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TRIBAL CRAFTS OF UGANDA

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by

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FOREWORD

THE merits of this work are so self-evident that an introduction may seem superfluous. In art circles and particularly among the growing numbers of those who take an interest in recent artistic developments in Africa, Mrs. Trowell will certainly need no introduction. As Head of the School of Art at Makerere College she is herself a pioneer of the new movement. But to anthropologists, unless they be readers of the *Uganda Journal*, she is perhaps less well known, and that must be my excuse for interposing, with a few introductory remarks, between the author and her readers.

It is now some ten years since, in 1939, Mrs. Trowell organized a most interesting and informative exhibition of traditional craftwork from Uganda at the Imperial Institute in London. It was evident that she had already then acquired an intimate knowledge not only of many of the finished products, but also of the technical methods employed by African artisans such as potters, smiths and woodcarvers—in fact, of so-called 'primitive technology'. I had good reason to be grateful for the occasion, for as a result of our meeting and without, so far as I recollect, any undue pressure on my part, she generously presented a large number of the exhibits as a gift to the British Museum, where they are now preserved in the Department of Ethnography.

Since that time, as Curator of the Uganda Museum, she has continued to study, collect and record all available data throughout the Protectorate; and indeed the reorganization of the once neglected museum at Kampala is due to her initiative and is largely her work. The results of all this energy and perseverance, animated by a real love for things African, and combined with an observant eye and the skill of a trained artist, are presented to the public in the present volume entitled *Tribal Crafts of Uganda.*

This book is, and will assuredly remain, an authoritative record of these cultures as they exist today (or did until recently). It is thus a document of great value not only to Uganda herself, but to all Africanists and students of Ethnology in general.

The time was ripe. For, conservative as Africans have been in the past, there is every indication that they are now on the move. The new ferment caused by Western ideas and education is already bringing swift changes alike in the social and the material aspects of the country, and traditional handicrafts are unlikely to escape the kind of fate which befell them in England at the time of our own industrial revolution.

Although Uganda is comparatively well known to ethnologists through the work of Roscoe, Driberg and others, their monographs have dealt with individual tribes and have been predominantly concerned with the

more abstract themes of sociology and religion. Nor were they adequately provided with illustrations of the material arts. It can therefore be said with truth that Mrs. Trowell's book breaks entirely new ground by providing, in one volume, a systematic, comprehensive, and well illustrated survey of all the varied assemblage of craft products of the whole country. Indeed, so far as I am aware, this is the first time that anything of the kind has been attempted for any British Colony or Protectorate in Africa, though one must hope it will not be the last. It has been very conveniently planned as a work of reference, enabling the reader not only to see at a glance the whole material 'stock in trade' of particular tribes, but to obtain a comparative view of the many local variations in shape and pattern of particular classes of artifact. To achieve so full a picture the author has used all the means at her disposal; she has done much original work in the field, she has collated all relevant data from earlier publications, and she has had the great advantage of collaborating with Africans from all parts of Uganda in checking and interpreting them.

Uganda is of peculiar interest to ethnologists. Situated near the geographical centre of the continent and lying right across a natural highway for migrations from North to South, it comprises within its frontiers at least two distinctive racial stocks and forms of economy. Pastoral Hamites coming from the north-east have impinged upon agricultural Bantu in a succession of waves. In some communities complete amalgamation of race and culture has taken place, while in others they coexist in balanced partnership but without intermingling; and various intermediate stages of fusion can also be observed. In fact, we have here a kind of natural laboratory in which different forms of adjustment between conflicting modes of life have been worked out after centuries of experiment. Uganda may not be exceptional in having a composite population and economy: but it is, I think, unusual in the clarity with which their component elements can be identified, and their interactions analysed. These interactions are reflected to some extent in the character of the material cultures, and Mrs. Trowell's essay in the analysis of their ingredients, in relation to their origins and regional differentiation, makes a fascinating study. The text is far more than a mere descriptive list of specimens; it is a *catalogue raisonné* in the sense that it attempts, not without success, to account for their existence in their particular contexts. She has, moreover, provided the necessary framework and background for a proper understanding of the cultural picture, by prefacing the description chapters with a historical account of tribal movements. In this chapter she has had the very valuable assistance of Dr. Meinhard, who is now working for the International African Institute. Among other things it is intriguing to speculate on the reasons for the almost complete absence in Uganda, and in East Africa generally, of representational art which is so characteristic of the Bantu west of the Ruwenzori. The Luzira finds, though at present an isolated phenomenon, suggest that this was not

always the case, and that figure sculpture in wood as well as pottery may once have been practised in these regions. If so, how are we to account for its total disappearance? Is it due to the influence of the Hamitic immigrants, or to other causes? The new and flourishing school of art at Makerere shows that its absence cannot be due to any innate incapacity for or aversion to artistic expression.

A few words must be said about the admirably full and precise account of the musical instruments, written by Dr. K. P. Wachsmann, the present Curator of the Uganda Museum. This is an entirely original piece of work, such as has not been attempted before. It has long been a matter for regret that so few British anthropologists have been qualified to deal scientifically with musical phenomena. In Africa, where music pervades almost every aspect of the peoples' lives, this is especially regrettable and constitutes a serious defect in anthropological literature. Indeed, one cannot emphasize too strongly how urgent is the need for the systematic study and recording of traditional music in all our African Territories while there is yet time.

Mrs. Trowell does not claim finality for her work. But its foundations are laid so well and truly that any supplementary detail which may be forthcoming from the lesser known areas should be easy to include in a future edition. A thorough stocktaking of the older collections preserved in the ethnographical museums of Europe and America might also be expected to reveal some additional material of value.

A book of this kind, which gathers together and tabulates so much scattered information in so convenient a form, is assured of a warm welcome, particularly from all collectors and museum curators who have to do with Africa. For quick identification and proper interpretation of undocumented specimens it should prove an invaluable instrument, and I personally look forward to its publication with lively feelings of gratitude to its author.

The International African Institute and the Government of the Protectorate are to be congratulated on the parts they have played. And last but not least it seems fitting to pay tribute to those many anonymous African craftsmen and women, whose skill and industry have, albeit unconsciously, furnished the subject matter of this volume. They, like other 'unmechanized' communities, have demonstrated how by simple handicrafts the essential needs of life may be met from a country's own resources in labour and raw materials.

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2 *February* 1949.

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69 BIRD TRAPS AND FISH TRAPS 270
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70 TRANSPORT 274
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71 ART 277
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73 ii PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (II) 332
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74 PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (III) 333
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75 PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (IV) 334
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76 PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (V) 335
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77 PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (VI) 336
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78 PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (VII) 337
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79 AEROPHONES (I) 360
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80 AEROPHONES (II) 361
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81 AEROPHONES (III) 362
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82 AEROPHONES (IV) 363
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83 AEROPHONES (V) 364
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84 MEMBRANOPHONES (I) 376
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85 MEMBRANOPHONES (II) 377
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86 MEMBRANOPHONES (III) 378
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87 MEMBRANOPHONES (IV) 379
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88 MEMBRANOPHONES (V) 380
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89 CHORDOPHONES (I) 408
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90 CHORDOPHONES (II) 409
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91 CHORDOPHONES (III) 410
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92 CHORDOPHONES (IV) 411
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93 CHORDOPHONES (V) 412
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94 CHORDOPHONES (VI) 413
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95 CHORDOPHONES (VII) 414
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96 CHORDOPHONES (VIII) 415
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97 FRICTION STICKS AND BOARD—Lugbara

98 FLAT REED-BOX RATTLE—Ganda

99 NOTCHED FLUTES—Acoli

00 NOTCHED FLUTES—Soga
NOTCHED FLUTE—Kiga

01 PAN-PIPES—Soga

02 STOPPED FLUTE ENSEMBLE—Amba

03 END-BLOWN TRUMPET *AKAWUNDE*—Ganda

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105 SIDE-BLOWN GOURD TRUMPETS *AMAGWARA*—Soga
SIDE-BLOWN COMPOSITE TRUMPET—Madi, West Nile

106 UGANDA DRUMS—Soga

107 UGANDA DRUMS SUSPENDED FROM DRUM POST—Acoli

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109 GOURD-BOW BRACED—Kiga

110 BOARD-ZITHER—Amba

111 TROUGH-ZITHER—Kiga
TROUGH-ZITHER—Nyoro

112 BOW-HARP—Ganda

113 BOW-HARP: Detail of playing hands of musician in Plate 112
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114 BOWL-LYRE—Gwe

115 BOWL-LYRE 'QUINTET' WITH UGANDA DRUM—Ganda
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The drawings of Plates 1–96
are by Margaret Trowell

PART ONE

DOMESTIC AND CULTURAL

INTRODUCTION

THIS book is the result of the study involved during five years' Curatorship of the Uganda Museum, from 1941–1946. During those five years the collections, which, owing to lack of funds, had been very seriously neglected, were sorted and identified and added to very considerably, until now the Museum contains a representative collection of artifacts from practically every tribe in the Protectorate.

The methods employed may be of interest. After some months' experimental work a list of every kind of artifact used in any tribe was made, which, in its final form, was very similar to that given in the vernacular lists in the Appendix. It also covered the layout of the hut and village enclosure. This was used as the basis of study.

I was fortunate in being able to draw on a continually fresh stream of informants from practically every tribe among the recruits of the Police Training School, to whose commanding officer, Major Curtis, I owe a debt of gratitude. These young men, unsophisticated and fresh from home, normally responded enthusiastically to questioning on their home background; small groups of half-a-dozen or so from selected tribes were sent up each week, and together we worked through the material cultures, identifying material already in the Museum, discussing points of differentiation in similar artifacts used among different tribes, and noting down artifacts yet to be obtained, together with the vernacular name of each object. A check on accuracy was kept not only by working with small groups rather than individuals, but also by going over the notes months later with fresh recruits. At the same time a network of helpers was built up all over the country. These consisted of European missionaries and Government officials and African chiefs and schoolmasters who retained an interest in their tribal life. The number of those who helped in this way is too large to give in detail, and it is difficult to pick out individuals, but mention should be made of the help given by Dr. J. Hunter on the West Nile tribes, by the Rev. K. Prentice on the tribes of the Eastern Province, by the Omukama of Bunyoro on his own people and by Mr. Basarabusa on the Amba and the Konjo. To all these were referred many doubtful points and queries as they arose.

In addition to this I personally collected artifacts and information in the countries of the Ganda, Nyoro, Hima and Iru, Tusi and Hutu, Kiga, Samia and Gwe, Amba, Konjo, Acoli, Lango, and Jopadhola. The tribes I have not visited are those of the West Nile, the Teso and Karamoja and Sebei.

A further source of information was found among my students at Makerere College. These young men did not prove very helpful in the

actual identification of material or the building up of the culture lists, partly because many were self-consciously reticent about their old tribal life, partly because they had spent so many years in boarding-school that they were genuinely ignorant and unreliable on the subject even where they wished to help. But they did give very considerable assistance over the vernacular lists, which have in almost every case been discussed with them after being taken down from less educated men. Nevertheless, the orthography of a very large proportion of the tribal vernaculars is still under discussion, so that in spite of the check-up by these students and later by Dr. Tucker and Mr. Huntingford of the School of Oriental and African Studies, we must still be held responsible for a number of ill-recorded words. It is regretted that the Luganda-English Dictionary was not published in time to serve as a work of reference with regard to the spelling of Luganda words.

The drawings are almost without exception from well authenticated specimens in the Uganda Museum.

For the historical section I owe a large debt of gratitude to Dr. Meinhard. The records of the Congo Bantu and the Inter-lacustrine Bantu are entirely his work with the exception of the material culture lists, and his constructive criticism of my approach to the whole section has been invaluable.

My grateful thanks are also due to Dr. Klaus Wachsmann, who not only contributed his scholarly section on sound-instruments, but as a colleague in the Museum taught me how to study; while Dr. Wachsmann and myself, together with the Uganda Government, are indebted to the International Africa Institute for editorial assistance in connection with the preparation of this book. Finally our gratitude is due to the Uganda Government for sponsoring and financing the publication of the book; and to those members of the Oxford University Press whose patient attention to detail finally brought the manuscript into suitable shape.

Makerere College, 1949.

CHAPTER I

PEOPLE AND CULTURES OF UGANDA

UGANDA is the focal point for many different African peoples. Here Bantu, Sudanese, Nilotes and Nilo-Hamites, or Half-Hamites, meet; each of these great divisions being sub-divided into a larger or smaller number of groups of varying languages, cultures, and physical types. There is little cultural cohesion between the various tribes included within the country's artificial boundaries, and many of them are closely related to native groups living in the surrounding territories: Kenya, the Nilotic Sudan, the Congo, Ruanda-Urundi, and Tanganyika.

Right through the centre, dividing the country into two, along the great natural boundary formed by Lake Albert, the Victoria Nile and Lakes Kyoga and Salisbury, runs the so-called Bantu line. South of this the population is pre-eminently Bantu-speaking. Although the various Bantu languages are closely related to one another in grammatical construction and vocabulary, their speakers vary considerably with regard to physical appearance and culture. Even within the confined Bantu region of Uganda there is as much racial and cultural diversity between different Bantu-speaking tribes as may be found between any of them and the speakers of non-Bantu languages in the northern half of the Protectorate.

The following classification of the native peoples of Uganda will be used throughout this book:

CONGO BANTU: Amba; Konjo.

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU: Hima-Tusi and Iru-Hutu; Kiga; Toro; Nyoro; Ganda.

KYOGA BASIN GROUP (*Bantu*): Soga; Gwere; Nyuli; Gishu; Samia; Gwe.
(*Nilotic*, or *Luo*): Jopadhola, or Dama.
(*Nilo-Hamitic*, or *Half-Hamitic*): A section of the Teso.

NILOTES, or LUO: Alur; Jopaluo, or Copi; Acoli; Lango. (Jopadhola, or Dama, belonging linguistically to this group, have been included in the Kyoga Basin group.)

NILO-HAMITES, or HALF-HAMITES: Teso; Karamoja group, consisting of Karamojong, Jie, Dodoth, and Labwor; Sebei; Suk.

BARI-SPEAKING GROUP: Kakwa; Kuku.

MADI-LUGBARA GROUP: Madi; Lugbara.

THE CONGO BANTU

The Amba and Konjo, primitive Bantu tribes occupying the Ruwenzori and Lake Edward region of Uganda's western border, have been classified as Congo Bantu, partly because the majority of the two tribes live across the border in the Belgian Congo, partly because their racial and, to a varying degree also, their cultural affinities are with the Bantu of the northern Congo Basin rather than with the Inter-lacustrine Bantu of Uganda. In their physical characteristics: short stature, mesaticephalic to almost brachycephalic heads and mesorrhine to platyrrhine noses, which suggest an infusion of a pygmy strain, both tribes closely resemble the forest negroes of the Congo. With regard to culture their classification as Congo Bantu requires qualification. While the Amba, in spite of inter-lacustrine influences, are definitely assignable to the Congo, the Konjo may be said to be intermediate between the Congo and the inter-lacustrine region. However, with regard to their material culture it seems preferable to include them in the category of Congo Bantu.

AMBA

The Amba are a comparatively numerous tribe inhabiting the valley and foot-hills between the middle course of the Semliki river and the north-western flanks of the Ruwenzori massif. Part of their country is included within the Toro district of Uganda. On their southern boundary in the plains, as well as farther north on the mountain slopes, the Amba live side by side with the Konjo. The close juxtaposition of the two has resulted in the Amba language deriving a number of words from that of the Konjo; it has also borrowed from the Nyoro language, a consequence of the infiltration of Nyoro settlers, and of the subjection of the Amba to the rule of the king of Toro. However, in spite of these inter-lacustrine elements Amba is essentially a Congo Bantu, or western Bantu, language. Czekanowski[1] gained the impression that the nearest relatives of the Amba were the Bali, a forest tribe living at a considerable distance to the west. Johnston, who originally[2] believed the linguistic affinities of the Amba to be equally with western and eastern Bantu, later[3] came to the conclusion that Amba is more definitely associated with Bira. The connection of the Amba with the Bira, chief Bantu tribe of the Ituri forest, was already recognized by Stuhlmann,[4] more recently it has been confirmed by

[1] *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet*, Vol. II, 1924, p. 307.

[2] *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, Vol. II, pp. 897, 946–56; *George Grenfell and the Congo*, 1908, Vol. II, pp. 831.

[3] *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, 1922, Vol. II, pp. 119, 121, note 2.

[4] *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, 1894, p. 848.

Schebesta.[1] The differences in speech and material culture between Amba and Bira are due partly to Nyoro influence on the Amba, partly to shiftings of tribes in the Congo, by which the Amba were cut off from their congeners in the Ituri forest and exposed to the influence of new neighbours on their western and southern flanks. The earlier of these movements was the advance of the Sudanic-speaking Mvuba-Lese from the northern savanna into the forest; their van-guard, the Mvuba, are now the western neighbours of the Amba across the Semliki. Later the separation was completed by the Konjo who pressed in the opposite direction from the south.

The Amba are essentially a forest people. In spite of the modifying influences which they have undergone, they still resemble the Bira of the Ituri forest in many respects; in personal appearance, the custom of filing the incisors to points, the practice of circumcision, style of clothing, ornaments, weapons, in hoe cultivation with banana and maize as food staples, in the economic insignificance of animal husbandry which is confined to small stock, in the lack of political organization. The most conspicuous deviation of the Amba is the form of their houses. While the Bira, in common with other forest Bantu of the Congo, have rectangular gabled houses, the Amba build on a circular ground-plan. The more usual form is that consisting of a cylindrical wall with a conical roof, a type apparently taken over from the Mvuba, who brought it into the forest from the savanna. Another form, which the Amba seem to have adopted from the Konjo, as it is found especially in the contact zone between the two tribes, is the so-called beehive-house, a circular construction with roof and wall in one piece, which is also the characteristic house-form of the inter-lacustrine region. On the other hand, the Amba have not taken over the scattered, irregular grouping of houses which as a rule is associated with the African circular type of building, but have retained the characteristic arrangement of forest Bantu settlements, consisting of two rows of houses facing each other across a rectangular open space or village street.

KONJO

The Konjo occupy a far larger territory than the Amba, and their natural environment is of considerable variety. It seems that the grassland stretching between Lake Edward, Lake Albert and the Ruwenzori has been inhabited by them from very early times; they also surround the whole of Lake Edward, although on the southern and eastern shore their occupation is confined to the waterside. West of the lake their settlements ascend the escarpment of the Rift Valley and extend over open hill country to the edge of the forest region. Their northward advance, which is said to have begun about 1870, was largely due to pressure exercised by the

[1] *Vollblutneger und Halbzwerge*, 1934, pp. 123, 153.

Nyoro. In the course of this expansion they have occupied almost the whole of the Ruwenzori range. On the north-western slopes their territory overlaps to some extent that of the Amba, who are settled in the lower foot-hills and the plain, while the Konjo cultivate the higher slopes up to an altitude of ten thousand feet. On the western side of the Ruwenzori, south of the Amba territory, their settlements enter the plain again. In the country west of the Semliki they have penetrated the south-eastern fringe of the Ituri forest where they are pressing on the Bira and have infiltrated in scattered settlements through the territories of the forest tribes still farther north. Thus, while they have in many places adapted themselves to a forest or mountain environment and taken over a good deal of the material culture of the forest peoples, they are primarily and still predominantly grassland cultivators who clear the forest where they find it. Johnston describes the Ruwenzori Konjo as 'in the main a forest and mountain-dwelling tribe' and as 'virtually savages as compared with the adjoining semi-civilized Nyoro peoples',[1] while Schebesta emphasizes that those of the Congo are essentially inhabitants of the open country, in their manners and customs radically different from the forest-dwellers, but having much in common with the Nyoro.[2]

Whereas in Uganda the name *Konjo* is in official use, the name by which the same tribe is generally known in the Congo is *Nande*. The designation *Konjo* means 'mountain people'; it is applied by the peasant of the Semliki plain and the fishermen of Lake Edward not only to those who live on the Ruwenzori range but also to those on the western escarpment of the Rift. The Nyoro-speaking peoples call the Konjo *Songora*, which means 'people who file their teeth to points'; and the homeland of the Konjo, and grassland north of Lake Edward, has accordingly been called *Busongera*, or 'land of the teeth-filers'. The appellation *Songora*, however, is also applied to the Amba and other forest tribes who have the same custom.

Konjo is the westernmost representative of the inter-lacustrine Bantu languages, it belongs, therefore, to Eastern Bantu and is radically different from Amba which belongs to Western Bantu. The Konjo are regarded as a remnant of the original agricultural Bantu population of the Lakes plateau, a part which remained more or less untouched by the Hamitic influences which modified the majority of that population. Actually there are in their material culture a number of features of Hamitic derivation which they have in common with the Inter-lacustrine Bantu. The most conspicuous are the universal use of the dome-shaped or beehive type of house and the making of coiled basketry, a technique which is not known to the forest peoples. On the whole, however, the cultural features which they have in common with the forest Bantu predominate, and physically they are of the same type.

[1] *A Comparative Study*, etc., Vol. II, pp. 16, 17.

[2] *Vollblutneger und Halbzwerge*, pp. 140, 141.

On the ridges of Ruwenzori the Konjo depend chiefly on the cultivation of eleusine, while in the lower parts the banana appears to be the food staple. Fishing is the basic element in the economy of the lakeside settlements. Domestic animals, which are mainly goats (cattle are never kept), are economically of little importance. Politically the Konjo are organized in small chiefdoms, the chiefs being clan-heads with little authority.

In the Busongora steppe they were for some time under the domination of Hima cattle people; in the 1880s the country came under Nyoro control, which however did not reduce Hima influence to any great extent. But the contact between Konjo and Hima was of too short duration to result in the same assimilation which distinguished the stratified pastoral-agricultural societies further east; the two tribes living together as distinct entities remained different in language and also largely in material culture.

SUMMARY OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE CONGO-BANTU

In studying the artifacts of the Congo-Bantu, we find, as we should expect, many traces of mixed ancestry and influence.

The heavy bill-hook found throughout the whole Bantu area of Uganda is there, together with the type with the short wooden grip used by the Kiga and Iru. The oval wooden vessel with the stick-like handle at one end, also links on with the Kiga and Iru. Much else is similar to the Inter-lacustrine Bantu culture, the leg-and-base type of wooden food-bowl and stool, and the cotton-reel stool, the bag of netted string, bangles of fibre and others of wire-bound hair, and perhaps most interesting of all, the woven belts which are worn to fasten up the loin-cloths are often ornamented with the raised stitching found elsewhere only on the girls' head-mats of the Hima and ornamenting the gates of the enclosure of the Kabaka of Uganda. The canoe used by both Konjo and Iru on Lake Edward was often a crudely constructed one of sewn planks.

Hoe-heads have the ogee curve in cross-section which is found north among the West Nile tribes and south among the Kiga and Iru, they are tanged to the haft in a similar manner. The Amba also smoke a water-cooled pipe with a bamboo water-container in place of the usual gourd, as do the Alur.

Of artifacts which are entirely dissimilar to anything found in the rest of Uganda, and which relate to the forest Bantu, we must note the well-developed men's club-house situated in a central position in the village, which in itself consists of a 'street' or double row of houses; the wooden couch of the Amba, the rattan-strung bow and socketed arrow-head, the shield of woven basketry, the hexagonal weave used in most of their basketry, and the wearing of bark-cloth loin-cloths.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

Bill-hooks (Plate 12)

Both tribes use the heavy bill-hook with the long wooden handle of other Bantu tribes, and the Konjo at least also use the smaller one with the short wooden grip similar to that of the Kiga.

Hoe (Plate 13)

The hoe blade is an ogee curve in cross-section, and is fixed to the haft by a tang driven through the haft head.

Knife (Plate 14)

Amba women have a knife with one cutting edge of a distinctive shape.

Winnowing Trays (Plate 15)

Winnowing trays are of both check weave and wicker-work.

BASKETRY (Plates 27, 28, 30)

Basketry is almost always of a special hexagonal weave, although coiled basketry is also found.

FOOD VESSELS AND PIPES

Gourd Vessels

The Amba use various gourd containers and gourd spoons for oil.

Wooden Food Vessels

Leg and base type (Plate 18)

Both tribes use a food vessel of the leg and base type; the Amba one being in shape, but not decoration, rather similar to that of the Nyoro.

Bowl with stick-like handle at one end (Plate 19)

The Konjo use the oval bowl with a stick-like handle at one end.

Pottery (Plate 21)

Pottery is poor and not very distinctive. Long-necked gourd-shaped vessels are used. Pots are often decorated with white powder rubbed in incised patterns.

Pipes (Plate 25)

The pipes of the Amba are distinctive, having a double pointed base, and are also decorated with white incised lines.

The Amba also smoke water-cooled pipes, some with gourd water containers, others with the container made of a section of bamboo.

STOOLS (Plates 33, 34, 36)

The cotton-reel and leg-and-base types of stool are used by both tribes. The Amba also use a 'couch' of forked branches.

MISCELLANEOUS HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS (Plates 38, 39)

Both the ladle and the spiked types of food stirrer are used.

The Amba use both wood and bone spoons.

A netted string bag is used by the Konjo.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT (Plates 42, 52, 53) (loin-cloths, labrets, ear-rings, neck-rings, wire-bound hair bangles)

Both tribes wear bark-cloth loin-cloths.

Various forms of labret were worn, with rings in the lobes of the ears.

Iron neck-rings of both medium and very heavy weight are common.

Wire-bound hair is worn on the necks and ankles.

Many fibre bangles are worn on the arms.

Some coiled metal is worn on the arms, heavy metal bangles are sometimes worn on both arms and legs. Feather ornaments are sometimes worn on the head. A woven belt is worn fastening the loin-cloth, this is sometimes decorated with a pattern found on the head-mats of the Tusi and Hima.

WEAPONS

Shields (Plate 57)

A large round wicker-work shield is used by both tribes.

Spears (Plate 60)

The spear commonly used has a small blade and short socket. The blade has no mid-rib; among the Amba it is sometimes found with a single blood course. The neck of the spear at the top of the socket is often split and twisted and ornamented with a large copper stud. Further south the Konjo often carry a spear with a very heavy square mid-rib as do the Iru.

Bow (Plate 61)

A small bow is used strung with a detachable rattan bowstring.

Arrows (Plate 63)

The arrows used with this bow have a broad carved end in place of a nock, they are feathered with a piece of skin or leaf, split feathering. The blades are flat and socketed to the shaft.

TRANSPORT (Plate 70)

A crudely constructed canoe of sewn planks is used by the Konjo.

ART

The Amba are said to carve wooden figures.

THE INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU

The term Inter-lacustrine Region[1] has been adopted as a convenient label to describe the whole of a culture area which, with local variations, possesses

[1] The term intended to denote a region bounded by lakes. For this reason the adjective 'inter-lacustrine' seems preferable to the more generally used 'lacustrine', which implies a situation along the shore of a lake. The discontinuation of the term 'lacustrine', in connection with the culture region of the Lakes plateau, is also advisable in order to avoid confusion with linguistic terminology. Professor C. M. Doke uses the term 'lacustrine group' to indicate certain Bantu languages spoken on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria and forming part of his 'eastern zone', whereas the languages of the Lakes plateau are in his scheme assigned to the 'northern zone'; see *Bantu*, 1946.

a strongly marked physiognomy of its own. This region, one of the most densely populated of the African continent, is bounded in the east by Lakes Victoria and Kyoga, in the north by the Victoria Nile, in the west by a section of the Rift Valley with Lakes Albert, Edward and Kivu and the northern part of Lake Tanganyika. Only the northern half of the inter-lacustrine region, including the kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro, Nkole with Mpororo, and the country of the Kiga, belongs to the Uganda Protectorate.

The whole region is Bantu-speaking. Inter-lacustrine Bantu, which forms a distinct sub-group of eastern Bantu, consists of four main languages: Konjo, Ganda, Nyoro, and Rundi. It has already been made clear that the Konjo people, on grounds other than linguistic, can be set apart from the rest of the speakers of Inter-lacustrine Bantu languages. Of the remaining three languages, Ganda is now recognized as an official language of the Protectorate. Originally confined to the north-western shore of Lake Victoria, it has, with the political expansion of the Ganda kingdom during the nineteenth century, gained ground westward and southward, encroaching upon originally Nyoro domain. Nyoro, spoken in a number of dialectal variants, ranges over a wide stretch of country from the junction of the Victoria Nile with Lake Albert to Mwanza Bay on the southern shore of Lake Victoria. Its main forms in Uganda are Nyoro proper, spoken in the kingdoms of Bunyoro and Toro, and Nyankole, spoken in the kingdom of Nkole. The Nyoro dialect spoken in Mpororo, the south-western part of Nkole, is said to be more closely connected with that of Karagwe, in Tanganyika Territory, than with that of Nkole proper; this Karagwe-Mpororo dialect is also referred to as Nyambo. Whether the speech of the Kiga tribe in the mountains of the Kigezi district belongs to the Nyambo dialect, as Czekanowski[1] implies, has, in view of the scantiness of information on this tribe, to be left undecided. The linguistic boundaries between Nyoro in the narrower sense, Nyankole and Ganda, do not coincide with the political boundaries of the native kingdoms. All the western provinces of Buganda, from Buruli to Kooki, are Nyoro-speaking or contain at least a substantial element of Nyoro, although Ganda is gradually gaining ground. This overlapping of political and linguistic boundaries is less the result of Ganda political expansion during the nineteenth century than of British intervention in 1897, by which Buganda and Toro were aggrandized at the expense of Bunyoro and Nkole; Bunyoro was also cut off from its daughter-kingdom Toro by the formation of a corridor giving Buganda access to Lake Albert. Rundi, which falls into three main dialects, spoken in Ruanda, Urundi and Uha respectively, is represented in Uganda only in a narrow strip of country along the south-western border of the Kigezi district, which, together with the adjacent northern slopes of the Virunga

[1] *Ethnographische Übersichtskarte des Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebietes, Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet*, Vol. I, 1917.

volcanoes and a section of the Rutshuru plain, at one time formed an integral part of the kingdom of Ruanda. Apart from this Rundi is spoken by immigrant labourers from Ruanda proper, of whom Uganda receives a considerable influx.

Hima-Tusi and Iru-Hutu

The inter-lacustrine region owes its distinctive character chiefly to the impact of immigrant pastoral eastern Hamites, whose racial affinities are with the Mediterranean stock, on the indigenous agricultural negro population. The names by which the two strata are distinguished vary: in the Nyoro-speaking parts the immigrant pastoralists are known as Huma or Hima and the aboriginal agriculturists as Hera or Iru; in the Rundi-speaking countries the pastoralists are called Tutsi or Tusi and the agriculturists Hutu. It may be convenient, when referring to these two main strata in their whole extension over the inter-lacustrine region, to use the stereotyped terms Hima-Tusi and Iru-Hutu, but it must be understood that with regard to the Ganda people these terms are not properly applicable, as no racial and economic stratification exists among them, and they are also of dubious validity in the case of the Nyoro people. The names describing two racial, economic and social strata over larger areas have to be distinguished from the names which group together irrespective of race, occupation and social standing, the population of narrower geographical and cultural areas, or the body politic of native states. Thus the term Nyankole denotes both the Hima and Iru classes of Nkole, the term Pororo, or Hororo, the same two classes of the part of Nkole known as Mpororo, the term Nyaruanda the inhabitants of Ruanda composed of Tusi, Hutu, and Twa, the third class present in this country being pygmoid hunters and potters, etc.

Where the pastoral invaders, or Hima-Tusi, originally came from cannot be definitely established. There is no linguistic criterion of ethnic affinity, as the immigrants have exchanged their original, presumably eastern Hamitic, language for the Bantu languages of the numerically superior negro peasantry among whom they settled. Nor do there seem to be any traditions which could shed light on the location of their original home and on their early migrations; their traditions mostly begin with the foundation of the present states, and in no case do they go back beyond the time of their establishment on the Lakes plateau. It is generally assumed that they came from the north-east and are an offshoot from the Galla stock. The physical resemblance of the Hima-Tusi to the pastoral southern Galla and also certain cultural resemblances between the two groups seem to support this view. Equally uncertain is the date of their immigration. It is possible that they infiltrated in waves following each other over a long period of time. Legends widely known over the Lakes plateau record the names of various shadowy rulers and dynasties

of early times. On the basis of these traditions and genealogies Czekanowski[1] has concluded that the ancestors of the Hima-Tusi grazed their herds in the northern half of the Lakes plateau as far back as the first centuries of the present millennium.

In physical appearance the Hima-Tusi contrast strikingly with the aboriginal negroes, particularly in the south, where they have not only kept themselves more strictly apart from the negroes than in the north, but also exhibit the distinctive non-negro physical characteristics in an extreme degree. In height of stature they surpass by far all the eastern Hamites of the north-east and also the northern Nilotes who are the tallest negroes. Measurements of hundreds of adult male Tusi in Urundi showed a minimum of 177 cm. (which is the average stature of the Shilluk) and a maximum of 2.08 m., the majority measuring between 180 cm. and 190 cm. and as large a minority as ten per cent between 190 cm. and 195 cm. By comparison, measurements of Hutu of the same country varied between 162 cm. and 170 cm.[2] The impression of abnormal tallness of Hima-Tusi men is emphasized by their leanness and fine bone-structure. Heads are dolichocephalic, faces long with narrow noses and never prognathous, the thickness of the lips varies but remains less than that of the negro, protrusion of the upper incisors is a frequent feature. The colour of the skin is reddish brown and generally lighter than that of the negro. The most negroid somatic feature of the Hima-Tusi is the type of hair, which is sometimes frizzly like that of the eastern Hamites but apparently more frequently woolly like that of the negroes.

Economically the greater part of the inter-lacustrine region is characterized by a clear-cut division between Iru-Hutu agriculture and industries and Hima-Tusi pastoralism. The pastoralists possess large herds of cattle if they are wealthy, or make their living as herdsmen if they are poor; they generally scorn cultivation, hunting, and handicraft as a means of subsistence. Cattle are the standard of the pastoralist's wealth and social standing, they play a prominent part in his thoughts and affection and are invested with religious significance. Hima-Tusi pastoralism is often described as nomadic, but this description applies only in a limited sense. Cattle-owners have fixed homesteads with grazing grounds in the neighbourhood; at night the beasts are kept in the kraal in which also the dwelling-huts are situated. A homestead may be shifted, but generally only a short distance from the original site, as the pastoralist's economy is in a fixed symbiotic relation with that of the sedentary cultivators. During the dry season, however, when grazing becomes scarce in more densely populated areas, a form of transhumance is practised, part of a cattle-owner's herds being entrusted to the care of herdsmen and moved about in search of suitable pasture.

The cattle which the Hima-Tusi brought to the Lakes plateau belong

[1] CZEKANOWSKI: op. cit., Band I, p. 49.

[2] HANS MEYER: *Die Barundi*, 1916, pp. 8, 9.

to a type with very long, lyre-shaped horns; the same breed is still reared in southern Abyssinia and the Galla countries. This characteristic type of cattle is found associated with the Hima-Tusi over the greater part of the inter-lacustrine region.

Hima-Tusi culture is characterized by a complex pattern of customs, beliefs, and taboos, clustering about the occupation of cattle-rearing. Individual traits of this pattern may vary or have become locally attenuated, but the whole is essentially the same among all pure pastoralists of the inter-lacustrine region. The treatment and consumption of milk are regulated by a number of restrictions resting on magico-religious sanctions. Milk is considered a sacred product and must, therefore, not be contaminated by contact with anything impure, which would cause disease among the cows and endanger further milk production. For this reason women are strictly excluded from herding and milking, though the cleaning of milk-vessels and the churning of butter is left to their care. Milk may be drunk fresh or curdled, but must not be boiled or even heated, lest the cow's udder might become inflamed. Only wooden vessels, no earthenware and definitely no metal pots, may be used for milking and the storage of milk, but it seems that under less strict conditions earthenware vessels are admitted for limited use. There seems also to be a prejudice against bringing milk in contact with water, and for this reason the wooden milk-pots are cleaned with water but are washed out with cow's urine and fumigated, cattle urine and dung being considered clean. However, it seems that nowadays water is also used for washing milk vessels. Cattle may be slaughtered and eaten, although this is done only on rare occasions and only with otherwise useless young bulls and sterile cows; but between eating beef and drinking milk a fast has to be observed until the meat is supposed to have left the stomach. Vegetable food is regarded as unclean, although necessarily a good deal of it is eaten; after a vegetarian meal purgatives have to be taken, in addition to fasting, before milk may be taken again. Abstinence from any meat other than beef is rigorously enjoined; pastoralists are no hunters; any sheep and goats that they may possess are only kept for their skins, and there is a strong aversion from poultry and eggs. Cattle blood, obtained by piercing a bull's neck vein with a special blooding arrow, is a favourite element in the diet; it is either drunk fresh or eaten as a cooked dish with various ingredients. Butter is never eaten nor used in the preparation of food, but only employed as a cosmetic applied to the skin and as an unguent to soften hide and bark-cloth. Corpulence of women is believed to be related to the welfare of the cows and therefore valued aesthetically; married women usually stay in the kraal and do only light work, so that they may not lose fat. The ritual associated with cattle and milk finds its strongest expression in the body of beliefs and observances connected with kingship. The relation between king and cattle is particularly intimate; he is nominally the owner of all cattle, but has also a special sacred herd; when he dies

his body is wrapped in the hide of a bull killed for the purpose, and by separation of the cows from their calves and other means the cattle are made to take part in the mourning. The agglomeration of these and other distinctive customs, beliefs, and taboos centring round cattle is characteristic of Hamitic pastoralism; identical traits and similar combinations of traits occur among other pastoral peoples of Africa and have doubtless been spread by earlier Hamitic migrations. It seems that all these concepts, rituals, and other practices have developed and hardened out of the need for safeguarding the integrity of pastoral economy.

The Hamitic stratum, though at present in some respects divided and diversified, is clearly by origin homogeneous. In contrast with it, the negro stratum, though now to some extent welded into a degree of uniformity under the impact of the invaders, is in itself far more differentiated, both racially and culturally. It may roughly be described as representing a blend between an earlier West African forest element and a later element of savanna cultivators coming presumably from the south-east. There are indications that at some time in the past the whole Lakes plateau, now predominantly grass-land, was an integral part of the equatorial rain-forest. North of the Ruwenzori an extension of the unbroken forest still reaches over from across the Rift Valley, and isolated patches of forest still exist, or have until recently existed, in various parts of the Lakes plateau. In the physical composition of the population the forest strain is still recognizable, in an extreme degree among the Twa pygmoids of Ruanda and Urundi and among the Konjo. On the whole, however, conformity with the forest type in physique and culture is less marked than deviation from it. Some observers seem to attribute this deviation to the direct influence of the immigrant Hamitic stratum. This view would imply that the physical difference of the inter-lacustrine negro from the forest negro is mainly due to the admixture of Hamitic blood; that the clearing of the forest and the transition from forest cultivation to grass-land cultivation is accounted for by the cattle-keepers' need for pasture land, and perhaps also that the development of the inter-lacustrine type of Bantu languages is assignable to Hamitic influence. But it seems to be more consistent with the general evidence to assume that the arrival of the Hamites was preceded by an infiltration of grass-land cultivators who cleared the forest and amalgamated with the aboriginal inhabitants, modifying them physically and culturally. A substantial admixture of Hamitic blood is certainly noticeable, but it is unlikely that it accounts for all the diversity in the physical make-up of the negro stratum. As far as the special character of the Inter-lacustrine Bantu languages is concerned, Sir H. H. Johnston has formed the opinion that, although they are now spoken by both the Hamitic and negro strata, they have in no way been affected by Hamitic influence, but already existed in the same dialectal configuration as at present, and possibly also

in the state of structural development, prior to the time of the Hamitic invasion.[1]

The heterogeneous composition of the negro stratum reveals itself also in local variations in its own agricultural sphere. In the moist and fertile lands surrounding the north-western and western shore of Lake Victoria hardly any grain crops are grown; the banana is the most important product, its fruit is absolutely indispensable as the food staple and is also used for brewing beer; the leaves and the fibres serve for various household needs, and the sap of the trunk is used to prepare a kind of soap. In the drier grass-covered plains and uplands of Bunyoro, Toro, Nkole and Mpororo, as well as in Ruanda and Urundi, varieties of millet, in the south also maize, and everywhere peas and beans are the food staples, while bananas are a supplementary crop chiefly used for brewing beer. Even where locally banana-cultivation is more prominent it never takes the predominant part in the economy which it has in Buganda and Buhaya; on the other hand, in the mountainous country of the Kiga bananas were not grown at all. The choice of the principal food staple may be attributed to special environmental conditions, but the diversity of agricultural tools may be taken as a safer criterion of the heterogeneity of the negro stratum. In particular the form of the hoe varies: in Buganda and Bunyoro-Toro it is lashed to the short arm of an angled haft, further south it is tanged through the head of a straight haft. There are also varying customs in the division of agricultural labour between the sexes: in Buganda and the Nyoro-speaking countries almost the whole burden of cultivation, the hoeing and planting, the care of the growing crops and the harvesting, rests on the women, the men's contribution being more or less confined to the initial clearing of the ground; while in Ruanda and Urundi both sexes are equally employed in all agricultural operations. In clothing the bark-cloth, and locally even the banana-fibre skirts, of the western forestland occur side by side with the goat and sheep skins of the eastern savanna. In the southern half of the region a compound split bamboo bow strung with a bamboo or rattan strip indirectly attached by means of plaited fibre-cord loops, which is used by the Twa hunters of Ruanda and in a derivative form also as a children's bow by the Kiga, occurs side by side with the more generally used East African long, round-sectioned staff bow which is strung with a twisted fibre cord, or with sinew, wound round the ends of the staff. In Buganda and Bunyoro-Toro the bow as a weapon has been completely ousted by the spear.

Cattle pastoralism is the exclusive province of the Hamitic stratum, while agriculture, together with the keeping of goats, sheep and chickens, is that of the negro stratum. The arts and crafts are also almost exclusively in the hands of the negro stratum. It seems, however, that the Hamites have not only imparted certain technical skills to the negroes, but their taste has also to a considerable extent been decisive for the development

[1] *A Comparative Study*, etc., Vol. II, p. 15.

of existing forms and styles. In attempting to ascertain the relative contribution of either stratum to the material culture shared by both, criteria may be found by comparing the material cultures of peoples living outside the inter-lacustrine region, especially the Hamites and hamiticized negroes of North-East, East and South Africa.

Thus it has been claimed by Stuhlmann[1] and others that the circular type of building usually styled 'beehive hut', which is characteristic of the whole inter-lacustrine region and used by pastoralists and agriculturists alike, has been diffused by waves of Hamitic migrants over parts of Africa. It is found in a zone stretching from the Somali to the Zulu-Xosa, Hottentot and Herero, although there are several breaks in the continuity of this distribution. The beehive hut may be described as a roof the framework of which does not rest on a wall but is fixed directly in the ground, as a rule on a circular plan. It is a type of dwelling which in its simpler forms is certainly adapted to nomadic life. It might equally have developed from the bushman's shelter. Within the inter-lacustrine region the beehive type dwellings vary a good deal, they may be domed, conical or even pear-shaped, and besides differences in architectural detail there are differences in dimension and in the quality of execution. At its simplest the type may be seen in the quickly run-up huts of the semi-nomadic herdsmen, which look like untidy grass heaps. On the other hand, the traditional better-class Ganda house, with its greater dimensions, the superior working-out of the details and the neatness of the thatching, represents the highest stage in the development of the type. But at the same time the superior Ganda house deviates already to some extent from the general tectonic principle. Externally, with the thatching reaching to the ground, it gives the impression of a large beehive house. However, the roof poles radiating from the apex are not fixed in the ground at their bases but are lashed to the tops of a circle of upright stakes which are rammed into the ground. In this circular arrangement of ground stakes, which distinguishes the Ganda house from the outwardly very similar Haya house, it is possible to recognize the rudiments of a cylindrical wall. The same device of lashing the framework of a conical roof to wall stakes is also noticeable in the architecture of the Kiga, whose houses are otherwise much simpler than those of the Ganda. Tectonically both the Ganda and the Kiga houses represent a transitional stage between the beehive type and the widespread African type of house consisting of a conical roof supported on a cylindrical wall. It may be significant, as a phenomenon of self-assertion on the part of the indigenous agricultural stratum, that this tectonic peculiarity is shared by the Ganda and Kiga, the two tribes among whom Hamitic influence has been least successful in making itself felt.

While nothing in the two different forms of the bow weapon current in the southern part of the inter-lacustrine region points to a Hamitic origin,

[1] *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, 1910, p. 140.

it is likely that the characteristic socketed spear with pronounced midrib and a blood-course on either side has been brought by the Hamites; it is similar to the Abyssinian spear, and its prominent role in the ritual of Hima and Tusi rulers is significant. The absence of hide shields, elsewhere so typical of Hamites and hamiticized negroes, is conspicuous; in their place wooden shields are used, in the north with cane covering, in Ruanda and Urundi without. Whether the apparently unique hide shield in the regalia of the king of Bunyoro is a survival of an earlier Hima shield or an obsolete form of a Nilotic shield is difficult to decide.

Bark-cloth garments, which, prior to the introduction of imported cotton goods, were used by both pastoralists and agriculturists, have presumably been adopted by the former from the latter. The pastoralists seem to have originally been dressed in hides and skins, and while they have taken over bark-cloth for ordinary wear, they exclude it completely from ceremonial use. The facts that the bark-cloth industry of the Ganda was very superior to that of the other peoples, that bark-cloth was formerly universally worn by Ganda men and women alike, and that the use of special pieces with black stamp decoration was a royal privilege in Buganda points again to the association of this material with the agricultural stratum.

Pottery is throughout Africa associated with cultivation and, on the other hand, is as a rule underdeveloped in purely pastoral cultures. Therefore it is safe to say that also in the inter-lacustrine region it is attributable to the agricultural stratum. It is, again, Nyoro-Ganda pottery that is richest in inventiveness and superior in finish, while in Ruanda and Urundi pottery is largely in the hands of the Twa pygmoids. Hamitic influence in pottery may be seen in the fact that throughout the inter-lacustrine region the craft is predominantly a male occupation. This conforms to the practice of the whole Hamitic North-East Africa and is in marked contrast with the rest of negro Africa where pottery is, with rare exceptions, entirely confined to women.

It is likely that wooden vessels, in particular the characteristic pear-shaped wooden milk-pots and other dairy utensils which are markedly uniform over the whole region, are assignable to the pastoralists; all these forms find close parallels in the dairy inventory of other pastoralists from North-East to South-West Africa. As has already been indicated, one of the most highly developed techniques of the region, coiled basketry, may also be said to have been introduced by the pastoralists. It disappears completely with the disappearance of Hamitic influence westwards on the forest boundary, and on the other hand it is a conspicuous feature recurring in all Hamitic and hamiticized cultures. Basketwork is, moreover, the only craft which in the inter-lacustrine region is not left entirely to the agricultural class. Hima-Tusi women, who apart from some dairy-work have no harder tasks allotted to them, produce some of the finer basketwork and are said to be especially skilful in the coiled technique.

Hamitic influence seems also to be largely responsible for the traditional style of decorative art. The pattern-work, which is geometric in form, shows many similarities with that of Hamitic North-East Africa and still more with that of hamiticized South-East Africa. The geometric motifs are in origin skeuomorphic, conditioned by the technical structure and material quality of the object which they embellish. They have evidently first been evolved in the basketry technique, particularly in that of coiled basketry, but they are also derivatively applied to, and have been somewhat further developed in low-relief carving, engraving, painting and beadwork. The designs are mostly very simple and angular, rounded forms occur more rarely, for example, spirals characteristically appear at the bottom of coiled baskets. Anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and phytomorphic designs are entirely lacking. There exists practically no form of representational art. The Hamites appear to have no natural gift or appreciation of sculpture and plastic decoration, and to be especially averse to the representation of the human form. Their cults are without imagery, though whether this fact is the reason for, or a consequence of, their aesthetic sterility seems to be a moot question. It has also been argued that their exclusive concern with the care of their herds makes them indifferent to the pursuit of art, but this does not explain why the agriculturists with whom they came in contact or amalgamated are also indifferent artists. Whether the pastoralists happened to come in contact only with agriculturists who were similarly deficient in artistic ability, or whether their influence paralysed existing artistic abilities, it can only be empirically concluded that a pastoral environment is apparently incompatible with the growth of any form of representational art.

The numerical relation between the pastoral Hamitic and the agricultural negro stratum, the degree of racial and cultural assimilation between them, and the social pattern in which the relation between them is fixed, vary considerably over the whole of the Lakes plateau. It seems that these differences are accounted for partly by varying geographical conditions and partly by historical factors, especially later negro invasions which affected the north but had no influence on the south. The numerical relation between the two heterogeneous strata can only be estimated for certain parts of the region; on the whole the pastoralists are a minority, and it seems that their ratio with regard to the agriculturists decreases from north to south.

In the Ganda people an almost complete fusion between the two elements has taken place. This may account for the wide range of variation in build, features, and skin colour found in different clans and individuals. It has been assumed that the Hamites penetrated in smaller numbers into this lower-lying, fertile rain forest belt along the shores of Lake Victoria and, being unable to establish themselves in larger numbers in a densely populated country which is highly suitable for cultivation but less suited to cattle-keeping, mixed with the indigenous Bantu agri-

culturists and were soon absorbed by them. It has also been suggested that the remarkable cultural achievements of the Ganda, their advanced political organization and their progressive tendencies which made them superior to their neighbours and outstanding among Bantu peoples in general, are a result of this miscegenation. However this may be, the Ganda people appear to represent an amalgam between the two heterogeneous races, and also the two different economies have fused to a degree. Apart from some Hima, recent immigrants who serve as herdsmen to the king and chiefs, no distinct pastoral class exists in Ganda society. The basic economy is agriculture, but Ganda peasants usually keep a few head of cattle in addition. However, as in most composite Bantu economies, the agricultural and pastoral spheres have not entirely fused; Hamitic influence remains in a strict division of pastoral and agricultural labour between the sexes. Women are excluded from direct contact with the cattle, the herding and milking is entirely men's work, and many of the characteristic Hamitic cattle customs and restrictions regulating the treatment and consumption of milk have survived. On the other hand, women have the major share of cultivation allotted to them. The digging, the planting of bananas and sowing of the crops, and the whole care of the plantations, is women's work. The men only help in the initial clearing of the land, but besides this the planting and care of bark-cloth trees as well as bark-cloth making is their concern.

Ganda

Traditional Ganda history begins with Kintu, the legendary founder of the royal dynasty, who is also often spoken of as the founder of the Ganda people as such. It seems to be generally assumed that the legend of Kintu's advent reflects an actual historical event, the immigration of a distinct ethnic stock. Roscoe[1] states that from Kintu to King Dawdi Chwa, who succeeded in 1897, thirty-two generations, covering a period of about a thousand years, have passed, and correlates the Kintu legend with the Hamitic immigration. He believes that the dynasty is of Hamitic descent, an opinion also held by Johnston and Stanley.[2] However, from Roscoe's own account of the successive kings[3] it becomes clear that the actual number of generations from Kintu to Dawdi Chwa is only twenty-three. Also Czekanowski[4] speaks of twenty-three generations, equating them with a period of about five hundred years. If the beginning of the fifteenth century, or even the fourteenth century, is the time to which the event reflected in the legend of Kintu's coming has to be referred, this event is unlikely to have been the immigration of the first wave of the Hamites. Ganda tradition mentions a king of Kitara, who must have been a Hima,

[1] *The Baganda*, pp. 186, 187.

[2] *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 682; *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. I, p. 345.

[3] *The Baganda*, pp. 214–30.

[4] *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet*, Vol. I, pp. 59 sqq.

in connection with Kintu's grandson Kalimera,[1] and Soga traditions refer to kings of Kitara as suzerains of Busoga prior to Kintu's coming.[2] Czekanowski suggests that the hypothetical immigration of which Kintu is the protagonist is that of the main stock of the present Ganda themselves, who at the beginning of the fifteenth century invaded the inter-lacustrine region from the north, apparently taking over their present Bantu language from a primitive autochthonous population. While admitting that a definite ethnic identification of the invaders is not yet possible, he proposes tentatively that they may have been a Madi tribe, a hypothesis deduced from the present distribution of Sudanic tribes north of the inter-lacustrine region which suggests a movement of the Madi prior to the southward push of the Nilotes.[3] It might be objected that Czekanowski overlooks the possibility of a later wave of Hamitic immigrants. However it has to be borne in mind that the hypothesis of a large scale immigration of an ethnic stock other than the original Bantu population and the early Hamitic invaders is based on nothing else but the Kintu tradition. Although it is possible that this tradition contains a historical core, it may be doubted whether its data warrant the assumption of an invasion at all. Kintu is a mythical figure projected on a historical background, a semi-divine culture hero who comes from nowhere, founds a dynasty and vanishes miraculously. In these salient traits the Kintu myth conforms to a pattern of culture-hero-and-royal-ancestor mythology which recurs among other African peoples.

Nyoro

Among the Nyoro, assimilation between the Hamitic and the negro element has gone far, but without reaching the stage of complete amalgamation as in the case of the Ganda. It seems that rigid stratification of society between a dominant pastoral class of Hamitic descent and a subjected indigenous class of agriculturists has existed for centuries and has only broken down comparatively recently. The broad masses of the Nyoro are negroes, but many individuals show in their physical characteristics evidence of admixture of Hamitic blood. The predominant economy of this majority is millet cultivation, but most peasants also keep cattle though not extensively. Some Nyoro clans, however, are either entirely or predominantly pastoral; in these pastoral clans the evidences of Hamitic ancestry, tall stature and finely cut features, are throughout much more common than in the agricultural clans; they also adhere largely to Hamitic customs, and they are traditionally regarded as an upper class. With

[1] ROSCOE: *The Baganda*, p. 215.

[2] CONDON: *Contribution to the Ethnography of the Basoga-Batamba*, *Anthropos*, Vol. V, 1910, pp. 934 sqq.

[3] This conjecture, although put forward with all due caution by Czekanowski himself, is already represented as a historical fact by MEYER (*Die Barundi*, pp. 155, 156), who follows Czekanowski in his outline of the history of the inter-lacustrine region.

regard to the process of assimilation between the two heterogeneous strata, Roscoe asserts that an unnamed king of a not too remote past created an intermediate class between the free pastoral Huma and the agricultural Hera serfs by promoting wealthy or distinguished members of the Hera class to the status of freed-men or *Nyoro*. These freed-men, who had been raised above the rank of the agricultural serfs but were still considered inferior to the pastoral people, were permitted to own herds of cattle and could marry the daughters of poor herdsmen, while children of such unions could rise another step by marrying into higher grades of the pastoral class.

This scheme of the process of assimilation is evidently based on a native version and may be suspected to be an artificial simplification of the problem. At any rate, whether it is a true account of a historical process or an aetiological tradition, there do not now seem to be any lines of demarcation between the three classes, and what Roscoe calls the intermediate class appears now to constitute the majority of the people which shares the characteristics of the agricultural and pastoral.

The stronger Hamitic component in the Nyoro, as compared with the Ganda, is apparent in the institutions connected with kingship. Both peoples are organized in autocratic kingdoms with on the whole similar secular and sacral institutions. Nyoro kingship has, however, a strongly marked ritual connection with cattle, the King bearing the title *Omukama* or 'Milkman', while the Ganda king, or *Kabaka*, although he possesses large herds of cattle, has no ritual association whatsoever with them.

It is possible to recognize at least two historical factors which may have had a strong levelling influence on Nyoro society. The first seems to have been the Nilotic invasion of the country which in Czekanowski's opinion took place about the middle of the sixteenth century. This invasion has left its traces in the physical appearance of the population and in the Nilotic custom of extracting the four or six lower incisors, a custom which all Nyoro, agriculturists and pastoralists alike, have adopted, but which has not spread within the inter-lacustrine region beyond the Nyoro people. The Nilotes also brought the country its present Babito dynasty. Native tradition speaks of all the princes of the old dynasty leaving the country and the new ruling class, which came from a country across the Nile called Bukedi, having to be taught cattle-keeping, the milk-ritual, and the royal customs, by the remaining wife of one of the former princes. This seems to indicate that the invading Nilotes forced at least part, including the most prominent section, of the Hamitic pastoral stratum to emigrate but left the rest in their privileged position as an upper class and amalgamated with them. A more recent levelling factor may be found in the apparently almost incessant warfare which the Ganda waged against the weaker Nyoro throughout the nineteenth century and which seems to have brought about widespread economic and social changes among the latter. The attacks seem to have been largely cattle-raids, and the effect

of this constant cattle-raiding must have been to upset the old balance between the pastoral and agricultural economies.

Native tradition represents Kitara, or Greater Bunyoro, as the oldest organized political community of the Lakes plateau, which is said to have embraced roughly all the countries north of the equator from the present Toro to Buganda and Busoga, perhaps also including part of the present Nkole. The names of various early rulers and dynasties are mentioned in legends. The most vigorous of these legends centre round the figures of the Bacwezi who are still widely worshipped throughout the inter-lacustrine region as divine beings and represented by mediumistic priests. At the same time they are also believed to have been a dynasty of kings, linked to shadowy earlier dynasties of Kitara. They are said to have reigned for a short time only and then to have vanished from the country, to be succeeded by the present Babito dynasty. Native accounts of the Bacwezi vary a great deal with regard to their number, mutual relation and the duration of their earthly career, but seem to agree in that they were driven away by the Babito. Interpretations of the historical foundations of this hero-cult vary considerably. Emin Pasha[1] believed that the Bacwezi were the original agricultural Bantu of Bunyoro and the Babito the invading Hamites who were subsequently called Huma. Johnston,[2] Czekanowski,[3] and the majority of later writers have identified the Bacwezi with the old Hamitic rulers and the Babito with the Luo (Nilotic) invasion. More recently Crazzolara[4] has suggested that the Bacwezi themselves were Luo. The bulk of the evidence seems, however, to favour the view that the name Bacwezi is a mythical synonym of the old Hamitic rulers of the northern Lakes plateau, and that the deities now designated by that collective name are the deified ancestral spirits of kings and princes of the pre-Babito dynasty.

According to Czekanowski's computation, which is based on a list of Babito kings comprising seventeen generations, the invasion and the foundation of the dynasty took place about the middle of the sixteenth century, while Crazzolara puts these events into the second half of the seventeenth century. Buganda, Nkole, Kiziba and other states of the south-east seem to have recognized the suzerainty of the Babito until the eighteenth century. In the second half of that century, Buganda seized the hegemony in the inter-lacustrine region, gradually expanding at the expense of Bunyoro and Nkole, and in the course of a century extending its sphere of influence as far south as Karagwe and the states of Buhaya and Buzinza. In the first half of the nineteenth century Toro seceded from Bunyoro under a rebellious Nyoro prince who established in Toro a second Babito dynasty. Through British intervention Bunyoro decreased

[1] *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1879, p. 182.

[2] *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, pp. 588 sqq.

[3] *Forschungen*, etc., Vol. I, pp. 50 sqq.

[4] 'The Lwoo People', *The Uganda Journal*, Vol. V. p. 1.

still further in territory and power, all its remaining southern provinces being given to Buganda and Toro, so that the present kingdom of Bunyoro is only a much reduced succession state of the old Kitara. Ethnically the Toro have already been considered with the Nyoro; they are of the same stock and culture and are also called Nyoro by their neighbours. Their physical type is, however, on the whole less modified by the Luo strain than that of the northern Nyoro, or Nyoro proper.

Nyankole

Among the Nyankole and Pororo there exists a clear-cut economic and social division between Hima pastoralists and Iru peasants. The two economies co-exist in a symbiotic association without mingling. The Hima form a dominant class with their own king, district chiefs and subordinate chiefs; the Iru are a dependent class without political representation or influence. In the Hima state the index of wealth and power is not land but the possession of cattle. Nominally all cattle, as well as all land, belong to the king. Cattle-keeping is monopolized by the Hima class, even poor herdsmen who possess no cattle of their own are Hima. Cattle owners are free to settle wherever they wish and to pasture their herds over the whole country. Social order is based on a system of lending cattle and on the serfdom of the Iru peasants. The Iru serfs receive no cattle loans but are kept in subjugation by loans of plots of country suitable for cultivation. Each Hima cattle-owner has a greater or smaller number of Iru retainers attached to him. When he moves to another part of the country he either brings his old Iru retainers with him or takes over by agreement a group of Iru already settled there. The Iru serfs have to supply their Hima masters with vegetable food and beer, to herd their masters' flocks of goats and sheep, to carry out for them such tasks as house and cattle-kraal building and transport, and to follow them in war. Iru serfdom is, however, not slavery. An Iru may leave his master and join another.

Formerly there was little intermarriage between Hima and Iru, each group keeping to itself. Nevertheless, admixture of Hamitic blood is to be recognized in many individuals of the Iru class, and on the other hand physical evidence of partial negro descent is not infrequently to be observed in Hima individuals.

Nkole and most countries of the south-eastern inter-lacustrine region are ruled by dynasties belonging to the Bahinda clan. This royal clan claims to be descended from a hero Ruhinda who, after conquering all the southern countries, was killed in battle. In the tradition of the Nyankole, Ruhinda is represented as being the son of Wamara, the pre-eminent figure of the Bacwezi pantheon. From the number of generations recorded by the various Bahinda traditions and the mention of Wamara or another King of Bunyoro-Kitara—Czekanowski believes himself to be justified

in synchronizing the foundation of the Bahinda dynasties in the south with the Luo invasion and establishment of the Babito dynasty in the north. Both events took place, in his opinion, about the middle of the sixteenth century and are to be correlated. Thus he assumes that the ancestors of the present Bahinda are identical with the Bacwezi princes whose exodus from Bunyoro Kitara in connection with the coming of the Babito is recorded in the traditions of the whole Nyoro-speaking region.

Mpororo, situated to the south of Nkole and now officially incorporated in it, has until recently been more or less independent of that kingdom. In certain respects Mpororo is a distinct ethnographic province. In language it belongs to the Nyoro-speaking region, but its special dialect, Nyambo, is related to that of Karagwe and differs from that of Nkole. The Iru peasants are also sometimes referred to as Nyambo, like those of Karagwe. The material culture of the whole Pororo people, Hima and Iru-Nyambo, is in various features transitional between that of the Nyankole and that of the Nyaruanda.

Kiga

The Kiga, who inhabit the mountainous part of the present Kigezi district on the Ruanda border, are one of the least known ethnic groups of Uganda. Their country with its well-wooded valleys, which are completely shut off from each other by steep-sided mountain ranges, is very different in character from the gentle grass-covered treeless slopes of adjoining Mpororo proper. Ethnographically the Kiga differ from the Pororo and Nyankole as much their country does geographically. The most obvious and remarkable feature is that they are not, like their neighbours on all sides, a stratified society, but a completely independent peasant people without Hamitic overlords. There are no Hima or Tusi pastoralists in the country. Protected by their mountains and the strength of their numbers, the Kiga have never been subjected by any conqueror.

The Kiga are apparently closely related to the Iru of Mpororo, and speak a dialect of the Nyoro language presumably not very different from that of the latter, but in physique they are noticeably distinct, being in general taller and more sturdily built than the Iru; it has also been remarked that in their truculent bearing they are very different from the submissive Iru. They are primarily agriculturists, cultivating chiefly eleusine and other millet, beans, and peas, on hillside fields, but unlike the Iru of Mpororo and elsewhere until recently they grew no bananas. They keep large flocks of goats and sheep as well as herds of cattle. The majority of the Kiga cattle are of the small, short-horned breed; long-horned cattle characteristic of Hamitic pastoralism are only occasionally found in the possession of the Kiga, it is likely that their presence is accounted for by the cattle-raids which the Kiga used to carry out against the Hima of Mpororo.

A strip of country along the south-western border of the Kigezi district, which is sometimes called British Ruanda and at one time formed an integral part of the present kingdom of Ruanda, is inhabited by a Rundi-speaking population akin to the Nyaruanda; more recently there has been, in addition, a constant overflowing of population from Ruanda proper to Uganda. The relation between Tusi and Hutu in the Rundi-speaking area is, on the whole, similar to that between Hima and Iru in Nkole, Mpororo and other Nyoro-speaking countries, although it seems that in general the racial and social contrast between the Tusi and Hutu is more sharply marked than that between the Hima and Iru.

SUMMARY OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE INTER-LACUSTRINE TRIBES

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

Bill-hooks (Plate 12)

Of these we must first notice the bill-hook, common to all plantain-eating people. The heavy-bladed type with the long wooden handle (also found further east among the Kyoga basin group and in Kenya among the Luhya) is found among the Ganda, Nyoro and Iru, but is very largely replaced in the western area more strongly influenced by the Hamitic element by a lighter type with a long iron shaft and small wooden grip; among the pastoral Tusi it almost entirely loses its functional value.

Plantain-knife (Plate 14)

Together with the bill-hook goes the knife used for the preparation of plantains. There is very little variation in this knife over the whole area.

The Hoe (Plate 13)

The hoe presents us with a number of interesting features. In the west (Hutu, Kiga, Iru), the cross-section of the blade is of the ogee form found also among the Congo-Bantu and up the west bank of the Nile among the Alur, Lugbara, Kakwa and Kuku. This ogee form in iron-work would seem to be Bantu as it is also found in the spears of the Kiga and Iru. The blade in south-west Uganda has a very pronounced spike, and in one district occupied by the Hutu more nearly approaches a pick than a hoe. The method of attaching this blade is by driving the tang through the bulging head of the haft.

In the central block, Toro, Nyoro and Ganda, the cross-section of the blade is flat, and the blade is lashed to the shorter arm of an angled haft. The flat cross-section is also found among the Luo tribes to the north.

Slaughtering-knife (Plate 14)

The form of the slaughtering-knife follows that of the hoe except that the flat as well as the ogee cross-section is fairly common in the south-west.

Digging-spear (Plate 13)

The digging-spear is found all through the area (and eastwards among the Kyoga basin group). The angled digging-stick is found only among the Hutu and Kiga and is sometimes fitted with an iron shoe.

Weeding Tools

Apart from the common short stick used for grubbing round sweet potatoes, special weeding tools are not used, although the pronged wooden hay-fork has come across from the Luo to the Nyoro and Toro.

Winnowing Trays (Plate 15); *Mortars* (Plate 15)

Of other agricultural implements there is little that is noteworthy. The technique used in making trays follows that of basketry generally. The Kiga are reported sometimes to use a mortar raised on legs above the base which fits in with the similar stool and food-bowl from the same area. The Ganda sometimes used a horizontal mortar which at first sight would seem unique, but is probably only a specialized form of a similar vessel used for such purposes as feeding cattle further west.

FOOD VESSELS AND PIPES

Gourd Vessels (Plate 16)

These are in common use for many purposes.

Wooden Vessels

Grooved Milk-pot (Plate 17); *Nets* (Plate 38)

Wooden vessels have very marked characteristics. Some form of wooden milk-pot is used throughout the whole area. Its shape varies, but an almost constant feature is the groove or ring round the body or neck. With the pot are associated several forms of cap or conical lid of very fine coiled basketry, woven pot-stands, and fine netted string bags in which the pots are slung. These milk-pots and accompanying artifacts are found in Ruanda and Tanganyika throughout the Hamitic kingdoms.

Food Vessel with legs and base (Plate 18)

Another wooden vessel which belongs to the area is a food-bowl supported on a central pillar or several legs above a flat base. Various slightly different types are found in the south-west (and also among the neighbouring Congo-Bantu). A special form supported either on a pillar or a number of angled legs, with one definite form of decoration, is found throughout the area of influence of the old Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom, including the Luo tribes, Acoli, Lango and Alur.

Tusi Bowl (Plate 19)

The Tusi use a special type of double bowl joined horizontally.

Milk Vessel with spike at base (Plate 17)

A wooden milk-bowl with a spike handle underneath has so far only been reported from the Nyoro, but it is also found among the Hamitic people in Tanganyika.

Pots

Gourd-shaped Pots (Plate 22)

As far as pottery is concerned, a gourd-shaped vessel with long neck is more common among these tribes than among others; these and other small bowls are finished with a black polish produced, in some cases by rubbing with graphite, in others by smoking and polishing; many are decorated with fine incised pattern-work which in the old days was often filled in with white or red. This finer black pottery is at its best among the Nyoro where the royal milk-bowls are very shapely pieces of work. Similar black pottery is also found among the Teso.

Multi-mouthed Pots (Plate 24)

Multi-mouthed pots for magico-religious purposes are found among the Ganda and Kiga.

Pipes (Plate 25)

The true Hamitic pipe has a sharply pointed base (this is also found among the Teso). The Ganda had many highly decorated pipes—usually multi-mouthed—belonging to the priests and oracles of the shrines of the gods.

BASKETRY

Fine basketry (Plate 31)

As in other crafts, the Hamitic people brought a far more delicate standard of work to basketry. Fine work such as pot-stands and lids, screens and small baskets used for holding coffee beans, are at their best in the south-west, but are found throughout the area, the traditional black and white pattern-work being very fine.

Techniques (Plates 27, 28); *Baskets* (Plates 29, 30, 31)

In the coarser utilitarian types of basketry the common wicker-work and twined weave are found, but several more distinctive weaves are in use. From the Sese Isles and round the Ganda coastal districts, wrapped-twine weave is used in both coarse and delicate work. A hexagonal weave is used by the Ganda for fish-baskets: check-weave is used by the Kiga and Hutu, as is also a special form of field basket of grouped wicker-work. Coiled basketry is used for food-baskets throughout the whole area, although these are less common among the Toro. A type of basket common to both the Kyoga Basin group and Inter-lacustrine Bantu tribes in the central area is the 'cottage-loaf' shaped lidded basket used for storing dried fish, locusts, etc.

Mats (Plate 32)

Tied matting would seem to be the common Bantu form and is found throughout the whole Inter-lacustrine Bantu area. A very special form in which the tying is done by a number of strands woven over a ridge of fibre is specially noteworthy; it is found on the head-mats worn by Tusi

and Hima girls, on the Konjo waist-belts, where it must have come from a Hamitic source, and in a coarse variety on the woven gates of the palisade of the royal compound of the Ganda kingdom.

Threaded mats can be found among the Nyoro, Toro and Ganda, and the plaited mat is common.

STOOLS

Cotton-reel and Leg-and-base Stools (Plate 33)

Stools are of the cotton-reel and the leg-and-base types, although the legged stool with no base does encroach into Ganda and Nyoro.

Palm-stem Stool (Plate 35)

Another immigrant is the palm-stem stool which has apparently been brought across Lake Albert and the Nile into Nyoro where it has become extremely common.

Stool with semi-solid sides (Plate 35)

In the same way, although confined to a smaller area, the stool with semi-solid sides has been traded across from the Lendu, and is now almost the only stool to be found among the people of the little salt-gathering community at Kibero on the Lake Albert flats.

MISCELLANEOUS HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS

Spoons and Ladles (Plate 38)

Decorated wooden spoons and wooden knives for serving plantains are found among the Ganda, Nyoro, Toro, Hima and Iru. A large wooden ladle for stirring millet comes from the south-west. The knob-and-spike types of food stirrer are not found.

Awl Cases, Fumigators (Plate 39)

Carved black-and-white cases are used by Tusi and Hima women for holding basketry awls.

The custom of fumigating both bark-cloth and milk-pots would seem to be unique to the Inter-lacustrine Bantu, and the requisite apparatus is found only among those tribes.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

The two-skin or cloth type of dress is worn in south-west Uganda, being replaced by a single skin or bark-cloth toga-like garment among the most eastern Inter-lacustrine Bantu, the Ganda and the Nyoro.

General (Plate 42)

One marked difference between the Ganda and the other tribes of the group must be noted here, the Ganda male in the old days kept the whole body covered, while the women, the young ones at any rate, went practically nude. Among the most distinctively Hamitic tribe, the Hima, exactly the opposite was the custom. Johnston[1] complains of the lack of modesty

[1] JOHNSTON: *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 620.

in the dress of the men, while older women were completely enveloped from the head downwards in voluminous bark-cloths and young girls screened their faces from view with beautifully decorated mats.

Wire-bound Hair Bangles (Plate 53)

Little was worn on the head or neck or arms in the way of adornment, and there was little cicatricization of the face or body. Among the Hima and Tusi the hair was shaven poodle fashion. One unique type of necklace, bangle and anklet was worn by the Kiga, Hima and Nyoro (usually in great numbers of the ankles); it was made of a core of goat's hair bound round with wire. This is found elsewhere only among the neighbouring Congo Bantu and—an interesting exception—by the Jopadhola in the Kyoga Basin where it has a very similar name.

Rain-covers (Plate 49)

Large rain-covers of banana-bark are worn by herdsmen and fishermen of the Kiga and Hutu.

Inter-lacustrine Regalia Head-dresses (Plate 50)

Regalia head-dresses and ornaments were worn by the greater chiefs and officials of the various kingdoms, and objects of ceremonial significance used in coronation ceremonies and in connection with the royal drums.

WEAPONS AND HUNTING GEAR

Shields (Plates 56, 57)

Throughout the area the shield used is of wood with a covering of wickerwork.

Bows and Arrows (Plates 61, 62)

A large knotted-string bow is used by the Tusi, Kiga, Hima and Iru; although not still in use as weapon, a bow and arrows are part of the regalia of the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara. The Kiga and Hutu use a very interesting compound bow for shooting birds, which has come eastwards from Central Africa.

(Plates 63, 64)

Large feathered arrows are used. Split-shaft feathering on the wooden bird-arrows of the Kiga and Hutu (these are sometimes multi-pointed); tangential feathering with a number of split feathers on one type of Hima arrow; and spirally bound feathering on others of the whole group. The typical Hima arrow has a double blood-course on the blade.

A large carved wooden quiver with black-and-white pattern-work is used by the Tusi and Hima.

Spears (Plates 59, 60)

The outstanding characteristic of spears in this area is the double blood-course of the Hamitic spears, which in the most typical specimens have proportionally longer blades in relation to the sockets and are of a high standard of workmanship. The joint of the socket of both blade and butt

is closed. A blade with a single blood-course is sometimes found. In the north the Nyoro blade is shorter and broader, as is the butt, the socket joins are open, and the butt square in cross-section. The blade of the Kiga and Iru spear is often an ogee curve in cross-section, that of the north-west part of Ankole flat with a large square-cut mid-rib, and north again, in an area stretching from Nyoro across to the Amba, a completely flat blade is found, usually with a twisted or studded socket.

The Ganda spear, with the spears Kaitantahi (Nyoro) and Kaitantayi (Kooki), both of which are part of the regalia of their respective kingdoms, is far larger and heavier than that of the other tribes in the group, and only occasionally shows traces of the double blood-courses. The socket is always nailed.

Swords

Swords in decorated carved wooden sheaths are found among the Tusi.

Knives (Plate 14)

In the west, slaughtering-knives have the ogee curve in cross-section typical of the iron-work of the district.

Traps (Plates 68, 69)

Pen traps, and the fall-trap pen with a collapsible roof, are used throughout the area, springes are common, and the spiked wheel-trap is known to the Hima, Iru, Nyoro and Ganda. Birds are caught with various forms of springes, and the non-return basket fish-trap is used in lakes and swamps.

TRANSPORT

Litter (Plate 70)

A litter is used to carry chiefs and their women-folk by the Kiga, Hima, Nyoro or Toro.

Sewn-plank Canoe (Plate 70)

The sewn-plank canoe is used by the Lake-shore tribes.

ART

Pattern-work (Plates 31, 40, 50, 71)

Hamitic pattern-work is very distinctive and geometrical in form; it is carried out in beadwork, basketry and low-relief carving.

Representational Art (Plate 72)

The Hutu and Kiga carve and model figures, and modelled figures are also found among the Nyoro.

THE KYOGA BASIN GROUP

The arbitrary choice of a geographical rather than a linguistic or ethnic classification has been made here, as it would seem to correspond more nearly with the complex of material culture found in the area. For here

are found three different Bantu varieties: first the linguistically and historically Inter-lacustrine Soga and the closely allied Gwere and Nyuli; secondly the Samia and Gwe who form a part of the Luhya or Bantu Kavirondo group; and thirdly the Gishu.

The hypothesis of the fusion of differing types of peoples on the Lake plateau prior to the arrival of the Hamitic pastoralists may also account for the great variation of the three Bantu groups found in this area. Amongst these Bantu tribes a compact body of Luo, the Jopadhola (or Dama as they are called by their Bantu neighbours), has thrust itself, while scattered pockets of Nilo-Hamitic Teso are also found, particularly in the north, in the low-lying area bordered by the western slopes of Mt. Elgon and Lakes Gedge and Salisbury, and in a broad strip running right across to northern Pallisa.

These heterogeneous groups and splinters of groups, having settled together under the same environmental conditions, have tended to assimilate each others' material cultures while retaining to a great extent their original languages.

SOGA

Johnston[1] states that according to native tradition the country of the Soga was formerly inhabited by the Lango and the Elgumi (Teso) together with the primitive Masaba, or Gishu, these tribes being later over-run by peoples from Buganda. According to Roscoe[2] also the people of the north-east claim to have come from Bukedi. The modern Soga closely resemble the Ganda, more especially in the south, but their language is nearer to that of the Sesse Islanders, a dialect of Luganda of a more primitive type.

In the north-west, Nyoro influence was dominant. Here the Soga have been from very early days closely connected with the Nyoro. Nyoro tradition claims to have ruled the area since the founding of the Nyoro-Kitara kingdom, while Soga tradition suggests that the rulers of Nyoro came from, or at any rate passed through, Soga. The district of Bugabula in the north-east still seeks the approval of the Omukama or King of the Nyoro for the appointment of its chiefs. Johnston also says that the confirmation by the Omukama of the appointment of a new chief was sought even from Bukoli, a district in the south-east of Busoga, running along the present Budama border.

Along the swamps of the Mpologoma river and Lake Kyoga on both the north-east and southern banks are still to be found the remnants of the Kenyi, a riverain branch of the Soga who made their homes on floating papyrus islands.

The southern portion of the country was for a very long period virtually under the domination of the Ganda, who raided it continuously for slaves

[1] JOHNSTON: *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 713 et seq.

[2] ROSCOE: *The Northern Bantu*, p. 198.

and women, and during the last few hundred years gradually ousted the Nyoro from their former position of control.

GWERE AND NYULI

Further to the north-east we find two more Bantu tribes very akin to the Soga in physical type, social custom and material culture. The Gwere country is around and due west of Mbale with the Nyuli slightly to the south of them.

GISHU

The early history of the Gishu is obscure. Roscoe[1] says they originated in the plains to the east of Mt. Elgon and after having been driven up the lower slopes of the mountain by the Masai and Nandi were further forced into the mountain peaks by 'Abyssinian tribes'.

Perryman,[2] however, who had far more chance to collect information, as he was one of the earliest administrative officers of the district, states 'they are the only tribe I know which has no tradition of an early migration from elsewhere. They claim to be autochthonous and to have originated where they dwell now'. They are probably amongst the least influenced racially of the early forest element, and are believed by some to show certain linguistic affinities with the Congo Bantu. They practise circumcision. They use a multi-pointed wooden arrow for bird-shooting which is also found amongst the Kiga, and a socketed arrow-head, which elsewhere only seems to be found in the west among the Amba. Johnston[3] describes them as follows:

"The Masaba (i.e. Gishu) people bear a strong resemblance to the pigmy-prognathous group on the western limits of Uganda. . . . They had strongly projecting superciliary arches, low brows, flat noses, long upper lips, and receding chins . . . there was nothing about these people that suggested the Nile Negro, nor were they altogether of what is styled the West African type. I should think, on the whole, they represented the most primitive and fundamental Negro race of the continent crossed here and there with a superior Nandi or Elgumi (Teso) type, an aboriginal race, in fact, on which many centuries ago the first Bantu invaders impressed an archaic Bantu dialect."

All this, it must be remembered, was written while the Gishu were practically unknown; yet from both physical and linguistic evidence they would appear to be a Bantu people of a more primitive type than any other in Uganda.

A timid people, they lived high up on the mountain slopes, retreating at any signs of an enemy to even more unapproachable caves near the mountain summit. Among themselves clan fought against clan, and it was unsafe to wander on to the ridge occupied by another clan, except at

[1] ROSCOE: *The Bagesu*, p. 1.

[2] PERRYMAN: 'Native Witchcraft', *The Uganda Journal*, Vol. IV, p. 7.

[3] JOHNSTON, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 724.

one season of the year, a kind of harvest-home festival, when all barriers between clan or sex were lifted.

In recent years, owing to the increased pressure of their own population and the security of the Pax Britannica, the Gishu have spread down the lower slopes of the mountain, becoming tractable members of the community, and much of their material culture as it is found today resembles that of their neighbours.

LUHYA: SAMIA AND GWE

The Samia and Gwe are a part of the large group of Bantu tribes found chiefly in Kenya, known as the Luhya or Bantu Kavirondo. Luhya being a name they have themselves adopted comparatively recently. They appear to be of a very different stock from the neighbouring Soga and Gwere.

Of their early history little is known. Many of them say they come from the west, from Buganda, or from Bunyoro, but there seem few facts to support or discount this assertion. Hobley[1] contends that they came up from the south-west of Lake Victoria, others say they came from the north and the east following the general drift of early tribal movement. More recently they are said to have left the Mweala Hills near Malikisi in north Kavirondo, being driven out by the Teso advance from the north-west.[2]

They remove the two central lower incisors; the women wear fibre 'tails' and aprons, and metal bangles are worn on the arms and legs in large quantities in a manner more noticeable among the Nilotes than among the Bantu people. Head-dresses worn by the young men were also of an elaborate type not found elsewhere in Bantu Uganda. They are pre-eminently an agricultural people, both men and women cultivating.

KYOGA BASIN—NON-BANTU IMMIGRATIONS

1. LUO: JOPADHOLA

In the northern half of Budama we find a tribe calling themselves the Jopadhola after their first leader, Adhola, but called the Dama by their Bantu neighbours. Both linguistically and in their material culture these people clearly show their affinity to the great Luo group.

2. NILO-HAMITIC: TESO

In the north, in the low-lying area bordered by the western slopes of Mt. Elgon and Lakes Gedge and Salisbury, in a broad strip running right across to northern Pallisa, a Half-Hamitic group, the Teso, have occupied the country. Other small groups of Teso are scattered about, notably a strong pocket north-east of Tororo.

[1] HOBLEY: *Eastern Uganda.*

[2] PERSSE: 'The Bagwe', *The Uganda Journal*, Vol. III, p. 282.

SUMMARY OF THE MATERIAL CULTURES OF THE KYOGA BASIN

The Kyoga Basin is necessarily a difficult area to summarize as far as the material cultures are concerned, for the various races have infiltrated and mingled so that little is now clear or definite. Two material culture areas would seem to be clear, however; the first is that of the Soga, Gwere and Nyuli, from whom we can get a very clear idea of the different directions from which the various artifacts have been brought.

Thus we find Inter-lacustrine Bantu influence in the wooden food-bowl of the Nyoro-Kitara kingdom found in north-west Soga, also the wooden mask, the cane-covered wood shield, strung-seed rattles, scantiness of adornment, and bark-cloth for men more nearly approximating to the toga-like garment of the Ganda.

The influence of the Nilo-Hamitic Teso infiltration is more obvious in the east, in fact the Teso, although not considered here as a separate cultural group, have very much influenced the material cultures of the whole Kyoga Basin. Among the Gwere and Nyuli we find the rounded rectangular hide shield, the legged stool with no base, the Teso three-legged stool, the stool made from the pronged root or branch, the wooden hayfork, the small weeding-hoe, the tall wooden milk-pail, and the threaded mat.

The Jopadhola, Samia, Gwe and Gishu must almost be considered as one group as far as the material cultures are concerned, although they might be further split up into their distinctive cultural divisions of Luo, Luhya and primitive Bantu.

The more distinctive Luo and Nilo-Hamitic agricultural implements are found among the Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola.

Here hayforks and the small weeding-hoe, the hoe blade with small 'swallow-tails' suggestive of the Luo, and other domestic objects such as the tall milking-pail, the three types of stool noted above, the Luo spiked food-stirrer and the plaited funnel beer-filter, are found.

Gishu artifacts show some difference, and in such things as basketry they are influenced by their Sebei neighbours.

Where clothing and adornment are concerned the Gishu are more nearly akin to the Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola.

The fibre frill or apron and 'tail' is worn by older women of all the tribes, with the Gishu adopting the Teso apron and 'tail' made from little tin cylinders in some cases.

Small head-ornaments are worn when dancing by the men of all these tribes; labrets are worn by the women, and ear-rings, neck-rings, necklaces and a number of bangles by both sexes; many iron anklets are worn by the women; the 'twin' bangle of the Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola is Luo. Weapons and traps link on with the Luo and Nilo-Hamitic rather than with the other Bantu tribes to the west.

In spite of their Bantu tongue, therefore, there seems to be a very big cleavage between these Luhya tribes and the other Bantu tribes in the Protectorate, suggesting either a different origin or much contact with the Luo and Nilo-Hamitic people. It must also be noted that the Gishu, so often quoted as an example of a very primitive Bantu people isolated in their mountain fastness by later invaders, share the material culture of these people rather than that of the Bantu to the west.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

Bill-hook (Plate 12)

The bill-hook, for clearing and pruning plantains, in its heavy-bladed, long-handled form is used throughout the area. Amongst the Soga, Nyuli and Gwere the blade tends to be crescent-shaped, and that used by the Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola has a pointed shoulder like that of the neighbouring Kenya tribes.

Plantain-knife (Plate 14)

The short knife for cutting plantains is also universal; here again a very curved form is used by the Soga.

Hoe (Plate 13)

The Soga, Gwere and Nyuli hoe has a slight mid-rib and flattened shoulders like that of the Ganda and Nyoro; that of the Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola is usually flat in cross-section and tends to have 'swallow-tails'. In all cases the blade is lashed to the haft.

Slaughtering-knife (Plate 14)

The slaughtering-knife usually has a mid-rib, but is sometimes flat in cross-section in the east of the area. It is often worn in a wooden sheath.

Digging-spear (Plate 13)

A digging-spear is used throughout.

Digging-stick; *Weeding-hoe* (Plate 14); *Hay-fork*

The small digging-stick for potatoes is used everywhere, together with a small iron hoe or adze on a miniature hoe handle, a weeding-tool found among the Luo and Nilo-Hamitic peoples. The wooden hay-fork is another tool from the Luo found among the Gwere, Nyuli and Gishu.

FOOD VESSELS AND PIPES

Gourd Vessels

Gourd vessels of every description are common.

Wooden Vessels

Nyoro Bowl (Plate 18); *Tall Milk-pail* (Plate 18); *Oblong Bowl*

Of wooden vessels, the Nyoro legged food-bowl with a base is found as might be expected in north-west Soga. The wooden goblet is also found among the Soga. The tall wooden milking-pail is found among every tribe except the Soga. The heavy oblong wooden bowl, with or without spiked handles at the sides, is common everywhere.

Pots

(Plates 21, 23)

There is little to note about the pots of the area. They are of a fairly high standard, and are often coated with a dark red slip. The black glazed pots are not found here.

Pipes

(Plate 25)

The pipes of the Jopadhola, Samia and Gwe have stems of thick reed fitted with a mouthpiece of finer reed. The Samia and Gwe pipe is of red earthenware, tall with an everted lip. The Jopadhola pipe is crudely made, and sometimes has a goatskin joint. The Gishu may be recognized by the portion holding the stem being nearly as large as the bowl itself.

(Plate 26)

Large water-pipes for bhang smoking are used throughout the area especially by the Jopadhola, Gishu, Samia and Gwe.

BASKETRY

(Plates 27, 30)

The two techniques used throughout the area are grouped wicker-work and three-stranded twined weave, the latter being by far the commonest.

The northern Gishu make curious shaped baskets for carrying on the back like the Sebei.

Mats

(Plate 32)

The common form of mat-making is tied matting, the Nyuli and Gishu make threaded mats, and the plaited mat is now known everywhere.

STOOLS

(Plate 34)

The legged stool with no base is the most common, especially in the east of the area, but cotton-reel stools are also found everywhere except among the Gishu.

(Plate 36)

The Teso three-legged oblong stool is found among the Gwere and Nyuli, and the three-pronged root or branch among the Nyuli, Gwere, Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola. The horizontal log is used everywhere by women except among the Soga.

MISCELLANEOUS HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS

Ladles (Plate 39)

Large wooden ladles for stirring millet are used by all tribes. The spiked form of stirrer is used by the Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola.

Spoons and Knives (Plate 39)

The Soga use wooden spoons and serving-knives of the Ganda type.

Nets (Plate 38)

The Jopadhola have a netted string-bag of a similar stitch to one made by the Nyoro.

Beer-filters (Plate 39)

All tribes use tube beer-filters; the Jopadhola also filter their beer through a wickerwork funnel or a plaited basketry bag.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

General (Plate 43)

The one-skin (or in the case of the Gwere, Nyuli and Soga, more often bark-cloth) type of dress is worn by men throughout the district; among the Soga it more nearly approaches the long toga-like garment of the Ganda; and to the north-east the short skin hung over one shoulder is worn.

Women (Plate 45)

Among the women a frill of banana leaves was worn by the older girls of all tribes but the Samia and Gwe; married women of the Gishu, Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola wore some sort of fibre frill or apron. The Samia and Gwe women wore a large bunch of fibre as a 'tail', and the Gishu women sometimes wore aprons and 'tails' of 'tin cylinder' beads. All women wore bead or seed or shell bands round the waist.

Head Ornaments (Plates 48, 49)

Head ornaments or small head-dresses are worn when dancing by the men of the Gishu, Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola. These consist of small horns of various kinds, hippo tusks and feather ornaments; the Gishu also wear large helmets of fur or cowrie shells.

Facial Decoration (Plate 51)

Women of the Gishu, Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola wore labrets, and both women and men of these tribes wore various types of ear-rings; and the women wore necklaces, of beads, seeds, shells and metal neck-rings. The very heavy metal neck-rings of the Gishu are reminiscent of the Konjo.

Bangles (Plate 53)

Bangles of ivory, metal (heavy, light and medium weight, as well as coiled) were worn on the arms, chiefly by the women of these tribes, and to a very small extent by the Gwere and Nyuli and Soga; while iron anklets were worn by women of all the tribes to some extent, and in very large numbers by the Gishu, Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola. Of great interest are the wire-bound hair necklaces and bangles of the Jopadhola, Samia and Gwe, said by them to have been brought up from the south-west of the Lake by Hamitic herdsmen, and identical with those worn by the Kiga, Hima and Nyoro. Among the Jopadhola the tradition of the mysterious and sacred blue beads of the ancestors is found, linking them with the

other Luo tribes. Among the Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola a special double iron bracelet is worn by twins and their parents as among the Alur.

(Plate 55)

Pellet bells are worn when dancing by all tribes; the Gishu have a much larger moon-shaped pellet bell worn during circumcision rites which resembles those of the Kikuyu of Kenya. Strung seed rattles are worn on the ankles when dancing by the Soga, Gwere and Nyuli.

WEAPONS AND HUNTING GEAR

Shields (Plate 56)

The Soga use the wood-covered-with-cane type of shield found among the Inter-lacustrine Bantu, while all the other tribes use a shield of hide, rectangular in shape with rounded corners.

Spears (Plate 59)

The Soga spear is very distinctive, with its heavy blade and characteristic butt. It is difficult today to find distinctive points in the spears of the other tribes; the Gishu use a long-shanked spear with no butt like their Nilo-Hamitic neighbours; a spear with the blade ogee in cross-section has been found among the Samia, who also use three-pronged otter spears, and have a collection of ancestral spears which have not been carefully examined but which appeared to be very similar to those of the Luo chiefs.

Bows and Arrows (Plates 62, 63)

The Gishu appear to be the only tribe who still use bows, although it is found as a toy among the Nyuli. The Gishu bow is a knotted string bow; they use large feathered arrows, spirally bound, and also tangential feathering with two unsplit feathers. They use three-pointed wooden bird arrows, and an arrow with a socketed head.

Hunting Knives (Plate 66)

These are flat in cross-section; those of the Soga, Gwere and Nyuli, and rather less often those of the other tribes, have wooden sheaths. Those of the Samia, Gwe and Jopadhola have a handle like those used by the Luo.

Traps are much used in this area. Drop traps are reported from every tribe but the Gishu. Many forms of springe are used. The spiked-wheel trap, however, is not found except among the Soga. The trapping of small birds is common; for this the non-return basket is used everywhere, and various nooses, especially the hair noose on the end of a reed, are found everywhere except among the Soga.

Non-return fish traps are universal, together with plunge traps and similar baskets for fish drives. The cradle-shaped basket is found everywhere here.

TRANSPORT

(Plate 70)

Dug-out canoes are used on Lake Kyoga and neighbouring swamps, and sewn-plank canoes on Lake Victoria.

ART

There is nothing of interest to report from this area.

NILOTES OR LUO

ACOLI

All Uganda north of the Victoria Nile is populated by Nilotic or Nilo-Hamitic peoples; of these the Acoli and the Alur should first be considered.

Linguistically these people closely resemble the Shilluk, although their language is of a more simple form; and in certain aspects of their social organization and religious custom they also bear a remarkable resemblance. Beyond this they have very marked differences. Physically they are of a very different type. Whereas the Shilluk are dolichocephalic and tall in stature, the Acoli and Alur are low mesaticephals and altogether stockier and more sturdy, more especially the Alur. They are agriculturists, while the Shilluk are predominantly cattle-keepers. But perhaps the most significant cultural difference lies in their rain-making customs. These centre round the use of rain-stones and are not connected with any culture hero or Divine King, as are those of the Shilluk, Dinka or Nuer.

To account for these differences and resemblances Seligman[1] postulates a common Nilotic cradle-land from which first the Dinka then the Shilluk moved northwards. The Luo, who afterwards split up, forming the Acoli, Alur, Jopaluo or Copi, and the Jopadhola or Dama, moved southwards; then, possibly about the same time, there came an eastwards push from a group from the Inter-Congo-Nile basin of very different physical and cultural characteristics, whose fusion with the Nilotics produced the present Luo type.

Tradition concerning the southward migration is strong. The story is given of a march east by south and a long halt at Mt. Kalak, south of the river Aiguge, then of the quarrel leading to the split up of the tribe, one branch of which crossed the Nile and settled on the west bank as the forebears of the present Alur. Others wandered north-east and settled in various parts of the country, and a further body crossed over the Somerset Nile. As has been stated in the section on the Inter-lacustrine Bantu tribes, it would seem very possible that this southward invasion led to the expulsion of the earlier Hamitic Bacwezi rulers of Nyoro-Kitara and the setting up of the Babito dynasty of that kingdom. It would seem that later a number of clans which had not been absorbed swung back and recrossed the Somerset Nile; and finally, driven by famine and possibly

[1] SELIGMAN: 'Some Little-known Tribes of the Southern Sudan', *Journal of the R.A.I.*, LV.

also by pressure from the approaching Nilo-Hamitic group, skirted eastwards along the northern shores of Lake Kyoga and Lake Salisbury into Budama country, some continuing on into Kavirondo. These settlers in Budama were the ancestors of the Jopadhola who have been classified geographically as a part of the Kyoga Basin group. Both their material culture and their language have many affinities with the Acoli and the Alur. For purposes of comparison their material culture has been recorded in both the Luo and the Kyoga Basin groups.

LANGO

The earliest traditions of the Lango give them as settled near to the Langodyang, a Nilo-Hamitic group somewhere in the regions of the Didinga Hills of the southern Sudan. They lived on friendly terms with the Langodyang, often uniting with them against the different Luo groups; but they were eventually forced to migrate southwards, partly by increased pressure from these people and partly through famine.

Wright[1] considers the Lango to be what he calls 'a borderline group in transitional condition' of the Itunga, by which term he designates the big Nilo-Hamitic people of whom the Teso and Karamoja form a part. He states that '. . . though by now the Lango have become almost pure Luo speakers they remain widely different from the Luo in custom and tradition, while many of their place names and clan names and wild animal names remain identical with Ateso'.

Driberg[2] states that the Lango are a Nilotic tribe whose language shows close affinities with the Acoli in both vocabulary and structure but has many dissimilarities which can be traced to Hamitic sources. Physically they are long-limbed but thicker set than the Acoli, dark-skinned with finer-cut features; they remove the two central lower incisors. The men are hard-working agriculturists.

It is a point of great interest that alone among the Nilotic or Nilo-Hamitic peoples of Uganda, the Lango did not build stockaded villages but lived together in large unfenced communities. They seem always to have been on good terms with the Jopaluo and the Akum branch of the Teso with whom they did considerable trade, and with the Nyoro with whom they made contact through the Jopaluo.

It has been suggested that the Lango are related to the Nilo-Hamitic Teso and Karamoja, and their material culture has a small number of objects in common with them which are not found among the other Luo tribes; these are the finger-hooks and knives, certain large arm ornaments and, possibly, types of head-dresses.

ALUR, JOPALUO, AND JOPADHOLA

The Luo migrations resulted in the settlement of certain groups at a distance from the central Acoli tribe, rather like the fingers stretching

[1] WRIGHT: 'Notes on Iteso Social Organisation', *Uganda Journal*, Vol. IX, p. 57.
[2] DRIBERG: *The Lango*, pp. 27 sqq.

from the palm of a hand. It is interesting to note how strongly these groups have assimilated the culture of the different tribes surrounding them, so that although they have as much right to be termed Luo as the Acoli, much of what they wear and use cannot be regarded as Luo in origin. The Alur, settled in the West Nile, now resemble the Madi-Lugbara group in material culture as much as the Acoli from whom they split off (e.g. the cross-section of their ironwork, wooden hoes, curved knives, stools, shape and technique of basketry, pottery, the wearing of leaves by the women, etc., are typical Madi-Lugbara technique or artifacts). The Jopaluo or Copi, a compact mass of Luo across the Nile in the Buruli district of Nyoro, from observations made by the writer during a short visit, would seem to be using many artifacts from both Luo and Inter-lacustrine Bantu cultures and calling them indiscriminately by Luo names; the Jopadhola now settled in close proximity to the Samia of the Luhya group of tribes, are, as far as material culture goes, almost indistinguishable from them (e.g. they have adopted bill-hooks and plaintain knives, tied matting, bark-cloth, shields and spears, and much in clothing and adornment from the people round them).

Obviously the central Acoli tribe will have artifacts in common with the Madi in the west and the Karamoja in the east, and it is difficult in many cases to differentiate between modern borrowing and age-long connection. But among artifacts which might be termed distinctively Luo because they are found at the centre of the culture rather than among the tribes on the perimeter, or because they are found throughout the whole group, we should list the following: flat iron blades, or blades with a slight mid-rib, also blades swallow-tail in outline, socketed hoe-heads, ringed axes, the long straight hoe, the square winnowing-tray in wrapped-twine weave, the basketry technique of three-strand twined weave, and the threaded mat, the large slaughtering knife, the knob-and-spike types of food-stirrer, the shallow simsim trough, the horizontal log for a woman's stool, the rectangular shield of hide and long-shanked spear, the type of dress including much metal, ivory and bead ornament, the large feather head-dress and felted hair head-dresses, the women's aprons and 'tails' of hide.

The Luo show a certain artistic sense; their personal ornament is gay and abundant; they also attempt to carve and paint figures.

SUMMARY OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE NILOTES

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

Bill-hooks and slashers (Plate 12)

Among the Acoli and Lango no kind of bill-hook is used, the Jopadhola use the heavy bill-hook of their Bantu neighbours, and the Alur the slasher of the West Nile.

Hoes (Plate 13)

The outline of the hoes in use varies, a 'swallow-tail' blade is found among the Acoli, and in a very modified form among the Jopadhola. A rather round or oval blade is used by the Lango and Acoli. In cross-section the Alur hoe follows the West Nile form of ogee curve, the others are usually flat or have a slight mid-rib. In hafting, the Alur again conforms to the West Nile pattern and has the tang driven through the haft, the others have the tang lashed to an angled haft, the Acoli older form is to socket the head to an angled haft. The straight hoe is found among the eastern Acoli, Lango and Copi.

Knives (Plate 14)

Slaughtering knives are large with a mid-rib, carved wooden handle, and an edge sheath of hide among the Acoli and Lango.

Weeding-tools (Plates 13, 14)

The Alur use the small wooden hoe of the West Nile for weeding, the other tribes use a small iron hoe. A large mussel shell is another weeding-tool of the whole group and the wooden hay-fork is used throughout. Two interesting artifacts which should be mentioned here are the curved knife used by Alur women and the cutting rings of the Lango.

Winnowing-trays (Plate 15)

Round winnowing-trays of three-strand twined weave are used by the Acoli and Jopadhola, but two more unusual types are found in the area; one is the shovel-shaped tray of twilled weave (West Nile type) used by the Alur, and the other the square tray of a variation of wrapped-twine weave used by the Lango and some Acoli.

An angled stick is used as a pestle and for breaking up clay, softening skins, etc., by the Lango, Acoli and Alur.

FOOD VESSELS AND PIPES

Gourd Vessels (Plate 16)

The gourds used by the Nilotic folk are of a rather different type from those used by the Bantu. That used for carrying beer or water is usually the kind with the long narrow neck, a large half-calabash takes the place of the smaller gourd mugs, no gourd filter is used for beer, and smaller gourds are used for fat, and in sections as platters, measures, etc. Gourds are often decorated with incised patterns.

Wooden Vessels

Nyoro bowl (Plate 18)

The Nyoro food-bowl is found among the Acoli, Lango and Alur showing their connection with the Nyoro-Kitara kingdom; but from the general distribution of the leg-and-base food-bowl and stool this would seem to be a Hamitic type rather than a Luo.

Tall milking-pail (Plate 18)

The tall wooden milking-pail is found among the Lango and Jopadhola as among the Nilo-Hamitic and Luhya tribes.

Simsim bowl (Plate 19)

The long shallow trough for preparing simsim oil is used by Lango, Acoli and Alur.

Food-bowl (Plate 19)

The Acoli use a round wooden bowl for serving food.

Pots (Plates 20, 22, 23)

It is difficult to generalize about pots. The Lango pots tend to be decorated all over the body with patterns often made with a wooden roller. Water and beer are carried to the fields in small necked pots resembling water-pots, and the gourd-shaped pot with the long neck is rare. Alur pots, like those of the other West Nile tribes, often have wide mouths. Double-mouthed pots used in ceremonies connected with the birth of twins are common.

Pipes (Plates 25, 26)

There is nothing very distinctive about the pipes used. Bhang is smoked considerably.

BASKETRY

Technique (Plates 27, 28)

Wicker-work, and two- and three-strand twined weave, are the techniques in common use, but the Alur more often use the twilled weave of the West Nile, and the Lango and Acoli both use a special variation of wrapped-twine weave for their winnowing-trays.

Field baskets; hen-coops (Plates 30, 31)

The Acoli round field basket of three-strand twined weave often decorated with some black pattern-work is a very good piece of work. Special baskets for cooping fowls are used by the Lango and Acoli.

Food basket (Plate 30)

The Alur use a shovel-shaped basket of twilled weave for serving food.

Mats (Plate 32)

Threaded matting is used by the Acoli, Lango and Alur, but the Jopadhola have adopted the Bantu tied mats.

STOOLS

Cotton-reel (Plate 33); *Leg-and-base* (Plate 34)

The cotton-reel stool is found among the Lango, Acoli, and Jopadhola, and the leg-and-base stool among the Acoli, Lango and Alur. The Alur type is the square-cut West Nile variety.

Leg with no base (Plate 34); *Semi-solid sides* (Plate 35); *Palm-stem stool* (Plate 35)

The legged stool with no base is not found among the Alur but among other tribes. A stool with semi-solid sides is found among the Alur, also the palm-stem stool.

Horizontal log (Plate 36); *Pronged branch* (Plate 36)

The horizontal log is used by women of the Acoli, Lango and Jopadhola; and a small stool made of a pronged branch or root, by all but the Alur.

Head-rests (Plate 37)

The Acoli use many forms of head-rests and other small stools.

MISCELLANEOUS HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS

Food-stirrers (Plate 39)

The ladle type is probably universal. The knob type is found among the Lango, Acoli and Alur, the spike type throughout the whole area.

Plaited funnel beer-filter (Plate 39)

The plaited filter-bag for beer is used by every tribe.

Child's saddle and shade (Plate 41)

A well-made saddle for carrying a child on its mother's back is found among the Acoli, Lango and Alur, together with a shade cover. That of the Lango and Acoli is made of a half-calabash and of the Alur of twilled basketry.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Capes and loin-cloths (Plate 43)

In the old days the men of all these tribes were nude, now a loin-cloth of skin is worn by the Lango and Acoli, the Alur often go nude, the Jopadhola have adopted the Bantu single skin or bark-cloth garb. Capes of leopard or baboon skin are worn by Lango and Acoli when dancing.

'Tails' and aprons (Plates 44, 45)

The women of the Acoli and Lango wear fibre or chain aprons before and behind, with leather 'tails', when matrons. The Jopadhola wear a banana leaf frill when young, changing to a fibre frill on becoming matrons. Matrons of the Alur, adopting the West Nile custom, usually wear bunches of fresh leaves, although richer ones sometimes wear chain aprons. A chain apron was formerly worn by the richer Lango women also. Women of all the tribes wore beads round the waist.

Head-dresses (Plates 46, 47, 48, 49)

By the men of the Lango, Acoli and Alur large head-dresses are worn when dancing. Felted head-dresses chiefly by the Lango and Acoli, also large plumed head-dresses.

Facial ornament (Plate 51)

The Jopadhola men wear the smaller head ornaments of horns and feathers found in their part of the country. Labrets are worn by both men and women of the Acoli, Alur and Lango, and by women only among the Jopadhola. Nose ornaments are worn by the Lango and Acoli; a large number of ear-rings are worn by these two tribes in both lobes and cartilage, and in the lobes only by the Jopadhola.

Necklaces, etc. (Plate 52)

Large masses of beads are worn on the neck, chiefly by Lango and Acoli women, together with light metal neck-rings, coiled metal, beads of roots, giraffe and elephant hair, discs of shell, cowries, and the rare traditional blue beads.

Less is worn by the Alur and the Jopadhola. The Lango have unique ivory ornaments worn on the chest.

Bangles (Plates 53, 54)

Heavy ivory and metal bangles are worn on the arms by men of all tribes, especially the Acoli and Lango, lighter metal bangles by the women. Coiled metal is worn in large quantities by the Lango and Acoli, and to a lesser extent by the other tribes.

Large ornaments are worn on the arms by the men, a tortoiseshell rattle by the Lango and Acoli, a 'tail' ornament by the Acoli and Alur, and a boat-shaped ornament by the Lango.

Anklets (Plate 55)

Large numbers of metal bangles are worn on the legs by Jopadhola women, and to a lesser extent by the other tribes. The Acoli and Lango again wear plenty of coiled metal. Pellet bells are worn on the ankles when dancing by the Acoli, Lango and Jopadhola.

WEAPONS AND HUNTING GEAR

Shields (Plate 58)

The Acoli and Lango use a rectangular hide shield of identical construction, but the Acoli one is larger and the Lango one more ornate. The Jopadhola use a shield of the type used in the Kyoga basin, a long hide shield with rounded corners. The Acoli have a rectangular shield of wickerwork used by youths, but similar to those of the Reshiat or 'Gelaba' in Southern Sudan.

Spears (Plates 59, 60)

Both Lango and Acoli use a heavy-bladed spear with a short socket, a small-bladed spear with a long iron shank, and a long butt, and another with a small blade, long shank, and no butt, and a number of other spears of no very definite type. The first and second types are found among the

Alur; the Jopadhola spears do not seem to be of any definite type. The chiefs and rain-makers possess ceremonial spears which would appear to be of considerable antiquity; these have not yet been studied.

Bows and arrows (Plates 61, 65)

The Acoli and Alur use single-loop bows, unfeathered arrows and skin quivers, the Lango and Jopadhola do not.

Swords (Plate 66)

The Acoli use a sword.

Dancing-weapons (Plate 66)

The Acoli and Alur use dancing-weapons, the Acoli a light throwing axe, the Alur a form of light slasher.

Knives (Plate 66)

The Acoli, Lango and Jopadhola knife has a mid-rib, a carved wooden handle, and in the case of the Acoli and Lango an edge-sheath of hide.

Wrist knives, finger-hooks, etc. (Plate 67)

The Lango used a finger-hook, both as a weapon and a back-scratcher, also cutting-rings, now used for harvesting but probably once a weapon. The Acoli use a wrist knife.

Drop-spear (Plate 68)

The Lango and Acoli use a drop-spear for elephants.

Spiked-wheel trap (Plate 68)

The Lango, Acoli and Alur have the spiked-wheel trap.

Crossbow trap (Plate 68)

The Acoli use a small crossbow trap for rats.

Springes (Plate 69)

All use various forms of springe for animals and birds, including the fine hair noose on the end of a reed, and the Lango and Alur use a number of hair nooses attached to a rope ring.

Fish traps (Plate 69)

All use self-acting fish baskets, plunge and scoop baskets, and the cradle-shaped basket used in fish drives is found among the Acoli, Lango and Jopadhola.

TRANSPORT (Plate 70)

Dug-out canoes are used on waterways in this area.

ART (Plate 72)

Carved figures are found among the Lango, as are also clay representations of animals on granaries. Both the Lango and Acoli paint wall paintings on huts.

NILO-HAMITES OR HALF-HAMITES

THE KARAMOJA (KARAMOJONG, LABWOR, JIE AND DODOTH)

The Nilo-Hamitic tribes inhabiting Karamoja country consist of four closely allied groups. In the south-east are the Karamojong, in the west central portion the Labwor, who seem to be more akin to their neighbours the Lango and Teso; further north the Jie, and at the extreme north the Dodoth with a few more primitive Teuso in the hilly north-east border. They all appear to be very closely related to the Turkana; indeed, Wayland[1] quotes a tradition that once the whole group including the Turkana were one tribe who later quarrelled over water-holes, but he states that although in appearance and material culture they all seem to be very similar, in belief and social custom there are many differences between the various groups. Wright[2] gives the Karamojoŋ and the Turkana of Kenya as belonging to the same linguistic group (which he terms the Itunga) as the Teso, with the Jie as a border-line group.

The Karamoja tribes were not in the past organized as large tribal groups, but the village or small group of villages was the actual unit.

They are essentially pastoralists, especially the northern tribes, whose diet is the typical Hamitic blood, milk and meat.

Shortage of water leads to seasonal migrations from the very dry east-central portion of the country to the water districts west and south. In Labwor, where water can be found all the year round, the people are becoming semi-agriculturists as are the Teso.

THE TESO

More historical information has been collected by Wright[1] concerning the Teso; of the whole 'Itunga' group he says that from tradition it would appear that they originated in a number of nomadic tribes somewhere in the southern end of the Abyssinian Rift Valley. From these wanderings a number split off in the northern parts of Karamoja possibly near Koten Hill. This took place comparatively recently, viz. within the last two hundred and fifty years, and was contemporaneous with the later Luo wanderings, contact between the two groups being common.

The final centre from which the Teso spread out to their present boundaries was the Usuku district between Mt. Napak and Lake Salisbury. Their own tradition is that they came from the east, from the Suk Hills of Kenya (the conformity of the names is striking), and we must suppose that they had slowly worked their way south and then westward.

From the Usuku district, which is still considered by the tribe to be

[1] WAYLAND: 'Preliminary Studies of the Tribes of Karamjoa', *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LXI.

[2] WRIGHT: 'Notes on the Ateso Social Organisation', *Uganda Journal*, Vol. IX, p. 57.

Teso proper, groups spread out in all directions. A detachment crossed a ford at the western end of Lake Salisbury into Ngora, some occupying that district, others going on into Pallisa. Others went further west into Amuria. Another stream kept north of the Salisbury marshes and marched due west to Soroti, then spread out west and south. Bukedia tradition says that that district was first occupied from the west.

Small groups of Teso are to be found in the Kyoga basin area; the Bulamogi district of Busoga looks north-eastwards through Pallisa for the home of its ancestors; a still distinct pocket is to be found north-east of Tororo; while in Kenya the tribe stretches into north Nyanza.

THE SEBEI

The Sebei are members of another branch of the Nilo-Hamites, being very closely related to the Suk-Nandi group in Kenya. They inhabit the outer northern slopes of Mt. Elgon, and have been constricted into their present small area by pressure from both the Gishu and the Karamoja. They are comparatively recent arrivals and have come in from the east.

SUMMARY OF MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE NILO-HAMITES OR HALF-HAMITES

There would seem to have been considerable trading in ironwork and other artifacts where production depended on local materials such as buffalo-hide for shields, over a large area occupied by the Luo and Nilo-Hamite tribes.

In certain artifacts, such as the head-rest stools necessitated by method of hair-dressing, much in clothing and adornment, spears, and the long straight hoe, the Karamoja resemble the Acoli.

Other artifacts link up with the tribes of the Kyoga Basin; e.g. the tall wooden milking-pail and other wooden vessels, the legged stool with no base, and the Teso type of men's dress.

Still others, such as agricultural implements and food stirrers, run right through the Luo, Nilo-Hamite and Kyoga Basin complex of tribes; while certain Teso artifacts such as some spears, and their black pottery vessels, would seem to indicate Nyoro influence.

Of artifacts definitely pertaining to the group I would suggest the various types of iron beads and cylinders (including the solid square chain of the Karamoja), the finger knife and hook (found also among the Lango), the large flat metal nose-ornaments and labrets of the Karamoja, and various large types of arm ornaments. The large iron 'horn' head-dress worn by the Teso has not been reported from any other tribe. Beaded and thonged calabashes and the long three-legged stool are other artifacts specific to this area.

A point that is possibly worthy of note is that the men of the Karamoja wear less and the women more than the surrounding tribes. Karamoja women wear a skin shirt and often a cape as well as a large beaded skin apron. The same tendency is, or was, noticeable among the entirely different Hamitic group, the Tusi and Hima, in south-west Uganda, where the men tended to go nude and the women to be swathed in voluminous garments.

The foreshafted spear of the Sebei is unique in Uganda.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

The Teso have changed over from a pastoral to a semi-agricultural life, and, as would be expected, their agricultural artifacts resemble those of their neighbours; in a large part of Karamoja agriculture is little practised.

Digging-spear (Plate 13)

A digging-spear is used for making holes.

Hoe (Plate 13)

Iron blades throughout the area have usually a mid-rib, and the blade of the hoe is lashed by its tang to the haft. In the Labwor district of Karamoja the long straight hoe similar to that of the Lango and eastern Acoli is used.

Weeding-hoe, shell, small digging-stick, hay-fork (Plate 14)

The weeding-tools, consisting of a small iron hoe, shell, small digging-stick and hay-fork, which are found among the Luo and to a certain extent among the Kyoga Basin tribes, are used.

Slaughtering-knife, plantain-knife (Plate 14)

The slaughtering-knife used by both Teso and Karamoja has usually a mid-rib, although a flat-bladed one is found among the Teso. The Sebei use a plantain-knife.

Sickle ring knife (Plate 14)

The Teso use a sickle-shaped knife on a finger ring for harvesting.

Winnowing-tray (Plate 15)

Winnowing-trays are usually round of three-strand twined weave, but the Teso also use the square type of wrapped-twined weave found also among the Lango and south-eastern Acoli.

FOOD VESSELS AND PIPES

Gourd Vessels

Churn, milk-pot, funnel, platter (Plate 16)

There is nothing very noteworthy about their use of gourds; like all people of Hamitic blood they use gourds for churns, and long bottle gourds for holding milk; both Karamoja and Sebei fit their gourds with leather thongs for carrying and ornament them with a few beads.

Wooden Vessels

Tall milk-pail (Plate 18); *oblong bowl* (Plate 19)

The tall wooden milk-pail is used by the Karamoja and the Teso. The heavy oblong food-bowl, both without handle and with one or sometimes two spiked handles at the ends, is used by Teso and Sebei, and the type without handles by the Karamoja.

Flat tray, round bowl (Plate 19)

A flat wooden food-tray is used by the Teso and Karamoja, and the Teso use a round wooden food-bowl as do the Acoli.

Pots

The Teso pot shapes and technique seem influenced by the Nyoro; they use fine black pottery with a graphite polish and incised pattern-work. The red earthenware of these tribes is not very distinctive.

(Plate 23)

The Teso have an interesting pot for salt-making.

Pipes (Plates 25, 26)

The Teso pipe has a pointed base; the Karamoja pipe is crudely made, with the bowl at right-angles to the stem. All three tribes use a water-cooled pipe for bhang, with a gourd container for water. The Karamoja carry their tobacco in horns, fastened to their arms or to their small portable stools.

BASKETRY

Technique (Plates 27, 28); *Baskets* (Plate 30)

Wicker-work, three-strand twined weave, and hexagonal weave are all used by the Teso and Karamoja; the Teso also use coiled basketry.

The Teso use the cottage-loaf-shaped basket for storing meat, etc., and a basket for serving food of twined weave. The Sebei use baskets of wicker-work, of a peculiar shape like a half-calabash for carrying produce up and down the mountain sides; these are also used by the Gishu.

STOOLS

Cotton-reel; legged with no base (Plate 34); *three-legged; pronged root* (Plate 36)

The cotton-reel stool is sometimes used by the Karamoja, but the type commonly used by all three tribes is the legged stool with no base. The Teso use a long low stool with three legs, and all the tribes use a stool made from a three-pronged branch or root. A long horizontal log is used by the women.

Head-rests (Plate 37)

The Karamoja carry small head-rest stools.

MISCELLANEOUS HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS

Food-stirrers (Plate 39)

Of food-stirrers the ladle and spike types are used by all three tribes, and the knob type by the Teso and Karamoja.

Spoons, beer-filters (Plate 39)

The Sebei use wooden spoons and the Teso and Karamoja spoons of horn. The Karamoja use a woven fibre filter bag for beer.

Children's saddles and covers (Plate 41)

Both Teso and Karamoja use a saddle for carrying their children and a gourd cover to pretect them from the sun.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Skins, capes, 'tails' and aprons (Plates 43, 44, 45)

Men of the Teso and Sebei wear a single skin hung from the shoulders. Karamoja men are nude, sometimes wearing a skin cape.

Teso women wear aprons and 'tails' of small tin cylinders, Karamoja women wear a three-piece costume consisting in a skin cape, skin apron decorated with beads and a skin skirt.

Head-dresses (Plates 46, 47, 48, 49)

Large head-dresses are worn by the Teso and Karamoja, Teso ones being plumed or cowrie-covered helmets, or large iron 'horns'. Karamoja wear felted hair head-dress. The Sebei wear a large fur helmet, and various feather ornaments.

Labrets, nose-rings, ear-rings (Plate 51)

Various types of labrets and nose-rings are worn by the Teso and Karamoja and large numbers of ear-rings.

Beads, iron beads (Plate 53)

Masses of beads are worn on the necks by all the tribes, especially by women of the Karamoja. Iron beads and cylinders are typical of the culture.

Neck-rings (Plate 52); *Bangles, arm ornaments* (Plates 53, 54)

Iron neck-rings are worn by all three tribes. Heavy metal, ivory, and coiled metal are worn on the arms by the Teso and Karamoja; while both tribes wear the large boat-shaped arm ornament, and the tail arm ornament; the Teso also wear the tortoiseshell rattle on the arm.

Anklets, pellet bells, strung-seed rattles (plate 55)

Light iron anklets are worn by all three tribes and pellet bells on the ankles; the Teso wear strung-seed rattles on the legs.

WEAPONS AND HUNTING GEAR

Shields (Plate 58)

All tribes use shields of hide, the Karamoja a squared rectangular one, the Sebei one with rounded corners.

Spears (Plates 59, 60)

Short stabbing spears are used by the Teso and Sebei. The spear with a small blade, long shank and long butt, is found among the Teso and Karamoja, the Teso also using a somewhat similar one with a shorter shank having a twisted neck.

A double blood-course spear of the Nyoro type is found among the Teso. Two-headed spears are used by Teso rain-makers. The Teso also use a light short javelin.

The Sebei have an interesting foreshafted spear.

Bows and arrows

Bows and arrows are used by all three tribes. The Sebei use a pronged arrow for birds. The Ngikadama of Karamoja use a large barbed unfeathered wooden arrow.

Wrist knives, finger knives and finger hooks (Plates 67, 14)

The Karamoja use finger knives, finger hooks and wrist knives. The Teso use a finger knife for harvesting which probably originated as a weapon.

Traps (Plates 68, 69)

The Karamoja and Teso use the spiked-wheel trap. The Teso use a non-return basket for catching birds. All use various types of springe. The Teso use the ring of fine nooses for small birds. The Teso use all the common forms of fish-trap.

ART

The Teso carve wooden figures, but these are of no great artistic interest or antiquity.

THE BARI-SPEAKING GROUP

THE KAKWA AND KUKU

The great mass of Nilo-Hamitic tribes which occupy so much of Kenya Colony and a large portion of north-east Uganda also stretch westwards along the southern borders of the Sudan, where we know them as the Bari-speaking and Lotuko-speaking peoples. As they pass westwards they cannot be classified so clearly as Nilo-Hamites, for they have been modified physically and culturally by contact with the western mesaticephalics. But they still retain their Hamitic language.

In the north-west corner of the West Nile district of Uganda the furthest tip of this western spearhead is formed by a comparatively small number of Kakwa and Kuku, two of the Bari-speaking tribes. Here it was halted by counter-pressure from the eastward movement of the Inter-Congo-Nile tribes.

MADI-LUGBARA GROUP

Little is known of the history of the Madi and Lugbara. They are part of a large group of mesaticephals inhabiting the area between the Congo and the Nile,[1] and are physically and linguistically closely related to the Moro, Lendu, Logo, Kaliko and Avukaya, but the larger group includes Shilluk-speaking Nilotics and Bari-speaking Nilo-Hamitics and the more strongly organized Azande people to the north-west. Through successive waves of Zande invasions the tribal groups of the Inter-Nile-Congo district have been broken up and dispersed and intermingled until the whole area is chaotic. A south-eastward drift, until held up by the Luo migration, would seem to have been the general trend of events for these people.

We may imagine that the eastward thrust of the Madi and the southward push of both the Acoli and the Lango were more or less contemporaneous, for we read in Driberg[2] of traditional songs and games among the Lango commemorating combined attacks by the Lango and Acoli against the Madi (in which the latter generally seem to have got the best of it!). This was probably when the Madi advance was beginning to be felt by the Acoli; later the Madi and Acoli came to terms and united against the Lango exerting such pressure as to cause them to turn to the south-east.

The Lugbara have no definite history of ever having been organized as a tribal unit, but have continually fought among themselves in small unorganized groups.[3]

SUMMARY OF THE MATERIAL CULTURES OF THE BARI-SPEAKING AND MADI-LUGBARA GROUPS

The Bari-speaking and the Madi-Lugbara groups are considered together where their material cultures are concerned because there seems to be very little to differentiate them. In fact the only artifact so far known to the writer to be used by the Bari-speaking people and not by the Madi-Lugbara is the peculiar rectangular hoe blade of the Kakwa.

The ironwork technique of the blade which has an ogee curve in cross-section, and the water-cooled pipe having a bamboo water-container in

[1] SELIGMAN: *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, pp. 460 sqq.

[2] DRIBERG: *The Lango*, p. 31.

[3] MCCONNELL: 'Notes on the Lugwari Tribe of Central Africa', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LV. SELIGMAN: *Races of Africa*, pp. 169–72, 180. SELIGMAN: 'Some Little-known Tribes of the Southern Sudan', *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. LV.

place of the more usual gourd, are points which are shared by the Congo-Bantu further south.

The Madi of the north-east are very closely akin to the Acoli in their material culture, and have certain artifacts in common with them which are not generally found among the Madi of the south-west. These include the hoe blade, swallow-tail in outline socketed to the haft, the knife flat or with mid-rib (the ogee-curved one being commoner in the south-west), the technique of three-strand twined weave in basketry, the cotton-reel stool, felted and plumed head-dresses and other artifacts of personal adornment.

Other artifacts belong to the large collection which stretch right across through the West Nile, Luo, Nilo-Hamitic tribes and down into the Kyoga Basin; these are the weeding-tools (the small iron hoe, the shell and the hay-fork), the knob-and-spike food-stirrers, the threaded mat, the horizontal log for a woman's stool and the stool made from a three-pronged branch or root, the plaited bag filter, children's saddles and head covers, labrets, ostrich-eggshell beads, and the large metal and ivory bangles, the spiked-wheel trap and certain bird springes.

Artifacts which are specific to the Madi-Lugbara and Bari-speaking groups are numerous. There are the peculiarly shaped slasher, the small wooden hoe used by women, the long pointed knife used by Madi women, twilled weaving in basketry and the shovel-shaped basket used for food, as a winnowing-tray, and as a covering for a child's head. Water-pots tend to be tall with a wide mouth; there are also the cowrie-shaped pot used for beer, and the water-cooled pipe used for tobacco. Of stools the square-cut leg-and-base type, also the stool with semi-solid sides are found only in this area of Uganda. As in all groups there are certain small peculiarities in clothing and adornment, one of the most striking of which is the large flat iron neck-ring edged with small brass bells of the Madi. Fibre or sometimes chain aprons and fibre 'tails' are worn by the Kakwa, Kuku and Madi, while the Lugbara women wear bunches of leaves.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

Slasher (Plate 12); *wooden hoe* (Plate 13)

The shoulder-of-mutton shaped slasher used by both Madi-Lugbara and Bari-speaking groups is not found east of the Nile, nor is the small wooden hoe also used by women of all four tribes.

Hoe (Plate 13)

The hoe blade is ogee in cross-section, and except for some specimens from the north-east Madi is tanged through the head of the haft. The exceptions referred to are socketed as are some of the Acoli blades. These Madi blades are swallow-tail in outline. The Kakwa hoe blade is rectangular in shape.

Weeding tools (Plate 14)

The group of weeding tools (the small digging-stick, small iron weeding hoe, shell and hay-fork) are used throughout the area (the small iron hoe is not recorded from the Kakwa and Kuku, but information here is not complete).

Knives (Plate 14)

The slaughtering-knife is usually ogee-curved among the Kakwa and Kuku, often flat or with a mid-rib among the Madi and Lugbara.

Winnowing-tray (Plate 15)

All four tribes use a shovel-shaped winnowing-tray of twilled weave; the Madi and Lugbara have also a round one of three-strand twined weave.

FOOD VESSELS AND PIPES

Gourd Vessels (Plate 16)

Gourd vessels are typical of grain-eating people as are also clay pots.

Pots (Plates 20, 22)

Water-pots tend to have wider mouths than elsewhere. The cowrie-shaped pot used for beer by the Lugbara, Kakwa and Kuku is not used elsewhere. Wooden vessels are not used for food or drink.

Pipes (Plate 26)

The Madi and Lugbara smoke their tobacco in a water-cooled pipe with a small clay bowl, all four tribes smoke bhang in water-cooled pipes. The Kakwa and Kuku having a bamboo water container in place of a gourd.

BASKETRY (Plates 29, 30, 32)

The Madi sometimes use the basketry technique of three-strand twined weave, but the usual technique is twilled weave; a shovel-shaped basket of this weave is used for serving food, winnowing and covering babies from the sun. Mats are threaded.

STOOLS (Plates 34, 35, 36)

The stools used consist of the square-cut leg-and-base stool used by all four tribes, stools with semi-solid sides used by Madi and Lugbara, the horizontal log for women used by Kakwa and Kuku, and the palm-stem stool used by all the tribes.

MISCELLANEOUS HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS

Food-stirrers and beer filters (Plate 39)

All four tribes use the ladle, knob, and spike types of food-stirrers and a plaited bag beer filter.

Children's covers and saddles (Plate 41)

The shovel-shaped covers to protect children riding on their mother's

backs have been mentioned; with these are found elaborately made 'saddles'.

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

(Plate 43)

Little is worn in the way of clothing.

Head-dresses (Plate 47)

The north-east Madi wear felted and plumed head-dresses like those of the Acoli; Lugbara girls wear miniature hoods like a baby's head-cover, when dancing.

Facial ornament (Plate 51)

These tribes on the whole wear less ornamentation than Luo, although it is of the same type. The Madi and Lugbara wear labrets, the Lugbara and Kakwa nose-rings, all wear various kinds of ear-rings.

Necklaces, etc. (Plate 52)

Necklaces of ostrich-eggshell discs are worn by all four tribes, the Kakwa and Kuku use segments of snail-shell in the same way. The Madi wear necklaces of elephant or giraffe hair with a bead or two.

The Madi have a flat metal neck-ring with a fringe of small brass bells. All wear light iron neck-rings.

Bangles and arm ornaments (Plates 53, 54)

Heavy and lighter metal and ivory bangles are worn by all with iron anklets worn by the women. Coiled metal is worn by the Madi and Lugbara, and the Madi also have the 'tail' arm ornament.

WEAPONS AND HUNTING GEAR

Shields, spears (Plate 59)

The West Nile tribes do not use shields.

The blades of the West Nile Spears are usually recognizable owing to their square-shouldered appearance, tapering point and burnished edges and mid-rib. The hafts are often of bamboo.

Bows and arrows (Plates 61, 65)

All use bows and arrows; the north Madi bow is identical with that used by the eastern Acoli. Their arrows are unfeathered, the shank is often barbed; they are often without blades.

Knives, etc. (Plate 66)

The north Madi have similar swords to the Acoli. Hunting-knives have usually an ogee curve in cross-section.

Traps (Plates 68, 69)

All tribes use the spiked-wheel trap. Various forms of springe are used

for birds and game. The fine noose on the end of a reed for small birds is used by all; the Madi use the ring of small nooses also. The common forms of fish trap are also used.

LATER HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Opening Up of Uganda

The developments of the last sixty years have probably caused far greater changes than all the centuries of tribal wandering in the past, and some comparatively recent events which must be taken into account are suggested below. No attempt is made to evaluate their separate influence, for each one is but a pointer to the whole course of change brought about by European occupation.

Entrance into Uganda and contact with the outer world came until some sixty years ago from the south-west or the north; trade with Arabs from the coast, and indirectly with Europe, through Karagwe to the west of Lake Victoria, appears to have started as early as the end of the eighteenth century. Egyptian expeditions up the Nile in search of slaves and ivory had reached Gondokoro before the middle of the nineteenth century, and by the time of Sir Samuel Baker's arrival as Governor of Equatoria these slave-raiding expeditions were having a serious effect on the populations of the Albert Nile country and Bunyoro. The eastern route from the coast across Lake Victoria or through Busoga was not opened until after the murder of Bishop Hannington in 1885. In 1912 the Busoga railway was opened and in 1931 the Jinja bridge was completed so that the main line from the coast could run direct to Kampala. Every year has seen the building of fresh all-weather roads into all parts of the country bringing trade and money and the inevitable stir-up of the old modes of life.

The Break-up of the Old Kingdoms and the Fixing of Modern Political Boundaries

The breaking-up and re-forming of tribal groups is a process which must have been continuously taking place in the past, but it has been further complicated during the last sixty years by the intervention of the British Government. In some cases the adherence of small tribal groups to the larger kingdoms, which had always been in a fluid state, was fixed permanently as the British found it in their first contact with the people. Other larger political issues decided the destiny of large sections of the people in the Gondokoro, Nimule and West Nile districts which were exchanged between the Protectorate Government and that of the Sudan, and similarly of the old Eastern Province of Uganda (which reached as far east as Naivasha) and the Rudolf Province which were handed over to Kenya.

Movement of the Male Population due to Recent Wars and the Movement of Labour

Recruiting during both the world wars must have resulted in a very large number of Africans from remote districts being brought into contact with others whose cultural background was very different, and with imported tools and utensils which otherwise might never have been used in their own home.

Another development, the importance of which is difficult to assess at the present time, is the increased production of sugar and cotton in Buganda and the opening up of mines in various parts of the country. These have led to the immigration of labour from the West Nile, and on a far larger scale from Ruanda. It is estimated that at the present time (1949) over one hundred thousand Ruanda natives enter Uganda every year, of these all who return take back with them goods purchased in Uganda; a certain proportion remain and settle bringing their women with them; it is not the place of this book to point out the problems that will arise from this tribal movement, but we must realize that the interchange of such things as baskets, tools, musical instruments and food vessels must be taking place all along the roads by which these people pass.

The Effect of Education

Finally the effect of the school, the church, the *duka*, and medical propaganda cannot be underestimated. However much one may wish to preserve the tribal individuality of the past, it has to be admitted that education brings a larger, though possibly not a happier, view of life. Old huts, old customs are seen to be unhygienic; old tools cumbersome and inefficient, old beliefs crude and illogical, old clothes childish and picturesque. So they are thrown on the scrap-heap by a younger generation which has not yet learnt to discriminate or to value its past.

CHAPTER II

THE THREE STAPLE DIETS

In our brief survey of the ethnic history of Uganda we have seen that the controlling factor in the lives of the people is a geographical one; that physical conditions such as rainfall, altitude, proximity to forest, lake, or grassland will decide whether the land shall be occupied by a hunting or fishing community, by pastoralist or agriculturalist, rich or poor, progressive or primitive, servile or free. We have followed what little is known of the wanderings of the early invaders and have seen how the various racial groups have occupied the country most fitted to their traditional way of life, and in some cases how that way of life has had to be modified or even changed completely owing to the geographical conditions of the country in which they have settled; we have seen how wave after wave of migration has resulted in one culture being superimposed upon another, and how modern contact with western civilization with its accelerated pace is fast breaking down what tribal barriers remain.

Before proceeding to a detailed study of the homes and artifacts of these peoples, we must try to draw a more concrete picture of the three great divisions which cut across all tribal and racial groupings, a background to the lives of those whose staple diet is respectively grain, plantains, and milk.

For in a simple community, however deeply life is ruled by ritual ceremony and contact with the spirit world, however significant are the calls of tribal custom and social contact, the outward activities of most hours of the day are centred round the food-pot. The African housewife has no desire to hurry through the day's work; the African husband sees no reason to 'finish for the day' at four o'clock; the daily routine of preparing and enjoying the food and the beer and of watching over the cattle meanders slowly on; there are times and seasons for love-making and dancing, for playing the flute and beating the drum; life has a unity and a pattern woven round the simple necessities of life, house-building, digging, reaping, cooking, love-making, birth, and death. The contents of the food-pot, then, will give us a clue to the whole way of life of a tribe from which we can build up a concrete picture of its homes and surroundings; our picture will be a composite one, a generalized background against which material cultures may be displayed, no tribe will completely fit the picture, for no tribe is purely pastoral or agricultural or cut off from other factors which will modify its life.

The Grain-eaters

The distinguishing features of the village where grain and leguminous crops such as peas and beans form the staple diet will be the provision of

hard, beaten ground space either within or without the *boma* where the harvest is winnowed and spread out to dry. There will be large granaries and smaller stores of various types to hold secondary crops. There will be tools for clearing the land, digging, and harvesting; and baskets of all sizes to carry and store the grain and ground-up flour. There will be flails, winnowing-trays, and mats on which to spread the drying grain, pestles and mortars, grinding-stones and stirring-sticks for making gruel. The slow process of germinating and fermenting the grain will require a considerable number of pots, large pots too will be needed to hold the millet beer when it is brewed. The preparation of gruel and beer takes many days. First the grain is put in a lake or stream or in a jar of water underground for a few days to germinate, then it is spread out to dry and in some cases mixed with ashes (to provide salt). It is then pounded in the mortar and ground to flour between the grinding-stones, then mixed with water and boiled at intervals for a week or more, freshly-ground flour being added from time to time. At various stages it will be ready to be eaten as gruel or drunk as mild and, finally, strong beer.

The Plantain-eaters

While the huts of the grain-growing peoples are usually surrounded by a high, protecting hedge of thorn or euphorbia, those of the plantain-eaters nestle snugly in the hot shade of their banana gardens. The women prepare the food in the groves; the men stamp out the banana beer in large wooden 'canoes' in the clearing by the huts and strain it off into great calabashes, which when not in use are stacked below the eaves.

The special artifacts needed by the cultivators of plantains are fewer than those of either the grain-eaters or pastoralists, for plantains cannot be stored, but are cut fresh from day to day. Here then is no multiplicity of granaries and out-buildings, no great collection of storage baskets or jars. The preparation of a meal entails no more than a peeling-knife, a shallow wide-mouthed pot in which the plantains wrapped in banana leaves are steamed, and the deep tray of coiled basketry in which they are served.

The Pastoralists

The arrival of the Hamitic pastoralists in South-west Uganda brought a culture that differed from that of the Bantu in two diametrically opposite directions. It was a culture that had a nicety and refinement about it which the Bantu lacked. Not only were many of its artifacts, its spears, wooden food-vessels, milk-pots and small baskets far superior to those of the Bantu but it had also developed elaborate ceremonies concerning the use and care of milk and all else that pertained to its herds, and a ritualistic way of life which the more simple agriculturalists did not know. This is most clearly seen where the Hamite has settled down and become the ruling class. Here he has been able to build up and develop his

tradition until court ceremonies at certain seasons or hours of the day, and especially ceremonies concerning the King's milk, have been evolved to a remarkable degree. On the other hand the pastoralist is at heart a nomad, he must follow his herds to fresh pastures and better water supplies, he must be always on the move so that he will tend not to accumulate the varied collection of stools, pots and baskets that the agriculturalist piles up in his store; to him the calabash will act as a vessel for all but the precious milk, and even for that it has its uses. His kraal will probably be permanent with smaller temporary huts far away on other grazing grounds, within the kraal all is subsidiary to the needs of the cattle. Huts for the older calves and a stake for the bull take up the centre of the ground; an untidy mass of brush-wood is piled up round the huts lest the cattle should eat the thatch. Within the hut is a raised platform, the step of which is often decorated with mud pattern; on this stand the many milk-pots and churns, while on the walls hang the pot-nets, fumigators for cleaning the pots, blooding-arrows, thongs for tying the cattle, brushes for grooming the cattle, spears for guarding the cattle, sticks for driving the cattle, and buckets for watering the cattle.

Outside in the kraal the smoke fires are lit before the cattle enter at dusk; over these the various compounds of blood and soured milk or butter are brewed. The men do no work but herding, the women have no tasks but the tending of the milk-vessels.

Their musical instruments are few, often decorated with cattle symbols; their minstrels tell of the great herds of old, their singers imitate the swish of the herd as it moves through the long grass; their dancers sway their arms as the great horns sway when the cattle move down to the water.

CHAPTER III

VILLAGES

CONGO BANTU VILLAGES

AMBA VILLAGE (PLATE 1)

Composition of Village

THE Amba village is large, being a clan settlement of a large number of family groups each of ten or more huts within its own enclosure spread out over the clan land.

Lay-out of Family Group of Huts

The huts of one family group are arranged in two lines facing each other, the whole being known as *ekitali*. In the centre of the village street is the men's club-house (*ekiitubi*), a large hut where the men spend most of their day, eating, smoking, talking, and resting on long, pronged, branch seats; here, too, young boys are instructed in the lore of the tribe. Weapons and tools are kept there, and the huts have several openings so that the men may get out quickly if a quarrel begins. In a large family group there might be more than one of these club-houses.

Behind the huts are the grain-stores and a small hut for storing weapons.

The stockade or hedge round the group of huts has a gateway at either end of the street which is blocked and guarded night and day.

Older children sleep in a separate hut.

The Hut

The hut has only one entrance; the thatch is of grass or bamboo. A partition wall with an opening in its centre divides the front portion from the back. In the front portion are kept fowls and goats and firewood; in the larger back portion are the sleeping-places and the 'sleeping-place for the spirit': this is walled off and is also used for prayer. A fire is kept burning day and night in the centre of the hut and food is stored on a platform round it.

In some huts, especially that of the chief wife of the family group, the doorway is built out into a roomy porch where the women and girls can sit and eat.

KONJO VILLAGE

Composition of Village

The Konjo village or settlement is in many respects like that of the Amba, with the difference that each separate group or 'street' of family

huts has no stockade but the whole clan settlement consisting of many family groups is surrounded by a fence, the ground thus enclosed covering a very large area.

Lay-out of Family Group of Huts

The lay-out of each family group is very similar to that of the Amba; it consists of a row of huts each side of a village 'street', with the men's club-house (*kyanga*), where cases are heard and so on, in the centre, and a hut for older children (*kirimba*) where the boys sleep and are instructed.

The Hut

The hut resembles that of the Amba, with an enlarged porch, but is also rather like the huts of the Kiga as it has a fire-place in the front portion for cooking and a secondary one for warmth in the sleeping portion at the back.

A unique feature would seem to be the *akatanda*, or sleeping-place for the goats, situated in a corner of the front portion of the hut. The Konjo build here a raised platform of logs upon which the sheep and goats sleep; urine and droppings are supposed to fall through on to the ground beneath, from where they can be raked out through a hole in the wall.

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU VILLAGES

In this section three types of village are described; the first, a Kiga village, is typical of a poor agricultural or semi-pastoral village, distinctly influenced in its culture by the Hamitic invasion but keeping many Bantu characteristics. The second is a Hima kraal, showing the nomadic home of the pastoralist, where the only highly developed artifacts are those connected with milk. The third, a Ganda chief's village, shows the highest development in hut-building, where the Hamitic influence has been absorbed with its higher sense of craftsmanship and design, and has been adapted to the static life of the comparatively wealthy agriculturist.

A KIGA VILLAGE

Typical poor agricultural or semi-pastoral community. PLATES 2, 3

The Bantu peasant, in country where the Hamitic conquerors have exerted but a neighbourly influence—such as the Kiga of Kigezi—and the Bantu peasant in countries where the two cultures have remained widely separated although superimposed—such as the Iru-Hima in Nkole and the Hutu-Tusi in South-west Uganda—have taken over a great deal from the later invaders but have also retained much of their own way of life.

The Kiga are typical of this group; a grain-eating people, with plantains cultivated in certain areas; and small herds of cattle numbering from six to twenty kept by most families, at any rate in the more open, grass-growing districts.

Composition of Village

The Kiga village is small, consisting of the huts of a man and his wives and children; a married son will build his house in his father's village and remain there until he takes his second wife. Both grown-up sons and daughters may stay in their mother's hut until marriage, although older boys often sleep in the hut which serves as the village store.

Lay-out of Village

The village will usually be protected with a strong circular hedge of *Euphorbia media* or *kirikiti* (*Erythrina abyssinica*), with one opening which is barred by logs at night. In country where defence from wild beasts is not a great problem, huts will be built protruding half out from the protecting hedge, or in some cases right outside but with the hedge reaching up to their doors.

The huts, usually from two to eight in number, will be built in a circle with their doors facing inwards, and that of the chief wife facing the entrance to the kraal. If the village is a small one with only a few cattle, the grain-stores will be built in the centre of the kraal; if it is large or possesses a considerable number of cattle, the grain-stores will form an inner ring and some will be built out in the open behind the kraal. There is usually a post to which the bull may be tied; calves are tethered to the grain-stores and there will be one or more mud or basketry chicken-houses. Grown cattle and sheep will be left loose within the kraal at night.

Near the entrance to the kraal is a hut which externally differs little from the rest but which has no interior partitions; this is used as a store for hides, pots, baskets, fish traps, hunting nets, etc.; here sleep the goats, and here older boys may often sleep, or the master of the house if he does not wish to be with any of his wives. The chief winnowing ground, a large smooth well-beaten space, is usually outside the kraal fence as the cattle and goats trample the floor of the enclosure into innumerable bumps and furrows; but grain is spread out on mats to dry and winnowed spasmodically, at all hours of the day anywhere within the kraal.

The Hut (*enzhu*)

The hut is circular and made entirely of sticks or bamboo and grass. The cone-shaped framework of the roof is made first and consists of a coiled spiral of pliant sticks or bamboos with split bamboo spokes. This is surmounted by a pointed stick about 45 cm. long over which a broken cooking-pot is often inverted.

Upright poles 180 cm. high are set in a circle, leaving a space some hundred cm. wide for the door; these are strengthened with horizontal rings about 30 cm. apart.

The framework of the roof is lowered into place and the tops of the wall-stakes bent down and lashed to it; the hut is then thatched roughly with grass, beginning from the bottom up, a slightly projecting hood being

fashioned over the entrance. Within, the hut is partitioned by wicker-work walls, sometimes plastered with mud, about 180 cm. high.

One wall stretches right across the hut with an opening in the centre dividing it into two sections, the back being rather larger. This back section is subdivided, making a larger compartment on the left. A third wall cuts off a small room to the left of the entrance. The openings of these rooms are covered with a matting screen, or the walls may be so built that they overlap, making it impossible to see in.

The accompanying plan shows the arrangement of the hut. Cooking is done on the fire to the right of the entrance except when visitors are present, when the wife will retire to the fireplace in the inner room. There is no outlet for smoke except the doorway.

Grain-stores

There are two types of grain store; the larger, *ekitara*, used to hold millet, the smaller, *ekihumi*, for peas, beans, etc.

Ekitara. This consists of a basket, about 150 cm. in diameter and 300 cm. high, of papyrus or split bamboo, either sewn or woven, resting on a large stone or logs and supported by about eight posts. An opening about 60 cm. wide is left at the top on one side; beneath this a projecting piece of wood acts as a step. A separate umbrella-like roof, roughly thatched, covers the store, and dried pea-stalks are often heaped on top.

Ekihumi. This is similar in construction to *ekitara*, but the basket stands about 120 cm. high and is 60 cm. in diameter at the top and 30 cm. at the base. The outside of the basket is covered with a clay and cow-dung mixture. Another type of *ekihumi* has a basket which is exactly similar to the *ekitara*, but only stands some 120 cm. high and is a 100 cm. in diameter.

Both hut-building and the making of the grain stores are the work of the men.

A HIMA VILLAGE

Typical home of the semi-nomadic pastoralist. PLATES 4, 5

Composition of Village[1]

There are two types of Hima kraal, one a small family affair consisting of a few huts only and known as *ekyayente*, and the other larger type, *amahirane*, which is found chiefly in lion-country, containing upwards of two hundred men of all clans. The owner of the greatest number of cattle would be the head of the kraal; poorer men with fewer cattle would join themselves to him, and others with no cattle at all would earn their keep working with the cattle of others.

Lay-out of Village

The village is fenced with a strong circle of stakes and branches set with the thorns outwards; the site chosen being on a slight slope, so that

[1] MACINTOSH: *Some Notes on the Abahima and the Cattle Industry of Ankole.*

the dung-heap (*orubungo*) on the lower side, drains away from the huts. A small kraal would have its entrance on the higher slope; a large one would have several entrances on various sides. These entrances would be closed at night with heavy logs (*emihingo*). Some large kraals are divided by inner fences into several sections.

The Living Huts

Enzhu are built round the upper side of the kraal, facing towards the central space (*ekibuga*).

Although in certain crafts the Hamite would seem to have a higher standard of workmanship and aesthetic taste than the Bantu, yet when he has remained pastoral his nomadic life has resulted in a very rough-and-ready type of hut, fine reed-work and decoration being left to those who have settled down and become the aristocracy in an Inter-lacustrine Bantu community.

The pastoral hut has a light framework of sticks or reed, the base of the poles being set in a circle marked out on the ground, the tops being tied together, and bands of hoops tied round horizontally at a distance of about 30 cm. The whole construction from apex to ground is then roughly thatched; brushwood is spread over the thatch to prevent the cattle from eating it at night.

Inner partitions of matting and skin, or mud and wattle in the more permanent buildings, are put up, dividing the hut into three or four sections.

The front portion of the hut is used for sitting in by day. On the right-hand side of the doorway in the section called *akarugu* are piled the clean empty milk-pots (*ekyanzi* and *enkongoro*) ready for the next milking. Other things connected with milking and drawing of blood from the cattle will be here too, the blooding arrow (*ekirasho*); the rope to tie the cattle (*mboha*); the wooden bucket for watering the cattle (*eicuba*); and the earthenware pot (*ekicunga*) used to fumigate the wooden milk-pots.

Behind this at the back of the hut on the right-hand side is a section partitioned off as the sleeping place of the owner and his wife (*ekitabo*).

Screened off too, at the back of the hut is another room called *entarure*; any guests would sleep here, and normally the room would be for the use of the owner of the house.

On the left of the back is the *orugege*, a platform of earth raised some six inches above the ground level. The front edge of this platform is often decorated with symbolic mud patterns in black, white and red. On this stand all the milk-pots, churns and gourds containing milk in their various stages of preparation. Unmarried girls belonging to the hut sleep close to the *orugege*.

On the left of the doorway towards the centre of the hut is the fire-place (*amahega*); no cooking is done in the hut, the fire being for light and warmth only. This part of the hut is also called *akaruga*.

Pots and baskets containing women's private possessions are thrust into the thatched sides of the hut; the man's pipe, stick, and spear are usually conspicuous in the centre, while various oddments hang in ropes and nets from the roof. The floor is covered with grass (*eyozho*). Very young calves sleep in the huts, in the *akaruga*, or in an extension built on to the hut and entered through it. The Hima keep no goats, but a few sheep are run with the herds 'for luck' and to protect them from lightning.

The inside of the wall of a Hima hut is often covered with pattern in black and white earths; some traditional motifs are shown in Plate 5.

Spirit Huts (*endaro*)

Near the living huts are the spirit huts, dedicated to the gods and ancestor spirits. These huts are from 50 to 60 cm. high and are built exactly as an ordinary hut would be.

Calves' Huts (*ebihongore*)

Larger calves are housed in small huts towards the centre of the kraal.

Cattle Pens (*Ebigombe*)

Larger calves still are penned in small enclosures. Bulls are tethered to stakes, and the rest of the herd roam free within the kraal.

Fires (*ekomi*)

On the lower slopes of the kraal a number of smoke fires are kept burning all the time that the cattle are in the kraal; here the blood and milk dishes are cooked.

THE LUBIRI OF THE GANDA KABAKA

Representing the highest stage of development in building among the Inter-lacustrine Bantu. PLATES 6, 7

The most elaborate and highly developed buildings in Uganda were undoubtedly those of the chiefs of the Buganda Kingdom, but unfortunately it is the Buganda Kingdom which has had the most concentrated contact with western civilization and has thereby lost so much of her own culture.

Little remains of the traditional enclosures of the Kabaka and greater chiefs, and to get some idea of the dignity and finish of their construction compared with that of other tribal villages it is necessary to read the early writers on Uganda—Speke, Sir Harry Johnston, Sir Apolo Kagwa and Roscoe. Today the best specimens of authentic 'Kiganda' building can be found in Mutesa's tomb and also in certain huts within the *Lubiri* enclosure (the enclosure of the Kabaka's palace).

The fullest description of the old capitals of Uganda with their Royal

Enclosures is given in Roscoe's *The Baganda*,[1] which contains two sketch-plans drawn by the then *Katikkiro* (native Prime Minister) Sir Apolo Kagwa, and the following description of the *Lubiri* is chiefly put together from extracts of that book.

The Capital outside the Royal Enclosure

There was one plan followed, which had been used by the Kings for years without variation. The enclosure was oval-shaped, a mile in length and half-a-mile wide, and the Capital extended five or six miles in front and two miles on either side. The part which was called the back was reserved for the King's wives who had large estates there for the cultivation of plantain trees. . . . The chiefs built their dwellings around the Royal Enclosure, according to their rank and the part of the country to which they belonged. . . .

Each principal chief was given a site on the side of the Capital nearest his own district that he might not have to pass through the ground of another chief on his way in and out of the capital; here he would build his house with those of his sub-chiefs around him.

The wives of the Kabaka were housed within the *Lubiri* (the royal enclosure) but the Queen herself had her residence and court about a mile away. Both she and the Queen-mother were considered to be of kingly rank and therefore had to live on separate hills from the *Lubiri* with a stream of running water between them as no two kings might live on the same hill.

At the main entrance to the King's enclosure, on the left side, there was a small hut, and in front of it a fire-place which was merely a hole scraped in the ground, about 60 cm. in diameter and 15 cm. deep. In this pit hot embers of the sacred fire were left by day, and by night the fire burned brightly; at daybreak the fire was carried into the hut, and at sunset it was brought out again; the place was called *gombolola*.

This open space before the main entrance to the *Lubiri* was called *Mbuga* and here, behind the sacred fire, stood several shrines dedicated to the principal gods.

The Royal Enclosure (Lubiri)

There was one principal entrance, with a wide gateway and a house to guard it, and eight other gateways, on various sides of the enclosure, which latter were private for the use of either the King or his wives. Each gate had its guardhouses both inside and outside; the gates were kept fastened, and were only opened to those who had a right to pass them. The interior of the enclosure was divided up into large blocks of houses, with wide roads between them, with gates and gate-keepers to guard each block so that even within the enclosure it was impossible for the women to pay visits to one another without permission, or for other visitors to pass in or out without special leave. On the road from the main entrance to the council-chamber were the best houses, and there the strongest guards were stationed. The roads were lined with retainers, who guarded the King and were ready for any emergency. These retainers lived in tents (*kyanjo*) made from cow-hides, as less inflammable than grass, in order to diminish the risks of fire to the royal houses, which were entirely constructed of reeds and grass.

[1] *The Baganda*. ROSCOE: Chaps. VII, VIII, XI.

There were some fifty important houses within the *Lubiri* and many subsidiary ones for slaves and servants. The larger number of these houses belonged to the King's wives, others were waiting rooms, court-houses, houses in which the royal stool and the royal drums were kept, houses where the Kabaka might practise bark-cloth making and smithing, store-houses, kitchens and so on.

The *Lubiri* was divided into a great number of courtyards containing these various houses and groups of houses, each surrounded by a high palisade of canes. The smaller enclosures of the chiefs were divided in a similar way and between the courtyards groves of plantains were often cultivated.

Palisades (Plate 7)

Two types of fence are made by the Ganda, both are of elephant-grass canes and stand about three metres high.

The palisades of the *Lubiri* are of canes stitched perpendicularly on both sides of an inner framework of poles and cane. The horizontal rows of stitching are about thirty cm. apart and at the top are strengthened with a twisted rope of reed. The canes are not cut level at the top but left spiking up at any height in order to prevent people or animals climbing over. The gate, which is about three metres wide, is constructed in a similar manner to the fence and slides along a groove on the inner side; when it is in place it is tied with thongs of cow-hide. The stitch used in fastening the canes of the *Lubiri* gates is a complicated one found on Hima head-mats (Plate 32) and on the belts woven by the Konjo and Amba.

The second type of fence which is found round the enclosure of chiefs has its canes interwoven diagonally in groups forming a large diamond pattern.

The House (*ennyumba*) (Plate 6)

The old type of Ganda chief's house was far larger than the ordinary native hut. The roof was supported not merely by a central pole but by a large number of palm-stems arranged symmetrically in concentric circles from three central poles some six metres high to an outer row which were only just over a metre high.

The whole of the interior of the hut from the apex to the ground was lined with reed-work. Polished reeds were packed closely together perpendicularly and fastened in position by horizontal bands of stitching. The pillars were also entirely covered with reed-work. While the framework of the roof was thus hidden, there were three concentric rings fixed on the inner side of the reed lining; the purpose of these rings seems to have been more decorative than functional. They were bound with red, black and natural coloured cord made from papyrus fibre.

The doorway, which was large enough to enter without stooping, sloped inwards at the same angle as the sides of the house, and the two door-posts

converged towards the top forming a tall oval. Over this entrance, and stretching on either side of it for a distance of about 1½ metres, the roof was built out at a slightly different angle to form a porch. The underside of this as well as the outer wall of the doorway was encased in reed-work. The door itself was of reed-work and slid into place along a groove cut in a log which had been sunk in the floor.

A large house might have a second smaller entrance at the back. The Kiganda house was better thatched than the common hut, being combed and beaten into a fairly orderly surface and shorn off to a smooth edge over the porch and front of the building. The thatch was of fine grass, laid on very thickly, and was often crowned with a pinnacle of flounced thatching.

The floor of the house was covered with cow-dung, beaten and polished until it presented a hard shiny surface; round the outside of the hut and continuing the circle along the front of the porch, a hard saucer-like rim of earth was built up to carry off the water from the roof and to prevent it from flooding the house.

A partition wall divided the front half of the house from the back; this might have a central opening closed with a screen of bark-cloth curtain, or it might not reach completely to the sides of the hut, leaving a passage-way at either end. Other bark-cloth curtains were hung at the sides, dividing off recesses for sleeping-rooms or stores. Before the reign of Kabaka Suna, when raised wooden beds were introduced, daises of beaten earth were made at the sides of the house where the people slept on piles of bark-cloth. The whole floor of the house was strewn daily with fresh grass.

In the centre of the further room, a fireplace, with large logs to keep in the sparks and ashes, was built for warmth and light. Food was always cooked in separate kitchen huts. A portion of the house, usually on the left-hand side of the entrance, was partitioned off for cattle and goats.

THE KYOGA BASIN

THE LUHYA TRIBES AND THE SOUTHERN GISHU

The Luhya tribes and the southern Gishu living on the lower slopes of Mount Elgon lived in constant danger of raids from neighbouring tribes, chiefly from the Masai. They therefore constructed large walled and moated villages. As these are not to be seen today we must be content with the rather vague accounts of the early writers and of descriptions handed down from older Africans.[1]

Composition of Village

The villages were very large and might contain up to a hundred huts and many different families.

[1] PERSSE: 'The Bagwe', *The Uganda Journal*, Vol. III, p. 282.

Lay-out of Village

The whole village was surrounded by a high wall of stakes and clay, and on the outer side of this a deep ditch or moat; this was bridged with tree-trunks leading across to the various entrances. The gateways in the wall were arched over with a clay dome and secured at night with large baulks of timber.

Within the stockade, groups of huts and stores belonging to individual families were divided off by euphorbia hedges. Here each wife had her hut and grain-stores, while the older children slept in dormitory huts.

The Hut

The huts were built with the thatch extending several feet beyond the wall forming a wide veranda all round; on each side of the doorway this veranda was enclosed with subsidiary walls making small rooms. In this enclosed recess on one side of the doorway were kept the grinding-stones, the large one embedded in clay with a channel round in which the flour collected.

The back portion of the hut was partitioned off for goats, and in the larger front portion were two groups of fire-stones, the members of the family sleeping on skins near the fire furthest back in the hut.

NORTH AND WEST ELGON

Roscoe[1] tells us that higher up the mountain the Gishu did not build stockaded villages, although they lived in large communities, but retired into their mountain caves when they saw an enemy coming up from the plains below.

The same authority describes the huts on the west of Elgon (Gwere, Nyuli) as having their walls made of large billets of wood in place of the usual mud and wattle, with a low-pitched thatch of banana leaves.

VILLAGES OF THE LUO, NILO-HAMITE, MADI-LUGBARA AND BARI-SPEAKING GROUPS

(All these tribes have very similar villages, so that those of the Acoli and Lango only have been described in detail; with very brief notes on those of the West Nile, Teso and Karamoja.)

ACOLI. PLATES 8, 9

The site for a new village (*paco*) is chosen by the clan elders; it would be within easy reach of water, with hills behind for protection; often a crop would be grown before a decision was made in order to see if the soil was good.

The villages used to be large, some fifty or more men of one clan living together with their dependants.

[1] ROSCOE: *The Bagesu*, p. 2.

Fence (*gogo* or *cel*)

A strong fence surrounds the village, with one small entrance, which is barricaded and guarded by night. Thorns (*tworo*) are often planted inside this stockade.

Cattle Kraal (*dwol dyang*)

The cattle kraal is usually outside the main stockade, although sometimes it is built within; if so, it will be placed on the lowest slopes of the village enclosure in order that it may drain away from the huts.

Goat-pen (*anok* or *okero*) *and Fowl-house* (*koro*)

Goats, calves, and fowls usually sleep in the huts, but a shelter is sometimes put up for the goats, and a small hut raised high up on poles for the fowls.

Huts (*odi*)

The huts of the married men are ranged round in a circle within the stockade. Each wife has her own hut; here she lives and cooks, and here her young children sleep until puberty.

Seed corn. Tall posts, at the top of which are tied large bundles of seed corn, stand near the house.

Hut (*ot*)

A hut is some 9 metres in diameter. Men collect the poles and women the grass for thatching, women mix the mud for plastering the walls, which is done by men, and finally women level and cow-dung the floors.

The roof is made separately from the walls and is lifted into place before thatching. The thatch reaches low down and overhangs the wall of the house, forming a shallow veranda. The thatch is flounced.

The rings of the roof are called *lawala*, the central pole of the hut *wir*; on this hangs the owner's spear and shield.

On the left-hand side of the hut an inner wall which does not reach right up the roof is built (*kicika*); behind this is the sleeping place of the mother and children (*kabuto*); they sleep on a low earth platform (*kituti*) covered with skins (*pyen*).

In front of the wall is a place for the goats and the fowls (*Dwol dyegi*); and here firewood and grass for the fire are slung in ropes from the roof. Near here are the two grind-stones used for millet and simsim (*kidi rego*).

The fireplace (*keno*) is near the wall on the right-hand side of the hut, and the water-pot (*agulu pi*) stands near the door on the same side in as cool a spot as possible.

Towards the back of the hut the cooking pots (*dak-pi*, *dakwon*, *abino*) are stacked up on earthenware supports (*tedi*).

Near them stands the large grain basket (*dula*) and perhaps a calabash or pot for milk (*agula cak*). Calabashes and pots hang in nets from the roof.

The central part of the front of the hut is called *kabedo*; here the family sit and feed, and the man usually sleeps near the door of his hut to defend it. There may be a raised platform for sitting on (*abam*).

The Acoli hut is outstandingly cleaner and better kept then that of almost any other tribe.

Grain-stores (*dero*)

On either side of the huts stand the grain-stores. The *dero* is of wicker-work, covered with a mixture of mud pounded with grass; it is about 120 cm. in diameter and 120 cm. high; sometimes it is only raised off the ground by large stones, sometimes it is raised on poles to a sufficient height to allow women to sit in the shade beneath it.

Boys' and Girls' Huts (*otogo pa awobe, otogo pa anyira*)

The huts for boys and girls who have reached puberty are placed towards the centre of the enclosure for protection; as a boy married soon after the age of fifteen he was not considered old enough to fight until he was married. The girls' hut would be in charge of an elderly widow. These huts are built exactly like those of the grown men, and the boys' huts are not raised up as those of the Lango.

Central Tree (*abila*)

A large tree often grows in the centre of the village; this gives shade during the heat of the day, and also serves as a watch tower. Here hunters would sacrifice to Jok, and here also ceremonies connected with the birth of twins are performed.

Shrine of the God (*ot Jok*)

The small hut dedicated to Jok is also situated close to the central tree.

LANGO.[1] PLATE 10

Composition of Village

The Lango village consisted of anything up to a hundred and fifty huts, usually, although not always, belonging to men of one clan.

It was split up into a number of smaller family groups separated from each other by 40 or 50 metres; neither family group nor the whole village had any kind of stockade or fence.

The whole village was under the command of an elected leader and his deputy, known as the *Rwot* and *Jago*; these men would be chosen for their courage and power of leadership.

Lay-out of Family Group or Sub-village

The Hut (*ot*)

There would be a number of main huts, one for each wife of each married man in the group.

[1] DRIBERG: *The Lango*, pp. 72 sqq.

Although today in the construction of a round hut the framework of the roof is often made separately from that of the walls, and is lifted into place before thatching, as previously described for Acoli huts, an earlier type had the framework of roof and wall in one piece; the poles being held together by gradated rings narrowing towards the apex of the roof. The roof was then thatched to within a few feet of the ground, where the framework was interwoven with horizontal withies and smeared with mud and cow-dung. This type is still in use.

The Lango hut is arranged inside in much the same way as the Acoli one, with the exception that there is no kind of inner wall or partition. The fireplace is normally towards the back of the hut with cooking pots stacked near it. The other household goods, gourds, pots, grinding-stones, milk vessels, etc., are to the right and left of the entrance. The sleeping platform with its skins, as well as the places where goats and fowls sleep, are further back, and the centre front of the hut is kept clear for sitting in.

Boys and girls sleep in their mothers' huts until they reach puberty.

Bachelors' Huts (*otogo*) (Plate 9)

When a boy becomes too old to sleep in his mother's hut he builds himself a small hut raised some 180 cm. off the ground on high poles, and reached by a rough log ladder. The hut would be only some 150 cm. in diameter and is entered through a small round hole in the wall facing the top of the ladder. These huts would be built behind their fathers' granaries so that the young men might play their part in protecting them.

Unmarried Girls' Huts (*otogo anyira*)

Girls often sleep in their mothers' huts until their marriage, but in olden times they slept in a large hut of the ordinary type under the care of an old woman. Like the bachelor's hut this *otogo anyira* was entered by a small circular hole in place of an ordinary doorway.

Courtyard (*dyekal*)

In front of each hut is a level space of beaten earth where the grain is winnowed and spread out to dry and ferment.

The Outside Fireplace (*otem*)

This is in the *dyekal*, and trees are also grown for shade or wind-breaks. In such shelter under the fire is the log bench (*kongo*) on which the older men sit at night to drink beer. Firewood and grass for lighting fires is also stacked in the *dyekal*.

Large Granaries (*dero*) (Plate 9)

Facing each hut across its courtyard would be one or more large grain-stores holding between one to two tons of grain. These are raised slightly off the ground on a platform of logs supported on stones; they are about 150 cm. in diameter and 150 cm. high. They are of wickerwork heavily

plastered with a mixture of mud, cow-dung and chopped grass, and have a movable roof, roughly conical, of grass over a framework of sticks.

Small Grain-stores (*tua*) (Plate 9)

A small type of grain-store for peas, beans, etc., is also made. This usually stands on posts some 60 to a 100 cm. high, and is itself about 75 cm. high; it is bottle-shaped, with a base of 60 cm. narrowing to about 25 cm. at the top. It may be made with a wicker foundation plastered with mud and cow-dung; but it is sometimes built up of rings of grass soaked in clay with no other foundation. It has the same type of roof as the *dero*.

Several of these might stand together on one platform under a large thatched roof; and one is often kept on the floor of the sleeping hut.

Store (*goga*) (Plate 9)

One more type of building is to be found in the village group, and that is the shed in which are stored all the calabashes, tools, ropes, etc., that cannot be accommodated in the hut. It is built up on posts and has a large opening overhung by a thatched porch.

Cattle Kraal (*awi*)

The cattle kraal, a circular fenced 'boma', is placed fairly near the huts of the village group, if possible in such a position that it may drain away from the village.

NILO-HAMITES

KARAMOJA AND TESO VILLAGES (PLATE 11)

The difference between Karamoja and Teso villages is no greater than that between villages in one part of Karamoja and another, so it will be convenient to consider them altogether.

Composition of Village

In every case the village is inhabited by an extended-family group—a man and his wives, with his sons and their wives and all the unmarried children.

Lay-out of Villages

All villages are surrounded by a strong stockade, usually of euphorbia. In Teso and the Labwor district of Karamoja there is only one entrance, in other parts of Karamoja there would appear to be subsidiary small gateways behind different huts as well as the main gateway, which usually faces north. These gateways would all be blocked with beams of wood at night.

The living-huts are placed in a circle within the stockade, that of the chief wife of the elder of the village being at the far end opposite the main gateway.

Granaries and stores are usually placed on the inner side of the dwelling-huts.

In the centre is another circular fence forming the kraal where the cattle are brought in at night. This has one entrance immediately opposite that of the main stockade.

In Labwor at least, the bachelors' huts are built up on poles with an outer stair like those of the Lango.

In most parts of Karamoja except Labwor each dwelling is placed in its own fenced compound. In the extreme north among the Ndorobo these inner fences are most elaborate. Wayland[1] writes: 'Within the village the huts are grouped in twos and threes so as to communicate, by means of a small opening in the stockade through which one can only crawl, with a tiny compound in which there are two or three groups of cooking stones. Similar doorways, easily closed by means of a raft of sticks tied together, lead from one compound to another. The whole effect is very much that of a compact maze.'

Further south a simple circular fence is built round each hut with its own exit through the main outer stockade, and in Labwor and Teso no inner fencing—except that of the cattle kraal—is built.

The Abila, or central tree, round which are little shrines and stones for sacrificing to the gods and where the hunter places his spears in preparation for the hunt, is also to be found in each village.

The Hut

The huts are thatched with a flounced thatching.

Among the Karamoja, as among the Lango, there is no inner partition within the hut. Pots are piled in one corner, in another are the fire-stones, in fact the whole lay-out is very like that of the Lango.

The Grain-stores

Here again, the granaries are very like those of the Lango except that they are not decorated.

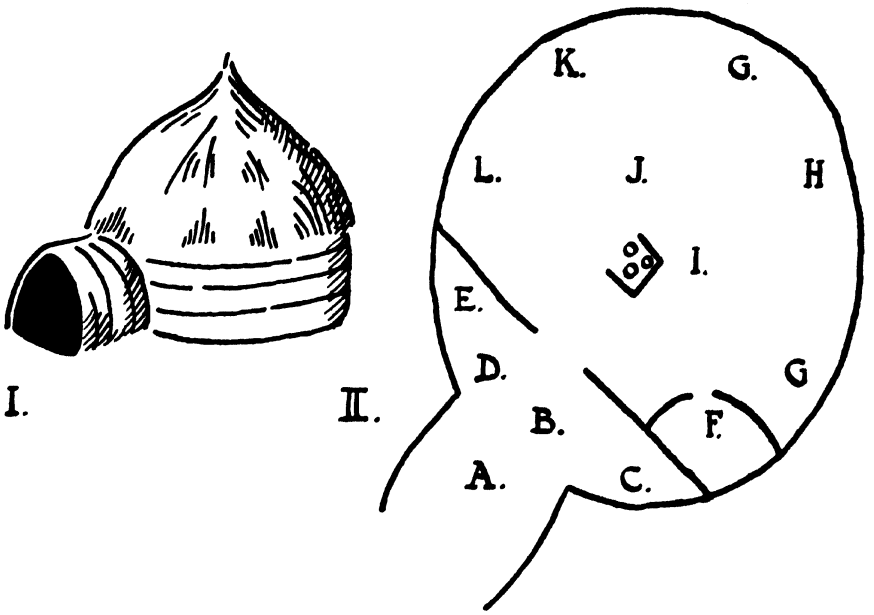
THE WEST NILE TRIBES

LUO (ALUR), LUGBARA-MADI GROUP, AND BARI-SPEAKING KAKWA AND KUKU: SEMI-PASTURALISTS

All the West Nile tribes, whether they be Luo (Alur), Bari-speaking (Kakwa and Kuku) or the Madi-Lugbara group, build their villages in much the same way as the Acoli; the village group is surrounded by a high fence, within which are a circle of living-huts, with granaries on the inner side. The cattle kraal is outside the village fence, and goats' huts and cooking-places are built near each hut.

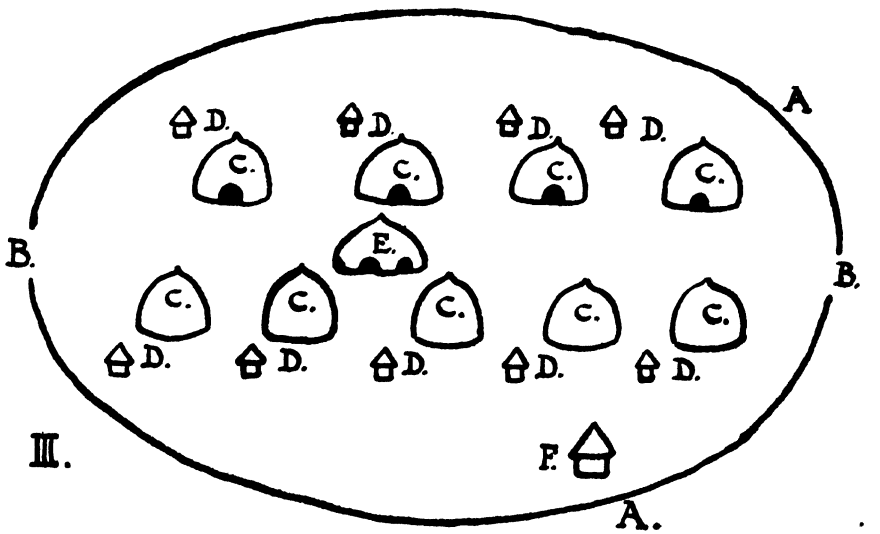
Thatching is flounced, reaching low down to the ground. Lugbara huts have noticeably low doorways often blocked with stones. There are no partition walls within the huts; an inner fireplace is at the back of the hut for warmth and cooking at night.

[1] WAYLAND: 'Preliminary Studies of the Tribes of Karamoja', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXI.



AMBA HUT

A. Porch for women. B. Sitting place. C. Place for hens. D. Firewood. E. Place for goats. F. Bed for spirit. G. Sleeping place. H. Night urinal. I. Fireplace with platform for food. J. Sleeping place for spirit. K. Sleeping place. L. Pots, gourds, &c.

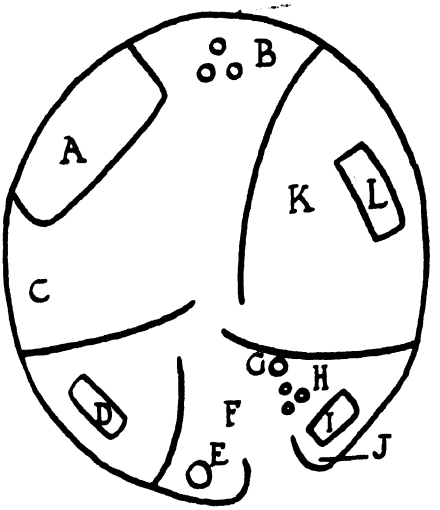


AMBA VILLAGE

A. Stockade. B. Gateways. C. Huts. D. Grain-stores. E. Men's club-house. F. Weapon store.

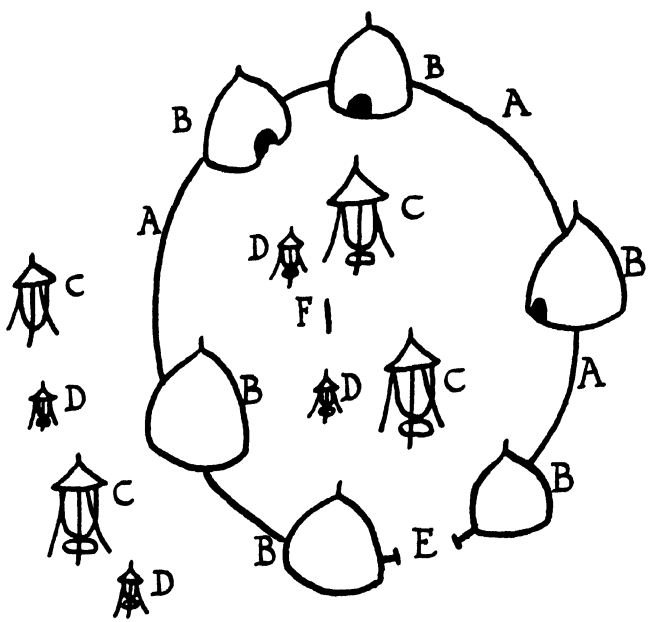
No scale.

PLATE 2



KIGA HUT

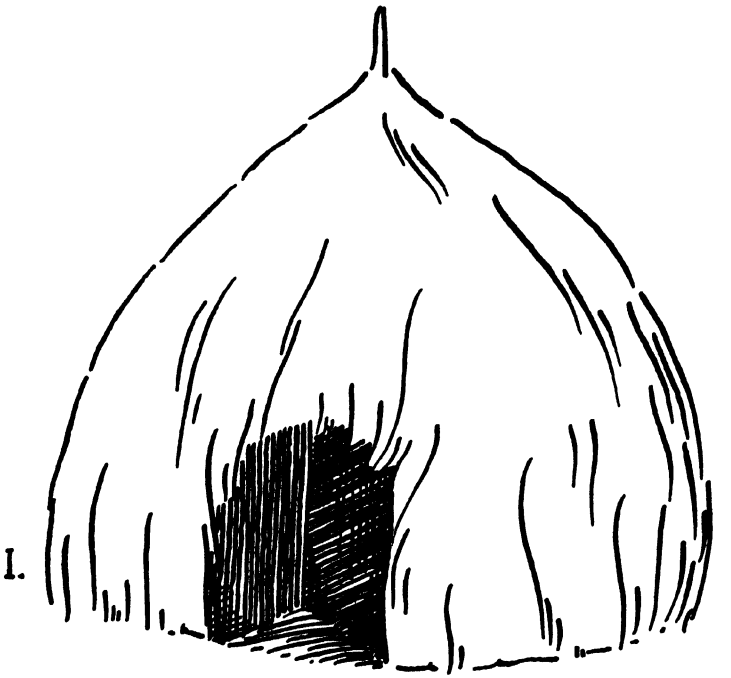
A. Rough table for milk-pots and gourds—*Orujegye*. B. Fireplace. C. Pots on floor, gourds hanging. D. Bed for children—*Ekishengye chabana*. E. Grinding-stone—*Olubeiigo*. F. Sitting place—*Echaragasi*. G. Woman's stool. H. Cooking place—*Amahega*. I. Bench used by man during day and boys at night—*Katabo*. J. Shelf for firewood, pots, &c. K. Woman's room. L. Bed of sticks.



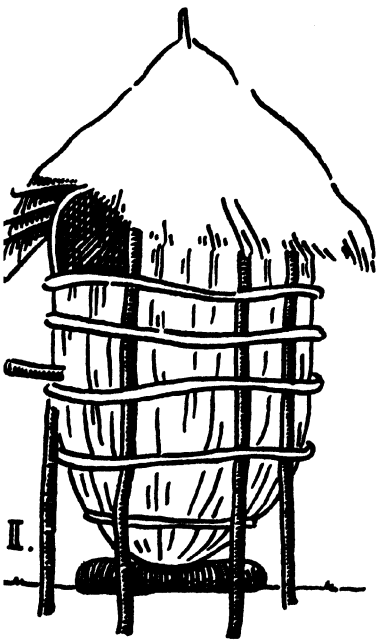
KIGA VILLAGE

A. Hedge. B. Huts—*Enzhu*. C. Large grain-store—*Ekitara*. D. Small grain-store—*Ekihumi*. E. Entrance. F. Stake for bull.

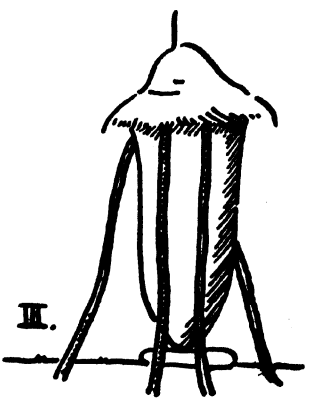
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Hut—*Enzhu.*



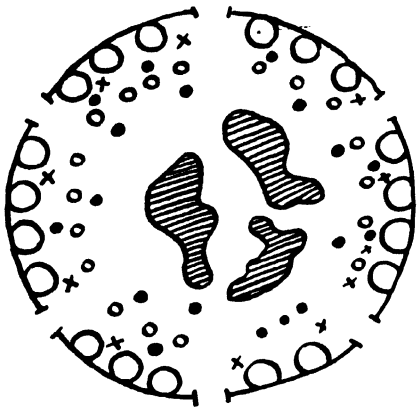
Large grain-store—*Ekitara.*



Small grain-store—*Ekihumi.*

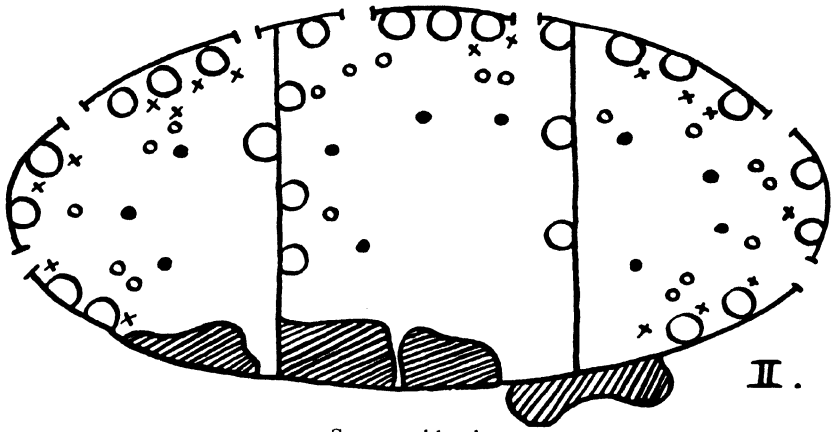
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THREE TYPES OF HIMA KRAAL
(After MacIntosh)



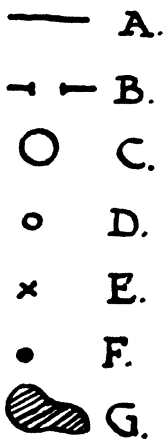
I.

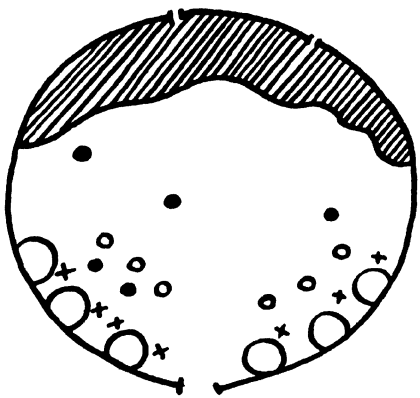
Amahirane.



II.

Segmented kraal.



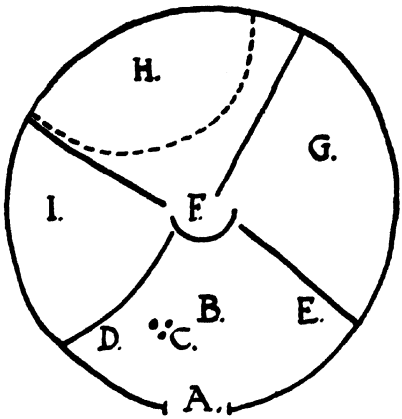


III.

Ekyayente.

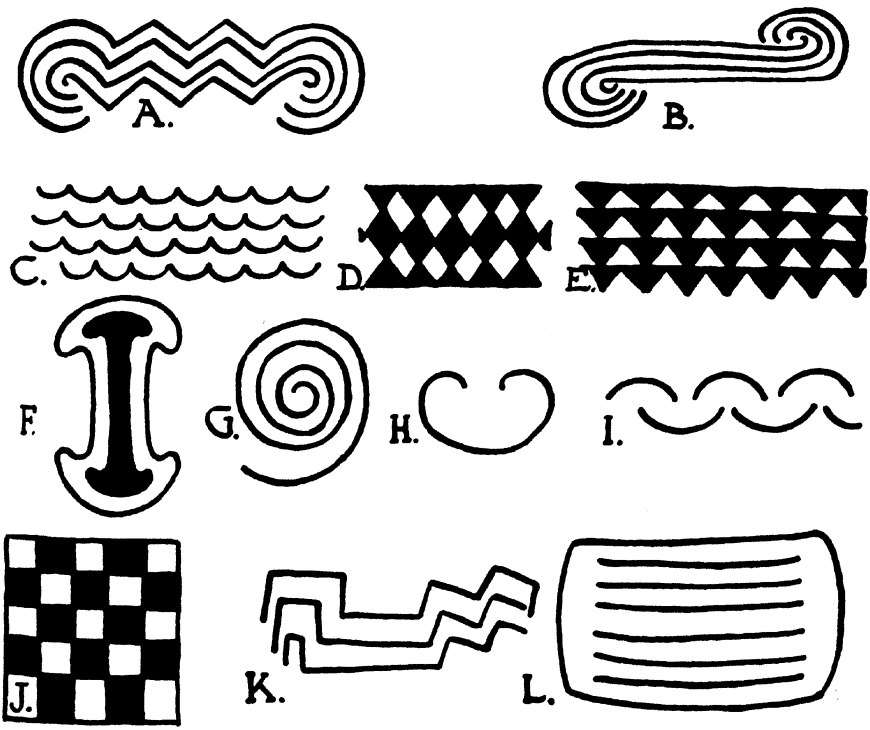
A. Fence—*Orugo.* B. Entrance—*Irembo.* C. Hut—*Enzhu.* D. Calf hut—*Ekihongure.*
E. Spirit hut—*Endaro.* F. Fire—*Ekomi.* G. Dung-heap—*Oribungo.*

No scale.



HIMA HUT

A. Doorway. *Omulyango.* B. Sitting room. C. Fireplace for warmth and light. Not cooking. *Amahega.* D. Place for calves. *Akaruga.* E. Place for milk-pots, etc. *Akaruga.* F. Platform for seating. *Endibatiro.* G. Sleeping room. *Ekitabo.* H. Platform for milk-pots. *Orugege.* I. Sleeping room for visitors. *Entarure.*



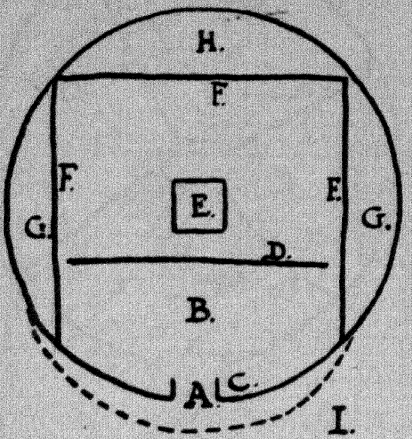
HIMA HUT DECORATIONS

TRADITIONAL MOTIFS USED IN WALL PATTERNS

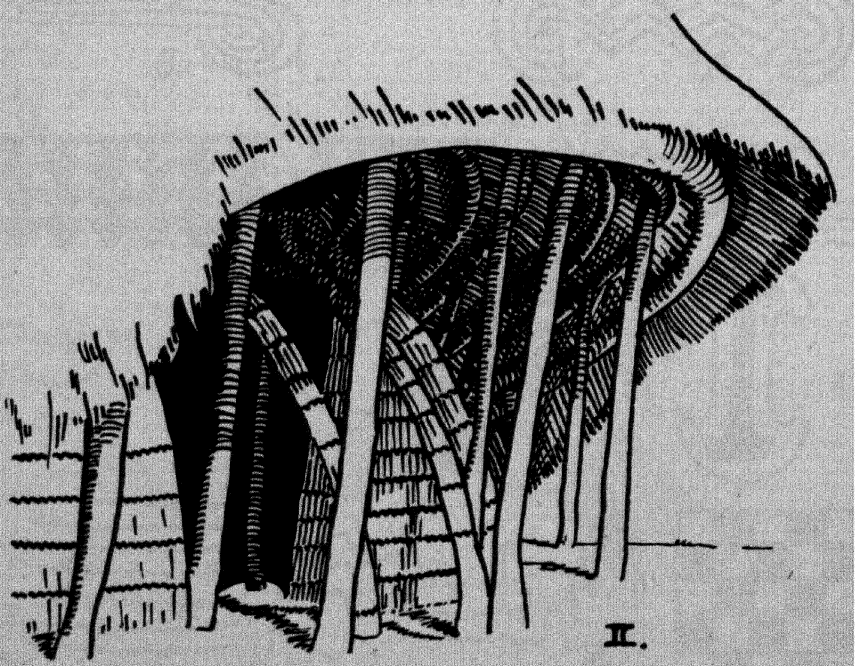
A, B. *Nteko yorugamba.* These patterns are supposed to represent the disposition of an army in war. C. *Engondo.* This is a pattern formerly cut on the arms and breasts of both men and women. D. *Ebisonga.* E. *Akashzigyezo.* F. *Enanga*—the trough zither played by women. G. *Enshunshu*—a pattern cut on the hair. H. *Amahembe gembogo*—buffalo horns. I. *Oqueu.* J. *Ekishoro*—the board used for the game of Mweso. K. *Engondo.* L. *Emitana*—an arrow quiver.

No scale.

GANDA HUT



I.

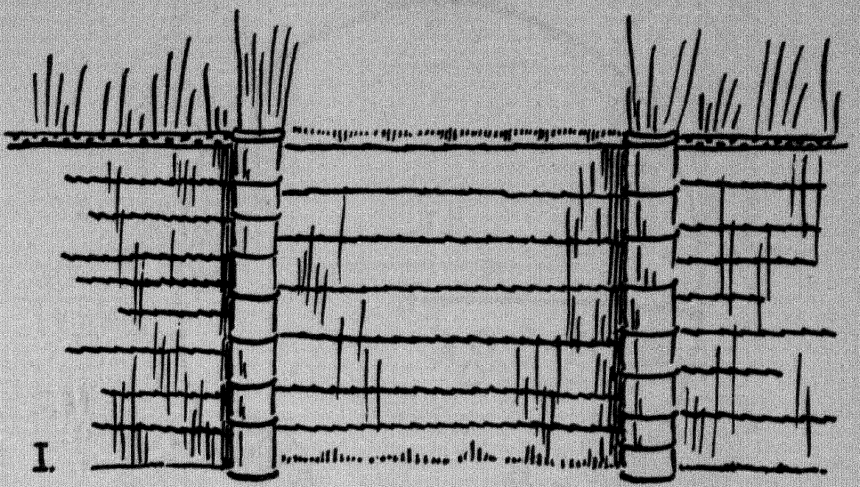


II.

SHOWING INTERIOR REEDWORK, POLES, AND PORCH

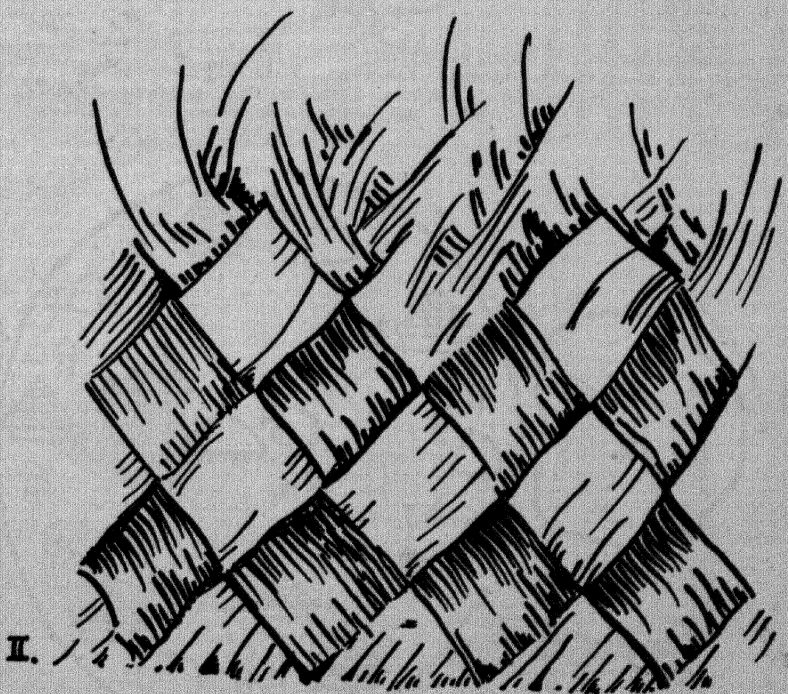
I. A. Porch—*Kisasi*. B. *Dero*—for sitting and eating. C. *Ekisegusi*—recess for pots, hoes, etc. D. *Ekisenge*—reed screen. E. *Ekyoto*—fireplace. F. Barkcloth partitions. G. Sleeping place. H. *Kisibo*—goat pen.

No scale.



I.

Palisade and entrance to *Lubiri*.

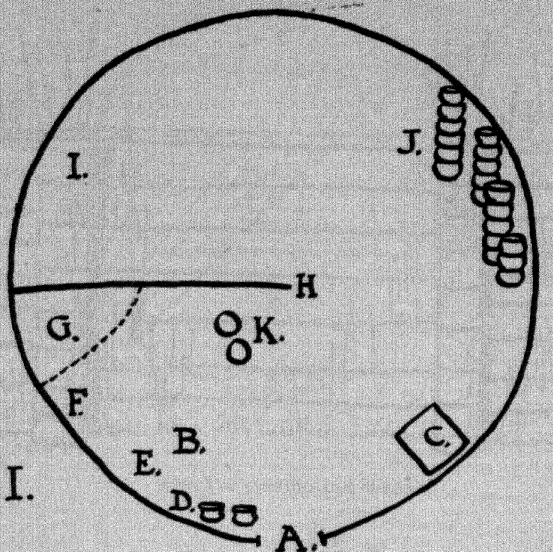


II.

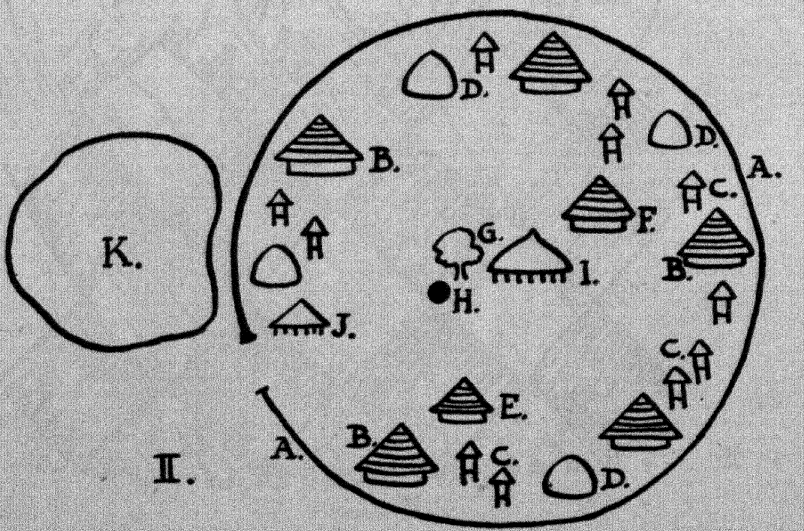
Woven fence.

No scale.

ACOLI HUT



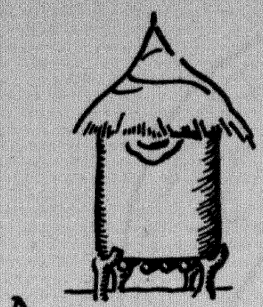
A. Entrance—*Dagola*. B. Sitting place—*Kabedo*. C. Fireplace—*Keno*. D. Water-pots—*Agulupi*. E. Rough shelf for firewood—*Yen ki raa*. F. Chicken place—*Gweno*. G. Goats' place—*Dwol dyegi*. H. Partition wall—*Kicika*. I. Sleeping Platform—*Kabuto wi tuti*. J. Stack of pots—*Agulu*. K. Grindstone—*Kido rego*.



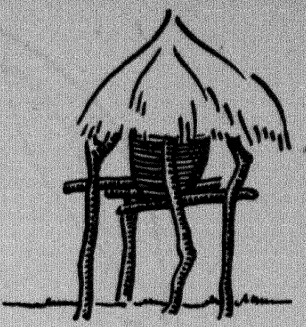
ACOLI VILLAGE

A. Fence—*Gogo* or *Cel*. B. Hut—*Ot*. C. Granary—*Dero*. D. Store—*Goga*. E. Boys' hut—*Otogo pa awobe*. F. Young girls' hut—*Pi anyira* G. Tree—*Abila*. H. Spirit hut—*Ot jor*. I. Shelter—*Over*. J. Goats' hut—*Anok*. K. Cattle kraal—*Dwol dyang*.

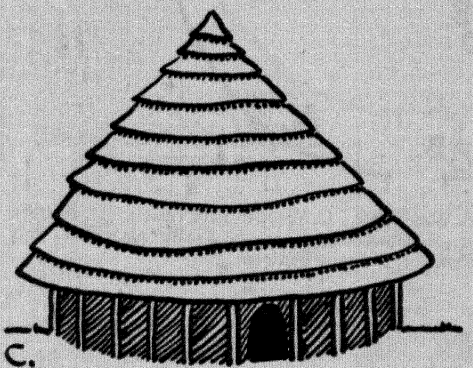
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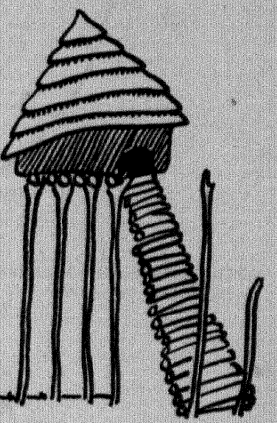
A.



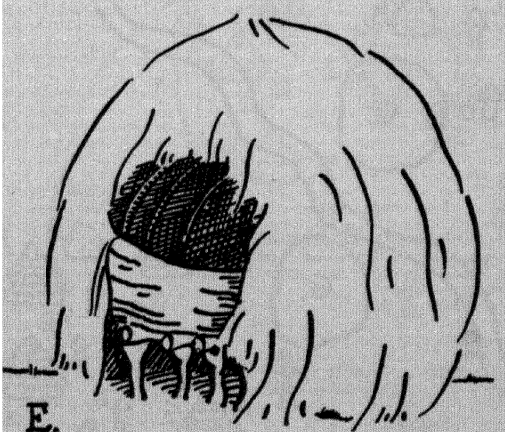
B.



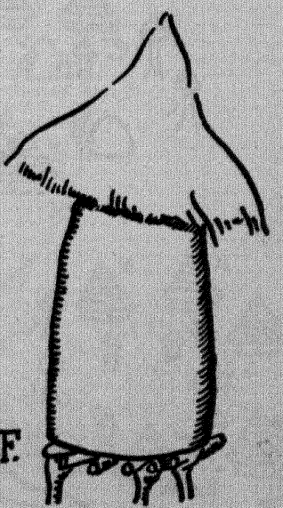
C.



D.



E.



F.

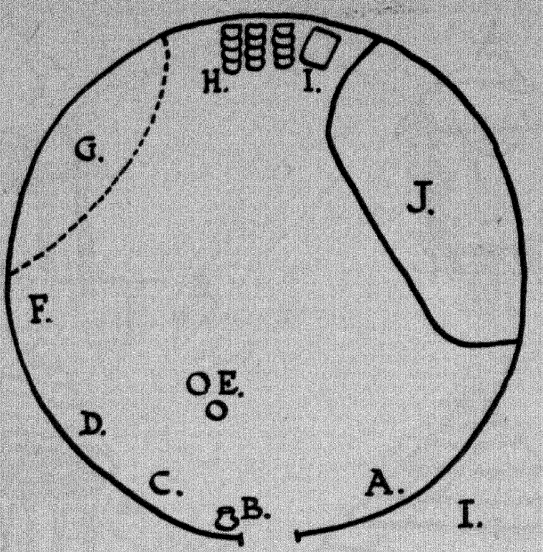
ACOLI AND LANGO

A, B. Two types of *Dero*. C. *Ot*. D. *Otogo*. LANGO. E. *Goga*. F. *Tua*.

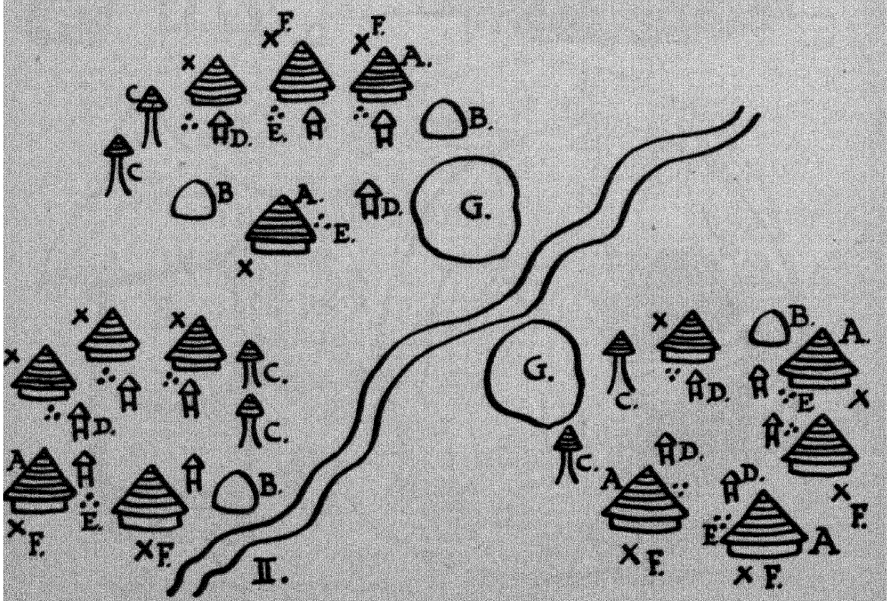
No scale.

PLATE 10

LANGO HUT



A. Gourds and other household goods. B. Water-pots. C. Wooden food vessels. D. Platform for firewood, grass, &c. E. Grindstone. F. Chicken's place. G. Goats' place. H. Pots. I. Fireplace—*Keno*. J. Sleeping platform.

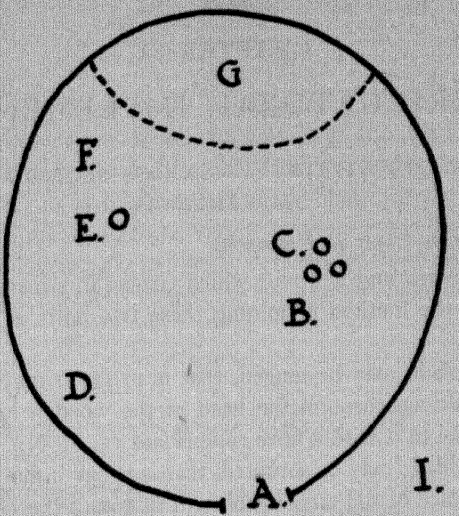


LANGO VILLAGE

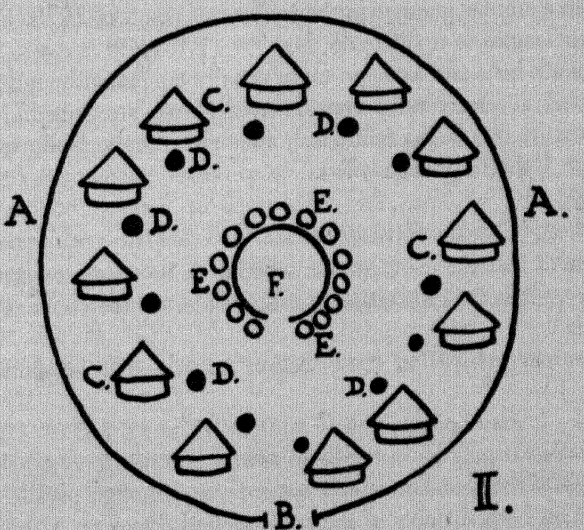
A. Hut—*Ot*. B. Store—*Goga*. C. Boys' hut—*Otogo*. D. Grain-store—*Dero* and *Tua*. E. Cooking places—*otem*. F. Stacks of wood—*Yen*.

No scale.

TESO HUT



A. Doorway—*Ekek*. B. Sleeping place. C. Fireplace—*Ekiyala*. D. Pots, &c.—*Amoti*. E. Grindstones—*Amoru*. F. Fowls. G. Calves and goats pegged here—*To*.



TESO VILLAGE

A. Stockade—*Abwasit*. B. Gateway—*Erute*. C. Hut—*Akai*. D. Shrine and cooking place—*Abila*. E. Grain-store—*Edula*. F. Cattle kraal—*Awujo*.

No scale.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

NOTE ON THE HAFTING AND CROSS-SECTION OF IRON IMPLEMENTS

Methods of hafting tools and weapons

In all implements and weapons which consist in a metal blade fixed to a wooden haft the method of joining these two parts is of considerable interest.

Tang. The blade may be tanged, that is to say it may end in a spike which can be driven through the head of the wooden haft at an angle, or lashed parallel to it with a fibre rope (Plate 13, P., N.).

Socket. The blade may be socketed, that is to say it may have a hollow, round end in place of the tang which will fit round the head of the haft. The blade will then be in a straight line with the haft or that part of it to which it is fixed (Plate 13, O., Q.).

Ring. Thirdly it may be ringed, an open ring fitting over the head of the haft in a similar manner to the socket but resulting in the blade being set at right-angles to it (Plate 66, D2).

In Uganda hoes and axes are more usually tanged, although some hoes are socketed; adzes are more often socketed; knives are tanged. Indigenous ringed axes are rare, being found only among the Acoli. Kollmann[1] reports them from Ushashi (Tanganyika).

Cross-section of tools and weapons

A point of interest in ironwork, whether it be spears or arrow-heads, knives or hoes, is the cross-section of the blade. Three varieties are found in Uganda.

Flat cross-section. The cross-section may be flat on both surfaces (Plate 13, J.).

Mid-rib. It may have a marked mid-rib (Plate 13, I.).

Ogee curve. It may be in the form of an ogee, that is to say the portion to one side of the mid-line is at a lower level, although parallel with, the other side on both surfaces of the cross-section (Plate 13, M.).

IMPLEMENTS USED IN CLEARING THE GROUND

In every tribe the initial clearing of the ground is done by the men. Trees are felled and burnt, grass and roots are burnt and the ashes dug into the ground. Axes, hoes, bill-hooks and slashers are all used for clearing bush country.

[1] KOLLMANN: *The Victoria Nyanza*, p. 182.

AXES

Distribution

Universal.

There is little variation in the working axes of the various tribes of Uganda. The blades are about 15 cm. long and are tanged, usually at a slight angle, into the bulging head of a wooden haft between 50 and 80 cm. long. It is noticeable that axe-blades of the western tribes (Kiga, Amba, Konjo) tend to be widely splayed at the cutting end (Plate 12, A, B). The dancing-axe of the Acoli (see section on weapons) is often ringed, the only indigenous ringed axe in Uganda (Plate 66, D).

BILL-HOOK

Distribution

Heavy type with long wooden handle (Plate 12, C–H)

CONGO BANTU	Amba, Konjo.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Iru, Toro, Nyoro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Gishu, Samia, Gwe, Nyuli.
LUO	Dama, Alur.

Lighter type with short wooden grip (Plate 12, I-J)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Hima, Iru, Nyoro, Toro.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo.

An implement rather like a bill-hook is used for clearing grass and bush and also for pruning plantains throughout Uganda south of the Victoria Nile, Lake Kyoga, Lake Salisbury division. It consists of a short curved blade, tanged or socketed to a wooden haft some 60 cm. long. The blade is often query-shaped, like that of the knife used for peeling plantains throughout the same area. This heavy type is found chiefly in the eastern part of the country. Certain characteristic forms can be noticed in different districts.

A heavy, short, wide blade is found chiefly among the Iru and Nyoro (Plate 12, C).

A straight blade is found among the Ganda (Plate 12, D).

A crescentic blade comes chiefly from the east of the area, that is from the Nyoro, Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Gishu, Samia, Gwe, Jopadhola (Plate 12, E, F, G).

A haft with a pointed shoulder comes from the Jopadhola and Luhya tribes (Plate 12, H).

Among the Inter-lacustrine Bantu (but not the Ganda), a smaller implement is more often used, having a long iron shaft and a comparatively small wooden grip in place of the heavy wooden haft first described. It forms part of the regalia of most of the Inter-lacustrine Bantu kingdoms, and is a symbol that the king desires his people to cultivate the land. It varies in size and shape from the short useful instrument

used by the Bantu agriculturists (Plate 12, I), to the long ornamental type carried by the Tusi 'dandy' (Plate 12, J). This latter might be quoted as an example of functional degeneration, but the Tusi used it as a weapon rather than an implement, which may explain the difference in form.

Both the heavy and lighter types may be accounted for by the fact that the former is used in the rain-forest area where the clearing of thick forest and elephant grass and the cultivation of plantains would call for a heavy implement, while the latter is used chiefly in more open short-grass country in which a lighter tool can do all that is necessary.

SLASHER

Distribution

LUO	Alur.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

A tool with a 'leg-of-mutton' shaped blade 20 cm. long set by a tang into a wooden haft 80 cm. long is also used for clearing the ground (Plate 12, K).

DIGGING-STICKS, DIGGING-SPEARS AND WOODEN HOES

STRAIGHT DIGGING-STICKS

Distribution

Once universal.

The most simple implement for digging up roots, making holes for planting, and turning over the soil is the long digging-stick, a pointed stake the end of which is sometimes hardened by fire.

At one time such sticks were widely used in Uganda, and may still be found in a few districts. They averaged some 150 cm. long.

Short digging-sticks are described as weeding-tools.

DIGGING-SPEARS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Iru, Nyoro, Toro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Samia, Gwe.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.

The digging-spear is a digging-stick with a large spear-shaped iron blade socketed to the end and is used chiefly for making holes in the ground when house-building (Plate 13, A).

ANGLED DIGGING-STICKS, SIMPLE AND IRON-SHOD

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu (both simple and iron). Kiga (simple).

In south-west Uganda a large angled digging-stick is used with arms 100 cm. and 60 cm. long. In the Bufumbiro country of that district, where the numerous lava boulders make hoe cultivation difficult, the angled digging-stick is shod with iron. This would seem to lead on to a curious hoe with a very small blade and long terminal spike which is found in the same district (Plate 13, B, K).

WOODEN HOES

Distribution

Probably once universal.

Specimens found today

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
LUO	Jopadhola, Lango, Alur.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Wooden hoes were probably used throughout the country wherever iron was not available for smelting, yet the superior worth of the iron hoe-head has always been realized, and when the European first came he found it used as currency, being traded by the people of the iron-smelting districts with their less fortunate neighbours. It also formed part of the bride-price of the Acoli and Madi.

It is sometimes difficult to differentiate between the wooden hoe and the angled digging-stick. A wooden tool used by women of the West Nile at the present day consists of an angled digging-stick of which one arm is slightly flattened (Plate 13, C).

Roscoe speaks of wooden hoes being in constant use among the Gishu in 1912. A model made today by a Gishu man, who said he remembered them from his youth, has a separate blade attached by its tang to an angled haft, and is an exact replica in wood of the modern iron blade.

IRON HOES

In observing the characteristic points of a hoe the whole shape of the blade must be considered together with the method of hafting.

Shape of blade. Outline

The general outline has certain marked characteristics.

Swallow-tail blade (Plate 13, D, E, F)

MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi.
LUO	Acoli, Jopadhola.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe.

Rectangular blade (Plate 13, G)

BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa.

Blade with flattened shoulders (Plate 13, H)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Nyoro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga.

Round or oval blade with spike not very developed (Plate 13, I, J, L)

LUO	Acoli, Lango.

Blade with very pronounced spike (Plate 13, K)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga.

Shape of blade. Cross-section

Flat cross-section (Plate 13, H, J)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Nyoro, Toro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
LUO	Acoli, Jopadhola.

Mid-rib (Plate 13, I)

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Samia, Gwe.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
LUO	Lango, Jopadhola.

Ogee curve (Plate 13, G, K, M)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Iru.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Lugbara.
LUO	Alur, Lango (very slight in Moroto district).
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa.

Shape of blade. Relation of tang to blade

Two points can be noted concerning the relation of the tang to the blade; these are due to the different methods of hafting. When the tang is lashed to the haft it will be in the same straight line as the blade (Plate 13, N); when the tang is driven through the haft it will tend to be curved (Plate 13, P).

One type of ceremonial hoe-head, which is used by the Madi as part of the bride price and not for cultivating, has a broad flat tang ending in a forked tail. This could not, of course, be fixed to any shaft (Plate 13, D).

Hafting of hoe blade

Tang lashed to haft (Plate 13, N)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Nyoro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Copi.

Head socketed to haft (Plate 13, O)

LUO	Acoli.
MADI-LUGBARA	Madi.

Tang driven through haft (Plate 13, P)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Iru.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.
LUO	Alur, West Acoli.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Lugbara, Madi.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Straight-hafted hoe (Plate 13, Q)

LUO	Lango, Eastern Acoli.
NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja (Labwor).

After the general shape of the hoe-head comes the method of hafting and the size and shape of the haft. Three different methods of hafting are used and the distribution of these is much more clearly defined than that of the shape of the blade. With the exception of the straight hoe used by the Lango, Eastern Acoli and Karamoja, the head of the hoe is set at an angle of about sixty degrees to that part of the haft which is held by the worker.

The tang may be lashed to the shorter arm of an angled haft by a fibre rope. This rope is wetted before the hoe is used each day and its resultant shrinkage holds the blade firmly in place. Among the Bantu tribes, where hoeing is usually done by the women, the shorter arm is about 20 cm. long and the longer one some 60 cm.; among the Luo and Nilo-Hamitic tribes the haft is much longer and may be as much as 150 cm. long as here field-work is done by men as well as women (Plate 13, N).

The heavy head of the hoe used by the western Acoli and Madi is socketed to a similar crook. This is a powerful and heavy implement used by men, with a haft some 120 cm. long to balance the weight of the head (Plate 13, O).

Lastly the tang may be driven through the bulging head of the haft; here again a long haft is generally used (Plate 13, P).

Mention has already been made of the straight-hafted hoe used by the Lango, Eastern Acoli and Karamoja of Labwor. Here the hoe head is lashed or socketed in the same straight line as its long haft. The worker stands or kneels and pushes the hoe along the ground in front of him. This implement is well adapted to cutting and clearing small roots but results in very shallow cultivation (Plate 13, Q).

IMPLEMENTS USED IN WEEDING

Distribution

Small digging-stick

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Iru, Toro, Ganda, Nyoro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.

LUO	Jopadhola, Acoli.
NILO-HAMITES	Sebei, Teso, Karamoja.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Small wooden hoe (Plate 13, C)

LUO	Alur.
MADI-LUGBARA	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING	Kakwa, Kuku.

Small iron hoe (Plate 14, C)

LUO	Lango, Jopadhola.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Toro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Gishu, Nyuli.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.

Cow-rib (Plate 14, E)

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.

Large iron knife (Plate 14, B)

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.

Large wooden knife or flat digging-stick (Plate 14, A)

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Nyuli.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.

Shell (Plate 14, D)

HALF-HAMITES	Karamoja, Teso.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Jopadhola.
MADI-LUGBARA	Lugbara, Madi.
BARI-SPEAKING	Kakwa, Kuku.

Wooden hay-fork

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Toro, Kyoro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Gishui.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Copi, Jopadhola.
MADI-LUGBARA	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING	Kuku.

For weeding between mixed crops, lifting sweet potatoes, etc., various small tools are used. Women use a short sharpened stick about 30 cm. long or the iron butt of a spear for this purpose.

Mention has already been made of the small wooden hoe used by women of the West Nile; a tool like a small worn-down hoe socketed to a straight wooden haft is used by women on the borders of the Sudan; while an adze blade lashed to a small angled haft is used as a weeding tool by the Kyoga Basin Group (Plate 14, C).

A large cow-rib is used by the Gishu for the same purpose, and the same people also use a large flat knife. A large flat digging-stick resembling a *panga* is used for weeding by the Jopadhola (Plate 14, E, B, A).

A fresh-water mussel-shell is used for weeding between young millet. The weeds are chopped out with the sharp edge of the shell (Plate 14, D).

A wooden rake or hay-fork about 2·5 metres long is used for clearing weeds and long grass.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN PRUNING AND HARVESTING

KNIVES

There are two main types of knife in use for domestic purposes in the Protectorate; both are used for clearing and cultivating, although both have many other functions.

PLANTAIN-KNIVES

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE GROUP	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Nyoro, Toro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Sebei.

The first may be termed the plantain-knife, as it is used by Inter-lacustrine Bantu and Bantu tribes chiefly for peeling plantains. In a typical knife the blade is flat, with one cutting edge, curving back at the top, with a tang driven into a wooden handle. An average measurement would be blade 16 cm. long by 3 cm. wide, handle 25 cm. long (Plate 14, F).

A more finished type is found chiefly among the Ganda, both blade and handle being more slender and of finer workmanship (Plate 14, G).

A knife with more flamboyant curves is typical of Kyoga Basin group (Plate 14, H).

A miniature knife of this type is used for harvesting by the Jopadhola.

SLAUGHTERING-KNIFE

Distribution

Flat blade, one cutting edge (Plate 14, I)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hima, Iru, Toro, Nyoro.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Kumam.
MADI-LUGBARA	Lugbara.

Mid-rib. Often with wooden sheath. Two cutting-edges (Plate 14, K)

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Nyuli, Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
NILO-HAMITES	Sebei, Teso, Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango, Jopadhola.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi.

Ogee curve. Two cutting-edges (Plate 14, J)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Hutu, Tusi.
MADI-LUGBARA	Lugbara, Madi.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

The second type of domestic knife is most commonly used for slaughtering and flaying animals, although it is also used for harvesting and many other purposes. It is often very difficult to distinguish it from a man's hunting-knife; other specimens closely resemble a rather straight-bladed plantain-knife. It can roughly be described as having a spear-shaped blade fixed with a tang into a wooden handle.

The three types of blade which we find in all ironwork, flat cross-section, mid-rib and ogee curve in cross-section are all found with a definite pattern of distribution (Plate 14, I, J, K).

KNIVES INDIVIDUAL TO CERTAIN TRIBES

Certain knives have very marked characteristics which enable them to be identified with the work of definite tribes.

AMBA KNIVES

Amba women wear a small knife in their belts which they use for agricultural and domestic purposes, and, on occasion, as a weapon. The knife has one cutting edge, and is sometimes broad, sometimes long and narrow resembling an English carving knife. The wooden handle is bound with strips of tin (Plate 14, L).

MADI AND LUGBARA KNIVES

The Madi and Lugbara women's knife is of particularly fine workmanship. The blade is double-edged, ogee in cross-section; it tapers to a fine point which is used as an awl in basketry. The handle is often decorated with bands of tin and incised pattern-work (Plate 14, N).

ALUR WOMAN'S KNIFE

The blade of the Alur knife is set at right-angles to a short, broad handle. Although this is a woman's knife and is used for domestic purposes, it would seem to have a strong resemblance to the throwing-knives of the Azande and kindred tribes to the north-west of this area (Plate 14, M).

SEBEI, TESO AND KARAMOJA
SICKLE-RING KNIFE USED FOR HARVESTING

Another domestic knife which was formerly used as a weapon is the sickle-shaped knife attached to a ring worn on the finger and used in harvesting by women of the Teso and Karamoja (Plate 14, O).

LANGO CUTTING RINGS

The cutting rings of the Lango are used for the same purpose as the sickle-ring knife. They are about 2 cm. broad with a sharp cutting edge and are worn on the thumb, the heads of grain held by the fingers are pressed against the edge of the ring and so severed from the stalk (Plate 14, P).

These too were probably once weapons; Lindblom[1] describes similar rings worn on the thumb or little finger by the Galla of Witu in Tanaland.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN THRESHING, WINNOWING AND POUNDING

THRESHING

The grain-eating tribes of Uganda spread the crop on flat rocks or flat spaces of beaten earth to dry and then thrash it by beating it with heavy sticks. The Madi make a threshing-floor of a mosaic of broken pottery, stones, etc., embedded in mud and cow-dung.

WINNOWING-TRAYS

Distribution

Round tray. Coiled basketry (Plate 15, A)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Nyoro, Toro, Ganda, Iru.

Two- or three-strand twine weave (Plate 15, E)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Nyoro, Toro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Samia, Gwe, Nyuli.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli, Copi, Jopadhola, Alur.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.

Check-weave (Plate 15, D)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga.
CONGO BANTU	Amba.

Wicker-work

LUO	Acoli.
CONGO BANTU	Amba.

Square tray. Wrapped-twine weave (Plate 15, C)

NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
LUO	Lango, Acoli.

Shovel-shaped tray. Twilled weave (Plate 15, B)

LUO	Alur.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Grain is winnowed by being tossed into the air, or poured from a tray or basket held some four or five feet above the ground into a basket below, the wind blowing away the chaff. Each tribe makes its winnowing-tray

[1] LINDBLOM: *Fighting Bracelets*, p. 14.

by the basketry technique best known to it; thus check-weave, twilled-weave, three-strand twined weave, wrapped-twine weave, wicker-work, and coiled basketry are all found in their appropriate districts. The trays are usually plastered with cow-dung; they vary in size from 30 cm. to 150 cm. in diameter (Plate 15, A–E).

One tray deserves special mention. This is a square tray of wrapped-twine weave made by the Lango, Acoli and Teso. It is closely woven, forming a solid and rigid piece of work, and is of a high order of craftsmanship. It has been described and illustrated in the section on basketry technology (Plates 15, C, 28, A).

IMPLEMENTS USED FOR POUNDING AND GRINDING

PESTLES AND MORTARS AND GRINDING-STONES

Distribution

Pestles and mortars

Universal, except for—Kakwa, Kuku, Gishu.

Grinding stones

Universal.

A great deal of native food has to be pounded; this includes the dried tubers of cassava and ground-nuts. Other food such as simsim and the millets are ground into a paste or flour.

There is nothing specially noteworthy about the pestles and mortars and grinding-stones of Uganda, which are almost universal. In eastern Uganda the grinding-stones are mounted on a mud or clay base under the eaves of the hut, with a kind of moat round and low wall beyond to catch the flour when ground.

The Gishu, Kakwa and Kuku are said to use no pestle and mortar.

In Karamoja, now an arid unfertile country peopled by a pastoral tribe, stone pestles and mortars can be found on many deserted hut sites, proving that in the past it was a grain-bearing land.

The upright wooden mortar, made from a hollowed log anything from 30 to 100 cm. high, can be found throughout the Protectorate except among the tribes already mentioned. It is sometimes hollowed deeply, when a long straight pestle is used, and sometimes is shallow when the food may be pounded with a mallet-shaped pestle (Plate 15, F, G, H, I, J).

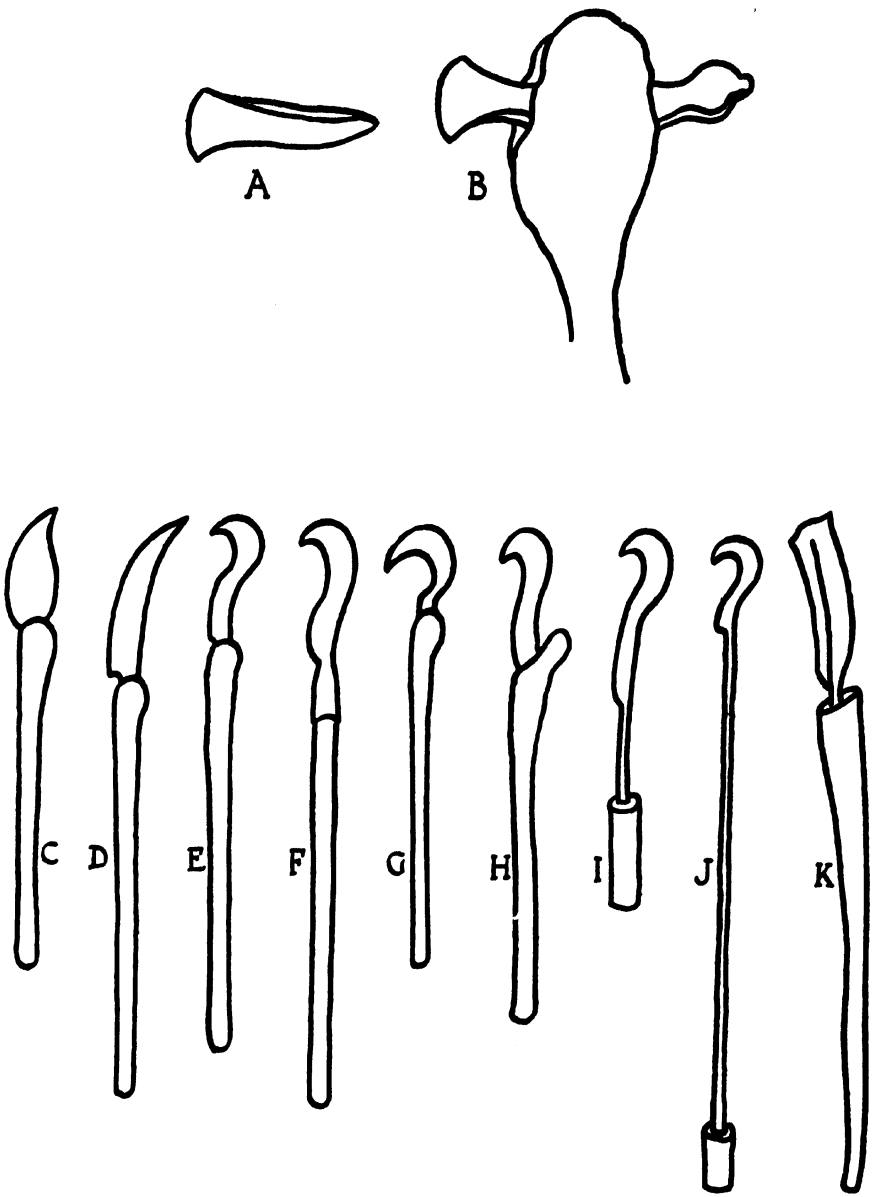
This angled pestle, found among the Luo and Nilo-Hamitic people, is also used for beating out hides and for breaking up clay for pottery (Plate 15, M).

A long horizontal trough like a small beer canoe is sometimes used as a mortar by the Ganda and Nyoro (Plate 15, K).

The Congo Bantu group and the Inter-lacustrine Bantu of the south-west (Kiga and Hutu) sometimes use a three-legged mortar, or one with a carved handle (Plate 15, F, J).

The Soga use a flat cross-section of a tree trunk on which to beat out a kind of sponge from the core of a plantain stem (Plate 15, L).

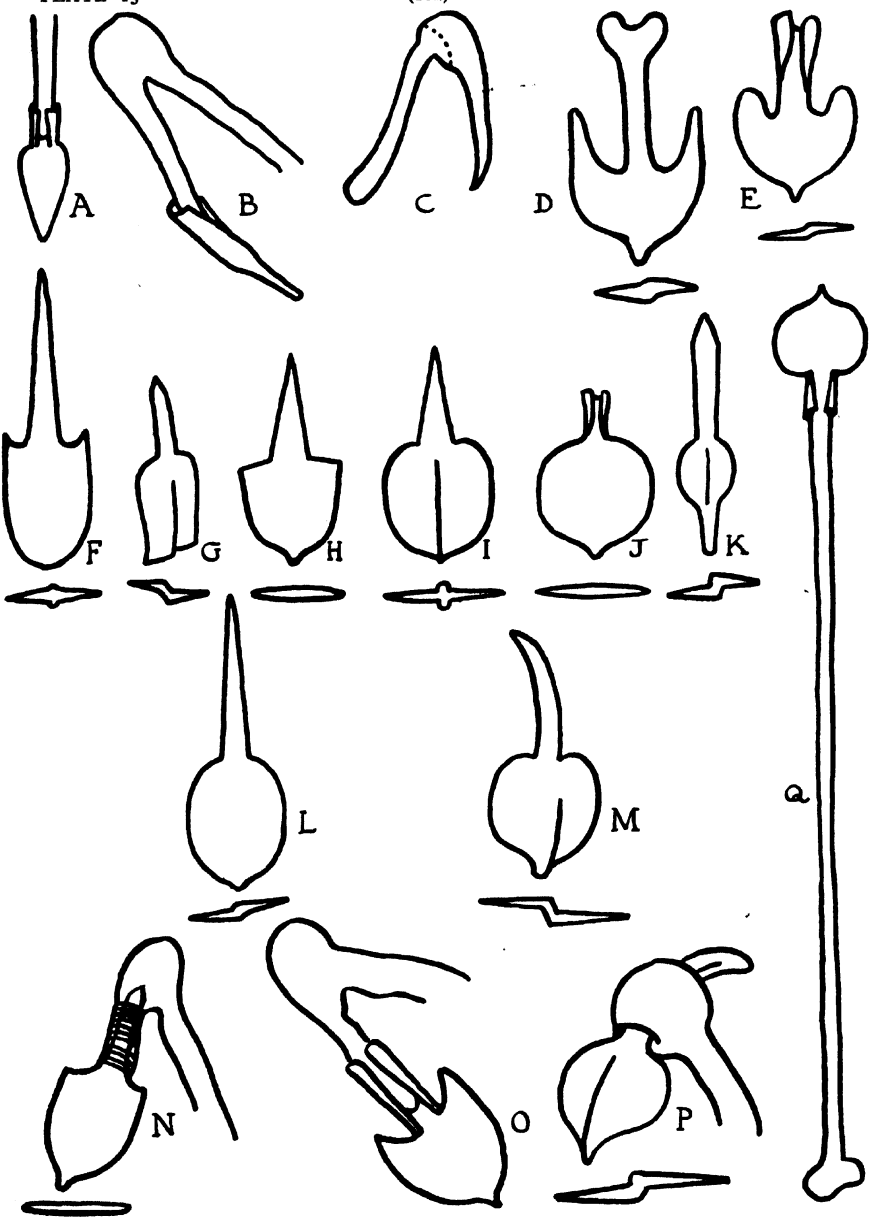
PLATE 12



AXES, BILL-HOOKS, AND SLASHERS

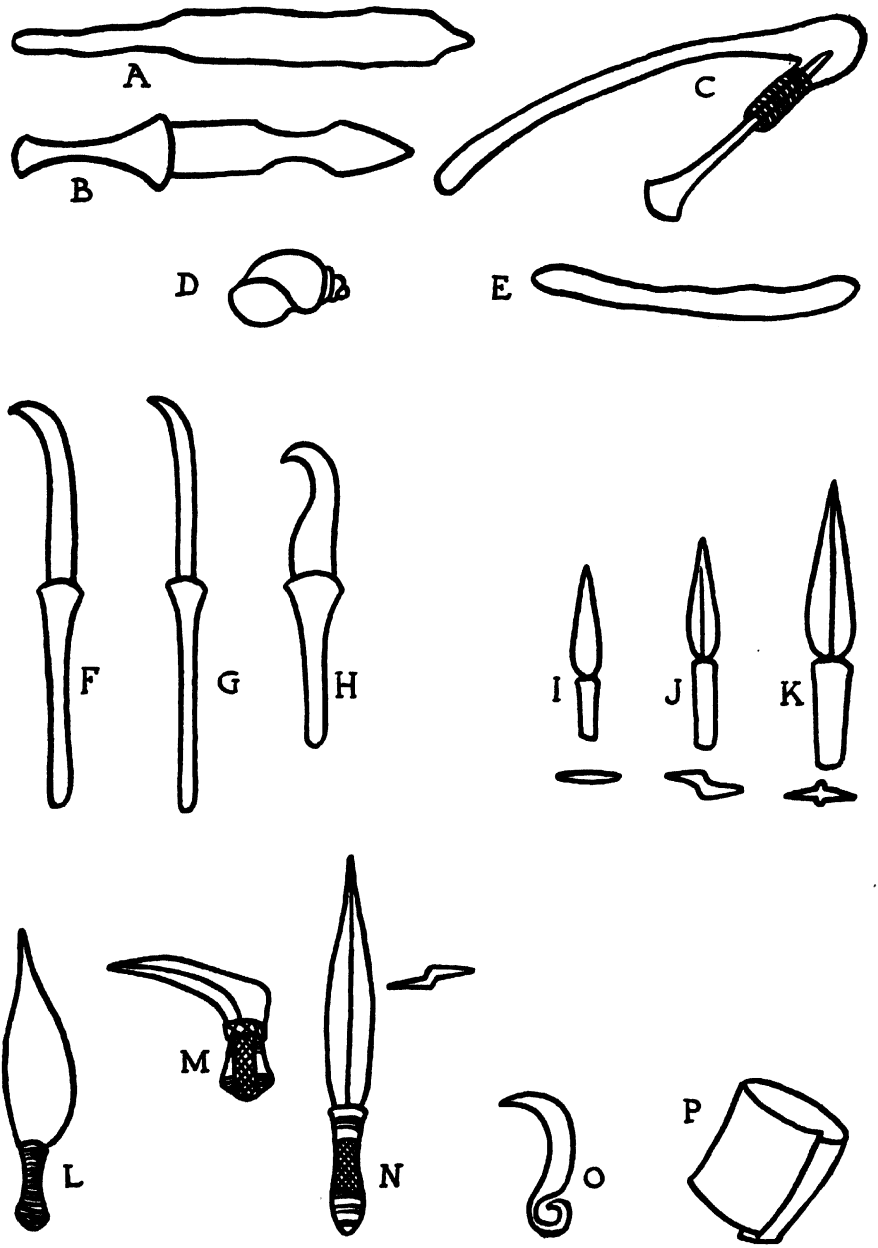
A. Typical axe blade. UNIVERSAL. B. Axe blade. *With splayed end.* KIGA. C. Bill-hook. *Heavy type. Thick, short blade.* NYORO. D. Bill-hook. *Heavy type. Long straight blade.* GANDA. E. Bill-hook. *Heavy type. Crescentic blade.* SOGA. F. Bill-hook. *Heavy type. Crescentic blade.* NYORO. G. Bill-hook. *Heavy type. Crescentic blade.* NYORO. H. Bill-hook. *Heavy type. Pointed shoulder.* JOPADHOLA. I. Bill-hook. *Lighter type. Iron type. Iron shaft, wooden grip.* KIGA. J. Bill-hook. *Lighter type. Very long iron shaft.* TUSI. K. Slasher. *Leg-of-mutton shaped blade.* LUGBARA.

Scale: A, B, 1 : 6. C–K, 1 : 12.



DIGGING-STICKS AND HOES

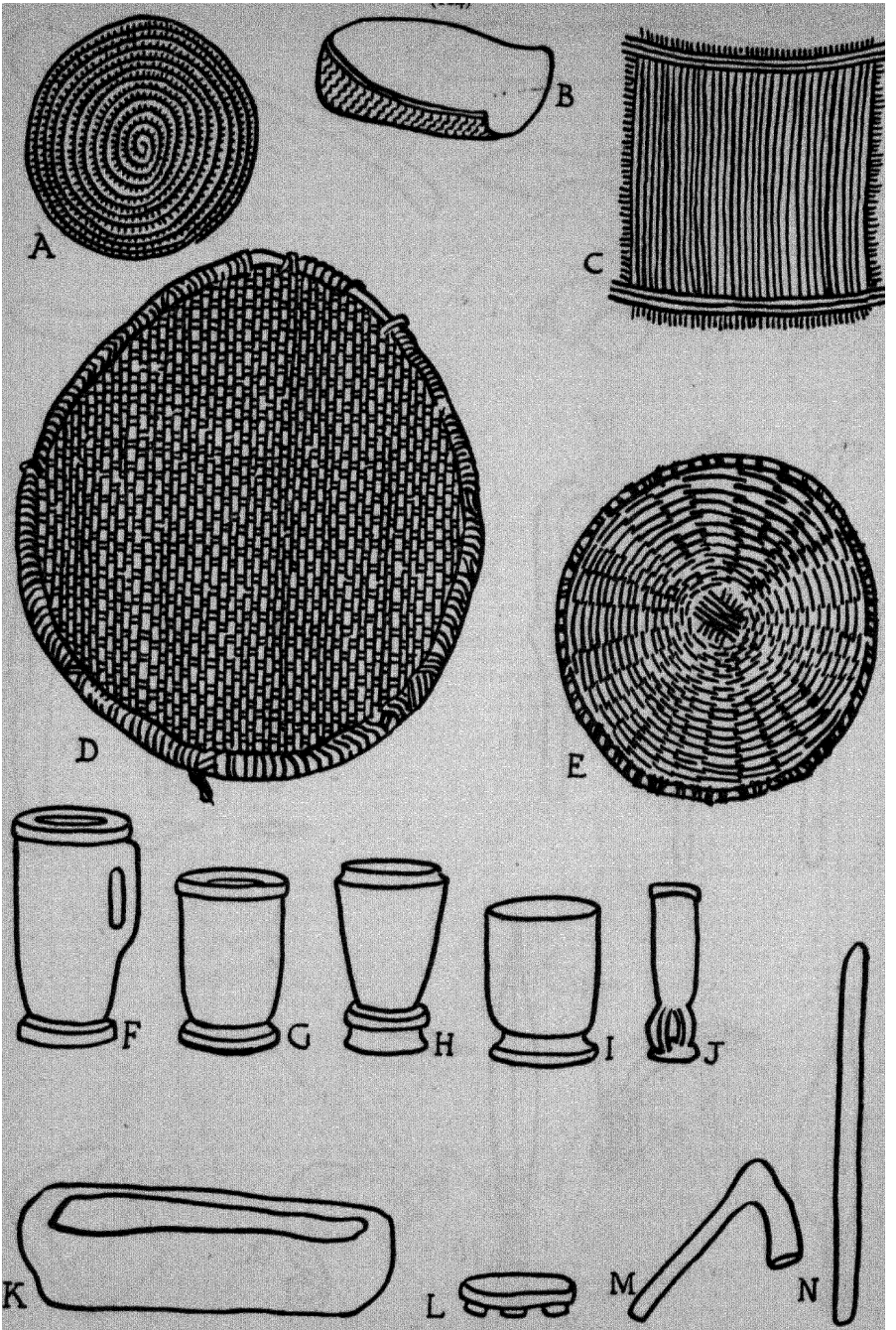
A. Digging-spear. GANDA. B. Iron-shod digging-stick. HUTU. C. Wooden hoe. LUGBARA. D. Iron hoe head. *Ceremonial. Swallow-tail blade, very slight ogee cross-section, very slight mid-rib. Tang with forked end.* MADI. E. Iron hoe head. *Swallow-tail blade, very slight ogee cross-section, very slight mid-rib. Socketed.* MADI. F. Iron hoe head. *Slight swallow-tail blade, very slight mid-rib. Tang.* SAMIA. G. Iron hoe head. *Rectangular blade, ogee cross-section. Tang.* KAKWA. H. Iron hoe head. *Flattened shoulders, flat cross-section. Tang.* GANDA. I. Iron hoe head. *Circular blade. Mid-rib. Tang.* LANGO. J. Iron hoe head. *Circular blade, flat cross-section. Socketed.* ACOLI. K. Iron hoe head. *Ogee cross-section, tang, exaggerated spike.* HUTU. L. Iron hoe head. *Very slight ogee cross-section, very slight mid-rib. Tang.* LANGO. M. Iron hoe head. *Ogee cross-section, curved tang, pronounced spike.* KIGA. N. Blade *with tang lashed to short arm of angled haft.* GANDA. O. Blade *socketed to short arm of angled haft.* ACOLI. P. Blade *tanged through head of haft.* KIGA. Q. Blade *in same plane as haft.* LANGO. *Scale:* 1 : 12.



TOOLS USED IN WEEDING AND HARVESTING

A. Weeding tool. *Flattened digging stick.* JOPADHOLA. B. Weeding tool. *Large knife.* GISHU. C. Weeding tool. *Adze blade used as small hoe.* JOPADHOLA. D. Weeding tool. *Shell.* ACOLI. E. Weeding tool. *Cow-rib.* GISHU. F. Plantain-knife. NYORO. G. Plantain-knife. GANDA. H. Plantain-knife. SOGA. I. Slaughtering-knife. *Flat cross-section.* NYORO. J. Slaughtering-knife. *Ogee curve.* HUTU. K. Slaughtering-knife. *Mid-rib.* ACOLI. L. Woman's knife. AMBA. M. Woman's knife. ALUR. N. Woman's knife. MADI. O. Harvesting-knife. *Attached to finger ring.* TESO. P. Cutting rings for harvesting. LANGO.

Scale: 1 : 6, except N, 1 : 2·5, P, almost natural size.



WINNOWING-TRAYS, PESTLES AND MORTARS

A. Winnowing-tray. *Coiled basketry.* GANDA. B. Winnowing-tray. *Twilled weave.* ALUR. C. Winnowing-tray. *Wrapped-twine weave.* LANGO. D. Winnowing-tray. *Check weave.* KIGA. E. Winnowing-tray. *Three-strand twined weave.* NYORO. F. Mortar. *With carved handle.* HUTU. G. Mortar. *Deeply hollowed.* LANGO. H. Mortar. LANGO. I. Mortar. NYORO. J. Mortar. HUTU. K. Horizontal mortar. GANDA. L. Crushing block. SOGA. M. Angled pestle. ALUR. N. Straight pestle. UNIVERSAL.

CHAPTER V

GOURD VESSELS

ONE of the most useful natural objects for a primitive community is the gourd or calabash. It grows well throughout large parts of Uganda, is easily prepared for use, and, owing to its diversity of shape, can be put to a large number of purposes.

When the gourd is cut it is left until the outer skin begins to harden, and the inner part has rotted and become soft. Handfuls of pebbles are then inserted at the neck and the gourd is shaken about in order that the stones may cut and loosen the soft pulp, which is then washed out with water. This process is repeated for a number of days until only the hard wood-like shell remains. In many accounts of gourd vessels in other parts of the world it is stated that the gourd is bandaged while growing to produce the required shape; this does not seem to be done in Uganda where the many varieties of gourd are said to produce naturally any shapes which are required.

The Luo, Nilo-Hamites, and some Bantu-speaking peoples in the east of Uganda decorate their calabashes with patterns; many of these contain drawings, more or less symbolized, of men, animals, birds and plants; others are simple linear patterns. The designs are either cut or burnt.

THE WHOLE BOTTLE GOURD AS A VESSEL FOR WATER, MILK OR BEER

Distribution

Universal.

The flat bottom, bulging base and narrow bottle-like neck (which can easily be stoppered) makes the bottle gourd a most excellent container for liquid. It is used for this purpose in various sizes from the enormous beer gourds of the Ganda, capable of holding several gallons of beer, to small ones hung in nets and carried as water-pots on safari by many tribes (Plate 16, A).

The Nyoro take special pride in the appearance of their gourds, and although they rarely decorate them, rejoice in the most perfectly shaped vessel polished to a rich red-brown. The beauty and utility of a well-shaped gourd has been so appreciated by the Inter-lacustrine Bantu potters that they have copied it in earthenware, for the many varieties of *ensumbi* produced by these tribes are obviously inspired by gourd shapes.

The Nilotic tribes use gourds with long thin necks for water; these are usually decorated (Plate 16, B).

The Sebei carry a long gourd shaped like an English cucumber decorated with beads, for water; the Kiga use an undecorated one of the same shape for milk (Plate 16, C).

THE WHOLE GOURD AS A CHURN

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Toro.
NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja, Sebei.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere.

Series of undecorated gourds of various sizes are used as milk-vessels, butter-churns, etc.

THE WHOLE SMALL GOURD AS A CONTAINER FOR FAT, SALT, ETC.

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hima.
LUO	Acoli.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe, Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Gishu.

Very small round gourds with a hole bored at the base of the neck are used for fat containers and to hold salt or medicine (Plate 16, D).

GOURD FUNNEL

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Toro, Nyoro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Nyuli, Gwere, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
NILO-HAMITES	Sebei, Karamoja.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.

A funnel is made of the long neck of a gourd with a small amount of the wider body left attached. It is used to pour milk or beer into a narrow-necked vessel (Plate 16, E).

GOURD LADLE

Distribution

Universal.

A small round gourd with its long neck for a handle and a rectangular opening sliced out of one side makes an excellent ladle (Plate 16, F).

GOURD MUG

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Toro, Nyoro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Sebei, Karamoja.
LUO	Jopadhola, Lango.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

By cutting off the necks of small gourds leaving only the round basin-like base, or this base portion plus a small amount of neck, small drinking bowls or mugs are produced. These have also been copied by the potters, for the black earthenware *emindi zamata* used by Nyoro chiefs, is evidently derived from the gourd shape (Plate 16, G, H).

GOURD BOWL

Distribution

Universal among grain-eating people.

A round gourd sliced longitudinally down the centre will produce a couple of shallow bowls with a convenient spout-like protuberance (the start of the neck) which may be used for pouring or as a handle. These half-calabashes are used for water, beer, gruel, and most other kinds of food. They are not interchangeable, each calabash having a special name according to its function. They are most common amongst the grain-eating people, those of the Luo being often decorated with incised patterns (Plate 16, I).

Very small ones are used as spoons or measures when cooking (Plate 16, J).

GOURD PLATTER

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe, Nyuli.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli, Jopadhola, Alur.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Small segments of the bowl of a large gourd make excellent platters.

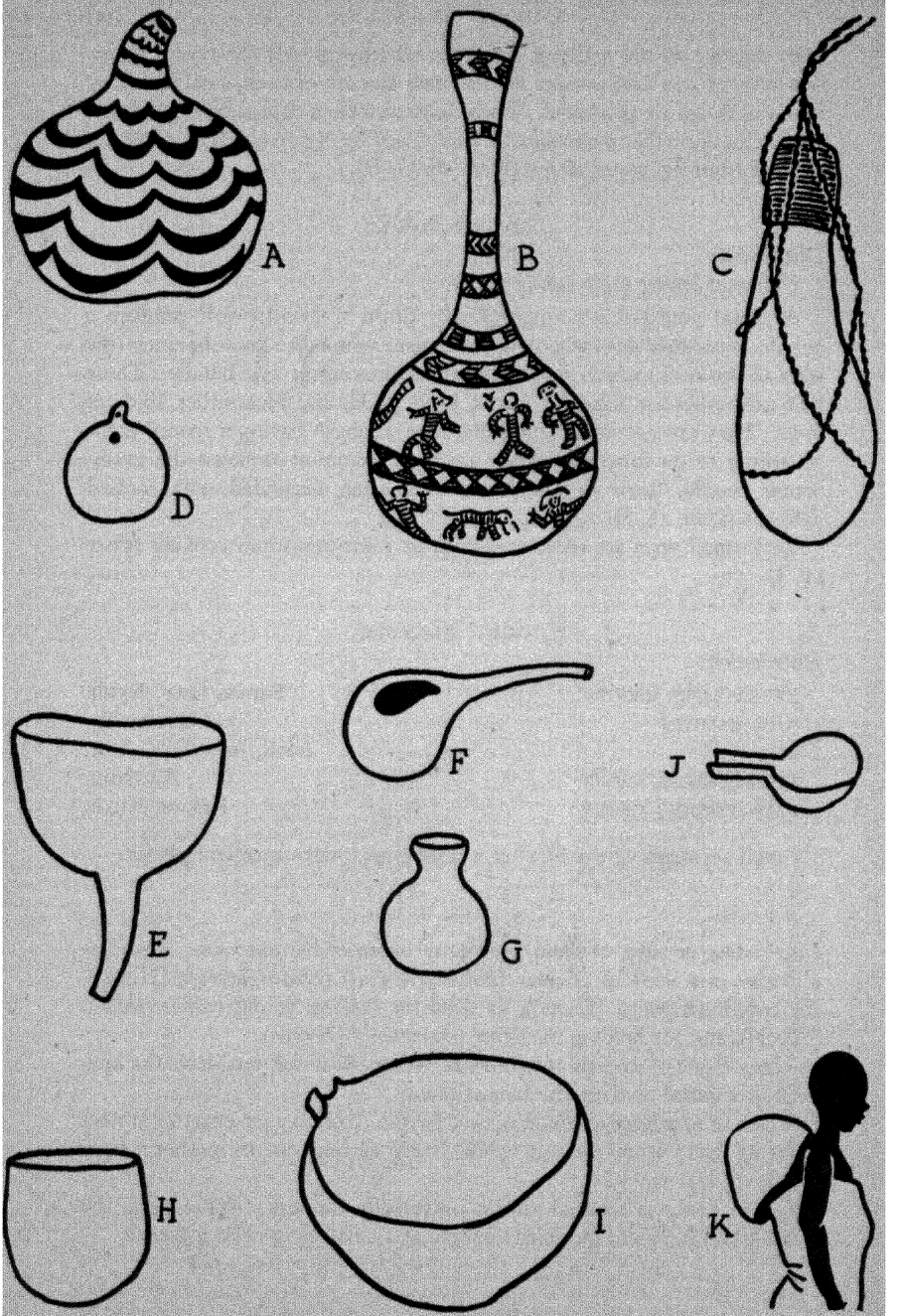
OTHER USES

Calabashes, or parts of them, are put to innumerable purposes. Medicinally they are used as enemas (*katyo* ([Amba]) (*akasisi kentego* [Hima]), for cupping (*egunga* [Hima]), as teats for feeding young babies (*enkoro* [Hima]), and for holding medicine (*nyungunuti* [Nyuli]).

Many kinds of musical instruments, trumpets, flutes, etc., have the long neck of a gourd as their chief constituent.

The half of a large calabash is used by the Acoli as a covering to protect a young baby from the sun while being carried on its mother's back (Plate 16, K).

Indian hemp is smoked almost universally through a water-pipe, the water-bowl and stem of which consists of a small long-necked gourd.



GOURD VESSELS

A. Vessel for water, milk or beer. KIGA. B. Vessel for water or beer. LANGO. C. Vessel for milk. KIGA. D. Container for fat. ACOLI. E. Funnel. BANTU. F. Ladle. UNIVERSAL. G, H. Beer mugs. GANDA. I. Bowl for gruel, beer or water. LUO. J. Measure. ACOLI. K. Shade for baby. ACOLI.

CHAPTER VI

WOODEN VESSELS FOR FOOD AND DRINK

THE GROOVED MILK-POT

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Nyoro, Toro. (Outside Uganda—Zinza, Shashi, Ziba.)

A wooden milk-pot into which the cow is milked, and from which the milk is drunk, is used by the Inter-lacustrine Bantu. Each cow has its special pot which is cleaned and fumigated by the women, although the actual milking is in charge of the men.

The distinguishing characteristic of this type of vessel is the groove cut round the neck (Plate 17, A, B, C, D). Amongst the Kiga the groove is small, sometimes non-existent (Plate 17, E). In the large pot used by the Tusi the groove is sometimes replaced by a protruding ring (Plate 17, F). The Hima say that the groove is a measuring mark and call it *omubabo*. They say that when the milk from the cow reaches above the groove it is a good milker, this is obviously a rationalization as the groove is found on pots of all sizes.

Another characteristic of the pots of the Tusi, Hutu and Kiga (together with the Zinza and Ziba outside Uganda) is the very square-cut base (Plate 17, B, C, D, E, F).

The Hima pot shows the most finished workmanship. It is beautifully carved from the wood of the Omusisa tree (*Albizzia coriaria*) (Plate 17, A). It is sometimes decorated with symbols cut in copper, tin or brass. The following symbols are recorded: arrow, cow, snake, knife, zither used by women, moon with a certain star in a specific relation to it.

All these tribes build a small raised platform within their huts upon which the milk-pots stand. The sides of the platform are sometimes ornamented with patterns in coloured earths, sometimes screened off with decorated screens. Pots with rounded bases (Hima) are stood on woven pot-stands. They all have covers of coiled basketry, either cap-shaped (Hima) or conical (Tusi). The Hima sling their pots in nets on either end of a long stick for carrying.

VESSEL FOR DRINKING MILK WITH STICK-LIKE HANDLE AT THE BASE

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU Nyoro.

A distinct type of wooden vessel so far only recorded among the Nyoro in Uganda, but reported from Kiziba, Ukerewe and Uzinza by Kollmann,[1]

[1] KOLLMANN: *The Victoria Nyanza*, 1899, pp. 88, 125, 134.

has a stick-like handle protruding from the base. It is used by chiefs as a drinking cup and when not in use stands in a woven pot-stand (Plate 17, H). (Plate 17, a, b, c, d are specimens of the type found outside Uganda.)

It is interesting to note (Plate 17, c) a specimen of the tall wooden milking-pail found among the Teriki (a Luhya tribe from Kenya) which has also the spiked handle.

FOOD-BOWL WITH LEGS AND BASE

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Hima, Iru, Kiga. (Outside Uganda—Kerere, Shashi.)
CONGO BANTU	Amba, Konjo.
(NYORO SUB-GROUP)	
ALL TRIBES ASSOCIATED WITH THE NYORO-KITARA KINGDOM	Nyoro, Toro, Ganda, Kooki, Soga, Copi, Lango, Acoli, Alur.

A distinctive type of wooden bowl, usually used for meat, is found in south-west Uganda, and is reported by Kollmann[1] among the Ukererè and Ushashi. It consists of a round bowl supported above a base by legs or a central pillar. The base is often the shape of an inverted bowl. It is interesting to note that the distribution of this vessel follows closely that of the leg-and-base type of stool (Plate 18, A, B, C).

(*Nyoro sub-group*)

A noteworthy sub-group of this type is the Nyoro *olucuba*. It consists of a deep, narrow, oval bowl, slightly pointed and sloping at the ends so that the long diameter at the top of the bowl is more than twice that of the base. This bowl is supported above an oval stand by pairs of bow-legs some 5 cm. high. The number of legs varies, from two to eight pairs being recorded according to the size and importance of the bowl, while some will have nine legs, nine being the sacred number of the Nyoro. The wood used in Bunyoro is *misoga nyakabito*. The outside of the bowl is stained a dark red-brown by rubbing it with the root of *mugali* (*bauhinia thonungii*); the rim, legs and pedestal are then blackened by burning with an iron. One traditional pattern is always used round the top of the bowl.

In Bunyoro itself, the centre of distribution, the legged type of vessel would be used only by chiefs, the type with the central pillar being in constant use in the huts of the peasantry. The royal meat-bowl of the Omukama of Bunyoro has eight pairs of legs. A large many-legged vessel is part of the royal regalia of Kooki (south-west Uganda), which was once part of the Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom. A legged bowl of this type also forms part of the regalia of the Rwot of Atyak, Acoli, and it is said to have been given to a previous Rwot by Omukama Kabarega. These two

[1] KOLLMANN: op. cit., pp. 132, 203.

instances would seem to bear out the statement of the present Omukama that such vessels were presented to chiefs who in former days owed allegiance in any form to the Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom. Elsewhere, e.g. amongst the Luo people to the north where the use of this bowl has spread, this distinction between the legged and pillared type seems unrecognized although the pillared bowl is more common. The pillared type is usually small and is sometimes round instead of oval.

Although the shape, colouring and decoration of this vessel is extremely constant and distinctive, several methods have been devised of dividing it up in order that it may contain more than one kind of food at a time (Plate 18, E, F, G, H, I).

The bowl found among the Amba is more like the Nyoro sub-group than the specimens found in south-west Uganda. It is oval in shape with the same tapering bowl supported by a pillar above the base. But it is of blackened wood with a totally different type of decoration, the specimen in the possession of the Uganda Museum having an incised representational design of a lizard.

Legged bowl with no base

A legged bowl with no base was collected in Lango a number of years ago, but no details can now be obtained as to whether it was an indigenous shape, and no other similar bowl is known to the writer (Plate 18, D).

WOODEN GOBLET

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga (rough specimen), Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga. (Outside Uganda—Ukerewe.)

A wooden goblet of very fine workmanship was formerly produced by the Soga and Ganda, and an exactly similar one is reported from Ukerewe by Kollmann[1] (Plate 18, K). These would seem to be related to a far rougher specimen of wooden food-bowl with central pillar and base from the Kiga on the one hand (Plate 18, J), and a very similar but larger type of milking vessel from the Kyoga Basin and Nilo-Hamitic tribes on the other (Plate 18, M).

WOODEN MILKING-PAIL

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Nyuli, Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
LUO	Lango, Jopadhola.

The wooden milking-pail referred to above is a tall hollow vessel usually standing on a pedestal, although amongst the Jopadhola it has sometimes three legs, sometimes four; and the Teriki, a kindred tribe to the Samia

[1] KOLLMANN: op. cit., p. 134.

just across the Kenya border, have the type with a stick-like handle at the base referred to early in this chapter. (While this type has not yet been recorded in Uganda, it is said to be known among the Jopadhola, and it is highly probable that it occurs.) The vessel often has a carved spout, and among the Teso a handle is sometimes carved (Plate 18, L, M, N).

WOODEN BOWL, TROUGH, OR TRAY

A food-vessel which is less easy to type accurately is distributed widely throughout the Protectorate. It is the most elementary form which could be made through hollowing out a log of wood, and is simply an elongated bowl, or, in its most shallow form, an oval tray. Certain characteristics can be distinguished as belonging to certain areas.

HEAVY OBLONG BOWL

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Nyuli, Gishu, Samia, Gwe, Soga.
NILO-HAMITES	Sebei, Karamoja, Teso.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.

The most simple form, that of a clumsy hollowed bowl more oval than round, is used chiefly in south-west and south-east Uganda, but it is also found to a lesser extent in many other parts of the country. There is nothing of special note in the vessel (Plate 19, A, B).

ROUND BOWL

Distribution

LUO	Acoli.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.

The heavy clumsy-shaped bowl found among the Bantu is often round though more usually oval. The food-bowl used in the north is a far better piece of workmanship, basin-shaped, smoothly carved, with a good base (Plate 19, C).

DOUBLE BOWL

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu.

The Tusi and Hutu use a double bowl joined end to end. Sometimes one bowl is larger than the other, sometimes they are equal. The bowl may be with or without a handle. That of the Tusi is of far finer workmanship (Plate 19, D, E).

SMALL TROUGH

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.

A small well-carved trough is used for preparing simsim oil. It averages 35 cm. long by 18 cm. wide. It has no handle and is fairly deep with a rounded base (Plate 19, F).

FLAT TRAY

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.

The flat wooden tray with curving edges used for food by the Teso is also a well-finished article. It is large, averaging a 100 cm. long by 35 cm. wide, flat except for its edges, and very shallow (Plate 19, G).

BOWL WITH SPIKED HANDLE AT ONE END

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gishu.
LUO	Lango, Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Sebei.

A form of fairly universal distribution is the trough or tray with a spiked handle at one end (Plate 19, H, I, J).

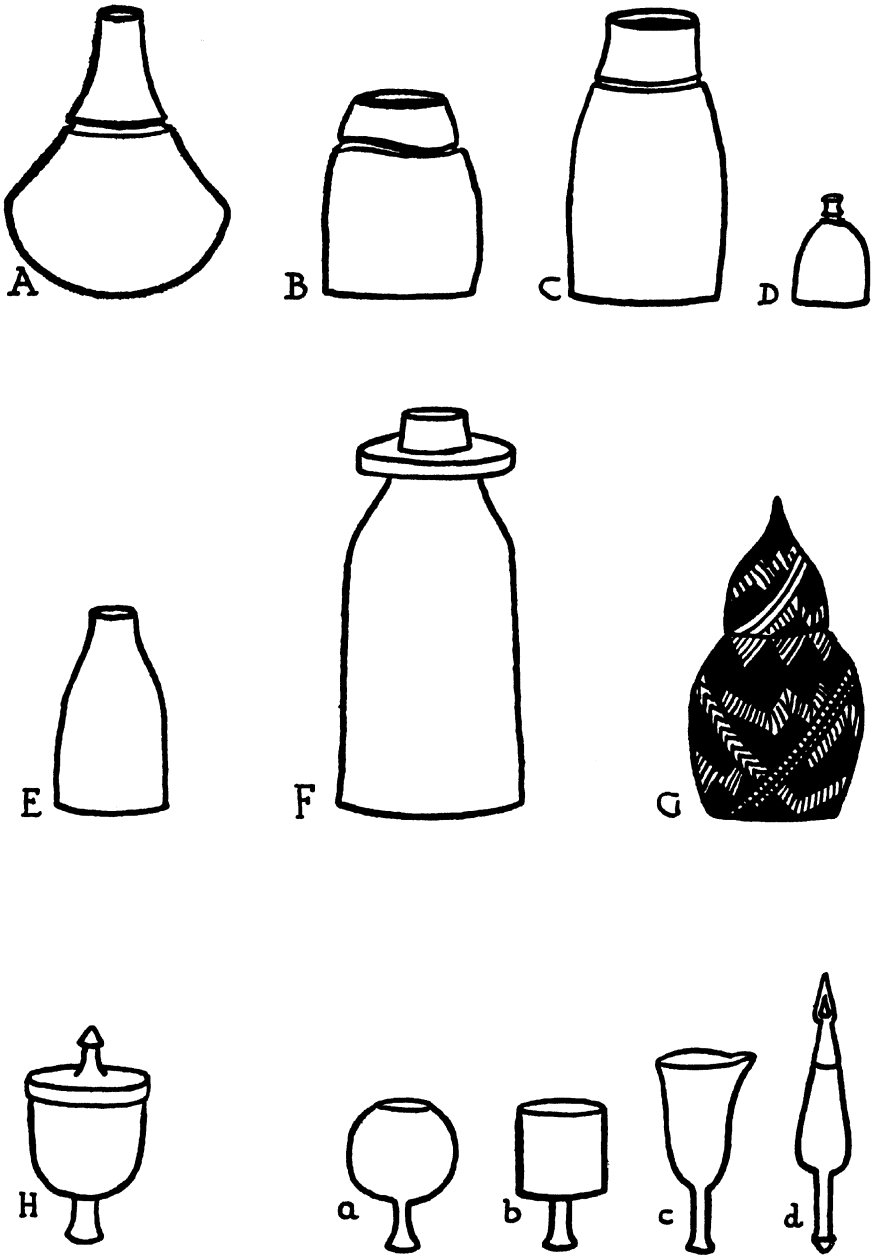
BOWL WITH SPIKED HANDLE AT BOTH ENDS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Ganda, Toro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Soga.
NILO-HAMITES	Sebei, Teso.

A larger variety having a spiked handle at both ends is used as a feeding trough for animals by the Hutu and Kiga; the handles protrude halfway down the sides (Plate 19, K).

The Ganda use a very large one like a small canoe for making beer; the handles of this are flush with the top (Plate 19, L).



GROOVED MILK-POTS, MILK-POTS WITH A SPIKED HANDLE AT THE BASE

A. Grooved milk-pot. HIMA. B. Grooved milk-pot. KIGA. C. Grooved milk-pot. RUANDA. D. Grooved milk-pot. *For child's use.* TUSI. E. Milk-pot. *Usually grooved.* HUTU. F. Milk-pot. *With protruding ring.* TUSI. G. Milk-pot. *Decorated with incised pattern.* TUSI. H. Milk-pot. *Spiked handle at base.* NYORO. a, b, c, d. Similar vessels outside Uganda. a. Buzinza, b. Ukerewe, c. Teriki, d. Kiziba.

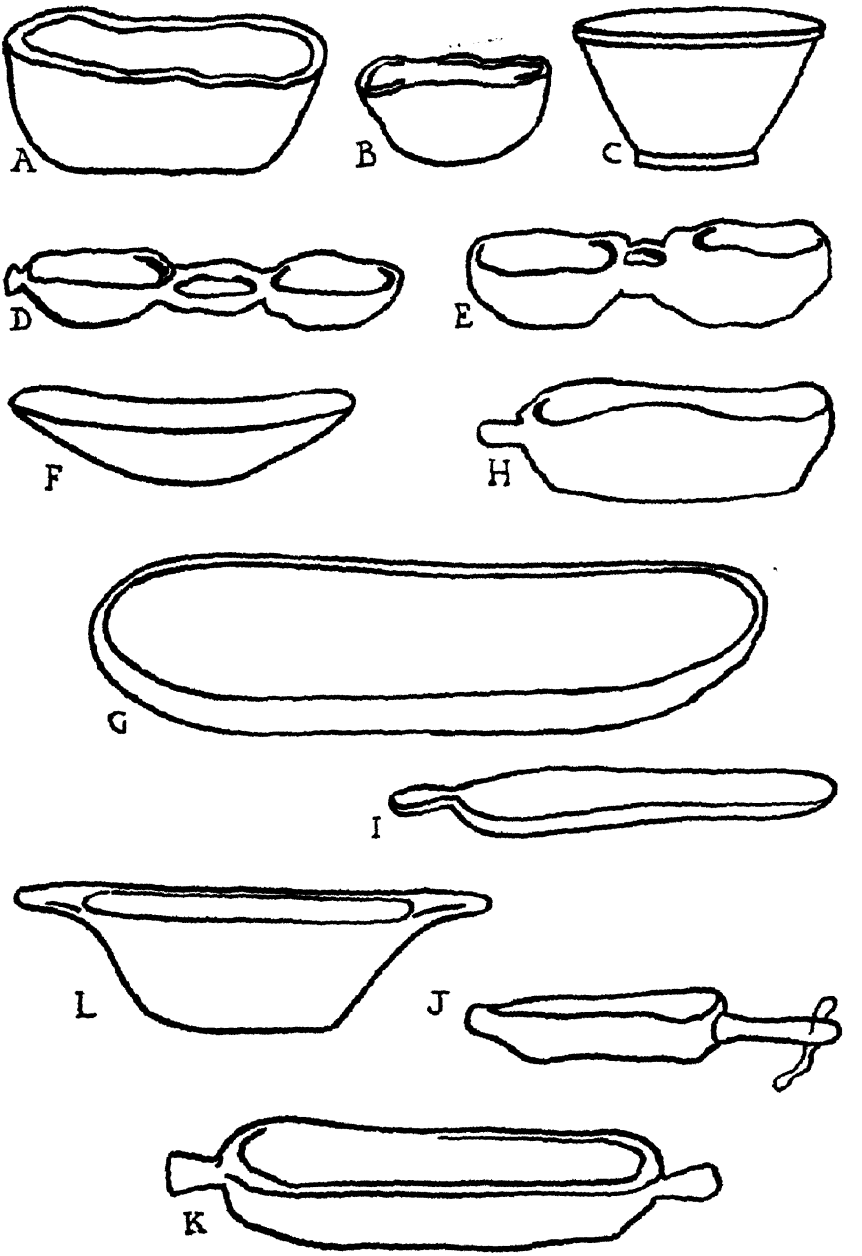
Scale: A–H, 1 : 6. a, b, c, d, not to scale.



WOODEN FOOD VESSELS

A. Food vessel. *Legs and base.* HIMA. B. Food vessel. *Pillar and base.* KIGA. C. Food vessel. *Legs and base.* KIGA. D. Food vessel. *Legged.* LANGO. E. Nyoro type. *Royal vessel with nine legs.* NYORO. F. Nyoro type. *Pillar and base.* NYORO. G. Nyoro type. *Twin bowls.* NYORO. H. Nyoro type. *Divided bowl.* NYORO. I. Nyoro type. *With inner bowl.* NYORO. J. Large goblet type. *Very rough specimen.* KIGA. K. Large goblet type. SOGA. L. Milking-pail. LANGO. M. Milking-pail. KARAMOJA. N. Milking-pail. JOPADHOLA.

Scale: 1 : 6.



WOODEN FOOD BOWLS AND TRAYS

A. Food bowl. HUTU. B. Food bowl. KIGA. C. Food bowl. ACOLI. D. Food bowl. *Double bowl.* TUSI. E. Food bowl. *Double bowl.* HUTU. F. Trough for preparing simsim. ACOLI. G. Food Tray. TESO. H. Food bowl. *One spike handle.* KIGA. I. Witch doctor's scoop. *Used for divining.* HUTU. J. Food bowl or scoop. KONJO. K. Trough for feeding animals. *Two spike handles.* KIGA. L. Beer canoe. *Two handles.* GANDA.

Scale: 1 : 6, except K, 1 : 12. L, 1 : 24.

CHAPTER VII

POTTERY

POTTERY and the craft of the potter is a subject upon which it is very difficult to generalize. It is usually the work of the specialist craftsman—but among some tribes, e.g. the Lango and to a certain extent the Kiga and Hutu, the men of each village will make the pots for their own household. In some tribes the potter is a man of no importance, whilst amongst the Ganda the 'Royal Potters' who work for the Kabaka have a special title, special privileges, such as exemption from the *Luwalo* tax, and wear a special skin apron as their insignia. In Buvuma, a large industry has been built up which entails considerable co-operation between a number of people of both sexes, women making the pots, men acting as middlemen and salesmen, ferrying the pots across to market on the mainland.

Again, in some districts, Ganda, Nyoro, Lango, Kumam, the potters are men, and there are strong taboos against women approaching the clay-pits, or passing when pots are being built or fired. (In Lango women go and dig the clay unless they are pregnant.)

In other districts, Vuma, Gishu, Acoli, Madi, the potters are women; while in yet others either men or women do the work, Kiga, Hutu, Iru.

The process of pot-building is very similar in every tribe; although there are variations in the time taken over drying and the exact method of firing. The following description would be nearly applicable to the method of every tribe.

TECHNICAL PROCESS

Materials

Clay is pounded up with a stick or wooden hammer, either on the ground or a skin or grinding-stone, and mixed with some powdered sand-stone or broken potsherd—this 'tempers' the stodgy mass of clay and allows it to fire without cracking.

Building

The clay is rolled into long thin strips and coiled round in the shape required. The work is done on a shallow bowl set on a fibre ring which can be swung round as the potter works or in a hollow in the ground. O'Brien[1] describes the Konjo as using an old inverted pot as a mould.

[1] O'BRIEN and HASTINGS: 'Pottery making among the Bakonjo', *Man*, December 1933, p. 202.

Polishing

As the work proceeds it is smoothed and polished with smooth pebbles, pieces of calabash, smooth sticks, etc.

Decorating

When the finished pot has dried for about a day and becomes 'leather hard' it may be decorated in one of two ways:

The pattern may be incised with a fine metal point (Ganda, Hima, and Nyoro). These incised patterns may be further emphasized by rubbing with material of a different colour.

A more common method of decoration which is used by every tribe in Uganda is to mark on a pattern with a roulette. The roulette may be of knotted papyrus or string or carved wood, and is rolled along the surface of the damp pot with the flat of the fingers. The first type of roulette is the most common.

Drying

The pot is then stored in the shade for several days or weeks and finally put out in the sun for a day or two when the free water previously mixed with the clay will have completely evaporated and it will become hard and brittle but still capable of mixing with water again.

Firing

It is then fired to a red heat and the chemically combined water driven out, after which the clay can no longer mix with water and become plastic.

Some tribes fire one pot at a time, others stack them in a heap. All cover them with grass, reeds, firewood or cow-dung and burn them for a number of hours.

Coloured Slip

A further method of decoration which is usually applied after firing is to paint the pot with a thin coating of coloured material and then polish it with rags and smooth stones. A number of tribes (Ganda, Nyoro, Teso, Acoli) treat their more delicate pottery in this way with a 'slip' of graphite which results in a beautiful silvery black. The Lango and Acoli also use a 'slip' of dark red earth. A black with a high polish may be obtained by alternatively smoking the burnt pot over a fire of damp reeds and rubbing it with a piece of bark-cloth a number of times.[1]

TYPES OF POTS

It has not proved easy to group the various types of pot used in the Protectorate, but by considering them from the point of view of function it has been possible to make a rough classification in which function and shape is seen to be consistent.

[1] For a detailed description of Nyoro-Ganda pot-building see TROWELL: 'Some Royal Craftsmen of Buganda', *Uganda Journal*, Vol. VIII, p. 47.

Pots for carrying water.
Pots for holding beer or drinking water.
Milk-bowls.
Large shallow pots for cooking plantains.
Large pots for fermenting, cooking and storing gruel or millet beer.
Smaller pots for cooking and serving meat and vegetables.
Salt-making vessels, and other pots the function of which is other than holding food and drink.
Multi-mouthed pots, usually magico-religious in function.

POTS FOR CARRYING WATER

Distribution

(Round body, short neck, small mouth. Plate 20, B, C, D, E.)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Vuma, Nyoro, Toro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Nyuli.
LUO	Lango.

(Round body, long neck, small mouth. Plate 21, A, B.)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Nyoro (not common).
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe.
LUO	Lango, Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja.

(Tall body, long neck, small mouth. Plate 21, C, D, E.)

CONGO BANTU	Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Iru.

(Tall body, wide mouth. Plate 20, A.)

LUO	Acoli, Alur.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa.
NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja.

It is difficult to generalize about shapes, but the above grouping has been attempted after noting a large number of pots.

Functional considerations make it obvious that a large pot with a small opening from which the water cannot easily be spilt whilst being carried on the owner's head is needed for this purpose. The comparative proportions of height and breadth may vary, and so may the length of the neck.

GOURD-SHAPED VESSEL FOR BEER OR DRINKING WATER

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Toro, Nyoro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja.

This type of vessel is obviously copied from the gourd; its characteristics are a round body surmounted by a tall thin neck. Among the Nyoro, Toro and Ganda the vessel is of fine workmanship with a black graphite polished finish, but a larger red-earthenware type is also used for boiling water. The finer specimens are well decorated with 'roulette' or incised patterns (Plate 22, A, B, C, D, E, F, G).

MILK BOWLS

Distribution

(i) INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Nyoro, Toro.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
(ii) MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kuku.

Nyoro chiefs use a black graphite polished bowl for drinking milk; this is stood on a woven pot-stand and has a lid of finely coiled basketry to cover it. It is undecorated. The Teso are said to use a similar pot for the same purpose (Plate 22, H).

The Lugbara, Kakwa and Kuku have a pot for milk or beer which is shaped like an enormous cowrie-shell (Plate 22, I).

LARGE SHALLOW POTS

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Hima, Toro, Nyoro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Gishu, Nyuli.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola, Alur.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Plantains are wrapped in large packages of banana leaves and steamed and therefore the pots best suited to their cooking are large, shallow, bowl-shaped ones. They are used by all the plantain-eating peoples, they are also used for cooking a kind of bread from grain (Plate 23, H).

POTS FOR FERMENTING, COOKING AND STORING GRUEL OR MILLET BEER

Distribution

ALL GRAIN-EATING PEOPLE	
CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Toro, Nyoro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango, Jopadhola.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

It has been stated that there is very little difference beyond the degree of fermentation between the gruel eaten and beer drunk by the grain-eating people, therefore, as may be expected, very little difference can be seen between the pots used for these purposes. It is probable that pots used for cooking purposes requiring frequent stirring would have a larger mouth than those in which fermenting grain is stood and left; but the general description of the type is a large, wide-mouthed pot varying from 30 cm. to 150 cm. in height and diameter, the latter being large beer-pots (Plate 23, A, B, C, D).

The Gishu use a multi-mouthed pot for holding beer when many men are drinking together, each man then inserts his long beer filter through which he drinks, every other instance of multi-mouthed pots in the country is connected with magico-religious practices.

SMALL POTS FOR COOKING MEAT OR VEGETABLES

Distribution

(Tall pot, wide mouth. Plate 23, E.)	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Iru, Hima.
LUO	Acoli, Lango.
(Tall pot, long neck, narrow mouth.)	
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
LUO	Lango.
(Shallow bowl. Plate 23, F.)	
CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Hima, Iru, Ganda.
LUO	Acoli.

Small pots are used universally for cooking meat and vegetables; they vary in shape, size and finish and usually conform to the three types given above. The Acoli use well-made pots of a deep bowl type with a flat base for serving vegetables and meat (Plate 23, G).

POTS USED IN SALT MAKING AND FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES OTHER THAN THE COOKING AND SERVING OF FOOD AND DRINK

Salt

The people of Kibero (Nyoro) on the shores of Lake Albert who evaporate salt from the sandy deposits of a mineral spring, have an outfit of different sized vessels of the round water-pot type; the only point of interest about them is that the shallow bowls used for evaporating the salty water over the fire are always the two halves of a pot split vertically; it would seem possible for a practised hand to split the ill-fired pots without much breakage, and it was pointed out to the writer that in this way two pots were obtained for the price of one.

Among many tribes ashes of vegetable matter or dung are mixed with water and poured into a pot with a perforated base, the filtrate is collected in a bowl below and used for cooking.

The Teso have a special pot for this purpose; it is divided into two, the top half having a perforated base, the lower portion being provided with a spout (Plate 24, A, B).

Perfume

A well-shaped little pot of smoke-blackened pottery with three or more openings at the top is used by Hima women to hold scented water to anoint their bodies (Plate 24, C).

MULTI-MOUTHED POTS

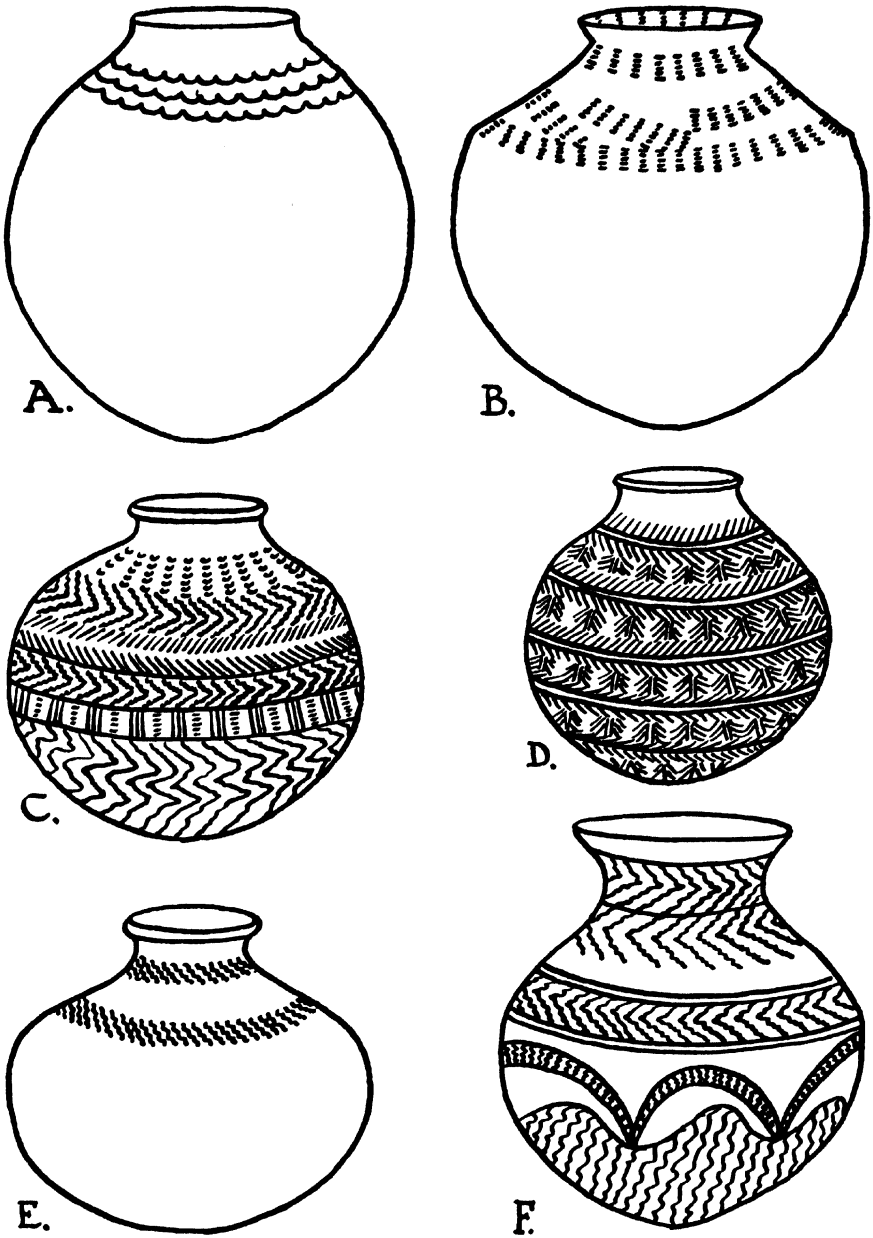
It has often been pointed out by ethnologists that multi-headed spears are nearly always connected with ceremonial or magico-religious practices. The same idea would seem to hold good with multi-bowled pipes and multi-mouthed pots.

Roscoe[1] gives a photograph of a multi-mouthed pot used to give poisoned beer to a victim who had incurred the wrath of the Kabaka, Ganda (Plate 24, D, E).

The Luo tribes (Lango, Acoli, Alur), and also some of the Kyoga Basin group (Jopadhola, Samia, Gwe), use a double-mouthed pot in certain religious rites, especially those connected with the birth of twins (Plate 24, G, H).

In south-west Uganda among the Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru a double-mouthed pot was used in connection with the cult of Nyabingi.

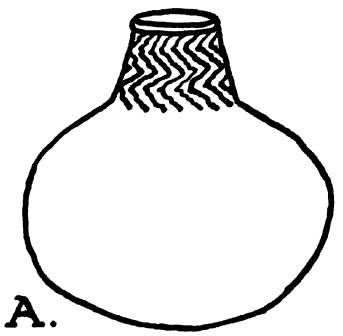
[1] ROSCOE: *The Baganda*, p. 335.

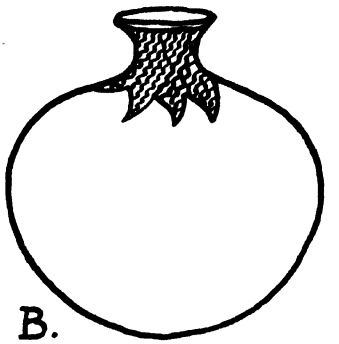


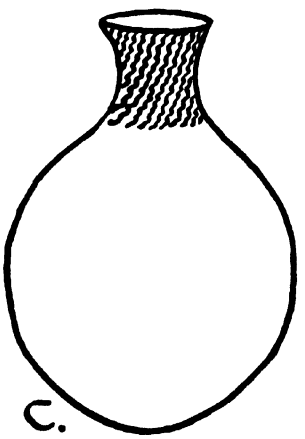
WATER-POTS

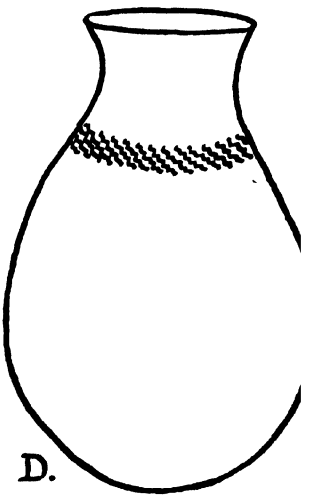
A. Round body. Short neck. Comparatively wide mouth. Decoration. Incised pattern on shoulder. Whole body covered with rope roulette pattern. LUGBARA. B. Round body. Short neck. Small mouth. Everted lip. Decoration. Rope roulette on neck and shoulders. VUMA. C. Round body. Short neck. Small mouth. Decoration. Whole body covered with mixture of rope roller, reed roller and incised pattern. NYORO. D. Round body. Short neck. Small mouth. Decoration. Whole body covered with incised pattern. LANGO. E. Round body. Short neck. Small mouth. Decoration. Reed roller pattern on neck and shoulder. GANDA. F. Round body. Longish neck. Wide mouth. Much decoration. Reed roulette pattern. ACOLI.

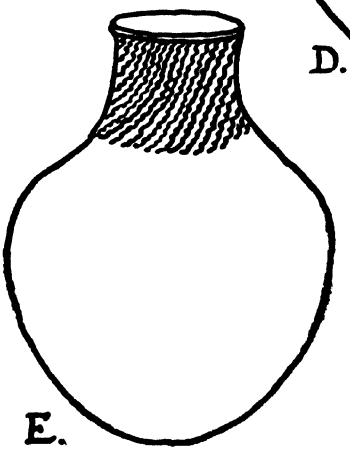
Scale: 1 : 6.







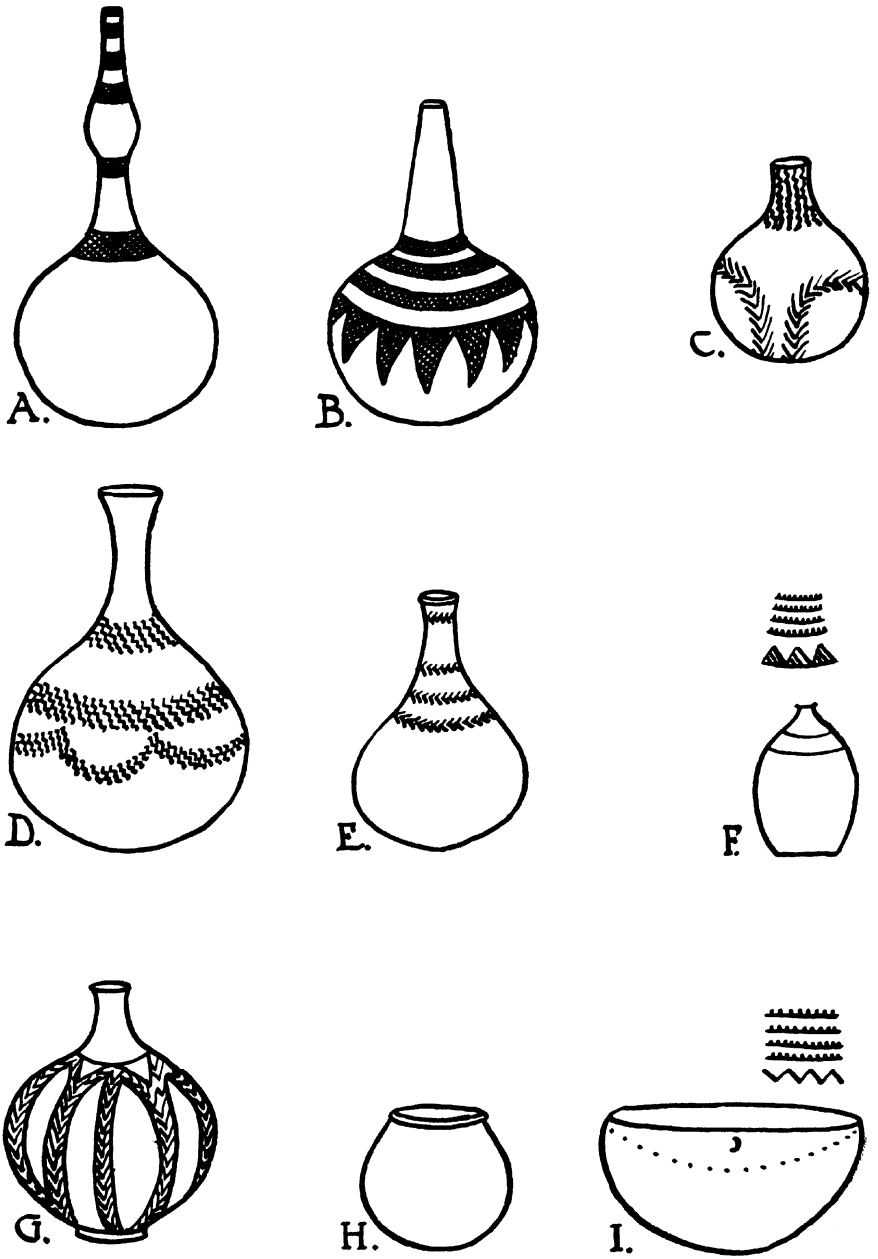




WATER-POTS

A. Round body. Long neck. Small mouth. Decoration. Reed roller pattern on neck. NYORO. B. Round body. Long neck. Small mouth. Everted lip. Decoration. Reed roller pattern on neck. GWE. C. Tall body. Long neck. Small mouth. Decoration. Reed roller on neck. AMBA. D. Tall body. Long neck. Comparatively large mouth. Decoration. Reed roller on shoulders. HUTU. E. Tall body. Long neck. Small mouth. Decoration. Reed roller pattern on neck. JOPADHOLA.

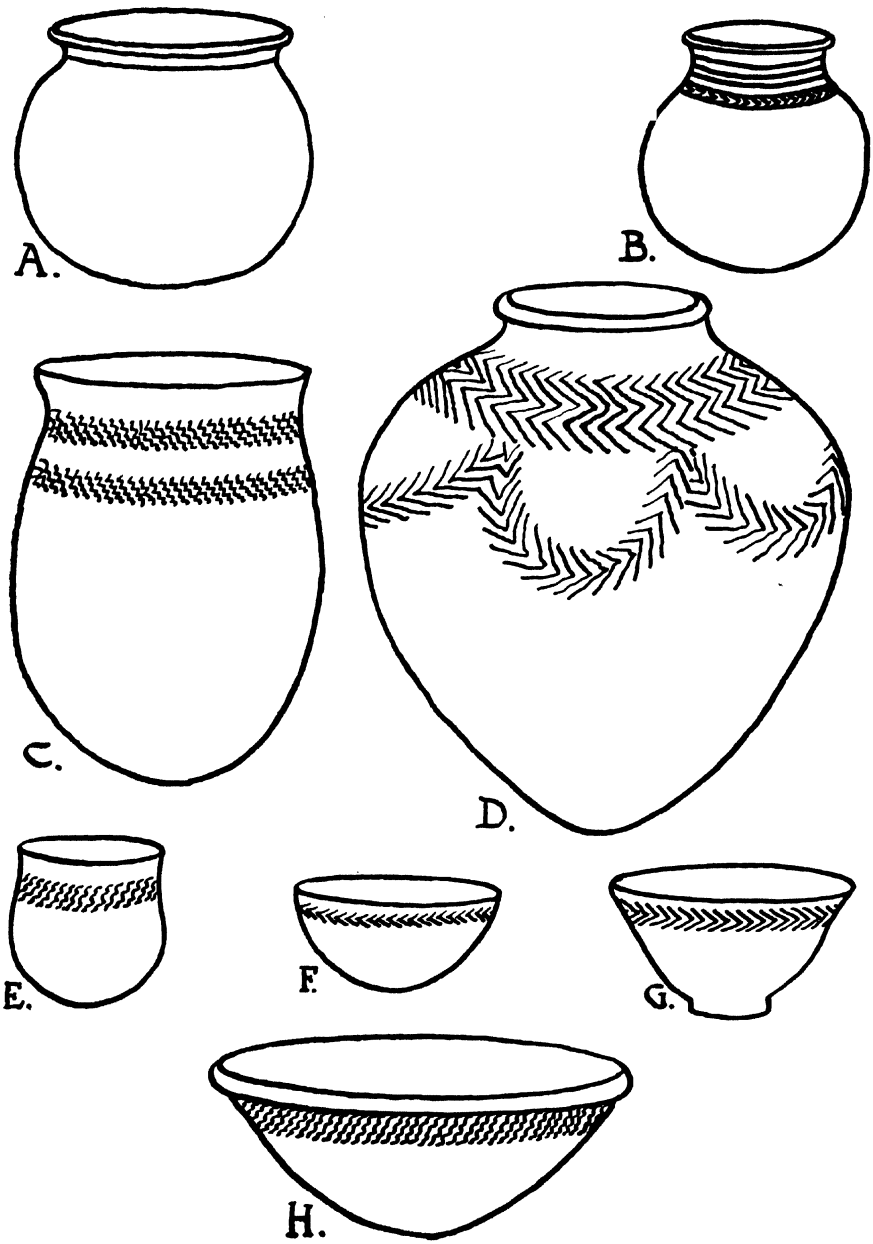
Scale: 1 : 6.



DRINKING-VESSELS

A. Gourd type. *Black graphite incised pattern.* NYORO. B. Gourd type. *Black graphite incised pattern.* GANDA. C. Gourd type. *Black graphite. Reed roller pattern.* NYORO. D. Gourd type. *Rough earthenware. Reed roller pattern.* NYORO. E. Gourd type. *Black graphite. Reed roller pattern.* NYORO. F. Gourd type. *Red polish. Incised pattern. Flat base.* TUSI. G. Gourd type. *Smooth earthenware. Reed roller pattern.* ACOLI. H. Chief's milk-bowl. *Black graphite. Undecorated.* NYORO. I. Cowrie-shaped bowl. *Black. Incised pattern.* LUGBARA.

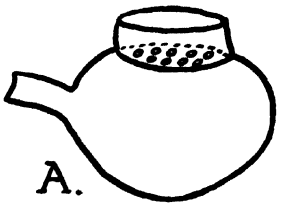
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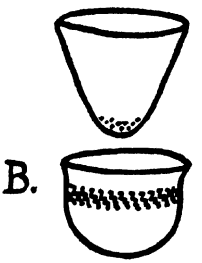


BEER-POTS AND COOKING POTS

A. Round body. No neck. Wide mouth. No decoration. Red polished surface. AMBA. B. Round body. Short neck. Wide mouth. Incised pattern. Dark red polished surface. GWE. C. Tall body. No neck. Wide mouth. Decoration. Reed roller on neck and shoulders. Rough, unpolished. HUTU. D. Tall body. Widest at shoulders. Small neck. Small mouth. Decoration. Reed roller on shoulders. NYORO. E. Vegetable-pot. *Tall pot with wide mouth.* KIGA. F. Vegetable-pot. *Shallow bowl.* NYORO. G. Bowl for serving food. *Deep bowl, flat base.* ACOLI. H. Cooking pot for plantains. *Large and shallow.* GANDA.

Scale: 1 : 6.

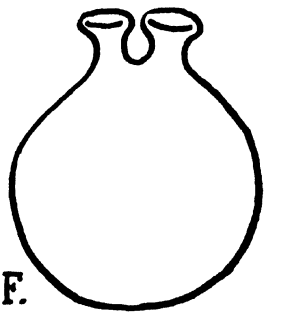




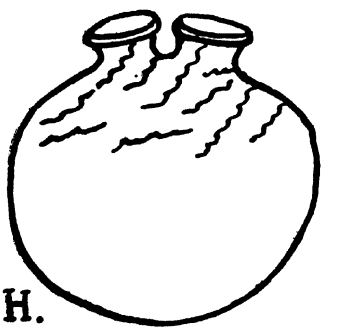












POTS FOR SALT, ETC., AND MULTI-MOUTHED POTS

A. Salt-making pot. TESO. B. Salt-making pots. MADI. C. Perfume pot. HIMA. D. Multi-mouthed pot. (*After Roscoe.*) GANDA. E. Multi-mouthed pot. (*After Roscoe.*) GANDA. F. Double-mouthed pot. (*After Czekanowski.*) RUANDA. G. Double-mouthed pot. *Reed roller decoration.* JOPADHOLA. H. Double-mouthed pot. *Rough, reed roller decoration.* GWE.

Scale: 1 : 6. D, E, F, not to scale.

CHAPTER VIII

PIPES

A SMALL pipe with a bowl of black clay is smoked commonly throughout Uganda and has no definite characteristics; besides this, however, a number of definite types stand out.

PIPE WITH A POINTED BASE

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Hima, Iru, Toro, Nyoro.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.

The pipe used by the south-west Inter-lacustrine Bantu has a bowl with a very pointed base, with the part of the pipe holding the stem meeting the bowl at a very acute angle. The common pipe of this type is small, but large ones with bowls up to 15 cm. high are met with among the Tusi. The pipe is used chiefly by the Tusi and Hima and less frequently by the Bantu tribes associated with them (Plate 25, A, B).

The Teso pipe is practically identical although less finely made.

PIPE WITH A DOUBLE-POINTED BASE

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Amba.

The Amba pipe is a good piece of workmanship. The bowl is large, 5 cm. in diameter at the top, narrowing at the base where it divides into two points. It is often decorated with incised pattern filled in with white (Plate 25, C). Czekanowski[1] also gives this pipe from the neighbouring Bambuba.

PIPE WITH DEEP BOWL, EVERTED LIP, AND PROJECTING HANDLE

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP (LUHYA)	Samia, Gwe.

The Samia pipe has a number of distinguishing points. The bowl is deep, averaging 7 cm., width 3 cm.; it has a projecting lip, below which, in the front, is a small projecting piece which presumably acts as a handle. It is of red earthenware decorated with incised pattern. The stem is of soft wood or elephant grass about 20 cm. long into which a finer reed is fitted to form a mouthpiece (Plate 25, D).

[1] CZEKANOWSKI: *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebeit*, Band II, p. 450.

PIPE WITH GOATSKIN JOINT BETWEEN BOWL AND BASE

Distribution

LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY) Jopadhola.

A very rough specimen from the Jopadhola has a somewhat deep bowl which is joined to the stem with a goatskin joint. The mouthpiece of the stem is fitted with a finer reed as in the pipe described above (Plate 25, E).

PIPE WITH PORTION TO HOLD STEM OF ALMOST EQUAL SIZE TO THE BOWL

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP Gishu.

The Gishu pipe has an extremely large portion to hold the stem, it is poorly made, decorated with a roughly incised pattern (Plate 25, F).

PIPE WITH VERY LARGE ROUND BOWL

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU Nyoro, Toro.

Nyoro and Toro chiefs smoke a pipe with a very large round bowl bound to the wooden stem with fine copper wire. The pipe is well built and finished with a black smoke polish and bands of incised pattern.

The method of binding the stem with copper wire is common to tribes west and south of Lake Victoria (Plate 25, G).

PIPE WITH BOWL AT RIGHT ANGLES TO STEM

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES Karamoja.

A very roughly-made pipe from Karamoja is noteworthy in that the bowl and stem are at right-angles, instead of the usual acute angle; the pipe has a large everted lip (Plate 25, H).

GANDA SACRED PIPES

The most finished workmanship in pipemaking in the old days was that of the Ganda, where pipes with stems up to 150 cm. long were smoked. Decorative pipes of many curious shapes and sizes were made for the priests and oracles. These pipes were highly ornamental, some being made with many bowls, some in fantastic shapes, many decorated with scratch patterns in black, white, and red. The superior workmanship of these pipes is consistent with that of the pottery of the Ganda and Nyoro, but it must also be partly due to the ceremonial purposes to which the pipes were put (Plate 25, I).

Two individual pipes in the collection of the Uganda Museum deserve special consideration. The first was removed from Kintu's tomb at

Magonga somewhere about 1910. (Kintu is the founder of the tribe in Ganda mythology, and is reputed by tradition to have come from the east.) It may be taken as authentic that the pipe was genuinely recovered from the tomb[1] and it may prove to be of great interest in the search for the origins of the Ganda people. It has nothing in common with later Ganda pipes, either in size, shape, decoration or type of clay used.

It is of a light brown clay, with a large bowl, 16 cm. high, the portion holding the stem is also comparatively large. It has a flat base. It is decorated with bands of incised pattern, in pattern work it might be said to have some resemblance to the pipes of the Samia in the east of Uganda (Plate 25, K).

The second pipe of interest also has a definite tradition, it is said to have belonged to Nsimbe, the general in command of the army of Kabaka Kamanya when he fought against his brother Mutebi. (Kamanya was the grandfather of Mutesa I.) The pipe, which was regarded with great awe owing to its curious shape, was lost on the battleground a few miles from Kampala, and was only recovered again during the reign of Mwanga, who had ordered the ground to be cleared of undergrowth as it harboured snakes which had fatally bitten his horse (Plate 25, J).

This pipe also has the uncommon flat base, and is ornamented with moulded decoration apparently representing cowrie shells and drums. This, together with a rosette cylinder recently dug up at Ntusi[2] and the Luzira figure (Chap. XXIII) are the only specimens of moulded decoration on pottery yet recorded in Uganda.

BHANG PIPES

Distribution

(With gourd container for water.)

UNIVERSAL EXCEPT AMONG SOME OF THE INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU.	
CONGO BANTU	Amba, Konjo.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Nyoro, Toro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Sebei, Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara, Madi.

(With bamboo for stem and water container.)

LUO	Alur.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.

Bhang is smoked extensively throughout the country, except by the Inter-lacustrine Bantu, although it is prohibited by law. Sir Harry

[1] GORJU: *Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edward*, p. 102.

[2] A rosette cylinder of clay from Uganda. TROWELL: *Man*, September–October, 1945, p. 100.

Johnston[1] states that it was virtually prohibited by native law as far back as 1902, and that among the Bantu Kavirondo 'only men and unmarried women smoke hemp as it is thought to be injurious to women who are to bear children', and of the Jaluo 'only old men smoke hemp; boys and young men in the prime of life are not allowed to smoke hemp as it is thought injurious to their manhood'.

The type of pipe smoked varies slightly, but the main principles of construction of the common type are constant. The pipe consists of three separate parts; first the bowl to contain the hemp, secondly the bowl to contain hot embers, and lastly the vessel holding the water through which the fumes are drawn. The earthen-ware bowl for the hemp is small; a narrow neck leads down into a small gourd which contains water through which the smoker draws, using the neck of the gourd as his pipe-stem. Above the hemp bowl is fitted a larger one for the burning embers; this has a perforated base and projecting handle (Plate 26, B).

In the pipe used by the Kyoga Basin group the two bowls made for the embers and hemp are sometimes in one piece (Plate 26, C).

The Alur and also the Amba and Konjo use a pipe having a bamboo for pipe-stem and water-container (Plate 26, D). The Congo Bantu specimen ends in two points which can be stuck in the ground.

WATER-COOLED PIPE FOR SMOKING TOBACCO

Distribution

BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
CONGO BANTU	Amba.

Certain tribes use a water-cooled pipe for smoking tobacco very similar to the bhang pipes to be described later. A small clay bowl holds the tobacco, and the smoke is drawn through a gourd or section of bamboo containing water, the long narrow neck of the gourd acting as the stem of the pipe (Plate 26, A).

PIPE STAND

One smoking accessory should also be mentioned; this is a stand which is stuck up in a Hutu hut to hold pipes, fire sticks, etc. It consists of a heavy bamboo pole about one metre long which is thrust into the ground. The top end is frayed out and woven with other strands of bamboo into a sort of basket (Plate 26, E).

TOBACCO CONTAINERS

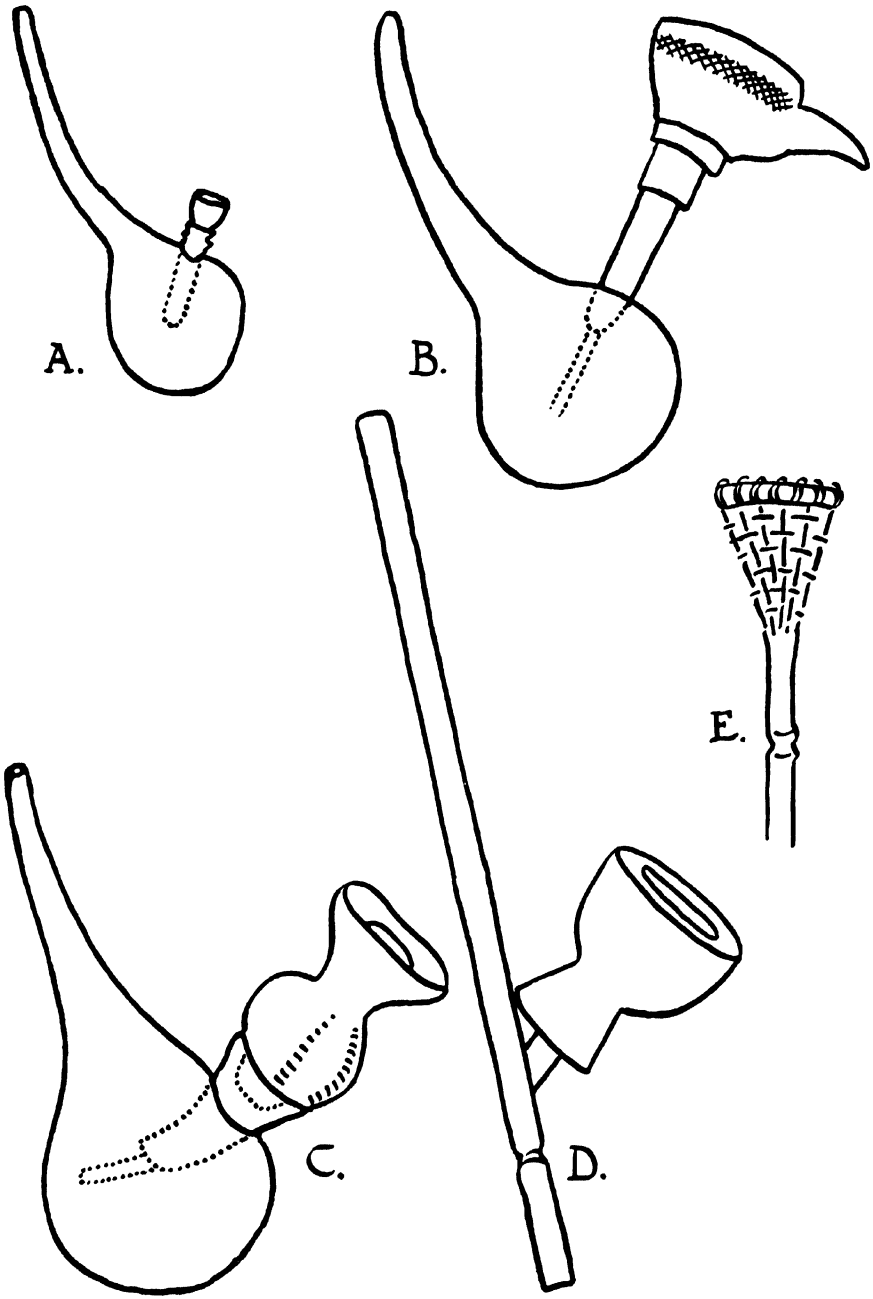
The Karamoja carry tobacco in small containers of horn.

[1] JOHNSON: *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, pp. 741, 789.



PIPES

A. Pipe with pointed base. *Black polished incised pattern.* TUSI. B. Pipe with pointed base. HIMA. C. Pipe with double pointed base. *Black polish. Incised pattern in white.* AMBA. D. Pipe with tall bowl. *Everted lip. Handle. Red earthenware. Incised pattern.* SAMIA. E. Pipe with goat-skin joint. *Rough. Black.* JOPADHOLA. F. Pipe with large portion for stem. *Rough. Black.* GISHU. G. Large round pipe. *Black polish. Incised pattern.* NYORO. H. Pipe with bowl at right angles to stem. *Rough earthenware.* KARAMOJA. I. Pipe from Temple. *Black polish. Incised pattern. Five bowls.* GANDA. J. Nsimbe's pipe. *Black. Flat base. Moulded decoration.* GANDA. K. Pipe from KINTU's tomb. *Light red earthenware. Flat base. Heavy incised pattern.* GANDA.



PIPES

A. Water-cooled pipe. *For smoking tobacco.* LUGBARA. B. Water-cooled pipe. *For smoking bhang.* ACOLI. C. Water-cooled pipe. *For smoking bhang.* JOPADHOLA. D. Water-cooled pipe. *For smoking bhang.* ALUR. E. Pipe-stand. *Woven bamboo.* 100 *cm. long.* HUTU.

Scale: 1 : 2·5. E, not to scale.

CHAPTER IX

BASKETRY

BASKETRY TECHNOLOGY

BASKETRY is probably the most highly developed art in Uganda, in it the tribes of every racial group have reached a high standard of workmanship, especially the Hamites and Inter-lacustrine Bantu; and between them they practise almost every known method of basket making.

The craft is perhaps the most fundamental of a primitive community; the interlacing and tying of splints, sticks, reeds and fibres and the smearing of them with mud or dung to make a sound and waterproof surface would seem to be the first most obvious step man would take to improve his natural surroundings. It is the foundation of home-making and defence, for not only are stockades, enclosure fences and huts woven, but portable shields can be made in the same way. Pens and traps for livestock, heavy baskets for field work, granaries, receptacles for grain and food of all kinds, and even drinking vessels, can be made by one method or another of basketry.

It is probable that it was understood before the working of iron, wood or clay, indeed it is an accepted theory that the technique of coiled pottery was derived from that of basketry. Some early moulded pots show signs of having been pressed into shape inside a woven basket and this has given rise to the suggestion that the whole discovery of the action of great heat on clay came about by the accidental firing of the clay lining of food baskets long ago.

Basketry has never been the work of specialist craftsmen, men and women tending to make what was needed for the use of their own household, thus it has naturally happened that fences, granaries, reed work, thatching, traps and heavy field baskets are made by men, smaller baskets for storing small quantities of food in the house, mats, baskets and trays for serving food by women, while the delicate fancy baskets, pot lids and pot-stands whose use is almost more ornamental than functional are the product of the endless hours of leisure of Hamitic and Inter-lacustrine Bantu women.

Material for basket work can be obtained in almost any type of country, swamp, forest or grassland. Amongst the most common are the Raphia palm, Borasus palm, papyrus, sorghum, and many other grasses, shrubs and creepers.

As each tribe or group of tribes will tend to use only one or two techniques for all their varied artifacts it will be as well to devote a section

to the study of these different methods, and attempt to plot their distribution throughout the country.

Basketry can be divided into two main groups. In one case two or more sets of elements are interwoven in various ways comparable with the warp and weft of woven cloth, so that this may be termed *woven basketry* although no loom is used and the work is usually done with the fingers alone.

In the second type a spiral coil is sewn together with a length of fibre, and the method is therefore known as *coiled basketry*. For this process an iron awl or stiletto is used, often with a knife blade at one end.

WOVEN BASKETRY

WICKER-WORK

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Nyoro, Toro, Ganda, Ssese.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango, Copi, Jopadhola.

This is one of the most simple forms of basketry and is specially suitable for the production of strong field and storage baskets in heavy materials. The elements consist of a number of stiff rods radiating from the centre of the base which may collectively be called the warp, and a more flexible rod which is passed over and under the warp rods as in weaving (Plate 27, A1).

Variation

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Samia, Gwe.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo.

A very common variation is the grouping of the warp rods in sets of four and five with a wider space between the groups, the weft being passed over and under the group as one whole unit (Plate 27, A2).

Variation

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU Hutu, Kiga. (Outside Uganda—Karagwe.)

Another variation found among the people of south-west Uganda is a type in which both warp and weft (of strong twigs) are used in groups leaving large spaces between both sets, thus forming a very open work type of weave (Plate 27, A3).

CHECK WEAVE

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Hutu.

When warp and weft are of the same material, are closely interwoven in the simplest way, and the material, having a flat surface (e.g. split bamboo or papyrus) allows the elements to lie flat upon each other, the resulting weave will be a check pattern (Plate 27, B).

TWILLED WEAVE

Distribution

LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara, Madi.
LUO	Alur.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa.

(Outside Uganda—Mamvu, Logo.[1])

When warp and weft are of similar material to that used in check weave, but the weft is passed under and over two weft strands, a type of diagonal weave is produced (Plate 27, C).

HEXAGONAL WEAVE

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Samia, Gwe.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
LUO	Copi.

The element consists of horizontal and vertical warps not interwoven, the horizontal warp always lying above the vertical warp. A diagonal weft passes over the horizontal and under the vertical warp (Plate 27, D1).

Variation

CONGO BANTU	Amba, Konjo.

(Outside Uganda—Momvu, Bambuba.[1])

The Amba and Konjo make baskets of different sizes of a more complicated type of hexagonal weave (Plate 27, D2).

TWINED WEAVE

FITCH OR TWO STRAND TWINED WEAVE

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere.
LUO	Acoli, Alur.

In this weave two wefts are used, one passing behind and one before each warp rod, twisting on themselves between each warp as do the strands of a two-ply rope (Plate 27, E1).

[1] CZEKANOWSKI: op. cit., Band II, pp. 427, 449.

WALE OR THREE STRAND TWINED WEAVE

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Nyoro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango, Jopadhola.

Three weft rods are used instead of two, twisting on themselves between each warp as before. This is the most common type of basketry in Uganda for strong field baskets (Plate 27, E2).

WRAPPED TWINE WEAVE

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Toro.
(Outside Uganda—Mamvu, Karagwe.)	

A warp of stiff splints radiates from the base. A comparatively thick weft is coiled round this on the outside. This is held in place by a finer flexible weft passing behind the junction of these two and over the thick weft between them. The weft is packed down tightly so that the warp is invisible (Plate 28, A1).

A coarser type for field baskets of heavy cane leaves the coils of the weft some 3 cm. apart.

Variation

LUO	Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.

The Lango and Teso make a square winnowing tray in which two sets of twigs, one horizontal and one vertical, are placed one above the other, not interwoven, and a pliant weft is so twined that the whole thing is packed tight and held rigidly together. The weft is twined round two horizontal and one vertical warp at each turn. The work is so closely done that when finished the warp is invisible on the right side (Plate 28, A2).

Variation

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Ssese.

A variation used for coarse open-work field baskets or baskets for storing dried fish, etc., when the warp and first weft are of twigs or withes and the second weft of pliable fibre.

The first weft is coiled over and under alternate warp splints forming vertical ridges up the basket, the second weft is twined with this after the manner of fitch work (Plate 28, A3).

COILED BASKETRY

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Ganda, Nyoro. Toro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
LUO	Lango.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo.

The elements are a stiff core of one or more fibres and a softer splint or strip for sewing.

In making a basket the worker starts in the centre of the base coiling the core and wrapping it with the strip as she proceeds, so as to bind it to the proceeding turn, drawing the strip between the spirals. In coiled basketry the spiral course of the foundation is conspicuous, but the core itself is often entirely hidden by the over-sewing. The strip may, however, sometimes be narrow and leave spaces where the core is visible (Plate 28, B1, 2, 3).

The stitches may either pass through the top of the stitching of the row below or entirely cover it.

Patterns may be introduced through variations in stitching in a self-coloured basket, or they may be worked by using strips of more than one colour (Plate 28, B4, 5).

TYPES OF BASKETS

Having studied the distribution of various technical methods of basketry throughout the country it would seem most convenient now to approach the subject from the functional end, grouping baskets according to their purpose, noting how some types are necessarily common to the whole country although the technique may be local, while others are confined to a small area.

HEAVY FIELD BASKETS

Distribution

UNIVERSAL.

Techniques

WICKER AND TWINED WEAVE (WALE)

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Nyoro, Toro, Iru.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Nyuli, Soga, Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango, Copi, Jopadhola.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi.

OPEN WICKER	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Hutu. (Outside Uganda—Karagwe.)
WRAPPED TWINE	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ssese, Ganda.
CHECK WEAVE	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Hutu.
TWILLED WEAVE	
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.
HEXAGONAL WEAVE	
CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.
COILED	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Iru.
LUO	Lango.

Baskets of this type are necessary throughout the country; they will usually be bowl-shaped of many varying sizes and closeness of weave, usually made of stiff twiggy material or of borassus palm. If used for grain they will be closely woven and lined with cow-dung.

The usual weave for baskets of this kind is wicker-work or three-strand twined weave. The latter is by far the most widely distributed technique, with small variations it is found all over the Protectorate, except in the south-west (Plate 29, A, B).

In the south-west of Uganda an interesting variation of wicker-work is used. This simple, rapidly made basket is formed by interweaving squarely two sets of about half a dozen groups of withes leaving spaces of about 10 cm. between each group. These are then bent up and secured round the top with two rings of withes (Plate 29, C).

The Ganda and Ssese use a bowl-shaped basket of a variation of wrapped-twine weave (Plate 29, D).

In the south-west tall round baskets are made of flat splints of bamboo or papyrus in check weave (Plate 29, E).

On the West Nile, where similar material is used, square based baskets are made of twilled weave (Plate 29, F).

The baskets used on Ruwenzori are usually of hexagonal weave (Plate 30, A).

The Sebei and northern Gishu use a field basket shaped like a very large half-calabash bowl. This is used by the women to carry produce from their fields to their homes higher up the mountain, it fits comfortably against the back with the point upwards. The basket is of wicker-work (Plate 30, C). They also use a basket shaped like an inverted heart with a small opening at the top.

STORAGE BASKETS FOR GRAIN

Distribution

UNIVERSAL.

Techniques

WICKER AND TWINED WEAVE (WALE)	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Iru, Nyoro, Toro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Gishu.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Copi, Jopadhola.
COILED BASKETRY	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo.
CHECK WEAVE	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga.

Granaries, which are really large baskets, have been described in the chapter on villages, smaller storage baskets will be found in most huts in grain-eating districts. These baskets are often funnel-shaped, heavily cow-dunged, standing anything up to 100 cm. high, made of wicker or twined weave, or the sides may be of parallel splints tied together at regular intervals with rows of twined weave.

The Inter-lacustrine Bantu of the south-west together with the Congo Bantu make tall round baskets of coiled basketry with a wide mouth for carrying or storing grain, these sometimes have tall conical lids (Plate 30, B). The Teso keep flour in a very large shallow bowl-shaped basket of coiled basketry.

The south-west Inter-lacustrine Bantu use tall baskets of check weave (Plate 29, E).

STORAGE BASKETS FOR DRIED MEAT, ETC.

Distribution

Techniques

WICKER AND TWINED WEAVE (WALE)	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Nyoro, Toro, Ssese.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Samia, Gwe.
LUO	Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
WRAPPED TWINE WEAVE	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ssese.
COILED BASKETRY	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Iru, Toro.

A common type of lidded basket is shaped like an English cottage-loaf and is used to store dried meat, fish, and locusts; it is slung by a net from the hut roof. It is usually of wicker-work or three strand twined weave. The Ssese make a basket of this type of soft grass (Plate 30, E, F). The

Ssese also make this type of basket of wrapped twine weave (Plate 30, G).

Small baskets of a similar shape are carried by women of many of the tribes of the Kyoga Basin group when sowing seeds.

BASKETS FOR SERVING FOOD

Distribution

Techniques

COILED BASKETRY	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Hutu, Iru, Nyoro, Toro, Ganda.
KYOGO BASIN GROUP	Gishu.
TWINED WEAVE (WALE)	
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.
WICKER-WORK	
NILO-HAMITES	Sebei.
TWILLED WEAVE	
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
LUO	Alur.
BARI-SPEAKING	Kakwa, Kuku.

Among the plantain-eating people and particularly the Ganda a large shallow bowl-shaped vessel with an exactly similar lid of coiled basket is used to carry food, wrapped in banana leaves, from the kitchen to the eating-place; these baskets are also used to carry and store many other things besides food (Plate 30, H).

Coiled baskets of a rather deeper bowl-like shape are used for food by Kiga and Hutu women and children. The spread of such baskets northwards is reported, but the true centre would seem to be round the lake.

To the east a bowl-shaped basket of twined weave is used to serve food. The Sebei use a tray, shaped like a half-calabash, made of bamboo, for serving food. This is made in wicker-work (Plate 30, J).

The people of the west bank of the Nile serve their food in a basket of twilled weave, this is almost rectangular in shape, slightly wider at one end than the other, with a shovel-shaped cover sometimes decorated with black pattern-work (Plate 30, I).

ORNAMENTAL BASKETS

Distribution

Techniques

COILED BASKETRY	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi. Fine baskets with lids. Hima. Lids for milk-pots.
COMPOSITE, CHIEFLY TWINED WEAVE	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Nyoro. Woven pot-stands.

WICKER-WORK	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda. Bowl-shaped baskets.
WRAPPED TWINE WEAVE	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda. Gourd-shaped coffee baskets.
HEXAGONAL WEAVE	
CONGO BANTU	Amba.

It is amongst the Inter-lacustrine Bantu peoples that basketry has reached the highest level of delicacy and beauty.

The women of the aristocracy of the Inter-lacustrine Bantu, who are of Hamitic stock, do not work in the gardens as do their sisters of the agricultural tribes and so have many hours of leisure to while away, and it is these women who produce fine baskets which are used to present gifts of coffee berries to distinguished visitors; and the little trays, pot lids and pot-stands which have such a high decorative value.

The best workmanship is found in the finely coiled basket made by the Tusi women of Ruanda; these small round baskets, *agaseki*, with their tall conical lids (also made to cover the wooden milk-pots) are fine enough to hold milk. They are decorated with patterns in black which are described in the section on decoration (Plate 31, A). The Tusi women also make delicate little trays, the size of an English ash-tray, *agakoko*.

Hima women cover their wooden milk vessels with little round caps of coiled basketry; these also have their own traditional patterns.

Perhaps the most elaborate and complicated form of basketry is that of the woven pot-stands, *engato*, made by the royal ladies of Nyoro. These stands are made to hold the wooden milk-pots and are ring-shaped, some 10 cm. deep and 20 cm. in diameter. They consist of a core of coiled basketry bound with banana fibre, with a finely woven covering of raphia and sisal over both inner and outer surfaces. The inner surface is usually covered with a speckled pattern of twined weaving while the outer surface has an elaborate pattern worked on it in tapestry-twined-weave (Plate 31, B).

Although Ganda women work in the gardens and have not such a distinct Hamitic 'leisured-class' as the other Inter-lacustrine Bantu, yet in the Buddu district where, as would be expected, the Hamitic infiltration is strongest, we do find a tradition of beautiful basketry. These baskets are of two types, firstly very finely woven bowl-shaped baskets of wicker-work in natural colour, black and red, which Roscoe[1] describes as being made by people of the Heart Clan from 'a cane-like material from a shrub which grows freely there' (Plate 31, D).

The second type, *endabi*, are small bottle-shaped, or more correctly gourd-shaped, baskets of wrapped-twine weave with a small opening at the top, these are also often patterned with stripes of black or red (Plate 31, C).

[1] ROSCOE: *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 411.

The Amba make small round baskets with a hexagonal base of a closely woven hexagonal weave. These are technically only a smaller size of the basket which is in common use, but the workmanship is so fine that it should be included in this section.

FISH AND FOWL BASKETS

Distribution

CARRYING BASKETS	
UNIVERSAL.	
BASKETS FOR COOPS IN HUT	
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.
LUO	Lango, Acoli, Jopadhola.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kuku.

Many tribes have baskets for carrying fish and fowls; these will usually be of an open weave with a well-fitting lid (Plate 31, F).

Some of the Luo tribes have special baskets for sitting hens, either used as coops on the ground or slung by a rope from the roof in order to protect the fowl and eggs from the rats. The Acoli basket illustrated is of the coop variety, the Lango one of the second kind (Plate 31, E, G).

MATS

Mat-making is technically the same craft as basketry, involving both the same methods and materials; it should therefore be considered in this section. Five distinct methods of mat-making are found in the Protectorate.

Mats are used universally for bedding, as screens within the hut, to wrap up personal possessions when travelling, to spread in the sun for drying grain, and for many other purposes. The Toro use small mats on which to serve food, while the Tusi and Hima tribes have a mat with which young girls are expected to cover their heads when going beyond their own kraals.

TIED MATS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Nyoro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Nyuli, Gwere, Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Sebei, Teso.

The method which would seem to be the oldest Bantu technique since it is found right across the Protectorate from the west to the east, may be termed tied mat-making. It involves the fastening together, by means of one or more supple wefts, of a number of parallel stems of millet, rush,

papyrus, or other long-stemmed material; it can hardly be termed weaving, as in some cases the bands of fastening may be 60 cm. or more apart (Plate 32, A).

Kiga and Hutu mats of this type are noteworthy in that they display the usual Inter-lacustrine Bantu love of decoration. They are ornamented with the traditional black pattern-work, the pattern being formed by strips of black plantain fibre held in place by the rows of twined weaving which tie the mat together.

The finest matting in Uganda belongs to this group. These mats are worn by young Hima and Tusi girls to cover their heads and faces when going outside their own kraals. The mats are some 40 cm. wide by 100 cm. long, and consist of fine reeds laid parallel, fastened and decorated with ribs of raised stitching in black. The ribs of stitching are sewn over a fibre cord. This particular stitch is also found on Toro food mats, Konjo belts, and is used to fasten the reeds which form the gates of the royal enclosure of the Kabaka of Buganda (Plate 32, C).

THREADED MATS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Toro, Nyoro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Nyuli.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara, Madi.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Another method of fastening the stems forming the mat is to thread them together with parallel rows of fibre running through them (Plate 32, B).

STITCHED MATS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hima.

Yet a third method of fastening parallel stems to form a mat is by stitching them together rather as coiled basketry is stitched, only of course the work runs in a series of straight lines instead of coils.

This is found on the decorated head-mats of the Hima girls when the traditional pattern-work is beautifully carried out in black and white (Plate 32, D).

CHECK WEAVE MAT

Distribution

LUO	Lango.

The Lango use a mat in check weave of broadstrips (about 3 or 4 cm.) of the fronds of the Borassus palm.

PLAITED PALM LEAF MATS

Distribution

NOW ALMOST UNIVERSAL. Probably brought by Arabs.

A very different type of mat is made by joining together plaited strips made from the wild date palm (*Phoenix reclinata*), or the dum palm (*Hyphaens coriacea*). This type is similar to that used in the Sudan and on the coast and was most probably brought to Uganda by the Arabs. Its distribution is now almost universal, but seems to have spread up from the lake-shore districts (Plate 32, E).

Patterns are formed by introducing coloured strands and by alterations in the weave.

MAT OF BEATEN BARK

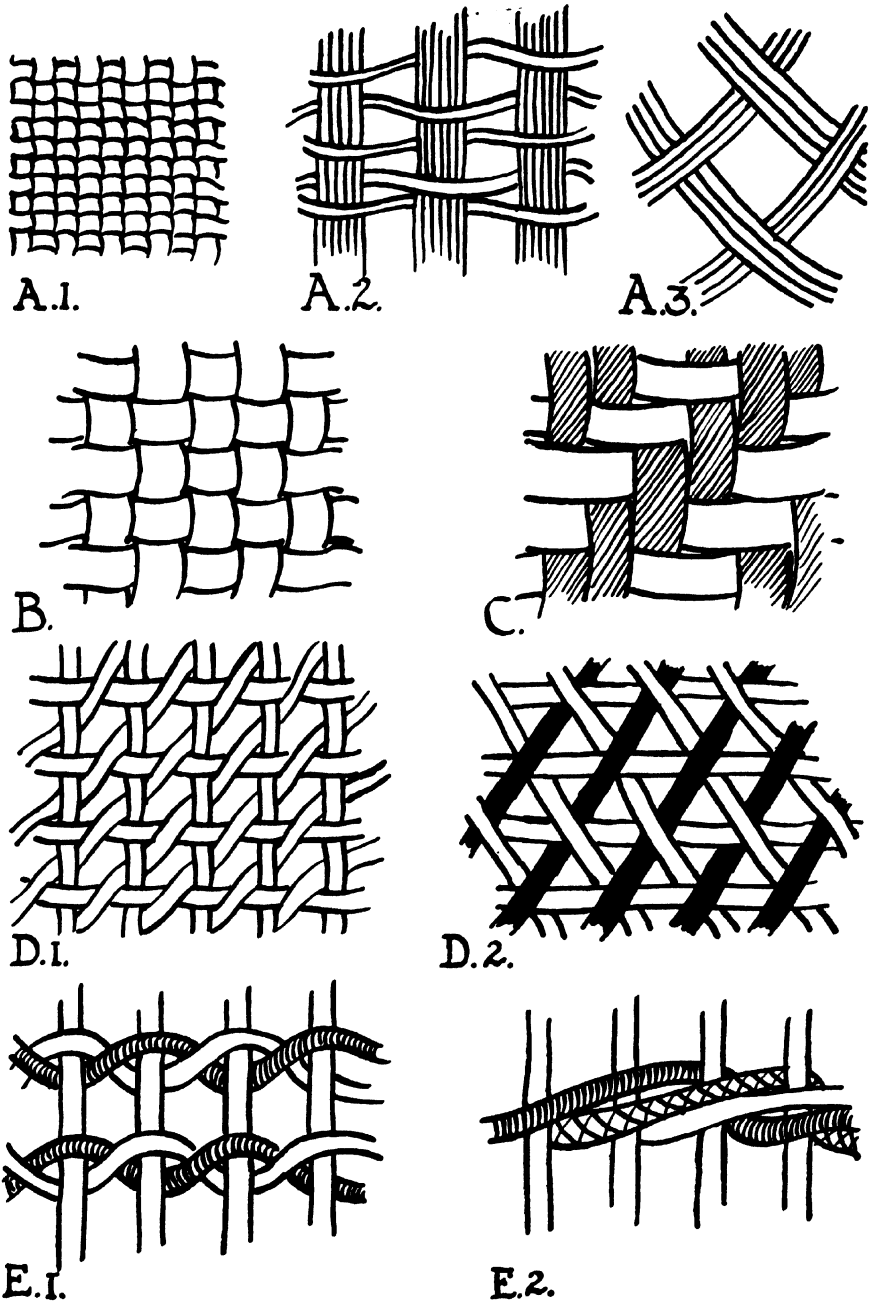
Distribution

LUO Lango.

Driberg[1] mentions a mat from the beaten-out bark of the phoenix palm which was used in the past by the Lango. This appears to be unknown today.

[1] DRIBERG: *The Lango*, London, 1923, p. 89.

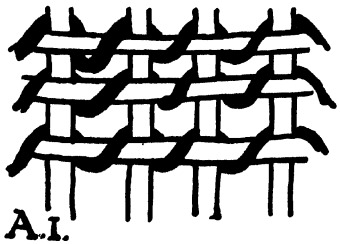
PLATE 27



BASKETRY TECHNOLOGY

A1. Wicker-work. A2. Wicker-work. *Variation. Grouped warp.* A3. Wicker-work. *Variation. Open weave.* B. Check weave. C. Twilled weave. D1. Open hexagonal weave. D2. 'Amba' hexagonal weave. E1. Twined weave. *Fitch.* E2. Twined weave. *Wale.*

No scale.



A.1.

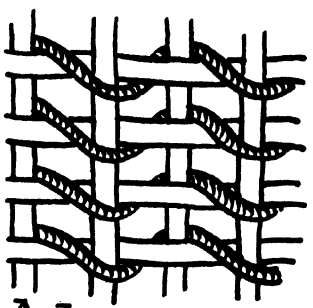


FRONT VIEW.

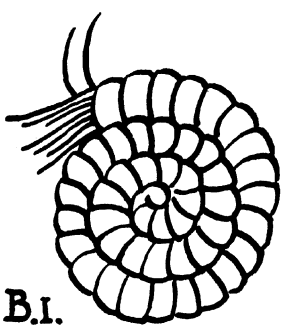


BACK VIEW.

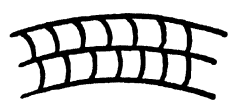
A.2.



A.3.



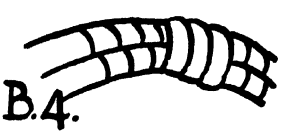
B.1.



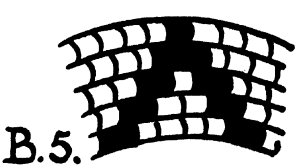
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B.3.



B.4.



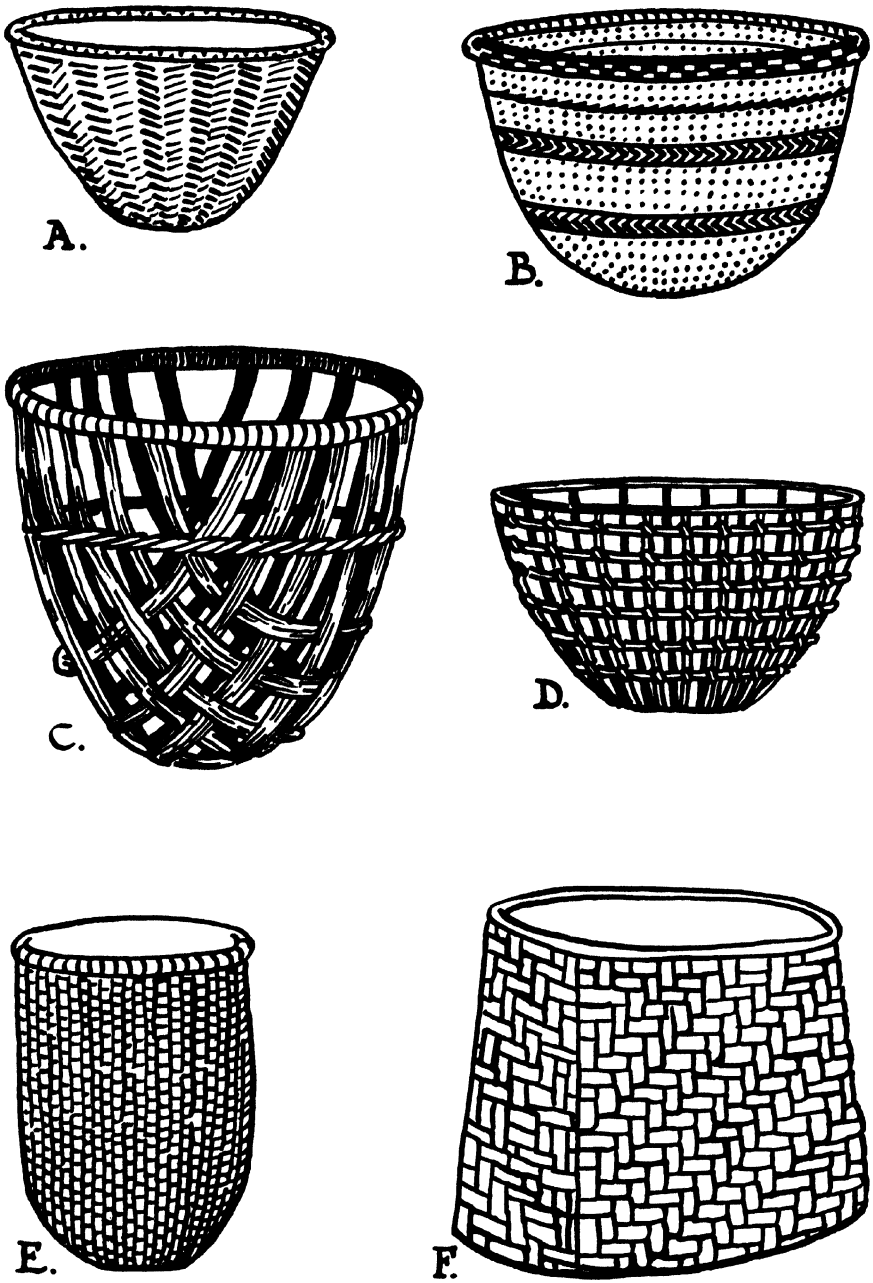
B.5.

BASKETRY TECHNOLOGY

A1. Wrapped twined weave. A2. Wrapped twined weave. *Variation.* A3. Wrapped twined Weave. *Variation.* B1. Coiled basketry. *The start of a coiled basket.* B2. Coiled basketry. *Core hidden by close over-sewing.* B3. Coiled basketry. *Core left visible.* B4. Coiled basketry. *Pattern formed by alteration of stitching.* B5. Coiled basketry. *Pattern formed by introduction of more than one colour.*

No scale.

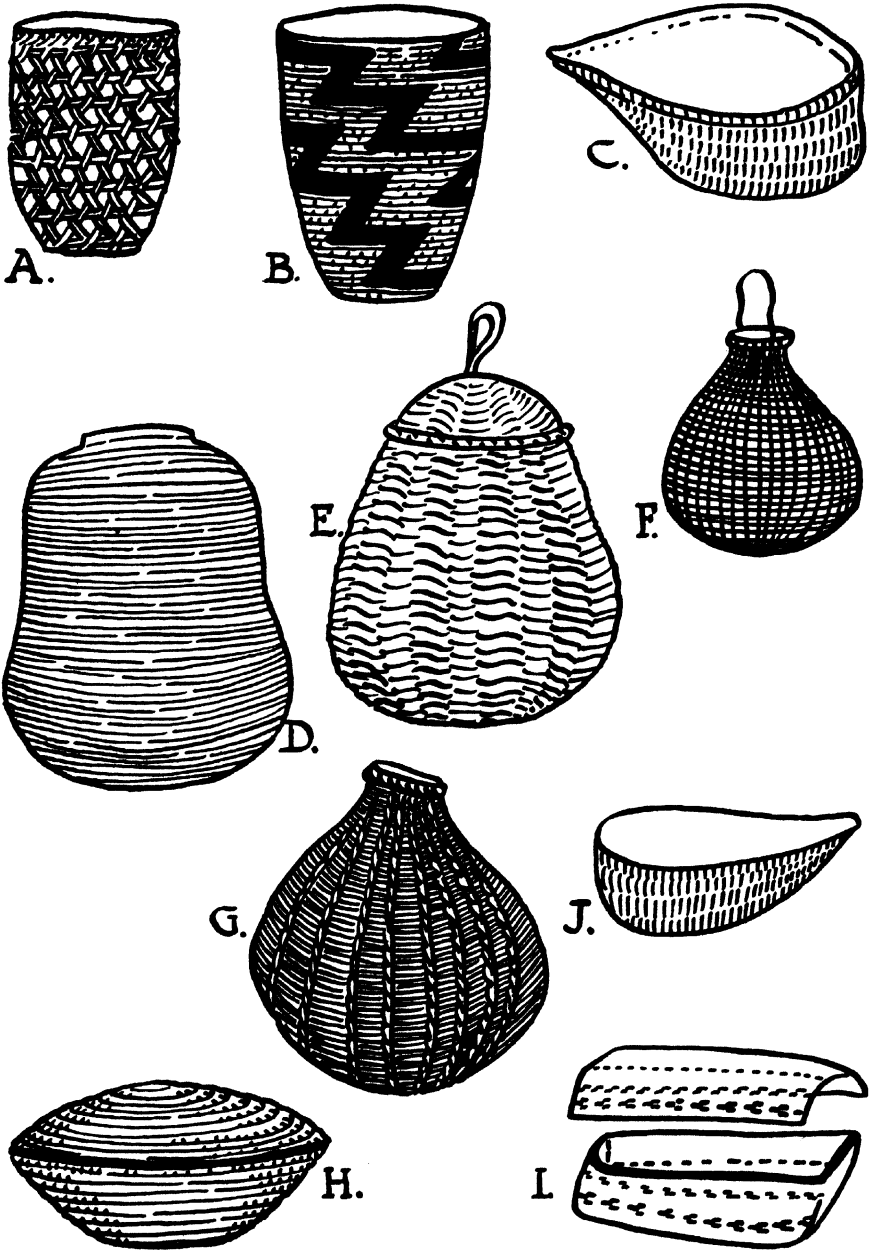
PLATE 29



HEAVY FIELD BASKETS

A. Heavy field basket. *Twined weave (wale).* LANGO. B. Heavy field basket. *Twined weave (wale).* ACOLI. C. Heavy field basket. *Open wicker work.* KIGA. D. Heavy field basket. *Wrapped twine weave.* SSESE. E. Heavy field basket. *Check weave.* KIGA. F. Heavy field basket. *Twilled weave.* MADI.

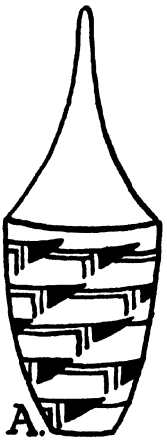
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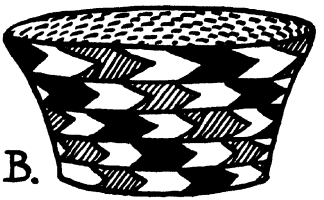


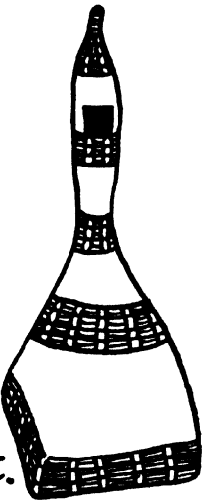
FIELD AND STORAGE BASKETS AND BASKETS FOR SERVING FOOD

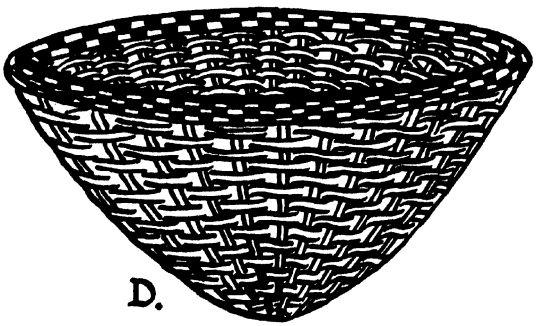
A. Field basket. *Hexagonal weave.* KONJO. B. Grain basket. *Coiled basketry.* KIGA. C. Field basket. *Wicker work.* SEBEI. D. Grain storage basket. *Coiled basketry.* KONJO. E. Meat storage basket. *Twined weave* (*wale*). SOGA. F. Meat storage basket. *Wicker work.* SSESE. G. Meat storage basket. *Wrapped twine weave.* SSESE. H. Basket for serving food. *Coiled basketry.* GANDA. I. Basket for serving food. *Twilled weave* ALUR. J. Basket for serving food. *Wicker work.* SEBEI.

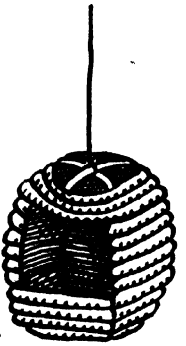
Scale: 1 : 6 except C, 1 : 12.

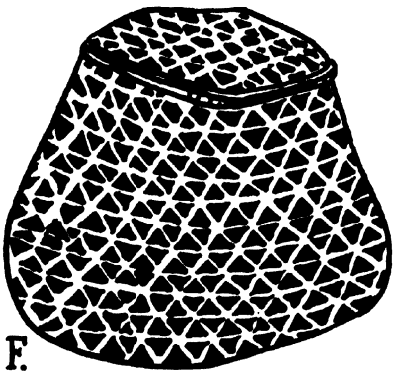


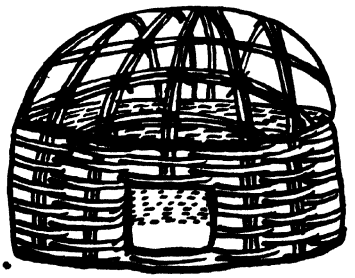








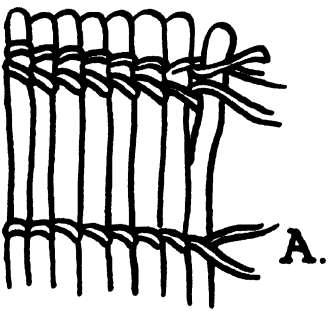


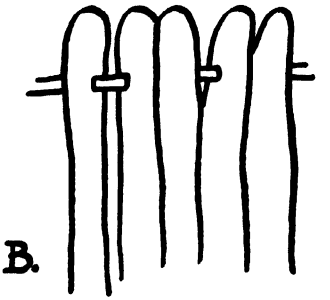


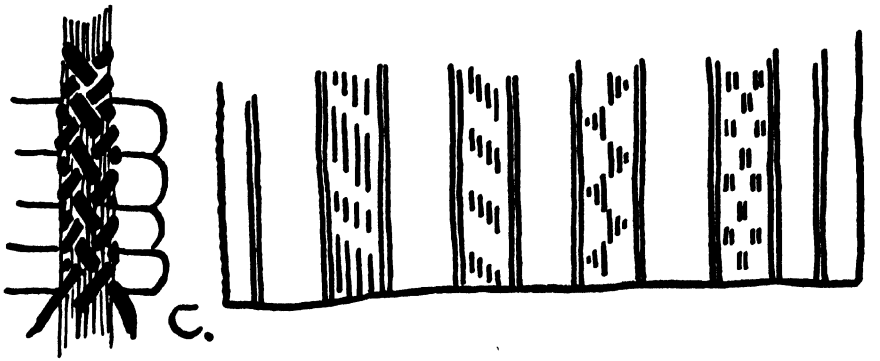
ORNAMENTAL BASKETS AND BASKETS FOR FOWLS AND FISH

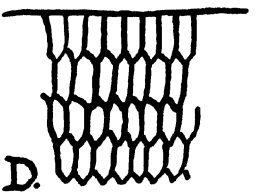
A. Ornamental basket. *Coiled weave.* TUSI. B. Pot stand. NYORO. C. Ornamental basket for coffee berries. *Wrapped twine weave.* GANDA. D. Ornamental basket. *Wicker work.* GANDA. E. Basket for sitting hen. LANGO. F. Basket for carrying fish or fowls. *Hexagonal weave.* GANDA. G. Basket or coop for sitting hen. ACOLI.

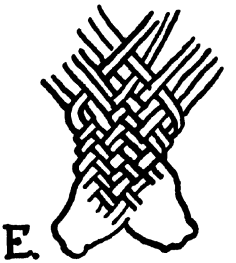
Scale: A, B, C, D, 1 : 5. E, F, G, 1 : 10.













MATS

A. Large mat. *Tied.* KIGA. B. Mat. *Threaded.* GANDA. C. Head-mat. *Tied. Inter-lacustrine Bantu Stitch.* HIMA. D. Head-mat. *Stitched as coiled basketry. Inter-lacustrine Bantu Patterns.* HIMA. E. Plaited matting. UNIVERSAL.

No scale.

CHAPTER X

STOOLS

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COTTON-REEL STOOL TO A TYPE WITH DIVIDED LEGS AND BASE, AS SEEN IN KIGEZI

In a fairly primitive district where each small group tends to have its own minor craftsmen who are not highly specialized; where society is democratic and both rich and poor, men and women, use the same objects; artifacts will be crudely made and may show considerably more variety than in a more advanced area where specialist craftsmen and social usage have resulted in the production of stereotyped articles.

From a study of such primitive types it has been possible to construct an evolutionary series which is of interest. A collection of stools from Kigezi (actually of the Kiga, but the stools of the Hutu and Iru would show exactly similar tendencies) tell a clear story of the development of the stool from the crude log to a fairly advanced type with separate legs and base.

In this area stools are used by men, women and children alike, but in each household the 'best' stool, i.e. the largest and most finished, will belong to the Master-of-the-house.

The first stage is the log of wood, sometimes with a very roughly shaped top, which is used by children (Plate 33, A).

The second stage, possibly due to a desire to reduce the log to a more convenient shape and weight, is to cut it away round the centre, thus producing what may be called the cotton-reel type. The Kiga have several well recognized forms of these stools (Plate 33, B, B1).

The final leg-and-base type is produced by hollowing out sections of the central pillar of the second stage leaving two or more 'legs'. Four legs seem to be the most common number, but more are not unknown; there is also a type with one central leg surrounded by others. It can be seen that the bow-legged type evolves easily from the second specimen shown of the cotton-reel stool (Plate 33, C, C1).

A noticeable resemblance exists between one type of wooden food bowl used in this district and the stools in the same area.

THE COTTON-REEL STOOL

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Toro, Nyoro, Ganda.

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe, Soga, Nyuli.
NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola, Alur.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Madi (north only).
(Outside Uganda—CONGO	Lendu, Mamvu, Babira.[1]
TANGANYIKA	Ushashi.[1])

The cotton-reel stool is found over a large area of Uganda, and is used almost everywhere except in the West Nile.

Certain characteristics can be defined. Among the more strongly Bantu element of the south-west Inter-lacustrine Bantu, i.e. the Kiga, Hutu and Iru, the stool is large and clumsy; and, because there seem to be few special stool-makers and many people make their own, there are a large variety of shapes. They have heavy tops and bases. The most common are illustrated here (Plate 33, B, B1). Another from the same district is not very common (Plate 33, D).

The Konjo type of this stool (which is so commonly used by the Toro that most Europeans call it the Toro stool) is also large; the top is thin at the edges becoming slightly thicker towards the centre, while the column is narrow at the top spreading out towards the base. The stool is usually decorated with incised pattern (Plate 33, E). This is also illustrated by Czekanowski as Babira (Congo).[2]

Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic specimens of the type are of far more finished workmanship, the top and base being well formed, fairly flat and thin, the column narrow in proportion to them (Plate 33, F).

Some Teso specimens have a very long narrow column, the whole stool standing 50 cm. high.

THE LEG-AND-BASE STOOL

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Nyoro, Ganda.
LUO	Acoli, Lango.
CONGO BANTU	Amba, Konjo.

Square-cut type

LUO	Acoli, Alur.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

As we should expect, we find the distribution of this type of stool fairly consistent with that of the 'cotton-reel' type. It is found among the Inter-lacustrine Bantu, Luo and Congo, but not the Nilo-Hamites who come in the area where the legged stool with no base takes its place. Again, the Bantu element of the Inter-lacustrine Bantu produce a variety of large

[1] KOLLMANN: *The Victoria Nyanza*, p. 179.

[2] CZEKANOWSKI: *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet*, Band II, pp. 523, 426, 347.

clumsy shapes closely resembling in outline the equivalent cotton-reel shapes (Plate 33, C, C1). The finest specimen of this type still to be seen is that of the Omukama Kabarega (Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara) in his tomb near Hoima which is illustrated here (Plate 34, C).

The Amba specimen with its method of decoration and finish has a family resemblance to the Konjo cotton-reel (Plate 34, A). One Konjo specimen illustrated by Czekanowski[1] would seem identical with the Kiga one here illustrated (Plate 33, C1).

The Luo leg-and-base stools, too, show by their craftsmanship the area from which they come; they have comparatively thin flat seats and bases and well carved small legs (Plate 34, B).

The Bari-speaking group, Madi group, and also the Acoli have stools which are strictly speaking 'leg-and-base', but the seat and base is usually perfectly flat, often rectangular, the legs placed at the four corners and often square-cut, so that they would seem to have had a different origin from those we have been considering above (Plate 34, D, E, F).

THE LEGGED STOOL WITH NO BASE

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Nyoro.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola, Alur.

Down the eastern side of Uganda among that mixed collection of Bantu, Nilo-Hamitic and Luo peoples the usual type of stool consists in a top with three or four legs and no base. There are various minor modifications of size and shape, few of which would seem to identify the stool with a particular tribe within the large area. Some have 'feet' carved at the base of the legs, others a small spike below the centre of the seat; others (Samia and Gwe) are sometimes decorated with beadwork on the seat. As in south-west Uganda, so here the Bantu work is heavier and more clumsy than the Nilo-Hamite and Luo (Plate 34, G, H, I).

It will be seen that the two big divisions of stools with bases and stools without bases overlap in the south central area of the Inter-lacustrine Bantu, the Ganda and Nyoro. It would seem probable that the first type, either in the cotton-reel or the legged form, is the older stool of both tribes. Kabarega's stool (NYORO) and the stool from Kibuka's shrine (Kibuka, god of war, GANDA), now in the Cambridge Ethnological Museum, are of the legged variety, while *namulondo*, the sacred stool used in Ganda coronation rites, which must be of considerable antiquity, is said by its keeper to be of the cotton-reel variety. (It would be interesting to verify this, but the stool is always kept covered, and even the Kabaka himself has never seen it.)

[1] CZEKANOWSKI: op. cit., Band II, p. 390.

Among the Nyoro the cotton-reel type is the stool in common use, although the leg-with-no-base type is by no means uncommon.

In Buganda only the Kabaka himself used a stool in the old days, for Speke[1] tells us in his Journal:

> A small page, with a large bundle of grass, came to me and said, 'The King hopes you won't be offended if required to sit on it before him; for no person in Uganda, however high in office, is ever allowed to sit upon anything raised above the ground, nor can anybody but himself sit upon such grass as this; it is all that his throne is made of. The first day he only allowed you to sit on your stool to appease your wrath.'

It would seem that the Ganda, having no stools of their own, adopted those of their neighbours and there seems very little agreement among them as to whether the type with or without a base has most claim to be called a Ganda stool.

STOOLS WITH SOLID OR SEMI-SOLID SIDES

Distribution

LUO	Alur.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara, Madi, Lendu.

A stool used only by old men among the Lugbara has completely solid sides (Plate 35, C).

Two stools are illustrated as examples of stools with semi-solid sides and no base; they are heavily built, one having a rectangular seat, one a round one. They come from the north-west of Uganda, the first from the Alur; the second is used extensively in Kibero, a Nyoro village on the flats of the Lake Albert shore, where it is said to be traded across from the Lendu for salt (Plate 35, A, B).

Next come two women's stools from the Madi, less solid but with cross-bars at the sides (Plate 35, D, E).

TESO THREE-LEGGED STOOL

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Nyuli.

The Teso have a small stool carved from the solid which has short thick-set legs at either end and a crossbar running from end to end underneath the seat. The legs are divided into two at the bottom at one or both ends (Plate 36, B).

[1] SPEKE: *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile.* Dent, 1922, p. 241.

'NATURAL' STOOLS OF LOGS, ROOTS, OR FORKED BRANCHES

HORIZONTAL LOG

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Nyuli, Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
NILO-HAMITES	Sebei, Teso.
LUO	Lango, Acoli, Jopadhola, Alur.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Mention has already been made at the beginning of this chapter of the log used by women and children as a seat in south-west Uganda. Among many tribes a small log placed horizontally on the ground is used by the women (Plate 36, A).

SMALL PRONGED ROOT OR BRANCH STOOL

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Nyuli, Samia, Gwe.
NILO-HAMITE	Sebei, Teso, Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa.

A widely distributed stool in north and north-east Uganda is carved in a rather different way from the stool cut from the solid log. In this case a portion of the main trunk of a tree is chosen having three prongs branching out on the same side which may be used for the legs.

The main trunk is flattened for the seat and the appearance of the stool and size of the seat will vary greatly according to position of the branches. Young men of today usually state that it is an old man's stool; this does not necessarily mean more than that it is an old-fashioned stool; it is also usually ascribed to herdsmen (Plate 36, C, D, E).

LARGE STOOL OR COUCH OF FORKED BRANCHES

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Amba.

(Outside Uganda—Widespread in the Congo, including Ituri-Pygmies.)

The Amba stool (or rather, couch, for on it a man may recline at full length) is formed in a rather similar way to the stool just described. In this case the long trunk of a tree is slit down and forked branches left at one end to act as legs and head-rest. The stool is thus raised at a comfortable angle at the head end (Plate 36, F).

THE PALM-STEM STOOL

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Nyoro.
LUO	Alur.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

(Outside Uganda—Bambutu,[1] Mangbetu,[2] Azande.[3])

One other stool remains to be described which has nothing in common with any other stool found in Uganda. It is made of palm stems lashed together with bands of twined weave at intervals. It resembles a bench or small divan rather than a stool in the accepted sense. Its distribution is interesting; it is found all down the west bank of the Nile as far as Lake Albert, from whence it comes across to the Nyoro, where it is very common. Schweinfurth[4] reports a stool of similar construction from the Bambutoo, Czekanowski[5] from the Mangbetu, and Larkin[6] from the Azande (Plate 35, G).

HEAD-RESTS

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli.

Among the Karamoja and Acoli, as among the Turkana and Suk, the stool was more often than not used as a head-rest to support the enormous mass of hair with its complicated collection of ornaments.

The stool or head-rest which evolved for this purpose is often hardly bigger than a man's hand, and consists usually in a small rectangular top shaped to take the curve of a man's neck, supported on two legs only; this enables it to be tilted at a convenient angle. A strap or cross-bar allows it to be carried slung on the arm. The workmanship of these little head-rests is usually very fine.

Of the head-rests illustrated in Plate 37, A, B, and C are of one piece of wood, bent and carved, the ends being held by a thong. A comes from the Acoli, B and C are Karamoja types. D, also from Karamoja, is an ox-rib bent and thonged in the same way.

E, where the legs are held together with woven fibre, is common to the Karamoja, Turkana and Suk.

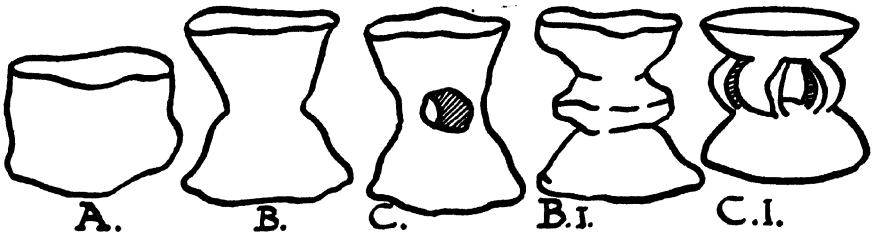
F, Acoli, and G, Karamoja, both have a central column and a small base.

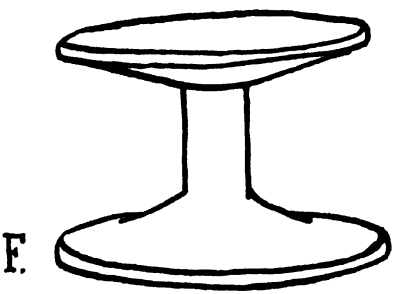
J, Acoli, has the central column dividing into three legs, while K, Karamoja, is almost a small legged stool.

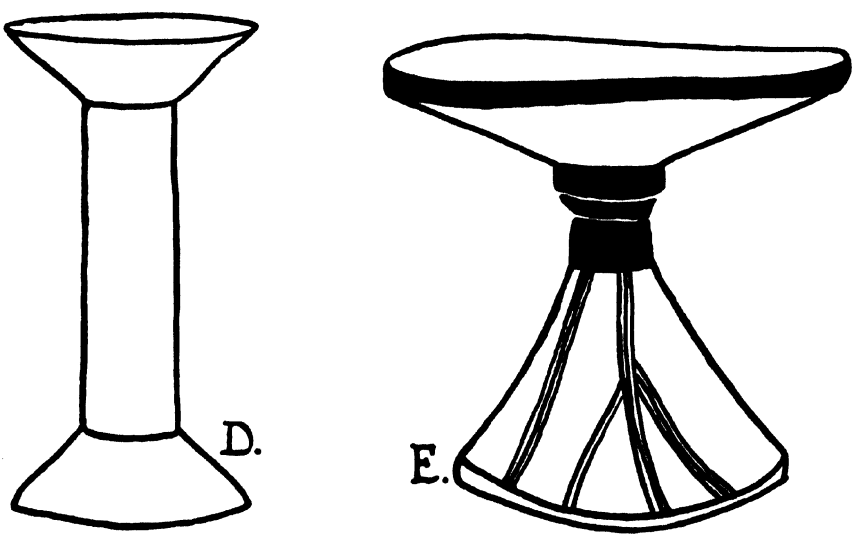
Various other shapes, usually with two legs such as H and I, are to be found.

[1] SCHWEINFURTH: *The Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 544; Vol. II, Frontispiece.
[2] CZEKANOWSKI: op. cit., Band II, p. 150.
[3] LARKIN: 'Impressions of the Azande', *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. X, p. 132.
[4] SCHWEINFURTH: *The Heart of Africa*, Vol. I, p. 544; Vol. II, Frontispiece.
[5] CZEKANOWSKI: op. cit., Band II, p. 150.
[6] LARKIN: 'Impressions of the Azande', *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. X, p. 132.

PLATE 33







STOOLS

A to C. The evolution of the cotton-reel and leg-and-base type of stool. KIGA. D. Cotton-reel stool. KIGA. E. Cotton-reel stool. KONJO. F. Cotton-reel stool. ACOLI.

Scale: A–C no scale. D, E, F, 1 : 6.

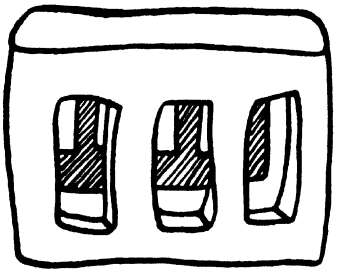


STOOLS

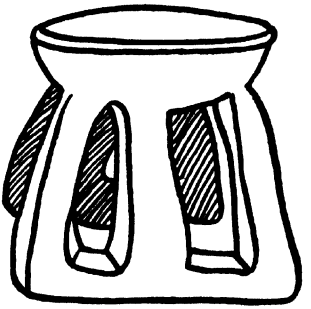
A. Leg-and-base stool. AMBA. B. Leg-and-base stool. ACOLI. C. Leg-and-base stool. NYORO. D. Square cut leg-and-base stool. MADI. E. Square cut leg-and-base stool. ACOLI. F. Square cut leg-and-base stool. ACOLI. G. Legged stool with no base. SOGA. H. Legged stool with no base. SAMIA. I. Legged stool with no base. LANGO.

Scale: 1 : 6.

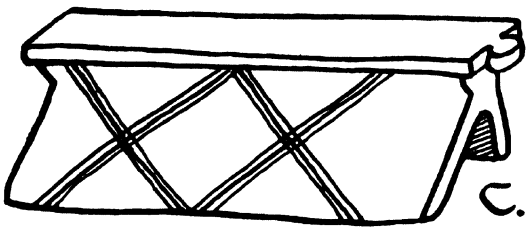
PLATE 35



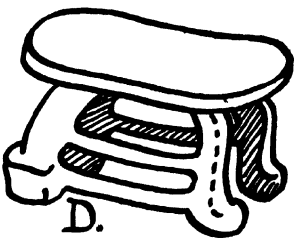
A.



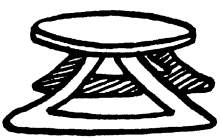
B.



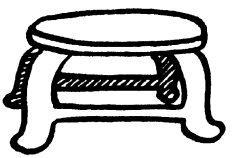
C.



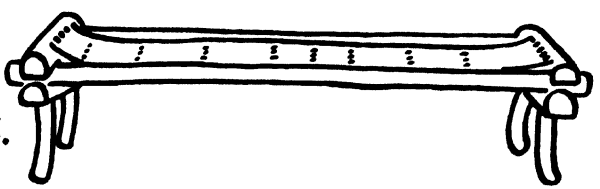
D.



E.



F.

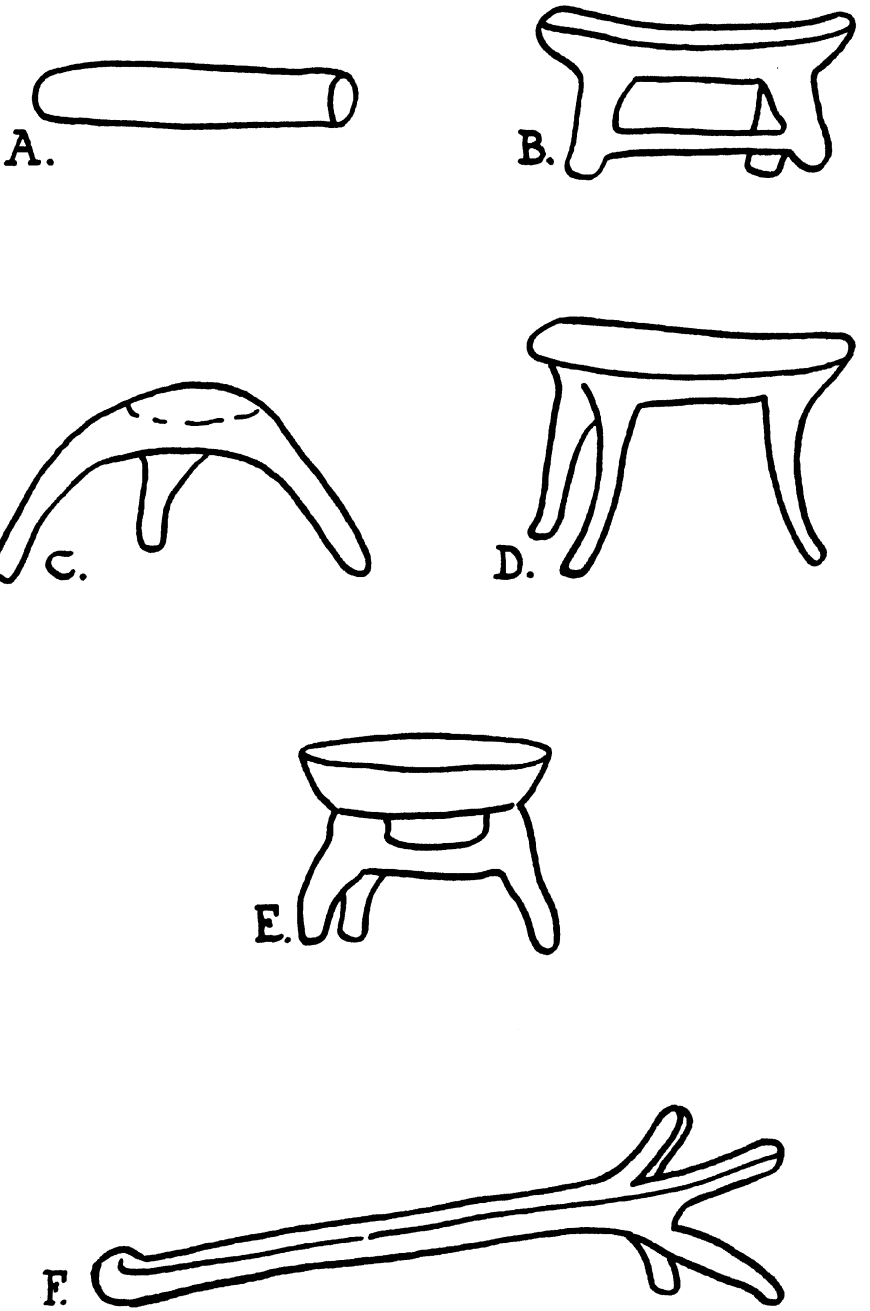


G.

STOOLS

A. Stool with semi-solid sides. ALUR. B. Stool with semi-solid sides. LAKE ALBERT FLATS, NYORO. Traded from LENDU for salt. C. Stool with solid sides. LUGBARA. D. Stool with side bars. MADI. E. Stool with side bars. MADI. F. Stool with side bars. ACOLI. G. Stool of palm stems. NYORO.

Scale: A–F 1 : 6. G, 1 : 12.



STOOLS

A. Log used as stool by women. ACOLI. B. Stool *carved from the solid.* TESO. C, D, E. Stool *formed from main trunk and three pronged branches.* TESO. F. Large stool or couch *formed from main trunk and pronged branches.* AMBA.

Scale: A–E 1 : 6. F, 1 : 12.

PLATE 37



STOOLS, HEAD-REST TYPE

A. Head-rest. ACOLI. B. Head-rest. KARAMOJA. C. Head-rest. KARAMOJA. D. Head-rest. (*Ox rib.*) KARAMOJA. E. Head-rest. KARAMOJA. F. Head-rest. ACOLI. G. Head-rest. KARAMOJA. H. Stool. ACOLI. I. Stool. ACOLI. J. Stool. ACOLI. K. Stool. KARAMOJA.

Scale: 1 : 6.

CHAPTER XI

MISCELLANEOUS HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS

THERE remain a number of miscellaneous household objects which are not of sufficient importance to merit more than a short section, but which nevertheless must be included in any account of material cultures.

NETS

Distribution

UNIVERSAL.

Large nets are used for fishing and hunting.

Simple nets often of a very large size are used by most tribes to sling gourds, pots, baskets, etc., from the roof of the hut.

Fine nets are made by women of Hamitic blood among the Tusi, Hima, Toro and Nyoro. These are used to sling the milk-pots from either end of a long pole carried by the herdsman over his shoulder, or to hang them in the house. They are extremely well made in a number of beautiful patterns (Plate 38, A, B, C, D).

The most common stitch, *ekisese*, is also used by Nyoro women to make large bags (Plate 38, E), and also small bags of coloured string for holding coffee berries. Bags identical with the large Nyoro bag are also made by the Jopadhola.

Other tribes make string bags of other stitches, two of which are illustrated (Plate 38, F, G). The Kiga bag was, in the past, decorated with long twisted ends of otter fur.

MILLET-STEM BAGS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Toro.

Flat bags of millet stems tied as in tied mat-work are made by the Inter-lacustrine Bantu for men to carry food when on safari. These average 50 cm. by 25 cm. (Plate 38, H).

SKIN POUCHES

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Hima, Iru.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.
LUO	Acoli, Alur.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Skin pouches are worn slung round the neck to hold pipes, tobacco and fire-sticks.

LARGE HIDE BAGS FOR GRAIN

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja.

Large bags of hide are used by the Karamoja to hold grain.

FOOD STIRRERS

Distribution

LADLE TYPE	
CONGO BANTU	Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Nyuli, Gwere, Soga, Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Jopadhola.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.
KNOB TYPE	
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Madi.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.
SPIKE TYPE	
CONGO BANTU	Amba.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango, Jopadhola.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Grain must be stirred in mixing and cooking, so that most grain-eating tribes will have some form of large ladle or stirrer.

The type used by the Kyoga Basin group has a markedly flattened bowl with a bent-up end (Plate 39, A).

The Alur specimen has a square-cut end very like an English child's spade (Plate 39, C).

The Acoli specimen has a long flat blade neither concave nor convex.

Other stirrers are used for beating up vegetables; there are two types, one with a carved wooden knob on the end (Plate 39, D, E).

The other is made of a branch or root cut so that the end has a collection of short spikes, or it may be a stick with spikes fixed into it (Plate 39, F).

LADLES AND SPOONS

Distribution

WOOD	
CONGO BANTU	Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Nyoro, Toro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga.
NILO-HAMITES	Sebei.
BONE	
CONGO BANTU	Amba.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.
HORN	
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
LUO	Lango.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa.
SHELL	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Toro.

Ladles and spoons of wood are used chiefly by the Inter-lacustrine Bantu tribes. The ladles are usually shaped like a hemisphere with a straight handle protruding halfway down the side; they average 15 cm. long (Plate 39, G, H). The spoons are small with deep bowls which are usually pointed at the end, and sometimes decorated with burnt scratch pattern (Plate 39, I, J).

Spoons or spatulas of bone are used by some tribes (Plate 39, K). Horn spoons are also used (Plate 39, L). The Toro and Amba use a large shell as a spoon.

WOODEN KNIFE

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Nyoro, Ssese.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga.

Some of the plantain-eating tribes use a wooden knife, a replica of the knife used for peeling plantains, for serving their food (Plate 39, M).

BEER FILTERS

Distribution

FUNNEL-SHAPED BAG	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Hima, Iru.
NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango, Jopadhola.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara, Madi.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

FUNNEL OF WOVEN BASKETRY
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY) Jopadhola.
DRINKING TUBE WITH FILTER AT END
UNIVERSAL

Many tribes filter their beer through freshly cut grass before ladling it into the gourds or pots from which it is drunk. Others have a funnel-shaped bag of woven basket-work, others a woven funnel-shaped filter (Plate 39, N, O).

Many tribes drink their beer through a long hollow tube at one end of which is woven a small filter; these tubes are often carried inside a hollow bamboo which acts as a staff. They are up to 120 cm. long.

The Ganda filter of this type is only some 45 cm. long and is made of a stem of soft wood from which the core has been removed. This is partly bound and partly encased in a finely woven cover of coloured raphia, and is a very delicate piece of workmanship (Plate 39, P, Q).

WASH BOWLS

Distribution
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU Hima, Nyoro, Ganda, Toro.

It is the custom in the house of the aristocracy of the Inter-lacustrine Bantu to pass round a wooden wash bowl before meals, a girl or boy pouring water over the hands of those who are about to eat.

Several types of bowl are recorded; the Nyoro and Toro use a shallow tray-shaped oval bowl with no handle, of the type already described in the *orucuba* food bowl series (Plate 40, B).

The Nyoro, Ganda and Ssese use a bowl rectangular at the top with round corners and a small round base; this is also used as a canoe baler (Plate 40, A).

The Hima use a large shallow round bowl which sometimes has a curious spike protruding up the centre (Plate 40, C).

WOODEN GREASE POT

Distribution
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU Hima.

A small wooden pot is used by the Hima to hold fat for greasing the body (Plate 40, D).

WOODEN AWL CASES

Distribution
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU Tusi, Hima.

Hima and Tusi women use a small cylindrical wooden case, slightly smaller at the top than the base, with a wooden cap, to hold their awls for

basketry and other trifles. Kollmann[1] describes these as 'Ganda', but some confusion probably exists here as the work is definitely typical of the Hima and Tusi culture and not that of the Ganda (Plate 40, E).

FUMIGATORS FOR MILK-POTS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Hima.

The Hima have an earthenware pot in which grass is burnt to fumigate their wooden milk-pots. The burning grass is put in a hole at the side of the fumigator, and the milk-pot is inverted over it (Plate 40, F).

BARK-CLOTH FUMIGATORS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Iru, Hima, Nyoro, Toro.

Bark-cloths and skins cannot be washed successfully, and the problem of freeing them from vermin is solved by many tribes by fumigation.

The most developed fumigator, like so many other articles, is that of the Bunyoro, where the bark-cloths of the Mukama and chiefs are always fumigated after being worn. Roots of papyrus or chips of other sweet-scented wood are set to smoulder in an earthenware pot. Over this is inverted a conical frame of wicker-work upon which the bark-cloth is spread. Here it remains until the fumes have thoroughly permeated it, when it is rolled up and put away (Plate 40, G, H, I, J).

CHILD'S SADDLE

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara, Madi.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Many tribes use some form of strap or piece of skin by which the mother ties her baby to her back, but the northern tribes make an elaborate saddle. This consists in a flap of hide, often decorated with semi-perforated pattern-work or smeared with red ochre, which hangs down from the mother's shoulders; at the bottom of this is a thick cross-bar of wood on which the child sits astride, the leather flap forming a bag within which the child is pressed close to the mother's back (Plate 41, C).

The Acoli use a flap of monkey skin with the fur left on; the Lango use a flap of hide with a strap at the four corners, but with no cross-bar on which the child can sit.

[1] KOLLMANN: *The Victorian Nyanga*, p. 33.

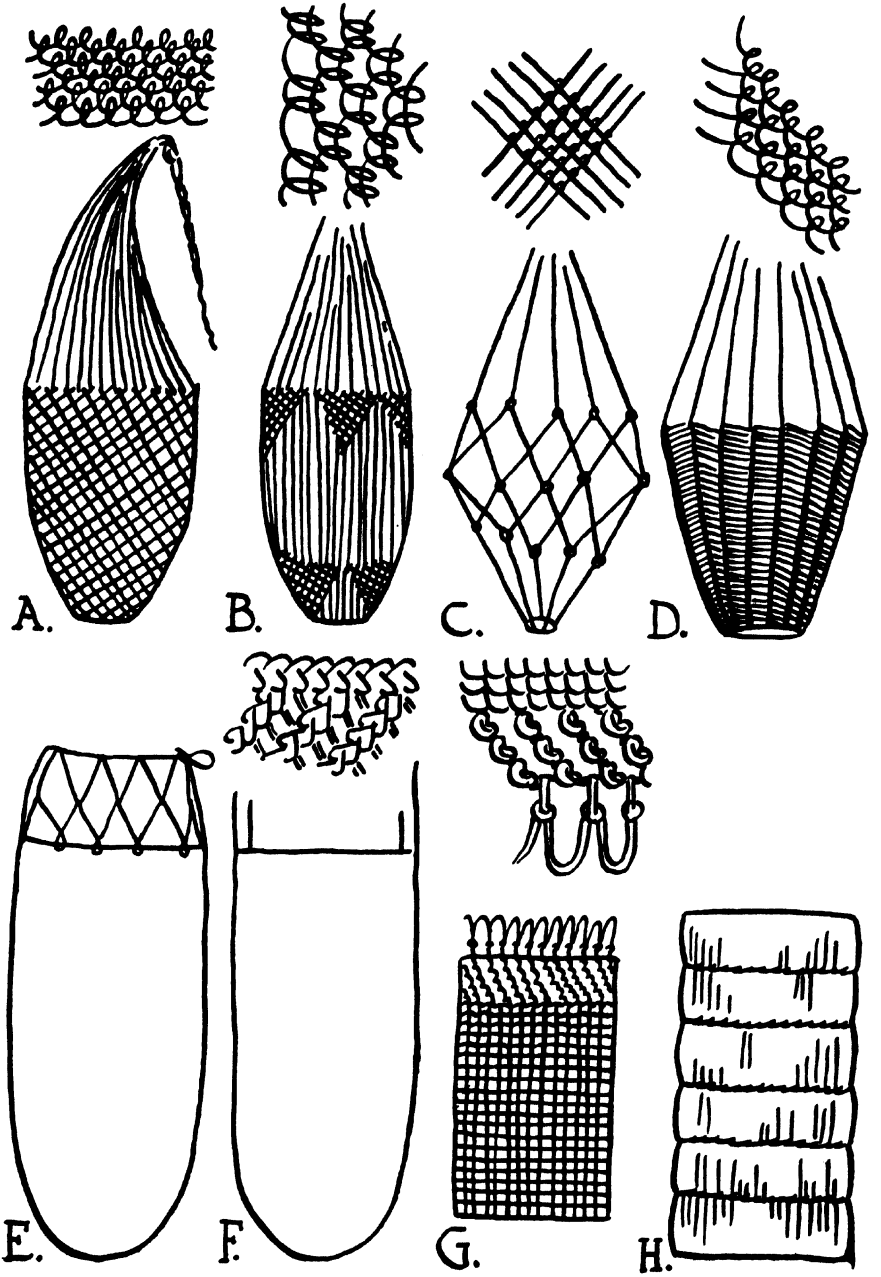
CHILD'S COVER

Distribution

NILO HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara, Madi.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

In the hotter and drier parts of the Protectorate women put a cover to shade their babies as they carry them on their backs.

East of the Nile a large half-calabash, often decorated, is usually used (Plate 16, K), while on the west bank a hood-shaped covering of twilled basketry is most common (Plate 41, A, B).

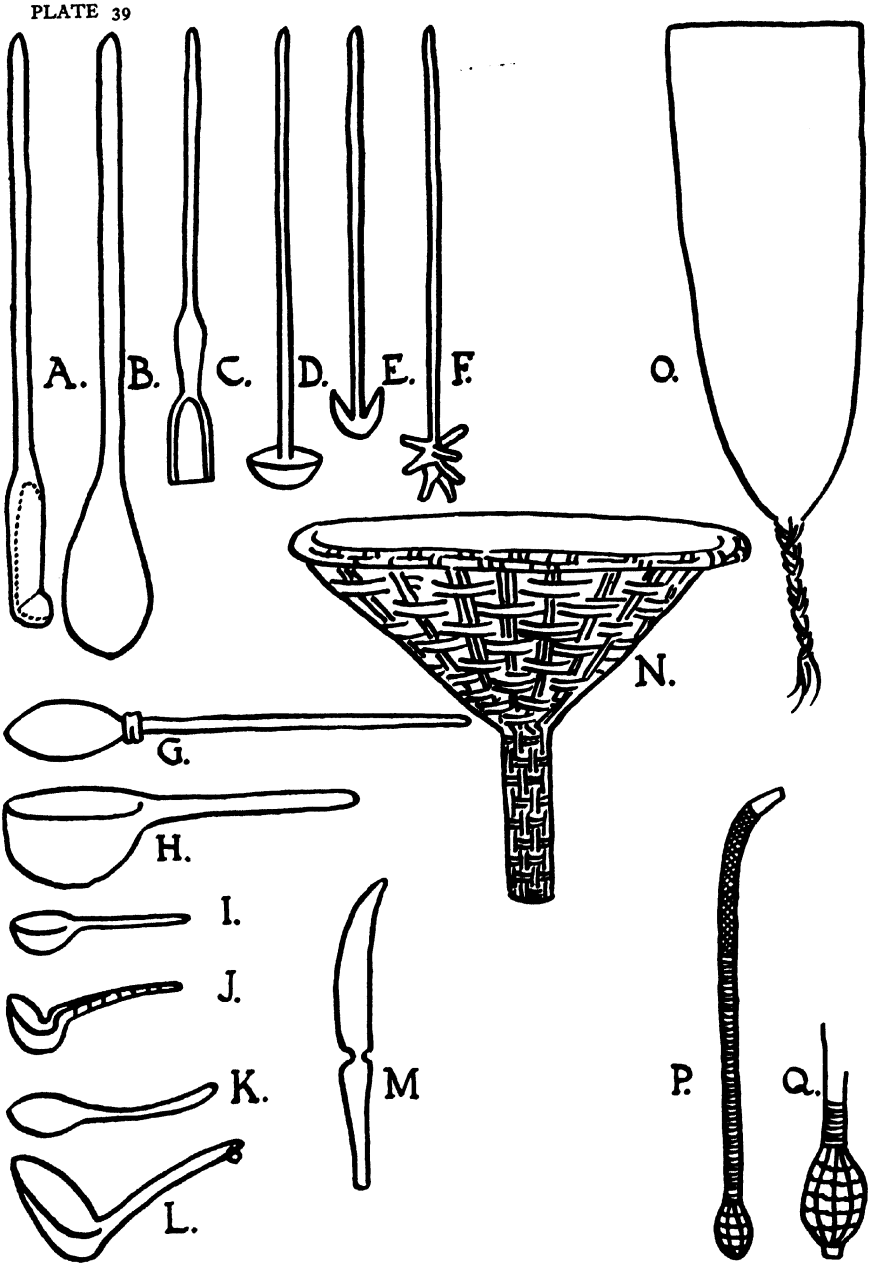


NETS

A. Milk-pot net *and detail of stitch.* NYORO. B. Milk-pot net *and detail of stitch.* HIMA. C. Milk-pot net *and detail of stitch.* HIMA. D. Milk-pot net *and detail of stitch.* HIMA. E. Netted bag, *stitch as A.* NYORO. F. Netted bag *and detail of stitch.* KIGA. G. Netted bag *and detail of stitch.* KONJO. H. Tied papyrus bag. TORO.

No scale.

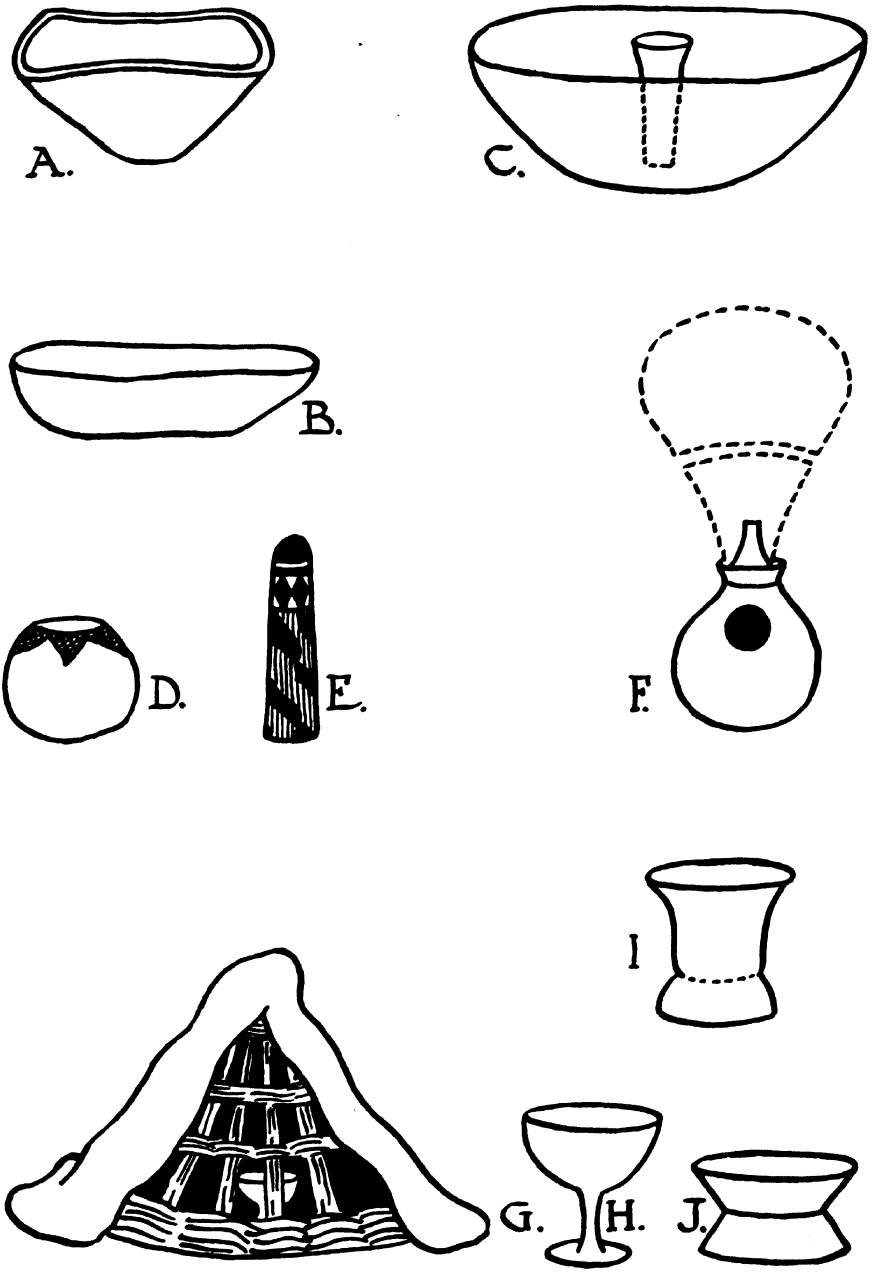
PLATE 39



FOOD STIRRERS, SPOONS, FILTERS, ETC.

A. Food stirrer. *Ladle type, flat bowl with bent-up end.* JOPADHOLA. B. Food stirrer. *Ladle type.* KIGA. C. Food stirrer. *Ladle type.* ALUR. D. Food stirrer. *Knob type.* ACOLI. E. Food stirrer. *Knob type.* ALUR. F. Food stirrer. *Spike type.* LANGO. G. Food ladle. *Flat bowl.* AMBA. H. Food ladle. *Deep bowl.* NYORO. I. Wooden spoon. NYORO. J. Wooden spoon. SOGA. K. Bone spatula. AMBA. L. Horn spoon. TESO. M. Wooden serving knife. GANDA. N. Beer filter. *Woven basketry.* JOPADHOLA. O. Beer filter. *Woven.* ACOLI. P. Beer filter. *tube type.* GANDA. Q. Head of tube filter.

Scale: A–F, 1 : 9. G–O, 1 : 6. P, Q, no scale.

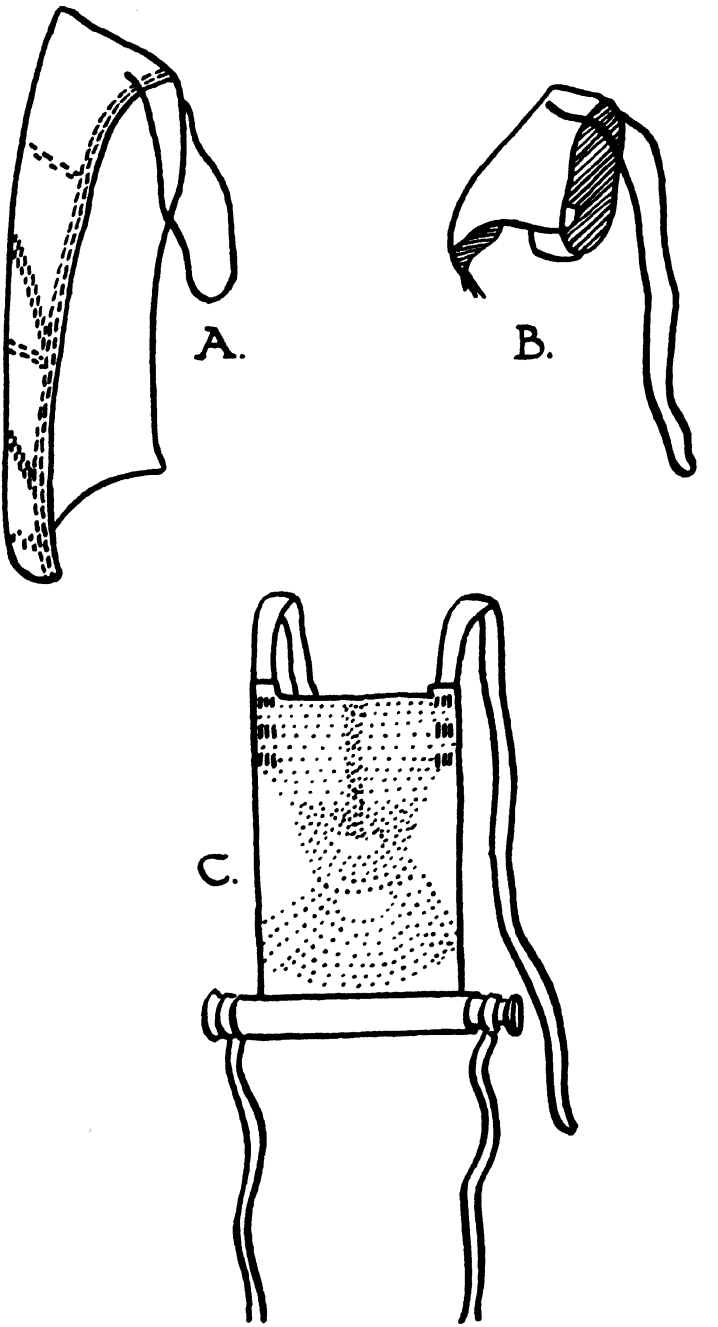


WOODEN VESSELS, VARIOUS PURPOSES, AND FUMIGATORS

A. Wash bowl. GANDA. B. Wash bowl. NYORO. C. Wash bowl. HIMA. D. Grease pot. HIMA. E. Awl case. *Black and white carved decoration.* HIMA. F. Fumigator for milk-pot. *Showing milk-pot inverted above.* HIMA. G. Fumigator. *Bark-cloth in position on basket-stand, brazier beneath.* NYORO. H. Brazier. NYORO. I. Brazier. Unidentified. J. Brazier. Unidentified.

Scale: 1 : 6. G, no scale.

PLATE 41



CHILDREN'S COVERS AND SADDLES

A. Child's cover. *Twilled basketry, black decoration.* LUGBARA. B. Child's cover. *Twilled basketry, with chinband.* MADI. C. Saddle. *Hide, with semi-perforated pattern.* LUGBARA.

Scale: 1 : 6.

CHAPTER XII

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

GENERAL APPEARANCE OF TRIBAL GROUPS

To produce a generalized description of the clothing and adornment worn by the various tribes has proved to be an extremely difficult undertaking, for fashion is always changing, just as it is in our western civilization. Certain modes of dress have evolved naturally, as, for instance, the removable head-dress developed from the elaborately dressed head of hair of the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic tribes; others have been completely changed by the introduction of European ideas of modesty and hygiene and by the various types of imported goods which have become available. It is a matter for regret that the first contact with the European came at a time when nakedness was regarded as necessarily immodest and even immoral, and this, together with a natural desire on the part of the African to acquire the dress of the civilization which was being imposed upon him, has resulted today in a large number of Africans believing that dirty ragged shorts and tattered shirts are to be preferred to shining ornaments and a well oiled skin, or even a well-prepared bark-cloth. But the adoption of European dress by the educated African is, of course, inevitable.

An interesting study might be made of the change-over to imported goods, of the baggy cotton trousers, waistcoats and fezzes which seem to have been adopted early in many parts of the country, of the plain and coloured cotton piece goods replacing skins and bark-cloths, of the appearance of different types of beads in the place of cowries and shells, of the use of imported wire for bracelets, and so on. One interesting fact stands out; the people who have had the longest and most concentrated contact with the European, the Ganda, have evolved a type of dress which is not simply a copy of the European, although it is in the case of the men a complete breakaway from their own traditional costume. Many Ganda chiefs, led by the Kabaka himself, wear a long white *kanzu* (Arab) together with a European jacket; Ganda women first replaced the large bark-cloth worn swathed round the body from the armpits downwards by a similar sized cloth of coloured cotton: this was later fitted with a yoke and short sleeves and became the uniform of one of the earliest mission girls' schools. Since then it has been widely adopted for general use. Both men and women when dressed in this modern national costume have a dignity and grace which is much to be admired.

Even apart from the adoption of some form of European clothing, fashions change rapidly and are forgotten in a generation.

The following summary is based upon a study of early photographs and descriptions from early writers and the memories of old Africans, as well as from observations of the present day; it aims only at giving a general idea of the appearance of the people before any form of European dress had been adopted. It must be realized that although it is possible to give a generalized description in words of the type of adornment of a group of neighbouring or related tribes, in reality each tribe is highly individual and therefore any description must either be of one tribe within the group or a generalized impression which is incorrect for each particular tribe. This is particularly true of the Luo and Nilo-Hamitic group. All men wear dancing head-dresses, all women wear 'tails and aprons', but each tribe has its very distinct type of these adornments. A detailed study later gives the distribution of the various types of clothing and ornament in a less superficial manner.

SUMMARY OF TYPES OF CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

(Certain fashions in dress or type of ornament which are given here are of the past and may in all sincerity be denied by modern members of the tribe concerned. All statements, however, have been based on photographs or descriptions in reliable books or accounts given by responsible Europeans and elderly Africans. Where the fashion is known to have completely changed, some indication of its approximate date is given where possible.)

CONGO BANTU — Konjo, Amba (Plate 42, A).

Men Hair shaven in patterns, cicatrization of face and body.
Small sticks and rings in lips (Amba, 1908).
Heavy iron neck-rings.
Bark-cloth loin-cloth, skin or fur cape, wire girdles, woven belts.
Small numbers of iron, brass, and wire-bound hair bangles on lower arm and lower leg.
Large number of fibre bangles on upper arm. (Now going out of fashion.) Many finger rings.

Women Hair shaven in patterns, cicatrization of face and body.
Small sticks and rings in lips (Amba, 1908).
Heavy iron neck-rings, large shell necklaces.
Bark-cloth loin-cloth, flapped out to form petticoat.
Small numbers of iron, brass and wire-bound hair bangles on lower arms and lower legs.
Large number of fibre bangles on upper arm.
Many finger rings.

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU

1. BANTU AGRICULTURISTS, WESTERN UGANDA Hutu, Kiga, Iru (Plate 42, B).

Men Hair long and twisted into strings (in the past) or shaven (modern).
No facial ornament.
Wire-bound hair necklaces.
Some cicatrization of body.
Skin shirt, skin cloak, bark-cloth slung over one shoulder (more modern Iru).
Small number of iron, brass and wire-bound hair bangles on arms and lower legs.

Women Hair long and twisted into strings (in the past) or shaven into patterns (modern).
No facial ornament.
Wire-bound hair necklaces, some beads.
Some cicatrization of body.
Skin skirt, skin cloak, or bark-cloth round hips downwards (more modern Iru).
Small number of iron, brass and wire-bound hair bangles on arms and lower legs.
Large number of fibre and wire-bound hair anklets.

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU

2. HAMITIC PASTORALISTS, WESTERN UGANDA Tusi, Hima (Plate 42, C).

Men Hair trimmed into elaborate horns and ridges (especially Tusi).
No facial ornament.
Small number of necklaces of fibre or hair from tail of elephant, decorated with beads and charms.
Skin, later bark-cloth, or later still, imported cotton, skirt wrapped tightly from waist to knee. Second skin, bark-cloth or cotton cloth, hung toga-wise over one shoulder.
Small number of bangles on upper arm, wrists, ankles of heavy and light metal, wire-bound hair, etc.

Women Hair left long behind bead headband (1900), or shaven into patterns (modern).
Young girls cover heads with woven head-mats when leaving their own kraals.
No facial ornament.
Small number of necklaces, of fibre or hair from tail of elephant, decorated with beads.
Young girls naked until marriage (South Ankole, 1900).
Grown women very heavily covered; skin skirt to ankles, large bark-cloth covering head and body completely.

Small number of bangles upper arm, wrists; light and medium weight metal, wire-bound hair and chains.
Many wire-bound hair bangles on ankles.

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU

3. MIXED BANTU-HAMITIC — Ganda, Nyoro, Toro (Plate 42, D).

(Peasants on the eastern and western borders of this group tended to wear the clothing of their more primitive Bantu neighbours; the Nyoro and Toro to a large extent wore the single skin or bark-cloth form of clothing as described for the Soga; and the great emphasis on covering the whole body for the man must be regarded as almost confined to the Ganda alone.)

Men Hair shaven, no cicatrization of face or body.
No facial ornament.
Removal of lower incisors (Nyoro).
Small number bead necklaces with charms, iron, brass and copper neck-rings.
Large skin, later bark-cloth, or later still white cotton cloth slung toga-wise over one shoulder covering whole body from neck to ankles.
Very few iron, brass, copper or ivory bracelets on upper and lower arms.
No anklets.
Definite regalia-wear for kings, greater chiefs, and certain court officials and holders of hereditary offices; consisting of head-dresses, neck-rings, skins and furs, etc.

Women Hair shaven, no cicatrization of face or body.
No facial ornament.
Small number of bead necklaces with charms.
Before the beginning of the century women went naked within their own compounds. Up to 1912 young girls before puberty wore only woven waist rings.
Bark-cloth folded round from waist to ankles (1904).
Later Bark-cloth folded round from armpits to ankles.
Small number iron, brass, copper, or ivory bracelets on upper and lower arms.
No anklets. (Toro, large numbers of wire-bound hair or fibre anklets, as Hima.)

KYOGA BASIN GROUP

1. BANTU — Soga, Gwere, Nyuli (Plate 43, A).

Men Hair shaven. No cicatrization of face.
Two lower incisors removed.
No facial ornament.

Skin or bark-cloth worn toga-wise over shoulder; or bark-cloth round waist and as loin-cloth.
No ornament.

Women Hair shaven. No cicatrization of face.
Two lower incisors removed.
Few fibre and bead or charm necklaces.
Cicatrization of body.
Skirt of fresh banana leaf or bark-cloth.
Belts of bead or shell.
Few metal bangles on wrists and ankles.

KYOGA BASIN GROUP

2. BANTU Gishu, Samia, Gwe. LUO Jopadhola (Plate 43, B).

Men Hair shaven. Cicatrization of face.
Two to six lower incisors removed.
Dancing head-dresses.
Ear-rings.
Metal neck-rings.
Cicatrization of body.
Skin tied over shoulder toga-wise.
Cowrie shell, bead, or 'tin cylinder' belts.
Few fairly heavy metal bangles on lower arm.

Women Hair shaven. Cicatrization of face (Gishu).
Two to six lower incisors removed.
Labret (Gishu). Ear-rings.
Cicatrization of body.
Many bead necklaces and cowries, iron neck-rings.
Bead belts.
Fibre aprons and 'tails'.
Number of fairly heavy metal bangles on lower arm and ankles.

LUO Acoli, Lango. NILO-HAMITES Teso, Karamoja (Plate 43, C).

Men Hair originally worked up with grease, clay or cow-dung into a felted mass decorated with many types of ornament. (Not Teso.) Now shaven and elaborate removable head-dress worn for dances, etc.
Cicatrization of face (Acoli). Two to four lower incisors removed.
Labret (Acoli, Lango, Karamoja). Rings in lips or septum of nose (now going out of fashion).
Rings in cartilage and lobe of ear.

Many types of necklaces—beads, elephant hair, tin cylinders (Teso), coiled metal gorgets (Acoli, Lango), metal neck-rings (Acoli, Karamoja), whistle hung round neck (Acoli, Lango).
Nude. Bodies painted for dances.
Leopard or baboon skin capes used for dancing.
Capes of cow-hide worn when travelling (Karamoja).
Teso often approximate to Bantu neighbours in south, wearing skin slung over shoulder; or bark-cloth loin-cloth.
Belts of beads or tin cylinders (Teso).
Heavy bangles of ivory, and metal, or coiled metal on wrists and upper arm. (Coiled metal particularly Acoli, Lango.)
Large arm ornaments, rattles, etc.
Large amount of coiled wire on both arms and legs (Lango, Acoli).
Metal anklets and bangles below knee.

Women Hair left long, rolled and rubbed with clay. (Not Teso, who wear it shaven.)
Cicatrization of face (Acoli, Lango). Two to six lower incisors removed.
Labret (Acoli, Karamoja). Straw through lower lip (Lango). Rings in tongue or lower lip (Teso). Beads in lips (Lango). Ear-rings in lobes and cartilage.
Masses of bead necklaces, also ostrich shells and cowries. Metal neck-rings. Coiled wire gorgets (Lango).
Cicatrization of body.
Skin skirt and cloak (Karamoja).
Belt of beads; or tin cylinders (Teso).
'Tails' and aprons.
Ivory and metal bangles and coiled wire on wrists.
Metal anklets. Coiled wire on legs (Lango).

LUGBARA-MADI GROUP Lugbara, Madi. mate to their West Nile neighbours). Kuku (Plate 43, D).

LUO BARI-SPEAKING GROUP Alur (who now approximate Kakwa,

Men Hair shaven in patterns.
Felted head-dresses (Madi).
Cicatrization of face (Kakwa, Madi). Labrets.
Four to six lower incisors removed.
Small rings in lobes of ears.
Few necklaces (Lugbara), metal neck-rings (Madi).
Nude (occasional skin for warmth).
Cicatrization of body (Lugbara, Madi).

Heavy ivory bangles (Alur, Madi). Heavy metal bangles (Lugbara).
No anklets.

Women Hair long braided (Kakwa, Alur, Madi), rubbed with red earth (Madi), or shaven.
Cicatrization of face and body.
Six lower incisors removed. Labrets (Lugbara, Madi).
Nose ornaments (Kakwa). Ear-rings in lobes.
Few necklaces of ostrich shell, elephant's hair or fibre.
Leaf aprons before and behind (Lugbara, Alur), behind only (Kakwa), bead belts, chain aprons (Kakwa, Madi).
Fibre aprons and 'tail' (Madi).
Bangles of ivory, or metal, or few metal coils on wrists.
Many heavy metal bangles on ankles (Kakwa, Lugbara).
Few anklets (Madi).

CHAPTER XIII

SKINS AND BARK-CLOTHS

THE preceding summary serves to give a general idea of the appearance of the various groups of the Protectorate.

A more detailed study of clothing and adornment may now be attempted.

BARK-CLOTH LOIN-CLOTHS

Distribution

CONGO BANTU — Konjo, Amba.

Konjo and Amba men and women wear a piece of bark-cloth passed between the legs and held back and front by a belt or girdle round the waist; it flaps down before and behind like a small kilted apron which the women sometimes spread out to form a short petticoat.

Less distinctive bark-cloth loin-cloths, usually tied round the waist as well as between the legs, are often worn all over the south and south-east of Uganda (Plate 42, A).

TWO-SKIN TYPE OF DRESS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU — Hutu, Kiga, Iru, Tusi, Hima.

BANTU AGRICULTURISTS — Toro (women only).

The men of the tribes of the south-west wear two skins or cloths of equal importance and size, one wrapped round the body from the waist to the knee forming a skirt secured by a leather belt, and a second slung over the shoulder as a cloak. The women wear similar skins, the skirt being slightly larger, a much larger cow-hide one being worn for ceremonial occasions. They wear a girdle of plaited fibre to secure them.

The skins, chiefly of goats and sheep, but sometimes of cattle, are roughly dressed and left with the hair on; this is worn inside except when the wearer is out in the rain, when they may be turned hair-side outwards. The skins, especially those worn by women, are often decorated with an edging of small metal rings and short strings of beads sewn on in various places. This type of dress is worn by the Hutu, Kiga and western Iru, in the east of Ankole the Iru tend to wear bark-cloth and to approximate to the Ganda in dress (Plate 42, B).

HAMITIC PASTORALISTS

The dress of the Hima and Tusi is the same in principle. In the old days Hima men are said to have worn two skins tied over the hips swinging open back and front, with another round the shoulders.

Women wore a large cowhide skirt reaching to the ankles and a large bark-cloth over the head almost hiding the face and enveloping the whole body.

It is possible this all-enveloping type of women's dress is not old; it is not mentioned by Sir Harry Johnston (1902); indeed, all his photographs show both men and women naked from the waist upwards, and he speaks of young girls in South Ankole going completely naked, as did Ganda girls at that date.[1] In his photographs too a number of Hima and Iru men are shown wearing nothing beyond a small loin-cloth. Photographs by Czekanowski (1911) show Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima and Iru wearing the two skin or cloth type of dress as described above, but sometimes wearing the lower skin or skirt only, sometimes with only a loin-cloth.[2]

The modern development of this type of dress for both men and women consists in the adaptation of skin or bark-cloth to cotton piece goods. The men wear a narrow skirt of coloured or white cotton wrapped tightly round the body from waist to knee and a second small piece knotted over one shoulder hanging not far below the waist and leaving the other shoulder and chest bare. The women have substituted a very large cotton covering for the bark-cloth formerly worn (Plate 42, C).

BARK-CLOTH TOGA

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU — Ganda, Nyoro, Soga.

Roscoe[3] states that in the reign of King Suna all the Ganda wore skins, the King had leopard skins while the chiefs wore cow and antelope skins; even today the wearing of an antelope skin apron is a privilege of the royal craftsmen. But by the time the first explorers reached Buganda bark-cloth was universally worn. The Ganda have always had a very strong sense of the necessity for covering the whole of their bodies; a strip of bark-cloth was wound round the hips and between the legs, and over this a large bark-cloth was worn toga-wise hung over one shoulder and reaching as far down as the ankles. It is said that in the days of Mutesa I, a heavy punishment was inflicted upon any man who appeared at court with his legs uncovered.

The very strong sense of modesty in dress on the part of the male Ganda population did not appear to carry over to the female side. Roscoe (1912) states that women used to go naked in their homes, and girls up to the age of sixteen were naked apart from a small woven waist-ring. By 1904 Johnston[4] writes that most Ganda women now wore a bark-cloth from the hips downwards, but the breasts were left uncovered; later

[1] SIR HARRY JOHNSTON: *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 648.

[2] CZEKANOWSKI: *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Deutschen Zentral Afrika Expedition*, Vol. III, Plate, 43.

[3] ROSCOE: *The Baganda*, 1911, p. 442.

[4] JOHNSTON: op. cit., p. 648.

the cloth was wound round below the armpits and held at the waist by a broad sash of bark-cloth of a different shade.

Bark-cloths for the use of the royal family and the chiefs were decorated with black stamp-patterns.

After the arrival of the European short breeches were copied from those of Egyptian troops in the early part of Mutesa's reign, and by the beginning of this century a very large number of Ganda men were wearing long white cotton cloths in the place of bark-cloth, and also white Arab *kanzus*.

On the women's side a coloured cotton cloth took the place of the large bark-cloth, and later a yoke and sleeves were added, but the general appearance of the national dress was most successfully adapted (Plate 42, D).

Soga chiefs wore a black bark-cloth robe with a small cape attached which was gathered round a short horn worn over the left shoulder, a specimen in the Uganda Museum was collected in 1908 by which time it had already become rare.

SINGLE SKIN OR BARK-CLOTH

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Nyuli, Gishu, Samia, Gwẹ.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Sebei.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Nyoro, Ganda, Toro.

The two skins, or 'cloak and shirt' type of men's dress, would seem to be indigenous to south-west Uganda; on the eastern side we find that the single skin slung over one shoulder and worn with or without a loin-cloth is used by every tribe in the area.

The custom extended westward into Nyoro and Ganda where the skin was replaced by a long toga-like bark-cloth.

The Sebei, Gishu, Samia and Gwe usually wear skins which have had the hair removed. The Teso seem to have worn skins or bark-cloth equally and the Gwere, Nyuli and Soga bark-cloth. In all areas skins preceded bark-cloth.

The skin, often slightly decorated with beads, is worn slung by a string over the right shoulder so that most of the chest is left bare and the skin hangs from the waist almost to the knees. The alternative bark-cloth is also knotted over the right shoulder and is usually rather larger than the skin (Plate 43, A, B).

SKIN CAPES

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Lango, Alur.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.

The men of the north central part of Uganda often wear a leopard, cheetah or baboon skin flung round the shoulders, with sometimes a second

round the waist when dancing (Plate 43, C). The Karamoja wear a cape made from a cow-hide hanging down the back when travelling.

Konjo men wear a fur cape of monkey, baboon or hyrax. A skin or cloth round the buttocks is usually worn today.

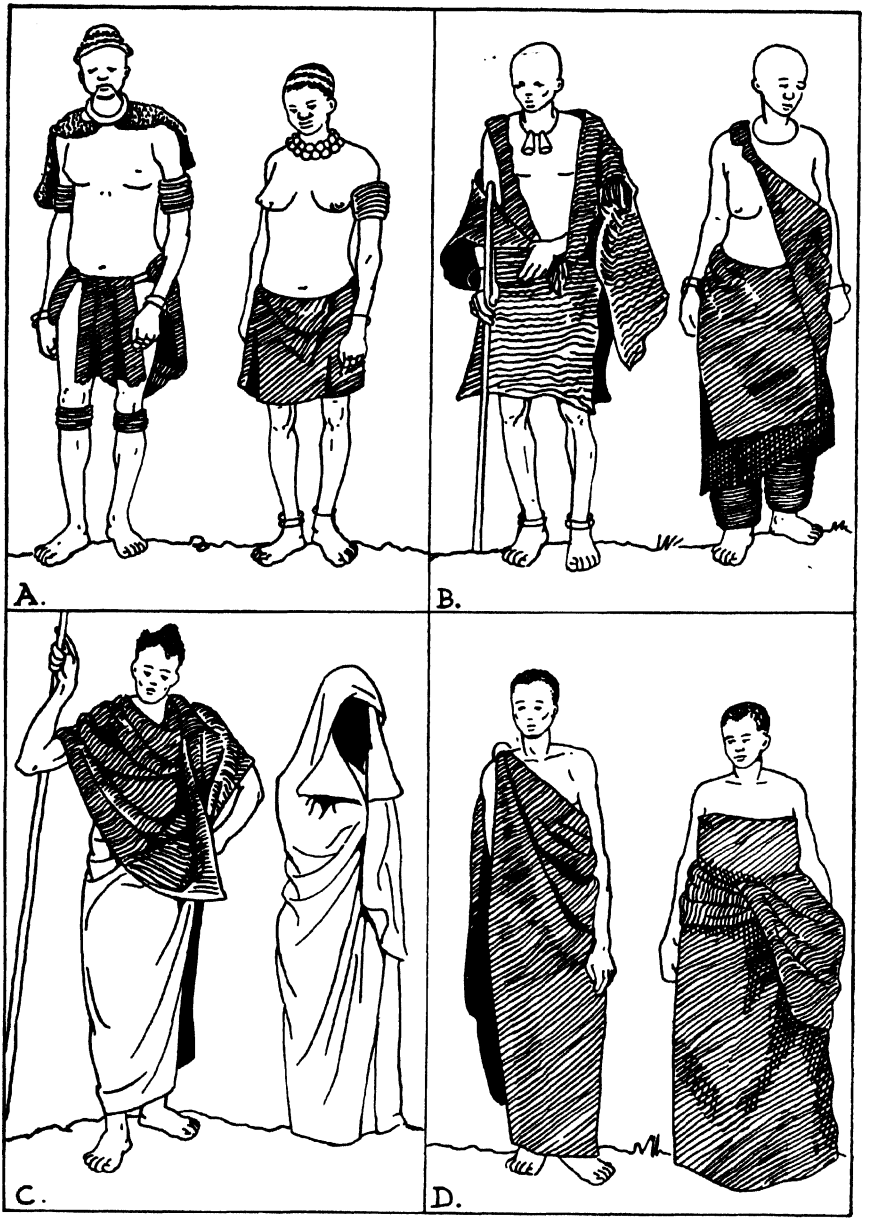
SKIN SKIRTS

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES — Karamoja (women), Sebei (women).

Karamoja women wear a skin round the buttocks, goat or sheep for young girls, cow-hide for married women; they also wear a skin apron decorated with beads and cowries, and may have a skin cape round the shoulders.

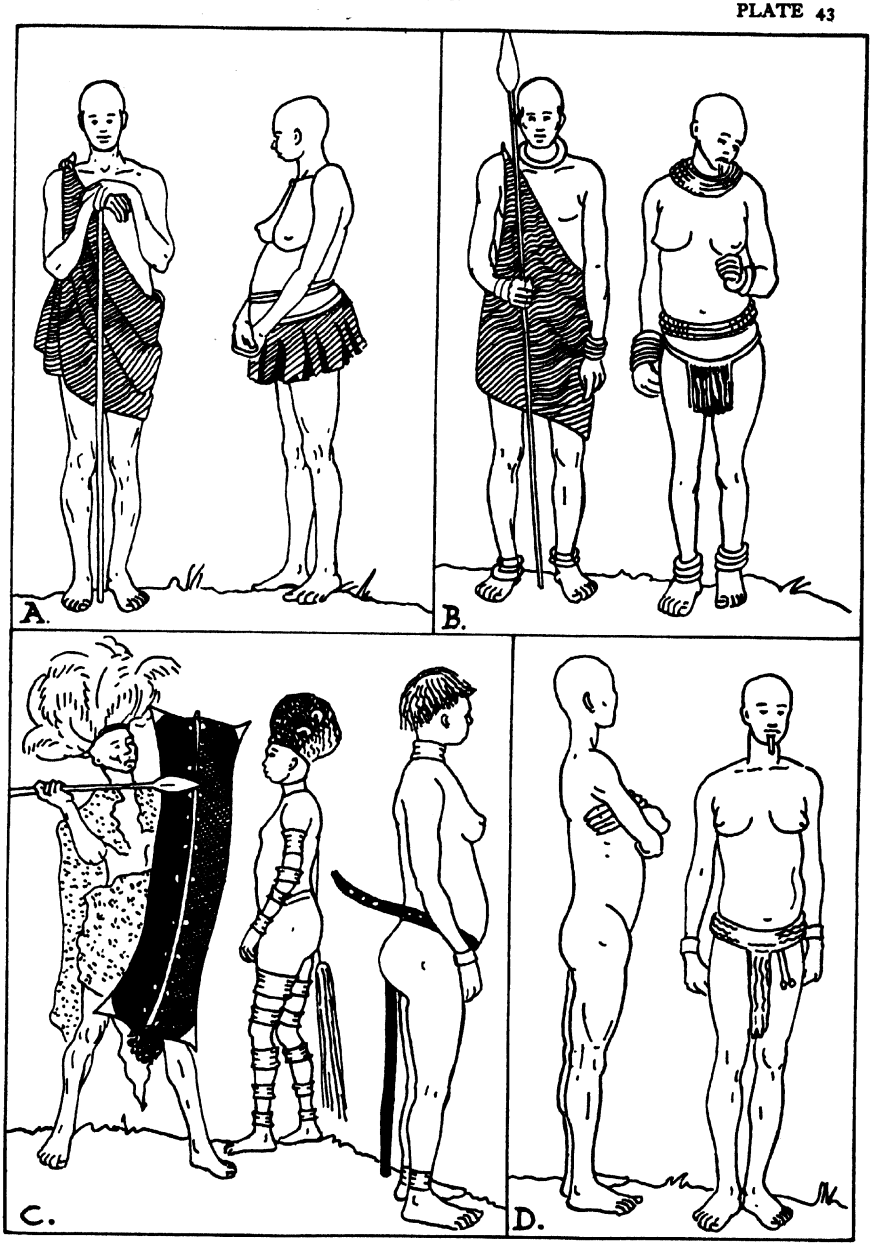
With the exception of the beaded apron which would seem to be of Nilotic origin, this form of dress is very like that of the Inter-lacustrine Bantu in the south-west of Uganda, and would appear to be Hamitic.



CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

A. CONGO BANTU. Amba, Konjo. *Man.* Bark-cloth loincloth, fur cape, neck-ring, fibre bangles. *Woman.* Bark-cloth skirt, heavy beads, many fibre bangles. B. INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU, BANTU AGRICULTURISTS, WESTERN UGANDA. Hutu, Kiga, Iru. *Man.* Skin skirt, skin cape, few ornaments. *Woman.* Skin skirt, skin cape, few ornaments, many fibre anklets. C. INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU, HAMITIC PASTORALISTS, WESTERN UGANDA. Tusi, Hima. *Man.* Cloth skirt, cloth cloak, few ornaments. *Woman.* Large skin skirt, large bark-cloth covering head and body, many fibre anklets. D. INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU, MIXED BANTU-HAMITIC. Ganda, Nyoro. *Man.* One skin, later large bark-cloth toga, few ornaments. *Woman.* Two skins, later large bark-cloth folded round below armpits, few ornaments.

No scale.



CLOTHING AND ORNAMENT

A. KYOGA BASIN BANTU. Soga, Gwere, Nyuli. *Man.* Single skin, no ornament. *Woman.* Banana leaf skirt, bead waist-bands, few ornaments. B. KYOGA BASIN BANTU AND LUO. Gishu, Samia, Gwe, Jopadhola. *Man.* Single skin, neck-ring, few bangles. *Woman.* 'Tail and apron', bead waist-bands, beads, bangles. C. LUO AND NILO-HAMITES. Acoli, Lango, Teso, Karamoja. *Man.* (1. Acoli.) Dancing head-dress, leopard skins. (2. Lango.) Dancing head-dress, metal coil gorget and bangles, whistle with long tail behind. *Woman.* (Lango.) 'Tail and apron', metal coil gorget and bangles. D. LUGBARA-MADI GROUP. LUO. BARI-SPEAKING GROUP. Lugbara, Madi, Alur, Kakwa, Kuku. *Man.* Nude, few ornaments. *Woman.* Bead waist-bands and apron, few ornaments, labret.

No scale.

CHAPTER XIV

'TAILS AND APRONS', BELTS, AND GIRDLES

'TAILS AND APRONS'

Distribution

BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Madi (north-eastern group).
LUO	Alur, Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Samia, Gwe.

Among the Bari-speaking and Lugbara-Madi groups, the Luo, Nilo-Hamites and certain of the Kyoga Basin group (that is to say, the Gishu, Samia and Gwe as well as the Nilotic Jopadhola), the women wear 'aprons and tails' made of fibre, leather or chain, decorated with metal beads or cowries. Often the young girls wear no covering over the pudenda, in some cases a few fibre threads are worn from the age of five or six, increasing with the age of the wearer; but there is always a definite change or addition when the woman has borne a child.

It is probable that in the not very far past the women of all the Bantu tribes wore little or no covering, for within living memory young Ganda women wore only a string of seeds or a ring of woven fibre round the waist; the Hamites would seem to have introduced the custom of clothing for the women, and it is interesting to note that the women's dress of the Karamoja, a strongly Hamitic race, somewhat resembles the two skins of the south-west Inter-lacustrine Bantu with the addition of a large beaded apron.

Kakwa

Rich men's wives wear an apron of fine chain 20 cm. wide by 15 cm. deep, *nyori*; poorer women have an apron of fibre about 25 cm. square, *kapira*. In each case the apron itself is fastened to a short hide strap decorated on each side of the apron with cowries; the aprons are fastened round the waist with fibre strings bound with narrow strips of tin, each strip forming a small cylinder about 4 cm. long. This is called *lemengo*, and is similar to the Acoli tin decoration *anyinga* worn with the apron. A long tail similarly bound with tin strips hangs at the side.

Lugbara

Matrons of this tribe wear a bunch of fresh leaves to cover the pudenda.

Madi

The Madi of the north-east are considerably influenced by their contact with the Acoli.

Here both girls and matrons wear an apron consisting only of a few dozen fibre threads about 20 cm. long hung from a belt of three rows of red and white or red and blue beads or a plain plaited hide strap, *cubi tende* (Plate 44, A. 1).

With this is worn a small tail at the back, consisting of a rather larger bunch of fibres about 3 cm. across and 40 cm. long, for the first half the fibres are tightly bound, forming a kind of stick decorated with small beads; this is tucked into the back of the bead belt supporting the front apron, *kula ekwi* (Plate 44, A. 2).

For six to twelve months after delivery a woman wears a 'tail' consisting of a very large bunch of much coarser fibres about 50 cm. long and 15 cm. across with no beadwork on it, *kula aviya*. There would seem to be a slight difference in such tails according to whether the child is alive or dead (Plate 44, A. 3).

The front apron worn with the *kula aviya*, although apparently identical with *cubi tende*, is called *kula baraviya*.

At the end of this period the woman wears a smaller 'tail' and apron again until her next child is born.

Alur

Although strictly a tribe of the Luo group, the Alur in their dress as in much of the rest of their culture are influenced by the neighbouring Lugbara.

Chiefs' wives sometimes wear an apron of chains, but the more common form of covering is the bunch of fresh leaves.

Acoli

A little Acoli girl wears a girdle of a dozen or so fibre threads tied on the right-hand side, or a few strings of beads. In the front hang three or four short threads bound with narrow strips of tin, and at the back hangs a similar tassel of two threads, *layongec* (Plate 44, B. 1).

After puberty she wears two fibre aprons, one in front and one behind. The front apron *cip* consists of a fibre fringe about 10 cm. square hung from a strip of hide which ties round the waist, the two ends hanging down on the right thigh. Above the fringe the girdle is decorated with a number of small rolls of tin *anyinga*, or fibre stitching. The back apron *cieno* has a fibre fringe about 30 cm. long and 10 cm. wide; the girdle is short and ties on the left side.

A young matron wears a larger apron and tail, and an old woman a larger one still. A large tin-bound strip of hide some 15 cm. long ending in three tails of iron beads hangs on the hip from the girdle of the woman's apron (Plate 44, B. 2, 3).

Lango

The Lango dress for a young girl who has not borne children consists of a small fringe apron which hangs in front from a plaited hide strap. This strap goes round the waist and is joined into a spike about 15 to 20 cm. long which sticks out behind at right angles to the body. The apron is *cip*, strap *del*, and projecting spike *cudi* (Plate 44, C. 1).

A woman who has borne a child wears a similar *cip* and *cudidel* (the *cip* being slightly larger); with the addition of a *lau*, a long strip of leather about 3 cm. wide, decorated with beads hanging down behind from the *del* to below the knees (Plate 44, C. 3).

An apron of small metal chains in the place of the fibre *cip* is today called *tongot* and is said only to be worn by old women. Driberg[1] (1923) describes a similar chain apron called *ariko* worn by unmarried girls with rich fathers. The chain work is heavier than that of the *tongot* (Plate 44, C. 2).

A similar change of fashion is seen in the *lau*. The *lau* used today is narrow, often not more than 3 cm. wide and decorated with beads. A broader *lau*, about 5 or 6 cm. wide, decorated with metal, *lau agita*, is said to be worn only by the old people, while Driberg[1] speaks of a broader 'tail' still which covered both buttocks which was only rarely seen by 1923.

Jopadhola

Young Jopadhola girls wore a skirt of shredded banana leaves, *nyinja*. Their mothers wore a fibre string frill or skirt 10 cm. deep right round the body, *cipi* (Plate 45, B. 3). A fibre tail *cieno* is not part of the everyday dress, but is only used for dancing.

Karamoja

Young girls wear a skirt of dressed hide round the buttocks and a beaded apron. This apron consists in a 15 cm. square of cow-hide on which are sewn rows of cowrie-shells. Below this is a stiff fringe of rows of red and blue beads 7 cm. deep, *ateli* (Plate 44, D. 1).

The matrons' dress consists in a flared skirt of cow-hide tied over the buttocks, *abuo*, and an apron larger than that worn by the girls. This is roughly 35 cm. square, rather narrower at the top with four tabs of black cow-hide at the bottom and two others which hang behind from the straps round the waist, *adwal* (Plate 44, D. 2).

Teso

Teso women wore front aprons of small tin cylinders, but no specimen is available for description.

[1] DRIBERG: *The Lango*, 1923, p. 65.

Gishu

Young Gishu girls wear a banana leaf frill, *kamaru*. Matrons wear a large bunch of fibre passed between the legs and fastened to a belt back and front. The belt *luteyo* is of tin cylinders threaded on fibre with a similar tail hanging down one side (Plate 44, A. 1, 2).

Samia and Gwe

A fibre string apron 10 cm. deep by 20 cm. long was worn by both girls and matrons, *enanga*. A fat bunch of unplied fibre 25 cm. long was worn as a 'tail' by matrons only, *eboya* (Plate 45, B. 1, 2).

BODY ORNAMENTS WORN WHEN DANCING

As well as the 'tails and aprons' worn as daily dress by women of the Luo, Nilo-Hamitic, and Kyoga Basin group, these same tribes have a number of belts or 'tails' or other body ornaments which are only used when dancing, the chief function of which would seem to be to swing from side.

ACOLI MAN'S BACK APRON

Acoli men wear a small apron of white kid skin hung over the buttocks; this is some 20 cm. square and is cut into two tails at the bottom; modern specimens have numbers or letters cut on them giving them the appearance of the number-plate of a motor car. These have apparently no significance and are merely decorative. Routledge[1] gives a very similar apron worn by Kikuyu men over the buttocks when dancing, and by the Masai when fighting.

COPI WOMAN'S BELT

Copi women wear a heavy belt the shape of a horseshoe and the thickness of a horse collar round the back of the waist when dancing. It consists of a core of fibre bound with bark-cloth or any other material upon which is sewn a covering of cowries.

JOPADHOLA WOMAN'S APRON

The Jopadhola women wear a very large back apron of fibre 20 cm. wide, 45 cm. long and very thick, when dancing.

BEAD GIRDLES

Most of the tribes of the Bari-speaking, Madi-Lugbara, Luo, Nilo-Hamite and Kyoga Basin groups wear strings of girdles of beads of many types round the waist. These are worn by men and women, young and old, especially for dancing, but would, on the whole, seem to be worn more by women than by men. Rows of such beads are often joined together to form belts, or they are worn in single strings.

[1] ROUTLEDGE: *With a Prehistoric People*, 1910, p. 180. Plate CXIV.

TRADE BEADS

Distribution

UNIVERSAL IN THE ABOVE GROUPS.

DISKS OF OSTRICH EGG-SHELL OR SNAIL-SHELL

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Alur, Jopadhola.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Samia, Gwe.

METAL BEADS OR CHAINS

Distribution

MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi.
NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja, Teso.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Samia, Gwe.

Small metal cylinders strung on fibre, and iron beads are specially common among the Teso, Gishu and Luhya tribes.

The northern Madi wear a curious decoration on their bead girdles like a number of eyes of the hook-and-eye variety (Plate 45, C. 1, 2, 3, 5).

BEADS OF SEED

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP — Gishu.

A type of small brown seed, *Scleria racemosa*, siliceous and very hard, is threaded and worn as necklaces and girdles by Gishu women. These are of especial interest as what appear to be identical beads are being turned up in prehistoric sites in Kenya (Plate 45, C. 4).

FIBRE STRING CORSET

Distribution

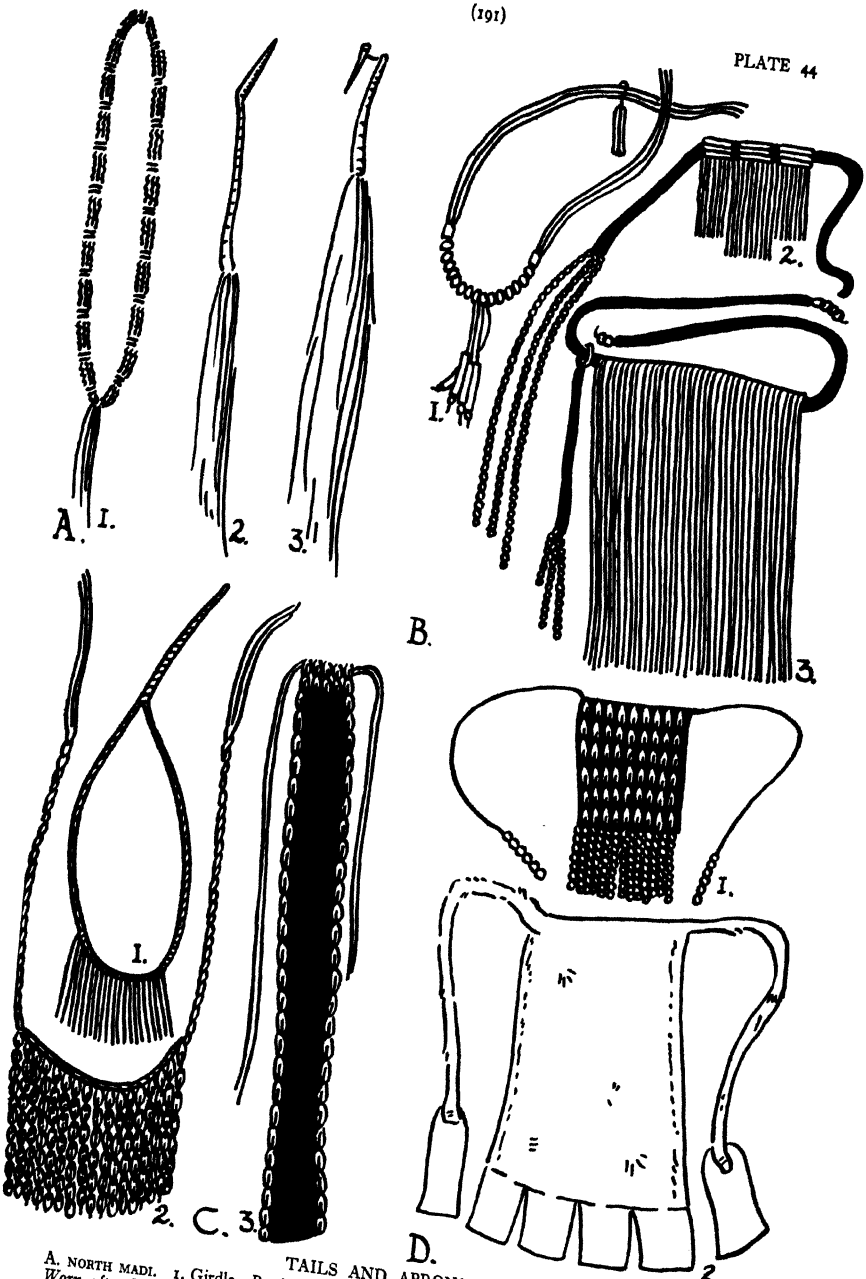
LUO — Acoli.

A type of corset was worn by Acoli youths consisting in a number of fibre strings tied tightly round the stomach.

BODY RINGS

As has already been mentioned, young Ganda girls wore a waist-ring and no other covering when in the houses of their masters, and it is probable that all Bantu at one time wore no more covering than their Nilotic sisters.

The Ganda rings were of three types. The first, *kagogo*, worn only by young girls belonging to the Kabaka and greater chiefs, was a stiff ring about 2 cm. thick covered in fine beadwork. A small piece of wood was inserted in the front of the ring. The second, *nsansa*, was, as its name implies, covered with finely woven palm-leaf. The third, *ebiti*, was made of small pieces of wood strung together, or sometimes large seeds (Plate 44, D. 1, 2).

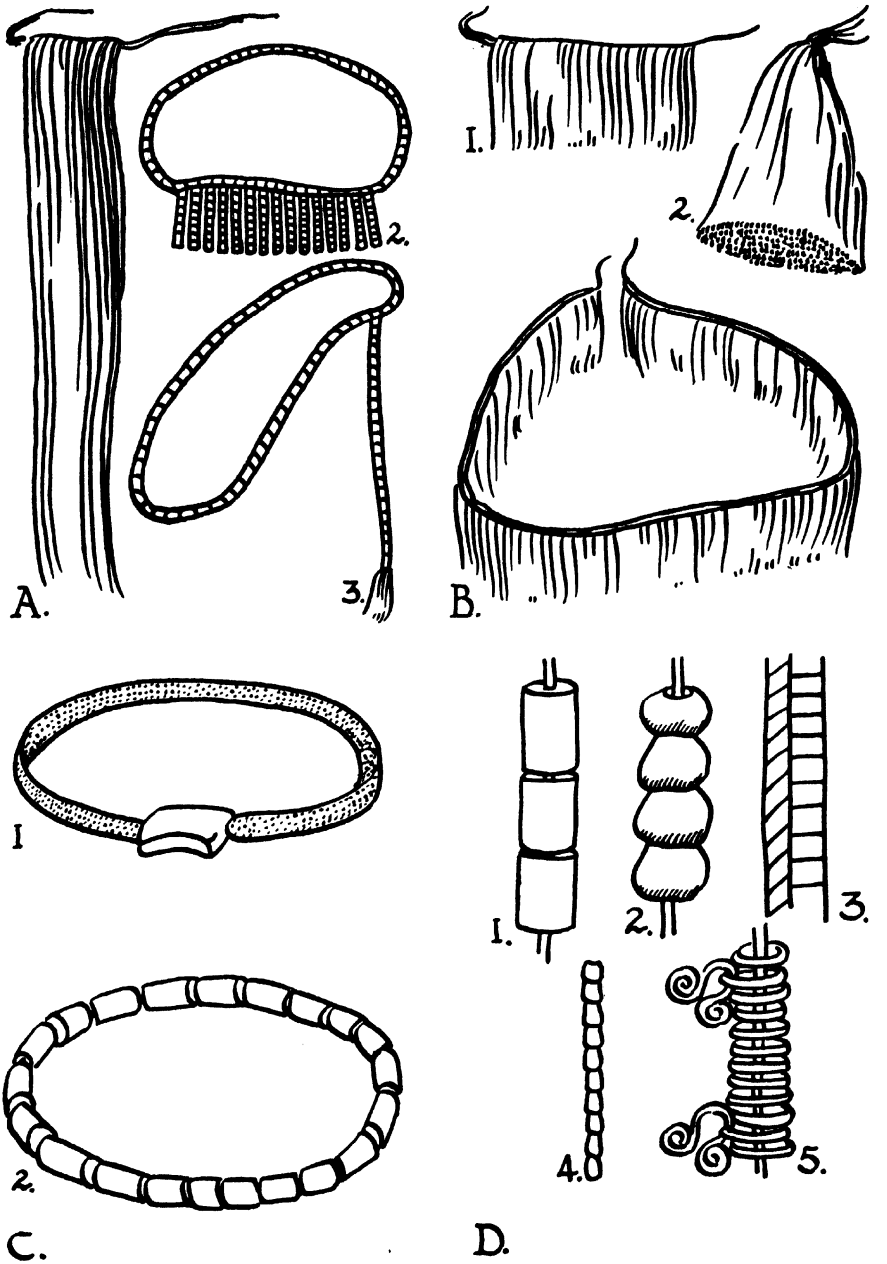


TAILS AND APRONS

A. NORTH MADI. 1. Girdle. *Beads with fibre tassel. Worn after birth of child.* B. ACOLI. 1. Girdle. *Fibre, decorated with metal beads, metal decorations on front and back fringes. Worn by little girl.* 2. Small front apron. *Hide girdle, fibre fringe, metal decorations on front, metal beaded 'tail'. Worn by matrons.* 3. Large back apron. *Hide girdle, fibre fringe, hide 'tail' with metal beads. Worn by matrons.* C. LANGO. 1. Front apron. *Hide girdle tide to form 'tail', fibre fringe. Worn by all women.* 2. Chain apron. *Plaited hide girdle. Worn by all women.* 3. 'Tail'. *Hide, edged with metal beads. Worn after birth of child.* D. KARAMOJA. 1. Apron. *Hide, decorated with cowries (top) and trade beads (fringe). Worn by young girl.* 2. Apron. *Skin. Worn by matrons.*

Scale: 1 : 6.

PLATE 45



TAILS AND APRONS

A. 1. Apron. *Fibre.* GISHU. 2. Apron. *Metal cylinders.* GISHU. 3. Girdle, *Metal cylinders.* GISHU. B. 1. Apron. *Fibre.* SAMIA. 2. 'Tail'. *Fibre.* SAMIA. 3. Apron. *Fibre.* JOPADHOLA. C. 1. Waist ring. *Covered in beads, with wooden piece in front.* GANDA. 2. Waist ring. *Pieces of wood.* GANDA. D. 1. Part of girdle. *Metal cylinders.* JOPADHOLA. 2. Part of girdle. *Metal beads.* GISHU. 3. Part of girdle. *Solid square linked chain.* GISHU. 4. Part of girdle. *Seed beads.* GISHU 5. Part of girdle. *Metal rings and decorations.* MADI.

Scale: A. 1, 3, 1 : 12. A. 2, 1 : 6. B, 1 : 6. C, 1 : 3. D, almost natural size.

CHAPTER XV

HAIR-DRESSING, HEAD-DRESSES, AND FACIAL ORNAMENT

HAIR-DRESSING

It is possible that originally all tribes left their hair to grow long and untended, but from very early days the ornamental possibilities of hair-dressing have been realized.

Up till the nineteen-thirties the people of south-west Uganda, the Hutu, Kiga, Iru, more especially their women, left the hair long and rolled it into strings with mud, mixing in more strings of fibre (Plate 46, A). Many Hima women also adopted this custom, often brushing the hair back behind a headband of beads and then leaving it to stand out behind the head.

Women of all the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic tribes also seem to have worn the hair long, some West Nile tribes, the Kakwa and Madi, braiding it into little plaits reaching the lobe of the ear (Plate 46, B); others, Madi, Acoli, Lango, Karamoja, Sebei, plastering it with red ochre, or less often black mud, and letting it hang in ringlets or in a solid mass (Plate 46, C).

Karamoja men strain the hair back from the forehead and grow it as long as possible behind, working it up with clay, grease and cow-dung until it becomes a solid mass sometimes reaching well below the waist. The felted mass is often formed into a bag in which the owner's treasures, fire-sticks, snuff and so on are kept. Plumes and other ornaments may be stuck in at the top, while from the base a hoop of a strip of oryx horn circles outwards and upwards. Sir Harry Johnston[1] (1904) ascribes this type of hair-dressing to the Suk and Turkana, but says he had never observed it among the Karamoja. Kitching[2] (1911) gives it as typical of the Karamoja and sometimes worn by the Teso. It is probable that he really refers to the Suk in south Karamoja. Driberg[3] (1923) quotes a tradition that it was in vogue among the Lango about a hundred and fifty years ago (Plate 46, G).

The shaving of patterns on the head poodle-fashion would seem to be very general; such patterns seem to be tribal, some being used by men, others by women. This is found chiefly among the Congo Bantu, Nilotics and south-west Inter-lacustrine Bantu (Plate 46, D).

The Tusi, and to a lesser extent the Hima, have carried this to a fine

[1] JOHNSTON: op. cit., p. 840.

[2] KITCHING: *On the Backwaters of the Nile*, 1912, pp. 186 sqq.

[3] DRIBERG: op. cit., p. 59.

art, the hair being allowed to grow to a great length and then being trimmed into great ridges and horns (Plate 46, E, F).

The Kyoga Basin group left a round pad of hair on the front of the head to which they fixed ornaments when dancing.

DETACHABLE HEAD-DRESSES OF FELTED HAIR

The men of the central Nilotic tribes together with the Nilo-Hamites wore their hair dressed in the most elaborate styles; it was grown long and worked up into various pads and cap-like shapes, the grease of the hair together with clay and chalk enabling it to be moulded like a tough felt. These solid masses were ornamented with coloured clay, with seeds, beads and shells forming both geometrical patterns and representations of lizards and other fanciful figures, flat pieces of brass were appliqued on and small tusks and ostrich feathers inserted, together with empty cartridge cases and fibre ornamental stitching.

Later it was realized that a well-made coiffure could be shaven off close to the head, the felt foundation being sufficiently solid to keep its shape under the weight of ornaments even when detached.

Fashions must have continuously changed, and materials available for decoration would change also. Driberg[1] gives an interesting account of the hair-dressing of the Lango from the sixteenth century, when they wore the hair worked into a sort of tam-o'-shanter; this was followed by a period when they wore a large shield-shaped detachable chignon down the back, a fashion adopted from the Karamoja and the Suk. Later (about 150 years ago) this was dispensed with and the hair was worn either worked up into a kind of busby covered with clay and cock's feathers, or drawn towards the back of the neck in a compact mass decorated with ostrich-shell disks and seeds. Cowries and beads would afterwards be substituted for seeds. The detached head-dress was afterwards evolved from the earlier styles of hair-dressing, together with a less elaborate skull-cap of felt worn by old men.

A further development was a wicker framework over which the wearer's own hair would be felted as a base for various forms of ornament.

Sir Samuel Baker's[2] description of the head-dress of the Latuka, once included in Uganda but now in the southern Sudan, is the best and earliest account of these ornate felted head-dresses, and is worth quoting in full.

'The Latookas wear most exquisite helmets, all of which are formed of their own hair; and are, of course, fixtures. At first sight it appears incredible, but a minute examination shows the wonderful perseverance of years in producing what must be highly inconvenient. The thick, crisp wool is woven with fine twine, formed from the bark of a tree, until it presents a thick network of felt. As the hair grows through this matted substance it is subjected to the same process, until, in the course of years,

[1] DRIBERG: op. cit., p. 59.
[2] SIR SAMUEL BAKER: *The Albert Nyanza*, 1867, p. 198, Vol. 1.

a compact substance is formed like a strong felt, about an inch and a half thick, that has been trained into the shape of a helmet. A strong rim, of about two inches deep, is formed by sewing it together with thread; and the front part of the helmet is protected by a piece of polished copper; while a piece of the same metal, shaped like the half of a bishop's mitre and about a foot in length, forms the crest. The framework of the helmet being at length completed, it must be perfected by an arrangement of beads, should the owner of the head be sufficiently rich to indulge in the coveted distinction. The beads most in fashion are the red and the blue porcelain, about the size of small peas. These are sewn on the surface of the felt, and so beautifully arranged in sections of blue and red that the entire helmet appears to be formed of beads; and the handsome crest of polished copper, surmounted by ostrich-plumes, gives a most dignified and martial appearance to this elaborate head-dress. No helmet is supposed to be complete without a row of cowrie-shells stitched around the rim so as to form a solid edge.'

FELTED SKULL CAP

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Lango.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi (north-east only).

The most simple form of felted head-dress is the closely fitting round skull cap worn by old men. It may be plain or ornamented with circles of bead work (Madi, Acoli), or pieces of brass (Lango).

Kitching[1] (Acoli, 1912) says it was only worn by elder men.

Driberg[2] (Lango, 1923) says it was only used by the very aged and even then rarely. Several specimens of no apparent great age have been presented to the Uganda Museum by Lango and Acoli chiefs during the last few years (1940–3) (Plate 46, H).

FELTED PAD WITH CONE-SHAPED ORNAMENT

Distribution

LUO	Acoli.

A type of head-dress greatly favoured among the Acoli to this day consists in a felted cone of hair, some 10 cm. high and about 6 cm. across the base. At the base it is often decorated with strings of red and white beads, and the upper part studded with small cylinders of brass or copper or fibre knotting. The whole is surmounted by a cartridge case. The cone is worn slanting forward from the top of the head and is either provided with a strap of leather decorated with teeth or shells which goes round a pad of hair left growing on the crown of the head, or is fixed in front of a similar removable pad of hair which is worn on the crown of

[1] KITCHING: *On the Backwaters of the Nile*, p. 189.

[2] DRIBERG: *The Lango*, p. 60.

the head; this pad is decorated with ostrich feathers, pieces of carved horn or ivory, pompoms of black ostrich feathers, and, most common of all, an ivory tusk. Round the brow just below the cone bands of beads are worn.

Photographs show this head-dress to have been common at the beginning of the century, and it is still worn today (Plate 47, A).

TIARA-SHAPED FELT HEAD-DRESS

Distribution

MADI-LUGBARA GROUP — Madi (north-east only).

This type of head-dress is now almost unknown in Uganda, although it belongs to the Madi from Obbo some fifty miles north of Nimule and now part of the southern Sudan. Baker[1] (1869) describes and sketches it, but it is interesting to note that several older Madi and Acoli men who claim to know the head-dress always insist that in his drawing it is worn back to front. Of the specimens in the Uganda Museum two are covered entirely with cowrie-shells and one with a mixture of cowries and fibre knotting (Plate 47, B).

PEAKED FELT CAP

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES — Karamoja.

The Karamoja form of felted cap is rather different from that of the Acoli. It consists in a felted mass worn from the crown to the back of the neck with a smaller diamond-shaped peak worn at the top of the head.

This peak may be attached to the main portion of the head-dress, but would often appear to be separate. The main back portion is carefully covered with clay which is decorated with parallel corrugations scratched upon it. The front portion has a corrugated pattern made in the same way, but is coloured in addition, the colours being blue, red, green and white. The head-dress is further ornamented with ostrich feather pom-poms and plumes, and also either the hoop of oryx horn circling up and forward from the base ending in a big black feather pompom, or a chain ending in a similar pompom hanging down at the back to the level of the wearer's waist (Plate 47, C).

FELTED BUSBY

Distribution

LUO — Lango.

The Lango make a large wicker foundation like an inverted basket over which human hair is worked into a felted cover, and the whole assumes the appearance of a felt busby; this is decorated with strips and rings of beaten brass (Plate 47, D).

[1] BAKER: op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 290; Vol. 2, p. 261.

FEATHERED BUSBY

Distribution

LUO	Lango.

Another Lango head-dress, has the same basic construction as the preceding one. Masses of cock's feathers are woven into the hair covering so that the busby appears to be entirely made of feathers (Plate 48, A).

PLUMED HEAD-DRESS

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Lango.
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Madi (north-east only).
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.

Wicker or woven fibre frames are constructed to fit over the crown of the head to support a large mass of long curving ostrich feathers, black, white or orange. These head-dresses are very magnificent and sometimes spread out over a foot on each side of the head, and hang halfway down the back (Plate 48, B).

Flat head-dresses like large tam-o'-shanters of small black ostrich feathers are worn on the crown of the head by the Karamoja.

Young Acoli boys wear a circlet of raphia with a bunch of cock's feathers behind when dancing (Plate 48, H).

SMALLER HEAD-DRESSES OR HEAD ORNAMENTS

The Nilo-Hamitic Teso and all tribes of the Kyoga Basin group wear a number of different ornaments on the top of the head or on the brow.

FEATHERED ORNAMENT

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES	Sebei.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.

Formerly such ornaments were worn stuck into a pad of hair left growing on the front of the head, now a small pad some 15 cm. across is constructed of fibre to hold the ornament and tied with strings passing round the back of the head.

The crest of the crowned crane is used in this way, and also the long tail feathers of the whydah bird. Sometimes a long strip of monkey fur is worn hanging down from the supporting pad (Plate 48, C).

Two rather similar ornaments come from the Congo Bantu group. They are a bunch of large black and white tail feathers (hornbill?) and a bunch of porcupine quills or wild boar bristles. The former is stated to be worn

by Amba men when fighting and dancing, and the latter worn on the forehead by Konjo *bandwa* or prophets, either men or women. Stuhlmann[1] gives drawings of both being worn on the crown of the head. It is interesting to note that the men in his drawings wear the hair long and unkempt.

SMALL HORNS

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe, Gishu.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.

Antelope horns of various kinds are worn tied above the brow by some tribes (Plate 48, D).

SEGMENT OF HIPPO TUSK

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Samia, Gwe.

A flattened moon-shaped segment of hippo tusk is worn on the brow by the Gishu during circumcision, and was worn for dancing by the Samia and Gwe (Plate 48, E).

CATTLE HORNS

Distribution

LUO	Alur.

A dancing head-dress is worn by the Alur consisting in a large pair of cattle horns mounted on a woven framework covered in cow-hide (Plate 48, G).

IRON HORN-SHAPED HEAD-DRESS

Distribution

NILO-HAMITIC	Teso.

The Teso wear an iron head-dress across the brow which must represent the horns of cattle. It was formerly worn undecorated; modern specimens are covered with cloth decorated with head-work (Plate 48, F).

SHELL HELMET

Distribution

LUO	Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Samia, Gwe.

Bands of cowries, shells or beads are worn round the brow and head by many tribes, but among the Luo, Nilo-Hamites, and Kyoga Basin

[1] STUHLMANN: *Mit Emin Pasha ins Herz von Afrika*, 1894, pp. 313, 622.

group they assume the proportions of a helmet or cap. They are often sewn over a basket-work foundation (Plate 49, A).

The Gishu helmet is bell-shaped, with a plume of colobus fur at the top (Plate 49, B).

The cap worn by the Samia and Gwe is said once to have been decorated with cowries, but today it is difficult to obtain a specimen. Those that can be found are of bead-work and resemble closely an Arab cap; this is possibly the influence of early traders.

FUR HELMET

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES	Sebei.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.
LUO	Alur.

Some tribes in eastern Uganda wear helmets of monkey fur with a band of cowries round the head and sometimes a chinstrap also.

The Gishu helmet is of colobus monkey and is worn erect with the long black and white hair drooping down all round (Plate 49, C).

The Sebei fur helmet is of a rather different type, being of a short fur with the skin so cut and folded that it sticks out behind the head.

From the Alur comes a cap-shaped helmet of woven bamboo splints covered with white goatskin. The whole is surmounted by a tall stick of colobus hair with a large bunch of white feathers at the top (Plate 49, D).

CEREMONIAL HEAD-DRESS, REGALIA AND INSIGNIA

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU KINGDOMS	Nyoro, Toro, Ganda.

Besides dancing head-dresses which could apparently be worn by anyone who could afford them, we find certain types which are a part of regalia or insignia, or which may be used on specific occasions only.

The most interesting of these are the *Ekondo*, or crowns of the Nyoro-Kitara Kingdom. The Bajwarakondo are members of a special order in the kingdom which might be compared to the peerage in Great Britain. Some members of the order are hereditary; others are appointed life members by the reigning Omukama and their title dies with them. The members, together with the Omukama himself, wear robes of bark-cloth and the *Ekondo*. This consists of a beaded crown with a beaded chinstrap from which hangs a large false beard of colobus fur. The crown is decorated with the traditional Inter-lacustrine Bantu pattern-work, and is surmounted with a variety of objects. The seven royal crowns in the possession of the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara are illustrated in Plate 50, A to G.

The Toro, who are a recent offshoot of the Nyoro-Kitara Kingdom,

have similar crowns, as do the Kooki, who were also once a part of this kingdom.

The Ganda Kingdom also have crowns of a rather similar kind, but none of any antiquity seem to have survived. During a part of his coronation in 1942 Kabaka Mutesa II wore one which consisted in a beaded cap worked in the traditional Inter-lacustrine Bantu patterns, surmounted with a large tuft of colobus monkey fur in the same form as that of the Gishu cowrie-shell helmets. The Saza chiefs at the coronation also wore chaplets of bead-work from each of which rose four beaded sticks surmounted with small tufts of hair. These were all said to be in the traditional form (Plate 50, H, I).

INSIGNIA OF ROYAL BODYGUARD AND GATEKEEPERS

STRING WIG

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU KINGDOMS — Nyoro, Ganda.

Amongst the insignia of various offices in the Inter-lacustrine Bantu Kingdoms should be noted the string wig worn by the gatekeepers of the royal enclosure and members of the royal bodyguard of the Kingdoms of Buganda and Nyoro-Kitara. It consists in a tightly fitting cap of black string on which are fastened four rows of wide fringe of twisted string like braided locks of hair; in fact, the whole wig probably resembles a former method of dressing the actual hair of the wearer (Plate 50, J).

HATS AND SHELTERS

So far we have discussed ornamental types of head-dresses or methods of hair-dressing worn by men at the dance or, in earlier days, at war; and other ceremonial head-dresses worn by men. There remain a small number of head-coverings the function of which is utilitarian rather than decorative.

FISHERMEN'S HATS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU — Ganda, Ssese, Kiga (Lake Bunyoni), ? Samia, Gwe.

A large conical hat of banana fibre over a woven wicker framework is worn on the shores and islands of north-west Lake Victoria, and in south-west Uganda.

If the theory is true that there are certain artifacts which have reached

this country from Malaya via Madagascar—viz. the sewn-plank canoe on Lake Victoria, and the flat-bar zither found among the Kiga and other tribes in south-west Uganda—the fishermen's hat might well be considered to be yet another link, as it bears a distinct resemblance to the large conical hats of Malaya; but a more simple if less romantic explanation would seem to be that it is an adaptation of the covering of the small grain store found in south-west Uganda, which is constructed in a similar fashion and is almost the same size (Plate 49, E).

It has also been reported, although not confirmed by the writer from a second source, as worn by Samia herdsmen. A number of other artifacts would seem to show some connection between these people and those of south-west Uganda; they themselves say such artifacts came up from south-west of Lake Victoria from the Wanyamwesi, and this is probably another instance.

HERDSMEN'S SHELTER

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU — Tusi, Hutu, Kiga.

An even larger head-covering is worn by herdsmen of south-west Uganda. This is also made from the bark of the plantain stem stretched over a wicker frame, but in shape it resembles a sentry-box and often reaches right down to the wearer's knees (Plate 49, F).

HEAD ORNAMENTS AND COVERINGS WORN BY WOMEN AND GIRLS

BEADED CHAPLET

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU — Hima (Karagwe, Ussinja, Ruanda, Kikuyu).

From Ankole comes a beaded chaplet worn round the brow and tied at the back of the head. The band of bead-work is 2 cm. wide and decorated in the traditional Inter-lacustrine Bantu pattern-work with red, blue and white beads. From the band many strings of beads about 20 cm. long hang down and cover the face, each string ending in a larger glass ring (Plate 51, E). This was worn by Hima girls.

Kollmann[1] records this also from Ruanda, Karagwe and Ussinja, and says it is 'pure Wahima work'.

Routledge[2] gives an almost identical head-band worn by Kikuyu girls at their initiation and afterwards until marriage.

[1] KOLLMANN: *The Victoria Nyanza*, pp. 55, 113.

[2] ROUTLEDGE: *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 140. Plate CII.

GIRLS' HEAD MAT

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hima.

Young girls of the Hamitic tribes of marriageable age wear a large mat covering the head and face when they walk outside their own kraals. The technical methods by which these mats are made have already been described in the basketry section. They are of beautifully fine workmanship and are decorated with the traditional black pattern-work of these people (Plate 51, F).

MINIATURE HOOD

Distribution

MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Lugbara.

Among the Lugbara young marriageable girls when at dances wear a small beaded hood, hung on the back. The hood, which formerly was decorated with shells but now is of bead-work, is a miniature of the basketry cover which is used to protect a baby on its mother's back.

STRING WIG

Distribution

LUO	Lango.

Lango women used to wear a string wig when dancing. This was not nearly as well made as the string wig of the Nyoro and Ganda gatekeepers, but consisted in a pad of basketry at the centre of which was fastened a number of long strings; the diameter of the whole thing was about 25 cm., and it must have perched on the top of the head and not fitted close in any way (Plate 51, G).

ORNAMENTS WORN ON THE BROW

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja.

Karamoja men wear ornaments hung over the brow; these are sometimes of aluminium with short chains hanging from them (Plate 51, C).

LABRETS

Distribution

Men	CONGO BANTU	Amba.
	LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara, Madi.
	LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango.
	NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.

Women	CONGO BANTU	Amba.
	LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara, Madi.
	LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango, Jopadhola.
	NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
	KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Samia, Gwe.

The most common form of lip ornament is a quartz labret up to 10 cm. long which is worn driven through the skin immediately below the centre of the lower lip and is prevented from falling out by a knob or ridge on the inner side. It may also be made from glass ground from a broken bottle. In Acoli today long glass rods like thick knitting needles up to 20 cm. long are imported and sold by traders (Plate 51, A. 1 to 4).

Among the Karamoja the labret worn by men is sometimes carved with a right-angle bend so that it lies on the chin instead of jutting forward (Plate 51, A. 5).

Lango women wear a straw in the same place, except in north Lango, where the Acoli custom is followed.

Amba men and women wore a number of sticks or straws through both the upper and lower lip.

The Karamoja sometimes wear a wooden plug in place of the labret. Large rings with beads were worn through the lower lip by the Teso. Small beads were inserted in the upper and lower lips by the Teso. Small disks of wood and large rings hung with beads are reported to have been worn in the upper lip by the Madi, and rings in upper lip by the Labwor Karamoja. In east Lango a flat heart-shaped brass pendant or a large flat strip of metal is sometimes worn hanging from the lower lip (Plate 51, A. 6, 7).

NOSE ORNAMENTS

Distribution

LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa.
LUO	Acoli, Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja, Teso.

Nose ring

Small, with beads	Lugbara	Women.
	Kakwa	Women.
	Lango	Men.
Large, with beads	Teso	Men.

Flat aluminium disk, leaf-shaped, hung from septum

Karamoja Men (Plate 51, B. 1).

Disk of ivory in septum Acoli.

Nose ornaments are not very common except under the influence of Islaam, when they may be found worn by any tribe. They do occur apart from this, however, in northern Uganda (Plate 51, B. 2, 3).

EAR ORNAMENTS

Distribution		
LUGBARA-MADI GROUP		Lugbara, Madi.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP		Kakwa.
LUO		Alur, Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES		Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP		Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
Small rings in cartilage and lobe	Lugbara	Men and women.
	Kakwa	Women.
	Acoli	Men and women.
	Lango	Men and women.
	Karamoja	Men.
	Teso	Men.
Large rings in cartilage	Karamoja	Men and women.
	Samia	Men.
	Gwe	Men.
Rings in lobe only	Madi	Men and women.
	Alur	Women.
	Teso	Men.
	Sebei	Men.
	Jopadhola	Women.
	Gishu	Men and women.
	Samia	Men and women.
	Gwe	Men and women.
	Amba	
Tin ornaments in cartilage or lobe (Plate 51, D)	Karamoja	Men and women.
	Lango	
Clip in lobe	Madi	Men and women.
	Alur	Women.
Plug or disk in lobe	Acoli	Men and women.
	Lango	Men and women.
	Karamoja	Men and women.
	Sebei	Men and women.
Sections of shells	Sebei	Men.
Chains hanging from the ears	Sebei	Men.

Ear-rings are not found among the Inter-lacustrine Bantu tribes. The Luo, Nilo-Hamites and some of the Kyoga Basin tribes pierce the cartilage of the ear with as many as fifteen or sixteen holes to take ear-rings.

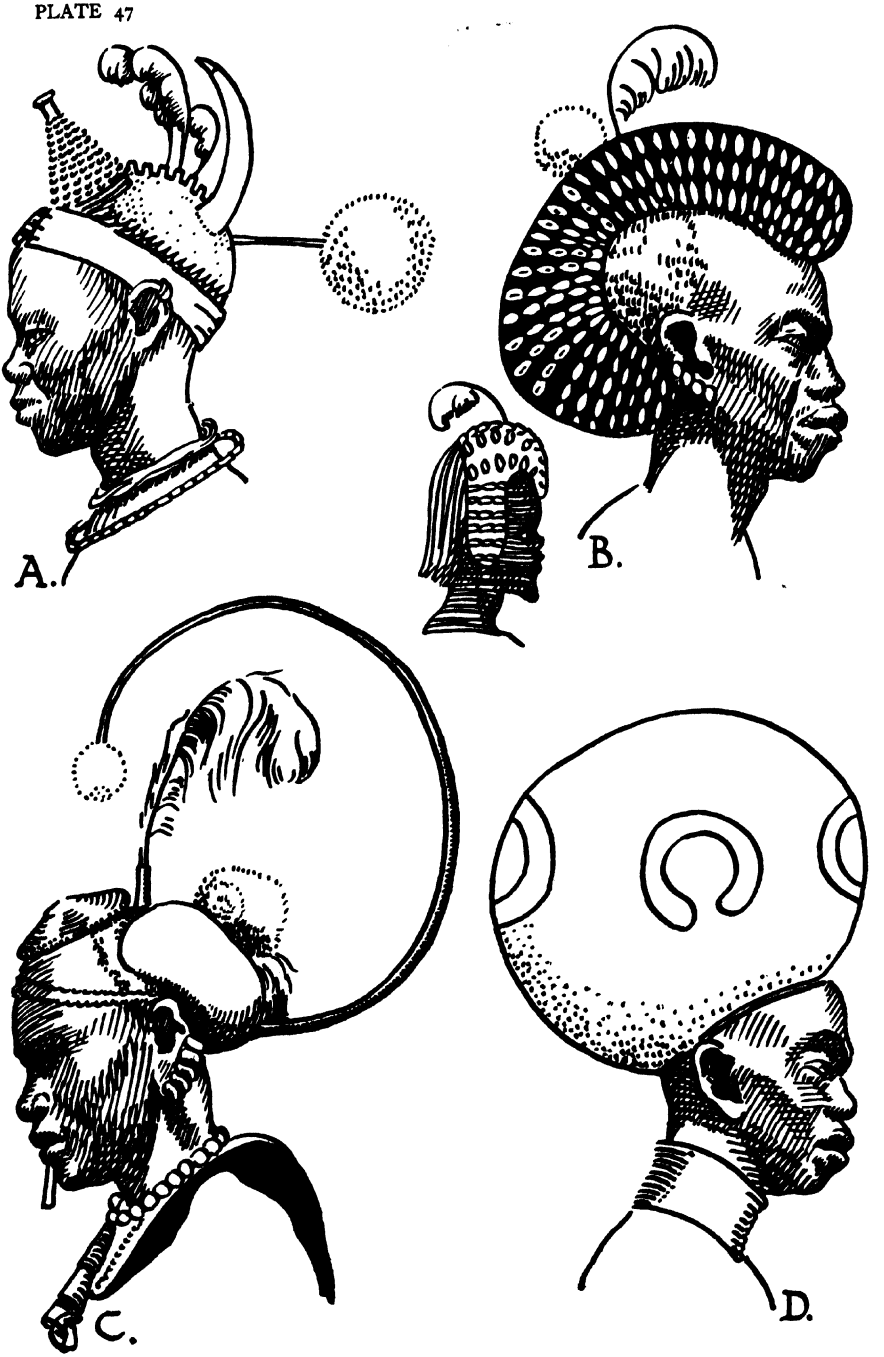


HAIR-DRESSING AND HEAD-DRESSES

A. Hair left long matted with mud and fibre. S.W. INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU. B. Hair long and braided. MADI. C. Hair long and dressed with ochre. LANGO. D. Hair cut in patterns, poodle fashion. MANY TRIBES. E. Hair left long and cut into ridges, etc. TUSI. F. Hair left long and cut into ridges. HIMA. G. Hair left long and worked into felt chignon. KARAMOJA. H. Detachable felt skull cap. ACOLI.

No scale.

PLATE 47



HEAD-DRESSES

A. Felted pad with cone-shaped ornament. ACOLI. B. Tiara-shaped head-dress. MADI. C. Peaked cap head-dress. KARAMOJA. D. Felted busby. LANGO.

No scale.



HEAD-DRESSES AND HEAD ORNAMENTS

A. Head-dress. *Cock's feathers.* LANGO. B. Head-dress. *Ostrich plumes.* ACOLI. C. Head ornament. *Crest of crowned crane.* JOPADHOLA. D. Head ornament. *Horns.* GISHU. E. Head ornament. *Hippo tusk.* SAMIA. F. Head ornament. *Iron horns, sometimes covered with beadwork.* TESO. G. Head-dress. *Cattle horns.* ALUR. H. Head ornament. *Raphia circlet with cock's feathers.* ACOLI.

No scale.

PLATE 49



HELMETS, HATS AND SHELTERS

A. Cowrie covered cap. *With head bands on brow and nose.* TESO. B. Cowrie covered helmet. *On wicker foundation, surmounted by colobus fur.* GISHU. C. Fur hemlet. *Colobus fur.* GISHU. D. Skin helmet. *Surmounted with stick covered with colobus fur and bunch of white feathers.* ALUR. E. Fisherman's hat. *Plantain bark on wicker foundation.* SSESE. F. Herdsman's shelter. *Plantain bark on wicker foundation.* KIGA.

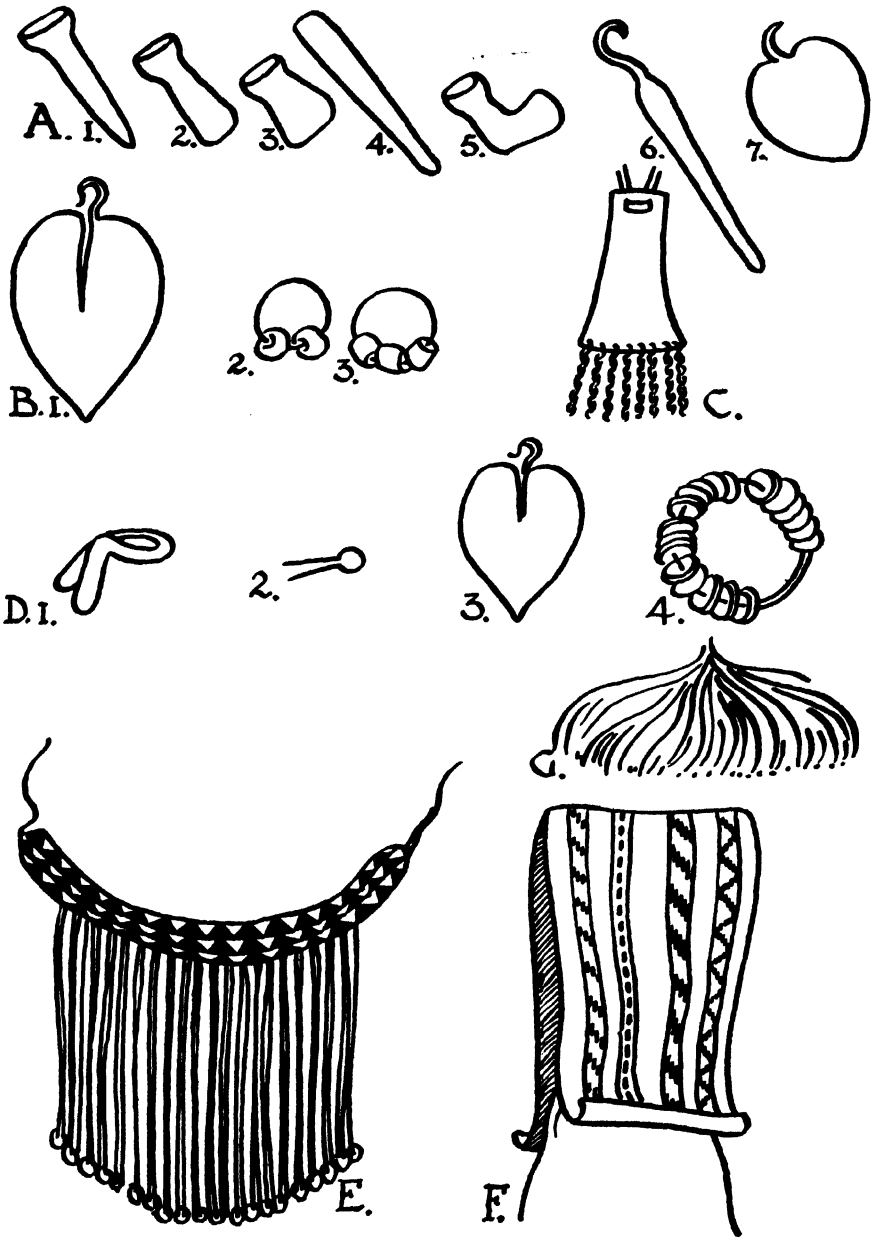
No scale.



REGALIA HEAD-DRESSES

A. Royal Crown of the Nyoro-Kitara. Said to have belonged to the Bacwezi Dynasty. Beadwork, '*Ensingo*' pattern. Blue and white. Surmounted by large brass cone. B. Royal Crown of the Nyoro-Kitara. Said to have belonged to the Bacwezi Dynasty. Beadwork, '*Nyakahembe*' pattern. Blue and dull red. Surmounted by large brass cone. C. Royal Crown of the Nyoro-Kitara. Said to have belonged to Duhaga I. Beadwork, '*Kihabya*' pattern. Black and white. Surmounted by pompon of red parrot feathers. 'Beard' of beads. D. Royal Crown of the Nyoro-Kitara. Said to have belonged to Kaboyo, Omukama of Toro, from whom it was taken by Kabarega. Beadwork, '*Ensingo*' pattern. Red, blue and white. Surmounted by European glass plate. (A present from one of the early explorers?) E. Royal Crown of the Nyoro-Kitara. Said to have belonged to Kabarega. Beadwork, '*Butulege*' pattern. Blue and white. F. Royal Crown of the Nyoro-Kitara. Said to have belonged to Duhaga II. Beadwork, '*Ensingo*' pattern. Blue and white. G. Royal Crown of the Nyoro-Kitara. Belonging to Winyi IV, the present Omukama. Beadwork, '*Ensingo*' pattern. Red, blue and white. Surmounted by a number of short sticks. H. Royal Crown of the Ganda. Belonging to Mutesa II, the present Kabaka. Beadwork, surmounted with tuft of colobus fur. I. Saza Chief's Crown, Ganda. Beaded chaplet, surmounted by four short sticks supporting tufts of colobus hair. J. String wig. Worn by Royal gatekeepers and bodyguard. GANDA, NYORO.

No scale.



FACIAL ORNAMENT AND WOMEN'S HEAD-DRESSES

A. Labrets. 1–5, Stone Labrets. 1. ACOLI. 2, 3. KARAMOJA. 4. ALUR. 5. KARAMOJA. 6, 7. Brass labrets. LANGO. B. Nose ornaments. 1. Metal pendant. *Worn through the septum.* KARAMOJA. 2, 3. Ring with beads. *Chiefly worn by men.* LANGO. C. Ornament worn on the brow. KARAMOJA. D. Ear ornaments. 1. *One in lobe of each ear. Men and women.* MADI. 2. *Two in lobe. Women.* ALUR. 3. *Worn in lobe. Men and women.* KARAMOJA. 4. Ring. *Brass with ostrich egg-shell disks. Up to fifteen in cartilage. Men and women.* LANGO. E. Beaded chaplet and veil. *Worn by girls.* HIMA. F. Head mat. *Tied or stitched. Worn by girls.* HIMA. G. String wig. *Worn by women when dancing.* LANGO.

Scale: A, B, D. 1, D. 3, 1 : 2·5. D. 2, D. 4, natural size. E, F, G, no scale.

CHAPTER XVI

NECK, ARM, AND LEG ORNAMENT

NECK ORNAMENTS

It is extremely difficult to define the types of ornament worn on neck, arms and legs in various parts of the country; fashions change continually, and with the opening up of the country there is continuous interchange and adoption of fashion between one tribe and another.

Certain distinctive types of ornament can be picked out, however, and some indication given of their main distribution.

OSTRICH EGG-SHELL DISK NECKLACES

Distribution

MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kuku.
LUO	Alur, Acoli, Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda.

Necklaces were made from small disks of ostrich egg-shell with a hole bored through the centre (Plate 52, C).

Row after row of these disks are sometimes joined together, so that when worn they form a tightly fitting gorget reaching from just below the chin to well down on the breasts. There may be as many as fifteen rows, each slightly longer than the last, finishing off with a row of coloured beads. Such ostrich egg-shell disks were used as currency.

Necklaces of similar disks cut from snail-shells are worn by the Kakwa.

SHELLS

Distribution

UNIVERSAL EXCEPT FOR INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU.

Cowrie shell necklaces are worn by the Luo, Nilo-Hamite and Kyoga Basin group; segments of large fresh-water mussel shells by such varied tribes as the Konjo, Amba and Sebei (Plate 52, A).

SEED NECKLACES

Various seed are strung and worn as necklaces by different tribes, the most interesting being the seed of *Scleria racemosa* (?), a rice-like plant that grows in the swamps of Mt. Elgon; the seeds are brown, shining and

very hard. Each one is ground down at the ends on a grindstone before threading. The seeds contain a great proportion of silica, and many have been dug up in prehistoric sites in Kenya. These seed necklaces are worn to-day by Gishu women.

ROOT NECKLACES

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Lango.

Acoli and Lango girls wear necklaces made from round beads made of a root which looks rather like cork, and is said to have a sweet scent (Plate 52, B).

IRON BEADS AND SMALL TIN CYLINDERS THREADED ON FIBRE

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Samia, Gwe.

Iron beads, sometimes round and about 1·5 cm. in diameter, sometimes cylindrical and about the same size, and also larger tin cylinders some 2 cm. long threaded on fibre, are worn as necklaces and girdles (Plate 52, D, E, F).

IMPORTED BEADS

Distribution

UNIVERSAL, BUT MORE ESPECIALLY THE LUO AND NILO-HAMITES.

Trade beads have been brought into the country since the earliest contact with the outside world through the Arabs and early European explorers. Sir Samuel Baker speaks of bringing 'Venetian beads', and these can sometimes be found on old necklaces; other writers speak of blue beads being most popular amongst the Soga, and the older bead necklaces collected from this tribe certainly have a preponderance of blue.

Among the Luo, Nilo-Hamitic and Bantu people of the Kyoga Basin group a certain type of blue bead has an almost sacred value, and various legends connect these beads with the ancestors. The Alur tribe is said to have split off from the main Luo migration and passed over to the West Nile because of a quarrel over a few of these beads. Hobley[1] was the first to mention a special type of blue bead, and says that the Jaluo tradition was that they fell with the rain during heavy storms in the Maragolia Hills. His own explanation is that they were brought down from ancient Egypt by a people who settled in the Maragolia Hills and were washed up by soil erosion after rain. He states that identical beads can be found in the Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum. Unfortunately he does not describe the beads, but Johnston,[2] after referring to him describes

[1] HOBLEY: *Eastern Uganda*, 1902, p. 31. [2] JOHNSTON: op. cit., Vol. II, p. 783.

the beads as 'large blue glass beads'. I have several times been shown (and twice been able to purchase) blue beads in Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola and Samia which had certainly a very special value in the eyes of their owners and had the legends of the ancestors' beads ascribed to them, but in every case these were cylindrical porcelain beads, white inside and a rich turquoise blue on the outside; any suggestion that they were similar to a smaller old trade bead found in the same area was indignantly repudiated.

An opaque slatey-blue bead with hexagonal sides found among the Lango and Acoli is always said to have been brought by the Egyptian slave-raiders in the later part of the last century.

A certain number of beads are worn by most tribes, and of the tribes who wear them most, two or three strings are usually worn round the neck by the men and large masses by the women.

HAIR AND FIBRE NECKLACES STRUNG WITH CHARMS

Distribution

UNIVERSAL.

Necklaces made from the tail hairs of the elephant or giraffe, or of fibre, strung with miscellaneous little collections of beads and charms, are universal.

One consisting of a number of hairs from the tail of a giraffe, with one long blue bead in front, or sometimes a brass bead, is commonly worn by Lango and Acoli women; it was formerly also worn by men (Plate 52, K).

COILED IRON OR BRASS WIRE GORGETS

Distribution

LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Madi.
LUO	Acoli, Lango.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe.

Gorgets of up to ten coils of wire may be worn round the neck; as a general rule women wear brass, men iron. The Acoli wear their coils so tight that sores are often formed (Plate 52, H).

MEDIUM-WEIGHT WIRE NECK-RINGS

Distribution

MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe, Nyuli.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Ganda.

Single rings of iron-wire are sometimes worn on the neck.

Some tribes wear large numbers of these; others, notably the Karamoja, wear a number fastened together with a strip of leather to form a gorget (Plate 52, I).

HEAVY METAL NECK-RINGS

Distribution

ALMOST UNIVERSAL IN SOME FORM.

Very heavy	CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.
	KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.
	NILO-HAMITES	Sebei.
Flat	LUGBARA-MADI	Madi.
	INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda.

Large metal neck-rings with the ends hooked or pressed together are worn.

The Gishu ones are the heaviest, some being 3 cm. thick and weighing as much as five pounds. They also wear large flat ones (Plate 52, J).

The Konjo neck-rings (worn formerly by both men and women, but now almost entirely by women) are also heavy, 2 to 3 cm. in diameter, they also wear a lighter type of medium-weight iron-wire with the end beaten into flat spirals some 4 cm. across (Plate 52, L, N).

Some Madi specimens are of flattened brass, decorated with a fringe of tiny bells (Plate 52, M).

A certain type of chief, an *Omutongole*, among the Ganda wore a flat metal neck-ring, of brass or copper, of very fine workmanship as a badge of office.

WIRE-BOUND HAIR NECKLACES

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Toro, Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.

These consist of a core of goat-hair closely bound with fine wire, or in the case of the Amba with fine strips of tin. They are usually long and worn twisted several times round the neck. The Kiga hang small brass or iron bell-like decorations, some of which are huntsmen's trophies, on them (Plates 52, G, 55, A).

NECK ORNAMENTS, VARIOUS TYPES

Lango chiefs wear hung from the neck an ornament of curved ivory with two knob-like protuberances and a stencilled pattern of black dots (Plate 54, C).

Teso wore rings through the skin of the chest.

An ornament consisting of two leopard's claws set with beads was presented to court favourites by the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara or by his chief wife (Plate 55, B).

ARM ORNAMENTS

IVORY BANGLES

Distribution		
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP		Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP		Kakwa, Kuku.
LUO		Alur, Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES		Teso, Karamoja.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP		Gishu.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU		Ganda.
On the upper arm	Men	Madi.
		Alur, Acoli, Lango.
		Teso, Karamoja.
		Gishu.
	Women	Kakwa.
On the wrist	Men	Madi.
		Alur, Acoli, Lango.
		Teso, Karamoja.
		Gishu.
	Women	Karamoja.
		Ganda (brides).
		Jopadhola (brides).

Heavy ivory bangles up to a centimetre thick and 4 cm. deep are worn above the elbow and on the wrist. They are often split and fastened with a knot of fibre (Plate 53, A). Large flat ones as Plate 53, C, are also worn. The Ganda wear two special types of ivory bangles. The first resembles a cuff and is about 7 cm. deep with a thicker lip-like edge at the top; it is split and is lashed together when on the wrist through pairs of holes top and bottom. These are worn by brides. The second type is a flat thin ring of ivory about 1 centimetre wide (Plate 53, B, C).

HEAVY METAL BANGLES, IRON OR BRASS

Distribution	
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Nyuli, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa.
LUO	Alur, Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.

CONGO BANTU		Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU		Toro.
On the upper arm	Men	Acoli.
On the wrist	Men	Madi, Lugbara.
		Jopadhola.
		Teso, Karamoja.
		Amba.
	Women	Madi.
		Alur, Acoli, Lango.
		Amba.

The distribution of the very heavy type of metal bangle covers the same ground as that of the heavy ivory ones, but is also more widely spread (Plate 53, D, E).

THIN METAL-WIRE BANGLES

Distribution

UNIVERSAL.

Wire bangles, chiefly of iron-wire, often carrying small ornaments, beads, or charms are universal.

Plain thin metal bangles are worn in large numbers on the wrists, chiefly by women, by the Central Nilotic and Nilo-Hamitic tribes.

MEDIUM-WEIGHT METAL BANGLES

Distribution

UNIVERSAL.

KYOGA BASIN GROUP IN VERY LARGE NUMBERS.

These bangles, either solid or hollow, sometimes partly twisted, are worn on the wrists almost universally in small numbers; and in very large numbers by the Kyoga Basin group. They are worn by both men and women, but the women wear them in larger numbers.

An interesting iron bangle is worn by the parents of twins among the Samia and Gwe. It consists of two narrow bands of iron joined together at the ends, the top one being plain, the lower one twisted. This twisting of metal work amongst the Bantu would seem to be nearly always connected in some way with magico-religious use (Plate 53, F).

An identical 'twin' bangle has been collected from the Alur, and a very similar one is illustrated from the Wanyamwezi by Stuhlmann,[1] with, however, no explanation as to whether it is connected with the twins or not.

Flat brass and copper bangles about 7 cm. deep, decorated with incised pattern, are worn on the wrist by Madi and Acoli women (Plate 53, L).

[1] STUHLMANN: *Mit Emin Pasha ins Herz von Afrika*, p. 107.

COILED METAL

Distribution

LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Lugbara, Madi.
LUO	Alur, Acoli, Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.

Large coils of brass or iron-wire are worn on the upper and lower arm by both men and women of the Luo and Nilo-Hamitic groups in large numbers; they may wear as many as four sets of coils on the lower, and two on the upper arm, each set consisting of anything from five to twenty coils. The largest number being worn high up on the upper arm.

The Lango wear the greatest amount of coiled metal; the Acoli coil it extremely tight, often causing large sores. Amongst the Lango and Acoli it would seem that the women wear brass and the men iron as a general rule (Plate 53, G).

Coiled metal is worn to a lesser extent by the Lugbara-Madi, the Congo Bantu and the Kyoga Basin groups.

WIRE-BOUND HAIR BANGLES

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Amba, Konjo.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru, Toro.
LUO (KYOGA BASIN ONLY)	Jopadhola.

Bangles of goat's hair bound with fine wire or finely cut strips of tin are worn on the upper arm by women of the Congo Bantu group and on the wrists by the south-western Inter-lacustrine Bantu. They may be single bangles or a long loop twisted several times round the wrist. This second type is also found among the Jopadhola of eastern Uganda, where the people themselves say they were introduced by herdsmen from the Wanyamwezi, south-west of Lake Victoria (Plate 53, H).

FIBRE BANGLES

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Iru, Hima.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.

Fibre bangles of various types are worn by many tribes, especially by children and by people too poor to afford metal ones.

Large numbers, often running into many hundreds, are worn on the upper arm by the Konjo-Amba group, often with a knife thrust through them. These were formerly worn by both men and women, but now chiefly by women.

A small number are worn on the wrists by women and children of the south-west Inter-lacustrine Bantu (Plate 53, I).

One fibre bangle is reported to be worn on the upper arm by Gishu men.

BANGLES MADE FROM THE TAIL HAIRS OF ELEPHANT AND GIRAFFE

Distribution

UNIVERSAL.

These are universally popular, sometimes decorated with beads, sometimes plain; the hair is looped round several times and fastened with an ingenious form of double slip knot which enables it to be stretched or reduced in size at will (Plate 53, J).

METAL BEADS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga.

From the Kiga comes a bangle of large aluminium beads; no old metal beads have been reported from this area, so that these may be a modern development (Plate 52, K).

LARGE ORNAMENTS FOR THE ARM

BOAT-SHAPED ORNAMENT

Distribution

LUO	Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.

A large boat-shaped ornament, usually of ivory but sometimes of wood with a covering of bead-work, is worn on the upper arm by men when dancing (Plate 54, A).

'TAIL' ARM ORNAMENT

Distribution

BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi.
LUO	Alur, Acoli.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.

Another arm ornament consists in a long tail of hair, usually goat, but sometimes a giraffe's tail (Karamoja) which is worn standing out at right angles behind the upper arm, or drooping down behind the elbow; it is fixed round the arm by a broad band of leather covered with shells or bead-work or buttons or some other form of decoration (Plate 54, C).

TORTOISE-SHELL ARM RATTLE

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.

During dances a rattle consisting in a hollow tortoise-shell hung with a fringe of little iron chains is worn sloping out from the upper arm (Plate 53, B).

IVORY TOBACCO HORNS

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja.

The Karamoja wear an ivory tusk or small horn with a leather cap, fastened by a thong round the upper arm. In this is carried tobacco mixed with ashes for chewing. This is also worn round the neck (Plate 54, D).

FINGER RINGS

Distribution

UNIVERSAL.

Rings of beaten or coiled brass wire are worn on the fingers and thumbs by most tribes, more especially by the Congo Bantu, Lugbara-Madi group, Luo and Nilo-Hamites.

LEG ORNAMENTS

Leg ornaments are less ornate than those of the arms and less worn, although some tribes wear them in considerable numbers.

HEAVY METAL ANKLETS

Distribution

LUGBARA-MADI GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa.
LUO	Acoli, Alur, Jopadhola.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe.

These are common and may be worn in large numbers; they are sometimes heavy, but others, though large, are hollow and of no great weight. The people of eastern Uganda wear them in very great numbers.

THINNER METAL ANKLETS

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Amba, Konjo.
LUGBARA-MADI	Madi.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Alur.

NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Nyuli, Gwere, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

Hoops of thinner metal are often worn on the ankles and just below the knee. Again the eastern Bantu would seem to wear them in the greatest numbers.

CHAINS

Distribution

LUO	Acoli.

Chains are sometimes worn below the knee.

COILED METAL

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Lango.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Samia, Gwe.

The Lango, who wear more coiled wire on their necks and arms than any other tribe, also wear a large number of coils on the legs. The men may wear sets of coils at the top of the thigh, above and below the knee, halfway down the lower leg, and above the ankles. The women will wear several sets on the lower leg.

WIRE-BOUND HAIR ANKLETS

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Toro, Hima, Iru, Kiga, Hutu.

These are worn below the knee by women of the Konjo-Amba group, and in very large numbers round the ankles by the south-western Inter-lacustrine Bantu women.

BELLS AND RATTLES

LARGE MOON-SHAPED PELLET BELL

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.

During circumcision rites Gishu boys wear six large bells attached to the thigh by a leather band and decorated with strings of cowrie-shells. It is interesting to note an exactly similar bell is worn on the thigh at circumcision ceremonies and at certain men's dances by the Akikuyu of Kenya[1] (Plate 55, E).

[1] ROUTLEDGE: *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 180. Plate CXV.

STRINGS OF SMALL PELLET BELLS

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Jopadhola.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Gishu, Samia, Gwe, Nyuli.
NILO-HAMITES	Sebei, Teso, Karamoja.

Strings of small iron pellet bells may be worn tied round the ankle when dancing (Plate 55, D).

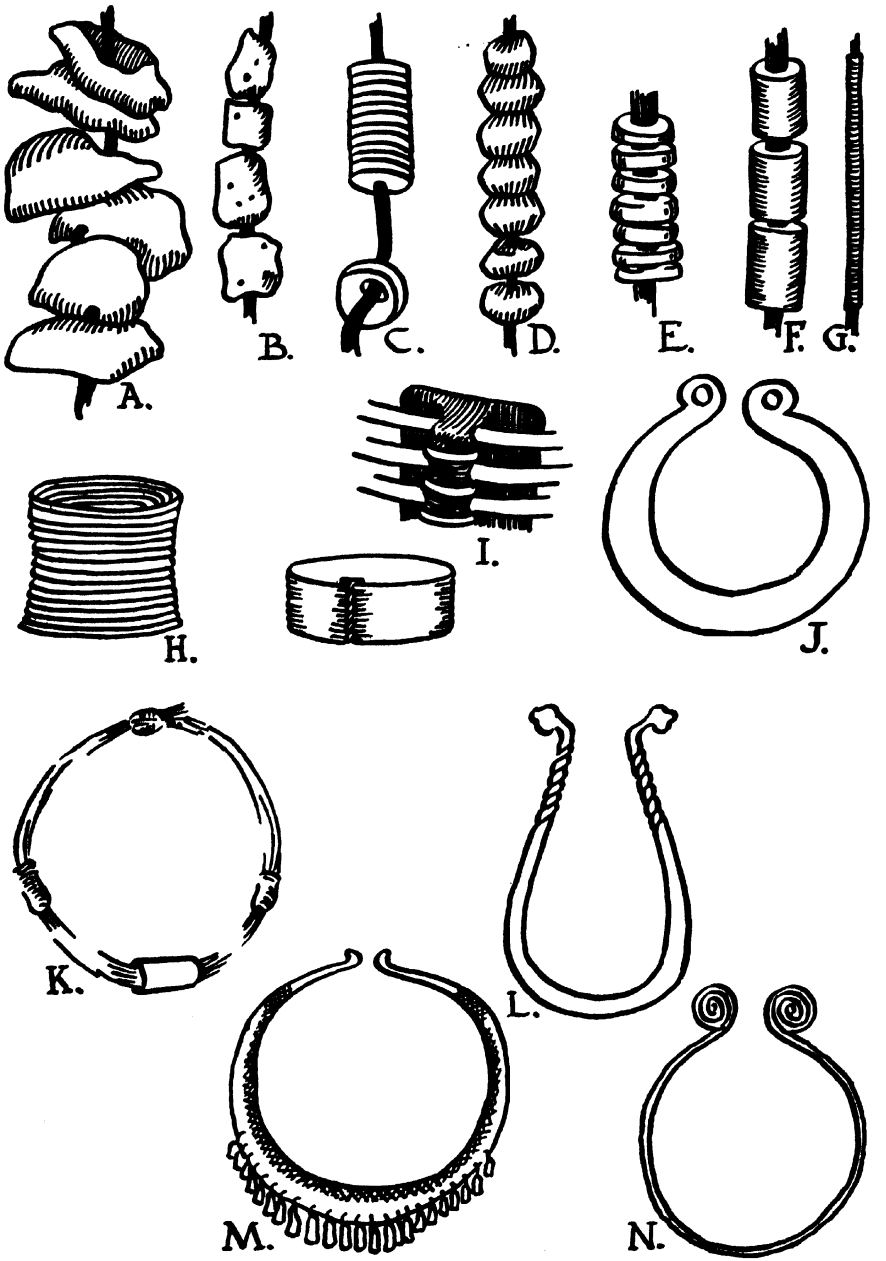
STRUNG SEED RATTLES

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Toro, Nyoro.
LUO	Copi.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Nyuli, Gwere.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.

Rattles made from the seed-pods of the Oncoba *Routledgei* strung together in three or more rows and fastened round the ankles and worn when dancing (Plate 55, F).

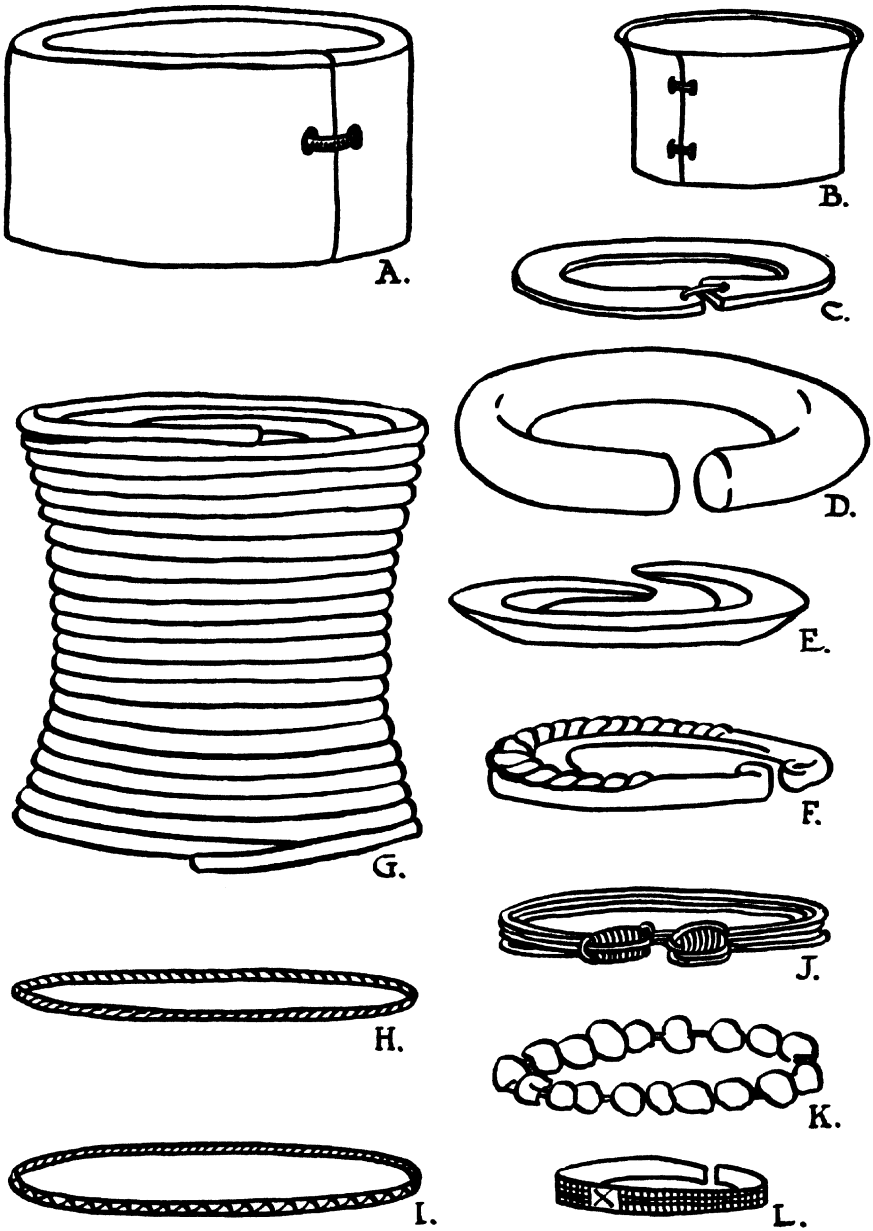
PLATE 52



NECKLACES AND NECK-RINGS

A. Necklace. *Cowrie shells.* LUO, NILO-HAMITIC AND KYOGA BASIN GROUP. B. Necklace. *Carved roots.* ACOLI. C. Necklace. Disks of ostrich egg-shell. ACOLI. D, E, F. Necklaces. *Iron beads and cylinders.* KYOGA BASIN GROUP. G. Necklace. *Wire-bound hair.* KIGA. H. Coiled metal gorget. ACOLI. I. Gorget. *Light metal rings, joined by leather band.* KARAMOJA. J. Neck-ring. *Heavy iron.* GISHU. K. Necklace. *Giraffe hair.* ACOLI. L. Neck-ring. *Light metal.* KONJO. M. Neck-ring. *Flat brass, decorated with bells.* MADI. N. Neck-ring. *Metal.* KONJO.

Scale: A–G, 5 : 6. H–N, 1 : 5.

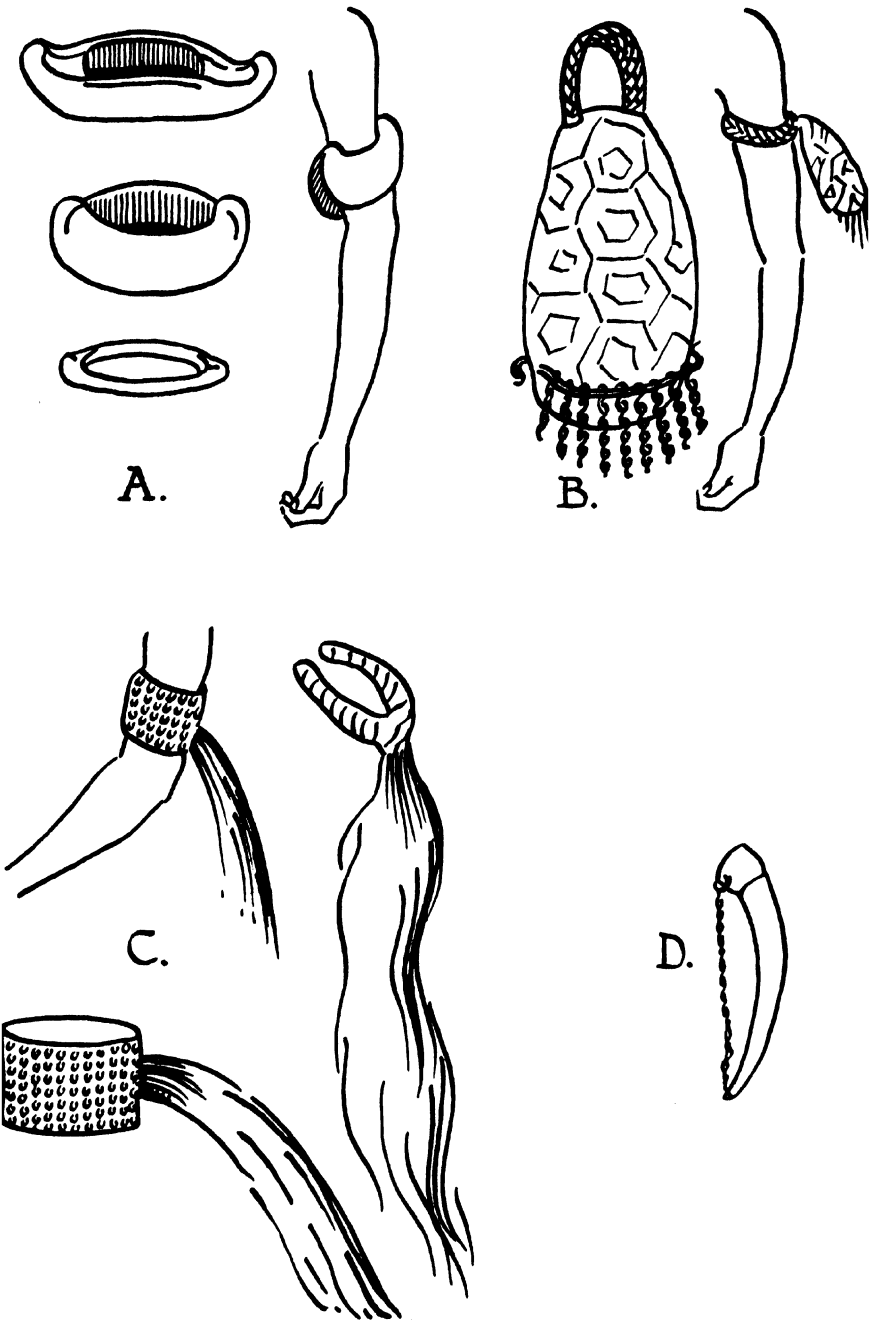


BANGLES

A. Ivory bangle. *Worn on upper arm of wrist.* ACOLI. B. Ivory bangle. *Worn on wrist by bride.* GANDA. C. Ivory bangle. *Worn on wrist.* GANDA. D. Heavy metal bangle. *Worn on lower arm or leg.* NILOTIC. E. Heavy metal bangle. *Worn on ankle.* GWE. F. Double metal bangle. *Worn on wrist by parent of twins.* GWE. G. Coiled metal. *Worn on upper and lower arms and legs.* LANGO. H. Wire-bound hair bangle. *Worn on wrists and ankles.* KIGA. I. Fibre bangle. *Worn on upper arm.* KONJO, AMBA. J. Giraffe hair bangle. *Worn on wrist, modern.* CENTRAL INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU. K. Bangle of aluminium beads. *Modern.* KIGA. L. Metal bangle. *Worn on wrist.* ACOLI.

Scale: 2 : 3.

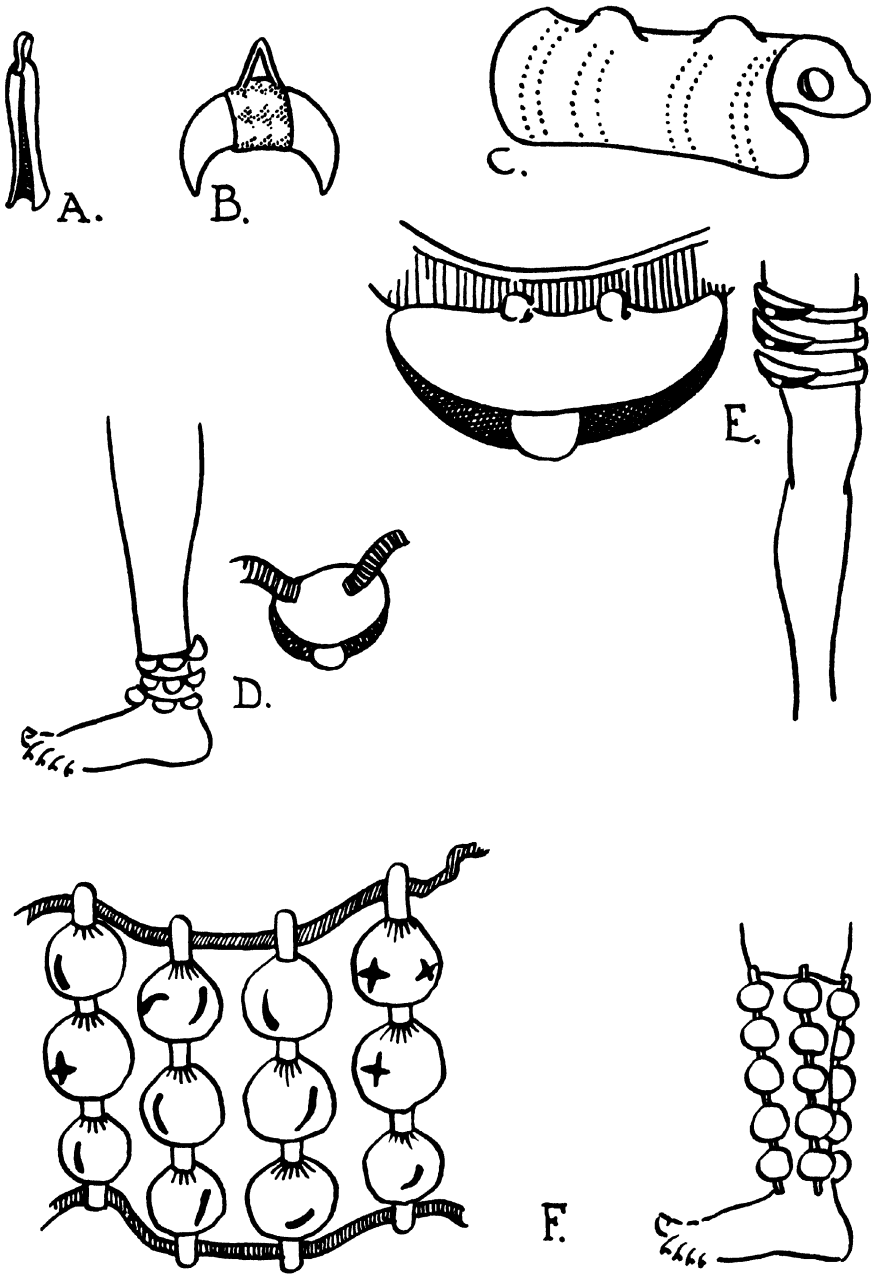
PLATE 54



ARM ORNAMENTS

A. Ivory boat-shaped ornament. TESO. B. Tortoise-shell rattle. LANGO. C. Tail ornament. ACOLI, TESO. D. Ivory horn. KARAMOJA.

Scale: 1 : 5.



NECK ORNAMENTS AND LEG ORNAMENTS

Neck ornaments. A. Bell. *Huntsman's trophy. Hung on wire-bound hair necklace.* KIGA. B. Neck ornament. *Claw and beaded ornament.* NYORO. C. Ornament worn on chest. *Carved ivory with stencilled pattern.* LANGO. Leg ornaments. D. Strung pellet bell. *Worn round ankles when dancing or playing bow-lyre.* NILOTIC. E. Bell. *Worn on thigh as part of circumcision dress.* GISHU. F. Strung seed rattles. *Worn round lower leg when dancing.* NYORO.

Scale: A, B, C, 1 : 2·5. D, E, F, no scale.

CHAPTER XVII

SHIELDS

THE shields found in the Uganda Protectorate may be divided into two main types, those made of wood covered with cane, and those made of hide. There are as well small pointed wooden shields found occasionally in south-west Uganda and a large light shield of cane only made by the Congo Bantu.

WOODEN SHIELDS COVERED WITH CANE

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga, Iru, Hima, Nyoro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga.

This type of shield is found among all the Inter-lacustrine Bantu tribes. Each tribe has its own characteristics, but in general the shield is lozenge-shaped, of soft wood, with one boss, although two or even three are not unknown, the body of the shield being covered on both faces with cane-work. A handle of cane is fixed immediately behind the boss.

Let us now consider the characteristic points of the main tribal varieties.

Ganda (Plate 56, A)

Shape. The Ganda shield is comparatively narrow, its average height being 80 cm. and width 40 cm. It has sharply pointed ends, the two halves are flat and meet on the vertical mid-line at a marked angle.

The boss is pointed. Shields with two or even three bosses are to be found.

It is made of soft wood.

Handle. A number of small round canes are bound together to form a grip. Both ends of two canes are inserted above and below the back of the boss, the rest are bound together forming a very short 'tail' above and below the handle. The binding of the grip itself is woven in check weave.

Decoration. The edge of the shield is bound with hide. On both the outer and inner face the shield is decorated with cane. Horizontal rows of flat cane 3 mm. wide, spaced slightly apart, are laid across the shield. These are kept in place by vertical rows of finer cane stitched through the soft wood. The horizontal canes end neatly at the foot of the boss.

Long triangular decorations in finer cane are superimposed all round the edge both back and front of the shield.

Nyoro (Plate 56, B)

Shape. The Nyoro shield is a long oval with pointed ends. It is slightly convex from side to side, but has no marked angle down the vertical midline. It averages the same size as the Ganda shield.

The boss is very pointed.

Handle. This is constructed in a similar manner to that of the Ganda shield, but is thinner and lighter. The 'tails' are elongated to reach halfway up and down the shield. The covering of the grip is not woven but simply bound.

Decoration. The decoration is also very similar to that of the Ganda shield, but the horizontal strips of cane are placed touching one another, and there is no triangular decoration. The edge is bound with hide.

Soga (Plate 56, C)

Shape. The Soga shield is much broader in proportion to its height than the Ganda and Nyoro specimens. It averages 75 cm. by 50 cm. It is rather circular in outline, but is sharply pointed top and bottom, and these points curve forward. The two sides meet on the vertical midline almost at right angles but flatten out considerably towards the edges. These rather flamboyant curves are a marked feature of certain objects in the Soga culture. (See plantain-knives and bill-hooks.)

The boss is large.

Handle. A group of six stiff canes forms the handle of the shield. Three of these are inserted just above and below the back of the boss to form the grip; the remaining three are bound (as is the grip itself) and run the whole length of the shield, being finally inserted into the top and bottom triangular decorations at the back.

Decoration. The horizontal strips of cane which cover both faces of the shield are narrow and are placed closely together. They are themselves sewn through the soft wooden foundation covering alternate strips about 8 cm. wide alternately back and front of the shield. Other canes are sewn in the reverse order till both faces of the shield are completely hidden. The rows of vertical stitching, necessary in the Ganda and Nyoro shields, have here no functional value and are sometimes omitted. The horizontal canework is taken halfway up the boss. The superimposed triangular decoration is broader than that of the Ganda shield and is confined to six or eight triangles at the top and bottom. A fringe of long goat's hair often decorates the edge of the shield, and large tassels of goat's hair may be hung on the front of it.

Hima (Plate 57, A)

Shape. If flattened out the Hima shield would be a rectangular piece of wood with rounded corners about 50 cm. high by 35 cm. broad, but it is curved back to such an extent at the top and bottom that the actual height of the shield is only about 25 cm. The horizontal cross-section is flat.

The boss is large and rounded.

Handle. The canes forming the handle are divided into three groups and inserted at the top and bottom of the back of the boss; an extra-long cane is bound in with the grip and inserted into the outer border of cane covering the back of the shield, this is too light to have any functional value. The bound portion of the grip is small.

Decoration. On both inner and outer sides the shield is covered with close rows of broad flat cane; this is stitched right through the wood as in the Soga shield, there are no rows of vertical stitching. The shield is not bound with hide, the outer band of cane stitching being carried right round the shield forming a broad border. Three bands of stitching are enclosed within this; there is no further decoration.

Kiga and Hutu (Plate 57, B)

Shape. The Kiga shield is a long oval averaging 50 cm. high by 35 cm. wide. It curves slightly backwards top and bottom, but is flat in the horizontal cross-section. The boss has no point, the apex being a vertical ridge.

Handle. The six heavy canes forming the handle are all inserted in three groups of three each just above and below the back of the boss. The grip is bound.

Decoration. The cane covering is similar to that of the Hima, but of rougher workmanship and coarser cane; five bands of stitching are enclosed within the outer border.

The Hutu shield would appear to be almost identical with that of the Kiga. The only specimen available for study measures 75 cm. high by 30 cm. broad, and has a small, very pointed boss.

SHIELDS OF CANE

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.
LUO	Acoli.

There are two distinct types of cane shields, one used by the Congo Bantu and the other by the Luo.

Konjo and Amba (Plate 57, C)

The shields of the Konjo and Amba are made of three layers of flat strips of cane only. They are very light and of a very large size.

Shape. In shape they are quite flat and almost circular, but narrowing at the base. The diameter is 110 cm.

Construction. The central layer of cane is arranged horizontally, on the inner and outer faces of this finer cane strips run vertically fastened by slightly curved horizontal lines of stitching about 1 cm. apart. The shield is bound with hide.

Handle. The most interesting part of the shield is the handle; this consists in a wooden grip carved in one piece with a protecting guard for the hand. This, fastened on the back of the shield, serves the same purpose as the boss on wooden shields.

Acoli (Plate 58, F)

A wicker shield which in shape and construction of handle is obviously an imitation of the local shield of hide was used by Acoli boys for dancing and training in warfare.

Construction. The shield is of strong canes woven vertically over broad strips of bark. It averages 90 cm. by 20 cm.

Handle. A long stick is run from end to end, bound and attached to the shield in exactly the same way as that of the local hide shield, and a similar leather guard is fixed to protect the hand.

HIDE SHIELDS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Nyoro (shield in regalia), Hima.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gwere, Nyuli, Gishu, Samia, Gwe.

The shields found among the above tribes are of hide. The shields of the Acoli and Lango are of identical construction but differ considerably in appearance owing to size, decoration and amount of curvature. The shields of the Kyoga Basin group are again different both in shape and construction.

Acoli (Plate 58, A)

Shape. The Acoli shield is a large rectangular strip of black buffalo hide, a little narrower at the centre, and with slightly elongated corners. It averages 120 cm. high by 40 cm. wide. While the hide is yet wet it is pinched forward in the centre to form a vertical mid-rib, at the back of which runs a stout stick which reaches from top to bottom of the shield and protrudes about 15 cm. at the base, where a large pompon of ostrich feathers is fixed.

Handle. The stick is lashed to the shield with leather thongs which form lines of stitching on either side of the mid-rib. At the centre of the shield the wooden stick is forced away from the hide by two small triangular wedges which are driven parallel to it; this forms the grip, and the hand is further protected by a leather guard attached to the back of the shield.

Decoration. The lines of stitching fastening the stick to the shield are often the only decoration, although strips of brass or tin may be fixed on and the corners are often bound with wire.

Lango (Plate 58, B)

Shape. As has already been stated, the Lango shield is of exactly similar construction to that of the Acoli; it is, however, much smaller, averaging 60 cm. high by 20 cm. wide, and instead of being flat the sides curve sharply forward so that the general appearance of the shield is concave. The wedges behind the grip are proportionately larger, forcing the hide forward in a convex manner in this place.

Decoration. The shield carries a pompon at the base of the central stick, the corners are very elongated and bound with wire or thin hide, and the face is almost always decorated with strips of metal.

Kyoga Basin

The shields of the people inhabiting Mt. Elgon and the country to the immediate west and south of it are superficially the same, consisting of a long oval of black buffalo hide, practically flat, with a stout stick run behind the whole length of the shield. On closer examination two distinct types may be found.

Type I

Shape. The shield is a long oval averaging 100 cm. by 40 cm. It is flat except that the extreme outer edge of the shield is bent sharply forward while the vertical midline is very slightly indented. The centre of the shield in front of the hand grip bulges forward in a boss-like form with four long points, two running upwards and two downwards. This is a common feature of all shields from the area.

Handle. A stout stick runs the entire length of the shield at the back of the vertical midline. This is bound with a leather thong which is sewn through the shield at frequent intervals forming lines of short vertical stitches on the front of the shield either side of the midline.

Decoration. The two lines of stitching mentioned above are the only decoration.

Tribes recorded. Gishu, Nyuli, Gwere, Jopadhola, Sebei, Samia, Gwe.

Type II

Shape. The only two specimens of this type available for study are both small, averaging 90 cm. by 35 cm.

The general shape is similar to that of the first type.

Handle. A similar stick is fixed to the back but extends about five cm. below the bottom of the shield. The stick is bound with a leather thong and stitched through the shield in a similar manner to that of the first type, but is forced away from the shield just above and below the boss-like bulge by two short pieces of stick fixed at right angles to it.

Decoration. The whole of the front of the shield except for the raised

boss is scored with parallel V-shaped lines running down to the vertical midline.

This may be an old type, as it is not recognized by many Gishu today, although a specimen was collected in 1943.

Tribes recorded. Gishu.

Nyoro

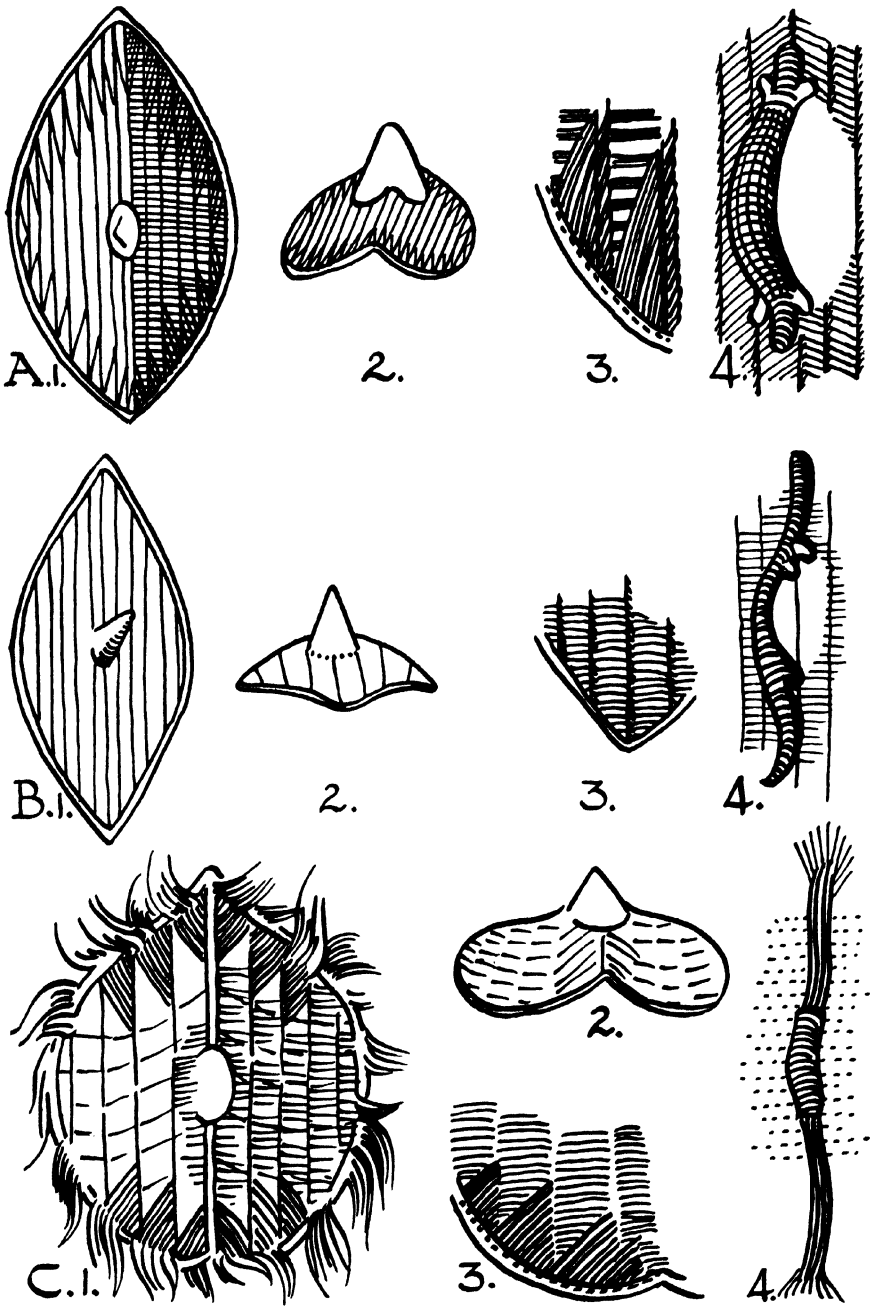
The shield, which is a part of the regalia of the Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara, is of a most unusual type.

Construction. It consists of a circular piece of hide some 50 cm. in diameter. This is indented down the vertical midline, and the ridge thus formed at the back is sewn together in several places with thongs. The top and bottom of the shield is bent sharply backwards and the stick which forms the handle is inserted at each end. This is bound with hide and joined by thongs to the vertical ridge in several places. Owing to its construction the handle is well away from the body of the shield and needs no wedging. The edge of the shield is bent forward on itself and gives the appearance of a binding (Plate 57, D).

Johnston[1] gives a photograph of a similar shield in a collection of Hima weapons, but makes no mention of it in his text.

[1] JOHNSTON: *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 625.

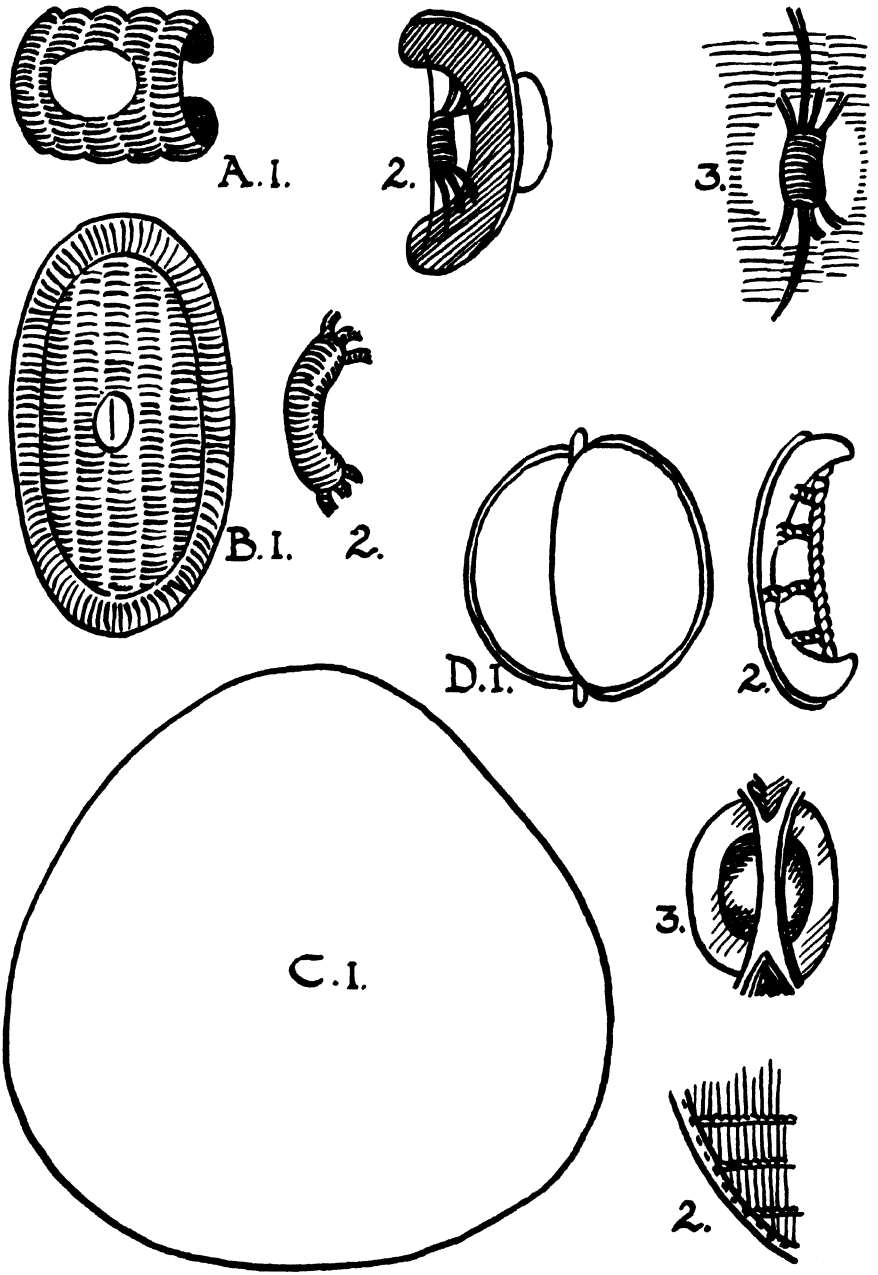
PLATE 56



SHIELDS

A. Wooden shields covered with cane. 1. *Front view.* 2. *View from end.* 3. *Detail of decoration.* 4. *Attachment of handle.* GANDA. B. Wooden shields covered with cane. NYORO. C. Wooden shields covered with cane. SOGA.

Scale: A. 1, B. 1, C. 1, 1 : 12. Details no scale.

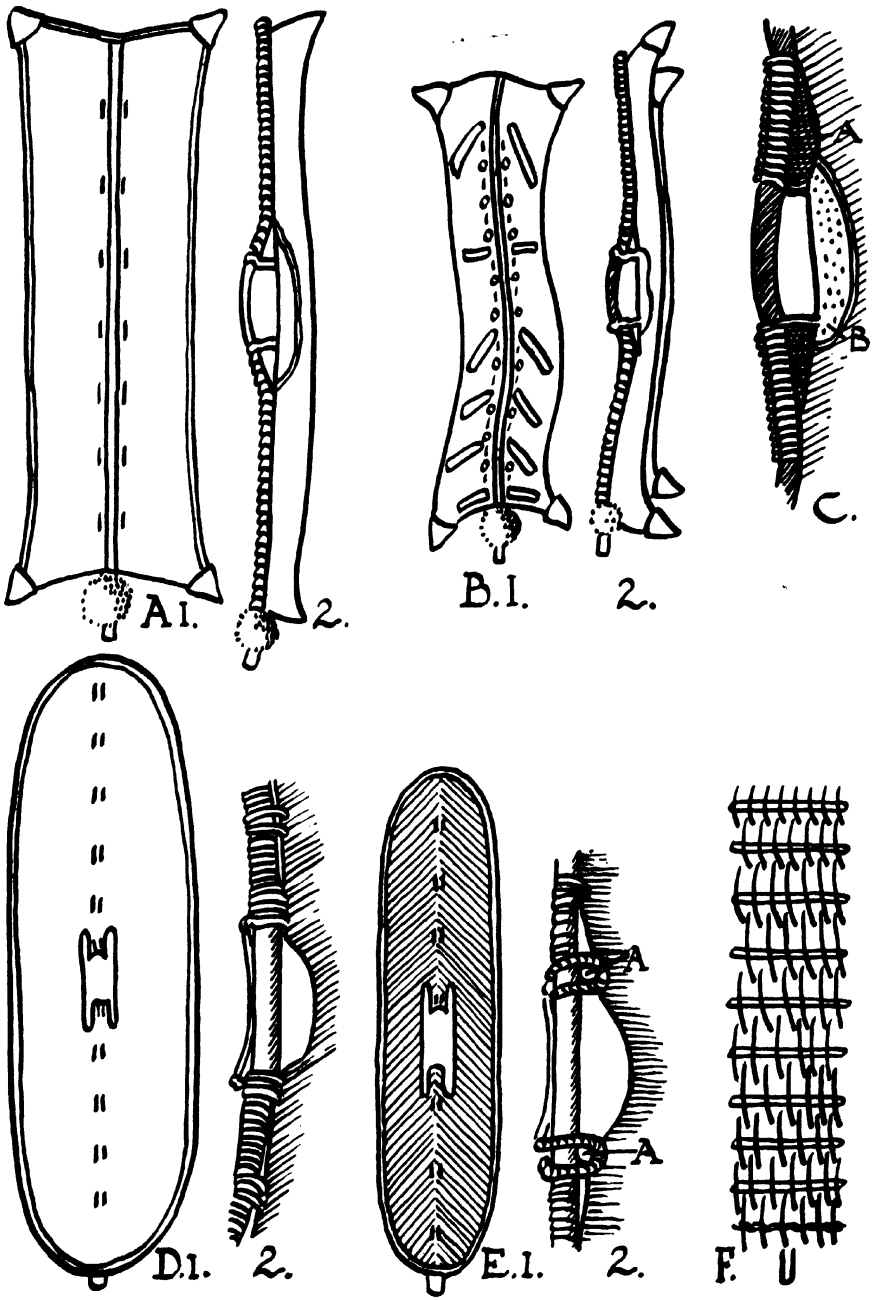


SHIELDS

A. Wooden shield covered with cane. 1. *Front view.* 2. *Side view.* 3. *Detail of handle.* HIMA.
B. Wooden shield covered with cane. 1. *Front view.* 2. *Detail of handle.* KIGA AND HUTU.
C. Cane shield. 1. *Front view.* 2. *Detail of cane work.* 3. *Handle with hand-guard.* KONJO AND AMBA. D. Hide shield. 1. *Front view.* 2. *Detail of handle.* NYORO (Royal regalia).

Scale: A. 1, B. 1, C. 1, 1 : 12. Details no scale.

PLATE 58



SHIELDS

A. Hide shield. 1. *Front view.* 2. *Side view.* ACOLI. B. Hide shield. 1. *Front view.* 2. *Side view.* LANGO. C. Detail of handle. LANGO AND ACOLI. D. Hide shield. 1. *Front view.* 2. *Detail of handle.* JOPADHOLA. E. Hide shield. 1. *Front view.* 2. *Detail of handle.* GISHU. F. Wicker shield. ACOLI.

Scale: A. 1, B. 1, D. 1, E. 1, F. 1 : 12. Details no scale.

CHAPTER XVIII

SPEARS

THE spears of Uganda may be roughly classified into the following groups, which accord with those given by the Africans themselves:

1. *Heavy bladed spear* for big game, sometimes thrown but usually kept for close-quarter work.
2. *Short stabbing spear.* Also a heavy type.
3. *Spear with small blade, long shank and long butt.*
4. *Spear with small blade, long shank and insignificant butt or no butt.*
5. *Spear with small blade and short socketed shank.* General utility spear.
6. *Light javelin.*
7. *Special spear for otter-hunting, hippo harpoons, etc.*
8. *Magico-religious or ceremonial spear.*

It is not always easy to place a spear into any one of these groups, and although the spears of certain tribes have very definite characteristics, a large number of the fifth class are quite indeterminate. In the plates a typical spear of each group is given followed by drawings of the various tribal characteristics; these should be studied carefully in order to clarify the following notes:

HEAVY SPEAR

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga.
LUO	Acoli, Lango.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

A typical blade of this type would measure some 40 cm. long, with a socket of 15 cm. Shaft up to 100 cm. long, and butt up to 50 cm., depending on its thickness and the weight required to balance the blade. The typical specimen illustrated is Lango; it is almost identical with the Acoli. The blade is broadest towards the base, with a tapering point; the socket has an open split and is not nailed; it is found with either a long thin butt or a shorter, heavier type (Plate 59, A).

Soga type

The Soga spear of this type has very marked characteristics. The blade is extremely heavy, with the sides parallel for most of its length. The socket is short with an open split, and is fastened by one nail. The haft

is often short so that it may have been used as a stabbing spear. The butt is unique; its socket is similar to that of the blade, below this it widens out into a circular ridge, then a long end portion with a square cross-section (Plate 59, B).

Ganda type

The Ganda blade is narrow and tapering; the widest portion is not at the extreme base, so that the shoulders slope upwards. It has burnished edges and often gives the appearance of having two wide, shallow blood-courses; one royal spear from the Nyoro regalia, while of the Ganda type, has very marked blood-courses. The socket is heavy with an open split and one nail at the back. The haft is long, averaging 180 cm., with a very small butt, square in cross-section, at the extreme tip (Plate 59, C).

Madi-Lugbara, Kakwa, Kuku type

Characteristic of the blade of the West Nile tribes is the very square shoulder; due to the greatest width being at the base of the blade, the point is finely tapered; the extreme edges, mid-rib, and parts of the socket are burnished; the socket is not nailed. The haft is usually of bamboo, 100 cm. long; the butt 50 cm. long, round in cross-section (Plate 59, D).

SHORT STABBING SPEAR

Distribution

NOT CLEARLY DEFINED.

The general characteristics of a stabbing spear are a broad, heavy blade, a short haft, and a heavy butt. A typical one, the Teso, is illustrated (Plate 59, F), and also a wooden spear from the Lango said by its owner to be an exact copy of the old Lango stabbing spear (Plate 59, E). This wooden spear is itself of some antiquity. The Lugbara, and doubtless other tribes, use the long heavy spear described above for thrusting at close quarters rather than for throwing.

SPEAR WITH SMALL BLADE, LONG SHANK AND LONG BUTT

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Alur, Lango
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja

This is a long, light spear used for hunting small and medium-sized game and for dancing. It is usually carried in a small edge-sheath of hide. A typical blade of this type would be some 20 to 25 cm. long, with the greatest width near the centre; the iron shank and socket together being about 60 cm. long. The socket split is open, behind the split the metal is longer than in the front, it is fixed to the

haft with resin. The butt is of a similar type to the shank and slightly longer; the length of both butt and haft vary considerably, although the over-all length of the two is fairly constant at about 200 cm. (Plate 59, H).

Acoli type

It is said that the true Acoli blade is broad, and that the butt is round in cross-section (Plate 59, H2).

Karamoja type

The type made at Labwor and sold both in Karamoja and Acoli is said to have a narrower blade, and the Karamoja type is also said to have a square cross-section to the butt (Plate 59, H1).

Personal observation does not suggest that such differentiation is constant.

Teso type

The Teso, while using typical spears of this kind, also have others of a rather different character. The blade is narrow, and the shank, although long, is shorter than that of the first kind and may be twisted at the neck. The butt is typical, and may be either round or square in cross-section (Plate 59, G).

SPEAR WITH SMALL BLADE, LONG SHANK AND INSIGNIFICANT BUTT OR NO BUTT AT ALL

Distribution

KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.
LUO	Acoli, Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

This is a spear in common use amongst certain tribes. Its blade is similar to the Teso one illustrated (Plate 59, G); the haft is some 150 cm. long, there is usually no butt, if present it is small and insignificant.

SPEAR WITH SMALL BLADE AND SHORT SOCKETED SHANK

Distribution

UNIVERSAL.

A very large number of spears would seem to have no definite characteristics; they are 'general utility' spears carried by a number of tribes of every race, their blades and socketed shanks are of medium length, averaging some 15 to 20 and 12 to 15 cm. respectively, their hafts about 120 cm. Sometimes they have a short butt, sometimes no butt at all.

In certain cases very distinct characteristics may be noted, the most outstanding being the Hamitic blade with the double blood-course.

Hamitic spear

In general the Hamitic blade and butt are comparatively long for this group. The blade averages 30 to 35 cm. by 4 cm. wide. Its edges are parallel for most of its length, with only slight broadening towards the base. Its narrow point is very sharp. Towards the base the outline of the wings flows gently into that of the socket which is but slightly narrower.

The mid-rib is broad and flattened; the thickness of the blade at this point is considerable, so that if the blood-courses are disregarded the cross-section of the blade is diamond shaped.

On either side of the mid-rib runs a blood-course reaching to within 2 to 3 cm. of the point and base of the blade. At the base the division between the two planes of the wings is clearly defined, and also between the blade and the socket. Where the blood-courses are wide and the outer border of the blade narrow the spear is termed *omutari*; where the outer blade is broad, *ecatwa*. The mid-rib, outer border and socket are burnished.

The socket is 15 cm. long; its width is equal top and bottom. It is secured to the shaft by accurate fitting alone, and is neither riveted nor gummed. The split is closed. The shaft is so carved that the socket fits flush on its haft. The haft is of light wood, and is often decorated with a burnt-on pattern.

The butt is 25 to 30 cm. long, and is round in cross-section, tapering to a point. It is secured in a similar way to the socket of the butt. It is burnished for about a centimetre round the mouth of the socket and down each side of the split (Plate 60, A).

Variations of the Hamitic double blood-course spear

It has already been noted that the Ganda heavy bladed spear has very often what appears to be a shallow double-blood course; another common type found among the Nyoro, north Ganda, Teso and Gwere, has a broader shorter blade than the true Hima one, but with the blood-courses well marked. This blade is found in conjunction with the typical Nyoro butt, short and square in cross-section (Plate 60, B).

Other types of small bladed, short socketed spear

Other points of differentiation in this type of spear may be briefly noticed.

Square shouldered spear

The blade of the spear used by the Madi-Lugbara and Bari-speaking groups has, as we have already noticed, very square shoulders, owing to the greatest width being at the base.

Mid-ribless spear

A blade with no mid-rib, making the cross-section practically flat or diamond shaped, or sometimes having a single blood-course, is found

among the Nyoro and Amba, and almost certainly the Toro (although the writer has not been able to confirm this by personal observation). It usually has a socket the neck of which is twisted, or split and ornamented with a large copper stud (Plate 60, C, D).

Very small bladed spear

A spear having a very small blade indeed may often be seen; the distribution of these seems quite indefinite, the Teso and Iru are known to use them (Plate 60, E).

Blades, ogee in cross-section

These are found chiefly among the western Inter-lacustrine Bantu (Kiga, Iru, Toro, Nyoro), but also among the Samia.

Noticeable features other than blades

Other useful features to notice are as follows:

Straight well finished hafts decorated with a burnt pattern, Hima.

Bamboo hafts, Madi-Lugbara and Bari-speaking groups.

A short butt having an open split socket, and square cross-section at end, often roughly made, Nyoro or Teso.

LIGHT JAVELIN

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES	Teso.

A small light spear or javelin is used by the Teso and kindred Kumam. The blade is only about 12 cm. long with an open split to the socket which is about 15 cm. The haft of rough lightwood is some 100 cm. and has no butt.

SPECIAL SPEARS FOR OTTER HUNTING, HARPOONS, ETC.

OTTER SPEARS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe.

Near the lake shores men spear otters from canoes; and as the animals are killed for the sake of their skins it is desirable that they should be torn as little as possible; the spearhead therefore usually consists of a fine point, sometimes with one barb on the shank. The spear may have a single point, but more often a group of three are set together (Plate 60, F). On Lake Bunyonyi a three-pronged wooden spear is used by the Kiga.

HIPPO HARPOONS

Distribution

LUO	Alur.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Nyoro (Lake Albert).
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.

Tribes near the great lakes and on the banks of the Nile hunt hippo with heavy harpoons. The blades have a single barb and are upwards of 30 cm. long; they are tanged or socketed loosely to a long pole of some 300 cm.

In many cases a long rope is fixed to the shank of the blade attaching it to a large float of ambach wood (Plate 60, H).

FORESHAFTED SPEARS

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES	Sebei.

An interesting—and, for Uganda, unique—foreshafted spear is used by the Sebei. It consists in a wooden haft some 160 cm. long with a bulge cut from the solid at either end, that at the head being hollowed to hold the base of the foreshaft, that at the other end to act as counterpoise.

The wooden foreshaft is about 45 cm. long and some 2 cm. thick. It has a heavy iron head thickly poisoned. The spear is used for close quarter work on big game; the hunter thrusts it into the animal and leaves the poisoned foreshaft in the wound (Plate 60, G).

This spear is illustrated by Von Höhnel[1] as used by the Wandorobo south-east of Lake Baringo.

CEREMONIAL AND MAGICO-RELIGIOUS SPEARS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda, Nyoro, Hima.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
LUO	Acoli, Lango.

No systematic study has yet been made of the ceremonial and magico-religious spears of the country. It is a subject which would well repay investigation. Among the Inter-lacustrine Bantu the rulers have a small number of spears in their regalia which have been handed down to them, these would usually seem to be of a normal type used in the past for fighting, and the only ornamental, non-functional spears to be found among them today are a few collected many years ago from the shrines of the Ganda *Lubaale* ('Lubari') or gods; there are probably others hidden away in different parts of the country. The ones in the collection of the

[1] Von Höhnel: *Discovery of Lake Rudolf and Stefanie*, London, 1894, Vol. II, p. 32.

Uganda Museum are multi-pointed, a group of small blades springing from the neck of the socket (Plate 60, J).

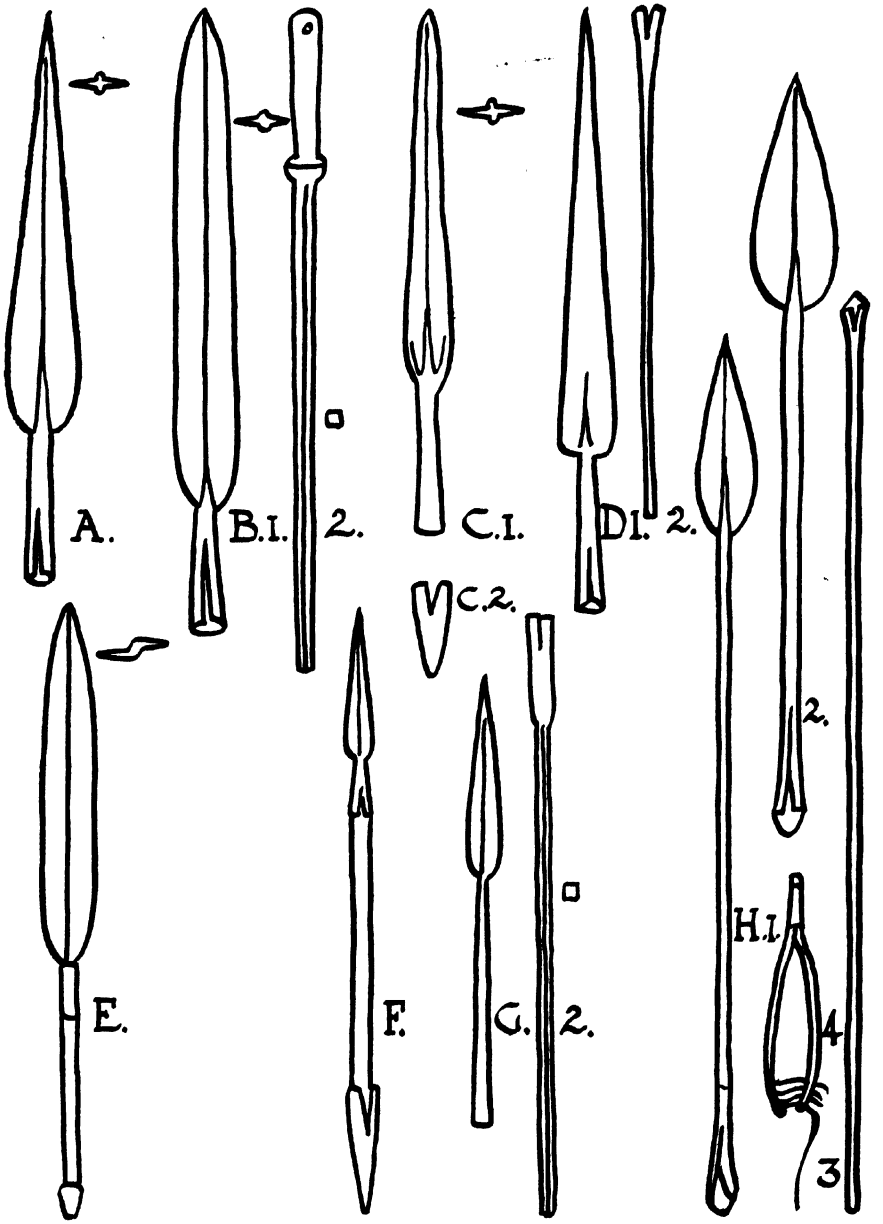
Similar Ganda *Lubaale* spears collected by Roscoe now in the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, are illustrated in Lindblom's[1] interesting monograph on two pointed spears, where he speaks of two bladed rain-spears of the Bari and Lotuko and others from Abyssinia (Kafa), Italian Somaliland, and the Congo which would appear to be very like those found in Uganda. Lindblom also mentions the 'instrument rather like a two-pronged rake, in the prongs of which were hung a bag of seeds and a bundle of tinder for torch-making' which Roscoe described as part of the regalia of the Mukama of the Nyoro-Kitara Kingdom. He also quotes Hartmann and Campling on the royal double-bladed spear of Uganda, from the description I take this to be a curved copper sceptre rather than spear which is now on the tomb of Mutesa I. Local tradition suggests that this is a symbol of the king's great power, for with it he could kill two men at once. I have it on good authority that a sceptre of similar shape is to be found in the regalia of one of the more important chiefs in Ruanda-Urundi.

The modern Hima ceremonial spear often given as a gift has two or three blades, each with a double blood-course, in one vertical plane (Plate 60, K).

The various rwots or chiefs of the Acoli each have a number of curious spears, usually of considerable antiquity, rusty and decaying, which have come down to them from the past; and a similar collection is kept, not by a chief but by an hereditary keeper, among the Samia (Plate 60, L). Among the Teso and Lango similar spears are to be found, multi-bladed or with an iron haft. These are usually said to be associated with rain making (Plate 60, I).

[1] LINDBLOM: *Spears and Staffs with Two or More Points in Africa*, Stockholm, 1937.

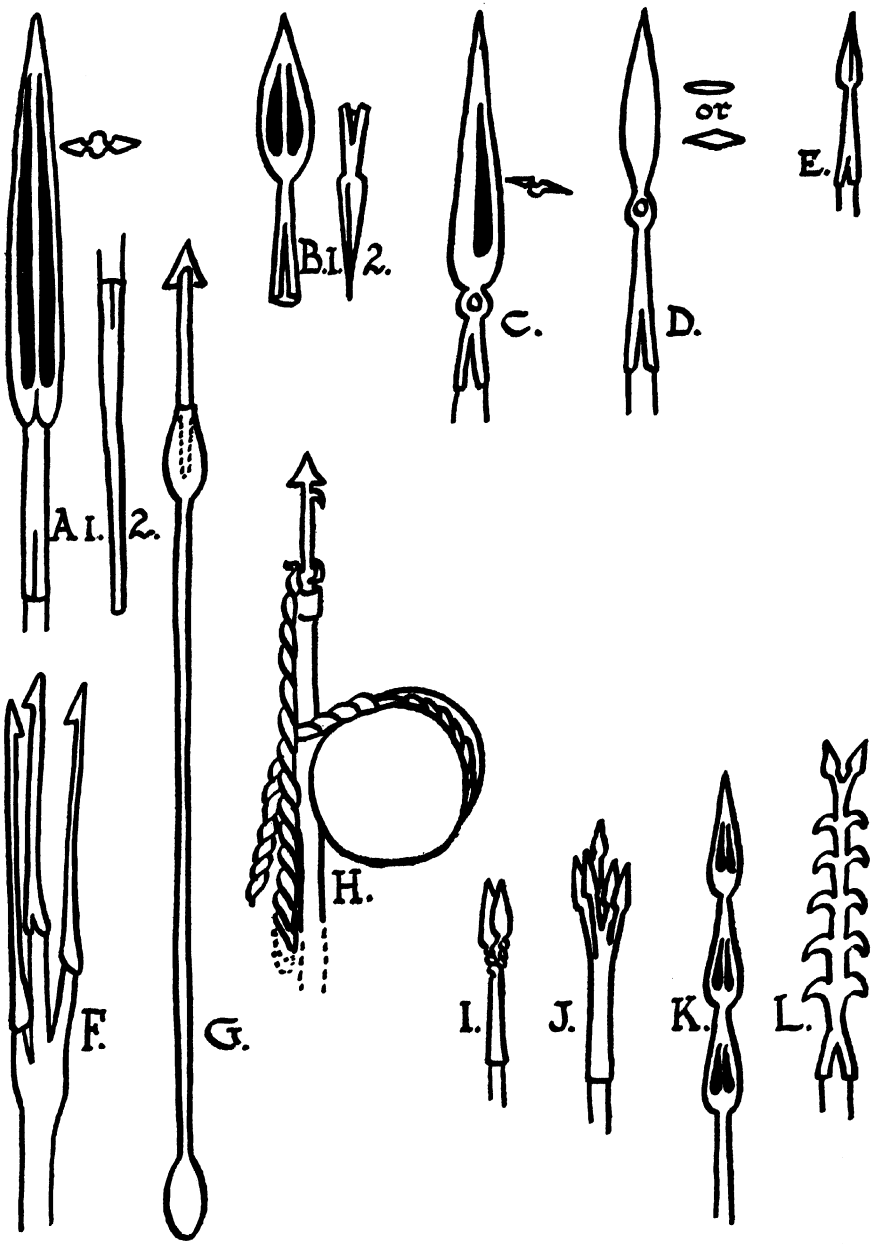
PLATE 59



SPEARS

A. Heavy bladed spear. *Tapering blade. Open split socket.* LANGO. B. Heavy bladed spear. 1. *Blade with parallel sides. Open split socket, nailed.* 2. *Butt with circular ridge, and square cross-section.* SOGA. C. Heavy bladed spear. 1. *Tapering blade. Nailed socket.* C.2. *Short butt.* GANDA. D. Heavy bladed spear. 1. *Tapering blade, square shoulders.* 2. *Long butt.* MADI. E. Short stabbing spear. *Wooden copy. Ogee cross-section to blade.* LANGO. F. Short stabbing spear. TESO. G. Long shanked, long butted spear. 2. *Square cross-section to butt.* TESO. H. Long shanked, long butted spear. 1. *Acoli type.* 2. *Karamoja type.* 3. *Long butt.* 4. *Narrow edge sheath.* ACOLI AND KARAMOJA.

Scale: A, B, C, D, G, H, 1 : 6. E, F 1 : 12.



SPEARS

A. Hamitic blade. 1. *Two blood-courses. Well fitting socket with closed split.* 2. *Butt with similar socket.* HIMA. B. Hamitic blade. 1. *Two blood-courses. Socket with open split.* 2. *Butt with open split, square cross-section.* NYORO. C. Blade with single blood-course. *Socket with open split, divided at neck, decorated with copper stud.* NYORO. D. Spear with flat cross-section. *Socket as that of C.* AMBA. E. Very small bladed spear. IRU. F. Three pronged Otter spear. KIGA. G. Fore-shafted spear. SEBEI. H. Head of hippo harpoon. NYORO. I. Magico-religious spear. *Two bladed.* LANGO. J. Magico-religious spear. *Multi-bladed.* GANDA. K. Magico-religious spear. *Three bladed.* HIMA. L. Magico-religious spear. ACOLI.

Scale: 1 : 6, except H, 1 : 12.

CHAPTER XIX

BOWS AND ARROWS

BOWS

It has been suggested[1] that during the migrations of a tribe both the size of its bows and arrows and the materials used in their making may be changed by the type of country in which it finds itself; for instance the inhabitants of a thick forest would find a small bow and arrow more manageable when moving through thick undergrowth, whilst dwellers in open grass-land with little cover would use a larger and more powerful stave to increase the range of flight of their arrows. But it is more than likely that the technical method employed in the making of the essential parts, i.e. the stringing of the bow and the feathering of the arrow would remain unchanged. These essential features have therefore been taken as the basis of the following classification, although it has not been found practicable to follow Dr. Leakey's grouping exactly.

DOUBLE LOOPED BOW WITH DETACHABLE BOWSTRING

Distribution

CONGO BANTU — Konjo, Amba.

The string in this type of bow is a shred of bamboo some 15 cm. shorter than the bow-stave. A loop is made at either end and the string can then be slipped on to the stave, where it is kept from slipping down by various types of carved shoulders and notches. In some cases where the bamboo is too refractory to tie it is slit and a fibre cord twisted in to make the loop; this is called an indirect attachment (Plate 61, A).

SINGLE LOOP BOW

Distribution

LUO — (Western) Acoli.

MADI-LUGBARA GROUP — Madi.

In this type of bow the loop is at one end only, the string being firmly fixed at the other end.

In Uganda this type is found among the Madi and Western Acoli (the Acoli to the east do not use the bow and arrow). The string is of sinew, and has a spliced loop at one end. The stave, about 135 cm. long, is of heavy split bamboo, the convex outer surface facing the bow-string. It is bound for some 30 cm. top and bottom with the skin of the water-

[1] LEAKEY: 'A New Classification of the Bow and Arrow in Africa', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LVI, 1926, p. 259.

lizard; this would appear to be decorative in intention, as the technique is similar to that used in decorating the long musical horns used by these people, but it also serves to prevent the bow-string from slipping (Plate 61, B).

KNOTTED STRING BOWS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hima, Tusi.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.

The strings of these bows are tied at both ends of the bow-stave; at one end a simple form of split-knot is tied, at the other the string is hitched round at the required tension and the remaining length of cord is then bound round the stave, often to a depth of 30 cm. or more (Plate 62, A).

Specimens from the eastern side of Uganda have the surplus cord bound round the end of the stave above or outside the hitch which gives the required tension, while the western Inter-lacustrine Bantu bind it below (Plate 62, A. B).

STAVES

In describing the various methods used in stringing bows used in Uganda mention has been made of interesting points of the staves used. Thus we have the western Acoli and Madi bow of split bamboo, bound with lizard skin, strung with the convex side towards the bow-string; and the double curved Hamitic bow (Plate 62, A).

One other stave deserves special consideration.

COMPOUND BOWS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Hutu.

A small bow which is used for bird shooting by the Kiga and Hutu is somewhat similar to that recorded by Leakey 'among the marsh inhabitants of the central African lakes'.

It consists of sometimes two, sometimes three, pieces of split bamboo of graded lengths lashed together in three to five places each piece having the convex surface facing the bow-string. The length between the points of the stave when strung is about 90 cm. (Plate 61, C).

ARROWS

The flight of an arrow is established either by its feathering or by the relative weight of the blade and the shaft. The first large division for classification therefore is that of feathered and unfeathered arrows. Other

points of interest are the nock or notch usually present at the base of the shaft, and the shape of the blade and the method of fixing it to the shaft.

FEATHERED ARROWS

Feathered arrows are usually longer than unfeathered ones, with long simple blades which are usually tanged to the shaft but sometimes socketed.

Bird arrows with wooden points are often feathered, and the small arrows used by the Amba have a number of interesting features.

The general distribution of feathered arrows would seem to be among the Bantu and Inter-lacustrine Bantu tribes, with one type found among the Acoli and Madi.

SPLIT SHAFT FEATHERING

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hutu, Kiga.

The most simple form of feathering is split-shaft feathering, where the shaft is split a short way above the nock, and a leaf, piece of skin, or true feather inserted (Plate 63, A, B, C).

The Amba use a leaf or piece of skin, other tribes a true feather.

TANGENTIAL FEATHERING

Distribution

(Many feathers split and trimmed)

(Two feathers unsplit and untrimmed) KYOGA BASIN GROUP Gishu.

In this form the feathers are first tied to the nock-end of the shaft pointing away from the blade. They are then bent back on themselves and lashed at the other end. (See diagram (Plate 64, A), where only two feathers are shown for the sake of clarity.)

Two types of tangential feathering are found in Uganda, the first, where the feathers are first split and trimmed, and about a dozen are used (Plate 64, B); the second (recorded on a multi-point wooden bird arrow) by the Gishu, where two feathers only are used unsplit and untrimmed (Plate 63, D).

SPIRALLY BOUND FEATHERING

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Tusi, Hutu, Kiga, Hima, Iru.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.

In this method of feathering three split feathers are usually employed. These are lashed spirally on to the shaft with thread or fibre which is often varnished over (Plate 64, C).

SHAFTS AND BLADES

Most feathered arrows in Uganda have an over-all measurement of between 60 to 80 cm.

SOCKETED BLADES, SPLIT-SHAFT FEATHERING

Distribution

CONGO BANTU — Amba.

An exception to this length is the shorter arrow used by the Amba, which is usually only about 45 cm. in all. Its feathering with a piece of skin or leaf and the carved ring in place of the nock have already been described. The shaft is of a light reed-like wood.

The blades are leaf-shaped in outline, small and broad, averaging 5 cm. long by 2 cm. at the greatest width; some have no point but a broad rounded or flattened end; one in the collection of the Uganda Museum has a swallow-tail blade and barbed shank above the socket obviously derived from the Luo. In cross-section they are flat and have no mid-rib. They are socketed to the shaft with a socket 2 to 3 cm. long. The blades are usually marked with scored lines which may indicate ownership (Plate 63, A).

BIRD ARROWS WITH NO METAL POINTS, SPLIT-SHAFT AND TANGENTIAL FEATHERING

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU — Kiga, Hutu.

The only other split shaft-feathered arrows at present recorded are bird arrows from the Kiga and Hutu. These are wooden arrows with no metal blades, the point may consist simply of the sharpened end of the shaft, or it may be multi-pointed (Plate 63, B, C).

MULTI-POINTED WOODEN BIRD ARROWS, SPLIT-SHAFT AND TANGENTIAL FEATHERING

Distribution

INTER-LUCUSTRINE BANTU — Kiga.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP — Gishu.

These multi-pointed bird arrows consisting of three or four sharp splints of bamboo lashed to the shaft are found among the Kiga and Gishu. The Kiga specimens are roughly lashed with a pithy fibre, while the Gishu arrow is a beautiful piece of workmanship; the lashing is fine and intricate and the points themselves are bound towards the tips to give them strength. These Gishu arrows have tangential feathering using two unsplit, untrimmed feathers (Plate 63, C, D).

LARGE SWALLOW-TAIL BLADE, TANGENTIAL FEATHERING

Distribution

The other type of tangential feathering with many split and trimmed feathers is found on a large arrow, over-all length 90 cm. The point is large, with the swallow-tail blade, shank square in cross-section, inserted into the shaft which is bound at the neck (Plate 64, B). The provenance of this of type of arrow is uncertain, three specimens taken from a poacher by game rangers many years ago appear in the Uganda Museum as Nkoli. As the blades are of the swallow-tail type found only amongst the Acoli and Madi-Lugbara, I would suggest that they may properly belong to the Acoli. The great length of the shaft, however, is suggestive of Hamitic tribes.

LONG SIMPLE BLADES, SPIRALLY BOUND FEATHERING

Spirally bound feathered arrows are long-shafted and have long blades of a simple form; these are fairly flat in cross-section and roughly made, but often conform to their local tradition in iron-work technique. Thus the Hima arrow may have a single or double blood-course (Plate 64, D), the cross-section of the Kiga blade be an ogee curve (Plate 64, E), etc. The blades are almost always tanged to the shaft, socketed heads being very rare, but one is recorded on an arrow of this type from the Gishu (Plate 64, F).

UNFEATHERED ARROWS

A close study of a large number of the unfeathered arrows used by the Luo and Madi-Lugbara tribes of Uganda would seem to divide them into eight distinct groups, five with blades and three without. Many rather indefinite arrows can be found, but the majority fit in with this classification.

First Group. Madi (North)

The shaft is of bamboo, averaging 50 cm. The nock and neck of the shaft may be bound or unbound.

The blade is large, of a simple long leaf-shape in outline, averaging 8 cm. long, by 2 cm. wide just above the shoulder. In cross-section it is diamond-shaped.

The shank averages 6 cm. long and is rectangular in cross-section. There are no swallow-tails to the blade or barbs on the shank (Plate 65, A).

Second Group. Madi (North)

The shaft is usually of bamboo, but may be of thick reed, and is bound both nock and neck end. It averages 50 cm.

The blade is leaf-shaped, rather square-shouldered, tapering to a sharp

point; it averages 6 cm. long by 1·5 cm. at the shoulder. Its cross-section is an ogee curve.

The shank is 7 or 8 cm. long, rectangular in cross-section, and for most of its length is cut along each edge into short fine barbs; sometimes only six or eight separate barbs may be cut in this way, but often the edge is serrated with numerous diagonal cuts representing vestigial barbs (Plate 65, B).

Third Group. Acoli Lugbara

These arrows are very similar to the above, but with certain points of differentiation.

The shaft of bamboo is bound both nock and neck ends and averages 40 cm.

The blade is almost identical in outline but slightly shorter, averaging 5 cm. long by 1·5 cm. wide, with a blunter point and squarer shoulders. It is an ogee-curve in cross-section.

The shank is long, averaging 10 cm., with a rectangular cross-section. It has from one to six long twisted barbs on each side with a number of vestigial barb serrations below. Both barbs and serrations are placed on the side which corresponds to the higher surface of the ogee cross-section of the blade; thus they appear on the top right-hand side and the lower left-hand side of the shank (Plate 65, C).

Fourth Group. Madi (North)

The bamboo shaft averages 50 cm. and is bound at both nock and neck ends.

The blade proper is only 3 or 4 cm. long, but is continued on either side of the shank in long thin swallow-tails which almost double its length. There is no marked mid-rib and the cross-section of the blade is rounded, sometimes slightly ogee.

The shank is long, averaging 12 cm., and is round in cross-section, and has from one to four large barbs (Plate 65, D).

Fifth Group

A slightly different type of swallow-tail bladed arrow has a short shaft of wood averaging 30 to 35 cm., this is unbounded at the nock end, and no nock is carved. At the neck end of the shaft it is bound, but the wood is cut square, and not shaped in to the tang of the shank.

The blade averages 3 cm. long and has short swallow-tails. In cross-section it is rounded and inclined to be ogee.

The shank averages 5 cm. in length and is often slightly twisted. It is indeterminate in cross-section, portions being rounded, others square.

A few specimens have barbs and barb serrations on the shank, but most have not (Plate 65, E).

UNFEATHERED ARROWS WITHOUT BLADES

Unfeathered arrows with no blades but only a sharply pointed shank may perhaps best be classified according to whether they have large barbs, small barbs and vestigial barb serrations, or no barbs at all.

The shafts are all of bamboo, bound both nock and neck ends, ranging between 40 and 55 cm. long.

The points range from 15 to 20 cm. long.

Sixth Group. Acoli Lugbara

This type has a fine point, square in cross-section, and has no barb; it is often poisoned, and is used for shooting birds, animals and men (Plate 65, F).

Seventh Group. Acoli

The type with small barbs, or vestigial barb serrations, is larger, and usually of a rectangular cross-section. The barbs may be quite separate and definite, or may have been reduced to a spiral incised decoration; these approximate to the second group of bladed unfeathered arrows (Plate 65, G, H, I).

Eighth Group.

The third type, which approximates to the fourth group of unfeathered bladed arrows, is round in cross-section and has a small number of large, widely separated barbs (Plate 65, J).

BARBED WOODEN ARROWS UNFEATHERED

Distribution

NILO-HAMITES — Ngikadama (Karamoja).

Wayland[1] describes a barbed wooden arrow from the Ngikadama people, the length of which he gives as averaging 135 cm.

THE NOCK

The nock or groove where the end of the arrow fits the bow-string should next be studied.

The nocks of all types of Uganda arrows, with the exception of the Amba, are simple; that is to say, they are cut straight into the end of the shaft itself. The Nilotic tribes use bamboo for many of their arrows; the nock is cut at the base of one of the joints, giving a broader fish-tail appearance (Plate 65, A).

The nocks of all unfeathered and most feathered arrows are lashed with fine fibre, although some of the feathered bird-arrows used by the Hutu, Kiga and Gishu are unbound.

[1] WAYLAND: *Barbed Wooden Arrows from Mt. Debasier, Karamoja.* Man. XXVIII. 8.

The Amba arrow is fired from a bow strung with a broad flat strip of bamboo; consequently no nock can be cut to fit it. Instead, the shaft ends in a broader ring and is often decorated with other carved rings and grooves just above (Plate 63, A).

QUIVERS

Quivers are found constructed of many different materials.

NATURAL QUIVERS

Distribution

Some quivers are natural and unmade, a long calabash or section of bamboo being utilized.

SKIN QUIVERS

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Amba.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.
LUO	Alur, Acoli.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu.

Others are simple bags of skin; goat-skin or monkey fur.

WOVEN QUIVERS

Distribution

LUO	Alur.

Others found in the West Nile and reported right down to Ruanda are of finely woven splints and fibres. These would seem properly to belong to the tribes further west than Uganda, for the Alur specimen is said to be made by Lendu tribesmen.

CARVED WOODEN QUIVERS

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hima, Tusi.

The last type is the large carved wooden case in size resembling a golf-bag, and decorated with typical black and white carved pattern work, used by the Hima and Tusi.

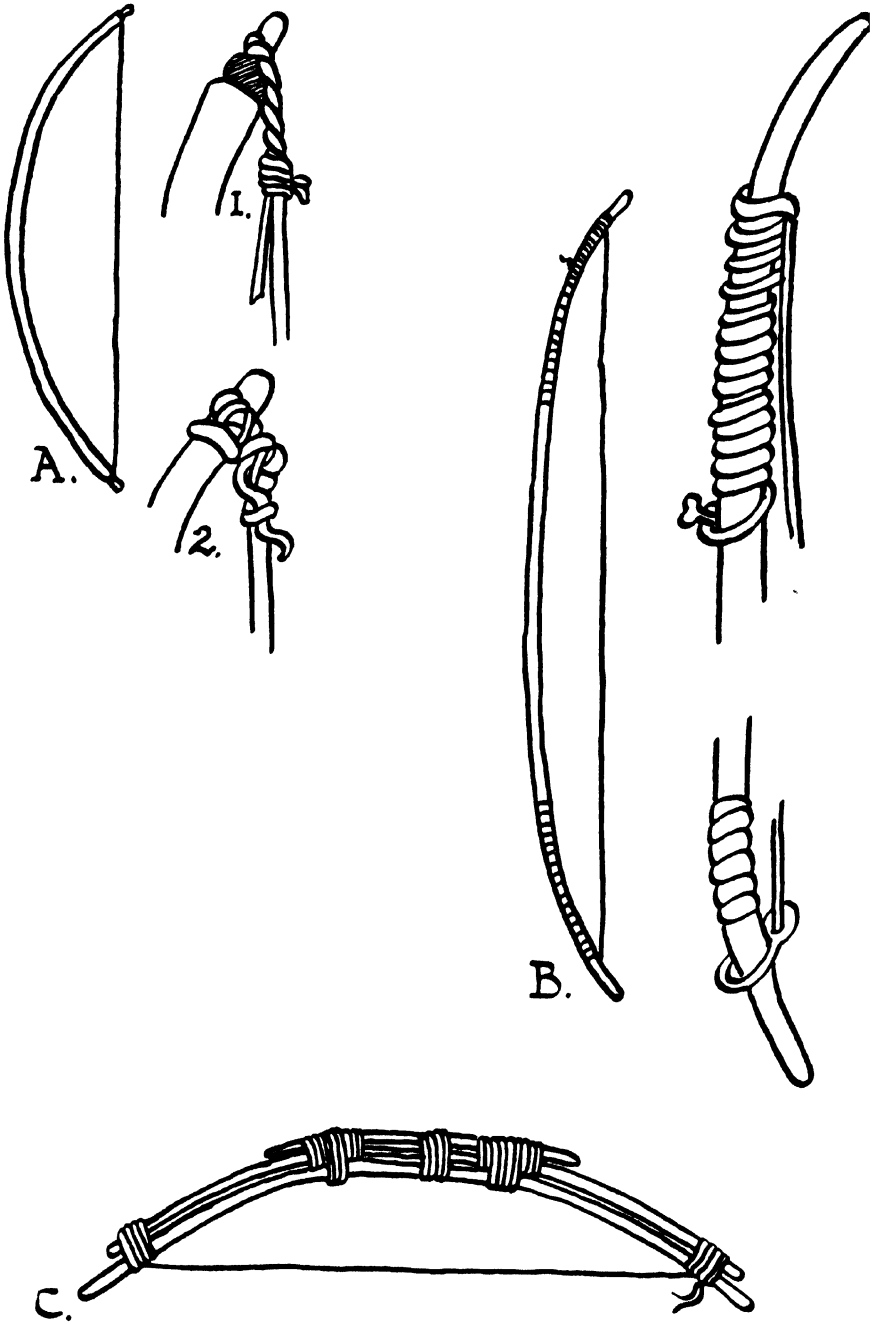
BOWMAN'S PAD

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Konjo, Amba.
LUO	Alur.

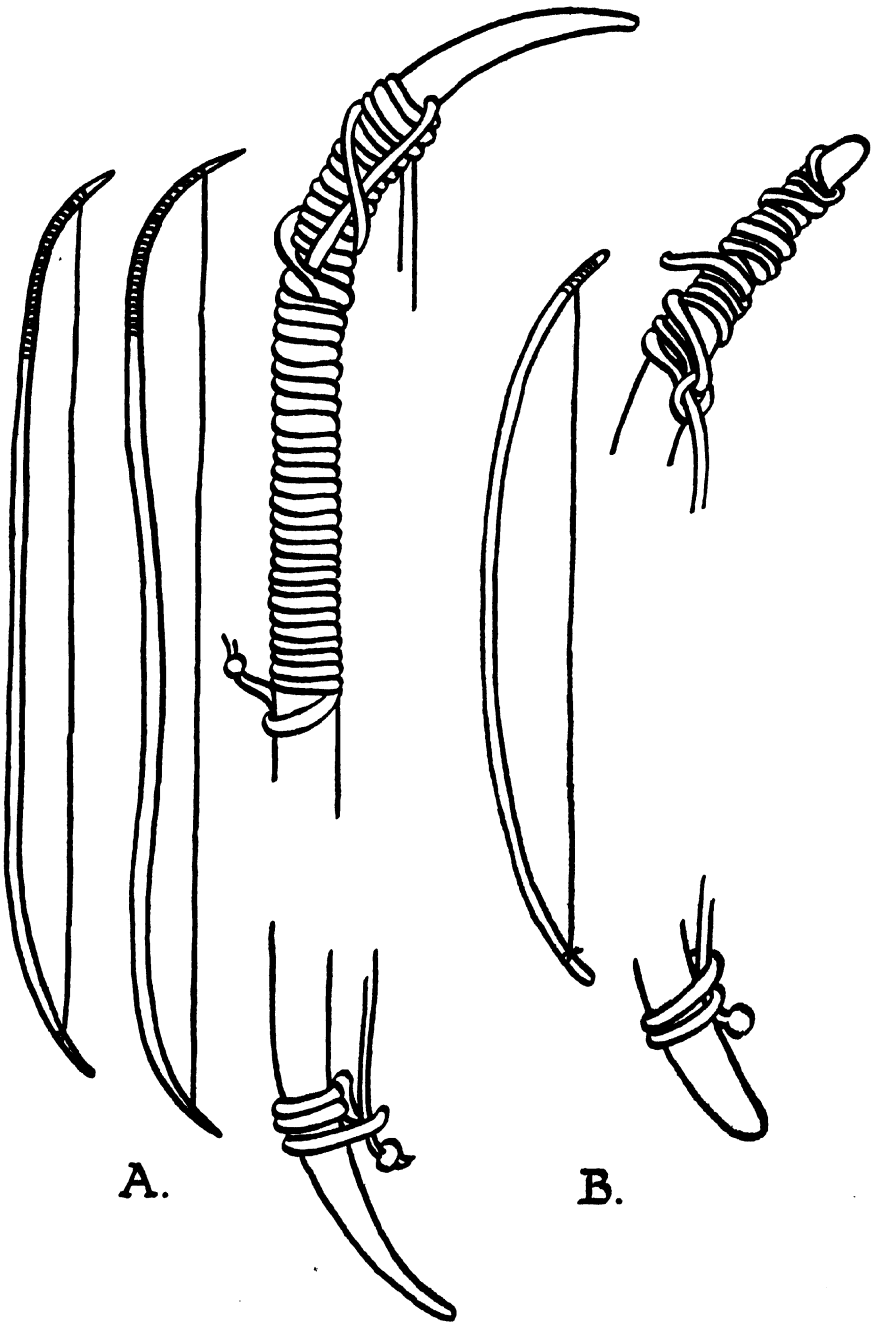
A leather pad is worn on the wrist by some tribes to prevent the bow-string bruising it.

PLATE 61



BOWS

A. Double loop bow. *Detachable bowstring.* 1. *Indirect attachment.* 2. *Bowstring directly attached.* AMBA. B. Single loop bow. ACOLI. C. Compound bow. KIGA.
Scale: 1 : 12. Details not to scale. Thickness of compound bow exaggerated.

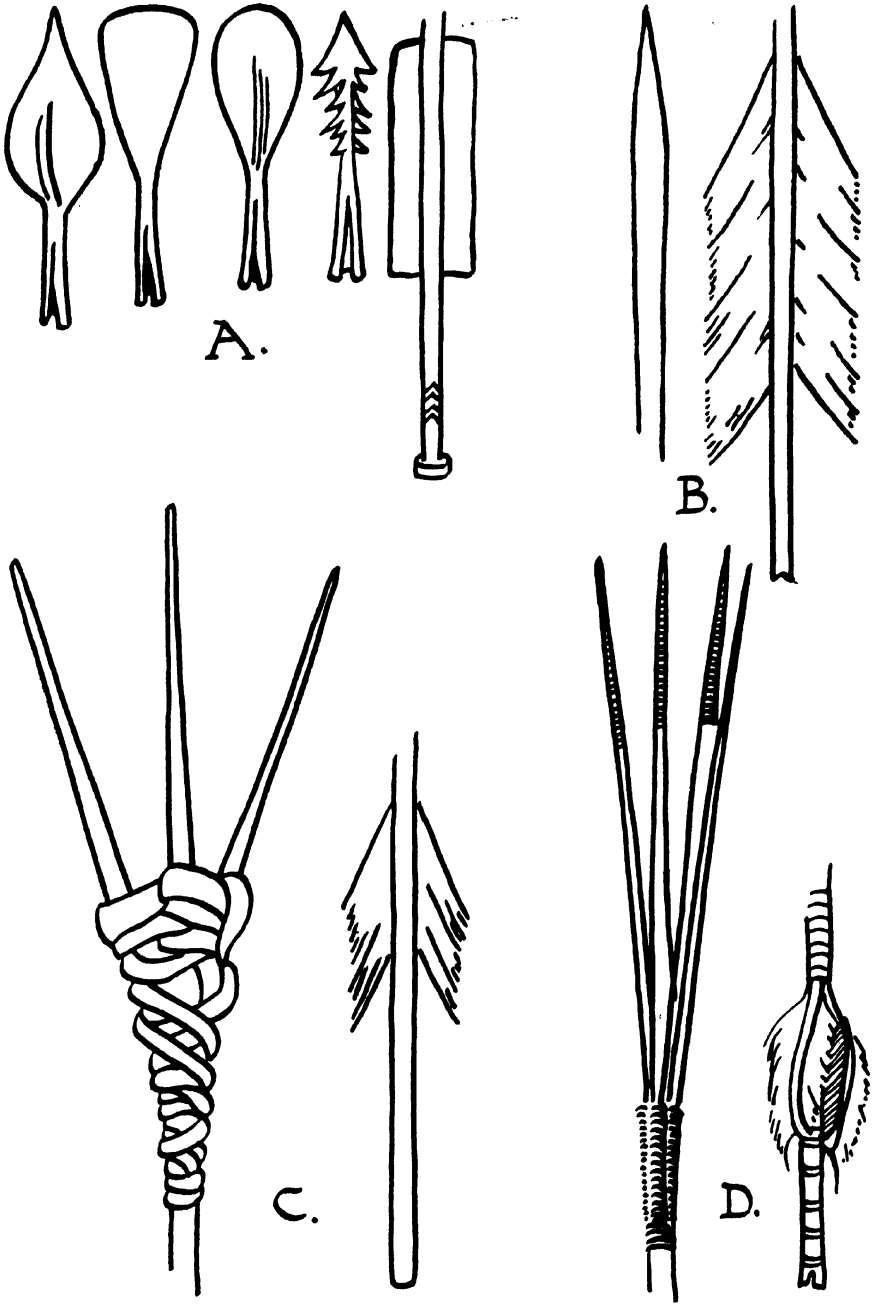


BOWS

A. Knotted string bows. *Spare string knotted below tension hitch.* HIMA. B. Knotted string bow. *Spare string knotted outside tension hitch.* GISHU.

Scale: Bows 1 : 12. Details not to scale.

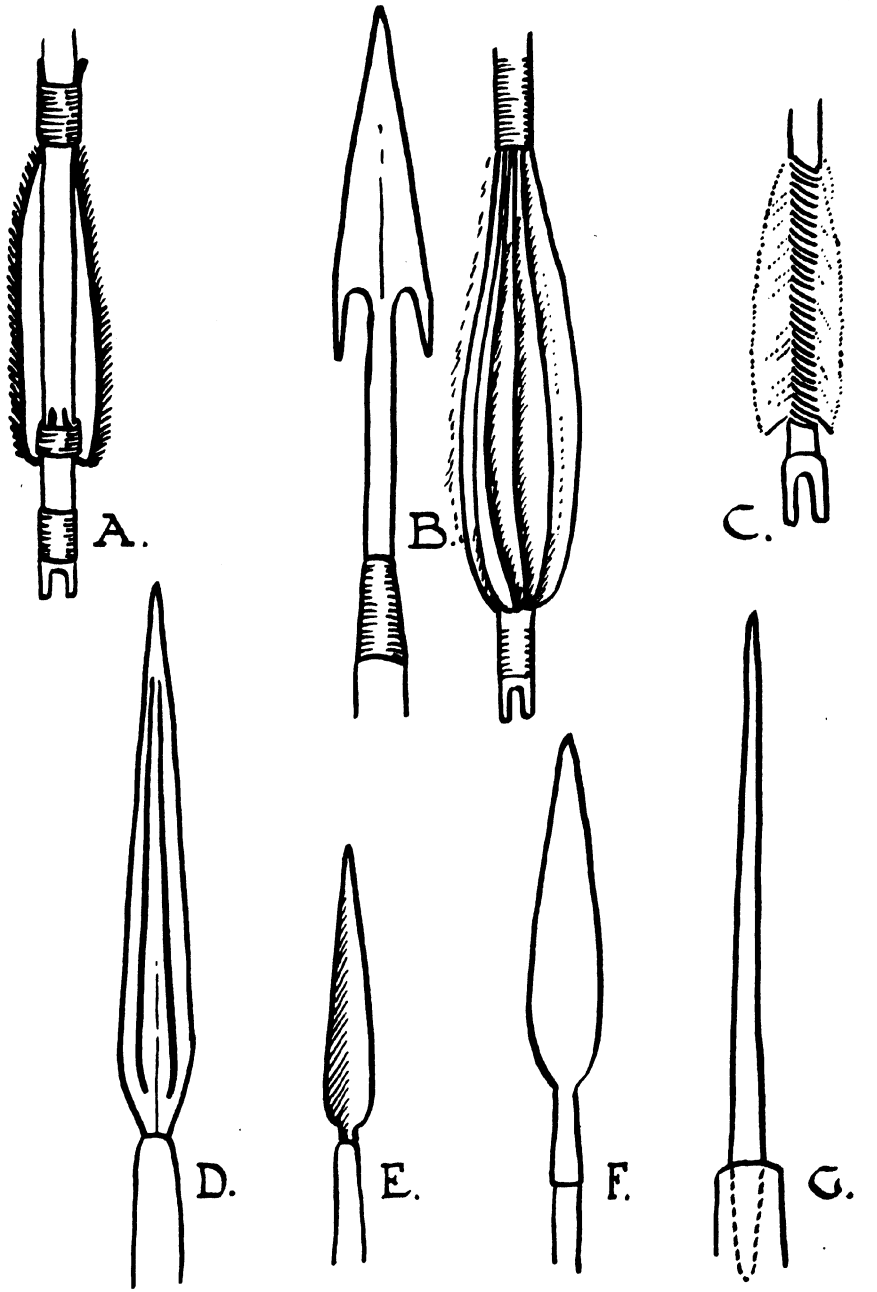
PLATE 63



ARROWS

Split shaft feathering. A. *Leaf or skin. No neck. Socketed blades.* AMBA. B. *True feather. Wooden pointed bird arrow.* HUTU. C. *True feather. Multi-pointed wooden bird arrow.* KIGA. D. *Tangential feathering. Whole feathers. Multi-pointed wooden bird arrows.* GISHU.

Scale: A, B, C, 2 : 3. D, 1 : 3.

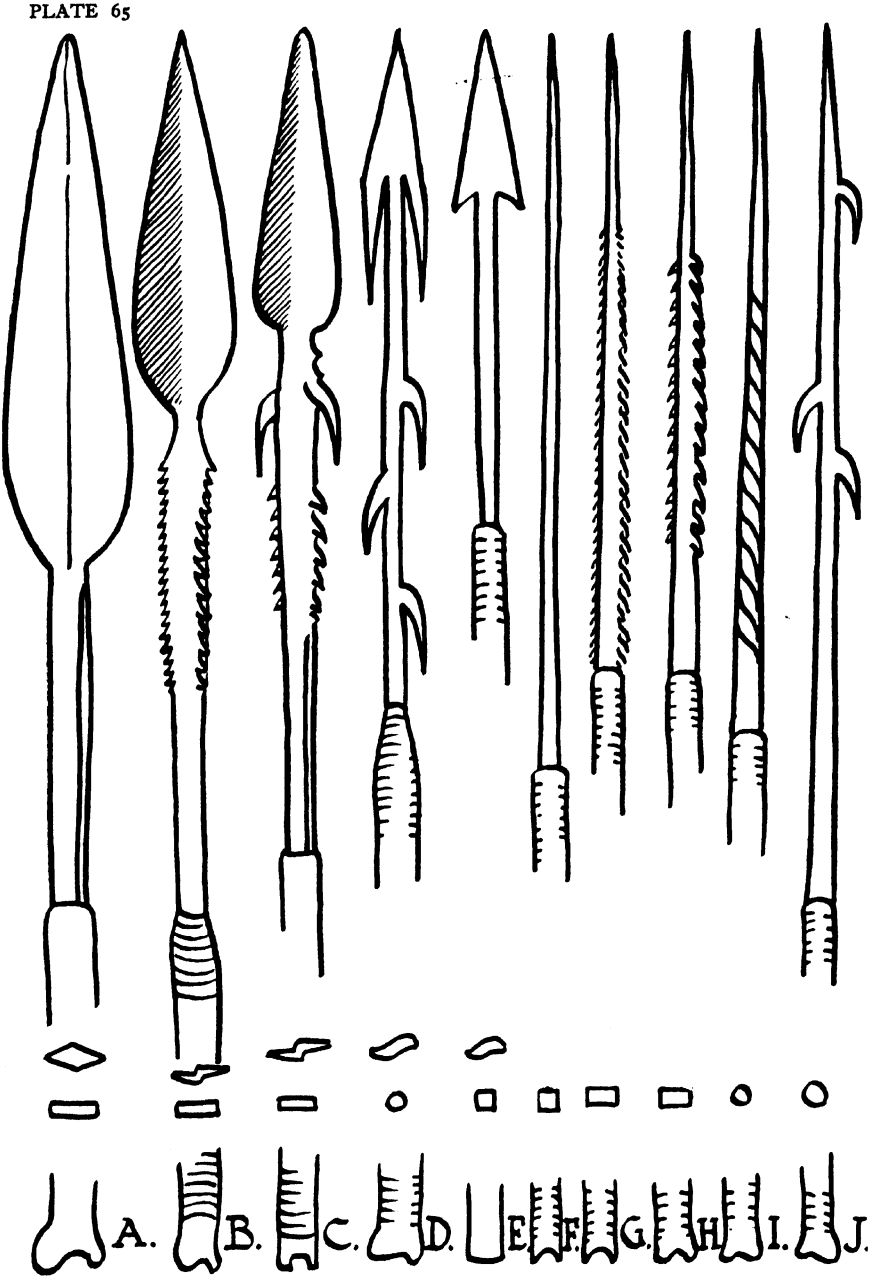


ARROWS

A. Diagram showing construction of tangential feathering. B. Tangential feathering. (Many split and trimmed feathers.) *Long shank, swallow-tail blade.* Unidentified. C. Spirally bound feathering. Unidentified. D. Double blood-course blade. HIMA. E. Blade with ogee curve in cross-section. KIGA. F. Socketed blade. GISHU. G. Foreshafted arrow. Unidentified.

Scale: A, no scale. B–G, 5 : 6.

PLATE 65



ARROWS, UNFEATHERED

A. Simple blade. *No barbs.* MADI. (MOYO.) B. Simple blade. *Ogee cross-section. Barb serrations.* MADI. (MOYO.) C. Simple blade. *Ogee cross-section. Barbs and serrations.* LUGBARA. D. Swallow-tail blade. *Barbs.* MADI. (MOYO.) E. Swallow-tail blade. *No barbs.* Unidentified. F. Arrow with no blade. *No barbs.* LUGBARA. G. Arrow with no blade. *Vestigial barb serrations.* ACOLI. H. Arrow with no blade. *Small vestigial barbs.* ACOLI. I. Arrow with no blade. *Vestigial barb decoration.* ACOLI. J. Arrow with no blade. *Barbed.* Unidentified.

Scale: 5 : 6.

CHAPTER XX

SWORDS, DANCING WEAPONS, HUNTING KNIVES, FINGER KNIVES, AND WRIST KNIVES

SWORDS

Distribution

LUO	Acoli.
MADI-LUGBARA	Madi.

Swords were not common in Uganda, but the Acoli and Madi had one with a slightly curving blade some 45 cm. long. The blade had a mid-rib and was protected by an edge-sheath (Plate 66 A).

DANCING WEAPONS

Distribution

Axe	LUO	Acoli.
Slasher	LUO	Alur.

When a weapon is no longer of practical use owing to the cessation of tribal warfare it often lingers on as a ceremonial object carried in the dance; the dancing axe of the Acoli is a typical example of this. Formerly the axe was a missile. Kitching[1] says: 'These axes are used by the Gan' not only for splitting firewood and the bones of slaughtered animals but also as weapons. A few men are skilful in throwing them, and can even hit small birds settled on the ground at a distance of twenty yards.

The axe blade is narrow and long, averaging 3 cm. at the widest point by 20 cm. long; it has a mid-rib and the tang is driven through a wooden haft over 60 cm. long. The head of the haft is carved into a trident form and is often decorated with strips of tin and copper. The blade is fitted with the edge-sheath.

In some cases the blade is not tanged to the shaft but ringed; this is the only type of ringed axe known in Uganda (Plate 66, D, D. 1, D. 2).

Two other peculiar dancing weapons are illustrated, both from the West Nile. They have a distinct resemblance to the agricultural *slashers* used in this part of the country, and, together with the women's knives from the same area which have also pronounced angled blades, are very suggestive of the throwing knives found further to the north-west among the Azande and other tribes, which are not recorded among the West Nile tribes of Uganda (Plate 66, B, C).

[1] KITCHING: *On the Bactus of the Nile*, p. 211.

HUNTING KNIVES

Distribution

UNIVERSAL.

In most tribes a knife is, or was, carried by men either on the left upper arm or slung round the shoulder. The knife was more often used for flaying and cutting up an animal than for dispatching, or for attacking an enemy.

In general the knife is spear-shaped with a double cutting edge, fastened by a tang into a wooden handle.

Certain characteristics help to identify the knives. As would be expected, the cross-section of the blade follows the general distribution of blacksmith's technique. Knives with the ogee curve in cross-section are reported from the Kakwa, Lugbara, Amba, Hutu, Kiga. Knives with a marked mid-rib from the Lango, Acoli, Jopadhola, Soga, Samia, Gwe (Plate 66, E, F). Knives with a flat cross-section from the Nyoro, Soga (Plate 66, G). The knife used by the Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola, Samia, Gwe, has a handle which ends in a small projection often decorated with rings of metal (Plate 66, E, F). This is also found in a modified form in the knives of the Soga, which are sometimes carved into a point at the end of the handle (Plate 66, G).

Edge-sheaths of hide are found on the knives of the Nilotic Acoli and Lango (Plate 66, E).

The knives of the Bantu Soga and Gwe fit into a wooden sheath (Plate 66, F, G).

FINGER KNIVES AND FINGER HOOKS

Distribution

Knives	NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja, Sebei.
Hooks	NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja.
	LUO	Lango.

Finger knives and finger hooks are both still to be found among the Karamoja and are illustrated here (Plate 67, A, B, C, D, E, F).

We have in these two good examples of the degeneration or domestication of weapons of which further instances are given in this chapter. The Lango had a finger hook which was used not as a weapon but as a toothpick or back-scratcher. Driberg[1] says: 'An iron ring called *ocheo*, from which a curved, pointed extension projects some two to three inches, is common, and serves the double purpose of picking the teeth and scratching the body.' From the illustrations it can be seen that the larger Lango specimens were practically identical with the Karamoja weapon and must have had a common origin.

The Teso finger knife (Plate 67, C) is now used for harvesting, but

[1] DRIBERG: *The Lango*, p. 63.

here again in origin it was almost certainly a weapon, as were the Lango harvesting rings (Plate 14, P).

Lindblom[1] mentions finger-knives from the Acoli as well as from the Suk, the Masai of Kenya, and the Washashi, on the south-east shores of Lake Victoria, and finger hooks from the tribes to the west of Lake Rudolf and the Turkana.

WRIST KNIVES

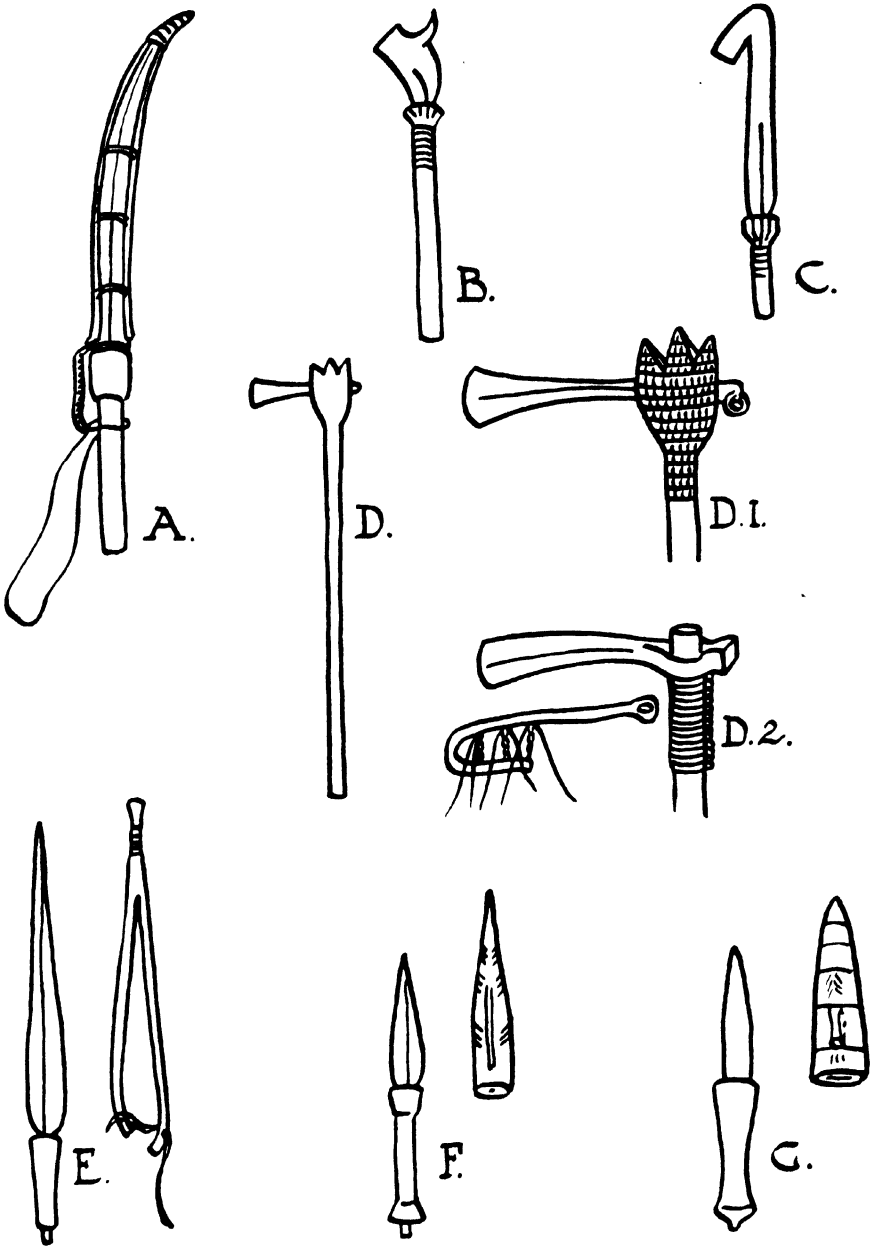
Distribution

LUO	Acoli.
NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja.

Wrist knives are worn by the Acoli and Karamoja. They consist of a flat, circular piece of metal up to 15 cm. in diameter, protected on both inner and outer edges with an edge-sheath of hide sometimes bound in places with strips of tin. They are worn on the right wrist and used with a back-hand slashing action (Plate 67, G).

[1] LINDBLOM: *Fighting Bracelets*, p. 15, Stockholm, 1927.

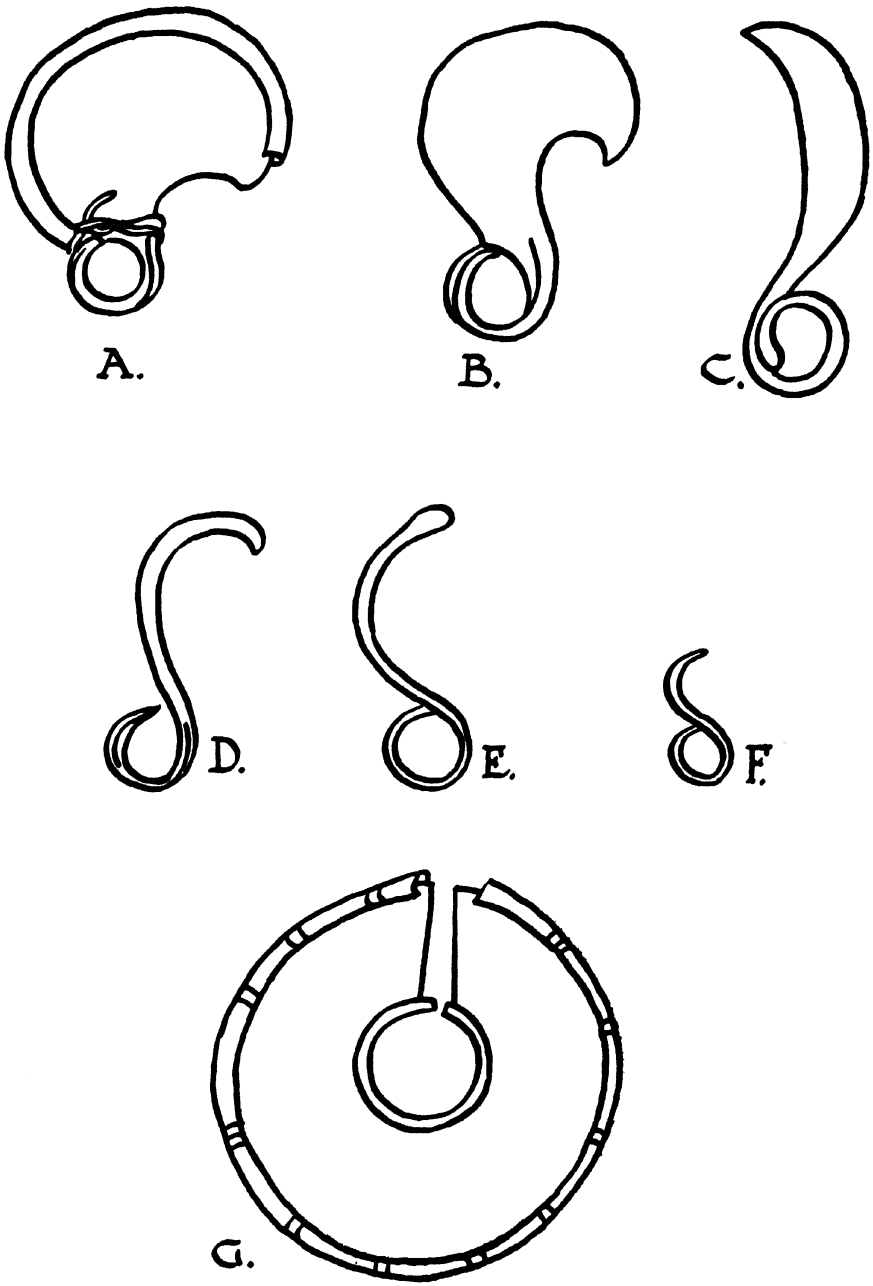
PLATE 66



SWORDS, DANCING WEAPONS AND HUNTING KNIVES

A. Sword. *With mid-rib. Tanged to handle where it is bound with leather. Hide edge sheath.* ACOLI. B. Dancing weapon. ALUR. C. Dancing weapon. ALUR. D. Dancing axe. D.1 and 2 *details. Blade set with a tang or ringed. Handle decorated with metal. Trident head to handle when tanged. Hide edge sheath.* ACOLI. E. Hunting knife. *Mid-rib. Hide edge sheath. Projection at base of handle.* ACOLI. F. Hunting knife. *Mid-rib. Wooden sheath. Projection at base of handle.* GWE. G. Hunting knife. *Flat. Wooden sheath. Handle pointed at base.* SOGA.

Scale: A, B, C, D, 1 : 9. D. 1, D. 2, 1 : 5. E, F, G, 1 : 6.



FINGER KNIVES, FINGER HOOKS AND WRIST KNIVES

A. Finger knife. *With edge sheath of hide.* KARAMOJA. B. Finger knife. KARAMOJA. C. Finger knife. *Used for harvesting.* TESO. D. Finger hook. *Used as weapon.* KARAMOJA. E, F. Finger hooks. *Used as toothpick and back-scratcher.* LANGO. G. Wrist knife. *With two hide edge sheaths.* KARAMOJA.

Scale: 1 : 2·5.

CHAPTER XXI

HUNTING GEAR

HUNTING is usually carried out by a number of persons acting in concert, the game being driven by fire or beaters into nets, pits, enclosures, or towards armed hunters lying in ambush.

The nets used for this purpose vary in the size of mesh and in actual length and depth according to the type of game hunted. They are stretched across country with hunters concealed behind them, while beaters and dogs drive the game from the front.

Spears or bows and arrows are used in most hunts, while the Soga (and probably others of the Kyoga Basin group) are said to have used slings both in warfare and for killing animals and birds, as do many Kenya tribes.[1]

TRAPS AND SNARES

Traps and snares can be divided into pen-traps, fall-traps, and springes or nooses.

PEN-TRAPS

Distribution		
Net	LUO	Lango, Jopadhola.
	KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga.
Cage	INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hima, Iru.

Pen-traps into which the animal can enter unharmed but from which it is unable to escape are in common use for fishing and are also used for catching birds. In hunting many types of game pit are of this class, while the funnel-shaped net or bag set in front of the hole of an edible rat is another example.

Large pens are made for catching lions, leopards and hyaena with a trigger concealed in the floor which closes the doorway when the animal steps on it.

FALL-TRAPS

DROP SPEAR WITH TRIP ROPE

Distribution	
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Iru, Nyoro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Samia, Gwe, Gwere, Nyuli.
LUO	Acoli, Lango.

[1] LINDBLOM: *The Sling, especially in Africa*, p. 16, Stockholm, 1940.

A trap which is in common use for big game such as hippo and elephant is the drop spear and trip rope.

A rope is stretched across the game path on a level with the animal's chest, or lower, as a trip rope; this when dragged releases a heavily weighted spear set in a log which plunges into the back of the quarry (Plate 68, A. 2).

On the shores of Lake Victoria the drop spear used for hippo consists in a heavy log of wood with three or four large barbed spikes of iron protruding from it at one end (Plate 68, A. 1).

CAGE TRAP

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Ganda, Hima, Toro.

Another type of fall-trap in common use in Uganda is of the pen variety, so arranged that the whole roof, carrying a heavy weight of stones or logs, falls on the victim and crushes it when the trigger is released. This is used for leopard, hyaena and monkeys.

The trap consists of a long rectangular pen with a wall of strong stakes; at the far end of the chamber is the bait (a goat, or, in the case of a monkey trap, fruit). The pen is roofed with poles running from end to end on which are placed heavy boulders. When the animal is halfway up the pen its weight releases a trigger concealed in the floor which in turn loosens a rope, letting fall the poles and boulders.

SPRINGES

Distribution

UNIVERSAL.

Nooses of various types are in common use, sometimes hung from a tree across a game path at just the right height for the beast to run its head through, sometimes attached to a pliant stick and pegged lightly down at ground level so that when the animal puts its foot through the noose the stick springs back and it is suspended in mid-air.

THE SPIKED WHEEL TRAP

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hima, Iru, Nyoro, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Copi, Alur.
NILO-HAMITES	Karamoja, Teso.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.

The spiked wheel trap, the most interesting trap found in East Africa, may perhaps be considered an elaboration of the simple noose or springe. It consists in a strong hoop of rope or twisted withies into which are set

close together a number of wooden spikes or large thorns, the points of which meet in the centre. This is buried just below the surface on a game path, usually near a water hole, and a noose is laid just above it, the other end of which is attached to a heavy log or occasionally to a tree. The trap is then hidden with earth or grass. The animal on putting its foot into the trap is caused great pain by the spikes penetrating the leg, and lashes out in its endeavour to free itself; this tightens the noose, and the animal is either held captive on the spot until the hunters arrive to finish it off, or, if able to drag the log, soon weakens from its weight and from the pain of the shackled foot.

The trap is used in various sizes for antelope and buffalo.

The wider distribution of the spiked wheel trap is of great interest, and has been worked out by Lindblom.[1] According to him it was found in ancient Egypt and is found fairly consistently up the valley of the Nile and its tributaries. As we have seen, it is found almost everywhere in Uganda, and also in western Kenya, and among the Ziba of north-west Tanganyika. In West Africa it has been found among the Tuaregs in Air, in Nigeria, the Gold Coast and in Togoland. In Europe and Asia it is found in the Caucasus and central Asia, and between Hungary and lower Austria. The ancient Greeks and Romans used it. Most of these European and Asian specimens are funnel-shaped in place of the flat wheel found in Africa.

It would appear to be an artifact of very great antiquity, probably invented in Asia, from whence it spread to Europe and Africa. Whether its spread in West Africa was by a north-south route or across from the east cannot yet be proved, but in East Africa it would clearly seem to be of Hamitic origin, being found only among the Luo, Nilo-Hamites and Inter-lacustrine Bantu, all of which carry a large amount of Hamitic blood (Plate 68, B).

CROSS-BOW TRAP

Distribution

LUO — Acoli.

The cross-bow trap is found as a rat trap among the Acoli. It consists in a horizontal trough of wood with a small portion partitioned off at one end, in this bait is placed. A loose stick runs the length of the trough, and the arrow is set in the cross-bow with a trigger attachment to the loose stick. Both arrow and stick are passed through holes in the partition wall. When the rat puts its head into the further partition after the bait, it shakes the stick and releases the trigger and the arrow is fired through its head (Plate 68, C). Whether this trap is truly indigenous is a question which cannot be decided without further study. It was described in vague terms by a police recruit from Gulu district, and a Makerere student from the

[1] LINDBLOM: *The Spiked Wheel Trap and Its Distribution*, Stockholm, 1935.

same area later made the model illustrated. He stated that his father had always made and used such traps, and he believed them to be very old, but no other specimen has been obtained or reported.

BIRD TRAPS

The most usual method of catching birds is by the use of nooses, but a non-return basket trap comes from the eastern part of the country.

BASKET TRAP

Distribution

LUO (KYOGA BASIN GROUP)	Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
KYOGA BASIN	Soga, Gwere, Samia, Gwe, Gishu, Nyuli.

This trap, which works on the same principle as the weir-basket or self-acting type of fishing trap, consists of a large dome-shaped basket some 70 cm. in diameter with three or four small funnel-shaped entrances near the base. Suitable bait is placed on the ground inside the trap and the bird enticed to enter through one of the apertures. The trap is made of stiff splints in a very open weave so that the bird can see clearly what is within; once inside, escape back up the funnel-shaped tunnel is almost impossible (Plate 69, A).

SPRINGES

Distribution

Large single noose for game birds

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hima, Iru.
LUO	Lango, Jopadhola.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe.

Fine single noose for small birds

LUO	Acoli, Jopadhola, Lango, Alur.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Samia, Gwe, Gishu, Gwere, Nyuli.
BARI-SPEAKING GROUP	Kakwa, Kuku.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Lugbara.

As in all hunting various types of nooses are set across paths frequented by game birds.

The Lango use a noose attached to a long pole which is bent nearly to the ground and springs upright on release.

Many tribes hang a basket containing a decoy bird near their traps.

A trap for small birds in common use among certain tribes would seem to need more than ordinary luck to make it effective, but its presence in large numbers in every hut would suggest that it must be satisfactory. It

consists in a thin stick or reed about 50 to 100 cm. long ending in a spike. On the spike a white ant is impaled, and a very fine running noose of fibre or a hair from a giraffe's tail is balanced round it. The trap is stuck in the ground or even held by a small boy concealed in the bushes (Plate 69, B).

ROW OF NOOSES

Distribution

Large for game birds

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Gishu, Soga, Gwere, Nyuli.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola, Alur.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso, Karamoja.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.

Fine for small birds

LUO	Acoli.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Hima, Iru.

For catching guinea-fowl a long rope or stick from which is suspended a large number of nooses is stretched a few inches off the ground across a potato patch or other small open space (Plate 69, D).

The Acoli use a similar trap of very fine fibre for catching small birds.

RING OF NOOSES

Distribution

LUO	Lango, Alur.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Lugbara, Madi.

Yet another way of setting nooses for small birds is to construct a rope ring, with other strands of rope across it. Fine fibre nooses are attached at many points and the trap half buried in the ground and baited with a scattering of grain (Plate 69, C).

FISH TRAPS

Fish traps may be divided into two kinds, manual traps and self-acting traps.

Manual traps are used in several different ways. In one method the fisher wades about in shallow water carrying a large mouthed conical trap; when he sees a fish moving he plunges the trap down over it. He then puts his hand in through a small hole at the apex or side and removes the fish.

A similar shaped trap with no hand hole is used as a scoop; a party of

fishers enter the water from different points and as they converge on each other sweep their traps through the water scooping up the fish.

A third method of catching fish is to drive them into a trap which is then lifted quickly out of the water. The fishers set a line of traps across a narrow neck of water, then circle round and advance slowly towards them; the fish are driven into the baskets which are promptly lifted from the water.

Self-acting traps are constructed so that the fish on entering cannot find its way out again. They consist of two wide-mouthed funnel-shaped baskets, one with a short funnel, the other long; fitted one within the other, so that the fish entering up the shorter funnel finds itself trapped in the upper basket, which has the funnel mouth tied so that the fish cannot escape. Many traps have three sections making escape doubly impossible.

Such traps are of many shapes and sizes and made by many different techniques. Some are set unbaited in patches of reeds, others baited with meal. They are often set in rows across an inlet of a lake or a clearing in a marsh. If the neck of water to be fished is wide they are used in conjunction with river-fences of stakes, or reed matting, or roughly built stone walls.

On the lake shore they are used with roughly constructed seine nets. The traps are set in a row facing the open water; the seine, about 200 or 300 yards long, is taken out in a canoe in a wide semi-circle in front of the traps and then slowly dragged on shore from both ends. It is sometimes made of papyrus stalks lashed together vertically and weighted at the bottom, sometimes of bunches of banana leaves and papyrus tied together and left floating on the surface.

MANUAL TRAPS, PLUNGE BASKETS

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Konjo.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Toro, Iru.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Gishu, Nyuli.
LUO	Acoli, Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
MADI-LUGBARA	Madi.

The plunge basket is usually some 60 cm. in diameter at the base and 80 cm. high. It may be made of light sticks converging at the apex and bound with rows of fibre in two-strand-twined weaving (Lango), or it may be of wicker-work (Acoli, Teso), or of hexagonal weave (Teso). In some cases there is a hole at the apex, or at the side near the apex (Teso), for the fisher to draw out the fish; in others it is solid (Acoli, Teso) (Plate 69, E).

Variations in technique would seem numerous and widely distributed. The above are baskets in the Uganda Museum collections.

SCOOPS

Distribution

LUO	Acoli, Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Nyuli.

Scoop baskets are of the same shape as plunge baskets, but usually have no hand holes (Plate 69, E).

MANUAL TRAPS USED IN FISH DRIVES

Distribution

Plunge Basket type

LUO	Acoli, Lango.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.

Cradle type

LUO	Acoli, Lango, Jopadhola.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Gishu, Nyuli.
MADI-LUGBARA GROUP	Madi, Lugbara.

Plunge baskets are used for fish drives, but another type shaped like a cradle with a handle at either end is also used (Plate 69, G).

SELF-ACTING TRAPS

Distribution

CONGO BANTU	Amba.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Kiga, Hima, Iru, Ganda.
KYOGA BASIN GROUP	Soga, Gwere, Samia, Nyuli.
NILO-HAMITES	Teso.
LUO	Acoli, Lango, Alur.
MADI-LUGBARA	Lugbara.

These have been described in the introduction to this section (Plate 69, F).

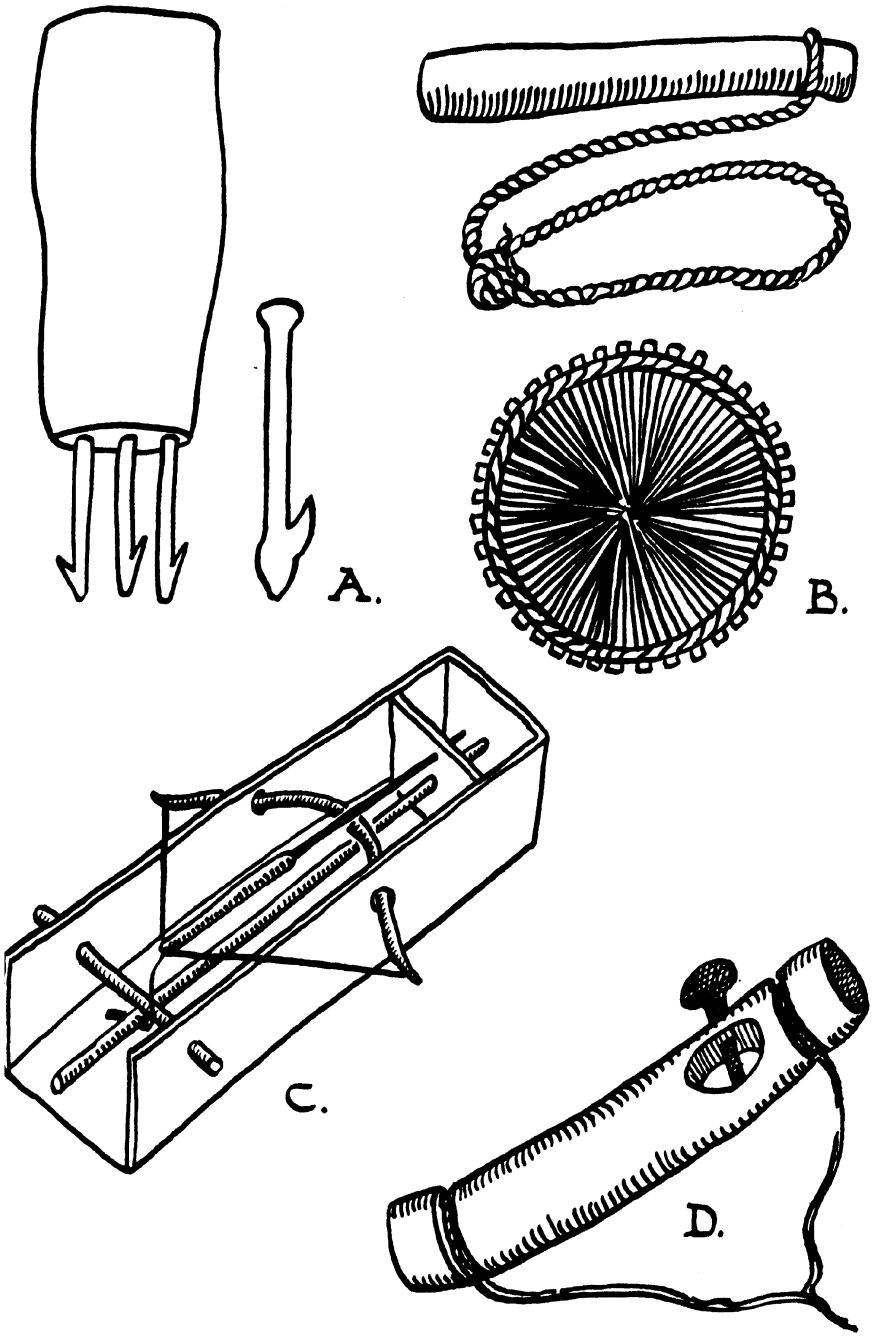
METHODS OF SECURING PRISONERS

STOCKS

Distribution

LUO	Lango.
INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU	Ganda.

Stocks were formerly used to shackle prisoners and dangerous lunatics. They consisted in a heavy log of wood with a hole through which the man's leg was placed, after which an old hoe-head or iron peg was put in to prevent the leg being drawn out again (Plate 68, D).

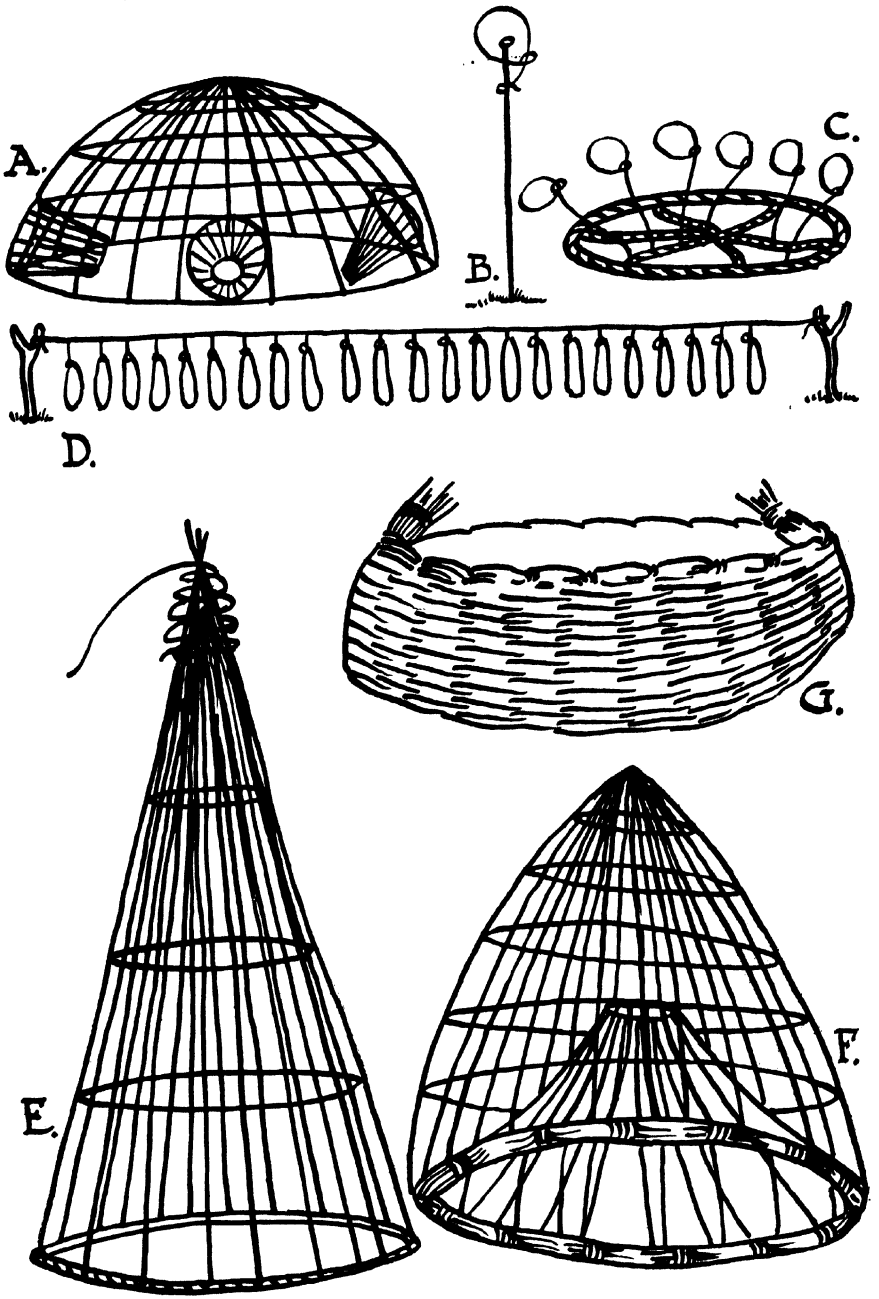


GAME TRAPS, AND STOCKS FOR PRISONERS

A. Fall traps, drop-spears. 1. GANDA. 2. TESO. B. Spiked wheel trap. *With noose and log.* IRU. C. Cross-bow trap. ACOLI. D. Stocks. LANGO.

No scale.

PLATE 69



BIRD TRAPS AND FISH TRAPS

A. Bird trap. *Non-return cage.* JOPADHOLA. B. Bird trap. *Baited reed with hair springes.* ACOLI. C. Bird trap. *Hair springes attached to rope ring.* LANGO. D. Bird trap. *Row of springes.* JOPADHOLA. E. Fish trap. *Plunger or scoop, with opening at apex.* ACOLI. F. Fish trap. *Non-return basket.* LANGO. G. Fish basket. *Used in fish drives.* LANGO.

No scale.

CHAPTER XXII

TRANSPORT

LAND TRANSPORT, THE LITTER

Distribution

INTER-LACUSTRINE BANTU — Hima, Iru, Kiga, Nyoro.

The wheel is not found in East African indigenous cultures, and therefore the only form of land transport was the litter. Various kinds of litters and hammocks are constructed for carrying sick persons in many parts of the country, but the most developed form is the litter used to carry chiefs and their women folk by the Inter-lacustrine Bantu. It consists in a large basket slung between two poles, and is carried by a number of men. The basket sometimes has a hood constructed over it. Both types are illustrated (Plate 70, A, B).

WATER TRANSPORT, RAFTS, BUNDLE-BOATS AND CANOES

Rafts or floats of ambach logs are used on many parts of the Upper Nile; and various types of 'bundle-boats' consisting of long stems of papyrus or the mid-ribs of palms lashed together fore and aft (the tapering ends forming the bows) are used for paddling round the lake shores and marshes all through the country.

DUG-OUT CANOES

The most common form of water transport, however, is the dug-out canoe. This is found on every lake in Uganda and varies from the little one-man craft to an enormous hollowed mvule (*Chlorophora excelsa*) trunk capable of carrying forty or more men and numberless sheep, goats and bicycles.

The tree trunks used for such canoes are hollowed out with adze and fire leaving a solid cross-section at either end; they are often extremely clumsy in construction, but in certain districts, notably those of the Kiga on Lake Bunyonyi, the principle of stream-lining is observed, and the bows are sheered upwards out of the water (Plate 70, K).

SEWN PLANK CANOES

On Lake Victoria an elaborately built canoe of sewn planks is used. The best description of this may be taken from Worthington.[1]

[1] WORTHINGTON: *Inland Waters of Africa*, pp. 162–3.

In Stanley's day the canoes were built to an enormous size, up to a length of seventy-two feet, beam of seven feet three inches, depth of four feet, with thirty-two thwarts to carry sixty-four paddlers, but such magnificent specimens of boatbuilding are seldom, if ever, to be seen now.

The whole keel, which projects some eight feet in front of the true stem, is fashioned out of a single tree-trunk, which is pointed at the two ends but wide in the middle and hollowed out on the upper side to form the floor of the boat. The sides are made of two layers of wash-strakes, each layer being composed of three planks attached end to end. These are held in position by stem and stern-posts, which rest on the keel, and by a row of thwarts which pass through holes in the sides and rest on the lower plank. The foremost thwart extends on either side into long points to give convenient handles for hauling the canoe up the beach. Attached to the projecting end of the keel is the false prow, consisting of a log bent at a right angle, with the upturned end standing free some feet away from the true stem. An ornamental string is sometimes stretched from the true stem to the upper end of the false prow, which itself is often further ornamented with a pair of antelope horns, tuft of feathers or other object. No nails or pegs are used in the construction, but all fastenings are made with grass lashings through holes bored with a red-hot stiletto. The dug-out base and the side planks are cut from tree-trunks with no instrument but an adze, so the construction of a large canoe takes a long while (Plate 70, C, D).

The most striking feature of this type of boat is the long false prow (Plate 70, I), for which various writers have been at pains to find a purpose. Some have expressed the opinion that it is valueless except in so far as ornament is concerned, others that it served as a ram in the days when these canoes were used for hostile purposes. There can be no doubt, however, that it is also of very real assistance in increasing the seaworthiness of the craft. In wide stretches of comparatively shallow fresh water, where sudden violent storms are prevalent, a rough sea consists of short, steep waves, remarkably close together. . . . In seaways of this kind, the longer a boat's keel, the better. The false prow of the Baganda canoe, not only acts as a breakwater, thereby saving the true stem from the steep waves which are apt to break, but also increases the length of the boat so that all the thwarts may be occupied by paddlers or passengers, and yet the load is still well aft.

Much controversy on the origins of the Ganda sewn-plank canoe has taken place between far more competent authorities than the present writer, and reference to the rival theories can only be mentioned here.

Hornell[1] suggests that the canoe is of Indonesian origin and was brought up from the settlement of those people in Madagascar. He bases this on the bifid bow and the penetration of the thwarts through the side planks, both features of the Javanese and Maduran construction.

Elliot Smith[2] believed it to be modified from an Egyptian prototype, his evidence being chiefly from ships carved on the handle of the Gebel-el-Arak knife. Huntingford[3] at one time supported this theory but now believes the canoe to be of local origin.

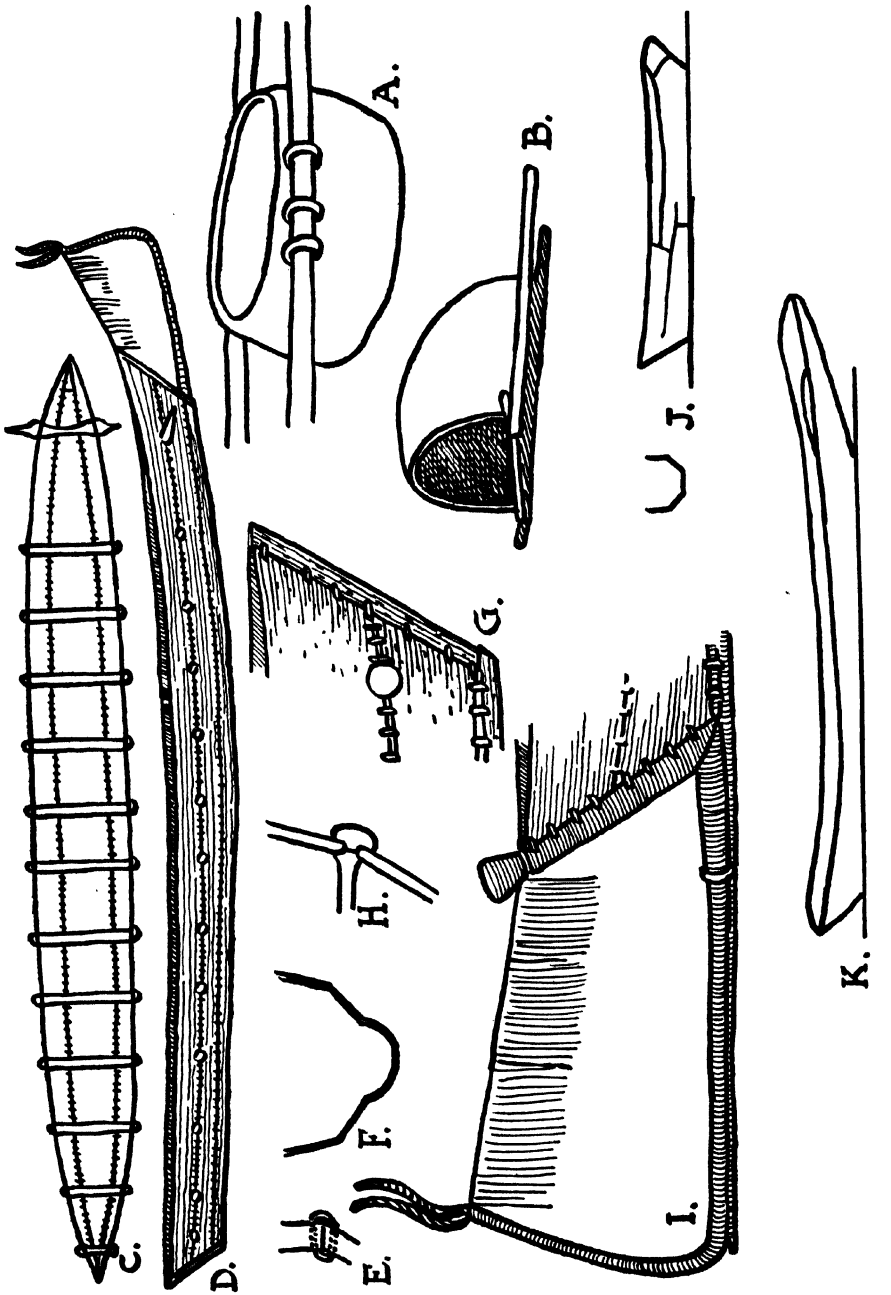
[1] HORNELL: *J.R.A.I.*, 1934, LXIV, and *Man*, September 1937, p. 178.
[2] ELLIOT SMITH: *Man*, 1928, p. 41.
[3] HUNTINGFORD: *Man*, September 1937, p. 177.

Worthington[1] gives a convincing series of drawings from actual canoes round the shores of Lake Victoria showing how, by the gradual reduction of the dug-out base and the addition of wash-strakes with supporting stem- and stern-posts, the sewn-plank canoe may have evolved naturally locally.

The Konjo and Iru on Lake Edward also use a sewn-plank canoe, of far poorer craftsmanship, and having no central keel. Johnston[2] describes this vessel as being almost square in shape, with the planks sewn together with animal sinew. The following fuller description is again borrowed from Worthington:[3]

> The craft is made up of five principal planks sewn together at their edges with grass; one forms the floor of the boat and two others on each side are attached at angles to form the sides. The bow and stern are slightly upturned and an additional small plank at either end is lashed in position to fill the gaps. All the planks are thin, flat and somewhat irregular, so that the structure is very flimsy, and since many of the joints lie below water-level, bailing has to be almost incessant when the canoe is in use (Plate 70, J).

[1] WORTHINGTON: op. cit., p. 161.
[2] JOHNSTON: *Uganda Protectorate*, p. 609.
[3] WORTHINGTON: op. cit., p. 164.



TRANSPORT

A. Litter. HIMA. B. Hooded litter. NYORO. Sewn plank canoe (*after Kollman*). GANDA. C. *From above.* D. *Side view.* E. *Fibre stitching joining planks.* F. *Cross-section of canoe.* G. *Stern.* H. *Cross-section showing thwart passing through sides of boat.* I. *Bow of canoe showing false prow and decorations.* J. Sewn plank canoe. *Side view and cross-sections* (*after Worthington*). KONJO. K. Dug-out canoe *with sheered prow.* KIGA.

CHAPTER XXIII

VISUAL ART

Of art, in the sense of representational art or applied pattern, as distinct from artistry in personal adornment or beauty of form resulting from good craftsmanship in the making of many artifacts, there is surprisingly little to be found in Uganda.

The most noteworthy form is the traditional pattern-work of the Interlacustrine Bantu. This pattern-work is geometric in form and is carried out in colour in bead-work, and in black and white in coiled basketry and in low-relief carving on soft wood. The favourite colours in the old bead-work seem to have been a dark blue and another bright, light blue and a deep crushed strawberry red, but these may have been the predominating colours in early trade beads. Such bead-work is found among the Ganda on objects belonging to the royal house, such as the bead-covered vessels holding a dead Kabaka's umbilical cord and lower jawbone, the beaded collar placed round the top of certain of the royal drums, the bead-work covering the royal end-blown trumpets, the beaded calabashes used for the royal beer, and the 'crowns' worn by the Kabaka and greater chiefs. In the Nyoro-Kitara kingdom the same bead-work is found on similar regalia objects, crowns, trumpets, flutes, ornaments, staves and quivers.

Black and white pattern-work of the same type is not confined to royal objects; among the Iru, Hutu, and Kiga it is used on large coiled baskets which have the same motifs as the fine basketry of Tusi and Hima ladies; it is also used to decorate the carved soft-wood quivers and awl cases of the Tusi and Hima.

Outside Uganda Czekanowski[1] gives a valuable collection of single motifs and various patterns made from them in Ruanda, a large proportion of which tally with a similar collection made by the writer from the Nyoro. Kollmann[2] illustrates similar patterns from Karagwe, Kiziba, Ussinja and Ukerere in Tanganyika. Motifs collected from the Nyoro are illustrated in Plate 71. (See also Plates 30, B; 31, A, B; 40, E; and 50, A to H.)

Similar pattern-work is used on the fine coiled basketry covers of the Hima milk-pots, and pattern-work of a free-er type on the walls of Hima huts. These last are all symbolic. They are illustrated in Plate 5.

The Luo people decorate their calabashes with incised pattern-work in which conventionalized figures of men and animals are combined with geometrical design; they also paint representations of men and animals on their walls. Carved wooden figures of little artistic merit are to be found

[1] CZEKANOWSKI: *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet*, Vol. I, Tables I–IV.

[2] KOLLMANN: *Victoria Nyanza*, pp. 57, 93, 125, 130.

in Teso; there is no evidence that these are old. Among the Lango similar figures are found; one, from the Lira collection, is of a far more archaic type (Plate 72, A). Unfortunately, no information seems to exist about this figure.

Two small clay fertility figures of some antiquity also come from the Lango (Plate 72, C).

According to Thomas,[1] 'the Amba carve wooden figures with unusual skill', but the writer has never been able to obtain specimens or further information of this art.

The agricultural serfs of the Tusi carve caricatures of their overlords in which their ornate methods of hair-dressing are taken off (Plate 72, E).

The only other representational art of interest is certain clay modelling of figures made a number of years ago by the Nyoro. They are of no real age, but their naïvety suggests little in the way of European influence (Plate 72, D).

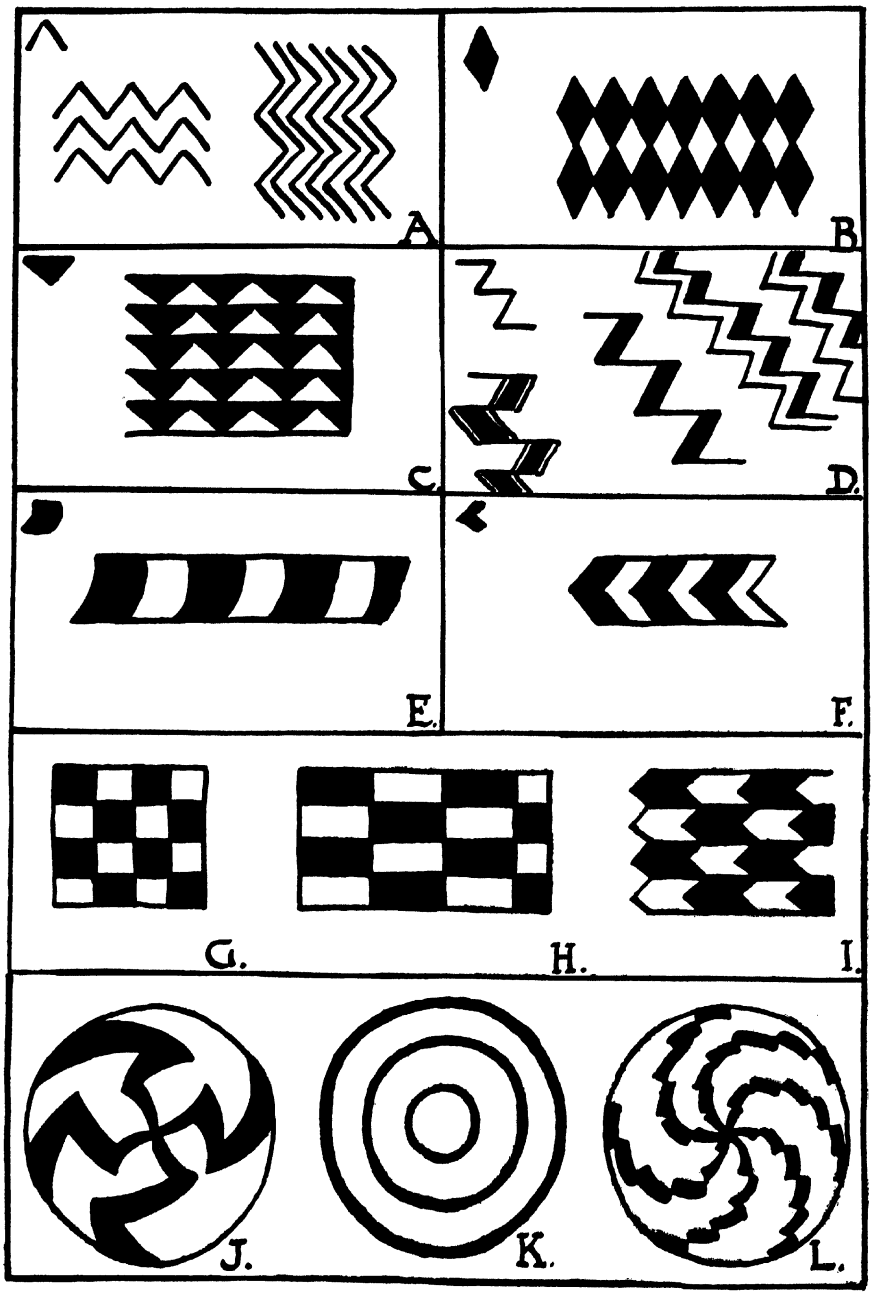
Certain fragments of a clay figure or figures dug up at Luzira some eight miles from Kampala are now in the British Museum. These are of very great interest, as they cannot be associated with any known culture in Uganda. To quote the description by Mr. Braunholtz:[2] 'The physiognomy is clearly too conventional to permit of any inference as to racial type. It is framed by rectilinear bands in relief, two of which pass across the forehead. The eyes are merely protruding lumps with horizontal slits, the nose subconical with vertical slits for nostrils, the chin very prominent, the neck ringed. On the other hand, the coiffure is probably founded on fact, and distinctly suggests the 'fuzzy-wuzzy', though I should hesitate to infer any affinity with the Hadendoa on these grounds . . . it is surmounted by a kind of pad, part of which has been broken away. The modern Baganda do not treat their hair in this way. But some of the more northerly tribes such as the Madi and Lendu are depicted by Sir Harry Johnston with somewhat similar coiffures.

'Technologically, the head has apparently been built up by applying lumps or pellets of clay on to a conical foundation with a smooth hollow interior.' Mr. Braunholtz then goes on to describe the conventional body and limb fragments.

The prominent rings with their incised diagonal lines are reminiscent of similar rings on the pipe from Kintu's tomb described in Chapter VIII and Plate 25, but it would be foolish to suggest any relationship without careful comparison of the two actual objects.

[1] THOMAS and SCOTT: *Uganda*, p. 294.

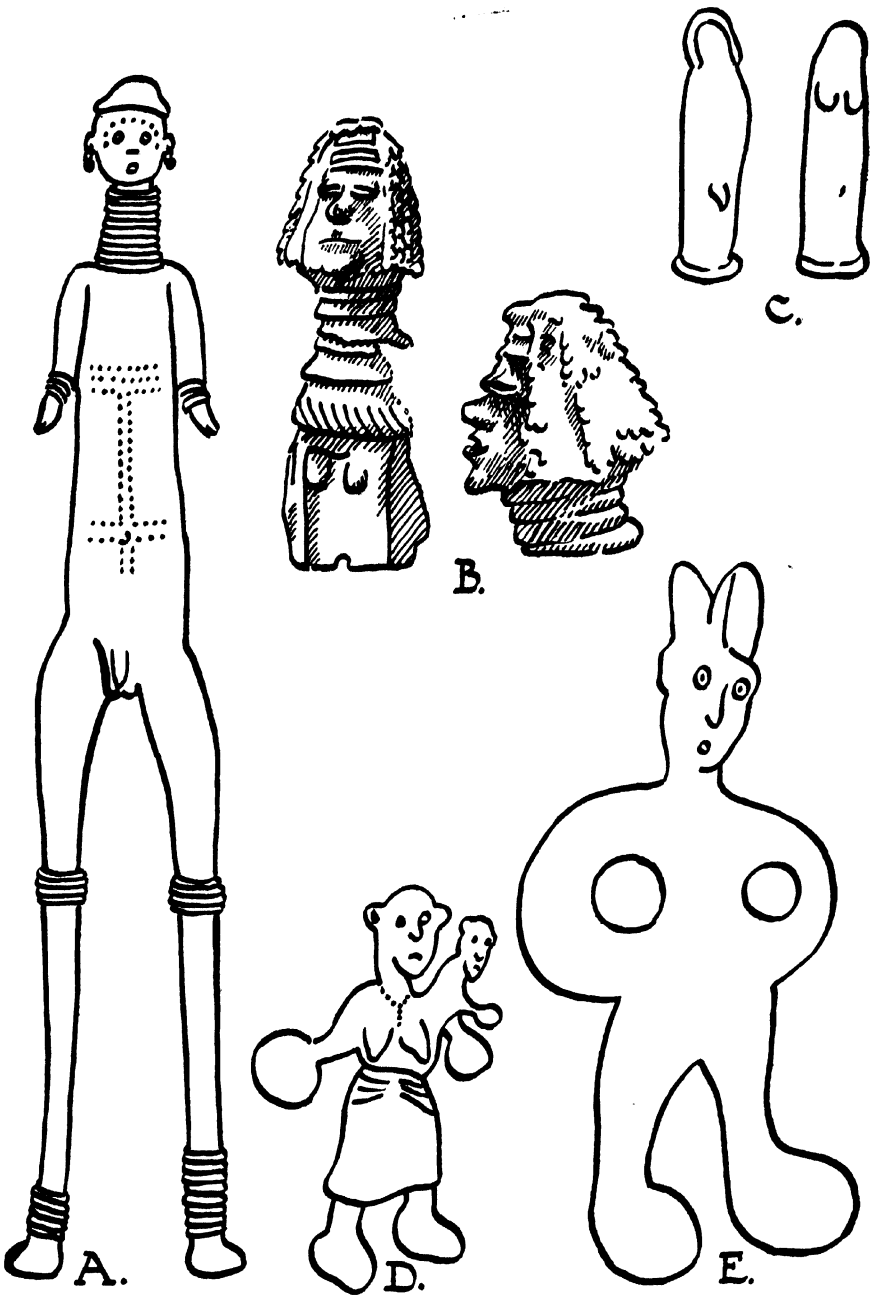
[2] BRAUNHOLTZ: 'Archaeological Discoveries in Uganda', *Man*, February 1933, p. 29; also *Man*, 1936, p. 92.



ART

A. Nyakahembe. NYORO. Imiambi. RUANDA. B. Ensonga. NYORO. Ngabo. RUANDA. C. Ensinjo. NYORO. Amatana. RUANDA. D. Entahi. NYORO. E. Kihabya. NYORO. Amasaro. RUANDA. F. Butulege. NYORO. G. Masaka. NYORO. RUANDA. H. Ebika. NYORO. Uduhuda. RUANDA. I. Kanyamunya. NYORO. J, K, L. Patterns from milk-pot lids. HIMA.

No scale.



A. Large carved wooden male figure, *decorated with bead head-dress and coiled brass wire.* LANGO. B. The Luzira figure (*after British Museum photograph*). GANDA C. Male and female fertility figures. LANGO. D. Mother and child. NYORO. E. Caricature of Tusi method of hair-dressing. HUTU.

No scale.

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APPENDIX

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

	Axe	*Bill-hook*	*Slasher*	*Digging Stick: 1. Long; 2. Short*	*Digging Spear*
AMBA.	Luka.	Nkusu.	—	—	—
KONJO.	Embasa.	—	—	1. Enkondo.	—
HUTU. TUSI.	Empangu.	Omuhoro.	—	1. Enkondo.	Icuma.
KIGA.	Empangu.	Omuhoro.	—	Empindu.	—
HIMA IRU.	Empango.	Omuhoro.	—	—	Ekihoso.
	—	Omukutu.	—	—	—
TORO.	Encwanku.	Omuhoro.	—	2. Ensobyo.	Ekirimizo.
	Endyamiti.	Ekisalizo.	—	—	—
NYORO.	Empango.	Omukutu.	—	2. Ensobyo.	Ekirimyo.
	—	Ekihyo kakonda.	—	—	—
	—	Ekisalizo.	—	—	—
GANDA.	Embazzi.	—	—	1. Olusolobyo.	Ekifumu.
SOGA.	Empasa.	Omuwolo.	—	2. Oluti.	Ekifumu.
	Embaizi.	—	—	—	—
GWERE.	Embaizi.	Engoda.	—	1, 2. Omwizo.	Omwizo.
NYULI.	Embasa.	Engoda.	—	2. Omulo.	1.
GISHU.	Iyaywa.	—	—	1. Kumutsangiro.	—
	Imbasa.	—	—	2. Kumulo.	—
SAMIA and GWE.	Eyayuwa.	Omwolo.	—	1, 2. Omulo.	Esifumu.
SEBEI.	Aiyuet.	Morut.	Morut.	2. Kamet.	—
KARAMOJA.	Ayep.	—	—	1. Ariwo.	Atum.
	—	—	—	2. Aitan.	—
TESO.	Ayep.	—	—	1. Abasaŋ.	—
	—	—	—	2. Ikuta.	—
JOPADHOLA.	Le.	Muholo.	—	1, 2. Omulo.	Toŋ.
	—	Musala wuyo.	—	—	—
ACOLI.	Latoŋ. (Working axe.	—	—	2. Opilo.	—
	Lee. (Dancing axe.	—	—	—	—
LANGO.	Lee.	—	—	—	—
ALUR.	Latoŋ.	Lajwer.	Pere.	—	—
MADI { North.	N. Tulu.	—	N. ———	2. H. Hwesili.	—
MADI { South.	S. Talua.	—	S. Pere.	2. S. Acodi.	—
LUGBARA.	Ogara.	—	Ngole.	2.	—
KAKWA and KUKU.	Tulu.	—	Bereda.	1. Guli.	—
	—	—	—	2. Guli.	—

	Angled Digging Stick 1. *Iron-shod* 2. *Simple*	*Hoe* 1. *Wooden* 2. *Iron*	1. *Old hoe* 2. *Cow rib*	*Weeding Tools* 3. *Large knife* 4. *Wooden knife*	5. *Hay fork* 6. *Shell*
AMBA.	—	1. Enkondabazi.	—	—	—
	—	2. Nfuni, or mpese	—	—	—
KONJO.	—	1. Enkondo.	—	—	—
	—	2. Eyisuka.	—	—	—
HUTU. TUSI.	1.	2. Isuka.	—	—	—
	2.	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	1 and 2. Enkondo.	Efuka.	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	—	2. Enfuka.	—	—	—
TORO.	—	2. Enfuko.	1. Enfuni.	—	5. Enkanduro.
NYORO.	—	2. Enfuka.	1. Enfuni.	—	5. Enkanduro.
GANDA.	—	2. Enkumbi.	—	3. Omwambe.	—
SOGA.	—	2. Embago.	1. Embago.	—	—
GWERE.	—	2. Enkumbi.	1. Ensimo.	—	5. Ekikandulo.
NYULI.	—	2. Embago.	1.	—	—
GISHU.	—	1. Liyitsu.	1. Kumusa.	3. Imbalu.	5. Lubibo.
		2. Imbako	2. Lubafu.	—	—
SAMAI and	—	1. Otenda.	—	—	—
GWE.	—	2. Embako.	—	—	—
SEBEI.	—	2. Mokombet.	—	—	3. Rotuet.
		2. Mokonget.	—	—	5. Kirukto.
KARAMOJA.	—	2. Akuta.	—	—	5. Eroges.
	—	—	—	—	6. Ekame.
TESO.	—	2. Emeleku.	1. Ecapet.	—	6. Ecelet.
JOPODHOLA.	—	1. Okuta.	1. Ngeti kwer.	4. Opilo.	5. Eragware.
	—	2. Nyamusa.	—	—	6. Combo.
ACOLI.	—	Kweri.	—	—	5. Lagwar.
	—	—	—	—	6. Okoro.
LANGO.	—	1. Agot.	1. Det.	—	5. Ogode.
	—	2. Kwer.	—	—	—
ALUR.	—	1. Adraki.	—	—	6. Osongoro.
	—	2. Kwer.	—	—	—
MADI North.	—	1. N. Aco.	1. N. Cudi.	—	5. N. Cakada.
	—	1. S. Ebu.	1. S. Ambere.	—	6. N. Ngoliko.
MADI South.	—	2. N. Loncwe.	—	—	6. S. Eciro.
	—	2. S. Kongoro.	—	—	—
LUGBARA.	—	1. Ebu.	—	—	5.
	—	2. Agonoko.	—	—	6. Iteriko.
KAKWA AND KUKU.	—	1. Longudi.	—	—	5. Arowe (kuku)
	—	2. Kole.	—	—	5. Iteriko.

	Knife 1. *Plantain* 2. *Slaughter* 3. *Special*	1. *Sickle Knife* 2. *Finger Ring*	*Winnowing Tray*	*Grinding Stones*	1. *Mortar* 2. *Pestle* 3. *Angled Pestle* 4. *Horizontal Mortar*
AMBA.	2. Muhyo.	—	Rugali.	—	1. Musekuro.
	2. Kaboo.	—	—	—	2. Kinukobu.
	3. Mbako.	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	2. Akahamba.	—	—	—	1. Mutundulo.
TUSI. HUTU.	1. Omusyo.	—	Entara.	—	1. Eshekuro.
	2. Endiga.	—	—	—	2. Omuhini.
KIGA.	1. Omusyo.	—	Entara.	Olubengo	1. Ensukuro.
	2. Endiga.	—	—	and eseso.	2. Omuhini.
HIMA.	1. Omusyog-	—	Orugali.	Orubengo.	1. Enshekuro.
HIMA. IRU.	wengyeso.				
	2. Omusyog- warurara.	—	—	Enseiso.	2. Omuhini.
TORO.	1. Omuhyo.	—	Engali.	Orubengo.	1. Ensekuro.
	2. Empirima.	—	—	Ensiso.	2. Ekyana. kyensekuro.
NYORO.	1. Omuhyo.	—	Orugali.	Orubengo.	1. Ensekuro.
	2.	—	—	Ensiso.	2. Ekyana kyensekuro.
GANDA.	Ekiso.	—	Ekigali.	Orubengo.	1. Ekinu.
	1. Akambe.	—	—	—	2. Omusekuzo.
	2. Egya.	—	—	—	4. Emanvu.
SOGA.	1. Omuwolo.	—	Olugali.	Olubengo.	1. Ekinu.
	1. Empima.	—	—	Enso.	2. Omukonko.
GWERE.	1. Engoda.	—	Olugali.	Olumengo.	1. Ekiwulo.
	2. Empima.	—	—	Omwereko.	2. Omukonko.
NYULI.	1. Engeso.	—	Olugali.	Olubali.	1. Ekhimu.
	2. Epima.	—	—	Eso.	2. Omuhoho.
GISHU.	2. Imbalu.	—	Luteru.	Lusisi.	Kwiwili.
	2. Kumbano.	—	—	Isyo.	2. Kumutsungilo.
SAMIA and	1. Engesu.	—	Oludero.	—	1. Ekinu.
GWE.	2. Ehande.	—	—	—	2. Omukonko.
SEBEI.	1. Rotuet.	—	Sesut.	Ruandet ap pae.	1. Kenut.
	2. Rotuet.	—	—	—	2. Ketit ap kenut.
	2. Rotuet.	—	—	—	—
KARAMOJA.	2. Ekileŋ.	—	Erite.	Akirieth.	1. Eruket.
	—	—	—	—	2. Akujuk.
TESO.	2. Ekileŋ.	1. Ekurupet.	Eritei.	Amoru nairyet.	1. Ekisu.
	—	—	—	Atapen.	2. Arukit.
	—	—	—	—	3. Ekon.
JOPADHOLA.	1. Athereo.	—	Adheri.	Kidi.	1. Pangi.
	2. Nyangoda.	—	—	—	2. Dolo.
	2. Empima.	—	—	—	2. Loki.
ACOLI.	2. Palamon.	—	Oderu.	Kidi rego.	1. Pany.
	—	—	—	—	2. Lalek pany.
	—	—	—	—	3. Twor.
LANGO.	2. Pala.	2. Alwet.	Aduru.	Kidi me rego.	1. Paŋ.
	—	—	—	—	2. Alek.
	—	—	—	—	3. Ikoŋ.
ALUR.	2. Mularo.	—	Oderu.	Kidi.	1. Paŋ.
	2. Pala.	—	Pamba.	—	2. Aralok.
	—	—	—	—	3. Konyo.
MADI North.	2. N. Iligo.	—	N. Kobi.	N. Oni.	1. N. Djiki.
	2. S. Pau.	—	Rege.	—	1. S. Panyi.
MADI South.	3. N. Ili.	—	S. Jeri.	S. Era.	2. N. Djiki hwe.
	3. S. Ili.	—	Ndata.	—	2. S. Panyi mvu.
	—	—	—	—	3. N. & S. Konyi.
LUGBARA.	3. Ili.	—	Kobi.	Oni.	1. Panyi.
	—	—	—	—	2.
KAKWA AND	2. Seki.	—	Rege (Kuku).	Kijo.	—
KUKU.	3. Wale.	—	Cete (Kakwa).	—	—

GOURDS

	Whole Bottle Gourd: 1. *Large;* 2. *Small*	*Funnel*	*Ladle*	1. *Mug* 2. *Platter*	*Half-calabash:* 1. *Large* 2. *Small*
AMBA.	1. Ndeku.	Kikeneko.	Kakeke.	1. Akahanda.	—
	2. Rusale.	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	1. Ndekwa.	—	Kikeke.	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	1. Igisaabo.	Umubirikira.	—	1. Icwende.	1. Uruhu.
KIGA.	1. Ekishaabo.	Omwitizo.	—	1. Encwende.	Orushare.
	1. Ekireere.	—	—	1. Enceka.	—
	1. Omufundikiso.	—	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	1. Ekishaabo.	Omutaho.	Ekishare.	1. Ensimbo.	1. Orushare.
	1. Ekireere.	—	—	1. Enkyeka.	—
	1. Ekisisi.	—	—	—	—
TORO.	1. Orutuha.	Omusengijo.	Eyugi.	1. Enkoba.	1. Omukegi.
	2. Akacwende.	—	—	—	2. Akakegi.
	1. Ekisaabu.	—	—	—	—
	1. Omusisi.	—	—	—	—
NYORO.	1. Ekisaabu.	Omusengijo.	Eyugi.	1. Enkoba.	—
	1. Omusisi.	—	Orutahyo.	—	—
GANDA.	1. Ekita.	Omubinikiro.	Olwendo.	1. Endabada.	—
	1. Ensaabo.	Omuzindalo.	—	1. Empaawo.	—
	2. Endeku.	—	—	—	—
	1. Engunda.	—	—	—	—
SOGA.	1. Ekirandi.	Omukaki.	Olwendo.	1. Endabada.	2. Enkayi.
	2. Ekidome.	—	—	1. Eibuga.	Enkayi eye eiva.
GWERE.	1. Ekisundo.	Ekikengeizo.	Olwendo.	1. Akadabada.	1. Ekideku.
	Ekisusi.	—	—	1. Akabuga.	2. Akadeku.
	Eibuga.	—	—	—	Akasyodo.
	2. Ensanda.	—	—	—	—
NYULI.	1. Ekhita.	Ekhisengejo.	Omwendo.	1. Endabada.	1. Ekhisanda.
	1. Omuga.	—	—	Akhabuga.	—
	—	—	—	2. Ekanghi.	—
GISHU.	1. Imuka.	Enkwabi.	Kumwendo.	1. Kileli.	1. Tsin-dondoyi.
	1. Libuswa.	—	—	1. Libuga.	1. Isesi.
	1. Lilogi.	—	—	1. Kalogi.	2. Khasesi.
	2. Buguguwa.	—	—	—	—
SAMIA and	1. Esisabo.	Ekisengejo.	Oluwendo.	1. Esikwada.	1. Esikwada.
GWE.	1. Ebuka.	—	Olowo.	1. Ebuka.	2. Hakwada.
	1. Ibuka.	—	—	2. Ehayi.	—
	Emuka.	—	—	—	—
SEBEI.	1. Sotet.	Kenenet.	Kuteret.	1. Men's: saiket. Women's: manduet.	1. Sarket nye oo.
	2. Terket.	—	—		2. Kuteret.
	—	—	—		—
	—	—	—		—
	—	—	—	2. Terekiet.	—
KARAMOJA.	1. Etwo.	Ekituret.	Asorokok.	1. Abusia.	1. Adere.
	—	—	—	—	2. Abelekik.
TESO.	1. Etuo.	—	Akoli.	—	1. Adere.
	—	—	—	—	2. Aokit.
JOPADHOLA.	1. Asanda.	Ekidendi.	Asiri.	1. Asanda.	1. Apado.
	—	—	—	2. Ogem.	—
ACOLI.	1. Opoko.	—	—	2. Akwaya.	1. Awal.
	2. Kicere.	—	—	—	2. Agwata deko;
	2. Adono.	—	—	—	—
LANGO.	1. Opoko.	—	1. Okol.	1. Okol.	1. Wal.
	—	—	—	—	1. Gwata.
	—	—	—	—	2. Gwata dek.
ALUR.	1. Opoko.	—	Buju.	2. Agwata.	1. Agwata.
	2. Opoko.	—	—	—	2. Agwata.
MADI (North.)	1. N. Kere.	—	—	—	1. N. Kerije.
	—	—	—	—	1. S. Okele.
MADI (South.)	1. S. Zu.	—	—	—	2. N. Kobele.
	—	—	—	—	2. S. Wekea.
LUGBARA.	Kere.	—	N. Gulukutu.	—	1. Erigi.
	—	—	—	—	Eje.
	—	—	—	—	2. Okele.
KAKWA and	Kuluku (Kakwa).	—	Dikere.	1. Kere (Kuku).	1. Podre.
KUKU.	Kere (Kuku).	—	—	2. Kabule.	2. Culoke.

WOODEN VESSELS FOR FOOD AND DRINK

	Grooved Milkpot	*1. Meat Dish with Legs and Base: 2. Nyoro type*	*Goblet*	*Tall Milking Pail*	*Oblong Bowl*
AMBA.	Kabya kamatiti.	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	—	2. Omunaga.	—	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	Ikicuba.	1. Ihungu.	—	—	Orucuba.
	Ikyanzi.	—	—	—	—
	Enkongoro.	—	—	—	—
	Inzhome.	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	Ekyanzi.	1. Ihungu.	Ihungu.	—	Orucuba.
	Enkongoro.	—	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	Ekyanzi.	1. Ihungu.	—	—	Icuba.
	Endeza.	—	—	—	—
TORO.	Ekyanzi.	2. Orucuba.	—	—	—
NYORO.	Ekyanzi.	2. Orucuba.	—	—	Icuba.
GANDA.	—	2. Olutiba.	—	—	—
SOGA.	—	2. Olutiba.	—	—	Olutiba.
GWERE.	—	—	—	Ekikamiro.	Eitiba.
NYULI.	—	—	—	Ekamiro.	Olwero.
GISHU.	—	—	—	Kiwiri.	Lulwero.
SAMIA and GWE.	—	—	—	Eyati.	Esiwoca.
SEBEI.	—	—	—	—	—
KARAMOJA.	—	—	—	Elepit.	Atuba.
TESO.	—	—	—	Eiciret.	Atuba.
	—	—	—	Elepit.	—
JOPADHOLA.	—	—	—	Paŋ ma nyedho.	Acero.
ACOLI.	—	2. Wer.	—	—	(Round bowl.)
	—	—	—	—	Atabo.
LANGO.	—	2. Wer.	—	Ebur.	—
ALUR.	—	2. Wer.	—	—	Wer.
MADI North.	—	—	—	—	—
MADI South.	—	2. S.	—	—	—
LUGBARA.	—	—	—	—	Oguruku.
KAKWA and KUKU.	—	—	—	—	—

	Oblong Bowl: 1. With 1 handle 2. With 2 handles	*Flat Tray*	*Simsim Trough*	*Double Bowl*
AMBA.	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	—	—	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	1. Orucuba.	—	—	Ikigeni.
	1. Impinga.	—	—	Imbene.
	2. Omucuba.	—	—	—
KIGA.	1. Orucuba.	Ekiheso.	—	—
	2. Omucuba.	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	1. Icuba.	—	—	—
TORO.	2. Ogwato.	—	—	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	—	—	—	—
SOGA.	1. Olutiba.	—	—	—
	2. Olutiba.	—	—	—
GWERE.	—	—	—	—
NYULI.	—	—	—	—
GISHU.	1. Siiye.	Lulwero.	—	—
	2. Siiye.	—	—	—
SAMIA and GWE.	—	—	—	—
SEBEI.	—	Rabet.	—	—
KARAMOJA.	—	Alatau.	—	—
TESO.	1. Atuba.	Atekere.	—	—
	2. Atuba.	—	—	—
JOPADHOLA.	1. Acero.	—	—	—
ACOLI.	—	—	Wer.	—
LANGO.	—	—	Wer.	—
ALUR.	—	—	Wer.	—
MADI North.	—	—	N. Were.	—
MADI South.	—	—	S. Were.	—
LUGBARA.	—	—	—	—
KAKWA and KUKU.	—	—	—	—

POTS

	Water Pots	*Gourd-shaped Pots*	*Milk Bowl*	*Large Shallow Pot*	*Large Pot for Cooking Grain, etc.*
AMBA.	Mbikalibo.	Nsole.	—	Mukyambika.	Kiteba.
	—	—	—	Salyeri.	Mbikalyeri.
KONJO.	Eriregа.	—	—	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	Ekibindi.	Ensumbi.	—	—	Ekigara.
	—	Ishumbi.	—	—	Intango.
	—	Imperizo.	—	—	—
KIGA.	Enyungu yamaizi.	Ensumbi.	—	Enyungu egoya.	Enyungu eteka.
		Engyemeko.	—	—	Enterero.
	Akakondo.	—	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	Enzhoga.	Engyemeko.	—	Enyungu.	Enyungu egoya.
	—	Orunywere.	—	—	Eteka.
	—	—	—	—	Enterero.
TORO.	Ensoha.	Ensumbi.	Orubindi orwamata.	Ekinaga.	Enyungu yoburo.
	—	Embindo.		—	—
NYORO.	Ensoha.	Ensumbi.	Orubindi.	Ekinaga.	Entugiro.
GANDA.	Ensuwa.	Ensumbi.	—	Entamu.	—
SOGA.	Ensuwa.	Ensumbi.	—	Entamu.	Ensuwa.
GWERE.	Ensuwa.	—	—	Ekibange.	Ekibange.
	—	—	—	—	Omubende.
	—	—	—	—	Embatiko.
NYULI.	Ensongo.	Akabindi.	—	Ekhibange.	Ekhibange.
GISHU.	Isongo.	Kumubende.	Isamunyo.	Lutsyo.	Kibanga.
	—	—	—	—	Imange.
SAMIA and	Esinsula	Akabindu.	—	—	Enyafuka.
GWE.	Esiyongo.	—	—	—	Oluco.
SEBEI.	Teret ap peko.	—	—	Kasuset.	—
KARAMOJA.	Amot.	Eleket.	—	Atabo.	Amotkeyet.
	—	—	—	—	Akeyet.
TESO.	Amot.	—	—	—	Atakwa.
JOPADHOLA.	Dak pi.	Abino.	—	Tako.	Kibanga.
	Daki.	—	—	—	Imange.
	—	—	—	—	Indekero.
ACOLI.	Agulu pi.	Abino.	—	Tako.	Dak.
LANGO.	Alibi.	Abino.	—	Tako.	Abak.
	Agulu pi.	—	—	—	Abino.
	—	—	—	—	Agulu dek.
ALUR.	Deka pi.	—	—	Tago.	Dakoŋ.
MADI (North.)	N. Eyi-lenvu.	—	—	(Rather deep for 'bread') N. Cupe.	N. Ubi.
MADI (South.)	S. Yi-embu.	—	—	S. Otaa.	S. Ubi.
LUGBARA.	Tijo.	—	Saku.	(Rather deep) for 'bread' Otaka.	Ubi.
KAKWA and	Conbo (Kakwa).	—	Piliŋa	Tado.	Dere.
KUKU.	Sonbo (Kuku).	—	(Kuku).	—	—

	Small Pots for cooking meat and vegetables	*Salt-making Pots*	*Pot for scent*	*Pot for grease*	*Multi-mouthed Pot*
AMBA.	Mbiga (with rim)	—	—	—	—
	Akabya (rimless).	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	—	—	—	—	Ebitiri.
TUSI. HUTU.	—	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	Akabya.	—	—	—	—
	Akasabago.	—	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	Orwabya.	—	Engyemeko za rukome.	—	—
TORO.	Ekinago-akaleba.	—	—	—	—
NYORO.	Ekibindi.	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	Ensaka.	—	—	—	—
	Ekibya (for eating).	—	—	—	—
SOGA.	Ensaka (for cooking).	Kigeniko.	—	—	—
	Ekibya. (for eating).	—	—	—	—
GWERE.	Akasaka.	—	—	—	—
NYULI.	Ekhibange.	—	—	—	—
GISHU.	Itsamunyu.	Khihereho.	—	—	Naminya mingi.
SAMIA and GWE.	Esikayi.	—	—	—	Namiinya bibiri.
	Esibange.	—	—	—	—
	Nungiro.	—	—	—	—
SEBEI.	Kipungut.	Bakut ap munyuk.	—	Cepkiraut.	—
KARAMOJA.	Agulu Kipoet.	Itako.	—	—	—
TESO.	Atako.	Atitot.	—	—	Alibi.
JOPADHOLA.	Dak ki fafa.	—	—	—	—
	Dek woni.	—	—	—	—
ACOLI.	Atabo.	Tutu.	—	—	Adogaryo.
	Agulu deko.	—	—	—	—
	Dak Kwon.	—	—	—	—
LANGO.	Atako.	—	—	—	—
ALUR.	Tabo.	Tudu.	—	—	Amoŋ or Kurugu.
MADI (North.)	N. Turbizo.	N. Aiso.	—	N. Adujo.	—
MADI	Itaa.	—	—	Ete.	—
MADI (South.)	S. Layi.	S. Airiso.	—	S. Adu.	—
LUGBARA.	Walaka.	Esako.	—	—	—
	Oteku.	—	—	—	—
	Otakuwa.	—	—	—	—
KAKWA and KUKU.	Tabo.	Kido.	—	—	—

	PIPES	BASKETS		
	1. *Tobacco Pipe* 2. *Bhang Pipe*	*Field Baskets*	*Storage Baskets* 1. *For grain* 2. *For meat*	*Basket for sowing seed*
AMBA.	1. Nyungu.	Kisoro.	1. Kisoro.	—
	2. Butete.	Kimambajalo.	—	—
	2. Kwarata (bamboo).	—	—	—
KONJO.	—	—	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	1. Nkondo yetabi.	Omuhinda.	1. Igitebo.	—
	—	Igitukuru.	1. Intonga.	—
	—	Iikiibo.	1. Agasero.	—
	—	Urutete.	—	—
KIGA.	1. Enyungu-yetabi.	Omuhinda.	1. Ekihumi.	—
	—	Ekitukuru.	1. Ekituru.	—
	—	Orutete.	1. Omuhinda.	—
	—	Ekiibo.	1. Ekiibo.	—
HIMA. IRU.	1. Enyungu yetabe.	Ekitenga.	1. Ekigega.	—
	—	Ekiibo.	2. Ekitwara.	—
TORO.	—	Ekigega.	—	Ekidukuru.
	—	Ekirombera.	—	—
NYORO.	1. Enyungu yetaba.	Ekigega.	1 and 2. Ekidukuru.	—
	2. Enyungu yenjaahi.	—	—	—
GANDA.	1. Emmindi.	Ekisero.	2. Enkanga.	—
	2. Ekibindi.	—	2. Enkunda.	—
	—	—	2. Endabi.	—
SOGA.	1. Emindi.	Ekiibo.	1. Ekiibo.	Akadubi.
	2. Omugwabi.	—	2. Olukenkene.	—
	—	—	2. Olukalaino.	—
GWERE.	1. Ekitakali.	Ekisira.	1. Ekireguliro.	Ekisigiro.
	Ekibindi.	Ekiibo.	2. Ekikodo.	—
	2. Omugwabi.	Ekinaba.	—	—
NYULI.	1. Ekhibindi.	Ekhinaba.	—	—
	2. Omugwabi.	Endanyiro.	—	—
GISHU.	1. Khinaka.	Kumuyayi.	1. Kimuyayi.	—
	2. Kumukwabi.	Kidasa.	2. Indubi.	—
	—	Kideru.	—	—
SAMIA and GWE.	1. Olukada.	Endayi.	—	—
	2. Esihwabi.	Esiyinda.	—	—
SEBEI.	Teret ap tumatet.	Sesut.	—	—
	—	Kilungut.	—	—
KARAMOJA.	1. Apil.	Ebukit.	1. Edula.	—
	2. Amakale.	—	2. Nasuseta.	
TESO.	1. Amidi.	Ebukit.	—	—
	2. Etuokejai.	Eijaŋ.	—	—
	—	Adeta.	—	—
JOPADHOLA.	1. Curo.	Agono.	2. Kodo.	—
	2. Okwa.	Adita.	—	—
ACOLI.	1. Latek.	Dwoŋo.	—	—
	2. Latek-jai.	Aduku.	—	—
	—	Adeta.	—	—
LANGO.	1. Latek.	Dita.	1. Tua.	—
	2. Latek jai.	Dwoŋo.	—	—
	Opoko jai.	Duku.	—	—
ALUR.	1. Dak.	Atako.	—	—
	2. Dak.	—	—	—
MADI (North.)	1. N. Daki.	N. Evo.	—	—
MADI (South.)	1. S. Tambo.	Kongoro.	—	—
	2. N. and S. Koco.	S. Ogeye.	—	—
LUGBARA.	Koco.	Evo.	—	—
KAKWA AND KUKU.	1. Dra.	Sude (Kuku).	—	—
	2. Koco (tobacco, calabash).	Cude (Kakwa).	—	—
	2. Bororo (bhang, bamboo).	—	—	—

BASKETS

	Food Baskets	*Ornamental Basket*	*Fish Basket*	*Fowl Baskets: 1. For carrying 2. For use in hut*	*Quail Basket for use with snare*
AMBA.	—	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	—	—	—	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	Ekiibo.	Agasere.	—	—	—
KIGA.	Entemere.	—	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	Entemere.	—	—	—	—
TORO.	Endiiro yoburo.	—	—	1. Ekijonjoro.	—
NYORO.	Endiiro.	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	Ekibbo.	—	—	1. Ekiyonjo or Omuyonjo.	—
SOGA.	—	—	—	1.	—
GWERE.	—	—	Ekyonzo kye nyanyi.	1. Ekyonzo.	—
NYULI.	Ekhisero.	—	Ekaka.	—	Ekhyonjo.
GISHU.	Kinandi.	—	—	1. Hiyotso.	—
SAMIA AND GWE.	Esidero.	—	Ehaha.	—	Ekyonjo.
SEBEI.	Sesut.	—	—	—	—
KARAMOJA.	Abukit.	—	—	—	—
TESO.	—	—	—	—	—
JOPADHOLA.	Adita.	—	—	—	Mugono.
ACOLI.	—	—	—	2. Garagara.	—
LANGO.	—	—	—	2. Kor.	—
ALUR.	Oboyi.	—	—	—	—
MADI { North.	N. Linyajo.	—	N. Bolo.	—	—
MADI { South.	S. Enya-abu.	—	S. Au-loto.	—	—
LUGBARA.	Afadjua.	—	Loto.	—	—
KAKWA and KUKU.	Nyakale.	—	—	2. Loto (Kuku).	—

	MATS 1. *Tied* 2. *Threaded* 3. *Stitched* 4. *Check weave* 5. *Plaited*	LADLES, FOOD-STIRRERS, SPOONS, ETC. 1. *Ladle type* 2. *Knob type* 3. *Spike type* 4. *Plain stick*	1. *Wood* 2. *Bone* 3. *Horn* 4. *Shell* 5. *Seedpod* 6. *Calabash*	*Wooden Knife*
AMBA.	1. Kirago.	1. Omuiko.	4. Njasa.	—
	—	3. Kibaya.	1. Kakeke.	—
	—	—	1. Kalazi.	—
	—	—	6. Obukeke.	—
KONJO.	—	3. Orucicimu.	2. Omwenski.	—
TUSI. HUTU.	1. Ekirago.	1.	1. Endosho.	—
	1. Enyegamo.	—	1. Endosho.	—
KIGA.	1. Ekirago.	1. Orugwiko.	1. Endoso.	—
	1. Enyegamo.	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	1. Enyagamo.	1. Orugwiko.	Endosho.	—
	5. Omukeeka.	—	—	—
TORO.	2. Ekisungu.	1.	1. Endoso.	—
	5. Omukeeka.	—	1. Obraso.	—
	—	—	4. Emgambo.	—
NYORO.	1. Akapali.	1. Omwiko.	1. Ndoso.	—
	5. Omukeeka.	—	1. Obraso.	—
GANDA.	1. Ekiwempe.	1. Akawaawo.	—	—
	5. Omukeeka.	1. Omulawo.	—	—
SOGA.	1. Ekisampa.	1. Mwiko.	1. Mwiko.	Oluti.
	2. Ekipali.	—	—	—
	5. Omukeeka.	—	—	—
GWERE.	1. Enyiga.	1. Omugayi.	—	—
	1. Olupali.	—	—	—
	1. Olusampa.	—	—	—
	5. Omukeeka.	—	—	—
NYULI.	1. Ekidugi.	1. Omwikho.	—	—
	2. Olunghampo.	—	—	—
	5. Omukeeka.	—	—	—
GISHU.	1. Lusamba.	1. Kumugango.	2. Lubafu.	—
	2. Lunyikamu.	—	—	—
	5. Kumukhiha.	—	—	—
SAMIA and GWE.	1. Hayambo.	1. Oluniho.	5. Ehayi.	—
	1. Ekisapya.	1. Omwiho.	—	—
	5. Omukeeka.	3. Ogwec.	—	—
SEBEI.	1. Mukeket.	1. Mukanget.	1. Seketiet.	—
	5. Mukeket. [There is no word for 'mat'; this is derived from Swahili.]	3.	—	—
KARAMOJA.	5. Amukeka.	1. Abato.	3. Abolokoc.	—
	—	2. Emodu.	—	—
	—	3. Egec.	—	—
TESO.	1. Esapa.	1. Akinol.	3. Akale.	—
	2. Epari.	2. Epiret.	—	—
	5. Mukeka.	—	—	—
JOPADHOLA.	1. Pari.	1. Alithikwon.	—	—
	1. Nyiga.	3. Kigwec.	—	—
	5. Omukeka.	—	—	—
ACOLI.	2. Kolo.	1. Olutokwon.	—	—
	—	2. Owec.	—	—
	—	3. Owec or Opilo.	—	—
LANGO.	2. Kolo.	2. Ogwec.	3. Opal.	—
	2. Ladu.	3. Opilo.	—	—
	4.	—	—	—
ALUR.	2. Kalo.	1. Kurebo.	—	—
	—	2. Kurebo.	—	—
	—	3. Lapere.	—	—
MADI (North.)	N. 2. Losira.	2. N. Munduku.	—	—
	N. Nindri (twill).	3. N. Pire.	—	—
MADI	S. 2. Kolo.	S. Lupere.	—	—
	—	4. N. Kelihwe.	—	—
MADI (South.)	—	S. Lua.	—	—
LUGBARA.	2. Kordra.	3. Lupere.	—	—
	—	4.	—	—
KAKWA and KUKU.	2. Kordra.	4. Dole.	3. Kame.	—
	—	2. Luduke.	—	—
	—	3. Lapore.	—	—

	BEER FILTERS 1. *Drinking Tube* 2. *Funnels*	NETS AND BAGS 1. *Large* 2. *Netted bags* 3. *Nets for milkpots* 4. *Skin bags* 5. *Tied mat bags*	WOODEN VESSELS 1. *Washbowls* 2. *Awl cases* 3. *Grease pot*	FUMIGATORS 1. *Milkpot* 2. *Bark-cloth*	CHILD'S SADDLE CHILD'S COVER 2. *Woven* 3. *Calabash*
AMBA.	Kikeneko.	2. Ensahu yamakuru.	—	—	1. Ngobi.
KONJO.	—	2. Eyisahu yobutahitahi.	—	—	—
	—	2. Eyisahu yemise.	—	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	1. Omuheha.	—	2. Igitembo.	2. Ikigagara and	—
	2. Omutemeri.	—	—	Orukomezo.	—
KIGA.	1. Ekisheki.	1. Ekiteko.	—	1. Ekicunga.	—
	—	2. Oruhago.	—	2. Ekichwa.	—
	—	4. Akakotsyo.	—	—	—
	—	5. Baserinyangi.	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	1. Orushekye.	3. Ekiteko.	2. Ororembe.	1. Ekicunga.	—
	2. Omutaho.	4. Enfurebe.	3.	2. Ekigagara and Ekishwa.	—
TORO.	1. Oruseke.	1. Ekiteko.	—	2. Ekiswa and Ekigarara.	—
NYORO.	1. Oruseke.	1. Ekiteko.	1. Akooho.	2. Ekiswa.	—
	—	—	1. Orwoho.	—	—
GANDA.	1. Oluseke.	1. Etterekero.	—	2. Ekyoterezo.	—
	1. Omulijja.	—	—	—	—
SOGA.	1. Oluseke.	1. Omuteko.	—	—	—
GWERE.	1. Ekiseke.	1. Omuteko.	—	—	—
NYULI.	1. Olusekhe.	1.	—	—	—
GISHU.	1. Lusehye.	4.	—	—	—
SAMIA and GWE.	2. Oluceke.	—	—	—	—
SEBEI.	1. Saget.	1.	—	—	—
KARAMOJA.	1. Epiinit.	1. Akinenes.	—	—	1. Anapet.
	2. Ekisese.	—	—	—	3. Egwolos.
TESO.	1. Epii.	—	—	—	1. Anapet.
	—	—	—	—	3. Adereki-koku.
JOPADHOLA.	1. Kiseke.	1. Kisakala.	—	—	—
	2. Sengejo.	2.	—	—	—
ACOLI.	1. Oceke.	1. Cel.	—	—	1. Obeno.
	2. Adiŋ.	4. Kica.	—	—	3. Awalwic.
LANGO.	1. Oceke.	1. Cel.	—	—	1. Abeno.
	2. Ladiŋ koŋ.	—	—	—	3. Awalwic.
ALUR.	2. Diŋ.	4. Osau.	—	—	1. Obendo.
	—	—	—	—	3.
MADI (North.)	1. N. Seke.	1. N. Mei.	—	—	1. N. Lebuka.
MADI (North.)	1. S. Eseke.	1. S.	—	—	1. S. Ayu.
MADI (South.)	2. N. Utu.	4. S. Sau.	3. N. Lubu.	—	2. N. Kuruse.
MADI (South.)	2. S. Anuba.	4. S. Mangala.	—	—	2. S. Luu.
LUGBARA.	1.	1.	—	—	1. Obuko.
	2. Anuba.	4.	—	—	2. Luku
KAKWA and KUKU.	2. Kutu.	4. Joro.	—	—	1. Doke.
	—	—	—	—	2. Sete (Kuku).
	—	—	—	—	Cete (Kakwa).

STOOLS

	Cotton reel type	*Leg and Base type*	*Legged Stool with no base*	*Stool with semi-solid or barred sides*	*Unclassified Small Stools*
AMBA.	Mbata.	—	—	—	—
	Entebe.	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	Ekitumbi.	—	—	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	Intebe.	Intebe.	—	—	—
KIGA.	Ekitebe.	Ekitebe.	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	Ekitebe.	Ekitebe.	—	—	—
TORO.	Entebe.	—	—	—	—
NYORO.	Entebe yekikara.	—	Akatebe.	—	—
GANDA.	Entebe.	Entebe.	Entebe.	—	—
SOGA.	Entebe.	—	Entebe.	—	—
GWERE.	—	—	Ekitebe.	—	Ekitebe.
NYULI.	Etebe.	—	Etebe.	—	—
GISHU.	—	—	Indebe.	—	—
SAMIA and GWE.	Ekisala.	—	Ekisala.	—	—
SEBEI.	—	—	Deceret.	—	Pad of leaves used by women.
	—	—	—	—	Mararyandet.
KARAMOJA.	—	—	Acaradu.	—	—
TESO.	—	—	Edapala.	—	Amakuk.
JOPADHOLA.	Komi.	—	Komi.	—	—
ACOLI.	Kom obwal.	—	—	—	Kom.
LANGO.	Kom.	Kom.	Kom.	—	—
ALUR.	Kom.	Kom.	Kom.	Kom.	—
MADI { North.	N. Komwi.	N. Komwi.	—	N. Kpomgbo.	—
MADI { South.	—	S. Komi.	—	—	—
LUGBARA.	—	Komi.	—	Ogonga.	—
	—	Ogonga.	—	—	—
KAKWA and KUKU.	—	Side (Kuku).	—	—	—
		Cide (Kakwa).	—	—	—

	Natural Stools: 1. *Horizontal log* 2. *Small pronged stool* 3. *Large pronged stool*	*Palm Stem Stool*	*Head Rests*
AMBA.	3. Ekiigona.	—	—
KONJO.	3. Ntebe y'ekirangaro.	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	—	—	—
KIGA.	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	—	—	—
TORO.	—	—	—
NYORO.	—	Ekiswale.	—
GANDA.	—	—	—
SOGA.	—	—	—
GWERE.	2. Ekitebe.	—	—
NYULI.	1.	—	—
	2. Etebe.	—	—
GISHU.	1. Khitsolongo.	—	—
SAMAI and GWE.	2. Ekisala.	—	—
SEBEI.	2. Deceret.	—	—
KARAMOJA.	2. Amakuk.	—	Ekicolon.
TESO.	2. Amakuk.	—	—
JOPADHOLA.	1. Dul.	—	—
	2. Komi.	—	—
ACOLI.	1. Dul.	—	Lakaroc.
	2.	—	—
LANGO.	1. Dul.	—	—
	2. Kom.	—	—
ALUR.	1. Dul.	Nyagala.	—
MADI { North.	—	N. Lengeri.	—
MADI { South.	—	S. Nyangala.	—
LUGBARA.	2. Bele.	Kitipara.	—
KAKWA and KUKU.	1. Tungule.	Kitikwara.	—
	2. Side (Kuku).	—	—
	Cide (Kakwa).	—	—

SKINS AND BARK-CLOTHS

	1. *Bark-cloth loin-cloth* 2. *Skin round buttock*	*Two skin type of dress*	*Bark-cloth toga*	*One skin type of dress*	1. *Skin cape* 2. *Skin skirt*
AMBA.	1. Bongo.	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	Olukimba.	—	—	—	Oluhu.
HUTU. TUSI.	—	Oruhu and Oruhu.♂	—	—	—
KIGA.	—	♂Oruhu and Oruhu	—	—	—
		♀ Oruhu and Ekishaato or Enkanda.			
HIMA. IRU.	—	Oruhu and Oruhu	—	—	—
		♂Emitama and Oruhu.			
	—	♀Ekibugu and Enkanda.	—	—	—
TORO.	—	Entayomba.♀	—	Omuribate.♂	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	—	Ekisaato.	Olubugo.♂	—	—
SOGA.	—	—	—	Mugaire.♂	—
GWERE.	—	—	—	Mugaire.♂ (bark-cloth)	—
NYULI.	—	—	—	Omugaire.♂	—
GISHU.	—	—	—	Itwati.♂	—
SAMIA, GWE.	—	—	—	Engubo yemosi.♂	—
SEBEI.	—	—	—	Inguriet (ox)	1. Koliket ♀
	—	—	—	Makatet♂ (goat).	2. Cepkoiyet ♀
KARAMOJA.	—	—	—	—	1. Akaulat.♂
	—	—	—	—	2. Elou. Abuo.♀
TESO.	—	—	—	—	—
JOPADHOLA.	—	—	—	1. ♂	—
ACOLI.	2. Lau.♂	—	—	—	1. Kol kwac.♂
LANGO.	2. Lau.♂	—	—	—	—
ALUR.	2. Lau.♂	—	—	—	1. Lau.
MADI North.	2. Labo.♂	—	—	—	—
MADI South.	2. Lau.♂	—	—	—	—
LUGBARA.	—	—	—	—	—
KAKWA.	—	—	—	—	—
KUKU.	—	—	—	—	—

	1. *Chain apron* 2. *Fibre apron*	1. *Fibre tail* 2. *Leather tail* 3. *Tail of tin cylinders*	1. *Fibre frill* 2. *Leaf frill* 3. *Bunch of leaves*	1. *Beaded apron* 2. *Waist ring* 3. '*Seed*' *beads* 4. '*Shell*' *beads* 5. '*Metal*' *beads* 6. *Trade beads*	*Dancing aprons or belts*
AMBA.	—	—	—	6. Omugeru.	—
KONJO.	—	—	—	—	—
HUTU. TUSI.	—	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	—	—	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	—	—	—	—	—
TOR.	—	—	—	—	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	—	—	—	2. Ebisansa.♀	—
	—	—	—	2. Ebiti.♀	—
	—	—	—	2. Akagogo.♀	—
SOGA.	—	—	—	3. Lutembe.	—
GWERE.	—	—	2. Kibenga.♀	6. Bunyere.♀	—
	—	—	—	6. Butiti.♀	—
NYULI.	—	—	2. Amayinja.♀	6. Obunyere.♀	—
GISHU.	1. Khitandi.	3. Luteyo.♀ (at circumcision♂)	2. Kamaru.♀	3. Buriri or Butiare.♀	—
	2. Kiliko.♀	—	—	5. Lutunde.♀	—
SAMIA. GWE.	2. Enanga.♀	1. Eboya.♀	—	4. Omusanga.	—
SEBEI.	—	Leather apron (girls'): inguriet ap ko.		(Leather)	—
KARAMOJA.	—	—	—	1. Atete. Adwal.	—
	—	—	—	6. Ares.	—
	—	—	—	—	—
TESO.	Itibine.	—	—	—	—
JOPADHOLA.	—	—	2. Nyinja.	5. Ataka.♀	Cieno.♂
	—	—	1. Cipi.♀	6. Tiko.♀	—
ACOLI.	2. Cip.	2.	—	(Fibre corset)	Odie.♂
	3. Cieno.	—	—	Otok.♂	—
	—	—	—	6. Ataka.♀	—
LANGO.	1. Akiro. } ♀	2. Cudidel.	—	5. Mola.♂	—
	1. Tomgot. } ♀	2. Iciro. } ♀	—	6. Tego pyer.♀	—
	2. Cip. } ♀	2. Lau. } ♀	—	—	—
	—	3. Agita. } ♀	—	—	—
ALUR.	1. Nyori.	—	3. Obaka.	4. Katindra.♀	—
	—	—	—	4. Rek.♀	—
	—	—	—	6. Tego.♀	—
			—	Miyo.	—
MADI { North.	1. Nyori.	1. Kula.	—	—	—
MADI { South.	2. Cubi.	—	—	—	—
LUGBARA.	—	—	3.	—	—
KAKWA. KUKU.	1. Nyori.	1. Kulumbu.	3. Korporo.	6. Dalia.	—
	2. Kapira.	—	—	—	—

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

Head-dresses

	1. *Felted skull cap* 2. *Felted pad with cone* 3. *Tiara shaped felt*	1. *Peaked felt cap* 2. *Felted busby* 3. *Feathered busby*	*Plumed head-dress*	1. *Feathered ornament* 2. *Small horns* 3. *Cattle horns* 4. *Iron horns* 5. *Hippo horn*	1. *Shell helmet* 2. *Fur helmet*
AMBA.	—	—	—	1. Enjule.	—
KONJO.	—	—	—	—	—
HUTU. TUSI.	—	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	—	—	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	—	—	—	—	—
TORO.	—	—	—	—	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	—	—	—	—	—
SOGA.	—	—	—	—	—
GWERE.	—	—	—	—	—
NYULI.	—	—	—	—	—
GISHU.	—	—	—	2. Tistika.♂	1. Lihabi.♂
	—	—	—	5. Ikona.♂	2. Lilubisi.♂
	—	—	—	5. Ikwena.♂	—
SAMIA. GWE.	—	—	—	1. Esisule.♂	1. Obuyoni bwo simbo.♂
	—	—	—	2. ♂	1. Esitwetwe.♂ (Beads)
	—	—	—	5. Egweli.♂	—
SEBEI.	—	—	—	1. Tambeshet.♂	2. Kutuet.♂
KARAMOJA.	—	Etimat and Etoro.	Ameyan.	—	—
	—	Aloket.♂	Alem.♂	—	—
TESO.	—	—	Aboko.♂	4. Apel.♂	—
JOPADHOLA.	—	—	—	1. Kisule.♂	—
	—	—	—	2. Nyajwaya.♂	—
	—	—	—	2. Ragoti.♂	—
	—	—	—	5. Lak rawi.♂	—
ACOLI.	1. Lalokana.	—	Ot kono.♂	—	—
	2. Lakobo.♂	—	—	—	—
LANGO.	1. Abobo.♂	2. Tok.♂	—	—	—
	1. Tok.♂	3. Wino wic.	—	—	—
	—	3. Kono wic.♂	—	—	—
ALUR.	—	—	—	3. Opiru.♂	2. Opiru.♂
MADI North.	1. Fohri. ♂	—	—	—	—
MADI South.	Aribi.	—	—	—	—
	3. Ayomi.	—	—	—	—
LUGBARA.	—	—	—	—	—
KAKWA.	—	—	—	—	—
KUKU.	—	—	—	—	—

	Regalia Head-dresses	*String Wig*	*Shelters:* 1. *Fisherman's hat* 2. *Herdsman's hat*	*Women's Head-dresses* 1. *Beaded chaplet* 2. *Head mat*	1. *Miniature hood* 2. *String wig*
AMBA.	—	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	—	—	—	—	—
HUTU. TUSI.	—	—	—	2. Akanyegamo.	—
KIGA.	—	—	1. Omutemere.♂	—	—
	—	—	2. Esanga.♂	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	—	—	—	1. Ekisingo.	—
	—	—	—	2. Enyegamo.	—
TORO.	Ekondo.♂	—	—	—	—
NYORO.	Ekondo.♂	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	Engule.♂	1. ♂	1. Enjawo.♂	—	—
SOGA.	—	—	—	—	—
GWERE.	—	—	—	—	—
NYULI.	—	—	—	—	—
GISHU.	—	—	—	—	—
SAMIA. GWE.	—	—	1. Esijanjo.♂	—	—
SEBEI.	—	Bladder cap: cepkulet		—	—
KARAMOJA.	—	—	—	—	—
TESO.	—	—	—	—	—
JOPADHOLA.	—	—	—	—	—
ACOLI.	—	—	—	—	—
LANGO.	—	—	—	—	Oyik.♀
ALUR.	—	—	—	—	—
MADI North.	—	—	—	—	—
MADI South.	—	—	—	—	—
LUGBARA.	—	—	—	—	—
KAKWA.	—	—	—	—	1. Kobia.
KUKU.	—	—	—	—	

FACIAL ORNAMENT

	Lips: 1. *Labret* 2. *Wooden plugs* 3. *Many straws* 4. *Rings in lips* 5. *Heart-shaped disk*	*Nose:* 1. *Ring* 2. *Aluminium disk* 3. *Ivory disk*	*Ears:* 1. *Small rings in cartilage or lobe* 2. *Large rings in cartilage* 3. *Rings in lobe*	4. *Tin ornaments in cartilage or lobe* 5. *Clip in lobe* 6. *Plug in lobe* 7. *Shell sections* 8. *Chains*
AMBA.	1. Kabataki or Kijunju.	1. Kasungusungu.	Kanjeye.	—
KONJO.	—	—	—	—
HUTU. TUSI.	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	—	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	—	—	—	—
TORO.	—	—	—	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	—	—	—	—
SOGA.	—	—	—	—
GWERE.	—	—	—	—
NYULI.	—	—	—	—
GISHU.	1. Mbami.♀	—	3. Tsitsii.♂	—
SAMIA. GWE.	1. Omuni.♀	—	2. Obukaha.	—
	—	—	3. Omukasa.	—
	—	—	3. Esidiri.	—
SEBEI.	—	—	Married women's ear-rings: taet.	
	—	—	3. Tayet.♂	8. Tanalit.♂
KARAMOJA.	1. Apoko.	1. Akapara parat.	1. Nidoŋe.	4. Atelot.
	2. Aka siyeelet.	—	2. Damarotoi.	—
	1. Apiat.	—	—	—
TESO.	—	1.	1.	—
JOPADHOLA.	1. Thudi.♀	—	3. Thudi ith jo.	—
ACOLI.	1. Lajaja.♂	3.	1. Gomi.♂	6. Adet.♂
	1. Ladore.♂	—	—	—
LANGO.	1. Ajuina.	1. Atem.	1. Atego.	4. Gilo.♀
	4. Aloŋ.♂	1. Ojuini.	—	6. Alagi.♂
	5. Aparapara.	1. Cukucuku.	—	—
ALUR.	1. Atonda.	—	3. Pino gwilu.	—
MADI { North.	1. Ludore.	—	—	—
MADI { South.	—	—	3. Agoma.	5. Magara.
LUGBARA.	1. Zizira.	1.	1.	—
	4.	—	—	—
{ KAKWA.	—	1. Tonnoto.	1. Pedwa.	—
	—	Sipin.	—	—
{ KUKU.	—	—	—	—

NECKLACES

	1. *Ostrich egg-shell disks* 2. *Cowries*	1. *Seeds* 2. *Root necklaces*	*Iron beads*	*Trade beads*	1. *Hair or fibre necklaces* 2. *Wirebound hair necklaces*
AMBA.	—	—	—	Omugeru.	—
KONJO.	—	—	—	Esyonkwanji.	—
HUTU. TUSI.	—	—	—	—	1. Obwoshe ♂ (hair);
KIGA.	Ensimbi.	—	—	Enkwanzi.	1. Omunono ♂ (fibre).
	—	—	—	—	2. Mwetororo. ♂
HIMA. IRU.	Ensimbi.	—	—	Enkwanzi.	1. Obwoshe. ♂
TORO.	—	—	—	Ekikunde ♀ (chiefs sometimes).	2. Amawiinu ♀ (giraffe fibre and cowries).
	—	—	—	Omufubaso. ♀	—
	—	—	—	Omuniga. ♀	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	1. Essanga ♀ (ivory).	1. Olutembe (wizard's).	—	—	—
	2. Ensimbi ♀ (cowries).	—	—	—	—
SOGA.	Ebinere.	—	—	—	—
GWERE.	—	—	—	Kizwalo. ♀	—
NYULI.	2. Esimbi. ♀	—	—	Embira. ♀	(Omugufu ♀ arm.)
GISHU.	2. Tisimbi. ♀	—	Buteyo. ♀	—	—
	—	—	Lutunde. ♀	—	—
SAMIA and	2. Esikaya. ♀	—	Oludeyo.	—	1. Omutembe.
GWE.	2. Esimbi. ♀	—	—	—	2.
	1. Emisanga. ♀	—	—	—	—
SEBEI.	2. Sekerek. ♀	—	—	Beads; sonaiek.	—
KARAMOJA.	1. Nakabelebele.	1. Etethiro.	Dalaga.	Daculo.	1. Ekokoliro.
	2.	—	Nidany.	—	—
TESO.	1.	—	1.	Itibine (big).	—
	2. Isigira.	—	—	Atipe (small).	—
	2. Ipiki.	—	—	—	—
JOPADHOLA.	2. Gagi. ♀	—	—	Tiko. ♀	1.
	—	—	—	—	2. Kanyere.
ACOLI.	1. Caŋa. ♀	2. Cuga. ♀	—	♀ Atiko. ♂	1. Wino. ♀
	2. Gage ♀ (shells).	Cina.	—	Teitei. ♀	—
LANGO.	1. Caŋa. ♀	2. Aluga. ♀	—	—	—
	2. Gagi. ♀	—	—	—	—
ALUR.	1. Katindre.	—	—	Tigo. ♀	1. Silo (Kumam).
	1. Rek ♀ (snail shell).	—	—	Kibira (Kumam). ♀	1. Wino. ♀
	—	—	—	—	Kibra. ♀
MADI — North.	Jibo.	—	—	Miyo Mbira ♂	1. Miyo. ♀
MADI —	1. Mure.	—	—	(big). (small).	Wino. ♀
	—	—	—	Ario.	Kibra. ♀
MADI — South.	2. Odrusi.	—	—	Tsetse, mbira. ♂	1. Kuruso.
LUGBARA.	1. Mure (snail). ♀	—	—	Ngaliki. ♀	—
	—	—	—	Nore. ♀	—
KAKWA and KUKU.	1. Murete ♀ (snail shell).	—	—	—	—

	NECKLACES		BANGLES (ARMS)	
	1. *Coiled metal* 2. *Medium weight iron neckrings* 3. *Heavy metal neckrings*	*Neck ornaments*	1. *Heavy ivory* 2. *Heavy metal*	1. *Thin wire* 2. *Medium weight wire bangles* 3. *'Twin' bangle* 4. *Wire-bound hair* 5. *Elephant hair* 6. *Beads on string*
AMBA.	2. Makwata.	—	—	—
	3. Kikoma.	—	—	—
KONJO.	—	—	Omusege.	Omutundwe.
TUSI. HUTU.	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	2. Omulingo. ♂	—	1. Engolo. ♀	
	2. Omutendo.	—	2. Omulinga. ♀	2. Omulinga.
HIMA. IRU.	—	—	1. Ekikomo. ♀	2. Omuringa.
TORO.	—	—	1. Empogu. ♀	6. Omufabaso. ♀
	—	—	2. Ekikomo. ♂	2. Ekikomo. ♀
	—	—	—	4. Ohunyeri. ♀
	—	—	—	5. Ekisinga. ♂
	—	—	—	Ekitega ♀ (giraffe).
NYORO.	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	2. Lusamba.	—	1. Eggemu. ♀	2. Ebbangiri. ♀
	—	—	2. Ekikumu. ♀	4. Akanyeri. ♀
	—	—	—	5. Olusinga. ♂
SOGA.	—	—	Eisanka.	5. Olusinga. ♀
	—	—	♀ { Eigemu. Ekikomo.	2. Ebangiri. ♀
	—	—		4. Akanheri. ♀
	—	—	—	5. Entwiga. ♀
GWERE.	—	—	—	3. Kikomo. ♂
NYULI.	2.	—	1. Ekikomo. ♀	2. Ebanjiri.
	—	—	2.	Ekeeke ♀ (spiral).
GISHU.	2. Lunara. ♀	—	♀ 1. Kumusanga. ♂	2. Ibangiri. ♀
	3. Kisinga. ♀	—	2. Sirere ♂ (wrist).	4. Khannyeri. ♀
	—	—	—	5. Itiika. ♀
SAMIA. GWE.	1. Olunalo.	—	2. Esikomo.	2. Esidiri.
	2. Olulinga. ♂	—	—	3. Esidiri. ♂
SEBEI.	1. Asingaiit.	—	—	2. Curumek. ♂
	3. Tinondet. ♀	—	—	—
KARAMOJA.	1. Nidany.	—	1. Egelit.	1, 2. Apokot.
	2. Dagoromo.	—	2. Apokot.	—
TESO.	1. Akumur.	—	1. Aikomo. ♀	4. Akanyiri.
	—	—	2. Asuat ♀ (=iron).	—
JOPADHOLA.	2. Atego. ♂	—	1. Oguli. ♀	2. Uyeli.
	—	—	2. Uyeli.	2. Atego. ♂
	—	—	—	3. Uyeli. ♂
ACOLI.	—	—	1. Gwel. Upogo. ♂	Giraffe Elephant
	—	—	♀ 1. Abwol. ♂	5. Wino vi liec ♂
	—	—	2. Mola. ♀	Bangiri ♀ (foreign).
	—	—	2. Ogul. ♂	—
LANGO.	1. Mola. ♂	Ogwel. ♂	1. ♂	1. Onyere (Kumam). ♀
	2. Wel. ♂	—	2. Okom. ♂	—
	—	—	1. Alun (Kumam). ♂	—
ALUR.	—	—	1. Pogu. ♀	2. Bangili ♀ (foreign).
	—	—	2. Ogul.	2. Mola.
	—	—	Mola. ♀	3. Aminda. ♂
MADI North.	2. ♂	—	1. Lotsari.	1. Emvea.
	2. Wele.	—	1. Dufufo. ♂	2. Mola.
MADI	2. Kajakaja.	—	1. Ngolo.	4. Kanyiri. ♀
MADI South.	3. Adroba.	—	2. Ongoloti.	2. Mola.
	—	—	1. Ewa (si). ♂	4. Kanyiri.
LUGBARA.	Wele. ♀	—	1.	1. Emvea. ♀
	—	—	2. Mola. ♂	1. Odula. ♀
	—	—	2. Eikia ♀ (wrist).	—
KAKWA. KUKU.	2. Lolo. ♀	—	1. Bina (Kuku).	1. Dunyo. ♀
	—	—	1. Biki. ♂	—
	—	—	Agbarafa. ♂	—

BANGLES

	1. *Coiled metal* 2. *Wire-bound hair bangles* 3. *Fibre*	1. *Giraffe or elephant hair* 2. *Metal beads*	1. *Boat-shaped ornament* 2. *Tail ornament* 3. *Tortoise-shell rattle*	*Ivory horn worn on arm*
AMBA.	2. Nkike.	—	—	—
	3. Butega.	—	—	—
KONJO.	2. Omutondwe.	—	—	—
	3. Butega.	—	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	2. Enyelere ♂.	—	—	—
	3. Omunono. ♀	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	2. Enyerere. ♀	—	—	—
	3. Omunono. ♀	—	—	—
TORO.	2. Enyerere. ♀	—	—	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	—	—	—	—
SOGA.	1. Ensamba. ♀	—	—	—
GWERE.	1. Ensaiga. ♀	—	—	—
NYULI.	—	—	—	—
GISHU.	1. Sambareti.	—	—	—
	3. Lusinga. ♂	—	—	—
SAMIA. GWE.	1. Olunalo.	—	—	—
SEBEI.	1. Karik ap eunek = arm.		Warrior's arm-clamp (peculiar to Masae-Nandi culture group).	
	—	—	Karatutit (ivory).	—
KARAMOJA.	1. Apokot.	—	1. Ebur.	Abwi.
	—	—	2. Elado.	—
TESO.	Akanyere. ♀	—	1. Ebur. ♂	—
	—	—	2. Eula. ♂	—
JOPADHOLA.	2. Kanyere.	—	—	—
ACOLI.	1. Atego.	—	2. Awula. ♂	—
	—	—	3. Okojo. ♂	—
LANGO.	1. Mola. ♂	—	1. ♂	—
ALUR.	1. Mola.	—	2. Olesu ♂ (chiefs).	—
MADI { North.	1. Kanyeri. ♀	—	2. Aula. ♂	—
MADI { South.	Kanyiri. ♀	—	2. Awule. ♂	—
LUGBARA.	1. Sera.	—	—	—
KAKWA. KUKU.	—	—	2. Bike.	—

BANGLES (LEGS)

	1. *Heavy metal* 2. *Lighter metal* 3. *Chains*	1. *Coiled metal* 2. *Beads*	*Wire-bound hair*	1. *Small pellet bells* 2. *Large pellet bells*	*Strung seed rattle*
AMBA.	2. Omusege.	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	2. Omuhinda.	—	—	Esyonzenda.	—
HUTU. TUSI.	—	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	—	—	Enyrere. ♂	Enzhogira.	—
	—	—	—	Amazhugu (children).	—
HIMA. IRU.	—	—	Enyerere. ♂	Amazhugu (children)	Enzhebazhebe. ♂
TORO.	—	2. Enkwanzi. ♀	Enyeri. ♀	1. Endege ♀ (and children).	Ekinyegi. ♂
	—	—	Ekyangangi. ♀	2. Enjogera (children).	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	—	—	—	Endege (children) (entertainers).	—
SOGA.	1. Eisamba.	—	—	1. Endege (children).	Mayebe. ♂
GWERE.	—	Ensaiga. ♀	—	1. Ndege. ♂	Amabege. ♂
	—	—	—	1. Miyoga. ♂	—
NYULI.	1.	—	—	1. Endege (children).	Amabege. ♂
GISHU.	1. Indekwe. ♀	—	—	1. Bumuntsiri. ♂	—
	—	—	—	2. Bitsentse (children) (circumcision)	—
SAMIA. GWE.	1. Esikomo.	Emigasa. ♂	—	—	—
	2. Esidiri. ♀	—	—	—	—
SEBEI.	Karik ap keliek ♂ ♀	—	—	1. Crumek. ♂	—
	Leather ♂ leglet: mungeniet.		—	Leg-bells: Kipkurkuriet.	
KARAMOJA.	—	—	—	1. Nitworoi.	—
TESO.	2. Asuwa.	2.	—	1. Icirin (North Isigira children).	Lacucuku.
JOPADHOLA.	1. Omusinda.	—	—	1. Milege. ♂	—
ACOLI.	2. Atego. ♀	2. Atego. ♀	—	2. Gara. ♂	—
LANGO.	2. Gilo. ♀	Mola. ♂	—	2. Gara (Kumam) / Acwir	—
	—	—	—		—
ALUR.	1. Ogul. ♀	—	—	1. Ngara. ♂	Nyangi-nyagi
	Kongu.	—	—	—	—
	2. Gwan. ♀	—	—	—	—
MADI North.	1. Ingwe.	—	—	Mghiri ♂ (also children).	—
MADI South.	2. Mulati.	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	Mgbiri.	—
LUGBARA.	1. Imve.	—	—	—	—
	Agbala.	—	—	—	—
	2. Nanginangi.	—	—	—	—
KAKWA. KUKU.	1. Riye. ♀	—	—	1. Mgbirila. ♂	—
	2. Drunyo (children).	—	—	—	—

SHIELDS

	1. *Wicker* 2. *Wood and wicker*	1. *Large rectangular hide* 2. *Small rectangular hide*	1. *Oval hide, type* 1 2. *Oval hide, type* 2 3. *Oval hide, type* 3	*Special types*
AMBA.	1. Ngabu.	—	—	—
KONJO.	1. Ngabu.	—	—	—
HUTU. TUSI.	2. Engabo.	—	—	—
KIGA.	2. Engabo.	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	2. Engabo.	—	—	—
TORO.	2. Engabo.	—	—	—
NYORO.	2. Engabo.	—	—	—
GANDA.	2. Engabo.	—	—	—
SOGA.	2. Engabo.	—	—	—
GWERE.	—	—	—	—
NYULI.	—	—	Engabo.	—
GISHU.	—	—	Ingabo.	Ikitubi (small round).
SAMIA. GWE.	—	—	—	—
SEBEI.	—	—	2. Oval Southern Nilo-Hamitic shield: loŋet.	
KARAMOJA.	—	2. Aupal.	—	—
TESO.	—	1. Ebuku.	Ebuku.	—
JOPADHOLA.	—	—	—	—
ACOLI.	Kwot ocal.	1. Kwot bani.	—	—
LANGO.	—	2. Kwot.	—	—
	—	Ebuku (Kumam).	—	—
ALUR.	—	Kuoth.	—	—
MADI.	—	1. 'Buku.	—	—
	—	1. Iawure.	—	—
LUGBARA.	—	—	—	—
KAKWA. KUKU.	—	—	—	—

SPEARS

	1. *Heavy bladed spear* 2. *Short stabbing spear*	1. *Long shank, long butt* 2. *Long shank, short butt*	*General type* 1, 2. *Blood courses* 2. *Sq. shoulder* 3. *v. Small blade* 4. *Ogee cross-section*	1. *Light javelin* 2. *Pronged* 3. *Foreshafted* 4. *Hippo harpoon*	*Ceremonial and magico-religious*
AMBA.	Amacumu.	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	Amatumu.	—	—	—	—
HUTU. TUSI.	—	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	Eicumu.	—	1.	2. Olushande.	—
HIMA. IRU.	Eicumu.	—	1. Omutaari.	—	Empotore.
	—	—	1. Ekyatwa.	—	—
	—	—	4. Empuuga.	—	—
TORO.	Icumu.	—	—	—	Erihangu (king's (spear).
	1. Omutaali.	—	—	—	Empotole (no rib).
NYORO.	Icumu.	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	Effumu (generic term).	—	—	—	—
SOGA.	Eifumu.	—	—	—	—
	2. Euta.	—	—	—	—
GWERE.	—	—	—	—	—
NYULI.	Efumo.	—	—	—	—
GISHU.	Eifumo.	—	—	—	—
SAMIA. GWE.	—	—	—	2. Omuma.	—
SEBEI.	Dotit.	—	—	3. Morondit.	—
KARAMOJA.	—	1. Akwara.	—	—	—
TESO.	Akwara.	—	—	—	—
JOPADHOLA.	—	—	—	—	—
ACOLI.	Toŋ.	—	—	—	—
	1. Kaba.	—	—	—	—
	Agara.	—	—	—	—
LANGO.	Toŋ.	1. Aliro.	—	—	Toŋ jok.
	1. Ager.	—	—	—	—
	1. Bani.	—	—	—	—
ALUR.	Toŋ.	—	—	—	—
	1. Agara.	—	—	—	—
MADI { North.	Adzu.	—	—	—	—
MADI { South.	Adzu.	—	—	—	—
LUGBARA.	Aju.	—	—	—	—
KAKWA. KUKU.	Goru.	—	—	—	—
	1. Dili.	—	—	—	—

BOWS AND ARROWS

	Bows: 1. *Double loop* 2. *Single loop* 3. *Knotted string* 4. *Compound stave*	*Feathered arrows* 1. *Split shaft* 2. *Tangential* 3. *Spirally bound*	*Unfeathered arrows:* 1. *Swallow-tail blade* 2. *Ogee c.-s. blade* 3. *Barbed shank*	1. *Headless arrows* 2. *Pronged bird-arrow* 3. *Foreshafted arrow* 4. *Socketed*
AMBA.	1. Teba.	1. Angwo.	—	1.
	—	1. Kodwa.	—	—
KONJO.	Obuta.	Omusoha.	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	3.	—	—	—
KIGA.	3, 4. Obuta.	Omwambi.	—	—
	—	2. Ongobi.	—	—
	—	Ehiraghu (for cows).	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	3. Obuta.	Omwambi.	—	—
	—	2. Ongobi.	—	—
	—	Ehirashu (for cows).	—	—
TORO.	Obuta.	Omusogi.	—	—
	Ekirasho (for cows).	Omwambi.	—	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	Omusale (generic).	Akasaale (generic).	—	—
SOGA.	—	—	—	—
GWERE.	—	—	—	—
NYULI.	—	—	—	—
GISHU.	3. Luwingo.	Luhemo.	—	—
		Kamaakhani.	—	—
SAMIA and GWE.	—	—	—	—
SEBEI.	Kiaŋda.	All types: kotet.	—	—
KARAMOJA.	Akau.	Emal.	—	—
TESO.	Akabwa.	Emmali.	—	1. Ekojo.
JOPADHOLA.	—	—	—	—
ACOLI.	2. Atum.	Atero.	1. Dwokari.	1. Biri.
	—	—	2. Dwokari.	—
LANGO.	—	—	—	—
ALUR.	2. Atum.	Athero.	—	—
	Atum (Kumam)	Eman (Kumam)	—	—
MADI North.	Osu.	E'e.	3. Tsali.	1. Omupile.
MADI	2.	—	—	—
MADI South.	Osu.	'Ye.	3. Limba.	1. Omupile.
LUGBARA.	2. Osu.	'E.	2. Sau.	1. Wile or Aripa.
	—	—	3. Gunde.	—
KAKWA. KUKU.	2. Daŋ.	Lowe (general).	3. Kata.	1. Pitiki.

SWORDS, DANCING WEAPONS, HUNTING KNIVES, FINGER AND WRIST KNIVES

	Sword	1. *Dancing axe* 2. *Dancing slasher*	*Hunting knives*	1. *Finger knives* 2. *Finger hooks*	*Wrist knives*
AMBA.	—	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	—	—	—	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	—	—	Endiga.	—	—
KIGA.	Rurara.	—	Endiga.	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	Ekitara.	—	Endiga.	—	—
	—	—	Cambi.	—	—
TORO.	Ekipanga.	Endemu (execution axe).	—	—	—
	Ekitala (pointed).	Ompirima.	Ekihyo.	—	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	Ekitala.	—	Ompiima (execution knife).	—	—
SOGA.	Ekitala.	(Execution.)	Empiima (fighting).	—	—
	—	Empirima.			
	—	—	Ekiso.	—	—
GWERE.	—	—	—	—	—
NYULI.	—	—	Epiima.	—	—
GISHU.	Raŋa.	—	Kumubano.	—	—
	Luurima (big).	—	—	—	—
SAMIA. GWE.	—	—	Ehande.	—	—
SEBEI.	Rotuet ap cok.	—	—	—	—
KARAMOJA.	—	—	—	1. Egwolu.	Agul.
	—	—	—	2. Ekurupeta.	Abaria.
TESO.	—	—	Ekileŋ.	1. Ekuiu pat.	—
JOPADHOLA.	—	—	Mpima.	—	—
ACOLI.	(Arm knife.)	1. Laparat.	Palabat.	—	Lapel.
	Lakurat.	2. Lukile.	—	—	Iakurat.
	Pala bat.	Olayi (round head).	—	—	—
LANGO.	Epima (Kumam).	—	Palabat.	2. Oceo.	—
ALUR.	—	(2. Oligu (bent knife).	(Pala) mularo.	—	—
MADI { North.	—	—	Iligo.	—	—
MADI { South.	—	—	Pewu.	—	—
LUGBARA.	—	—	Seyi.	—	—
	—	—	Reo.	—	—
KAKWA. KUKU.	—	—	Seki.	—	—

GAME TRAPS

	Pen traps, Net or cage	*Fall traps: 1. Fall pen 2. Drop spear*	*Springes*	*Spiked wheel trap*	*Cross bow trap*
AMBA.	—	—	—	—	—
KONJO.	—	—	—	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	—	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	Ekigoyi.	1. Olugoge.	Omubashukano.	—	—
	—	1. Ekiriba.	—	—	—
HIMA. IRU.	1. Orugogo (cage).	1. Oruriba.	Omwiniko.	Omuriiti.	—
	Ekitimba } Ekigoi }	—	—	—	—
TORO.	(Omuguha.)	1. Ekiriba.	—	—	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	Enkanda.	Ekigu.	Akakunizo.	—	—
	Ekitimba.	Omuliiti.	—	—	—
SOGA.	Enkanda.	2. Eigu.	Omupasuka.	Ndiiti.	—
	Olutuula.	—	—	—	—
GWERE.	—	2. Kigu.	—	—	—
NYULI.	Olutuula.	2.	Omubaso.	—	—
GISHU.	—	—	Siŋoli.	—	—
SAMIA. GWE.	—	—	—	—	—
SEBEI.	General term: mestet.		—	—	—
KARAMOJA.	—	—	Ɗaunoi.	Atacit.	—
TESO.	Eboi.	—	Eici.	Atacit } (gen.)	—
	—	—	Elabwotai.	Alaket }	—
JOPADHOLA.	—	—	—	—	—
ACOLI.	—	2. Toŋ twok.	Layuta.	Otac.	Copoi.
	—	—	Odin.	—	—
LANGO.	—	2. Kwot toŋ.	Adeye.	Otac.	—
	—	—	Akoŋomer.	—	—
ALUR.	Gwasa.	1. Kindu.	Lawita or	Othac or	—
	Luru.	1. Akuluma (Kumam).	Kacuku.	Kol (log trap).	—
MADI { North.	Voyi.	—	Owic (Kumam).	Teke.	—
	—	—	Gwagwa.	—	—
South.	Emba.	—	—	Witsi.	—
LUGBARA.	—	1. Dule.	Longa.	—	—
	—	—	Gwagwa.	—	—
KAKWA. KUKU.	—	1. Bungu.	Biribiri.	Kirimgbolo.	—

BIRD TRAPS

	Non-return cage	*Springes:* 1. *Large single noose* 2. *Fine single noose on reed* 3. *Row of nooses* 4. *Ring of nooses*	*Fish traps:* 1. *Plunge basket* 2. *Scoop basket* 3. *Basket used in fish drive*	*Non-return basket*
AMBA.	—	—	—	Kaswaswa.
KONJO.	—	—	—	—
TUSI. HUTU.	—	—	—	—
KIGA.	—	—	—	Ekihembwe.
HIMA. IRU.	—	—	—	Entukuru.
TORO.	—	(1. Omuguho.	—	—
	—	1. Ekitimba (net).)	—	—
	—	2. Ekicuku.	—	—
NYORO.	—	—	—	—
GANDA.	—	3. Oluka.	—	Omuya.
SOGA.	Lugire.	1. Mpasuka.	1, 2. Entoyi.	Kyondo.
	—	3. Mabo.	3. Olukiiriiri.	—
GWERE.	Kyonzo.	—	1. Kyonzo.	Kyonzo.
	—	3. Lutuula.	3. Kikutu.	—
NYULI.	Ekhyonjo.	—	1.	Omugonyo.
	—	—	2. Ebaamo.	—
	—	—	3.	—
GISHU.	—	3. Lurimba.	Siyontso.	—
	—	—	1. Kyontso (egg basket also).	—
	—	—	2. Litebera.	—
	—	—	3. Lilelero.	—
SAMIA. GWE.	Olutanda.	—	—	—
SEBEI.	—	—	—	—
KARAMOJA.	—	3. Atibai.	—	—
	—	4. Eyoolio.	—	—
TESO.	Aruja.	4. Erukutu.	1, 2. Ekodo.	Aruja.
	—	2. Iligirio.	3.	Eijaŋ.
JOPADHOLA.	Kilara.	2. Ligiri.	3. Bemo.	—
	—	3. Bawo.	—	—
ACOLI.	—	1. Labal.	1, 2, 3. Ogwa.	Kek.
	—	2. Wino rit.	—	—
	—	3. Labal.	—	—
LANGO.	—	3. Abalc.	1, 2. Ecuru.	Luŋa.
	—	4. Wino.	3. Ecuru.	—
	—	—	Ijaŋ.	—
ALUR.	Ugwa (fish only).	2. Agwetugwetu.	1, 2, 3. Jaŋi.	Ogwa.
	—	2. To abiba.	Ijaŋi (Kumam).	Ombira.
	—	3. Kabal.	—	—
	—	4. Otac (owinyo (bird).	—	—
MADI.	—	—	1. Ogeye.	Egwa.
	—	3. Kamana.	3. Oi.	—
	—	4. Longa.	—	Ioto.
LUGBARA.	—	2. Gwagwa.	—	Onyai.
	—	3. Ewiso.	—	—
	—	4. Ukuruso.	—	—
KAKWA. KUKU.	—	1. Pata.	—	—
	—	2. Kenyire (Kuku).	—	—

PART TWO

THE SOUND INSTRUMENTS

INTRODUCTION

THIS survey of sound instruments in Uganda is intended to be nothing more than a rough triangulation to serve for more detailed work later on. It is a preliminary attempt to take stock of Uganda's sound instruments, and the data so far available only indicate briefly their musical, technical, social, and historical background. Much more research will be needed before the task is complete, but further delay in the collection of information would only result in losses which might well be irreparable.

It may disappoint readers to find that no example of music has been added to the text. The reason for the omission is twofold. Firstly, it was thought imperative that nothing should be published which had not been taken down or measured accurately, with the aid of adequate apparatus, and secondly, the addition of music, if it had been possible, would have raised musicological problems which space forbade to be touched upon on this occasion. This is of course regrettable, but nevertheless the survey in its present rudimentary form may help in preparing the way for purely musical research at a later date.

Not all restrictions and omissions were deliberate or due to lack of equipment. The difficulty of war-time travelling made the collection of information, and visits to African musicians, a matter of chance rather than planning. The musicians could not be expected to travel to the capital, especially if many instruments and players were involved. Apart from this, the writer's work on musicological problems had to take second place to educational and secretarial work, and this description of sound instruments therefore should be regarded rather as the result of a hobby indulged in at odd moments than as the fruits of continuous and systematic study.

Despite a strong element of traditionalism in its design a musical instrument is subject to changes in fashion. Thus, one generation may receive it as a welcome visitor, the second generation may absorb it within its musical treasure, and the third generation may become oblivious of its origin. In a similar way instruments established for many generations may begin to fade from the memory of the people, may emigrate, or may at least change their function in tribal life. Sometimes this process takes place at such great speed that one can almost see it happen. The present survey deals therefore with a fluid situation, and current changes may not always have been noticed and recorded.

Information could not always be obtained to the same extent, and degree of certainty, for all instruments and all tribes. Many data have had to be withheld for further elucidation. The treatment of individual instruments

is therefore uneven: some have received sketchy treatment, while others have been dealt with more fully.

The division of sound instruments follows E. M. von Hornbostel's scheme, given in *Africa*, Vol. VI, p. 303.

The library of the Uganda Society has been invaluable in providing literature on Africa; but periodicals of a technical, musicological nature, and literature on musicology and on civilizations outside Africa were unobtainable with few exceptions, and no doubt the survey has been handicapped by this defect. Many friends, African and European, have contributed by collecting instruments for the Music Department of the Uganda Museum and by providing information. Acknowledgement by name of the great number of musicians who so readily co-operated with the writer is impossible. This is also true of the many non-musicians interested in traditional music in Uganda. Of these, however, special thanks are due to the Rev. J. Berry, Miss M. B. Davis, H.H. the Omukama of Bunyoro, Dr. J. K. Hunter, and to Mr. S. Damulira—who served as link with the Buganda Government—for their untiring interest and help, to Dr. R. F. A. Dean for his help in reading the proofs, and to Mrs. K. M. Trowell for the execution of the line drawings and for her continuous support.

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KAMPALA, June 1945 to *March* 1951.

CHAPTER I

IDIOPHONES

It has often been remarked that music in Negro Africa is inseparable from dancing. As a rule this is meant to refer to music in general, but if applied to idiophones it assumes special significance, and more so if one thinks of the rattles which play such an important part in the life of Africa.

Rattles are more intimately dependent upon the movement of the dancer than, for example, an accompaniment of fiddles ever could be, because a rattling anklet fixed to the dancer's leg—to take an extreme case—must emphasize and inspire his movements.

The description of rattles would make rather dull reading if the instruments were thought of as mere exhibits viewed in a show case. This is of course true with regard to all musical instruments. But rattles, more so than the other instruments, should be imagined as extensions of a moving body or as movement translated into sound, whether they are used in dancing or are tied to the loins of a hunting dog.

PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES

1. *Percussion beam.* The Uganda type of percussion beam is a primitive instrument. It consists of a plain tree, stem or thick branch, of about a hundred and seventy-five to two hundred cm. in length, and is beaten like a drum with drum-sticks. The beam is placed on the ground and beaten close to the ends by two youths. There is nothing to indicate that the beam has been used in this way, apart from the patches of frayed bark where the drum-sticks have played. In Ganda, county Bugang'adzi, the beam *mubango* is played in order to induce edible ants to leave the soil, to the rhythm *mukaku, mukaku, mukaku, kaamukuyege*, etc. The Gishu use the beam *imbalanyi* (Plate 73, i, A) in the same way as the Ganda. It is probable that this beam is known to other tribes as well.

In Alur the beam *olodero* is played together with the bow-harp *adungu* to accompany dancing. The Jopadhola harp *entongoli* is also dependent on the co-operation of a beam or block. In Konjo the rhythmical clatter of the beam *enzebe* is looked upon as an indispensable adjunct to the bow-harp *kinanga*, although *kinanga* music is of a far more intimate character than the dance music of the Alur and Jopadhola.

It should be noted that the Uganda type of beam does not make use of a resonance pit, nor is it suspended in two forked sticks as elsewhere. Schebesta[1] records a beam of the Mbuti pygmies in the Belgian Congo.

[1] *Revisiting My Pygmy Hosts*, 1936, p. 112.

2. *Percussion trough.* Similar in function and usage is the percussion trough, which could be described as a short, broad beam hollowed out on one side. The trough formed in this way is shallow and about ninety cm. long; it is played on the ground, with the opening turned downwards, with two drum-sticks. In Soga a rhythm is beaten on the trough to entice edible ants from the soil in the same way as the Ganda entice them with the beam. In Jopadhola the trough (Plate 73, i, B) accompanies the cylindrical single-skin drum *fumbo*. The Gishu use the percussion trough under the name of *ikokolo*.

3. *Log-xylophones.* Log-xylophones[1] in Uganda are made and played in Alur, Konjo, Gwere, Nyoro, Ganda, and Soga.[2] The three last have been referred to by various African writers.

Kagwa,[3] writing about the instrument of the Ganda, says: 'They carve twelve pieces of wood and place them on the trunks of banana trees, and (in the trunks) they fix thin sticks in an upright position to separate one wooden key from the other. And then they beat (the keys) at both ends' (Plate 73, ii, G). Kagwa calls this xylophone of twelve keys *entaala* and mentions five Uganda drums and one single-skin drum as belonging to it. This unit, xylophone and drums, is spoken of as *entamiivu* or *entaala*; *entamiivu* is, strictly speaking, the name of the principal drum of the battery. Kagwa reports that this *entaala* was the Kabaka's privileged instrument which only a few important Heads of Clan and Chiefs were allowed to possess. At the present time the Queen-mother and one other official of the court are known to keep an *entamiivu* complete with xylophone.

Without the drums, the twelve-key instrument is very much favoured by important and wealthy men, but commoners—although there is nothing to prevent them from it—are reluctant to keep a xylophone themselves. This type, without the drums, is nowadays referred to as *amadinda*.

There is another type of xylophone, of twenty-two keys, which Kagwa describes in the second paragraph of the chapter quoted previously,[4] and it is this instrument for which he reserves the term *amadinda*. He states that any chief could keep it and that the Kabaka himself kept one in the Lubiri.

On this point Kagwa's record of the xylophones in Ganda requires elucidation if not correction. *Amadinda* should be translated as 'the keys'; it is in fact a rather general term, which, if it has a special meaning at all, should be applied, in conformity with present-day custom, to the twelve-

[1] N.B.—Resonator vessels of any description are unknown in Uganda xylophones.

[2] Dr. O. Boone: 'Les xylophones du Congo Belge', p. 108, in *Annales du Musée du Congo Belge*, October 1936, série III, fasc. 2, also mentions Madi, Hema (of the Semliki Valley to the south of Lake Albert) and Lendu as having xylophones.

[3] Kagwa (*Empisa*), p. 263.

[4] Chapter 28, '*Emirimu gy'amagezi ga Baganda*'.

key xylophone outside the Kabaka's enclosure. If played for the Kabaka together with the *entamiivu* drums it is referred to as *entaala*; as such it is his privileged instrument.

The *akadinda* of twenty-two keys, far from being available to any ordinary chief, exists only in three specimens: one in the Lubiri, one in the Uganda Museum,[1] and the third in the home of the players in Butambala county. The last-named instrument was destroyed in a fire recently; it was replaced by a rather hurriedly-made instrument carved for the writer's benefit on the occasion of a visit. From this it can be gathered that Kagwa must have confused his technical terms or—which is most unlikely—that the terminology has completely changed. If it was formerly as common as Kagwa thought, the *akadinda* surely would not be so rare in present-day Ganda.

Incidentally, its rarity made it difficult for young players to get sufficient experience. The *akadinda* demands a specialized technique for the various parts; it is practically impossible for a player to change places with another man at short notice. As a result of this a full complement of musicians has been unobtainable latterly, and when the *akadinda* was played at all the number of keys had to be reduced by one octave, i.e. by five to seventeen. Recent visits put some heart into the musicians, and a promise was given to revert as soon as possible to the traditional range of twenty-two keys.

The terms *amadinda* and *akadinda* use the same root with a different prefix. *Ka-* is a diminutive prefix. However, in contradiction to the rule, in this case it refers to something big and important. The *akadinda* occupies an exalted place, a fact well brought out by its association with the legendary Kintu. There is a tradition known only to a very small group of people that it was invented in the days of Kabaka Kintu by Semambo Sebuufu, the son of Kikomeko, who is remembered till today as the ancestor of the Njovu clan. The invention is alleged to have been made in Kintu's residence at Buligi. To commemorate this event a hut was erected at the site itself; the hut was named *Nawandigi*, a name also applied to a large swamp nearby. No existing drum can be associated with Kintu; *ttimba*, the oldest of all the royal drums, enters history only in the days of Kabaka Kimera. Thus the *akadinda* holds a distinction quite unique in Ganda.

The Omukama of Nyoro records in his paper on the *Kings of Bunyoro*[2] that the fifth ruler of the Babito dynasty sent for an '*entaala*' from Ganda and that he was given a nickname which commemorated this event. This *entaala*, however, cannot be traced in modern Nyoro, and there are no xylophones connected with the court. The only type known is the *endiga* of sixteen keys played by the Ruli immigrants to the north-east. The Ruli have a tradition according to which the instrument originated from Bugerere on the west bank of the Nile, south of Lake Kyoga. The word

[1] JA/3; this specimen has only nineteen keys. [2] *U.J.*, IV, p. 78.

entara is not unknown to them, but *endiga* is commonly used in conversation.

Mr. Y. Q. Kintu[1] discusses the *embaire* of the Soga. He mentions fifteen bars and, like Kagwa, quotes several drums by name which belong to it. But he distinguishes Soga music proper, which makes little use of the battery of drums, from Nyoro music for which drums are essential. For the Soga xylophone he demands three players on one side and a leader on the other.

Actually the type on which, according to Kintu, Nyoro music is played, is identical with the *endiga*, found in a narrow strip along the southern shore of Lake Kyoga traversing the northern parts of Soga, Ganda, and Nyoro. The people inhabiting this area are homogeneous; they include the Ruli already mentioned and the Nyala who live in Bugerere. The Kenyi who live close to the north of the lake are likely to know the xylophone too.

Playing technique and other features support the view that the xylophones in this area are of an identical type. As in Nyoro, the word *entara* or *endara* is known, but *endiga* is commonly heard. It should be noted here that the *akadinda* of the Ganda described above is in many ways not unlike the *endiga*. Characteristic for the *endiga* is a knob on top of one or two of the slabs.

In Ganda, Nyoro, and Soga, the instruments are made in the following way. A tree of any of these three kinds is selected and cut: *lusambya* (*Markhamia platycalyx*), *munyenye* (*Fagara species*), or *mukeremba* (*Vitex fischeri*). This is the order of preference. *Settaala* (*Polyscias fulva*) should also be mentioned because there exists a popular misconception that the principal timber used is the *settaala*. The writer has never seen a xylophone carved from *Polyscias fulva*, nor has any professional xylophone maker ever suggested to him that *settaala* was used; possibly children and the ordinary amateur employ this wood because it can be split and carved with great ease.

The trunk of the tree is cut into logs of suitable length, and the logs are then split into two to four sections as may be required. They are given roughly the shape of a xylophone key and then stored away, possibly under the roof of a hut close to the thatch or on a scaffolding off the ground and left there to dry and season for any length of time up to twelve months. At the end of this period the slabs are given a more careful finish, and the lengths of the keys are graded by rule of thumb. The tuning depressions on top of the slabs are carved out and the range of the instrument, which so far may be less than an octave, is stretched well over two octaves by the cutting out of the tuning notches on the under surface. At this stage keys which are lacking in grain or structure or fall short of the desired quality of sound are rejected. For example, a slab may be found to give only a muffled sound, described as *kinnyendwa*, and thus be disqualified

[1] *U.T.J.*, II, p. 88.

for any further use. Finally an expert tuner is called in to give the final touch. These men are very rare nowadays.

The tuning process[1] consists of either of two operations: if the pitch of a key is to be sharpened, wood is shaved off at the lower edges at each end of the key; if the pitch is to be flattened, the notch across the middle of the lower surface is increased in depth and consequently the key is reduced in thickness and strength. A good xylophone team will frequently tune the instrument with the result that after some years the slabs will be worn through and new ones will have to be cut to replace them. This explains the absence of old instruments in Uganda.

The complete set of finished slabs is kept tied in bundles of suitable size under the protection of an overhanging roof or inside a hut and brought out as occasion arises. Two banana stems are cut and placed on the ground beside each other, slightly more apart at the thick ends which carry the low notes than at the tips, and the keys are then placed across them in progressive order from high to low notes. The thin sticks which separate the keys from each other are thrust into the banana stems; these sticks are as a rule the peeled twigs of *nzo* (*Teclea nobilis*). The beaters are also carved from *nzo*; it is a hard and resilient timber used for the manufacture of walking-sticks and spear shafts.

The slabs merely rest loosely across the banana stems between the dividing sticks. Exceptionally as in the *amadinda* and the *akadinda* different devices are employed to prevent the slabs from jumping towards the players. Where these devices are unknown boys have to push the slabs back whenever they appear about to fall off, or the musicians themselves have to attend to this continuously with their toes.

In the *amadinda* a small noose made of banana fibre is threaded through a fine hole which has been burned through the slab close to the edge, and this noose is tied to the separating stick next to it (Plate 73, ii, C and E). The characteristic device of the *akadinda* is that two shoulders are carved on the under surface of the key. These fit between the banana stems, and thus prevent the key from moving (Plate 73, ii, B and G). The Ganda term for these buckles is *amakundi*, meaning 'navels',[2] and it is applied also to the central buckle on their shields. The knobs on top of the *endiga* are also called *amakundi*.

At its first performance or sometimes previous to an important function, the instrument is submitted to a ceremony, part of which consists of the sacrifice of a cock or a goat and some beer. The blood of the animal and a mouthful of the liquid are splashed over the slabs; after this the xylophone is supposed to be ready for service. The ceremony is an apt symbol of the respect in which the xylophone is held.

In Ganda the Kabaka's xylophone musicians are under the authority

[1] N.B.—Tuning paste is unknown in Uganda xylophones.

[2] This expression can only be understood if it is realized that in many Africans the normal depression of the navel is replaced by an umbilical hernia.

of the court official *Nabitimpa*, whose responsibility also includes the drum set *entamiivu*, the drum set *entenga*, and the bow-harp players *abalanga*. *Nabitimpa* works directly under the chief drummer *Kawula*, who occupies the highest musical office at the court. He has under him the customary hierarchy of deputies and minor office holders. In Soga the owner of the set sees to it that he has a team capable and willing to play for him. Frequently the set is inherited from father to son.

The Alur instrument, *ndara*, consists of eight keys placed on bundles of grass pegged to the ground; the whole instrument is mounted over a pit. Only one player is needed. His style of performance and the tuning of the xylophone differ from those practised elsewhere in Uganda. Three specimens are said to exist in Alur, of which two have been traced. They serve as an entertainment for the Sultan of the Alur.

The Konjo xylophone *endara* is of different design. Humphreys[1] described it as follows: 'In the centre of the village firmly fixed in the ground, was a xylophone, many yards long, made of trunks roughly hewn into planks'. The writer has so far been unable to trace an instrument 'firmly fixed in the ground', and cannot therefore comment on its construction. It is reported that the Konjo xylophone uses a pit in the ground like the Alur *ndara*, and possibly Humphreys's description refers to such a pit.

However, a Konjo instrument which in common with other types in Uganda used two loose banana stems was traced and was examined *in situ*. The banana stems were supported, close to their ends, by short stumps of banana trunk notched to receive them (Plate 73, ii, I). This arrangement kept the instrument well off the ground, but at the same time allowed it to sway dangerously when played. The separating sticks between the slabs are short, that is, between twenty-five and thirty cm., and consequently do not form the imposing arches above the keys which one meets in Ganda and Soga.

There are sixteen to eighteen slabs varying in length from thirty-five cm. for the highest note to ninety cm. for the lowest. Instruments of only nine slabs have been reported[2] played by a team of three musicians. Six keys separate a pair tuned—approximately—to the interval of an octave, in contrast to all the other types mentioned previously, where the octaves are separated by four keys.[3]

The Konjo xylophone differs also from other types with regard to the shape of the keys. These are slightly convex in cross-section (Plate 73, ii, D),

[1] 'Ruwenzori Flights and Further Explorations' in *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 82, 1933, p. 496.

[2] R. SANGSTER (1949): Personal communication.

[3] This 'definition' of the octave is based on terminology current amongst *amadinda* players in Ganda where this interval is tuned accurately because it is musically important. Here it is extended, as a convenient method of description, to Konjo, Gwere, and Alur tunings also. This is permissible as long as it is remembered that the function and quality of the octave is not necessarily the same in all cases.

so that the keys do not rest on the logs with their whole width but touch only with the two edges. The tuning groove used for the flattening of the note does not lie across the axis of the key in the centre as elsewhere, but runs parallel with it for the whole length of the under surface. There is no tuning depression on the upper surface. Similar keys have been described by Dr. O. Boone[1] from a Zande xylophone *pandingbwa*.

The Konjo name *endara*, identical with the rarely heard Ganda word *entaala*, is also known to the Northern Soga, Nyoro, Gwere, and Alur. A full complement in Konjo requires five men who play the instrument with a plain stick in each hand.

The Kunta who live in the north-eastern corner of Ankole District are Ganda by origin, and Kunta xylophones are thus likely to be of Ganda design, unless they were influenced by the *endara* of the Konjo who are close neighbours of the Kunta. Old people still remember the xylophone; it is doubtful, however, whether there are any instruments left in the area.

The *entaala* or *miruli* of the Gwere is distinct in shape and tuning from the instruments described above. The keys are approximately two by eight cm. in cross-section and fifty cm. long; they possess nothing of the weight and bulk of other xylophones in Uganda. There are only six keys, but these are supplemented by a Uganda drum which forms an integral part of the *entaala*, so that the player has actually seven notes at his disposal. The drum is lined up with the keys and treated exactly as if it was a wooden key itself. The tuning is that applied to the Gwere harp, i.e. an octave divided into four intervals. If the Ganda tuning can be described as pentatonic and the Konjo tuning as heptatonic, then the Gwere xylophone could be said to have a 'tetratonic' pattern. There is no indication that the Gwere pattern is merely an abbreviated form of some other tuning.

Nothing is known about the past of the Gwere xylophone, and no particular social function is associated with it. At present it is being gradually superseded by the *namaddu* set in which the six wooden keys of the *endara* are replaced by six tuned Uganda drums. As with all other xylophones in Uganda, the musicians sit on their haunches facing the small end of the keys.

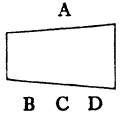
Finally, mention should be made of the '*amakonezi*' technique. Briefly, this consists of the allocation of the two top keys of the *amadinda* of Ganda and of the two lowest keys of the *endara* of Konjo to a special player. Sachs[2] found evidence of this remarkable musical technique in Madagascar and in a fourteenth-century relief at the temple of Panataran in Java.

A summary of xylophone data greatly condensed and therefore incomplete is provided in Table No. 1.

[1] P. 77, op. cit.

[2] *The History of Musical Instruments*, London, 1942, pp. 54, 236.

TABLE NO. I: XYLOPHONES

Name	*ENTAALA* or *AMADINDA*	*AKADINDA*	*EMBAIRE*	*ENDIGA*	*ENDARA*	*NDARA*	*ENTAALA* or *MIRULI*
Where found:	Ganda.	Ganda.	Central Soga, between Nile and Mpologoma river.	Southern shore of Lake Kyoga, through Nyoro, Ganda, and Soga.	Konjo, in the foothills of Ruwenzori.	Alur, West Nile district.	Gwere.
Social status:	For important and wealthy men. Kabaka's xyl. called *Entaala*. Otherwise *Amadinda*, 'the keys'.	Exists in three sets. Played only for Kabaka. Formerly in charge of Njovu clan, now looked after by Nkima.	Kept by men of some importance, available to everybody who can afford the customary gifts for a feast.	Kept by men of some importance, available to everybody who can afford the customary gifts for a feast.	Very rare. Kept by few men only.	Kept by the Sultan of Alur only.	Rare, superseded gradually by *Namaddu* drum set.
Method of mounting:	On two banana stems. Keys tied with fibre nooses to tall separating sticks. Sticks are made of *Nzo* (*Teclea nobilis*).	On two banana stems. Two shoulders on each key fit between the stems. Tall separating sticks, made of *Nzo* (*Teclea nobilis*).	Loosely placed on two banana stems. Tall separating sticks in some cases, otherwise short sticks.	Loosely placed on two banana stems. Tall separating sticks in some cases, otherwise short sticks.	Loosely placed on two banana stems which are lifted off the ground on four blocks. Short separating sticks.	Loosely placed across two grass bundles which are pegged to the ground. Pegs serve as separating sticks. Mounted over a pit.	Loosely placed on two banana stems. Short separating sticks.
Timber used:	*Lusambya* (*Markhamia platycalyx*), *Munyenye* (*Fagara* species).	*Lusambya* (*Markhamia platycalyx*), *Munyenye* (*Fagara* species).	*Lusambya* (*Markhamia platycalyx*), *Mukeremba* (*Vitex fischeri*).	*Lusambya* (*Markhamia platycalyx*), *Mukeremba* (*Vitex fischeri*).	*Omutatembwa* (?) (*Fagara* species (?)).	*Anga* (*Cordia Abyssinica*).	—
Keys:	12	17, in old times 22	15 or 16	16 or 17	16 to 18	8	6
Groups of keys: High, Medium, Low:	H.1 and 2: *Amakonezi*, characteristic of this instrument.	There are no *Amakonezi*.	H.1 to 5 or 6: *Obuto*. M and L: *Obukulu*.	H.1 to 5, 6 or 7: *Obuwala* M.5 or 6 keys: *Enyembi*. L.5 or 6 keys: *Entama*.	H. 1 to 7: *Obwana* M. 11 to 16: *Emihindo* L. 17 to 18: *Mikaikuru*	—	H.1 and 2: *Bwenderyo*. L. 3 to 6: *Entabuliro*.
Terms applying to players:  	A: *Omunazi*. B: *Omukonezi*, on keys 1 and 2 only. C: *Omwauzi* or *Omutabuzi*. D: not required in a 12-key xyl.	A: two *Abanazi*. B, C, D: *Abauzi*, playing two different themes, one with r. and one with l. hand; all three men play in octave parallels.	A: *Omwauzi* or *Omutabuzi*. B: *Omulesi* or *Omukubi W'obuto*. C: *Omuleterezi* or *Omunsansazi*. D: not required as a rule.	A: *Omugoisi* or *Omutabuzi*. B: *Omuleterezi* or *Omukubi W'Obutono* C: *Omutabuza* or *Omwakati*. D: *Omukubi W'entama*.	A: *Omukirirya* and *Muguswe* or *Omuhabula*. B: *Omuhimbiriri*. C: *Nzhobolye* or *Omusoborozi*. D: *Musakulwe*.	One player at A.	One player at A.

4. *Percussion sticks.* Percussion sticks in Uganda have been recorded in Amba and Madi. The Amba set consists of seven or more pieces of wood roughly hewn on one side and with all the bark removed; they vary in length from 70 cm. to 140 cm., but it cannot be said that this indicates an attempt to produce a musical tuning. The sticks are used in the circumcision rites; after the completion of the ceremony the initiates each hold one stick under the left arm and beat it with a drumstick in their right hand (Plate 73, i, D and E). The set *amagala* is kept only for a short while after the ceremony, which takes place every fifteen or seventeen years; a new set is provided every time. Thomas[1] published a photograph of the set in action after the 1932 ceremony.

The peculiar custom of flattening the sticks on the lower surface is also practised by the Konjo on their xylophone *endara.*

J. P. B.[2] describes the *kore* dance of the Metu people of West Madi and the use of percussion sticks as follows: 'A wide circle is made by the men. They dance in a rhythmic tramp, beating time with two pieces of *poyi* or blackwood. These are of different lengths, and so hard as to give a pleasing metallic ring.' 'They are usually kept in the roof of the hut where cooking is done in order to dry them perfectly and improve the metallic ring. In use they are held in the middle and struck near the part where they are gripped.'[3] The beater is roughly twenty cm. in length and the stick, slightly curved like a bow, about forty to fifty cm.

5. *Percussion pots.* These have been observed in Gishu and Nkole. The Gishu beat the pot on the mouth with the palm of the hand and call it by the same name as the percussion trough *ikokolo.* With regard to the Nkole, Roscoe[4] reports as follows: 'The drums used to accompany the dancing were ordinary water pots which were filled to different levels with water. The drummers were armed with sticks to which pads of reed rather larger than the mouths of the pots were attached with fibre. With these the men beat on the mouths of the pots, producing a sound not unlike that of drums. . . .' The writer is unable to confirm, from his own experience, that water is used in these pots, nor has he been able to confirm it by enquiries made in Igara County and at Mbarara.

6. *Percussion gourd and rod.* The Acoli accompany the dance *larakaraka* with a rhythm beaten by a wire broom *cili* on the apex of a hemispherical gourd (Plate 73, i, C).

7. *Percussion reeds.* Lango boys play on a series of reeds stuck in the ground. The vernacular name of the series is *bul tyang' apena,* i.e. drum of reeds, and describes both its purpose to serve in place of the drums and the material used. They are supposed to provide practice for young boys who have no access to a proper set of drums.

Six sticks are required for the set, one for each of the six drums which

[1] *U.J.*, IV, p. 91, Figs. 5, 6. [2] *U.J.*, V, p. 134.

[3] Information supplied by the District Commissioner.

[4] *The Banyankole*, 1923, p. 95.

the reeds represent. Each stick is broken in two places so as to form three sections of roughly equal length, without, however, allowing the epidermis or fibre of the reed to be torn completely. Thus the sections still hang together and are easily bent to form the letter U. The two arms of the U are stuck in the ground, and the middle section then rests on them like a bridge between two pillars. The bridge is beaten with sticks like the skin of a drum. The largest U, for the lowest note, is made first; its bridge may measure about forty cm. in length. The second U is made slightly shorter than the first, and so on, and all six are erected in one line with the ends of the bridges touching each other. Finally, the pitch of the instrument is tested and adjustments are made.

Two boys with two beaters each play on the reeds. Only small boys make this toy. Driberg[1] mentions a series of seven reeds in connection with the Lango battery of Uganda drums.

RATTLES

The rattle group is treated under three headings: single rattling vessels, several rattling vessels joined together, and suspension rattles. Of these, only the suspension rattles require definition; Hornbostel[2] describes them as 'sonorous bodies, hung up separately, or threaded on strings, so as to strike against each other'.

Single rattling vessels

1. *Gourd rattles.* These are ubiquitous; they occupy a prominent place in magico-religious ceremonial and are used in many dances. As ritual practices decrease the rattles become rare, and it is already becoming difficult to secure specimens or at least to see them in action.

The narrow neck of the calabash serves as a handle and the spherical part as the rattling vessel proper; the gourd is filled with stones or seeds. A normal length of the whole instrument is between twenty and thirty cm. Incised patterns occasionally adorn the outside (Lango, Plate 74, A. 1), or a decorative cow's tail acts as a stopper for the opening in the handle (Soga), or a hole in the apex of the gourd, where stones or seeds have been inserted, is sewn up carefully with a pattern of string (Acoli), or circles of fine holes are made around the gourd (Kiga, Plate 74, A. 2).

In the *nyambi* dance of the Lugbara girls a set of gourds, which vary in size and sound, is used (Plate 97).

2. *Seed-shell rattles.* Properly speaking, gourd rattles are seed-shell rattles too, but the particular variety referred to here adds a stick to the seed, which in Uganda is the *Oncoba routhledgei.* The stick is thrust through the axis and serves as a handle (Plate 74, B). This instrument in its proper function as a rattle similar to the gourd rattle described above has only been observed in Konjo, but there are several 'applied' forms which seem to be typical of what is here called a 'seed-shell' rattle. In Ganda, County

[1] *The Lango*, 1923, pp. 131–2.

[1] *Africa*, VI, 1933, p. 305.

Buruli, the bow-harp player holds the rattle in the same hand which plucks the strings, and in Soga a second musician is employed to beat the skin of the bow-harp *kimasa* with an ordinary drum-stick in his left hand, and a hooked seed-shell rattle in his right hand; the part which actually touches the skin is the hook at the top of the handle (Plate 113, B). This association of the seed-shell rattle with string instruments is particularly intimate in the playing of the braced gourd-bow of the Kiga. Here the thin handle of the rattle actually beats the string (Plate 109).

3. *Reed-box rattle.* A flat box-shaped container is filled with dry seeds; the walls of the box are made of rafts of thin reeds laced tightly together to form a corrugated surface for the seeds to scrape and beat against when the box is moved (Plate 74, C).

In Ganda the reed used is the *tete*, which in the full-grown and dry condition required for the reed-box rattle is known as *buseekende*. The seeds placed in between the walls of the box are the *malanga*, of the *eddanga* lily. A common size for the instrument is thirty to forty cm. in width and height and not more than two cm. in thickness (Ganda), but in Amba small boxes are used up to twenty-five cm. in breadth.

The player holds the rattle in the upturned palms of both hands, and while these provide the shaking motion his thumbs beat a drum-like rhythm against the outside of the box (Plate 98). It is rarely seen nowadays, but African informants say that it is well known, and that specimens are not difficult to obtain. It seems to be employed as accompaniment to the more recent arrivals among the instruments, such as the flat-bar zither of the Konjo, and the bowl-lyre ensemble and the tube-fiddle in Ganda. No associations with magico-religious practices have been noted; informants usually say that the rattle is only found at social dances.

Decorations have not been observed, with the following exceptions: goat's hair in Ganda, a cluster of cowrie shells in Nyoro,[1] zigzag bead patterns along two opposite edges and four jingling clamps of the type described below in §14 on a specimen from the Batetela in the Belgian Congo.[2]

Vernacular names are as follows:

Ganda	*ensegu.*	Nkole	*akakyenkye* or *ruganira.*
Konjo	*musesegeto.*	Kiga	*akacence.*
Toro	*akayamba.*[3]		

4. *Pellet bell, spherical.* The iron pellet bell is universal in Uganda, especially in its strung form. The larger specimens which have the size

[1] Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

[2] British Museum No. 1908–6–22–111.

[3] Dr. H. Meinhard has kindly pointed out to the writer that *Akayamba* seems to be related to one of two terms used for the rattle in Madagascar, *Tsakaiamba*, and that it is also known on the lower Juba river as *Kayamba*.

of a small orange are tied to the loins of hunting dogs with the aid of a skin belt (Ganda) (Plate 74, F).

5. *Pellet bell, crescent-shaped.* Rattles of this type are indispensable in the circumcision dances of the Gishu. The crescent occasionally measures fifteen cm. from tip to tip, and the number of pellets may be two to four. The instrument is made of iron, attached to a solid leather belt (Plate 74, D), which is fixed round the thigh of the dancer. Several such belts are used, sometimes on both thighs.

6. *Rattling ring.* A hollow bracelet made of iron and filled with a few small stones (Plate 74, E) has been found attached, probably by chance, to the drum JC/12 in the Uganda Museum. Unfortunately this drum is unidentified. The Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology possesses a 'hollow iron anklet worn by women'[1] from Soga.

Several rattling vessels joined together

7. *Seed-shell rattles.* Two or more dry oncoba fruits are threaded on to a stick which serves as a handle. This has been reproduced by Czekanowski[2] from his observations in Konjo. In Nyole[3] the leader of the *nassaale* dance uses a rattle of this type called *olubeye*. The stick is approximately a hundred cm. long, and the oncoba fruits threaded on to it number twenty or more. The peculiar hooked beater from Soga referred to above in §2 is similar in design. Several such sticks with three or four fruit shells threaded on to them like beads are held parallel to each other by leather thongs attached to their ends (Plate 75, C). This rattle is wound round the calf of a dancer. It is known in Alur, Acoli, Nyoro, Toro, and Nkole.

8. *Bamboo raft rattle.* In Toro six pieces of bamboo approximately eighteen cm. in length are filled with seeds or stones and stoppered with pieces of cloth. The bamboo pieces are joined like a raft by fibre string and tied round the calf of the dancer (Plate 75, E).

9. *Forked seed-shell rattle.* Instead of oncoba fruits being threaded on a single stick, the framework of this rattle consists of a branch with three or four forks which run more or less parallel and are joined to a circular fibre pad at the top (Plate 75, B). This instrument occurs in Kiga and Nkole and outside the Protectorate in Ruanda and Urundi.[4] It is extremely rare in Uganda, since it belonged to witchcraft, and where it is used at all, it is carefully hidden.

10. *Pellet bells, strung.* Pellet bells are more commonly used in large quantities sewn or tied to thongs or fibre, than singly. The spherical type, made of brass, occurs in anklets of five bells which are tied to a toddler's legs with the alleged purpose of teaching him to walk and to dance early in life; it is more likely that the sound of the rattle is meant to protect the

[1] No. 20, 49.

[2] CZEKANOWSKI: II, p. 385, Figs. 128, 129.

[3] The inhabitants of Bunyuli County call themselves Ba-Nyole or Ba-Nyore.

[4] PÈRE GORJU: *En zigzags à travers l'Urundi*, 1926, p. 65.

child from evil spirits (Plate 75, G). A long leather thong from Madi carries thirty-six globular iron pellet bells (Plate 75, F), to be worn by a witch doctor round his waist. Pellet bells form part of the charms and the dress of the magician. A bracelet of four crescent-shaped pellet bells on a leather ribbon is worn by a bride in Karamoja (Plate 75, D).

Between spherical and crescent-shaped types there are transitionary forms which it is difficult to classify.

Suspension rattles

11. *Concussion rattle.* Two oncoba fruit shells filled with dry seeds are joined by a chain or a piece of twisted cloth of about eight cm. in length. One shell is placed in the palm of the hand and the other is allowed to hang down loosely between the thumb and forefinger or between the latter and the middle finger. The shell thus suspended is made (Plate 76, C) by a rapid rhythmical movement of arm and hand, to strike against the seed in the palm of the hand. This basic motion can be varied, and the instrument becomes capable of expressing intricate rhythmical patterns.

Only girls use this concussion rattle. It is never employed in dances. Girls in the market waiting for customers or girls on a journey may play it to while away the time. It has been observed in Konjo, Amba, Copi, Alur, Lugbara, Madi, Kakwa, Acoli, and Lango. The name given to the rattle varies from tribe to tribe.

12. *Tortoise bracelet.* A tortoiseshell complete with upper and lower part is fixed to the arm above the elbow by a bracelet of plaited leather thongs. The bracelet by pulling tightly on the shell holds it at an angle of ninety degrees from the arm. The lower part of the shell carries a row of short iron chains. These beat against each other when the tortoiseshell moves with the dancer's arm; the cavity of the shell itself acts as resonator.

This suspension rattle occurs in Acoli where it is worn by men for the dance *oling*'; the name of the rattle is *okoco* (Plate 76, D).

13. *Concussion bells on drums.* Bells should not be confused with rattles, but it would be misleading to classify the hollow metal cones which are found on certain drums as bells proper. In the meantime, until further evidence can be produced, they have been treated as suspension rattles.

These iron or brass cones measuring up to ten cm. in length are suspended from the rim of the skin of the Uganda drum in a few cases, on drums which are known by an individual name. Thus in Nyoro and Ganda only two of the royal drums have these bells. There are no clappers, but movement or vibration would result in the bells beating against each other. They are suspended in couples or in threes, and it would be interesting to ascertain whether there is any connection between them and the clapperless concussion bell known elsewhere[1] (Plate 76, A).

[1] A necklet from Ganda, now in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (in place of No. 20, 17), has attached to it two clapperless concussion bells of conical shape.

14. *Jingling clamps.* These are suspended on free leather thongs from the tall Acoli side-blown trumpet *tum.* The clamps strike against each other as the trumpet is moved, an effect which becomes especially noticeable if the trumpet is beaten with a hunting bow, as is the case with the Acoli instrument during dances. The design of the clamp is reminiscent of primitive bell forms without clapper, and is used by the Kiga as a body ornament or trophy (Plate 76, B).

BELLS

The following sub-divisions are distinguished: natural bells, wooden bells, forged bells, welded bells, all with clappers, which strike against the rim of the bell from the inside, and the percussion bell without clapper.

1. *Natural bell.* The seed-shell of the borassus palm is used in Amba and Karamoja; tortoiseshells occur in Gishu and Karamoja, and sections of an animal horn are found in Karamoja only. The clapper consists of one or two twigs suspended inside the cavity on the same thong, which is tied to the collar round the neck of the animal, goats, sheep, cows, or even fowl. In Amba the flat, heart-shaped fruit of a climber (probably *Entada* species) is used for chickens (Plate 77, A to D).

2. *Wooden bells.* The Konjo carve wooden bells of peculiar design. The two clappers are made of bone (ribs?) and strike against the lips of the bell, which curve slightly inwards at the rim. These two prominent lips, facing each other with the clapper between them, betray a certain affinity to slit drums and wooden bells that come from the Belgian Congo across the border.

On one side the bell is decorated by an incised pattern (Plate 77, E). The bell is attached by strings to a broad leather collar. Wooden carved bells have so far been observed nowhere else in Uganda.

3. *Forged bells.* Three varieties occur in Uganda. The first type consists of a narrow, rectangular strip of iron folded up like the letter A to form the cup of the bell in which the clapper is suspended (Plate 77, F). The second type follows the first with the difference that the top of the bell consists of a narrow curved neck which joins the front and back sheets of the cup (Plate 77, G). The third adopts an altogether different method, the two edges of an iron plate being bent forward until they almost meet. Thus the third type possesses only one slot, whereas the first two varieties have two slots on opposite sides. A further mark of distinction in the third type is the graceful neck, which ends like a bishop's crook (Plate 77, H). A set of four of these bells of different lengths was found in Kiga, but nothing could be traced which would throw light on their history.[1] The Rev. Father Marcel Pauwels, W.F.M., states that in Ruanda they are worn as a sign of merit, by men who have killed an

[1] The only other set known to the writer is one of three bells from the Dinka (Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, No. 129–L. 8). CZEKANOWSKI: I, p. 146 (Fig. 36), calls it a dog's bell and ascribes it to the Twa.

enemy or a lion, by women who have borne ten children, by cows with a record number of calves to their credit, and by a first-rate hunting dog.[1] The vernacular name of the bell, *umudende*, means 'tinkle'. The second type is represented in Acoli, Karamoja, and Kiga by tall specimens of good workmanship.

Occasionally the clapper is thickened where it strikes the rim of the bell and forms a simple hook at the other end, by which it is suspended.

4. *Welded bell.* The construction is identical with that of the first type in §3, with the difference that the edges are welded together (Plate 77, I). In Bantu Uganda these bells are used as door bells at the gates to the royal enclosures; such a bell is attached for instance to the gate at Mutesa's tomb at Kasubi and to the gate to the courtyard in the Lubiri in which the *entenga* drums (see p. 373) are housed. In Acoli welded bells serve as cow bells; they are provided with well-plaited leather ropes.

5. *Percussion bell.* During the circumcision rites in Gishu, dances are accompanied by a bell which may or may not have a clapper; this bell is suspended on a piece of wire or string from the dancer's hand and struck in a swinging motion against an iron bracelet, which is worn on the same arm below the elbow (Plate 76, E). The bell is of the second type described in §3.

PLUCKED IDIOPHONES

The representative of this group in Uganda is the Sansa. It consists of a set of thin lamellae set over a bridge on a sounding-board and plucked at the free ends. The term Sansa is often replaced in literature by a local name, but in the case of Uganda little would be gained by this, since the instrument has not yet established itself firmly enough to possess a name commonly recognized in the Protectorate and elsewhere.

In Bantu Uganda the Sansa is of recent importation. None of the vernacular sources mentions it, and the Ganda still call it after the tribal origin of migrating labourers with whom the Sansa travelled south, that is: *akadongo k'abaluru*, 'the little instrument of the Alur'. But it should be noted that the Alur and other tribes in the West Nile district describe the instrument as a recent arrival from the Belgian Congo. Up to the present day manufacture in Ganda is still in the hands of these foreigners, a few of whom make a steady income from its sale. But on the whole the Sansa has not yet struck root in Ganda.

In Soga it has reached a higher stratum of social and musical recognition. At the birthday party of the Kyabazinga—the president of the Soga tribes —small bands of Sansa players attended and played to entertain the guests. The set used by these bands ranges from the common small instrument to a large bass. A characteristic detail is the keel-shaped bottom of the sound-box. The musicians are all young men who say that the Sansa was brought from the Acoli.

[1] MARCEL PAUWELS, P.B.: 'La Magie au Ruanda'. *Grands Lacs*, 65/1949/No. 1, p. 4.

The Acoli are more familiar with the Sansa than the Bantu tribes in the south. But even they retain a memory of the Alur as the source from which the Sansa came to them, by calling one of the two possibilities of tuning the instrument by the name '*alur*'. The other tuning is called '*okebo*', and is looked upon by the Acoli as specifically their own.[1] The instrument is known to them as *lukeme*, a term derived from the Alur word *lukembe*. This is related to Amba *likembe* and another term used near Ruwenzori, *kibikembe*. In many places in Uganda enquiry after the name by which the instrument is known will elicit the word *kongo*, which shows a memory of recent importation from the Congo through the West Nile district. Conversations with Alur and Lugbara, tribes who live in the West Nile district, confirm this view.

All Sansas mentioned so far have iron keys and conform to the same design. Keys made of rattan cane mounted on a piece of bark are played by a group of Mbuti pygmies in Amba (Plate 78, A). They call the instrument *kabarome*, a name given by the Amba themselves to their board-zither with rattan cane strings and auxiliary bridges. The bridge of the Mbuti Sansa is straight, a characteristic which is not found any further to the east. It is made with nine or ten lamellae.

The number of keys used by the Acoli is eight or nine, the Amba use nine, ten, or eleven, and the Lango ten. The bridge is invariably U-shaped, i.e. the bottom of the U standing on edge carries the lamellae and the two arms curve away from the player, running parallel with the keys (Plate 78, B to D). Most of the keys are provided with cuffs made of tin which jingle freely when the keys are plucked. No general rule could be found as to which keys may have the cuff and which may not.

In several specimens the bottom of the sound-box has a hole conveniently placed within reach of the player's fingers to modify the sound by stopping or opening the sound hole. A few Sansas have an additional sound hole in the small end of the sound-box. The arrangement of the keys in two manuals, one above the other, is unknown, but there is a tendency to divide the keys into two sections with the bass notes placed towards the centre of the sound-board, ascribing one section to each hand. As a rule these instruments are small; a Sansa from Acoli measuring forty cm. in length is an exception.

The timber used for the sound-box is soft in order to make the scooping out of the resonance cavity an easy task. In Soga a small Sansa was provided with a metal sound-box, the edges of which had been soldered up carefully.

FRICTION IDIOPHONES

Little attention has been paid to rubbed or friction idiophones in Uganda. The instrument is improvised; there are no parts designed and made

[1] Information on the Acoli Sansa was collected by Rev. N. Worton at Gulu.

exclusively for it which would attract the attention of the observer. Systematic investigations have not been made, and it is impossible to say at this stage how widely friction instruments are really used.

1. *Friction gourd, rubbed against board or stone.* In Acoli two hemispherical gourds of different size are rubbed with their rims on a stone or a wooden board, by two girls. They kneel on the ground with one gourd each between their hands and move the gourd forward and backward as if they were grinding flour on a stone slab. Two different notes are produced. The big gourd is called *min*, i.e. mother, and the small one is *nyig*, i.e. the little one. The Acoli term for the instrument is *guro awal*. The gourds are said to be used for funerals.

2. *Friction stick, rubbed against board.* The Lugbara rub friction sticks against a board for the *nyambi tuzu* dance. A shallow trench is dug in the ground about ten cm. deep, with an opening of perhaps forty cm. by 150 cm. The dimensions of the trench are actually determined by the size of the board which has to be fitted over the pit as a cover, flush with the level ground around it. A sleeping-board is considered suitable for this purpose. All gaps which might have remained along the edges are then closed with mud. Finally, the surface of the board is sprinkled with crushed charcoal to prevent it from becoming too smooth and slippery for a note to be produced.

Three girls kneel close to one end of the board, each holding a stick in her hands which is placed against the board like a pestle against the bottom of a mortar. In this position, with the stick practically at right angles to the board, the sticks are rubbed in slow and measured motion against the board. The length of the stroke determines the length of the note, and different pressure and attack results in a change of pitch.

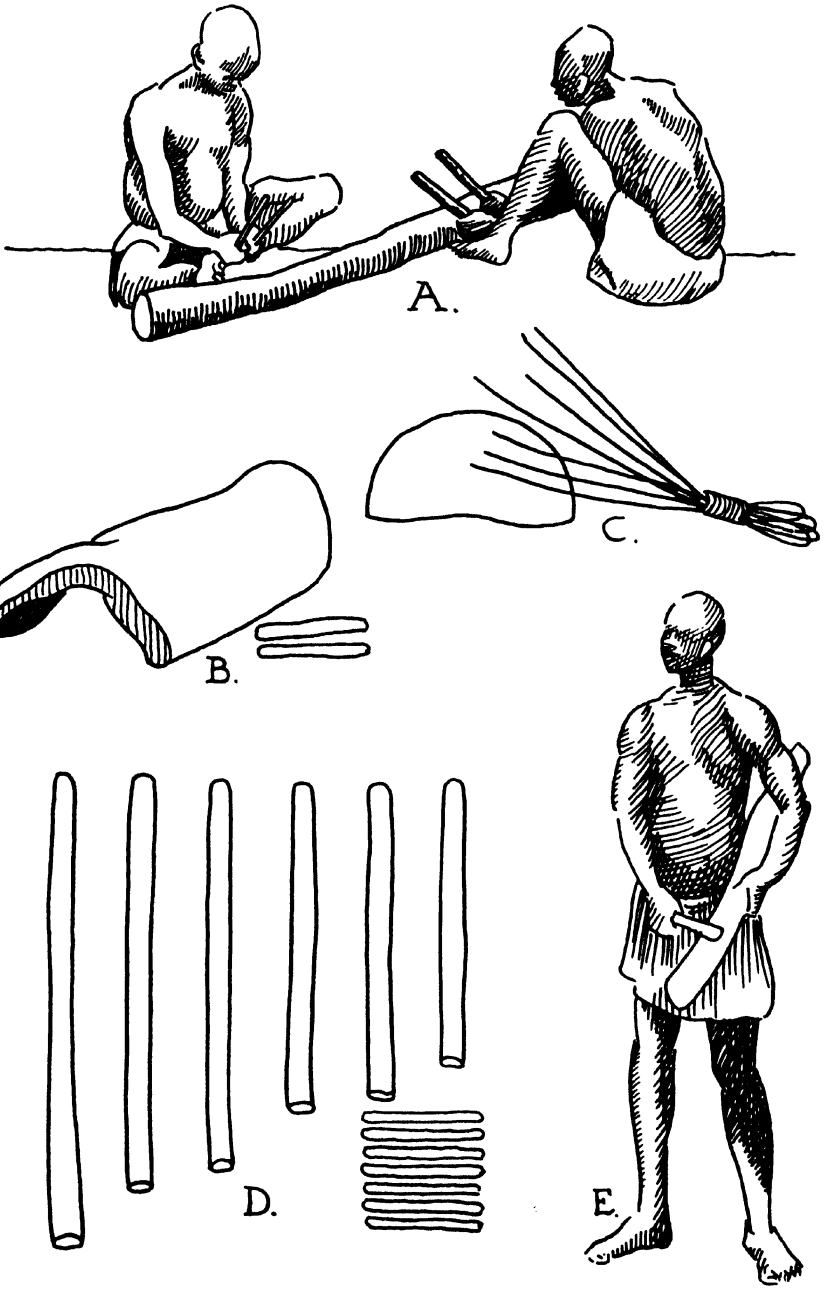
Other girls crowd around the three 'instrumentalists', sitting on their haunches, singing and swaying to the rhythm of the sticks. Every head is decorated with strings of beads or tufts of feathers, and everyone holds a plain gourd rattle in one hand (Plate 97).

The dance is performed on the following occasions: firstly, when a child's upper teeth appear before the lower teeth. The dance is then called *omingasi*, i.e. upper teeth. This occurrence is thought to be a bad portent affecting the crops, and the dance is to reconcile the spirits. Secondly, at the death of a favourite hunting dog, and thirdly,[1] on any occasion when women dance by themselves. It takes place during the evening hours. Vernacular terms are *tuzu abe* for the friction sticks, and *oguru* for the sounding-board. (N.B.: The similarity between the Acoli term *guro awal* and the Lugbara *oguru* is striking; both imitate the sound produced by the instrument.)

3. *Friction stick rubbed against box.* Immigrants from across the Kenya border have introduced into Samia and Eastern Soga a quartet which consists of a tube-fiddle, known as *ekiriri* or *eshiriri*, two iron hoops in

[1] J. MIDDLETON (1950): Personal communication.

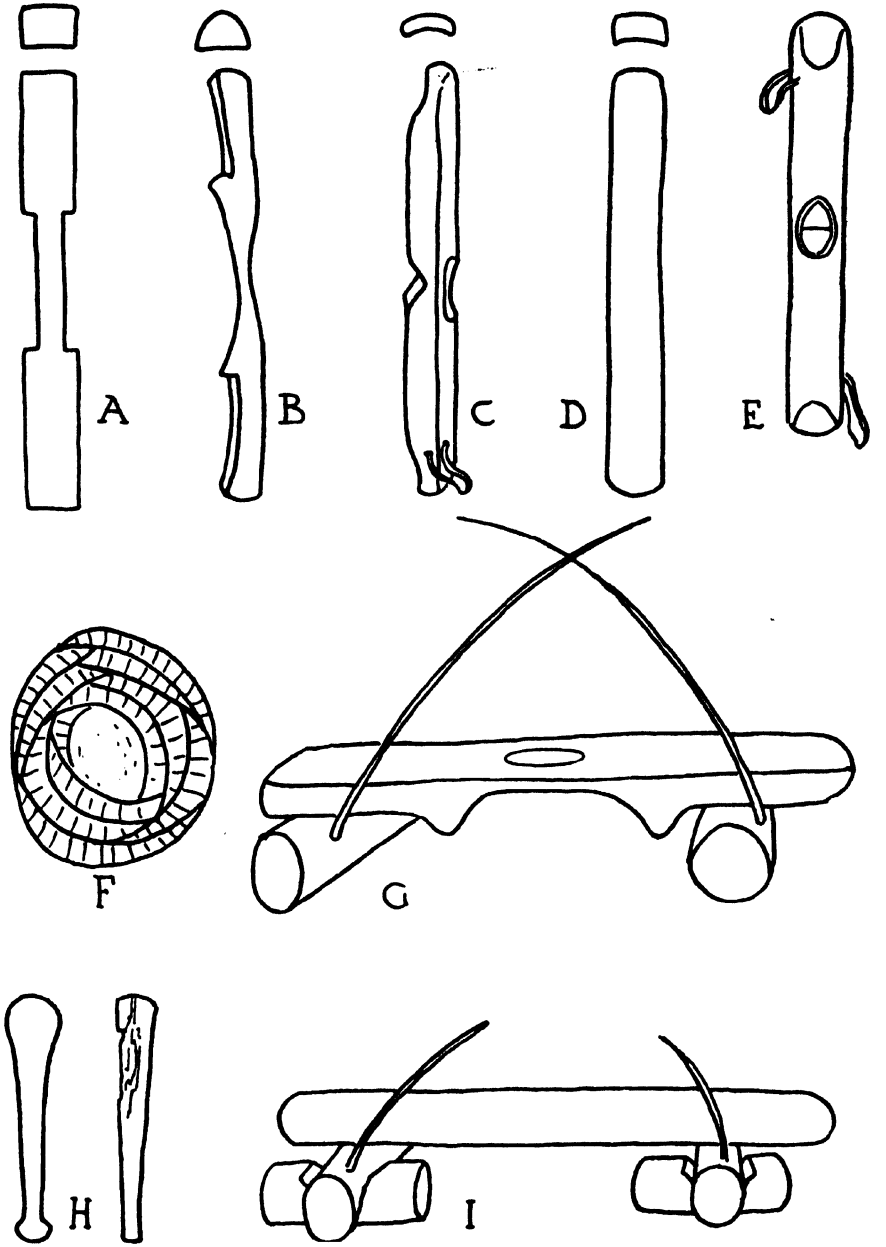
horseshoe form beaten with pieces of iron, and the friction sticks rubbed against the box. The latter is placed with the opening against the ground. The friction stick is an ordinary walking-stick; the sound produced is low in pitch and can be varied by change in pressure. The ensemble is called *ekiriri* after the leading instrument.



PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (I)

A. Percussion beam (after a clay model made by Gregory Maloba)—Gishu. B. Percussion trough with beaters—Jopadhola. C. Percussion gourd and wire broom—Acoli. D. Set of percussion sticks with beaters—Amba. E. A percussion stick in playing position (after a photograph by A. S. Thomas, in U.J. IV/1937/p. 91)—Amba.

Scale: B, C, 1 : 7. D, 1 : 18.

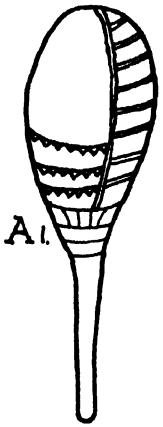


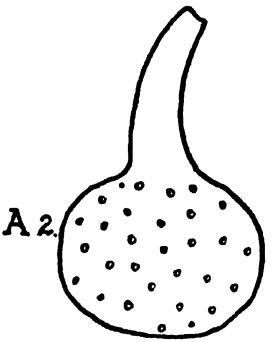
PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (II)

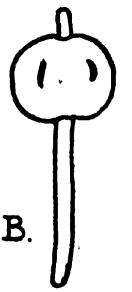
Log-xylophones

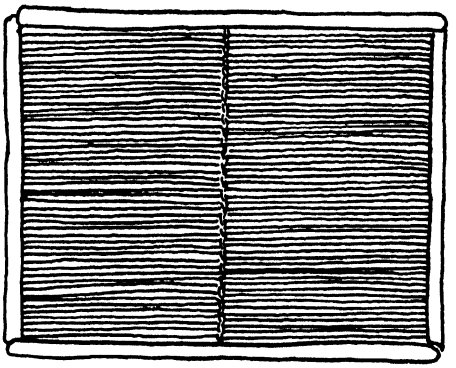
A. Xylophone key—Nyoro. B. Xylophone key of AKADINDA—Ganda. C. Xylophone key AMADINDA—Ganda. D. Xylophone key of ENDARA—Konjo. E. Xylophone key of AMADINDA seen from underneath—Ganda. F. Cross section through banana stem on which the keys are placed, indicating its thick concentric layers. G. Method of mounting keys of the AKADINDA—Ganda. H. Beaters used in Ganda. I. Method of mounting keys of the ENDARA—Konjo.

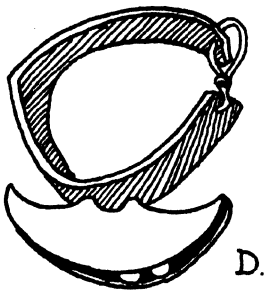
Scale: A to E, G to I, 1 : 10. F, 1 : 6.

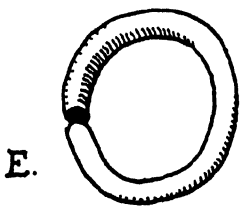


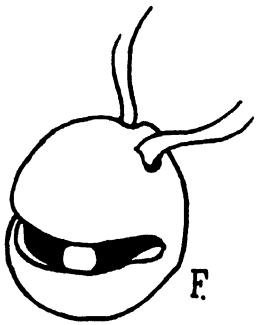












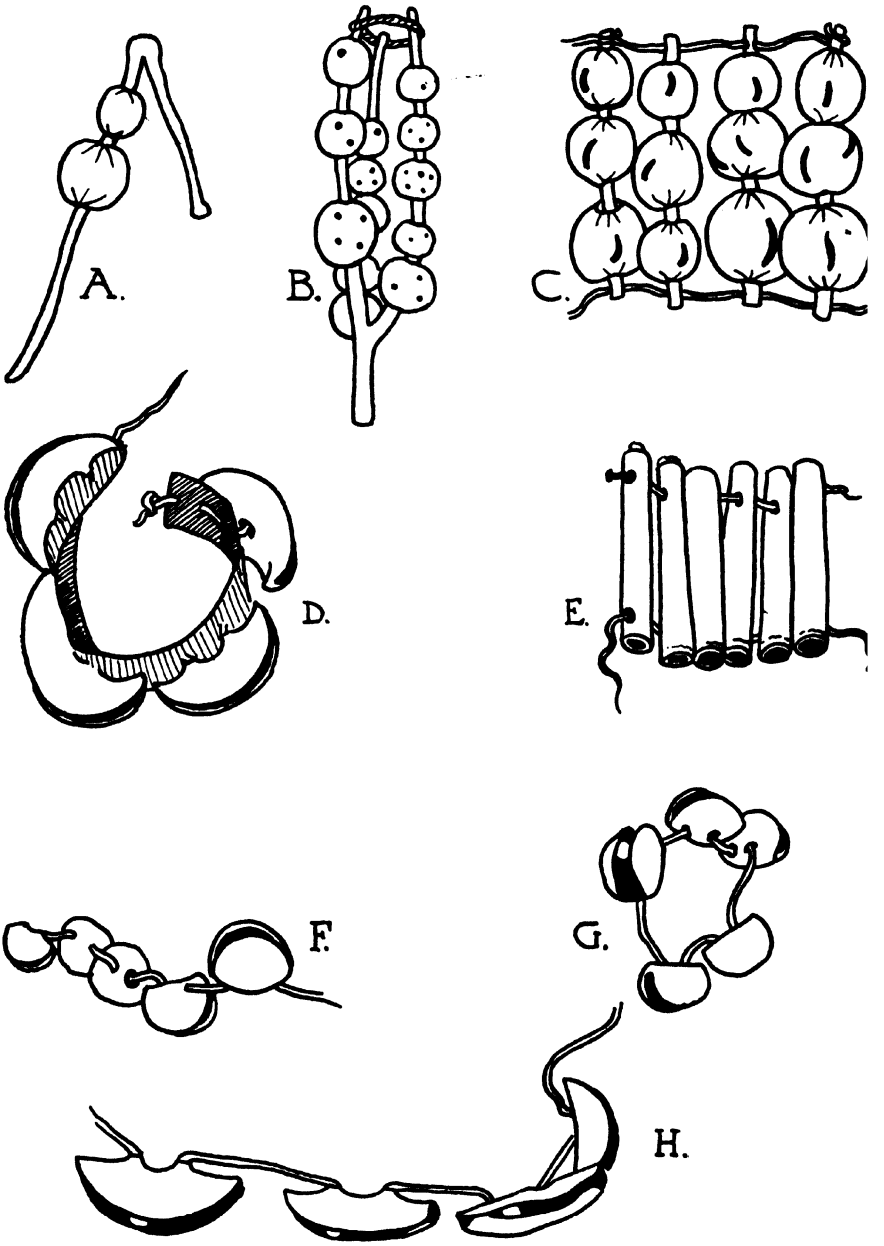
PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (III)

Rattling vessels, single

A1. Gourd rattle—Lango. A2. Gourd rattle—Kiga. B. Seed-shell rattle on stick—Konjo. C. Flat reed-box rattle—Ganda. D. Crescent-shaped pellet bell worn on thigh—Gishu. E. Hollow rattling ring—(probably) Soga. F. Spherical pellet bell—Ganda.

Scale: A, B, C, 1: 6. D, 1 : 5. E, F, 1 : 3.

PLATE 75

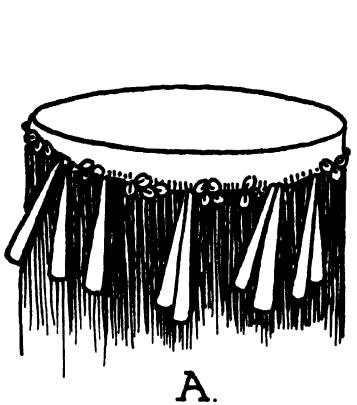


PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (IV)

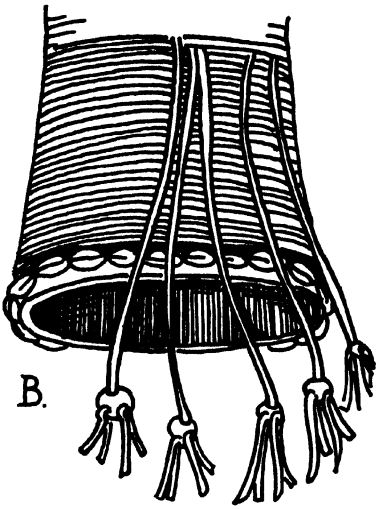
Several rattling vessels joined

A. Rattle on hooked beater used on sound skin of bow-harp—Soga. B. Forked seed-shell rattle —Kiga. C. 'Raft' of seed-shell rattles on sticks—Nyoro. D. Bracelet of crescent-shaped pellet bells—Karamoja. E. Bamboo raft rattle—Toro. F. Spherical pellet bells on leather thong—Madi. G. Anklet of globular pellet bells worn by toddler—Ganda. H. Crescent-shaped pellet bells on thong—(origin unknown).

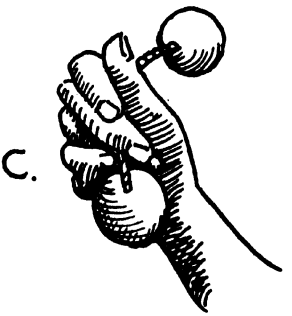
Scale: A, 1 : 6. B, E, 1 : 7. C, D, 1 : 4. F, G, 1 : 2. H, actual size.



A.



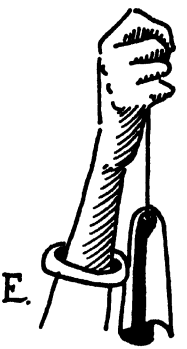
B.



C.



D.



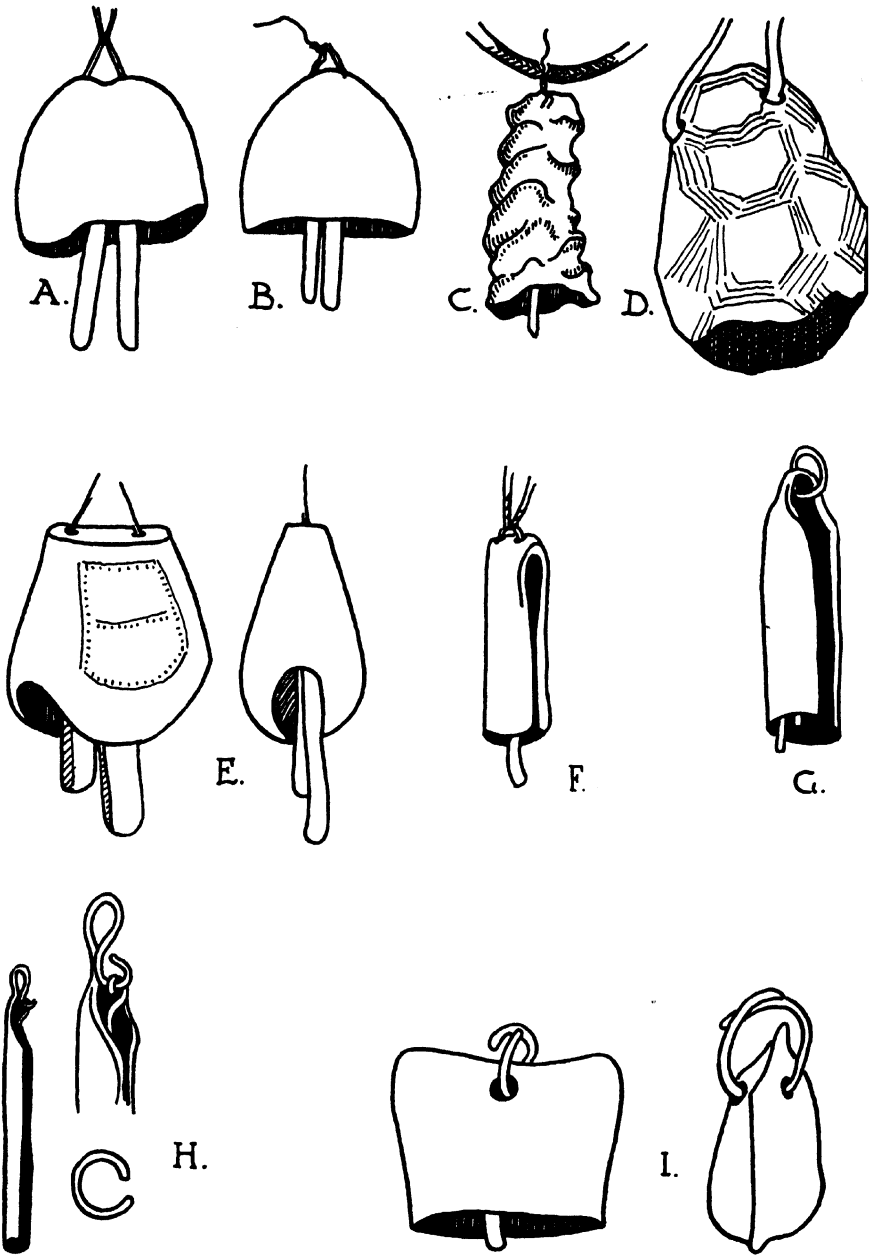
E.

PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (V)

Suspension rattles

A. Concussion 'bells' suspended from Uganda drum—Nyoro. B. Jingling clamps suspended from side-blown trumpet—Acoli. C. Concussion rattle—Copi. D. Tortoise rattling bracelet—Acoli. E. Percussion bell with iron bracelet—Gishu.

Scale: A, 1 : 10. B, 1 : 2. D, 1 : 4.

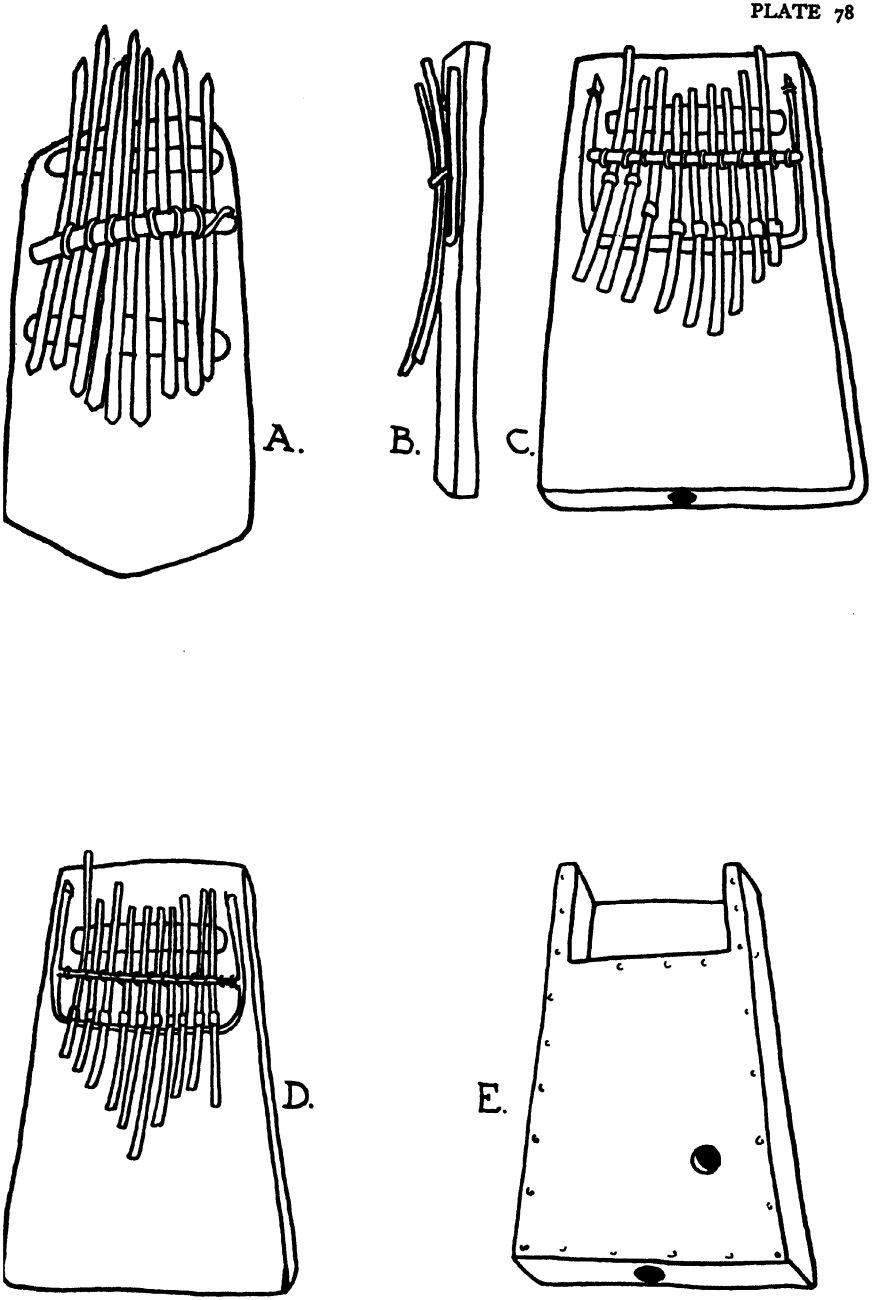


PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (VI)

Bells

A. Natural bell made of the seed-shell of the borassus palm—Konjo. B. Natural bell made of the seed-shell of the *Entada* species—Amba. C. Natural bell made of a piece of animal horn—Karamoja. D. Natural bell made of a tortoise shell—Karamoja. E. Carved wooden bell—Konjo. F. Forged iron bell—Ganda. G. Forged iron bell—Nyoro. H. Forged iron bell and its cross section—Kiga. I. Welded iron bell—Ganda.

Scale: 1 : 2·5. H detail, actual size.



PERCUSSION IDIOPHONES (VII)

Sansas

A. Sansa with tongues made of cane (?) mounted on a piece of bark—Mbuti. B. Side view of C. C. Sansa with iron keys mounted on a wooden box—Lango. D. Sansa with iron keys mounted on a wooden box—Amba. E. The bottom of the box of D.

Scale: 1 : 3·5.

CHAPTER II

AEROPHONES

THIS chapter deals with four groups of aerophones, namely, end-blown and transverse flutes, and end-blown and side-blown trumpets. Bull-roarers have not been observed, but it is known that neighbouring tribes outside the Protectorate, east and west, make use of them. Nose flutes have been found and described by the Rev. Father Marcel Pauwels[1] in Ruanda.

END-BLOWN FLUTES

The straight embouchure is rare. It can be found along the eastern and northern borders, from Samia to West Madi. Notched flutes are most frequent among the Bantu tribes, and have become popular even among the Nilotics, where they have ousted other, local types. The cone-flute is more at home with the Nilotics than with the Bantu; this holds true especially with regard to the animal horn flute. Wooden, carved cone-flutes belong to Amba and Konjo, and wooden cone-flutes constructed from two troughs pressed rim to rim in a skin cover are restricted to Madi, Nkole, and the royal courts of Nyoro and Toro. Stopped flutes occur as pan-pipes in Soga and in sets of pipes in Amba, Konjo, Lendu, Alur, Lugbara, and perhaps Madi. They are also widely known in single specimens as bamboo signal whistles with one stop.

Open flutes

1. *Straight embouchure.* In Karamoja the bark of a branch is stripped off whole and made into a flute. The *alamoru*, as it is called, is blown in an oblique position. Two stops are placed near the open bottom end. This is cut off at a slanting angle, which deserves special comment. The same fashion of an obliquely cut bottom rim prevails in Kiga with regard to the notched flute *ekinimba* (see p. 339). In Acoli such instruments have four stops and are made of bamboo. The *alamoru* is made and played by shepherd lads in the bush[2] (Plate 79, A).

In Teso the *alamoru* occurs in two types, a short flute fifty cm. long, and a 'bass' measuring 117 cm. The straight rim is sharpened to a fine edge all round. The flute is supported against the left corner of the player's mouth and held, not straight to the front, but obliquely towards the left. In this position the right half of the rim is separated from the lips by a small gap. Across this gap the player directs his breath against the edge of the rim. A hemispherical gourd is attached to the

[1] Op. cit., p. 23. [2] REV. R. S. CLARK (1945): Personal communication.

bottom end, forming a bell of five cm. diameter. The instrument is provided with four stops.

The Samia play a flute of wide bore with four stops, of eighty-three cm. in length, and like the *alamoru*, also with a sharp, straight rim. A similar flute was found in West Madi. Finds from ancient Egypt show that the straight rim in conjunction with the oblique position was known in ancient times.

2. *Notched flute.* This received its name from the incision in the rim at the top. A stream of breath expelled between tight lips is directed against the V or U-shaped notch. Both ends are open; there are two or four stops (Plate 79, B, C, D).

The material of which these notched flutes are made is the common reed grass known in Ganda as *ekiwuuwa*, which grows in swamps, or at the margin of the lakes, of bamboo in bamboo-growing areas, of a tip of a lobelia in the mountains of South-West Uganda, or of the hollow stem of the castor oil tree. Their manufacture is remarkable in that no acoustic test is applied at any stage of the process. After the reed has been brought in from the swamp, the musician himself cleans its outside and cuts it to a length suitable, in his opinion, for a flute. He puts the reed to his lips as if he were playing, in order to bring his fingers into the position he is accustomed to on other instruments. He marks the places where the two fingers nearest to his mouth, come down, and the distance between them becomes the standard length which determines the position of the third and fourth stops. The hands are placed in such a way that a node of the reed comes between them. He then proceeds to burn the stops into the wall of the reed with a red-hot wire or nail. The pith is removed from the inside, first with a smooth, pointed stick and then with a stick slightly thicker and covered with branch knots which act like the rough surface of a file. This accomplished, a mark is scratched, carefully, in line with the finger stops, near the upper rim for the notch. A V-shaped incision is cut with a knife and enlarged to a U-shaped notch with a red-hot iron. The flute is now ready except for the final process of 'proofing' the material: it is dipped into hot water for a moment, greased with butter, and exposed to the sun to dry.

This rule-of-thumb results in the stops being placed at equal distances from each other. Notch and stops are known in Ganda as 'nostrils', *empami*. The word *endere* or *nyamulere* is widely known for the four-stop instrument; the Gishu word for the two-stop flute, *kumurere*, contains the same word root.

The Gishu flutes are made from the branches of the castor oil tree or from bamboo. Played in pairs they represent the sexes, *musezza* and *mukassi*. The pitch of the female instrument, *mukassi*, is lowered considerably by adding the hollow fist of the flautist to the effective length of the pipe.

The two-stop flute *ekinimba* of the Kiga has been mentioned already in

the previous section. It is made of the stalk column of a lobelia which is considered to be ready for this purpose when it has turned brown in colour and become quite dry. Thus the *ekinimba* is made during the period from June to August. It is a tall instrument of about ninety cm. in length, the limit of size being given by a man's reach from shoulder to finger tip (Plate 100, B). The common notched flute *omukuri* of the Kiga has the same notch as the *ekinimba*, but differs with regard to the number of stops, the length, and often with regard to the material as well.

The *omukuri* of the Nkole is also made from the stalk column of a lobelia. It plays an important part in the *okutagulira* dance, where it alternates with the vocal soloist as the leader of the ensemble. The flute has four stops.

Notched flutes are popular almost everywhere, especially in the Bantu area. In Toro, however, they are little known; in Madi, Lango, and Acoli (Plate 99), the name *nyamulere* betrays the Nyoro origin of the flute as far as these three tribes are concerned. In Ganda, Nkole, and Soga notched flutes act in sets of four or more instruments playing in consort. In Ganda the ensemble *baakisimba*, living at Kabaka Mutesa's tomb at Kasubi, includes five flutes and a trio of drums. The flutes are divided into two *ntengezzi*, two *nsasi*, and one *ntabitabi*, terms which refer to musical technicalities and are applied to other instruments too. A fourth term in use for a tall flute is *nkologi*. This flute gives a low and indistinct note and is compared to the drum described as *mpuunyi* (from *okuwuuna*, to moan, to break silence, to respond), to which falls the task of giving a regular beat in an ensemble. Another important group of flute players employed a range of six instruments, some of which were duplicated. These were referred to by the following technical terms, beginning with the shortest flute:

1. *Entemyo*	3. *Ensasi*	5. *Ekiwuwa*
2. *Entabi*	4. *Entengezi*	6. *Enkologi*

They were accompanied by four drums: a single-skin drum, *engalabi*, and three Uganda drums, *embutu*, *empunyi*, and *nankasa*, each with a distinct rhythm and pitch. Another function of the notched flute *endere* in Ganda is participation in the quintet *omwanjo gumu* described below in connection with the leader of the set, the bowl-lyre (see p. 404). Kintu[1] deplores that the ensemble of four flutes is dying out, and believes that the quintet under the bowl-lyre is now more fashionable. Kagwa[2] speaks of two combinations, one of twelve and another of twenty-two instruments, which play before the Kabaka, accompanied by two Uganda drums and one single-skin drum. In Konjo a popular ensemble is formed by a trio of three tall bamboo flutes accompanied by a Uganda drum.

As a solo instrument the notched flute had a glorious past in Ganda, where it has fallen into neglect; in other parts of the country it is rare to find it used successfully in this way. The solo instrument used to be tall.

[1] *U.T.J.*, II, p. 89. [2] Kagwa (*Empisa*), p. 277.

The instruments are often decorated with beads sewn in patterns, or with collars of thin copper wire wound tightly round the pipe between nodes, or with heavy tassels of black goat's hair which are suspended from the bottom end of the flute. The scars at the nodes, from which leaves have been removed, are covered with small patches of tinfoil (Plate 100, A) to stop any possible air leak.

Stopped flutes

This and the following two sections refer to end-blown flutes, the bottoms of which are closed by the node of the bamboo or other grass used for their manufacture.

3. *Pan-pipes.* Pan-pipes have been found in Soga, in Gabula County. Kintu[1] remarks that they are not now very common in Soga. They consist of a single row of eight, nine, ten, twelve, or thirteen elephant grass pipes. Two lines of horizontal lacing, executed in string, hold the flutes together in raft fashion. The open end is cut off at right angles to the pipe and blown across as one might blow across the bore of a key. This flute, and the other flutes referred to in §1 above, are the only types in which the straight rim is used.

Soga pan-pipes are played together in an ensemble of six, grouped in three pairs to the accompaniment, and under the leadership, of a short cylindrical drum (Plate 84, C). The pipes are cut in a rough and ready manner to an outwardly equal size and then joined in a rectangular raft, with gaps, probably unintended showing here and there along the bottom edge. The nodes themselves which block the inside of the flute and determine the length of the sounding part of the pipe, form a line of regular steps diagonally across the raft, since the pipes are arranged in successive order from the highest to the lowest note (Plate 101). Their vernacular name is *obulere*, i.e. 'little flutes'.

Pan-pipes from Konjo have also been reported by Czekanowski,[2] who shows a picture of the instrument. The embouchure is deeply cupped like that of the *eruma* set of Amba and Konjo; the raft is strengthened by three cross-bars. The pipes are trimmed in such a way that their sounding length and their outward length correspond; each pipe is cut immediately below the node. In all these points and in its distribution,[3] it differs from the Soga type. So far this instrument cannot be traced in Uganda, but the possibilities exist that pan-pipes have disappeared since 1907, when Czekanowski visited Konjo, or that the part of the tribe which possessed pan-pipes is now settled outside the present boundaries of the Protectorate.

4. *Stopped flute ensemble.* Sets of stopped flutes are used by Madi, Lugbara, Alur, Konjo, Amba, and by Mbuti pygmies. They have the deeply cupped mouthpieces referred to above, instead of the straight key bore rim: two oblique cuts are made at different angles from the centre

[1] *U.T.J.*, II, p. 89. [2] CZEKANOWSKI: II, p. 384, Fig. 126. [3] SACHS: p. 50.

of the straight rim, resulting in two slanting sections of the rim of different depth. The higher rim supports the lips of the player, who directs his breath between tight lips against the lower rim. In most pipes the difference in depth between the two cuts is pronounced; there are exceptions, however, in which it is hardly noticeable.

The Amba term *eruma* for the set of flutes is also used for the plant from which it is made, called *lumaluma*. The Mbuti pygmies near Bundibugyu were found to blow a set of eight flutes without any decoration. A set of thirteen instruments from Amba was covered with a chess-board pattern of plaited black and white raffia, and the stopped ends were hidden under light-coloured raffia tassels (Plate 79, E). Occasionally the tassels consist of tufts of hair. A set of sixteen flutes from Amba was decorated with tufts of bush buck tail, *ngabe*, at the ends; several instruments were covered partly by the trachea or by skin taken from the foot of the same animal. Others had ornamental incised patterns on the surface (Plate 79, H) of a design identical with ornamentations in Venda flutes.[1] Another means of decoration was to use bark from a fig tree. The sets are kept in quiver-shaped baskets left in charge of one man (Plate 79, G).

In Amba the sets are used on all sorts of occasions. The small set of the Konjo was found in use at the completion of the mourning rites. The flutes of a set range from ten cm. to sixty-four cm. in one case, and from eight cm. to fifty-one cm. in another. They are rinsed out with the juice of sugar-cane in preparation for a performance. During the performance, one man is needed for every flute, and the contribution of one note from every member of the band is accompanied by dancing steps and movements. Drums, if available, accompany the set (Plate 102). The musical range of the ensemble of sixteen flutes is approximately three octaves and one tone.

The Alur state that they imported the set of flutes from the Lendu, and the Madi (at Ayivu) say that they borrowed it from the Alur, who call it *oseke*. The Lugbara know it too, but nothing more can be said with regard to the flute ensemble in the West Nile district until further investigations have been made. The set is associated with a dance of apparently 'immoral' character. The vernacular name *osegu* is obviously the same as the word *nsegu*, which in Nyoro, Toro, and Nkole is used for the composite wooden cone-flute (see §10). Technical terms are employed by musicians for the position of each instrument in the set.

5. *Stopped flutes with one stop*. These are used on hunting expeditions for signalling purposes and for enjoyment. The open stop gives a slightly higher note, but in addition to this, change in the angle between lips and embouchure allows for further notes to be produced. Informants say that a man may take several of these instruments with him and blow different signals. The signals given refer to the death of the *omusu*, the return home, calling the hunters out, etc. The Ganda term is *eddenge*. The

[1] KIRBY: Plate 48/A/No. 4.

instrument can often be seen suspended from the neck of migrating labourers from the south (Plate 79, F).

6. *Stopped flute made of gourd.* Wayland[1] describes the *abole* of the Labwor as 'an instrument of their own invention'. It is made of the top of a gourd about ten cm. long; 'it has no aperture except at the end'.

Cone-flutes

Paragraphs 7 to 13 deal with cone-flutes of which there is a great variety. All have the common characteristic of a body tapering to a point. The taper varies in degree and differences in material, usage and distribution increase the diversity. The findings are set out in Table No. 2 in broad outline.

TABLE NO. 2

	Wood	*Composite*	*Horn*	*Clay*	*Gourd*
I. Stop in the tip:	Amba Konjo	Nyoro Toro Nkole Madi	Alur Lango Acoli Karamoja (Nyoro)	Iru	Acoli Madi
II. Stop(s) on surface:	—	—	Lango 3 Alur 3	Lango 3	Copi 1 Nyoro 1
III. No stops:	Konjo	—	—	—	—

The first group has been singled out by Sachs[2] as the true representative of the cone-flute regardless of the material from which it is made; Hornbostel,[3] however, expresses doubt as to whether the horn whistle should be grouped together with the carved, wooden flute of the same design.

7. *Wooden cone-flutes.* These are in use in Amba and Konjo. They are made with the deeply cupped embouchure described above, the slope of which is underlined by one or two carved prominent ledges parallel to the rim. The sharp tip is cut off at an angle and pierced by a tiny hole at its extremity which is hardly noticeable. The flutes are carved in various sizes. They are played singly and used and worn very much like the bamboo instrument described in §5 above. The flute is sometimes provided with a skin cover from the tail of a giant hog, *ensenge.* The vernacular name in Amba was given as *nsengu.* Patterns are sometimes burnt into the surface of the flute; a hole for a string or thong is provided (Plate 80, A).

[1] 'Preliminary Studies of the Tribes of Karamoja', *Journ. Royal Anthr. Institute*, Vol. 61, 1931, p. 197.

[2] SACHS: p. 131.

[3] *Africa*, VI, 1933, p. 288.

8. *Cone-flutes made of animal horn with a fine hole in the tip.* These occur in two different forms, the tall instrument *ecoc* (pronounced '*echoich*') of the Lango, and the short type used in Lango, Acoli, and Karamoja, of which a single specimen was found in Nyoro. These cone-flutes imitate the cupped embouchure of the wooden instrument. Opposite corners are buttressed up by lumps of wax in order to decrease the width across the opening (Plate 80, B3). The tip is pierced by a fine hole as in the wooden flute. The wide part of the horn just below the embouchure is covered with skin (Plate 80, B2) or placed in a cuff of carefully plaited thongs (Plate 80, B1). The tall type from Lango may have a spiral of narrow brass strip wound round the tip. Thin iron chains are attached for carrying the flute, or a ring is fixed in the leather collar for the same purpose. The *echoich* is suspended from a man's neck together with a tall, black, ornamental tail (Plate 80, C2). The horn of the latter is between thirty-five cm. and forty cm. in length as compared with the thirteen cm. or twenty-two cm. of the more common type.

Driberg[1] describes the *echoich* as follows: 'Every man has his own whistle motif (*nying*, or name, of *bilo*), which may be memorized by a few words, a catch or phrase of a private song. . . . The motif may not be played by anyone else, and an infringement of this rule will certainly cause a violent quarrel, and may even lead to bloodshed. Nor is this surprising when it is remembered that a man blows his whistle motif in war and hunting to signify that he has obtained a kill and that it is his method of revealing his presence or identity from a distance.'

The Omukama of Nyoro keeps in his throne-room, suspended from the wall, a cone-flute (Plate 80, B1) of the smaller variety together with the flute described in §12. He believes that these two whistles were worn in Lango by the founder of the Babito dynasty when he received the messengers who offered the throne of Nyoro to him. The animal horn cone-flute is known in Nyoro as *muserule*.

9. *Cone-flute made of the tip of a gourd.* Such an instrument has been reported from Madi, where it is used by boys at play. Four rows of incised patterns embellish the wide part close to the straight rim of the embouchure (Plate 80, D). A fine hole in the tip provides the only stop. It measures ten cm. in length. The vernacular name is *oliko* or *gbere*. The flute of the Acoli is of similar design, except for the cupped embouchure.

10. *Composite wooden cone-flute.* Two wooden troughs are pressed rim to rim by the trachea of a cow or the skin of a lizard which fits over the troughs like a glove on a finger. The two troughs leave between them enough space for the slightly conical shaped cavity of the flute (Plate 80, E).

The composite cone-flutes either serve as an instrument of the court jester, or they form a set by themselves of perhaps twenty flutes. They are closely connected with the royal courts in Nyoro, Toro, and Nkole,

[1] *The Lango*, 1923, pp. 124–5.

also with the court jester in Ziba.[1] They are rapidly disappearing, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to hear them in a complete set. With the exception of Nkole,[2] the flutes are unknown outside the royal enclosure.

The court jester in Nyoro possesses such a flute which, apart from the general term of *nsegu*,[3] common to all these instruments, is called *ncwa*. It joins in with the side-blown trumpet set *amakondere* and with the battery of small cup-shaped drums *ntimbo*. Both occupy a privileged position at the court, in which *ncwa* shares. Legend has it that a *nsegu* flute once saved the life of the heir to the throne when King Chwa I was absent on a war expedition and a plot, designed to rob his heir of the throne, was discovered. The *nsegu* is said actually to have given the prearranged signal to unmask the plot.[4]

In Toro the sound of *nsegu* wakens the Omukama at night and in the morning, and it is blown when he goes to council. It is played together with the *ntimbo* as in Nyoro.

In Nkole it forms part of the regalia of the Omugabe and is kept with the two leading royal drums *byagendanwa*. Lukyn Williams[5] observes that this kind of flute is in common use amongst Hima and Iru, and that it is wrapped up in fibre. In Igara County of Ankole District *nshegu* flutes are well known. Several sets exist. Six players are usually required. The leading flute is called *enyahurro*, the second flute *enkombezi*, and the others are all named *empurru*. The *nshegu* songs deal with subjects like peace, success in war, or pleas addressed to the chief for a gift of beer and meat. It was pointed out to the writer that the verbal root *-shega* meant 'to beg'.

In Ziba the sound of the *nsegu* awakens the king every morning,[6] thus giving life to him, an idea not incompatible with the legends told in Nyoro and its function in Toro.

The *mala* of the Madi should be included in this paragraph on account of its construction. However, the taper of the cone is far more noticeable in the *mala* than it is in the *nshegu* instruments.

11. *Cone-flute with stops spaced along the surface.* In Lango animal horns or imitations in clay are played in a quintet. The tips of the horns are left solid, but there are three stops along the inside of the curvature of the horn. The members of the set vary in length from twenty cm. to fifty-four cm. Flutes with only two stops[7] are known, made of clay. Brass rings and iron chains are common embellishments, and the popular ornament of an empty cartridge case is often stuck over the tip of the horn (Plate 81, A). Driberg[8] describes the 'quintet' as follows: These 'flutes are known as bass flutes (*min bilo*, or mother flute), tenor flutes (*adadang*

[1] H. REHSE: *Kiziba Land und Leute*, 1910, p. 63. [2] *U.J.*, IV, 1937, p. 304.

[3] Cf. this with *osegu* or *oseke* in §4 above as used by Lugbara, Madi, and Alur for a stopped flute.

[4] *U.J.*, IV, 1937, pp. 73, 83. [5] *U.J.*, IV, 1937, p. 304.

[6] H. REHSE: *Kiziba Land und Leute*, 1910, p. 64. [7] See JB/49, f and h.

[8] *The Lango*, 1923, p. 124.

or *adange*), and treble flutes (*atin bilo*, child flute), according to their size, though there are naturally variations of size even within the same group. . . . They all have three stops, which are made by burning with a heated spear-butt, and the correctness with which they judge the intervals for boring the stops is remarkable. Indeed, it is unusual to see a flute which had to be re-stopped, the original stops having been filled up with bees-wax. The *atin bul* is also called *adum*, as, being high-pitched, its function is to play or "interpret" (*dumo*) the air. The *min bulo* supplies what is practically a figured bass, while the *adadang* repeats the air in fourths. A flute band consists of two *atin bilo*, one *adadang*, and two *min bulo*.'

An African informant referred to the set as *otule*, and stated that this name derived from the dance *otule* at which the flutes were played. He also distinguished between a Northern and a Southern Lango set; the former consisted of *mine*, *atong*, *aryem*, and *atin*, whereas the latter was composed of *mine*, *alub mine*, *atong*, *adyere*, *aryem*, and *atin*. Leadership was assumed sometimes by *aryem* and sometimes by *atong*.

A set of flutes made of clay was found to consist of—

1. one *min bilo*, the mother flute,
2. two *adang bile*, ?
3. two *adum bile*, the 'interpreter' flutes,
4. two *acok bile*, the flutes which 'stop first',
5. two *atin bile*, the child flutes,
6. one *adwili bilo*, the 'shrill note'.

Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 6 were tuned in octaves covering a range of three octaves; their length in cm. measured inside the cavity of the flute was fifty, twenty-four, twelve, and six respectively. Nos. 3 and 5 sounded the fourth above *adang* and *acok bilo* respectively; their inside measurements were eighteen and nine cm. roughly.

Another clay set was found to differ slightly from the above with regard to tuning and terminology.

Clay imitations of the horn sets are made and blown if no proper set is available. For their manufacture clay is built up in coils around a core which is removed as soon as the clay allows it. Carved wooden cores seem to be common, but in the absence of suitable wood the core is made of a strip of fibre from the leaf of the borassus palm. The strip is twisted in widening spirals so as to provide the funnel shape required by the cavity of the cone-flute (Plate 81, C). If necessary the clay flute is smoothed inside after the core has been taken out.

A small flute with three stops has been reported from the Alur under the name of *bilo*, used by chiefs as a signal whistle.

12. *Cone-flutes made of gourd with one stop along the surface.* This instrument has been found in Copi under the name of *kalur*. The Alur call it *kiluka*, and the Acoli call it *kilu*. The tip is blocked, but one single stop

is placed either halfway or towards the tip. The embouchure recalls the cupped mouthpiece of other stopped flutes mentioned previously. It is a small instrument of nine cm. in length, capable of several notes, which are produced by a combination of stopping the single hole, and of changing the angle between the lips of the player and the rim of the flute (Plate 81, B).

A single specimen of this instrument was also found in the throne room of the Omukama of Nyoro, together with the cone-flute made of the tip of an animal horn *muserule* (see §8).

13. *Plain cones without stops.* Doubts may be expressed with regard to plain cones from Konjo. They are first of all witchcraft instruments and charms, but informants say that they are blown and used like a whistle. Care is taken to embellish the stick or horn into which the actual cone has been set. According to Ankermann,[1] the Lendu, of whom a small group is settled within the West Nile district of Uganda, use elaborate carvings to adorn such a stick.

TRANSVERSE FLUTES

These are very rare. In more recent times European instruments imitated in bamboo are used as band instruments in schools. Genuine transverse flutes have been found in two types:

1. *Open transverse flute.* The tip of a lobelia, made into a flute, was found in the hands of a Gishu herd-boy at Bulambuli camp on Mt. Elgon. The embouchure is a rectangular hole near the end; this end of the pipe is of slightly wider diameter than the tip of the stalk. The smaller end is used as a stop (Plate 81, F). Vernacular: *ludaya*, from tree *mudaya*.

2. *Globular flute* (*ocarina*). Dry oncoba fruits are used, or the tip of a gourd. Three holes have been recorded: one each to the right and left, and the third hole placed on top as an embouchure (Plate 81, D and E). Globular flutes occur in Gishu, Nyole, and Gwere. Vernacular names are *kigwari*, *ebundi*, and *kigwara* respectively.

END-BLOWN TRUMPETS

End-blown trumpets in Uganda are found in a few places only, and where they do occur specimens are rare, and it is little wonder that their significance in ceremony, magical or social, is great. Trumpets are wind instruments blown with lip-vibration. This definition excludes those instruments which outwardly and according to the attitude of the player would appear to be trumpets, but which in fact are only hummed or spoken into; it would be advisable to use the term 'tuba' for these.

1. *Plain tube.* An intermediate form is played by the women of the Labwor in Karamoja. The total length of the tube is ninety-one cm., with an even diameter throughout of not more than 5·5 cm. There is no attempt whatever to accommodate the lips of the player at the embouchure,

[1] ANKERMANN: p. 36, Fig. 57.

which indeed would be superfluous in a tuba. It is blown into at either end with the cheeks well expanded; the hands hold it in the middle. The sound is of low pitch not unlike a fog-horn and was described by an African from the district as '*wu, wu*'. The lips are sunk deeply into the tube, and the whole tube is supposed to vibrate on its own note. The tube is made of the wood *aporo*; its name is derived from it. It is completely black from soot because the women keep it in the roof of their kitchens.

Its chief use is in the dance of the women, *acut*. There may be more than one *aporo* tuba, but other women who do not possess one sing in time together with the beats executed on the *aporo*. *Aporo* is also used to welcome home the returning husbands from a successful raid on a neighbouring tribe, to welcome the bridal procession bringing the possessions required for the marriage, to welcome home successful hunters, and lastly at the rain-seeking ceremony in the chief's village where they dance *acut*. (*Acut* means 'vulture', and the rain-seekers are supposed to resemble these birds as they seek their prey.) (Plate 82, A.)[1]

2. *Tube with gourd(s)*. The Teso trumpet *asukusuk* consists of a straight wooden tube with an oblong gourd attached to the lower end (Plate 82, B). The total length[2] is 140 cm. The trumpets are played by men in sets of three or more as accompaniment to dancing.

Two explanations for the derivation of the word *asukusuk* have been advanced. One connects it with the bird *esukusuk*, the ground hornbill, whose call the trumpet is said to imitate,[3] the other refers to the name of the county, Usuku, where the instrument is found. In Toroma the trumpet is called *atoros*.[4]

The *uluru* of the Madi is technically a bamboo trumpet to which a large calabash has been added by means of one or two small gourd joints. In a specimen in the Uganda Museum[5] the straight bamboo tube is twenty-two cm. long, the gourd joint measures seven cm., and the large calabash thirty cm. In another specimen two joints are employed. The first joint and the bamboo tube are covered and stitched together by a narrow leather collar. Occasionally the joints and seams are sealed with red clay. The large calabash is provided with a circular hole in the centre of the bottom of about five to seven cm. in diameter; the rim of the sound-hole is often decorated with a ring of cowrie-shells (Plate 82, C).

The *uluru* is played in important dances; each clan is said to own such an instrument. The sound of the trumpet is supposed to represent the growl of a lion.

It is noteworthy that the calabash is not conical in shape, as it would be if it were to serve as the 'bell' of an ordinary trumpet, but rather like

[1] The information on the functions of the *aporo* has been collected by Rev. Norman Worton.

[2] JB/123. [3] R. WARD (1944): Personal communication.

[4] P. COUTTS (1950): Personal communication re *Usuku* and *atoros*.

[5] JB/87.

a separate sound vessel into which the tuba is inserted. The composite nature of the *uluru* recalls the tall end-blown trumpets of the Luo in Kavirondo, who, in a similar manner, employ a large calabash attached to an animal horn.

3. *Gourd trumpet.* The Lugbara employ occasionally a bottle-shaped gourd as an end-blown trumpet in place of the side-blown animal horn *guke.* The gourd instrument is called *luru.*[1]

With regard to the end-blown trumpet of the Ganda there can be little doubt that it is a trumpet blown with lip vibration proper. This is the *eggwara* or *kawunde* (Plate 82, E, and Plate 103). Tradition reports that there are not more than four instruments in the country: one is still in use in the Kabaka's enclosure, another was given to the Uganda Museum,[2] probably by Sir Apolo Kagwa, and the other two are as yet unaccounted for, although one of them might be in the hands of a person known to the court musicians.

The two instruments—in the Lubiri and in the Museum—consist of the conical and more or less straight tube of a gourd. The mouthpiece is provided for in the scar on top where the narrow gourd was attached to the stalk of the plant, an embouchure which strongly resembles the modern trumpet embouchure in European instruments. At the other end a slightly wider piece of gourd has been sewn on to serve as the bell of the trumpet. The whole is covered with cow skin, on to which traditional patterns in beads are stitched. From this comes the name *akawunde,* signifying anything embroidered with beads. The instrument in the Museum shows only one single row of cowrie shells around the rim of the bell, but the trumpet still in use in the Kabaka's enclosure possesses a bell more distinct than the Museum specimen and covered completely with cowrie-shells.

The official title of the men who blew it is *abakanga.*[3] But this word is little known. In Nyoro and Toro the *nkaanga* are tall, slim gourds grown by the Omukama for the single purpose of supplying the raw material for his *side-blown* trumpets. In Nkole, musicians referred to one particular member of the side-blown set as *nkaanga.* In Luluhya, spoken in Kavirondo, the word *likhaanga*[4] signifies a tall side-blown trumpet made of a wooden pipe and a cow's horn. Only the Logo apply the term *kanga* to an end-blown instrument. According to Father B. Costermans[5] the Logo could not dance without their national *kanga*; he writes of a set of seven trumpets and records their individual names.

[1] J. MIDDLETON (1950): Personal communication. [2] JB/19.

[3] According to the late *Kimomera.* Mr. M. B. Nsimbi informed the writer that Mubiru, the head of the Mamba clan in the days of the legendary Kintu, is said to have assigned the task of playing his trumpet set to his grandchildren who to this day are called *abakanga.* A piece of land close to where Mubiru is supposed to have settled is still referred to as Bukanga.

[4] L. APPLEBY: *A Luluhya-English Vocabulary,* 1943, p. 101.

[5] B. COSTERMANS, O.P.: 'Muziek-Instrumenten van Watsa-Gombari an omstreken', *Zaire,* June 1947, p. 634.

There is only one trumpeter left in Ganda who is on duty on special occasions in the king's enclosure. He is a member of the Mamba clan, and insists on the tradition that only members of his clan have been in charge of the trumpet. Tradition also ascribes the instrument to Kintu, who was supposed to have brought it from the slopes of Mt. Elgon. Since the Mamba clan itself arrived in the country as immigrants from the east together with Kintu,[1] there is no contradiction in these traditions. Another view held by the *akawunde* trumpeter is that side-blown trumpets are a later invention which superseded the end-blown instrument of the early days. The alternative name *eggwara* for the *akawunde* points towards Soga, where it is employed for side-blown trumpets. In Ganda the word *amagwara* now signifies European brass instruments.

The *akawunde* enjoys the privilege of being played together with the royal battery of drums *mujaguzo* in the presence of the Kabaka seated on the throne. The *akawunde* trumpeter does not do any periodical service, *kisanja*, in the Kabaka's enclosure, but is called upon when a special occasion arises. The trumpeter himself, who is now in charge of the instrument,[2] believes that once there were many more of them and that they had technical names in their set such as *ntabintabi*, *ensosi*, and *enteengezi*, words known from the side-blown sets and from the notched flute ensemble of *baakisimba*.

All these data are of interest, but it is astounding how few people know of the existence of *akawunde* and how difficult it is to obtain information.[3] Kagwa[4] is completely silent on this point, although reference to the instrument would have been natural in his description of the duties and privileges of the Mamba clan at the Lubiri. One may also wonder how it was possible that a sister instrument of *akawunde* could have found its way into the Uganda Museum without some record or memory of the circumstances of the acquisition if it had been of such venerable age as modern informants would have us believe.

If the *akawunde* had been a completely isolated example of an end-blown trumpet one would have suspected that it was of more recent origin, an invention conceived perhaps in similar circumstances as the *kigowa* drums described by Father Thoonen.[5] However, in view of the flourishing existence of the end-blown *kanga* trumpets west of Lake Albert, the

[1] Cf. below, p. 354, footnote 7.

[2] Omw. Petero Kulabigwo.

[3] Information was supplied by Omw. Petero Kulabigwo and the late *Kimomera*.

[4] Kagwa (*Ebika*).

[5] *Black Martyrs*, 1942, p. 88: 'Andrew Kaggwa received a similar mark of royal favour. He remained chief drummer of the European drums, and a new and important military commission, called the "Kigowa", was also created for him. The Arabs had often spoken of the Goans who served as bandsmen to the Sultan of Zanzibar. On ascending to the throne Mwanga also wanted to have his "Kigowa" (Ki-Goa), or band with European drums and cymbals. Andrew in his new office as master of the King's Band, received a special grant of land at Kiwatule hill now called "*kigowa*".'

alleged ancient tradition of the *akawunde* cannot be dismissed as an unfounded rumour. It is to be hoped that further evidence may become available and throw light on the history of *akawunde*.

4. *Oblique embouchure.* There is a fourth type of trumpet to be considered. Its most characteristic feature is the obliquely cut embouchure which, in Uganda, occurs in instruments of narrow, cylindrical bore. In Toro and Ganda these instruments are treated as imitations of the European bugle and bugle calls are executed on them. But in Gishu this practice is unknown, and the trumpet with the oblique embouchure is thought to be indigenous.

In Acoli, Ganda, and Toro the bell consists of a piece of gourd which opens out like the bell of a brass instrument. The opening is bent back (Plate 82, D), so that it faces the musician. In Gishu the bell is made from an elongated, spherical gourd which is fixed to the tube with its narrow end. A small hole is cut into the apex of the gourd similar to the *asukusuk* (Plate 82, B). The instrument has so far only been found in the neighbourhood of Buluceke, where it is known as *icombi*.

5. *Funnel-shaped embouchure.* The *olwet* of the Acoli is similarly designed, but the embouchure consists of a straight rim into which in some specimens a funnel-like mouthpiece has been inserted. This looks very much like a European brass instrument, especially on account of the mouthpiece. Against this should be held the local opinion that the *olwet* had been introduced before the arrival of the brass bugle. An *olwet* in the Uganda Museum[1] possesses another feature of probably European origin; the tube has been forced to form a loop in the shape of a bugle (Plate 82, D and F).

6. *Cow's horn.* A single specimen of an end-blown cow's horn, much used, has been found in Amba. It was made in 1935, and has now been used for ten years and gained great popularity in the neighbourhood. The vernacular name is *kidiyo*, which the Amba also apply to the side-blown ivory tusk. This is probably the result of the desire to imitate the end-blown trumpets of European bands.

End-blown trumpets are extraordinarily rare, not only in Uganda. An instrument of the Zulu, the *icilongo*, is described by Kirby,[2] who suspects it to be the result of European influence. Sachs[3] can only report with certainty of an end-blown gourd trumpet from Agu (Togo), Shari, and the Luo. As to the tuba, he records its occurrence in Kafa, with the Shambala, Loango, and Safwa.[4]

SIDE-BLOWN TRUMPETS

Ivory tusks are used in the west of Uganda, where the influence of the Congo Bantu is felt. Animal horns are universal. Very few specimens of wooden trumpets exist, and cannot be ascribed to any locality; they

[1] JB/122. [2] KIRBY: pp. 80–82. [3] SACHS: p. 79. [4] SACHS: p. 31.

probably are copies of ivory tusks or gourd trumpets, with the exception of the Lugbara, Kakwa, and Madi, of instruments which are described below.[1] Gourd trumpets, particularly if blown in sets, are a preserve of Bantu Uganda. Composite trumpets may be a misnomer, but the term at least indicates that the instrument consists not of one single piece but of several: the wooden core is made up of two troughs glued rim to rim, and is enclosed in a skin cover; the skin cover is not an embellishment but a structural part of the instrument. These trumpets are characteristic of Madi, Alur, Acoli, Lango, Teso, and Karamoja.

1. *Ivory trumpets.* The Amba use ivory tusks as side-blown trumpets. The wall of the tusk is thinned down from the outside, but a rhomboid block is left standing to form the prominent mouthpiece. Snake or lizard skin serves as ornamental cover, and tufts of hair adorn the wide opening. The tip of the tusk is pierced to provide a stop. In playing, variation in pitch is achieved, not only by using the stop, but by applying the palm of the hand to the wide opening. In one specimen a cowrie-shell was found to be embedded in the bottom of the embouchure. This is certainly not a place to attach an ornament; it was put there more likely for magical reasons. In this connection it should be remembered that as a rule cowrie-shells do not occur on musical instruments in Uganda except on drums and trumpets (Plate 83, B).

Men who cannot afford an ivory instrument blow on a cow's horn. The trumpet is used on journeys, to give signals, and for personal enjoyment. The instruments are never used in a set as in Ashanti,[2] nor do they reach the great length which has been reported from the Zande,[3] not very far from Amba, where instruments of more than 150 cm. in length occur.

2. *Animal horns.* These are very common. Raw material is provided by the horns of antelopes and other game. Cow's horns are only employed where ivory tusks or game horns are inaccessible. Their manufacture is simple; no attempt is made as a rule to smooth the undulations natural in many horns.

The embouchure consists of a plain oval hole at the side, and it can be said that the hole will be made in the middle of the horn if the tip is left solid, and that it will move towards the tip if the latter is pierced to provide a stop. This is not only the case where the tip has been shortened. The pierced tip is more common in Uganda than the solid tip (Plate 104).

Decorations are sometimes attempted. Apart from the leather thong from which the trumpet is suspended, the horn may be covered tightly in skin, leaving bare sections towards the tip and the rim. To a witch-doctor's trumpet from Ganda, cowrie-shells, a bunch of skins, and skulls of a small rodent have been attached. A horn *tori* (Plate 83 C) from the 'Belinyan Bari, a tribe no longer within the Protectorate, is embellished by a neatly plaited bell of wicker-work stitched on to the wide opening

[1] p. 353. [2] R. S. RATTRAY: *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, 1927, pp. 114–5.

[2] ANKERMANN: p. 44.

of the horn, and by a handle in the middle, of the same workmanship.

In Ganda, horns (Plate 83, D) are either hunting horns or belong to the witch-doctor's armamentarium. The trumpet described above with the skins and skulls is used to produce a trance in its owner and to allow the voice of a spirit to speak through it. The *obute* of the Acoli is blown as an alarm, to call people on special occasions, such as the death of an important person, at the approach of a dangerous animal, or for battle. The *ture angwa* (Plate 83, F) of the Madi, and the *guke* of the Lugbara, are used by men and boys in most of their dances. In Karamoja the *aluut* is not found at dances; herd boys employ the horn to frighten away hyaenas. The *nakamunsale* of Ganda and the small horn of Soga are made also of animal horns. They form part of the side-blown trumpet sets *amakondere* and *amagwara*, and are therefore treated later in §5.

3. *Horn trumpet with gourd bell.* Combinations of gourd and horn have not been observed in Uganda, apart from a remarkable instrument in Soga.[1] This was made of *nsunu*, *Cobus Cob* (?), to which a short section from a gourd was sewn to act as a bell. The trumpet is short and accordingly of high pitch. The joint between gourd and horn was covered with a belt or collar of *kasimba* (Genet cat) skin and a tuft of sisal fibre adorned the bell. It was the leading instrument of the side-blown gourd trumpets described in §5, and the counterpart to the trumpet *nakamunsale* belonging to the Ganda set *amakondere*.

4. *Trumpets carved from wood.* Wooden trumpets are made by the Kakwa, Madi, and, with the addition of a calabash as head-piece, by the Lugbara. Both instruments are tall and heavy. A few old small trumpets have been found elsewhere; they have the appearance of freaks, but possibly further data may correct this view.

The *yuge* of the Kakwa is carved in one piece. It measures[2] 138 cm. in length and 23 cm. across the open, lower end. The tip is crowned by a knob in the shape of a truncated pyramid with six sides. The embouchure consists of a plain hole close to the tip. There is no stop in the tip. The Kakwa say that the *yuge* is related to the *mare* of the Lugbara described below. It is blown to call people to the dance and at the dance itself to 'make the drums sound sweet' (Plate 83, H).

The *limba* of the Madi is very rare. In contrast to the *yuge* of the Kakwa, their neighbours, it is short, that is, about sixty cm. in length, and its graceful shape represents a human figure; the knob at the tip is carved in the form of a head, and the embouchure is placed where the navel would be. The instrument is carved out of one block of wood. The specimen seen was rather crude; according to the people at Moyo far more beautiful trumpets had been known to exist in the past.

The *mare* of the Lugbara is a wooden trumpet in so far as the main

[1] J. Middleton (1951) in a personal communication reports a similar instrument covered with hide from the Lugbara, called *luru*.

[2] JB/128.

tube is a wooden cylinder of wide diameter, but the 'head-piece', fixed to one end of the tube, consists of a spherical gourd of slightly larger diameter than the tube. The embouchure is placed in the side of the head-piece, and for this purpose a circular hole is cut usually less than three cm. in diameter. The other end of the tube is open. It is played side-blown, with fully extended cheeks and the mouth pressed against the hole, while the open end of the trumpet is turned downwards or kept under the left arm.

The function of the trumpets is to underline the beats of the drums. Two *mare* are considered sufficient, one high and one low, *mva* and *andri* (Plate 83, G).

In Uganda the *yuge*, *limba*, and *mare* are unique, but in the Belgian Congo the *yuge* is known by the Bongo[1] and the Babwende,[2] who play the instruments in sets of three and two respectively. The Pitt-Rivers Museum possesses a particularly fine trumpet of this type[3] from the East African coast.

5. *Side-blown gourd trumpets.* These are characteristic for the court ceremonial of the rulers and more important chiefs in Bantu Uganda and beyond the border in Tanganyika. They are played in consorts belonging to the courts and are kept up by the rulers in Ganda, Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, and Kooki, where they hold official titles. In Gwere a set of trumpets is kept by the Bansenza, a Babito clan. It forms part of the *binaceri*, the regalia of the Babito in Gwere.[4] Kollmann[5] found a set at the court of Rukiga, Sultan of Budu, and in Ziba. Soga is the exception, since there a set is at the disposal of anyone who can afford it. In the hereditary chieftainship of Kooki in the south of Uganda, men are no longer to be found who would be willing to perform on the trumpet set.

In Ganda a peculiar tradition is expressed in the description of the set as 'Busoga bands' as Roscoe reports,[6] or as 'Bamogera' in remembrance of the place of origin of the Mamba clan,[7] since the Mamba people were concerned with trumpets[8] more than any other clan. In Nkole it is believed that the trumpets came from Kooki.

From a technological point of view the instrument is primitive (Plate 83, A). A plain gourd, of slightly conical and sometimes irregular and twisted shape almost like an animal horn, an oval hole near the tip, a fine hole in the tip itself,[9] and the gourd covered in cow's skin—that is the

[1] G. SCHWEINFURTH: *The Heart of Africa*, II, 1873, p. 404.

[2] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1932, 64, p. 162, Fig. 3.

[3] Called *siwa*, 'symbol of authority of the chief of Wende'.

[4] This set is not entirely composed of gourd trumpets. Many are made from *njobe* (*linotragus spekei*) and *nsama* (waterbuck) horns.

[5] P. KOLLMANN: *The Victoria Nyanza*, 1899, pp. 38, 96.

[6] *The Baganda*, 1911, p. 31.

[7] Kagwa (*Empisa*), p. 3, §7. 'Bumogera' is probably an area somewhere between the Nile and Kavirondo.

[8] See above, p. 350.

[9] In Soga a set was found with blocked tips.

renowned *ekkondere*, or *eggwara* as it is called in Soga. Sometimes successive layers of skin are applied to strengthen a dilapidated or broken gourd, with the result that in an old specimen the core may be almost worn away, while the stiff leather covers keep the instrument serviceable. In Soga pieces of gourd are telescoped and sewn together to achieve the particular shape and length desired by the maker. In Nyoro a piece of calabash slightly wider in diameter than that of the tube is sometimes sewn on to the gourd as the bell of the instrument; thin string is wound round the whole in wide spirals and cow's skin, from which the fur has been removed, is fitted over the trumpet as the final cover. In Toro the trumpets are treated with butter, and this and frequent use have turned the colour of the skin a deep black. In Soga no skin cover is applied, but the gourds are left to display a beautiful brown colour natural to them.

The three *nyamarra* of the Omukama of Nyoro are especially well decorated. They join the *amakondere* set proper, but occupy an exalted position, and are even counted amongst the regalia. The Omukama published a picture of the instruments.[1] One is embellished by a cover made from beads worked in the well-known zigzag pattern; the second trumpet is decorated by a sequence of six belts of triangular bead patterns near the tip, then five rings of cowrie-shells, followed again by three belts of the triangular bead pattern, and finally by five rings of cowrie-shells near the rim of the bell. The third trumpet is practically identical with the second, but it has those sections bare which in the other instruments are covered with beads.

One of the trumpets is alleged to have been in the possession of the first Mubito ruler in Nyoro; they were established later on as regalia to commemorate the occasion of his being called to Nyoro.[2] This legend connected with the arrival of the Babito dynasty is the same as that narrated with regard to the cone-flutes *muserule* (see p. 344). Traditions and even nomenclature in connection with the *nyamarra* are inconsistent. Nothing is known about the origin of the extensive ornamentation of the three trumpets, although it is probably of fairly recent date.

The colourful decoration of the *nyamarra* is an exception; for the remainder of the *amakondere* in Nyoro and elsewhere Kagwa's description[3] of them as 'stalks of tall vegetable marrows' is adequate. Their social significance and the beauty of sound produced by a set surpasses their value as objects of art. Their privileges are important. During the coronation ceremony of Kabaka Mutesa II, the set of trumpets *amakondere* were the only instruments which had the honour of playing alternately with the royal battery of drums at the traditional site at Budo. Lukyn Williams[4] includes them amongst the regalia in Kooki. In Ganda there are probably eight, ten, or more sets of *amakondere*, settled in the Kabaka's villages; several villages have their full complement of players, or a set

[1] *U.J.*, IV, 1937, p. 292. [2] *U.J.*, IV, 1937, p. 295. [3] Kagwa (*Empisa*), p. 276.
[4] *U.J.*, IV, 1937, p. 314, 'made for the occasion' (?).

may be spread over more than one village. The players are called up for a period of up to two months to do the term of service in the royal enclosure. In Nyoro and Toro their official title is *omupuya* (singular) for musicians settled in the counties of Mwenge, Kyaka, Bugang'adzi and further north, and their homes are often far away from the court.

A modern custom of combining several royal bands in one orchestra on the occasion of the Kabaka's birthday has developed since the days of Kabaka Chwa, the father of the present ruler. Thus there may be sixty-four or more trumpeters playing in a combined effort, and it is on these occasions that they probably forget their exclusive character and mix freely with other musicians of less exalted position. These birthday celebrations are always mentioned by royal musicians in conversation; they must take an important place in Ganda musical history, and are always described as an innovation.

The exclusiveness of the trumpeter guilds—it is difficult to resist the parallel—is reminiscent of that of medieval guilds of trumpeters and drummers. In Uganda, when the trumpets did intermingle with other instruments in the past, it was only with those of a still more exalted position than themselves. Cases in point are the *mujaguzo* drums in Ganda and the cone-flute *nchwa* and the drums *ntimbo* in Nyoro.

In discussing the composition of the sets there are several points to be stressed. In the principal sets, in Ganda, Soga, and Nyoro, there is an additional trumpet, or in the case of Nyoro, group of three trumpets, either of high pitch or at least made of different material or with different embellishments. These play with the common instruments, yet are given a separate place from the others. In Ganda, although there are several *amakondere* sets, there is only one single *nakamunsale*,[1] or to give it its simple name, *jjembe*, meaning 'horn', which is kept at Kasambya in Kyagwe County. The head of the Kasambya set holds the highest title amongst all *amakondere* officials, *Mumyuka*, and it is he who is in charge of *nakamunsale*, but at present there is nobody who would play it. It is said to be made of the horn of *nsama*, water buck, and decorated with a brass ring and a strip of leopard skin.

A common feature of the sets is their composition in units of five: the sixth trumpet is the beginning of another unit, an octave higher or lower as the case may be. In Soga instruments of the lower octave are referred to by their technical name (see Table No. 3) plus the adjective *enkulu*, and those of the higher octave are given the adjective *entono*, meaning 'big' and 'small' respectively. Each instrument may be represented in the set by more than one specimen. Thus it will easily be understood how it is that Kintu[2] speaks of fifteen to twenty trumpets in Soga. This

[1] The data referring to this instrument could not be checked personally by the writer, but they are included here since the African informants seemed to be reliable.

[2] *U.T.J.*, II, p. 90.

feature seems to be characteristic of most trumpet sets, but at the same time variations in detail do occur.

Technical terms for the members of the 'unit' are applied everywhere; their similarity is remarkable. They are altogether unlike Bantu words, and although they sound like Nilotic words there is no evidence to suggest a Nilotic origin for them. The Alur use similar trumpets, and further investigation may reveal some relationship between them and the Bantu sets or even trace a common ancestor.

In Table No. 3 these technical terms are set out:

TABLE NO. 3

	Nyoro	*Toro*	*Nkole*[1]	*Ganda*	*Soga*
1	*Entabi*	*Entabi*	*Entabya*	*Enjauzi*	*Endumirizi*
2	*Eteru*	*Muteru*	*Emyongo**	*Endese*	*Endesi*
3	*Olangi*	*Mulangi*	*Omurangi*	*Ensasi*	*Endasasi*
4	*Kikara*	*Nkara*	*Enkanga**	*Enkoli*	*Empala*
5	*Rudyangi*	*Dyangi*	*Ekigunda*	*Enzigalizi*	*Enyana*

Trumpet No. 1 has the highest pitch in the unit. The words were taken down from the musicians' mouths, and no doubt confusion and corruption have had a hand in giving them their present form; the Bantu tongue changed the foreign word to some more familiar pattern. There is also some likeness to harp terms in Nyoro (cf. p. 397).

In Soga and Ziba trumpeters are fond of executing certain dances during a performance (Plate 105, A). In Toro boys use the hollow stalk of the pawpaw leaf to make their own toy instruments.

6. *Composite trumpets.* This type of side-blown trumpet consists of a wooden core and a skin cover. The core is made of two troughs glued rim to rim and pressed together in a skin cover. In Karamoja, an informant says, another method of preparing a piece of wood is to hollow it out from one end; both methods are known there. Kirby[2] met the same design in a trumpet of the Venda and suggests that in the case of the Venda lack of a supply of suitable animal horns accounted for the composite wooden trumpet. Since all trumpets of this construction in Uganda are extremely tall one could extend this argument, and say that the composite form was adopted wherever animal horns proved too short for the intention of the maker.

European musical history can also contribute to the problem in the shape of the Zink of the late Middle Ages and the Alphorn of modern times. Both employ a wooden core made up of two halves; the Zink is wrapped in leather and the Alphorn has a bark cover. In both cases

[1] The Nkole names were taken down by an inexperienced assistant; their relative position in the basic unit is not quite certain. The words marked * are obviously names for 'gourd'.

[2] KIRBY: p. 75.

musical intentions decide the choice of material and construction, and in the case of the composite side-blown trumpets in Uganda one may assume that no other suitable raw material could be found of such length as the Acoli and Lango require for their trumpets. Where and how this desire for tall instruments was created in the Acoli and others, is a more difficult question. It is interesting to note that the same design is used in the cone-flute *nsegu* (see p. 344).

Trumpets with wooden core and leather cover occur in Karamoja under the name of *arupepe*, in Acoli as *tuum*, in Lango as *gwara me akuta*, in Madi as *turi* or *ture turungule*. The Lango make especially fine instruments of narrow bore, extremely thin wall, and of light weight. The bore almost approaches the cylindrical bore of a European trumpet. The trumpets are covered with a smooth, black skin, and often have a cartridge case thrust over the tip with the detonator bottom removed, to keep the stop in the tip free for use. These trumpets are comparatively short, about seventy-five cm. in length, as against the Acoli or Madi instruments, ranging from eighty cm. to 165 cm. as measured on Museum specimens. The embouchure of the Lango trumpet is carefully carved and raised above the surface of the trumpet tube. In Madi and Acoli the embouchure is of a heavier type, as is natural in a tall instrument (Plate 83, I). In Karamoja feathers are kept inside the trumpets to keep them in good condition.

In Alur sets of trumpets known as *agwara* are blown everywhere for dancing. They consist of eight instruments ranging from 200 cm. to fifty cm. in length. The wooden core is carved in two troughs pressed rim to rim and sewn into a cover made from cow skin. Technical terms are used to identify each instrument in the set, but there seem to be slight variations from place to place. The following terms were noted, beginning with the tallest instrument:

At Zeu:	*At Payida:*
Min agwara	*Min agwara*
Molobe	*Min manok*
Jumba	*Min mulube*
Makambi	*Arum*
Makambi	*Kakambi*
Arum	*Angola*
Nyare	*Nyig agwara*
Nyatine	*Nyitin agwara*

A similar set of technical terms is used for the strings of the Alur harp.

Apart from the commonly used large trumpet, the Alur possess sets of short side-blown trumpets called *kanga*. These are considered part of the Sultan's regalia which are kept at his residence at Warr. Five sets altogether were found to be stored at Warr in a gunny bag, the only *kanga* in Alur. The instruments are short, covered with cow-hide, and

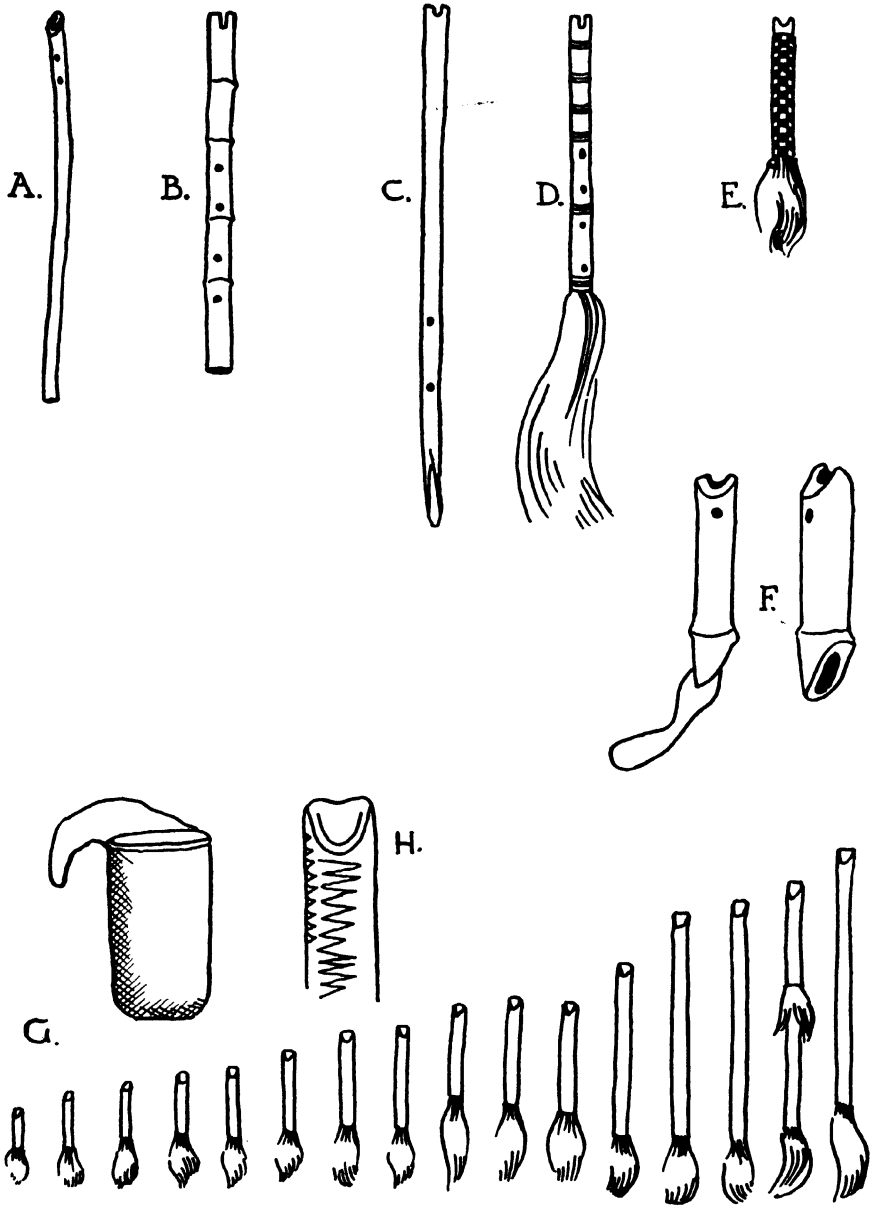
they could easily be mistaken for the *amakondere* of the Nyoro, Ganda, and Nkole, if it was not for the prominent embouchure unknown in Bantu countries. In all other respects their construction is identical with the *agwara*.

The *kanga* sets are played only on rare occasions. According to the retainers of the Sultan they were brought out when a member of the Sultan's family had died or for an accession ceremony.

Decorations in Acoli often consist of a single row of cowrie-shells along the rim of the bell, and lines of cowrie-shells sewn on the bell, parallel to the axis of the tube, for about twenty to thirty cm. Leather thongs are plaited into the spirals of lizard skin which, as a rule, completely cover the Madi and Acoli instruments. Halfway down, the thongs form two loops for the dancer to hold with two fingers of the same hand which carries bow and arrows. The loose ends of these thongs carry tiny concussion 'bells without clapper' which strike against each other and produce a tinkling sound (see p. 326).

The task of the player in holding the larger variety of instrument can be nothing but uncomfortable (e.g. Plate 105, B). The strain on the lips must be great; according to a District Medical Officer it is not unusual after important dances for musicians to have their lips treated at the dispensary the next morning.

PLATE 79



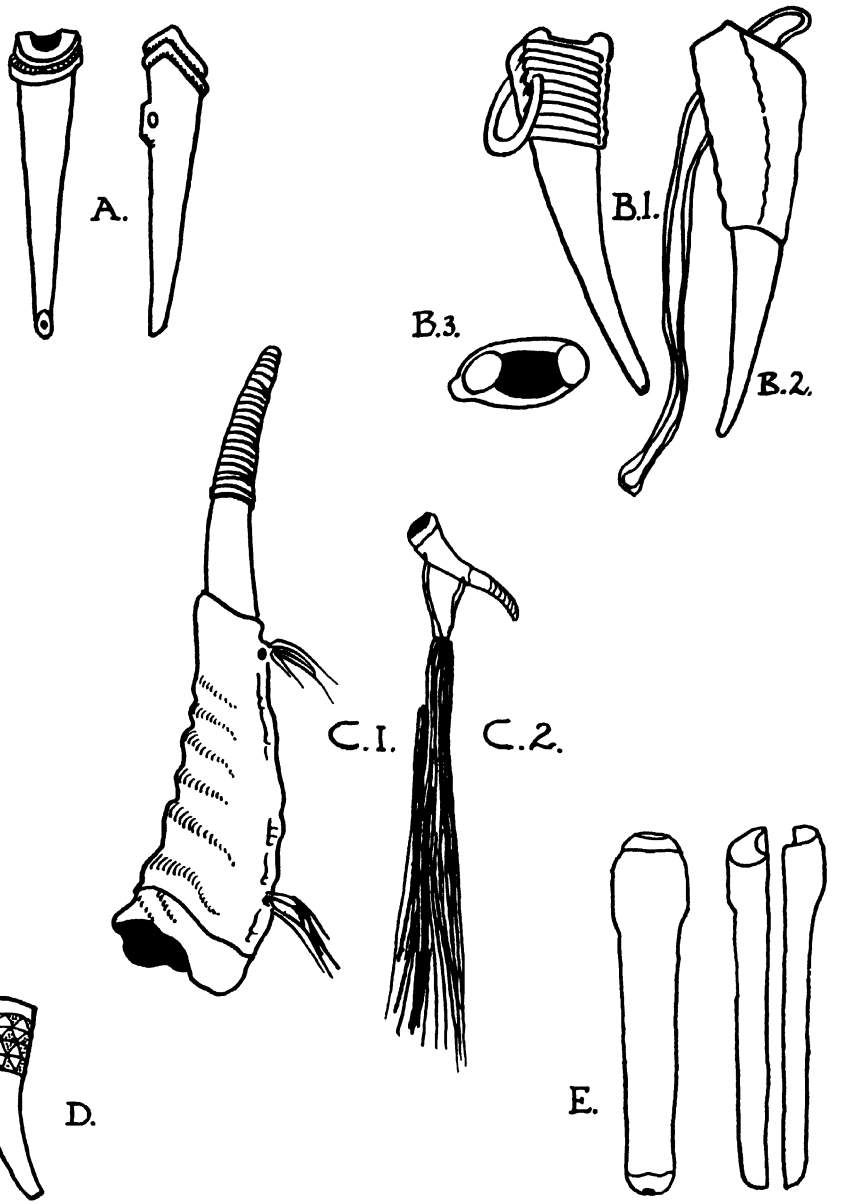
AEROPHONES (I)

Open flutes and stopped flutes

A. Open Flute made of bark stripped whole off a branch—Karamoja. N.B. It is blown at the straight rim shown at the bottom B. Notched flute made of swamp reed—Ganda. C. Notched flute made of the stalk column of a lobelia—Kiga. D. Notched flute with ornamental cuffs made of brass or copper wire, and with a goat's hair tassel—Ganda. E. Stopped flute with ornamentation—Konjo. F. Stopped flute (bamboo) with one stop on surface—Ganda. G. Set of stopped flutes with storing basket—Amba. H. Zigzag pattern burnt into the surface of some of the flutes in the set G.

Scale: A to D, G, 1 : 12·5. E, F, 1 : 6. H, actual size. G, basket 1 : 15.

PLATE 80

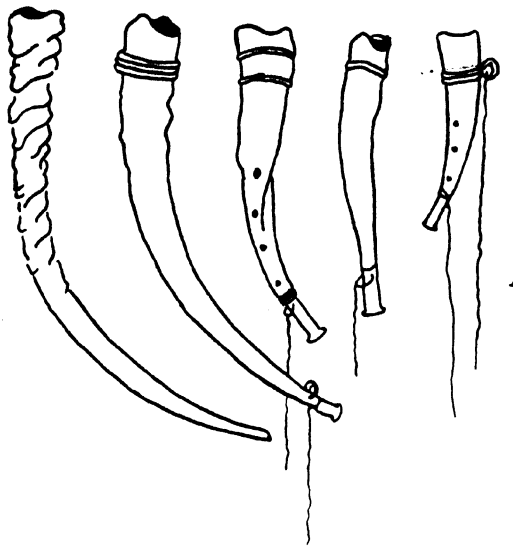


AEROPHONES (II)

Cone-flutes

A. Wooden cone-flute with stop in the tip—Amba. B.1. Animal horn flute decorated with a wide cuff of plaited thongs, with a stop in the tip—Lango. B.2. Animal horn flute, partly wrapped in leather, with a stop in the tip—Acoli. B.3. Embouchure of animal horn flute seen from above and showing the corners of the flute buttressed up with lumps of bees' wax. C.1. Animal horn flute with a stop in the tip. C.2. The flute in C.1 with its ornamental tail—Lango. D. Flute made of a piece of gourd with a stop in the tip—Madi. E. Composite cone-flute made of wood in a skin cover and composite cone-flute with skin cover removed and showing the two halves of the wooden core—Nyoro.

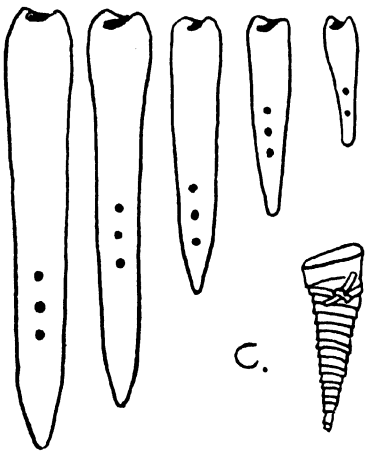
Scale: A, B, C. 1, D, E, 1 : 3. C. 2, 1 : 16.



A.



B.



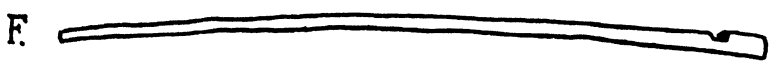
C.



D.



E.



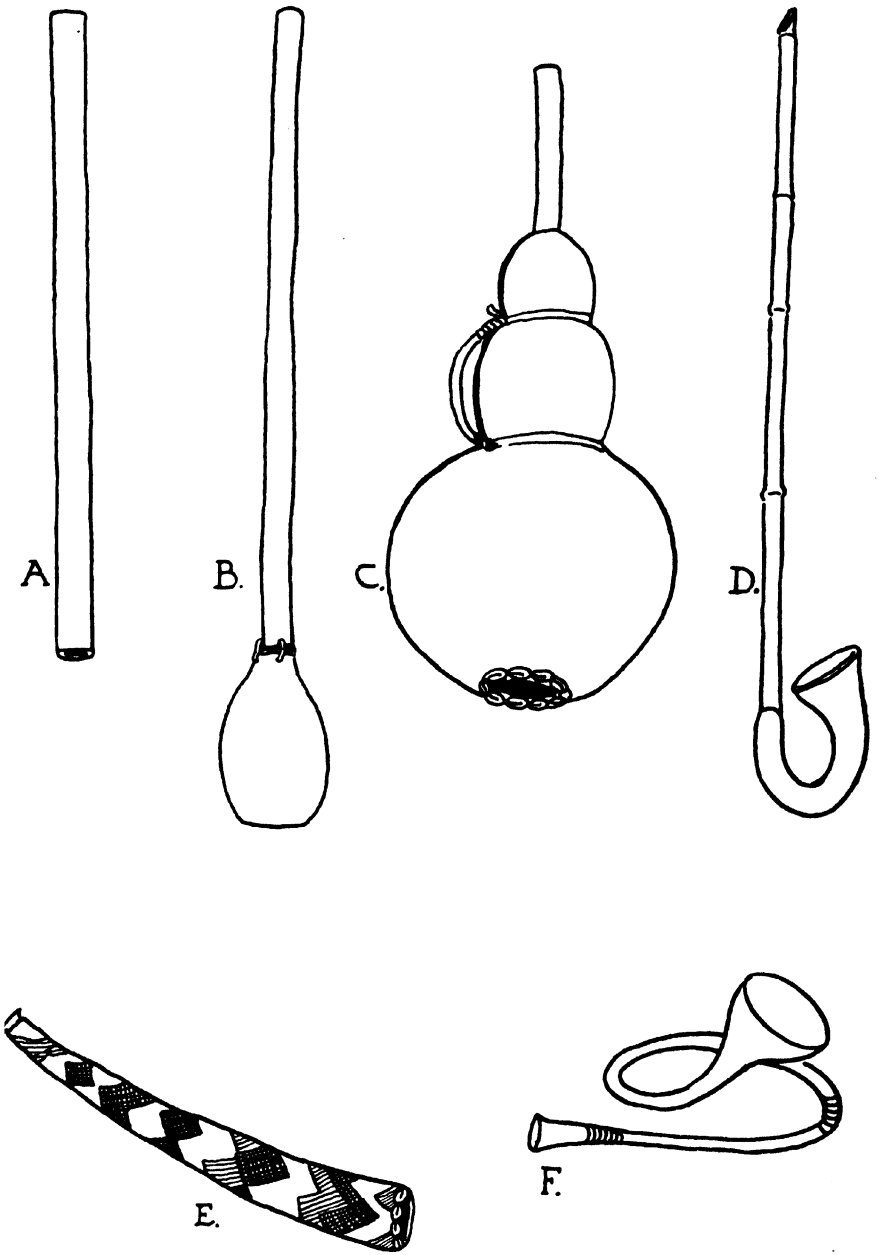
F.

AEROPHONES (III)

Cone-flutes (continued) and transverse flutes

A. Quintet of animal horn flutes with three stops on surface and solid tip—Lango. B. Cone-flute made of gourd with one stop on surface—Copi. C. Set of cone-flutes made of clay, and funnel made of twisted fibre used sometimes in the manufacture of clay instruments—Lango. D. Globular flute (ocarina) made from the tip of a gourd—Gwere. E. Globular flute (ocarina) made from an Oncoba seed-shell—Gishu. F. Open transverse flute—Gishu.

Scale: A, C, F, 1 : 75. B, D, E, 1 : 4.



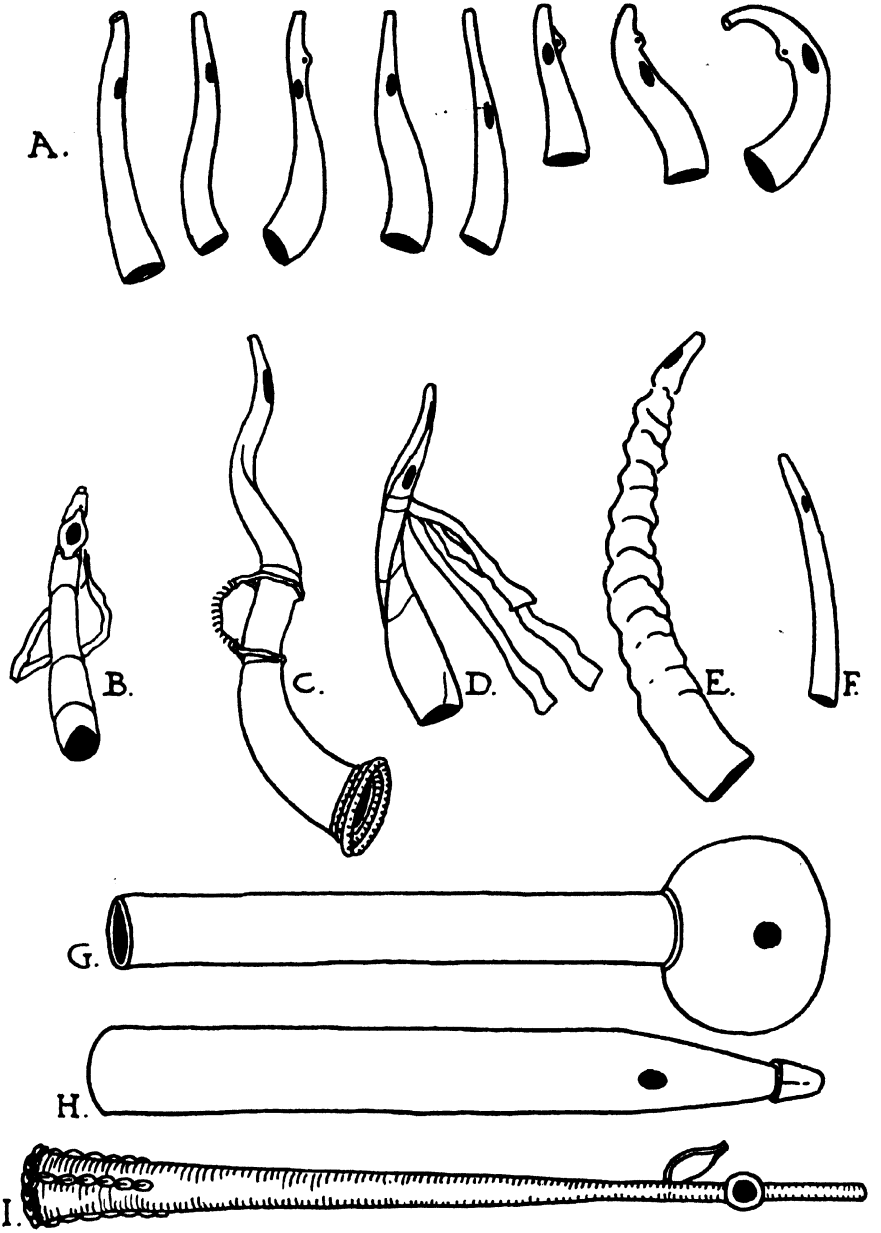
AEROPHONES (IV)

End-blown trumpets

A. The APORO—Labwor. B. The ASUKUSUK—Teso. C. The ULURU—Madi. D. The OLWET, probably an imitation of a European bugle—Acoli. E. The gourd trumpet AKAWUNDE (specimen in Uganda Museum)—Ganda. F. Another type of OLWET made of pieces of gourd—Acoli.

Scale: A, B, 1 : 10. C to F, 1 : 6.

PLATE 83



AEROPHONES (V)

Side-blown trumpets

A. Set of eight side-blown trumpets AMAKONDERE made of gourd—Ganda. B. Ivory tusk—Amba. C. Trumpet with short wicker work bell—'Belinyan Bari. D. Animal horn trumpet with skins and skulls of a rodent employed for magico-religious purposes—Ganda. E. Animal horn trumpet—Lango. F. Animal horn trumpet—Madi. G. The MARE, a wooden side-blown trumpet with a head-piece made of gourd—Lugbara. H. The YUGE, a wooden side-blown trumpet with solid tip—Kakwa. I. Composite side-blown trumpet—Acoli.

Scale: A, H, I, 1 : 12·5. B to G, 1 : 7.

CHAPTER III

MEMBRANOPHONES

A CLASSIFICATION of drums in Uganda based on the shape and design of their resonators would be unprofitable. The reason for this will be found in the great number of border-line cases, if terms like 'cylindrical' and 'cup-shaped' drum are used. Whereas such descriptive terms are necessary, and possible in a few clear cases, there are others—and a great number of them—in which although it is possible to distinguish cup, stem, and foot, the basic design is cylindrical. Sachs,[1] for instance, includes a shape like that of a seventeenth-century gun-barrel in the cylindrical group. In order to avoid confusion, this chapter considers distinctions based on the method of fastening the skin to the drum body as primary. But the characteristics of the resonator itself are taken into account, as much as possible, as a secondary line of classification.

SINGLE SKIN DRUMS

1. *Skin aprons.* Skin aprons are membranophones stretched and beaten *ad hoc*. The element of improvisation is preserved in Urundi, where only royalty is permitted to keep permanent drums; in case of urgent need the commoner may stretch a skin over the mouth of a vessel, and beat it. In Uganda instances of skin aprons being used in the manner of drums have been reported from Nkole and Kiga. Roscoe[2] describes it as follows: 'Girls and young women wearing skin aprons stood round the drums, some of them with flat rattles . . . others accompanied the rhythm by singing and beating on their skin-aprons in front, which made a dull sound.' This refers to the Iru. In Kiga women and girls use their aprons in a similar way at a wedding feast. Other reports refer to the Tussi women in Usindja[3] and to the Iraku women,[4] south-east of Mt. Meru; the latter stretch their big aprons over the mouth of a vessel on which they sit hobby-horse fashion and beat the skin with sticks.

All four instances show the association of this practice with the female sex. The hobby-horse attitude so natural to the wearer of a skin apron stretched over the cavity between or under the legs recurs again in certain single-skin drums in Uganda, but there is no suggestion that this is associated with the female sex.

2. *Skin glued to resonator.* When a skin is glued to the drum, the skin reaches far down the sides of the drum-head to get a good

[1] SACHS: p. 58. [2] *The Banyankole*, 1923, p. 95.

[3] P. KOLLMANN: *The Victoria Nyanza*, 1899, p. 119.

[4] HORNBOSTEL: in *Zeitschrift fuer vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, III, 1935, p. 89.

grip. Only mammalian skin is fastened in such a way. The binding material is plain earth or clay. Glueing is employed in short instruments of archaic character. Roscoe[1] photographed such a drum from Soga and called it a 'witch-drum'. It stands on three legs carved in one piece out of the log of which the drum has been made. Sachs[2] interprets these legs as survivals of flaps or flanges originally used to press the drum into the sand. A glued skin drum is also employed by the leader of the pan-pipes set in Soga (see p. 341). No instance has been recorded so far from anywhere except Soga (Plate 84, A to C).

3. *Skin laced to a tension ring.* The lacing of the skin to a tension ring which runs round the drum just where the drum-head begins to thin down is still more uncommon in Uganda, and again has only been found in Soga, near Nsinze, where the instrument is used in the small battery of drums accompanying the bow-harp *kimasa*. A specimen in the Uganda Museum[3] is unfortunately unidentified. The shape of this drum could be described as cylindrical with gently curved cup and foot (Plate 84, D).

4. *Skin nailed to drum.* This last heading of the section on single-skin drums includes the vast majority of instruments in use in Uganda. The skin is usually that of water lizard. Drums of mammalian skin occur, but they are considered inferior. The skin is fixed neatly to the drum-head with wooden pegs or thorns. Good craftsmanship is displayed, and the one or two rows of pegs are nailed as closely to the rim of the drum-head as possible; the ends of the pegs on the outside are shaved off flush with the skin. The edge of the skin itself is trimmed neatly close to the row of pegs.

A peculiar place is occupied by the drum *fumbo* of the Jopadhola (Plate 84, F). It is the only example from Uganda in which there is no doubt that the drum is cylindrical and not cup-shaped. The skin is fixed to the drum with less perfect workmanship than usual. The drum body is remarkably slim: sixteen cm. in diameter across the skin against a total height of 105 cm. Instead of the drum-head customary with the single-skin drum elsewhere, there are two prominent edges carved below the pegs, and a further edge right at the bottom end above the rim. It occurs not far from Soga, the area in which the other archaic instruments have been found, just inside the eastern boundary of the Protectorate.

The other extreme in shape, that is, a drum with an unmistakably cup-shaped resonator, is represented by the *ntimbo* in Nyoro, close to the western border of Uganda. Whereas *fumbo* is tall, the *ntimbo* drums are short. They occur in Nyoro and Toro, where they function as royal instruments; in Nyoro, represented by the leading instrument *mutengesa*, they are part of the regalia,[4] and the complete set takes part in the coronation ceremony. In Toro the *ntimbo* sound when the Omukama is in the palace or moves in the enclosure, and also on the occasion of the initiation of

[1] *The Northern Bantu*, 1915, Plate XX (1). [2] SACHS: pp. 58, 59.
[3] JC/9. [4] *U.J.*, IV, 1936–7, p. 77 and picture opposite p. 294.

a lay person as a priest of the *embandwa* cult. This cult is associated with the dynasty of the Bacwezi and flourishes especially amongst the Tussi of Ruanda. Tradition in Nyoro dates the drums to the Bacwezi reign.

The *ntimbo* are carried under the arm on leather belts slung over the left shoulder, and are beaten with both hands. The actual 'cup' may be twenty-seven cm. high, from the skin to the top of the stem, and the stem may measure twenty-four cm. in such an instrument (Plate 85, B). The cup is shaped like a truncated egg, the foot is represented by a thin bulge running round the rim of the open stem. The skin is that of the water lizard *nswanswa*. There are very few *ntimbo*, and it should be possible to catalogue them all. *Mutengesa* is the name of the leading *ntimbo* drum. Its domicile is outside present-day Nyoro, at the approach to the traditional area of tombs of the kings of Nyoro in Bugang'adzi County. The clan of the man in charge of *mutengesa* is Bacwezi. Leopard skin, the royal emblem, is used as decoration.

The *ttimba* drum of Ganda exists, like *mutengesa*, in a single specimen. *Ttimba* is a big drum made of wood, with a snake carved out of the surface of the drum body. It can hardly be described as a cup-shaped drum, but rather as a wide-bellied vessel, since there is no stem. Cup and foot are joined by a narrow beaded ring pattern, and the foot itself is little more than a bulge similar to that along the bottom rim of *ntimbo* (Plate 85, C). It is suspended from the neck of the player who beats the skin with bare hands.

Whether *mutengesa* and *ttimba* are in any way related is unlikely to be proved, but the circumstances of their use, social and historical, have points of contact. As royal drums their significance in Uganda is great, and a description of their position and legendary past would contribute towards an appreciation by non-Africans of the place occupied by drums in Africa.

Kagwa[1] records the following tradition with regard to *ttimba*: Prince Kimera, the illegitimate son of the successor to the throne of Ganda by a royal wife of the King of Nyoro, was given the drum *ttimba* as a present by a friend of his, near the place where in those days the kings of Nyoro lived. Kimera grew up in the hills, hunting most of the time, until the Ganda called for him to occupy the vacant throne of the country. Kimera then established *ttimba* as his drum; it could almost be described as a symbol of the 'era Kimera' which began with his reign. *Ttimba* as well as *mutengesa* are associated with the belt of tombs which stretches from the 'county of tombs', Busiro, through Singo County to Bugang'adzi. For some reason this belt of country was of great significance to the men who conquered it. It forms a kind of escarpment above the fringes of the Kyoga Basin. With regard to *ttimba*, there is another tradition that there had been two drums originally, one of which was given to Winyi, the ruler of Nyoro, whose tomb is in the hills from which Kimera

[1] Kagwa (*Ebika*), p. 56.

got *ttimba*. Thus individual drums, known by their own, 'personal' name through generations, and looked after by men holding official, hereditary titles, are woven into the history of the rulers and the people. Of this more is to follow later, in connection with the Uganda drum.

There is a whole range of transitionary forms between the cylindrical drum *fumbo* from Jopadhola and the cup-shaped drum *ntimbo* from Nyoro (Plates 86 and 87). Many single-skin drums possess a smooth profile in which drum-head, stem and foot are joined in gentle curves. It is in these specimens that the difficulty arises with regard to the classification according to the shape of the drum body. Are they cylindrical or cup-shaped? But an interesting fact emerges from the study of their forms. There is a tendency of drums in the east of the Protectorate towards smooth lines which conceal the joint between cup and stem, or between stem and foot, and a change of this tendency towards more and more distinct lines of separation between cup, stem and foot, as one moves west towards Nyoro, the home of the genuinely cup-shaped *ntimbo*.

However, these observations are too ambiguous to be of value, and it may be more useful to examine the design of the inside of the drum rather than the outside profile. A comparison between the cross-sections in Plate 84, B, and Plate 85, A to C, leads to another possibility of classification. In the latter, the drum body is carved with walls of an even thickness throughout, so that the shape of the cavity and that of the outside roughly correspond. In Plate 84, B, head and stem are hollowed out in the form of cylinders of different diameter, and this design is executed regardless of the detail of the outside profile. Furthermore, a ledge is formed, at right angles to the walls of the drum, where head and stem join.

The strictly cylindrical internal design and the ledge are noticeable in most single-skin drums so far examined in Uganda. It is absent in *ttimba*, the drum *segwanyi* in Kabaka Kimbugwe's tomb, the *ntimbo*, and *bul me jok*,[1] all of which are remarkable on account of the importance attached to their position and function.

The *kengere* of the Madi is in a rather unique position. It is the only single-skin drum used in the West Nile district by the common people. It resembles the cylindrical drum *fumbo* of the Jopadhola (see above, p. 366), without, however, being as slim and graceful as the *fumbo*, and if comparison with an instrument outside Uganda is admitted, looks rather like the single-skin drum of the Luo in Kavirondo. It forms part of a battery of four drums, the other three being small to medium size Uganda drums beaten with sticks. The *kengere* is always beaten by a woman with bare hands.

The *kengere* of the Sultan of Alur is not at all a 'people's drum', but belongs to his regalia and consequently exists only at his residence. In shape and surface patterns it is astonishingly like the drum from Nyoro

[1] The 'spirit drum' of the Acoli.

in Plate 87, C; I was told that it was actually made in Nyoro. *Kengere* is beaten together with two Uganda drums and two *ntimbo*.

The *ntimbo* drums also draw attention to the ties with Nyoro. The Sultan's *ntimbo* are a couple of short single-skin drums of slightly different size. They take second place after *kengere*, whose followers they are. While *kengere* is provided with a buckskin head the *ntimbo* have the more usual lizard skin. The walls are of even thickness throughout, as one would expect in *ntimbo* drums. They are carried and beaten in the same fashion as their counterparts in Nyoro.

Single-skin drums form an indispensable part of several royal sets, as well as in the bands and ensembles of the commoner. In a group of drums they are always in the minority; thus in the famous notched flute ensemble *baakisimba* of the Ganda, there is one single-skin drum of the individual name *lusonso* against three Uganda drums. In other sets it is often one single-skin instrument against two Uganda drums, a combination met with in the art music of the Arabic world.[1]

In Ganda the single-skin drums *engalabi* are so characteristic for the occasion of *okwabya olumbe*, when the successor of the deceased is installed, that the intention to be present at the ceremony is sometimes expressed by the phrase '*tugenda mu ngalabi*', i.e. 'we are going to the *engalabi*'.[2] The drum is beaten on these occasions by amateurs and not by professional musicians.

Europeans often refer to them as 'wedding drums'; 'used at feasts', says the dictionary.[3] They are too heavy as a rule to be played under the left arm, suspended on a belt over the shoulder, except for instruments beaten on the way to lead a party. The drum either stands upright, slightly tipped over for the convenience of the player and to allow the sound to escape from the bottom end, or it is kept hobby-horse fashion between the legs or placed on the ground. It is beaten with both hands.

UGANDA DRUM

The 'Uganda drum' uses two skins of which only one is beaten. The second skin is stretched across the bottom of the drum body to hold the lacing and is non-sonorous. Thus it may be misleading to call the Uganda drum a double-skin drum. Hornbostel[4] and others refer to it as a form of kettle-drum, peculiar to North-east Africa, or the term 'conical' is added to describe its shape in contrast with the spherical kettle-drums of Europe and the Islamic world. The more recent custom of using the term 'Uganda

[1] Where the *darboka* with a body made of clay is used as a single-skin drum and the two *naqqara* kettle drums are played with two sticks.

[2] Cf. SIR H. JOHNSTON: *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, p. 694: 'There is a special kind of dance and drum festival called "*ngalobi*", which is proper for such occasion.'

[3] KITCHING-BLACKLEDGE: *A Luganda-English and English-Luganda Dictionary*, 1925, p. 80.

[4] *Africa*, VI, 1933, p. 295.

drum' will be adopted in this chapter, in order to avoid confusion which might arise if the term kettle-drum suggested relationship with the Islamic type in North Africa, or if its description as a "double-skin' instrument were to suggest its being a genuine drum of that type.

For the shape of the wooden drum body the Nilotic tribes prefer a profile of unbroken line, almost egg-shaped, with a large section cut off at the top where the sound-skin is placed, and a short section at the tip across which the non-sonorous skin is stretched. This holds the lacing (Plate 88, D). The lacing is often Y-shaped, i.e. two vertical thongs are looped together in a noose knotted into the horizontal lacing (Plate 88, G). This is a crude version of the Y-shaped lacing proper known in European side-drums.

Bantu Uganda drums frequently have a 'broken' profile as if the top part of the instrument were a cylinder, put on to a conical base, so that the break occurs where both parts join. The proportions in height of these two sections vary; in Ganda the cylinder used to be taller than the base (Plate 88, B), but in modern instruments and in Soga this is sometimes reversed (Plates 106 and 115, A). The lacing is W-shaped, i.e. the thongs are taken up and down from sound skin to the non-sonorous skin, in a close W-pattern (Plate 88, B). The lacing is packed so closely that in good instruments the wood of the drum is completely concealed. Genuine horizontal lacing does not exist, but there may be a leather thong running along the fringe of the sound-skin. Tuning is possible by tightening the lacing; this is considered a great art. Mr. Kasumba, whose duty is to repair and tune the royal drums of Ganda, is an acknowledged expert, although his drumming is said to be inferior to his skill in tuning. Musicians of lower standard can be seen occasionally employing wooden wedges thrust between lacing and drum body. The *ntenga* drums of Ganda need very careful tuning. The drummers use wooden wedges for rough tuning (see Plate 115, A) if the note should have flattened or the lacing become loose, until a tuning expert can be obtained. For fine tuning, for flattening the note, the centre of the skin is forced down with firm, steady pressure of the fist; for sharpening, the handle of a thick-headed, heavy drum-stick is beaten with a downward movement against the lacing where it is threaded through the rim of the sound-skin. This has a tightening effect on the skin. While tuning, the drummer controls the note by tapping the sound-skin where it is stretched over the rim of the wooden body of the drum, with a thin stick characteristic of *ntenga* (see p. 373).

A peculiar cross between the two types of lacing and shape occurs in a few drums at the royal courts of Nyoro and Toro. The lacing starts off with a carefully plaited horizontal rim, then changes into an intricate X-pattern for a few inches which leads to another horizontal, twisted thong; then the main section of the lacing begins in narrow W-pattern. A few inches before the lacing is taken to the non-sonorous skin at the

bottom, the sequence of 'horizontal thong—X-pattern—horizontal thong' is repeated. There are of course variations, and some instruments show a more elaborate and careful execution of their lacing than others (Plate 88, A). Strangely enough, it was found that in Uganda such drums are mostly of small size and that they are coupled with a leather thong to a drum of equal size of the common W-pattern. In Toro they were called *nyimba*, and no explanation could be given why they were kept like this; in fact, it was suggested that it was only by chance. But in Nyoro a similar arrangement occurred with regard to drums of the same name described as 'children of *nyalebe*', the chief drum.

Further south a crossed type occurs in Ruanda[1] and within the Protectorate in two single drums from Kigezi.[2] They show particularly well the position in which such drums find themselves. The bigger drum *nakahoza*, meaning bringer of peace, has been identified with the spirit which rules the country, i.e. the *emandwa* of *mucwezi*. The small drum is looked upon as *nakahoza's* wife. Both were surrendered by a descendant of the old ruling chiefs and are now in the Uganda Museum.[3] All drums with this type of lacing come from the Western Province only.

A remarkable trait regarding the conception of drums and their function is their occurrence in couples. In Nyoro the chief drum *nyalebe* is placed close to the throne[4] on the dais in the throne room, covered with leopard skins in the same way as the throne itself, and hardly distinguishable as a slight hump underneath the skins. In a general display of royal drums *nyalebe* was not removed from the dais. The Omukama mentioned[5] *nyalebe* together with *kajumba*, and suggested that they were left behind by the departing Mucwezi ruler Wamala. He also stated that *kajumba* was a metal drum (?). Recently *kajumba* has been reported missing. Mrs. Fisher[6] produces a photograph of both drums together and contributes an interesting sidelight on the historical significance of the two drums. The first Mubito ruler, according to Mrs. Fisher, was advised himself to beat the drums which were left behind by the dynasty preceding his house, so that his reign might be established in a legitimate manner. This is typical of the stories handed on to the present day of how one dynasty superseded the other and retained its drums in order to prove continuity and legitimacy. Actually, *kajumba* is alleged to have been difficult to come by already in the days of the first Mubito. *Nyalebe* was

[1] CZEKANOWSKI: I, p. 381, Fig. 184.

[2] Both drums were probably made in Ruanda and given to the Omukama of Kinkizi as a sign of authority derived from the ruler of Ruanda.

[3] This information was supplied by the collector and donor, Dr. L. E. S. Sharp.

[4] J. ROSCOE: *The Bakitara*, 1923, pp. 77–8, states that each Omukama at his accession to the throne chose one of the most sacred drums to stand near his throne and that it had to be different from that of his predecessor.

[5] *U.J.*, III, 1935, p. 160, and on metal drum, *U.J.*, IV, 1937, p. 290.

[6] A. B. FISHER: *Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda* (1911), p. 120; picture opposite p. 109.

easy to secure, but *kajumba* came along by itself only when it missed *nyalebe*.

In Toro too a couple of drums called *kajumba* and *nyalebe* are known. Here it is *kajumba* which occupies the chief position and *nyalebe* appears to be less important. *Kajumba* in Toro is a very small drum with the simple W-lacing. The Omukama touches *kajumba* when it is handed to him and only when he has beaten *kajumba* is the big drum *butwarane* of the important *mpango* set expected to open up. For this reason *kajumba* is sometimes referred to as *butwarane*. *Nyalebe* is a small, ancient-looking drum with the curious mixed style of lacing already referred to, and a few cowrie-shells attached to it.

In Ganda, one of the most important drums, *kyebabona*, has unfortunately disappeared. According to the late Kimomera, the chief in charge of the royal set of drums to which *kyebabona* belonged, it happened to be burnt at Rubaga[1] when the drum house was set on fire in 1890 (?) during the civil war of Kalema, the Mohammedan usurper. The Kimomera saved the drum-sticks, but nowadays there is only one authentic-looking drum-stick left and identification is difficult. He remembered *kyebabona* as a smallish, slim drum with the ordinary W-pattern lacing. Kagwa knew of it and described its place in the coronation ceremony. Once he ascribed it to Kabaka Katerega,[2] on another occasion to Kintu,[3] and on a third occasion he does not mention it by name. Roscoe[4] ascribes it to Kimera.

It is remarkable that none of these drums was tall. Big drums are of more recent date, and instances are remembered of a ruler having the original instrument replaced by a new, taller drum, probably when the old drum had been captured or destroyed. A recent tendency, too, is the embellishment of the drum with beads and lavish patterns of cowrie-shells. Thus the two chief drums of present-day Ganda, which, with *ttimba*, form the core of the *mujaguzo* battery, had leather coats made for them, in the reign of Mwanga II, to cover the W-lacing completely and to show only the colourful decoration on the outside of the coats.[5] In addition to this, crowns are fitted round the top rim in the style of a chief's crown worn at the coronation.

In Ganda the term *mujaguzo* is nowadays heard only with reference to the royal drums of the Kabaka. But Kagwa still uses the word not only for the royal battery but for the sets of the three spirit cults of Mukasa,[6]

[1] The hill on which Mwanga's enclosure was situated.

[2] Kagwa (*Ebika*), p. 32. [3] Kagwa (*Empisa*), p. 12.

[4] *The Baganda*, 1911, p. 199. N.B.—Roscoe calls the drum *kibonabona;* cf. about this R. A. SNOXALL: *U.J.*, IV, 1937, p. 282.

[5] This information was supplied by a competent African musician. It is interesting, however, to compare this with SPEKE, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, 1864, pp. 290–1, where he mentions 'two smaller drums covered with cowrie shells and beads of colour worked into patterns'. It is likely that the picture in Speke opposite p. 421, made by 'Zwecker after a sketch by Grant' (see Index, p. x) refers to this passage.

[6] Kagwa (*Empisa*), p. 216.

Kibuka,[1] and Nnende[2] as well. Kagwa also records the individual names given to the members of the sets. The importance attached to the spirit cults in the past is well reflected in the place awarded to their drums.

The *namaddu* set of seven Uganda drums in Gwere owes its existence to circumstances entirely different from those of the *mujaguzo*. The *namaddu* is a substitute for the *entala*, the Gwere xylophone, which it gradually replaces.

The conception of drums as pairs is expressed most forcibly in the cult made of the *byendangwa* drums of the Omugabe of Nkole.[3] But it is not only a cult which regards two drums as belonging to each other; there is the mechanical device of tying them together permanently, practised with the two drums *kanabba*,[4] the *namatongo* belonging to the *Banagunju* dance, and the six couples which form the *ntenga* set, all in Ganda. Their handles are made of thong and plaited permanently with one end to the high pitched drum and with the other to the low pitch instrument. When stored away the couples are folded up so that their sound-skins come to rest against each other 'face to face'. Drums coupled in this way and also in the less careful manner of the *nyimba* in Toro and Nyoro are rare and are kept in great veneration.

Drums do not only derive their significance from close association with individual, historical or living rulers, but have their mode of existence determined by membership of an ensemble of drums. The ensembles are not numerous, but it would exceed the scope of this chapter to include them. It should be mentioned in this connection that the name by which a drum is remembered individually and the name of the set of which it forms part are often confused, and that the inexperienced observer might easily be misled by this custom.

The majority of Uganda drums are beaten with drum-sticks. For important and big drums heavy wooden clubs, with thickened heads, of not more than thirty cm. in length, are employed. Straight sticks of equal thickness throughout are used for ordinary purposes everywhere else. The thin, curved stick is a rare exception. It is obligatory for the *kanabba* and the set *ntenga*. For *kanabba* sticks of up to forty cm. in length are used, as thin as a little finger, with a slight knob and hardly perceptible bend at the top. The *ntenga* sticks are taller and the bend is very noticeable; the handle is wrapped in cloth, since it would be irksome to beat the drum with such a thin and flimsy stick in one's fist. The skin of the drum is touched with the back of the curve, and since the drums are placed in such a way that the skin is tipped towards the player at an angle

[1] Kagwa (*Empisa*), p. 219.

[2] Kagwa (*Empisa*), p. 224.

[3] *U.J.*, IV, 1937, pp. 300–11.

[4] N.B.—The *kanabba* drums are played suspended on a drum post, like the drums of the Acoli. See photograph in SIR ALBERT COOK: *Uganda Memories*, 1945, p. 70.

of about forty-five degrees, this is a comfortable method of playing.[1] Drum-sticks of this type are also used with the church drums of the Abyssinian Church at Aksum.[2]

The Lugbara and Kakwa do not use beaters at all, but play their magnificent batteries of tall, well-made instruments (Plate 88, G) with bare hands, holding the drum hobby-horse fashion, or in the case of the rather stout and unwieldy bass instrument sitting across it with the sound-skin between the knees.

Special terms are used to distinguish differences in pitch. The drum with the highest note is *ari nva*, then follow *ari andri*, *gbiri*, and the bass *nyaito*. *Nyaito* is beaten with one hand only to provide the steady pulse which all Uganda drumming seems to require.

The general term for drums used by the Kakwa is *leriyo*. The high pitched instrument is *pipire*, followed by *curu*, *liliru*, and *buli*, the bass. It is not always possible to assemble a battery of four drums of a pitch suitable for playing in consort. In such a case, rather than to employ the wrong pitch, the drummers prefer to leave out one member of the set. On one occasion *pipire* was thus left out, because when playing with the others it sounded as if it was 'crying'.

The Amba sometimes place the drum on the ground, on its side, and sit on it hobby-horse fashion; an intricate pattern of sound is then produced by moving the heel of one foot against the skin, in different positions, while the hands beat a rhythm. Similar stops are produced elsewhere by the tip of the forefinger.

Uganda drums are beaten by men, with exceptions such as the following: women beat the drums in Ganda with bare hands in the enclosure of the tomb of Kabaka Suna, and in Acoli on the occasion of a consultation of the *ajwaka*, a priest of *jok*, the spirit.

DOUBLE-SKIN DRUMS

A small archaic-looking specimen has been reported from the south of Mt. Elgon. It was made of clay shaped into a short cylinder. Two bands modelled out of the clay wall encircled the drum like the hoops of a cask. Each skin was laced to the band nearest to it through perforations made in the clay before it was baked. The lacing was of a fairly wide W-pattern.

Double-skin drums with a metal body were found in use on Mt. Elgon as church drums. Local opinion believed these drums to follow a design of the Sebei; nothing could be traced as to whether they were inspired by European drums or whether they were an indigenous product or a loan from tribes nearer Abyssinia, where double-skin drums occur.

[1] Cf. picture in C. KEARTON and J. BARNES: *Through Central Africa from East to West*, 1915, p. 86.

[2] Cf. picture in *The Times Weekly Edition* of 22 August 1945.

FRAME DRUMS

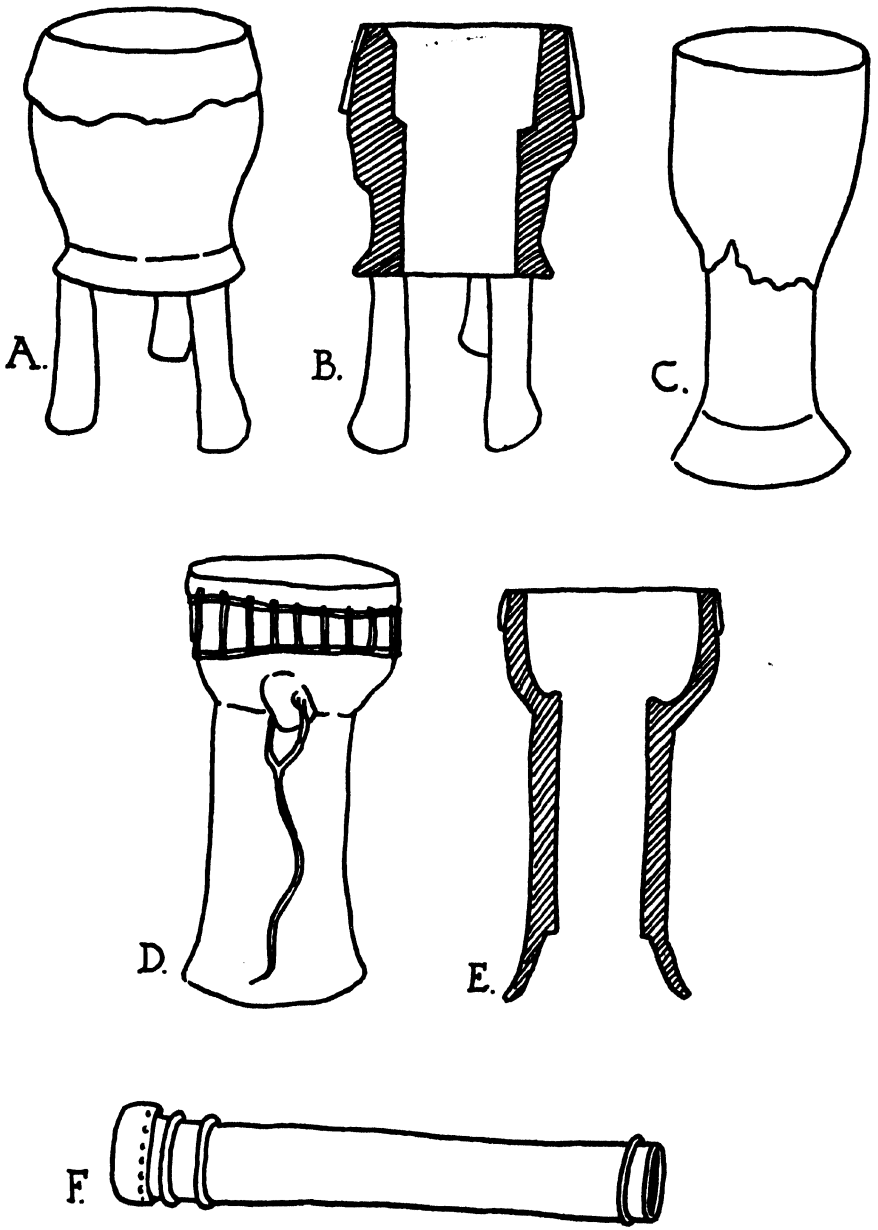
Single-skin drums made of sheep or goat's skin stretched over a circular frame are known under the name of *matali*. They are of Arabic origin, and their use is restricted to the African Mohammedan community, as an accompaniment to religious poetry. They are locally made. On feast days boys can be seen with them on the roads near a meeting place.

MIRLITON. NASALIZING MEMBRANE

This is the schoolboy's instrument, known in English as 'kazoo'. It is widely used as a toy. Its basic design consists of a tube open at both ends, of which one is covered by a thin membrane taken from a spider's deposit of eggs. An embouchure is cut into the side of the tube about halfway, thus making the instrument side-blown. However, the technique demands humming or speaking into the tube rather than blowing.

In Ganda children use the hollow stalk of a pawpaw leaf for the kazoo; in Toro a thin bamboo is used for the same purpose, and in Soga girls use a short section cut off the thin handle of a gourd. Women members of the Baswezi cult sing into these instruments at the funeral of a fellow member. On these occasions the kazoos are called *obukondere bwa baswezi*. In Lango gourds are used too, but the instrument is made as tall as a side-blown trumpet proper, and it is known under the name of *eggwara*, a term applied in Soga to the side-blown gourd trumpets; in Madi it is known as *konene*.

Such membranes have not been found in Uganda as part of resonators.

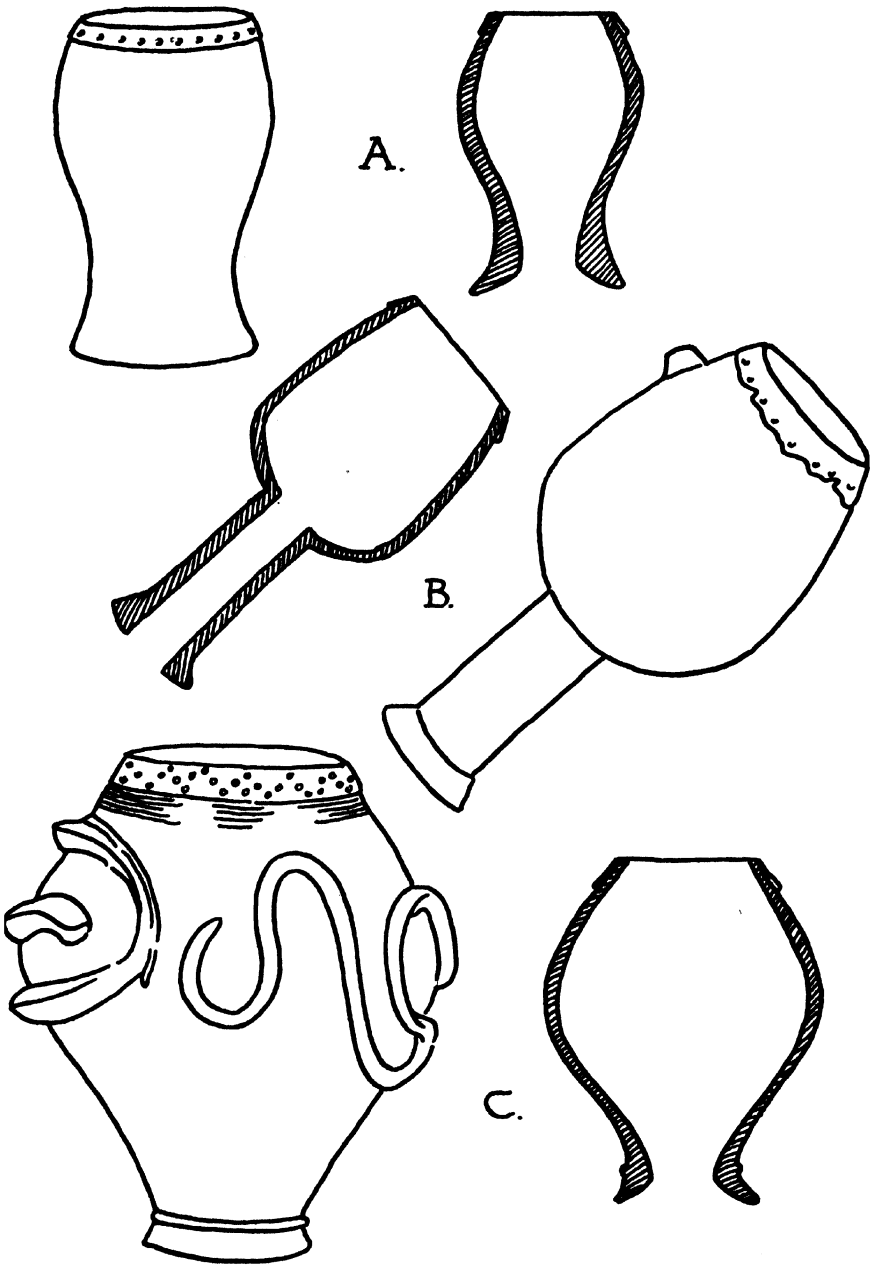


MEMBRANOPHONES (I)

Single skin drums 1.

A. Drum with three legs or flaps; the skin is glued to the drum head—Soga. B. Cross-section through A. C. Drum with skin glued to drum head—Soga. D. Drum with skin laced to tension ring—Soga. E. Cross-section through D. F. Cylindrical drum with skin nailed to drum head—Jopadhola.

Scale: A to E, 1 : 10. F, 1 : 13.

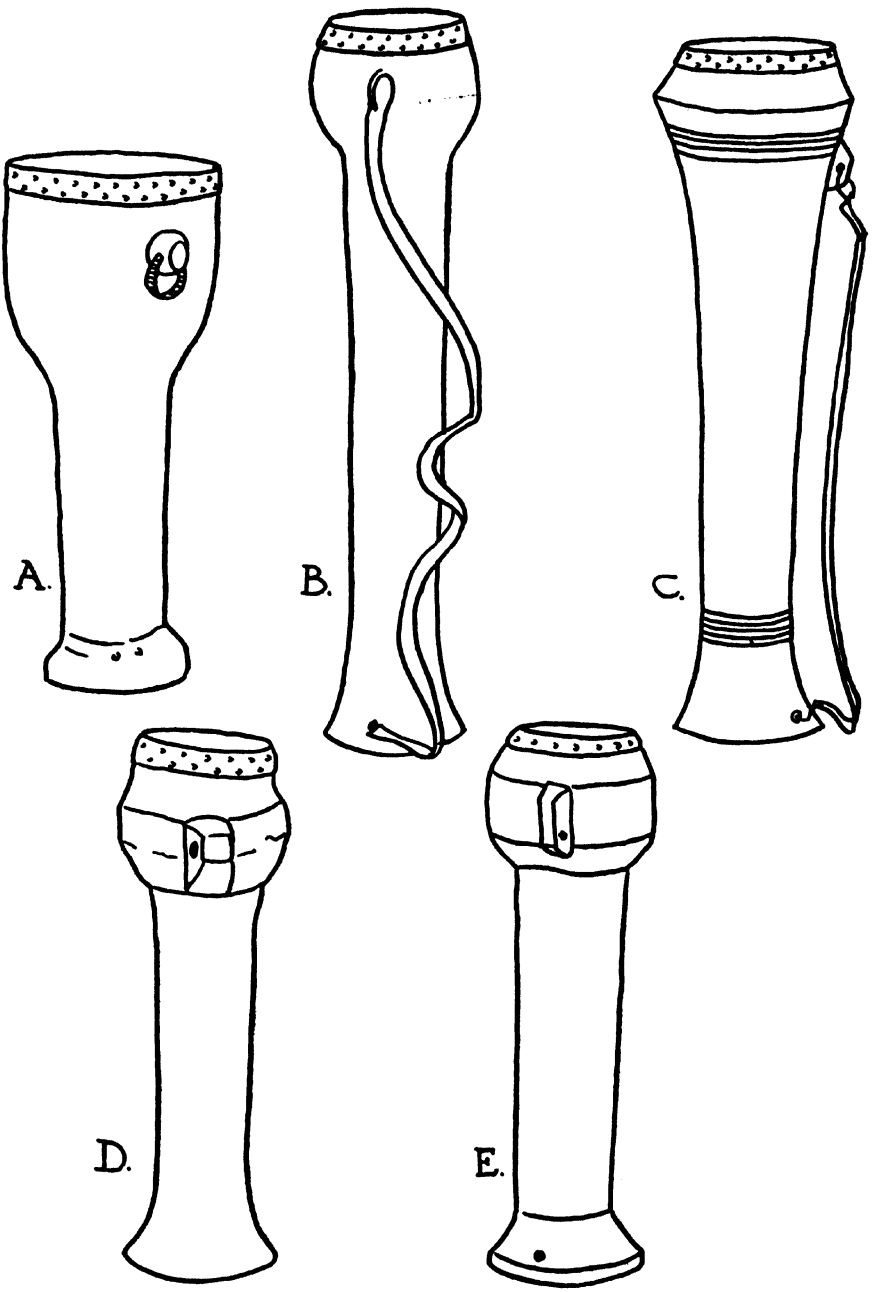


MEMBRANOPHONES (II)

Single skin drums (continued) 2.

A. 'Spirit drum' (BUL ME JOK) and its cross-section—Acoli. B. NTIMBO drum and its cross-section—Nyoro. C. TTIMBA and its cross-section—Ganda. (After a photograph of the drum and a description of the shape of the cavity by the writer.)

Scale: A, B (not diagrams), 1 : 6. C (not diagrams), 1 : 12.

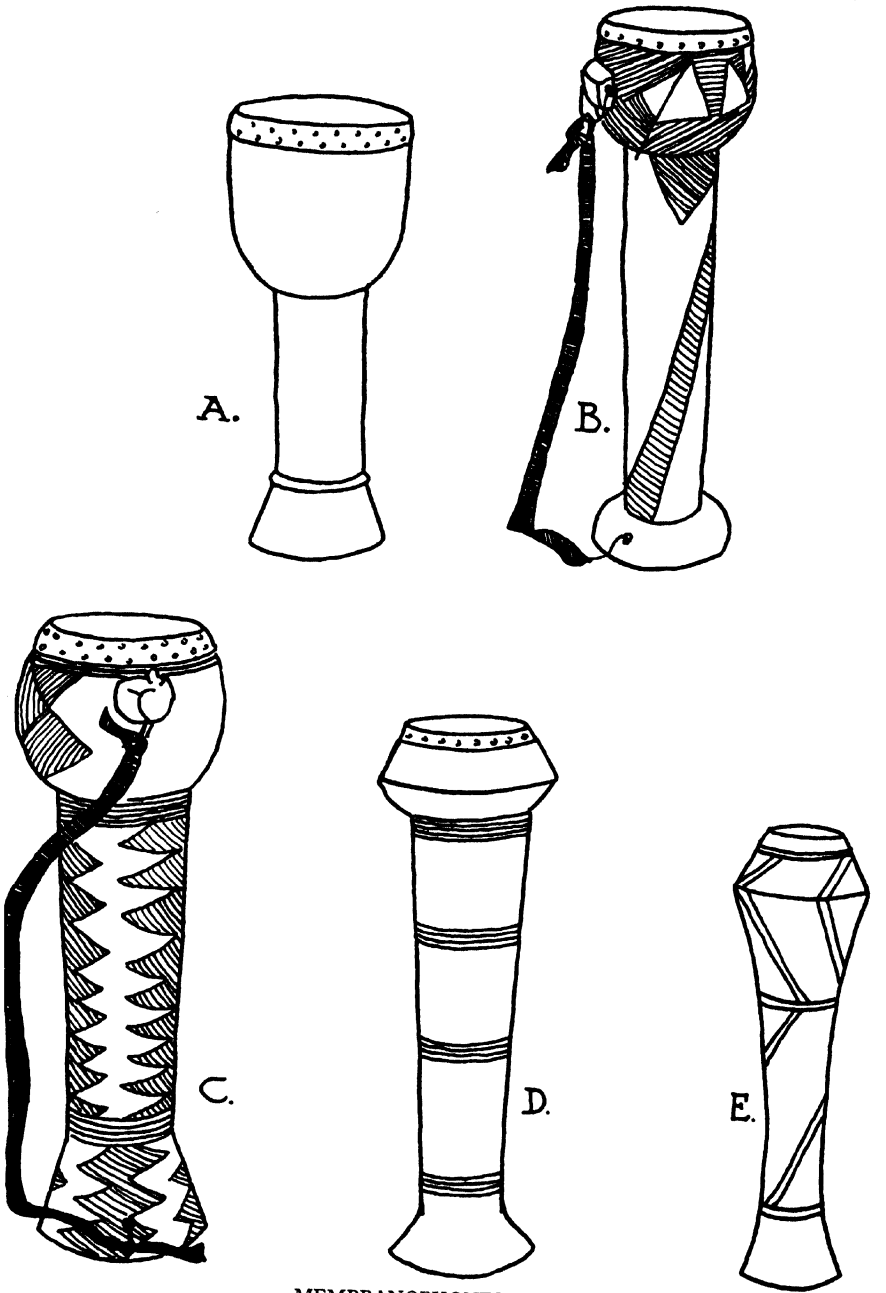


MEMBRANOPHONES (III)

Single skin drums (continued) 3.

A. Drum JC/10—Soga. B. Drum from the royal court—Nyoro. C. Drum of the type made in Budu county—Ganda. D. Drum JC/7—probably of Nyoro origin. E. Drum JC/11—probably of Lango origin.

Scale: A, 1 : 8·5. B to E, 1 : 11.



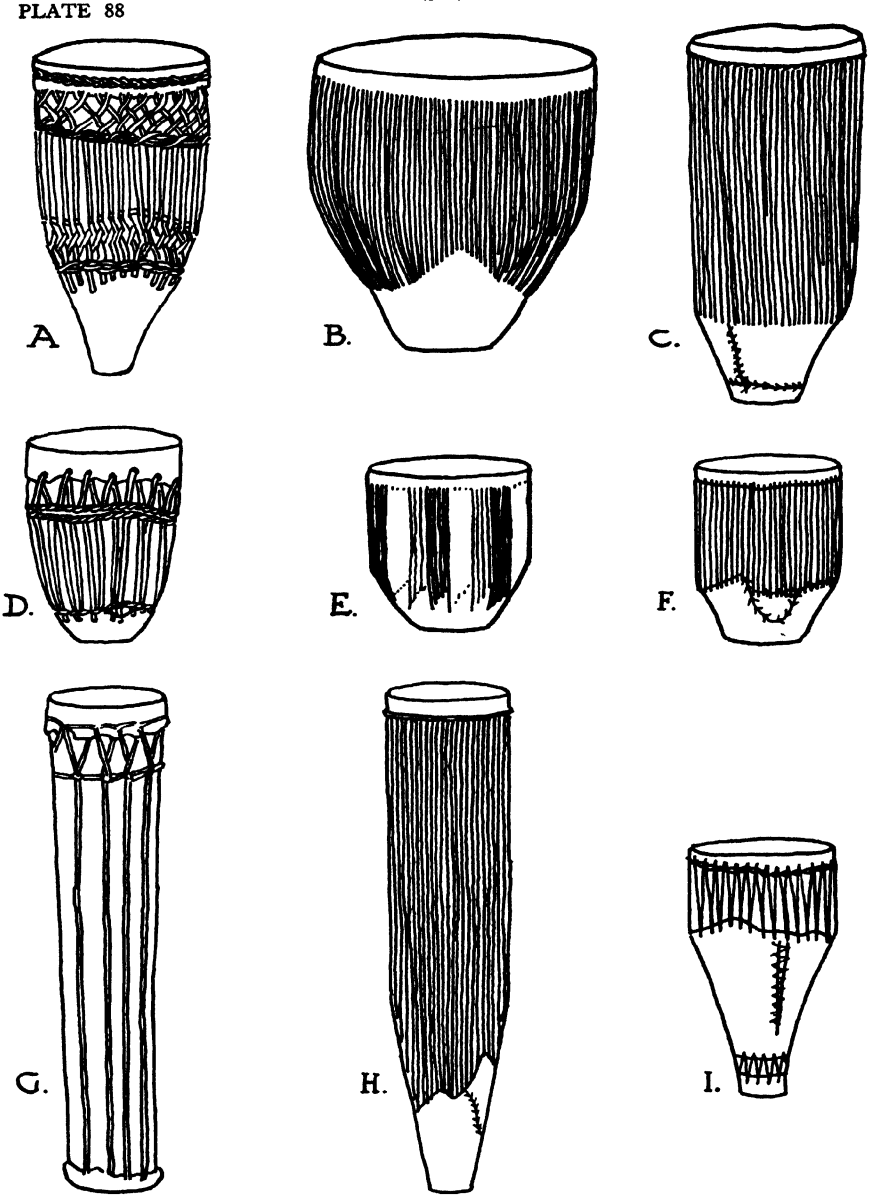
MEMBRANOPHONES (IV)

Single skin drums (continued) 4.

A, B, and C. Drums from the royal court—Nyoro. D. Drum from Nyoro. (After the photograph, p. 320, in H. B. Thomas and R. Scott, Uganda, 1935.) E. Drum from Ganda.

Scale: 1 : 11.

PLATE 88



MEMBRANOPHONES (V)
Uganda drums

A. Drum JC/25 with a rare type of lacing of which there are less elaborate examples in the royal batteries of drums in Toro and Nyoro—Kiga. B. A typical specimen of a Uganda drum as used in the Kingdom of Ganda; the non-sonorous skin is cut into four points—Ganda. C. JC/29. Its shape, and the position of the seams of the non-sonorous skin, are characteristic for drums from Amba and Konjo—Amba. D. Drum of a shape and with a lacing common to Nilotic instruments—Acoli. E. Drum with lacing in three different colours and with the serrated edge of the non-sonorous skin characteristic of Gwere and occasionally seen in Soga—Gwere. F. Small and squat variety of drum C.—Konjo. G. ARI drum JC/30; a tall slim specimen with a typically Lugbara method of lacing—Lugbara. H. The drum LUJONGO belonging to the NTAMIIVU ensemble of the royal court—Ganda. I. Drum with a short head and long, concave foot—Konjo. (After Czekanowski, II, p. 383, Fig. 121.)

Scale: 1 : 16.

CHAPTER IV

CHORDOPHONES

THE sequence in which the string instruments are taken in this chapter reflects to a certain extent their present-day popularity and frequency, from the old-fashioned and rare to the modern and numerous. The earth-bow is, perhaps, an exception, but it is difficult to judge the conditions in which it is used, because it is a toy.

MUSICAL BOWS

Bows occur in few areas only. Where they do occur they either belong to backward groups, or to the female sex, as in Acoli and Alur, or to children as in Kakwa.

1. *Mouth-bow.* The type of mouth-bow which is played by the Mbuti pygmies in Amba is one of three found in the immediate neighbourhood of the Protectorate. The Mbuti bow measures eighty-seven cm. from tip to tip. The tip to the left of the musician's mouth is pointed, and has, probably as protection, a piece of maize cob fitted over it. The chord is pushed over this tip with a small loop and prevented, perhaps by the maize cob, from slipping any further. With the other end it is tied to the bow five cm. below the opposite tip; this is sharpened to a straight edge by two slanting cuts on opposite sides. The bow, when prepared for playing, is bent and the chord pulled over the edge, to give it its proper tension. One end of the noose of the instrument is tied to the chord at a point slightly to the left of the centre; the other end of the noose is wound round the bow in several coils. In tuning, the musician uses the coils like a tuning ring, the turns of which pay out string and thus loosen the tension of the chord, or pull the chord closer to the bow. Also, the knot by which the noose is fastened to the chord is shifted in tuning until the desired division has been found. Kirby[1] reports a similar practice with regard to the mouth-bow of the Venda.

The bow is taken between the teeth quite close to the noose. Both sections of the chord, each side of the noose, are plucked with a plectron, and a finger of the left hand is used to stop the string. The plectron consists of a short piece of grass. The cross-section of the bow is circular. The vernacular name which was found in use by the Mbuti in Amba for this instrument is *kabarome* (Plates 89, A, and 108, A).

Johnston[2] produces the picture of a Mbuba musician with a mouth-bow, the chord of which is taken through the mouth cavity. In Samia, just inside the Kenya border, a third type has been observed, which is

[1] KIRBY: p. 229.

[2] SIR H. JOHNSTON: *The Uganda Protectorate*, Vol. II, 1902, p. 557.

played with the tip of the broad, flat bow held against the teeth. Both districts are no longer part of the Protectorate, but it can be assumed that the bows are known inside Uganda as well, since local traffic is little affected by administrative boundaries.

Improvisation plays also a part in mouth-bow music: Kakwa children take the wood of a hunting bow, close to its tip, into the mouth and tap the string with a twig. In this position the mouth moves as in speech; the sound thus produced is audible to onlookers if they stand near the musician.

2. *Musical bow without brace.* This instrument is made of a section from the wall of a bamboo pole, between 1·5 and 1·75 cm. wide and only a few millimetres thick, since the bamboo from Ruwenzori is thin-walled. The cross-section of the bow is almost flat and roughly rectangular. It is capable of considerable flexion. A gourd the size of an orange cut in half, just big enough to cover the mouth of the musician, is tied to the bow near the centre. The edges of the bow are notched near the ends to provide a firm grip for the string. When the bow is not in use, the string is slack. To make the bow ready for playing, the string is passed over other notches in the extreme ends of the bow (Plate 89, B).

During a performance the opening of the gourd is placed over the mouth, or across a corner of the mouth and cheek; the tip of the bow below the gourd is supported firmly in the hollow of the player's left hand turned upwards. Thumb and forefinger of the left hand are free to stop the string near the tip, and occasionally to pluck it. The right hand strokes the string with a broad piece of grass no more than five cm. long, which serves as plectron (Plate 108, B). The vernacular name by which the Konjo, who alone play it, know this type of bow, is *ekitulenge*, not to be confused with the earth-bow of the Toro, *ekitulege*.

3. *Gourd-bow braced.* It is difficult to locate this instrument in Uganda, since its most frequent occurrence is in the hands of migrating labourers who travel in large numbers from the south to the capital of the Protectorate. It is a common sight to see such a bow tied to their belongings, which each man carries in a bundle on his head. Occasionally the Ganda give a foreign musician a chance to entertain them, and in one case a gourd-bow player even succeeded in attaching himself to the household of a local chief and eventually became a familiar figure in the neighbourhood.

The term gourd-bow braced describes the salient features of the instrument: the gourd resonator is permanently tied to the stick and the tension noose, which divides the chord into two sections of unequal length, braces the chord to the bow; the bow, circular in cross-section, provides the frame for the instrument. As a unique addition, the type observed in Uganda possesses one small noose near each of the tips, which encircles stick and chord. They probably serve as tuning devices; they certainly pull the string towards the stick. The main loop or brace not

only encircles stick and chord, but also provides the only attachment for the gourd resonator. A small circular insulating pad, made of grass, is placed between gourd and bow to prevent rattling and shaking; the noose itself passes through the apex of the gourd and thus transmits the vibrations of the string. Since the noose is not placed exactly in the centre, the string is divided into unequal sections and thus produces two different notes. The noose also decreases the distance between bow and chord, and makes it possible for the back of the forefinger of the left hand to touch the string and thus to produce the only stop employed on the instrument (Plate 89, C).

Whereas the mouth-bow of the Mbuti pygmies is played in a practically horizontal position, the gourd-bow braced is held vertically. The left hand clasps the stick, taking the brace between middle finger and forefinger. The open bottom of the gourd resonator is placed against the chest, from which it is lifted from time to time to vary the quality of the tone. One informant has stressed the point that the chest should be bare for the best results (Plate 109).

A peculiar position was observed in a musician from Kiga who had taken up work in Butambala County in Ganda. He used to sit on the floor with crossed legs and the resonator gourd of the bow rested against his chest in the usual way. But the main weight of the instrument was taken by the tip of the bow which was protected by a wooden plug and rested on the musician's leg, above the knee. Thus his left hand was relieved of the task of holding the bow firmly, and could move unhampered up and down the string. It was characteristic of this man's technique that he stopped the string in three different places.

The technique of the right hand is based on two implements: a light piece of grass or reed of about twenty to twenty-five cm. in length, and a small seed-shell rattle. The handle of the latter consists of a thin stick of about the same length as the reed. Both are held in the right hand, in such a way as to form a V, the two arms of which hit alternate sections of the string; the seed shell placed where the two arms of the V meet, is free to rattle at every movement.

The manifold possibilities of sound production on this bow are enhanced by pellet bells tied to the ankle of the musician. When it is remembered that he sings to the music produced on the bow, the material at his disposal appears to be varied and complex indeed.

In Ruanda the instrument is known as *omudage*; the more frequent name found in Uganda is *egoboli* or *omugoboli*. The Konjo say that they used to play a bow called *omugobila* which is no longer seen nowadays; but it would be only guesswork to say that this was a gourd-bow braced. The similarity of these vernacular names to terms employed with the Zulu, *ugubu*, and the Swazi, *ligubu*, is striking.

4. *Musical bow with detached gourd.* The girls of the Acoli and Alur play a musical bow where the resonator is a separate gourd, in which

a single string is laced three times across the bow, and the top section of the string is stopped with the chin (Plate 89, D).

Musical bows described in the previous paragraphs are constructed with a comparatively shallow arch especially noticeable in braced instruments. The Acoli bow, however, is shaped almost like a 'U' of which one arm is taller than the other. The string is laced through holes in the bow from arm to arm so as to form a 'Z' within the 'U'. The bottom end of the string is knotted round a tiny twig to prevent it from slipping out of the hole. The bottom line of the 'Z' is the shortest section and the top line across the mouth of the 'U' the longest section of the chord. The tall arm of the bow is held close to the left cheek of the musician and near this arm the chin touches the string in two different places within easy reach. Thus the instrument yields five notes: the three sections of the string of different length and, to a certain extent, of different tension, and the two notes produced by the chin stop.

The chin stops are executed by large movements of the lower jaw, to reach the spot where the player wishes to stop the string. It could not be ascertained whether this was connected in any way with adjustments of the cavity of the mouth to the resonance of the note produced.

Ring, middle, and little finger of the left hand rest on the curve of the 'U' of the bow, and in this position keep it firmly placed on the gourd, while thumb and forefinger pluck the bottom and middle sections of the string. The forefinger of the right hand plucks the top section in a circling movement.

The separate gourd used as resonator is placed on the musician's lap with the opening facing downwards; the curve of the bow is held against the apex of the gourd. The gourd is of large size, up to twenty cm. or so across the opening; it effectively reinforces the gentle sound of the chord.

Apart from Acoli and Alur, this instrument has been observed in Ziba, an area in the south, close to the borders of the Protectorate. Rehse[1] describes it, but does not mention the chin stop, which might have escaped his notice. Father B. Costermans[2] mentions the chin stop used by Mangutu women when playing this kind of bow. Kirby[3] saw a bow with separate resonator played by Korana women with the chin stop; the Korana, he says, handed it to the Chwana, the only Bantu tribe in South Africa who make use of it. Schaeffner[4] calls the Ziba bow 'exemple le plus primitif de harpe'. He quotes several instances of bows with a single string laced across more than once, all of which are played with the aid of the musician's mouth, although in no case does he report the chin stop in this connection. It is an extraordinarily rare technique; it remains a matter for speculation whether the chin stop is an offspring

[1] H. REHSE: *Kiziba Land und Leute*, 1910, p. 65.
[2] See above, p. 349, footnote 5; op. cit., p. 641.
[3] KIRBY: p. 212. [4] SCHAEFFNER: p. 202.

of the mouth-bow technique, and if so how the Nilotic tribes in Uganda came to adopt it.

The practice of lacing a single string several times across the frame of a musical instrument through holes in the frame is also followed by the Acoli and Jonam in their trough-zither (see p. 389) and in board-zithers of the tribes not far from the Jonam, to the south-west of Lake Albert.

The vernacular term is *adungu* in Acoli, *adingili* in Alur, and *kinanga* in Ziba.

IDIOCHORD ZITHERS

In idiochord instruments the string consists of a strip of epidermis cut loose from the stalk and held away from its foundation by bridges. In Uganda idiochords occur as toys or are played only by young girls. It is interesting to note that nowhere do they appear to have a name of their own.

1. *Monochord zither.* Children in Ganda take a piece of papyrus of about fifty-five cm. in length and cut loose a narrow and thin strip of the skin. The tip of a papyrus stalk is preferable, since the thin strip cut loose is less likely to tear out near the top. The strip is left attached to the reed at both ends and the loose section is raised off the stalk by crude bits of papyrus wedged in to serve as bridges (Plate 90, A). A little boy would keep this instrument in his hand and pluck it either with a finger of the right hand or with a little stick; in one case a bit of broken razor blade found nearby was used. The sound is hardly perceptible, but it is strong enough for the child to accompany his song by rhythmical plucking.

This little zither is rarely remembered now by adults, but this is not to be wondered at if one considers the general ignorance in grown-ups of children's toys. The term given in Ganda is *akadingidi*, a word which in Kitching-Blackledge's dictionary is translated as 'one-stringed harp, fiddle'. The fact is that musical instruments surviving in the form of toys have no name of their own as a rule.

There is in Ganda another idiochord zither, an improvised contraption, easily made and soon discarded, which finds its customary place in the ceremony after the birth of twins. This zither too is rarely remembered nowadays. Kagwa[1] does not mention the instrument in his chapter on 'twins', but Miss L. Mair[2] knows and describes it as follows: 'Throughout all these rites, and at any other ceremonial connected with twins, the clan drum-beat was played on a "drum" made of a piece of green plantain-bark folded in three and tied together, the outer strip of the top piece being raised on two sticks to make it "resonant".' No other reference to it has been found.

The instrument is a typical idiochord zither tapped gently with a stick. The sound thus produced is aptly described by the Ganda as '*ttu, ttu,*

[1] *Empisa*, Chapter 19.

[2] *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, 1934, p. 46.

ttu' and a verb, '*okutuzza*', is formed accordingly. The single string is about two cm. wide; the Ganda themselves refer to the instrument as a 'drum' in the phrase '*eng'oma y'abalongo*', i.e. the drum of the twins.

The writer did not observe any clan drum-beats executed on it, but found that it was used to accompany the twin songs known everywhere which seem to be independent of clan relations.

It is also known in Amba[1] and near Lake Edward to people who are of Ganda origin. Kakwa children use a piece of reed for their zither.

2. *Raft-zither.* Several idiochord monochords tied together in raft fashion form the *liduku* or *litungu* of the Gishu, an instrument also known in Samia, Gwe, Gwere, Soga, and Kiga. It is considerably shorter than the Ganda monochord. The material used is millet stalks (Plate 89, B).

The stalk is cut off at the nodes; it should be dry and free from insects. The strip of epidermis to serve as a string is cut loose with a pointed stick or a needle, and lifted up by a thin, soft twig thrust across the raft between string and stalk. The strings are apt to tear out further under tension, and to prevent this the raft is laced across where the strings leave the stalk. Africans say that tuning is possible by cutting narrow strips for high-pitched notes, and broader strings for low notes. In putting the raft together the difference in width and thickness is taken into account and individual stalks are given their intended place. Once the raft has been tied together the soft bridge might be pushed here or there to raise or flatten a note. A further means of changing the tuning of the zither is to suspend it near a fire before playing.

The instrument is held between the open palms of the hands and plucked by the forefingers in an upward movement, away from the raft. An African boy recommended that the nails be grown long and then cut to a point, as a good method of obtaining a plectron which would be economical in wear and tear with a maximum sound effect; he condemned plucking the strings with the fleshy part of the finger tip.

In Uganda the number of monochords in a raft varies; seven, nine, and eleven have been observed. A common size for this zither is thirty cm. in height and twelve cm. in width measured across the raft. Roscoe[2] says that girls play the raft-zither 'to accompany their love ditties'. In Kavirondo people use the raft-zither more commonly, and have instruments perhaps 110 cm. in height played by men.

The distribution of the raft-zither presents a striking contrast to that of the trough-zither, which is so similar to it in other respects. The latter are not generally found outside one large circumscribed area but raft-zithers occur in isolated groups spread over a wider area. In Uganda social associations stress the difference: trough-zithers are played by adults and used seriously, but raft-zithers are toys and made for the amusement of young girls. Sachs[3] calls the raft-zither the sister of the

[1] Dr. A. J. Haddow (1946): Personal communication.

[2] *Northern Bantu*, 1915, p. 189. [3] Sachs: p. 140.

tube-zither *valiha* of Madagascar, which will be referred to again in connection with the peculiar bridges of the board-zither. He assigns it to the same stratum of distribution as the gourd-bows, the board- and trough-zithers.

The occurrence of the raft-zither in Africa and elsewhere is set out in the following table:

TABLE NO. 4

E. Africa	*Central Africa*	*W. Africa*
Kamba Teriki Logoli Nyore Luo Gishu Gwe Samia Gwere Soga Kiga	Basonge tribes	Mainly Northern Nigeria

HETEROCHORD ZITHERS

The representatives of this group in Uganda are the flat-bar zither, ground-zither, board-zither, and trough-zither. They all belong to the Western Province, and, with the exception of the trough-zither, are extremely rare in the Protectorate.

1. *Flat-bar zither.* The technical term for this instrument is derived from the characteristic flat-bar placed on edge on top of a gourd resonator. Other characteristics are the prominent frets carved on the bar along both sides, the gourd collar inserted between resonator and bar, and the U-shaped feather or porcupine quill slipped over the bar near the tail-piece to serve as a guard for the strings.

The flat bar is slightly curved up towards the tail-piece; the frets are three in number; Ankermann[1] gives a drawing of an instrument with five frets. In Uganda three strings have been observed; one stretched over the frets, and one each along the broad sides of the bar. In order to keep the two side strings well away from the bar, a small twig is inserted between the string and the latter, at the head-piece. The peak of the head-piece serves as a nut for the string over the pegs. The two side strings and the main string are kept from colliding near the tail-piece by the feather quill guard, and the two arms of the guard which is U-shaped act at the same time as bridges for the side strings (Plate 90, D).

[1] ANKERMANN: p. 8, Fig. 5.

The Konjo, who know the instrument under the name of *enzenze* or *enzenzya*, hold the flat-bar zither in a slanting position in front of the chest, horizontal rather than vertical. The open bottom of the gourd is tilted upwards, facing the mouth of the musician, who appears to be singing into it. The thumb of the left hand plucks the side string facing the musician, while the fingers of the same hand stop the string on top against the frets. This string and the second side string are plucked near the gourd by the fingers of the right hand.

Apart from the Konjo in Uganda the flat-bar zither has been found with the Hutu in Ruanda, the Swahili, Awemba, Basonge, and in Angola. It is at home in Madagascar, from where it probably entered the African continent. Specimens found in Kenya, at Taveta, proved to have been imported by Swahili porters. Ankermann[1] records an instrument from the Central Congo region, but he too believes this to be an importation by porters from the east coast.

2. *Ground-zither.* This instrument is made and played by children in Kakwa. The string consists of a length of tough grass, called *dzidzingba*, from which the zither takes its name. It occupies a strip of bare ground, perhaps two m. long. At the ends of the strip the string is firmly pegged into the ground. About halfway between the pegs a hole is dug, ten cm. in diameter and twenty cm. deep, and covered with a thin stone slab. The centre post or bridge is wedged between the stone and the taut string. Two auxiliary bridges are erected in a similar fashion between the pegs at the ends and the centre post. The latter is roughly fifteen cm. high; the auxiliary posts are slightly lower to spread the tension over all four sections of the string.

When the instrument is thus erected four boys line up close to the string, each equipped with two twigs which he uses like a couple of drumsticks on his appointed section.

Dr. A. N. Tucker found a ground-zither amongst the Nuer.[2]

3. *Board-zither.* There are two varieties which must be distinguished; both have in common the plain wooden board, the holes along the ends of the board through which the single string is laced from end to end, and the two wooden bridges which are inserted between board and strings, one each towards each end. The type found in Amba uses rattan cane as string, which is not as flexible as rope or sinew, nor is it as tensile. For this reason it becomes necessary if the sections of the 'chord' are to be tuned at all, to place individual bridges between the main bridges near the ends of the board (Plate 90, C). Thus, sections of string do not run in a straight line from bridge to bridge, but form gentle and irregular arches dependent upon the height, number, and position of the auxiliary bridges in between. If one remembers that rattan cane is not as flexible

[1] ANKERMANN: p. 78, footnote 2.

[2] *Tribal Music and Dancing in the Southern Sudan*, 1933, p. 13.

as ordinary string, one can well excuse Stanley's[1] fantastic drawing of a board-zither in which the strings form lines almost like the arch of a Roman bridge.

In playing, the instrument is held in both hands. The thumb of the left hand plucks three strings along the left side of the board, while the middle and forefinger support the board from underneath. The right hand grasps a plectron, a piece of grass six cm. long, between thumb and forefinger and plucks the remaining four strings to the right; the little finger carries the board from underneath (Plate 110).

The Amba name is *kayoma* or, in the Butuku plains towards Lake Albert, *alungu*. It is played by men. An informant stated that it was better known to the Burebure section of the Amba than to the Bwizi.

The board-zither with a rattan-cane string and auxiliary, individual bridges has been found by Schebesta[2] amongst the Mbuti pygmies, by Stanley[3] with the Warega, and by Johnston[4] with the Bajande at the Aruwimi river. The auxiliary bridge is typical of the *valiha* tube-zither of Madagascar.

The other type of board-zither uses neither the semi-flexible or semi-tensile rattan cane, nor does it make use of an auxiliary bridge. Instead it has a single string laced up and down. In this simple form it has been found as an improvisation in Toro when an ordinary trough-zither was not available. Czekanowski[5] reproduces such an instrument in a drawing from the Mbuba, but he states that the strings were made of rattan cane which was not the case in the instrument from Toro.

Sachs[6] believes that the Acoli have a board-zither. It is an easy thing to mistake the flat, angular shape of the Acoli trough-zither for a board-zither if seen in the reproduction quoted by Sachs.

4. *Trough-zither.* These resemble the board-zithers, but instead of a solid board employ a flat trough as a frame. The string is laced up and down from end to end through holes or notches. It is prepared for playing by taking one length across the board from notch to notch and giving this first section the desired tension and pitch. This process is repeated with the single chord as many times as the musician intends to have strings and notes. The sharp edges of the notches or holes provide enough grip for the string not to slip and thus to upset the distribution of tension between the sections of the string. In addition the strings are held by friction over the rim of the cavity or trough. In angular troughs a special bar is inserted between the edge of the cavity and the strings, reminiscent of the bridges in raft and board-zithers. In the Konjo instrument the rim has been carved out especially high to form a nut or bridge, and to increase the tension still more without re-stringing the zither extra

[1] *Through Darkest Africa*, 1890, Vol. II, p. 367.
[2] *Among Congo Pigmies*, 1933, p. 277.
[3] See above, footnote 1.
[4] *George Grenfell and the Congo*, Vol. II, p. 723.
[5] CZEKANOWSKI: II, p. 461, Fig. 236, text, p. 458. [6] SACHS: p. 140.

wedges made of twigs have been fitted for individual sections of strings in need of sharpening. These wedges have been observed also on board-zithers with auxiliary bridges.

Tuning is possible by giving an extra pull to that section of string which by increasing its tension is to be raised in pitch. Thus the whole balance of tension can be redistributed over the zither for tuning purposes, without having to relace the whole string.

Angular troughs occur in the extreme north of the trough-zither area of distribution, in Acoli and Labwor (Plate 91, A); the Nyoro instrument is already slightly softened in its outline (Plate 91, B), and the further south one moves the more do the angular lines disappear. In Toro, Nkole, and Kiga, the trough is oval in shape. Angular instruments use holes, and oval ones as a rule use notches to lace the string through. The bars between strings and edge of the cavity also disappear towards the south. The Nyoro trough-zither has remarkable flanges extending from the small ledge in which the string is laced. The Acoli instrument shows such flanges in an embryonic state, but the Konjo type makes them a distinctive part of the design.

The Konjo zither (Plate 91, C) deserves mention for another reason. Whereas the sections of strings in all other instruments lie more or less in one plane, the sections of the Konjo instrument are arranged as if on the surface of a half-cylinder, the other half of which is provided by the curve of the trough itself. Consequently the edge of the cavity at the short ends is not level or straight, but forms an almost semi-circular arch. This peculiar design is reminiscent of the tube-zither *valiha* mentioned previously, the strings of which also form a cylindrical surface.

In order to reinforce the sound the trough is often laid against a pot, tin or gourd. In Ziba gourds are actually fixed to the trough as the resonator is fixed to a gourd-bow.

In Acoli only men play the instrument. In Nyoro (Plate 111, B), Nkole and Toro only women of the aristocracy play it. In Kiga (Plate 111, A) it is the instrument of the commoner, and is also the most popular of all string instruments.

The distribution of the trough-zither, which is restricted to Africa, presents a peculiar picture: it occupies a compact area reaching from the extreme tip of the Western Province of Uganda, Acoli, through Ruanda, Urundi, Tanganyika, to the Ruvuma and probably further in the south. The oval type is found at the centre of the area in Central Tanganyika, surrounded by the angular type in the north, west, south, and south-east. Trough-zithers have also been found in the Belgian Congo and elsewhere beyond Tanganyika.

Vernacular names are identical everywhere in Uganda; the instrument is called *enanga* from Acoli to Kiga, and in Ziba. The Konjo have a second name, *akatuba k'abakuru*. It should be noted that in Ganda the word *enanga* refers to the bow-harp or to any European key or string instrument.

GROUND-BOWS

Of all string instruments in Uganda the ground-bow has received least attention from observers. Kagwa[1] has recorded its existence in his chapter on 'Customs in Playing Games' (*Empisa z'emizanyo*). The fact that the ground-bow serves as a children's toy everywhere in the Protectorate may account for the lack of information.

There exist several types in Uganda which—with one exception—are all of an improvised construction.

The type known to every child in Ganda is made as follows: the children dig a pit in the ground, about twenty cm. in depth and in diameter, and cover it up with a piece of banana fibre, bark, or, nowadays, tin. Close to the hole they plant a flexible wand in the ground, the tension rod of the ground-bow. To its free end they tie a string, the other end of which is knotted to the cover over the pit, through a tiny hole in the centre. The knot in the cover is reinforced by a little twig to prevent it from slipping through. The string has to be tight, and therefore exercises considerable pull on the cover; the latter is weighted down accordingly with earth heaped up along the edges, sometimes right up to the string, for which only a small space is left, or else by stones or pieces of wood (Plate 92, A).

The type described by Kagwa is slightly different. He says of the string and cover: 'they knot it into a piece of calabash. They dig a small hole and fit the gourd into it. . . .' It seems as if instead of the pit covered by a flat piece of bark an almost hemispherical or at least curved piece of gourd is fitted into the ground. This is equivalent to the cover of the more common type being extended, so as to form the walls as well as the roof of the resonator. This design has not been observed, however, perhaps on account of the fact that gourds are no longer very much in use in the Ganda homestead.

The ground-bow used in Lango dispenses with the pit altogether, and yet preserves intimate contact with the earth, for the gourd is placed on the ground. The chord is no longer knotted into the resonator or resonator cover, but is tied to a peg in the ground and then tucked under the rim of the hemispherical gourd. The opening of the latter is pressed against the ground by the musician's leg, which rests with its back on the gourd (Plate 92, C).

Emancipation from the earth has advanced furthest in the portable ground-bow from Ganda. It is supposed to be known in Bulemezi County. At first sight it would be difficult to identify it as a ground-bow, but structural details such as the tension rod and the skin over the resonator gourd, musical technique, the attitude of the player, and its vernacular name show it to be a *sekitulege*, a ground-bow proper. There is not enough information available to say whether it is a recent development or an old

[1] Kagwa (*Empisa*), p. 262.

form of the ground-bow, although the few Ganda who know of it believe it to be old.

This instrument is permanent and portable; it can no longer be improvised. It is built up on a log of wood of about ninety cm. in length. The tension rod is plugged into the hollow core of the log. Close to the other end a gourd rests with its natural neck on a platform which has been carved out of the surface of the log. A belt of skin is slung tightly over the apex of the calabash and under the log to prevent the former from moving off its base. The attachment of the string calls for special attention: one end, of course, is knotted to the free tip of the tension rod, but the other end passes through skin belt, gourd and log. A twig through the knot underneath the log prevents the string from slipping loose (Plate 92, D).

One would expect, in analogy to the method employed in the more orthodox and common ground-bow, that the string would be knotted into the skin or the wall of the gourd. Although the portable type differs in this respect from other ground-bows in Africa, it finds a counterpart in a similar construction in the 'one-stringed harp' in Annam,[1] and Schaeffner[2] reports a ground-bow in Haiti in which the string is also tied to the framework of the bow and not to the cover of the resonator, although this instrument rests in the soil. The type from Annam consists of a narrow, angular box with an open bottom; the string runs from the short, upright tension rod at the small end of the box through a hole in the lid to a tuning peg which has been fixed through the side of the box.

The flexible wand is reminiscent of the bow-lute, the most eastern representatives of which have travelled almost as far as Uganda.[3] Hornbostel[4] noted the similarity, but did not accept a relationship between bow-lute and the common ground-bow. The portable type described in this paragraph raises the argument again and with more force.

In Ganda the musician plays the ground-bow squatting on the ground in front of it with the tension rod to the left. The left hand produces various notes either by lifting or pressing down the tip of the rod, that is, by modifying its tension and the tension of the string, or by stopping the string. The forefinger of the right hand acts as plectron. Children sometimes build five or more of these instruments and play them together. In Toro there is a superstition that if children play the ground-bow near their home the mongoose will gather to dance and steal them, and therefore children must build the instrument away from the house.

Whereas in Uganda the ground-bow is used as a toy, the pygmies across the border treat it seriously. There too a different technique of playing has been found: the string is plucked with the left hand, and the cover

[1] Called *cai-dan-bau*; the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford possesses a facsimile of the instrument.

[2] SCHAEFFNER: pp. 160–1.

[3] CZEKANOWSKI: II, p. 146, at Nepoko.

[4] *Africa*, VI, 1933, p. 298.

of the pit is beaten like a drum[1] with a stick held in the right hand. This is reminiscent of the treatment of another 'earth-bound' instrument, the ground-zither of the Nuer.[2] 'Earth-bound' instruments are numerous amongst the tribes of the Nile-Congo water-shed, and it is likely that a special study would result in interesting discoveries.

A description of the ground-bow would be incomplete without mentioning the apparent similarity in construction between it and traps used by hunters and witchcraft instruments of the Zande. The portable bow from Ganda especially resembles a rat trap commonly in use.

The ground-bow occupies a belt reaching from Tanga to Freetown, as follows:

TABLE NO. 5[3]

Tanganyika	*Uganda*	*Sudan/Congo*	*West Africa*
Shambala	Alur	Bongo	Baya
	Lugbara	Mbuti	Bafia
	Lango	North Congo	Fulbe
	Teso	tribes	Malinke
	Gishu		Futa Jallon
	Soga		
	Ganda		
	Toro		
	Konjo		

Vernacular names in Uganda are:

Alur	*jigijigi*	Soga	*musokolome*
Lugbara	*itikili*	Ganda	*sekitulege*
Lango	*tum*	Toro	*ekitulege*
Teso	*awunene*	Konjo	*ekitulege*
Gishu	*malaba* or *maloba*		

BOW-HARPS

Bow-harps played an important part in the music of ancient Egypt; paintings and reliefs from buildings and tombs give a fascinating picture of the instrument during its long career. In early harps its ancestor, the musical bow, can be recognized: the curve of the bow is flat and the sound bowl is small in relation to the size of the whole instrument. Bow-harps of later date tend to have the bow bent in a steep curve or at a sharp angle while the proportionate size of the resonance body increases. In Egypt the attitude of the musician was different from modern practice

[1] P. SCHEBESTA: *Die Bambuti Pygmäen from Ituri*, Brussels, 1941, Vol. II, Plate XV, 62.

[2] See above, p. 388.

[3] Information in the first, third, and fourth columns according to SACHS, p. 61.

in Africa: the harp leant against his chest like a musical bow in contrast to the Negro method, which points the bow of the instrument away from the player. In this respect the modern, African harp resembles the instruments of ancient Sumer and in the attitude practised by the Konjo conforms to the attitude of the harpist recorded on a relief from Pawaya, India, from the first centuries of the Christian era.[1]

Tuning pegs did not exist in Egypt.[2] The pegs shown in pictures were immovable; their only purpose was to prevent the strings from slipping off, a danger especially obvious in gently curved instruments.

In present-day Africa, as in ancient Egypt, many distinguishing features are observed, such as the angle at which the bow is curved, the size and possibly the shape of the resonator, and the method of joining bow and sound bowl. In Egyptology these details of construction are interpreted historically; in modern Africa they coincide with the geographical distribution of different types of bow-harp.

If it is correct to assume that a shallow arch indicates the ancestry of the musical bow, it follows that the instruments from Teso or even Ganda would have to be placed early in the range of harp models. They belong to the peculiar construction only known from Uganda in which the neck of the bow rests loosely in the bottom of the sound bowl, like a spoon in a cup, and consequently pierces the sound-skin where it leaves the bowl. With slack strings the bow would be loose, and with tight strings its bottom end would press against the inside of the bowl and thus stand firm. In a much-used specimen from Soga it was found that the continuous pressure of the bow had rubbed a hole in the bowl which had had to be repaired. Whether this method of joining bow and resonator had been dictated by a possible prototype of the resonator, a tortoiseshell, is a question which it is impossible to decide. In specimens which use a tortoiseshell any other way of fixing the neck would have been difficult. This group covers the south-easternmost corner of the bow-harp area, that is, Acoli, Labwor, Lango, Teso, Jopadhola, Gwere, Soga, Ganda, and Nyoro, all in Uganda.

Bow-harps outside the above tribal areas tend to be constructed with a steeper arch to the bow, although individual instruments may still show the shallow curve of the musical bow. The bow is fitted tightly in a hole at the small end of the resonator, and would remain in position if the strings were slackened. In Uganda the Madi, Alur, and Konjo use this design, and the Acoli borrowed it from the Alur, and also further west no other construction is used as far as Adamawa.

All bow-harps have tuning pegs; in modern Africa they have become genuine tuning pegs which can be turned. But perhaps the ancient function of the immovable peg in Egypt still lingers on in the peculiar fashion in

[1] Reproduced in C. SACHS: *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World, East and West*, 1943, p. 176.

[2] SACHS: p. 145.

which, in Uganda and beyond, the string is slung behind the bow and over the end of the tuning peg. There is nothing to prevent the string from being taken straight from the peg handle to the resonance table.

The Ganda bow-harp is an outstanding example of good craftsmanship. This expresses itself amongst other factors in the care taken to achieve the ideal of sound timbre aimed at by the musician.[1] For this purpose movable rings are fixed round the neck, one to each string, which are pushed into position just close enough below the string to let it vibrate against the ring. The rings consist of banana fibre sewn into lizard skin. A small wooden wedge is inserted between ring and neck to make the fitting of the ring easier and to prevent it from moving by itself, once it has been adjusted. The tuning process not only consists of turning the pegs but also of shifting the rings into their proper places. In a bow-harp from Buruli County, on the southern shore of Lake Kyoga, the soft rings were replaced by another device: little wooden cylinders were tied with raffia round the bow below each string. If the top and bottom of the cylinders stood exactly parallel to the plane of the strings no contact was possible; but by giving the raffia ring a slight turn one edge of the cylinder would be lifted towards the string and allow it to vibrate against it. A very fine adjustment of space between string and wooden cylinder was possible in this way. A harp from Nyoro[2] possesses the same device made from a strip of fibre.

Other technical features of the bow-harp are the tail-piece and the lacing of the sound-skin to the bowl. The strings run from the tip of the pegs towards the sound-table, which is made of mammalian skin, or in some instruments in Nyoro and Konjo of lizard or snake skin. Each string pierces the sound-skin and passes through an individual hole in the tail-piece underneath, where it is knotted to prevent it from slipping away. There are one or two large sound-holes in the skin, one on either side of the strings, just wide enough to allow the musician to repair a knot, or thread a new string into the tail-piece. The latter consists of a flat strip of wood pulled tightly against the inside of the sound-skin by the tension of the strings. The end of the tail-piece facing the bow rises above the surface of the skin where the bow itself pierces it. If the skin is fitted loosely the tail-piece is pulled up by the strings; in this position it forms a ridge in the skin which slopes away at both sides towards the rim of the bowl.

In Ganda and Soga the lacing is of the same dense kind as in the Uganda drum. Nyoro bow-harps show a similar type of lacing. In Teso the same W-shaped lacing is employed, but it has got nothing of the density of the Ganda harps. In Konjo snake or lizard skin covers the resonator completely, with seams which show little care in sewing. In

[1] K. P. WACHSMANN: 'An Equal-stepped Tuning in a Ganda Harp', *Nature*, Vol. 165, p. 40, 7 January 1950, contains an analysis of the tuning process.

[2] Now in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Lango and elsewhere the coarse lacing of the local drum is repeated in the bow-harps.

The shape of the sound-table is circular or oval in Ganda (Plate 93, A); of a narrow, oval shape in Nyoro (Plate 93, B); triangular with a straight bottom in Madi and Alur (Plate 94, B); rectangular in Konjo (Plate 94, A); and dependent upon the shape of the tortoiseshell in Acoli, Lango, and Labwor (Plate 93, D). The Teso instrument is sometimes very slim at the shoulders (Plate 93, C), hardly wide enough to carry the bow, and becomes wider towards the straight bottom end. The sound-bowl seen in profile is shallow and curved in Ganda, deep and curved in Nyoro, curved in Konjo, and very shallow with a sloping top end near the shoulder in Teso, Alur, and Madi. The wooden sound-bowl as used by the Madi, with its characteristic shape, has been accepted by Acoli musicians, who make and play the instrument nowadays as if it was their own, side by side with the tortoiseshell harp to which they are accustomed.

It should be noted that with a tortoise carapace the rims are apt to bend inwards at the sides. Zande bow-harps might be imitating this tendency in their sound-bowls when they introduce a deep waist in the sound-table comparable to the waist of a European violin. The rim of the wooden sound-bowl of a *kimasa* harp seen in Busiki, in Soga, was carved in the shape of the figure 8. The lacing on this instrument was of a pattern said to be reserved as a privilege for the ruler of Busiki County. It was known to be an important heirloom, and the present owner or guardian took pleasure in reciting the names of his predecessors.

The peculiar design of the Zande of crowning the tip of the bow with a carved human head has also been found in five-stringed Acoli instruments, with a wooden bowl of the Madi type and a sound-table made of elephant skin.

The number of strings varies from tribe to tribe, but is constant within each area. The tribal table (p. 399), gives the number of strings for each tribe after the name.[1] In Ganda strings are made of tendons from the back of a cow, but in modern times tendons are difficult to come by, and twisted thongs of cow-hide have taken their place. The strings are rubbed with castor oil seed to impregnate them against dampness—and to protect them against rats, as one man thought—and with ashes to smooth them before playing. After playing, musicians rub the strings between two fingers and then slacken them to keep the strings in good condition. They are graded in thickness; figures measured on a Ganda harp are given below: the numbers indicate the position of the string from the bow towards the longest and lowest note:

1=1·05 mm.	3=1·10 mm.	5=1·25 mm.	7=1·35 mm.
2=1·10 mm.	4=1·15 mm.	6=1·35 mm.	8=1·60 mm.

[1] Nine-stringed harps have not been included in the table since they are exceedingly rare. A few specimens have been traced in the proximity of Lake Kyoga, i.e. in Nyoro, Ganda, and Soga.

The Konjo harp is provided with strings made of twisted raffia fibre, called *nkinga*; it is brought from Amba by indigenous traders.

An extensive musical terminology is in use in Ganda and Nyoro. The three highest strings in Ganda are called *obutemyo*, a word referring to the smallest roof ring *akatemyo* in a native hut. The same strings in Nyoro had the names *dulira*, *nkara*, and *kagunda*. Strings four and five in the middle of the plane of strings are called *enjawuzi* in Ganda, the 'dividers'; the corresponding numbers four and five in Nyoro are *nsiya* and *njegembe*. The three lowest and tallest strings have the name *matengezi*, which probably refers to their loose and slow vibration. In Nyoro these three are called *ntabi*, *nkara*, and *ngunda*; the couples *dulira* and *ntabi*, *nkara* and *nkara*, and *kagunda* and *ngunda* are tuned in octaves. *Obutemyo* and *matengezi* are tuned in octaves in the same way in Ganda and are often played together, a technique known as '*okugata omwanjo*', i.e. to join the 'units'. These terms are also used, partly, in bowl-lyres, in trumpet sets, xylophones, and notched flute ensembles.

The two tallest strings of the Acoli harp are called *minne*, i.e. mothers; the two shortest are known as *nyige*, i.e. the little ones; and the centre string is referred to as *atong*, described as 'one which receives the voice above' (from the string next to it), but this does not convey any meaning which could be expressed in musical terms.[1]

During the performance the bow-harp is placed on the lap of the musician with the neck pointing away from him. This refers especially to Ganda (Plate 112), where harpists do not play on a journey. In other districts a traveller may use a harp while walking; he holds the bowl in the palms of his hands near the bow where it leaves the sound-skin. In Ganda the hands rest to the right and left, finding support with their little fingers, along the tail-piece or string holder, where it passes through the skin and touches the bow. The palms are turned inwards facing each other. Both thumbs play, generally, strings five to eight, that is, the low notes, and both forefingers pluck strings one to four (Plate 113, A).

Travelling Nilotic labourers treat it as a solo instrument. In Ganda the instrument occupies a high position. Kagwa[2] is impressed by its construction, and describes it in detail and then complains that in his days few knew how to play it, although in olden times not only the Kabaka but everyone had it played in their homes. In his opinion the bowl-lyre had ousted the bow-harp. At the present time Ganda harpists can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The places still occupied by the artists are the Kabaka's palace and the houses of a few interested, important chiefs. Bukasa, a remote and lonely island in Lake Victoria, could count a bow-harp player amongst its few inhabitants. The harpist was the only musician ever allowed to play in the room of the royal ladies. Thus Speke,

[1] The same terms are applied to the sections of the string on the Acoli trough-zither.

[2] Kagwa (*Empisa*), p. 277.

according to an illustration in his book,[1] introduced Grant to the Queen-mother in the presence of a blind harpist. The harpist was blinded[2] in some cases by royal command either to make him immune against the charms of his audience or to keep him dependent upon his master.

The solo character of the instrument can be observed at a public function in the Kabaka's enclosure when bowl-lyres and other instruments play together: while they perform the harpist is seated with them, silent, taking no part. When the orchestra has finished he may strike up and sing his solo, accompanying himself on the harp.

It is difficult to believe Kagwa's story that the bow-harp was once so popular. Its disappearance from musical life in Ganda, however, is not unique. Driberg[3] says exactly the same with regard to the Lango instrument of six strings, *tum*, as Kagwa does with reference to the Ganda harp. In Lango it was superseded by the five-stringed *loterokuma* of the Acoli; the Lango admit this and state that they did not play it well themselves. In Soga, especially in the north-east, the magnificent *kimasa* was once played for the important chiefs; now it is difficult to find a player for this harp.

The distribution of the six-stringed instruments in Uganda deserves special mention. They cover a continuous area from Labwor in the north to Gwere in the south; in Lango, however, the instrument has been replaced by the five-stringed Acoli harp. In Teso the *adeudeu*, the six-stringed harp, is sometimes spoken of as *amagarait* or *akidiait*, names which both refer to places: *amagarait* refers to Gwere and *akidiait* to Bukedea.[4] In Gwere it is believed that the *otongoli* was introduced by a Tesot, before the arrival of the Europeans, whose name, *Ojete*, is still remembered.

The distribution of the bow-harp is set out in Table No. 6 below, together with vernacular names used in Uganda for the harp.

The *kimasa* of Soga is remarkable not only on account of its rarity but for two other reasons as well: the low pitch of the tuning, which gives *kimasa* music a percussion-like character, and the occasional development of a footed form. This Soga harp is so heavy that it seems natural to provide it with four short but strong legs or feet on which it rests firmly on the ground. The writer has seen only one specimen, from Busiki County, and has come across one picture in a mission booklet.[5]

The type found in Western Uganda which fits the bow into a hole in the sound-bowl is related to the Zande harp and other instruments further west. A third type, described by Ankermann,[6] is found in Adamawa in the Cameroons. It possesses several characteristics distinguishing it from

[1] *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, 1864, p. 424.
[2] ROSCOE: *The Baganda*, 1911, p. 35.
[3] DRIBERG: *The Lango*, 1923, p. 88.
[4] R. WARD (1944): personal communication.
[5] *Pie Series, Tales of Uganda*, 2nd ed., C.M.S., p. 49.
[6] ANKERMANN: p. 17, Fig. 21.

other bow-harps: bow and sound-box are joined smoothly, leaving no edges or shoulders, the sound-box is taller than the bow, and the number of strings rises to ten or more. South and west of the French Cameroons bow-harps are very coarse in construction. One can speculate about their relationship to the bow-lute, but this would be outside the scope of this study.

TABLE NO. 6. TRIBES IN AFRICA TO WHICH THE BOW-HARP IS KNOWN

Nile Valley	*Uganda*	*Tangan-yika*	*Belgian Congo*	*French Gabon Cameroons and Nigeria*	*West Africa and elsewhere*
Madi 7	Madi 5 or 7	Karagwe? (probably a Ganda instru-ment)	Lendu 7	Fang 8	Futa Jalon (Fr. Guinea)
Dinka 5	Acoli 5 or 7		Zande 5	Nkomi 8	Dagomba (Fr. Dahomey)
Nubia ?	Alur 7		Mang-betu?	Bakalai 8	Gaberi (Bagirmi in Fr. Ubangi-Shari)
	Lango 5 to 6		Mbuba 8	Tibati 10	
	Labwor 6		Ababua 5	Batta 10	
	Teso 6		Bajande 5	Jukun	
	Gwere 6		Bangala 5	Banyo	
	Jopa-dhola 8		Sango 5	Mbum	
	Soga 8			Kotoko	
	Ganda 8				
	Nyoro 8				
	Konjo 8				

It was known also in ancient times in Egypt.

Vernacular names in Uganda:

Ganda	*ennanga*	Labwor	*tum*
Konjo	*kinanga* or *ekihako*	Madi (Aivu)	*ore*
Alur	*adungu*	Madi (Moyo)	*orodo*
Gwere	*otongoli*	Lango	*tum*
Jopadhola	*entongoli*	Acoli	*opuk agoya* and *loterokuma*
Nyoro	*ekidongo* or *ekidongoli*		
Teso	*adeudeu*	Soga	*kimasa*

(The figures in the Table refer to the number of strings.)

BOWL-LYRES

Bowl-lyres played as important a part in the musical life of ancient Greece as the bow-harps did in Egypt. The modern instrument in Uganda corresponds to the 'Lyra' in Greece, the plain and unsophisticated type which did not participate in the technical refinement bestowed upon the ancient box-lyre, the 'Cithara'. No box-lyre survived into modern times outside Abyssinia; this section is therefore concerned with the bowl-lyre only.

The hemispherical sound-bowl gave the instrument its name. Its shape and size in Madi is dictated by the shape and the size of the tortoise carapace selected by the maker (Plate 95, B). In Greece the Lyra was also fashioned from a tortoiseshell. In Uganda the bowl tends to be shallow; Nilotic instruments in Kavirondo use deep resonator bowls. The sound-skin is pegged to the rim of the bowl in Samia and laced to a central ring or skin at the back in Ganda, Soga, Lugbara and Luo. In more recent times, however, the Luo appear to have preferred the nailed skin, using wire nails bought in the shop.

The two arms which carry the yoke enter the sound-bowl rather as the arm of the Eastern or early type of bow-harp did, that is, they rest like spoons in a cup, but instead of touching the bottom of the bowl, they are placed against the opposite rim. In Bantu instruments the arms are arranged in such a way as to leave as little trace as possible in the surface of the skin; Nilotic lyres have the arms placed above the level of the rim, with the result that their position across the opening of the sound-bowl is marked by considerable bulges (Plate 95, C). In Bantu instruments the arms form practically a V, the tip of which touches the rim of the bowl; Nilotic instrument makers place the arms in a more parallel fashion.

The arrangement of arms and yoke in a symmetrical way is prevalent in present-day instruments. Box-lyres, however, from ancient Ur, Sumer, Babylonia, Egypt, and even modern Abyssinia tend towards an asymmetrical design, with arms of noticeably unequal length, set at different angles. In this connection it is noteworthy that in Ganda expert players prefer a slightly asymmetrical design because, as they say, it is easier to play. Thus in an instrument of good quality the strings are crowded together towards the left arm.

The strings are fixed to a tail-piece where the arms meet, and from thence fan out towards the yoke. The tail-piece in Ganda is well designed (Plate 95, A2): it consists of a thin stick of four cm. in length to which as many pieces of gut string of equal length have been tied with a slip-knot, as there are strings on the lyre. The loose ends of the gut are given a knot at the tip. This tail-piece is inserted into the hole close to the rim of the sound-bowl where the two arms meet and is prevented from slipping

out by the stick. The knotted ends of the short gut pass through a hole in the sound-skin where the strings are looped over them by a slip-knot. Replacement of the string is made easy by this device.

From the tail-piece the strings are taken to the yoke. For each string a strip of cloth, bark-cloth, or banana fibre is wrapped round the yoke and after a few turns the end of the string is included. This results in a 'bulge' which is the equivalent of a tuning peg. Turning it alters the tension of the string. In Abyssinia twigs are stuck into similar tuning bulges to act as levers[1] and to make tuning a still more refined process. Such tuning levers can be seen in a clear example on a box-lyre from Ur in the British Museum.[2]

Practice as to the application of bridges varies. In Ganda and Soga no bridges are employed. The strings are taken close to the sound-skin against which they are meant to vibrate. In all instruments from Kavirondo, and from Samia and Jopadhola, under Luo influence, a raft of four hollow reeds immediately underneath the strings is fixed to the sound-skin by two lumps of wax. The strings are meant to rattle against the reeds when they vibrate, to realize the same ideal of timbre which the Ganda aim at when they allow the strings of their lyre to beat against the skin, a slight buzz or jingle. In addition to these pseudo-bridges the Kavirondo type has a rough piece of wood of practically circular cross-section wedged between skin and strings closely to the reed raft, towards the tail-piece. In Gwe and Gishu the bridge is carved to a thin, rectangular lamella; to guide the strings across the bridge, notches are carved in the edge in the same way as in the bridge of a European violin. In Madi, the bridge stands on two feet carved out of the same piece of wood, which rest on the sound-skin.

The technical details of the bowl-lyre in Uganda vary from tribe to tribe, although a general trend of development and design can be distinguished in instruments in Bantu areas as opposed to those in Nilotic districts. The details are set out in Table No. 7.

In contrast to the bow-harp, in Ganda and Soga the strings are not tuned in a scale of notes moving in uninterrupted succession from low to high pitch or vice versa, but are arranged in a different scheme. In Table No. 8 the small letters give the notes of the lyre arranged in a scale; they should be taken as a rough approximation and not as an accurate record. The figures refer to the strings counting from number one close to the left arm of the frame to number eight, the last string to the right. Thus the table indicates, for instance, that the highest note e″ is given to the third string from the left, and the note d″ to the second string, and so on.

[1] SCHAEFFNER: Plate XXVI, 2.

[2] SCHAEFFNER: Plate XXV (Brit. Mus. No. 121199).

TABLE NO. 7.—THE BOWL-LYRE

Non-Bantu		*Bantu*
Deep, spherical with a knob in the centre at the back. In Madi, a tortoise carapace.	SOUND-BOWL	Shallow, trough- or food-dish shaped.
Mammalian, laced to a rope ring, or, in Madi, laced over the carapace in chess board pattern.	SKIN	Lizard, pegged to rim of bowl, or, in Ganda and Soga, laced to a second, non-sonorous skin at the back.
Prominent above rim of bowl causing bulges in surface of skin.	ARMS	Resting in bowl below rim at tail piece, leaving hardly any bulge.
Eight in Luo, five in Madi.	STRINGS	Eight in Ganda, Soga, and Samia. Seven in Gwe and Logoli.
Block of wood in Jopadhola, plus reed raft to vibrate against; on two legs in Madi with notches for strings.	BRIDGES	Thin wood on edge with notches for strings in Gwe and Logoli; no bridge in Ganda and Soga, but strings are made to beat against the sound-skin.
Strings knotted to nail or twig below rim of bowl on the outside, passing through one hole in the skin.	TAIL-PIECE	Strings knotted to twig below rim of bowl on the outside, or in Ganda fixed with slip knot over especially attached bits of gut on twig. Passing through one hole in Ganda, two in Soga, and three in Gwe and Logoli.
Squat, hefty, strongly built. Of lighter type in Madi.	GENERAL SHAPE	Slim, of slight build, and graceful.

TABLE NO. 8

Scale	*String*	*Group name of string*	*Individual name*	*Played by:*	*Tuning in quintet*
e″	3	*Obutemyo*		Left-hand thumb,	—
d″	2	or	Nil	middle and ring	
c″	1	*Obudingidi*		finger	
b′	8	*Enjawuzi*	*Kawagulu*	Right-hand thumb,	1st fiddle
g′	6		*Olufule*	occasionally fore-	2nd fiddle
e′	7		*Olutamba*	finger for string	3rd fiddle
d′	4	*Amatengezi*	Nil	number 8	—
c′	5				

The group-names have been discussed in connection with the bow-harp (p. 397), with the exception of the *obudingidi*. This means 'in the manner of the tube-fiddle *endingidi*'. No satisfactory explanation could be found for the individual names *olufule* (or sometimes *akafule*) and *olutamba*; *kawagulu* means the 'high one', referring to *akakoba*, 'the thin string'.

Strings one to three are nowadays made from sisal fibre; they are thin and look white. Numbers four to eight are made from the tendon of a cow or goat; of these, four, five, and seven are dark and thick.

The name given to a string is often found in use with other instruments as well, such as flutes or drums or trumpets. There seems to be a common vocabulary from which all these terms are drawn. The bowl-lyre of the Lugbara is a notable exception. The Lugbara refer to the strings of the *odi* by the same five words which apply to different ages and position of women. Thus the highest note is *aliriya*, i.e. a bride before her first child, or in fact any girl from the age of two. The terms for the other strings are *oliko*, *okali*, *ebeo*, and *adika*.

In a bow-harp, naturally, it would be difficult to arrange the scale in such an irregular fashion on account of the length of the strings increasing from the shortest string close to the bow towards the tallest string. In the bowl-lyre, where distances from tail-piece to yoke differ little from string to string, the musician finds no obstacle to prevent him from setting out his scale to suit his convenience.

When playing, the musician takes the left arm of the lyre deep between thumb and forefinger of the left hand and plucks the *obukoba obudingidi* with thumb, middle, and ring finger. It is understandable that the strings are strung close to the left arm of the instrument since otherwise it would be impossible to include the arm of the lyre in this grip. The right hand plucks strings four to eight with the thumb, finding support by hooking the little finger round the right arm of the instrument. The instrument of the Gwe (Plate 114) is played in a slightly different manner.

The bowl-lyre functions as solo instrument, in chamber music or, rarely, in great bands. The use of the lyre as solo instrument is especially noticeable in migrating companies of Luo labourers from Kavirondo, who are very fond of it and whose musical life it seems to dominate. In Ganda few musicians use it for solo playing, but it is used with great artistry to accompany stories. Its real place is the quintet '*omuwanjo gumu*', meaning approximately 'one unit' or 'ensemble', consisting of two tube-fiddles and one notched flute with accompanying drum, under the leadership of the bowl-lyre (Plate 115, A). In Soga a set of *ndongo*-music, i.e. bowl-lyre music, includes one or two bowl-lyres of different sizes, and two tube-fiddles with the accompaniment of a Uganda drum beaten with the hands. In Gwe a small ensemble was made up of one bowl-lyre and three 'dancing police whistles'.[1] Large bands of bowl-lyre players perform before the Kabaka.

In the west, in Toro, the bowl-lyre is a very recent innovation, and is looked upon as an attractive stranger. In Ganda tradition has it that it was introduced from Soga during the reign of Kabaka Mutesa I. The two musicians who were brought from Soga together with the instrument are still remembered by name. In Soga this story is confirmed with modifications: it was in the days of Kabaka Mwanga II that the bowl-lyre was introduced into Ganda. The hereditary chief of Gabula in North Soga when calling on Mwanga's court had amongst his retainers a lyre player and a dancer. Both attracted Mwanga's attention, and on his request were left with him. Kagwa[2] speaks of it as having taken the place of the bow-harp; he uses the Soga word *entongoli*, and does not appear to know the term *endongo*. The Soga claim to have 'invented' the bowl-lyre.[3] This may be true in the sense that the small, neat instrument in Bantu Uganda is their adaptation of the tall lyres in use further east in Samia, Jopadhola, and Luo. The Gwe lyre seems to represent an intermediate stage.

The distribution of the instrument in modern times has been set out in Table No. 9.

The predominance of the bowl-lyre in Abyssinia is marked; it is here that the more developed instruments are found. In Southern Uganda it travelled from east to west. Its passage can still be remembered by some of the tribes who adopted it. The tallest instruments occur in Luo and among their immediate Bantu neighbours; the bowl-lyre occupies the centre of all their music. The Luo migration into Kavirondo has been described by Crazzolara;[4] it left no trace in Acoli or Lango as far as the bowl-lyre is concerned. No information could be obtained as to the history of the instrument of the Lugbara, the Kakwa,

[1] N.B.—Police whistles have even been accepted as a suitable instrument for the dances of the Gishu in preparation for circumcision rites.

[2] Kagwa (*Empisa*), p. 278.

[3] *U.T.J.*, II, p. 86.

[4] *U.J.*, V, 1937, pp. 1–21.

TABLE NO. 9

Kenya and Tanganyika	*Uganda*	*Belgian Congo*	*Nile Valley and Sudan*	*Abyssinia, Somali, etc.*
Teriki	Ganda 8	Mundu	Shilluk	Amhara
Kitosh	Soga 8	Zande	Dinka	Kaffa
Logoli	Samia 8	Baka	Nuer	Shoa
Nyore	Jopadhola 8	Logo	Moru	Galla
Luo (Gaia)	Gwe 7	Mabudu	Bari speakers	Danakil
Shashi	Gishu 7		Lower Nubia	Somali
	Lugbara 5		Mittu	
	Kakwa			
	Madi 4 to 5			
	(Toro 8)			

The figures in the table refer to the number of strings.

and the Madi. The Kakwa do not always call it *odi*, but use the Arabic word *rababa*.

The Ganda term for the bowl-lyre is *ndongo*, but the Ganda also use the Soga word *ntongoli*. The Samia call the instrument *edungu*; the Logoli call it *litungu*. The same word is known in Acoli as *adungu*, where it is applied to the musical bow with detached gourd which the Acoli women play. In Kavirondo the common name for the lyre is *obukhana*; in Uganda it is used wherever the tall Luo instrument is played. The Madi and Lugbara call it *odi*.

In all these respects the bowl-lyre proves to belong to a different stratum altogether from the bow-harp, although both are importations by Nilotics into Uganda and both were known in antiquity. The distribution of the bow-harp to as far as West Africa assigns it to a different and earlier migratory wave from the bowl-lyre which hardly advanced beyond the sphere of influence of its home in modern times, Abyssinia.

TUBE-FIDDLE

The tube-fiddle is the only bowed instrument in Uganda. Its popularity is great; in Ganda the lighter kind of music is played and associated with it. No woman will ever play it.

Its construction is simple: a plain, straight stick serves as the handle or neck. It is fitted through a sound-cylinder in the direction of its diameter, one or two cm. below the rim. A sound-skin is pegged across this rim; and the other end of the cylinder is left open. The free end of the neck accommodates the tuning peg in a hole. As a rule the peg is frontal; there are, however, specimens in which the handle of the peg is inserted and turned from the back of the instrument. Whichever way it is constructed the forward section of the peg is long enough to keep the

string away from the neck and to allow it to pass just clear of the sound-skin to the tail-piece. The latter consists of the tip of the handle where it leaves the sound-cylinder after having passed through its wall; here the handle forms a little knob or thorn to which the string is fastened.

String and sound-skin have contact with each other in two places. Firstly, there is a small piece of pith wedged between them to serve as a bridge. Secondly, there is a slight bulge in the skin comparable to the nut of a violin. It is necessary, so Ganda musicians say, to choose the skin of a young animal for a good tube-fiddle, since only such a skin will make it possible for a proper bulge to be formed. The bulge must be on top of the rim in the sound-skin where the string coming up from the thorn reaches the level of the sound-table. It must be hard, and should be followed immediately by a small depression in the skin (Plate 115, C). For the sound-skin the Ganda use the Cephalophus, the blue duiker. The bridge, made of pith, is often fixed to the neck by a thin string to prevent it from getting lost.

Decorations are few. The most conspicuous is a tassel of black goat's hair, intermingled occasionally with white, tied to the tip of the stick above the tuning-peg (Plate 96, A). The sound-tube may show a ledge carved out of the wood, which runs round the cylinder close to the row of wooden pegs holding the sound-skin (Plate 96, B). Sometimes patterns are burnt into the surface. In Budu County in Ganda tube-fiddles are made with a barrel-shaped gourd as a sound-box. In Nyoro sections of cow's horn were used at one time for the same purpose.[1]

The bow or fiddle-stick measures about twenty cm. from tip to tip. A twig is sufficient for this purpose; it is unnecessary even to peel off the bark. Strands of sisal fibre are passed from end to end, first with a slip-knot into a groove carved close to one end and then by several turns into another groove at the other end. The arch of the bow is shallow. When used it requires frequent administrations of resin, a lump of which is always ready glued to the rim of the sound-skin, for immediate use.

When played, the instrument is placed against the left side of the body at waist level with the handle pointing away from the musician. Care must be taken to allow the sound to develop unhampered; a slight twist of the fiddle towards the left, lifting the open end of the sound-tube, is the most usual way of ensuring this. The handle rests in the palm of the left hand, between thumb and forefinger. The proper position of the hand is found by placing the second phalange of the middle finger on the string so as to divide it in the ratio of 4 : 3, thus making with the open string the interval of a fourth. The bow is held between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand. The tip of the thumb rests inside the angle between bow-stick and sisal fibres, and the forefinger is bent over the back of the bow, touching it with the second joint. In this attitude the fingers of the hand close on the bow in a loose fist. It can be executed in two different ways: the

[1] A. B. FISHER: *Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda* (1911), p. 36.

nail of the thumb may point either away from the fist or curve inside. The fibres of the bow rub the string at a place perhaps two cm. above the sound-box. The bow is tipped towards the string to such an extent that it almost touches the string with the wood while the fibres face towards the player (Plate 96, E).

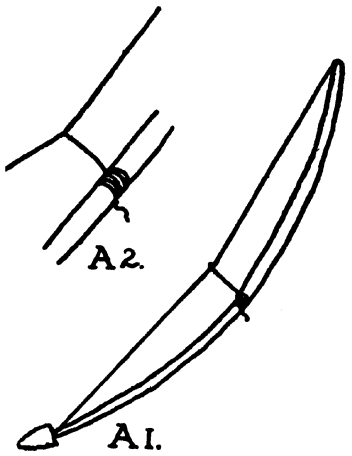
A typical ensemble in which tube-fiddles take part is the '*omwanjo gumu*', a quintet described above in connection with the leader of the group, the bowl-lyre (Plate 115, A). Since the fiddles are made in three sizes, viz. bass, alto, and treble, they have to be tuned to different pitches when they join the quintet. The treble fiddle, *endingidi entono*, i.e. 'the small fiddle', tunes to the higher of the two *enjawuzi* of the bowl-lyre, and the alto, *endingidi ennene*, i.e. 'the big fiddle', tunes to the highest note of the three *matengezi*; the bass, *endingidi ey'okusatu*, i.e. 'the third fiddle', tunes to the lower of the two *enjawuzi*. The bass fiddle is also known under two other names: *endingidi ey'olutamba* and *olufule*, terms for which no adequate explanation could be found. (See also Table No. 8.)

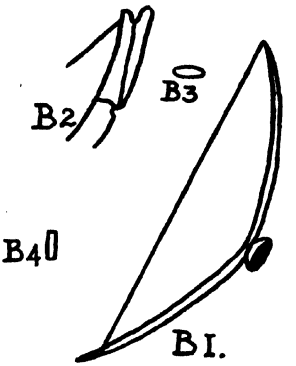
The widespread popularity of the tube-fiddle is not an indication of great age. The people generally feel that it must be a comparatively recent invention, but only a few old men who were closely associated with the instrument in its early days have anything definite to say about its origin.

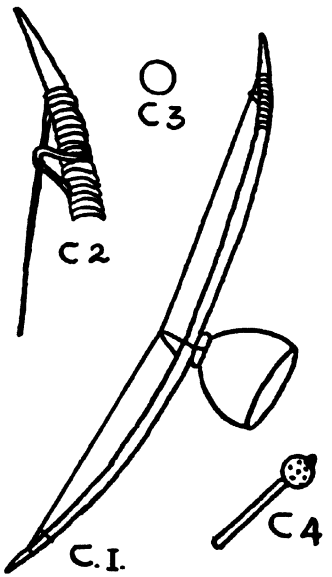
Kagwa knew the *endingidi*, but never mentioned it in his writings. In Soga a popular song commemorates the deeds of the man who first met the fiddle in Budu and Ziba while serving as a soldier in the First World War. He is said to have brought it back to his home whence it spread rapidly. However, according to more reliable information, the fiddle dates back to about 1907.

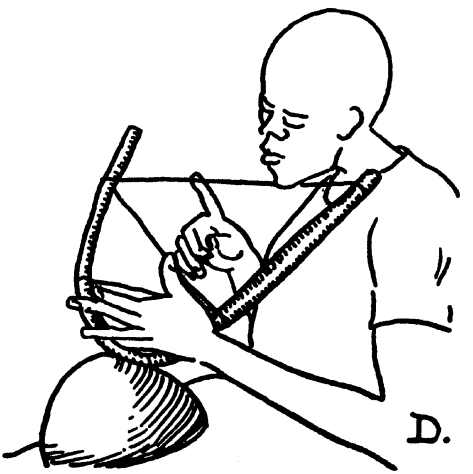
The 'invention' of the tube-fiddle has been described in two ways. The simple version is that a man in Singo had a dream in which the idea of making the instrument came to him. The other version describes the fusion of two experiences: the inventor, one Kalisiti, saw a bowed fiddle in the hands of some stranger, perhaps a Swahili or Kikuyu porter, and he remembered then the single-stringed ground bow with which he was familiar (see above, p. 391). He was struck by the similarity between the two instruments, and was inspired to make a fiddle for himself and play it. This description of the invention of the tube-fiddle in Ganda is supported by the tradition that the first song produced on the instrument was in imitation of one played by children on the ground bow.

Like the ground bow, the early types of the *endingidi* had a rather improvised appearance. The resonator was made of a piece of gourd—like the Kikuyu fiddle—the sound-skin consisted of the petal of a banana flower, and the string was made up from twisted strands of banana fibre, the ubiquitous *ebyai*. The early association of the *endingidi* with a toy, the ground bow, is still preserved in the feeling that, however popular the tube-fiddle may be, it does not befit a man of riper years to play it. He leaves it to the younger generation.







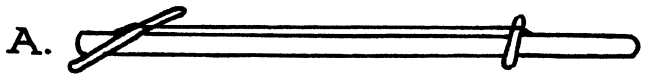


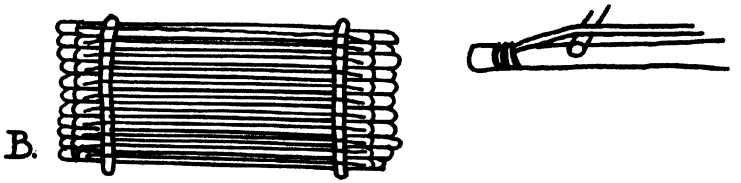
CHORDOPHONES (I)

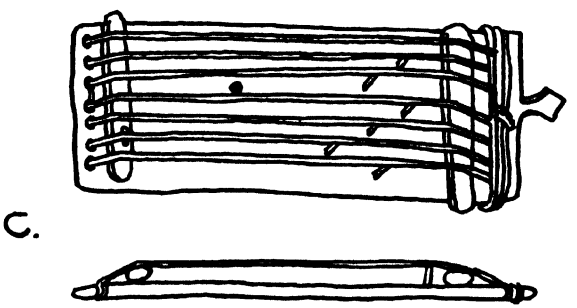
Musical bows

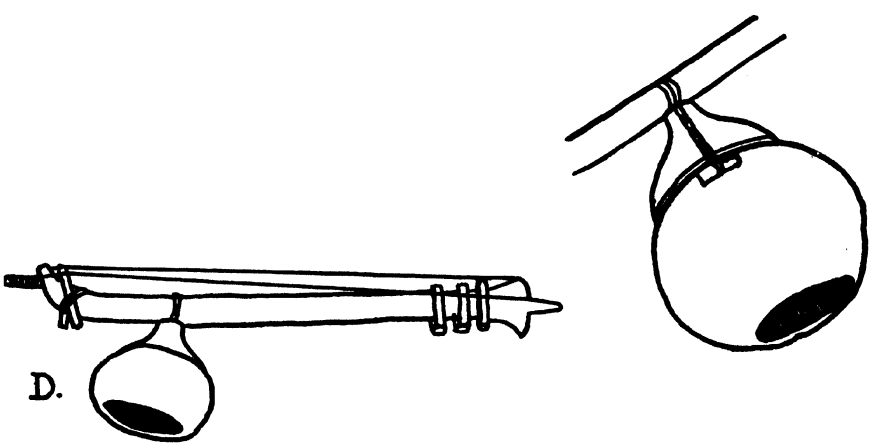
A.1. Mouth-bow—Mbuti. A.2. Noose slung in coils round bow A.1. B.1. Gourd-bow without brace—Konjo. B.2. Attachment of string to tip of bow. B.3. Cross-section through bow. B.4. A piece of grass used as plectron. C.1. Gourd-bow braced—Kiga. C.2. Attachment of string to tip of bow. C.3. Cross-section through bow. C.4. Seed-shell rattle used in playing on the bow. D. Bow with detached gourd played by an Acoli girl—Acoli.

Scale: A. 1, B. 1, C. 1, C. 4, 1 : 13.









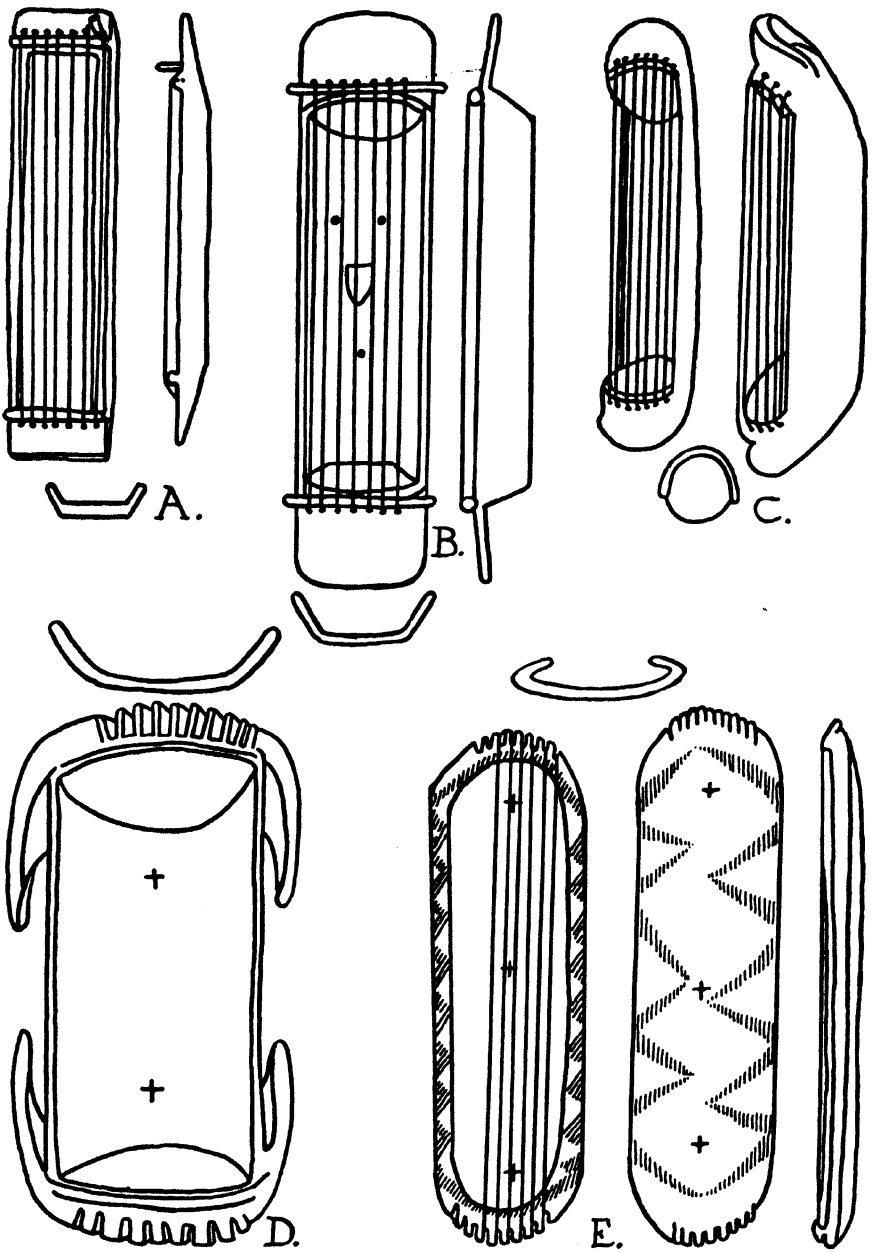
CHORDOPHONES (II)

Zithers 1

A. Monochord zither made from a piece of papyrus—Ganda. B. Raft-zither, and the tip of a member of the raft showing the binding at the end of the idiochord string—Gishu. C. Board-zither seen from top and from the side—Amba. D. Flat-bar zither and detail of attachment of gourd and collar to the bar—Konjo.

Scale: A, B, C, 1 : 7 (not detail). D, 1 : 8 (not detail).

PLATE 91



CHORDOPHONES (III)

Zithers (continued) 2 (Trough-Zithers)

A. Angular type—Acoli. B. Large type with flaps—Nyoro. C. Cylindrically shaped type—Konjo. (N.B.—A. to C. have the string laced through holes.) D. Instrument with horn shaped decoration—Nkole. E. Instrument with zigzag pattern burnt into back of trough—Kiga. (N.B.—D. and E. have the string laced through notches.)

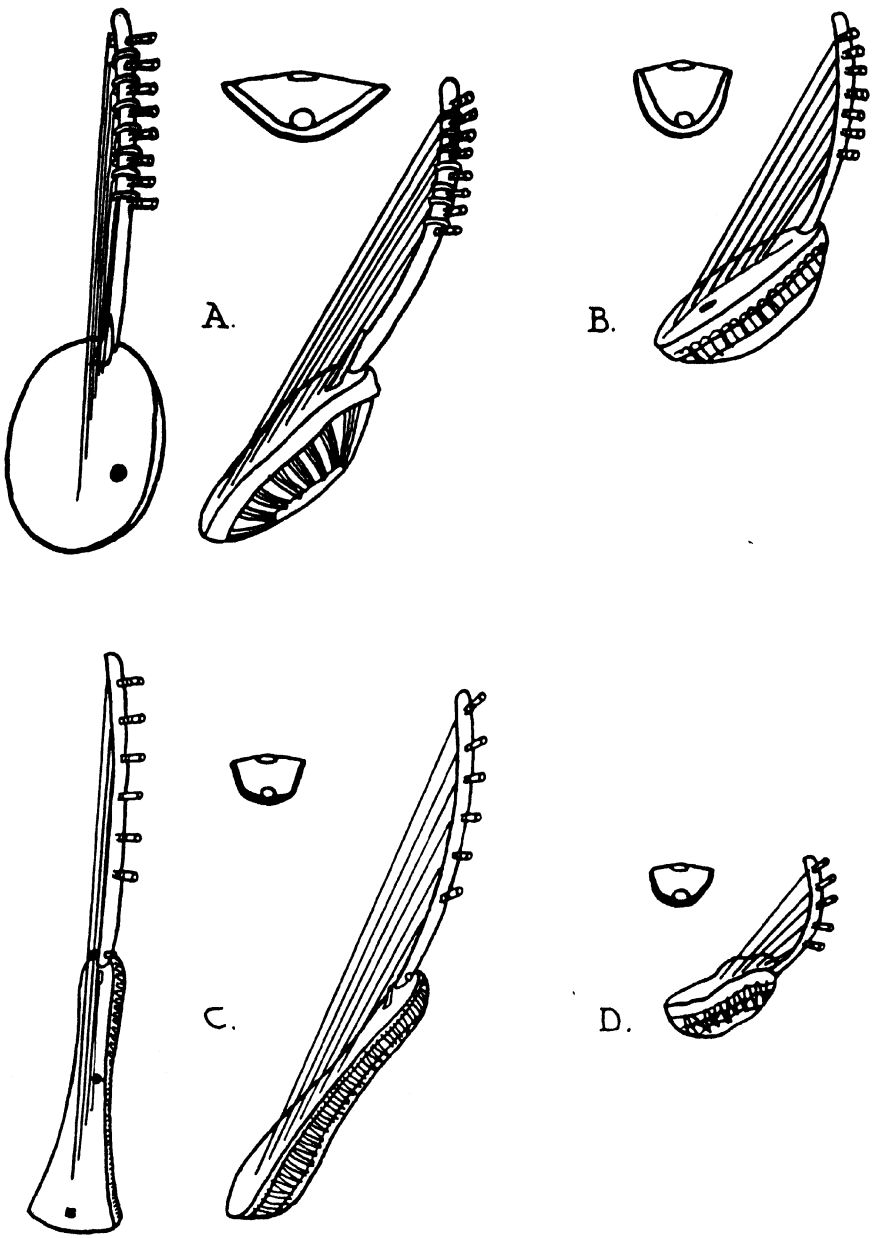
Scale: A, C, D, 1 : 6·5. B, E, 1 : 12·5.



CHORDOPHONES (IV)

Ground bow

A. Ground-bow of the more common type—Ganda. B. Cross-section showing the pit—Ganda. C. Instrument with string pegged into the ground under a gourd, and cross-section through attachment of string under the gourd—Lango. D. Method of playing ground-bow of emancipated type and the instrument seen from the side—Bulemezi county of Ganda.

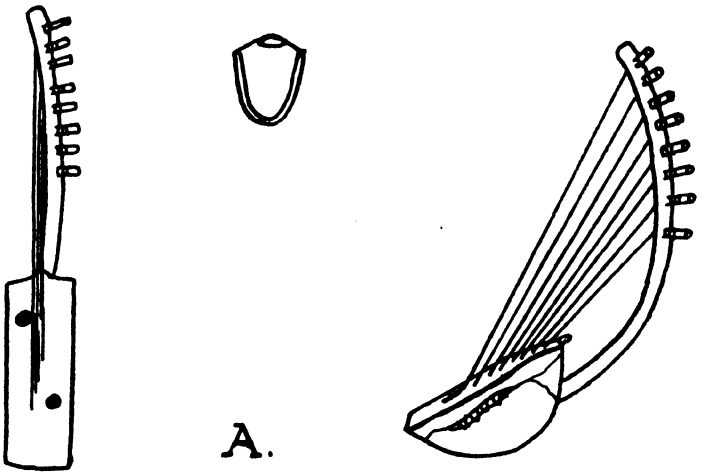


CHORDOPHONES (V)

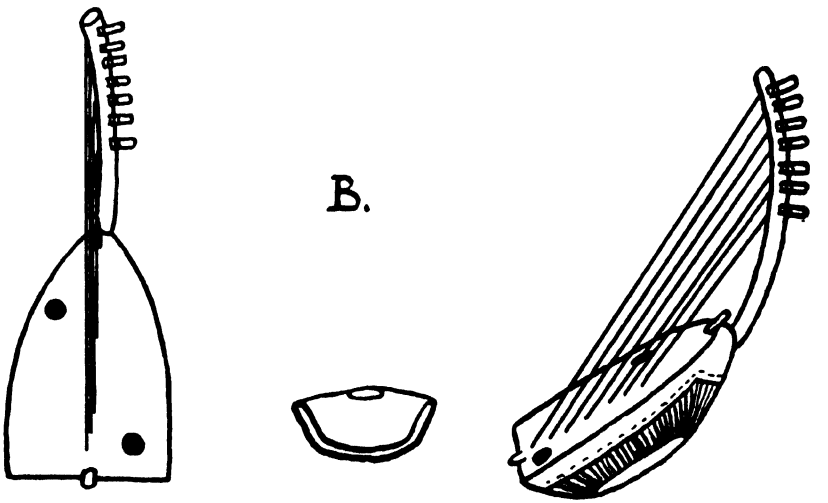
Bow-harps 1. (N.B.—The bow rests loosely in the mouth of the bowl.)

A. Bow-harp—Ganda. B. Bow-harp—Nyoro. C. Bow-harp—Teso. D. Bow-harp using tortoise carapace as sound bowl—Lango.

Scale: 1 : 10.



A.



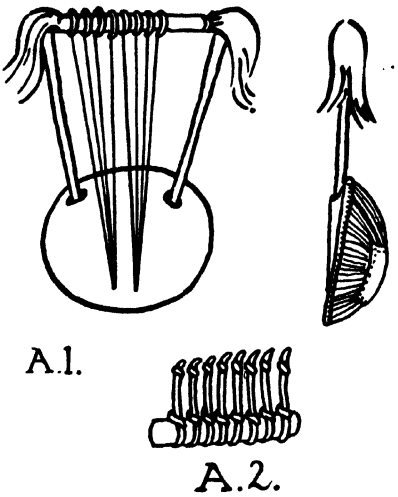
B.

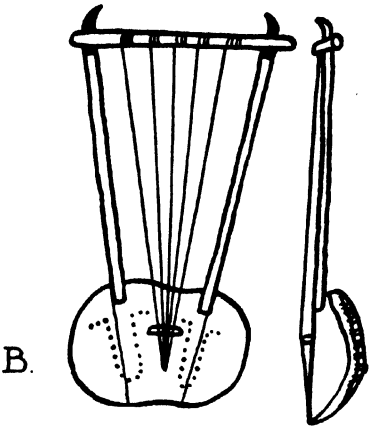
CHORDOPHONES (VI)

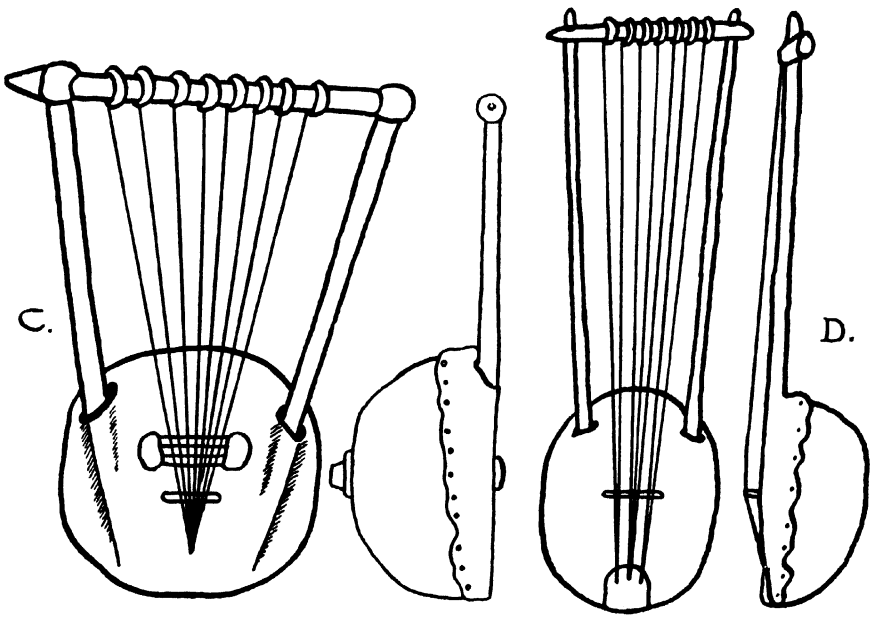
Bow-harps (continued) 2. (N.B.—The bow is fixed into a hole in the wall of the sound bowl.)

A. Bow-harp—Konjo. B. Bow-harp—Alur.

Scale: 1 : 10.





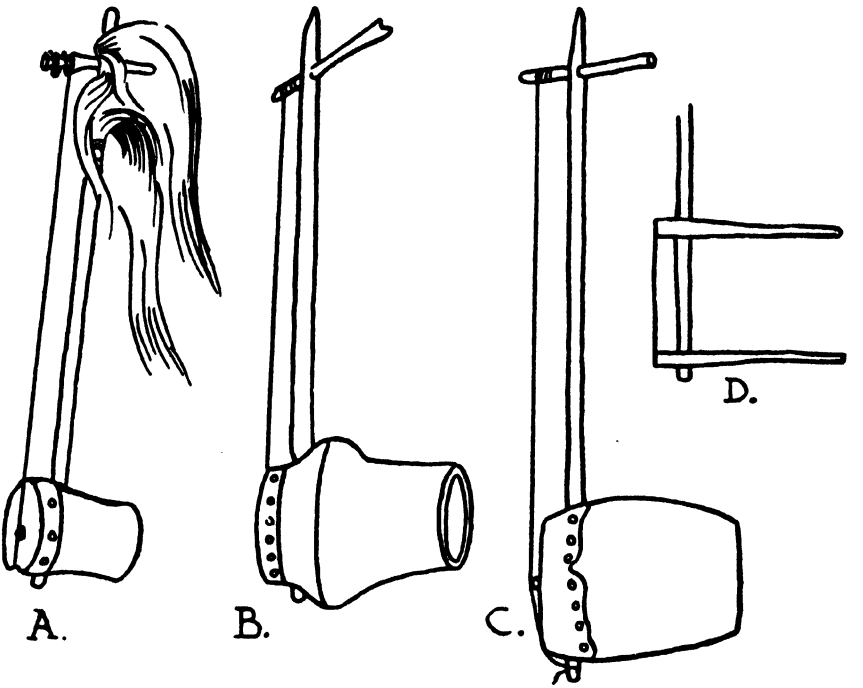


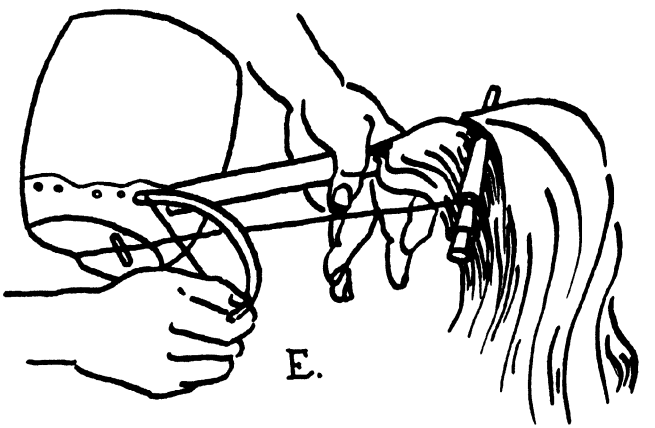
CHORDOPHONES (VII)

Bowl-lyres

A.1. Front and side view of instrument from Soga. A.2. Tail piece or string holder from Ganda. B. Bowl-lyre with a bowl made of the carapace of a tortoise—Madi. C. Large bowl-lyre JD/34 of the Luo type. (N.B.—The bowl possesses the central knob at the back, which should go together with a tension ring to hold the sound-skin tight, but the skin is nailed to the bowl in this specimen—Samia.) D. Slim, tall instrument—Gwe.

Scale: A. 1, B, C, D, 1 : 10. A. 2, 1 : 2.



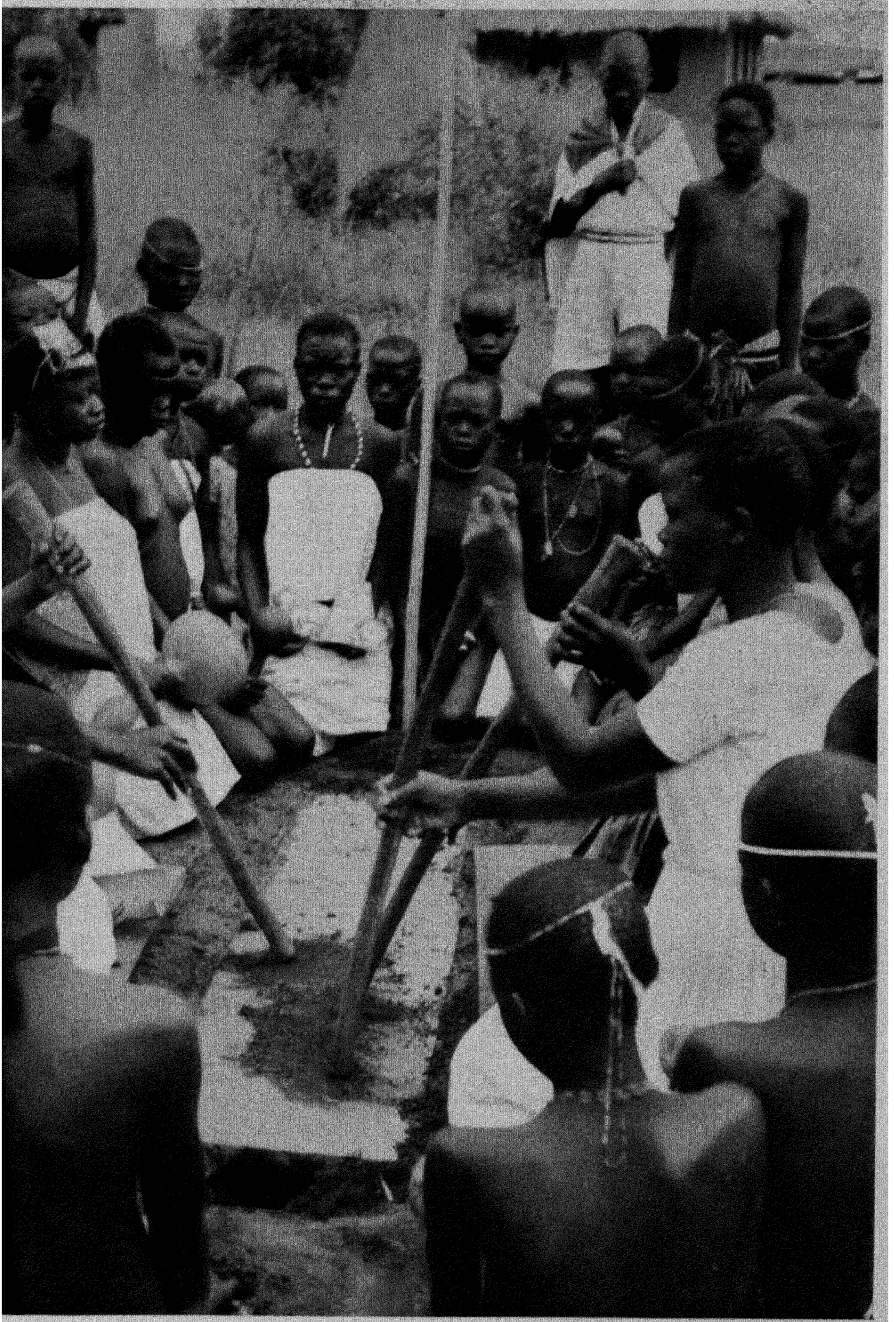


CHORDOPHONES (VIII)

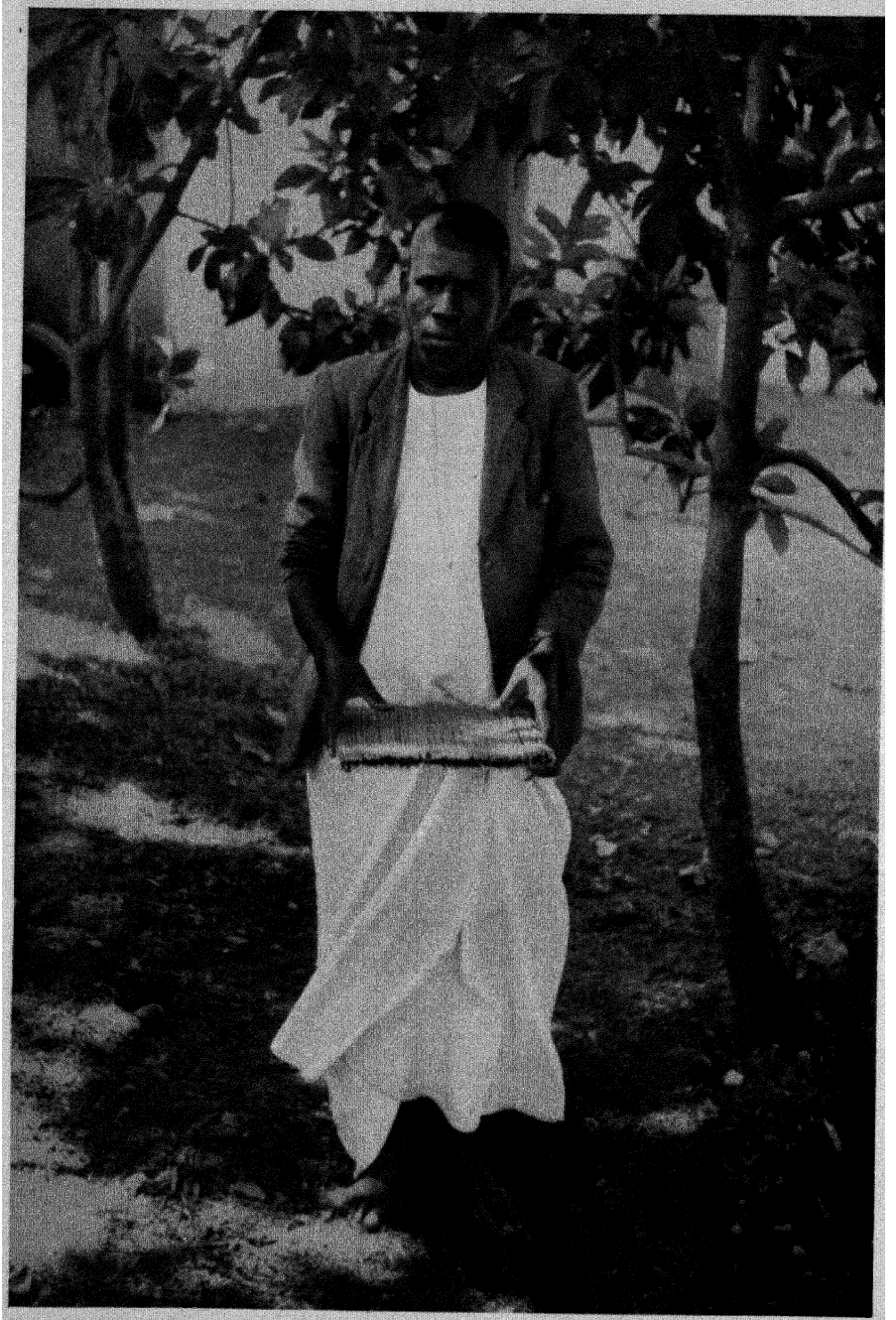
Tube-fiddles

A. Tube-fiddle with goat's hair tassel—Ganda. B. Large tube-fiddle with a carved bulge around the sound tube—Soga. C. Tube-fiddle with a tube made of gourd, from Budu county—Ganda. D. Cross-section showing position of stick in sound tube. E. Hands of a musician in playing position on the tube-fiddle—Soga.

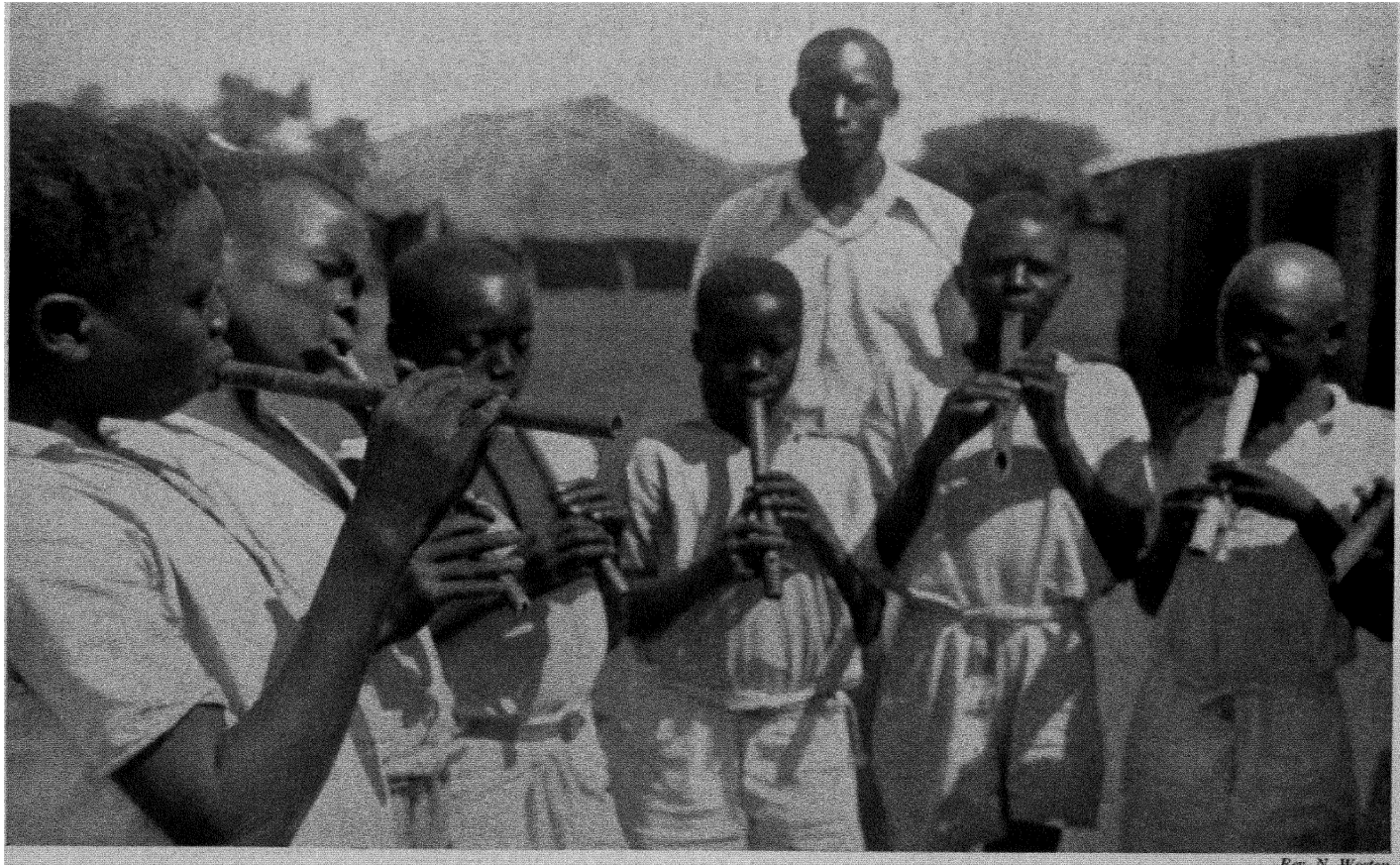
Scale: 1 : 6.



FRICTION STICKS AND BOARD—LUGBARA



FLAT REED-BOX RATTLE—GANDA



NOTCHED FLUTES—ACOLI

Rev. N. Worton

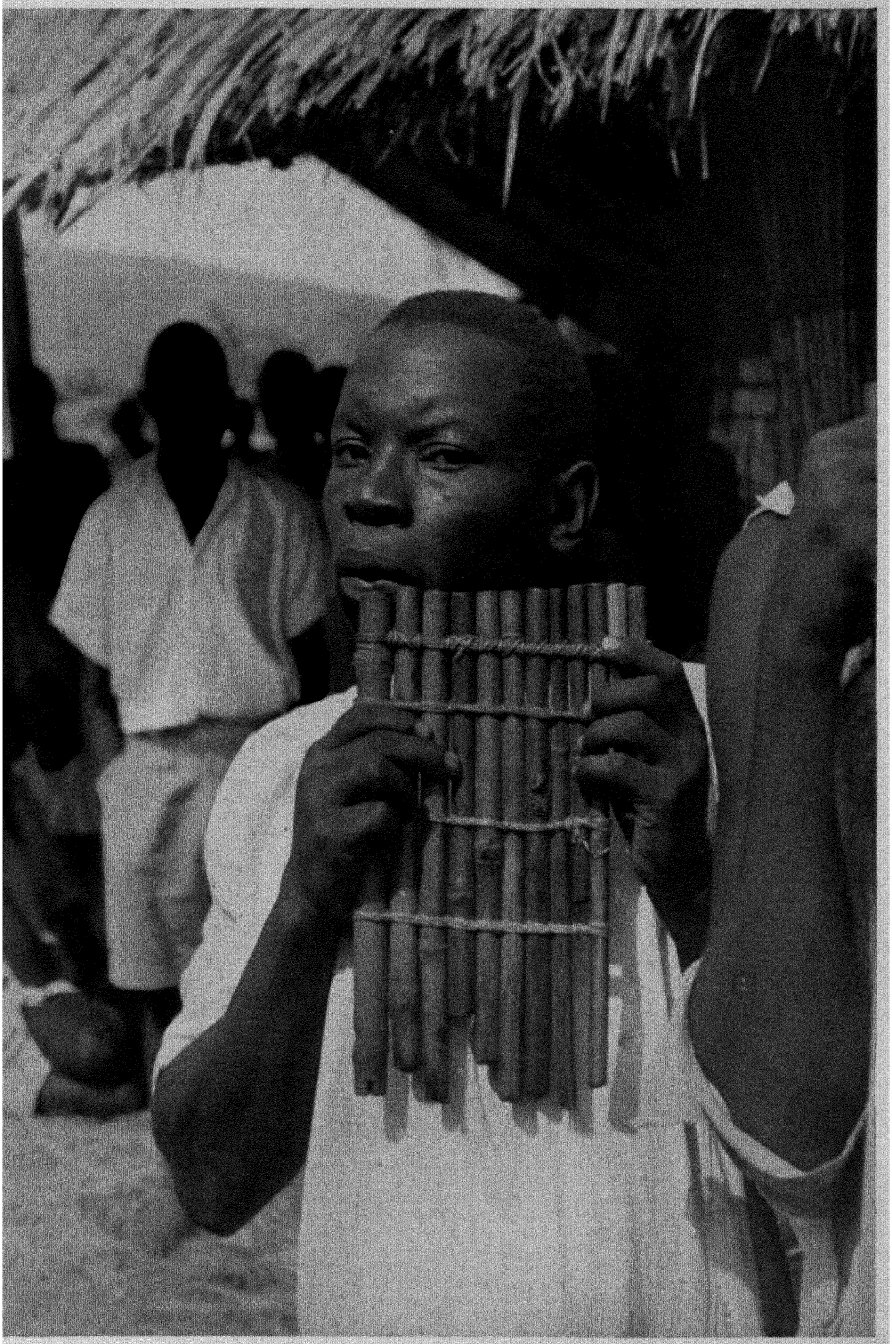
PLATE 99



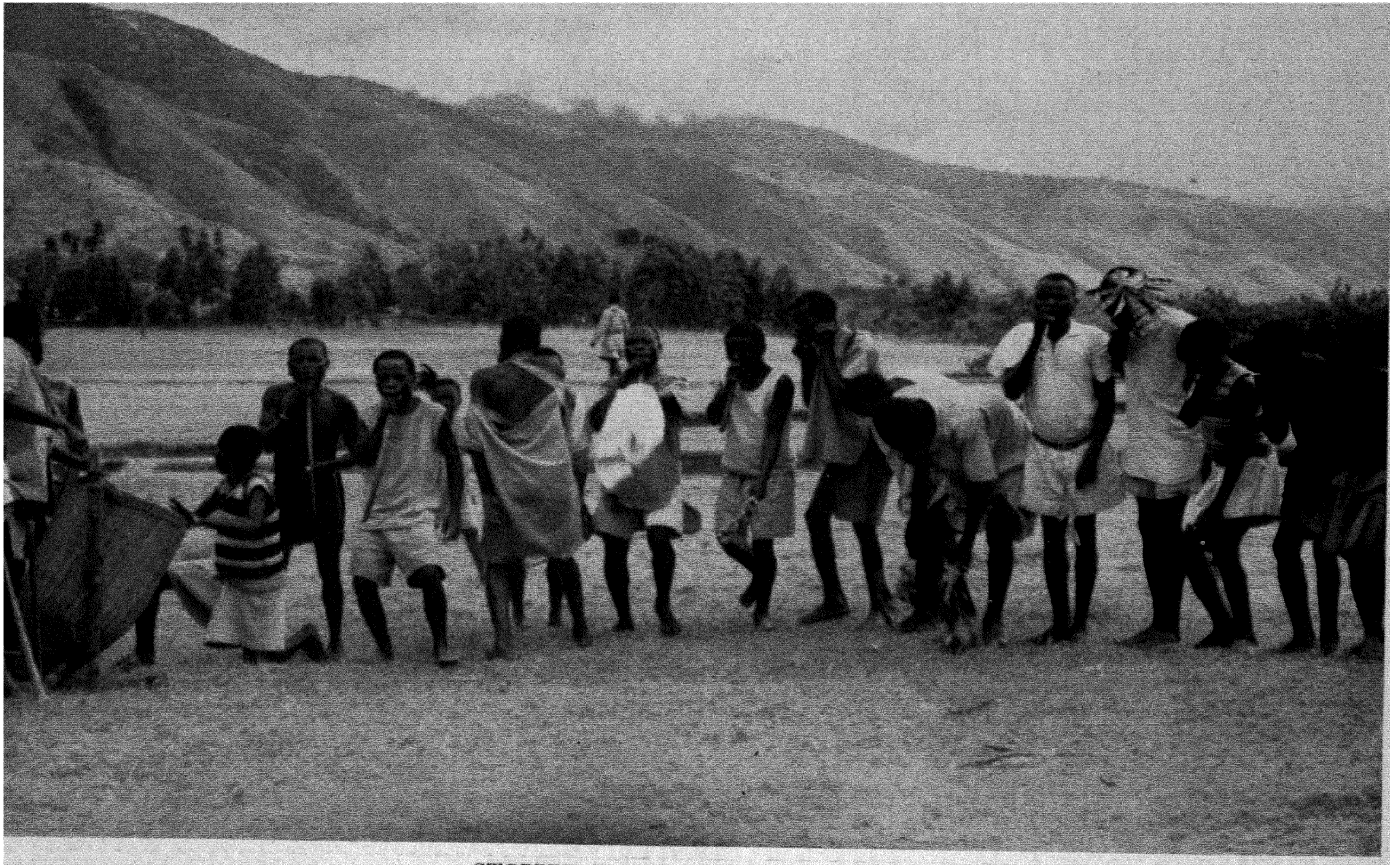
A. NOTCHED FLUTES—SOGA



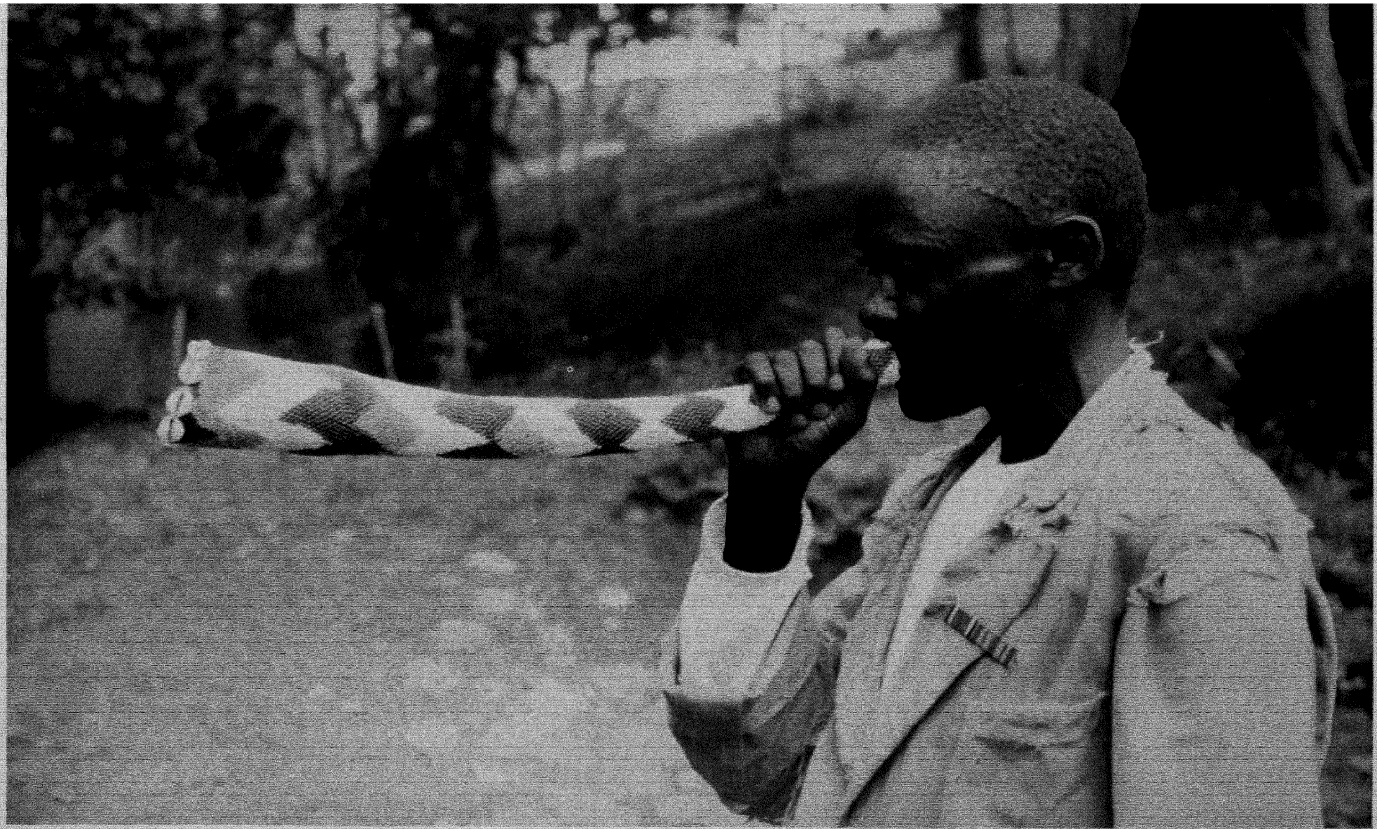
B. NOTCHED FLUTE—KIGA



PAN-PIPES—SOGA



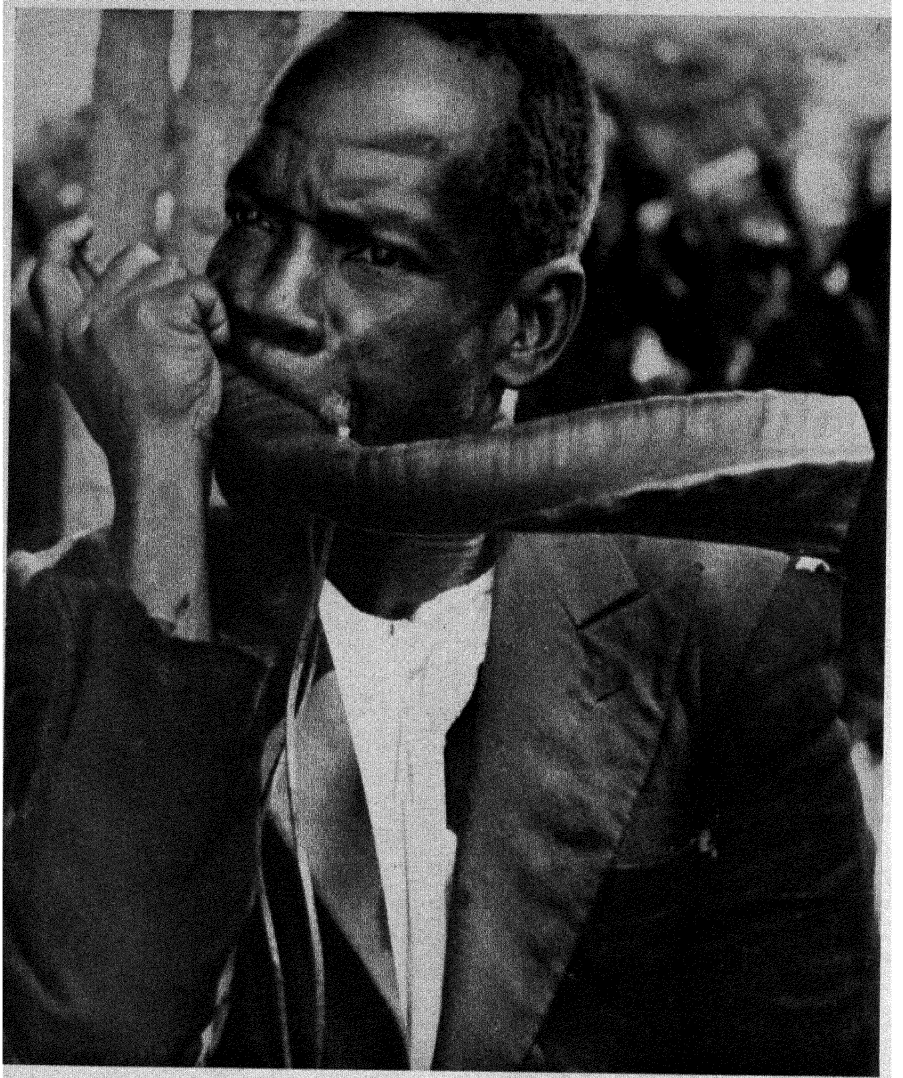
STOPPED FLUTE ENSEMBLE—AMBA



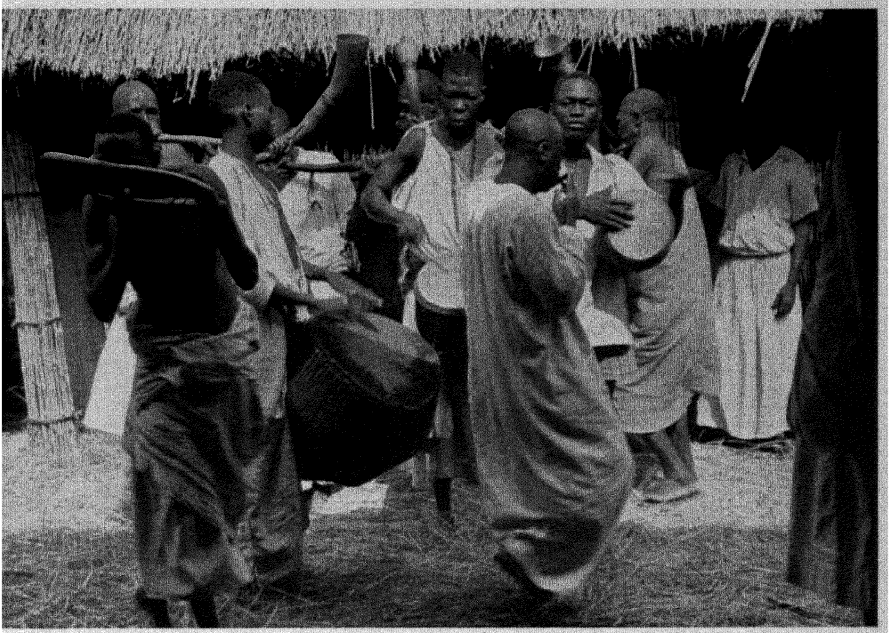
END-BLOWN TRUMPET *AKAWUNDE*—GANDA

PLATE 103

PLATE 104



SIDE-BLOWN ANIMAL HORN—GANDA



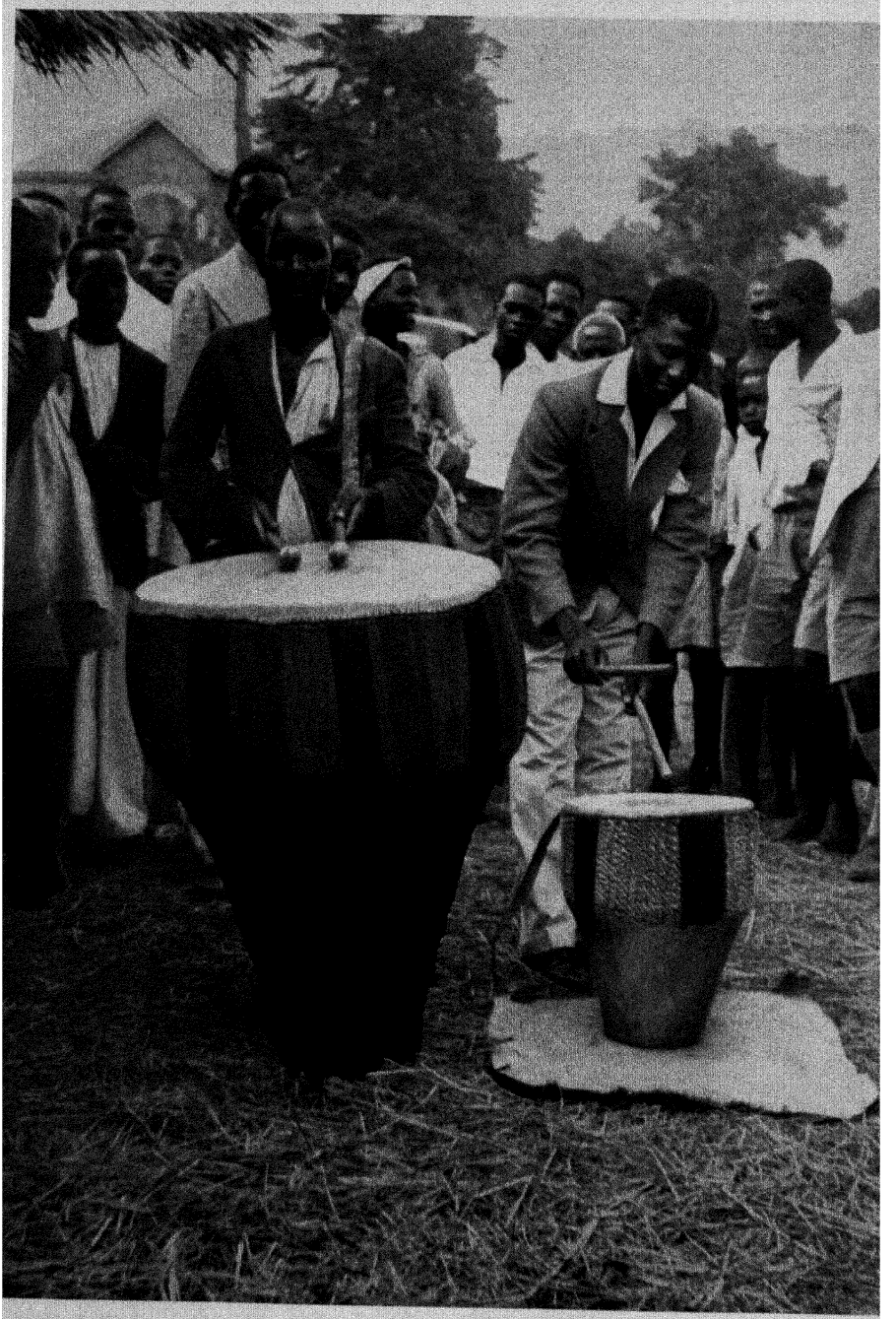
A. SIDE-BLOWN GOURD TRUMPETS *AMAGWARA*—SOGA



Dr. T. Schofield

B. SIDE-BLOWN COMPOSITE TRUMPET—MADI, WEST NILE

PLATE 106

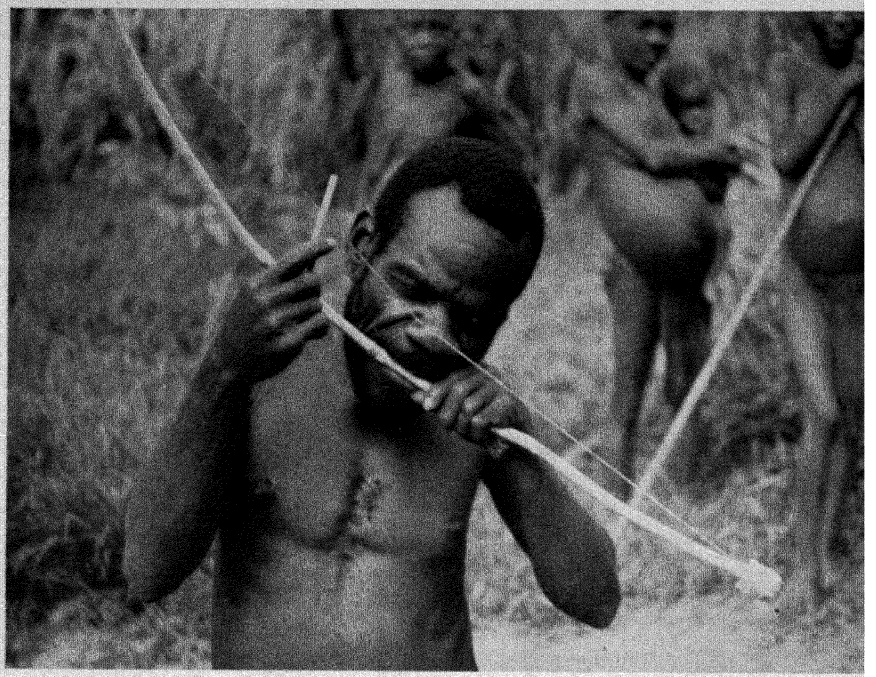


UGANDA DRUMS—SOGA

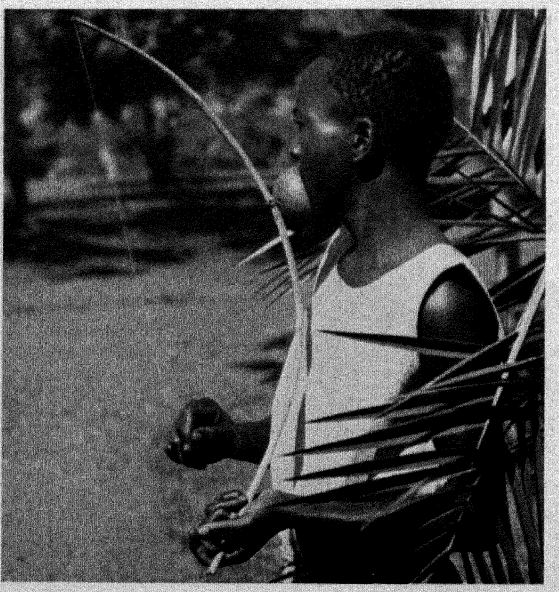


Rev. N. Worton

UGANDA DRUMS SUSPENDED FROM DRUM POST—ACOLI



A. MOUTH-BOW—MBUTI

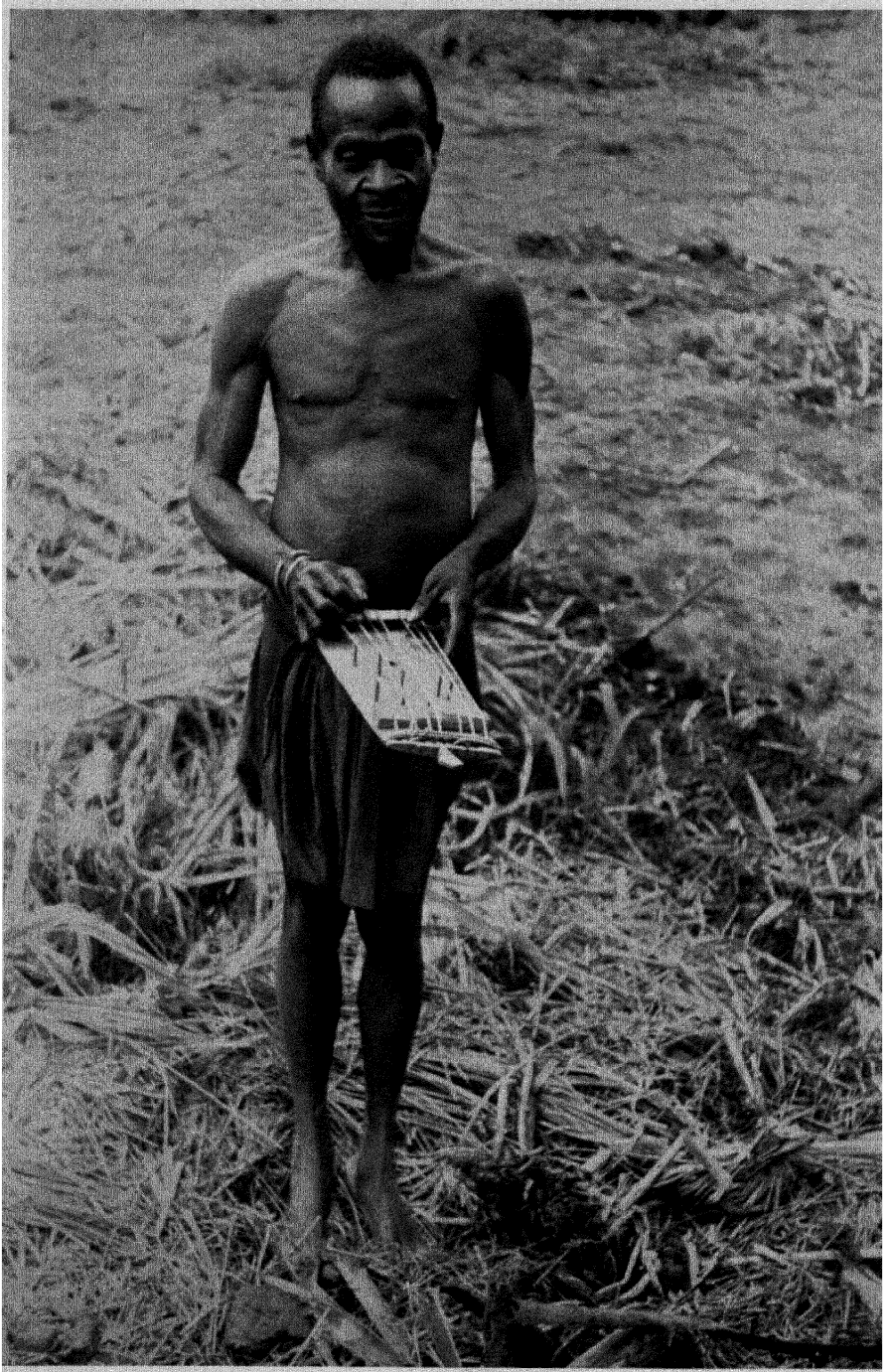


B. GOURD-BOW WITHOUT BRACE—KONJO

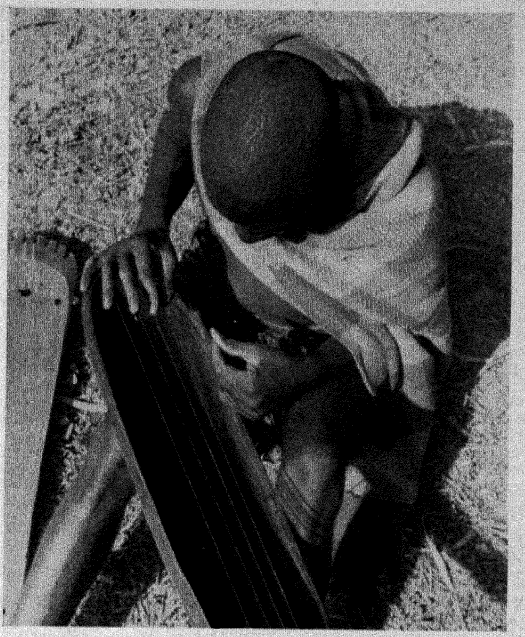


GOURD-BOW BRACED—KIGA

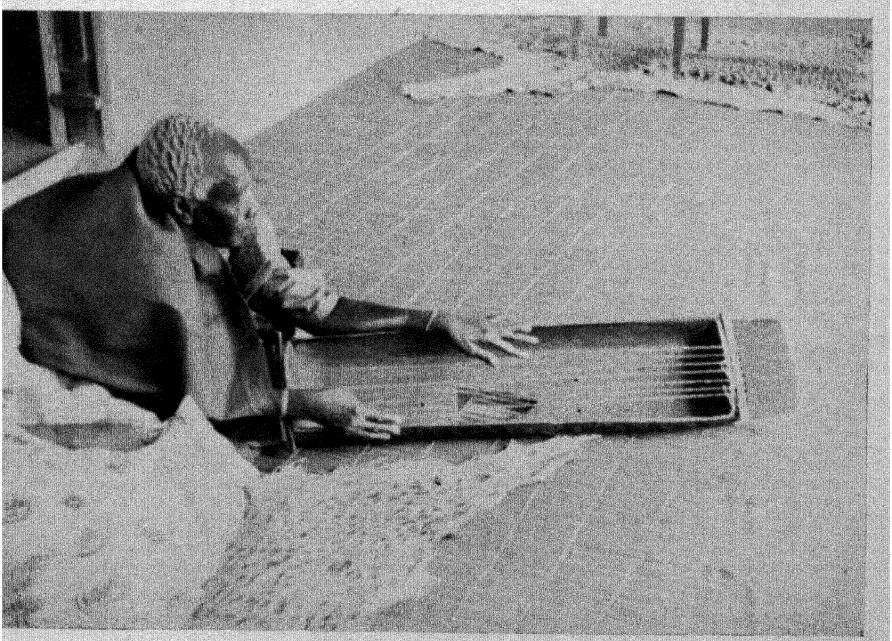
PLATE 110



BOARD-ZITHER—AMBA



A. TROUGH-ZITHER—KIGA



B. TROUGH-ZITHER—NYORO

BOW-HARP—GANDA

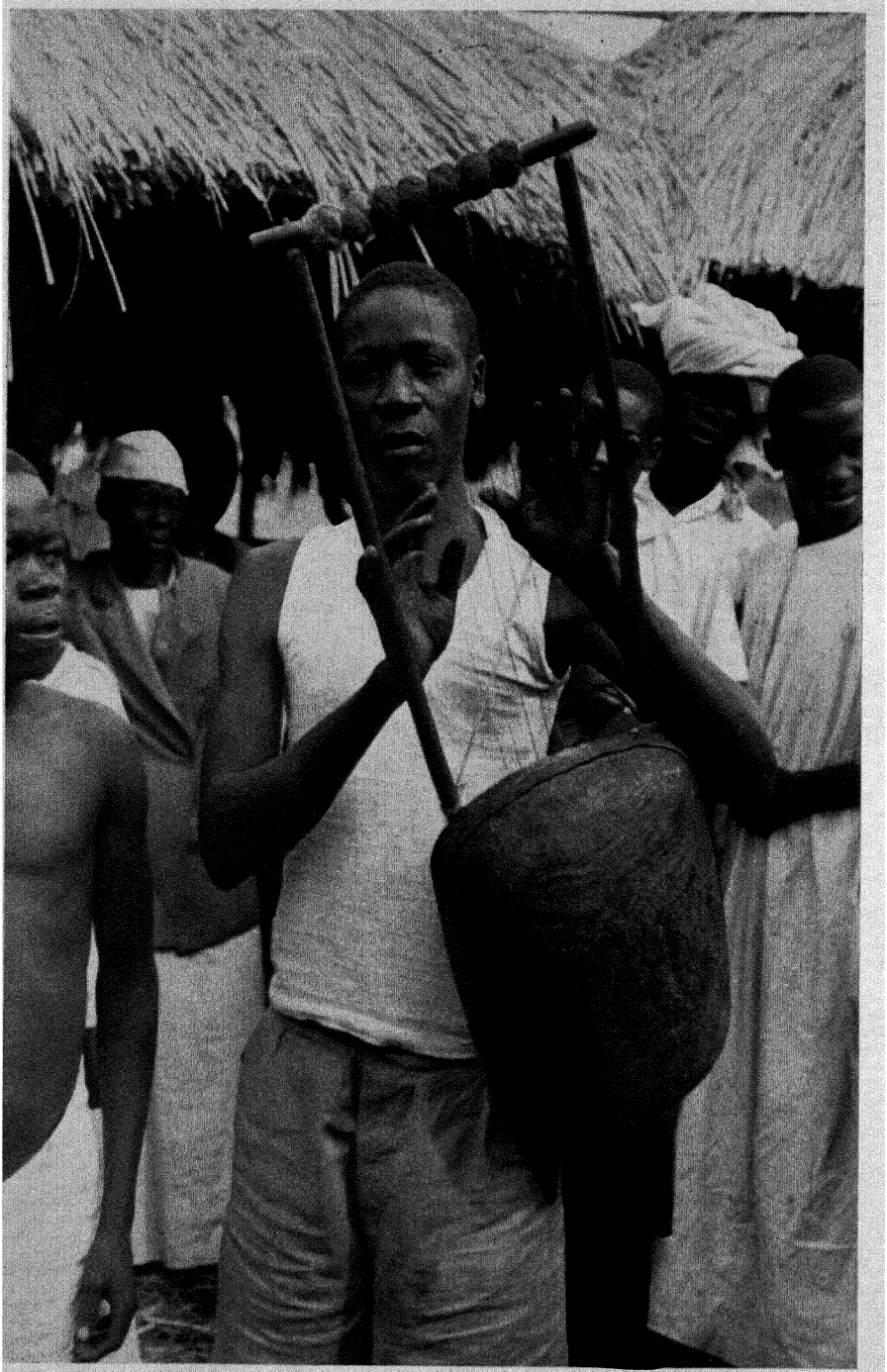


A. BOW-HARP: DETAIL OF PLAYING HANDS OF MUSICIAN IN PLATE 112



B. BOW-HARP *KIMASA*—SOGA

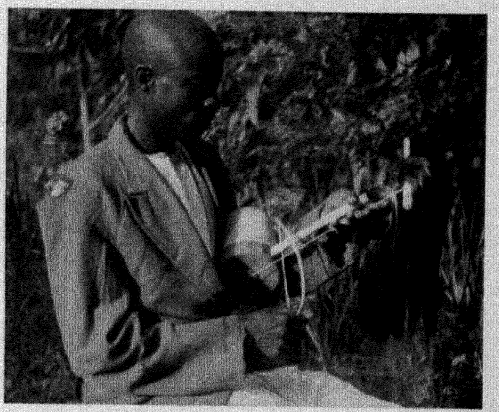
PLATE 114



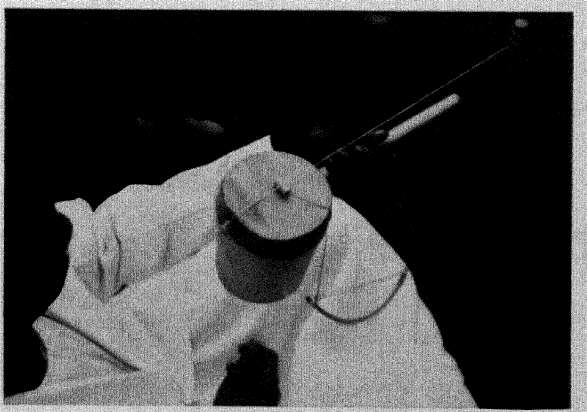
BOWL-LYRE—GWE



A. BOWL-LYRE 'QUINTET' WITH UGANDA DRUM—GANDA



B. PLAYING POSITION OF HANDS ON TUBE FIDDLE—GANDA



C. SOUND TABLE OF TUBE FIDDLE WITH CHARACTERISTIC BULGE—GANDA

ABBREVIATIONS OF LITERATURE FREQUENTLY QUOTED

Africa	=*Journal of the International African Institute.*
Ankermann	=Bernhard Ankermann, 'Die Afrikanischen Musikinstrumente' in *Ethnologisches Notizblatt*, III (1901), Völkerkundemuseum Berlin.
Czekanowski	=Jan Czekanowski, *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet*, Leipzig, 1924, Vols. I and II.[1]
Kagwa (*Ebika*)	=Sir Apolo Kagwa, *Ekitabo Kye Ebika Bya Baganda*, typewritten copy in the Secretariat's Library at Entebbe, Uganda.
Kagwa (*Empisa*)	=Sir Apolo Kagwa, *Ekitabo Kye Empisa Za Baganda.*
Kirby	=Percival Kirby, *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*, Oxford, 1934.
Sachs	=Curt Sachs, *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente*, Berlin, 1929.
Schaeffner	=Andrée Schaeffner, *Origine des instruments de la Musique*, Paris, 1936.
U.J.	=*Uganda Journal*, published by the Uganda Society, Kampala.
U.T.J.	=*Uganda Teachers' Journal*, published by the Education Department, Uganda.

The letters JA, JB, JC, JD refer to the catalogue of the Uganda Museum.

[1] Vol. VI of *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Deutschen Zentral-Afrika Expedition*, 1907–8.

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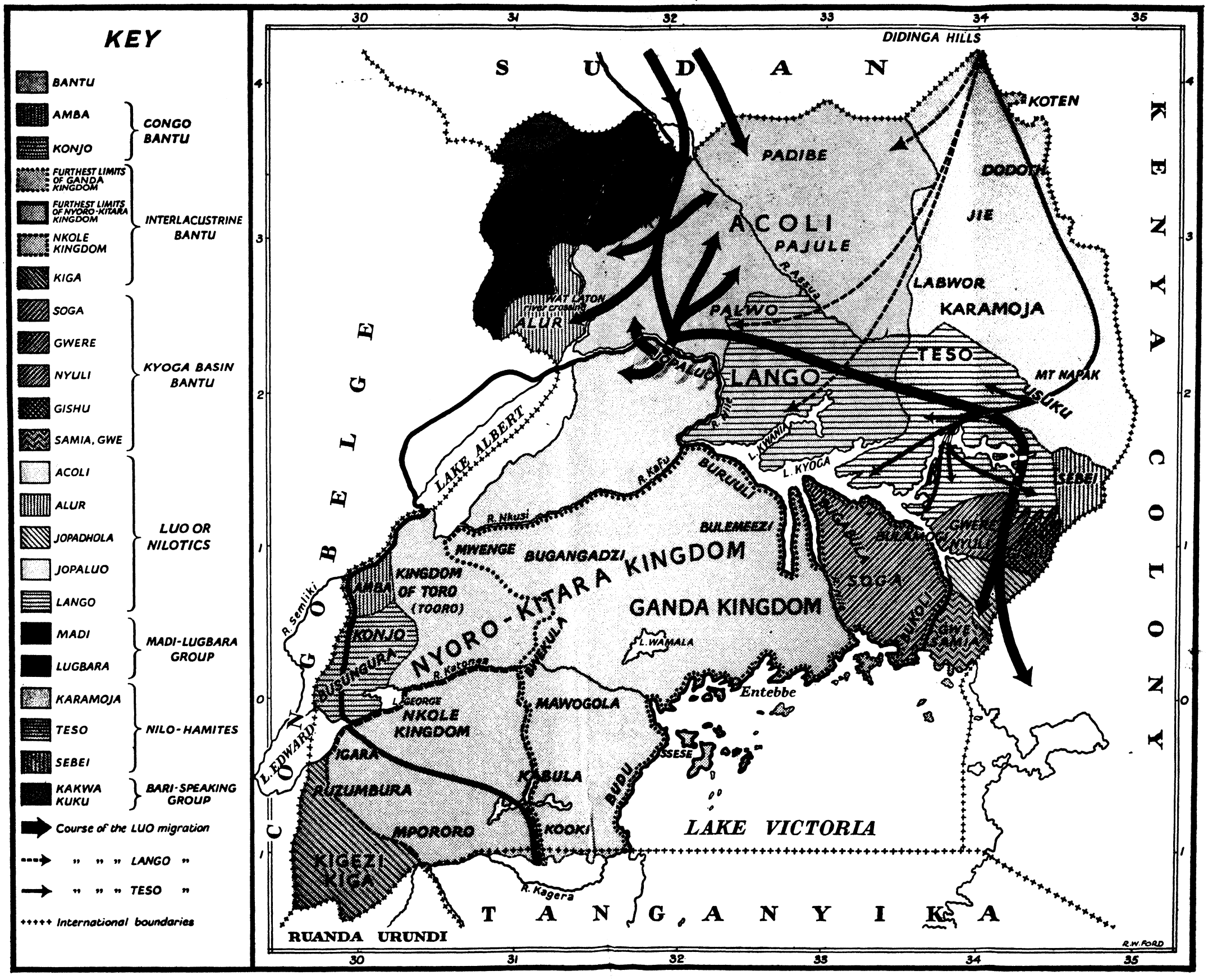
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