculine: *parpota* (m) *parpoti* (f).

Pour expliciter des relations de parenté éloignée certains informateurs, même illettrés, ont eu recours à un diagramme. Dans la vie courante une importance considérable est accordée à la relation oncle paternel — neveu.

Dans les pensionnats, par exemple, il était toujours difficile de refuser à un garçon la permission d'aller voir son oncle paternel: *tchatcha*. Pour régler une question difficile au sujet d'un enfant de Sémeri, pensionnaire à l'école secondaire de Shahganj, c'est son plus vieil oncle paternel et non son père qui est venu. Pour ma part, quand j'avais besoin de m'absenter de ma résidence, je n'avais qu'à dire: « *tchatcha qué pas jana* »: « je dois aller chez mon oncle paternel » et l'on avait alors rien à redire. Le même terme *tchatcha* est aussi employé pour désigner une personne âgée, non parente, avec qui on est particulièrement intime. On y ajoute alors le suffixe *ji* qui marque le respect dû à un supérieur. Par contre le terme *baba* qui veut dire grand-père est employé tel quel pour désigner un *sadhou*, personne élevée en dignité religieuse.

Dans une même génération c'est le grand frère et sa femme qui jouent un rôle spécial par rapport à un Ego masculin. Symétrique-

Tableau 1

TERMES SERVANT À DÉSIGNER LES COGNATS

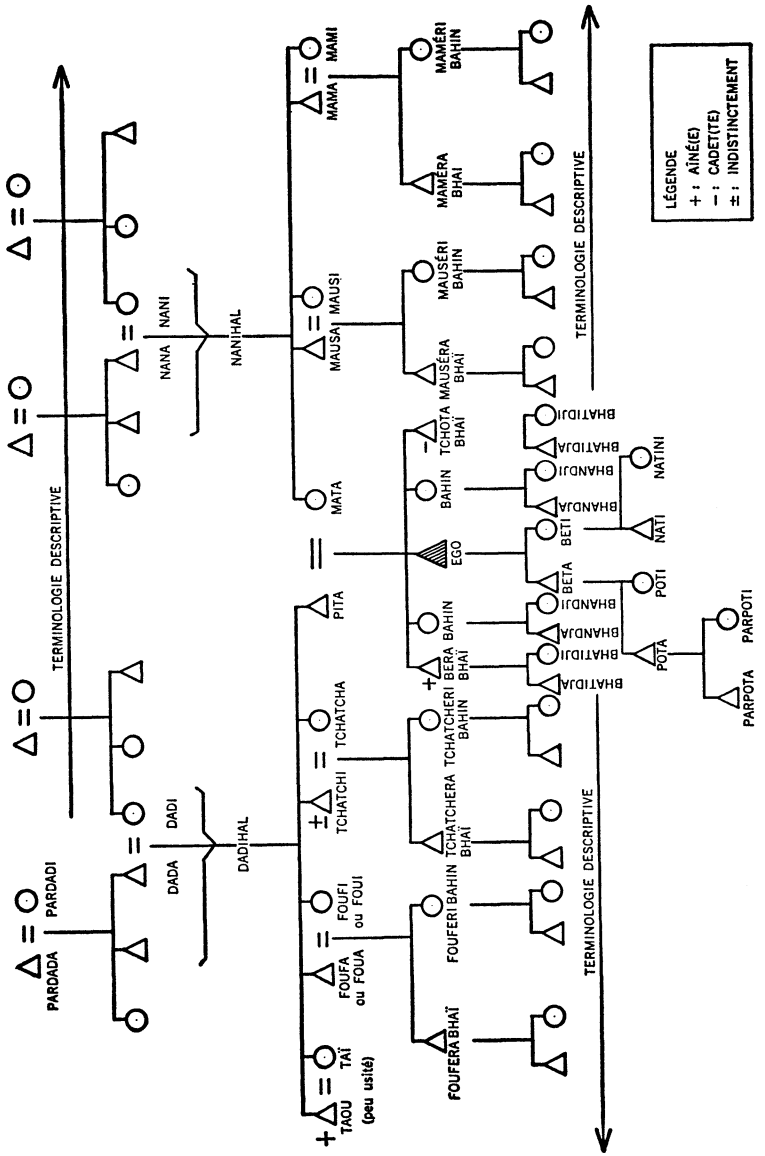
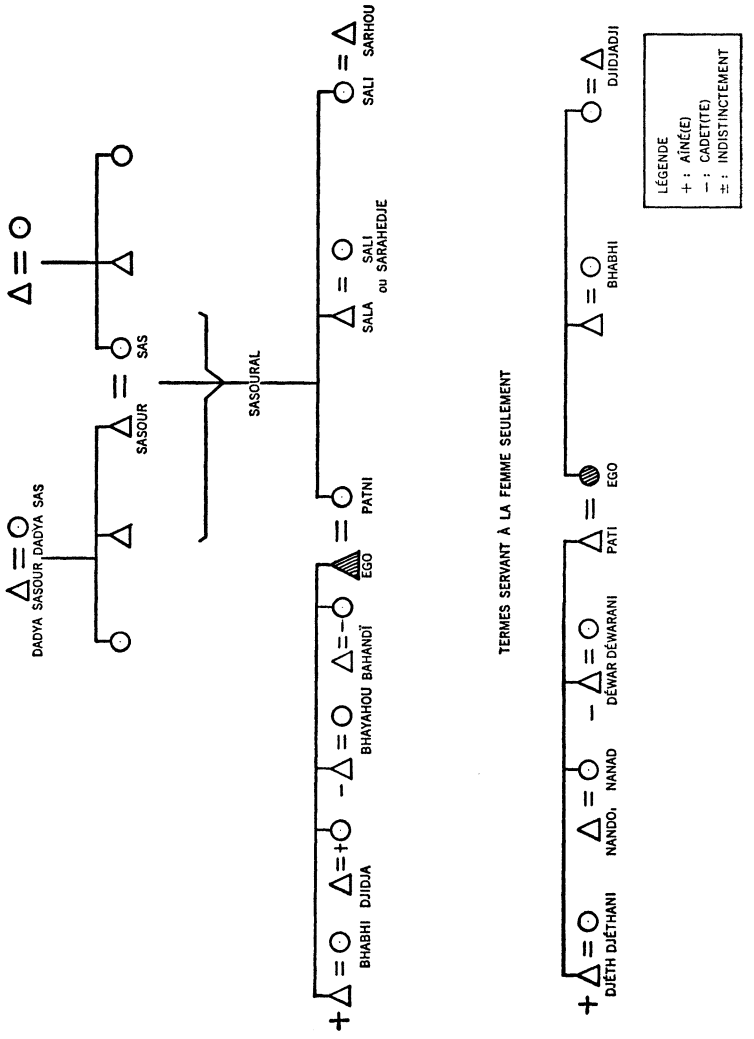


TABLEAU 2

TERMES SERVANT À DÉSIGNER LES PARENTS PAR ALLIANCE



ment, pour un Ego féminin cette place est occupée par le plus jeune frère de son mari. Cette préférence se manifeste dans la vie courante par une relation de plaisanterie souvent à contenu sexuel. Il est reconnu que c'est dans cette direction que l'adultère se fera le plus fréquemment dans les villages.

Le langage employé dans les insultes révèle aussi certains éléments structurels. Les *gali*, insultes, expriment le plus souvent la violation d'un tabou sexuel. En effet, en analysant les expressions employées comme *gali* on s'aperçoit qu'elles réunissent sous un même terme la mère et les sœurs de la mère de la personne insultée ou encore sa sœur et ses cousines. Cette interprétation est nécessaire lorsque l'insulte: *téri bahin* . . ., ta sœur . . ., s'adresse à tout homme, qu'il ait ou n'ait pas de sœur propre. Une étude plus poussée des *gali* permettrait peut-être d'établir la valeur classificatoire accordée à certains termes.

L'Indien de basse caste n'ayant pas de nom de famille on ne peut y recourir pour établir la filiation. Par contre, les patronymes sont largement utilisés dans les présentations et les conversations pour éviter les équivoques toujours possibles. Cet usage est de plus exigé par le fait que certains Indiens de basse caste ont deux noms : le *race ka nam*, nom propre tiré de l'horoscope et le *poukarné ka nam*, nom d'appel qui n'est souvent autre chose qu'un surnom.

L'héritage se fait rigoureusement par les hommes. Parmi les femmes il semble que seule la veuve puisse hériter de la terre de son mari lorsqu'elle n'a pas de fils en mesure de cultiver. Lorsque par exception un homme épouse une femme d'une autre caste il est automatiquement privé de tous ses droits et doit quitter le village. Après quelque temps il pourra passer à la caste de sa femme si les gens de cette caste décident de l'accepter.

A l'aide des termes recueillis et des tableaux élaborés à partir de cette nomenclature de parenté on peut établir avec assez de certitude les tendances suivantes:

a) Le système est patrilinéaire et la femme est incorporée au groupe des *siblings* de son mari. La terminologie est plus élaborée en direction patrilinéaire avec une génération ascendante et une génération descendante de plus.

b) Le système se rapproche du type Esquimau car les termes employés pour désigner les cousins paraissent opérer une distinction valable entre cousins et *siblings*.

c) La séniorité intervient comme un élément de structuration car le grand frère est désigné occasionnellement par l'appellation *bera bhaï* ou, dans le langage populaire, *barka babou*. *Bera* ou *barka* voulant dire important, les expressions formées avec ce mot désignent toujours une position dominante.

Le mariage

Bien que les mariages puissent se faire dans n'importe quel temps de l'année la saison où les épousailles sont les plus nombreuses se situe en mars, avril et mai. C'est au père de la fille qu'il incombe de faire les démarches nécessaires au mariage de sa fille. Pour lui c'est une obligation quasi religieuse qu'il doit remplir s'il veut avoir la paix en ce monde et le salut dans l'autre. Pour un même mariage l'échange de biens matériels qui accompagne les transactions se fait dans les deux sens. Il y a un va-et-vient continuel de cadeaux et d'argent à mesure que les négociations avancent. Le plus important de ces biens cependant est la dot qui accompagne la femme comme dans l'ancien système européen. Toutefois, chez les basses castes subsiste ce qui paraît être un vestige de compensation matrimoniale hérité des traditions primitives: le père de l'époux, au moment du départ de la maison des parents de l'épouse, doit verser un montant symbolique en dédommagement au père de la fille. Bien que rien ne soit dit explicitement il semble bien que cette pratique vient souligner le fait que la perte de main-d'œuvre est toujours ressentie par la famille qui laisse aller la jeune femme.

Le montant de la dot se situe généralement entre 200 et 600 roupies [6], mais la tendance est à l'inflation en ce domaine. Une loi du Gouvernement central prohibe cette pratique mais l'enchère se poursuit de plus belle. L'importance de la dot, le faste du cortège et le nombre des convives au repas de noces contribuent à rehausser le prestige de la famille dans son village et dans sa caste.

Les transactions pour en arriver à la conclusion d'un mariage peuvent durer sept ou huit ans. A partir du *shadi* (engagement)

[6] Ce montant équivaut à peu près à quatre fois le revenu annuel moyen d'une famille de basse caste.

jusqu'au *gauna* (cohabitation) se situent toute une série de démarches alternatives. Le cycle complet des transactions pour en arriver à la conclusion d'un mariage comporte plusieurs moments importants. En voici une brève description:

1. Les *mangueni* ou demandes préliminaires. Elles sont faites par l'intermédiaire de représentants des deux familles sans la participation des enfants en question.

2. Puis vient la célébration du *shadi* ou solemnisation populaire dans le village de la fille et consécration rituelle de l'engagement pris par les deux familles de veiller à ce que les jeunes fiancés parviennent jusqu'au *gauna*.

3. Enfin, le *gauna* qui aura lieu plusieurs années après. Le mot paraît être une fusion de deux termes: *gaon* (village) et *ana* (venir) et voudrait dire: venir au village. En effet, à partir de ce moment l'époux pourra cohabiter avec sa femme qu'il est allé chercher au village de son beau-père pour l'emmener dans le sien propre.

Voyons quels sont les échanges et les rites qui prennent place à chacun de ces moments importants.

Mangueni

Pour sonder le terrain et faire les propositions de mariage d'un village à un autre, toujours assez éloigné, on se sert d'intermédiaires appelés *bichewan*. Il y en a deux ou trois dans chaque village. A Sémeri l'un d'eux appelé Gangou est le seul bigame de l'endroit et on lui reconnaît une compétence particulière dans les questions matrimoniales. Chez les hautes castes on se sert des barbiers comme intermédiaires car ils circulent dans une série de villages et ont l'occasion de causer en tête-à-tête avec leurs clients. Le père de la fillette fait donc dire au père de tel garçon qu'il aimerait lui donner sa fille en mariage. Les enfants ont à ce moment-là entre quatre et huit ans. Si la proposition est agréée le père du garçon avec deux ou trois personnes de sa maison va voir la petite fille à son village et apporte des cadeaux à ses parents. Ils mesurent le nez de la fillette, ses oreilles, et souvent la font déshabiller. Les cadeaux ayant été offerts et acceptés les parents de la fille vont alors voir le garçon. Ils l'examinent de la même façon pour voir s'il n'est pas infirme. Ils offrent aussi du grain ou de la farine à la famille et, si le don est

accepté, la *mangueni* est terminée. Les préparatifs du *shadi* peuvent alors commencer.

Shadi

La première chose à faire et non la moins importante c'est de déterminer le jour faste et l'heure où le mariage pourra avoir lieu. Pour cela le père, de chaque côté, va consulter son brahmanne. Ces derniers lisent les horoscopes et déterminent deux ou trois dates et heures favorables. Les *bichewan* jouent de nouveau leur rôle de négotiateurs jusqu'à ce que les deux parties soient tombées d'accord sur le jour et l'heure propices au mariage. Cela prend il va sans dire plusieurs semaines.

Les cérémonies du *shadi* durent environ trois jours, le deuxième étant celui du rite proprement dit. La veille au soir a lieu le bain rituel de chacun des deux enfants par des vieilles de la famille, dans leur village respectif. Après les avoir lavés ils les enduisent de safran, les vieilles leur chantent des insultes et rient du garçon comme pour mettre en doute sa puissance sexuelle et la fécondité de son futur mariage.

Le lendemain on coupe les ongles à tous les deux et on les habille pour la cérémonie. On leur attache parfois leurs rognures d'ongle au poignet.

Le *berat* (cortège) se rassemble au village du garçon. Il est constitué de parents et d'amis qui viennent comme témoins du mariage. Cette procession semble être la démarche caractéristique du *shadi* car chaque fois que je demandais à un jeune garçon qu'elle était sa condition matrimoniale il me répondait, pour signifier le *shadi* : *méra berat ho gaya,* i.e. ma procession a eu lieu. (Ici le jeune garçon va au village de la fille pour la cérémonie. Au terme du *gauna* ce sera en fin de compte la jeune femme qui viendra habiter au village de son mari.)

Ils partent dans la journée car ils ont souvent plus de 20 milles à faire. Arrivés devant le village de la future mariée ils attendent l'heure fixée pour entrer. Un porte-parole de la famille de la future épouse invite alors le cortège à s'avancer jusqu'à la maison du futur beau-père. Toute cette journée-là les fiancés jeûnent.

Quand l'heure du mariage est venue tout le monde se réunit dans l'*angan* (enceinte) s'il y en a une, autrement ce sera devant la maison familiale. La *khalsa* est préparée et posée au milieu d'un tapis. Il s'agit d'un pot rempli d'eau sur le goulot duquel on met une soucoupe remplie de grain et sur le grain une *dia* (petite lampe) dont la flamme symbolise la vie humaine selon les Védas. A côté se trouve le panier dans lequel on a mis tous les dons. Le garçon s'assied à un bout du tapis, la fille à l'autre et les invités se placent tout autour. Un *panch* (un des cinq du conseil de la caste pour un groupe de villages) se place au milieu, en face de la *khalsa,* avec les témoins. On récapitule alors les généalogies des deux enfants et on discute pour savoir s'il y a quelque empêchement à cette union. On détache alors, s'il y a lieu, les rognures des bras des futurs mariés. Viennent ensuite deux rites d'acceptation:

1. *Paon ka poudja*: vénération des pieds par le garçon. Il va d'abord toucher les pieds du père de la fille avec ses deux mains puis porte les deux mains jointes à son propre front dans un geste de révérence. Il fait ainsi à tous les membres mâles de la *joint family* de son futur beau-père. Quant à la future belle-mère, il ne peut la rencontrer. Elle a la face voilée et il ne faut pas qu'il la voie. Là où le fiancé se trouvera elle ne peut entrer et il faut qu'elle évite aussi le père du garçon.

Pendant ce temps les femmes du groupe de la *doulahin* (mariée) chantent au *doulaha* (marié) toute espèce d'injures. Il se peut que le père de la fille refuse de se laisser toucher les pieds. Les parents du marié lui font alors un cadeau et la cérémonie se poursuit.

2. *Dal ka poudja*: vénération du panier des dons . On apporte devant le garçon le panier contenant les dons offerts par la famille de la fille. Il y fait la révérence de la même manière que pour la vénération des pieds. Si la famille du garçon trouve la dot insuffisante on arrête le garçon dans son geste pour demander plus.

Rite du mariage: *dhoti aur sari ghantena.* L'acceptation étant faite, un coin du vêtement du garçon (dhoti) et de celui de la fille (sari) sont attachés ensemble par le *panch.* A ce moment les deux fiancés sont assis l'un à côté de l'autre avec le *panch,* en face de la *khalsa.* La formule du mariage est alors prononcée par l'officiant. Elle est empruntée le plus souvent au formulaire des hautes castes.

On fait une pause de quelques minutes puis le mari va prendre du *sindour* (poudre rouge) entre le pouce et le petit doigt et en met dans la séparation des cheveux de sa femme. Il dépose cette couleur à partir du front vers le sommet de la tête sur une longueur de trois ou quatre pouces.

Le rite proprement dit est terminé. C'est alors le signal des réjouissances: repas, chants, danses, jeux. Cela dure toute la soirée et une partie de la nuit. On invite des danseurs professionnels qui sont toujours des travestis. Chez les hautes castes on amène des prostituées. Les danses comportent toujours des sortes de mimes reproduisant les divers aspects de la vie maritale.

Le lendemain les gens de la *berat* s'en retournent tandis que le groupe des femmes de la maison du beau-père leur chante des *gali*. Une nouvelle parenté est née, on a donc droit à des injures.

Entre le *shadi* et le *gauna* s'écoule un intervalle de plusieurs années d'isolation. Les jeunes mariés grandissent sans qu'on leur permette de se voir officiellement. Les garçons vont tenter d'aller observer de loin leurs épouses sans que celles-ci s'en aperçoivent, du moins à ce qu'ils disent. Chez les hautes castes il y a beaucoup moins d'intervalle entre le *shadi* et la *gauna* car le mariage est entrepris alors que les enfants sont beaucoup plus vieux. La cérémonie décrite plus haut est celle des *tchamar* du *déhat* (campagne). Bien qu'il y ait une manière générale de faire, chaque caste et chaque région y introduit des variantes de détail. Les *Thakur* (haute caste) ont un rituel plus compliqué. Je n'ai jamais été admis à suivre leurs cérémonies en entier. Pour eux, après avoir attaché les deux époux par le coin de leur vêtement et avoir prononcé la formule sanskrite, le brahmane invité à présider au mariage leur ordonne de faire sept fois le tour d'un petit feu allumé pour la circonstance ou encore autour de la *khalsa*. La circumambulation du feu semble être le rite essentiel du mariage des gens de haute caste.

Gauna

Le *gauna* est l'occasion de festivités beaucoup moins grandes que le *shadi*. Après que les deux adolescents ont dépassé l'âge de puberté, le jour propice pour le *gauna* est fixé après entente, de la même manière que pour le *shadi*. La veille de ce jour le jeune marié

prend son bain et s'enduit le corps de safran. Il met ensuite ses plus beaux atours. Dès le lendemain matin le cortège s'organise et l'on part pour le village de la mariée. Chez les *Thakur* il semble que la succion rituelle du sein de la mère par son garçon avant de se rendre au village de sa femme soit encore en usage. Ce serait pour le jeune marié une façon de dire à sa mère qu'il ne l'abandonnera pas, qu'il reconnaît son attachement envers elle. Un *thakur* que je connais bien se faisait parfois taquiner là-dessus par ses confrères musulmans à l'école: « Toi, tu n'es pas encore retourné au sein de ta mère » ou encore : « vous autres, vous retournez au sein de votre mère. » Il répondait invariablement: « De nos jours, ça ne se fait plus que dans les endroits les plus reculés. »

Pendant que le cortège s'en vient, la femme s'est préparée de son côté. Quand ils arrivent elle est parée et a le visage voilé. Ses sœurs essaient d'empêcher son mari d'entrer dans la maison. Ce dernier doit leur faire un cadeau pour qu'elles le laissent passer. Le mari n'est pas encore autorisé à voir le visage de sa femme ni à la connaître durant la nuit. Plusieurs m'ont affirmé qu'il y a souvent infraction à cette règle. Ce qui est sûr c'est que le soir ils mangent ensemble après avoir offert de la nourriture sur le *déocul* familial. C'est un petit autel domestique fait de boue mêlée avec de l'eau du Gange et situé à un coin de la maison. Le lendemain la mariée ou les deux époux ensemble prennent place soit dans une charette à bœufs, soit dans un palanquin s'il s'agit de gens plus fortunés. Dans le cas de mariages entre familles vraiment pauvres les époux se contentent de joindre le cortège qui s'en retourne à pied.

Au départ a lieu la scène des pleurs. Toutes les parentes de la mariée entonnent un concert de lamentations. Le beau-père et les hommes de la parenté de la mariée consolent leurs femmes en leur répétant: *roho djin* (ne pleure pas) ce qui obtient infailliblement l'effet contraire.

Deux ou trois femmes de la maison de la mariée l'accompagnent alors pour le voyage. Au village du mari la foule se réunit en voyant venir le cortège. Le *doulaha* et la *doulahin* arrivent devant la porte de la maison paternelle. On attache de nouveau un coin du *dhoti* de l'un au coin du *sari* de l'autre et les deux s'avancent, la femme en premier. Les sœurs du marié barrent le chemin d'accès à sa

nouvelle femme. Il faut que ce dernier fasse des cadeaux à ses propres sœurs pour qu'elles permettent à sa nouvelle femme d'entrer. Il proteste en disant: « Pourtant, elle ne vaut pas cela ! »

Une fois entrés les deux s'asseoient côte-à-côte en face du *déocul*, le mari à droite et sa femme à gauche. Alors la mariée se dévoile la face. Elle fait l'offrande des *pouri* (pâtes frites dans l'huile) et du *khir* (riz cuit dans du lait sucré). C'est une *mausi* (sœur de la mère du garçon) qui est désignée pour les nourrir à même ces offrandes. Elle fait manger la mariée normalement mais quand elle arrive au marié, elle se moque de lui en lui maculant le visage avec le riz. Ensuite le mari lui-même en donne à manger à sa femme. Si elle refuse de manger de sa main il doit lui faire un cadeau ... jusqu'à ce qu'elle accepte de lui la nourriture.

Après cela il y a fête au village mais les réjouissances ont un caractère plus sobre et plus domestique que celles du *shadi*. Les femmes se tiennent ensemble avec la mariée. Elles savent qu'elle ne restera pas longtemps car elle repartira avec ses parents, deux ou trois jours après pour retourner à la maison de son père.

Deux ou trois mois plus tard aura lieu le *dounga* (deuxième démarche). Le père ou le frère du mari va chercher la jeune épouse et la ramène à la maison de son époux. Le *dounga* est souvent la dernière démarche surtout si la femme est assez âgée. Dans le cas contraire elle s'en retourne chez elle au bout de quelques jours pour y demeurer encore quelques mois.

Vient enfin la *tinga* (troisième démarche). Là, c'est le mari lui-même qui va chercher sa femme pour la ramener définitivement chez lui. Par la suite, chaque fois qu'elle ira visiter ses parents elle devra être accompagnée par son mari ou par une femme de la maison de son mari. Si un beau jour elle arrive seule à la maison de son père, c'est que quelque chose ne va pas et le beau-père enverra quelqu'un s'enquérir de la raison de son retour.

RUPTURES

Une rupture est légitimée si, durant le temps des *mangueni* ou du *shadi* on déclare la lèpre de l'un ou de l'autre conjoint. Le *panchayat* (conseil des villages) est rassemblé. On impose à la

partie qui est responsable de la rupture une amende, par exemple, nourrir une ou deux fois le village de la partie lésée, et on exige le remboursement de la dot s'il y a lieu.

Si la femme devient folle on accorde le divorce. Dans ce cas cependant, si on découvre que c'est parce qu'il y a eu cruauté envers la femme, le *panchayat* refuse le divorce. Le cas se présente ordinairement après que la femme a menacé de se suicider en se jetant dans un puits. On essaie alors de juger du sérieux de sa détermination et des causes de son comportement avant d'accorder ou de refuser le divorce.

Dans le cas où la mariée est déjà enceinte avant le *gauna*, les parents de la femme ont à payer une amende mais il n'y a pas automatiquement rupture. Le mari cependant ne peut être contraint de prendre cette femme et son refus provoquerait la rupture. Il est accepté qu'un homme ait deux femmes mais pas plus. Parfois si on fait la vie dure à la jeune épouse dans sa nouvelle famille, et si son mari la maltraite, il arrive qu'elle prenne un amant dans le village, parmi les plus jeunes célibataires.

Remarques

Les propos que l'on entend à l'occasion des mariages témoignent d'une très grande préoccupation chez l'hindou en ce qui concerne la préservation de l'énergie mâle. Un adolescent à qui je demandais pourquoi il portait toujours une ficelle autour des reins me répondit: « C'est une mode de par chez-nous. » Mais il est constant d'observer que les hommes de haute caste portent un cordon qui, en plus d'entourer les reins, vient passer sur l'épaule. En poussant la curiosité jusqu'à demander pourquoi on met toujours ce cordon autour de l'oreille au moment de la miction, on a des chances d'obtenir cet autre élément de réponse: c'est pour éviter qu'à ce moment-là se produise une perte de *bindou* (semence) qui selon eux est en réserve dans un compartiment de la boîte crânienne au niveau de l'oreille. Les récits des Védanta et les enseignements du Yoga (*kekhari moudra*) fournissent un fondement à cette croyance.

D'autres particularités sont dignes d'attention, comme le fait que les familles d'un village donné tiennent à trouver un parti pour leurs filles dans un village de préférence très éloigné du leur: jamais en

deça de 2 milles et le plus souvent dans un rayon de 15 ou 20 milles. Cela correspond sans doute aux exigences de la répartition géographique de la parenté consécutive à l'endogamie de caste et à l'exogamie que les villages indiens pratiquent depuis un temps immémorial. Tout se passe comme si la préférence était donnée aux mariages qui étendent le plus loin possible le réseau des relations de parenté déjà existantes par la conclusion de nouvelles alliances.

CONCLUSION

Depuis la prohibition par la loi civile des alliances entre familles engageant dans le mariage des enfants mineurs, des pressions considérables s'exercent sur le système matrimonial traditionnel. La mise en vigueur par le Parlement indien du « Code de Mariage Hindou » en plusieurs Bills de 1954 à 1956, rend maintenant illégale l'exigence de la dot par les parents du mari et consacre la liberté des individus dans le choix du conjoint. Dans les régions rurales, cependant, les basses castes ont jusqu'ici résisté à toute altération importante de leurs coutumes en ce domaine. Le mouvement de sanscritisation encore en progrès chez les *Harijans* (appellation officielle couvrant toutes les populations de basse caste) va dans le sens d'un retour à des traditions ariennes plus pures. Les hautes castes, à l'opposé, se libéralisent dans le sens de l'adoption des coutumes occidentales. Les changements qui commencent déjà à se produire au sein des populations qui avaient jusqu'ici échappé à ces deux courants d'influences nous fourniront peut-être, dans un avenir prochain, des données très précieuses pour une étude du changement social en Inde.

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New Light on the History of Lower Nubia

by BRUCE G. TRIGGER

RÉSUMÉ

Bien que l'histoire de la « Basse-Nubie » ait été traitée par plusieurs auteurs, elle demeure passablement confuse. Cet article veut jeter un peu plus de lumière sur ce problème, tout en ne prétendant pas y apporter une solution définitive.

INTRODUCTION

Lower Nubia is the portion of the Nile Valley located between the First Cataract, near Aswan in Egypt, and the Second Cataract, near Wadi Halfa in the Sudan.[1] It is poorer and more thinly populated than the valley north of Aswan and because of ecological and ethnic differences always has been regarded as distinct from Egypt proper. Unlike the Dongola or Shendi areas farther south, it is not separated from Egypt by any formidable geographical barriers and it has often been subject to Egyptian surveillance and control. The history of Nubia has been determined to a large degree by the foreign policies of its northern and southern neighbours. In spite of this, Lower Nubia historically has been an important meeting place between Egypt and the Sudan and through it people and ideas have moved back and forth between the Mediterranean and sub-Saharan Africa.

Prior to 1907 little was known about the archaeology of Lower Nubia. At that time the Egyptian government sponsored the first Archaeological Survey of Nubia in connection with the heightening of the Aswan Dam, built in 1899. Under the leadership of the famous American Egyptologist, George A. Reisner, and later of C. M. Firth, the northern half of Lower Nubia was surveyed, all

[1] The original version of this paper was read at A *Symposium on Contemporary Nubia*, held in Aswan, Egypt, in January 1964. The present version is based on a lecture sponsored by the Southwest Asia and North Africa Program of the State University of New York at Binghampton, February 11, 1966. The reader's attention is drawn to William Y. Adams' "Continuity and Change in Nubian Culture History" (*Sudan Notes and Records* 48 [1967] 1-32), a synthesis that differs from this one on a number of important points.

known sites except those of the Islamic period were recorded and the most interesting were fully excavated (Reisner 1910; Firth 1912, 1915, 1927). Between 1929 and 1934 this survey was continued south to the Sudanese border by Walter B. Emery and L. P. Kirwan (1935), and many new and important discoveries were made, particularly a series of royal tombs at Qustul and Ballana that date around the middle of the first millennium A.D. (Emery 1938). Other work was done in Lower Nubia in the first half of this century by Ugo Monneret de Villard (1935-57) for the Egyptian Antiquities Service, F. L. Griffith (Liverpool Annals, passim) of Oxford, Sir C. Leonard Woolley and D. Randall-MacIver (1909-11) of the University of Pennsylvania, Hermann Junker (1925, 1926) of the Vienna Academy of Sciences and the Ernst Sieglin Expedition (Steindorff 1935). In 1959 the impending construction of the High Dam south of Aswan prompted Unesco to launch an appeal for further archaeological work in the threatened area. Approximately 25 expeditions from about as many countries responded to this appeal. As a result of this work some old theories about the history of Nubia have had to be revised or discarded and others have been called into question. Much of the evidence remains to be examined and new hypotheses must be tested.

The following is not meant to be a definitive statement of Nubian culture history but a presentation that may stimulate an exchange of ideas and help to clarify issues. It is obvious, however, that some problems of Nubian culture history may never be answered, at least with data from Lower Nubia.

THE LAND

Our discussion must begin with ecology. There appear to have been few ecological changes in Lower Nubia during the past 6,000 years. The riverbed has remained more or less constant and rainfall has been almost nil. As a result there was never within historic times any more rainfall grazing land along the Nile than there is now. During the Neolithic Wet phase, however, which lasted until about 2300 B.C., there was more rainfall in the Sudan and in the Red Sea Hills than at present and because the water table was higher, there were more springs and cases in the Western Desert. During this period there also were higher flood levels in the Nile

Valley, although because of the steep terrain this meant that there was only slightly more inundated land in Lower Nubia than at present. Since that time there have been minor cyclical fluctuations in the average height of the Nile flood but the effect of these changes on life in the region has not as yet been worked out. The increasing aridity of the deserts after the Neolithic Wet Phase seems to have encouraged the accumulation of sand along the west bank of the river, the one facing the prevailing winds (Trigger 1965: 23-24). De Heinzelin's (1964) work at Aksha suggests that much of the sand accumulated after A.D. 1000.

Throughout history arable land has been scarce in Lower Nubia. Because the river cuts easily through the Nubian sandstone, which is found everywhere between the First and Second Cataracts, the valley is narrow and the arid plateau often extends right to the river. As a result, naturally fertile areas are small and separated from one another by strips of desert. In the past, when the Nubians depended more on agriculture, their hamlets tended to cluster around the perimeter of these fertile areas, which we call localities (John Lewis Burckhardt 1819:37). Although the landscape of Lower Nubia was greatly altered by the successive enlargements of the Aswan Reservoir, it is possible to obtain a fairly detailed picture of the distribution of localities prior to the building of the dam from old maps, illustrations and travellers' accounts.

In general, the extreme north of Nubia was a region of small and scattered localities. Between Shellal and the granitic constriction in the river known as the Bab el Kalabsha, patches of fertile soil were found only in the mouths of small wadis. The richest single area was the plain of Tafa, on the east bank just north of the Baba el Kalabsha.

Between Tafa and Gerf Husein the localities were less frequent and the banks of potentially fertile soil often were above the high water level. The two other areas characterized by limited agricultural potential were between Maharraqa and Derr and Arminna and Abu Simbel. The first of these is the section of river that bends through the Korosko Hills.

In the rest of Lower Nubia the fertile areas were larger and closer together and some were substantial plains. Between Gerf

Husein and Qurta there was a series of large fertile plains on both sides of the river. The one on the west bank at Dakka was eight kilometers long and with the aid of wells and water hoists could be cultivated up to 1.5 kilometers from the river. In the last century the region between Derr and Arminna was considered to be the richest part of Lower Nubia and was famous for its date palms. In addition to very productive strips of land along the shore there were also fertile islands in this region. The largest of the plains here was on the west bank at Aniba, opposite the towering cliffs of Qasr Ibrim. There was another moderately fertile region between Abu Simbel and the Second Cataract. The richest locality in that area was Faras West, which although it has been encroached on by sand dunes in recent times, was once a worthy equal of Dakka and Aniba. This natural division of Lower Nubia into three fertile districts was meaningful to the ancient Egyptians. The main fortresses of the Middle Kingdom were built at Dakka, Aniba and Faras and each of these districts was under the patronage of its own royal diety.

The political development of Lower Nubia has been conditioned in part by the ecology of the region. The narrowness of the valley and the frequent projections of rock to the edge of the river have prevented the development of complex irrigation systems or even of basin agriculture. The several thousand acres of land that were irrigated were done so with *saqias* that were individually or family owned. The scarcity of land in Lower Nubia has tended to generate quarrels between families and lineages, and the absence of large centers of population or resources that the local population could effectively exploit has provided no opportunities for the development of a complex economy in Lower Nubia. The regional governments that have controlled Lower Nubia have either been colonial administrations or local ones imposed by force or organized to resist outside pressure. In the early part of the last century, for example, a local warlord used an army of slaves and foreign mercenaries to wring taxes from the local population (Burckhardt 1819). During the infrequent periods when control of trade along the Nile has fallen into local hands it appears to have been controlled by a few villages or by a small local elite much as in other parts of Africa.

The inability of Nubia to support large irrigation works, the maintenance of which requires stable political conditions, has meant that the population of Nubia has been much more stable than that of Egypt. The population of Lower Nubia in 1964 was approximately the same as when John Lewis Burckhardt visited the country in 1813. During the same period the population of Egypt has risen from 2.5 million (a low figure reflecting the political chaos of the day) to about 26 million. The surplus population of Nubia has emigrated to Egypt or the Sudan where Nubian men have found work either as soldiers or domestics. This seems to be a long established pattern. Nubians were recruited for the Egyptian army as early as the Old Kingdom and servants, who may not have been slaves, are already portrayed in Fifth Dynasty tombs at Sakkara.

THE EARLY NUBIAN PERIOD

The first evidence of neolithic (food producing) settlement in Lower Nubia is fairly late and comes from one site only. This is at Khor Bahan, just south of Shellal, and the culture found there is that of Egypt in the late Amratian or early Gerzean periods (Reisner 1910:113-40). While sites containing pottery resembling the pre- and early neolithic pottery in the Khartoum area have been found in the extreme southern part of Lower Nubia (Nordstrom 1962:49; Myers 1960:176) and appear to date around 3000 B.C., there is no evidence whether or not goats and agriculture had managed to diffuse to these indigenous cultures prior to the expansion of Egyptian culture into northern Lower Nubia. During the Gerzean period a culture closely related to that of Upper Egypt spread throughout most of Lower Nubia but seems to have remained concentrated in the north. At the same time this culture began to diverge from the parent culture of Egypt and to develop along its own lines. Most of the native pottery, for example, consists of a distinctive black-lipped ware, while the Gerzean painted pottery found in these sites all appears to be imported (Junker 1919). Because environmental opportunities were limited, Nubian society did not show signs of the social and cultural elaboration that brought the first barbarian states into existence in Gerzean Egypt, led to the unification of the country around 3000 B.C. and then to the flowering of the Old Kingdom a few hundred years later. It is

impossible to determine whether the first neolithic settlements in northern Lower Nubia were those of Egyptian settlers (perhaps refugees) or whether the beginning of the Early Nubian Sequence merely represents the diffusion of elements of Egyptian culture among an indigenous food collecting people. The apparent racial similarities between the Nubians and Egyptians at this time do not prove that they were necessarily linguistically or ethnically the same. In fact ethnic variation would help to explain the growing differences between the material culture of Egypt and Nubia.

The subsistence economy of the Early Nubian cultures has not been well studied, but it was probably similar to that followed by the natives of Lower Nubia until the New Kingdom. This was a mixed farming in which there was a strong emphasis on herding. The flood plain, which was broader in many places than it has been in the recent past as a result of the higher floods that lasted at least from the start of the Early Nubian Sequence until the end of the Middle Kingdom, provided fodder for the cattle and allowed crops to be grown with relatively little effort. A certain amount of agriculture was necessary to feed the herds during the flood season when most grazing land was under water. The produce of flood plain agriculture appears to have been supplemented by fishing, a tradition probably inherited from earlier times. During the Gerzean period the population did not number more than two or three thousand (Trigger 1965:160).

The earliest settlements that have been found are small and lack any indication of permanent house structures. At the campsite at Meris, perhaps the best recorded of the Early Nubian I (Predynastic) period, only sixteen hearths were recovered (Reisner 1910: 215-18). It appears that families lived in shelters made of reeds or mats fastened onto poles. Cemeteries sometimes contained more than 100 graves with multiple burials in many of them. Reisner (1923) later interpreted these multiple burials as evidence of *sati* but in some there is clear evidence that bodies were placed in the graves at different times. This suggests a stability in population that is not evident in the habitation sites. Perhaps a band would occupy a single locality, or several adjacent ones and move around within their territory as they grazed their cattle. Most of the year

their camps were probably on the flood plain near the river and hence are lost to us forever.

During Early Nubian I times the population of Nubia increased and there is evidence of substantial prosperity. The large quantities of Egyptian goods found in Nubian graves suggest that during late predynastic times the Nubians had something to offer the Egyptians in return. Perhaps some of these items came to Nubia as pay received by mercenaries who fought in the armies of the emerging kingdom of Upper Egypt. These would have been the first in a long line of Nubian mercenaries who served in the Egyptian armies. It is also likely that copper was obtained by the Nubians near the Second Cataract and traded with the Egyptians. Although the source of this copper has not yet been tracked down it was worked at Buhen near Wadi Halfa in the Old and New Kingdoms and was probably available in the pre-Cambrian rock formations nearby. The wealth of Gerzean Egypt also stimulated a demand for wood, ivory and other products from central Africa and there might have been trade in these items along the Nile corridor at this time. It has even been suggested that the first neolithic settlements in Nubia were Gerzean trading colonies.

By the beginning of the First Dynasty in Egypt a neolithic culture of Egyptian origin had spread throughout Lower Nubia and absorbed a number of cultural traits from the indigenous mesolithic (?) culture farther south. This gave rise to the Early Nubian II (roughly the A-group) culture. During the latter period the population of Lower Nubia was larger than it either had been before or would be for some time to come. It reached perhaps 7-10,000. More localities were inhabited than before, although these were naturally still the most fertile ones. The indigenous pottery included conical bowls decorated on the outside with geometrical designs in red paint and these appear to be the work of professional potters. As well as this evidence of a more complex division of labour there is also evidence of increasing social differentiation. A small cemetery found near Seyala, for example, is almost certainly that of a Nubian chief and his family. In addition to other fine objects, both native and imported, two magnificent Egyptian maces with elaborately decorated gold handles were recovered from this cemetery (Firth 1927:204-12). Recently a village of this period was excavated near

Afyeh which contained several rectangular houses built of rough slabs of sandstone (Smith 1962:59-61; Lal 1963). Although several villages that resemble this one, but were more poorly preserved, have been recorded in other parts of Lower Nubia, most villages of this period lack evidence of permanent structures. It is possible that the more elaborate villages were the residences of local chiefs. It is also likely that at this time Lower Nubia was divided into a number of small chiefdoms, as documentary evidence indicates that it was later during the Sixth Dynasty.

It used to be believed that the Egyptians had not tried to conquer Lower Nubia or settle there during the Old Kingdom. Now, however, there is growing evidence of Egyptian military activity both in Palestine and in Nubia early in the First Dynasty. A rock carving found in Gebel Shaikh Suleiman just south of Wadi Halfa shows Nubians of two unidentified localities being defeated by the Egyptians in the reign of King Djer (Arkell 1950). At present, however, there is no evidence of any serious attempt to occupy the region prior to the Second Dynasty when the Egyptians may have built their first settlement at Buhen (Emery 1965:112-13). Since copper smelters were found there it appears that the Egyptians had seized the copper mines and probably control of trade with the south as well. The Palermo Stone records a campaign in the reign of Snefru in which several thousand Nubians were carried off as prisoners (Gardiner 1961:78). This suggests that the Egyptians were resorting to mass deportations to pacify the region and perhaps also to secure manpower for their projects in the north.

During the Old Kingdom both the chronology and culture history of Lower Nubia become somewhat obscure. A number of sites have been found in the north that appear to date from this time and they seem to represent an impoverished continuation of the Early Nubian Sequence, characterized mainly by the disappearance of most trade goods and the fine native pottery of the preceding period. Reisner called this the B-Group and I have renamed it Early Nubian III. To date, no Early Nubian III material has been found in a stratified sequence. Moreover, south of Dakka few Early Nubian III sites have been found and none have been found in the Sudan except at Buhen. This has led several scholars to argue that the B-Group is not a distinct culture at all but merely

a selection of poorer material belonging to the Early Nubian II and contemporary with it. If this is correct, Lower Nubia would appear to have been uninhabited from the Early Dynastic period until the beginning of the Middle Nubian Sequence, sometime after the start of the Sixth Dynasty. This would suggest a clear break both in people and culture between the two sequences. It seems possible, however, that Early Nubian III represents an impoverished continuation of the Early Nubian Sequence in northern Lower Nubia, which has gone undetected in the south because of the cursory nature of the work done on early sites there.

Whatever the actual details, it is clear that the reversals suffered by the Nubians at this time led to a collapse of the social and economic structure of Lower Nubia. Whatever population survived was small and impoverished and lived under the constant threat of more Egyptian raids. As a result, the Egyptians were able to pursue their quarrying activities in the desert west of Toshka without hindrance (Simpson 1963:50-53).

THE MIDDLE NUBIAN PERIOD

A revival of culture, or at least a revival of interest in fancy pottery, marks the start of the Middle Nubian period or C-Group. It used to be believed that this tradition began during the First Intermediate Period, but there is now evidence to suggest that it may have begun during the Sixth Dynasty. It is also generally believed that this culture was introduced into Lower Nubia by a migration of tribes out of the adjacent deserts which were drying up about this time (Firth 1915:11, 12; Junker 1919:7-12; Murdock 1959:159; Bates 1914; Emery and Kirwan 1935:4; Arkell 1961: 49-53) and this explanation is likely to hold true if it turns out that there really was a temporal gap between the Early and Middle Nubian Sequences. It is also possible, however, that this culture is merely a continuation of the Early Nubian ones. No migration is required to account for the stylistic changes observed in the archaeological record, although small groups may have joined those already living in the valley and added traits of their own to the general culture. Future information about the cultures of the Eastern and Western Deserts at this time may help to resolve this problem even if the data from Lower Nubia are inadequate.

The revival of local culture at this time seems correlated with the Egyptian withdrawal from Buhen, with the closing down of the Toshka quarries and perhaps the abandonment by the Egyptians of the whole of Lower Nubia. This withdrawal, however, did not bring back the golden age of the Early Nubian II culture. For one thing, trade with Dongola remained in Egyptian hands, although it was now carried on over long overland routes from Upper Egypt, as we know from the inscriptions of Harkhuf, the governor of Elephantine midway through the Sixth Dynasty (Gardiner 1961: 99-101). The power of the Lower Nubian chiefs appears to have increased in the Sixth Dynasty, but on at least one occasion they were prevented from collecting tolls by the armed forces that accompanied the Egyptian expedition back from Dongola. The murder of an Egyptian official late in the Sixth Dynasty also brought military reprisals (Gardiner 1961:99). The collapse of the central government in Egypt during the First Intermediate Period was of little benefit to Nubia since the market for southern goods in Egypt dried up and Egyptian harassment of Lower Nubia appears to have continued.

Early in the Middle Kingdom the Egyptians re-occupied Lower Nubia as far as Semna where there is a natural barrier across the river, and heavily fortified the frontier against the Nubians living to the south. This time, however, there is no hint of mass deportations and presumably the small population of Lower Nubia was not considered a threat to Egyptian ambitions. Instead, large forts were built as control points in the main centers of native population — Dakka, Aniba and Faras. The Egyptians monopolized the trade with the south and trade goods are rare in Nubian graves that date from the Middle Kingdom. This suggests that the lack of any Egyptianizing trends in the culture of Lower Nubia at this time was as much the result of poverty as it was of conscious resistance to the conquerors. Although probably made to pay a cattle tax and to provide occasional corvee labour (Save-Soderbergh 1941:74), the Nubians also benefitted from Egyptian rule as the latter maintained order among the local chiefdoms and also protected the Nubians against attacks from the desert. As a result, the population of Lower Nubia appears to have grown considerably during this period.

Another indication of stability can be seen in the villages themselves. At this time two house types, both involving dry-stone masonry, became common. One was a single room, circular, semi-subterranean house. The lower part was built of large upright slabs of stone, and the upper part consisted of a roof of skins stretched over a complicated framework of wooden beams (Steindorff 1935:201-219). Some of these houses were up to six meters in diameter and had as many as three hearths in a row. The other type of dwelling consisted of several circular or curvilinear rooms and open courts joined together. Inside these houses tethering posts for animals have been found as well as silos for storing grain (Emery and Kirwan 1935:106-08). Nubian villages remained small and houses often were built at considerable distances from each other. No sort of village plan has been observed. At Aniba a village containing both of these kinds of houses was found built over an earlier collection of Middle Nubian tent circles. This change seems to reflect a growing feeling of security and a tendency to settle down.

With the withdrawal or expulsion of Egyptian forces from Lower Nubia during the Second Intermediate Period there seems to have been a marked upsurge in the prosperity of the country and a continued growth in its population. Despite Egypt's difficulties, trading appears to have gone on between the powerful state of Kush in Dongola and the Hyksos kingdom in northern Egypt. It is possible that during this period the rulers of Lower Nubia were able to share in the profits from this trade, either as middlemen or by collecting tolls on goods passing through their territory. In any case a considerable increase in the power and wealth of these rulers is suggested by the size and complexity of their tombs as well as by their adoption of many features of both Egyptian and Kushitic culture. A "castle" apparently built at this time and inhabited as late as the reign of Tutmosis III was found at Er-Riqa. It appears to have been the fortified residence of one of these rulers. Originally it had been surrounded by a rectangular enclosure 80 meters long, 40 meters wide, and two meters thick. The wall was built of rubble faced with large stone slabs in the same style as were the walls of some Middle Nubian houses. At either end of the enclosed area was a rectangular building partly built of mudbrick and divided into a number of rooms and courtyards in a formal

fashion that reflects Egyptian influence (Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1909). Smaller one-room houses that appear to date from this period have been found at Aniba. From the point of view of the native population the period appears to have been one of prosperity, increasing population and heightened social and technological complexity. The rulers of Nubia were once again in a position to begin adopting many elements of Egyptian culture.

It is unclear whether or not the Lower Nubian chiefs were vassals of the king of Kush, but when the Egyptians reconquered Lower Nubia at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty they did so very easily and dealt leniently with the local princes. The old forts were rebuilt and garrisoned by mixed contingents made up of Egyptians and their allies from the Eastern Desert. The latter Pan Grave people appear to have settled elsewhere in Lower Nubia at this time as well and their graves frequently contain fine daggers of Egyptian origin. Since the Egyptians were determined to press on and conquer Dongola they probably felt it best to encourage the Egyptianizing tendencies of the Lower Nubian chiefs and thus win their cooperation. Hence while they were probably stripped of much real power they were allowed to retain the titles and privileges of office. The sons of these princes were taken to Egypt to be educated at the royal court. There they acquired Egyptian ways and were encouraged to forget their native language, so that when they returned to Nubia they were thoroughly Egyptianized. These princes soon bore Egyptian names and were buried in Egyptian-style tombs (Simpson 1963; Thabit 1957; Save-Soderbergh 1960, 1963b). Their relatives lived in the Egyptian towns that grew up around the Middle Kingdom forts and often worked in the government offices (Save-Soderbergh 1941:184). The example set by the rulers spread to their subjects and Nubian culture as such tended to disappear (Save-Soderbergh 1962:88-89; Smith 1962:49).

The history of Lower Nubia during the New Kingdom is not entirely clear. Many Nubian sites date from the New Kingdom and the combined total of Egyptian and Middle Nubian graves from this period suggests a record population of perhaps 20,000. As one would expect, many small sites are found in the poorer localities that had been avoided prior to this time. The majority

of sites, however, appears to date from the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty and except in large centers, like Aniba, few graves appear to date from later times.

William Y. Adams (1964b:105-08) has argued that the native population abandoned Lower Nubia part way through the Eighteenth Dynasty and moved south into Dongola, where a culture closely resembling the Middle Nubian one appears to have survived until the Napatan period. He hypothesizes that the great temples of the Nineteenth Dynasty such as Bait el Wali, Wadi es Sebua and Abu Simbel were built as symbols of imperial might in a largely empty land. According to Adams, Lower Nubia was abandoned because of falling river levels and because the Nubians sought to avoid heavy taxation. These reasons are hardly convincing. Egypt ruled Dongola as well as Lower Nubia and falling river levels would have affected both regions adversely. Moreover, Egyptian towns and temples built early in the New Kingdom are close to the river and suggest that waterlevels at that time were already approximately the same as they are now. In addition his reasons do not explain why tombs of officials and records of land sales are found in Lower Nubia during the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties nor why Lower Nubia or Wawat should have continued to have a deputy viceroy. If Adams has read the archaeological evidence correctly Lower Nubia was probably abandoned for reasons other than the ones he suggests.

It is possible, however, that much of the rural population of Nubia gravitated into the large towns that grew up around the old fortresses during the course of the New Kingdom. Unfortunately none of these large centers has been thoroughly excavated. If there was such a shift in population, it might have been associated with the introduction into Lower Nubia of craft specializations and new forms of land use modelled along Egyptian lines. Most, if not all, of the farming population appears to have worked on land owned by the crown, the local princes, administrative officials, and by the numerous temples that were built throughout Lower Nubia and grew in splendour during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Under these conditions there seems to have been a shift away from pastoralism in the direction of more intensive agriculture. The plantation scene in the tomb of Djehuty-hotep at Debeira just north of Wadi Halfa suggests that dates may have been grown for

export and the mention of bee-keepers and wine producers farther south (Save-Soderbergh 1941:199; 1960) suggests that such activities may have been present in Lower Nubia as well. In addition there is some evidence of the manufacture of leather goods for export to Egypt. Basin agriculture, as practised in Egypt was impossible because of the terrain, but the *shaduf*, or manual water hoist, which was introduced to Egypt in the New Kingdom may have helped to compensate for the drop in flood levels that had occurred between the Middle and New Kingdoms. Land may have been more expensive in Lower Nubia than it was in Egypt (Edward Wente, per. comm.).

The administrative centers which were located in the principal localities of Lower Nubia were probably not very different from provincial towns of the period in Egypt proper. They consisted of walled public buildings and elite residential areas set in the midst of fields and peasant villages. A cemetery dotted with the pyramid chapels of the wealthy was located in the desert back of these towns. The Nubian chiefs no doubt had official residences in these regional centers as well as country estates elsewhere (Simpson 1963:27).

Between 1000 and 300 B.C. there is no evidence of any sedentary population in Lower Nubia. There are a few shrines and inscriptions of the Sudanese king Taharka, who ruled both Egypt and the Sudan in the eighth century B.C. A few objects have also been found which seem to belong to the Egyptian garrisons that were stationed in Lower Nubia for a time in the reign of the Egyptian king Psammetik in the seventh century, and Herodotus (1955:112) records that there was a small settlement of Egyptians and Napatans (perhaps traders?) living on the island of Tacompso near the present Maharraqa. The absence of population is certainly noteworthy and requires explanation.

The disappearance of the New Kingdom settlements in Lower Nubia seems to have resulted from political conditions at the end of the New Kingdom. As the central government grew weaker the most important Egyptian enterprises in Lower Nubia were abandoned, particularly the mining of gold in the Eastern Desert. As a result, many officials probably moved back to Egypt taking their serfs and dependents with them. After the collapse of the

Twentieth Dynasty (c. 1087) the Egyptians appear to have withdrawn from Upper Nubia thereby exposing Lower Nubia to attack. In the eighth century B.C. a strong native dynasty rose to power in the Dongola region and managed to rule most of Egypt for almost a century. After this time Egypt and Dongola remained hostile until Ptolemaic times. Although Persian power may have extended into Upper Nubia for a time, Lower Nubia remained a no man's land between the two countries. C. M. Firth's (1927:28) suggestion that Lower Nubia was abandoned because of low water levels is unsubstantiated, since present day conditions were reached before the start of the New Kingdom and flood levels were higher rather than lower than they are today during a good part of the first millennium B.C.

THE LATE NUBIAN PERIOD

In the Ptolemaic period relations between Egypt and the Meroitic kingdom to the south were much improved. Although the Meroites attempted to foment trouble in Upper Egypt and on one occasion invaded it, trade between Egypt and the Sudan appears to have increased considerably. The wealth and stimulation derived from this trade helped to initiate a cultural renaissance in the Meroitic heartland. The border remained near Maharraqa in the middle of Lower Nubia and the cooperation between the two states appears to be symbolized by the temples at Dakka and Philae which contain constructions of Ergamenes and Ptolemy IV (Arkell 1961:158-59). The latter of these places was now becoming an important center for the worship of Isis. During the Ptolemaic period, the Meroites appear to have settled at Faras, at Qasr Ibrim, opposite Aniba, and perhaps also at Gebel Adda. The settlements that date from this period are few in number, however, and for the most part appear to be quite poor (William Adams, per. comm.).

A considerable increase in population appears to have taken place after the introduction of the *saqia* or oxen-driven water wheel sometime in the Roman period. This device permitted agriculture to expand above the existing high water levels on to the fossil alluvium. Crops could thus be grown on the plains that had been dry since flood levels had declined after the Middle Kingdom and also in many hitherto uninhabited localities where there was a

narrow strip of arable land above the old high water level. These changes resulted in a great increase in population and a distribution of settlement resembling that found in Lower Nubia in the last century. The poor areas, where there had been large gaps in the distribution of population, were now filled up so that for the first time there were villages along the entire length of the river. Cemeteries increased in size and the overall population may have risen as high as 60,000.

The Roman portion of Lower Nubia was an important source of gold and building stone as well as a center for trade with the south. We have the names of at least ten Roman settlements that were military camps or garrison towns. Contra-Pselchis at the mouth of the Wadi el Allaqi controlled the route to the gold fields in the Eastern Desert, which were exploited by convict labour during Ptolemaic-Roman times. The small number of sites found on the east bank of the river suggests either that its exposure to raids from the Eastern Desert rendered it unattractive for settlement or else that the Egyptians preferred to let the nomads from the Eastern Desert use that bank to pasture their flocks, as they had prior to the resettlement of Lower Nubia. The temples and stone buildings found at Tafa, just north of the Bab el Kalabsha suggest that the towns in this area were spread out in much the same way that Nubian towns are today (Weigall 1907:64-66). A curious stone building on the hill behind Tafa, that was formerly described as a governor's palace, has recently been identified as a shrine of the goddess Isis, who was the patroness of this area. The great temple of Philae, just south of Aswan, became one of the chief centers for the worship of this goddess. The large number of temples found in this part of Lower Nubia and the obvious respect that the Meroites had for Isis suggest that the Ptolemaic and Roman governments in Egypt may have sought to protect the border and to make traders from upriver feel at ease by putting the entire region under the protection of dieties for whom the Egyptians and Meroites both felt a strong attachment. The Byzantine writer Procopius attributed such a function to Philae, although he wrongly attributed the construction of the site to Diocletian.

Aside from the fortresses atop Qasr Ibrim and Gebel Adda, the Meroitic settlements south of Maharraqa appear to have been

unfortified. Most of these were probably erected subsequently to the establishment of peaceful relations between Roman and Meroe about 23 B.C. The typical Meroitic house was constructed of mud-bricks with a barrel vaulted roof, like those still built by the Kenuzi Nubians. The simplest houses had two rectangular rooms side by side. Other houses consisted of four or more rooms and some were several stories high and built around an open court. Some of the more elaborate houses had foundation courses of dressed stone and were supplied with carved stone lintels and window screens. Presumably some of these large buildings were the houses of the Meroitic elite. The so-called "Western Palace" at Faras had an enclosure wall 38 meters long and 36 meters wide, lined on the inside with a row of small rectangular rooms. The doors of these rooms opened onto a courtyard, in the center of which was a free-standing building 11 meters square (Griffith 1926). The ostraca found in the outer rooms and the general similarity between this complex and some of the fortified Roman caravanserais in the Eastern Desert suggest that it might have been some sort of official warehouse. The Meroitic settlements at Wadi el Arab (Emery and Kirwan 1935:108-22), Er-Riqa, Karanog and Arminna appear to have been straggling collections of houses built along the edge of the flood plain, not unlike Roman Tafa to the north or the villages of modern Nubia.

Adams (1963:26) has suggested that some of the two room Meroitic structures consisted of a small storage room and a larger all-purpose living room. One of the houses excavated at Arminna West had two rooms of equal size, one of which contained two large built-in storage vats. Meroitic houses by and large were not surrounded by any sort of enclosure as are modern Nubian houses and they were also located much closer together than is usual at the present time. At Gumnarti, an island in the second cataract, Adams (1963:24-28) excavated two large structures made up of several two-room units joined together. These seem to have been inhabited either by lineages or by polygynous families and they are different from the sort of houses commonly found farther north.

In an earlier treatment of the growth of Meroitic settlement in Lower Nubia during the Roman period, I suggested that trade was probably one of the principal factors that encouraged this trend.

While the volume of trade may have been greater in the first century A.D. than it was in Ptolemaic times, this does not explain why so many of the Meroitic funerary inscriptions appear to date from the second and third centuries A.D. Adams and others are perhaps correct in suggesting that political disturbances farther south were prompting settlement in the north at this time. These disturbances may have been brought about by the expansion of Nubian speaking tribesmen from Kordofan and Darfur into the Dongola region (Trigger 1966). The frequent references to "envoys to the Romans" (apêteleb arêmelis) in the Meroitic funerary inscriptions suggests that trade still may have been important.

In the third century both Rome and Meroe were weakened and Lower Nubia was exposed to attack by the tribes of the Eastern Desert who had obtained the camel a few centuries earlier and had adapted themselves to a predatory way of life. For several centuries these bedouin, who appear to be the ancestors of the modern Beja peoples, controlled portions of Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia. A cultural decline can be seen in the Ballana or X-Group culture, which seems to have developed out of the Roman and Meroitic cultures of Nubia, with most of the new items being of Egyptian origin. A glottochronological study by Joseph Greenberg supports the theory that the Nubian language was brought into the Nile Valley, probably from Kordofan or Darfur sometime during the Ballana period. The arrival of Nubian speakers in Lower Nubia probably took the form of a slow infiltration after a period of acculturation in the Dongola area. The Ballana culture may have evolved prior to the coming of the Nubians and in any case it was apparently the culture of all the peoples of Lower Nubia, Meroites and Blemmye (Beja) as well as Nubian. The idea that there is a sharp break between the Meroitic and Ballana cultures and that the latter can be associated with either the Blemmyes or the Nubians is a myth that only now is being dispelled (Trigger 1966, 1967). After the political unification of Lower Nubia by kings who had their capital at Faras or Ballana, Nubian probably replaced Meroitic as the dominant language of the region. One of the casualties of this dark age was the Meroitic script, which died out about this time.

The rulers at Ballana, who were not converted to Christianity until A.D. 541, attempted to build a provincial imitation of the vanished Meroitic kingdom. They wore silver crowns modelled on those of the Meroitic royal family and were buried with their wives, prized animals and slaughtered retainers under large tumuli, which seem to have been substitutes for the Meroitic pyramid (Emery 1938). The luxury of the elite cemeteries at Ballana and Qasr Ibrim as compared with cemeteries elsewhere in Lower Nubia shows that marked differences in wealth existed at this period. The government was probably able to wring taxes from the impoverished farmers along the river at this time even more effectively than the *kashef* or local ruler could do at the start of the last century. It was also able to command large work forces for projects such as the construction of royal tombs. On the other hand, there is evidence of a marked decline in population in the Ballana period and most of the villages, which were continuations of ones occupied in Meroitic times, appear to have been sorely impoverished. Many houses were old ones that had been patched up and the new ones often were very poorly built (Adams 1964; Trigger 1965:143).

Although Christians appear to have been living in Lower Nubia during the Ballana period, Nobatia or Lower Nubia was officially converted in 541, about the same time as Mukaria and Alwa, the two Nubian states to the south. There is some debate whether Nobatia was originally Orthodox or Monophysite, but by the eighth century it was wholly the latter. Throughout the Christian period Byzantine influence remained strong at the court and in religious circles. Officials bore titles used at the imperial court and Christian names of Byzantine origin were common. Greek was apparently spoken as late as the twelfth century (Oates 1963).

Life in Lower Nubia appears to have changed little in Early Christian times. A number of fortified towns were built in different parts of the country, apparently under Syrian Christian influence. These were surrounded by stone walls, roughly rectangular in shape with one end narrower than the other. Some of these towns may have been caravan stops on the route north; at least the inscription from about 577 A.D. which says that Ikhmindi was built "for the protection of men and animals" (Donadoni 1959; Stenico 1960) suggests this. Until Adams (1962) published his study of Christian

pottery the chronology of this period was poorly understood, and as yet very little has been published about the development of architecture during this period. Adams' definitive publication of the stratified site at Meinarti should do much to remedy this. The Early Christian village at Arminna West apparently consisted of a warren of poorly constructed houses with irregular walls built of stones laid in mud and only occasionally of mud-brick (Trigger 1966b). Similar villages have been found elsewhere both in Egypt and the Sudan. If these are typical of the Early Christian period it would appear that the small towns at least were as poor as they had been in the Ballana phase.

The Classic Christian period (c. A.D. 850-1050) was apparently prosperous and marked the high point in Nubian cultural development. From the eighth century on, Nobatia was part of the kingdom of Dongola, although its *eparch* or ruler enjoyed a good deal of independence. During this period there was an increase in population and an improvement in the quality of houses which once again were built with thick, mud-brick walls and had four or five rooms although they were apparently inhabited by nuclear families. There was also a tendency for houses to cluster together to form tightly knit settlements. These agglutinated complexes grew by accretion and defence does not appear to have been an important factor in their development. The improved protection this arrangement offered against drifting sand may account for this new layout, although William Adams (per. comm.) has very reasonably suggested that it also may be an expression of a community life that was more integrated than before and perhaps was centered on the parish church, much as the pueblos in the American southwest were centered on their *kivas*. Even small communities had either one or more churches, either within the village or just outside it near the cemetery. These churches were frequently adorned with wall paintings and the ones in the best churches were of high quality. In addition, there were large buildings that we know from historical documents were monasteries. One of these has apparently recently been excavated at Qasr el Wizz near the Sudanese border. The three cathedral towns in Lower Nubia were at Dakka, Qasr Ibrim and Faras, a distribution which testifies to the continuing importance of these localities. The *eparch* lived at Faras. Here the citadel,

located within a quadrilateral enclosure, was adorned with a number of splendid churches and public buildings.

From the ninth century on, Moslems began to buy land south of Shellal and to make local converts. In Late Christian times (A.D. 1050-1250) the Christian population was largely confined to the southern part of Lower Nubia and was drawn together in a small number of large fortified towns (Adams 1964a). This appears to have been a response to the arrival in the Eastern Desert of increasing numbers of bedouin from Central Arabia. The Egyptian invasion of Lower Nubia in 1171 and the bedouin raids thereafter gradually extinguished the Christian culture of Lower Nubia, although Christianity as a religion appears to have lingered on at least as late as 1372 when a new bishop was consecrated for Qasr Ibrim and Faras. The last Christian king of Dongola was deposed in 1315 and the kingdom of Alwa was overrun by Moslems c. 1500. There have been no archaeological studies of Moslem Nubia comparable with those of earlier periods and this hiatus between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries forms a convenient point at which to break off our survey.

CONCLUSIONS

The archaeological work accomplished in Lower Nubia during the present campaign has done much to alter our views of Nubian culture history. New evidence has been found of Egyptian activity in the Old Kingdom, and the Christian period which hitherto was neglected has now been studied in some detail. The finds at Qasr Ibrim have shown that Christianity survived in Lower Nubia considerably longer than was formerly believed. Other problems remain with us, however. There is still no agreement about the nature of the transition between the Early and Middle Nubian Sequences and very little evidence to go on. It is also uncertain whether the Middle Nubian culture was brought into the area by a migration or developed out of the existing cultures in the region. We are also faced with the difficult problem of correlating archaeological, linguistic and ethnic units during the Ballana or X-Group period. The many finds made throughout the country simultaneously and by so many workers have prompted a thorough re-examination of virtually every period in Nubian history and a review of the

cultural relationships between Nubia and surrounding regions. Much more must be known about the history of the Eastern and Western Deserts and the Sudan before all the pieces in the jig-saw puzzle of Lower Nubian culture history can be put in place, and this will no doubt lead to more fieldwork in adjacent regions in the near future. The difficult problem of relating archaeological and documentary evidence also lies ahead of us. Adams has already indicated some of the difficulties for the New Kingdom. The Greco-Roman and Byzantine sources concerning Lower Nubia will also have to be re-examined, and very critically, in the light of archaeological findings. The same is true of the Moslem sources concerning Lower Nubia which paint a very gloomy picture of what appears from the archaeological record to have been a very prosperous period. Did Nubia always look poor to an Egyptian, are we dealing with propaganda, or have we misinterpreted the archaeological record in some way? Only further work may provide satisfactory answers.

Greater interest has been shown in the present campaign in the daily life and cultural development of Ancient Nubia than was shown in earlier campaigns. Attention has been given to determining water-levels throughout the historic period and eventually correlations may be worked out between these water levels and the general prosperity of the region. Already Adams (1964a:245) has shown that the higher water levels around A.D. 950 forced many communities to relocate on higher ground. Studies have also been made of the development of house types, village patterns and Nubian churches. Special books are also appearing on the history of Egyptian activities in Nubia (Emery 1965), on population trends (Trigger 1965) and on the history of the Kushitic empire (Dixon n.d.). At the moment no one has a monopoly on truth, but we all can hope that as more information is published and shared a far more detailed picture of the history and culture of Lower Nubia will emerge than would have been thought possible when the Unesco campaign started.

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COMMUNICATIONS

Coutumes et Interdits de la région du Kivu

(Compilé par une infirmière canadienne travaillant au Congo)

Cette petite nomenclature a été faite au cours des stages effectués par des équipes itinérantes dans les différentes régions du Kivu.

Il existe dans cette province, comme presque partout en Afrique, un nombre incalculable d'interdits, de tabous, spécialement en ce qui concerne la femme enceinte et celle qui allaite.

Une grande partie d'entre eux sont des interdits alimentaires, s'appliquant particulièrement aux aliments d'origine animale. Or ce sont précisément les besoins en protéines qui sont accrus pendant cette période.

Les raisons qui en sont données sont variables et de fait peu convaincantes.

Il est à signaler que ces interdits sont différents non seulement suivant les régions mais souvent même selon les villages. Tous ces interdits n'existent pas partout, mais on peut toujours relever un certain nombre d'entre eux.

RÉGION DE GOMA

Les coutumes et interdits locaux

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas se moquer d'un singe ou d'une personne infirme car l'enfant ressemblerait à ce singe ou aurait une infirmité.

— Si la femme enceinte rencontre le cadavre d'un animal (chien, chèvre, léopard, etc.) elle doit prendre un poil de cet animal et le nouer à sa ceinture sinon l'enfant ressemblera à cet animal.

— Si elle voit le cadavre d'un homme ou d'un animal, l'enfant sera mort-né. Il existe, toutefois, des médicaments locaux pour conjurer ce sort.

— La femme enceinte ou qui allaite ne doit pas passer près d'un lieu où l'on joue du Tam-Tam : l'enfant sera brutal ou pleurera tout le temps.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas battre du tambour, car :

  — l'enfant naîtrait ayant la forme d'un tambour, ou

  — il aurait une grosse tête, ou

  — la femme aurait des jumeaux.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas tuer un serpent car l'enfant ne saurait jamais marcher mais ramperait.

— La femme enceinte doit aller aux champs chaque jour pour que son corps soit frais.

— La femme enceinte doit avouer ses « fautes » à son mari pour qu'elle n'ait pas de difficultés au moment de l'accouchement.

— Si une femme enceinte passe près d'un endroit où on a renversé de la farine elle doit s'en mettre sur le nombril et le front pour que l'enfant ne naisse pas avec des taches sur la peau.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas se nettoyer les cheveux à l'eau ou avec les doigts.

— Personne ne peut tuer une alouette ou un corbeau de peur de devenir lépreux.

— Les parents ne peuvent manger chez une femme qui vient d'avoir un enfant avant que le cordon ombilical soit tombé, sinon ils deviendraient lépreux.

— La femme enceinte ne peut pas quitter sa maison, ni appeler quelqu'un au loin quand elle prépare de l'ugali (manioc) pour ne pas causer un malheur à son mari.

— Les femmes ne peuvent manger à la même table que leur beau-père (question de respect).

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas chanter quand elle porte un seau d'eau sur la tête car si son mari boit de cette eau il mourra.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas se moquer d'une tortue : l'enfant aurait une marche lente.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas regarder une maison qui brûle sinon l'enfant aura des brûlures sur la peau.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas aller voir des jeunes chiots de 1 à 8 jours : l'enfant naîtrait aveugle.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas passer au-dessus d'une corde qui attache une chèvre car elle aurait des difficultés à accoucher.

— Dans son lit la femme ne doit pas enjamber son mari : celui-ci sommeillerait n'importe où et n'importe quand.

— Une femme qui a mis au monde un garçon ne peut allaiter un autre enfant du sexe féminin : il mourrait.

— Une femme qui allaite ne peut commettre l'adultère : l'enfant peut mourir ou cela porterait malheur au foyer.

— Une femme ne doit pas citer le nom de son mari pour montrer qu'elle a été bien « éduquée » (politesse).

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas aiguiser un couteau sur une pierre : l'enfant serait bossu.

— Une femme ne doit pas jeter d'eau sur un enfant : celui-ci lui jeterait un mauvais sort.

— Une femme ne doit pas prononcer le nom de son beau-père; ce nom est tabou. Si elle le fait elle sera considérée comme une femme frivole; si elle est enceinte elle aura des jumeaux.

— Une femme qui allaite ne doit pas garder un tambour ou un chien dans sa chambre la nuit : son enfant aura la jaunisse.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas regarder l'intérieur d'une pirogue. L'enfant aura un crâne déformé.

— Si une femme enceinte se promène la nuit elle aura un enfant difforme.

— Une personne ne doit pas se tenir debout devant ou derrière une femme enceinte : l'enfant ressemblerait à cette personne (Kasaï).

— Une femme enceinte doit se regarder souvent dans le miroir pour que son enfant lui ressemble.

— Le mari d'une femme enceinte doit sortir de la maison chaque matin avant sa femme s'il désire que son enfant lui ressemble.

— Il est interdit aux concubines de venir voir un nouveau-né : l'enfant mourra.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas boire d'eau d'un robinet : l'enfant ronflera.

— Quand une femme accouche pour la deuxième fois, le premier enfant ne doit pas manger dans la case où sa mère a accouchée : l'enfant mourrait.

— Dans une maison où il y a plusieurs filles, les plus jeunes ne doivent pas se marier avant les aînées, celles-ci ne se marieraient pas.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas se fâcher : elle aurait un enfant coléreux.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas épier l'arrivée de son mari à la maison : l'enfant aurait plus tard des habitudes de méfiance.

— Une veuve ne doit jamais prendre soin de son corps ni de ses vêtements et ceci pendant plusieurs mois : « en mémoire de son mari ».

RÉGION DE GOMA

Interdits alimentaires

Lorsqu'une femme est enceinte beaucoup d'aliments lui sont interdits. Ils varient suivant chaque village ou région.

— Pas d'aliments chauds : l'enfant serait brûlé.

— Pas d'œufs : l'enfant serait chauve.

— Pas de viandre offerte par un ami : l'enfant ne marcherait pas.

— Pas de rognons : l'enfant ne grandirait pas.

— Pas de mouton : l'enfant aurait la lèpre.

— Pas d'éléphant : l'enfant naîtrait avec une trompe ou aurait la gale.

— Pas de café : l'enfant serait chétif.

— Pas de lait : elle avorterait.

— Pas d'alcool : elle n'aurait pas de lait.

— Pas d'eau dans un seau : l'enfant aurait une bouche large.

— Pas d'eau au goulot d'une bouteille : l'enfant serait asphyxié.

— Pas de canne à sucre : l'enfant aurait des écailles sur le crâne ou serait toujours sale.

— Pas de phacophère : l'enfant aurait un bec de lièvre.

— Pas de porc : l'enfant grossirait trop pendant la grossesse et l'accouchement serait difficile.

— Pas de banane mûre : l'enfant n'aurait pas de cheveux.

— Pas de foie : la femme aurait une hémorragie au moment de l'accouchement.

— Pas de poisson dit « Kafeke » : l'enfant aurait une pneumonie.

— Pas d'hippopotame : l'enfant aurait la gale.

— Pas de matières grasses : l'enfant serait étouffé dans le sein de sa mère.

— Les femmes et les jeunes filles ne doivent pas manger d'œufs : elles deviendraient voleuses.

— Il ne faut pas donner de viande à un enfant avant qu'il sache parler : il serait muet.

— Si un membre d'une famille meurt, toute la nourriture qui se trouve dans la maison doit être jetée ou prise par les voisins : il y aurait une autre mort dans la famille.

— Les femmes et jeunes filles ne doivent pas manger de poulet : elles seraient coquettes et frivoles.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas partager le même plat que son mari : l'enfant aurait un caractère autoritaire.

RÉGION DE BUTEMBO

Les coutumes et interdits locaux

— La femme enceinte doit se frotter le ventre avec un crapaud pour éviter les douleurs au moment de l'accouchement.

— Une femme qui vient d'accoucher ne reprendra le lit conjugal qu'après la chute du cordon ombilical.

— Un garçon ne doit pas s'asseoir sur la chaise de sa nièce. Celle-ci serait malade (question de respect).

— Une femme enceinte ne doit jamais dire que « la grossesse est lourde » : l'enfant serait mort-né.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas s'asseoir sur une pierre : l'enfant serait difforme.

— Une femme non mariée qui accouche doit citer le nom du père de l'enfant sinon l'accouchement serait difficile ou elle mourrait.

— On ne doit pas injurier une femme enceinte car elle avorterait.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas mettre un agneau ou un chien dans un panier : l'enfant aurait des jambes tordues.

— Une femme enceinte ne peut aller voir ses parents avant que son mari leur ait fait un cadeau. Les parents seraient malades.

— Au 5e mois de la grossesse une femme doit apporter une chèvre à ses parents, deux chèvres à sa grand-mère et un pagne à sa tante; sinon une de ces personnes mourrait rapidement.

— Le mari d'une femme enceinte ne peut creuser ni couvrir un trou : sa femme mourrait.

— Le mari d'une femme enceinte ne peut assister à un enterrement : sa femme mourrait ou l'enfant mourrait jeune.

— Le mari d'une femme enceinte ne peut couper une corde à la machette : la femme avorterait.

— On ne prendra pas de feu dans la maison d'une femme enceinte : il y aurait un incendie au village.

— On ne donne pas une vache en dot car dans ce cas si la femme accouche la première la vache serait stérile et vice versa.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas couper un bananier : toute la récolte de bananes serait mauvaise.

— La femme enceinte ne peut se baigner dans un marigot qui traverse un chemin : l'enfant aurait une plaie ombilicale qui ne guérirait pas.

— Une goutte de lait de femme ne doit pas tomber dans un récipient contenant de la nourriture : la nourriture serait empoisonnée pour toute la famille.

— Une femme enceinte de plus de trois mois ne peut porter un bébé : celui-ci mourrait.

— Il ne faut jamais aller à la rivière quand il y a un arc-en-ciel. L'arc-en-ciel se transforme en mouton et avale toute personne qui le voit (valable pour tout le monde).

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas tuer un crapaud : l'enfant aurait des croûtes.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas sauter par dessus un passage de magnans : l'enfant aurait les dents molles. Pour conjurer ce sort la femme doit lancer une poignée d'herbes sur les fourmis.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas faire un nœud avec un objet quelconque : elle aurait des difficultés à l'accouchement.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit ni se couper les cheveux ni se coiffer : l'enfant serait chauve.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas tuer un serpent : l'enfant ne marcherait pas.

— Une femme enceinte doit participer à la cérémonie qui s'appelle en Kinandé *erythinja,* pour qu'une autre femme vienne l'aider au moment de l'accouchement, sinon elle serait seule.

— Le cordon ombilical de l'enfant doit être enterré au pied d'un bananier et la première banane doit être pour la personne qui a aidé à l'accouchement.

RÉGION DE BUTEMBO KIVU

Les interdits alimentaires

Beaucoup d'aliments sont interdits à une femme enceinte :

— Pas d'ignames noirs : les gencives de l'enfant seraient noires.

— Pas de champignons : l'enfant serait baveux.

— Pas de cochon : l'enfant serait capricieux.

— Pas de chèvre : l'enfant serait épileptique.

— Pas de poisson : l'enfant serait infirme.

— Pas d'éléphant : l'enfant aurait de gros pieds.

— Pas de phacophère : l'enfant aurait un bec de lièvre.

— Pas de lait : l'enfant ne se développerait pas.

— Pas de poulet : la femme n'aurait pas de lait.

— Pas de miel, banane mûre, ni de canne à sucre : l'enfant aurait des troubles intestinaux.

— Pas de café, thé, ni aucune boisson chaude : l'enfant aurait des brûlures sur la peau.

— Pas d'eau : l'enfant serait mort-né (pour d'autres : ne pas boire d'eau lorsqu'on est debout).

— Pas de banane « double » : la femme aurait des jumeaux.

— Pas d'œufs : l'enfant serait chauve.

— Pas de singe : l'enfant ressemblerait au singe ou grimperait comme lui.

— Pas de daman : l'enfant crierait comme le daman.

— Pas d'huile de palme : l'enfant aurait des taches sur la peau.

— Pas de taro (macabo) : l'enfant aurait souvent de la fièvre.

— Pas de canard : l'enfant aurait des pieds palmés.

— Pas de sauterelles : aliment de choix réservé à l'homme. Si elle ne respecte pas cette coutume, elle doit apporter en compensation une chèvre à ses parents.

— Pas la même nourriture que son père (venant de la même casserole) : le père mourrait.

— En général, il est dit que :

le sucre rend stérile

l'avocat rend impuissant

la papaye donne le paludisme

l'eau donne des maux d'yeux.

RÉGION DE KINDU

Les coutumes et interdits locaux

— La femme enceinte ne peut se servir pour sa cuisine que de son propre matériel : l'enfant à sa naissance refuserait de boire.

— La femme enceinte ne peut ni casser du bois ni porter sur la tête deux marmites superposées : l'enfant aurait le crâne déformé.

— On ne doit pas se tenir debout derrière une femme enceinte : l'enfant ressemblerait à cette personne.

— Si le mari rentre tard à la maison il ne doit pas porter l'enfant : celui-ci marcherait très tard.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas accoucher chez elle : il faut alors brûler la maison.

— Après l'accouchement la femme doit coucher par terre pendant quelques semaines; elle ne doit plus coucher à terre après cette date : l'enfant serait idiot.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas regarder un Tilapia dans l'eau : l'enfant loucherait.

— Si la femme enceinte voit un épervier dévorer une poule, elle ne doit pas crier pour le chasser : l'enfant aurait des convulsions.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas marcher ayant des hommes près d'elle : elle mourrait au moment de l'accouchement.

— Le mari ne doit pas « s'occuper » d'autres femmes quand sa femme est enceinte car lorsqu'il viendra la voir après l'accouchement elle mourra.

— Vers le quatrième mois de la grossesse de sa femme, le mari ne doit aller ni à la chasse ni à la pêche car il risquerait d'être blessé ou de mourrir d'accident.

— Pas de relations conjugales durant les deux ans qui suivent la naissance d'un enfant : le lait serait empoisonné et la femme deviendrait stérile.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas aller accoucher dans son village d'origine sinon elle doit rapporter une chèvre à son mari.

— Pendant la grossesse la femme ne doit pas habiter sous le même toit qu'une autre femme : elle mourrait au moment de l'accouchement.

— Une femme qui a eu des jumeaux doit s'enduire le visage de plusieurs couleurs et participer à une cérémonie « d'adoration » des enfants pour éviter la mort d'un des parents.

— Les adolescents et les garçons non mariés ne doivent pas manger d'antilope (sumbi en Kisimba) ni porc-épic afin que les filles ne les refusent pas en mariage.

— Si un coq chante vers 18 heures il est immédiatement égorgé par les vieillards du village pour éviter la mort de l'un d'entre eux.

— La femme enceinte doit travailler beaucoup pour que son enfant ne soit pas paresseux.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas toucher le plafond de sa case : l'enfant serait voleur.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas se mettre en colère : son lait rendrait l'enfant malade.

— Il ne faut pas sortir avec un bébé quand il pleut car l'enfant aura des dents qui se chevaucheront.

— La femme qui allaite ne doit pas aller en forêt : les animaux crient et rendraient l'enfant muet.

— Une femme enceinte ne doit pas fermer la porte de sa case ou de sa chambre la nuit : elle n'accoucherait que de filles.

— La femme enceinte doit garder le secret de sa grossesse pendant les quatre premiers mois. Ensuite son mari l'annonce à la famille

qui vient très tôt le lendemain éveiller le mari et sa femme. On asperge la femme enceinte de farine, on lui donne des conseils sur sa conduite et sa santé et on lui rappelle tous les interdits.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas prêter des objets à une autre personne : elle aurait des difficultés à l'accouchement.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas rester assise longtemps : son enfant serait paresseux.

— Le mari d'une femme enceinte ne doit pas enrouler des lianes ou des cordes : sa femme aurait des difficultés à accoucher.

— La femme enceinte ne doit pas se regarder dans un miroir : son enfant loucherait.

RÉGION DE KINDU

Interdits alimentaires

La femme enceinte ne mange :

— Pas d'œufs : l'enfant aurait de gros yeux.

— Pas de champignons : l'enfant aurait une hernie ombilicale.

— Pas de viande ou de poisson avarié : l'enfant aurait des saignements de nez.

— Pas de tortue : l'enfant aurait des pieds bots.

— Pas de singe rouge : l'enfant ne grossirait pas.

— Pas d'oiseau d'aucune sorte : l'enfant aurait des convulsions.

— Pas de sanglier : l'enfant maigrirait rapidement après sa naissance.

— Pas d'antilope : l'enfant serait épileptique ou dormirait tout le temps.

— Pas de poisson : la plaie ombilicale ne guérirait pas.

— Pas de chèvre : elle aurait une hémorragie au moment de l'accouchement.

— Pas d'animal à écailles : l'enfant aurait une pneumonie.

— Pas de bête piégée : l'enfant respirerait très fort et très vite quand il aurait de la fièvre.

— Pas d'eau lorsqu'elle est couchée sur son lit ou assise par terre : l'enfant tousserait quelques jours après sa naissance.

— Pas certaines viandes sans avoir pris des renseignements auprès des vieilles femmes du village car l'enfant aurait la lèpre ou serait très velu.

— Pas d'aliments sucrés : l'enfant aurait des vers intestinaux.

— Pas de viande de bête en gestation : elle aurait un enfant monstre.

— Pas de buffle ni de phacophère : l'enfant aurait une hernie.

— Pas de banane : l'enfant serait difforme.

— Pas de nourriture fermentée ni de crabe : l'enfant aurait une maladie de peau.

— Pas d'aliments préparés par une femme ayant un enfant de moins d'un an : il lui faudrait une césarienne au moment de l'accouchement.

— Pas de poulet : l'enfant aurait des convulsions.

— Pas d'ananas : l'enfant aurait des taches sur la peau.

— Pas de plantoir : l'enfant aurait des abcès.

— Pas d'écureuil : elle n'aurait pas de lait pour nourrir son enfant.

— Pas d'eau de pluie : les dents de la mâchoire supérieure de l'enfant sortiraient d'abord, ce qui est un signe de mauvaise santé.

— Pas de piment : l'enfant pleurerait tout le temps et aurait les yeux gonflés.

— Pas de canard : l'enfant aurait une diarrhée incurable.

— Pas de mouton : l'enfant aurait de graves maladies.

— Pas de zèbre : l'enfant aurait des plaies qui ne guériront pas.

— Dans certains villages il faut au contraire manger beaucoup de singe, sauf le singe rouge, pour que l'enfant soit vigoureux.

— Le hibou est interdit à tous : animal de sorcellerie.

Fictive Widowhood in Rural And Urban Mexico

By WILLIAM J. FOLAN and PHIL C. WEIGAND

Ce rapport préliminaire décrit le phénomène du veuvage fictif tel que pratiqué à Jalisco, Mexique. Il semble bien que ce fait social s'étende non seulement à tout le Mexique mais aussi à certains pays de l'Amérique latine.

Neither of the authors has done specific field investigation on this topic, but while residing in Mexico both have had the opportunity to witness the phenomenon.[1] Later, mutual discussion of our experiences and added information contributed by Celia Garcia de Weigand led to this article. Although we fully realize that there are many unanswered questions brought up by this preliminary inquiry, we hope that future field work will produce additional data. Before discussing fictive widowhood, a few general statements about marriage, divorce, and widowhood in Mexico are appropriate.

Status of the Married Woman

In Mexico marriage is regarded as the natural state of a mature woman. An unmarried woman of marriageable age is often regarded with a mixture of pity and sympathy unless well-known extraneous circumstances exist, such as the need to care for elderly parents. The married woman has domestic and procreative roles, and the degree to which she fulfills these roles helps determine the respect patterns accorded her. She is usually supported economically, has more socially approved physical and cultural mobility, and a wider circle of friends and acquaintances than during her unmarried career. Also, she usually has more freedom in her personal choice of leisure activities, novels, movies, etc., than has an unmarried woman. She has the prestige of being a housewife, and is freer to participate in communal activities such as women's social functions, both sacred and secular. Extension of dyadic contracts (Foster 1961)

[1] The authors wish to thank Dr. Carroll Riley, Department of Anthropology, Southern Illinois University, who read the first two drafts of this paper and made several helpful suggestions.

occur with the acquisition of affinal relatives and with increased suitability to become a *comadre* (accompanied by her husband). Moreover, a married woman can and should become a mother.

Once the married state has been established, four alternatives to it exist: (1) separation, (2) divorce, (3) widowhood, and (4) fictive widowhood.

Separation and Divorce

The type of separation we are concerned with is the variety brought on by incompatibility of one or both partners. This is physical separation of residence and usually precedes divorce, which under Mexican civil law terminates the marriage contract.

The divorcee has an extremely negative side to her status, as she is often regarded as having failed as a wife and as a woman. She is often seen to be in sexual competition with both unmarried and married women. Divorcees are often the subject of unrelenting gossip, suspicion, speculation, and examination for possible transgressions. Sometimes the divorcee becomes the center for a series of moves designated to isolate her within the community. A divorcee occasionally suffers complete disownment and ostracism by consanguineal kin though her mother will normally not abandon her, and her sisters are generally more loyal than her brothers and her father. The divorcee usually cannot maintain relations with former affines and, of course, is left without an estate when her ex-husband dies. She may become a *comadre*, at times accompanied by her brother, though her participation in this role is infrequent. Becoming a *comadre*, however, depends in part upon the divorcee's personal behavior patterns.

The divorcee cannot remarry within the Catholic Church except in rare instances. She can remarry civilly, but would be considered by the Church as living in sin. She normally may not receive communion after remarriage (although this can depend upon personal arrangement with the local priest). If the divorcee does remarry without Church permission, however, she may gain some degree of social acceptance within the community, particularly if she is considered to merit it, and, especially, if the new union produces children. Occasionally the children of the divorcee's first marriage may suffer from some social stigma, however, this usually depends

upon the reasons for the divorce and is especially true only if the mother was at fault. The divorcee generally reverts to the use of her maiden name, but retains the title *Señora.* The children retain the father's surname, although direct reference to that name is not always made.

Widowhood

Although a widow maintains most of the perogatives of a married woman, such as a greater social mobility, she also loses some, for example, she may no longer bear children with social approval. A widow can maintain relations with her affines, and she may become a *comadre,* accompanied by her brother. A widow is more attractive as a marriage partner than a divorcee because she may have an inheritance, and she can also be remarried within the Church. The widow often retains or gains a high status in regard to the Church and community although her economic condition may decline. A widow cannot lose this position though, of course, it may be modified by remarriage. Sympathy and understanding accompany her status. The widow maintains her deceased husband's name, and can add the designative title *viuda de* before it. She is addressed as *Señora* . . . and occasionally as *Señora* . . . *viuda de* . . . She is referred to as *la viuda de* . . . or *la viuda* . . . She can continue to utilize symbols of marriage, such as wedding bands and also has the right to overtly express her status in dress.

Fictive Widowhood

A fictive [2] widow is a divorced or separated woman who professes widowhood while her former spouse or spouse is living. If never divorced, she becomes a real widow upon her spouse's death and also may have claim upon his estate. In cases of divorce and subsequent death of the spouse, she still maintains her fictive widowhood role, but has no claim upon his estate. The function of fictive widowhood is to strike a middle ground between an undesirable divorcee status and an impossible, but ideally sought after, widow position.

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[2] The type of fiction referred to is defined as : "an intentional fabrication; a convenient assumption that overlooks known facts in order to achieve an immediate goal" (*Webster Third New International Dictionary,* 1964).

A combination of separation, divorce and widowhood occurs within fictive widowhood, and usually in a set sequence. The first stage is normally separation, with or without the fiction being initiated. The second stage is divorce. At this point the fiction is maintained (or more rarely initiated for the first time) or the woman acquires an overt divorcee status.

A fictive widow may retain a few of the advantages of the married woman with the addition of sympathy and understanding because of her new position. This sympathy is different from that received by a real widow as reflected in the phrase *"Pobrecita, se murio su esposo"* (Poor woman, her husband died), something which would never be said of a fictive widow. The fictive widow loses much of her social mobility, for she cannot maintain her relationships with her affines. She may, however, become a *comadre,* usually with her brother standing in the spouse's stead.

The fictive widow will be accepted as such only if she adheres to the ideal of real widowhood in her social interactions. She can lose fictive status and become known publically as a divorcee if she does not adhere to most of these requisites. If she once loses the fictive status, she may actuallly acquire a lower status than the well-behaved, self-declared divorcee.

According to the Church, the fictive widow cannot remarry as long as her husband or ex-husband is living. If she is divorced and does remarry, latitude in receiving communion may be granted her. Life the divorcee, the fictive widow, once remarried, can attain a certain degree of social acceptance if she is seen to "behave well." The children of her first marriage do not usually bear any of their mother's divorcee stigma, but, under certain stress circumstances, her real status might be thrown up to them.

The fictive widow must have the co-operation of her immediate kin in order to perpetuate the masquerade of widowhood. Her consanguineal kin benefit from this lack of divorce stigma as much as she does. It is a reciprocal situation with reciprocal obligations. The woman's major obligation is to live the part of a widow whereas the family's obligations are to refer to and present her as a widow, especially to non-kin. However, horizontal *compadres* (Mintz and Wolf 1950) and very close friends are confided in as soon as, or

even before, the situation materializes. These individuals usually display sympathy and understanding and help perpetuate the fiction. There are, it must be stressed, true sympathetic feelings toward a deserving fictive widow.

If her family is of a relatively high community status, the masquerade will be more effective than if they are of a lower status. For example, if the family head it at or near the top of several vertical dyadic relationships (Foster 1963), the people below him will maintain the fiction in order to continue the relationship favorably. This situation can be reversed. People at or near the top of vertical relationships do not always have the same obligation to honor the fiction toward those below them.

The fictive widows in all of the Jalisco cases discussed below have reverted to their maiden names in introductions and signatures. The fictive widow never uses, again in the same area, the title *viuda* (widow) when signing her name or referring to herself by name, but uses the title *Señora*. The majority of the Jalisco cases do not continue to use overt symbols of the marriage bond, such as wedding bands.

The fictive widow discusses her real status as little as possible even among immediate kin. As knowledge of her real status becomes more public, occasional frank conversations with friends, and less often with acquaintances, are held for her, usually by *compadres* and/or immediate kin, to prevent misinformation from spreading. Though she may not always have adequate knowledge of the degree of success of the fiction, the immediate kin, *compadres*, and intimate friends can usually obtain this information for her.

In general, the older the fictive widow is, the better the masquerade seems to be tolerated in the community. There are several reasons for this. Sexual competition is feared by married female friends of the young fictive widow. Also, the young woman's knowledge of sexual matters is regarded by the parents of her unmarried friends as a disruptive factor in the latter's intersexual behavior.

Four case histories of fictive widowhood are presented below. One is taken from urban Mexico City and three are taken from small market towns within a 60-mile radius of Guadalajara, Jalisco.

The cases from Jalisco exemplify different patterns of fictive widowhood taken from twenty-six known occurrences. The example from Mexico City demonstrates that fictive widowhood occurs in urban Mexico as well. The case from Mexico City follows :

A young, lower middle-class girl, who had married a man suspected of homosexual tendencies, divorced him because, among other things, he had made improper advances toward two of her brothers. In order to protect herself and her child from the societal disapproval demonstrated toward divorcees in Mexico, her immediate family "passed" her as a widow. She lived with her parents even after she remarried.

Following are the Jalisco cases :

I. Consuelo had been treated badly by her husband since marriage. Her marriage had been both Church and civil. Beatings, irregular financial support, and infidelity were only part of the grievances. Her case was well-known among her relatives and neighbors and all felt very sympathetic toward her. Finally she could take no more abuse and moved from her family's town to another town of similar size where relatives resided. She asked her relatives to refer to her as a widow and to present her as such in the new surrounding so that she could start a new life. Her statements : "It would be more decent," and "I would have more respect from the people," show the social prejudice toward a separation status. Consuelo's husband attempted to locate her for about ten years. His motive was revenge; some say murder. He was unsuccessful and eventually divorced her quietly. As Consuelo's real status became slowly known throughout the new town, her mother and brothers began to discuss it with friends and newly acquired *compadres,* many of whom already knew and followed the fiction for respect motives. Actual dissemination of the knowledge of her real status was carefully noted by the family, *compadres,* and friends and frank discussions corrected any misinformation. Policy was still not to discuss the matter except when necessary, and people who learned her real status continued to refer to Consuelo as a widow even when she knew they knew differently. Her fictive widowhood was accepted in more face-to-face situations than is usually the case because the situation was known as "cruel." She remarried and had children. The children were told the truth as her real status became

public property. They, too, continued to refer to their mother as a former widow. Before remarriage Consuelo used her maiden name in introductions and signature. She removed her wedding bands at the time of separation and never wore widow's clothing.

II. Magda was also poorly treated by her husband, but many thought his actions within range of acceptability. She left him suddenly and moved from her family's town to Guadalajara. Her husband tried to find her and wanted a reconciliation, but she evaded him and contracted a divorce. Her ex-husband persisted in his attempts to locate her and stated that he wished to remarry her. He finally capitulated except to visit occasionally with his son, the only child, and even then in the company of his ex-mother-in-law, who was rather sympathetic toward him as a father. Magda asked her mother to refer to her as a widow when she returned to town. She stated that she hated her ex-husband, and went as far as to have his name removed from the birth certificate of their son. She forced the same promise from the rest of her family. She never wore her ring and never assumed widow's garbs. She used her maiden name in signature and introductions, but, as does every woman with children, maintained the title *Señora.* With her family's backing, she introduced herself rather aggressively as a widow, stating that her husband had been killed, even though nearly everyone in town knew he was alive. People maintained the fiction to her and her family's face, but gossip was rampant. When she began "behaving badly," specifically, running around with men, more and more people began referring to her as a divorcee. After several years of this even her family dropped the fiction. Her son, who was on his mother's side at first, gradually became disgusted with her behavior, and, at twenty years of age, sought out his father and got to know him. Magda continued to maintain the fiction long after everyone else had dropped it and refused to talk about her situation at all.

III. Doña Silvia was (and still is) among the rural elite — both socially and economically. She owns an entire village, large acreage in farm and pasture lands, orchards, stores in neighboring market towns, and several houses. She was married and divorced five times with no children from any of the marriages. She has always surrounded herself with her poorer relatives who constantly and publicly express their gratitude to her. Although most of her wealth

was inherited, she accumulated a considerable proportion by her own efforts. The divorce reasons most often (and most secretly) given are that the husbands tried to control her property and wealth. She would never stand for this. She still makes infrequent references to her marriages but freely announces that she is a divorcee. The people of her village, however (all of whom hold subservient positions toward her) occasionally refer to her as a widow. Anyone who would not show this or another mark of respect could expect economic reprisals. One offender was seriously wounded by a pistol shot from the Doña herself. In other words, her socio-economic position is so strong that her dependents are afraid not to maintain the fiction even though she does not entertain it herself. She continues to wear her expensive wedding rings but only because she enjoys jewelry.

Concluding Remarks

One respondent speculated that the occurrences of fictive widowhood in her town, in Jalisco, occurred on the average of once in fifty extended families. Concomitant with fictive widowhood is fictive widowerhood. Nine cases from rural Jalisco are known. They all involve the wife's infidelity and the reflection of this upon the male's *machismo* (manliness). Most often the male leaves town and does not welcome further questions about his marital status. The motives — to start a new life, nonrespectability of divorce, etc. — are much the same as the fictive widow's. The fictive nature of the relationship and the pattern of gradual community recognition of the true status also resemble fictive widowhood. Accompanying fictive widow — and widowerhood is a fictive orphan status. Four cases, again from rural Jalisco, are known. They all revolve around male children who spent unhappy childhoods, and, upon maturing, moved to different towns. In effect, they disowned their parents by stating that they were dead. No kin, however, will usually participate in this fiction and the word of the fictive orphan is the sole sources of the relationship.

Existent also is the phenomena of the unmarried mother who is making the dual claim of former marriage and then widowhood. This erases the stigma of sexual intercourse outside the married state and the illegitimacy of the child. These claims protect the mother, child, and mother's kin.

The situation we have reported from Jalisco is probably true for most of Mexico, for the cultural conditions that encourage fictive widowhood exist throughout that country. We have no detailed information for other parts of Latin America, but from the data given by a Venezuelan informant it seems likely that these fictive relationships are also found in other Latin countries.

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Les sciences humaines ne peuvent comme les autres sciences naturelles se permettre d'expérimenter et toutes, aussi bien la géographie humaine que la sociologie, utilisent la méthode comparative.

L'anthropologie tient parmi les sciences humaines une place privilégiée du fait de la multitude des populations et des sociétés auxquelles elle applique son étude; depuis longtemps des ouvrages ont présenté systématiquement, pour leur comparaison sur des points particuliers, des sociétés considérées comme typiques.

Parmi ces ouvrages citons *African political systems* d'Evans-Pritchand et Fortes (1940), *African systems of kinship and marriage* de Radcliffe-Brown et Daryll Forde (1950), *East African chiefs* d'Audrey I. Richards (1960) et le plus récent, *African systems of thought*, de Fortes et Dieterlan (1965).

Dans cette liste d'ouvrages collectifs, les Britanniques sont nombreux, car à l'inverse des Français fréquemment assimilationnistes, les Anglais préféraient pratiquer le gouvernement indirect de leurs colonies ou de leurs territoires sous mandat. Confrontés avec les réalités locales, ils s'intéressèrent de façon très empiriques aux formes politiques africaines pour recruter des chefs dociles et efficaces afin d'assurer aux moindres frais la gestion et l'administration de leurs territoires coloniaux. D'où le grand nombre d'études sur l'organisation sociale des sociétés africaines des territoires dits anglophones.

Malgré leur pragmatisme, ces études faites scientifiquement par des spécialistes ont une valeur inestimable, tant pour leur contenu intrinsèque que pour leur méthodologie. Nadel, recommandant le choix des échantillons et leur contrôle rigoureux pour que la comparaison ait la même valeur que l'expérience, proposait la méthode des variations concomittantes comme un moyen d'y arriver.

Sans que l'on trouve une référence explicite à cet auteur, l'ouvrage collectif édité par James L. Gibbs, jr., *Peoples of Africa*, remplit des conditions très particulières. Il contient, en près de 500 pages, quinze monographies écrites par des ethnologues qui connaissent à fond leur sujet et sont capables de le résumer en trente à quarante pages chacun: Phœbe Ottenberg, Southwold, Colin Turnbull, Stenning, Bohannan ou Hilda Kuper pour n'en citer que quelques-uns et sans vouloir le moins du monde diminuer les autres tout aussi compétents.

Bien qu'écrit tout spécialement pour les étudiants qui abordent l'étude de l'anthropologie culturelle et sociale de l'Afrique, ce livre intéressera toute personne qui veut connaître les populations noires du continent. Son but est de tracer les traits essentiels de quinze populations vivant au Sud du Sahara, en tant qu'elles sont exemplaires d'un quintuple point de vue qui a déterminé le choix de l'échantillon.

— On y voit les principales formes de subsistance: agriculture à la houe; agriculture associée à l'élevage; élevage exclusif; cueillette — ramassage.

— Ces modes de subsistance sont mis en rapport avec l'importance numérique des groupes et la taille des populations et leurs types d'organisation sociale.

— Sur un plan plus géographique, on trouve mentionnées les aires culturelles majeures et les grandes zones écologiques.

— Sur le plan de l'anthropologie physique, l'échantillonnage va des Noirs typiques aux Pygmées et Hottentots en passant par les Nilo-hamitiques et les Peul.

— Sur le plan linguistique, les grandes familles repérées par Greenberg sont représentées par un ou deux groupes au moins. Il en est de même sur le plan religieux avec l'Islam ou diverses religions traditionnelles.

Enfin, il ne s'agit pas de compilations de recherches anciennes mais des résultats les plus récents obtenus par les divers spécialistes qui traitent chacun de la population qu'il connaît le mieux et sur laquelle il donne la bibliographie sélective la plus à jour qui soit. De plus ces descriptions ne sont pas de ton archaïsant, ne retenant que les traits caractéristiques du passé, mais tiennent compte des phénomènes d'acculturation et des transformations en train de se produire. Malgré un plan uniforme qui permet des comparaisons aisées, il est évident que chaque auteur présente « sa » population, que ce soient les Igbo, les Hausa, les Peul, les Tiv, les Swazi, les Suku du Congo, les Rwanda, les Yoruba et autres, selon ses opinions personnelles et l'on remarque les différences entre Anglais et Américains, entre « structuralistes » et « configurationnalistes ». De même selon les cas, tel ou tel trait est souligné comme particulièrement important, mais c'est par la lecture de l'ensemble que se dégagent mieux les profondes différences et qu'apparaissent les traits communs ou contrastés entre ces peuples qui vivent sur le même continent.

Nul doute que cet ouvrage, sobrement mais intelligemment illustré par des photos, des graphiques et des schémas, ne devienne très rapidement un manuel pour aborder l'ethnologie africaine.

Louis Molet,
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Preliminary Report on a Woodland Site Near Deep River, Ontario. Barry M. Mitchell. National Museum of Canada Anthropology Papers 11. Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, 1966. 21 p., ill.

This concise paper records the results of excavations directed by Barry M. Mitchell over several summer periods at an apparent stratified site in the Ottawa Valley. The site consists of three components: Contact Iroquoian, Early Iroquoian, and Middle Woodland. The bulk of the material recovered pertains to the latter. It would have been of interest to know whether the grey sand

layer which occurred below the sherds attributed to Early Iroquoian and above those attributed to Vinette-1 contained cultural material. This might have been clarified if a profile diagram indicating the exact stratum of the finds had been included.

Features uncovered included a number of pits, hearths, and burials. Burial features are based on the presence of red soil stains and clusters of artifacts, the bone material is assumed to have disappeared because of the acidity of the soil.

Stone artifacts — projectile points, scrapers, blades, hammerstones, and an adze — comprised a small proportion of the total artifact content. No bone or copper artifacts were found. One pipe fragment was recovered, and a number of European artifacts are recorded from the upper strata.

Ceramics are classified into decorative techniques and subdivided into variety by motif. Pseudo-scallop shell, dentate stamping, and overall cording predominated, and are attributed to Point Peninsula.

The attribute analysis method as used for the Middle Woodland ceramics in this paper is perhaps the most effective form of presentation for a preliminary report on this little known area of Ontario.

K. C. A. Dawson
Lakehead University

Ulithi: a Micronesian design for living. William A. Lessa. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966. 118 p., ill.

Many of us charged with teaching survey courses on Oceania have felt a need for a Micronesian ethnography for student reading to balance out the Melanesian and Polynesian Monographs usually assigned. This monograph on Ulithi would appear to be ready-made to fulfill that need.

Ulithi is a small atoll located on the western edge of the Caroline Islands. Although the Ulithi were traditionally subordinate to the people of Yap, a high island lying immediately west of Ulithi, the language of Ulithi is more closely related to that of Truk, a high island some distance to the east. In 1949 the population of Ulithi was 421.

Lessa visited the island first in 1947, and again in 1948-1949, 1960 and 1961. Ulithi in the late 1940's still offered the anthropologist an opportunity to examine a relatively unacculturated Micronesian atoll culture for missionization, successive Spanish, German and Japanese administrations, and even the massive presence of the U.S. Navy in the last years of World War II, had not succeeded in entirely disrupting the old culture. Lessa has taken advantage of this opportunity, and presents in this monograph an account of traditional Ulithi culture which is partly based on his observations, and partly based on informants' remembrances of earlier generations. Lessa, however, warns the reader not to

expect to find an untouched Ulithi today, for change has greatly accelerated in the Caroline Islands since the 1940's. (The first Peace Corps volunteers are now being trained for duty on Ulithi.)

Lessa's style is terse. In successive chapters he sketches the known history of Ulithi, the basic social groups and relationships, political organization, law, religion, magic, sexual behaviour and the life cycle.

The undergraduate reader should find this monograph to be a useful introduction to a Micronesian atoll culture, and some facets of it may be of particular interest to the specialist. For example, economic anthropologists might profitably examine the description of Ulithi's relationship with Yap. Lessa describes Ulithi as a satellite state bound in a subordinate relationship with its high island neighbour. Ulithians must defer to the Yapese, and call them "father" or "mother," while accepting the label of "child." They must also furnish the Yapese with tribute in the form of coconut oil, pandanus mats, and finely woven loincloths. Lessa points out that this tributary arrangement has its other side: the Ulithians receive gifts of yams, betel nut, big timbers, and other high island goods not available on their atoll. What appears as a simple tribute arrangement seems therefore to be an exotic, but evidently workable, system of atoll and high island goods exchange.

Due to the nature of the book, and the space limitation apparently standard in the Holt, Rinehart and Winston series, individual topics are only briefly presented. For further information on some topics, such as the Yap-Ulithi relationship, the reader may refer to other works by Lessa cited in the bibliography. For other topics, however, the reader must await further treatment of Ulithi culture.

Ben R. Finney
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I, Nuligak. Translated from the Eskimo by Maurice Metayer. Toronto, Peter Martin Associates. 1966. 208 p. Illustrations by Ekootak. $5.00;

The Eskimo of North Alaska. Norman A. Chance. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966. 107 p., $1.75.

These two books complement each other nicely. A *tannik* (white man) discusses change among the Eskimo of North Alaska, and an Eskimo describes his life in the Mackenzie Delta and the surrounding area, and the changes he has seen since the early years of the century.

Both books are well written and illustrated in an attractive manner, one by Berit Foote, and the other by Ekootak. They are ideally suited for university students and the general public seeking authentic information on the Eskimo, and should be read by all interested in the processes of change in remote, climatically severe regions.

For the message of both books is quite clear — you can't go home again. The traditional Eskimo way of life has exercised a peculiar fascination for the lay public. Indeed Canadians sometimes feel that it is only the presence of Eskimos and Mounties in their country that distinguishes it from its southern neighbour. The Eskimos have been romanticized beyond all belief, and the stereotype of the happy, cheerful, smiling Eskimo is one firmly embedded in the public consciousness, along with vague details about wife swapping, igloo building and nose rubbing. In short, the Eskimo has had a good press. The creation of this likeable image is another indication of the ability of the Eskimo to adapt to a harsh environment. In recent years, the harsh environment has been created in the economic, social and psychological spheres by the arrival of the white man, and what is loosely termed "western civilization". The Eskimo had long ago learned to adapt to the limits of the physical environment; the white man was something else again.

What was it really like — the old Eskimo way? And how did the Eskimo react to the newcomers? Dr. Chance, Associate Professor and Director of the Programme in the Anthropology of Development at McGill University, gives an outsider's view. Nuligak, a Mackenzie Delta Eskimo who was born in 1898 and died in 1966, gives the insider's view; his autobiography has been translated by Father Maurice Metayer, an Oblate missionary, who also provides a series of interesting and informative footnotes.

Nuligak must have been a remarkable man. He had a high intelligence, and although his story sounds stilted at times, he comes across as a wise man, aware of the limits imposed by the land, and the problems posed by the presence of the white men and others. His recurrent theme is "we greatly enjoyed ourselves." Nuligak had no illusions about the harshness of Eskimo life; there is a blood curdling appendix describing a series of vengeance murders, and an air of death, sickness, disaster and hardship hangs over the book.

The Mackenzie Delta, within a period of about thirty years, was the focus of a number of forces of change. Whalers came from the west at the end of the last century, as did Alaskan Eskimos; interior Eskimos travelled from the east; missionaries, traders and an occasional government representative travelled "down north" along the Mackenzie River. And south of the tree line lived the Indians.

Nuligak was orphaned at an early age, lived and travelled on the edge of starvation in the traditional manner, was adopted and moved among relatives and others, bought his first rifle, married, learned to read and write, and ultimately acquired a schooner, all within fifty years. In 1929, he sold his furs at Aklavik for $2,900; three years later they fetched $70. To all the vagaries of the land, and the constant struggle for food and warmth, were added the uncertainties of world markets.

The book is a mine of information on the old Eskimo ways, and the reaction of these people to the white man. White whale hunting, Eskimo tales,

polar bear stalking, the role of the shaman, the relations between Eskimos and Indians (Nuligak notes that the Eskimos used to scalp Indians at one time), Eskimo entrepreneurs, puppets, winter games, Eskimo reactions to such diverse aspects of the new culture as a three-masted ship, chewing gum, a sailor's jig, treaty money (the delta Eskimos refused it in 1922), the fire machine (motor boat), the fur traders ("Two stores were a good thing to have; the price of furs stayed up"), Nuligak tells of all these old and new ways.

Nuligak appears to have been a highly adaptable individual, moving around the country to obtain the maximum amount of food with the minimum amount of effort, travelling and working with Indians, whites, negroes, Siberian Eskimos, Japanese and others and co-operating with everyone and anyone who could help to make life more comfortable and enjoyable.

The theme of Eskimo adaptability and pragmatism marches through Dr. Chance's book. His book is one of the Holt, Rinehart and Winston series of Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology. Dr. Chance has produced a pint pot of a publication, only 107 pages long, into which a generous quart of knowledge has been crammed. He paints on a broad canvas, but deals adequately with the many complex problems of cultural and social change. And he writes interestingly and well, wearing his erudition lightly and interleaving the results of his own research with the conclusions of other experts in the field, while managing to show the Alaskan Eskimo as a human being.

The book is divided into seven chapters — Innupiat; The Genuine People, Growing Up, Making a Living, Village Life, Cultural Values, The Dynamics of Change, and The Old and the New. Dr. Chance describes in detail the contrast between the old and the new way of life along the coastal littoral of northern Alaska. On page 47, he notes how electrical power lines indicate a kinship system better than any anthropologist's chart could. Where Nuligak describes events, Dr. Chance explains them.

The author's discussion of Cultural Values leads him to a description of change processes in the different Eskimo villages. At Kaktovik, the process of social change seems to have been relatively smooth. Tensions have been experienced in the community, but they seem to have been successfully managed. Dr. Chance cites intensity of interaction and communication among Eskimos, the stability of the traditional kinship system, the realization of newly defined goals, the effectiveness of traditional leadership, the maintenance of Eskimo autonomy within the new context, and equality of opportunity as being the main positive factors influencing change. At Point Hope, Barrow and Wainwright, change has been less smooth, tensions and social disorganization are evident, and there appears to be a real struggle ahead for both Eskimos and whites.

Dr. Chance spends only one page discussing "Future Government Policy". Perhaps, as with other sections, he has been forced to compress a book or a paper into several pages. If he has, he would do well to write the book or

the paper and get it into the hands of those responsible for the Eskimo's future as soon as possible.

For Dr. Chance's book and that of Nuligak point up a couple of dilemmas in the North that have yet to be faced, let alone resolved. One is that permanent settlements have been established where no economic base for them exists. If the Alaskan experience repeats that of Canada, we may well see large sums of money poured into settlements in such a way that the Eskimos are rooted and encouraged to stay in locations that have no future either in terms of the old way of life or of the new. Dr. Chance shows Kaktovik as a stable, well organized village, relying mainly for its existence on a DEW Line station. But what happens when the DEW Line station closes down? The DEW Line, expensive, complicated and vast as it is, is merely a temporary solution to a defence problem in an era of rapidly changing war technology. The Eskimo may again suffer from the whims of the white man if the presentation of one way of doing things take precedence over the presentation of possibilities for the Eskimos to establish and maintain control over significant sectors of their life.

For Nuligak's story indicates that the Eskimo may be more ready to initiate and accelerate change than the agencies charged with administering them. In many parts of the north, the DEW Line Radome and the Eskimo igloo stand side by side. The implication seems to be, in the two books, that two different streams — the western way and the traditional way — have now converged. And both seem equally baffled about the other and about the future.

The Eskimo, in Canada as in Alaska, seems to be perched on a plateau. They know that the government will not let them starve or be subject to the arbitrary forces of the natural environment. But the problem of social and political "take off" remains. Where does the Eskimo go from here? If the central government comes in with massive intervention programmes in North Alaska, as they have already done in the Canadian North, there is a real danger of setting unrealistic goals and of imposing a pace of change. More than this, by the time the Eskimo is judged "ready" to occupy the responsible and well-paying jobs in the north, all the available niches will have been filled by whites. Even the current emphasis on "community action" and "self help" programmes in the U.S. and on "community development" in Canada will not ease the strain between whites and Eskimos as they jockey for the limited number of available jobs.

Dr. Chance's work and the words of Nuligak should help to focus some attention in the north and other developing areas on the white man, his behaviour, and his value system. For social change is a two way process, and developing peoples have shown a strong tendency to acquire those parts of the white man's culture and value system that he himself wishes to discard. Westerners in general have never learned to listen to so-called primitive people. The anthropologist's sensitive ear has detected in traditional systems, values that may help western man to help himself.

The global village of today resembles in many ways the world of the Eskimo. We need desperately to know how to live and work together in an increasingly harsh and dangerous environment. The value of these books lies less in their portrayal of a little-known people than in their delineation of how people can live meaningful lives in a harsh physical environment. As man seeks to land on the moon and to probe towards the planets, we would do well to learn how the Eskimo handled the social strains in isolated, self-contained communities scattered over a harsh and hostile landscape.

Both seemingly simple books should encourage some rethinking about the processes of change and the future of the Eskimo and of the whole human community.

Dr. Chance's book suffers from some sloppy proof reading. "Niche" is spelt "nitch" on page 14; let's hope that this is not an Americanism. "Slight-of-hand" appears on page 59 — or is this a pun? In the References, Ward Goodenough's book is called "Co-operation and Change". In Nuligak's book, the geographical names in the text have not been standardized with those on the end-paper maps, and neither have been checked with the official Northwest Territories gazeteer.

But these points are minor quibbles with two excellent books.

Jim Lotz,
Canadian Research Centre
for Anthropology.

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