

looked a likely centre for his own tribe or a promising new settlement. And in such peripheral land, people are unusually dependent on the help of a powerful medicine man, since the social and economic situation is not secure and social relationships fluctuate between amity and discord, co-operation and conflict. We can consider that the removal of the medicine man is the result of adaptation to the peripheral compound communities, which are in turn due to the background of territorial expansion of the tribes. This has brought about a larger degree of unity among the intertribal contact areas than previously.

Beer Drinking and Festivals among the Hide

Paul Kazuhisa EGUCHI*

The Hide** tribe is one of several tribes speaking Chadic languages that inhabit the Mandara Mountain region between Northern Nigeria and Northern Cameroun (Fig. 1, 2). Research on the Mandara Mountain peoples has been carried out since about 1940, mainly by French scholars, but at the time of the expedition that led to the writing of the present article, no research had yet been done on a number of these tribes, including the Hide (Lembezat, 1961). Furthermore, judging from the author's preliminary observations, it was clear that the Hide spoke a language that had its own independent linguistic system. For these reasons, in order to make a fresh and thorough examination of the Hide and their language, the author decided to carry out his study while living among the Hide people from April to June, 1969.

The Hide, who inhabit a region centering on a mountain with an altitude of 1168 meters, are agriculturalists, cultivating their principal principal crop, millet, in terraced fields. Tribes such as Matakam and Ngosi inhabit surrounding areas, but the

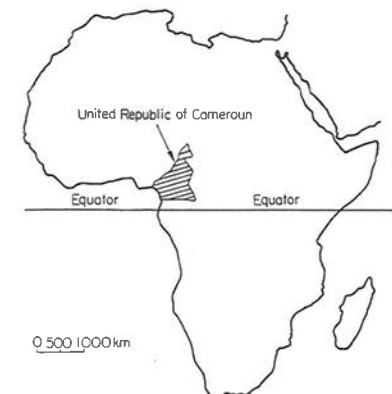


Fig. 1. Africa

* National Museum of Ethnology, Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka.

** The Hide call themselves *Hde* [x^hde]. The Fulbe sometimes call the Hide *gra*. In the Hide language, the word *gra* has the meaning of 'friends' or 'brothers' (from the same womb). In this article, the tonal diacritic marks have been omitted.

Hide have little contact with them there being rather a mutually hostile attitude (Fig. 3). Members of other tribes may be seen occasionally on market days. As a rule, there is no intermarriage with members of other tribes*.

According to the census of 1959-1962, the population of the Hide is 5963, and their population density is 145.43/km² (Hallaire, 1965). Attention should be given to the comparatively high population density, which indicates that fairly advanced agriculture is being carried out.

The Mandara Mountains are located in the tropical savannah region. A seasonal alternation of wet and dry periods can be observed, but since the region is located on a plateau, the temperature during December and January dips to about 8 degrees Centigrade. On the other hand, the daytime temperature during the latter part of the dry season (March-April) sometimes rises above 40 degrees Centigrade. The rainy season, which is accompanied by strong winds, begins in about June. The region, littered with large granitic rocks, could not be said to provide a comfortable living environment. Most of the plant life is of the Sudan-Sahel type.

The author was in the area from April to June, the end of the dry season, which is considered a "rest period". The Hide spend this period for the most part drinking

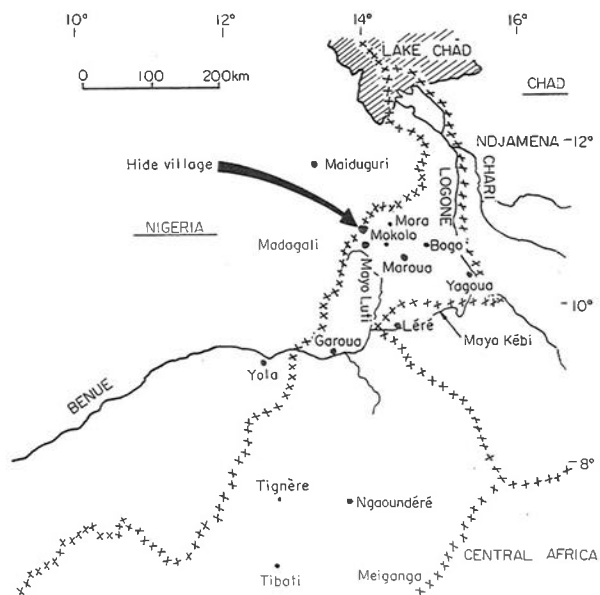


Fig. 2. Location of Hide village in Northern Cameroun

* The exception to this rule is found in the case of the blacksmiths, who form a separate social group in each of the Mandara Mountain tribes, and whose members with each other.

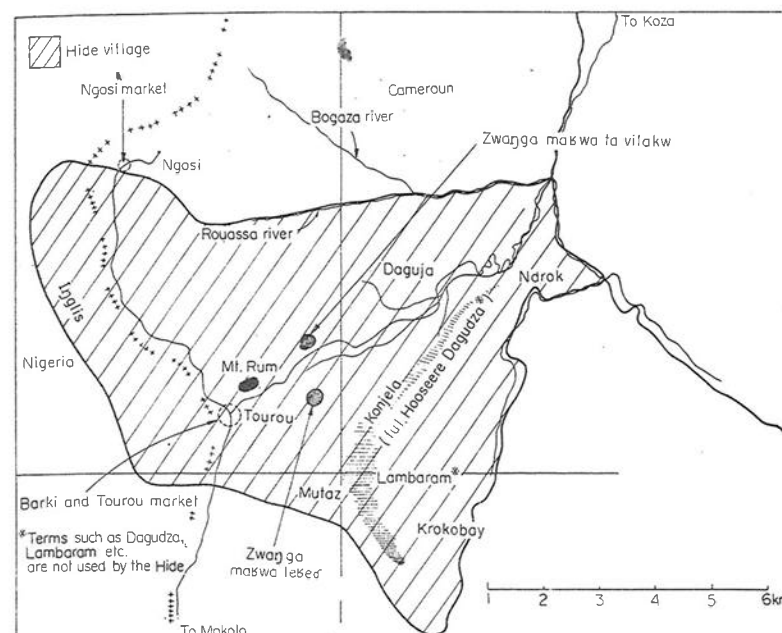


Fig. 3. Hide village

beer, celebrating, festivals, and occasionally making war. The fact that through regular celebrations, including festivals, a small, weak tribe such as the Hide has been able somehow to solidify its tribal unity and survive to the present time, can almost be considered a miracle.

The present research was not carried out objectively, since the author was a participant in the beer-drinking and various tribal functions. For this reason, the study is lacking in that sufficient attention was not given to gaining an understanding of aspects such as the meaning of beer-drinking and tribal function with regard to tribal unity and survival, and the relationship of these activities to social structure. In the present article, mention of these aspects accompanies the description of each function, but there is much the author does not understand about the overall relationship of beer-drinking and regular observances to tribal life.

I. Beer and its Consumption

The Hide are great lovers of beer. During the time of the author's field work, there were drinking parties almost every day. Beer is a part of almost every one of the regular functions and celebrations, which are of great importance in Hide life, but it is very common, too, for several people to assemble spontaneously to

Nigerian border area, or with chickens, cigarettes, etc.

In this region, the only beer that Hide people can normally purchase is the beer sold on market days. The markets most often visited by the Hide are those held in Madagali, Gozo, Mokolo, Tourou and Ngosi. The Thursday market at Tourou and the Saturday market at Ngosi especially are commonly frequented by most Hide (Photo. 1).

The Tourou market is held in an open space, but the beer is sold in the house where it is made. The Ngosi market is held on a hilltop, and the beer made by the Ngosi is sold on the hill to the west of the market place.

The price of beer is more or less fixed, being about 2 *suley* (shillings) 3 *kofo* (pence) per jar. The purchaser can request to have the jar of beer delivered, free



Photo. 1. The author is making tape recordings in the middle of the Ngosi market place. The people in the photograph consist of about half Ngosi and half Hide. The women are wearing calabashes on their heads, and some are carrying baskets.

of charge, to a place of his choice as far as several kilometers.

2) The aspect of place refers to whether or not the beer must be consumed in the *wa ckadak*, the area in front of the ancestral hut (*ckadak*) located at the back of each dwelling (Fig. 5). Since almost all the traditional festivals of the Hide take place in the *wa ckadak*, the beer associated with festivals is for the most part consumed in this area. The *wa chadak* is out of bounds to women, and it is there that the ancestral pillar (*gogwila*), where the ancestors (*jiji*) dwell, and which symbolizes the patriarchal society of the tribe, is worshipped. There are very rare instances in which the festival beer is taken out of the *wa chadak*. In these cases, however, it is apparently carried to another *wa ckadak* and consumed there after a complicated ritual (The author was not able to observe any instances of this procedure).

With regard to the place for drinking beer, it might be added that apart from the above restriction, the Hide consider certain areas to be taboo; since it is forbidden to approach these places, it goes without saying that they are off bounds for beer drinking as well.

3) The aspect of restrictions on who drinks the beer refers to whether or not the owner of the beer distributes it all to, and drinks with, a fixed group of people.

Obviously, beer taken after cooperative labour would not be offered to anyone who had not participated in the work. In another case, the "fixed group" is decided by blood relationship. This problem will be discussed further on.

4) The aspect of enjoyment refers to whether or not the beer can be consumed at will for the sake of pleasure. In other words, it is a question of whether or not the beer is drunk as part of a special ceremony that differs from the usual manner of beer drinking. During the festival of sacrifice, for example, before drinking the participants are obliged to pour a little beer on the ground while chanting the names of certain ancestors. In cases such as these, it can be said that since this special practice clearly exceeds the limits of ordinary beer-drinking etiquette, the consumption of beer is here not taken place simply for pleasure.

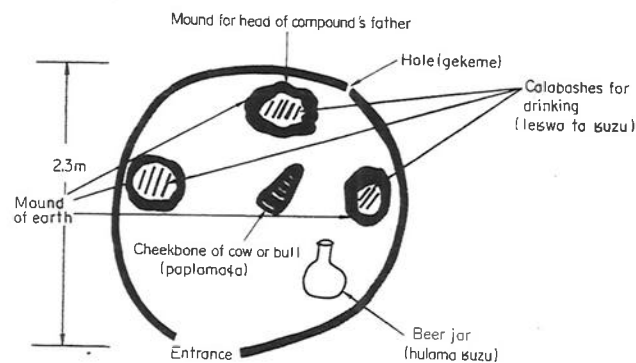
On the other hand, the beer-drinking done after co-operative labour can be thought of as a pleasurable activity because as long as the usual beer-drinking etiquette is observed, the participants may drink freely as much as they want until the beer is used up.

2. Where the Hide Drink

There are no particular restrictions on place where the marked-day beer and beer taken after co-operative labour are concerned. The drinking may take place on a large rock (if it is not one to which a taboo is attached), under a tree, on top of sheafs of millet stalks piled up for the dry season, etc. When it rains, drinking may take place in a hut used for informal socializing (name as yet unidentified, or in a sleeping hut).

On the other hand, as previously mentioned, ceremonial beer is consumed in the

wa ckadak. This is an area reserved for men, and corresponds to an earth-floored women's area called *wa rumba*. The ancestral pillar (*gogwila*) stands in the *wa ckadak*, and to it is attached a medicinal plant of the Amariyicideae family, called *zava* (*gaadal* in Fulfulde), which is said to impart vitality. Beneath the pillar are placed objects such as cheekbones of cattle, stones, etc. In addition, the area contains rows of boards (*kombneh*) and flat stones to seat the men who participate in the festivals and ceremonies. The entrance to the *wa ckadak*, called *wa tsa*, consists of a hole about 20 cm. in diameter, placed about 50 cm. above the ground. The entrance is fashioned in this manner to prevent children, pregnant women and domestic animals from entering. The ancestral hut, called *ckadak*, is located in the front of the *wa ckadak*. Inside the hut there are several earthen racks and objects such as calabashes for drinking (*leswa ta wuzu*), beer jars, cheekbones of cattle, etc. (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6. Inside *ckadak*

The *rumba ckadak*, located beside the *wa ckadak*, is the place where beer is stored. Other necessities, such as millet stalks for making fire, are kept here, and during festivals the area serves as a place for urination.

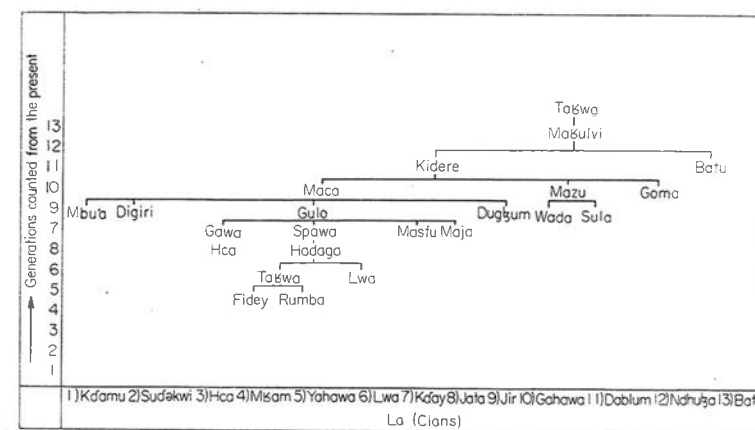
3. The Beer-Drinking Season

The only beer that can be obtained all year round regardless of season is the market beer. The beer taken after work and the ceremonial of festival beer is consumed only in the dry season during which the various regular observances take place. In other words, the period for drinking beer other than that sold at the market consists of about six months, from the beginning of the dry season in November to the *Skala zwanga* festival in June.

4. Who May Drink Together

Except in the case of the market beer, the restrictions on who can drink together

are decided according to general rules based on the principle of patriarchal consanguinity. As mentioned previously, it can be said that the range of a "fixed group" of people who can sit and drink together reflects the closeness of their blood ties. The two words *la* and *Hde* express the general concept of blood relationship among the Hide (Fig. 7). *la* indicates an exogamous group or clan with common ancestry, while *Hde* refers to the entire tribe, or the total of the clans. A further sub-group of *la* is *hga*, the nuclear family group. The word *hga* indicates not only the family members, but refers also to the dwelling place of one nuclear family. This double usage probably reflects the fact that the Hide dwellings take the form of a dispersed village in which the houses are scattered in the fields.

Fig. 7. The Hide clans (*la*)

The Hide are patriarchal. The names above are all male names.

To sum up, it may be said that the Hide classify people into the following five categories:

- nuclear family group (*hga*)
- group with recent common ancestry (*la*)
- group with more remote common ancestry (*la*)
- members of Hide tribe (*Hde*)
- non-Hide

Beer-drinking is thus carried out according to the principle of dividing people into these five categories on the basis of closeness of blood relationship. As a rule, no beer is normally consumed in the company of non-Hide people. Furthermore, when members of a clan with common ancestry drink together, the drinking calabash is passed to each person in the order of blood relationship to the host.

Sometimes a man who has been treated to beer in another home brings some

beer back to the women of his family. In this case, the beer is carried in a vessel called *sigā* (3-4 litres) which is much smaller than the usual beer jar (*hulama vuzu*).

In addition to the groups classified according to the principle of consanguinity described above, there is also a major classification of members of the tribe into the blacksmith and non-blacksmith groups. There is no intermarriage between these two groups, and they do not drink together.

5. Beer Drinking Etiquette

Beer is usually drunk from a calabash used especially for that purpose (*lexwa ta vuzu*). The size of the calabash varies, but vessels containing 0.6-0.7 litres are most common. At times other than ceremonies, a calabash used for holding cooked mounds of millet may be used for beer drinking as well.

The drinking of beer is carried out according to the following etiquette and procedure:

- 1) The calabash is held to the opening of the beer jar, and beer is poured into it by tilting the jar with one hand (Photo. 2).
- 2) The calabash with beer in it is taken with the right hand and passed to the person who is to drink.
- 3) The person who is to drink receives the calabash with his right hand and empties it in one breath.



Photo. 2. The author sitting with men intoxicated from drinking during the *Hanasku* (Festival of Sacrifice). As there is very little beer left in the jar, it must be tilted quite far over.



Photo. 3. The author drinking with a Hide tribesman. The decorated calabash here is not a Hide product, but came from the outside. The man in the foreground is wearing a turban, also from the outside. The broom-like object to the left is a fly-swatter.

- 4) The empty calabash is handed back to the pourer.

When a large number of people drink together, the calabash is passed relay-fashion to persons sitting far from the pourer. In this case, too, the calabash is always passed with the right hand. The thumb must not be allowed to touch the beer in the calabash; this is a precaution against murder by poisoning that could be carried out by putting poison on one's thumb and dipping it into the beer. Also, since everyone drinks from the same calabash, it is a necessary part of etiquette that the calabash be returned to the pourer immediately after it is emptied.

When a person receives the calabash, he may drink from it alone or with another person. When two people drink at once, they press their cheeks and lips together

and empty the calabash in one breath without spilling a drop (Photo. 3). This procedure is often carried out when vows of brotherhood (*gra*) are exchanged.

II. Regular Observances and Festivals of the Hide

While the author was living among the Hide, he was able to observe or participate in five observances as shown in Chart Two. A ceremonial rite (*skwalwa*) was held before each of these observances. Since the scattering of seeds, done at the beginning of the rainy season, is not a group observance, it will not be dealt with this article.

1. Baga (Roof-Thatching)

The Hide dwelling is similar to those of other mountain tribes, and consists of a group of huts with conical roofs made with millet stalks and grass. These roofs must be re-thatched every few years, a chore which is carried out co-operatively* during the dry season, usually in March or April. The participants in this labour are the brothers** of the head of the household, who had lived in the same home as he until one generation before.

The stalks of two kinds of millet, *hiya* and *mbudu*, are used for thatching. In 1969, when the author was there *hiya* was being used. Millet stalks are used for huts associated with the *wa ckadak*, while grass (*ika*) is used for other huts such as those associated with the *wa rumba****.

The order in which roofs of huts are thatched each year was not clear. It was obvious, however, that the roofs of huts associated with the *wa rumba*, such as the cooking hut, are not worked on at the same time as those of huts associated with the *wa ckadak*. When the author observed the thatching activities, work was done

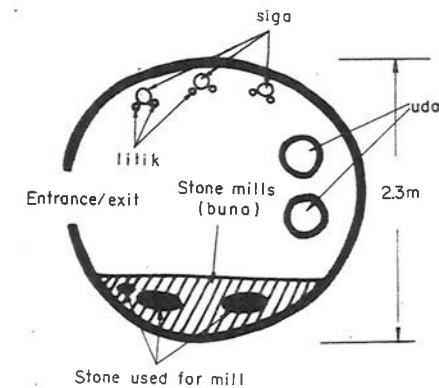


Fig. 8. Inside big kitchen (*rumba dagala*)

only on huts connected with the kitchen (*rumba*) (Fig. 8).

The operations involved in re-thatching take place in the following order: First, millet stalks are tied together with string to make bales about 20 cm. thick. The participants then climb onto the roof using a Y-shaped ladder, and tie the bales tightly onto the roof with rope (*kvat*). This job is completed very quickly; if five or six men work from dawn to dusk without resting, they can re-thatch the roofs of three or four huts. In spite of the speed with which the work is done, however, the roofs of the Hide huts are much stronger and more beautiful than those of other tribes. This could be due to the fact that the Hide were forced to develop techniques for making sturdy, durable roofs in order to resist the strong winds (*falaka siluwa*) that blow across their mountainous dwelling. The Hide are contemptuous of the roof-thatching techniques of tribes such as the Fulbe, whose roofs, they say, look like birds' nests.

While the men are doing the co-operative roof-thatching labour, the women prepare to serve them the beer they have been preparing since three or four days before. The beer drinking begins at three or four o'clock P.M. and often continues until sunset.

Observances	Period of time	With beer / without beer
1) Baga (Roof-thatching)	March-April	+
2) 𞤅𞤿𞤾𞤿 (Bovine Festival)	April-May	+
3) Hanasku (Festival of Sacrifice)	May-June	+
4) Skola zwanga	June	-
5) 𞤅𞤿𞤾𞤿 (Sowing seeds)	June	-

Chart 2 Hide observances and festivals

* The roof-thatching observed by the author was all done by co-operative labour not involving cash payment. Once, however, someone mentioned that a certain roof had cost 4 pence. The Fulbe who live in towns hire *haabe* (members of non-Islamized tribes, to thatch their roofs in return for cash payment).

** In the Hide language, an elder brother is called *malada*, and a younger brother *sagab*. Brothers with the same mother are called *zwaagmadada* (pl.), while brothers with different mothers are called *zwaagdadada*, *zwanadada* (pl.).

*** The designation *rumba* (huts related to the kitchen) includes huts used for storage as well as those used for cooking. There are four types of *rumba* as follows:

1) *rumba*: area for women only; located at entrance to other *rumba* huts; not used for making of beer.

2) *rumba dagala*: large *rumba* where beer is made; usually about 2.5 meters in diameter; contains filter (*tuktuk wuzu*) used for making beer, calabashes, etc.; rack made of logs (*jawa*) is fixed onto inside of hut, and one or two unglazed pots for making beer (*udi'a*), measuring about 70 cm. in height and 60 cm. in diameter, are placed there; stone mortar for grinding millet is kept in a higher place near rack.

3) *rumba kwitik*: small *rumba*, not used for making large amounts of beer; contains mortar, fireplace (*litik*), etc.

4) *rumba ckadak*: *rumba* for ancestors; located next to ancestral hut; used for storing beer.

2. *Ľa* (Bovine Festival)

The *Ľa* festival, held toward the end of the dry season, is the time when a cow or bull belonging to each household is ritually slaughtered.

As is the case with all the tribes in the Mandara Mountains, each Hide homestead has a hut for a cow or bull (*gamaka ĩa*). This hut is round and has a diameter of about 2.5 meters.

Toward the end of the rainy season, each family buys a calf and shuts it up in the hut. In this case they literally shut it in, leaving only a hole barely large enough for food to be put in. The calf is left in this state until two years later, when it is taken out and slaughtered during the *Ľa* festival.

Generally speaking, the festival is made up of two parts. The first part consists of a ceremony held within the household (*hga*) that has the animal. Only the members of the household may participate in this ceremony, which can almost be considered to have the character of a secret rite. In the second part of the festival, an important role is played by people who come to watch the festival and participate in the dance (*skala ĩa*).

After the secret household ceremony has been completed, the general public are allowed to enter the *wa ckadak* where the next ceremony is held. Normally only men may enter the *wa ckadak*, but on the occasion of this festival women are permitted to enter as well. The head of the household takes beer from the *ckadak* and serves it to each person who comes into the *wa ckadak*. In addition, balls made of parched sesame seeds (*mako*), peanuts (*ornata swandala*) and tiger nuts* (*mukwi*), which are given to the formal participants in the festival, are distributed also to the people who come into the *wa ckadak*.

A rope (*tĥaĥ*) for tying up the cow or bull is placed under the ancestral pillar (*gogwila*). When new wood has been used to make the pillar, the bark is stripped at certain intervals to make a striped design. Several items are placed under the pillar as offerings, such as water (*imi*), bones of cattle, a small jar (*hliba*) containing gruel made from millet flour (*hupa*), a small vessel filled with millet flour, and so on.

It is the master of the household who makes the offering of flour to the ancestral pillar, but the flour is put into a calabash and brought to him by his wives. The master then transfers the flour to a small vessel and offers it to the *gogwila*. When the wives carry the calabash of flour to the master, they insert a small stick into the flour. This custom is carried out whenever a flour-like substance is used as a gift or offering; it appears to be a precaution against brushing the flour with one's hand**.

* Tiger nut: grows out of root of *Monocotyledon Cyperus esculentis*; used as sweetening agent, eaten plain, or mixed with beer.

** In Fulbe-ruled towns such as Maroua, members of minority races who were in the past used as slaves (*haaĥe* in Fulfulde) are often employed as servants by the Fulbe. When these people carry sand to their masters' homes from the river, they insert a branch into the sand. This fact would indicate that the practice of inserting something into a flour-like substance in order to prevent the hand from touching it is common among the *haaĥe* peoples.

The youngest unmarried man in the household where the festival is taking place is designated with the term *mĥamaĥa*. Inside the *ckadak*, a cloth is wrapped around his head, and he takes the first drink of beer. One of the participants in the ceremony begins to beat a drum (*dewdew*) and the women shout in falsetto. Then the women serve beer to the *mĥamaĥa* to the point of practically pouring it down his throat.

Presently there is a pause in these activities, and beer is brought from the *ckadak* to be distributed to all the people in the *wa ckadak*. Those who wish to partake of this beer make a small offering of millet flour (*hupa*) to the ancestral pillar (*gogwila*) of the household. As beer is brought in continuously, and everyone goes on drinking, the mood becomes more and more festive.

Outside the *hga*, crowds gather consisting of people who are not on very familiar terms with the family holding the festival, people from other clans (*la*), men and women of marriageable age (some from other clans), young men playing drums, and so on. The young men and women all wear their best clothes. The men wear sheepskin or goatskin loinclothes, squirrel's fur (*gaĥ*) hair ornaments, cowhide headbands, iron bracelets (*chal*) and foot ornaments (*ĥemĥem*) made of borassus leaves. The young, unmarried women hang a leather "cache-sexe" called *paĥapaca* over

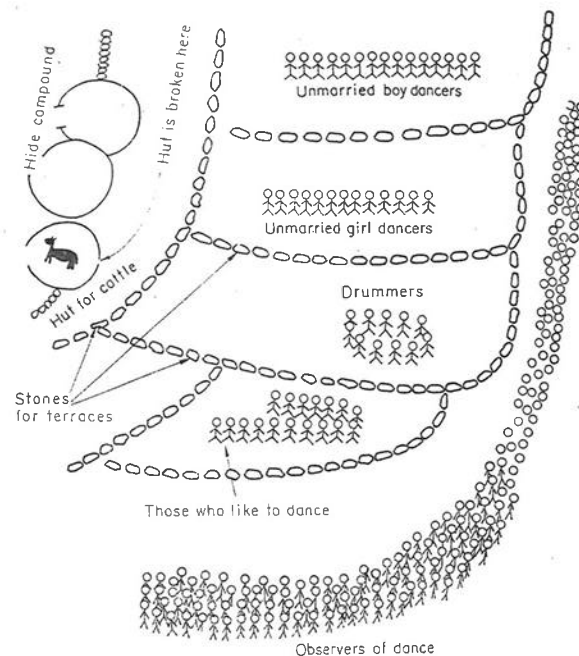


Fig. 9. Participants of bovine dance

the front of their bodies and leaves of *Khaya senegalensis* (*cinik*) in the back. Married women wear an iron "cache-sexe" called *gazagel*. Both men and women rub their entire bodies with red soil dissolved in oil of *Khaya senegalensis*.

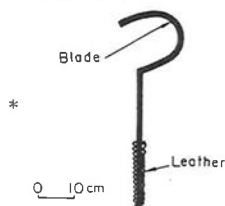
The unmarried men make a line on the upper level of the terraced field and dance with vigorous leaps in time to the drums, holding sickle-like weapons (*jebjeb*)* or iron rings. The unmarried women, lining up at a slightly lower level than the men, dance slowly and shyly holding fly-swatters or branches of *Khaya senegalensis* in their hands. On the lowest level of the field, other people who enjoy dancing gather and dance slowly with repeated back-and-forth movements, holding jars (*hulam*); rocks (*pala*), knives (*magga*), etc.** in their hands (Fig. 9).

Around the time when the sound of the drums has become very loud and the dancing is reaching its climax, the wall of the cattle hut is broken in with hatchets wielded by two or three young men of the household holding the festival. The animal, which has been shut up in the dark hut for two years, is startled by the light that suddenly comes shining in, and bolts out of the hut. At the moment when the animal comes out, the drums and dancing stop short.

The animal runs wildly around the terraced field. Young, unmarried men who are confident of their strength pursue the animal and subdue it with their bare hands***. Someone from the family holding the festival takes the rope from under the *gogwila*, and uses it to tie the animal to a tree. At the same time that the young men are subduing the animal, there is shouting, singing, and frenzied dancing. At this point there is no more dancing in orderly lines.

Next, the young man who was the first to lay hands on the animal is praised and presented with several jugs of beer, meat (*fuwi*) and beautiful clothes.

Presently, as sunset approaches, the Festival comes to an end. The participants go their various ways, and the silence of night envelops the field that had been the stage of the uproarious events. The animal is left tied to the tree all night, and at



** These objects are not used to kill the cow or bull, but they may be symbol of the lance (*gupa*) which is finally used by the master of the household to slaughter the animal. In the case of Islamized peoples, a lance may not be used to slaughter animals.

*** It is said that in the past animals were sometimes chased for as much as 400-500 meters, and that the participants were occasionally injured by them. For this reason, a rope is sometimes placed around the animal's neck before letting it out of the hut.

dawn the master of the household slaughters* it with his lance (*gupa*). The carcass is cut up and most of the meat put to dry on the racks in the *wa ckadak*. A part of the meat**, together with some beer, is distributed to the brothers of the master of the household. The bones of the animal are crushed on a stone and eaten in the form of balls (*dali*). The cheek bones (*paplum*) are kept to be used as seats in the *ckadak* or *wa ckadak*.

The Bovine Festival provides an excellent opportunity for single young people to meet each other. In addition, since the people who gather to participate in the festival are not limited to one clan, it is an occasion for mutual exchange of information as well.

It seems that the Hide engage occasionally in wars with the Nigerian Matakam people, using swords, bows and arrows as weapons. The Bovine Festival is an occasion on which boastful talk about military prowess is exchanged. Actually, however, it appears that this bragging about military valour often refers to events that took place a fairly long time ago.

3. *Hanasku* (Festival of Sacrifice)

The expression *hana* has the meaning of 'to cut off the head', and *sku* means 'animal'. The animal in this case is a sacrificial animal, which can be a goat, sheep or occasionally a cow. The festival takes place every year around the time when roof-thatching activities have been completed. The sacrifice is performed as an offering to the household ancestors, and takes place in the *wa ckadak*. Only the master of the household, his brothers and closely related clansmen may take part in this ceremony. Furthermore, the master of the household alone enters the *ckadak*, while the other participants sit in the *wa ckadak*.

The ritual of this festival is carried out as follows: First, the master of the household enters the *ckadak* and scatters millet (*hiya*) in three directions-left, right and forward. He then smears excrement (*fuwi*) from the intestines of the slaughtered sheep or goat on the doorway of the *wa rumba*, the *gogwila*, the entrance to the *rumak*, the legs of the beds (*skeb*), the foreheads, feet and abdomens of the participants, etc. Among the participants, there are some who put this excrement in their mouths. (Actually, *fuwi* is used as a seasoning, and is frequently cooked together

* The Hide slaughter animals in the following ways:

- 1) *zway*: cutting of neck; cutting off of head is called *swanafawa*
- 2) *igla*: stabbing to death
- 3) *mundanafmunda*: wring the neck
- 4) *jaja*: clubbing to death (<*ja*, 'strike')
- 5) *hana*: cutting of throat; *Hanasku*, the name of the Festival of Sacrifice, literally means to cut the throat of an animal; this method is used also by Islamic tribes on the occasion of their sacrificial Festival, and for slaughtering in general.

** The Hide have very little opportunity to eat meat. Normally, three or four cows are slaughtered each week for the Tourou market, which serves about 7000 people. According to the head of the Hide butchers, about five goats are slaughtered per week.

with the meat). Next, the master takes the beer that has been set aside in the *ckadak*, pours some into a half-sized calabash (*leswa taxuzu*) and drinks it. At this time, the stopper (*luha*) from the beer jar is not treated carelessly or thrown out into the *wa ckadak*, but is placed in the *ckadak* or occasionally laid on the stone under the *gogwila* as an offering. After the master has taken the first drink of beer, the beer calabash is passed to the other participants in the order of the closeness of their blood relationship to him. The procedure for the beer drinking in this case differs somewhat from the ordinary etiquette. When the person who is to drink receives the calabash from the master, he returns it to the latter, who touches his mouth to the beer and then passes it again to the same person. When the person receives the calabash for the second time, he must perform the following ritual before drinking: Facing the *wa rumba* located at the entrance to the *wa ckadak*, he calls out, "For your mother!" (*bga ma'da!*) Then, facing the *gogwila*, he calls out, "For your father!" (*bga da'da!*) While saying each of these expressions, he pours a little beer onto the ground.

When the beer from the *ckadak* has been used up, a jar of beer is brought in from the women's area. It is not necessary to carry out the special ritual with this beer, and the drinking now proceeds according to regular etiquette. The stopper of this jar, however, must be placed under the *gogwila*.

In the kitchen (*rumba*), the meat from the slaughtered sheep or goat is boiled in an unglazed cooking pot (*sigu*). At this time, seasoning such as *luwi* (intestinal excrement) is used. The boiled meat is put with soup (*dali*) in a calabash vessel and taken to the master in the *ckadak*. There, the meat is placed on a cutting board (*kombzeh*; see Fig. 10) and cut into lumps with a hatchet (*tipada*). The pieces of meat are distributed, again in the order of consanguinity to the master. The meat may be eaten on the spot or taken home in a bag (*kibi*; see Fig. 11). The brothers of the master have the special right of sharing the soup, which is placed in a calabash and diluted with beer before drinking.

After the meat and soup have been brought out, there is often a distribution of mounds of cooked millet (*dafa*), which are piled up in a black vessel called *hliba*, brought from the *rumba*, and handed by the master to the people in the *wa ckadak*.

When the sun begins to set, the festival comes to an end and the participants leave for home. Only those who have drunk themselves unconscious are left behind.



Fig. 10. When a *kombzeh* is not being used as a cutting board, it is employed as a stool (A). When used as a cutting board, it is placed as in (B). A tree called *zaba* is used to make it.

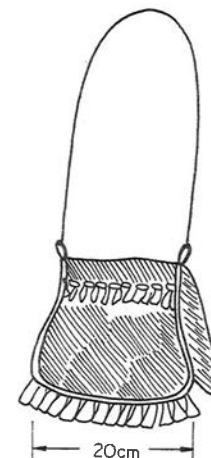


Fig. 11. *kibi* (made of leather)

Women cannot as a rule participate in the rites that take place in the *wa ckadak*. Their job is to prepare the beer, meat, millet and soup, and to take them to the master. It is their duty also to deliver beer and meat to the homes of the master's brothers. The women are permitted to eat intestinal meat such as the stomach, and to drink the worst part of the beer (*daka*). Most of the women who gather in the *rumba* during the festival are the wives of the master, but they are joined sometimes by neighbourhood women who are fond of beer.

The Festival of Sacrifice has two special characteristics that distinguish it from other festivals such as the Bovine Festival (*la*). First, the former is not a festival in which the entire tribe may participate. In the case of the latter, once the private family ceremony is over, the whole tribe is welcome to come and join the festivities. The Festival of Sacrifice, however, is more an occasion for worshipping the recent ancestors of a family, and has the function of maintaining close unity among brothers. The other point in which the two festivals differ is the nature of the offerings made to the *gogwila*. In the case of the Festival of Sacrifice, the main offerings are beer and meat, while in the Bovine Festival the offering is millet. From this aspect, it could be deduced that the Bovine Festival has the character of a type of agricultural rite with a close relationship to farming activities.

4. *Skala zwayga*

Skala zwayga is the festival that brings to an end the series of dry season observances, and announces the beginning of the farming season. Taking place at the beginning of the rainy season, it is a festival in which people gather to dance wildly in several places throughout the region where the Hide dwellings are located. This

festival takes place for the most part in clan groups. For example, the *la Mzam*, one of the largest Hide clans, gathers to dance at *Zwagga maxwa ta vilakw*, and the *la Hca* gathers at a meadow called *Zwagga maxwa texed*.

Those who take part in *Skala zwagga* wear their best clothes. Those who have visited Fulbe towns and come under Moslem influence wear Fulbe robes, which they keep for special occasions, while those who have not had this type of experience wear the traditional warrior's costume. The feature that distinguishes the dress for this festival from that of other festivals is the wearing of a headpiece about 2-3 cm. thick, woven from vines (Fig. 12).

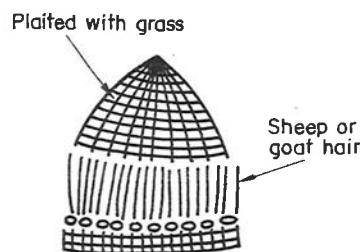


Fig. 12. Casket used for war (*budus*) is used at *Skala zwagga*

The participants, holding various weapons in their hands, form groups of two or three concentric circles and dance by running at varying speeds while singing *Skala zwagga* songs*. Musicians playing drums (*dewdew*) and horns made from sheep or goat horns form their own independent circles and play while running.

When there are concentric circles, the innermost one often consists of musicians, the middle one of men wearing Fulbe dress, and the outermost one of young, unmarried men and women.

When the sun begins to set, the day of wild dancing ends, the circles break up and the festival is over. This is the last chance the people will have to dance until the next year. It is now time to begin the hard work of farming.

III. Significance and Roles of Beer Drinking and Regular Observances

The most important significance of beer drinking among the Hide lies in the fact of drinking together. This drinking together has the function of increasing the intimacy among the participants and of strengthening the overall unity of the group.

* The words to one of these songs is as follows:

Hwaya ma ya, Hwaya ma ya, Lzewe!

Ndakda fitik mɛama Lzene Nɛene!

(Run! Run! Lzewe! One Nɛene day has ended!)

This song, apparently sung at the end of the festival, is sung with a four-beat rhythm, but there is a two-beat pause after the first *Lzene*.

Since the drinking often takes place in a restricted area (the *wa ckadak*) and among a limited group of people, the act of drinking together naturally brings about a feeling of solidarity among the participants.

The most extreme form of drinking together occurs when two people drink from a single calabash. Since it is very usual to see two men putting their cheeks together, the intimacy promoted by this type of drinking can be understood.

In addition, the pattern of having the calabash passed from the master of the household, seated in the *ckadak*, to the person who is to drink, which is observed during ceremonial drinking, serves as a confirmation of the paternal principle that constitutes the basis of the Hide social structure.

During the Festival of Sacrifice (*Hanasku*), the master of the household makes an offering of beer to his dead parents. This exchange of greetings with the ancestors can be considered to symbolize a part of the Hide social structure as well.

The Significance of Drinking beer in the *wa ckadak*

The *wa ckadak* area is designated as the men's area, as opposed to the *wa rumba* or women's area. As a rule, therefore, the entry of women into the *wa ckadak* is strictly forbidden. Furthermore, during the Festival of Sacrifice, the gesture of facing the *gogwila* in the centre of the *wa ckadak*, and making an offering of beer with the words, "For your father!" is a clear indication that the *wa ckadak* is the men's area.

The *gogwila* plays an important role in the worship of ancestors (*jiji*), but it is basically the symbol of the father of the master of the household. It is a highly feared object, and the Hide believe that if one touches it, one will be killed.

During the various festivals, offerings of sorghum, beer, meat, etc. are placed under the *gogwila*. At the time of *La* (Cow Festival) when the *mɛama* (youngest unmarried male in family) is dressed in new clothes, the pillar of the *gogwila* is replaced by a new one.

From these facts, it may be thought that the *gogwila* has a personality. Other facts provide further evidence to this effect. For example, the earthen stand in the *ckadak* is considered to be the bed of the *gogwila*, and the *rumba ckadak*, located next to the *ckadak*, takes the form of a kitchen, in order that the deceased person (the father of the head of the household) may live comfortably after death.

The carrying out of ceremonies such as the beer drinking rituals in the *wa ckadak* area, which is centered on the *gogwila*, symbolizing the paternal ancestor, is thus the most effective way to strengthen the unity of the group.

The Significance and Role of Regular Observances:

The meanings of the various observances and festivals were touched on in Section II. Here, the author wishes to re-examine certain aspects of the Bovine Festival (*la*).

As mentioned previously, in addition to providing an occasion for a fairly large-scale exchange within the tribe, this festival performs the function of promoting

tribal unity through intra-tribal marriage. The fact that the *fa* festival is considered an occasion for bringing together unmarried young people can be concluded from various indications. First, in spite of the usual prohibition on the entrance of women into the *wa ckadak*, they are permitted to enter on the occasion of this festival alone. Could this not be considered a suggestion of the uniting of man and woman? Furthermore, at this time, a man of marriageable age is dressed in fine clothes and made to drink a large amount of beer. Next, the wall of the hut housing the cow or bull is broken, and the animal let out, by another young man. This sequence of actions probably represents the process of the taking of a wife by a young man, and the establishment of his independence. In addition, it is quite natural that the many finely-clad unmarried people who gather to dance outside the hut would be choosing marriage partners during the dancing. It can thus be said that the festival is an occasion for mate selection en masse. And in offering this opportunity, the festival is aimed at strengthening the tribal unity of the Hide through marriage.

During one sequence of actions in the *fa* festival, the animal, which has fled its hut, is pursued by young men while people dance around them holding arrows and other weapons. It seems quite possible that this scene is symbolic of tribal unity against a foreign enemy. And if this is the case, the killing of the cow with a spear on the morning after the festival could be interpreted as representing the obliteration of the enemy.

In thus examining one example out of the various festivals, it can be seen that several elements and functions, such as the agricultural ritual aspect and the function of promoting marriage, are intertwined in a complicated manner. Further, while there is a difference in the scale of the social group involved in each festival, it can be concluded that all the festivals have the function of strengthening and maintaining the bonds that unite the members of the respective groups.

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Styles of Ornaments on Calabashes in West Africa

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I. INTRODUCTION

Calabashes are important objects in the daily life of Africa, where they are used as vessels such as dishes or jars. In remote places they are convenient necessities of life, and are lighter to carry, cheaper to buy, and easier to make than earthenware or metal vessels. The African people choose the size, form, and kind of calabash according to its use. They utilize them to keep water, milk, alcohol, and cereals. In addition, they manufacture musical instruments and personal ornaments from calabash. The calabash plays an important part in material culture.

A botanist has reported, after his field work, that Africa is the place of origin of the calabash, which is one of the oldest cultivated plants in Africa (Nakao, 1969). In West Africa, the place of production of this plant is located in the half-dry zone of the savanna, called geographically the Sahel, surrounding the South Sahara. We can presume that the calabash has as old a history as earthenware in this zone.

While I was engaged in scientific research in West Africa**, I took an interest in the ornamental designs on the exteriors of calabashes, and collected about forty calabash specimens in the various districts. They were almost all newly made. I regret that I could not collect enough of them on account of the limit of transportation.

In the history of arts, ornamental designs are generally divided into two styles: Naturalism and Geometrism. The term 'Naturalism' refers to realistic ornaments representing living things such as animals or plants. The term 'Geometrism' refers to geometrical ornaments. In addition, styles of decoration can be divided into two classifications according to the purpose of the decoration. One of these is pure decoration with no meaning, while the other has some symbolic meaning or significance in the tribal society. If we were to analyze the African ornaments one by one, we should find these characteristics of style. We find the African ornaments not only on the exteriors of calabashes, but also on the exteriors of many things such as constructions, sculptures, textiles, jars, baskets, and bodies (as tatoos). We can say that these ornaments are plastic languages which talk to the feeling of the spectator by visual action, and express the aesthetic imagination of the African.

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** As a member of the art-archaeological group, I took part in Kyoto University Scientific Expedition to the Sahara from 1967 to 1968 (Nishimura, 1969).