



Some Ibo Burial Customs.

Author(s): N. W. Thomas

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SOME IBO BURIAL CUSTOMS.

By N. W. THOMAS.

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GLOSSARY.

abwala, tutelary image, the same as ainyañwu.

ada (ēbo, etc.), head woman.

ajago, (1) deserted house ; (2) farm bush used for burial in which are thrown corpses, lepers, etc.

ajagija, one of the titles at Awka (*Report*, I).

ajana, place where sacrifices are offered to the earth.

ajōifia, "bad bush."

akbo, cotton tree, planted for ceremonial purposes.

alo, ceremonial staff.

alose, demigod, object of cult (*Report*, I, 26 etc.).

amaññulu, an Awka title.

ana, the earth.

anase, head wife.

aziza, twisted fibre worn round red cap of eze.

či, (1) a person, dead or alive, believed to be reincarnated (*Report*, IV, 18 etc.) ;
(2) a tutelary image ; (3) a title.

Čuku, the supreme god.

ēbo, quarter of a town.

ēbwō, *Neuboldia laevis*, *Seem.*

ečičili, *Erythrina* species.

Ēgūgū, a masked man (originally a Yoruba custom) who appears at burials.

eku, one of the Awka titles.

ekwelenku, sacrifice to mwō.

enaku, striking swords together.

eze, "king," one of the titles.

ezana, priest of the ana (ground).

eziobulu, part of a house.

ibenabō, cloth of two breadths.

ibenatō, cloth of three breadths.

iči, marks cut on the face.

ideḃwe, daughter kept at home and not married in the ordinary way by purchase; her children inherit from her father.

ifejiokō, object used in yam ceremonies (*Report*, IV, 31).

idumu, subquarter of a town.

ikei, plural of okei; old men.

ikeṅga, a tutelary deity.

ikpala, plural of okpala (*q.v.*).

Irokute, isokute, the "king's slave" (*Report*, IV, 163).

isebe aka onō, drawing a chalk line from the grave used in second burial as far as the house.

isimwō, head wife.

itokwelegwe, young men liable to be called out for work.

itunne, (1) rubbing the grave; (2) a payment by a son-in-law.

Iyase, one of the dignitaries (*Report*, IV, 40).

izu, week of four days.

mauñ, a masked man.

mbu, a kind of tree.

mbuazu, a large dried fish.

mbwidi, a hollow made under the ukbo (*q.v.*).

mbolonō, open space near the house.

mpata, round box of iroko, used as a seat.

mpe, a small loin cloth.

mwada, women of the family.

mwō, dead ancestors.

ndičie, old people, ancestors, ancestral emblems.

ntoto, a "rope of yams."

nzu, chalk; in mbanzu a man rubs himself with chalk.

ngugu, 780 cowries, 3*ḏ*.

ṅkpalo, one of the titles.

ṅkpese, the lowest title at Asaba.

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M

- ñkpuluči, the same as či (2).
 obimwọ, heap of stones made by an orhene.
 obobwo, a kind of soup.
 obu, the Awka house corresponding to ọgwā, men's house.
 obwele, head of the ikpala.
 obwo, a frame used in second burial.
 obwọ, a model canoe (*Report*, IV, 45).
 ọbwọ, a "company" of men.
 ọbwonuke. See uke (1, 3).
 oḅu, one of the titles.
 oḅuḅuaja, sticks planted before a house at the annual sacrifice to the mwọ.
 Odogu, one of the dignitaries.
 ọfo, ceremonial object (*Report*, I, 43).
 ọga, divider, headman.
 oglisi, the same as ebwo.
 ọgwā, "front house," an open building in front of the house proper.
 oji, iroko, *Chlorophora excelsis*.
 okba, a kind of tree.
 okbensi, ancestral image (Awka).
 okbosilo, an image like ikeṅga.
 okei, the oldest man, senior.
 oko, 140 cowries, about $\frac{1}{2}d$.
 okonti, a title.
 ọkpā ikeṅga, cock sacrificed to the ikeṅga.
 ọkpala, (1) headman; (2) one of the titles.
 okpukpe, gate in the fence.
 okule, store house.
 ọkwači, wooden dish for či (2).
 ọkwe, a kind of wood.
 okwelegwe, leader of the workers.
 omaku, head wife.
 ọmalegwe, plaited palm leaves set up in the street (*Report*, IV, Pl. IV).
 ọmu, market queen.
 ọmu ojuku, young leaves of ojuku palm.
 onọ ogidi, widow's house.
 ononto, widow's house.
 onotu, the body of dignitaries.
 ọrai, a "shrine" associated with a doctor (dibia).
 ọsiọsiọ, a kind of seed.
 osisi, a staff.
 ọsọsọ, a kind of food.
 owẹle, rubbish heap.
 owẹli, the same as ọsọsọ.

ozi ozi, soup spoon.

ozo, ɔzɔ, blacksmith ; one of the titles.

ozu ɔkpala, an unclaimed corpse.

ubili, a kind of tree.

ubwome, a dance ornament.

ukbo, a raised mud seat.

uke, (1) ill-luck ; (2) a ceremony against ill-luck ; (3) the ɔbwɔ before a man's own.

ukoni, a kitchen (separate building).

umunna, kin, a subdivision of idumu.

uruči, mourning či, an image used by a widow.

utiamili, a kind of mat.

THE Ibo-speaking peoples, with a portion of whom this paper deals, occupy a small area on the west bank of the lower Niger, and a much larger area on the east bank, extending as far as the Cross River from the Ibibio boundary northwards, and, at their most easterly point, beyond the northernmost point of the bight of the Cross River.

The Ibo speak a great variety of dialects, and the Eastern branches are almost unintelligible to the Western groups. Even such close neighbours as Asaba and Onitsha, only three miles apart on the banks of the Niger, differed, until recently, somewhat widely in language.

The main Ibo area is, especially on the south and east, more or less surrounded by a fringe of aberrant dialects, which seem to have resulted from an incomplete assimilation of an alien population by Ibo-speaking conquerors, or, at any rate, a very imperfect acquisition of what might be called standard Ibo ; or we may, on the other hand, regard these dialects (*e.g.*, Okugba, Biko, Ezza)¹ as allied to the older wave of immigration that resulted in Efik, Ibibio, Kana and Ebiobolo.

Generally speaking the main Ibo dialects east of the Niger seem to run strip-wise from north to south, and this, no less than the aberrant character of the southern or south-eastern dialects, suggests that the Ibo migration came from the north. In this connection it is noteworthy that Abua and Akunakuna, two closely related dialects, have clearly been cleft asunder by the Ibo stream and now lie, one north-west of Degema, the other east of the Cross River.

It is worthy of notice that the word Ibo (Ibo) means slave ; this suggests that there was no migration in mass, driving alien populations before it ; but that a conquering people imposed its language on subject populations. This would afford a sufficient explanation of the character of the language of outlying areas, as well as of the great number of dialects which form a strong contrast to the homogeneity of the Yoruba area.

It is not without interest that the town of Nri, or Aguku, which claims the right of inducting chiefs and doing other ceremonial work as far as Asaba, at least,

¹ See my *Specimens of Languages*, pp. 16, 17, 89. Open vowels are shown ɛ, ɔ.

on the west, and, probably, over an equally wide area in other directions, also speaks of the people of the surrounding area as Ibo, and themselves claim the name of Nri. This fits in well with the supposition that they are an island of the original Ibo-speaking conquering race, which is now swallowed up in the mass of the population everywhere else.

As regards the areas with which this paper deals, the districts of Awka and Asaba, the former includes the town of Aguku, just mentioned; generally speaking, there are few traditions of origin among them. In Asaba, on the other hand, each town has its tradition of a founder or a record of migration, so that the diversity of custom is easier to understand. Generally speaking, Asaba, Ibuzo and Okpanam form a closely associated group, as far as general customs go. Some data for the other towns and for the Awka district will be found elsewhere,¹ together with maps showing the localities, which are enumerated below, for each district.

Asaba was founded by Nevisé, according to tradition, who came from Nteje on the east of the Niger perhaps some four hundred years ago.

AWKA DISTRICT.

At Awka when a young man dies all members of the family are notified; the body is washed in the court by sisters or relatives by the same mother and then dressed with cloth; the grave is dug in a room in the house by his friends or in his father's house or in the road and the males of the family put his body in the grave; the rest of the family, male and female, are also present. On the eighth day they kill a goat on the grave; it is eaten by the family, but some of the flesh is put on the grave.

If a man who has made *ajagija* title dies, they wash the body as before and split a fowl's beak; the blood is put upon the eyes of the dead man; this is said to be to open the dead man's eyes; a ram is killed with a knife and blood put upon the right hand of the dead man; this is said to be to praise his hand. The brothers provide the victims and kill them; if there are sons they call all the *ajagija* members in Awka before sacrificing, and each member provides two yards of cloth; the coffin is made by relatives and is made of oji wood, and is a rectangular box; the grave is dug in the sleeping room; all follow to the grave and afterwards wash; the friends and family lament for sixteen days; some food is thrown upon the grave for all *alose* to eat there.

I saw a burial at Amqbia, close to Awka. The body was laid out (Plate III, 1) close to the men's house (*obu*), with chalk upon the trunk, but little or none upon the face; the legs were completely covered with chalk; it was a woman's body, and that means that it cannot be carried out by the door, but must be hoisted over the back wall (*ib.*, 2); the body rested upon palm ribs, and these were carried away by a woman as soon as the body was taken up and thrown into the wood; two men carried the body down the ordinary road and then turned some hundred yards into the farm; here two men with hoes speedily dug the grave about

¹ See my *Report on Ibo-speaking Peoples*, I, IV.

three feet deep; after the body was put in the grave (*ib.*, 4), the basket (*ib.*, 3) used for lifting ground out of the grave was thrown on it also; half-way between the road and the grave a woman was waiting with water to wash the hands and feet of the gravediggers (Plate IV, 2).

At Agolo women are buried in the farm, men in the house near the yam store; when a man is dying his wives may not see him; they are driven away to the bachelors' quarters and remain there until the body is buried; the daughters rub camwood on the body, a fowl is killed for a rich man and blood put upon his eyes; the widow sits down in the house for twenty-eight days and does not go to market for three months; she may remarry as soon as the second burial is over, and receives a hen from her suitor to give to the women of her mother's family; this is named the "hen to recall the woman." A husband does for his wife exactly as a wife does for her husband: he carries a small knife like a widow, which is tied to his wrist, and after twenty-eight days a woman of the family takes it off and gives to the man a necklace of cotton to be worn for another two months, and then taken off by the same woman. A married woman is carried to her own town for burial; the husband may not carry her, a child may follow her, but no other relatives. A curious usage is that any palm oil in the room of the dying woman is taken out, for the husband may not eat it; if the woman has been long ill, the husband may send a message to her family, to say that the body cannot be carried away; a goat is then sent and the body buried by the husband's family. If a woman's husband dies when she is at market, they wind a palm leaf round her finger.

At Adaji a man's grave is dug in the yam yard, a woman's in the farm; the Amoru quarter sacrifices a goat to the *ana* before burying in the yam store; the grave is dug by the young men of the family and the body is carried on the head or in the hand; all the family are present, including the married daughters, but excluding widows, the father and the mother; the bearers and any others who wish wash their hands; as regards mourning, the last child on the twenty-eighth day shaves the man from back to front of the head. A woman is fetched home by men of her actual relations; if she belongs to the so-called Ekwe society the husband brings a fowl called the Ekwe society fowl; then comes the rich men's fowl, the young woman's fowl, the goat of the money basket, the goat of the woman's *Üi*, and a goat for powder. While the body is being taken home the grave is being dug at the farm, and the oldest woman of the family touches the body with a palm leaf, which is placed in the grave; the body is carried over the back wall to the main road, and if they have to cross water a she-goat and a hen are killed to the river; branches of a strong smelling tree are carried by the women to keep the spirits (*mwo*) from stopping them on the road; the body is carried to the compound of the woman's father, a dried palm branch is brought and cut into pieces and planted in front of the body; a round basket is also cut into four pieces; the eldest daughter mourns with the husband for twenty-eight days, but she does not take off her necklet, as the husband does.

Anyone whose body swells is not allowed to die in the house; he is taken out

into the farm and tied to a tree with string on hands and feet; the second burial is made in the harmatan season, for if rain fell during the second burial the family would be driven out until they had provided a cow and sacrificed to the ground.

In the Enugu quarter the bearers wash with the following compound: four leaves of alligator pepper, four leaves of kola, and a small quantity of soap pounded up; when a woman dies who is a member of the Ekwe society the members do not go to market on the day of burial. If it is only a young girl only her companions dance for her; for a grown woman all dance.

Suicides are put in the bad bush (ajōifia); there is no lamentation for them and no sacrifice; poor people are hired to carry away the body and no one follows them.

At Obu all dead people, even children, seem to be buried in the house; infants without teeth are simply laid in the ground and covered with grass; they say that Čuku kills them and they offer a fowl to Čuku when they are sick, by hanging it on a bamboo leaf and giving it to Abwala; the body is first of all washed and the face marked with black to the end of the nose; the head is shaved just above the forehead, and the hair put in the mat with the body; a cock and a ram sheep are sacrificed and the blood put upon the man's eyes; chalk is put round the eyes and eagles' wing feathers and parrots' tail feathers put in the hair; white cloth covers the body up to the throat; a he-goat is sacrificed; the heart cut out and put upon the man's chest; the bodies of victims are kept on top of the wall until the ceremonies are finished. The plank on which the body has been lying is put in the grave and a goat skin upon it; after the body has been put in, women and small children are sent away; men take sand in their left hands, pass it round their heads and throw it on the body, saying, "If you know who killed you, follow him." The victims are eaten on the next day, but a man may not eat the ram or the cock. Second burial takes place thirty-two days after the first; if another person dies they wait for his burial until second burial is over, the rites of which must be performed on Eke day; if a cow is going to be killed they cut the tail off and touch the hands with it, the cow itself is killed on Oyi day; the widows sit in the house for one year, but they do not shave their heads; they cannot rub camwood nor mark black marks and may only wear a small cloth; after twelve months they can shave or not as they please; the eldest son shaves in three weeks; if a man is killed by lightning and falls on his face they sacrifice a ram to the ground before carrying him away for burial¹; if a man dies away and the body cannot be recovered, a palm leaf is cut and carried to the road; they lay this down.

As regards the observances connected with the widow, she may not go to market for three months nor touch anyone with her hand; she cooks for herself. In one year a woman shaves her head over her ears; if anyone wishes to marry a widow he takes palm wine and four kola and calls the family to meet at the shrine of the ancestors; if she has already borne children, 10s. is paid to the father, and a

¹ Elsewhere a man killed by lightning may not be buried in the house for fear he may become an ekwensu.

goat is sacrificed to the ancestors; otherwise the bride price is paid as usual, if the second husband is not of the same sept as the first.

I obtained a few particulars of the burial customs of the people of Ndikelionwa; they do not differ markedly from those of Qbu; if a man dies far away and his body cannot be recovered they take a palm leaf and a chicken and go to the bad bush (ajoifia); holding the palm leaf in the hand, they kill the chicken, throw it into the bad bush (ajoifia), knock the leaf on the ground, take it on the left arm and go back, saying, "Dead man follow me home"; if it is a man who has died they put the leaf outside the yam store, if it is a woman they leave it outside the door; in the case of a man a goat and a cock are sacrificed, and blood is put upon the leaf exactly as it would be upon the dead man's eyes, the leaf is wrapped in cloth as if for a body; in the case of a woman the goat's heart is put upon a spot to represent the chest.

The account given me at Aguku was very elaborate. Two or three people, not one only, are with a man when he is dying. One holds his hands, one his feet and one his head, so that he may not turn his face to the ground; when he is dead they bring a mat and put four palm leaves under the body and cover it with chalk after two women have washed the body. In washing the body leaves have to be used, as hands may not touch the body. Kola leaves employed for this purpose are put in the right hand of the corpse, okba leaves in the left; after washing, camwood is rubbed on the body, and it is lifted upon the bier; a cock is brought and its beak broken and blood put upon a man's right eye: in the case of a rich man they may wait several days before burying him; when the grave is about to be dug, a woman of the family takes a palm leaf and strikes the ground on the spot where they are going to dig the grave, saying, "Old body move away for new body."

The grave is dug in the courtyard, the women take away the palm leaf and bring a piece of round basket and scrape the ground four times; two young men dig the grave, and two help them to take out the earth; when the body is put in the grave all turn their faces away; the grave is only eighteen inches deep, and no one stands in it to take the body.

Whoever puts the first earth on the body says, after passing the sand round his head, "Body go to him who killed you." Then a woman takes a piece of round basket and scrapes the ground four times, kola and peper leaves are used to rub the hands, but no water is used; at daybreak, in the case of a married man with a child, they kill a she-goat; if he has no wife, a small he-goat; widows or widowers are not present at the burial of a spouse. A large number of people assemble at the man's house bringing their staves (alo) with them; the eldest brother takes sand in his left hand and says, "this body never turned its face to the ground, never said bad word, never did forbidden thing." Guns are then fired and the time of second burial is then fixed.

For second burial cows are killed. A palm leaf and one chicken are taken to the bad bush (ajoifia), and the man says, "body do not go home, we bring you second burial," then he strikes the ground with a leaf and kills a chicken; the leaf is

laid on the left hand so that it cannot turn and put down outside the door, with mud on it so that it cannot move, nothing is to cross over it; young men take four pieces of raphia, and put the palm leaf on the top; this is carried to a grave in the street; a woman of the family receives the leg of the goat and the liver; she takes pieces of the liver and turns her face away and throws them in the grave, saying, "I put that in for you, keep all our people alive."

In the middle of the night the same girl goes to the house of the dead man, and lights the fire for the widow; she must sit down with her; this is called putting the woman whose husband died in mourning. At four a.m., when the first cock crows, the widow takes a small pot of water, the girl clears the ashes of the fire, and the widow completely unclothed carries the water after her to the bad bush (*ajoiŋia*). The girl throws the ashes away and washes the widow; no one may see them; after that the widow may put a cloth on; the widow sits ninety-two days in the house and then goes and washes in silence. Twelve days after the second burial of a man who has not made a title, they go to the house of one of his companions and take a cock that has never crowed together with some yams; the yams are cut up and cooked, one is roasted; palm wine is also got which has never touched the ground; an *oglisi* stick is brought and cut in two and tied to a post of the house with five palm trees which have never borne nuts; plantain leaf is put upon the ground with *of*, and they slide the *oglisi* down the post, saying, "Let it climb down and eat"; then they plant in the ground against the post and kill a cock to the *oglisi*, which is known by the name of the dead man; roast yams are thrown upon the *oglisi* and all eat; the *oglisi* and the offerings of mashed yams are then taken and put under the roof so that no one can see them.

If a man's father-in-law dies, the son-in-law cooks food and takes it to the place of the dead man, together with palm wine that has not "touched the ground"; if the family are not satisfied with the quantity, the son-in-law must put money on the dish.

The *okbensi*, or image of the ancestor, is made of *oglisi*, kola, or *iroko*; the head of the quarter sacrifices a cock to it; they call the *okbensi* by the dead man's name, saying, "Let him eat," and it is then called one of the *Ndiŋie*.

A widower sits twelve days in the house; no one may touch him, and he is not to eat with others. If his wife has died less than twenty-eight days after childbirth, the husband sits upon his wife's plank and goes to wash after twelve days, taking the plank. He calls the people of his wife's place to come to second burial; a he-goat, chalk, round basket with salt and palm oil, small cooking knife, eight yams, two kola and a hen are sacrificed. If the woman has borne a child, her husband may make second burial for her, otherwise her father must perform it; they make *okbensi* for a woman exactly like a man, but they have their own *Ndiŋie*. At second burial the eldest son shaves his head and all the wives; daughters shave a place on the forehead; the hair of the women must be put in the bad bush (*ajoiŋia*).

When a man's father-in-law dies, he has to bring a goat called the camwood

goat; they say the dead man takes the goat and goes to Čuku; if the goat were not brought the father-in-law would not be reincarnated in his son-in-law's family.

For second burial a son-in-law brings a goat, cuts off one foot and puts it on the ground, then he takes the goat home and kills it; when he cuts off the foot he says to his Či, "My father-in-law is dead; I only cut off the leg for him; if he were here he would kill it to you." Two legs, the chest and the head are taken to the father-in-law's house; after twelve days he cooks thirty big pieces of yam, thirty calabashes of mashed yams, and soup; the women of the family take one share, the Qzō members one share, and the children one share; the son-in-law himself is not present: this is called "food for tears"; after this is eaten they tell his wife to go back till they have finished second burial; if the son-in-law did not send it the wife would not return.

I received three accounts of burial customs at Enugu. The body is washed in the morning, a mat laid on the ground and a cloth put over it; if it is an old man they bury him in the house, if it is a young man he is left outside; a cow is killed before the body is put in the grave as a sacrifice to the man's Či. Three days after death a woman takes a chicken tied with a palm leaf and goes to the bad bush (ajōifia); she puts it on the ground, saying, "My brother, come and eat," and leaves chicken and leaf there; when the woman returns, food is cooked and put in front of the house, and the dead man is told to come and eat; they leave it there a short time, and then the women of the family consume it; after twelve days the women cook outside the house; no man may be present; they beat a drum and say, "Our brother has begun to eat." On the day of second burial they take meat and okbēnsi and put them together in a grave dug in the yard, together with a small bead. The hen is killed and the blood thrown on the body, then the grave is filled in; in twelve days the man's companions come and bring his Ikenga, after walking round and dancing.

If a woman dies they send to her people, and her brothers and sisters come with a drum; if she has a son, he may take a cow and offer it to her people; the son follows the body; her family brings goats, cloth, etc., and her brother says, "My sister, here is the goat I kill for you"; this is killed before the house of the woman's father. The same ceremony is performed in the bad bush (ajōifia) as for a man; second burial is performed in the same way, except that the okbēnsi is not buried. If a small boy dies, or a man who has no house, they take a small goat and build a small house outside before his father's house and kill the goat there.

In Enugu Ivitana when a man dies they bring a mat and raphia leaves; the body is laid on the mat and covered with cloth; it is washed outside, and in the case of a man a fowl is killed and the blood put on his eyes and hand, and feathers in his right hand; a goat is also killed and some meat roasted and put in palm oil; this is put in the dead man's mouth and called "throat meat"; they say, "Eat it and go to the man who killed you." The corpse is said to move its mouth when

the meat is put in, then the body is covered with cloth and tied up; for a rich man the grave is dug by four young men in his house or garden; other people are buried in the farm; two grave-diggers carry and two take the body down into the grave; each man passes sand round his head and throws into the grave.

In the Osili quarter they put a plank down in the house and take the body up; a mat is put outside and the body taken out and covered with cloth; a fowl is taken and pointed at the dead person; blood is put upon the dead man's eyes and right hand; they say, "Look at the fowl; take it and eat; take it and go away"; then a goat is brought and they say, "Look at the goat which we sacrificed to your Či"; a piece of the throat is cut out and the meat put upon the ground; then four bamboo leaves are brought and the body of the goat put in; the piece of the throat is eventually put in the mouth of the dead man; no Qzo, Eku, or Či members may go to the grave, nor may a man who has the same name. Twelve days after second burial a woman shaves the man's head in the early morning, and the hair is taken to the bad bush (ajoifia), but the widow herself does not go.

On the first day after death the son-in-law must bring a cock and cloth, on the day of second burial a goat: in return for this the father-in-law's people give boiled yams and abača to the son-in-law and his people; twelve days after second burial the son-in-law sends the food of tears, which only women eat.

In Uruekwe, when the body is to be washed, two women wash it four times from head to foot, each taking one side; then they rub camwood, each taking one side; after this a goat is brought and held out to the corpse, "Carry it to him who killed you, don't trouble your own people"; a cock is brought and held out and the same thing said; it is afterwards killed and thrown down, and blood is put on the eyes with oglisi wood; when the corpse is tied they take an oglisi leaf to make a pad for the head, and isikeli for a second head pad; two men carry the body into the grave, which is near the house; then the body is loosed and put in the grave with mat and cloth; when the grave is nearly full the bamboo which formed the bier is put in; as usual, sand is passed round the head; they go to waterside and wash, but only the young men and women; at night they beat the wood drum and blow the flute.

When they give notice of the day of second burial, a he-goat is killed and shared between the women of the family and the old men; a hen and a small pot used for amauñulu are brought, and a bead and two bells are put upon the second grave site. People of Udo dig a small grave, and these objects are put in and the hen killed upon them; the throat of the goat which has been killed is put on the grave; a man takes a palm leaf and a woman of the family uses it; she knocks the leaf on the ground and says to the dead man, "My brother, let us go and cook food for you"; then the woman ties the hen to her palm leaf and knocks it on the ground till the hen dies; then she takes it off and puts the palm leaf in the ajoifia; she takes another leaf home in its place and puts it on the roof outside.

In twelve days the woman takes the palm leaf to the place where the entrails of the goat for second burial have been put and takes everything to the ajoifia;

four oglisi are tied to one of the roof sticks of the obu, a leaf is put on the ground underneath, and a fowl is killed to the oglisi on the roof; blood is sprinkled on the oglisi; four pieces of mashed yam are taken, which the head of the family puts on the roof; they fall on the oglisi leaf, and a young man carries the mashed yam outside, digs a grave and buries them; on the twelfth day the widow brings her own hen to the head of the family, who kills it to the ancestors.

I was told that a widow might eat nothing till after second burial, but this seems improbable. Among the things forbidden to a widow are: going out at night, talking loudly in the evening, sitting on the threshold, putting anything into a man's hand, talking to a man with a climbing rope; she is allowed to go to water-side to wash, but a man may not go into the water when she is there; she can also go to market.

She does not go to bad bush (ajoifia) but shaves her head on the twelfth day after second burial: after having been shaved she gives two hundred yams to the Eẓana and buys a small she-goat to be killed to the ajana; when she wishes to marry her suitor takes a she-goat and two hundred yams to the priest of the earth (Eẓana) at the end of the twelve months; she is shaved again by the same woman; the Eẓana takes off her cloth and her husband gives her a new one: if a widow dies before second burial of her husband, Nimo people bury her and no fowls or goats are killed; an Nri man is called after the second burial of her husband to "remove the forbidden thing" and then the rites of second burial can be performed for her.

In Nimo Ifitenu a mat is put in the house and a cloth laid on it and sticks are put so that neither hand nor face can turn downwards; the body is put on palm leaves for washing, which is done by two women four times from head to foot; the burial mat is put upon four raphia leaves and a goat is killed by the side of the body; blood is put upon the right hand; if a rich man is dead a ram may be killed and blood put upon the eyes. Apparently everyone must be buried in the farm; when a man's body is carried out a piece of the wall is knocked down to make a gate; in the case of a woman, part of a wall from the back of the house is cut off; a hoe is taken and the wood cut from the iron and put upon the grave after the body is buried, but a woman takes the hoe and puts it away and they can be used again: at daybreak the old men come and someone takes sand in his left hand and says, "The dead man did not turn his face to the ground nor say a bad word, they never carried him wrong" (that is, head first). Then he puts some sand in his mouth and throws the rest down; various drums are beaten in the case of a big man, and the dance known as Abia performed. A piece of okwe wood is cut and cleaned and a she-goat killed to it; four pieces of raphia palm leaf are tied and the okwe put on the top; they take the goat's blood in a vessel to pour upon the okwe; on the first day of burial the usual ceremony is performed with a palm leaf of the ajoifia.

In the Ifitana quarter of Nimo the body is washed as usual and fowl's blood put upon the eyes; care must be taken that this blood does not touch any person;

an Qzọ member is buried in the yam store, other people in the farm; in the case of a man only young men go, but men and women can go to an Qzọ member's funeral; in the case of a woman the eldest son and daughter go; the body is prepared for burial by putting a wool cap on the head and eagle and parrot feathers in it; this is for an Qzọ member only; after some earth has been put upon the body a single and double bell are put in the grave. When second burial is performed they wrap okwe wood in the mat, kill a goat, and put a piece of its throat in the mat and bury outside; a palm wine pot is broken upon this second grave; when a woman's husband dies she holds a small knife in her hand and sits upon the seat that runs outside the house for twelve days; no man may see her at night and a woman of her family collects the ashes of her fire and takes them to the farm (ajago) on the twelfth day. On the twenty-eighth day the ashes are cleared away again and cotton is put upon the widow's neck; she can then wash in the house and come out.

At the end of the twelve months she buys a dead she-goat and sits down with it in the road: all men pass cowries round their head on Oye day and say, "If I saw you at night or talked to you or went to waterside with you may it not kill me"; then they put cowries and sand in her basket and go on; the widow takes the basket to an Eķu member's house and in the evening the member takes the basket to the place of the earth (ajana); the woman who carried the widow's ashes, shaves the widow's head and takes off her cotton; puts beads on new cotton round her neck and gives her a new cloth; the widow buys a hen and goes to the ancestors and her husband's obu; the head of the family kills it and declares that the woman and the Ndičie have eaten together; this constitutes a formal notification that she is no longer a widow, for as long as she is in a state of widowhood she may not eat to the ancestors. After second burial is over they make ihiekeheke, that is they tie four pieces of oglisi to a peg, and this must be done by a man of the same rank as the dead man; as soon as it is done they are taken off and put on the roof of the back house: the man who did the tying goes to a bachelor's house and puts a new okbęnsi on the ground; he offers kola, a goat and a fowl; the friends of the dead man come and eat and bring palm wine; at dawn the okbęnsi is taken to the dead man's house and kola is offered to it in the obu; then the dead man can eat with the Ndičie and be reincarnated.

I got three accounts of burial customs at Nibo.

At Umwanum quarter the body is laid on a mat anywhere in the house and cotton thread is put between the big and second toes; then the body is taken out and two women wash it four times and rub camwood four times; then they put black marks and pass a razor over the face four times; if his wife has borne a child a he-goat is killed and blood thrown on the right side of the body; a piece of the throat, palm oil and salt is put in an oglisi leaf and placed in the dead man's mouth. A cock is killed and the blood put upon the right side from head to foot and feathers on the right side of the face and in the right hand. A bier is made of

raphia midrib and the grave dug outside by ten men, four men of the family carrying the body; when they reach the grave they loose the body and take it off the bier and put it with the cloth and mat in the grave. Various things are put upon the grave, a piece of round basket cut in four pieces, and a hoe with string, a matchet is taken to cut the string and the hoe is taken away: the four pieces of the round basket are put in a square with the string on them, and the man who puts them on the grave jumps four times on them and jumps off sideways; he passes sand round his head and says, "Don't wash your hand for *Či* before you kill the man who killed you." If a Nibo woman dies she is brought back to Nibo and blood and feathers put upon the body and also the throat of the goat; for small children a fowl only is killed; when the time comes for second burial a gun is fired very early in the morning and the part of the wall over the door knocked down; four *oglisi* are planted outside the door and a she-goat and cock sacrificed to them; then they dance *Abia* and clap their hands at the conclusion; after this the goat and fowl are shared.

A woman takes the widow into the part of the house called *onombo* and puts her by the fire; she shaves her head bare and takes the hair and house ashes to the *ajofia*; the widow stays twenty-eight days in the room but may come out at night provided no one sees her; then a woman comes to take her to the *ajofia* to wash; a small chicken and a palm leaf are taken by a man in the evening to the *ajofia*, the palm leaf is looped and struck on the ground, at the same time the dead man is told to come back; the chicken is thrown into the bush and a palm leaf carried on the left hand and put against the wall. *Ečičili* is planted in front of it and the dead man's brother sits down in front and puts a palm leaf on his right wrist. A cock and a hen are then killed on the *ečičili*; yams, palm oil, salt, the liver of a fowl and its head are offered to four *oglisi* pegs in front of the *ečičili*; then a knife is taken and the *ečičili* is cut down and put on the ground, the knife is then knocked on the ground; this means that the dead man cannot plant yams again; before performing this ceremony they could plant the dead man's yams.

No woman of the quarter in which a death has occurred may either go to market or work on the day of a death; they say that this is due to "*Odači*," which means an obstacle—literally it falls and blocks the way. Another account of second burial in the same quarter said that three men, one from each of the families, get four kola and four coconuts, and the man will make the second burial; he fixes the next *Eke* day for it; on *Nkwọ* day he calls the family and gives eight yams, a cock that has not crowed, a goat, a small shield, and four goat skulls tied to raphia leaves; the goat is killed inside the house; cowries are provided for the man who cuts down the *ifejioko* of the dead man, and he also kills the fowl and the goat; the fowl is eaten but the goat is kept till *Eke* day. On *Eke* day the wall is knocked down over the door, and the door taken off; a young man is sent with a chicken to the *ajofia* and he kills it in the bush and brings back a palm leaf which he puts outside between pieces of mud. Two women and two young men are called, and one man

holds each end of the palm leaf ; the two women take two small pots, one in the right hand and one in the left, fill their pots at waterside and put them in kokoyam leaves ; these women wash the leaf four times as they do the body, and rub camwood four times ; cotton is put upon the place which represents the neck of the corpse, and a bier is made for the palm leaf ; a small grave is dug behind the front wall, and two men carry the palm leaf out and bury it ; one man cuts string from the hoe and takes four pieces of round basket and puts on the grave, and the two women break their pots.

Before this a ceremony called *ibuboi ifejioko* has been performed ; the chair of the dead man has been brought out and put before the door, and a married man of his family cuts *ifejioko* and plants *ečičili* ; one of the family sits on the chair and puts a palm leaf on his right wrist and one on the *ečičili* ; camwood is rubbed on the *ečičili* and the man's right hand, and a cock and a hen are killed on the *ečičili* ; then the *ečičili* is cut down and fowls and yams are put in a wooden vessel and offered ; red yams are cut up and put on the *ečičili* ; then a boy comes and takes the *ečičili* away to the *ifejioko*.

Having had no opportunity of seeing a burial at Nibo I got the men who had been giving me this information to act a burial over as a check ; the first thing that happens is lamentation ; the child or brother of the dead man holds the head of the corpse and weeps over it ; mud is then put on each side of the head and feet, and cotton across the neck ; a mat has previously been placed on the ground and a cloth is laid flat over the body ; then the body is carried out and after it the mat ; a fowl is killed and blood smeared on the body from head to foot ; the body of the fowl is thrown away from the corpse ; the blood of a goat is taken in an *oglisi* leaf and poured on the body, and a portion of its throat put in the mouth ; when it comes to the washing of the body, one man holds the head and one the foot ; the washing is from head to foot and the water is passed round the foot under the arm of the man who holds it ; then camwood is put on and a razor passed over the face, cotton is put across the neck, and four eagle feathers pointing downwards are put under the cap ; after this they lament and carry the body out feet first ; after taking it off the bier they jump up and down and jump off sideways ; a hoe is cut and put over the head ; a basket is cut up, sand is passed round the head and thrown over the body.

In their songs they sing, " blood blood, it is a man, it is a woman, blood blood," after this the *abia* dance is performed with the *ofo* of the dead man on the ground ; a fire is made near the *abia* drum to warm it, and they pass a fowl over the eyes of the player, subsequently dancing with it in their hands.

A son-in-law is notified of his father-in-law's death and brings cloth, a cap, and eagle feathers ; he goes and laments, and then goes home again to fetch a goat and powder ; the family of the father-in-law provide him with food ; when he goes to lament for second burial he takes a goat, which is killed and shared ; a wife will take one fowl to kill to her father's *či* ; twelve days after second burial the son-in-law cooks mashed yams and sends palm wine and a leg of a goat in soup to his

father-in-law's place; this is "food of tears," which both men and women eat, but not the widow.

If a woman's mother dies and there are no sons and no father to bury her, the husband will undertake the duty; he provides two hens to be killed by one of the women's family, eight yams, two small pots used to bring water to wash the palm leaf which was taken to the place of the earth (*ajana*). This palm leaf is taken and laid on the left hand; the midrib along the arm; when they reach the husband's house it is fixed with mud outside the door; the daughter rubs the leaf with camwood mixed with water and puts cotton across the leaf at each end; a palm midrib is taken, a basket made, and the palm leaf and cotton put inside; all is tied up with string and buried in a small grave outside the street door; the two men who bury it pass sand round their heads and say, "Don't wash your hands in the face of your *ēi* before you kill the one who killed you"; the two pots used for washing the leaf are broken into the grave and four pieces of round basket put on it; the string is left on it. One of the people of the dead woman take two fowls and pieces of *ečičili* wood which they plant in seven days. One yam cut in four is put upon the ground and the two fowls are killed on the *ečičili*; one fowl goes to the dead woman's people, one to the husband's people; the livers and heads of the fowls are put in a wooden vessel with palm oil and yams, and these are put on the *ečičili*; then the *ečičili* is cut in two with a matchet, feathers, yams and heads are raked into one heap and the man takes water and washes his hands.

Another account I took down entirely in Ibo, and the following is a summary of it.¹ After lamenting they rub him with camwood inside the house, then carry him outside and rub him again four times; then one of the women takes a razor and passes above his head, and lays cotton round his neck; one of the family kills a goat and pours blood on his hand and puts the throat in his mouth; fowl blood is also put in his hand, and feathers; before digging the grave in the farm, they strike a palm leaf on the ground to remind the old dead bodies to get out of the way; before digging, they measure four times with a piece of basket, four times with a hoe; the corpse is carried on a bier of bamboo which is broken and put into the grave; then the ceremony with sand is performed: the widow takes off her neck ornaments and stays in the house during the day; at night she carries the ashes of her fire to the *ajofia*. In twelve days the woman who removed the neck ornaments shaves her head and puts cotton on her neck; the hair is thrown in the *ajofia*; they break down the wall at the back of her house for her to go out; she does not cook for anyone and no one cooks for her, except a small girl who has not yet put on neck ornaments; she may not touch any male person except a small boy who has not put on a loin cloth; only her son may go to her house at night; no one may go into the water where she is washing, nor step over her legs; after twenty-eight days they rebuild the wall, she uses the ordinary door and they go to market; after this nothing more remains than to sacrifice to the place of the earth (*ajana*) in the way already described.

¹ *Ibo Report*, III, p. 129.

At Nise, in the Ezawolo quarter, they tie a man's feet and carry him out, for women to wash the body; then it is put in the man's sleeping room or in the obu; a fowl is killed and blood put on the right hand, the sacrificer alone eats the fowl; in the case of an important man a goat may be killed, when all the rest of the family may eat; an important man is buried in the yam store, others in the farm, and the grave is dug by men of the same age as the deceased; earth is taken out with a basket twice to the right, twice to the left, and so on; for a man no bamboo framework is used in the bier; the usual ceremony with sand is performed and the earth scraped into the grave with the hands; they wash at the waterside and say, "water, take away the bad thing." In the case of a woman she must be buried in her own town, unless some dispute prevents it, in which case land is bought in the other town for the grave; when they are carrying the body back the women sing and the men beat a drum; they carry the body to the front door of the father's house, then to the farm; they can take her *Či* and kill a goat to it, and touch the left shoulder and eyes of the woman; if anyone refuses this meat they say that he or she killed the woman; the namesake of a man or woman is not allowed to eat the funeral meat however.

For the second burial of a man, a cock, a hen, and a ram are killed on the ground to give notice of second burial; the sons-in-law brings goats and the daughters bring fowls, the goats are killed in front of the house. Brother and sister dance, the woman with a tin fan, the man with a knife; then the daughter collects the women of the family and they dance round the quarter all night collecting yams; the son marks his arm with camwood and puts down *ečičili* and *oglisi*, marking the former with camwood; yams and palm oil are offered, and the *ečičili* is cut through at one stroke; the *oglisi* is divided between *ifejioko* and the front of the door.

The bystanders wash; the palm leaf and chicken are taken, as usual, to the *ajofia*; after second burial a goat is passed over the widow's leg, but some of the prohibitions do not prevail here; a man may pass through the water where she is washing and may eat with her, except on the twenty-eighth day when she re-enters the house for second burial. The customs in the case of a woman are very nearly the same as for a man, but red yams are put in the road and *ečičili* and *oglisi* are planted on either side.

In the Ngodo quarter of Nise two women rub camwood in the house and two men pass their hands over the body outside but do not touch it with water; two eagle feathers are put in the hair, but afterwards the head is shaved; the usual ceremony is performed with the blood of the goat and fowl; after striking the ground with a palm leaf they tie a string round a hoe and make four strokes; then this hoe and some cloth are put down and the grave dug with other hoes; a pad of *oglisi* leaves is made to carry the corpse, and after the earth is put in it stamped down; the basket that has been used, the bier, the pad, and the mat on which the man died are put in the *ajofia*; the camwood pot is broken on the grave and the hoe cut from the stick; *abia* is then danced and guns fired. The

widow is taken by the arm and twice bumped on the wood of her basket in the women's house. Then her beads are taken off and she wears only cotton; women and her husband's sons may talk to her.

When it comes to second burial part of the front wall is knocked down, and a bamboo leaf put up early in the morning. An Ezawolo man takes a palm leaf and fowl and calls the dead man in the *ajofia*; another man takes it when he returns and hides it in a small hole near the front door; in the evening it is buried; two women wash with water four times, kill the chicken, and it is then buried and stamped upon, and the water pot broken on the grave; they wash with water or an *oglisi* leaf; the son kills one goat before *Či*, cutting the throat upwards, and drops the blood on *Či*, then all run. In twelve days *Či* is dug up, the widow goes to the *ajofia*, takes the cotton off her neck and washes at the waterside; the *Či* and *abwala* of the widow are dug up at the same time as the *Či* and *abwala* of the man and put in the *ajofia*; when the widow wishes to remarry she sits down, legs stretched out in the house of a bachelor, and her suitor steps over her legs; he takes the string from her neck and waist and she takes them to the *ajofia* and washes; after second burial the widow can take her property to the house of the dead man. Before the marriage is finally completed an *Nri* man puts two cowries on a string round the waist of the husband saying, "oh, husband, take your hand from the woman, let the new husband come and take her."

After twenty-eight days the women bring a fowl in the morning, tied to a broom; four *oglisi* are planted in front of the *Ndičie* and sacrifices are offered. No new *okbensi* is made, but they use that which was used for *Amaunulu*. According to another statement they do not dance *Abia* in the quarter nor knock the wall down, but that is probably unreliable.

At *Nofia* they lament over the body in the house, where it lies on a mat; the young men put the body on a mat known as *ute amili* and carry it out and put it on a plank to wash; two women wash twice each from head to foot and then wash each other twice; a fowl is pointed to the body and taken away to be killed, which is done by slitting its neck upwards; blood is carried in an *oglisi* leaf to be put on the eyes; a goat is dealt with in the same way, but as a rule a piece of the throat is simply roasted and not put in the mouth; when the grave is filled in women trample it twice and come off at the head; no sand is passed round the face; the widow may be present at the funeral, but when she passes over the step of the house all men must rise up from the seat outside, otherwise they are *na nsq*, that is in a state of *tabu*.

In the ceremonies for second burial two bamboo are put in an arch against the door and the wall knocked down over the door: in the interval before second burial the family may not kill fowls nor drink palm wine; an *okbensi* is put down before *či*, and a goat's ear cut off and put on the *okbensi*, which a woman picks up, roasts, and eats; the goat is then killed and the blood put upon the *okbensi*; after the burial of *okwe*, which corresponds to the palm leaf, the widow can come back and sit on the wood of her long basket; she gets a cooking knife

and a whip stick, but no man may see or talk to her; a palm leaf is taken to the ajoifia, and when it is brought back a piece from the leg of a goat is put with it, a bier is made and women wash the leaf and take the rest of the leg as their share, a grave is dug outside, but the leaf cannot be carried on the head; the okbensi is thrown in the ajoifia, ċi, and abwala dug up; the obo of ċi may be used for firewood, but it must be kept in the obu. The son-in-law has to perform the usual duties in the way of providing food; after a death no one in the sept can go to market for twelve days and all the quarter would stay away for one day.

In the Umokwa sept some of the observances connected with the widow are peculiar; after second burial a woman takes the widow, unclothed, to the waterside at night; after washing she fills a small pot and carries it on her shoulder; a small fence is put to keep goats and fowls from entering her house, and on her return from the waterside she gets a stick of okakba tree; one old woman cooks food for her, and she only may eat the remainder of her food; in twelve days a woman takes the widow out in the day, but she may not speak, and in twenty-eight days she is shaved.

When a man's mother-in-law dies he begs young men and women to go to the burial; if it is his father-in-law, men young and old, only, are invited.

The customs of Amañsi differ somewhat: there is no custom of putting blood upon the eyes, the ground is struck with a hoe, not a palm leaf, to warn the old dead to go away, sand is not passed round the head, and at second burial they do not go to the ajoifia; a small part of the front wall is broken down by the people of the deceased's mother; the only semblance of burial that takes place is that they take a piece of meat and inter it somewhere in the house; this is called the burial of the meat; a wife may be buried by her husband, or fetched by her own people: it is a matter of agreement.

At Ebenebe a man takes a matchet and marks off the length of the grave; in the farm for a young man, in the house for an old man, then a man swings a hoe four times and strikes the head on the ground; another does the same and marks the outline of the grave; the first man begins to dig, and when completed it is five or six feet deep; a woman passes a razor above the head twice, and passes her hands, dipped in water, above the body four times; camwood is rubbed on the body; for an old man cock and ram are passed over the head twice; the cock's head is torn off by placing the foot on it, and put in the right hand of the dead man; when the corpse is finally tied up a hole is cut in the mat so that the hand can pass through; a cap is taken to cover the head, and four eagle feathers passed four times over the head and taken away; three bearers carry the body, contrary to the usual custom; when earth is put in the grave it is stamped down; as a rule only young men go to the farm. Twelve days after burial they call the dead man, the brother takes a chicken and a cock and goes out with drummers and flute players; the fowls and a palm leaf are held out to the sun four times, saying "my brother come back home to-day and eat," four oglisi are planted, and the palm leaf and chicken are laid before it.

Contrary to the usual custom, women and children are buried in the enclosure of the house, an infant on the side of the road or outside the door; they make a fence and cover the body with leaves; in the case of people buried in the farm they wait a long time and the second burial is unimportant; second burial is made for everyone except infants.

At Èbenebe, according to another account, the body is brought out by two men and put on a palm leaf; all the women go to wash the body; it is then carried to another place and put on a mat and camwood is rubbed; a cock is killed on the ground and a small feather dipped in blood and put in the right hand, three midribs of palm tree, two of raphia tree are used for the bier. Children are buried in the farm, youths and others in the garden with a small house over the grave, a big man in his house, which is then deserted; no one may eat in it, and it is called Ajago; women go to burial; a daughter puts sand on the grave and all the women stay in the man's house for twelve days.

The widow lies on the ground without sack or mat; she has to wear leaves instead of cloth for one year, and no one may touch her or look at her; at the end of a year an Nri man is called to remove her from her condition of widowhood; the first step is for him to cohabit with her, then another widow shaves her and she washes at waterside; the suitor receives a chicken from her, and strikes his chest with it, then he passes it round her and throws it in the bush; after eating together she is regarded as his wife. In the second burial rites a she-goat is killed to the Ōi and a he-goat tied to it; two legs of the goat are put in the dead man's bag, a hole is dug in the grave and the bag put into it and covered with mud; the mother's people come and take the goat. In the case of a man who has made ofon'ba title a ram is killed at the door of the yam store; eight oglisi pegs are put in the ground with the leaf and a ram and hen killed on it; the hearts of these animals are buried in the ground at the door.

On the day of the first burial a palm leaf is taken and struck on the ground; this is kept or hidden until after second burial, when it is buried with a piece of okwe tree exactly like a body.

At Mbwaku we come back again to the region of the Awka dialect, but there are certain small variations in the burial rites; palm leaf is put upon the ground and the body is washed outside by one woman; camwood is put upon the forehead, then upon all the body; when the body is put in the mat, the right hand is laid on the breast, a fowl is killed and blood dropped upon the hand and feathers put in it; a goat is also killed, and the last blood is put in the right hand with some hair; a deep grave, six feet deep or more, is dug in the farm; the body is carried on two raphia leaves, which are buried with it; when they leave the grave they strike the ground with another raphia leaf and say, "Let us go back." This is spoken to the dead man. After eight days goats and fowls are eaten and an okbensi is made; the widow has to sit down in the women's house, and no goat or fowl may come in; she holds a cooking knife and takes a whip to drive a goat or fowl out instead of shouting; after twenty-eight days, when she goes to wash, she

has to catch some small fish and bring them home; these are cooked outside the house with some yams given her by her suitor, who may not eat himself; then he gives other yams, of which he may eat, and after sacrifices to the *okbensì* of the dead man the woman is his wife. For second burial *okwe* wood and four *raphia* leaves, in which the chicken and the *okwe* are wrapped, are buried in the back house; mashed yams are put in the camwood pot used for the burial, and it is broken on the grave.

At *Ačala* they lament rhythmically, with five or six repetitions of a melodic phrase; then a new figure takes its place; the wailing may go on practically the whole of the night; no blood is used nor feathers; the grave is dug in the farm; part of the wall is broken down to carry the body through, and only young men follow it; the ground is struck with a palm leaf, which is put up in the road with various emblems for some days after death. In former days at *Ačala* they left a slave on the grave of an *Ozò* member; another slave broke his legs and arms, and he was left to die.

At *Ibwariam* they put camwood on the body in the house, make a bier of four *raphia* midribs, on which is put the mat (*uteamili*, here called *mbala*); the body is brought out to an open space, and for a young man a ram is killed with one stroke of a matchet; then the *ikenga* is broken.

I was fortunate enough to witness the burial ceremony of a woman the day before I left *Ibwariam*. She was a native of the town, and married into another quarter; death took place at about 10 p.m., and the mourners from her own quarter traversed the open space (Plate IV, 3) on the side of which I was living; as they passed my house they appeared to be talking about various things, but broke out into wailing some fifty yards further on—one hundred yards or so from the house; after lamenting for an hour they returned, keeping up the wailing until they had reached a certain distance from the house; then they began laughing and chatting; early the following morning the women of the quarter danced in the open space; the plate anklets which they wore rendered any real dancing impossible, and all that they did was to step once to the left, and three times to the right, thus progressing slowly in a circular direction.

About midday the body was brought out and put down in the space where the dancing had taken place; cowries were thrown down, and there was a certain amount of wailing; after a short time the bier was picked up by the young men and carried to the woman's own quarter (*ib.*, 4); here it was put down, and the girls of the quarter up to the age of about seventeen came and threw themselves down on their knees and elbows and began to wail; they massed themselves at one end of the coffin in one sweltering heap (Plate V, 1), and so far as I could distinguish the words, they were, "Oh, our sister, why have you left us?" but each seemed to give utterance to any sentiments she chose; one girl was seated on a stool at the other end of the coffin, and whereas tears poured down the cheeks of the wailers, this girl appeared absolutely unmoved, and, so far as I could see, did not speak. It appeared afterwards that she was the sister of the deceased woman.

While the wailing was going on, men, who congregated in the shade of a tree (*ib.*, 2), for the sun was beating down fiercely, brought offerings of cloth and laid them on the coffin; cowries were also thrown down; the elder women of the quarter appeared to take no part in the wailing. After this extraordinarily barbaric scene had gone on for twenty minutes or so, the bier was picked up and carried to the farm, and the wailing ceased as if by magic.

The women do not attend at the grave, the family sit down for twelve days, and a pot of water is put in the obu, from which anyone who comes takes water, to wash before they take kola. There is no second burial of any sort; the okbensi is taken to the head man of the sept, or possibly of the sub-quarter, who puts it in his obu; when they get a new head all the okbensi are removed after a sacrifice.

The widow stays twenty-eight days in the house, but she fetches water and cooks for men; on the twenty-eighth day she goes to the waterside and just dips her hand in; she can marry in twelve months.

From the above accounts of the various local ceremonies it is apparent that there is a certain amount of differentiation between old and young men, women, children and infants, though the details do not agree in every town.

There are, however, certain diseases which render patients incapable of being buried in the ordinary way; a man suffering from elephantiasis is not allowed to die in the house, but is removed to the farm, and sometimes simply exposed after death; in some cases a surgical operation is performed after death to remove the enlarged part, and then he may be brought home and buried in the ordinary way. Smallpox, dropsy, syphilis, leprosy, and a sort of cholera known as itolo, disqualify the sufferers from dying in the house and being buried in the ordinary way; at most they will be covered with leaves in a shallow grave. Second burial may, however, in many cases, be performed.

A woman who dies in pregnancy is also not buried in the ordinary way in most places; but at Nibo one of the women who has come to childbirth is called upon to perform the Caesarian operation after death, then the woman is buried but not the child. I have not heard of any case in the Awka district, but the Oniča custom is said to be for the same operation to be performed on a sterile woman.

ASABA DISTRICT.

In recent years burial customs have undergone considerable change in the Asaba district. In former times it was the practice to sacrifice one or more slaves at the funeral ceremonies of a man who had attained a certain status, and although the custom is still carried out sporadically, as in a recent instance in 1912, the habitual practice of it is a thing of the past.

As elsewhere the rites of burial vary according to the age, sex, and importance of the deceased. More sacrifices are necessary for a man who is married and has children than for a young man who has not taken a wife. In the case of a man

who has taken *ńkpese* title a he-goat and a ram are sacrificed ; for *ńkpalo* three goats.

Burial of Eze.—The general procedure is the same in all cases. First of all a man and woman lament, and during this time various requisites for the funeral rites are collected—palm wine, yams, powder, and so on. The body is washed in the yard usually by a man of the quarter and laid on a mat, though an *eze* must sit with eight different cloths on him. The head is shaved by a woman, and cowries are put upon the wrist, and in the case of an *eze*, a bead known as *idibwe* or *ofiji* is put in his mouth and also chalk. A red cap is put on the head of an *eze* with two eagle's feathers, and if a stranger enters the place he salutes him. The body is put in a coffin of *iroko*. Then the *ada* (head woman) has to come and bring a he-goat and a cock. The mat which was hung over the body is her perquisite, and also the cock and the goat and the *eze's* razor, "the iron he used to kill people."

Another account of the duties of the *ada* stated that formerly the body of an *eze* (literally, king) was kept about eight days, precisely as is done with the body of a blacksmith in some parts of the district. At the present day a fire has to be kept burning for a blacksmith, and the body is kippered.

At about four in the afternoon the *ada* brings her calabash before the gate, and a pot of palm wine, a cock, a mat and a plain white cloth, *akwa ibe nabo*, are brought to her there. The bead, which the eldest son has to put into the mouth of the *eze* at the moment of death, is removed by the *ada* and taken away in her calabash.

When an *eze* dies, all the *eze* remain at home till the body is underground, and this was also formerly the custom for *ńkpalo*. It was also forbidden for them to sit upon their *ukbo* (mud seat). They were, however, forbidden to weep, and if they violated this prohibition they had to chalk their eyes.

An *eze* was formerly buried near the point of land south of Asaba which is known as *Onirhe*, and the ground given for the choice of this place was that *Nevis*, the founder of the town, was said to have been buried there. In former days, after the burial of an *eze*, a watch was set by his own *ebo* (quarter), for one month, lest some other town should come and dig up the body to cut off the head as a trophy. When *Afadie*, the first *asabwa* (head chief) died, they discussed whether he should be buried there, for he had been a great warrior, so they decided to make his grave inside the town lest his enemies should get hold of his head and make *omalegwe* with it. At the present day an *eze* is buried outside under his *ukoni* (kitchen), an *ńkpalo* under his *ukbo* and an *ńkpese* anywhere in his house.

If an *eze* dies during the seven days that he "rubs chalk" it is *alo* (forbidden) and the body is taken to the *ajoifia* (bad bush). Another statement was that they could wait till the seven days were up, pay money, nearly £2, to all the *eze* of the quarter, a ceremony called *isu ike n'ani*, and then bury the deceased as *ńkpalo*, not *eze*. This rite was explained as the taking off of the red cap, not from the body itself, for the dead man's *či* represents him. The *či* itself again does not

appear to be in actual use, for the *omu ojuku* (a kind of palm leaf) is taken in place of the *či*, which is kept on the mud seat called *ololumwo*. At some point during the ceremonies the *akbo* of the dead man has to be cut down by *odogu*; he went to the spot once for a man with *obu* title and twice for *eze*. The first time he struck a ram four times upon the ground, the second time he struck it four times more and then killed it; if a ram could not be found, a slave, a he-goat, and a cock were killed. The body of the ram went to the *idumu* (sub-quarter), and *odogu* received as his perquisite the head and genitals. An *eze* who dies while he is "rubbing chalk" cannot be recalled for second burial.

It may be noted in passing that the same rule applies to the *ezubwo*; but only if he dies during his years of office. He is taken to the *ajofia* and his *umunna* act as his deputies. At the close of his term of office they can celebrate second burial for him.

Burial of orhene.—More elaborate than the rites of burial for an *eze* are those of *orhene* or priest. The other *orhene* gather, and eight goats and eight fowls are sacrificed, but they may not see the dead man, who may not be touched, however, before the other *orhene* come. Before they go home they receive two chickens for the ceremony of purification. If this is omitted, they cannot eat at home.

After the *orhene* have come, the dead man is washed and dressed; camwood is rubbed on him, and chalk and eagle's feathers are put in his hair, the head having been shaved, save from the crown to the nape of the neck.

The hair is not thrown into the bush but kept in a pot, and when the head is shaved one goat is killed in the *ogige* (garden), one goat in the house, and one fowl for the *ibuma* (cloth chest), and one fowl for his *ebi* or feather hat. The *orhene* is said to be buried first of all in a coffin and then in a canoe; hence an *orhene* is forbidden to enter a canoe. If the dead man has a grown son he makes a small canoe and a coffin; the canoe is put inside the coffin and then the corpse in a sitting position. They say that the canoe is put inside the coffin in order that, when the dead *orhene* comes to the world again, the child may be able to travel in a canoe. The grave is dug behind the house of the *alose* which the *orhene* serves. At some points during the ceremonies the heap of stones and mud, which is made by the *orhene* at his induction, is broken down, the last goat being sacrificed at the same time; this goat is known as *ibwaici obimwo* (? covering the heap of stones).

At some time after the completion of the original burial (probably nine days), the rite of second burial is performed. A gun is fired at dawn, and the rite known as *ukwenta* begins. Three goats are sacrificed, one for *ukwenta*, one for *ifejioko ono*, that is the tools used in the farm, and one for *ifejioko ubwo*, also known as *ifejioko ora*, that is an *ebwo* tree or stick in the farm house. On *ukwenta* day they dance round the town; this is known as *ukwota*; and all the *ebwo* are cut down which the dead man had planted as a fence, one each year. For the dance they take a drum known as *okanga*, a shield, *akbani*, a matchet, quarter staff and an *ukbo ači* or rain hat. The following day a gun is fired about 2 p.m. and men and women dance. Probably on the same day the

grave is rubbed (ite ine). This is explained as rubbing blood on the ukbo on which the mwo were kept.

During these ceremonies three slaves were sacrificed: one with his head cut off was buried in the gate, one in the place where the dead man washed, and one where his akbo tree stood. One slave had to be given a title, but apparently he was not one of those sacrificed. The goat was killed and the man put four tufts of palm fibre on each side of his head in imitation, probably, of the aziza ("broom") which the eze wears on his red cap. The slave did not sit upon the mud seat but near it, and for thirteen days ate food cooked in the ukoni.

During this time of seventeen days a man dressed up as mauñ and paraded the town. Ukwenta followed the mauñ and received money, so that he could eat food not cooked in the ukoni. The mauñ, who was also known as egügü, was accompanied by Irokute. He chased women about in the evening time and about 6 p.m. retired to the okule, or house which was built especially for him. One statement said that he remained only thirteen days, and that the idumu cooked for Irokute on the thirteenth day. Irokute went early in the morning to the okule, so that the women might not know, and left again at night. On the day before egügü games, all the widows of the dead man go and wash, and on the last day of the stay of egügü they remain outside the fence (okpukpe) until dawn. On the following day egügü gives them new husbands, telling them to choose whom they will have. This coming out of mourning on the thirteenth day of egügü is called epun'ononwu. All the quarter come and eat food and all the idumu lament, but all the women can go to market. The eldest son and daughter and the widows do nothing until egügü goes, but the other children are allowed to work.

Burial of Women.—In the case of women the rites are less complex. The head wife of an eze is buried by her idumu, and especially by her eldest brother or his descendants; and the grave is dug behind the house. The wife of an ñkpalo or ñkpese would be buried in the house, as would be the case of all except the head wives of an eze. Where the brother of the dead woman has no house the grave is made on the spot where he will build his house later. The day before the burial of an anase (head wife) is known as ikbosu osu. The eze's mourning begins then and he cannot go out for seven days. After seven days have passed he may go out, but a servant must be left behind to carry on the mourning. Ashes are put upon one side instead of being swept away for seven days. On the seventh day the eze shaves, leaving a patch upon the crown, and the servant shaves on one side only; the children all shave, and the other wives leave a small piece unshaven. When a woman dies they bring her calabash, one hen and her loom sword to the market. The calabash is broken, the hen killed and the loom sword laid down. Then they go back and kill another hen. Her place in the market is taken by her daughter, but if she has no daughter anyone may take it.

"Burial" of Absentee.—Where a body cannot be recovered, as for example in a case of a drowned man, omu ojuku is struck four times on the bank of the stream and the dead man's name called four times. The omu is then covered

with a cloth and put upon a board. The ceremonies are performed for it as for a corpse. There is a saying, "omu ojuku adad ani mpu, odani obul ozu" (omu ojuku does not fall for nothing: if it falls, there is a corpse), that is to say, someone has died a violent death.

Where someone is buried in the ajoifia, omu ojuku is knocked to call them for first burial after seven days, and this is probably the explanation of the contradiction in the account of the burial of an eze who has rubbed chalk, given above.

The child who does not know where his father and mother were buried, that is to say, if they were buried when the child was young, may knock omu ojuku in the street and call to them to come.

Burial of Debtor.—With regard to the burial customs generally it may be said that a man who buries a debtor is responsible for his debt, and generally speaking the man who buries a person is also his heir. If a man buries his own brother the child of the deceased cannot demand the property.

Ordinarily a man's own brother will bury him whether he has a debt or not. This obligation, however, does not go beyond actual blood brotherhood, and the okpalumunna (head of the kin) is responsible for the burial of a man of the umunna. He will also bury a man who has a young son or brother, even if he leaves daughters, assuming, of course, that there is no idebwe. In such cases, of course, he gets the property, if there is any, or pays his debts. People beg the mwo that they may be preserved from the fate of becoming ozu okpala.

Burial of nkpalō.—At Okpanam when an nkpalō dies his wives lament him and his daughter or some other woman shaves his head. The corpse is then taken out and washed and laid on a mat and cloth. A goat known as ewu ikenga is killed, and the grave is dug by men of the same ebo while others make the coffin. They march with the okanga and coffin round the town and put the corpse in it about 5 p.m., singing burial songs; the grave-diggers and those who fill in the grave wash. At dawn the nkpalō of the ebo come and kill a goat for ifejioko. The okbosilo (an image like ikenga) is put before the ogwa (front house) and a goat sacrificed. Yams and koko yams are split, a food that is ordinarily forbidden for an nkpalō. Each nkpalō comes and puts an isikeli leaf in his left thumb and forefinger, claps his right hand on it, drops it and goes straight home without turning to look back; this means that they are leaving him and he will never follow them. Twenty-eight days later they dance. The widows mourn for twenty-eight days and shave half their heads; on the eve of their coming out the suitor provides food (nni ononwu) for the nkpalō of the ebo. When the widow comes out she washes and shaves all her head.

Burial of Eze.—In the case of an eze the old men (ikei) of the umunna wash him and at the same time the young men load the guns. When the corpse is brought in, it is put on a mat before the ukbo in a sitting position and they bring the dance ornament known as ubwome and the ebi or feather circlet for the head. The face is chalked and cowrie wristlets and armlets may be added

also. While this is being done the young men are firing guns, and a door has been taken for a blacksmith to cut up and make a coffin of. The son and the umunna bring oil, a hen, mbuazu (dried fish), three ngugu (9*d.*) and seven yams for the blacksmith; the coffin is laid before the ukbo of the ogwa. A large goat known as ewu ikenga is killed on the right hand and shared by the nkpalō.

The umunna begin and the sons-in-law finish the digging of the grave; the umunna carry the empty coffin round the town and the ikunne, or people of the dead man's mother, carry it round a second time. The umunna dance till 3 a.m. and then put the corpse in the coffin and carry it to the grave, which is outside the house where he washed. Guns are fired and the grave-diggers wash. The eldest son blows a horn. The following day a goat is given to the nkpalō of the umunna, this because the dead man had made nkpalō before he made eze title. It is known as ikenga nkpalō because the son now takes his father's ikenga. In the case of a young eze the sub-quarter (idumu) will lament, but not in the case of an old eze.

Six doors are said to have been used for the coffin formerly, and it was about 4 feet 6 inches high; the grave was 7 feet deep and dug by two men working all the time.

The parade with the coffin was apparently after dark with torches. The procession was led by a slave wearing a rain hat with a fly whisk on his shoulder. He was tied to the ebwo, which represented ifejioko, and shot with a gun. The eze might not see this portion of the ceremony. Thus it was performed the day after the burial of the body, and the slave was buried beneath the ebwo. At the conclusion of the burial the ada cooked and offered to the mwō, then the idumu and others cooked and the okbosilo was split. An emphatic way of refusing a request is to say, "May I split my okbosilo, if I do it."

If the son has not already taken nkprese title at his father's death, he goes to the okpalēbo for it.

The sons-in-law at the present day bring powder, cowries, and one goat if the bride price is finished; in former days they had also to bring a slave. If any of them have not completed payment of bride price they are reminded that it is necessary for them to do so.

At the end of twenty-eight days all the ebō take the okanga drum and dance round the town, women going also. Upon their return to the house the sons bring palm wine. Each son-in-law brings three ngugu (9*d.*), which is known as egōmwō. The meaning of this is said to be that the wife may return to her husband free from mourning. A son-in-law remains in his father-in-law's house for twenty-eight days after death.

From the day of the death the wives remain in for seven izu (twenty-eight days). They then shave and begin their mourning, after taking off their beads and other ornaments. They wear only one cloth. They carry a seed known as osiosio and a small stick. The object of carrying this is to keep the dead man from troubling them; osiosio is a scented seed. The widow cannot sweep ashes out for six

months. If she knows that the eldest son is going to marry her, she cannot remain in the house, but gets a small house known as *ononto* outside. At the end of six months the *nkpalò* of the *ẹbo* come, two handfuls of mashed yams are put in a wooden dish and *ukodo* is filled with fish; the next husband buys the fish. These are cooked and given to the *nkpalò*. The head woman (*adebo*) shaves the widow's hair and she washes.

Burial of Eze.—When an *eze* dies before he has completed his title, the body is sent to the *ajofia* with a fowl's feather in the hair. Twenty-eight days later his *umunna* perform the burial ceremonies for him. *Qmu ojuku* is taken to the road leading to the *ajofia* and struck on the ground and the man's name called seven times. At the end of the street it is laid down, covered with a cloth, and then carried home. The coffin is made with palm mid-ribs and a mat and the *omu ojuku* put inside and carried round the town. The wives mourn twenty-eight days from the burial of this coffin. The grave is dug by the *ẹbo* outside the house; guns are fired and the people of the *ẹbo* lament, but the sons-in-law do not come. Those who have not completed bride price bring money and the others have to furnish the necessary articles for the ceremonies of *itunne*.

Burial of Woman.—The head wife of an *eze* is sent to her own people or is carried away by her own *ẹbo*. The women shave and wash the body and wrap her up in a mat and cloth. A goat supplied by the husband is killed as *ẹwu ikenga* and goes to her *ẹbo*. The husband also kills a cow and shows the meat of both goat and cow to her *ẹbo*. Her husband's people make the coffin and at two in the afternoon her *ẹbo* dance and cut down her banana and plantain trees so that she may have *alibo* in the world of *mwo*. The coffin is taken as far as the boundary of her own street, a knife is laid down in the boundary, a stick planted, and a goat killed known as *ẹwu ifejioko ikporo*. Her *ẹbo* return with the coffin, and her husband gives them a goat, which is struck upon the coffin till it is dead.

If she has a son, he would proceed to bury his mother just outside his own house or on the spot where he will build his house; otherwise her *ẹbo* carry the body to their own quarter. After seven native weeks (twenty-eight days) the children or husband cook and the mourning is over. Her *umunna* take her *ọfo* and kill a cow on it. The head is given to her child, who cooks it, dresses the skull and puts it on the wall above the mud image of the mother, and her *ọfo* is placed near. On the day on which her children go to market they throw cowries and people follow them and dance. One hen is taken, and her calabash is broken after the hen has been sacrificed on it.

For another wife one goat is sacrificed to the *ikenga* and another to the *ifejioko*. If she has a son who lives in his own house he may give a cow to the *ẹbo*, but this is not necessary. If a woman comes from Asaba her son may pay three bags or else bury the body in the woman's own house. The head wives of *nkpalò* and *nkpe* are buried like the ordinary wives of an *eze*. An unmarried girl is buried in her brother's house, if she has one. A cock may be killed before her *ikenga*, but if she has no *ikenga* there would be no sacrifice.

Burial of Ago.—At Isele Asaba I obtained an account of the burial of the head chief, the rites of which differ in some respects from those performed for ordinary persons. In former days his death was kept secret in the first instance and his slaves were seized in order that they might not escape for fear of being sacrificed. If the death occurred in the evening, the ozo members made a coffin of iroko during the night. Two boxes of cloth were brought, the ends joined and put on the shoulder of the corpse, one on each side, and a big cloth, mbuluku, was tied from the chief's waist to his ankles. He was first of all shaved inside the house by the adebo as soon as death had occurred, and then carried behind the house and washed. The body was put on the mpata, a circular box of iroko, rubbed with chalk by the young men, dressed and put in the coffin lying down.

The young men of the ebo then dug his grave in his sleeping room and beat ufie drum before the ogwa. A situtunga (?) horn, known as okpili, was blown and various drums beaten, including okanga, ukoma, eguaka nabo and isi ube. A slave was seized and sixteen torches lighted, and then the young men took up the coffin with four posts as support. Eight torches were carried in front and eight behind, and they went before Onitsha alose. This was known as to ono ekwulo, "opening the gate to the street." The slave was then killed and his head cut off to shut the road to the street. The coffin was brought back and one male and one female slave were put in the grave alive. The coffin was then lowered with a climbing rope into the grave, which was nine feet deep, and the grave was filled in. Those present shouted nkpume ejiri, "a stone is broken," for no one could say openly that the Ago was dead, and until this ceremony was performed no one could lament. There was no offering of food at the burial. At dawn the whole town met together and the okpalebo split the ikenga of the dead man, sacrificing one he-goat, one she-goat, one cock, and one cow. Four days later the okwači was brought and a cow and other animals offered to it. The nkpuluči were taken out of the dish and laid upon isikeli leaves. Kola, a cock and other things were then offered and the nkpuluči split. Four nkpuluči were taken to the new head chief to serve as his či. Four days later, again, one he-goat, one she-goat, a cow, and a slave were offered to split ifejioko; kola, etc., was offered as before, and a slave killed and buried before the ifejioko. Four days later a slave and other sacrifices were offered at the washing place of the dead chief.

Twenty-eight days after the death, all the people to whom Ago had given a wife met and sacrificed a cow and a slave in the open place before the ogwa. His relatives and the adebo went to the market place and threw cowries, which were provided by the sons-in-law. At dawn the next day the sons-in-law came and gave the due known as itunni, so that their wives might bear children. Each son-in-law brought one goat, eighteen fowls, and forty cowries for palm wine. Eight of these fowls went to the wife, and she offered kola to the grave. Each son-in-law then brought two cloths, one of three breadths and one of two breadths. The eldest son got the first together with the goat and ten fowls. The wife got the second and four hundred and twenty cowries. Each wife of the dead man got from

her father two cloths, one of three breadths and the other of two breadths, together with 1820 cowries. These they presented to the eldest son, and if he refused the gift it meant that he intended to marry them. Those whose gifts were accepted went back to their own people when they finished their mourning.

To rub the grave the following sacrifices were offered: one he-goat, one she-goat and one bullock. The old men of the town met and all the women of the *ẹbo*, and the animals were killed before the grave and their blood sprinkled on it. Two women knelt at each end and used their left hands to rub the blood on the grave. From that day onwards the grave was rubbed by the people of the house, who also brought cowries and fixed them on the top of the grave till all was covered.

Three months after death a he-goat and a cock were sacrificed "to draw the hands of the dead chief into the house." The eldest son cut kola for the image of his father; one woman and one man of the blood brethren of the dead man washed and dressed and brought a new mat, and it was their duty to offer the food provided. The peelings of the first yams were collected and boiled; no goat may eat the yam peelings. The woman took up the pot and the man folded up the mat, and they went home. On *oyi* day the eldest son offered to his father one goat and put all the *mwo* in the *ogwa*. The sons-in-law brought yams, palm wine and cowries, the daughters brought food, and the people of the *ẹbo* were called upon for contributions. The head wife cooked and brought the food to the *ogwa* and in the evening the people of the *ẹbo* came to divide the food and the goat that was offered to the *mwo*. When they had done this they said, "Next year"—that is to say, when next year comes they will do the same again.

Burial of Okpala at Isele Asaba.—When a man who has taken the title of *okpala* dies, the body is brought out and the eldest daughter or any female in the *ẹbo* shaves the body and washes it and marks it with chalk and covers it with a cloth. Then the *okwelegwe* of the *ẹbo* are called. A dog, a goat and a cock are brought; the goat is sacrificed to split the *ikenga*, the dog is killed near the body and the blood allowed to drip in a circle round the body. In the case of a man who has an *akbo*, the body is taken to the tree with one ram. Cowries are thrown by the children and the ram killed to the *akbo* and the blood sprinkled round. Shots are fired at the *akbo* and the tree cut down, and sixteen cowries are given to each *omalegwe*. The *Iyase* kills a ram, a dog, and a cock. The *okpa ikenga* and cowries are sent to *Iyase*, who accompanies the coffin, which is taken four times to the road and back. The body is then taken up again and carried to the grave, which has been dug by the young men. It is put in a coffin three feet high, made by the blacksmiths.

The shaving of the body takes place in the part of the house known as *ezi-obulu*, and the corpse is seated on a circular box (*mpata*). The *adebo* shaves a little of the whole, and some other woman finishes the task. Then the *ada* takes corn husks and smears chalk on the body from head to foot in spots. The box of cloth is opened and the eldest son comes and all the children to dress the body, which is put on a good mat and then wrapped in cloth. When the young men have dug the

grave they blow a calabash horn to call the dead man, and shout his af' olu, work name. If the dead man has a good son his ikenga is not destroyed, but only a slice taken off it, and the image is then handed to his son. The head of the dog is usually cut off near the head of the corpse, according to my informant, but on the occasion on which I saw a burial, which was, however, of a woman, it was done nearer the feet than the head, and no importance seemed to be attached to the place where it was performed. A goat is sacrificed to the feet, and fufu offered by a man and woman sitting at the feet; yams split in four, mixed with oil and salt are also offered, and thirdly kola, which is not eaten. The daughter of the dead man takes the dish and the pot and preserves it if it is a good one, but if it is a bad one she will probably break it. The eldest daughter of a family in the idumu takes the food offered in the broken pot and throws it into the bush.

On the day after the burial a piece of wood called umuma is used to beat the grave and the blood sprinkled on it. All the okpala come and mourn, and the meat of the goat is taken to the senior okpala of the ebo by the children, who sit down there and divide the meat. Mourning goes on for four days, and yams are cooked for the itokwelegwe, who dance at night, and for the mwada, the women of the family, who keep a fire burning on the grave to keep it dry. On the fifth day the ̣i is broken after a cow and a goat have been sacrificed. Only one nkpułi is cut up and each of the sons takes one piece. The meat of the victims is taken to the okpalebo and divided among the ikpala. Then a hen and a he-goat are killed in the dead man's washing place, and the meat goes to the women of the family (mwada). A cow, a goat, and yams are sacrificed to cut down ifejioko and a goat to cut down očuču aja, the sticks planted before the front gate at the annual sacrifice. A ram is sacrificed to orhai; one orhai is taken out and one image left for the eldest son.

Three months after the death a hen and a he-goat are sacrificed for ini nni, or drawing the dead man's hands into the house. The literal translation of ini nni is "to bury food." The eldest son provides yams and the ada brings a mat and two pots, one of which is for the yams. The yam peelings are cooked, beaten in a mortar, and all the idumu come and eat. One of the pots is set aside for the peeled yams; any okpala puts fire under it and all shout when the fire blazes up. The eldest son digs a small hole and the head woman (ada) kills a fowl to it. All the yams are offered and peeled yams and water poured into the hole. Then the ada takes her mat and pot, saying that she is going her own way, and the children shave their heads.

When her husband dies the widow brings a cloth of two breadths, and a cloth of three breadths, a dog, a cock, and a he-goat, and on the day of burial she cooks the food. She takes the beads from her neck and removes the ivory anklets. She remains in the kitchen (ukoni), where she wears bamboo cloth (mpe), and sleeps on the ground, and mourns for seven months. After this a small house near the bush is built for her, and no one may see her in that house; food is brought by a child, who knocks with a stick and puts the food down. When the child is gone the food

is taken in and the dish subsequently put out again and taken away by the child. When the head wife comes out, a big goat, known as *ewu isi kai*, is sacrificed. Her own people come and cook for her. The head woman (*adebo*) shaves her head while she is still in the little house, and the hair is buried in *afọ* market at midnight and a goat sacrificed by the *adebo*. No man may see the ceremony. The small house is then burnt, and she washes and can then mix with other people.

The head wife, when she comes out, goes to the house assigned to her by a doctor, who indicates the dwelling of one of the children of her husband. When she goes into the house a goat is sacrificed and a wooden image, known as *uruči*, and said to represent her dead husband, is put in one of the small holes, known as *ufu*, in the wall; *uruči* means mourning *či*. After this the head wife goes to a bachelor's house till her hair is grown. Her second husband is, properly speaking, the son of her husband by another wife, or his brother, but the widow is allowed to choose anyone in the sub-quarter (*idumu*), and no bride price is payable.

All the other wives remove their ornaments and put on *mpe*. When the *adebo* shaves their heads they burn the bamboo cloth (*mpe*), and bury ashes in the *ajofia*. They remain in the house and mourn for three months only. They become free when the *ini nni* ceremony has been performed. The eldest son feeds them so long as they are in mourning. Each makes *uruči* and offers a he-goat. She goes to live in a house indicated to her by a doctor, which must be in the same *ẹbo*, and the son sacrifices to *uruči* for her. All the *ẹbo* come and eat, but only the *idumu* share the meat offered to the *uruči*. The widow cannot go to any man who has taken *okpala* title, nor may she marry till her hair is grown so that it may be parted.

Five days before his sisters return to their husbands, the eldest son cuts the *iroko* to make the image of his dead father. Each son-in-law brings palm wine for this ceremony, which is called *ofennu*, and also yams; and on the road he says to each person whom he meets, "Lead me to my father-in-law's house." Each *okpala* of the son's *idumu* who comes to the ceremony is provided with a dish of food. At about four in the afternoon the *mwo* are brought before the *ogwa*, and the *okei* of the *idumu* takes his seat. Each wife brings four kola and sits down on the *mpata*. She wears *ubwome* on her waist and makes *ekwelenku*. The head wife of the eldest son kneels and offers kola to the *mwo*, and then hands it to the eldest son, who again offers. All the wives perform this ceremony, and then the sons-in-law. All the kola is put in one plate and a young man takes a goat and cuts its throat. The blood is dripped on the *mwo*, but not on the *či*. The son gets up, puts his horn in his girdle, takes the knife used for killing the goat, and cleans it on the skin. Then he cuts the rope from the neck of the goat and puts it among the *mwo*. Then he takes the knife used for sacrifice and makes *enaka* with the eldest man present and at will with others. This he does by dancing and striking the blade of the knife against the knife held by the other man. When he does this people present say "*ogazoi*" (may he protect you)—that is invoking the blessing of his father. Kola is handed round, the hair of the goat singed off, and

the meat can be boiled. Yams are pounded by girls and men and the headwoman (ada) of the sub-quarter (idumu) asks for and receives a share. When the wives of the sons-in-law say that the food is cooked, boys are sent to call the umunna of the son; two people share out the food on wooden plates. The eldest son declares that the ada has taken away all the yams, and then tells a boy to bring out more yams and give them to his head wife. Food is shared in four portions in the first instance, given to the four oldest men; then the dividers bring water to the eldest son, who sprinkles it on the mwō, and also smears them with mashed yam and obobwo, which is eaten by the children. Some is put on a spoon, known as oziozi, and is eaten by the ikei. The eldest son puts some of the best food on the mwō; a young man takes it to the head wife of the son, who is in the ukoni.

When the meat is brought the dividers take the head and remove the jaw. The head is given to the okpalebo. The leg and the chest go to the eldest son, and the okpala whom he serves gets a leg, liver, and some of the side. The liver is put on the mwō and eaten by the children. The mwada get the waist, the young men get the kidneys and the remainder of the sides, one leg goes to the old men (ikei), and one leg to the children. A childless woman among the daughters of the dead man may eat her portion there, and take some to her husband; if she has children she will also take some home for her children. The children of the dead man's son scrape the meat from the goat's skull and tie it up with the same rope that they used before; the skull is then hung in the ogwa.

The following contributions are required from a son-in-law when his father-in-law dies. He gives one bag of cowries to his wife to go and see about the burial, and sixpence in cowries. If he belongs to the same town as his father-in-law, he fires one flask of powder when he reaches his father-in-law's house; if he belongs to another town, his idumu accompany him and he fires one keg. He also takes two cloths, one of three breadths and one of two breadths. The eldest son provides palm wine to the value of three oko ($1\frac{1}{2}d.$), or cowries to a corresponding amount.

In the case of a man who has taken okonti title but has gone no further, a stout sapling is cut from an ebwo tree and the mpata or okpala's seat is carved from it. Charcoal is ground and the body marked in spots with the charcoal by means of a corn cob. This is done by the king's slave, known as isokute, at midnight. Four fowl's feathers are put in the hair and the body is buried in the house. A goat which has not opened its eyes, a cock that has not crowed, and a chicken removed prematurely from the egg are sacrificed at the burial of okonti.

Burial of Woman.—At the burial of a woman the sub-quarter (idumu) lament and send to her own umunna to come. Her head is shaved in the part of the house called eziobulu, and she is also washed there. Then a mat is laid down and the body laid upon it with a cloth under the head, and cowries are put upon the wrists. Her umunna and her ukunne—that is to say her father's relatives and her mother's brothers and sisters and their children—have to bring white cloth, which is used to

cover the corpse. A cloth is torn in pieces (Plate V, 3) and neck, chest, waist, knees and ankles are tied up and also the big toes. The head is covered with a cloth. It is probable that the thumbs are tied up, but I omitted to verify this. The grave is dug in the house by the young men of the *umunna*, and if she had any children, her children and her husband's *umunna* begin to dig the grave. The *ikeṅga* is placed near the feet and a goat and a cock killed to it, which is then split and left on the ground.

Her own *umunna* carry the meat to their headman (*okei*) and divide it; only the head goes to her children. Guns are then fired and food and one dog are brought by her own children; this rite (Plate V, 4) is called *elō nni oku ozu* (offering food of lamenting). Yams are roasted and split into four, oil and salt are added, and the whole covered with a plate. Four *ebwo* leaves are put on the ground at the feet, soup poured out and the soup pot broken; this is done by two women of the *umunna*. Kola is then handed to them, which they break and offer to the corpse with their left hand (Plate VI, 1) and then put on the ground. They then take *ebwo* leaves and cleanse their hands; the food is thrown into the bush.

After this the people present march round the corpse five times widdershins, one woman carrying the loom sword of the dead woman with a band of cowries round it. A dog's head is cut off near the feet (Plate VI, 2) and blood allowed to drip from the body, which is covered round the corpse; this blood is said to be for the dead person to take. The children boil and eat the dog, which is put on *ebwo* leaves until after the burial. Then the body is carried round the quarter (*ēbo*) of the dead woman, and if she dies in her husband's *ēbo*, round her husband's *ēbo* also. A door is used as a bier. Then the corpse is put down and carried into the house. After it has been put into the grave, the grave is filled in, and the water-pot used for storing water brought to the door and thrown out and broken. The cowries are removed from the loom sword and the grave-diggers wash their hands by rubbing them with *ebwo* leaves (Plate VI, 4) and then pouring water over them from a calabash. They wash a second time when they reach home.

Burial of Okpala.—At Oniṅa Olona for the burial of an *okpala*, after his relatives have lamented, other people come and the body is washed in the *eziobulu*. It is then taken into the house and laid on a mat and shaved by a woman; for this the body is lifted up. Then a cloth is laid down and a mat and cloth folded over the body and the whole tied up in a cloth torn into strips. The *ikeṅga* is brought before the body and a cock and goat sacrificed to it, and the image is then given to the son. The cock and goat are cooked and shared out to the *ikei*, *onotu*, *ikpala*, *okwelegwe* and the son. A palm branch is taken to measure the body, and the grave is dug by the young men of the *ēbo* in the *mbwolono*. The young men beat the *okanga* drum and dance round the body clockwise. A dog is brought, the head struck off at one blow, and the blood poured upon the body. Then the young men take the body to the grave. The water pot is thrown upon the roof so that water runs upon the corpse and the water pot falls and breaks. The feet are knocked four times upon the roof and the fragments of the water pot thrown into

the bush. Then the grave is filled in, and the grave-diggers stamp on it, saying, *ogolio lio lio*, and then the wife knows that her husband is dead. The grave-diggers take *ebwo* leaves to wash. Four days later the widows, who had cooked in their houses, bring food to offer on the grave. *Kola* is offered with the right hand, and they say *ekweneya ñwu, n'obun oku mwadu nibe atulu ji mbwaku*, "Let her not die, it is not the fault of each other that gathering yams is poor." Food is then offered and the same words repeated. This sets the widow free from her mourning; the head wife mourns four days more.

When a man dies, a widow takes off all her ornaments and her cloth and puts on an old cloth, and if she has not got one old enough, she rubs mud on a new cloth. She lives in her own house and sleeps on the floor. She carries the *osiosisio* seed, which is forbidden to an *okpala*, in order to keep her dead husband away. He comes in a dream, but does no harm, but the widow cries when she wakes up. She is allowed to leave the house, but must carry the *osiosisio* with her. After her husband's burial the widow is led by one of her husband's daughters to her place in the market; no man must see her. I was told that she did this because when her husband took *okpala* title she accompanied him and went to her place in the market. Then all the headwomen (*ada*) are brought by the *omu* to the widow's house; they cook *mbuazu* in broken pots in the old cooking place; then all the pots are broken, the food is left and the kitchen is broken down. The market queen (*omu*) then calls upon her to choose a husband, but if she chooses no one the people present cannot eat. Under ordinary circumstances she cooks for the women to eat and the *omu* gives a razor to a woman to shave the woman and a thread is tied on her neck. She is then sent to a bachelor's house and remains there three months.

The *adebo* may also give a chewing stick to the widow, saying that the eldest son gives it to her; the widow throws it away and is then the wife of the eldest son. Before coming to him she performs the ceremony called "*ibu akwu luz on o*," "carrying crying to the house," that is to her own people; a man selected by herself comes to her and has connection; he must not be of the *ebo* she has married into, nor of her own *ebo*; and no one knows who the man is; they explain this ceremony as being to drive away the *mwo*.

Before entering her new husband's house, he puts yams and other food at the door for her to take. The thread which has been put round her neck during the mourning customs is cut off. When a widow re-enters the market, which she may not do until her hair is grown long enough to be plaited, she leaves her old seat and takes a new one.

At some period after the burial of an *okpala*, probably a year, his *osisi* and a he-goat are taken before his *ebwo* fence. All the *ebwo* sticks are rooted up and laid down together with the *osisi*. A goat is killed and blood run upon both; then the *osisi* is cut up. From this time onwards the *okpala*'s son takes no more share from his father's title.

After the ceremonies for the *okpala* a further set of ceremonies may be

performed if the man had taken ozo title. A dog, a ram, a cock, a tortoise and a snail are sacrificed on the tools and the forge is broken down and burned. The son takes the tools and provides food for one day for the ozo members and takes the place of his father.

A certain number of people are not buried but sent to the ajoifia; among them are those who die of smallpox, known as isamisa or mbwalaku, those who suffer from leprosy, arɔiča, anyone who swells up and dies, anyone who dies of sasswood, inyi, anyone who dies in nzu. In the case of the last three ɔmu ojuku is taken, struck upon the ground and buried and when they do it they say, "we want to bury you, come back.

Under ordinary circumstances children are buried in the house under the eaves, and a small baby in the side of the street where the grass is heaped up, but a child that never cried is sent to the ajoifia. If a boy has made onabwa or sleeping house, he may be buried in the house.

Burial of Woman.—For the burial of an old woman the following is the procedure. A mat is laid on the ground just outside the door. The body is brought out and laid upon the mat with a cloth underneath; the head is only partially shaved. The ivory anklets are taken off and cowries put up the arms to above the elbow. Then a fowl is brought and its feet washed; it is sacrificed on the ikenga. The neck is first of all plucked, while its beak is held so that it may not cry out, and the feathers are put on the ikenga. Then the head is cut off, the blood collected in an ebwo leaf and poured on the right shoulder and arm of the corpse; the body of the fowl is kept outside the house. Chalk is then sprinkled on the ikenga and a goat's throat cut and the blood poured as before on the right arm; then the head is cut off and put upon the ikenga. The bodies of the fowl and the goat are put in a basket and the handles of the basket tied with string. The thumbs and big toes are next tied and a white cloth put under the body. Then one cloth is put over the body, one over the lower limbs, one over the lower limbs and body and one over the head and body, and all is tied up. A woman then takes the goat's head and the fowl's feet to another house. The corpse is then rolled up in the cloths, a mat is wrapped round and tied with palm fibre, and all is put upon a bier of midribs. At this point a tornado came on and the normal course of the ceremonies was interrupted.

The husband of a woman keeps a fly whisk upon his shoulder and uses a dirty cloth which he retains three months; he sits in his house four days and sleeps on a mat. The daughter cooks food and puts it on the grave; this ceremony is known as ipu n'on' ozu (coming out of the house of the corpse).

Burial of nkpalɔ, etc.—In the presence of divergent elements in the popular beliefs, the burial ceremonies at Ala are less uniform than is usually the case. The following is an account of the burial of an nkpalɔ. The umunna take the body out and wash it after it has been shaved by the headwoman (ada). An ibenabo cloth is tied on the waist, a mat is put down, then a cloth and the body on the top. Eyes are chalked and cowries put on the arms from the wrists to the shoulders.

The *nkpalò* takes a cock to cleanse the body, and kills it by pulling off the lower jaw. Blood is rubbed on the eyes and feathers put in front of the ears and on the bridge of the nose of the corpse. Another kills the goat and puts blood upon the right hand; the cock and the goat are taken to *Iyase's* house. The grave is dug by a man of the *umunna* before the *ukbo*. On the following day the son or the *umunna* beat the grave hard, and the *mwada* make a fire on it and rub it with chalk. The son-in-law brings powder and palm wine only for the first burial, but if he has not completed bride price, the dead man's *umunna* call upon him to finish payment. He brings his *umunna* to help dig the grave.

At the second burial *isokute*, who is said to be the father of the *mwò*, sits on one side beating a drum, and maskers (*mauñ*) come out and dance; the second burial appears to be celebrated in the dry season. The sons and daughters sit in a row on *akboçi* and throw cowries to the dancers, saying *nnam obu ji, nnam oñw ego*, which means "my father grew yams, my father had money." The daughters shave their heads unless they are *omaku*, head wife. A head wife (*omaku*) shaves part and leaves a patch on the crown. Sons from sixteen years of age downwards also shave their heads.

Small children that have no teeth are buried at the edge of the street, for they do not know anything; those who have teeth are buried under the eaves. If a body is not recoverable *omu ojuku* is cut, struck five times upon the ground and the dead man called home. They say *bia, ainy akwadebe*, "come, we are ready." The *omu* is then wrapped in a cloth with cowries round it and buried in the house; *uke* is made for *ozu onini*, an unburied person. The eldest son of the dead man, or if he has no son, one of his brothers, takes *ebwo* to make the image of the dead man and puts it among the *mwò*; they call the dead man and say that they have made his image.

The widow gives an *ibenabò* cloth and three *ngugu* to the son of her husband and throws cowries when the body is being washed. After burial she goes to her own house and does not wash; she laments morning and evening for three months. She rubs mud on her cloth and smokes another over the fire for three months, which she uses for a walking dress. She may not go into the open street but only into the area specially associated with her own *umunna*. No man may enter her house until the second burial, which may be a year after the death. Three months after the death the headwoman (*adebo*) shaves her and receives sixty cowries. When she leaves her house for good anyone may take possession of it.

In *Ubwolu* quarter the eldest daughter of the dead man shaves his head and his eldest son and daughter wash his back; then the *umunna* wash the rest of the body. The headman (*okpalèbo*) kills the cock and the goat.

The widow comes out when they bury her husband and goes back to her house at night and stays there for nine days. Then she chooses another husband, who builds a small house for her, *onò ičakwa*, in which she stays three months, food being provided by the suitor. The *adebo* shaves her head and breaks everything that she has used; the house is burned together with the hair of the widow, her

cloths and so on. Before the body is washed, a fire of obwankolo is made, and the body is kept near it. When the ceremonies are completed the wood and the ashes are thrown away.

In Okpologu quarter, which came from near Ida, an Igara town, there are very different customs. They put cowries on the arm, but this appears to have been derived from their Ibo neighbours. The head is shaved by anyone, and the body is washed by the idumu; a cock is taken to cleanse the body and passed round the head by members of the same title. The ceremonies for a man who has taken a title last longer than for another man, and his body may be kippered. In other cases the grave is dug three feet six inches deep, and three sticks are put on it, one foot above the bottom. The body is put on the sticks, covered with earth, and fire put on the top. For second burial, which may be from three months to a year later, a mat is made on eke day and buried on oyi day in the earth above the first grave.

Another account said that at the second burial the grave was opened and the bones taken out, then the grave was dug deeper and the mat put in. Seven goats and one ram were sacrificed and the remains put back in the evening. The day after second burial a hole about one foot deep is made near the head for offerings of food. The mwō or masked men dance in the courtyard of the dead man. On the tenth day the widow chooses a husband.

Burial of nkpalō.—At Ibuzo, if a man's son is young, he calls the okpalēbo to help him to bury his father, otherwise only the umunna assemble. Two men hold the body up while one washes it. It is then laid on the two mats, known as ute and agene. Cowries are tied on the arms and the body is put back in the house in a sitting position against the wall; it is tied up in a cloth with strips of cloth as rope. Chalk is thrown on the body and the eldest daughter sits near it and fans it. A red cap is put upon the head of a man who has taken obi title and his eyes and feet are chalked. A cow and a goat are killed as ikenga outside the house; the blood from the goat is poured on the right hand and the ikenga thrown away. A goat is killed and a coffin made of iroko, five feet high, and men carry it round the town singing okwero ebu; and they answer aiyo, which means "we cannot carry; alas!" The coffin is put before the ebwo fence and carried four times backwards and forwards through the gate. Then the head wife is brought out; she walks eleven times to and fro before the ogwa. The goat is taken before the mud seat of the mwō and beaten upon the ground till it dies. The cord anklets worn by the head wife are cut off. A goat is killed at the slab behind the house. Then the body is put in the grave, which is smoothed eleven times with the hand. The grave-diggers rub ebwo leaves and wash and drop water on their hands and on their chest. Then the umunna dance and sing *yaya k'oje k'ona, onye melo onaba*, "he is going, let him go, who pleases himself, he goes." A cow is killed on the grave for ite ini. The eze of the ebo do not go to farm for twelve days. The men of the family cook in turn for all women who have married out of the quarter. They sit down in the house of the

dead man for twelve days, and then their husbands take one ngugu to the headman (okpalebo) to take their wives away. The eldest son of the dead man brings a dog and a chicken to purify the house. The oga of the nkpepe passes them round the heads of all the umunna widdershins. The dog is killed in the street and then taken to the headman (okpalebo), and at dawn all the men who have taken titles divide the meat. The wives then begin to mourn.

When the husband dies the wife puts on dirty cloths and remains in the house lamenting, but up to the end of the twelfth day she can go to any house in the umunna. A head wife mourns thirteen months and an ordinary wife seven months, after which the ashes are taken to the ajoifia and the widow shaves near the ajoifia, washes and changes her cloth. On the twelfth day a separate house, called on' ozu, is made by the umunna for each wife.

The mother of the eldest son is married by the brother of the dead man, but all her property remains with her son. In the case of an old woman her son may build a house or she may go to her umunna. In the latter case she will be buried by her own brother.

When an nkpalō dies no one of the quarter can go to farm for two days, and the umunna of the dead man remain at home for seven days. In the case of an nkpepe the ebo remains at home only one day.

A woman who has a son is buried in her son's house. If she has no son she is taken to her own people, to whom the husband gives a goat and three ngugu (9*d.*). She is buried behind her brother's house. Her ebo and her husband's ebo may not go to farm for one day. In the case of a child the quarter do not go to farm for one day; in the case of a baby the umunna do not go to farm for one day.

The following are sent to the ajoifia: people who suffer from smallpox, leprosy or swelling of the body, a man who has committed suicide on account of disease, an eze candidate before he has made iči, a man who commits adultery with an isimwō or wife of an obi, and a woman who dies who is mourning for her husband.

In the case of an eze candidate a goat is killed "to bring him down from his mud seat" (ukbo), that is make him nkpalō again; then he can be buried. All the property of a man who is sent to the ajoifia goes with him, but they accept his goats and cows, the most valuable part of his property, because these animals have no dealings with him, they walk about.

Burial of Ozo.—At Ogwashi the children and brothers of an ozo member wash the body, but the eldest daughter shaves it and washes the back. After cloth has been brought the ebo come and the corpse can be tied up in the cloth and mat. All this is done in the court behind the house. The body is then brought into the house and a fowl killed on the ubwome or dance ornament, which is then split. The body of the fowl is given to the ikei kaini, old men. A goat and a cock are sacrificed to split ikeṅga, and a cock to split či. The okwači is kept by the son and one nkpuḷuči goes to the n̄wago of the dead man. The

grave is dug inside the house and each man of the *ẹbo* brings one yam. Six days after burial the daughters and sisters of the dead man throw cowries in the market. The *ẹbo* stay in from work one day and the *umunna* four days.

When her husband dies the widow laments and brings a *kwači* after washing, that is a good dance cloth. The head wife also provides one dog, which is killed and the body is eaten by the *ẹbo*. The widow sits in a house made of palm leaves, known as *onọ ogidi*, placed behind the husband's house, and no man may enter it. She wears *mpe* cloth and takes off all her ornaments as soon as death occurs. She may walk about but not go to farm or market nor carry a load. She carries a small basket about with her with her *mwo* inside and sleeps on the ground. Early in the day when her time of mourning is over, the women of the family (*mwada*) take her along the *Ibuzo* road; she laments but they dance. Before they bring her out she notifies the market queen (*omu*), who sends instructions to the *ada* to act. The widow takes ashes away to the *owele* and the *ada* burns her house and her hair. Before she remarries the widow offers two goats to *uruči*. She hangs the basket in the roof and offers a hen to it annually. A woman who does not mourn for her husband has her house broken down and may also be fined three goats. If the fine is not paid she cannot get a husband in the same quarter. If the period of mourning is finished, she cannot start her mourning instead of paying the fine.

When a woman dies she is buried by her husband, that is to say, he provides a dog, a cloth and a mat, but the rites are actually performed by her own people, unless she has borne a son. The husband may not do any work for three months and sits in the house; the ashes are kept. Then one of the daughters sweeps the house and takes away the ashes and the remaining wood. The husband sleeps on the ground, and at the expiration of the mourning shaves his head and changes his cloth.

Burial of Okpala.—At Ubuluku, for the burial of an *okpala*, all the other *ikpala* come and sit in a row. The sons and daughters wash and dress the body, and a goat and a cock are sacrificed and the blood sprinkled on the right hand. After this the coffin is carried round the town, cowries are given to each *okpala* and guns fired to announce the death. Young men dig the grave. After the body is brought back after the procession a hole is broken in the wall of the *ogwa* and the corpse passed into the *ogwa* through this hole. The goat and the cock are sacrificed there and the blood smeared on the corpse. The wives cook and bring food, which is put near the corpse, and the *ada* takes the food provided by the head wife and puts it on the coffin. She washes her hands and lays the food at the feet of the corpse. She, or another woman, cuts the food in four and puts it down before the feet. The soup pot and the wooden dish are broken. Then the body is brought back to the house and the chief (*obi*) sends a lump of chalk. Each wife and child brings cloth. In the morning the *ẹbo* is called and in the olden days a slave prepared for sacrifice; his head was shaved and he was washed; two men carried the body to the grave saying *onao onao* (he is going),

four times; then the itainya mili, or water pot, was brought and broken before the house. When the corpse is put in the grave they sing: oči nya maya lao, "palm wine man, give him to drink," and tread the grave hard. A cow and a dog are killed upon the grave, and the leg and the head go to the man who is burying the body. On the following day the ceremony known as epu on'ozu is performed, which means that food is cooked for the young men. The wife marches round the house lamenting; then she gets her ono ogidi, in which she remains for eleven months.

The eldest son may not see the wives. Isokute takes the head wife to the ajoifia and shaves her head, for which she pays three ngugu (9d.) to the chief (obi). One he-goat is killed in the ajoifia by isokute and the head buried by the woman's hair. Then the woman puts a cloth upon her head and goes home to her son's house. The ordinary wife remains seven months in a bachelor's house and then the ada ono shaves her head. She takes off her cloth in the ada's house and throws her hair into the bush and sends cloth and four hundred cowries to the adebo. The head wife may leave her ono ogidi after three months and go to a bachelor's house. The small children of the dead man and of his brother shave their heads.

If an unknown man dies, they would not bury his body for it would be stealing. They leave the corpse on the road by which he came, and his host keeps his property.

Burial of Woman.—If a head wife dies, the ikpala come as for her husband. Her own people and the ebo of her husband dance, and she is taken to her own people, or buried in her son's house according to the circumstances. Her husband gives a cock to her people as a sign that he has taken up her potrests. A hen to kill on the grave is also given, known as "okoko ewo aro," "a hen for washing the body." The husband remains in the house twenty-eight days with a fly whisk on his shoulder, and then shaves part of his head and throws away his fly whisk and burns his cloth in the court.

The či of the head wife is split behind the ogwa. A goat is brought and a red yam, known as mbo, is split into four, one piece for each nkpuluči; the blood of the goat is smeared on all. Three are thrown away and one is split and thrown on the ground; the liver, stomach, etc., are offered to the či. The first son washes the okwači and keeps it. A leg and the skin of the goat go to the okpalebo, a leg and the head to the children and the rest to the ikpala. The procedure is the same in the case of a man's či.

When a child can walk it gets a small ikenga, which is split at death. An adult buys a big ikenga, which is put in an okwa and the small one in front. The large ikenga is kept by a man's son after his death, and a cock and a goat sacrificed to it.

Burial of Man.—At Idumuje Uboko the body is washed in the yard and the umunna purify it with a chicken. The hand of the dead body is laid upon the ikenga and a cock and a he-goat killed. The grave is dug in the ogwa. The young men are called by blowing a calabash and act as grave-diggers, after which

they wash with water, kola, okba leaves and one grain of alligator pepper, and the next day the dividers (oga) beat the grave and a she-goat is killed. The ikpala may not go to farm on the day of the death, and each pays twenty cowries when he gets a share of the meat; the headman (obwelo) offers kola to the dead okpala, and says okpala bainy' ubwo, ya ebune, okpala bainy' oifia ya ebune, "if an okpala goes to farm, let it (in doing so) not kill him; if an okpala goes to bush, let it not kill him."

In the dry season a day is fixed for second burial; and on the ninth day the bones are taken out and put in the canoe (obwo) and then buried deep in the earth. A cow is killed on the či and then a goat is sacrificed to put out the fire which has been lighted in front of the ogwa, for a fire in that position is forbidden to an okpala.

In the case of a man who has not title no obwo is made, but a frame work called obwo, for which mbu wood is used. There are holes at each end and cross pieces for the head and feet. It represents the dead man, but it is not buried. Cloth is put in a shallow grave in its place. The obwo itself may be used by the daughter for winding cotton or any other useful purposes. Food is offered to the foot of the frame (obwo), and a fowl and dog sacrificed. The frame (obwo) is taken into the house, and the cloth, which has been put on it, is removed. A kid is killed on the grave and its leg tied to the ofo. Then a line of chalk is drawn and the ofo struck upon the ground as they make each step forward. Where an obwo is made, that is in the case of an okpala, it is taken to the market and then put in the court of the women's house. The widows and women of the family sleep outside with the obwo and also the slave who was formerly buried with it. The next day it is taken to the dead man's orhai and left till midnight, when it is brought out again and buried. A kid is killed at the fence, očuču aja, and another to cut the osisi which the okpala used to dance with. At the second burial all the widows bring kids; the kids of those who are not going to remarry are not killed. The ada shaves the widows' heads and the women of the family come and sit down with her in her ukoni. At midnight the widows are taken to the water to wash, and at dawn they go to farm. Each carries a load of yams home to be offered to the mwo. Each ties azili (cotton), and is then free to act as she likes, though she may not run to another town. In three months this cotton is loosed and they go to their husbands. When they shave, the hair is put on their old cloth and all is burned outside; a piece is cut from her food calabash, from her cup, from her pipe to show that she is cut off from her dead husband. This is called epu aka okei, "coming out of the man's hand." In the case of a woman okwe is taken to make the frame (obwo) of the dead wife, and in every respect the ceremonies are performed as for an okpala. For an ordinary wife the obwo is taken to market. Cloth and a kid, however, are brought; this is called usolo, or ime emume; one leg goes to her sons and the rest to her family.

They send to the ajogifia those who die of di alo (or aro), which appears to be consumption, a widow for whose husband second burial has not been performed, and a new-born child, which is put in a pot or basket.

At Idumuje Ono, after the washing and the shaving of the body, cowries are thrown. Each child brings an *ibatọ* cloth. New cloth is cut up to tie the corpse; the eldest son cooks outside and a man and woman of the quarter offer to the corpse, which is so placed that the legs point to the house. Four balls of food are made, and first the man and then the woman dips them in the soup and puts them on the ground; no one eats them. The woman breaks the pot and the man breaks the plate. The young men (*itokwẹlẹgwe*) act as grave-diggers and bearers, and on the next day rub the grave. The headman (*ada*) of the *umunna* dries the grave with fire (*ikboko ozu*), and sleeps there eight days.

A year later, second burial is performed. The son offers chalk and kola on the grave and the sons-in-law come with cowries for the wives to throw, after which they return, though their wives remain. Four days later a dog is killed and the blood sprinkled on the grave. Four days later again the head man and woman (*okpalẹbo* and *adebo*) come, and a fowl and a small pot are provided. The fowl is killed and the head and the leg put in the pot with *ososo*, and the pot is boiled outside. Then the mortar is covered and the pot turned on top. Then the eldest son walks round the mortar and pounds, and the eldest daughter makes a hole and puts the food in. An ants' nest is put on the hole and the *ọfọ* on the top; then a line of chalk is drawn from the house to the place where the *ọfọ* is to be put; this is called *isẹbe aka onọ*. The *adebo* takes the *ọfọ* in, and she and the *okpalẹbo* offer.

In Obwaku quarter, after second burial, a pepper dish is covered outside, kola offered and oil poured over it. Then a stone is put on the top and it is left four days. At night one goat is brought, a rope tied round its neck and its head cut off; the blood is run on the pepper dish and the stone taken away. The meat is divided, three legs to the quarter and one to the son, who shares with the headwoman (*adebo*) and headman (*okpalẹbo*). The pepper dish is split and thrown into the bush.

In Urhe quarter a small open pot is brought and covered inside the house and dog's blood poured over it. A pepper dish is covered outside the house and goat's blood poured over it. At night a fowl is killed and the body thrown through the leaves which form the thatch. In five days a calabash is half filled, the *idumu* march round the town with it and then break it on the grave. The *ada* of the *idumu* rub the grave, and one goat is sacrificed for *isẹbe aka onọ*; the pot and pepper dish are thrown away.

At Ani *Ọfọ*, after washing and dressing the body the grave is dug in the house in the middle room, about five feet deep. The *umunna* choose the man to sacrifice, and he kills the goat and a cock and runs the blood on the right hand, which rests on the *ikẹnga*. Kola is offered to the hand, *ifu aka ikẹnga*, and food offered to the feet. The *itokwẹlẹgwe* act as bearers and afterwards wash with *ẹbwo* leaves and water. A big kola leaf is put in the basin with soap, and they take this water in the mouth and spit it out, saying, "Let *owo* go"; *owo* they explained to mean the smell of the dead body. The next morning the grave is smoothed and a fire lighted on it by the daughters, who go back to their husbands in three months.

Each widow brings cloth for the burial and food; anase's food is offered, and a little of her cloth put on top of the grave; the remainder of the food is eaten and the cloth used to cover the dead man. The widows tie dirty cloths and may not wash; each remains in her own house until second burial and may not talk much.

At second burial they take the obwo, six feet long, on afo day; it represents the dead man. On the following day people gather in the dead man's house and food is given to the ikpala, to the ndiċie, to the young men (itokwelegwe) and to the mwada. The frame (obwo) is put in the ogwa and women rub it with chalk and put red spots on it; it is then carried to market and children throw cowries; those which fall on the frame (obwo) belong to the itokwelegwe. In the evening it is taken to the head wife's house and all the widows sleep there. On the evening of nkwo day the obwo is taken outside and the widows called. Each bends over backwards so that her head comes near the feet of the obwo; this is called iya isi.

The obwo is put in the same grave as the corpse, but not so deep. Five days later men come and dance, and the following day draw figures of the dead man in the street with chalk. The children of the dead man throw cowries and say that they are taking their father into the town. This is the end of the burial.

Five days later the widows' families come to dance, and at 12 p.m. each goes to the water and washes. On the way back they lament, but cease as soon as they reach the house. The next day they are taken to the husband's farm and tie a load of yams, which they carry home. They cook the yams and the okpalumunna offers it to the dead man. (It should be observed that a woman never carries a load of yams while her husband is alive.) If anything forbidden has been done in the town, anything, for example, which is forbidden for orhai, a body cannot be buried. It is put upon planks and covered with mud, and a fire kept burning underneath to dry it.

At Ukunzu, after washing and shaving, the jaw of a cock is broken and blood dripped across the face from ear to ear. A goat is killed on the ikeŋga and blood dripped from an ebwo leaf on the right hand of the corpse, which is then wrapped in cloth and folded up in a mat. While this is being done, it is necessary to face the corpse and stand on the left-hand side, so that the head of the body is to the right. To tie it up an ibenabo cloth is divided into seven and they begin to tie it from the head. In the case of a man who has not taken okpala title, the grave is dug and the body buried before any food is offered. On the fifth day a fowl and a goat are sacrificed and the fowl's head put in a small hole inside the house. For an okpala an iroko tree is felled to carve the frame (obwo), which here serves as a coffin. A goat is sacrificed and the blood run over the lid of the coffin. At some time during the next fourteen days the headman (okpalębo) sacrifices a cow with a goat tied to its leg outside the house. Then the goat is taken and sacrificed inside the house on the grave. On the day they kill the cow, men and women who have stayed in the house from the seventh day onwards go to the stream and wash. They bring back calabashes half full of water and pour water on the grave.

At Obompa an omumwo has no second burial. A cock is killed on the ikenga and the blood poured from an ebwo leaf on the right hand. If, however, a man has a son a second burial may be performed and one goat is killed. This is called izolu ukwu ani, resting the waist upon the ground.

Those who have performed the idi ebunu come. Water is poured from the roof so that it falls on the dead man's eyes. The heir takes a cock to orhai, comes to the corpse and goes back seven times and finally kills the cock. This is known as ibupu yala yala, which means taking yala yala (which they could not explain to me) from his eyes, for otherwise the child to whom he becomes ̄i would not be able to see properly.

Another account gave more in detail the method of performing this ceremony. Omu is tied on the cock's leg and the cock hung from the roof. Water is then poured on the omu so that it runs on the eyes of the dead man. The cock is then killed and eaten by the children.

For the burial of an okpala the young men (itokwelegwe) make mbwidi, a hollow under the mud seat (ukbo); a fire is made on the top and it is rubbed with chalk. Two goats are sacrificed to the ikenga and one to take down ofo. Three years later the itokwelegwe carve a frame (obwo) of iroko. The mbwidi is broken and the bones of the dead man put in the obwo. On the fifth day the obwo is taken to market and a goat killed before the alose anabwa. The grave is dug in the house and the bones buried in it. All the ikpala shave.

A woman cannot be buried permanently in her husband's ebo, but mbwidi may be made there and the bones removed for second burial.

At Ubulubu, for the burial of an okpala, after washing and shaving the corpse, it is placed upon the mat and the two eyes chalked. A fowl is passed round the body and the blood dripped upon the eyes; then the fowl is hung from the idegi degi, ends of the roof mat. The small children bring a small cloth known as mpe, grown children ibenabo, and the first son ibenato. The toes and thumbs are tied and an eagle's feather put in the tufts of hair. Ebwo leaves are put on the feet of the corpse and two people wash their hands and offer kola, which they chew and put on the ebwo. Then mashed yams are offered by the okpala of the subquarter (idumu) and the food is left on it; no pots are broken. They touch the forehead of the dead man with cowries and lay them on him, saying, "don't let us die." Before putting the corpse in the grave they walk round clockwise and sing ̄l̄iyò.

After the grave is filled in they stamp it singing di di iya; and when they weep they wipe their tears and drop them on the grave. They then pass sand round their heads, first with their right hands and then with their left hands, saying, "don't let us die, don't let us fall sick." When they take the corpse to the grave, the water pot is thrown on the roof and the corpse is carried four times feet first under the dripping water. They say that he is drinking the water that runs from the roof (this is done also in the birth ceremonies). After burial the

grave-diggers pass the rope, which they have used to lower the body into the grave, round their heads and throw it away.

At burial the *ọfọ* is taken down and put up again on the seventh day by the person who has the son in *oma*. When they take the *ọfọ* down they say, "my father, you die, do not let us see death." The *ọfọ* is put on the floor and a cock is sacrificed to it and it is left lying there.

Second burial can be performed at any time. Wood is taken to make the frame (*obwo*) and cut flat; a palm leaf is put on each side and the whole covered with *ibatọ*, chalk being put in the middle; three cowries are tied on; the chalk represents the dead body; the whole is carried to market and cowries are thrown. *Ibatọ* is taken off and the chalk buried in the house on the top of the old grave; they kill a cow and run blood on the chalk. To rub the grave one of two staves (*osisi*) is cut in two after a goat has been sacrificed. After this a chalk picture in the shape of the body is drawn in the street with the feet towards the house; then a line of chalk is drawn to the *ọfọ* in the house; this is called bringing the man into the house and is done on the last day of burial. After this the headman (*ọkpalebo*) gives a new *ọfọ* to the man's son after counting eleven times. Three months later when the wives shave, the water pot and the soup pot are broken on the hearth where they cooked.

As soon as the husband dies the widow sits down in the *ukoni*. She takes *ozala* (*alose*) on her head; she does this so that her late husband may not kill her. She grinds charcoal and rubs it on her forehead, holds *ọsiọsiọ* in her hand and sits near a fire. At cockcrow and at 6 p.m. she laments behind the house; this goes on till second burial. After three months she may go to market but still continues to rub charcoal, and may not shave nor wash her cloth. After offering *kola* to the *mwọ* she sleeps on the mud seat (*ukbo*). The *ada* chooses a husband for the widow, but if she refuses the *ada* will refuse to shave her. Just before a new moon comes out she puts a thread on her neck; after this she is free for about five weeks, but before she goes to her new husband the *ada* takes the neck thread off and throws it in the bush. After the death of a man, all the *umunna* remain in the house seven days, that is to say, they may not go into the town, but may get wood, water, etc.

If a man has been drowned they hold chalk to the sun and call the name of the dead man, saying, "come and eat."

A woman is buried with her own people, even if she has children. In this connection they say *ebwe adefutọ uzọmbia*, "a hawk does not miss the road where a man goes to make medicine." If a wife has run away, the husband pays a fine of twenty bags before the corpse can be buried.

The husband sits in a part of the house called *ani ọng* and mourns. He has a fly whisk and a machet near him, and when his dead wife comes to kill him she sees the matchet and goes away.

In *Ubwodu* quarter, where a *koko* leaf may be used to cover the cooking pot, *ososo*, which is the same as *oweli*, is cooked by the women at the end of the

burial ceremonies and the pot is covered with a koko leaf; when steam comes out they say the dead man has gone. Bones, cloth, kola, palm nuts, corn, cowries, yams and meat are put in a broken calabash, passed round the pot and put on the edge of the street. If a man has been sent to the *ajofia* three *omu ojuku* are used to call him back for burial, so that he may not hinder women from conceiving.

At *Ezi*, after the body is washed and shaved, the water pot is broken. The corpse is wrapped up, with cowries on its arms, and three goats sacrificed, one for the right hand, one for the left, and one for (*ewu*) *aḅonuke*. The young men make a mud seat (*ukbo*) and headwomen (*ada*) of the *idumu* kindle a fire underneath. The body is marked with spots of chalk all over it and a goat is killed on the coffin. In former days the leg used to be boiled, put in a bag, and carried by the slave victim, who ate the remainder of the goat and put anything he could not finish in the bag. When they come to make second burial, four goats are sacrificed, one rope (*ntoto*) of various yams is tied on the *ebwo* and the *osisi afolo*, that is the one without iron, is cut in two; one on the *ifejioko*, which is also cut in two, and two by the *onotu* of the various quarters. A ram is killed before the *akbo*, which is here called the *ekwensu*. The headman (*okpalẹbo*) must kill it with one blow. The blood is poured upon the *ikenga*, which is split and left. A cow is sacrificed and before it are placed a mat and two bags; one is said to be for *icu ofia*. A bag of plantain bark is made and the seed of *ubili* put into it with seven arrows. The *okpala* who owned the dead man puts it on his shoulder and leads the dog fourteen times widdershins round the mat; the *okpala* each time aims the arrow. The dog's throat is cut at one blow and the plantain bag and bow and arrow cut in two with a matchet. The other dog is also killed and the blood run on the mat; the first dog goes to the *onotu* and the second to the children. The widows bury *uruči* in the street and kill a goat on it. Then they take *osiṣioṣio* from their necks and bury it. The cloth they use in the bush house is put on the top, *okwa* is broken on the top, and burnt by the headwoman (*ada*). This is done at midnight and no man may see them. They wash there and shave. Each ties a new cloth and goes to her quarter and stays there till her hair grows. Then she goes to her new husband, who takes palm wine to her *okpala*.

A woman may be buried in her husband's quarter, unless she has left him; fourteen days afterwards a calabash is covered in the yard for *isebe aka onṛ*; the men bring yams and the women castor-oil seed and salt; kernals are put round the calabash and both are burnt. A daughter gives a fowl to the dead woman's son and he offers to *ofṛ* on the grave. Then the daughter takes *ofṛ* home. On the first day of burial the water pots and cooking pots are broken on the cooking place and her loom and other implements spoilt.

Children with teeth are buried inside the house so that they may come to the world again.

At *Nsukwa* chalk is put on the hands and over the eyes, and eagle's feathers

in the coffin. Cloth is lifted four times before it is put on the body and they say *o ñ wuru* (he is dead). Food is brought for the victim and what is left is put on the grave, which is made in the house. All pots and plates are broken; four yams are put down, two on each side of the corpse, and cut in half. The family of the dead man remains five days in the house, but the quarter can work as usual. The children shave their heads but keep a lock of hair at the back; this also applies to the married daughters. The widow is taken to another man's house, not a bachelor's house, and remains there seven weeks or more; she may not leave the house. Then she buys kola and washes and gets a small pot covered; she is led to the farm road and laments on the road; her head is shaved by *oga*. Then she is taken to her children's house and stops there till she gets another husband.

The customs with regard to the *ajoiŋia* are much the same as elsewhere, but a woman who dies in pregnancy is also sent there, and the body of a suicide is burnt. If a man troubles his family after his death, they do not dig up the body, but offer a sacrifice of yams and koko yams on a leaf and take them away.

The Ibo tribes cover a large area, and the foregoing systematic notes relate to, at most, one-fourth of the total population. Stray notes were collected at other points in the Ibo area on a tour from Onitsha southwards, at Owerri, Ahoada, Aba, and Aro Čuku.

At Owerri, where they speak a dialect that differs a good deal from those of other areas, there is no lamentation for very old men; yams are laid on the threshold, and are cut by old men of the town, who also kill a goat and drop its blood on the threshold, so that "when he comes to the world again he can set yams and bear children, and get a good face to earn money." The grave is dug a few yards behind the house by his brothers (?), and the people of his *mbam* (probably a clan reckoning descent originally in the female line) are summoned.

For a woman with children they buy a she-goat that has had kids, so that she may bear children when she comes again. The grave is dug near the wall.

At Ahoada the Ekpafia people, who speak a very aberrant Ibo dialect, bury a chief in a coffin; probably the same custom prevails some distance north, as I met a coffin on the road some miles from Owerri and at least forty miles from Ahoada. The grave is 7–8 feet deep, in a sleeping room; goats are brought, and people pass them round the corpse, repeating: "When you come to this world again, you must be prosperous, get money, children, etc." The goats are killed outside, after a hole has been dug for the blood. Mats are put in the grave; a white cock that has crowed is tied to the right hand of the corpse; if he was a farmer, a big yam is also put in. His mother's people come to help to bury him; they receive 140 manilas and a goat.

Both sons and unmarried daughters shave the whole head; married daughters leave a patch on the top. The wives shave completely, and put on their necks rags torn from their husbands' cloth; the head wife pays 60 manilas to her husband's people, the second 40 manilas, the third 30 manilas, and so on. They sit with the corpse till it is buried, and then remain six days in their own houses.

After this they stop lamenting and wash. At the end of a year the family is called together, and all wives have to shave again, even including an as yet unmarried girl for whom bride price had been paid and who had gone to the first-born son of the dead man after his death. Then all the wives are shared out; the children, big and small, also divide the yams.

There is no second burial; the grave is rubbed every four days.

At Omoku, north of Ahoada, a man is washed before he is dead, and then rubbed with camwood; a goat is killed "on his chest," and fowl's blood dropped on his eyes, so that "they may be sober." The body is wrapped in twenty cloths and the grave is dug in the house for a rich man. A goat is sacrificed on the farm road for the dead man's *a'joko*, a tutelary who looks after the yams, and one for *Osaka* (beneath a tree or post used for sacrificing to *Čuku*).

Four days after burial a goat is killed for the sons and daughters to give food to the dead man; and a fowl is also divided among the people present, so that he may take the food quietly and do no harm to anyone while he is among the *m w q*.

Four days later all the sons share their heads and the daughters resident in the town do the same, leaving only a "cap."

The widow remains one month in her husband's house, doing no work, and then goes to her own house. She may remarry in three or four months. The old men sacrifice a goat to *ndenwulanwu*, the "first men that died," that they may prevent the dead man from killing her. All eat, including the widow.

When a man's wife dies, he and his children lament, and she is buried in the bush by her brothers. Four days after her death her husband puts on an old cloth; old widows take him to the waterside and wash him; the cloth is thrown in the bush and he shaves his head. His children shave also, and in the evening old women cook and put a yam in each child's hand, saying, "If your mother calls you don't answer, she is dead"; then she knocks the yams from their hands. A fowl is killed on the husband's legs.

At *Itu*, near *Aba*, lamentation lasts only one day; a dog's head is cut off and the blood put on the dead man's eyes "to make them as strong as a dog's"; then a yellow substance (? ochre) is put on his eyes and his wife kills a hen on his right hand. Both men and women are buried in the house; small children are rolled in a mat and thrown in the bush.

At *Aro Čuku* women wash the body and comb the hair; the grave is dug in the house both for men and women. A goat is sacrificed in front of the house, but no blood is put on the grave. *Qfo* is taken to represent the dead man and kept in front of the house; it is not carved, but cowries are put on it. A woman's *či* is buried with her, and all her children get new *či* with which to worship the mother; these are made of mud inside the house near the cooking hearth in the front room.

A man's body is taken to the head wife's house before burial (in his own house) and the widow sits close to the corpse. She laments for three years (?) at

5.0 a.m. and 9.0 p.m.; she may not go to the farm nor to waterside and wears only black cloth. At the end of three years she swears that she has not committed adultery, and is allowed a "friend," but must remain in her late husband's house; she shaves her head and is allowed to go to market.

A young man is buried in his mother's house; all the property of a sterile woman is broken and buried.

The chief problem raised by the above account of Ibo burial customs is the meaning of the custom of second burial, which is shared by their western neighbours, the Edo-speaking peoples, whose customs I propose to deal with in another paper.

Three possible explanations suggest themselves :—

- (1) That "second burial" is a survival of an actual second funeral, in which the bones were taken up and deposited in an ossuary;
- (2) that it is designed to dismiss the dead man, conceived as hanging round the abodes of the survivors, to his own place; this is, of course, a possible origin of the second funeral also;
- (3) that it is connected with a custom of embalming or mummification, which is widely practised further to the west. If we suppose that the fundamental idea of mummification appealed to the peoples who practise second burial, but that their technical methods and the climate prevented them from desiccating the bodies, as do, for example, the Baule; still more, if we assume that circumstances originally permitted them to practise mummification, and that the central feature was perforce dropped, while an empty rite of burial of a non-existent body remained, we have an adequate explanation of the facts.

It has been pointed out above (p. 163) that the Ibo are probably immigrants from the north; if this is so, it is certain that they came from an area where the rainfall is vastly less than in their present habitat; and if, as we may suppose, the rite of mummification is, if not derived from, at any rate an integral part of, a culture which reached its highest development in ancient Egypt, the southerly migration of the Ibo presupposes a former habitat in greater geographical proximity to the culture in question.

As an alternative view we may regard second burial as a survival of a custom more widely practised in the East Indies; and even if no clear case of the original custom can be traced in West Africa, we must still, in view of theories of Indonesian affinities in West African culture, bear in mind the possibility that only the survival and never the original custom has been practised in this area. The custom in question is that of provisional burial until the bones are free of flesh and dry, followed by a formal burial, often postponed for years.

We find certain skull customs in the Ibo area, such as the carrying of the enemy's skull round the town and hanging of it in the hut in the Awka district;

and in the south of Aba there are large skull heaps, the origin of which I did not ascertain, as I heard of them only after leaving the district.

In both these cases we have a possible link with Indonesian customs. It should not be overlooked that at the present day in Indonesia the original custom is found in all stages of degradation, so that among Mohammedan Alfurs, for example, second burial has entirely disappeared. We have obviously no ground for arguing that because at the outset the exposure of the body was the primary custom and the putting away of the bones a secondary product, therefore in a new environment, where fundamental changes would be brought about by differences in physical condition, as well as by the vicissitudes of migration, the secondary feature may not have maintained its existence in a modified form, while the original element disappeared completely and was replaced by simple burial.

If burial customs and other elements of culture reached West Africa, by whatever route, from Indonesia, nothing is more probable than that far-reaching changes would have been introduced; in fact, the mere fact of migration would make the original burial custom—exposure and final burial of the desiccated bones—nearly an impossibility; and if one of the elements survived, it would be the second one, carried out by substituting other objects for the human remains that figured in the original rite.

There is, however, another possibility. The essential principle of the Indonesian rites is that the dead man is separated, not in a moment, as we conceive the dissolution of soul and body, but gradually, from the human society to which he belonged. After a time, and the duration of the intermediate stage depends on the state of the corpse in large measure, the dead man is again admitted to human society, but this time not on earth, but among the ancestors in the other world.

Now, it is quite possible for this conception of the gradual separation from living human society to exist without the further idea that the dead have to be admitted to the society of the other world. Where the conception of ancestor worship is predominant, even in Indonesia, a cult of relics springs up and the skull may be preserved in the house and the rites are fundamentally altered.

Bearing in mind both the prominence of the cult of ancestors and the importance of ancestral images, and the doctrine of reincarnation found in most tribes, we must reckon with the possibility that the rite of second burial is not designed to despatch the dead man to the land of souls, but rather to recall him, after the dissolution of the body, to the neighbourhood of the family, either for purposes of ritual relations and worship, or to favour reincarnation in a child of the family. In this latter connection we may note that burial away from the family is held by the Ibo to sever the bond between dead and living and to prevent the dead man from being reincarnated; an analogous belief manifests itself in the rule, found sporadically in patrilineal tribes and habitually in matrilineal areas, which enjoins the husband to hand over his dead wife, sometimes even his children, to her

relatives for burial, clearly because by depositing her body in the neighbourhood of her relatives, her reincarnation in the same family will be facilitated. Reincarnation theories seem to have caused a certain amount of disintegration in the Ibo creed, and belief that in a future life the soul will associate with those with whose remains the corpse is placed, though important in Indonesia, can hardly be said to play any part in Ibo belief at the present time, whatever may have been the case in the past. In many other parts of West Africa the soul is regarded as bipartite; Delafosse distinguishes *niama* from *dia* in the Mandingo belief by translating the former word "dynamic soul" and the latter "breath of life," and regards the former as existing in a semi-spiritual state somewhere and¹ enjoying superhuman powers of action and perception, while the latter is reincarnated. The former is annoyed by and suffers from the neglect or malperformance of funeral rites, and is the source of disease and suffering for survivors; the latter has no independent existence, as it seems.

Among the Ibo, however, the theory of the soul seems to take a different form. The surviving portion of a dead man is the *mwò*, which may be worshipped, and is, especially in the case of those who have met a violent death, the cause of sickness and trouble to survivors.

I have, however, at no time heard of any conception corresponding to his *dia*, and I am disposed to think that the Ibo belief is that the *mwò* is reincarnated.

Side by side with the *mwò* (and interchangeable with it in the Edo belief) is the *erì* or genius, sometimes duplicated as a result of Manichæistic theories which have also left their mark on belief about *Osa*, the supreme (sky) God.

While the position of the *erì* or double after death is vague among the Ibo, their belief in the reincarnation of the *mwò* seems clear. It is specially asserted of the *ajomwò*, or evil spirit, that he is not reincarnated; it is said of a child which dies soon after birth that it has recognized the world in which it was unhappy in a former life and refused to return to it; it is said that the newly-born are sent into the world by a being who stands to them in the relation of *Ōi*, while they are known as *ago*; and a child is recognized as the reincarnation of an individual ancestor or as an incarnation of an *alose*.

Now, all these beliefs involve the supposition that the reincarnated portion of the dead man comes to the world of the living from outside, which does not seem to be the case with the Mandingo *dia*; and most of the beliefs imply knowledge and memory, which again are not associated with the breath of life. On the whole, therefore, it appears that the idea of a future life is vague among the Ibo and has, apart from the cult of ancestors, influenced but little the ritual of burial. At the same time, the fact that ancestors are addressed at all suggests that at one time some portion of the dead man was believed to survive apart from whatever was supposed to be reincarnated.

However this may be, we must not lose sight of the possibility that second burial is a bringing back of the soul of the dead man for cult purposes or for

reincarnation. And in this connection we have the indisputable fact that the name of the dead is called in the ajoifia before the celebration of the final rites.

True, the ajoifia is usually regarded as the place of deposit of the "bad dead," who have died of small pox or in some other way perished miserably. There is no evidence other than the rite just cited for the view that the soul of the dead man dwells in the ajoifia until the final rites are performed.

It is, however, possible that the ajoifia was originally a common burial ground, such as is used at the present day in parts of the Edo area. In any case, the ajoifia, being specially devoted to the dead, would come to be regarded as the appropriate place for a rite of recalling the soul.

If, therefore, the soul was recalled to the house, it seems clear that, in the absence of any subsequent rite of dismissal, it would be regarded as frequenting the neighbourhood of the village, even if it were not tied to the ancestral images.

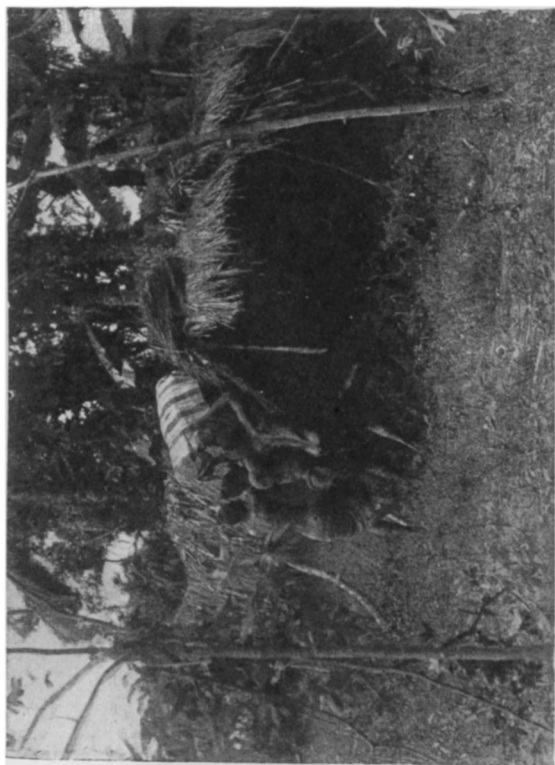
This view does not, however, necessarily mean that the theory of Indonesian influence falls to the ground. Quite apart from the fact that the intermediate period between the disposal of the corpse and the final rites, to which corresponds for the soul of the dead man an equivalent period of waiting, is a clearly marked Indonesian conception, though of course by no means confined to Indonesia, the secondary Indonesian practice is, as has been pointed out above, to magnify the cult of relics, and especially the skull cult, and a natural, though not a necessary, result of this, especially in association with a doctrine of reincarnation, would be to cause the beliefs as to a future life to fall into the background and eventually, perhaps, to cause their complete atrophy.

Even if, therefore, the true interpretation of the Ibo customs is that the dead man is separated from the survivors only for a time, perhaps originally until the dissolution of the body was complete, there is no deep contradiction between this view and the Indonesian belief; it is quite possible to trace the steps by which the African belief would grow up, and Afro-Indonesian affinities still remain as a probable, or at least possible, theory.

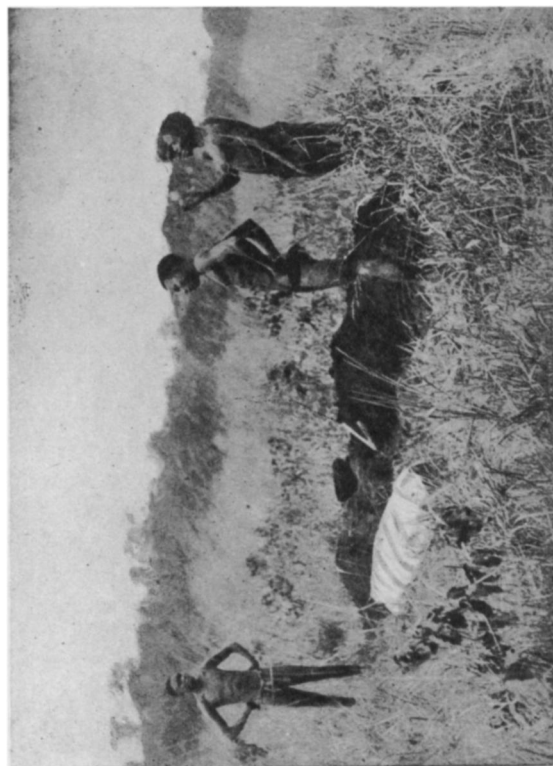
On the whole, therefore—though, so far as our evidence as to second burial goes, the existence of numerous traces of embalming suggests that second burial represents the disposal of the real corpse, which came to be represented by a substitute when local conditions put embalming out of the question—the affinities of the rite and general probability rather point to an Indonesian origin for the practice of second burial.



1.—BODY ON BIER.



2.—LIFTED OVER WALL.



3.—AT GRAVE.

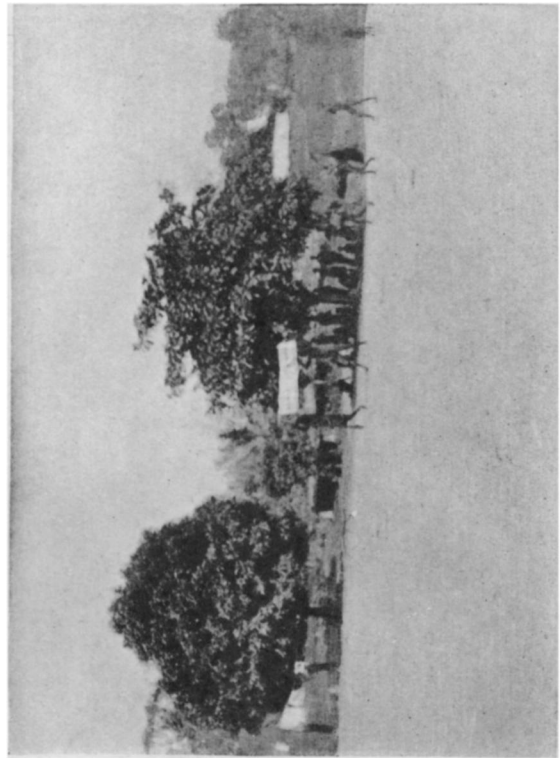


4.—LOWERED INTO GRAVE.

SOME IBO BURIAL CUSTOMS.



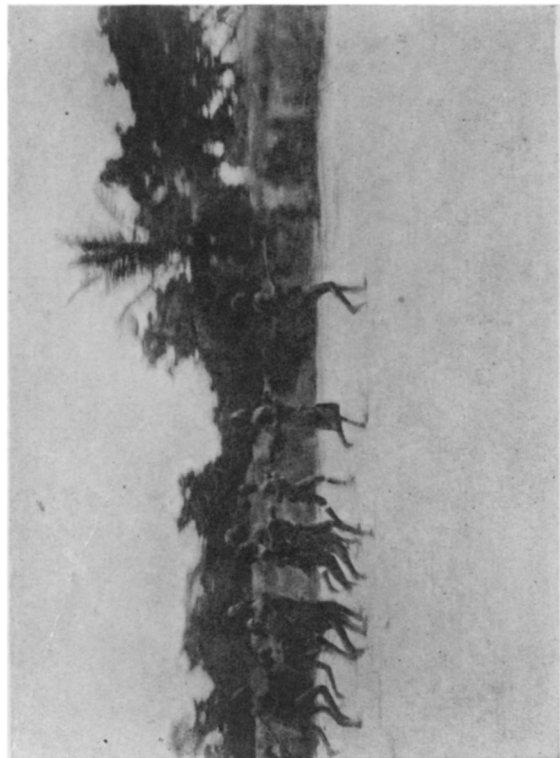
2.—WASHING HANDS.



4.—CARRYING BODY FROM HOUSE.

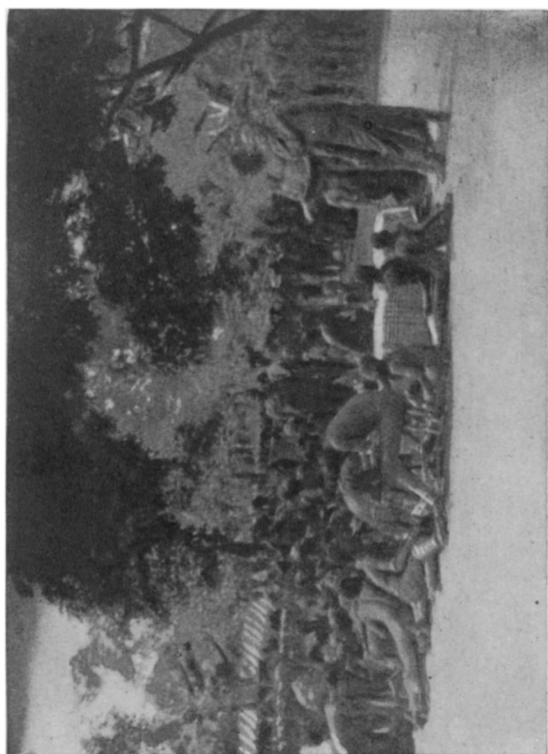


1.—FILLING IN GRAVE.

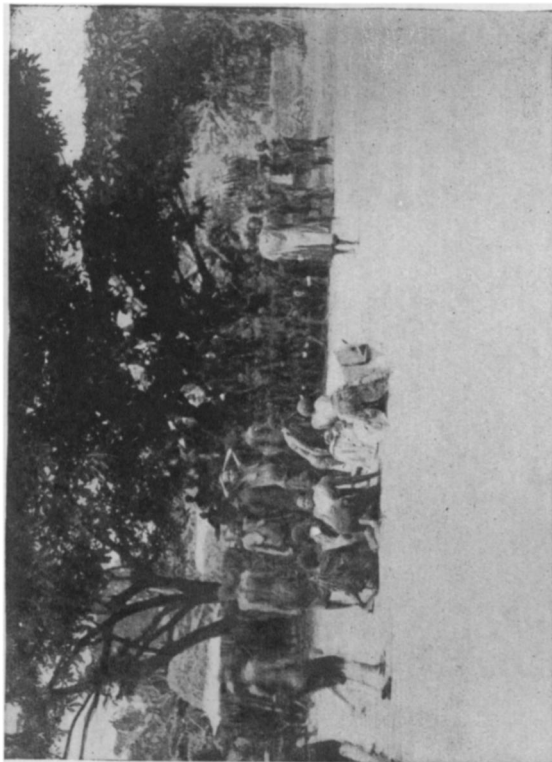


3.—WOMEN GOING TO MOURN.

SOME IBO BURIAL CUSTOMS.



1.—GIRLS WAILING.



2.—GIRLS WAILING, MEN IN BACKGROUND.

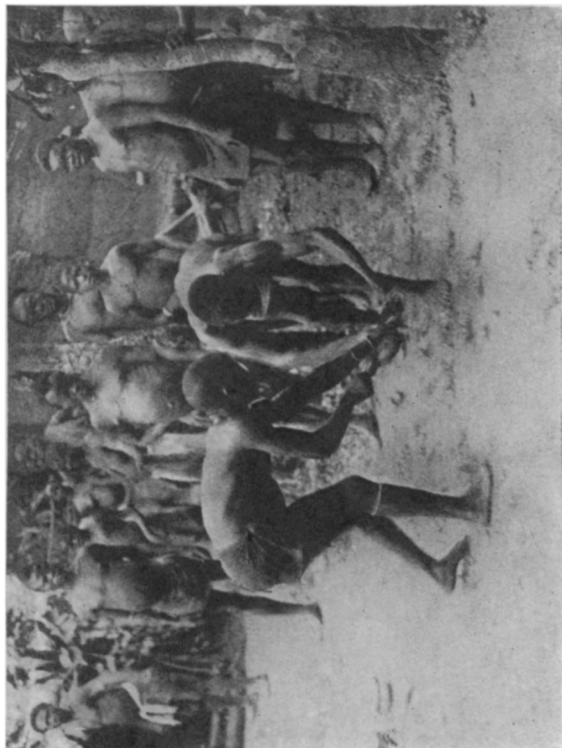


3.—TEARING CLOTH.

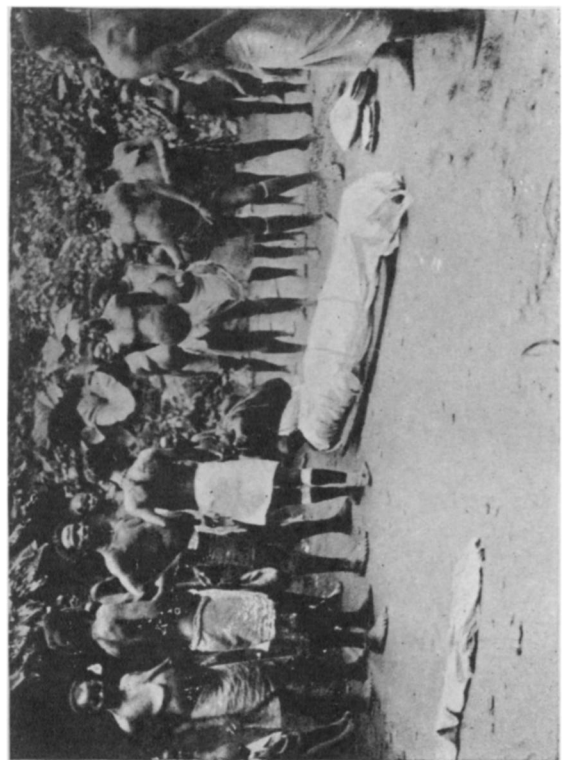


4.—WASHING HANDS BEFORE OFFERING FOOD.

SOME IBO BURIAL CUSTOMS.



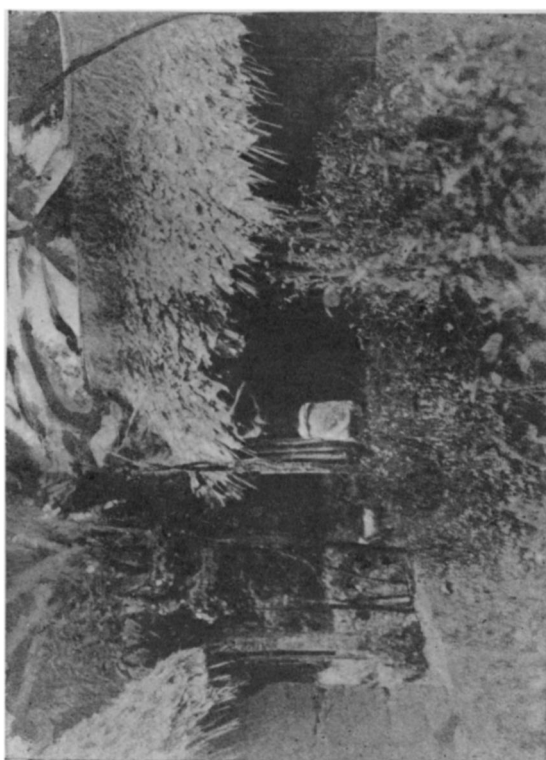
2.—KILLING DOG.



1.—OFFERING KOLA TO HEAD.



4.—WASHING HANDS ; BROKEN WATER POT IN FOREGROUND.
SOME IBO BURIAL CUSTOMS.



3.—WOMAN LAMENTING.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATE III.

- Fig. 1. Amobia, near Awka : body lying on bier.
 Fig. 2. „ „ „ carried over wall.
 Fig. 3. „ „ „ at grave-side.
 Fig. 4. „ „ „ lifted into grave.

PLATE IV.

- Fig. 1. Amobia, near Awka : filling in grave.
 Fig. 2. „ „ „ washing hands.
 Fig. 3. Ibwariam : women going to mourn.
 Fig. 4. „ „ coffin carried from dead woman's house to market place.

PLATE V.

- Figs. 1-2. Ibwariam : lamentation by women in the market place.
 Fig. 3. Isele Asaba : tearing cloth for tying the body.
 Fig. 4. „ „ washing hands before offering food to feet.

PLATE VI.

- Fig. 1. Isele Asaba : offering kola to head.
 Fig. 2. „ „ cutting dog's head off.
 Fig. 3. „ „ woman lamenting.
 Fig. 4. „ „ washing hands with leaves. Note broken water pot.