

SEPTEMBER, 1963

MAN

Nos. 172, 173

Osborn, R. H., and F. V. De George, *Genetical Basis of Morphological Variation*, New Haven (Yale U.P.), 1959.

Oschinsky, L., 'A Reappraisal of Recent Serological, Genetic and Morphological Research on the Taxonomy of the Races of Africa and Asia,' *Anthropologia*, n.s., Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2 (1959), pp. 47-71.

Pearson, Karl, 'On the Laws of Inheritance in Man: I, Inheritance of Physical Characters,' *Biometrika*, Vol. II (1903), pp. 357-462.

Pollitzer, W. S., 'The Negroes of Charleston (S.C.): A Study of Hemoglobin Types, Serology and Morphology,' *Amer. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, n.s., Vol. XVI (1958), pp. 241-63.

Roberts, D. F., 'The Cretans: A Geographical Analysis of Some Aspects of their Physical Anthropology,' *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXXXIV (1954), pp. 145-57.

Sanghvi, L. D., 'Comparison of Genetical and Morphological Methods for a Study of Biological Differences,' *Amer. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, n.s., Vol. XI (1951), pp. 395-404.

Tanner, J. M., 'Lack of Sex Linkage and Dominance in Genes Controlling Human Stature,' *Proc. 9th Int. Congr. Genet.*, pp. 933f.

Tanner, J. M., and M. J. R. Healy, 'The Genetics of Human Morphological Characters,' *Adv. Sci., Lond.*, Vol. XIII (1956), pp. 192-4.

Trevor, J. C., *Race Crossing in Man*, Eugenics Lab. Memoirs, No. 36, C.U.P., 1953.

—, article 'Race,' in *Encyclopædia Hebraica*, Jerusalem, 1955.

Vandenberg, S. G., 'How "Stable" are Heritability Estimates? A Comparison of Heritability Estimates from Six Anthropometric Studies,' *Amer. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, n.s., Vol. XX (1962), pp. 331-8.

Weiner, J. S., in *A Hundred Years of Anthropology*, edited by T. K. Penniman, London (Duckworth), 1952.

Wiercinski, A., 'The Racial Analysis of Human Populations in Relation to Their Ethnogenesis,' *Current Anthropol.*, Vol. III, No. 1 (1962), pp. 2f.

SHORTER NOTES

Notes on Some Animals in Zandeland. By Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard, F.B.A., Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford

173

I suppose that there will soon be little wild life to speak of left in Africa outside a few reserves. In some parts the larger fauna have already almost entirely vanished, as in most of Ghana. So much of African thought is based on observation of beasts and the relationship of men to them, as, for example, what is expressed in proverbs, that with their virtual extinction some of what now has meaning may become unintelligible without explanatory aids. It is therefore incumbent on those who have had, or have, the opportunity of recording native observations on, and classifications of, their animal environment to publish these records. These notes are a small and preliminary contribution to the subject. The texts quoted were taken down by my clerk Reuben Rikita or by myself, from an informant called Kisanga, except the last, which was dictated by a provincial deputy, Ganga.

Azande broadly classify animal life into *anya*, animals (mostly mammals), *azile*, birds, *awo*, snakes, *atlo*, fish and *agbira*, insects. Reptiles, except the snakes, tend to be described as *anya*, animals, if they are large and as *agbira*, insects, if they are small. The iguana (*kare*) was described thus: *nyakpatabe du, kina kuru aboro na li rumba, kporokonya nya nga u, ka poranga li ru ka ni angara nga wa sa ya; ono aware choro na li kare dunduko na ade a. ono aboro sa sa na kpi nyemu ka e ru, u na li angenze, akaka; u na li age bangili ime; u na li agu age nya atumba na gu pananengbawiso.* 'It is one of the animals with pads. In the past only elderly people ate it. It is a sluggish animal, and it was thought that were a young person to eat it he would not be alert any more. But today everybody eats iguana, including the women. Just a few persons choose to refuse it. It lives on snails and ants; it eats termites in the water; it eats the termites called *atumba*, which swarm at dawn.' On the other hand the tortoise (*dagodo*) was described thus: *gbiro du na sisi ru auru, bore ru ke di vuru sisi ru ya, na ndu ru biama, na wili ghangi li ru, meme ru wa kina meme kondo, dungu aboro na li ru, ambari na kura rogo ru, kina yo na gina ru, u na li rute na wili agbira.* 'It is a small creature (insect) with a shell over it, its body being within its shell, and it has four legs and a longish head. Its bones are like those of a hen. Many people eat it. Members of the Ambari clan change into it [at death] and so they abstain from its flesh. It feeds on mushrooms and insects.' The toad is also spoken of as a *gbiro*, 'insect': *gbiro du nga u ni kpatufra ru, na gharagibaragi li ru, na suribudisumbuda bangili ru, gbinza ade na li ra gbe, u na ra sende yo, u na li akaka na dungu wili lekai agbira.* 'It is a squat little creature (insect) with a spreading head and protruding eyes. Old women eat them much. It lives on the ground. It eats ants and other small bitter insects.'

Azande divide the larger game animals into two colour classes, *bi* and *zumba*, words sometimes translated black and red, but here

to be more liberally interpreted as dark and light or perhaps dull and bright. This division has some ritual significance in that the light-skinned beasts, or at any rate the more brownish among them, are forbidden flesh to certain people at certain times, more particularly to boys who have recently been circumcised. The interdiction lasts until a rite has been performed by which the animals are darkened (*bisi*). Some of the chief dark animals—there are others—are buffalo (*gbe*), waterbuck (*mbaga*), roan antelope (*biso*), black pig (*mukuru*), digdig (*gbafu*), blue duiker (*injuru*), elephant (*mbara*), rhinoceros (*kanga*), reed-rat (*remvu*), Abyssinian duiker (*mbio*), warthog (*zibga*), otter (*ngurunguru*), porcupine (*nzingini*). Some of the chief light animals—again there are others—are bushbuck (*gbodi*), hartebeest (*nzungba*), oribi (*gbangbalia*), red-flanked duiker (*kpangbaningba*), Uganda cob (*ngbino*), bongo (*mangana*), red pig (*zunthu, zukubire*), ground squirrel (*badari*), hippopotamus (*dupo*), thiang (*tanga*) and ant-bear (*garawa*). It will be observed that Azande do not always see shades quite as we do. For example, we might, were we to make a similar division, put the roan antelope with its rufus coat and the Abyssinian duiker with its yellowish-grey coat in the light class, and the bushbuck, at any rate the male, with its dark chestnut coat, and the red-flanked duiker and the Uganda cob, which are deep chestnut red, in the dark class.

Within the classes of beasts—animals, birds, etc.—different 'species' are designated by reference to some prominent feature, though in some cases an animal may come under more than one designation. The *anyalinde*, the animals with teeth, the beasts of prey, include such beasts as the lion (*bahu*), the leopard (*mama, moma*), a cat (*paka*) and the genet (*mbili*). Here is a description of the lion: *u nga kere nya linde ni muogho ru na bakere li ru, tu ru ni didi e, na rukutu bangili ru, u ni kiki ru ku ali ki umba ku sende, na ghangi sa ru, kikindigi lindi ru, u na zia anya dunduko, kina gbe na mbiko kia ru, kina abakindo nu kura rogo ru, u na li kina pasio dedede, na pasio aboro a.* 'It is a powerful animal of tooth, tawny in colour and with a large head. Its ears are small and it has very small eyes. It is broad in front and tapers to the tail, which is a long one, and it has large teeth. It preys on all beasts and only the elephant can surpass it, because of its size. It is kings who change into them [at death]. It lives entirely on flesh, including the flesh of man.' Of the leopard it was said: *u nga nya linde wa kina batue, u ki du ni mbaka-mbaka kpolo ru, na kiki li ru, na didi tu ru, rukutu bangili ru, u na guguru ndu ru, na ghangi sa ru, u na zia anya dunduko, kina gbe na mbira na gara ru, mbiko kindiga ami, u na li kina pasio dedede, na pasio aboro a.* 'It is a beast of tooth like the lion. It has a spotted coat and a large head, short ears and small eyes. It has short legs and a long tail. It preys on all animals, only the buffalo and the elephant surpassing it on account of their size. It lives on flesh, including that of man.' On the other hand, while the leopard is usually described as a beast of tooth, though it is also one with pads, the hyena is generally described, like the already mentioned iguana, as one of the beasts with pads: *u nga nyakpatabe wa kina mama, ono u*

ni mvugbo ru, na kikindigi ze ru, u mbembedi wa anga, mbiko tu ru wa kina ga anga. iradi nga u, u na zia anya ni sa ru, ono u na li furi anya dunduko. 'It is an animal with pads just like the leopard, though it is light-coloured and with large spots. It closely resembles the dog, for its ears are just like a dog's ears. It is a thief. It hunts animals on its own but it also eats the rotten flesh of all beasts' (those killed by other animals).

Another class of animals is that of those with hooves, the *anyasukutu*. To it belong such beasts as the waterbuck, the digdig (or dikdik), the red pig, the warthog. I cite two descriptions as examples. The red pig (*zumburu*); *nyasukutu nga u, wa kina zigba. u na imo boro a ima wa kina zigba. lindi ru ue pangba ru. li rn wa kina ga zigba, na guruguru ndu ru—u wa kina zigba dunduko. u na li diki, du wa mele, na nzende, na baniongo, na gbara, na gbanda; agi ae re si zumburu a li.* 'It is a hooved animal, just like the warthog. Like the warthog, it can kill a man. Its two tusks are on each side of it. Its head is like that of the warthog, and also with regard to its short legs—in all respects it resembles the warthog. It feeds on the *diki yam*, which resembles the climbing yam, and the yams *nzende*, *baniongo* and *gbara*, and *marioc*; it is these things that the red pig eats.' The waterbuck: *u nga wene nya mvuuo yo. kiki nya du wa mbembedi na gbe, ono ami roge gbe ue. u ni bi nya na gbanda li ru yo, na pusi rumbu ru. abakpaku na kura rogo ru, ono i la li ru a li dunduko. aboro na li ru dunduko mbiko wene pasio nga u ti aboro dunduko.* 'It is a fine beast of the bush. It is a fat beast resembling the buffalo, though the buffalo is twice the size. It is a dark-skinned animal with a longish head, and it has a white rump. The Abakpaku clan change into it [at death] but nevertheless they all eat it. Everybody eats it, for it is excellent flesh in everybody's opinion.'

Another class of animals are the *artyali* or *anyangua*, the beasts on high, which live on trees, the chimpanzee, the colobus monkey and the rest of the tribe of monkeys. Of the chimpanzee (*baavunu*) it was said: *u nga nyaali ni bibili wikowiko kpoto nya. u wa kina boro teketekete na kpokpu ru, bangili ru, lindi ru, ngba ru, be ru, ndu ru, na ga u sungo na ga u manga apai dunduko.* 'It is a high-living beast with a dark hairy body. It is just like a man, in its face, eyes, teeth, mouth, hands and legs, and its way of sitting and all its ways of doing things.' Of another monkey, the *ngarangara*, an undetermined species, I was told: *u nga nyaali ni mungbo ru, na bangili ru wa kina ga boro, kpakpu ru a wo, tunga ra tonu ti kina abawanu sa, u na li ngbaya na dungu ngbatunga ga azande liae du. u na li ndavu na badeke, dungu lindi angwa mvuuo yo, wa zamba nonga. aboro na li ru ni dungu yo, ono dunduko te. aboro pavuru wele yo ga yo pasio nga kina anyaali sa.* 'It is a high liver, light-coloured and with eyes like those of a man. They belong to the same family as the chimpanzee. It feeds on maize and all sorts of plants that Azande cultivate. It also eats the fruits of the rubber vine and the grape vine and many fruits of trees in the bush, such as the red ground fruit; many people eat them, but not all. The people who live on the banks of the Wele river, their main meat supply is the flesh of monkeys.'

A small class are the *anyaine*, the water creatures or amphibious creatures. The crocodile of course belongs to it: *u nga nyaime na ra ime yo, gbanda nya du ni nya kpatabe, na ngongo auru; keturuketuru kpoto ru, na gbanda sa ru, na gbanda li ru; dungu lindi ru da kina go ru yo; sumbadasumbuda bangili ru, aboro na li ngondi ni dungu yo, ono dunduko te, mbiko kpayakpaya de nga u, ima ru na zia boro a zio, kpoto ni ki du a du keturuketuru.* 'It is a water creature which lives in water. It is a long beast of the sort with pads, with a spine on top of it; it has a rough hide and a long tail and a longish head; and its many teeth go right down to its gullet; and it has protruding eyes. Many people eat crocodile, but not all, for it is a withered hag and its vengeance may cause a man's body to become knobby.' This class includes four creatures which, so far as is known, do not exist outside the imagination: the water leopard (*mama ime*), the *wanga*, the rainbow snake (*wangu*) and the *ndutu*; and, possibly a fifth, the snake *ngambue*. The water leopard was thus described to me: *mama ime nga like kere nya, ni bi ru, na umu kpoto ru ei bi e. mangi li ru zawizawi ku go ru. kpatabe ru kpakpafu na gigiri kpabe ru wa kina ga boro. kere linde du ngba ru yo, u na zia boro wa ngondi. u na kura kina rago hiki ime. bangili ru ni kikindigi e wa ndika nzuo ni zamba a. u na ra kina yaro yo wa kina ngondi, ono o du u ni, kina ime du yo, na dungu atio pali ru. gu ime re, ka si a uguda nga wa sa ya,*

mbiko kpuru du. 'The water leopard is a powerful kind of beast, dark and with a blackish skin and a head of hair shaggy to the neck. It, pads are very large and its palms hairless like those of a man. It has powerful teeth in its mouth. It seizes a person as does a crocodile. It appears in places of deep water. Its eyes are very large and red, like the seeds of the *nzua* vegetable [like tomatoes]. It lives in holes as crocodiles do, but where it resides there is water and many fish near it. This water never dries up, for it is its home.' I was told also that it has hair like a man's which falls over its body. Major Larken says that the water leopards 'are said to live in deep pools of large rivers, and big fissures in the banks have often been pointed out as being their homes' (Major P. M. Larken, 'An Account of the Zande,' *S. N. & R.*, 1926, p. 54). What are we to make of this monster?

As curious is the *wanga*: *wanga nga nyaime, du na gbanda saranga ru, u na zia aboro na ni, u na zia boro ka ndu na ni ku rogo ga u yaro yo; u ki ta zoga ni yo ki ni ndu ka yembba ngere u ye ka sara vuru boro ni lindi ru, mbiko u a lengba nga na sara vuru boro wa sa te.* 'Wanga is a water beast, with a long mane with which it catches people. It catches a man and takes him to its hole; and when it has put him down there it goes to summon a large crab to split open a man's belly with its teeth, because it cannot split open a man's belly by itself.' In another account it was described as having a beard like a spider's web in which it entangles men to draw them to it to devour them. Their only chance is to sever the web around them with a knife. Major Larken says, in the same place, that it is 'a kind of lizard with a smooth skin like a fish,' that it has breasts, and that it inhabits only the Congo or the Nile. Of the rainbow snake it was said: *wangu nga wo, ni like wa, ni gbanda ru. a nga wo sa lengbe na bagizo ru wa sa te, like mbumbubo ru ti ni di ngungungu. wangu ni gbanda wo ni lenga, ono dungu pai du ti ru. tivuru ni bi'e, na ngongo ru ni zamba a. u na za ka kura rago ki zamu a zama dunduko. ono boro na bi ru ni kina kpere. ka boro bi ngba boro ru wenengai te.* 'The *wangu* is a snake, a sort of snake, and a long one. There is no snake to equal it in length. It has a sort of purplish efflorescence. The *wangu* is indeed a long snake. But much could be said about it. Its belly is black and its back is red. When it appears the world all reddens. But it is an ill omen for the man who sees it. A man cannot see its body properly' (only what appears from it). Major Larken (*ibid.*, pp. 43f.) says: 'The rainbow lives in bogs, or in cracks and holes usually at the heads of streams. It is said to be like a snake. It comes out in the rain, because it wants to wash. No tracks of it are ever found. People who see one approaching them will fly from it in terror. Some years ago, the guard on duty in Yambio fort turned out on their own account and fired some rounds at one that seemed to be issuing from a large ant heap in the vicinity. They said that if it had reached them they would all have been dead men.'

I have no text relating to the *ndutu*. Major Larken says it is alleged to be bigger than a house, by which I suppose that he means a native hut. 'Its skin is covered with a growth of grass and water weeds. Nobody of the present day has ever seen one. They live in some of the smaller streams, but mostly in big rivers like the Sue. They are so huge that they have stopped the course of that river ere now' (*ibid.*, p. 54). (I am sure that Major Larken is not suggesting that this really happened.) E. C. Gore (*A Zande Grammar*, 1926, p. 141) says that this creature 'is said to be as large as an elephant, but of great length, its back being covered with a hard armour.' A young man told me that though he had never seen a *ndutu* he had on the way to Wau seen the tracks of one which was supposed to have killed a soldier and an Arab merchant from that centre. The tracks were many yards in width leading in a continuous trail to the water.

These strange creatures, though, presumably, they do not exist, probably represent to Azande some aquatic experience. On the other hand, the water snake may be a real snake in spite of some odd characteristics claimed for it: *u ni gbaigbafo kpoto ru, ni wili gbandai ni kiki ru, na ngbere ru wa ga kondo, u na kua wa kina kondo a. kere wo du, u na imo boro a ima kakaka.* 'It has a striped body, rather longish and fat. Its comb is like that of a cock, and it crows like a cock also. It is a very poisonous snake which kills a man in a moment.' Major Larken (*ibid.*, p. 54) says of it: 'Ngambue, a big snake, its skin covered with a substance like flour, and possessing a

beard, may live in all waters. The well in Yambio [an administrative centre] was thought to harbour one. Its bite is poisonous.' Canon and Mrs. Gore (*Zande and English Dictionary*, 1952 edition, p. 100) describe it as 'a poisonous clucking water serpent or snake, probably fabulous. The fable is that this snake, having bitten and killed a person, will come back and revive him.'

To continue Zande classification: the rodents form a class of their own, called *akuli*, into which come many varieties of rats—the red field rat, a rat with a pungent odour, called *ndari*, the reed-rat and others; also mice. The ground squirrel (*badari*) is likened to the rat: *wili nya nga u, wa bakere bakuli, dagba zamba yo, na gbanga sa ru wikowiko*. 'It is a little creature, like a great big rat, reddish, and with a long bushy tail.' And to this squirrel is likened another product of the imagination, the thunder beast (*gumba*): *gumba nga wili nya na amusuru kpoto ru, u ki ali wa badari, ki du ku sende wa miujo no wikowiko sa ru, owo i a bi nga ru gbuwa te, kina kperc, azande ni ya kina ru na ikeiro wa ue, u ki ni mo ka gumba bakere pao ngeba ru yo na sumbo wa hundu, kina ru du na gi figo ngeba ru yo re, ga u mangue kina be ru u a sapo ngua na u, kina a u a imo boro no ri a, mbiko rari wili mba du na ngeba a yo wa ngeba mangua yo kpakpalikpa*. 'Thunder is a little beast with a fluffy body. Its upper part is like a ground squirrel and its lower parts like a colobus monkey, with its bushy tail. But one does not see it unless misfortune is presaged. Azande say that it flashes like fire [lightning]. It roars from its mouth and explodes like a gun. It is it which has all this speech in its mouth. It has its axe in its hand, with which it splits wood; and it is with this that it kills a man also, for it has a heavy little stone as its cutting point, rectangular like the edge of an axe.' Polished stone-age axe-heads, occasionally found in Zandeland, are believed to be this weapon.

The lizards also form a category of their own, the *agara*. There are many of them and I give a description of only one, a large lizard called *handugu* (it appears to be the same as *nyu*): *u nge zamba gara na zezerenge kpoto ru no wili ghangi li ru, gbinza abore na li ru, onto dedede te*. 'It is a red lizard with a slimy skin and a little longish head. Very old people eat it, but not often.'

The Zande classification of creatures is obviously not a systematic one; it is, as has been seen, of a simple kind, but it is a classification none the less. There are other classes than those which I have mentioned, as may be noted in an entry in C. R. Lagae and V. H. Vanden Plas's *Dictionnaire Zande-Français* (1922), my great support in the early stages of my research. Under the heading *nya* (p. 112) they list 'animal, terme générique. *Anya gido*: animaux à talons, (marchant sur les talons) [I am not sure what this means]. *Anya suku*: animaux à sabots. *Anya lide*: animaux à dents extérieures [I am not sure what this means either]. *Anya ghangi*: animaux à cornes. *Anya kipatobes*: animaux qui se battent avec les pattes de devant [again I am not quite sure of the meaning]. *Anya kipe*: animaux à épines. *Anya ali*: les singes.'

A category, rather than a class, of creatures is that of those which are ill-omened (*akui kperc*). The most frightful of these is the *anulara*, a wild cat, even the sight of which may cause death. Another beast which it is an ill portent to see is the jackal (*luwa*): *u nge wili nyakpatobes, wa nge, u na tu kina yewu sa ki ni ra rante uru, pusi kpoto ru, na tu ru wa kina ga nge, ghangi wili nya kperc du, u na kipasaka yewu sengia horo na ye ka kpi nyenbedi*. 'It is a small animal with pads, like a dog. It moves about only at night and sleeps by day. It has a whitish body, and its ears are like those of a dog. It is a longish little beast of ill omen. If it howls during the night it may mean that a man is soon to die.' Others are the iguana (*kare*), or rather its slough (*lii kare*), which may presage the death of a relative or your own; the chameleon (*luwa*), foretelling the death of a relative; the slough of a python (*iri ghara*), foretelling your own death; the corpse of a cricetus (*kauga sunba*), foretelling the death of a relative and yours before long; and the sight of a live one may mean that you are about to suffer misfortune; a chimpanzee on the ground (though not in trees); to a lesser extent to see a tortoise is unlucky and may presage a relative's death; and some say the slowworm (*magingi*, *ghinghiti*, *bilimi*). The rainbow snake and the thunder beast have already been mentioned. A falling star (*kerokuru wa u ni ti ku sende*) might also be included for though neuter to us, in Zande it takes the animal gender.

Another category is that called *anyakarakpa*, animals eaten only by very poor people or, according to the Ambumu or true Azande, by some of the Auro, peoples of foreign stock. Canon and Mrs. E. C. Gore (*Zande and English Dictionary*, 1952, p. 110) translate the word by 'taboo, unclean beast' but I think that these are not correct terms, for the animals are not taboo, neither are they unclean if this word is used in the biblical sense. Mgr. Lagae speaks, I think also not with entire accuracy, of 'interdictions générales quilient tous les Azande, aussi longtemps que ceux-ci n'ont pas atteint un âge avancé. Il leur est défendu de manger du léopard (*mama*), du lion (*ngbwanguru*), du chimpanzé (*gideyo*) [these are secondary names for lion and chimpanzee], de l'hyène (*zegé*), du gimbé, de l'antilope (*mangana*). Quiconque en mange, risque de ne jamais devenir fort et robuste. Seuls les vieux peuvent en manger impunément. On appelle donc ces aliments *yakolakpiwo*, c'est-à-dire, objets des vieux' (*Les Azande*, 1926, p. 38). My own impression was that the words 'taboo', 'unclean' and 'interdiction' go beyond what Azande feel about the matter. It is rather to them that people who are not old, and therefore cannot be excused, are dirty eaters if they eat of the sort of animals that Mgr. Lagae has instanced, carnivores and others (I am doubtful about that rare animal the *mangana* or bongo). This category includes many other creatures than those that Mgr. Lagae has mentioned, which no well brought-up and self-respecting person, unless he were very old, would eat for it to be known that he ate them: most snakes, most birds, most monkeys (except perhaps in the tropical rain forest), the iguana, the rat *ndari*, lizards, toads, crocodiles, the jackal and most insects. I would not, however, care to dispute that in the case of some of these creatures there may be also present the idea that for a young person to eat them might cause loss of vitality.

I conclude these few notes on animals of Zandeland with a text, which I think is of interest, on multiple births and care of the young: *were, gu nya mangi ae, u nge badari na gu nya nga mama, na bau, agara na batika ni ha biata, ami nge aremo, na kuri; ni gu raga aviri kuri hisse, agura na mangi ni ha sa sa, ami nge ambega na angbimo na agbagi na ughandua na nzimba na mmuru, na bisa, kpoungantingha na ghangaria na ghe, agura nge anya ngeua na batika ni ha sa sa nge mangi na ugevengara na rimo, mbire, udakpa, na waku, na bagianya, na hawam, ga waku pao nge u na vunga, ka a a e nge nireu ka mera ya, u ki di ni kindi ami ni ta na kina ru; na gu ru nge rimo, a na vunga ki di nra kindi ami ni ta; na mriaga na vunga ki di wri kindi suo ru; na mbire na vunga, ka u a zoga nge wri ya*. 'Now, those animals which bear in twos are ground squirrel and leopard and lion. Those which bear young in threes are reed-rats and other rats, and sometimes rats bear as many as five. Those which bear only one at a time are waterbuck, Uganda cob, digdig, reedbuck, Jackson's hartebeeste, grey duiker, roan antelope, red duiker, gazelle and buffalo. Those tree animals which give birth to one at a time are colobus monkey, the monkey *ngarangara*, a white-nosed monkey, a small grey monkey, the monkey *ndakpa*, baboon, a red monkey and chimpanzee. With regard to the baboon, when it gives birth it will not leave its young and go off by itself. It always takes its young with it and they go about together. Likewise the white-nosed monkey, when it bears young it always takes its young with it and they go about together. Also the colobus monkey, when it bears young it also takes its young behind it; and the small grey monkey, when it bears young it will not put its young down.'

were, ughaga ni vunga ki e nireu kira ha ru, u ra kui o biata u ki ni di ru ka mangisa ru, ami ki si li, nira a si u a; ki ni ta na u da o udu ra ni upaki ni di, u ki ni ndu na u, ki moi ru ti nuro po ni iga ru, nyemu a ni ta da u ki ni udu ka dia tu ami ni ta kina nyemu wataladi puru, du o ni ngeara ni du ki ni ta ni sa ru, were, ga ghe pao nge u na vunga ki e nireu kira ha ru na nbagi, u ki ri biata, ki ni di wri ka asada ta na u, u ai bi mba, u a ni udu ki ni poi fit ru ru ni yugu figo ra si ru, da o u ni ki ni du ki ni kpara ti anara ka ta ni sa ru, o na kpaya, ki ni sa ti ru ni kuru ghe, were, gu na nge ngbime, u na vunga ki ra kina biata ki nonda mba ami ki ni ta na kina tra a, da o nireu ni ngeara ni di nduwa na ngeara, were, agura nge anya suku du, ami na na kina biata ki ni mo ka ta na nireu. 'Now, when the waterbuck bears young it leaves its young behind for the first three days [when it goes grazing], and then it takes it to teach it to walk, so that when the mother grazes her young grazes with her. The young keeps to its mother until

such time as its legs are firm. The mother puts it in high grass to hide it, and then when evening comes the mother goes and gets her young to walk around in the evening or at night, until the young is grown strong and goes around by itself. Now, it is the habit of the buffalo when it has borne young to leave its calf in the place of its birth, as the waterbuck does, for three days, and then to take it out to try its walking. The mother grazes and as she goes along she calls to her calf 'yu,' teaching it their speech, till such time as it is big and separates from its mother to go about by itself as a fully developed animal, and then it changes into an old buffalo. Now, when the Uganda cob bears its young it waits three days and then lifts up its young and they walk off together also, until such time as the young grows up and is strong of leg. Now, all those beasts which have hooves wait for three days and then begin to walk with their young.'

were, agura nga anya linde, u na vunga, awiru ki ra ku sima ya. biata a ta da ti biam a u ki ni kusi ra ka nungusa ra, u a ni ndu ki zi kuri ki ni ye na u fu ra ami li ru, u ki ni ndu ki ni zi remvo ki ni ye na u fu ra ami li ru ka sora, ami ki ni ta na u da kina o ami ni kapeya ni ni kuru amana. guru ki ni mere ki ta a ta da kina o u ni ye ni berewe ki bi anai, da o a u ni kapeya ni ti anai kindi. 'Now, those beasts which are beasts of prey, when one of them bears young the cubs stay in its lair for three or four days, and then it brings them out to get them to walk around. It goes and catches rats and brings them to its cubs to eat, and it kills reed-rats and brings them to its cubs to eat so so that they may grow; and then they hunt with their mother until such time as they develop into full-grown leopards. Then they wander off and roam on their own though they come from time to time to see their mother; and then there comes a day when the cubs separate from their mother for ever.' were, gu nga bau, u na vunga, ka boro mbeda nga ku rogo gu rogo u ni vunga ni ya, ka ni mbedi ko yo u ki zi ni fu kina awiru anti li ni, da kina o u ni rogo awiru ni rogo gu rogo re, ami na ngara, ki ni kparaka ni ba ue ka zio ga ami anya wa ami a kpi nyemu e. 'Now, with regard to lions, when one of them gives birth no man would ever dream of going near its lair, and if he were to do so she would seize him for her cub to eat. When she removes her cubs from their den they are already strong and they go off in pairs to hunt animals as they please.'

were, mbara na vunga wiru ki e ru fu kina bara u ni tindi ru, nara ki ni ndu ni kina kubero mibiko bara du na linde ni wagi ru ngbosu linde ru ka ndu na u. u ta ngara u ki ni ndu ni kina ndu ru, u ki ni zura kina ngbaa angua fu ru u ni li e, u a ni kuru sa ga boro ngbaya uatalu ga ni boko u ki ca kata ru ni ligi wiru na ni, da o wiru ni ngara ni da ami ki du na u wa kina kuru anya sa, ka guri a banda nga guru berewe ya, mbiko u ngara, ami a ni ndu wiru ta li kina ga u liae, nara nt li kina ga u; ka bara a tinda nga ru berewe ya, u ni ta ni kina nduru ka da ti ba mbara. 'Now, when the elephant gives birth she leaves her young to the father, for him to carry. The mother just goes by his side, because the male has tusks which cross at their junction to carry it. When the young gets stronger it goes on its own feet. The parents strip off the tips of branches for it to eat. When they get among a man's maize or his pumpkins they break them off to feed their baby with them. When the young grows up its parents are just older beasts with it, they no longer guard their young, for it is grown up. When they go together the young eats its own food and his mother hers; and the father no more carries him; he walks on his own feet from now till he becomes a big elephant.'

A Bronze Snake Head and Other Recent Finds in the Old Palace at Benin.* By the late Professor A. J. H. Goodwin, M.A., F.R.S.S.Af., University of Cape Town. With four text figures

174 Excavations were undertaken by me: during two seasons (17 December, 1954—23 February, 1955, and 11 December, 1956—16 February, 1957) in the area of the old palace of the Obas of Benin, immediately east of the present palace. This older area

* The paper has been prepared for press, with some additional material, by Mr. William Flegg, Deputy Keeper of Ethnography, British Museum, with whom Professor Goodwin was in correspondence on the subject at the time of his death.

had been abandoned in March, 1897, after a disastrous fire which occurred while the British punitive expedition was in the town, when the Oba Ovonramwen was deported and confined in Calabar. This gives a final date for all material retrieved there.

Excavation in 1954 started directly opposite the European Cemetery. Finds consisted almost entirely of crushed pots, with sufficient numbers of fragments of rolled trade brass, cut tacks and staples to indicate that we were in a domestic part of the palace. It was eventually possible to discern four consecutive red-clay floors, each representing a building destroyed by a fire, leaving fragments of finely divided carbon from thatch. Following the first and the third fires the site had been roughly levelled and cleared before rebuilding the palace in hard tropical ferruginous earth. After the second and the fourth (1897) fires the walls had been allowed to collapse in the rains, and formed an earthen layer 14 inches thick, consisting of wall earth incorporating fragments of eroded pottery of early date. The break between the second and third palaces indicates either a period of civic turmoil (as in 1897) or that this wing was not needed at the time of rebuilding. It is not possible from the evidence to date the earlier three floors, or to dig deeper owing to a prodigal use of the town water supply which has yielded a 'hanging water table' in this area. The carbon may represent general or isolated fires. The only large fragments of carbon recovered (completely charred half-coconuts) all belong to the known date of 1897.

During my second season work started about 100 yards west of the earlier dig. Three preliminary pits showed no sign of floors, apart from a very recent superficial floor belonging to a corrugated iron structure. It became clear that we were excavating an open courtyard over which adjacent wall material had fallen to a depth of 12 to 15 inches and that we were within the pattern of the palace. The third pit indicated the position of the water mains laid in 1912. An area was uncovered adjacent to the disturbed earth of this pipeline. All the potsherds recovered were fragmentary and eroded, sherds caught up in the wall earth from superficial borrow pits. They may therefore belong to any period prior to the erection of this part of the palace. No complete pots, either broken or whole, were found, no charred foodstuffs occurred, and we were clearly in a non-domestic area. Charcoal from thatch indicated the fire, the usual fragments of rolled brass strip, cut tacks and square-sectioned copper staples showed that the woodwork had been plated with strips of beaten brass strip, as is still customary. Innumerable nests of termites clearly indicated the fate of timbering or doors.

At a depth of some 18 inches from surface a widespread living floor was indicated by a white powder. This consists of scattered fragments and crushed lumps of impure kaolin,² still used domestically in potmaking and still stored in large lumps a foot or so in diameter on verandahs. The falling walls had crushed and scattered the kaolin, clearly defining the surface of a courtyard within or adjacent to the palace.

On this surface, lying face upwards, two important finds were made. The first is a large bronze casting of a snake's head (figs. 1 and 2), 16*1*/₂ inches long by 13 inches at maximum width; it had been broken and crushed, but was still about 3 inches deep. The bronze, where touched at one point by a digging tool, is brassy in colour, patinated to a dark green. The second is part of a rectangular plaque (fig. 3), located 6 inches away and of a more cuprous bronze. It measures 6*1*/₂ inches wide by 7 inches long, and is part of a catfish plaque, originally some 16 inches in length.

The snake's head. This is smoothly spoon-shaped in its obverse aspect (fig. 1), which hardly shows the fractures and crushing visible on the reverse (fig. 2). It ends in a cast selvedge at the neck. The design is almost symmetrical and is decorated by plaques or medallions which were applied in relief in wax, during its manu-



173. Notes on Some Animals in Zandeland

E. E. Evans-Pritchard

Man, Vol. 63 (Sep., 1963), 139-142.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?&sici=0025-1496%28196309%291%3A63%3C139%3A1NOSAI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-M>

Man is currently published by Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://uk.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://uk.jstor.org/journals/rai.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.