

In conclusion I should like to express—as a mere layman—an idea of mine on a subject that lies altogether outside the field of my competence. We have seen the Togoyo, once not a negligible tribe, die out so rapidly that it was hard to discover the few remaining individuals. The Oro present a similar phenomenon, and there are signs that other small tribes, such as the Indri, etc., may be following in their footsteps; is not therefore one allowed to entertain reasonable fears that such a dreadful destiny may be spreading wider and wider? The anthropologist takes an interest in these dying races, in order to save from utter wreck their lore and language, both for their own sake and because they are likely to help in the study of better-off peoples; if nothing else, they improve our store of knowledge about the country and its population. The specialist doctor might carry out much useful research on the many diseases of these people and the causes thereof; and, if crowned with success, might avail himself of his findings to prevent the likely ruin of other human beings, besides planning, if still possible, a scheme of assistance for these poor creatures doomed to premature death.

ملخص

قضى المؤلف سنين طويلا يدرس احوال سكان منطقة واو وهو يعرض في مقاله هذا ابحاثه في تأريخ ولغات خمسة من الفصائل القبلية اى اندرى وتقويو وفروفي ومنجبابا وورو وقد كانت هذه الفصائل فيما مضى قبائل كاملة مستقرة ولكن مزقتها الحروب وغارات تجار الرقيق وغارات قبيلة الزاندى حتى اصبحوا الآن في طريق الانقراض النهائي.

## SUPPRESSED CLASSES AMONG THE BARI AND BARI-SPEAKING TRIBES

By G. O. WHITEHEAD

(Editor's Note: The following article was found among the papers of the late Mr. Whitehead after his death.)

THE group of tribes on the Nile and to the west of it which speak the Bari language have always, since they were first known to Europeans, been treated as a more or less homogeneous group. But as knowledge of their history and manner of life has accumulated, it is possible to distinguish three different types of culture: that of the riverain Bari; that of the Nyangwara, Fajelu, Kakwa, and Kuku tribes, who form a belt bounding the true Bari on the west; and that of scattered or depressed communities or individuals called *ngutu ti dwar* (hunting people), *'dupi* (serfs), and *tomonok ti yukit* (smiths).

This paper is concerned with the relations of these different groups, and especially of the last to the other two.

Emin Pasha considered that the whole group of Bari speakers was characterised by a similar type of head, but later authorities have held that the true Bari are marked off by considerable physical differences from their western neighbours; that the former should be classed as dolichocephals and the latter as mesocephals. Other differences though trivial in themselves confirm this impression of dissimilarity.

If more was known about such differences in labour and organisation, they might be found to spring from a radical distinction in occupation and interests, namely that the true Bari are a people who are deeply interested in cattle keeping and only incidentally in agriculture, while the western Bari are cultivators and hunters who have accepted with the Bari language an interest in cattle which is more an aristocratic ideal than anything else.

The upholders of this ideal are the *lui* or freemen, especially those upon the Nile. The *lui* are the freemen from whom the chiefs (*kimak*) and the fathers of the soil (*komonye-kak*) are furnished. They are *kwörinikö* or men wealthy in cattle. Formerly the ideal was realised in the organisation of the men of the tribe for the care and defence of their herds, in the payment of bride-wealth almost entirely in cattle, and in the possession by each man of a favourite ox. Perhaps to a native mind the clearest criterion of freemanship would be found in the regulation of public feasts. "The sign of *tolwian*

Noticeable differences occur in: (a) Women's dress. The Bari do not wear the *kou* or lip-plug; it is common among all the westerners. The Bari do wear the leather apron, which is replaced further west by a pad of fibre cords or a bunch of leaves. (b) Agricultural equipment. The Bari use the long-handled hoe; the westerners the crooked picking hoe. The western grain store is a small basket type not the large cylindrical type of the true Bari. Morland (1850) noticed that the basket of the Lokoija was like that of the western Bari, and unlike that of the true Bari. (c) Social organisation. Age classes are well defined among the Nile Bari. They appear to be less prominent among the western Bari.

they become ambassadors for him. They take the rain stones with them; some of these represent departed rainmakers, others deceased 'dupi; at the outlying villages they are entertained with honour while they perform the rain-making ceremonies. They may be blamed just as much as the rainmaker himself for hiding the rain. Among the Kuku it is reported that the chief "gives the 'dupiet who is *körtio lo piong* (an expert in rain) his chieftainship of all things; and he makes the rain fall, if he is well treated, and wanders about and goes off eating the food." Among the Bari a 'dupiet may even, if the heirs to the rainmaker fail, become *matat lo piong* himself, though "the people in their hearts know he is a 'dupiet."

This connection between the serfs and the ritual of rain stones seems general throughout the Bari-speaking area. Among the Kuku they guard the rain stones, which not even the chief is allowed to see. It seems almost certain that the guardian of the rainmaker's grave is a 'dupiet, and this guardian, we are told, performs his office for eight years, and in return for his care of the grave receives a wife and a number of head of cattle. Among the Fajelu the 'dupi appear in some way to control the spirits of the dead rainmakers. Among the Kakwa the chief 'dupiet of Chief Wai carries out that part of the ceremony which is held at the rain-hill, Mt. Otogo.

Among the western Bari-speaking tribes this picture of an hereditary caste bound to the chiefs by a sort of feudal tenure of customary service does not clearly emerge. The Mandari are said to have no 'dupi at all; the cooking at feasts is done by the children and *tomonok*. The Nyangwara too have no 'dupi; the cooking is done by children, *ngörimikö*, nephews on the sister's side, or each age class may appoint one of its number. The Kuku are said to have 'dupi, but it is not clear that they are all at any rate of a hereditary caste, for some are spoken of as being bought when quite young, and so not knowing the place where they have come from. The chief helps his serf to marry and assists him with a calf and bull, and arrows and hoes; his privileges depend on his good behaviour and he may be turned out of his house and not allowed to take anything with him. Marriage between *lui* and 'dupi is forbidden.

More is known of the condition of serfdom among the Fajelu. There are two kinds of 'dupi. The 'dupi *kana* (mere or unqualified serfs) are men who have held a servile position for years, and whose origin is unknown. A 'dupiet who has to do with rain stones is found among these. They may perhaps be considered to resemble the hereditary caste of 'dupi among the Bari. Besides them there are others, who are more numerous, called 'dupi *wuri* or wart-hog serfs. Their neighbours know the facts which have brought them to their present condition. They may be fugitives from another tribe. Thus one group of 'dupi *wuri* among the Fajelu are known to be the sons or grandsons of Kakwa who fled before the inroads of a chief named Könyi lu Bari, who came from the hill Koro'be. Or again the son of a woman by her first marriage will have to assume a somewhat servile position to any man whom his mother may marry after she has been divorced or deserted by her first husband. He does

<sup>3</sup> Yunis: *The Kuku*, S.N. & R. Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 21.

not lose his own clan, and he may continue to pay his taxes to his own father's chief, but he will do menial services for his step-brother (? step-father—ED). Clearly this type of domestic serfdom is on a rather different footing from the Bari institution. It may, however, be what exists among the Nyangwara, who say that although they have no 'dupi like the Bari, they yet have domestic serfs called *matle* (? Arabic), who may have been taken in battle; or again what exists among the Kakwa, who enslave men captured in war, fugitives from justice, and fellow tribesmen reduced by poverty. These may marry freewomen, and if they are from another tribe, may acquire Kakwa status. The Bangala word for slave—*makobe*—may be used for them. Among the Ligi, who are situated north of Yei and east of the Yei river, the classes of *lui* and 'dupi exist, but nothing is known of their relationship. Among the Nyepu 'dupi are said to be numerous.

#### THE POSITION OF THE NGUTU TI DWAR

Hunting is a dry season occupation. It is pursued both by *lui* or freemen, and by professional hunters, termed *ligo* and *yari*, whose status seems a little uncertain. The professional hunters hunt large and dangerous animals, such as the elephant and the buffalo, and their whole economic life seems to differ from that of the freemen, whose hunting is, as it were, a casual and temporary occupation. There is probably some difference between the two kinds of professional hunters, but it is difficult to find out what exactly the Bari mean by these two terms, though in the country further off the river, that is among the Fajelu and Kakwa, they seem to denote the remnants of two groups formerly much more numerous. A useful and inclusive term for the hunters of big game is *ngutu ti dwar*, or people of the hunt.

Originally these people seem to have been without cattle; nowadays they possess a few, and some sheep and goats. The extent of their cultivation varied, but was probably on a much smaller scale than that of the agriculturalists and pastoralists, because they were in the habit of augmenting their food-supply from other sources. In the early rainy season the hunting people eat flying ants, while the forest furnished them with the young roots of bamboos, a variety of tubers (*manga*), two edible fungi (*marok* and 'bu'bulu), honey, and various fruits of trees. Meat, fresh or rotten, formed a large part of their dietary.

The professional hunters trade with the freemen for *dura* and money, using for this purpose meat, honey, elephant tusks, rhinoceros horns, and giraffe tails. Their occupation requires a more or less nomadic life, at least during the dry months of the year, and their huts and granaries are smaller than those of the freemen.

The *Yari* appear to be groups of nomadic hunters not fully incorporated in village life. Their sphere is the forest. They acknowledge the power of the local *momyekak*; they may sometimes make use of his magical powers to give them success in the hunt. They pay him or other chiefs a tribute of *heglig* and tamarind fruit, honey, ivory and ants. In the old days their poverty in cattle and their wish to collect this more esteemed form of bride-wealth

created a link between them and the chiefs of the *lui*. They asked for the help of their chief, and he would give them a cow-calf and a bull or ox, for which they would pay with the produce of the forest. But nowadays this dependence is weakened. The *yari* find it easier to collect their own bride-wealth.

Despite this subordination to a dominant social class the *yari* seem to maintain some sort of independence, and chiefly so in the forest which is in some sense their preserve. Tracts of the forest appear to be recognised as their own property; if the *lui* wish to hunt there they must obtain the permission and the magical assistance of the hunters. In this way a *yaranit* may bear the title of *monyé yöbu*, or master of the forest, but the powers of such an officer are naturally very restricted. He has no political functions, nor control over the people as has a chief who "cats *dura*." "A *yaranit* is not a government chief but he is the chief of the country of the forest, which long ago was theirs. But further he is not like a chief who rules people, like a chief of the *lui*, who is a ruler of people because he is *matat lo jur*, chief of the country. For the *yaranit* is merely chief of the forest, for he too is ruled by the chief of the *lui*."

Father Spagnolo describes the duties of the *matat lo yöbu* as follows: "Further as to the *monyé yöbu* who adjudges the matter of the grass which has to be decided so that the young men shall burn it for the slaying of the wild animals. He is master of the hunt, and the forest is his and all the animals as well; therefore he is given his return, the legs of each animal which is killed." But it would be pressing the distinction between the *lui* and the *yari* too far to suppose that this functionary need only be a *yaranit*; and in the absence of any definite evidence it may be supposed that he was a *luitöt*.

What independence the *yari* have is mostly exercised in their own sphere, the forest. A *monyekak*, or father of the soil, is never chosen from among their numbers. He is always a *luitöt*; but they may sometimes make use of his magical services to give them success in the hunt. From Bari sources it appears that in the old days the *yari* might depend upon some *lui* superior to help them to raise their bride-wealth. The standard fee was a *tagwok ko duöt*, a cow-calf and a bull or ox. But nowadays they, like the *dupi*, may pay three or four head of cattle. One hunter gave as his bride-wealth five cows and one hundred sheep which he had raised without the help of a chief, buying them with money and elephant tusks.

It appears probable that custom may not forbid the inter-marriage of *lui* and *yari*, but that their general mode of life and their comparative poverty usually prevent the *yari* from marrying into *lui* society.

Though this caste distinction exists, the *lui* sometimes think that it is worthwhile to neglect it and take up the career of a professional hunter. When a freeman does this, he takes the title of *ligotio* (pl. *ligo*). An important man among the Bari, Pitia lo Tongun, became a *yaranit* because he saw that the traders at Gondokoro offered a good price for ivory, but his children were afraid to follow their father's unconventional behaviour.

What little is known of the hunters among the Bari-speaking tribes confirms the picture already given. Among the Mandari they are said not to exist at all, and some Nyangwara informants assert that the Nyangwara too are all *lui* and have no servile castes at all except that of the smiths. *Yari* exist among the Fajelu, but have only lately, through the government, come under the control of chiefs. Their bride-wealth is in goats and sheep. Their chief (a *luitöt*?) claims the ivory. Among the Kuku they seem to have adopted agricultural habits more than elsewhere, and confine their hunting to the dry season. In the wet season they raise *dura*, sesame, *kinu* (*hyptis spicigera*), a few beans and a few groundnuts. Their bride-wealth is paid in sheep and goats, hoes, and meat. They own a few cattle. Their chief is a *luitöt*; he and the *monyekak* divide the ivory. Among this tribe the hunters are called *böri ti mü'din*.

Among the Moru to the west the *ledri maro ro*, or hunters, are a well-marked section of the tribe. They share all their tribe's customs, but their marked nomadic habits and neglect of cultivation distinguished them from the rest of their people. Now they are taking to cultivation, and hold only some seven or eight large drives a year. Their big chief Jombo Maria died in 1918.

What has been said of the *yari* holds true of the *tomonok ti kare*. They support themselves by fishing and hippopotamus hunting; though their bride-wealth is usually in sheep or goats and hoes, they may acquire cattle and money by trading such river products as hippopotamus oil. Their wives make pottery, and this is sometimes used by the *lui*. They appear to acknowledge the general control of the *lui* chiefs in the same way as the *yari*, and pay them a tribute of part of their game. They may also serve as cooking serfs, and follow a *luitöt* to a marriage negotiation or feast, and prepare the animal provided by the father-in-law. They are the ferrymen of the Nile, carrying the people over to hoe on the islands, or taking the cattle across. It seems that, like the *yari* of the forest, they may claim a proprietary right over the Nile and its islands.

The river hunters are naturally to be found chiefly, if not exclusively, on the Nile. It is not certain whether they exist among the Mandari; the Nyangwara deny that they are to be found among them; the Fajelu say that they have no river-hunters of their own, but that they are migrated Bari.

#### THE POSITION OF THE TOMONOK TI YUKIT

The trade of the smith has always been in the hands of a separate caste or group, known as *tomonok ti yukit* (artisans of the forge) or as *kanitök* (smiths), and their position on the whole is a servile one.

They show the same tendency as the hunting groups to live apart from the *lui*, or freemen. Among the Bari they live in separate villages, though sometimes smiths are to be found resident in the freemen's villages. This characteristic of isolation from the freemen was perhaps better marked seventy or eighty years ago. Several of the older writers notice it: Werne speaks of Logunu, the Belinian chief in the 1840's, importing smiths from the Buko, a