January 1975

The spirits and their cousins: Some aspects of belief, ritual, and social organization in a rural Hausa village in Niger [full report]

Ralph Harold Faulkingham

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THE SPIRITS AND THEIR COUSINS:

SOME ASPECTS OF BELIEF, RITUAL, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

IN A RURAL HAUSA VILLAGE IN NIGER

by

Ralph H. Faulkingham

Research Report Number 15
Department of Anthropology
University of Massachusetts
Amherst October 1975
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The data presented and analyzed in this report were collected during three tours of research in a large village of Hausa-speaking people near Madaoua, Republique du Niger. The first research, conducted between January 1968 and March 1969, was supported by a predoctoral fellowship and training grant from the United States National Institute of Mental Health. The second tour of research in December 1973 and January 1974 was underwritten by The Population Council; and the most recent field investigation during June 1975 was funded by the Research Council of the Graduate School at the University of Massachusetts/Amherst through a faculty research grant. I gratefully acknowledge the generous support of these agencies.

Suzi and Edmond Bernus, Michael Horowitz, Guy Nicolas, Marc Piault, and Jean Rouch facilitated my first entry to the field and the selection of a field site. Dioulde Laya, director of the Institut de Recherche en Sciences Humaines, Université de Niamey, helped in obtaining my research authorizations and repeatedly offered encouragement and support. Jerome Barkow, Lydia Black, Michael Krasnow, Harriet Lyons, Nancy Munn, and Harold Olofson gave invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this monograph. My heartfelt thanks goes to each individual.

My hosts, the people of Tudu in the arrondissement of Madaoua, Republique du Niger, patiently endured my many questions and generously shared their understandings, joys, and tragedies. I am particularly grateful to Abdu 'dan Umma, a diviner and healer in Tudu, who instructed me in the many intricacies of Hausa spirit belief, and to Dage 'dan Dalle who taught me the framework of local social organization.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Long ago, in the beginning of beginnings were Acama and Adamu. From these, Allah created everyone in the world, both human and spirit people. Then Allah said, "Adamu, you and Adama, bring to me what you have borne." As Adamu and Adama were doing it, she said, "We are not taking all our children, for he might keep some of them; let us keep some hidden." So they brought the remainder to Allah. When they reached Allah, he looked and said, "Well, is all that you have borne here before us, Adamu and Adama?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Well, there are others hidden over there. They are hidden people; they shall remain hidden people forever." Those are the spirits; they are people; they are our relatives. We have mutual obligations to the present day.

An important diviner in rural Niger told me this story when I asked him about the origins of the spirits. This standard exegetical tale of the spirits and their cousins, the Hausa people, stands at the apex of a whole pyramid of cosmological and social structural features that characterize the community of Tudu in rural Hausaphone Niger. From the perspective of the villagers, the major questions of life and death, of destiny, of misfortune and of human caprice—in short, the entire range of critical events whose space and time sources are indeterminate—become cognitively determinate and answerable by reference to a coherent world view that accords primary causal efficacy to various spirits.

In this essay I set forth some of the major aspects of belief and ritual that the residents of Tudu share, together with an examination of their social organizational implications. In the tradition of this monograph series, my goal is predominately descriptive, although there are pointers to theoretical issues that will be developed more thoroughly in subsequent publications.

The monograph is divided into four major sections. In the remainder of this chapter I sketch the ecological, historical, and political setting of Tudu. Then, in Chapter II, I detail the nature of the residents' belief in spirits. Chapters III, IV, and V are devoted to the description and analysis of public and private
rituals, while the final chapter represents a synthesis of the features of social organization, belief and ritual. Specifically, I shall indicate how various personal conflicts and contradictions in structural principles may be seen to be resolved in the dialectic between the social and symbolic orders.

The Setting

The village of Tudu is located about 75 miles northeast of Sokoto, Nigeria, and some 15 miles north of the Niger-Nigeria border. While living in that community, in the course of my investigations of political supports for the village headman (v. Faulkingham 1970), I frequently heard references to spirits, attended spirit association dances, and recorded accusations and tales of ensorceling, its divination, prosecution, and outcome. My data on this subject, then, are in the form of extensive observations of and participation in the social life of the village of Tudu over the course of eighteen months of research. I have checked and rechecked the assertions of many informants and collected several extended cases of public rituals and private grievances. Further, through the infinite patience, trust, and generosity of my hosts, I was able to census the entire community and derive the useful genealogical, demographic and social network data that served first as the foundation for the analysis of village politics and now as a basis for an examination of its religious life. I have not attempted a general area survey and, therefore, cannot compare the society and culture of Tudu with that of neighboring Hausa villages. Hence, I cannot regard the Tudu data as representative of Hausaland in general or of the rural non-Muslim Hausa (Maguzawa) in particular (v. Greenberg 1946 and Barkow 1973).

Environmental Constraints

Tudu lies in the ecologically fragile sahel zone just south of the Sahara desert, where periodic yet unpredictable droughts historically have exacted a high toll both in mortality and in disruption of the subsistence economy. As Figure 1 demonstrates, rainfall varies enormously from year to year, from a high of 825 mm. in 1950 to a low of 156 mm. in 1973 framing a mean of about 450 mm. for the past three decades. As the people of Tudu have depended nearly exclusively for their food supply on what millet and sorghum they can grow themselves through non-irrigated hoe cultivation, the vicissitudes of rainfall, both within a single year and from year to year, can spell a bountiful harvest in one October and threaten starvation the next. Table 1 depicts the relationship between rainfall and crop production for the years 1969 to 1974. In the past, droughts, and the famines, disease epidemics, and locust plagues which came in their wake yielded a high mortality experience. The populations of this region adapted to this
FIGURE 1

ANNUAL RAINFALL AT MADAOUA, 1944-1973

(16 km. NE of TUDU)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rainfall (in mm)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>April 1-10</strong></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>May 1-10</strong></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>June 1-10</strong></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>July 1-10</strong></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>August 1-10</strong></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>September 1-10</strong></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>October 1-10</strong></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>November 1-10</strong></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>December 1-10</strong></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Agricultural Capita, 1969-74**

**Rainfall (in mm)** at Madura per ten day periods

**Table 1**
regime by sustaining a very high birth rate (for 1969-1974, this averaged about 50 births per thousand per year). While the most recent drought was by far the worst of this century, mortality was very low, thanks to various national and international programs of food distribution and of health improvement and pest eradication. As there has been little change in the birth rate, the populations of this area are growing quite rapidly (v. Faulkingham and Thorbahn 1975). Yet in Tudu, the year 1974 represented a dip in this growth as mortality topped fertility by a substantial margin (see Table 2), with most of the deaths occurring among the children born since the drought began locally in 1970.

Throughout the drought period, there has occurred a rapid and substantial shift in the local economy away from complete reliance on subsistence crops for survival. Increasingly (see Tables 3 and 4), men are seasonally migrating to the larger towns of West Africa to sell their labor as unskilled workers. The cash they have earned has enabled many of them to purchase the margin of food necessary for the survival of the members of their households.

The objective experience of the residents of Tudu is that rainfall is unreliable, droughts are inevitable but unforeseen, and death, especially of the young, is a recurrent, unpredictable, and unavoidable tragedy. It makes little sense to a farmer to increase his labor input in subsistence cropping, as all labor directed to crop production may be futile if the rains are too sporadic or insufficient. At the most rudimentary level, then, the people of Tudu experience the world of nature as disordered and physical efforts to order it unavailing. Yet, as I shall detail in the next chapter, the framework of spirit belief is a conceptual prism which first divides, then re-orders the experiences of life and of death in coherent and meaningful ways.

The Historical and Political Context

The region of Tudu is near the northwestern limits of the former Hausa state of Gobir (one of the original Hausa city states) and close to Adar, once a suzerainty of the Sultan of Agades. Since the fifteenth century the area has been successively controlled by the Gobir, Songhai, Kanem, and Sokoto empires, and within the last 100 years by the Kel Gress Tuareg and the French. For a short space of eight years (1898-1906) Tudu was nominally British territory. Both from ethnohistory and from relevant documentary sources, Tudu appears to have escaped a thoroughgoing integration into any of these state-level polities, except for some intermittent vassalage to the Tuareg for the 150 years prior to 1903. Tudu's marginality from the centripetal political forces of the state has continued to the present. During the colonial period (1903-1960), there were no substantial changes made in the way villages related to other polities, save one: where once residents had paid sporadic tribute in kind to various suzerains, during the colonial regime they paid a head tax in cash, collected by the village headman,
### TABLE 2
1974 CENSUS OF TUDU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Population**</th>
<th>Births**</th>
<th>Deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-69</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Census date is July 1, 1974

**Births are ordered according to age of mothers. The tabulations of births and deaths are based on the observed experience during calendar year 1974.
### TABLE 3

MIGRATION OF MALES (15-44 YEARS) FOR SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>% of all males of this Age Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4

PARTICIPATION IN SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT, BY LOCATION

1972-73

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Distance from Tudu</th>
<th>Number of Men Participating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abidjan, Ivory Coast</td>
<td>1420 km.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lagos, Nigeria</td>
<td>910 km.</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niamey, Niger</td>
<td>400 km.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaduna, Niger</td>
<td>425 km.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kano, Nigeria</td>
<td>360 km.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaura, Nigeria</td>
<td>175 km.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gidan Rumji, Niger</td>
<td>125 km.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangi, Niger</td>
<td>75 km.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fifteen other locations)</td>
<td>********</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and forwarded to the administration through his traditional patron, the suzerain of Gobir at Madaoua.

However, during this period Niger went through several political organization changes, whose effects have begun just recently to make their impact on the village level (v. Faulkingham 1975). Niger is organized into seven administrative departments, each of which is further subdivided into arrondissements; Tudu, in fact, is one of more than 100 villages in the arrondissement of Madaoua. After Niger obtained its political independence from France in 1960, several attempts were made by both government and party (PPN-RDA) to weld rural villages into the nation—in the ideological sense—of Niger. In Tudu, a mud-brick primary school was erected in 1960 and supplemented in 1967 by a new steel-framed structure. The men in the village were urged to vote in local (arrondissement) and national elections, although there was no campaigning by candidates nor discussion of local or national issues. The party cells have not been operative since their inception in 1960. The administrator of the arrondissement, the sub-prefect—notwithstanding the coup d'état in April 1974—has wielded considerable, albeit, remote, power in the area; in fact, his authority from 1960 to 1975, noticeably increased with the consequent decline in the official responsibilities of the traditional chef de canton, the sarki (Cf. Sévé de Rivière 1965: 269 ff., Thompson 1966, and Faulkingham 1970: 52-76).

Tudu, in June 1975, contained 1576 residents in a nucleated settlement with extensive cultivated land up to about 6 kilometers in radius surrounding the residential area. About two-thirds of the villagers claim to be Gobrawa—descendants of inhabitants of traditional Gobir—while the remainder are the offspring of refugees from Adar who fled to Tudu during the Tuareg rebellions against the French at the beginning of this century (Séré de Rivière 1965: 224-233). For both groups, Hausa of the Gobir dialect is the only language in use; indeed both Gobirawa and Adarawa in Tudu claim that they are truly Hausa.

Within the village, there are some 109 households grouped into nine spatially distinct clusters (zari'a). The unity of each cluster is based both on a set of clearly articulated residential principles and on a common traditional craft specialty (e.g. smithing, tanning, weaving, and butchering) of the constituent adult males. Statistically and normatively men reside in father's household and import wives from other clusters or other villages. (Of all married men, 89% obtained their wives from other clusters in Tudu, and all the remainder married women who had been born in other villages.) When fathers die, households generally segment but remain adjacent. Not surprisingly, an agnatic principle is often adduced to express the solidarity of the cluster's household heads; but it is clear on analysis that agnation is not rigorously used to define clear descent groups. This may be gleaned from the relatively infrequent occurrence when sister's son or wife's brother joins the cluster when his fortunes—whether agricultural or otherwise—are not going well elsewhere. While he clearly has less prestige and fewer rights than the other adult males in the
cluster, his children assume prestige and rights equal to those of their residential peers. Subsequently their descendants' link to the founder of the cluster are expressed in agnatic terms.

One may also find in a cluster one or a few "client" households whose founders came to the area in the past, and lacking any local kin or affines, they attached themselves as clients to a household head. At the present, no explicit notions of servitude persist between members of "client" households and those in other residences in the cluster, nor on the other hand does any fictive kin link develop between the adults in "client" and "patron" households.

Historically, ostensibly as a consequence of political disputes, clusters have spatially segmented but retain common craft specialties. In five of the nine clusters, smithing is the traditional male occupation, and candidates for succession to the important and powerful office of village headman must be smiths. The present headman, Bubé, commands wide respect and compliance from all quarters. He is the village's only operative link with the national polity; he adjudicates all disputes, collects taxes, sponsors dances, and entertains passers-by.
CHAPTER II
SPIRIT BELIEF IN TUDU

Overview

In the chapters that remain, I consider the villagers' religious life in terms of two of its major components: belief and ritual. Whether in Tudu or elsewhere, religion itself is to be seen as but a part of a much larger symbolic system which includes other domains of representations of meanings, such as language, color, and exchanges of various kinds. An adequate treatment of such a symbolic system is necessarily a treatment of the totality of these domains and especially of the transformations of particular meanings between and among domains. My own consideration of religion in Tudu, therefore, is only a part of the whole of local cosmology.

When I use the term "religious beliefs," I am thinking of both conventional and individual understandings, expectations, and evaluations of mystical forces, powers and beings. It is important to note that there may be and often is a great deal of variation in religious beliefs in the same community; thus one cannot impute convention from individual statements and conversely. Viewed diachronically, this variation in beliefs may be seen to have socially adaptive implications in the face of changing circumstances, in much the same way as biological reproductive variation is the key to population survival in the face of environmental pressures. However, broadly similar belief orientations among individuals are requisite for social life; indeed, social life would be impossible without such a conventional currency of communication.

And here we should consider rituals, for they are in a sense dramatizations, often in a highly stylized form, of the religious beliefs both of the community at large and of the individuals who perform or observe them. Rituals, thus, may be analyzed on several levels: as beliefs in dynamic form, enculturating and reinforcing conventional thought, as cross-cutting secular social cleavages, as a manifestation of the dialectic between the symbolic and the social orders, and as deep-rooted attempts to manage a largely indeterminate universe. I proceed, therefore, by considering religious beliefs in this chapter, and then various rituals in the three subsequent chapters.

The ethnographic literature on Hausa religion is fairly extensive, although for the most part little effort has been made to analyze the social functions of Hausa spirit belief and rituals,
especially in the terms I have just stated. Tremearne's early study (1914) is encyclopedic in the detail it provides on Hausa spirits, rituals, and ritual objects in Hausaphone areas of Nigeria and Tunisia. Greenberg's (1946) analysis of Maguzawa (i.e., non-Muslim) Hausa religion, while a work of high scholarly standards, lies largely in the diffusionist tradition of cultural anthropology and as such examines the cosmological—rather than the sociological—impact of Islam on the Maguzawa. More recently Jacqueline Nicolas (1967) analyzed the social aspects of spirit belief and spirit possession in Maradi, République du Niger. She found that virtually all the members of the spirit possession "cult" were women and most were prostitutes. The cult, in fact, provided an association for socially marginal people. Michael Onwuejeogwu in his review essay (1969) of bori (spirit) cults examines only the ethnographic literature for the Nigerian Hausa and implies that the bori cults manifest a homogeneity of organization and meaning throughout Hausaland. He speculates that they represent vestiges of the Habe religion that has been severely attenuated by the spread of Islam especially after the 1804 religious and military crusade of Usman dan Fodiyo. Like Nicolas, Onwuejeogwu finds that the bori cult members are predominantly female: either prostitutes or divorcées. I.M. Lewis, in his provocative comparative sociological analysis of spirit possession and shamanism (1971), relies on the findings of Nicolas and Onwuejeogwu to support his argument that one often finds such cults of "peripheral" spirit possession where women are excluded from full participation in social and political affairs (p.88).

The data I collected parallel in a number of important ways the findings of these ethnographers. However, it is clear that spirit belief and especially spirit possession in Tudu have several markedly different features and meanings. In fact, I would question the ethnographic pertinence of Onwuejeogwu's general treatment for the whole of Hausaland. There appears to be a wide diversity in many aspects of Hausa spirit belief, but we should expect such differences given the many different variants of culture and social organization that the vast Hausaphone region represents. I believe this range of diversity needs to be measured in both rural and urban areas, among Muslims and Maguwa before we can develop general statements about Hausaland (cf. Barkow 1973:70-71 and Hill 1972:4).

From a theoretical point of view, Lewis' and Onwuejeogwu's analyses fail to consider the systematic connection between rituals of spirit possession and other areas of Hausa ritual and belief. Clearly, Onwuejeogwu, a geographer, made no pretense to attempt such an analysis; he limited his treatment to the more common features of spirit possession in Hausaland. Yet Lewis' treatment of female participation in rituals of spirit possession as a culturally sanctioned protest of women's lack of real power in other social domains seems entirely too simplistic. Women's roles and religious participation should be examined in the totality of their cultural and social contexts. As Victor Turner has cautioned,
...the investigator must on no account make the cardinal error of attempting to go straight from the sensory appearance of the symbol to its 'social function.' He cannot evade the fact that symbols have meanings for people he is studying which makes their ritual behavior intelligible, not only to themselves, but also to their alien investigator. It is only after he has learned to crack the cultural code which explains the symbols of ritual that he is in any position to relate the semantic assemblage—which may be discovered to be a system—to the social system, and to the dynamics of that system (1968:8).

The Spirits

Before considering local understandings of the spirits, I believe it is necessary to set forth some data concerning the relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims (arna) in Tudu. Most of this essay concerns the beliefs and rituals of the arna, and I have ignored almost completely the religious beliefs and practices of the village's Muslims. Three of Tudu's 109 households are agnatically linked to a refugee who settled there about 1910. The members of these households have built a small mud-walled mosque, and during the dry season, they send their sons to study with a mallam in nearby Madaoua.

By and large the Muslims and arna share a similar world view. They both believe in the same spirits, although the Muslims do not (and state that they do not need to) carry out the same ritual obligations as their arna co-residents. Yet the situation is hardly one of a static religious dichotomy. All the arna villagers celebrate the Id-el Kabir festivals; most give alms to pilgrims and beggars as an offering of devotion to Allah. A few say the daily prayers with the aid of their prayer beads. Young boys, while affirming their inheritance as arna, talk about their hopes to make the pilgrimage to Mecca as the ultimate act of religious piety. Some arna villages even keep the fast. For many of the arna, Islam is identified with modernity, cities, and sophistication, and several people appear to be part of a process of conversion to Islam: they perform the appropriate arna rituals, and they also meet many of the obligations of Islam. I suspect that their sons may choose the second "inheritance" in the years to come.

The relations between the Muslims and arna are entirely cordial. The Muslims' daughters for the most part have married arna husbands, and have ceased their Muslim rituals; conversely, most of the Muslim men have arna wives who have taken on the appropriate Islamic obligations. The Muslims view the arna as ignorant, but with no amelioration of that condition possible, as it is most important that all
Now, let's get on with the arna belief in spirits. As indicated in the myth which I cited at the outset, Allah enjoys a superordinate status to all animate beings, corporeal or spirit. He is the ultimate source of things and events; yet he is remote. In fact, there is considerable ambiguity about his roles. On the one hand, he is described as distant5 and unconcerned with human events; yet at other times he is characterized as the relentless, omnipresent, and omniscient judge of human motivation, activity, and destiny. Depending on the circumstances, either image may be invoked by an individual to explain or to justify a particular occurrence. When I inquired as to why a particular old man died, the response was simply, "That's the time that Allah had allotted to him and when it was completed, he died, of course." But when another person died, reportedly the victim of a sorcerer's attack, I was told, "He hadn't yet lived out the time Allah had given him." This ambiguity seems to have little variation; I have heard all my informants make the same declarations.

TABLE 5
THE HIERARCHY OF SPIRITS

1. Allah -- the supreme spirit
2. Mala'iku -- the angels
3. Annabawa -- the prophets
4. Rafani -- the bookkeepers
5. Aljanu -- close spirits
   A. directional spirits
   B. specifically evil spirits
      1. local ones
      2. those living elsewhere
   C. Mushé spirits -- the soldiers
   D. "Inheritable" spirits (Bori)

After Allah, there are four hierarchically ordered categories of spirits who carry out the dictates of their master Allah (see Table 5). All these spirits have as their origin the primordial humans, Adamu and Adama. First are the mala'iku or angels who are innumerable,
close to Allah in heaven and more directly concerned with Muslims than the ama. The malā'iku report directly to Allah on events throughout the world and as agents carry out the dictates of Allah's will. Next are the annabawa or prophets who administer paradise. Their superintendent is the prophet Muhammad.

Third come the seven rafani who are the bookeepers of human good and evil. At the end of each individual's life, the accounts are tallied; if good deeds outweigh the bad, the person is consigned to paradise; for the converse, the individual is sent to hell. While my informants gave no sign of disagreement about the general bookeeping role of the rafani, a few asserted that the rafani kept accounts only of Muslims; a solitary individual asserted the rafani kept track of Muslims' affairs and distributed punishments and rewards in this life, there being no future life. Most, however, stress the importance of the child's naming ceremony where a ram is slaughtered and a local koranic student prays and gives the child its Muslim name. For, it is believed, unless the rafani have a Muslim name for an individual, he will be pitched into hell when he dies. Analytically, it appears that in the naming ceremony where blood is shed—and this seems to occur whenever there is an attempt to summon the attention of supernatural beings—the individual so named is assigned a place in society, here conceived as a unity of the human and cosmic domains. The event announces to all, both immortals and mortals, the identity of the individual in an eternal scheme. In this light may be understood the severe opprobrium attaching to the designation of shēgè (bastard). It does not refer to whether or not an individual's parents were married at his conception or birth, but whether or not a ram was provided and slaughtered at the naming ceremony.

There is, in actuality, very little discussion of the afterlife—in fact, most people I talked with were hard pressed to provide me with details of what such a life might be like. Yet, at the same time they assured me that they would be going to paradise. A tacit assumption appears to be widespread in Tudu that all but rogues and sorcerers will make it to paradise, for there is little concern expressed about such potential eventualities.

Fourth and finally are the aljanu, those spirits who are of enormous and immediate concern to the people of Tudu. The term aljanu can be used in the sense of all spirits in general, or it may denote one specific category of spirits; context provides the key. Occasionally the terms iskoki (s.: iska) or bori (s. and pl.) are used interchangeably with this class. But in no sense does the term refer to "evil spirits" as Abraham (1962:22) and Bargery (1951:22) define aljanu.

The aljanu themselves also may be classified into four categories: directional spirits, specifically evil spirits, mushé (from monsieur, I presume) spirits, and "inheritable" or bori spirits. By way of warning future investigators, I found that informants greatly enjoyed
naming and describing to me the various spirits, and discrepancies concerning names and attributes arose both among informants and with the same informants over time. For this classification, however, I have included those spirits who were consistently identified by the same names and characteristics.

TABLE 6
DIRECTIONAL SPIRITS AND AREAS OF RULE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spirit Name(s)</th>
<th>Domain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jangaré</td>
<td>na Yamma -- western spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwagwa</td>
<td>na Hausa -- southern spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gayya</td>
<td>na Adar -- northern spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babako (Saggo)</td>
<td>na Gabas -- eastern spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annabi Sulémana</td>
<td>na Sama -- sky spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bazatsé</td>
<td>na Kasa -- spirits below the earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihiritu</td>
<td>He lives with his wife Kwagwa at the earth's eastern wall and &quot;repairs the world&quot; (ya gyara duniya).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The directional spirits (see Table 6) have broad, but vague, supervisory powers over spirits in the six directions (the four cardinal directions plus up and down). All are male except Kwagwa. Each lives at the designated edge of the universe which is conceptualized as shaped like a cube. This box-like universe has four vertical walls and a roof of seven levels and a floor likewise divided into seven levels. Thus each of the spirits (except Ihiritu) has its own mutually exclusive interior facet or zone of rule. These spirits do not come near or affect directly events in Tudu. Ihiritu is variously identified as the chief of all the "inheritable" spirits and as a disciplinarian who punishes any of the aljanu spirits who strike human victims without due cause.

Next are resolutely evil spirits who live all over Hausaland and whose specific manifestations of misfortune often cannot be undone. Informants agreed that the number of these spirits is in the thousands, although each area has only a few. I collected a list of 57 from people in Tudu. For example, Baga is a spirit who resides on the road between Birni N'Konni and Tahoua and who causes auto accidents. Aljani mai Tukwa lives in all navigable waters and occasionally tips over ships.
and boats, drowning the occupants. Locally four spirits fit this category: (1) Zakî lives in the bush and attacks hunters with pains in the neck; (2) Bakin Aljani has sexual intercourse with virgins and thereby makes them sterile; (3) Dan Galadima lives in large trees; he forces people to sit down and to desire never to get up again; and (4) Sarkin Ruwafi lives in well cared-for huts in Tudu and causes severe abdominal pains.

Third, the mushë spirits are believed to have come to the area in 1903, accompanying French troops and mercenaries. According to legend, the spirits liked the area so much, they decided to remain. They number 13 (12 male and 1 female) and several have names with a decidedly francophonic tinge (see Table 7).

TABLE 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THE MUSHÉ SPIRITS (MUSAWA)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Lisidan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kabram Banya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kabran Sakitar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kommandan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Macékari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These mushë spirits are reckoned to be soldiers who protect the general welfare of Tudu and its nearby villages by disciplining other recalcitrant spirits. These spirits, after the French departed, developed and continue to develop a relationship with particular people in Tudu who demonstrate soldierly qualities. The sign of the inception of this relationship is severe headache, nausea, and recurring convulsions. When a diviner determines that these symptoms are evidence of an entreaty by one of the 13 mushë spirits to obtain a familiar to dance for it, he will recommend that the individual be inducted into the association of mushë devotees, the 'yam mushë. This, it is reported, satisfies the spirit, and the symptoms are relieved. Periodically then, the entire association performs public dances to entreat these spirits to deal with other errant spirits.

The individuals who endure suffering with the soldierly qualities of perseverance, courage, and patience are thus apotheosized and reckoned collectively to hold an important key to the restoration of harmony.
between humanity and the cosmos. I discuss the culmination of this apotheosis in the dance ritual of the 'yam mushè below in Chapter V.

TABLE 8
A SAMPLE OF THE INHERITABLE SPIRITS, THEIR SIGNS, AND CUSTOMARY SACRIFICE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Sacrifice(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsirahaku</td>
<td>severe neck pains</td>
<td>Black male goat is killed and a black blouse is set aside to be drenched in perfume once a year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Yar Zanzanna</td>
<td>eye difficulties</td>
<td>Red male goat is killed, and a blouse and gourd are set aside annually.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aljana Fara</td>
<td>scrotum pains</td>
<td>White goat is killed and a blouse is set aside yearly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malam Alhaji</td>
<td>helps school children do well in their studies and helps people in their arithmetic calculations</td>
<td>White ram is killed once each year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, the fourth class of aljanu are those who impose particular obligations on all arna; these are the spirits most similar to the bori spirits described by Omwuejeogwu (1969) for the Nigerian Hausa. This group of 47 spirit beings have the following general attributes: each has a particular sign of activity among people, e.g. Sarauniya gives people pains in the lower back so that they have great difficulty standing up. For all but one spirit--Malam Alhaji--the activity is some similar form of misfortune (see Table 8). Further, each non-Muslim in Tudu has obligations to provide sacrifices for as few as two spirits to as many as 14 spirits. These duties may be acquired from one's father, or from one's mother, although most obligations are said to be agnatically inherited, thus I have termed the spirits "inheritable."

While each individual has ultimate personal responsibility in a strict sense to provide annual sacrifices for his/her inherited spirits, the duty in practice falls on the shoulders of each household head to provide the sacrificial items for all people who reckogn his household to be their natal residence. The household head is understood to appease the same spirits that his own father did before him. In addition he might learn, through consultation with a diviner (madibi), of obligations
to sacrifice to still other spirits that his own father did not sacrifice to, but who are reckoned to be acquired from either his or one of his co-resident's mother. I was told that households more than likely would avoid misfortune if the household heads diligently met their responsibilities to take the relevant sacrificial items to the appropriate matsafi (the person who ritually slaughters the sacrificial animals—see Chapter IV). In fact, more often than not, the sacrificial animals are taken to a matsafi only after misfortune strikes and divination indicates the cause has been failure to sacrifice. Even such a posteriori sacrifice may not relieve the symptoms, for there is no necessary connection between sacrifice and the absence of misfortune. The spirits are believed to have a zest for the blood of sacrifice and may become angry if they are forced to go without it. Also the spirits themselves are reckoned to be capricious—just like people, I was told—in that after consuming the bloody sacrifice, they may wreak destruction on their devotee. Sacrifices, thus, are regarded as probable, but not iron-clad, protection against (further) misfortune. With proper spiritual safeguards, an "inherited" spirit who is reckoned to be unresponsive to sacrifice may, in fact, be dismissed. It is believed that this disinherited spirit will wander until he finds a household to reside in. There he will give his sign (some misfortune), and be identified by a diviner as a spirit inherited from the victim's mother.

A final broad characteristic of these spirits pertains to their ontological status. Each has its appropriate home (for example, Aljana Fara lives in chew-stick trees); yet a spirit is omnipresent. The spirits are understood to be capable of assuming human form and of being indistinguishable from strangers, although in their non-human form they possess one eye, one ear, one arm, one leg, and wings. The "inheritable" spirits are thus conceptualized as neither fully human nor fully divine.

Nearly all these spirits have the capability of striking a victim with such force that the only cure—determined by a diviner—is induction into the association of spirit devotees, the 'yam bori. (I describe and analyze several features of this association's ritual and social organization below in Chapter V.)

Sorcery

When the misfortune that the spirits bring is extreme, such as the sudden death of a person believed to be in good health, the ultimate cause may not be attributed to the spirits through some failure to sacrifice to them on the part of the victim or his household head, but to the deliberate invocation of the most feared female "inheritable" spirit, Aljana, by someone angry with or jealous of the victim.

This spiritual harming is termed by the Hausa maita, which is customarily translated as "witchcraft" (v. Abraham 1962:639 and Bargery
1951:749), but which I prefer to regard as sorcery. My reasoning is that the Hausa of Tudu regard the causing of spiritual harming to one's neighbor or to one's kin:man to be a consummately voluntary effort. For Aljana to wreak her destruction, it is believed that a person must of his/her own will invoke the spirit's power through specific ritual steps. According to the distinctions Evans-Pritchard made concerning Azande beliefs in spiritual harming, such imputations of deliberate acts to cause spiritual harm may be regarded as sorcery. He writes, "Azande believe that some people are witches and can injure them in virtue of an inherent quality. A witch performs no rite, utters no spell and possesses no medicine. An act of witchcraft is a psychic act. They believe also that sorcerers may do them ill by performing magic rites with bad medicines" (1937:21). For me, the diacritical feature distinguishing sorcery from witchcraft is whether the spiritual harming is reckoned to be intended or unintentional. However, one reasonably could argue that maita should be considered witchcraft because such intention and the attendant ritual actions are only imputed and never admitted by the one accused of maita, nor is there any evidence of anyone actually observing such harming rites. However, whether one assigns maita to the witchcraft or to the sorcery category is largely insignificant; the important point, as Victor Turner has remiende us (1964), is the actual dynamics of spiritual harming.

The Hausa of Tudu maintain that people generally seek to maximize personal interests, often to the detriment of social welfare. When people gossip about a fellow villager who has cheated someone else, one nearly always hears the utterance, "Well, isn't that just human nature?" Public actions are clearly more desirable than private ones, for it is in public that personal proclivities can be checked or canalized for the general good; no such community protection exists for the private act. Thus the person who spends time by himself, talks to himself, and does not easily converse with others is suspected of seeking to pursue his own private goals at his fellows' expense. When I pressed my informants to tell my why silence and private actions are potentially harmful, I was told that only sorcerers (mayu) need privacy and desire no conversation. Sorcery, thus, is the quintessential anti-social act.

In terms of local notions of sorcery and their dynamics, we must begin with a calamity—such as a sudden, unexpected death. According to all informants' accounts, such an event could be attributed to one of two causes: either the household head had failed to propitiate the appropriate spirit which, in turn, provoked its vengeance, or he is the object of a sorcerer's attack. A diviner then determines which of these is the actual cause of misfortune. Most often the diviner indicates that a spirit is displeased, and to assuage its anger, an animal sacrifice is prescribed. Occasionally, however, the root of a man's trouble is identified as sorcery. The villagers could recount a total of only 42 firm instances over the previous 67 years where sorcery had been divined as the source of such a misfortune.

Sorcery is usually assumed to be the work of a close relative
(either consanguine or an affine) who has become a sorcerer by making a private agreement with Aljana, this most fearsome of the "inheritable" spirits. Such a person, it is believed, initiates contact with Aljana out of a desire to secure a good harvest of millet and sorghum without having to employ the customary work party (gayya). If, for the individual, Aljana is an "inheritable" spirit, such contact takes place when the person secretly sacrifices a rooster of entreaty to Aljana in a corner of his household. If a person does not "inherit" an obligation to propitiate Aljana, then contact is established by secretly taking a calabash of cow's milk to the bush and leaving it there for a few days. If when he returns, there is no milk remaining, Aljana is reckoned to have drunk the milk and thereby signified that she will grant him the rich harvest he wants in return for a sacrifice of "something with two legs." After the person has had a good harvest, his bill falls due; he can pay Aljana with a rooster or a person. Here an individual has a moral choice; either he may sacrifice a rooster to Aljana or he could nominate a particularly troublesome relative—perhaps one he has quarreled with—for Aljana to molest and eventually to kill and to eat. I was told that any person who refused to cooperate in farm labor was miserly; such people are said to be so morally corrupt that if they had made a contract with Aljana, they invariably would have chosen to give her a human victim rather than a rooster.

Now as to how the people of Tudu deal with sorcery, there have been two solutions. Up to 1960, a diviner who determined that his client had been the object of a sorcerer's attack took his divination to the village headman. If the headman disagreed with the divination, using such evidence as the character of the accused and whether his crops had been good that year, the diviner was told to do his divining more carefully, in which case he always prescribed that his client sacrifice to one of his "inheritable" spirits. If, on the other hand, the headman agreed with the divination, the accused was taken to the vassal prince (sarki) in Madaoua who either dismissed the case if the accused paid him a fine of 4,000CFA (U.S. $16) or sent the accused to the village of Gumbin Kano, nearly 80 kilometers west of Madaoua. There the accused would be given swamp water to drink. If he had vomited it, he would have demonstrated his innocence; had the water been swallowed, on the other hand, he would have shown his guilt and would have to pay the sarki 8,000CFA. According to my informants' accounts, all 42 villagers publicly accused of sorcery have been sent to Gumbin Kano, and all but five were "proven" guilty. Upon the return of the sorcerers to the village, there were no further punishments; however, any person shown to be a sorcerer was feared and could never hold a village office.

In 1960, right after independence, a ruling was promulgated by the sub-prefect which treated accusations of sorcery as defamations of character. Anyone so defamed could take his accuser to court to be prosecuted. This act had the effect in Tudu of eliminating the headman's role in sorcery cases. For no longer did diviners dare make their charges of sorcery public, lest the ones so charged take them
to court under the new rule. Obviously sorcery beliefs could not be legislated out of existence, and new means were necessary to control sorcery in Tudu. One of the more prominent diviners, Abdu 'dan Umma, innovated a procedure for sorcery control which other diviners quickly adopted. If a diviner determined that his client were the object of a sorcerer's attack, he would have the client drink an intoxicating herbal brew—the one the 'yam mushé drink before their dances—and then he would take him to a prominent path intersection in the village. (It is interesting in examining the significance of space here: the path intersection is outside all residential clusters; yet all people use these paths; it is a locus apart from each but integral to all.) There, in public, the diviner would kill a rooster and let the blood spill on the center of the path intersection, while the client reclined close by. Then, supposedly thoroughly intoxicated, the client was addressed by the diviner as Aljana and implored to reveal the name of the person who invoked her. Several names were given, and each person mentioned was summoned and asked by the diviner to jump over the client's body three times. In this way, I was told, Aljana would depart from the client's body and return to her invoker, there to wreak havoc in his household. Of course, no one would know to whom Aljana had fled until misfortune struck in his household. If an individual refuses to jump over the client's body, he would be admitting culpability for the sorcery; however, according to informants, this has never happened.

With this new procedure, no one would be directly accused of being a sorcerer, hence no charge of character defamation could be taken to court. Yet, many people were privately critical of Abdu for his innovation—which he claimed was revealed to him by the mushé spirits in a dream—because the sorcerer would not be identified immediately and ostracized, and would remain free to ensorcel until Aljana finally made apparent her revenge. Abdu's response is simply that Aljana and ultimately Allah will see that justice is levied and that those who are unhappy with the new procedure are merely impatient with that slow but sure justice.

When we examine all the cases of sorcery accusation (the 37 before 1960 and the 5 cases since), a pattern revealing domestic strains emerges. In every case, the reputed sorcerer was male, and his victims were either brothers, patrilateral parallel cousins, or their dependents. Further, the sorcerer and his victim lived either in the same household or in one of the immediately adjacent ones. The tensions between brothers and brothers' sons emerge, I believe, as a consequence of their competition to inherit the best farm land from their aging fathers, and from jealousies arising when one brother harvests more grain than another.

Analysis of Spirit Beliefs

Before we can turn our attention to the performance of the religious rituals associated with these beliefs, several analytical
comments concerning Hausa notions of spirits are in order. First, let me repeat that this set of beliefs about the spirits just presented as well as notions about sorcery are publicly expressed and widely shared among the arna of Tudu. This is not esoteric knowledge limited to a few diviners or old men concerning a bygone era. The spirits themselves appear to occupy a spectrum from those very remote to those very near. Allah as the remotest spirit expresses best the notion of divinity: singularity, directly unreachable, with undefined roles, almost otiose, yet at the same time omniscient and omnipresent. At the other end of the spectrum are those "inheritable" spirits who are quasi-human; indeed the myth of their creation is a statement of their fundamental humanity. They are many; their normative roles are clearly defined; humans have direct access to them; and they are clearly concerned with everyday events. They do not have the powers of knowing that Allah has, and they may be capricious in their actions with the people they are associated with.

Spirit belief in Tudu generally may be seen fundamentally as an attempt to bring order and management to the disorder of real calamitous experiences. Several themes at different levels of abstraction appear relevant here. At one level, the entire spectrum of spirits provides an existential etiology for all sorts of unpredictable calamities; at the same time, however, there are many physiological maladies that are regarded as having entirely natural causes. The local arna belief in the spirits should not be seen as a charter for a simple fatalism.

At a more abstract level of analysis, it appears that while order is clearly desired, the cost of maintaining it is very high. That is to say, there is great concern to forestall calamitous events, and even when they do occur, to keep their deleterious effects to a minimum. However, this control may be achieved for each household only by the diligent provision by the household head of the proper animals for sacrifice. When relief of some individual malady is not obtained through the death of animals, the person's suffering is often apotheosized in his or her induction into either the 'yan mushé or the 'yan bori spirit possession association.

Another theme that is associated with the attempt to manage the disorder of calamities is that order and control appear to be consonant with the patriline and with hierarchy; disorder and danger with the matriline and with individuality. Sons who head households should provide the same sacrifices as their deceased father did before them; this is reckoned to be the most fundamental way to minimize calamities. Further, if a person suffers some malady, it is the duty of the household head where that person was born to provide to the matsafi the sacrificial animal for the spirit divined to be the source of the difficulty. Yet a diviner may determine that a particularly troublesome sickness has been caused by a spirit hitherto not given sacrifices in that individual's natal household, but in his/her mother's natal household. The spirits who have been dismissed--released from the order of the patriline and from obligation--are free (i.e., uncon-
trolled) to wander until they find a familiar whom they strike with a par-
icular misfortune. Such a spirit is diagnosed by diviners as a "spirit from the mother's direction." Further, sorcery may be seen as the very 
antithesis of the social and moral order, of the patriline, of hierarchy. Here the sorcerer on his own—not through his natal household head—per-
forms a sacrifice to cause and not to relieve a calamity. The ritual is 
reckoned to be performed totally in secret. Aljana, the patron of sorcerers, 
is the one spirit whose normative roles are ambiguous.

The attempt to control the calamitous effects of the spirits may be 
discerned in the very dynamism of spirit belief. Spirits are dismissed; 
others are acquired, whether for individuals personally or for the commu-
nity. Yet in this dynamism three central themes remain: (1) disorder and 
danger come about through the failure of individuals to fulfill social ob-
ligations; (2) what is hidden or secret is unordered and by definition 
evil—witness Adama's hiding her children in the quote on p.1 or the heinous 
activities of sorcerers--; what is open and public is ipso facto ordered; and 
(3) order is achievable only through the ritual killing of animals and the 
apotheosis of individual suffering.
CHAPTER III
RITUALS OF DIVINATION AND HEALING

In this and the subsequent two chapters, I consider various dramatizations of the beliefs that were set forth in Chapter II, specifically rituals of divination and healing, rituals of sacrifice, and finally rituals of spirit possession. At this point, let me be explicit in what I mean by the term "ritual" by citing Victor Turner's usage of it for the Ndembu:

By 'rite' or 'ritual' I mean . . . prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in mystical (or non-empirical) beings or powers (1968:15).

Generally my description and analysis of these three kinds of rituals ensues on three levels: the social roles of the participants in the ritual performances, the purposes to which the rituals are directed by the participants, and the underlying themes that these rituals express about the culture of the community.

Already, particularly in my consideration of sorcery, I have given many clues concerning the important place that divination has in Hausa religion and thought. Yet unlike the Ndembu of Zambia, the divination process among the Hausa is not a public event, nor is the public implied or invoked in divination rituals (the only exception being sorcery). The diviners themselves occupy statuses of importance and of power. Divining is the sole occupational specialization (aside from farming) of 13 men in Tudu, all of whom, but especially the most frequently consulted diviner Abdu, are well-known beyond the village confines. All the diviners (madiba) were born outside (cf. Colson 1966) Tudu and have told me in their life histories that they had learned their craft from an expert, generally a matrilateral relative. This period of apprenticeship was begun only after they had experienced a severe illness from which they had recovered rapidly after its divination was performed.

An informal census of my neighbors and informants reveals, that, on average, a man consults a diviner about once a month, while women rarely visit one at all. The diviner's skills involve the prediction of lucky days (arwuwa) and the diagnosis of the cause of such misfortunes as poor harvests, illnesses, deaths, and even bad luck. All the diviners claim to have guidance ultimately from the aljanu or the mushé spirits—indeed their legitimacy and the legiti-
macy of the divination process depend upon this claim. However, no mystical aura envelopes the diviners or the ritual itself during divinations; rather, the diviners are viewed as very special craftsmen who have learned how to extract knowledge from the spirits.

When a person wishes to consult a diviner, he simply goes to the household of the diviner of his choice and asks the diviner to "look into" things for him. The diviner invites the client inside his sleeping hut, checks that they are alone, and then the two probe into the cause for the client's visit. The client relates all he knows on the matter at hand, and the diviner interrogates him thoroughly. If the client is desirous of picking a lucky day to travel, the diviner asks for a 25CFA piece (U.S. $12), writes with his fingers on the ground, then interprets the hills and depressions in the sand, and states confidently that, for example, "the 20th day of the month will be lucky if you are travelling south." The client then departs. If the matter concerns a misfortune of some kind that has struck the client's household, he and the diviner talk at great length on the subject, exploring every possibility. The diviner then states the fee he will charge to make the divination. The two dicker a bit before the client pays about 25% of the agreed upon amount, promising the rest when the difficulty has eased. The diviner then writes on the sand before declaring what he has discerned. Sometimes a diviner will hold off a decision until he reports that he has had a communication from a spirit. Most often the diviner identifies by name a spirit as the cause of the misfortune and tells his client to take the appropriate sacrifice to his matsafi or to consult a healer.

The divination process, I believe, has a valuable psychotherapeutic function, for the diviner encourages his client to detail all his hostilities and to relate the events which brought them on. The client is motivated to reveal all that he knows because he believes that the diviner can correctly diagnose his difficulties only when he has full knowledge of the matter. Further, the client has the assurance that the diviner is pledged to secrecy. Divination then at one level of analysis may be viewed as the client's opportunity for personal catharsis.

The social manipulative possibilities implicit in the divining role are indeed great; however, there are some very real constraints that operate to check such potentialities. Diviners whose advice proves repeatedly useless develop reputations as charlatans; this is also true for those diviners whose findings are seen repeatedly to serve their own interests. An accusation of charlatanism, if widely accepted, could result in a definite loss of legitimacy and of income for the diviner in question. In the case of diagnosing misfortunes, the diviner's legitimacy seems to rest on his ability to convince clients of the thoroughness of his knowledge both of the social tensions in their households and of the habits and signs of the various genres of spirits. In point of fact, a diviner who sees many clients, each of whom speaks to him in confidence, is in an excellent position to understand intimately the ambiance of relations
both within and among domestic units.

TABLE 9
A HEALER'S PATIENT RECORD FOR JANUARY 1969
(translated from his description)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patients</th>
<th>Reason for visit</th>
<th>Result</th>
<th>Fee*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sala's daughter from Dutsé</td>
<td>Hysteria</td>
<td>Herbs given, she recovered</td>
<td>3000CFA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abarta of Dutsé</td>
<td>Plagued by the bori with chest pains</td>
<td>I washed her with henna and sent her to the hospital; she recovered</td>
<td>750CFA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barau</td>
<td>Failure to have an erection</td>
<td>Powdered roots sewn in an amulet; he recovered</td>
<td>500CFA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aljuma</td>
<td>Attacked by the bori, Izanzana, with back pains</td>
<td>Herbs given; she recovered</td>
<td>1000CFA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allasan</td>
<td>Failure to have an erection</td>
<td>Herbs given; he recovered</td>
<td>300CFA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zelli of Ladama</td>
<td>Attacked by Aljana with chest pains</td>
<td>I washed her with henna and sent her to the hospital; she recovered</td>
<td>400CFA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'ishetu of Galma</td>
<td>Attacked by Aljana with chest pains</td>
<td>I washed her with henna; she recovered</td>
<td>400CFA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Araga</td>
<td>Spitting up blood</td>
<td>She drank powdered roots; she is now somewhat better.</td>
<td>100CFA (down payment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan DiJé</td>
<td>Attacked by the bori, Sarauniya, with thigh pains</td>
<td>I washed him with herbs; he recovered</td>
<td>250CFA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DiJé</td>
<td>Attacked by the bori, Kuri, with shoulder pains</td>
<td>I washed her with henna, she recovered</td>
<td>500CFA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*At the time US $1.00 was equivalent to about 250CFA.
Like diviners, the healers (bokayè; s. boka) altogether belong to the client households in Tudu. They report that they received their training in healing from experts, usually agnates. No aura of the supernatural or invocation of divine revelations undergirds their legitimacy. Unlike the diviners, however, the healers do not have ready-made alternative explanations if their prescriptions fail to work. Their main task is to receive referrals from the diviners, and to sell aphrodisiacs and medicines (often powdered herbs and roots) for minor ailments (see Table 9). Many of the healers have capitalized on the presence of the Sudan Interior Mission hospital at nearby Galmi, by directing patients to take both their medicine and the "European's" medicine. When their patients recover, the healers receive virtually all the credit and a substantial fee.
CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND RITUAL OF SACRIFICE

Overview

Previously (page 17) I indicated that the household head has the obligation to provide the appropriate animals for sacrifice to all the spirits "inherited" by the members born in his household. For those who have been recruited through other means to the household, such as adopted dependents, clients, and wives, this obligation falls on the shoulders of the head of the household where they were born. Now, who are these spirits, and how does one inherit an obligation to sacrifice to them? The people of Tudu distinguish two ways of acquiring obligations to sacrifice to spirits: (1) Those obligations inherited agnatically (wadanda anka jada wajen uba—"those one inherits from the father's direction"), hereafter referred to as father's spirits. Here, the household head ought to propitiate the same spirits that his father did. This is explicitly stated as a cultural norm. (2) All other obligations to sacrifice to spirits are said to be inherited from one's mother, i.e. the spirits that received sacrifices in one's mother's natal household (wadanda anka gada wajen uwa)—or mother's spirits. There is a difference of opinion about the meaning of sacrificing to mother's spirits, and we shall examine this below in conjunction with an analysis of the fissioning of households and clusters. However, all informants agreed that one does not want to sacrifice to mother's spirits, and it is done only after a diviner has designated a misfortune as caused by a particular mother's spirit to whom heretofore the individual had not rendered sacrifices. If this individual is male, his children will inherit an obligation to sacrifice to this spirit, but for them, of course, it will be a father's spirit.

The differential attitudes toward father's and mother's spirit sacrifices can be understood only if we first examine Tudu's residential clusters, their agnatic charters, their cleavages, and their respective relationships to those who actually perform the sacrificing of animals—the matsafa (s. matsafi). The actual sacrifice is performed matter-of-factly in the matsafi's household. Sometimes a few boys watch the event, but in terms of social role performances, this is not different from a butcher slaughtering animals in the market. In the sacrifice, the animal's throat is slit with a household knife, and the blood spurts out over three grapefruit-sized stones. The spirits are said to lick the essence of the blood off the stones. I was told that it is very important that the blood spill over these stones; if it falls directly onto the ground, the spirits will not consume it, and the
sacrifice would be void.

After the animal has stopped its quivering, the matsafi and the young boys resident in his household skin the animal. The matsafi then returns all of the animal except a leg to the one who has brought it to him. The part retained by the matsafi he gives to his wife who cooks it in a sauce as part of the daily household evening meal. For them, the meat is undifferentiated from the meat they buy at market. The bearer of the sacrifice, likewise, sells the animal hide—unless, of course, it was a rooster—to a tanner who treats it just like other hides he acquires from butchers. The remainder of the animal is consumed as meat in the household of the one who provided the sacrificial animal; again, this meat is undifferentiated from that purchased from a butcher.

Residence and Political Cleavages

To understand fully the significance of sacrifice—particularly the distinction between father's spirits and mother's spirits—we must consider the organization of residential clusters in Tudu. As I mentioned in passing in Chapter I, the village is divided into nine such groups. Along with clients and with women who have married into Tudu, these clusters contain the entire village population, and their charters are largely localized there. Each of these clusters is characterized by the public recognition of the principle of agnation as a prime criterion of core member unity, by the male occupational specialization that distinguished each cluster, and by the cluster's matsafi to whom the constituent household heads are said to bring their animals for sacrifice. Five of the nine clusters share both a common male occupation (blacksmithing) and a notion of agnation among the core members. As recently as the late 1920's, these five were just one cluster. It is this group of five residential clusters—the Makiri group or parent cluster—which most strikingly manifests the cleavages which mother's and father's spirits will be seen to represent. The Makiri group's apical ancestor is reckoned to be the founder of the village of Tudu, and thus the headship is the possession of his agnatic descendants. The residents of the remaining four clusters reckon their households' founding in Tudu from refugees who settled there as clients to members of what was the Makiri cluster. Yet today, I find no evidence that any hierarchy persists between households from the original patron-client relationship. The rules for succession to the village headship are the following: a candidate must be able to reckon patrilineal descent from the founder of the Makiri cluster and must demonstrate to the suzerain (sarki) that a majority of the villagers support his elevation to the office. Beyond these, the rules of succession are imprecise, indicating only preferences: the incumbent's sons according to birth order.

While my informants suggest that these rules were followed in
the past, they were put aside in 1926 when a French official appointed to the post the third eldest son (Kaka) of an aging headman (Jimrau), having wrung an endorsement for his precipitous action from the sarki at Madaoua. The competition for succession to the headship that this intrusion stimulated led to major political crises in Tudu in 1931 and 1958 and a segmenting of the parent cluster into its present five units. In the first crisis, Naruwa (see Figure 2) argued with the sarki that the French official's error should be rectified by the ouster of Kaka and by placing the headship in his own (i.e. Naruwa's) hands. In the second case, Alu made an ill-fated attempt to convince his fellow villagers that he should succeed Kaka rather than Nunu, as his father, Mai Waké, the eldest son of Jimrau, had been by-passed in the succession; both attempts failed.

For these two competitions, all the candidates had sought to insure that a majority of the villagers would support their claims to control the office of headship. Among their means of generating such support, each sought to ally various Makiri households to his cause by arranging patrilineal parallel cousin marriages. This is reflected in the census data: in 1968, 28% of all marriages by adult males of the Makiri parent cluster (N=145) were between them and their parallel cousins, while for other married males in Tudu, this ratio was 10% (N=109). Further, marriages were specifically arranged between Makiri daughters and non-Makiri sons, and the requisite bridewealth was either very low or periodically postponed as an exchange for support from the agnates of the Makiri daughters' husbands. In light of this competition then, it is quite understandable that Kaka would have asserted that all members of the Makiri cluster supported his control of the village headship; it was in his own interests to maintain and reinforce the solidarity of the parent Makiri cluster and the broad support he enjoyed in Tudu at large. On the other hand, the competitors of Kaka, Naruwa and later Alu advanced their interests either by identifying Kaka and his core supporters as but one segment of the parent cluster or by dissociating their residential areas and supporters from those backing Kaka. Yet an explicit and direct challenge to the solidarity of the Makiri parent cluster by any contestant for the headship likely would be politically counterproductive.

Analysis

Now, what have these facts of political competition and of cluster segmentation to do with rituals of sacrifice? I would argue that the commencing of rendering sacrifices to the spirits represents at a most fundamental level a declaration of a segment's independence from the parent cluster, without explicitly impugning parent cluster solidarity. And there is no hint of political intrigue to accomplish this fissioning; rather, it appears that the village's diviners precipitate the fissioning process when they diagnose misfortunes as having been caused by mother's spirits. While the diviners are acutely sensitive to social tensions,
FIGURE 2

MEMBERS OF THE MAKIRI CLUSTER MENTIONED IN THE TEXT
Time I

Here Ego (F) sends to the matsafi (B) animals for the same spirits that (C) had propitiated when he was alive. This is the cultural norm (father's spirits).

Time II

A diviner determines that a particular spirit plaguing (F) or one of his co-residents has come from (D). (F) asks his younger brother (E) to propitiate this spirit inherited from (D). This is a propitiation of mother's spirits. (F) still sends some animals to (B) for sacrifice.

Time III

(H) takes animals for sacrifice to (E), and is reckoned to be propitiating father's spirits, even though (F) regarded some of them as mother's spirits.

*...... indicates an unspecified agnatic link.

FIGURE 3

THE DEVELOPMENTAL CYCLE OF SPIRIT PROPITIATION
BY SACRIFICE
they are not explicitly aware of the implications of cluster segmentation that their divinations entail.

There are some 34 matsafa or sacrificers in Tudu, 15 of whom slaughter only animals brought to them to propitiate father's spirits; 16 sacrifice to the mother's spirits and the remaining three sacrifice in both "directions." But at the same time there is a process whereby mother's spirits in one generation become father's in the next (see Figure 3). This process has its inception when the agnatically related adult males in a household receive a divination that a series of misfortunes they have experienced is the result of their failure to propitiate some of their mother's spirits. The youngest adult male will then assume the role of household matsafi for the mother's spirits. The household may continue to take sacrificial animals to another matsafi to propitiate the father's spirits. However, villagers rarely sacrifice to any spirit until a misfortune is reckoned by divination to warrant such propitiation. Most divinations are statements that the one seeking the divination should propitiate his father's spirits. Yet once a household has begun propitiating mother's spirits, there is a measurable decline in the regularity with which it sends sacrifices to the father's matsafi. As the household, through time, segments into joint and then associated but independent households, the next generation of sons bears the responsibility as heads of these domestic units to provide and to convey to the appropriate matsafi the sacrificial animals. For them, this would remain the matsafi of the previous generation, until he is too old, when the duty then falls to his eldest son. These sacrifices then are reckoned to be propitiations to father's spirits.

What this process does, I believe, is to facilitate the actual fissioning of a cluster of households into segments while the norm of cluster solidarity remains unaffected. No one can be accused of deliberately subverting cluster unity; indeed it is the spirits who either demand or excuse propitiation who are reckoned to be the real causes of segmentation. Such a conclusion is warranted when we note the different opinions of Kaka and of others' descendants, concerning the meaning of sacrifice to mother's spirits. Kaka asserts that all members of the Makiri parent cluster ought to take their animals to Boy (see Figure 2): "those who sacrifice in their own households or take animals to other matsafa might become sorcerers (mayu)." Gadajé told me that his father Dallé used to take his sacrifices to Boy, but after several divinations began sacrificing to his mother's spirits. Dallé's classificatory eldest son, Dan Bakwai, now continues this matsafi role, but, of course, for him he is sacrificing to his father's spirits. Gadajé regarded the switch away from Boy, the propitiation of mother's spirits, then their transformation over a generation into father's spirits as strictly a matter of the spirits.9 My suggesting both to Kaka and to Gadajé that Dallé's "defection" from Boy might have been based on political rather than on spiritual factors generated from both quarters incredulous expressions about my own ignorance of spiritual matters.
There are other forces aside from political competitions that worked to segment clusters. The most obvious has been population pressure; as the available space to construct new households decreased and the distance that the farmers had to walk to their farms has increased, segments of the village moved a kilometer or two away from Tudu. Yet for the present, this process was stopped in 1966 by the sub-prefect who, for ease in administering the area, ordered the physical reunification of satellite hamlets with their parent villages.

However, I believe it is clear from these data that whatever ecological conditions may exist for cluster segmentation, the shared ideas about spirit propitiation at once provide a charter for the actual segmentation of clusters without assigning such splits to processes of political competition. It is the spirits, ultimately, who divide clusters, not people.
CHAPTER V
RITUALS OF SPIRIT POSSESSION

When a diviner determines that particular illnesses—often those with symptoms of severe headache and occasional seizures—are not remediable through the conveyance of animals to the appropriate matsafi for sacrifice, he will announce that either a particular mushé spirit or a mother’s spirit has sought out the individual, and by the illness demonstrates his/her desire to have the victim join an association of spirit devotees. Those who celebrate in dance the mushé spirits are known as the 'yam mushé—"the mushé children;" likewise members of the association devoted to the mother’s spirits are called 'yam bori—"the bori children." These dances are public rituals and represent, I believe, on several levels the apotheosis of suffering for the respective memberships. We look first at the 'yam bori.

The 'Yam Bori'

Nicolas (1967) in her essay on the 'yam bori in Maradi and Onwuejeogwu (1960) in his review essay concerning bori cults in Hausaphone Nigeria identify several common elements of the membership of the 'yam bori. First, most if not all members are women who are either divorced or prostitutes. Second, the group is led by a female with the title "Magajiya" who operates a women's household, and third, the members are devotees of the spirits (bori) who are said to periodically possess them, producing characteristic dance steps and mild hysteria. I.M. Lewis used their findings to argue that the apotheosis of bori possession may represent a culturally sanctioned women's protest of their political and economic powerlessness in Hausa society (1971). My data suggest that these rites are much more than a protest over social inequalities; further, Cohen (1969:51-70) and Barkow (1972) argue that Hausa women are not, in fact, without considerable economic and political power.

In Tudu, there are some parallels to what Nicolas and Onwuejeogwu describe, although there are enough differences to cast doubt on the relevance of Onwuejeogwu's implied conclusion that bori possession cults are broadly similar in form and function throughout Hausaland. Specifically, the membership of the 'yam bori in Tudu does not appear to meet any criterion—either mine or of the Hausa—of marginality. To examine this further, we look both at local notions of who belongs to the 'yam bori and why they have joined, and at the actual compo-
sition and organization of the group itself.

As I mentioned above, all ama are said to inherit obligations to propitiate particular spirits. For some people, this obligation is supplemented by an imperative to become a member of the 'yam bori. This imperative is reckoned to arise in the following fashion: first, a person is plagued by a persistent headache or prolonged nausea; he/she then visits a diviner to determine the source of the malady. Generally, diviners diagnose these symptoms as a sign from a particular mother's spirit that it desires both annual propitiation and perpetual devotion from its victim. The symptoms are said to be relieved only when the victim is inducted as a member of the 'yam bori. In the induction itself, the novice is taught the praise dances of each of the spirits he has inherited, and the plaguing spirit is implored to cease its meddlesomeness and to go "find work to do elsewhere."

According to my informants--'yam bori and others--there is no particular spiritual benefit that accrues to the village or to the devotee through the 'yam bori and its performance of praise dances. In the dances themselves--always a public and enjoyable event--the musicians play in turn the tune associated with each of the spirits that the 'yam bori have "inherited." Any of the members may enter the circle and dance the appropriate steps for that spirit. The dance is frequently interrupted by the shouts of a praise-singer or two announcing that someone has given a dancer a particular sum of money as a "greeting in their dancing." Occasionally, an adept may enter the circle and dance rapidly until he/she appears to become frenzied. The adept flings his/her body on the ground and bounces hard on the buttocks. Here the chief of the 'yam bori implores the spirit to stop "rubbing" the victim and the hysteria soon ceases. I was told that this frenzy signifies that a particular spirit has mounted the adept, but that this mounting has no salubrious effects, either for the "possessed" or for those observing the event. In fact, the adept in such a state is regarded in much the same terms as we view a thoroughly inebriated friend--the individual looks and acts pitiable, and we hope he does not harm himself or others.

The 'yam bori are headed by the Shama, who claims that he was invested into the office by the sarki's younger sister (her title is Inna, a term that in Hausa signifies a kinswoman or female affine one generation above ego). Previously, his elder brother had held the post and, before him, their father. Shama supervises the spirit dances, and "repairs" and of the 'yam bori who become frenzied; further, he is in charge of inducting new initiates into the association. In no sense is Shama a "Magajiya"—a term denoting the female head of a courtesan's household. Onwujeogwu and Nicolas both found that the head of the 'yam bori is generally reputed to be such a person. Tudu does have a "Magajiya" who happened to be a bori devotee. My informants asserted that there is no necessary connection between these two statuses, indeed, the present "Magajiya" is not differentiated in any way from her associates in the 'yam bori.

The membership of the 'yam bori is overwhelmingly female; 18 out
of the 21 members in Tudu are women. Just this majority alone suggests that Lewis' hypothesis deserves close analysis and testing. It will be recalled that he has argued that the apotheosis of spirit possession can be understood as a culturally-sanctioned protest by those bereft of any real political and economic power. When I examined the membership of the 'yam bori specifically to ascertain the degree of cultural, political, or economic marginality, I found that the hypothesis was not supported with my data. In testing the hypothesis, I used the criteria my informants would to classify marginal women, specifically:

A. Location of birth. If the woman's natal village is some distance from Tudu, she may be considered marginal in both cultural and sociological terms. First, she may possess distinct household routines peculiar to her natal area which make her the butt of jokes. Second, she has few, if any, kin in the village to defend her interests when they are first threatened. Hausa men will state it's much easier to beat a wife and have no untoward repercussions when she has no local kin to protect her.

B. Age. Younger women have decidedly less prestige and power than older women.

C. Marital history. Women who divorce frequently, or who had no choice as to whom their first husband was to be, or whose rank is low in the hierarchy of co-wives assumes much less esteem than other women.

D. Fertility experience. Sterile women or women who have borne children who have subsequently died have much less prestige than other women.

Table 10 represents a comparison of all the women in Tudu who belong to the 'yam bori to a sample of randomly selected non-'yam bori women, according to these four general marginality criteria. Twice as many 'yam bori women as other women were born outside Tudu and its immediate surroundings; yet over half the 'yam bori are local women. The 'yam bori as a group are older than the sample of other women. Further, no significant differences emerge when we compare marital histories and fertility experiences. These tabular comparisons, then, taken together suggest that the 'yam bori are not marginal according to the criteria the Hausa would use to define female marginality.

Aside from these largely ascriptive criteria, I could discern no pattern of distinctive 'yam bori attributes which would arise as a function of a woman's action (intended behavior). None of the 'yam bori (men or women) is an object of social ostracism, discrimination, or opprobrium. However, these data in and of themselves do not rule out a hypothetical explanation that women in Tudu in general are politically and economically powerless. Nonetheless, if we were to support such an hypothesis, we would need to state why these 18 out of 288 adult women and why the three men, have joined the 'yam bori.
TABLE 10
COMPARISON OF 'YAM BORI AND OTHER WOMEN ACCORDING TO SELECTED SOCIAL CRITERIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>'Yam Bori (N = 18)</th>
<th>Other Women (N = 132)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Location of Birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Tudu</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>56.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Adjacent village</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Elsewhere</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Mean Date of Birth</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Marital History</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Mean married years</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mean number of marriages</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mean length of first marriage</td>
<td>14.6 years</td>
<td>14.8 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kind of first marriage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. no choice</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. choice of relative</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. free choice</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Co-wives in first marriage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. no co-wife</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 1 co-wife</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 2 co-wives</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. 3 co-wives</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Co-wife rank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. first</td>
<td>77.8%</td>
<td>84.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. second</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. third</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. fourth</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Still with first husband</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
<td>84.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Fertility Experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Mean number of pregnancies</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Survival rate*</td>
<td>60.2%</td>
<td>65.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mean number of pregnancies per year of marriage</td>
<td>.234</td>
<td>.317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*I.e. The number of offspring alive in 1975 divided by the number of pregnancies.*
The men, like their female counterparts, give no clue whatsoever of any social or psychological marginality. Further, there is no notion among the people of Tudu that the members of the 'yam bori are in any way marginal; in fact, some girls told me they hoped they could join the 'yam bori when they become adults.

A much more plausible and more sociological explanation with respect to the Tudu data is that the 'yam bori in its membership cross-cuts the cleavages of parent cluster, cluster, and household in the community, and in the web of relationships and obligations that the 'yam bori manifest among themselves the community as a whole achieves a greater cohesion.

The bori dance rituals themselves generally occur at least once monthly and, aside from initiations of new members, they are sponsored by individual devotees and held in their respective households. The arrangements include hiring a praise singer to announce the event, and hiring the musicians. Once a millet stalk fire has been lit and the musicians have begun their playing—usually just after dusk—an audience gathers. The overwhelming majority of the bystanders are the young men and women, who when they are not watching the dancing are bantering and flirting. As I indicated above, the music and dancing are frequently interrupted by the whoops and shouts of the praise singers who, after they have quieted down the assemblage, announce that a particular person has given someone else, one of the dancers, a money "gift" as a "greeting in the dancing." Such a "gift" or biki is just one of a series of exchanges between a person and his alter, and a person may have as many as 20 biki relationships active at any one time. In this relationship, one person gives another a sum of money as a gift; the recipient is expected to return double the amount at an appropriate occasion, such as a marriage, a naming ceremony, or a 'yam bori dance. The exchanges continue over time and their amounts double until the parties to the exchange agree to cease altogether or begin anew with a small money gift (see Faulkingham 1970:159–160).

In one particular case, Hawa had sponsored a 'yam bori dance specifically to provide an occasion for her biki partners to return gifts. Hawa had given birth to no children while her partners in biki—both 'yam bori and others—had received gifts from her at the naming ceremonies of their children. There was no intimation that the bori dance would help to end her infertility.

The 'Yam Mushé

In several respects the association of the 'yam bori parallels that of the 'yam mushé, both in composition and in the feelings the adepts' devotion to the spirit evokes in the community. But there are a few important differences.

Whereas the 'yam bori are reckoned to be without any particular
spiritual efficacy for the community as a whole, either in their organization or in their rituals, the 'yam mushé' s very charter of existence rests on the protection it provides for all the residents of Tudu. This protection is assumed to be maintained through the performances of the 'yam mushé' dances. These dances, held both during times of misfortune—such as a long dry spell in the rainy season (see the case below)—and when members of the association want to call in biki debts, are believed to please the mushé spirits, particularly through the quasi-drilling that the dance is initially composed of. Having seen the exhibition of soldierly vigor, the mushé spirits are said to be reinforced in their vigilant watch over the "inheritable" spirits. According to my informants, the mushé spirits render a beating to "inheritable" spirits who plague those people who either do not have obligations to propitiate them or have already rendered sacrifices to them for the current year.

Unlike the "inheritable" spirits, the mushé spirits are said to be undifferentiated in the illnesses they visit upon their victims, although each mushé spirit has its distinctive tune and step in the dances. The spirits are co-equal in status, except for Jangare who is their chief, but who does not reside with his underlings; rather, he is guardian of the world's western wall and is said to remain there. If he were to accompany the mushé spirits, I was told, both the "inheritable" and the mushé spirits would, under his direction, destroy the town.

In terms of the organization and composition of the 'yam mushé' association, there are but three different statuses as members: head, heir apparent, and troops. The leader of the 'yam mushé' is also one of the village's most popular diviners, Abdu dan Umma. He is said to be the fifth occupant of this status since the group began over half a century ago. Unlike the headship of the 'yam bori', where succession to the office is and has been agnatic, there are no patrilineal links among the successive heads of the 'yam mushé', nor is there any expectation that succession should be agnatic.

Many of the features of the 'yam mushé' bear the impress of Abdu's innovations. He fought with the Free French in North Africa during World War II, and I suspect that it is from this experience that he draws the francophonic spirit names, the military drill-like dancing, and the French commands. Before Abdu was installed by the Inna (see page 36) as head of the 'yam mushé', these features, I am told, were entirely absent. It is Abdu who most frequently announces that a 'yam mushé' dance will be held on a particular day, based on suggestions he reports he has received in dreams from one of the mushé spirits. His frequent reports of spirit communications in dreams—an unusual event for most people—engenders mocking laughter and epithets, the most frequent of which might be translated as, "Has that fool become crazy again?" Yet the jesting in many ways masks the respect, admiration, and—in some cases—fear that many of the villagers have for him.

The membership is, apart from Abdu, socially undifferentiated.
Gado, the heir apparent, is like other members, except that he spends a good deal of the time with his master learning the interpretation of spirit dreams. All the members of the 'yam mushé received their initial diagnosis of malady from Abdu, and he led their initiation into the association. As with the 'yam bori, there is little evidence that the group's members are marginal, either in the social or the psychological sense.

The ritual of the 'yam mushé praise dance, like that of the 'yam bori, contains the same musicians, has a similar audience, and reaches a climax in the frenzy of spirit possession by one or more of the adepts. What follows is the description, taken directly from my field notes, of a 'yam mushé praise dance held in the household of the village headman. The dance occurred on July 13, 1968, some ten days after the people had planted their millet and sorghum seed; in the interim, no rain had fallen, and there was great concern that the seed would not germinate if rain were not forthcoming soon.

In the morning when I was at Abdu's house, Mainu came by and told him that Kaka (the village headman) wanted to sponsor a 'yam mushé dance that afternoon. Abdu agreed and departed to inform the members.

In the early afternoon—about 1:30, I went to the headman's household and saw about 200 people gathered. They were centered on the open area in the middle of the compound. Four musicians (two gourd shakers and two fiddlers) were playing at the west end of the circle. No one was dancing when I arrived. Abdu was sitting on his folding chair—the only chair there—looking stern and with a horse whip in his hands. Suddenly Abdu shouted to Gatari—a praise singer—to have the musicians stop playing. After Gatari did this, Abdu called for a bean cake from a young girl on the edge of the circle. She brought it to him, and he broke it up and gave it to the children on his right. Then he ordered a chair brought for me—as I had been squatting behind him—and soon I was seated beside him.

The musicians resumed their playing and Jibu, one of the 'yam mushé, entered the circle and began walking rather stiff-legged around the circle, which was about 40 feet in diameter. Then he stopped in front of the musicians and started dancing in place. While he danced, Abdu emphatically spewed a whole mouthful of water straight ahead into the circle. The young children—even the young courtesans—ran, looking terrified. The men near me chuckled—though somewhat nervously, I thought.

As the music continued, Jibu continued dancing, and Abdu spit out saliva, coughed, burped, and vomited a little. All eyes were on him. He rolled his wide-open
eyes and began to convulse. His head started nodding up and down; then he rotated it. People began to move back. Abdu shook his head violently, then his whole body; then he rolled his eyes again. Suddenly he fell from the chair with a roar and rolled to a sitting position. In this position, he waddled to his left, sticking out his tongue—his eyes wide open all the while.

Mainu reached into Abdu's pocket for something, but did not get it. Abdu lunged forward and people scattered. He threw himself on the ground, whipping up billows of dust. All this time Jibu was walking about the circle looking dazed. Then another youth, Gado, entered the circle and began following Jibu. Then a woman, Facima, entered and followed them. This went on for perhaps five minutes before Abdu got up and began leading them around the circle, ever more rapidly. This did not last more than a minute before Abdu quit the circling to take off his gown and to put on a shirt and red cap which Mainu had just brought. Jibu, Gado, and Facima were then to Abdu's right, moving their feet but staying in one place looking intently at Abdu. Mainu brought an amulet belt which Abdu fastened about his waist; then he donned his blue file coat. He then packed up his horse whip and barked commands in what I recognized as a variant of French. He seemed to be directing the three to do a certain dance. Then one after the other, they danced before the musicians. Then they retreated to the east edge, and Facima came forward and began dancing—the foot-stomping, arm-swinging variety. Abdu growled something at her, then jumped between her and the musicians, whipped her harshly on the forearm, and began to dance himself. She followed suit immediately. After a short while, she retired, and Gado and Jibu entered and danced, Abdu leading them. They obviously could not dance the frenzy Abdu was doing.

(I noticed storm clouds gathering to the northeast, and a sensation ran through me that perhaps there was a connection between them and the activities in the circle!)

Abdu then obtained a mortar, turned it over, and vaulted over it, back and forth two times. He then directed Facima to do it, but for her long skirts, she could not, although she tried and fell over. Abud shouted something at her, and again vaulted over the mortar. Facima watched and broke into tears. Gado and Jibu then entered the circle and copied Abdu's vaulting; Facima stopped crying and looked at Abdu with a frightened expression on her face. Abdu returned the mortar to the edge of the circle, and the four 'yam mushé then danced
together in front of the musicians.

Abdu then directed Gatari, a praise singer, to dance. Everyone laughed while Gatari played the part of a good sport and tried a few steps. The director then stopped the music with a shout, and brandishing his whip, he barked commands to his troops in French (Allez!, viens! vite! vite!; non, ce n'est pas ca). With each utterance, they filed in order, stopped, then turned about. When they reacted slowly, Abdu shouted, "I am Kabran Sakitar; do as I say!"

Suddenly, Abdu demanded that Bubé, the headman's son, give him a rooster. It was brought and just as quickly as Abdu received it, he bit its head off and pitched it to the musicians' feet. Then he drank the pulsing blood from the rooster's open throat, and passed the body to his troops who in turn also drank. Then as Abdu threw the quivering rooster to the musicians' feet, another rooster was given him, and the process was repeated.

Immediately the 'yam mushé began playing "leap frog" and crawling on their stomachs about the circle. The spectators roared in laughter—and perhaps in relief, as there was an absolute silence in the crowd when the roosters were killed.

Then Abdu came to me and asked if there was drinking water in my hut. I said yes, and he and his three compatriots followed me to my hut where they drank a great deal of water. This ended the dance. Abdu and his friends left after drinking, all in complete control, though cocky and raucous. As Abdu left, I told him I wanted to ask him about the dance. He replied, "What dance? I must have been drunk."

About 30 minutes later, I talked with Bubé who exclaimed, "Didn't Abdu go crazy!" A huge thundercloud towered above the village to the east. With relish Bubé said, "The Muslims in Madaoua prayed and prayed, and no rain came. We arna do our dance and look at that storm!"

It did not rain.

Regrettably, I got nowhere when I asked informants to explain the meaning of the various aspects of this ritual. The observers exclaimed that Abdu and his followers were drunk or crazy from having imbibed an herbal brew (tsimé) just before the dance. To them, spiritual efficacy lay in how well the mushé spirits were entertained in the performance of the dance. Further, the assertions by Abdu that he was a mushé spirit and his killing the rooster and drinking its blood were
uniformly regarded as without specific efficacy; rather, they were means of attracting the attention of the mushé spirits. When I asked the participants about the dance, Abdu's followers claimed to know nothing of the dance—that they were drunk. Abdu said he knew nothing of the dance as Kabran Sakitar had overpowered him and possessed him.

In the analysis of this case, it is clear that the dance was conducted to entreat the mushé spirits to discipline the spirit Halima who was withholding rain from Tudu. Apparently none of the specific parts of the dance was particularly efficacious; rather, the bizarre behavior as a totality was understood by the villagers to please the mushé spirits. I observed six other mushé dances and found similar behavior, always with Abdu leading and always culminating in the killing of the rooster(s). People in the village teased Abdu by saying that he need not plant any millet; he could survive on rooster blood—jokes which Abdu claimed not to understand. Perhaps we have here a collectivity of events that over time will become institutionalized, particularly if performances are occasionally followed by the relief that was their avowed purpose to elicit.
I have deliberately limited the discussion of Hausa cosmology to the two aspects of the community's religious life: belief and ritual. Even so, we have only scratched the surface of the totality of the Hausa symbol system, and thus a thoroughgoing structural analysis seems methodologically inappropriate. However, there are several themes that thread the labyrinth of Hausa religious belief, and when we consider the fleshing out of these beliefs in the dynamic language of ritual, these themes assume much sharper focus.

Whereas in the analysis of beliefs, it was apparent that a broad spectrum of spirits existed, from the divine to the quasi-human, the kinds of rituals performed in Tudu clearly amplify those findings. It is those spirits reckoned to be closest to humanity who occupy nearly the totality of Hausa religious concern. Allah, the prophets, the mala'iku, and the rafani have little relevance in ritual performances.

A theme repeated in several ritual seances is that order, in terms of social well-being and of individual psychophysiological health is obtainable through the careful maintenance of harmony with the spirits. Disorder, then, is often viewed as a function of human (mainly individual) failures to maintain this harmony. Yet there are other sources of disorder, and each disorder has a prescribed formula to reassert the harmonious relationship. Throughout, it is clear that the maintenance and/or restoration of order comes at a high price, either through the sacrifice of valuable animals, or through human suffering and its apotheosis.

This last point is clearly evidenced when we examine three important religious statuses—diviner, mushé devotee, and bori adept. Here we find that the prime criterion for admission to these statuses is severe physical suffering. For the diviner, it seems that he must experience the throes of suffering before he can guide others through it. For the mushé devotee who will go on to become a "soldier" to guard the overall spiritual well-being of the community, again a severe illness is the sine qua non criterion for admission to the 'yam mushé. Finally, the bori "child," to obtain personal relief of suffering must join the association of bori devotees. Here is a striking parallel to Ndembu notions of affliction, "...the spirit which has been persecuting him is converted into a helpful tutelary. When a man ceases to have, then he can begin to be, the ritual idiom seems to
suggest" (Turner 1968:22). For each status then, physical affliction is apotheosized, and the individual assumes a role in the development of harmony in society writ large, i.e. of the community of humanity and of spirits.

The divine: in his performance of divination rituals is a source in the community for innovation and adaptation of religious ideas within a generally agreed upon framework. Given the fact that human suffering is constantly pressing the bonds of control, the diviners develop the tragic solutions of determining the existence of heretofore unknown spirits and of still greater obligatory requirements.

At the same time that divination provides answers to these essentially metaphysical questions, the diviner's social role is fraught with power and danger (v. Douglas 1966:114-136). It is the diviner who through his acuity in assessing the undercurrents of social tension diagnoses a case of sorcery. Clearly, both he and his role acquire legitimacy when an unpopular fellow turns out to have been generally suspected of sorcery all along. Yet, the diviner risks his own monetary income and the respect of his trade if he too frequently makes a socially unacceptable determination of sorcery and finds himself regarded as a charlatan or an opportunist.

In this connection, sorcery belief can at one level of analysis be viewed as providing people with strong reason to be gregarious and to avoid quarrels. One is hesitant to be silent, alone, or bickering, lest he be accused or being a sorcerer. Further, people are reticent to exacerbate quarrels, for they may become ensorcelled themselves. While sorcery beliefs have these manifest social control functions, the villagers likely pay a high psychological price, since hostile emotions are relentlessly suppressed.

In looking at the rituals of sacrifice, we see the conceptual unity of obligation and well-being. When a diviner determines that a person's malady has been caused by failure to perform the proper obligations to the spirits, it is that individual's household head who through tapping the collective wealth of the entire household provides the propitiatory sacrifice through a kinsman, the matsafi. The proper performance of such social roles is thought to lead directly to individual well-being and social prosperity.

The father's and mother's spirit distinction suggests still another theme. Sacrifices made to father's spirits connote order, obligation, and hierarchy, whereas mother's spirit obligations imply the reverse. It is the wandering spirit, one with neither home nor kin—one out of order, out of hierarchy, out of obligation—who is classified as a mother's spirit. It is the younger brother rather than the older one who assumes the role of matsafi for the mother's spirits—and this in a society where the norm of role succession stresses age and agnation. Yet the two "directions" of sacrifice are not entirely contrastive, for it is the numberless mother's spirits who supply the metaphysical answers to the question of why misfortune
when the father's spirits have been propitiated.

In the role of spirit possession, both of the 'yam bori and of the 'yam mushé, the central message of the unity of society in human and spirit terms is conveyed, for here is public evidence—not merely a dramatization—of the spirit's presence and activity in and among humanity. In the spirit possession dances, there is a dialectic of role performances. Humans become transformed into spirits and vice versa. This is expressed in a Hausa metaphor as a rider mounting a horse; but one can with equal accuracy say the bori spirit mounts the adept or the adept mounts the bori spirit.

In the rituals and organization of the 'yam mushé and the 'yam bori, the divisions which customarily separate people are cross-cut and new solidarities are emphasized. To quote Victor Turner,

> To complete a ritual ... is to overcome cleavages. It is collective man's conquest of himself. For in pursuit of personal and factional ends, men are divided, and in loyalty to their subgroups, men are set at odds, but before what they conceive to be the eternal or eternally recurrent, these divisions and animosities are annihilated (1968:269-270).

While on the whole they are similar, there is one major feature which distinguishes the 'yam mushé ritual from that of the 'yam bori, and that is the publicly acknowledged role which the 'yam mushé have to protect the entire community (both humans and their "cousins") from the caprice of these very same spirits. The 'yam bori are not accorded such a role, nor is their praise dancing reckoned to have any social efficacy.

**Conclusion**

In this essay I have traced in some detail the religious beliefs and ritual of the residents of Tudu, and in the process have indicated some of the major areas of articulation between this religious system and the social organization of the village. In conclusion, I would like to make explicit some of the ethnographic, methodological, and conceptual implications that thread my discussion.

As an ethnographic and general methodological note, I believe that the data that have been elucidated here, when compared with descriptions and analyses of Hausaphone communities and populations elsewhere, yield the conclusion that Hausaland cannot easily, if at all, be characterized as socially and culturally homogeneous. While the peoples of Hausaland are united by a common language and some common customs, they have experienced different economic and political pressures and have adapted to their natural environments in manifold ways. Consequently, we should not expect similar social and cultural features;
yet the ethnographic literature is filled with descriptions and analyses of the Hausa society and culture. All too often, of course, this has meant that the urbanized, Muslim Hausa is held to be the Hausa standard, whether understood in a linguistic, cultural, or social sense, while those in the rural areas are in some ways portrayed as non-standard, and thus an unnecessary domain for the description and analysis of "true" Hausa people. While the making of scientifically useful generalizations about the social life of people is the stock in trade of the anthropologist, this goal is hardly advanced when we assume social and cultural features to parallel linguistic isographs. I believe we should begin with an assumption of cultural and social heterogeneity in the Hausaphone zone, and then as more studies from the several Hausa-speaking areas of west Africa (e.g. Cohen 1969 and Hill 1972) are undertaken, we shall be in a position both to provide an adequate data base to generalize about what "Hausa" means and to suggest the lines of inquiry to such ethnological problems as how diffusion, innovation, and adaptation have been occurring in this area.

As a matter of both concept and method in social anthropology, it should be stressed that the religious life of a community cannot be adequately understood or analyzed apart from a concurrent examination of its social organization. The contrastive conceptions of mother's and father's spirits, especially the ambiguous nature of the first category, becomes partially intelligible when we examine the political and demographic process of cluster fissioning. Further, the aljanu and mushé spirits and their place in the religious life of Tudu is clear when we analyze the organization and recruitment of their devotees. Sorcery likewise can be understood both as providing an epistemological framework for explaining misfortunes—with its attendant psychological costs—and as an institution of social control.

Finally, in the analysis of the religious itself, the fundamental concerns of the people of Tudu emerge. And in those concerns—or religious themes—can be seen the complexity of conceptual and social relationships as well as a testimony to the psychic unity of mankind; the relentless quest to manage the unpredictable and to obviate misfortune.
NOTES

1. The word Tudu is a pseudonym. Many names in this essay have been changed by agreement with my informants in order to protect their rights and sensitivities.

2. For a more thorough treatment, both of ethnography and of pertinent historical sources, see Faulkingham 1970:90-102.


4. The terms bamaguje (s.) and maguzawa (pl.) used generally throughout Hausaland to refer to non-Muslims are not employed by the people of Tudu, although they are familiar with them. Rather, anne (s.) and arna (pl.) are used to denote the same categories.

5. A datum I am unable to analyze thoroughly with my materials, but which other observers may find of considerable interest, concerns the people's views of Allah's role in the development of the earth as it is today. As explained to me by several informants "The earth has always been. But until recently it was lifeless, undifferentiated, and filled with smoke. But Allah appeared and began sweeping. The old woman (Tsofuwa) told him to sweep here and there, and Allah did it. This had the effect of clearing away the smoke and differentiating land from water and earth from sky. And gradually Allah kept sweeping higher and higher into the sky. He's never been close since.' Who Tsofuwa is my informants could provide no clues, although they believe she is no longer living.

6. Unlike other "inheritable" spirits, Aljana's manifestations of misfortune are said to be numberless.

7. The village headman once remarked that there are just three primary craftsmen: blacksmiths, who by making hoes made possible the cultivation of land; barbers, who by circumcising males permitted sexual intercourse and reproduction—hence society; and diviners, who by their experience and knowledge opened the way to harmony with the spirits.

8. For a more thorough account of this event, see Faulkingham 1970:179.

9. Precisely the same process is occurring with Alu, his brothers and sons. Alu's younger brother, Haruna began sacrificing wajen uwa; and only rarely do Alu or his brothers take a sacrifice to Boy. Jaja, Haruna's eldest son, told me he expects to succeed his father as matsafi and that what are for his father wajen uwa
spirits will become for him wajen uba spirits.

10. This killing is not regarded as sacrifice. The Hausa word tsafi is used to denote the actually sacrificial killing of an animal. In this case, the rooster's death was described as yanki—the term used to describe everyday butchering of animals whose meat is sold in the market place.
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