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Coping with Enemies : Graded Age System among the Pari of Southeastern Sudan

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Coping with Enemies: Graded Age System among the Pari of Southeastern Sudan

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I. INTRODUCTION

If you visit a Pari village, you will certainly be impressed by its size and densely built-up homesteads. When you enter it, you go through a narrow path with wooden fences of homesteads on both sides, and suddenly you are in the middle of a large open space with a diameter of seventy or eighty meters. On one corner of the square stands a huge hut surrounded by a fence. You see a number of elderly and dignified men sitting or sleeping in the shade on elevated wooden platforms in the compound. Some are sitting just outside the compound. You may be told, "They are big people who are responsible for the village. They are *mojomiji*"¹⁾ [Photo. 1].

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Key Words : Pari, Sudan, graded age organization, antagonism, militarization
キーワード : パリ, スーダン, 階梯式年齢組織, 敵対関係, 軍事化

1) I use the present tense, although all the Pari villages were burnt down in February 1993 in an ↗

The Pari live in the six villages (*paac* or *paajo*, pl. *mieri*) surrounding the Lipul hill in the eastern part of Equatoria province, southern Sudan [Figure 1]. The six villages are Wiatuo, Bura, Pucwa, Puger, Kor and Angulumere. The Lipul, usually known as the Jebel Lafon (Lafon hill), is a solitary granitic rocky hill in the savanna plain. It is just an hour's walk around the hill through the six villages. The population of Wiatuo, the largest village, is almost 3,600, while that of Angulumere, the smallest one is about 800. The total population is a little more than 11,000 [Table 1]²⁾. Linguistically they belong to the Luo (Lwoo) group of the Western Nilotic. For subsistence they depend mainly on agriculture, with sorghum being the staple crop, but they also raise cattle, goats and sheep, and are engaged in fishing, hunting and gathering [KURIMOTO 1984, 1986a].

Table 1. Six Villages and Their Population

village	population
Wiatuo	3,598
Bura	2,271
Kor	1,883
Puger	1,451
Pucwa	975
Angulumere	839
total	11,017

In the course of fieldwork³⁾ I came to realize that all men above six or seven years old are organized into *lange*, age-groups. I became a close friend of Ukec, a young man of Puger village who happened to be almost the same age as I am (I was born in 1957). I was treated as a member of his age-group, Lidit. Ukec's father, Libwoga, adopted me as his son and gave me his father's name, Ajeri. Thus among the Pari I became known as a Lidit and as Ajeri of Puger, son of Libwoga. This is not unusual. Any non-Pari who stays in the village for a certain period is accepted in the society as I was. This shows that kinship and age-group affiliations are two key factors for the identity of a person.

1) inter-factional battle of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), which has been waging a war against the Sudanese government since 1983.

2) The figures in Table 1 are from the government census of 1983. I have not seen the published report. They are obtained from Pari men who conducted the registration survey for the government. I believe that they are fairly accurate.

3) Fieldwork among the Pari was conducted intermittently between 1978 and 1985. In early 1986 fieldwork became impossible because of the escalation of the civil war, but I remained in Juba, the regional capital of the southern Sudan, and continued research until July 1986 when I was finally evacuated. Time spent in Pari amounted to ten months, while about fourteen months were spent in Torit and Juba towns. Research was sponsored by the Mainichi Newspaper, the Noma Asia and Africa Scholarship and the Grant-in-Aid of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. Since 1986 I have been trying to keep up contacts with Pari who are in diaspora in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. I also receive letters, although rarely, from the village. Fieldwork among the Anywaa of the Gambela region in western Ethiopia, which I started in 1988, also gave me opportunities to meet some Pari in Gambela, Addis Ababa and Nairobi. Information obtained through these means is incorporated in this paper.



Photo. 1. The central part of Bura village: the *thworo* with a herd of cattle in it, the drum house facing the *thworo*, and homesteads (1985).

The age system among the Pari, which enrolls most men except small children, is fundamental in understanding their society. It bears a variety of functions: political, legal, military, ritual, economic and so on. It is a system in which manhood is cultivated and expressed. It is not a declining system. On the contrary, as I have argued elsewhere [KURIMOTO 1994a: 106–109], it has assumed a revitalized politico-military role in the insurgence of the ongoing Sudanese civil war. In this paper I will argue how the Pari age system is organized, how it actually works, and how young men are socialized in the

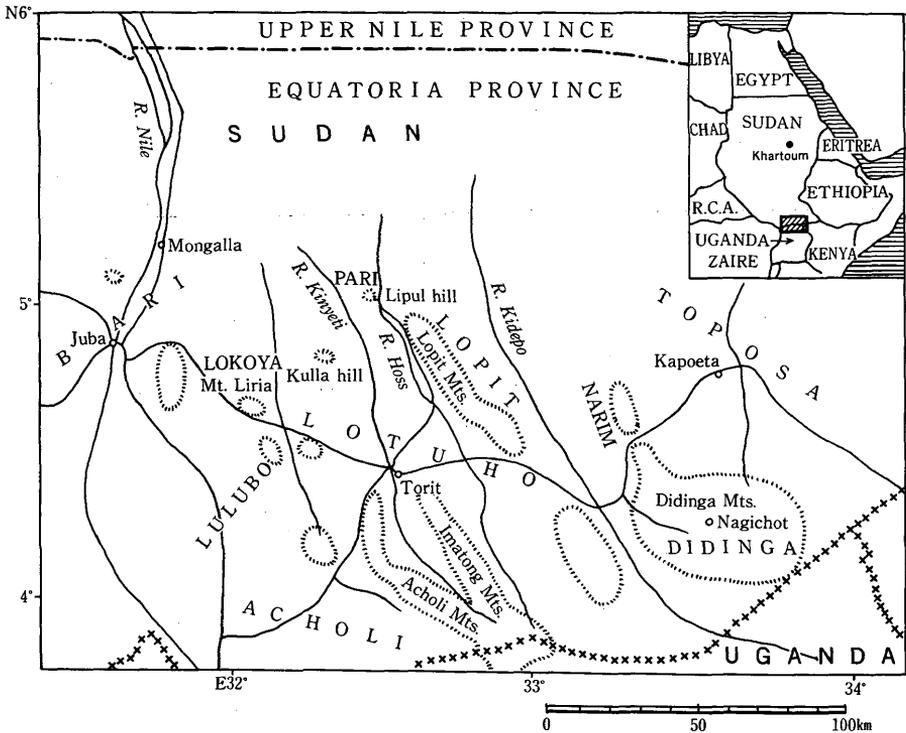


Figure 1. Map of the Research Area

system until they become the masters of the system itself. A special emphasis is put on the function of the *mojomiji*, the ruling age-grade, in “coping with enemies”, both internal and external. The cultivation of a “warrior ethos” among the youngsters is another point to be emphasized. In the concluding part, I will also account for the system in the historical process of militarization in the region ever since the last century. Although I am aware of the difficulties of “reconstruction of the past”, mainly by relying on oral sources with scarce written ones, I will propose a hypothesis that the present graded age system of the Pari is an invented tradition; it emerged and developed around the turn of the century when the entire region experienced turmoil and upheaval.

II. OUTLINE OF THE PARI AGE SYSTEM

1. Age-Group, Age-Set and Age-Grade

The age system of the Pari is a combination of two elements: age-group/age-set and age-grade [Figure 2]⁴⁾. An age-group is a village-based

4) For the notions of age-set and age-grade, I follow the classic definition by Radcliffe-Brown ↗

organization, while an age-set is formed on the basis of Pari society as a whole. Thus, an age-set is a general category consisting of the six age-groups of the same age. Both an age-group and an age-set are called *lange* in Pari. Therefore, the distinction between the two is an analytical one. Each age-group has its own name, but when they are initiated into the ruling age-grade (*mojomiji*), they take up the name of the Wiatuo age-group as the general name for the six age-groups⁵. Former names are no longer used. While an age-group is a corporate group, characterized by strong cohesion, members of an age-set hardly act together, although, of course, they have a common identity. The relationship between age-groups in an age-set is rather characterized by a potential rivalry, which may develop into open antagonism in such forms as stick fights. This rivalry can be seen as part of inter-village politics.

Age-groups are formed according to biological or physical age. The age range within an age-group is three to four years. Once formed, the membership remains the same. The most junior age-group consists of boys of less than ten years old. At any time there are more than twenty age-groups. An age-group becomes extinct when its last member dies.

Age-sets are vertically classified into three grades: youngsters (*awope*), the middle aged or ruling age grade (*mojomiji*) and elders (*cidonge*). The term *awope* (sing. *nyiawobi*) derives from an adjective *wop*, "beautiful" or "good." Therefore, it might be translated as "beautiful ones," which reflects their perception of youngsters. The term *cidonge* (sing. *cidwong*) means "big (*dwong*, pl. *dongo*) people," while *mojomiji* is a corrupted form of *monyomiji* meaning "fathers of the village," that is the ruling age-grade in Lopit, Lotuho (Latuka) and Lokoya⁶. They are also called *wegi-paac*, "fathers of the village" in Pari, which may be a direct translation of *monyomiji*.

In the center of every village there is a large open space, the *thworo*. Facing the *thworo* there is the *kabore*, which is a large compound surrounded by a fence. In the compound there is a drum house (*dwondi-bul*), fire-places, platforms (*pedhe*), and small huts with platforms inside (*bibir*). This is the place where *mojomiji* and elders stay and discuss issues concerning the village [Photo. 2]. Youngsters and women are not allowed to enter unless they are called. The *mojomiji* take care of the drums kept in the drum house. When they dance, drums are brought outside and set around the posts (*balacar*) in the middle of the *thworo*.

The *mojomiji* form a sort of collective government in charge of village

↙ [1929], and for the notion of age-group I follow that by Gulliver [1968].

5) For convenience, in this paper the age-group names of Wiatuo are used for the age-groups of other villages, unless otherwise mentioned.

6) For the *monyomiji* system among the Lotuho and Lokoya, see Seligman and Seligman [1932], Simonse [1992], Grüb [1992] and Kurimoto [1992].

age-grade	age-set	meaning of age-set name
<i>Cidonge</i>	Ukwer	a wild plant of which fruit is edible
	Lilalo	lye, a substitute for salt
	Kwara	dried matter
	Bondipala	shaft of knife
	Ithiyio	ear of mouse
	Yuulu	a green fly
	Kilang	midday (Lotuho loan word)
	Thangakwo	a place name outside of Wiatuo village
52,3 years		
<i>Mojomiji</i>	Anywaa	Anywaa (Anuak) people
	Akeo	a crop
	Maridi	a town in western Equatoria
	Adeo	burnt material at the bottom of pot
38,9 years		
<i>Awope</i>	Madan	a square, open space (Arabic loan word)
	Morumaafi	no excuse (Arabic loan word)
	Madir	governor, director (Arabic loan word)
	Lidit	a type of weaver bird
	Firik	a type of automatic rifle
	Acac	red pepper
	Agweno	(named after <i>gweno</i> , hen)
	Yibidhieng	tail of cow
Ithilero	leaf of <i>lero</i> tree	

Figure 2. Pari Age System (1985)

affairs. Although elders do participate in the meeting held by the *mojomiji* and state their opinions, they have no voice in the final decision making. Their role is limited to that of advisors. On various ritual occasions in which invocations (*lam*) are made to *iwok* (god, spirit or "power"), it is the elders that take the initiative (*mojomiji* can also make invocations) [KURIMOTO 1988]. They are respected and feared not only because of this ability but because of the probability of their making a blessing (*gweh*) or curse (*cien*, ghostly or posthumous vengeance) on their death. Every adult is expected to make either of the two just before he/she dies. Beliefs in them are very powerful and real [KURIMOTO 1986b, 1988]. Since an elder is closer to death, it is an acute concern whether he makes a blessing or a curse, although the latter is never openly stated by himself.

A man and his age-set pass through or climb up these grades. The number of age-sets in the ruling age grade is principally four. When they retire to the elders' grade, the most senior age-sets of youngsters are promoted to the ruling grade.

The flow of age-sets through age-grades is not so simple as stated above,

because it is gradual. The four age-sets of the ruling grade may not retire at the same time. In one situation they do, but in another only the two senior ones retire and the rest remain, being joined by the two most senior sets of youngsters. Let us examine actual taking overs [Figure 2]. Ukwer and Lilalo succeeded in 1947. After a year or so, Kwara and Bondipala joined them. These four age-sets held power together for about ten years. In 1958 Ukwer and Lilalo retired, but Kwara and Bondipala remained and were joined by the Ithiyio and Yuulu age-sets, which were promoted from the grade of youngsters. Then in 1967, all of these four retired and the next two age-sets—Kilang and Thangakwo—took over, and after a year Anywaa and Akeo joined them. This is one full cycle whose duration is about twenty years.



Photo. 2. A *mojomiji* standing in front of the drum house in full dress (1979).

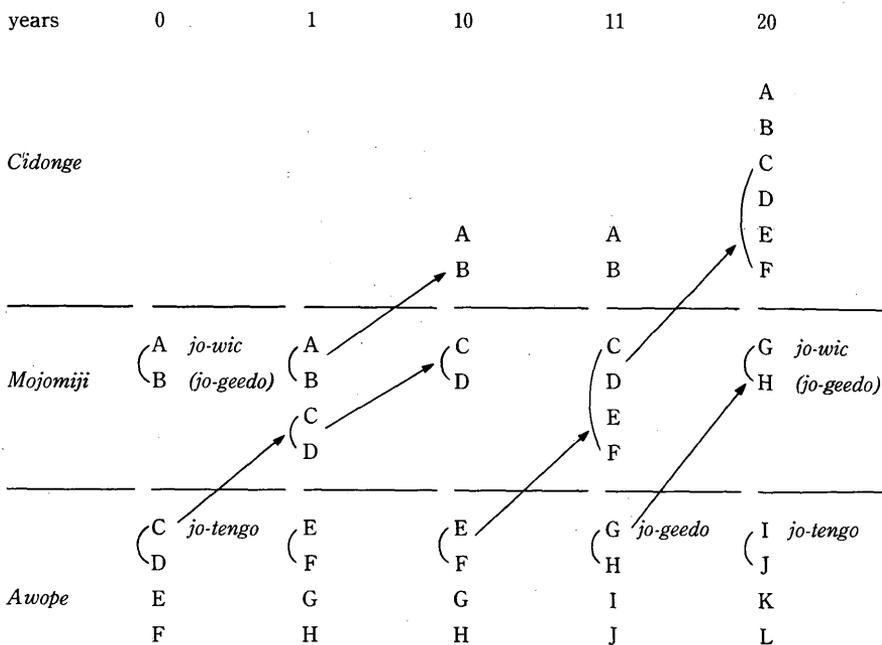


Figure 3. Model of Age-Grade Succession

(Some claim that it should be exactly twenty two years.)

Therefore, in order to understand the system, we had better suppose that three pairs of age-sets—in the above mentioned case, Ukwer and Lilalo; Kwara and Bondipala, and Ithiyio and Yuulu—comprise one class, although they may never be in the ruling grade at one time. In every pair of age-sets, the senior one is “right” and superior, while the junior is “left” and inferior. The pair is usually referred to by the name of the senior age-set⁷⁾.

When the first and second pairs take over, the first is called *jo-wic* (“head people”) or *jo-geedo* (“builders”) and the second pair *jo-tengo* (“rethatchers”). There is no specific name for the third pair which is still in the youngsters’ grade. The fourth pair, the next *jo-wic* to be, is called *jo-geedo*. Explicit in the naming is the analogy of house building. The *jo-geedo* “build” a new house where they live as *jo-wic*. The *jo-tengo* take over the house, but they only “rethatch” the old roof, that is, repair and maintain it. These metaphors directly refer to the special hut on the Lipul hill in which the skull of a bull (that is, “head”) sacrificed on the initiation of the new *mojomiji* is kept. The *jo-geedo* built it and keep the skull in it. Then the *jo-tengo* rethatch it and keep

7) In accordance with the usage of the Pari themselves, in this paper the name of the senior age-set refers to the pair, unless otherwise mentioned. For instance, Ukwer refers to the Ukwer and Lilalo age-sets. In the case of the second and third pairs (*jo-tengo*), the name of the most senior one refers to the four age-sets; Anywaa also includes Akeo, Maridi and Adeo.

Ukwer and Lilalo	left hind leg, liver	
Kwara, Bondipala, Ithiyio and Yuulu	right hind leg, rump	
Kilang and Thangakwo	left fore leg, chest	
Anywaa	right ear and eye, brain right shoulder, waist	right stomach halves, right
Akeo	left ear and eye, mouth and nose, right fore leg	testicle
Maridi	front neck	left stomach halves, right
Adeo	back neck	testicle, heart

The hump is distributed to the chief.

Figure 4. Distribution of Sacrificial Beast

the skull in it together with that of the *jo-geedo*. They say that *jo-wic* are the true rulers. They are the "head". Although *jo-tengo* stay in the ruling grade twice as long as the *jo-wic*, they are considered as a kind of deputy rulers. The third pair never enjoy the leading position in the ruling grade [Figure 3].

The social order of the age system is symbolically expressed in the distribution of a sacrificial beast (bull or ox). For a communal celebration, such as the commemoration of the repair of the *kabore* and the purchase of new drums⁸⁾, a bull or ox is sacrificed and it is divided among the *mojomiji* and the elders. Shown in Figure 4 is the rule of distribution when Anywaa was the *mojomiji*. The head always goes to the *mojomiji*, since they are the "head" people. It is interesting to note that, in relation to the "head," the two junior age-sets of the *mojomiji* are the "neck." The elders' share is substantial as the hind legs, the left fore leg, chest and rump go to them, while these parts have little symbolic significance. It should be noted, however, that the liver, which is one of the most important organs as the supposed location of emotions, and whose taste is highly appreciated, is distributed to the most senior age-sets. The hump, of which taste is highly valued as well, is given to the chief (*rwath*).

2. Territorial Segmentation and the Age System

A village (*paac* or *paajo*, pl. *mieri*)⁹⁾ is a clearly defined territorial unit. Its territory also extends outside of the village. Ideally Pariland is divided into fan-like territories, the Lipul hill being the center. Each of the six villages is

8) Drums are usually obtained from the Lopit in exchange for domestic animals.

9) *Paac* also means a homestead, home and country.

comprised of patrilineal clans (*tung*, pl. *tungi*)¹⁰. A clan is specifically related to a village. The number of clans in a village differs: from four (Pucwa) to twelve (Wiatuo). A clan is localized and its affiliation to a village is known to all Pari, although not all members live in the village as a result of uxorilocal and matrilocal residence. Like an age-group, a clan has a *bali*, a gathering place, in its own territory. Members of a clan are recognized as descendants of a founding ancestor, and share a history of migration to, and settlement at, the Lipul hill. Each village has its own chief (*rwath*)¹¹ whose office is patrilineally inherited. His clan is called *tung rwath*, the “chief’s clan,” which I translate as royal clan. Among the six chiefs only the chief of Wiatuo is called “rain-chief” (*rwadhi-koth*), as he is believed to have the power to control rain [KURIMOTO 1986b: 107–108, 116–119]. His power, it is said, rests on an inherited special ability and the possession of “rain stones” (*gwyo*, pl. *gwii*) and “rain medicines” (*yadhi-koth*, pl. *yendi-koth*). Therefore, on one hand the segmentary territorial structure is based on clan-village configuration, on the other it is related to the chieftainship.

The segmentary structure of Pari society is not “pyramidal” like that of the Nuer [EVANS-PRITCHARD 1940a], because the structural weight of each village is not equal and there is little genealogical relation among clans. The six villages are divided into two sections: Boi and Kor. The Kor section is comprised of only Kor village, while the Boi section includes the other five villages [Figure 5]. Both in terms of population and political power, Wiatuo is prominent in Boi. The division reflects the history of migration and settlement [KURIMOTO n.d.]. Boi is the name of a clan including the royal clans of Wiatuo, Bura and Angulumere. These clans trace their ancestry to Jogi who led a group of people and came to the Lipul. His three sons became the founders of the royal clans of the three villages [Figure 6]. In a sense Jogi “came back,” as his grandfather, Libala, first came to the Lipul hill with his mother, Abongo. When they came, Libala was carried on the back of a man called Nyoga as he was very small. This Nyoga became the founder of Pucwa village. It is included in Boi because of this historical episode. The other village, Pugeru, occupies a unique position in Boi as it is considered the first village at the Lipul hill; Pugeru villagers are the descendants of the first migrants. The chief of Pugeru submitted to the group of later migrants, Boi, although he still remains the priest of Lipul, which is the most important *iwok* (god, spirit or power) [KURIMOTO 1988]. Nowadays the domination of the

10) *Tung* also means a horn.

11) The word *rwath* (*rwoth*, *rwot* or *reth*) is widely found in various Luo languages, and is usually translated chief or king. Among the Pari it is applied to two other offices besides village chiefs. One is the government chief (*rwadhi-gaala*) and the other is the bird-chief (*rwadhi-winyo*), who is believed to have power to control weaver birds. His office is inherited among a Pucwa clan.

chief of Wiatuo as the rain-chief is accepted by Boi in general. Not only Wiatuo, but Bura, Angulumere, Pucwa and Pugerri villages pay tribute to him, cultivate his field and build and repair his homestead. On the other hand, they also pay tribute to or construct the homesteads of their own chiefs.

Kor is an independent and the newest village. Its ancestors were the last migrants, and after the settlement at the Lipul hill they did not submit to the authority of Boi. They have been under their own chief. The

villagers of Kor did not pay any tribute to the chief of Wiatuo and instead, cultivated the field of Kor's chief, constructed and repaired his homestead¹²⁾. Rivalry and conflict between Kor and Boi, Wiatuo in particular, is a recurring theme underlying Pari history. At the end of the last century it culminated in a clash which led the entire population of Kor to leave home and take refuge at Pajok (Parajwok) in Acholiland for a period of at least ten years [KURIMOTO n.d.].

The dual division of Pari society has another aspect. Both the chiefs of Wiatuo and Kor play the role as peacemakers (*likweri*), who particularly handle homicide cases. When a murderer takes refuge at the chief's homestead, his life is secured. The kinsmen of the deceased cannot touch him. Then the chief as peacemaker negotiate with the two parties. The case is eventually settled by the payment of compensation in order to make up for the loss of a human life. As a symbol of this status he has a forked stick, *likweri*, by which he is referred to. When the ceremony of compensation payment is held, the stick is laid down between the two parties, separating them and preventing a further fight. When a murder takes place, however, between Wiatuo and Kor, neither them is able to act as a peacemaker since he is not neutral. In such a case, a chief of another village does the work [KURIMOTO 1994b: 150-151].

The social structure and history of the Pari can be seen as recurring movements between opposites: unity and disunity, fusion and fission, or centralization under the hegemony of Wiatuo and decentralization based on the

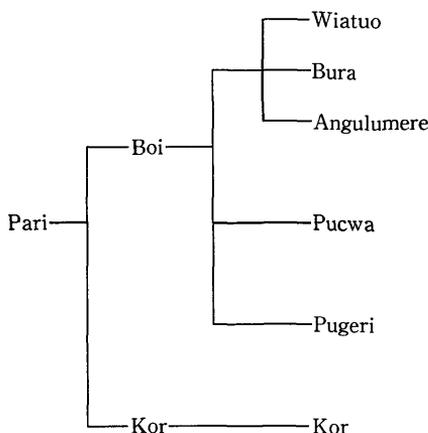


Figure 5. Segmentation of the Villages

12) The situation changed after Anywaa succeeded Kwara. The *mojomiji* of Kor started to pay tribute to the rain-chief, while continued to cultivate the field of their own chief. In 1983 they stopped this service to the Kor chief, but still did not start to cultivate the rain-chief's field. These changes might be considered as part of the centralization of political power by the chief of Wiatuo.

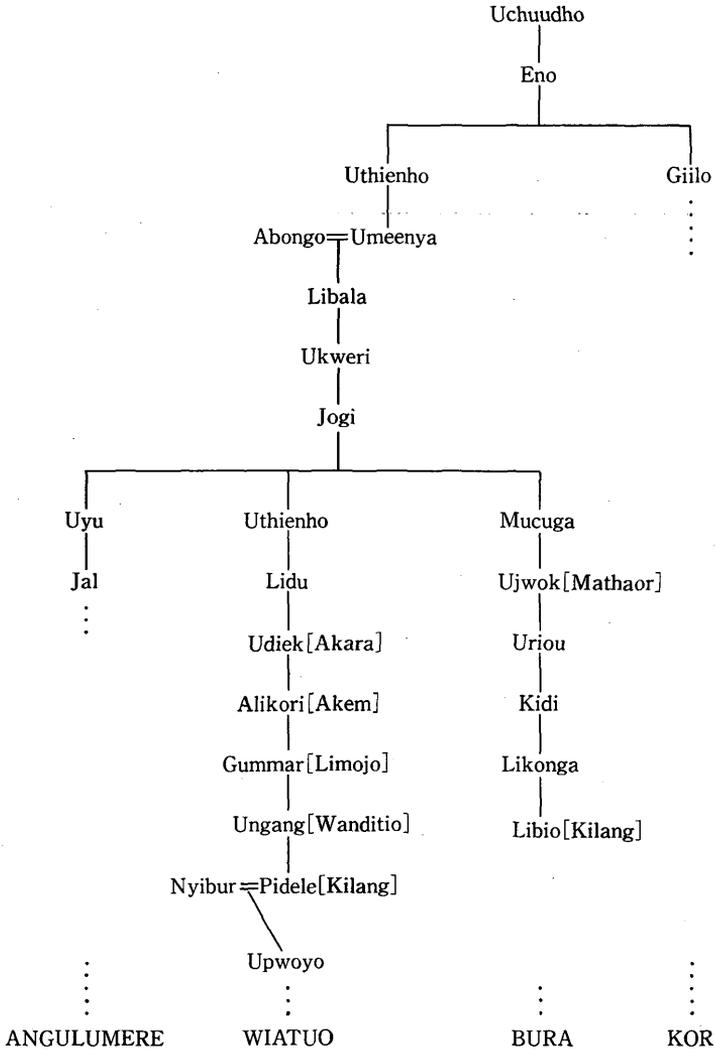


Figure 6. Genealogy of the Boi and Kor Royal Clans

autonomy of each village¹³). (At a micro level, a clan could be a unit of decentralization.)¹⁴ A shared identity as *Jo-Pari* (Pari people) is a uniting force. It mainly derives from the notion of a common original home, *Wi-Pari*, from

13) The issue of dualism and centralism among societies in eastern Equatoria province including Pari is a central theme of Simonse's study [SIMONSE 1992].

14) For instance, the Parau clan of Bura village has its own small *thworo* and *kabore*. It is a semi-independent unit in the village, although in terms of age system and chieftainship it is an integral part of Bura. During my fieldwork, Parau planned to purchase a new set of drums from Lopit in spite of the objection of the *mojomiji* of Bura.

where all of them came, although there are some clans which claim their origins in different places. Wi-Pari literally means “head of Pari”, and is allegedly located between the present Pariland and Anywaaland. The Kor people were the last to leave there for the Lipul hill. Moreover, the royal clans of Kor and Boi recognize a common ancestor. They are patrilineal descendants of Uchuudho, a mystic figure who is said to have been discovered in the river. Uchuudho’s grandsons, Uthienho and Giilo, are respectively the founders of the Boi and Kor royal clans. Therefore in the genealogical order, the unity of Kor and Boi is guaranteed. This shared history, however, also refers to a primordial rivalry, because Giilo is said to have been killed by Uthienho, the elder brother, because of jealousy [Figure 6]¹⁵⁾.

The features of the territorial segmentary structure discussed above are directly reflected in the age system. It is an organization of the Pari as a whole as well as of the village ; in one case it may work to bring unity, and in another it may work to destroy it as a result of inter-village rivalry. The *mojomiji* of Wiatuo play a leading role. In fact they are feared by the people of other villages because of their often oppressive and violent attitude. Their relations with the rain-chief are ambiguous. When it rains regularly, relations are harmonious. Once the regular rainfall is disturbed, they urge, threaten and even beat him to bring the order back to normal.

The chieftainship is woven into the age system in many ways. In every age-group, there is a chief (*rwath*), who is a member of the dominant clan. He is, however, a nominal figurehead. He has advisors (*atieli*), and when the time for the initiation of the new *mojomiji* approaches, it is they that start and negotiate talks with the present *mojomiji*. It is the chief of Wiatuo who offers a sacrificial bull for the initiation of new *mojomiji*. Whenever a bull or an ox is sacrificed by the *mojomiji*, the hump is given to the chief of the village. A village chief should preferably be a *mojomiji* or an elder. Being a youngster is incompatible with the status of a chief.

3. Women and the Age System

Pari women do have age-groups. Girls are organized into age-groups as boys are. A girls’ age-group has its own name. It does not, however, have its *bali*. It is not a social unit for communal labor. Women’s communal work parties are organized based on residential and kinship relations. Since a clan is localized and patrilocal residence is more frequent, these two relations often overlap. When a woman gets married, she loses the membership of the group and is known as a wife of the husband’s age-group. So when all members of a girls’ age-group are married, it ceases to exist. Those wives of a men’s age-

15) The myth of Uchuudho, Giilo and Uthienho is known among the Anywaa (Anuak) as well [EVANS-PRITCHARD 1940b: 76–79; CRAZZOLARA 1951: 147–148]. I have also personally recorded texts in Anywaaland.

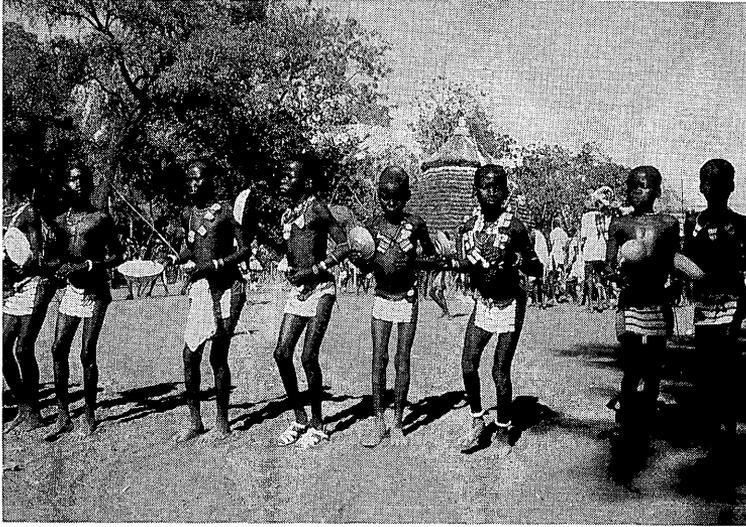


Photo. 3. Young girls of the same age-group dancing together in the *thworo*. At their back is the drum house.

group do not form a corporate group. Rather, it is a social category.

Probably dances are the occasions when girls' age-groups become most visible. They dance in age-groups and each group has a specific type of beads ornaments and goat skin apron and skirt [Photo. 3].

Generally speaking women are excluded from the political system. There is no formal and institutionalized occasion when the voices of women are to be heard. *Koor man* (*koor* of women)¹⁶⁾ may be the only exception. It is held annually in March or April before sowing. It is an occasion when the women of the six villages gather, discuss village affairs, and pray for prosperity and welfare in general. In 1986, the master of ceremonies was a wife of Kilang of Pugerri. Women of each village bring baskets of sorghum. The master of ceremonies takes some grains from every village's basket and puts them in a hole in a rock called *Ayan* ("Mama"). The grains are later distributed to the chief of each village and then to every homestead. They are mixed with the grain for sowing. The master of ceremonies from Pugerri is the first to make an invocation (*lam*). Then four women from each village make invocations. They are wives of the Ukwer, Kwara, Kilang and Anywaa age-groups. The right of doing this is ascribed to the status of their husbands, not to their own.

16) *Koor* for men is held twice every year. The first one is in March before *koor man*, the second during Nyalam, the new year hunting ceremony, in November. The elders and *mojomiji* of the six villages gather, discuss village affairs, and make invocations for prosperity and welfare.

4. A Comparative View

In order to understand the graded age system of the Pari, it is necessary to set it in a regional and comparative context. It shares common features with the age systems of neighboring peoples like the Lotuho, Lopit and Lokoya [SIMONSE 1992, 1993; GRÜB 1992], but is significantly different from other well known systems such as among the Oromo, Karimojong, Jie, Maasai, Kipsigis and Nandi¹⁷⁾. In sum the Pari age system has, I would argue, four distinctive features which make it unique in comparison with other age systems in East Africa. Firstly there is no initiation when boys are enrolled in the system and it has nothing to do with the marriage regulation. A youngster is free to get married and establish his own independent homestead if he can afford to do so.

Secondly its organizing principle is physical or biological age and no generation principle is in action at all. There is no generation-set. Although the *mojomiji*, the ruling middle aged grade, are called "fathers of the village," it does not necessarily mean that genealogically all youngsters are their sons while all elders are their fathers. Thirdly it is predominantly a politico-military system. It is not a major concern of the system, for instance, to maintain the supernatural order by ritual or magical means or to keep and transmit a sort of sacred knowledge from one generation to another. The last point is that it is not a "traditional" institution but a relatively new one. It is only about a hundred years ago, as we shall see, that the present system was established.

III. AGE-GROUPS IN ACTION: SOCIAL LIFE OF YOUNGSTERS

1. Formation of an Age-Group

Boys of the same age in the neighborhood start playing together when they reach three or four years old. Their playing grounds extend as they grow up, from inside the village to the outskirts, and finally to the rivers and savanna. Hunting games are a favourite of theirs. Small boys make clay figures of wild animals, surround them, and throw toy spears at them [Photo. 4, 5]. When they reach the age of about ten they play a more practical hunting game; one boy spins himself while holding a vine of the sausage tree (*yaa*, pl, *yee*, *kigelia* sp.) with a fruit at the end, and other boys surrounding him throw toy spears (sticks) the fruit [Photo. 6]. By that time they have already been organized into an age-group for a couple of years. It has a name and its own *bali*, a gathering place on the periphery of the village.

A *bali* is usually located under the shade of trees and has a wooden platform (*peedhe*) with a roof or a bench of wooden logs put on the ground. It is

17) This theme will be dealt with in detail in a separate paper.

the place where they sit, have a nap, and discuss their own issues [Photo. 7]. As they grow older the location of the *bali* shifts from the periphery to the center of the village. The *bali* of senior age-groups of youngsters face the *thworo* [Photo. 8]. Finally, when they are promoted to *mojomiji*, they enter the *kabore*. A *kabore* is, in a sense, the *bali* for the *mojomiji* and elders.

There is no initiation to be a member of the group and no ceremony when an age-group is formed. Rather, it is formed naturally and inevitably as a result of the physical growth of boys. As they grow, they come to spend more time with age mates than with family, although they continue to eat and sleep at home. In the daytime they stay at the *bali* and move around together. The range of group activities by age mates expands as they grow. Dance, hunting and stick fights are added first and then, by the time they reach their late teens, communal labor in cultivation and construction of homesteads is included. Late teenagers already have their own cultivated fields, while they are getting ready to marry.

Members of an age-group are divided into three categories according to seniority. Bodily metaphors are used in naming them. They are *wic* (head), *koor* (chest) and *thaar* (the lower body). When members are many, *koor* is further divided into two sub-categories: *ucula* (the upper chest) and *paar* (the lower chest).

In an age-group there are several titles held by notable members. Among them only the status of *rwath* (chief) is ascriptive to his descent. A member of the royal clan is nominated as the *rwath* of an age-group. As is the case of the village chief, he exercises no political power over his age mates, but rather acts

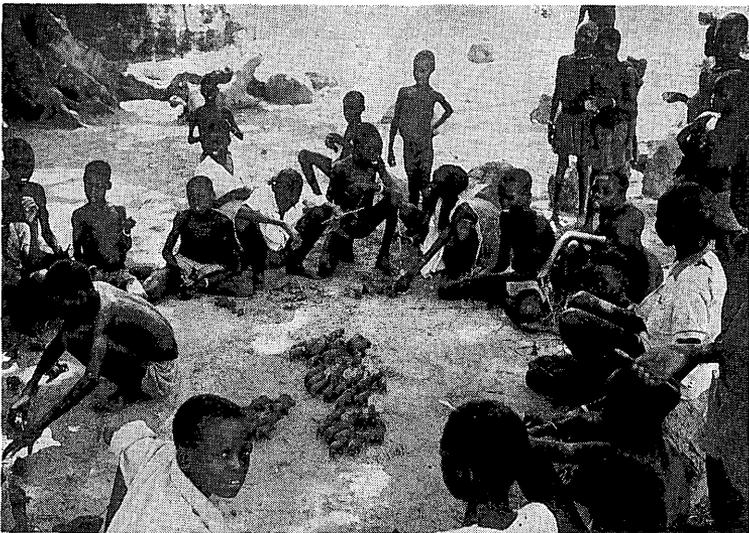


Photo. 4. Boys' hunting game (1): throwing toy spears at clay figures of wild animals.

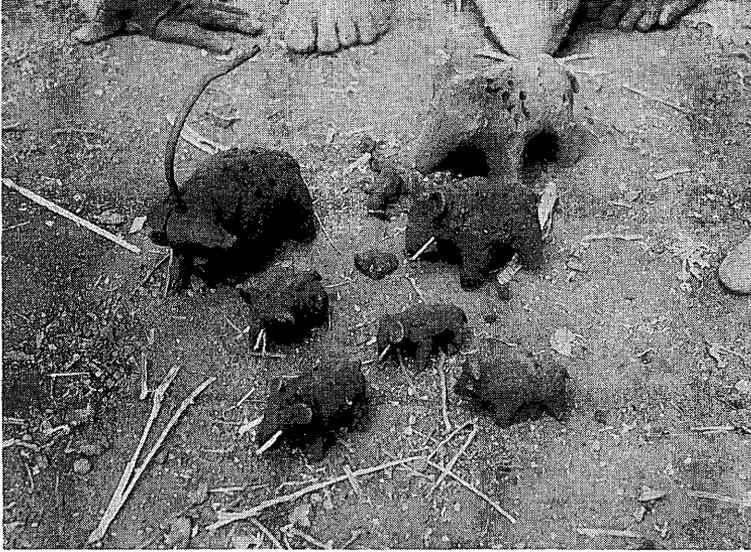


Photo. 5. Boys' hunting game (2): clay figures of elephants and a buffalo.

as a figurehead who gives the final word when a consensus is reached among them. A *rwath* has some *atiel* (pl. *atieli*), "advisors", who are considered wise enough to be consulted by him. They are also called *waate-atieli*, "sons of *atieli*." The word derives from *tielo*, a leg, thus they are the "legs" to a *rwath*.



Photo. 6. Boys' hunting game (3): throwing toy spears at a fruit of the sausage tree. These boys are staying in a cattle camp.



Photo. 7. Members of the Lidit age-group of Pugerri village sitting at their *bali* (1979).



Photo. 8. The *bali* of the Madan age-group in Bura village located facing the *thworo*. The slogan written on the board says, "We contempt of death" (1985).

Other titles including *atiel* are given according to their achievements, and personal and physical characteristics. Usually there are two persons for each title. A *liloo* (pl. *liloke*) is the "speaker" of the group. He is the one who leads the discussion and plays a crucial role in forming a consensus. His words should be powerful and convincing. He should be wise and knowledgeable.

An *alul* is the bravest person, whose bravery is displayed in hunting and stick fights. On public occasions such as dances, hunting, stick fights and warfare, he has the privilege as a symbol of his status to carry the black flag (a flag is called *beero*, pl. *beeri*) or to fix a small black flag to his grass woven helmet (*likuluk*, pl. *likuluki*). The second bravest person is called *atiep* (pl. *atiebi*). He is privileged to carry a red flag. Other members may also carry flags, but patched ones of different colors¹⁸). The fastest runner holds the title of *dweru* (pl. *dweri*). He plays an important role in hunting. The physically strongest one is called *lithir* (pl. *lithire*) whose ability is shown in wrestling.

In contrast to these honorific titles, to be labelled a *lwar* (pl. *lwaiye*), coward, is the most serious dishonor.

As these titles indicate, through the activities of and the fellowship among age-mates in an age-group, physical skills, prowess, art of oratory, and discretion are cultivated and expressed. The age-group is a fundamental social framework in which the "manhood" of the Pari is fostered. As we shall see below, this manhood is deeply related to the "warrior ethos."

2. Sharing of Food and Beer, Communal Labor and Dance

Age mates spend most of their time together. They share food (*kwon*) and sorghum beer (*kongo*). In the evening they gather at the *bali* and take supper in a group. They go around and eat at each and every homestead of the group members. It is the work of a mother or wife to prepare and reserve one bowl of thick sorghum porridge (*kwon*) and one bowl of stew (*kado*) for them. The host usually does not eat. His own portion is kept separately to be eaten later. When sorghum beer is brewed at the homestead of a member, all of the age mates are invited and drink together. Beer is a main commercial commodity to be sold for cash. It is an important source of income for women. Close relatives and age mates, however, have the privilege of taking it for free.

An age-group is a unit of communal labor (*koc*) in agriculture and homestead construction [KURIMOTO 1984: 45-46]. In the case of agricultural work, communal labor is made use of in harvesting, weeding and clearing the field [Photo. 9]. For the construction of a homestead, it is used in collecting grass for thatching and rethatching, building and repairing the fence, and building the hut [Photo. 10]. The organizer fixes the date and calls his age mates. On each occasion ten to twenty men usually participate. The work starts early in the morning and ends at midday.

The reward for labor is beer. The amount of beer per person is fixed: half a large tin (*sapia* or *capia*). This tin, whose capacity is about 20 liters, is used

18) The idea of flags might have been borrowed from the armed groups of slave traders or from the Mahdist (Ansar) army during the latter half of the last century.



Photo. 9. Communal labor by age-group (2): weeding the field of an age mate.



Photo. 10. Communal labor by age-group (1): thatching a hut.

for the measurement of grain and beer. Therefore, if twenty men participate, ten tins of beer (200 liters) should be prepared. This is a huge amount and requires a lot of sorghum and women's labor. Although some beer is served during the work, the main portion is consumed afterwards in the organizer's homestead.

Communal labor is carried out in a very cheerful atmosphere. While work-

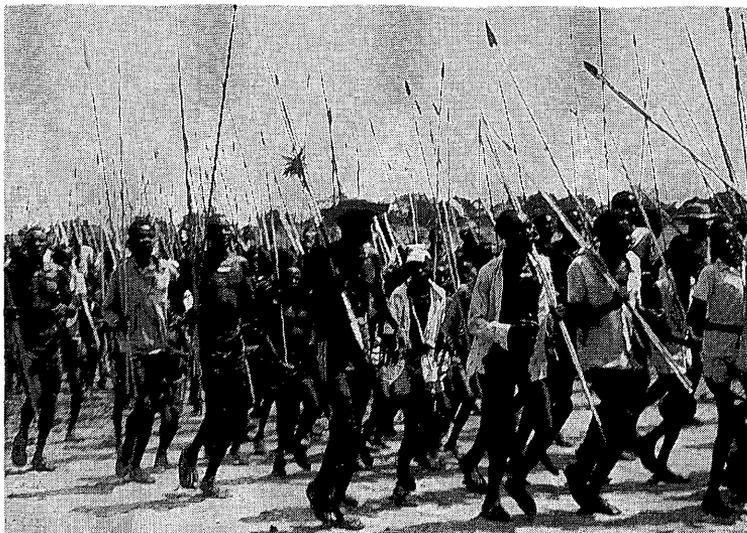


Photo. 11. A scene of the *ipuura*.

ing they chat, laugh and sing. On their way back from the cultivated field, they march zigzag in a compact group, stamping on the ground, singing songs of the age-group. The marching style is called *ipuura*, which is also performed on the way back from hunting expeditions and stick fights [Photo. 11]. The cheerful spirit is even more exalted when they drink beer at home. The quantity of beer is enough to make them drunk, and other people also join the beer feast.

There are several types of dance, and age-groups are always the organizing units. The biggest one, which is simply called "dance" (*miel*), is organized by the *mojomiji* and held in the *thworo* with drums. All men and women of the village participate, and it is one of the occasions that age-groups become clearly visible. Members of the same age-group dance as one group and each age-group puts on specific costumes and decorations, distinct from those of the others. An age-group also organizes dances for themselves just for fun. Participation by girls is indispensable. They are held outside the village, not in the *thworo*, without drums.

3. Hunting¹⁹⁾

Principally there are two types of hunt (*dwar*) among the Pari: a communal hunt by a village or by the Pari as a whole and a hunt by an age-group, which is called an "age-group hunt" (*dwan-lange*). In both cases spears are the only means to catch and kill animals. Spears are thrown at, not thrust at, a

19) In the Sudan any hunting is prohibited in principle unless it is authorized by the Department of Wildlife. In reality, however, subsistence hunting by local people is condoned, especially in the southern Sudan.

target. The head of a spear is rather short and small, but its shaft is long, more than 2 m. Other means, such as bows and arrows, traps and nets are not used. Hunting is carried out in the dry season (from December to March) when herds of herbivorous animals migrate to, and concentrate around, permanent watering places. Pariland seems to be one of the last resorts of wildlife in Africa²⁰⁾. Pari men hunt a variety of wild animals, and their meat constitutes an important part of the diet. But the age-group hunt is not merely an economic activity. Rather its purpose is to kill big game animals and to train and display the prowess of each member.

As already discussed, hunting games are a favorite pastime for small boys. When they reach about fifteen years old, they start the age-group hunts mentioned above. As a preparation for this, around the age of ten, they begin to be engaged in another type of age-group hunt, which can be called a "miniature" of the proper one. It is called *dwa-nyichweny*, the hunt of *nyichweny*. *Nyichweny* is a sub-category in the folk classification of wild animals. It comprises animals with claws (*cweny*), which is in contrast to another sub-category, *lityendu-ubongi*, "those whose legs are with hoofs."²¹⁾ Boys of an age-group leave home early in the morning with spears, and go to wooded savanna not very far from the village. They come back home in the afternoon. The main game are smaller animals such as genets, mongooses and cane rats. These are eaten.

In the age-group hunt men hunt only four big game animals, which are called *lai-cidongo*, literally meaning "big animals." They are elephants, buffaloes, lions and leopards. There used to be five, including rhinoceroses, but they have recently become extinct in the area. Even though they come across other animals during the expedition, they pay no attention. A man takes pride in the number of these animals he has killed, that is, the ones that he was the first hit with his spear. The number is also known to other age mates. Thus they say "to count animals," meaning to go hunting. In a successful hunt a lot of animals, say ten elephants or twenty buffaloes, may be killed. Interestingly, they do not bring all the meat back home. They eat as much as possible on the spot and smoke some to be carried home, while the rest of meat is just abandoned. No one is called from the village to take the meat. The phrase, "We let vultures eat the abandoned meat" is a common theme in age-group songs and it is something to be boasted of. Lions are not eaten. Leopards can be eaten, but the taste of the meat is not appreciated. They are hunted to be "counted." They are also hunted because they are enemies as predators of humans and domestic animals, and because their skin is highly valued.

Achievement in hunting also has a socio-linguistic significance. They use

20) The wildlife in Pariland might be endangered by now because of the spread of automatic rifles during the present civil war. Both SPLA soldiers and villagers use them to obtain meat.

21) This classification is principally similar to that of the Nuer [EVANS-PRITCHARD 1956: 89].

animal names, those of elephant and buffalo in particular, as interjections. For instance, when one is astonished, he may utter “*Liec!*” (elephant) or “*Joobi!*” (buffalo). But this is allowed only to those who have actually hit them with the first spear.

The amount of big game hunted by age-groups seems to be huge. In 1982 I interviewed members of three age-groups. Twenty eight men of the Lilanga of Kor (Madir of Wiatuo), the most senior age-group among them, told me that they had killed, in total, 198 buffaloes, 106 elephants, 36 lions and 31 leopards. At the time they were in their late twenties, and had been hunting for thirteen or fourteen years. Their score during the previous hunting season (1981–1982) was as follows: 44 buffaloes, 19 elephants, 5 lions and 9 leopards. These figures, based on self-reports, may sound overestimated or exaggerated. I believe, however, they are fairly accurate, because the interview was conducted in the presence of other age-mates and they were well aware of others’ achievements.

A hunting expedition usually takes several days. A group may consist of twenty to thirty men. Each one carries three or four spears, some sorghum flour and water. There are six hunting grounds where they go. I did not accompany any expedition, although I was frequently asked to do so. When they find a herd of animals or a solitary male, they secretly approach it. There are two positions of assault. One is to surround it and the other is just to attack it in one compact group. They have to be very close to the animals so that they are within the range of throwing spears. Needless to say this hunting method is very risky and requires great physical ability, courage and determination. That is exactly why it is one of the most appropriate occasions for them to cultivate and display prowess, and the spirit of group identity.

This point is ritually dramatized by the “calling birds” (*cwondi-winyo*) and “taking an oath” (*aiyeme*) ceremonies. These are held at night when they arrive at the hunting ground. If bats come flying over them, it is considered a good omen; the hunt of the following morning will be a success. So, a member of the clan which “owns” the hunting ground stands up and makes an invocation (*lam*) in which “birds” (in this particular context, referring to bats) are called and a successful and safe hunt is wished for. A typical invocation, which was told to me by an informant, is as follows.

We have come here to count animals.
 May animals come to drink water here!
 You, the bird, if you are somewhere, come and inform us.
 May we kill animals without any problem!

After this, the ceremony of “taking an oath” is performed. While others are sitting and watching, a pair of the *dwero* (the best runners) and a pair of the *alul*

(the bravest ones) stand up and say to one another something like this:

One *dwero*: If animals are far, it is me that will run in front of them and stop them while you are coming.

The other: No, it is not you but me that... [repetition].

One *alul*: It is me that will go closest to the animals and spear them.

The other: No, it is not you but me that... [repetition].

These ceremonies are performed on the previous night to the hunt in order to cheer up the group and enhance its spirit. The noun *aiyeme* derives from the verb, *yembo*, meaning to take an oath. It should be added that *aiyeme* is also performed before warfare and stick fights.

4. Stick Fight

A stick fight (*goc*) is another occasion for the members of an age-group to cultivate and display their prowess. *Goc* simply means “beating”, and is applied to anything from a fight between individuals to an inter-village fight. In the case of age-groups, it may happen between adjacent age-groups both of the same village and of different villages, and between age-groups of the same age-set.

Pari themselves classify age-group stick fights into two types according to the age of the groups involved: stick fights of small boys (*goy-nyiponde*) (A type) and of young boys (*goy-lwathinh*). The dividing line is around the age of fifteen. During fieldwork I encountered six stick fights, on four of which I made a direct observation. From these cases and other supplementary data from informants, the latter type, I think, could further be divided into two. One type is formal and strictly regulated by rules (B type). It is held at the *thworo* with the permission of the *mojomiji*. The other is informal, sporadic and accidental (C type). What is common throughout the three types is that a fight may be triggered off even by a slight provocation of one age-group by another.

Stick fights are a seasonal activity. At the height of the rainy season, when sorghum ears up and ripens, not only stick fights, but also individual fights and dances are prohibited. This taboo is called *kwero*. If any person should violate it, he/she would be fined by the *mojomiji*. The taboo is lifted in September when the sorghum ripens. This may be seen as another means for the *mojomiji* to control youngsters and their violence.

A type is principally a “miniature” of B type. The relation of A to B is exactly the same as that of the age-group hunt by small boys (*dwa-nyicweny*) to the hunt by more senior boys. A stick fight of small boys may be caused by a verbal insult. For instance, when Ithilero boys of Pugeru were playing in the

Atondi river on one day in September, 1982, Ithilero of Kor came and said these words. "The anus of your fathers. You are more coward than us." This insult led to a stick fight between the two age-groups later on that day. When both sides make up their mind, they confront each other in an open space just outside the village with sticks (*abeela*, pl. *abeele*) in their right hands and shields (*ukwak*, pl. *ukwaki*) in their left. These weapons are something like "toys" in comparison to those used by more senior ones. A stick is a soft branch of any tree available at hand. A shield is also a branch with a hand protector, for which nowadays the handle of a used plastic tank is employed. They are a sort of instant and disposable tool. The confrontation may continue for some time, while insulting and provoking one another. Then the two groups start fighting. Although they clash in groups, the actual fight takes the form of face to face fighting. When someone is beaten and falls down, the fight is considered ended. The fight itself may not exceed several minutes, and it is always clear which side has won or lost. The losers run away in disarray and the winners, in a group, leave the place in high spirits, marching and making sounds by beating their sticks and shields. Later on both groups have a meeting at their *bali*, celebrating the victory or reflecting on the defeat. No fighter may be seriously hurt in this type of stick fight.

B type is more developed and formal than A type. Although the basic features are the same, it is performed in the *thworo* with the permission of the *mojomiji*. I have the impression that it can only happen between age-groups of the same village, but it is not yet confirmed. When members of two groups quarrel, or members of a group are insulted or provoked by another, they agree to have a stick fight. They bring the case to the *mojomiji*, who, if they approve the proposal, announce from the *kabore* to the public that group X and group Y will fight the next morning. Therefore, a lot of people, men and women, young and old, gather in the *thworo* to watch the fight.

The following is a description of a B type stick fight.

[Stick fight between Wangaliu and Lidit age-groups of Pucwa village (November 1984)]

One day, members of Wangaliu (Acac of Wiatuo) destroyed the *bali* of Adel (Yibidhieng of Wiatuo) claiming that the place belonged to them, not to Adel. It was located between the *bali* of Wangaliu and that of Lidit. Lidit intervened and accused Wangaliu. Some members of Lidit were beaten by Wangaliu on the spot. They brought the case to the *mojomiji* of Pucwa, and it was announced that the fight would be held the next morning.

The next day, they gathered in the *thworo* of Pucwa early in the morning. The rim of the *thworo* was full of spectators. The two groups, each of which consisted of no more than thirty members, sat in opposite corners facing each other. They did not wear shirts or trousers, but only short pants. Some had smeared

white ash on the body showing “we do not fear death.” Every one put on a helmet woven of grass fiber (*likuluk*), and had a hard stick about 120 cm long and a shield made of a longer stick with a hand protector of buffalo skin [Photo. 12]. Then both sides stood up and clashed in the middle of the *thworo*. In the midst of dust sounded the terrific noise of shouting, screaming, and the beating of sticks and shields. There were pairs fighting hand to hand [Photo. 13]. As soon as one fell down, spectators around rushed to him and stopped more beating. The defeat of Wangaliu, two age-groups junior to Lidit, soon became apparent. Most of them ran into the *kabore* in disarray and tried to counterattack. On seeing this, Lidit as one group charged them at full speed. A great confusion arose in the *kabore* and Wangaliu were chased away. The whole fight did not exceed five minutes.

In the afternoon a reconciliation ritual was performed in the *thworo* by the *mojomiji*. Both age-groups attended. Members of the *mojomiji*, one by one, soaked a kind of grass (*manhho*) in water in a gourd bowl and sprinkled water with the grass on the sitting members of the two age-groups, while making an invocation (*lam*) so that they would stay “cool” (*ngic*), that is, in peace. This ritual is called *kuk*. Then they drank beer together. After this, it was said, there would be no hatred between them. Each age-group was also fined a goat by the *mojomiji* for having had a fight. The two goats were slaughtered and eaten by the *mojomiji* and elders of Pucwa.

This type of stick fight is an appropriate occasion for members of an age-group to try and show off their fighting skills and bravery. It becomes publicly

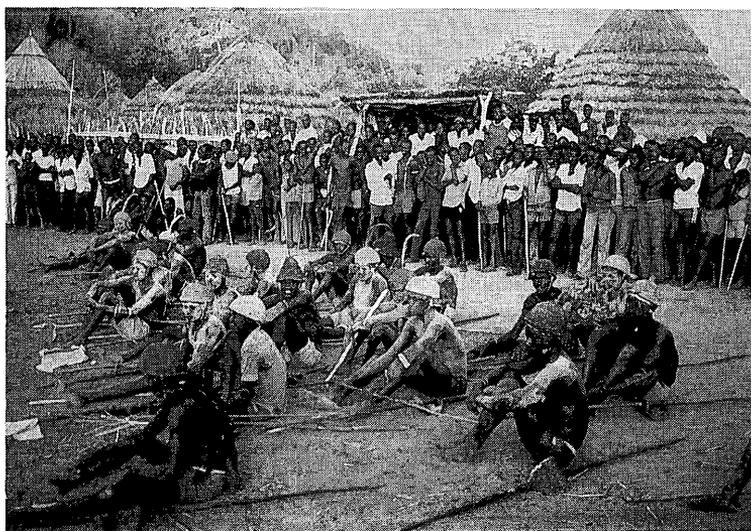


Photo. 12. Stick fight (1): members of the Lidit of Pucwa village sitting in the *thworo* before the fight (1984).



Photo. 13. Stick fight (2): a face to face match.

known because of the presence of spectators. It is also an occasion in which the authority of *mojomiji* over youngsters is demonstrated. They reserve the right of approval of a fight. I know of one case which they did not approve. It happened in November 1982 during Nyalam, the new year ceremony. Tungityedu (Firik of Wiatuo) and Moru (Acac of Wiatuo) of Kor quarreled while drinking together and wanted to fight. The following morning both groups gathered at their *bali* fully prepared. Having heard of the fight, I went to Kor. There I saw the *mojomiji* and elders of Kor trying to convince Tungityedu, the senior group, to stop the fight. They told Tungityedu, "If you want to fight Moru, fight us first." After some heated exchanges Tungityedu gave in. Then it was announced from the *kabore* that the fight had been prevented. I was told that the *mojomiji* did not approve it as it was during the time of Nyalam ceremony.

Few people are seriously injured in the fight. When one is beaten and falls down, the fight is over because of intervention by spectators. Thus they act as a "buffer of violence." Of course, if one is hit with a stick he may bleed or the hit part may become swollen. The swollen part is later cut out to remove congested blood. The scar remains as scarification, which serves as a mark of a stick fight of the past, engraved on the body.

The stick fight of C type, however, is much more violent than A and B types. It is fought between age-groups of different villages and is difficult to control. It often develops into a full scale confrontation between the two villages concerned. There are three cases of C type which happened during fieldwork.

[Stick fight between Morumaafi of Kor and Wiatuo (October 1982)]

One day about twenty Morumaafi of Kor and forty Morumaafi of Wiatuo separately went to harvest sorghum as communal work. They found one another working in neighboring fields. During the work, a Wiatuo man crossed the border and harvested some on the Kor side. They quarreled but did not fight as elders of both sides intervened. The chief of Kor, Mattia, was also present there. On their way back, the Wiatuo group came running after Kor and crossed in front of them carrying a red flag. This was an apparent provocation against the Kor group, but they ignored the challenge. In the evening, Mattia himself visited the *kabore* of Wiatuo and asked the *mojomiji* that an unnecessary fight should not happen. They agreed and called Morumaafi to give them a warning.

The following day, both groups went to work again in the same fields. A reconciliation was proposed and they drank beer together. However, on the way back a quarrel developed into a fight. It was stopped by others. Morumaafi of Wiatuo, carrying three flags (white, red and black), ran across in front of the Kor group. Mattia was among them and ordered not to fight. Then Wiatuo attacked Kor and were repulsed. Again they attacked and were repulsed. In the meantime they called those members of the age-group who had remained in the village for help. When they joined in, Wiatuo attacked Kor for the third time and chased them away. At that stage the number of Morumaafi of Wiatuo was about fifty, while that of Kor was twenty. In the fight many were seriously injured since, in addition to sticks, machetes and axes were also used. These had been brought for the work in the field. Shields and helmets were not used. Morumaafi of Wiatuo, some of them bleeding, marched *ipuura*, shouting in excitement and boasting the victory, and then went home.

The following morning a Wiatuo man who had been seriously hurt died. Police stationed in Lafon arrested three Wiatuo men and one Kor man, who was supposed to have given the fatal blow to the deceased. A week later they were brought to the police office in Torit town. The case was officially given back to the hands of the Pari peacemaker (*likweri*). This is principally an office occupied either by the chief of Wiatuo or by that of Kor. For this case the chief of Pugeru played the part since neither of the former were neutral. Finally, in January 1983, compensation in cattle was paid from the murderer's side to the side of the deceased. The case was settled in a peaceful way.

In other cases, however, the antagonism between two age-groups may escalate to inter-village level.

[Stick fight between Ithajaanga of Kor and Teteu of Pugeru and its escalation (October 1994)]

Ithajaanga of Kor (Agweno of Wiatuo) and Teteu of Pugeru (Acac of Wiatuo) fought on the way back from the field. As in the above case, they went separately

for cooperative work. The Kor group, the junior one, was defeated and fled. On hearing this, Lilanga and Gem (senior to Teteu) of Kor rushed to Teteu of Pugeru and beat them up thoroughly. In the evening the *mojomiji* of Pugeru held a meeting in the *kabore*. They accused Kor of unjust intervention by two senior age-groups and decided to mobilize all men, to prepare sticks, shields and helmets, and to attack Kor the next morning. The *mojomiji* of Kor also decided to fight against Pugeru.

The following morning, both sides confronted each other in the open space between the two villages. Each village mobilized forces of several hundred, from elders to young boys of the Agweno age-group. They took positions according to age-groups. The three most senior groups of youngsters—Madan, Morumaafi, and Madir—were in front. Some Lidit were also among them. Elders and *mojomiji* were in the middle. Junior youngsters from Lidit to Agweno were at the back. When they were ready, a *mojomiji* of Pugeru walked towards Kor and threw a lion skin at them as a symbol of their bravery. A *mojomiji* of Kor threw some ash on the ground, showing that they would beat the enemy to ashes. Police present at the scene also made a request of both sides. They said, "Please do not beat a fallen man. If you do so, he may die and the government will intervene."

Then the two forces clashed. The process of fighting was longer and more complicated than the case of age-group stick fights. Each side pursued the fleeing enemy up to the other's village.

It is difficult to tell which side was the winner. It should be noted that the fight was conducted in line with the normal regulations. One elder of Kor broke his arm, but he was the only one that was seriously wounded. That is remarkable considering the size of the fight.

Also present were a crowd of people from the other four villages, plus women and children of Kor and Pugeru. It is noteworthy that spectators from Wiatuo, Bura and Pucwa were not neutral. Obviously they were on the Pugeru side and cheered them up, although they did not assist in the actual fight. When a Pugeru man was beaten and fell down, they immediately intervened to stop the fight. But in the opposite case, they were reluctant to do so. I also heard that on the previous evening many of these villagers lent sticks, shields and helmets to Pugeru men. Only those of Angulumere, who are immediate neighbors of Kor, remained neutral.

The next case of C type is very extreme and extraordinary. But the basic pattern is surprisingly similar to the above two cases. Again it took place between age-groups of Kor and Wiatuo and again when they went to the field for cooperative work.

[Stick fight between Ithajaanga of Kor and Agweno of Wiatuo and its escalation (September 1985)]

Ithajaanga of Kor (Agweno of Wiatuo) were provoked by Agweno of Wiatuo on the way back home. They fought and Wiatuo was defeated. One Wiatuo boy was seriously injured. They called other members of Agweno and went to Kor. They attacked Ithajaanga and Moru and destroyed their *bali*. In the meantime the injured boy died. In the evening the acting government chief (a Wiatuo man) and two elders of Wiatuo visited the *mojomiji* of Kor in the *kabore* and asked them to come to Wiatuo to bury the dead. For the *mojomiji* of Kor this was a very unusual request. They did not go.

The following morning the acting chief of Kor (the chief had been expelled from the village by the *mojomiji* for having stopped rain) handed over the murderer for protection to the army platoon. (As the civil war had escalated, a platoon was stationed in Lafon at the time.) Then villagers of Wiatuo came to attack Kor. They were several hundred, armed not only with sticks but with machetes and spears. Elders and even women were among them. Kor villagers did not resist but only fled. Wiatuo set fire to the *kabore* and destroyed all the *bali* facing the *thworo*. It was only after the army platoon with an armed vehicle took action and went there, shooting into the air, that Wiatuo retreated to their village. No one was killed in the incident.

The *kabore* and the drums kept in it were burnt down to the ground. It was an incident that had no precedent in remembered Pari history. Also extraordinary was the use of spears, which should only be used against "enemies." In November of that year Kor boycotted the Nyalam ceremony. This is the New Year ceremony in which the *mojomiji* and elders of the six villages discuss the way of ruling and pray for a prosperous coming year. It is a very important occasion for the Pari as a whole. Kor did not attend it. They also announced that they would not accept any Wiatuo man in the fishing camps in Kor territory. In the meantime Kor brought the case to the district court in Torit. But, as far as I know, it has never been settled. The political unity of the Pari has been in danger.

Stick fights of C type have the potential to develop into an inter-village confrontation. They even contain the danger of splits in Pari society. This is particularly so when age-groups of Kor and other villages, especially Wiatuo, are involved. The conflict may develop along the cleavage of the social structure, and the old segmentary rivalry may be renewed and revived.

IV. ADMINISTRATION BY THE MOJOMIJI

1. *Mojomiji* as a Collective Government

The *mojomiji* form a kind of collective government. The *mojomiji* of each village are in charge of its own affairs and the *mojomiji* of the six villages

take care of the entire Pari society. They hold meetings (*ripo*) to discuss different issues, in which any *mojomiji* can participate and state his opinion. The meeting of a village is held in the *kabore*, while the meeting of the six villages is held in an open place just outside one of the villages.

When they reach the stage of *mojomiji*, corporate identity in an age-group dissolve into identity as *mojomiji* in general. Thus during the rule of the Anywaa age-set, the four age-sets from Anywaa to Adeo were generally referred to as "Anywaa," although the inner divisions were never completely lost. In a *kabore*, they shared a common fire-place, a platform, and a hut. In the case of the elders, the Ukwer and Lilalo age-groups are called Ukwer. Kwara, Bondipala, Ithiyio and Yuulu are called Kwara. The Kilang and Thangakwo age-groups, who retired when Anywaa took over, are called Kilang. All of them shared a common fire-place, but Ukwer-Kwara and Kilang had separate platforms and huts. As we have already discussed, Kwara and Anywaa are *jo-tengo*, while Ukwer and Kilang are *jo-wic*. As *jo-tengo*, Kwara is under Ukwer, and cannot have its own platform and hut. In the same way, when Anywaa retires, they share with Kilang.

The *mojomiji* also bear legal functions. A *mojomiji* has the authority to beat any misbehaving youngster with a stick or whip. The *mojomiji* have the right to fine wrongdoers; those who have fought or have not obeyed an order. A fine is collected in the form of sorghum grains or a goat, and it is eaten by the *mojomiji*. A case is heard and the judgement is passed at a court held in the *kabore*.

It is doubtful, however, to what extent these institutionalized legal functions are "traditional." The court is called *likigo* and its judge, who is chosen among the *mojomiji* themselves, is called *mukungu*. These are not Pari but Kiganda words. When the administration of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was established in the region during the 1920's, it introduced a "native court" system based on the Baganda model, at least on the terminological level. Each *mukungu* is under the government chief who is in charge of the Pari as a whole. Therefore, it is highly probable that the present village court is a colonial legacy [KURIMOTO 1994b: 147-149].

Then we have to ask ourselves; what is exactly meant by the word "administration" or "rule" by the *mojomiji*?; what sort of spheres of life are under their control? As discussed above, Pari regard them as the "head" (*wic*) of the people. We have to ask what that means. We have already seen that in the case of stick fights by age-groups of youngsters, they put them under control, prevent further escalation of violence and secure peaceful relations between the two groups. This is certainly an essential part of their work. Put in a more general way, the following may be a typical view. In an answer to my straight forward question, "What is the work of the *mojomiji*?", a prominent leader (*liloo*) of Anywaa of Wiatuo village said, "It used to be to wage a war (*many*),

but now it is to secure enough food (*kwon*).” I am of the opinion that this statement represent people’s common view and may also represent reality. The military aspect, however, is not dead. Rather, in the climate of ever growing insecurity and insurgency in the region since the 1980’s, the military role of the *mojomiji* has been reinforced.

Before examining how the *mojomiji* actually work, it should be noted that my knowledge and understanding of the process of decision making is very limited. This is partly because I, being a youngster, was not allowed to attend a meeting at the *kabore* and partly because my relations with the *mojomiji* of Wiatuo, who make important decisions concerning all the Pari, was not so intimate as with those of Pugeru and Kor. The decision making of Wiatuo is also difficult to know for people of other villages. They only know it when it is publicly announced or brought into action. It may be said that the secrecy and exclusiveness surrounding the process is in itself a source of political power.

2. Coping with External Enemies

After the fall of Idi Amin’s regime in Uganda in 1979, a lot of automatic rifles were smuggled into Sudan. The Toposa were one of the first to obtain them in exchange for cattle²²⁾. The better armed Toposa began to dispatch cattle raiding parties to prey on neighboring peoples who were less well armed at the time. Pari dry season cattle camps were included in the list of victims. In 1982, a camp of the Pugeru village was raided. In Pari a raid is called *aliipa* or *kuu*, which is a different category from warfare (*many*) or a counter-attack (*uduru*) against an enemy’s attack.

For the Pari it was the first attack by the Toposa since around 1930, when Alangore were the *mojomiji*. Raids continued and on January 3rd 1983, while I was in the field, a cattle camp of Bura village on the Hoss river was raided by a group of raiders armed with spears and automatic rifles²³⁾. Two men were killed on the spot, five were seriously injured, and some four hundred cattle were driven away.

[Cattle raid by Toposa (January 1983)]

When the news reached Bura around 8 p.m. on January 3rd, the drum of *uduru* was beaten by the *mojomiji*. The news was passed to the *mojomiji* of other villages. At once hundreds of men from the six villages, from all of the three age-

22) This could be done presumably because they have trade relations with the Karimojong, Jie and Dodoth, with whom the Toposa share a common ancestry.

23) In the beginning it was said that the raiders were Lopit. Later, based on some circumstantial evidence, it was claimed that they must either have been Tenet or Toposa. The Tenet is a small group of Surmic people who live in the northeastern part of the Lopit mountains. The Pari call them Ajiba, as they do the Murle and Narim (Longarim). The police investigation confirmed that the raid had been carried out by a group of Toposa, but the government took no measures, as had been the case for the Toposa raid in the previous year.

grades, rushed in the direction of the camp with spears in their hands. Some were carrying rifles. They tracked the foot prints of raiders and cattle throughout the night until the afternoon of the following day. They could not, however, catch up with the raiders and decided to go back home. In the meantime the *mojomiji* of each village ordered women to go with water and food to receive the returning chasers on their way.

On January 6th, the *mojomiji* of the six villages held a meeting (*ripo*) to discuss counter-measures at Nguleero ("under *leero* trees"), an open place between Kor and Puger. Elders also attended. It lasted for an hour and there were heated exchanges of opinions. People of Bura insisted that all Pari men should be mobilized again to pursue the raiders and the cattle. This was rejected by others who proposed a more moderate and realistic plan. They also accused the Bura *mojomiji* of being careless and coward. They claimed that a group of selected youngsters, instead of all Pari men, should be sent for reconnaissance and that they should first wait for the result of the police investigation. The district executive officer had visited Lafon the previous day and promised to send a police search party.

On January 6th and 7th the *mojomiji* of Bura held a separate meeting in their own *kabore*. The aim was to find a cause of the raid: to find somebody on whom to put the blame. They reached the conclusion that two Bura men who had recently died must have made a *cien* (ghostly vengeance) so that the Toposa would come and destroy the village. They exhumed the graves and burnt the corpses outside the village.

As the above case clearly shows, when the Pari are attacked by an external enemy, it is the responsibility of the *mojomiji* to take military and other counter-measures. Even though the victim is only one village, it is considered an attack on the Pari as a whole, and thus the *mojomiji* of all the six villages are involved in taking action. It is also their responsibility to identify an "internal enemy" who allegedly caused the disaster and to punish that, as the *mojomiji* of Bura did. If the *mojomiji* reach consensus that it was caused by someone's ghostly vengeance, his grave is exhumed and the corpse is either burnt or thrown into the river.

Cattle raids by the Toposa continued. They raided Pari cattle camps on two more occasions in 1984 and 1985. Each time the *mojomiji* took the same measures as described above. The Pari, however, remained losers. They could neither recover the loss of cattle, nor take revenge on the Toposa. To their disappointment, investigations by the police did not bear any fruit.

The military role of the *mojomiji* was revitalized in the course of the escalation of the Sudanese civil war and the liberation of the Pari by the SPLA (Sudan People's Liberation Army) in April 1986. As I have argued elsewhere [KURIMOTO 1994a: 99-104], Pari youngsters who had been recruited to the SPLA and later returned home with weapons of their own will started to active-

ly engage in independent military operations. The *mojomiji* were also involved and sometimes it is difficult to tell by whose initiative and orders an operation was conducted. At least the *mojomiji* organized two military expeditions in retaliation against neighboring peoples. One was against Loronyo, a Lotuho village, in 1986, the other was against three Lopit villages in 1990. In both cases Pari men of the six villages, including those in the SPLA rank and file, were mobilized, and they attacked, looted domestic animals and burnt down the village. They were armed not only with spears but also with modern weapons supplied by the SPLA. It is not certain whether they recognized these attacks as counter-attack (*uduru*) or warfare (*many*). On another occasion in 1990, when a group of Toposa government militiamen came to Lafon on their way home from Juba and asked for food, the *mojomiji* assaulted them, killing many of them [KURIMOTO 1994a: 103].

3. Coping with Internal Enemies

The word “food” (*kwon*) is a common topic in the invocations of elders. To secure enough food is a fundamental concern for the *mojomiji*. *Kwon*, in a strict sense, refers to thick sorghum porridge which is their main diet. Therefore, enough food means enough harvest of sorghum. Pari men are industrious cultivators and in normal years they produce more sorghum than they consume. Due to irregularity of rainfall, sorghum production is, however, highly unstable from year to year, and from village to village within the same year. Not only drought but also an excess of rain may result in a poor harvest. Damage by birds (weaver birds in particular) and insects (locusts in particular), which can be disastrous, is another natural factor contributing to a poor harvest. The Pari do not attribute these kinds of natural disasters either to bad fortune or to the will of God. It is believed to be caused by certain kinds of people who are supposed to have the power to control rain, birds and insects. A natural disaster is interpreted as an expression of malice by such people. It is the responsibility of the *mojomiji* to identify the person and to take necessary measures to remove the cause [KURIMOTO 1986b: 110–124, 1994c].

Efforts by the *mojomiji* to fulfill this responsibility often result in violent conflicts. During the period between 1982 and 1984 alone, four persons were killed, three were expelled from the village, two fled in fear of being killed, while the graves of three men were exhumed. In 1980 the former rain-chief Pidele died and the office was succeeded by the senior wife, Nyibur, as their eldest son was still small. She was killed in 1984. The process and pattern of this “rain conflict” is discussed at length in my previous papers [KURIMOTO 1986b, 1991, 1994c]²⁴). Therefore, I present here only a summary with an emphasis on the role of the *mojomiji*.

24) Simon Simonse has also summarized my description and accounts [SIMONSE 1992: 367–370].

[Rain conflict and the *mojomiji*, 1982]

In 1982, after the sowing in April there was a spell of dry weather, although the fields of Bura and Pucwa eventually received enough rain. At first the *mojomiji* of Wiatuo met Nyibur, the rain-chief, and asked her to make rain. In May, as the situation worsened, Nyibur and Anyala, an elderly member of the Wiatuo dominant clan who was believed to have rain-medicines, were summoned by the *mojomiji* of Wiatuo. They, together with the wife of Anyala, were beaten with sticks and whips. Nyibur repeated an excuse that it was not her but Akudu, a female diviner-healer (*ajwa*) in Bura that had been preventing rain. The plea was accepted and Akudu was brought to Wiatuo. She was beaten and finally confessed that she had been asked by five Anywaa of Bura to stop rain in the Wiatuo fields. The *mojomiji* of Wiatuo ordered the Madan age-group to go and arrest these five men. Two of them were captured. On their way to Wiatuo they were seriously beaten by Madan and died. The *mojomiji* of Bura, who had been categorically denying the allegation, reported the case to the police. Nine Wiatuo men were arrested and brought into police custody in Torit. Later they escaped and came back home. The case was never pursued. On hearing of the murder, an elder brother of one of the victims killed Akudu in a rage for having revealed the name. This murder was not considered a case either by the *mojomiji* of Bura or by the police.

In June the drought even deteriorated. Being repeatedly threatened by the *mojomiji* of Wiatuo, Nyibur and Anyala fled from the village. At the beginning of August, the *mojomiji* invited an Acholi rain-chief to Lafon. It was said that he came with very powerful rain-medicines and as soon as he arrived, rain started to fall. The rain, however, continued until September when no more rain was needed. The *mojomiji* asked the rain-chief to stop the rain, but it continued. They decided to expel him. He left Lafon in the middle of September. The harvest of 1982 was one of the poorest for the last ten years. Not only the drought but also the excessive rain in August and September had a negative effect on the harvest. In addition, a flock of weaver-birds caused damage, in August, especially in the fields of Puger and Kor.

[Rain conflict and the *mojomiji*, 1983]

In 1983 rain was scarce in April and May. The *mojomiji* of Wiatuo decided to call back Nyibur and Anyala who were staying in Torit town. They were prevailed upon by some elders who had been sent by the *mojomiji* and came back home in the middle of May. Even after their return, the drought continued. Because of the poor harvest in the previous year, the stored sorghum was soon to be finished. Hunger was becoming a serious threat. The *mojomiji* of Wiatuo tried to find a cause and reached the conclusion that it had been caused by the *cien* of Pidele, the former rain-chief who had died in 1980. In early June they exhumed his grave and threw the corpse into the Hoss river. After that rain started to fall and people sowed sorghum again. The hunger situation was getting worse.

In July the rain stopped again. The *mojomiji* of Wiatuo called all the *mojomiji* and held a meeting at Nguleero. Both Nyibur and Anyala were summoned. There it was revealed that the two of them and two elders of Pugeru and Kor had met a female Lotuho diviner, who had been on a visit to Lafon, to find the cause of the drought. She had told them that the rain had been prevented by Anyala. They kept it a secret. Each of the two elders were fined an ox by the *mojomiji* for not having reported the case. Two oxen were immediately brought to Nguleero and slaughtered. Nyibur and Anyala were ordered to try to make rain. When the meeting was over the *mojomiji* and the elders divided the meat, roasted and ate it.

After the meeting Nyibur and Anyala were confined in their respective huts so that they would concentrate on the work. That night Anyala escaped and fled to Torit. Then it started to rain. People were convinced that it had been Anyala that had prevented rain. In this year the harvest of sorghum was very successful. Therefore people could forget about the rain problem for a while.

[Rain conflict and the *mojomiji*, 1984]

The pattern of rainfall of the year was similar to that of the previous year. Rain was not sufficient in May and June. The second sowing failed. The *mojomiji* of Wiatuo reached the conclusion that the rain had been prevented by the *cien* of an elder of Kilang who had died the previous year. His grave was exhumed and the corpse was thrown away.

In June the *mojomiji* of Wiatuo called two meetings at Nguleero. During interrogation Nyibur made the excuse that she had been trying her best. She also said that she only possessed rain-stones, but no rain-medicine. While threatening her, the *mojomiji* of each village gave her gifts—money and sorghum—to please her, so that she would make rain. The situation did not improve. In early July a third meeting was held at Agoola, outside of Wiatuo. On the previous evening the *mojomiji* of Wiatuo announced the meeting and ordered that every one should stay in the village. Not only the *mojomiji* and elders, but also youngsters, women and children attended the meeting. During the interrogation Nyibur repeated the same excuse. Some youngsters of Madan got excited and beat her with sticks and whips, but were stopped by the *mojomiji*. Then she confessed that she had rain-medicine. She was taken home by the *mojomiji* of Wiatuo to hand it over. It was thought it was of no use as long as she had no intention of making rain.

The following day a fourth meeting was held at Ajwa, a more distant place than Agoola. Only the *mojomiji* and Nyibur were present. A fire was lit. She was beaten and thrown into the fire. This was repeated three times and she died. The dead body was left in the bush. After her death it started to rain. So people were convinced that she had been preventing the rain.

It is apparent from the above events that the *mojomiji* of Wiatuo have the

responsibility of supervising the work of the rain-chief, to find out the cause of rain disorder, i.e. drought or excessive rain, and to restore order. Their ultimate concern is to eliminate enemies who are hostile to the community, and to secure enough food.

Rain conflicts also developed independently in Kor village. Since Mattia, the chief of Kor, possessed rain-stones and rain-medicine, although he was not called a rain-chief, he was considered to be responsible for rain as far as the Kor fields were concerned. As was mentioned before, after the death of Nyiburu it started to rain. Kor was, however, the only exception. The *mojomiji* of Kor asked Mattia again and again to make rain, but he failed. Suspicion was growing around him. In the middle of September a meeting was called by the *mojomiji*. There Mattia was given an ultimatum that unless he would be able to make rain within two days, he would be expelled. Rain did not come and he left the village for Torit.

Therefore, when the rain season of 1984 was over, there was nobody considered to have rain power; Anyala had fled, Nyibur had died and Mattia had been expelled. Wiatuo could no longer claim the responsibility for other villages. When the next rain season started in 1985, it became a central concern of the *mojomiji* of each village to secure rain for their own. The political autonomy of the village was strengthened. This fact became a source of inter-village conflict. In fact, at a general meeting of the *mojomiji* which was held at the end of May to discuss the cause of drought, Wiatuo accused Bura and Kor for preventing rain. Of course, the allegation was denied by the two villages.

Then the *mojomiji* of Wiatuo sent a delegation to a renowned Falata²⁵⁾ diviner in Juba town, hoping that he could tell the cause of the drought. The *mojomiji* of Pugeru invited a Lotuho diviner from Torit for the same reason, while the *mojomiji* of Kor invited the rain-chief of Lokiri, a Lotuho village, to make rain for them. He did a successful job. The reward paid to them in cash, sorghum, sorghum beer, and domestic animals was considerably high. The *mojomiji* bore the cost.

V. "SEIZING THE VILLAGE": INITIATION OF THE NEW MOJOMIJI

1. Basic Features of Initiation

The initiation of the new *mojomiji*, which takes place about every ten years, is one of the most colorful and dramatic events in Pari society. It marks the retirement of the old *mojomiji* into the elders' grade and the promotion of

25) In the Sudan immigrants from West Africa are called Falata. Most of them are Hausa and Fulbe (Fulani).

the senior age-sets in the youngsters' grade to the grade of *mojomiji* to become the "head." In Pari this succession is called "taking out the head" (*kanno wok ki wic*), "taking out the village" (*kanno wok ki paac*), or "seizing the village" (*mak paac*). The latest succession of Anywaa by Madan took place in October 1988, in the midst of the civil war. Anywaa had taken over from Kilang in 1977. Kilang succeeded Kwara in 1967. Kwara succeeded Ukwer in 1958. Ukwer took over Kalang in 1947. The exact year of succession before that is unknown.

The *mojomiji* as the rulers are called *jo-wic*, "head people." There are two types: *jo-geedo* ("builders") and *jo-tengo* ("rethatchers"). As these names imply, the former is considered real *jo-wic*, who construct a new house to live in, while the latter are a kind of renewers or assistants who inherit the old house and only rethatch the roof instead of building a new one. Although the ritual process of initiation is long and complex, and there are differences between the succession by *jo-geedo* and by *jo-tengo*, crucial stages can be discerned as follows.

- 1) A proposal of succession by the next *mojomiji* is made and the consent of the current *mojomiji* is obtained.
- 2) The next *mojomiji* drink beer spat out by the *mojomiji*.
- 3) A new fire is made by the Tong clan after all fire in the villages has been extinguished in order to mark a new start. All of the new *mojomiji* go out of the village, discuss policies they will implement during their rule and make invocations throughout the night. They also take the bull's skull, which was sacrificed on the former *mojomiji*'s initiation, and throw it into the river ("taking out the head").
- 4) On the following morning they go to the *thworo* of Wiatuo and capture the drums by force after a mock fight against the old *mojomiji*, which marks the succession; the capture of the drums is the seizure of the village.
- 5) After the capture of the drums, they dance in the *thworo*. This is followed by speeches and invocations by the new *mojomiji*. The new elders also make speeches. Then a dance participated in by all Pari and a beer feast continue throughout the day.
- 6) The next day, the rain-chief offers a bull and blesses it by smearing sorghum flour and crop seeds on its back. By this act the bull becomes tamed like an ox. It is sacrificed by *mojomiji*. The head is cut off after each former *mojomiji* spits into its mouth. The *mojomiji* go out of the village with the head, roast it and eat it ("taking out the head"). The rest of the animal except for the lungs is roasted and eaten by the elders. The lungs are given to the wives of the *mojomiji*. The bull's skull is kept in a special hut.

The ritual process has a political aspect as well. The *mojomiji* in power do



Photo. 14. Members of the Lidit of Pucwa village including the author in full dress for a dance. They are sitting at their *bali*. Note the flags of the age-group and the black clay smeared on their body. (1985).

not hand it over with pleasure. They do so unwillingly. They try to stay in power as long as possible and therefore it takes a few years before they finally agree, after the first demand of succession is made by the next *mojomiji*. During that period negotiations and maneuvers continue between the two parties. The next *mojomiji* demonstrate their physical strength and prowess and challenge the current *mojomiji*, claiming that their rule is weak and inefficient. Since the initiation should take place in a year of good harvest, a poor harvest can be an excuse by the *mojomiji* to postpone it. Seen from the side of the next *mojomiji*, this could be interpreted as deliberately preventing rain and causing hunger so that they could stay in power longer.

This was the case during the period 1984–1986, when the Pari were stricken by drought, hunger, cattle raids by the Toposa and the turbulence of the civil war. These disasters were attributed to the weakness of Anywaa. During the Nyalam ceremony in 1985 the Lidit age-set underwent the ceremony of “smearing black clay.” Members of Lidit, including myself, smeared black clay on each other’s upper body [Photo. 14]. After this, Lidit together with Madir were entitled to put on the head dress of *litaango* (black ostrich feathers) for a dance. It is a symbol of warriors who fight in the front line. I was told that we were endowed with the authority to beat any misbehaving junior youngster with stick or whip. Now Madan and Morumaafi who had been using *litaango*, put on *licaaro* (white ostrich feathers) as a symbol of *mojomiji*. They were ready to take over from Anywaa at any time. It took, however, three more years

before they finally succeeded in 1988.

Even after the *mojomiji* officially approve the handing over power, some remain unhappy. They may become very critical of the administration by the new *mojomiji*. They may even wish that disasters would fall on the new *mojomiji*. That is why the mouth of each former *mojomiji* is checked to find nothing hidden before he spits into the mouth of the sacrificed bull. Those with malice may spit with wild edible fruits in their mouths, so that the new *mojomiji* would suffer from hunger. Ghostly vengeance (*cien*) is another means for a malicious elder to bring misfortune on the new *mojomiji*. Therefore relations of confrontation and antagonism between the old and new *mojomiji* start well before the actual initiation and continue for years even after the succession.

2. Succession of Kwara by Kilang (1967)

I did not personally have a chance to witness an initiation of the new *mojomiji*. The Anywaa succession took place a year before my first visit and I was not able to attend the latest one of Madan in 1988 because of the civil war. The following accounts of the succession of Kwara by Kilang in 1967 were narrated to me by Vitale Lipula in Juba town in 1986. He is an Anya Nya²⁶⁾ veteran, and at the time of the interview was a prison officer working in Juba. He was one of the “sons of *atieli*” who represented the Kilang of Wiatuo in the succession negotiations with the Ukwer of Wiatuo. Just before the talks he was called back from an Anya Nya base in the Lopit mountains where he had been, as his presence was, according to his own statement, indispensable. His accounts are very comprehensive and detailed. They are particularly valuable since Kilang are *jo-geedo*, true *jo-wic*. Differences from the succession by *jo-tengo* will be discussed later.

The negotiations started in June 1967 between Kilang (including Thangakwo) and Ukwer (including Lilalo) of Wiatuo. Kwara were excluded because they are *jo-tengo*. Those representatives of Kilang and Ukwer, about ten men from each, were “sons of *atieli*,” advisors to the age-group’s *rwath*. The issue of succession was expressed in the idiom of marriage negotiations.

Kilang: “I want to marry your daughter.”

Ukwer: “Do you want to marry? No, it’s not possible. Do you have things (*jam-mi*, bridewealth)?”

Kilang: “Yes, I do.”

Ukwer: “Alright. If you want to marry, there is no problem. Let me go and think over this problem. When I think it well, I will come to you.”

26) Anya Nya is the southern Sudanese secessionist movement which fought against the central government in Khartoum until 1972.

They met again in September when sorghum was already ripe. Ukwer agreed to hand over power.

Ukwer: "You, do you want to marry my daughter?"

Kilang: "Yes."

Ukwer: "Is it possible for you?"

Kilang: "Yes."

Ukwer: "Now I leave it to you. You marry her. Remember that if you don't catch it properly, the village will be spoiled."

Kilang: "We are able to do that."

Ukwer: "OK. Now you will 'bring the head out', like Alangore, Bongcut and Akem did before. From today if you go to the *thworo*, you are the *mojomiji*. When you talk with someone, a boy, and he speaks bad words and spoils your village, then you come together and discuss. Then let him die. Tomorrow, at five in the morning, we shall come together."

In reality, the discussion lasted for a month. Not only in Wiatuo but also in every village Kilang discussed with Ukwer. Ukwer of the six villages should agree. When the talk was finally finished in October, they drank beer together. All Ukwer who were present spat into the gourd of beer (as a blessing). Then Kilang drank it. They drank throughout the night until early in the morning. Then Kilang went fishing to the Hoss river. They brought some fish, cooked and ate it with Ukwer. They ate fish, not animal meat, because they should not see blood. If fish was not available, dried or smoked meat, or vegetables would do. Then Ukwer called Kwara and told them that they had agreed to hand over power.

After some days, all fire in all six villages was put out at midnight and the Tong clan made a new fire with fire-making sticks in the *thworo* of Wiatuo²⁷⁾. The new fire was first brought to the *kabore* and then distributed to all homesteads. With this fire the six age-groups of Wiatuo, from Kilang down to Adeo, went to Limungole, a place on the Hoss river, outside Pucwa village. They took the skulls of the bulls of Ukwer and Kwara²⁸⁾, demolished the hut in which they had been kept, and threw them into the river. The six age-groups of other villages followed. All of them gathered at Limungole. They were in the full dress of *mojomiji*: leopard and black-and-white colobus skins on the upper body and head dresses of different feathers. Kilang and Thangakwo put on

27) The Tong clan is said to be the first settlers of Wiatuo. That is why they are entitled to make new fire on the initiation. The other occasion when the Pari make new fire is Nyalam, the new year ceremony. On this occasion it is not the Tong clan but the Wira clan of Pucwa that makes fire.

28) The bulls were sacrificed during the initiations of Ukwer and Kwara. The skulls had been kept in a special hut at Liponne or Ungunyadegec on the Wiatuo side of Lipul hill.

ligira or *licaaro* (white ostrich feathers). Anywaa put on *aleero* (white ostrich feathers in front and black ones at the back). Akeo put on *litango* (black ostrich feathers). Maridi put on *agiira* (brown ostrich feathers). Adeo put on *uthwonh* (red feathers of the red bishop bird)²⁹⁾.

At Limungole they discussed how to rule and made invocations (*lam*) so that their rule would be successful. The first speaker was Akala, the *liloo* of Kilang of Wiatuo. His speech was as follows.

“The village has already been given to us. We want food to continue [to be plenty] during our rule. We from the six villages, we have taken out the village from Ukwer. Today, when we go back home, the village is ours. Now we don’t want each village to go its own way. We should be united as one. There should be food. Our ideas should be one. We should cry only for food. Ukwer, who have become old, are in the village. They should eat food. Ukwer should die when there is food. Now the sun is going to rise. It rises for you. Never go back again.”

Each village had one speaker who was the *liloo* of Kilang. After Wiatuo, there followed Bura, Pucwa, Pugeru and Angulumere. The last one was Kor. Each village had one speaker. The speeches continued until early in the morning when the star of Limeth³⁰⁾ appeared on the horizon.

When the discussion and invocation was over, they marched as a single group making *ipuura*, while singing self-praising or virtue boasting songs (*twaaro*) and blowing horns. They went around outside areas of Pucwa, Bura and Wiatuo villages. Then they rushed to the *thworo* of Wiatuo where the “enemy” (*jur*), that is, Kwara were waiting for them. They were armed with sticks, while the new *mojomiji* were not armed. They made their way by force through Kwara while being severely beaten. Finally they reached the *thworo* and the *liloo* of Kilang of Wiatuo beat the drums. The sound meant that they had captured them from the enemy. Kwara retreated to the *kabore* where Ukwer had been sitting. The new *mojomiji* danced for three songs and sat down according to age-sets. Kilang on the right side and Thangakwo on the left were in the middle. Anywaa sat next to Kilang, while Akeo was next to Thangakwo. The *liloo* of Kilang of each village made an invocation. Wiatuo was the first to speak.

29) *Ligira* is for those who organize a war, while *litango* is for those who actually fight in the front.

30) The star of Limeth appears on the northeastern horizon early in the morning in November after the stars of Nyalam (Arcturus and Muphrud of the Herdsman) appear. When it rises up in the sky in January and February, wild animals go drinking water early in the morning. That is why the star in that season is called “the star of buffaloes.”

“My brother [addressing Ukwer and Kwara], sit down. Today, when you sleep, you sleep because of me. The land (*ngom*) is mine. Cows going for grazing, they are mine. A woman going to get firewood, she is mine. Today, I have changed the land to be new. You just take off your hair, shave it [A shaved head is a sign of elders]. If you have cows, I will allow you to marry. If the girl does not want you, I can make it for you by force. May sorghum be ripe! May cows give birth! May women give birth! May sick people get up!”

When the speeches of the six Kilang ended, Ukwer came out to the *thworo* and spoke.

“My brother, will you really be able to manage? There are so many problems in the village. I put down my hoe. I put down my spear. I cannot carry them now. I give them to you.”

“Now Kilang, today I take off the thread of my necklace. I put it around your neck. Today you are an evil eye (*cijwok*), you are a witch (*lilwo*). You are someone who stops rain. You are a thief. I, Ukwer, my place is far from you. Are you able to do that? Enemy is coming, coming from Toposaland, from anywhere. I cannot run. That is your job. Are you able to do that?”

Then Kilang sang the song of *wic*. Ukwer and Kilang danced together. Then Kilang went out of the *thworo* to drink beer. Kwara came in and danced. After drinking Kilang came back. Kwara went away and Kilang danced. When Kilang went away again, Kwara came back and danced.

The following morning, the chief of Wiatuo, Pidele, offered a bull for sacrifice (*wal*). Eight men were chosen to bring the bull: four from Kilang and the other four from Thangakwo. They caught its horns and drove it by force. They were expected to show their physical strength. When the bull was brought to the *thworo* of Wiatuo, Pidele brought some sorghum and beer flour, seeds of sorghum, cowpeas, groundnuts, sesame, and all other edible crops. He smeared them on the bull's back so that there would be enough food. By this act “the bull became like an ox”; it became weak and tamed like a castrated beast³¹). Then the bull was driven around the villages in an anti-clockwise direction and taken to the *thworo* of Bura. All Kilang followed it making *ipuura*. They sat in the *thworo*, Kilang on the right side and Tangakwo on the left.

31) A youngster often describes himself “son of the bull” (*wo-thwonh*) in virtue boasting. A *thwonh* generally means a male animal, but in this context it refers to a bull. An ox is called *bwoc*, which also means a sterile man. Unlike other pastoralists in East Africa, Pari youngsters do not “identify” themselves with “favorite oxen.” The transformation from a bull to an ox, I suppose, symbolizes the transformation from virile and violent youngsters to composed *mojomi-ji*.

When the bull came between them, a Kilang, then a Thangakwo speared it.

When it fell down it was brought to Kar Wic, “the place of *wic*”, at the back of the *thworo*. Its mouth was opened and placed on a stone. Ukwer who had been sitting near the *kabore* were called one by one. When an Ukwer came, he opened the mouth to show nothing was in and spat saliva into the bull’s mouth for blessing. If an Ukwer should spit into the bull’s mouth with a wild fruit in his mouth, then hunger would come. That was why his mouth was checked³²⁾. After the spitting, the head was cut off. The lower jaw was given to Thangakwo. The upper part was for Kilang. Then Kilang and Thangakwo separately ran out of the village with the head and met at Ajwa, a place outside of Bura. Four age-sets from Anywaa to Adeo joined them. They roasted the head and ate it. After eating they came back home making *ipuura*. The skull of the bull was put in the newly built hut on the Lipit hill.

Wives of the new *mojomiji* also joined them and ate the head as they had been told by Ukwer to do so. In fact women should not have done that, as their portion is the lungs. Ukwer deliberately instigated the women so that Kilang would suffer. Since they tasted the head, their head became “hard” (*tek*), i.e., stubborn or obstinate. As for the rest of the bull’s body, Ukwer and Kwara roasted and ate it at Kar Wic.

Succession by *jo-tengo* is slightly different from that by *jo-geedo* described above. *Jo-tengo* propose the issue of succession to *jo-geedo* who are directly senior to them: Anywaa to Kilang, not to Ukwer or Kwara. Instead of “I want to marry your daughter,” they say as follows.

“Every house has an owner. Now you cannot stay in this house forever. After sometime someone will come and take it over.”

After the making of a new fire, they hold a meeting at Ger, outside of Bura, not at Limungole. They do not take out the bull’s skull sacrificed for the former *mojomiji*. The bull is sacrificed in the *thworo* of Wiatuo, not in Kar Wic and its skull is kept with the previous one in the hut. They do not build (*geedo*) a new hut, but rethatch (*tengo*) the old one.

VI. HISTORY OF AGE SYSTEM AND MILITARIZATION

It is common knowledge among the Pari that the present graded age system was adopted from the Lopit. The word *mojomiji* itself is a loan word. It derives from *monyomiji*, meaning “fathers of the village” in Lopit-Lotuh-

32) Many Kilang believe that some Ukwer were unhappy about the succession and had wild fruits in their mouth so that Kilang would suffer.

Lokoya. Many other terms of the age system and the age-set names are not Pari words but have been borrowed from neighbors. Other Luo and Western Nilotic peoples such as the Anywaa (Anuak), Shilluk, Nuer and Dinka, with whom the Pari have linguistic and historical affinities, do not have graded age systems, although they do have age-sets. This circumstantial evidence suggests that the recognition of the Pari themselves is correct.

Informants agree that the first age-set is Liborceri. They say that *ubor* means "white" in Lotuho and *ceri* means white cattle skin. It was named Liborceri because its members used to dance with white cattle skin tied around their ankles. During the time of Liborceri, it is said, the Pari lived on the Lipul hill and cultivated only at its foot. Informants also agree that the first *mojomiji* was the Akem (including Muura) age-set and that it was Alikori, the chief of Wiatuo, who introduced the system. After Akem, the gradual transfer of power from *jo-geedo* to *jo-tengo* was institutionalized. Since Alikori died in 1911 as an old man³³), and the succession of *mojomiji* takes place about every ten years, we may assume that Akem seized power in the 1880's. The names of age-sets from Akem up to Madan are well remembered, although the two junior age-sets of *jo-tengo* (the third pair), which have little political significance, tend to be forgotten [Figure 7].

It is somewhat difficult, however, to figure out what the system was like before Akem. Informants do not agree about the names and order of successive age-sets. Figure 7 is based on the information provided by Ligulu, a Kwara of the Bura royal clan, who was said to be one of the most knowledgeable persons among the Pari. The following is a summary of his account.

The Marik and Mathaor age-sets, who were "sons of Liborceri", became the first *jo-wic*. Marik was right (senior) and Mathaor was left (junior). The system of *jo-wic* was brought from the Lopit by Ujwok, the chief of Bura. Ujwok himself was a Mathaor. Drums of the present type were also introduced for the *jo-wic* to dance to. It is said that before that they had only smaller ones like those used by the Anywaa. The next *jo-wic* were the Akara and Lidukaaro age-sets, who were immediately junior to Marik and Mathaor. The senior pair were "fathers" to the junior one.

It is difficult to tell how long the interval of adjacent age-sets were. If a pair of age-sets were really fathers of the next pair, the interval should have been much longer than the present one. It is not, however, likely that this is the case. Udiek, father of Alikori, is said to have been an Akara. Father Don Angelo Vinco, who visited the "Beri" as the first European in 1851, met a certain chief "Masherbon" [TONIOLO and HILL 1974: 88]. He should have been

33) "Sudan Intelligence Report," No. 202 (May 1911). INTEL 6/6/20, National Records Office, Khartoum.

Udiek since his nickname, according to oral tradition, is Mucarabong. Ujwok, the chief of Bura and a Mathaor, was a great grandfather of Ligulu who is a Kwara. Therefore, it does not seem that members of a senior pair of age-sets are genealogical fathers of those of the junior pair.

We may assume that the process of adopting a graded age system was gradual. It started during the time

Liborceri	
<i>(jo-wic)</i>	
Marik	(right)
Mathaor	(left)
Akara	
Lidukaaro	
Korodo	
Kwe	
Thomme	
Ithadha	
(Ibou)	
<i>(jo-wic, jo-geedo)</i>	<i>(jo-tengo)</i>
Akem	Amukwonyin
Muura	Merithigo
(c.1887-c.1897)	(c.1897-c.1907)
Bongcut	Limojo
Corogo	Amerkolong
(c.1907-c.1917)	(c.1917-c.1927)
Alangore	Kalang
Igari	Wanditio
(c.1927-c.1937)	(c.1937-1947)
Ukwer	Kwara
Lilalo	Bondipala
(1947-1958)	(1958-1967)
Kilang	Anywaa
Thangakwo	Akeo
(1967-1977)	(1977-1988)
Madan	Madir
Morumaafi	Lidit
(1988-)	

Note: Names of the two junior age-sets of *jo-tengo* are omitted.

Figure 7. Age-Set Names of the Successive *Mojomiji*

of Ujwok, presumably during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and was completed by the end of the century during the reign of Alikori. He introduced the system of *jo-geedo* and *jo-tengo* from the Lopit. Akem and Muura age-sets became the first *jo-geedo* (*jo-wic*) and were succeeded by the first *jo-tengo*: Amukonyinh and Mirithigo age-sets. Alikori himself was a member of Akem. Originally Akem was on the left side and junior to the Ibou age-set which was on the right side. Alikori insisted, however, that their age-set should be on the right. This was achieved and consequently Ibou was kicked out and absorbed in Thomme. Muura was promoted to form *jo-wic* with Akem.

In the memory of the present Pari, Alikori is remembered as an extraordinarily powerful and tough chief. He is also said to have been the first rain-chief. He had been the chief of Wiatuo, and then acquired rain stones and rain medicine from neighboring peoples, and declared himself rain-chief. He always moved with a group of youngsters who acted as his bodyguards and he had a lot of wives. Some of them had already been married to other men, but he took them by force. Another episode that I heard is that he invited Bari blacksmiths to come and stay, as

there had been none among the Pari.

It should be noted that during the Turco-Egyptian period when the first European traders, explorers and missionaries came to this region after the opening of the White Nile trade route up to Gondokoro (located in Bariland) in 1841, they found local people in possession of foreign materials such as brass and copper ornaments, glass beads and cloth. These were presumably brought to the present day eastern Equatoria from the northern Sudan by way of the western fringe of the Ethiopian highlands through the hands of the Oromo and Anywaa. It is said that the Pari were prosperous, as their village became the transmitting center in the trade route. There is little doubt that their geographical location and the close affinity with the Anywaa helped them to establish a role of middlemen [KURIMOTO 1995; SIMONSE 1992: 44-45; GRÜB 1992: 42]. The indigenous trade should have strengthened the status of Pari chiefs, as it was monopolized by them. Alikori's power and his role as social innovator should be understood in this light.

The opening of the White Nile route resulted in the decline of the trade route between the Ethiopian highlands and the Nile valley. The influence of foreign "slave" traders, missionaries and the Turco-Egyptian administration represented by European Governors like Samuel Baker and Charles G. Gordon gradually expanded inland from Gondokoro on the Nile. All of these outsiders, except for the missionaries, were armed with firearms, which had not been known to the local people, and they tried to extract local wealth such as slaves, cattle and ivory by force. In the region these modern external forces appeared as aggressive and violent "armies." Some chiefs became their agents and allies; others resisted. Relations between local people and outsiders, relations within an ethnic group and inter-ethnic relations became very violent and militarized. Each party to a conflict tried to maneuver these relations, through a combination of collaboration, alliance and resistance, and exploited them for its own advantage. In some cases even missionaries did not remain neutral and got actively involved in conflict. Even after the Turco-Egyptian era, this violent situation continued throughout the period of Mahdist occupation (until 1898) and during the first two decades of the Anglo-Egyptian administration (1899-1956), until the peoples of this region were finally "pacified" [GRAY 1961; COLLINS 1962, 1971; SIMONSE 1992].

Therefore, during the latter half of the last century, not only relations with outsiders, but also inter-ethnic, inter-chiefdom and inter-village relations became highly militarized and politicized. Pari villages were not attacked by external forces during the Turco-Egyptian period. They must have been, however, closely monitoring the situation among the Bari, Lokoya and Lotuho. They were attacked by the Mahdist army in 1897 and became a target of a punitive patrol led by British officers in 1912 because of "disobedience" [KURIMOTO n.d.]³⁴. Compared to neighboring peoples like the Lopit,

Lotuho, Lokoya and Bari, the Pari underwent relatively less turmoil. However, I am of the opinion that, although I am aware of the difficulty of proving it, the establishment of the graded age system and the consolidation of power by Alikori must have been a result of the Pari's efforts to cope with the situation³⁵).

A relatively peaceful period under the Anglo-Egyptian rule continued for about thirty years, only to be broken down in 1955 when southern Sudanese soldiers mutinied in Torit and hence the first civil war started. This war continued until 1972, and Eastern Equatoria was one of the the regions which were most severely affected by it. Then again in 1983 the second civil war broke out and soon the Pari and neighboring peoples were deeply involved.

I have argued elsewhere that the Pari age system worked as a vehicle to recruit and mobilize youngsters on the side of the SPLA, and that violent operations by them could partly be understood as a challenge to the retiring *mojomiji* by the new *mojomiji* to be. The youngsters, many of whom had joined the SPLA, finally took over power from Anywaa in 1988. They also brought in new militaristic ideas into their administration [KURIMOTO 1994a: 106–109].

I owe this argument to personal discussions with Simon Simonse. In his book he further suggests that there should have been correlations between general insurgence in the 1960's and antagonism between the ruling and junior age-grades. In fact among many societies including Pari, Lotuho and Lokoya, the initiation of the new *mojomiji* (*monyomiji*) took place in that period and they were the core of the Anya Nya forces [SIMONSE 1992: 177].

During the present civil war, the *mojomiji* have been trying their best to defend the people's interest and guarantee security. In 1985 when a SPLA battalion came to the village, the *mojomiji* received them and supplied them with food. Thus looting by SPLA soldiers, which is unfortunately a common practice, was avoided and the battalion stayed there peacefully for a week. When it was on its way back to the Pari, troops of the government army were there. The *mojomiji* sent a delegation and asked the SPLA commander not to come, so that the village would not become a battle field. He accepted this proposal [KURIMOTO 1994a: 99–101]. In 1991 the SPLA split into two factions. In February 1993 the six villages were burnt down as a result of the inter-factional fighting. After that, soldiers of one faction, most of them were Nuer, remained

34) Archival sources for the Mahdist attack in 1897 are: "Uganda protectorate Intelligence Report," No. 23, Appendix D, Uganda National Archives, Entebbe; "Sudan Intelligence Report," No. 118 (May 1904), 134 (Aug. 1905), INTEL 6/4/15, National Records Office, Khartoum. For the British punitive patrol in 1912 they are: "Sudan Intelligence Report," No. 212 (March 1912), Appendix, INTEL 6/7/23, National Records Office, Khartoum; "Reports on the Finances, Administration and Conditions of the Sudan, 1921," Sudan Archives, Durham.

35) This may suggest that the current "warrior ethos" among the Pari is an invented or reinforced tradition, not being persistent since the pre-colonial period as Mazrui argues for Ugandan and other African cases [MAZRUI 1975, 1977].

there, presumably in order to have access to relief food, that was flown into Lafon by air. There is a small airstrip outside the village and international NGOs had been carrying out a relief program. Conflicts among the three parties—SPLA soldiers, Pari and NGOs—continued. The *mojomiji* made repetitive and decisive requests to the SPLA commander to leave the village. In 1995 the three parties finally reached an agreement. SPLA forces agreed to leave. Soon after that, however, the SPLA commander brought in troops of the government army to Lafon, with which he had been collaborating. The troops have remained there until today and it is reported that there is high tension between the Pari and government soldiers³⁶). There is no doubt that the politico-military role of the *mojomiji* has become more crucial than ever.

The matter requires more detailed historical and ethnographic studies. I am also aware of a pitfall in reconstructing the past based mainly on oral traditions; it is a highly sensitive issue to evaluate to what extent the reconstructed past is a reflection of present perceptions. In conclusion, however, I would like to suggest that the age system of the Pari evolved and developed in order to cope with enemies, both internal and external. Its persistence should be explained as part of the process of militarization in the region.

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36) Details of the latest developments were obtained through personal communication with Ubuch Ujwok.

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「敵」への対応——スーダン南東部・パリにおける階梯式年齢システム

栗 本 英 世

本論は、スーダン南東部に居住するパリ人の社会における階梯式の年齢組織にかんする民族誌的報告である。パリの男性は、少年時代に集落単位で年齢集団に組織され、さまざまな共同活動に従事するようになる。やがて青年時代をへて壮年にたつと、若者の階梯からモジョミジと呼ばれる支配階梯に昇格し、各集落、および6集落から構成される社会全体の政治、法、軍事を司るようになる。同時に、年齢集団は、社会全体を単位とする年齢組へと再編される。最後にモジョミジのメンバーたちは長老へと引退し一生を終える。

序論に続く第2章で年齢集団、年齢組、年齢階梯が組みあわさった複雑な組織の概要を論じたのち、第3章では、若者が年齢集団単位で従事する狩猟や棒合戦を詳述し、こうした活動が、「戦士の精神」、あるいは「尚武の気風」を涵養する場になっていること、そしてそれが将来モジョミジとしての責務をはたすための鍛錬でもあることを論じている。第4章では、ある種の集会的政府であるモジョミジの統治を、「内外の敵」への対処・対応という分析的観点から、具体例に即して検討する。第5章では、パリ社会における最大のセレモニーであるモジョミジの交代儀礼を記述し、年齢組織にまつわるパリの観念がいかん表現されているかを論じた。最終章では、軍事的な色彩の濃いパリの年齢組織が、この地域における一九世紀中期以降の軍事化の歴史のなかで再編され、創造されてきたのではないかという仮説を提唱し、その過程が内戦状態にある現在においても進行していることを指摘した。