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Author(s): H. R. Palmer

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to obtain the separated constituents in a pure condition, it is probably unnecessary to detail the methods of analysis. The results may be conveniently summarised as follows :—

				No. 1.		No. 2.	
				Gram.	Per Cent.	Gram.	Per Cent.
Weight of bronze taken -	-	-	-	0·5107	gram.	0·4410	gram.
Weight of tin found -	-	-	-	·0453	= 8·87	·0371	= 8·41
Weight of copper found	-	-	-	·4664	= 91·33	·4029	= 91·36
Total	-	-	-	·5117	= 100·20	·4400	= 99·77
Means :—							
				Per Cent.			
Tin	-	-	-	-	-	8·64	
Copper	-	-	-	-	-	91·35	
Total	-	-	-	-	-	99·99	

It may be observed that in analysis No. 1, the found “total” is 0·001 grams in excess of the weight of bronze actually taken, whilst in analysis No. 2 the found “total” is deficient by a like amount. These variations are ascribed to unavoidable errors associated with the particular methods of analysis employed. As will be seen, they are equal to ± 1 part in 500.

An initial qualitative analysis revealed the presence of a minute trace of iron the quantity of which was too small to be duly estimated. The iron may possibly have been introduced during the operation of drilling. J. J. MANLEY.

Africa, West.

Palmer.

“Bori” among the Hausas. By H. R. Palmer.

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In a recent work* dealing with Nigerian tribes there is mention of *bori* dances among the Hausas. The author in a fascinating chapter discusses the origin of *bori*. It would appear, however, that Dr. Frobenius misconceives in some respects the meaning of the word *bori*.

He uses such phrases as “The Bori have a religion,” “The Bori’s religion,” “The Bori has . . . been fused with the old clan organisation,” “The Bori’s usual appearance in the streets,” etc., from which it is to be inferred that he regards *bori* as people, though in another passage he writes, “Animism is the “religious basis of the Bori, a philosophy which, through the agency of spirits or “demons, endues every object, and especially parts of nature such as stones, trees, “and rivers, with a soul.”

Bori is a Hausa common noun, and means a sacred and occult force which resides in *matter*.† It is distinguished from *maita*, which is more particularly the power exercised by certain persons, *maigû*, i.e., wizards or witches, over *bori*, and the objects in which it is resident, and *boka*, which is the science of medicine—the science of medicine, however, of the Middle Ages.

The word *bori* itself seems to be from the same root as the Hausa word *borassa*, which now means distilled spirits, as opposed to the native palm wine and other similar drinks. The original meaning of *borassa* may be seen from Professor Masqueray’s note on this word—Berber form *aurassen*.‡

* Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, Chap. XXVI.
† The same idea apparently as the Melanesian *maûa*.
‡ Quoted by Rinn Berbers, p. 228.

"This word *aurassen** is very remarkable. It is used to denote those things the Mozabites† were debarred from using, such as tobacco for smoking, and wine. It is too like the word *auras* (*aurēs*), of which it seems to be the plural, not to be suggestive. One may perhaps hold that the name *aurēs*, of which the meaning is now lost, was a sort of equivalent of the Latin *sacer*. There are several hills called *ighil aures* ("Hill of Aures"). These hills were surely in remote times hills of sacrifice?"‡

The writer has a note, taken some years ago, that a Mallam once told him that there were two words in the Hausa language of which no one knew the origin. One was *aras*, which, he said, was equivalent to "Allah," the other was *serbu*, which meant "with deference to," e.g., *serbu adamu*, with due deference to Adamu.

Aras seems to be the old Berber singular of *aurassen*, of which Professor Masqueray conjectured the existence.

Another Hausa word which contains the same idea as *bori* is the word *baura*. A *baura* is a metal bracelet with two sharp rims like flanges worn on the wrist by players at the game called *baura* (now practically obsolete). It was a "sacred" game. The object of the players was to cut open the head of an opponent with the *baura*, which was worn on the right arm. The left arm had simply a small shield of hide, while an apron was worn in front. The blood from a cut head was particularly virtuous, and the sick assembled from far and near to get some and anoint themselves with it. *Baura*, in fact, was very much like the Fulani game of *sharro* or *shadi*, except that the *baura* above described was used instead of a whip like *sharro*.

Baura was probably part of the initiation ceremonies at puberty.

Dr. Frobenius, in describing these dances, states that they are presided over by a female called *magadja*. The real Hausa word is not *magadja* but *magajia*, i.e., "she who has inherited" (masc. *magaji*), and is more usually called *sauraunja* ("Queen").

He also writes "that the Hausas have kept the *bori* faith freest from adulteration . . . [in] the ancient realm of Korowfa. . . . We shall get the best insight into the original significance and import of the *bori* among the Benne-Hausa." *Bori* still flourishes freely in the Hausa countries, and, viewed as a Hausa institution, is more "pure" (if such a word can be used) in Hausaland where the people speak "Hausa."

Among the Maguzawa (Hausa Pagans) it is a chief who presides at the dances, and sacrifices to the deities. It is only in the large towns that their cult has got into the hands of professional *bori* men and women, who not only direct the dances but in many cases make quite a good income by foretelling the success, or otherwise, of mercantile ventures, aiding in love troubles, etc.

Still, to the mind of the Hausa, these deities are, as Dr. Frobenius implies, "Spirits of the Corn and Wild," and that is why the Hausas call the Pagan or Bush Fulani *Aborawa*, that is to say, the people who worship the spirits of the wild.

The connection of prostitution with these dances is an interesting subject. "Uwargona," the Hausa earth mother, has a dual personality. She is *ta hwanchi* (i.e., "the sleeping = winter" and *ta tseyi* (i.e., "the uprising = spring"). *Uwagona*. *ta tseyi* is typified in the *gugua* whirlwinds of sand which come in the spring before the first rains fall.

* Cf. also the word *merissa* ("ale") used in the Egyptian Sudan.

† i.e., the Beni M'Zab of the Aures Mountains, in Algeria.

‡ One of the two Hausa words for native brewed beer, *bam*, is also apparently connected with the same ideas. A *bāma* was a "high-place" or shrine in Hewbreu. (See Robertson-Smith Pr. el Sem, p. 490.) The intoxication of *bori* girls is sometimes produced by a species of "hemp" grown in Borgia.

At the great spring *gâni* festival (noticed by Dr. Frobenius), at which there was a good deal of *bori* dancing, very great license was permitted, and it was thought no shame if a maiden at this feast did what would have meant summary punishment at any other time of the year. The word *gâni* is derived from a root which means to "foretell" or "augur." It was at the *gâni* festival that omens were sought as to the success, or otherwise, of the ensuing season's crop, either by planting trial plots and watering them, or by pouring out seeds from a calabash taken up a high tree, and auguring from their distribution.

It has been observed by French scholars that, as a rule those Berber roots, which are termed Boto-Semitic, that is to say, those which are, as far as can be judged, not borrowed directly from classical Arabic, or other Semitic tongues, show a root in two consonants where the Semitic languages have three. Hausa having no strong gutturals *nh*, *h*, and *h* are represented by "k," sometimes by "h," and sometimes by "f"—while *k* again often becomes "g." For instance, the Arabic root of *karim* ("noble") *k-r-m* is represented in Hausa directly by the word *girma* ("greatness"). This word is borrowed, but the two first consonants of the root, namely, *k* and *r*, are found in many Hausa and Berber words which convey the same meaning. The following are some examples:—*Gar'aa*, or *gal'aa* ("sacred enclosure"), *gari* ("town"), *karifi* ("strength"), *g'ar* ("rock"), *gilgiji* ("storm cloud"), *garkwa* ("shield"), *kore* ("to defeat in battle"), *kurchia* ("a dove—sacred"), *ka(r)chia* ("circumcision"), *kirrari* ("song of praise for a spirit"), *kurmi* ("a grove"), *k'raria* (the Hausa form of *galau*, a sacred place really for *hkraria*), *kurum* ("silence"), *kururua* ("cry aloud"), *kurua* ("soul" or "spirit"), *ma-kurwa* ("partridge which the 'soul' inhabits," cf. Egyptian *ba*), *hurma* ("deaf"), *kura* ("hyena"), *kuri* ("son of Uwardawa"), *kurege* ("jerboa"), *korto* ("adulterer"), *korjini* ("terrifying"), *karri* ("a dog"—dogs are sacred among most Berber tribes).^{*} All the above words centre round the two ideas of (a) nobility, (b) holiness, which are very closely allied and are both *sacer*, as opposed to "profane."

In Arabic the root of the words *haram*, *harim*, etc. ("holiness") is *h-r-m*, which is borrowed by Hausa in words like *hurumi* ("land reserved"), *haram* ("evil"), etc. As with the root *k-r*, so with *h-r*. In Hausa we have—

Hura—to blow (cf. *kuruwa*, "soul").

Hore—to punish (cf. *kore*, "to defeat").

Hurua—to put earth on the head ("adoration").

Harafi—letters (cf. *tafi*, "palm of hand," and *tafinar*, "the Tuang script").

Furuchi—to make confession.

Fara—to begin (cf. Arabic *fara'a*, "first fruits").

In Arabic it is apparent that the ideas conveyed by the roots *k-r-m* and *h-r-m* are cognate. Similarly in Hausa the two roots *k(g)-r* and *h(f)-r* are cognate, and connote "holiness" (*sacor*) and things which are made or are "holy," by what Robertson-Smith termed the "infection of holiness."

The "*bori* dances" are looked upon as disreputable, because the *bori* girls on the occasion of these dances commit immoral acts, and, nowadays they are, in fact, usually prostitutes (*karuwé*).

In Hausa the word *karua*, the singular of *karuwé*, means at the present time a person of immoral character, male or female. *Karma* is a derivative of the same root *k-r*, meaning "profligacy."[†] It is, however, obvious that *karma* had not always an altogether bad sense, because there still exists in a great many Hausa towns the office of *Sarkin Karma* ("King of Karma"). The *Sarkin Karma* was called in other places, *Sarkin Selmayi* ("King of the Youths"), and in some places (e.g.,

^{*} The Hausa Pagans do not eat "dog," like the Gwari, Yomba, and other tribes to the south.

[†] Cf. *korto* (adulterer) *supra*.

Katsina) was chosen every year at the time of the festival to be a kind of "King of Misrule." Among the chief forms of amusement at the festival was the *Wasau Kara*, or play of "corn stalks." This consisted of lighting torches made of corn-stalks and throwing them about. Another form of *Kara* and its diminutive is *Karmâmi*.

*Kurua** by etymology may therefore be either the "mother of the corn stalk," that is to say, Uwargona the mother goddess, or "the noble or holy one." In either case it would appear that the *bori* dances were held in Uwargona's honour at the time of the spring festival of *gani* and the *karnuw* were identified with her. We have noted the connection between *bori* and the game of *baura*. It may be added that *baura* again is probably the same word as *bûra* (*phallos*), which is a derivative of the Berber root *our* or *eiur*, which means "man" (*vir*) and "the moon." The "moon" is in Hausa and several Berber dialects masculine, the story being that it is a boy (*yaro*=*eiuro*) which his mother the sun (*rava*) chases round the sky.

Another aspect of the mother goddess of the Hausas is as Uwardawa ("mother of the bush"). She is then usually associated not with Gajimari but with Kûri, whose name again appears to be derived from this same root *our*.† Kuri is sometimes stated to be the son and sometime the husband of "Uwardawa," and becomes the "hyena."

The word *serbu* mentioned above suggests a further group of native ideas in the same category. At the beginning of the "Kano Chronicle" printed some years ago in the *Royal Anthropological Journal* is mentioned the worship of something called *tchuburburai* or *tchunburburai*. The writer was for some time unable to find out precisely what was meant by this word, but finally elicited from the best authority in the country that it "was the same thing as a *jigo* or *Gamsami* (lit. "Son of the Queen," i.e., phallic pole). *Tchububurai*‡ is obviously a plural, of which the singular must be some such word as *tchuburi*.

Tchuburi, which, as now vocalised, is pronounced *chibiri*, *tsibeli*, or *tsiberi*, usually means either (1) a ball of mud, or (2) an island. Later on in the "Kano Chronicle" it is used of some magical object which could be carried into battle. The connection seems to be supplied by the word *shûri* (a contraction for *shûburi*), which means an "ant-hill," that is to say, a "cone" (*phallos*). The identification is made practically certain because the Bush Fulani—and probably others—hold these "ant-hills" sacred, and pour milk into them as an oblation to the immanent deity.

It would, then, appear that the *Tchibiri* mentioned in the "Kano Chronicle" were "cones" similar to the "Tanit cones" which have been found in such numbers in North Africa. These "cones" were worshipped in a grove which included a *g'alaa*—the *g'alaa* of *Tchuburburai*.

Now *g'alaa* is not a modern Hausa word; nor has any possible explanation of it come to light, unless it is the *g'alaa* or *g'eloa* of the North African Berbers, a well-known institution; in fact, the sacred storehouse of the clan.

Hausa is a Berber language. Whatever may be said of the people there is no possible doubt that the language came from the Sahara—and probably the north of the Sahara, for it has more in common with the dialects spoken there than with Tamashék.§

There seems, therefore, to be no valid reason why an explanation of the name "Tanit," which would occur to any student of Hausa, should not be correct, that is

* Cf. *korto* (adulterer) *supra*.

† Compare the words *gûri* ("lust") and *dûri* ("vagina"). The Berber root *err* ("to burn") seems to be cognate to all these words.

‡ Cf. the word *burbura* (Hausa) of "boys to feel manhood."

§ See René Basset, *Kabyle Grammar*, p. i.

to say she was *T-inna-t* (*inna* is the Fulani word for mother and the Hausa word for maternal aunt).

"Uwardawa," the mother-goddess of the bush, is called either *ba-filatana* (i.e., the "Fulani woman") or *inna*. The former name is considered a euphemism, and her name of *inna* is rather avoided by the Hausas, who appear to stand in particular dread of her and Gajimori.

A rather interesting point which I noted is that her face is never seen, but only her feet, and the interesting speculation arises as to whether this has any connection with the fact that at Carthage Tanit was always "Pere Baal," i.e., with the face of Baal-Ammon.

The Fulani worship *sambo*, the son or husband of *inna*, by pouring milk into ant hills.

Sambo is peculiarly the "cattle god," and, as far as is known, the Pagan Fulani have no other divinities but *inna* and *sambo*.

In view of the observations made above the writer feels justified in suggesting that the Hausa Pagan religion was not a local animistic cult, but rather a reflex of the Berber religions of North Africa, and that the *bori* dances were dances held in honour of a mother goddess called by the Libyans Tanit, and that the "prostitutes" who now frequent these dances were originally devotees.* H. R. PALMER.

Fiji.

Hocart.

Masks in Fiji. By A. M. Hocart.

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Mr. Joyce once directed my attention to the Fijian wigs in the British Museum. On my return to Fiji I accordingly made enquiries as to their use, and thus came into possession of the following facts, which are of some interest, as they bring Fiji into the circle of peoples who use ceremonial masks.

I am indebted to my learned friend, Saimone Ngonedha, of Naokorosule, in South-Eastern Dholo,† for the first and best account. His memory, which is remarkable, was assisted and amplified by Nafitalai, an exceedingly old man.

"Wigs (*ulumate*) were used for the *nggidha* of the Brazilian plum (*wi*) and the *nduruka*.‡ The Brazilian plum trees were not very common, and when ripe might not be eaten, but men came and told the people who planted the trees, 'We want to bear the *nggidha* of the plums.' This was approved; it was not refused, but always approved; but if the plums were not brought to the owners they got angry. Men called *nggidha* were selected to look after the trees. They wore wigs and a bandage of bark cloth was tied over the face below the eyes, and was called *mata vula* (white face). The whole body was covered with banana leaves. Their speech consisted in 'ksh, ksh.' They never walked, but ran. People fled before them; the reason was that he (*sic*) wore another man's hair and might spear anyone. It was taboo to resist a *nggidha*. It was taboo to call him by his name; he was addressed as *nggidha*.

"The fruit might not be gathered by anyone, but the *nggidha* went with their men to gather them and bring them to the common house (*mbure*). When the time to 'pour out' the plums had come, notice was sent round to all the common houses in which it was intended to pour them out. The women would then prepare food.

* It is rather curious that the word for "bitch" in Hausa (*karia*) is the same as the word of "prostitute" (*karua*), for the feminine terminations *ia* and *ua* are the same. In the temples of Astarte both male and female "sacred prostitutes" were called *kelbim* ("dogs"). See Barton, *Semitic Origins* p. 251, note (2).

† For the sense in which I use South-Eastern Dholo, North-Eastern Dholo, &c., see *An Ethnographical Sketch of Fiji*.

‡ A kind of cane, of which the inflorescence is eaten raw, boiled, or roasted, and makes an excellent vegetable and a constant dish in Dholo in May and June. The leaves are used for thatch.