Preparing *Myel Agwara* for Cezario Oungi Unu (2)  
—From *Myel Agwara* to *Selewa*—

Noriko TAHARA

Cezario Oungi was born on the 13 July 1911 and died on 13 March 2005, when he was 94 years old. He was a civil servant for 43 years and a popular clan leader. In his personal life, he took good care of several wives and had 46 children and 240 grandchildren. Since 2001, I have been conducting fieldwork with Jenaro Oungi, the son of Cezario Oungi. I met Cezario through Jenaro in 2002 at Gute North Village.

This area is named Pamora after his ancestor, Mora. Mora migrated to this area in the eighteenth century and settle down. The people of Pamora are Alur ethnic group. The Alur belongs to the River-Lake Nilotes, Luo and their original homeland is in southern Sudan. During the fifteenth century, many calamities forced them to move away in search of new areas. By 1800, the Luo had completed their migrations and settled in the present place. Nowadays Pamora contains Agonda Village which has 98 households and 480 people, and Gute North Village which has 78 households and about 400 people.

After Cezario Oungi's death, I discussed the *myel agwara* for him several times with Jenaro and his relatives. The *myel agwara* is the last farewell and mourning ritual for the dead, and it is generally performed five to ten years after the person’s death. *Myel agwara* literally means 'the dance of long flutes' in Alur. I proposed some financial assistance for preparing the *myel agwara* as a part of my research on the Alur culture. Finally, we decided to hold a clan meeting in order to ask people’s opinion about performing this ritual.

The first meeting was held on 6 February 2011 and the second meeting was held on 13 August 2011 in Gute North village with people belonging to Jupa Unu clan and Cubu clan in attendance (see figure 1 for the relationship between clans). People have agreed with our suggestion and expressed their thankful and possibility of their contribution for *myel agwara* after the harvest of cotton. I have already reported on how those meetings were conducted for the preparation of the *myel agwara* [Tahara, 2011]. At this meeting, we finally decided to perform *myel agwara* on 2–4 March 2012 (Picture 1-1, 1-2).

After those meetings difficulties occur to perform *myel agwara*, and finally we decided to perform *selewa* instead of *myel agwara*. This paper reports on what happened after those meetings and how and why *myel agwara* becomes *selewa*. 

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Figure 1

The left line is Pamora clan. In this figure there are three generations gap between Mora and Oungi. Pamora and Cubu are considered as the same clan, for they have the same father Yada, 8 generations before John. The marriage is not allowed between them.

Picture 1-1.
Dancing around the agwara.

Picture 1-2.
Blowing agwara.

Picture 2.
Agwara: A long flute made of wood. One rulu of agwara consists of eight agwara, from short to long.
Preparing *Myel Agwara* for Cezario Oungi Unu

1. **Difficulties in Performing *Myel Agwara***

   The lack of competitor was the first problem to surface after the meetings. The elders of the Cubu clan were supposed to find the competitor; they tried their best from August to November of 2011, but all in vain. Then the Pamora tried by themselves to communicate with Odwoka of the Angaba clan to find a competitor, but his reply was also negative. Although we first started to plan the *myel agwara* in August 2009, no information reached the other Alur clans except for the Cubu, who are related to the Pamora. Thus, by the time we recognized that we had no competitor, it was too late for another clan to arrange for being a competitor of Pamora and Cubu.

   Given the difficulties, the clan leader of the Jupa Unu, Ukethwengu John, and his secretary, Ocaya Luka, proposed that we perform a *selewa* as an alternative to the *myel agwara*. *Selewa*, is originally from a Swahili word, *shelewa*, which means 'delay'. ('Delay' in Alur is *galo*.) In short, we tried to find a partner to perform the *myel agwara*, but because we could not find anyone to compete, we decide to do it by ourselves, the implication being that the competitor is late. Elders explained me there are two types of *selewa*. One is the short version that takes only one day, and another is the long version that takes two days. In this version, everything would be done as that is an important part of the *myel agwara*; the only difference from a real *myel agwara* is that no competition from another clan is involved. John also told me that if we decided not to do a *myel agwara* at all, we would lose all the money we had already spent for the first and second meetings and for building a new *abila* and *jok*.

   When I heard their suggestion on 31 December 2011, I did not understand the idea nor did I agree with it. After the meeting, I consulted Acen Julena, the fourth wife of Cezario Oungi, about this change, after which she advised me to ask Okaya and Ermajildo, who are brothers to Cezario Oungi. When I met with them, they gave their assent to do the *selewa*. I also consulted Osiga Pacutho, the third wife of Cezario Oungi, and her reply was positive. I then asked John and Ocaya to hold a meeting to ask other people's opinion, and we decided to do so.

2. **Rombo Mir Adek** (Third Meeting) in January 2012

   The third meeting was held on 3 January 2012 in Gute North Village. In attendance were about 30 people: elders, women, youth, and some people from Panyimur as advisors. Ocaya Luka took the minutes of the proceedings during the meeting, which were translated into English by Owinja Raphael (see Appendix 1). The purpose of this meeting was to report the failure of the Jupa Unu (Pamora) clan to get a partner/competitor for the proposed *myel agwara* that had been planned for early March and to discuss alternatives to it.

   The meeting started at 3:30 pm; all in attendance declared themselves in favour of the *selewa*. Thus, it was decided to shift to performing a *selewa* as an alternative to the *myel agwara*. The next discussion was about how people could contribute to necessities and who could pay for them. After they had examined each of the items and costs for the *selewa* (Table 1), the sugar was deleted because of expense and because its use is not traditional. A lively budget discussion followed, resulting in a revised budget.
After the meeting, some people remained and separated themselves into an elders group and youth group to continue the discussion. The youth group asked me to join their discussion; they told me of their desire to perform the selewa and said they would try the best to do it. They proposed holding a meeting the next Sunday after their church service to discuss how they could contribute to the selewa and to try to raise subscriptions. I completely agreed with them and promised to leave them some money for cattle. Although Jenaro was pessimistic about the possibility of performing a selewa, he promised to do his best as advisor to the youth. The leader of the women, Pepetwa, came to advise me to get some cassava flour and firewood for the selewa so that the women would be encouraged to work on it. I also agreed with

\[\text{Table 1. Estimated Items and Costs for the Myel Agwara (2011)}\]

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>item</th>
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<td>cock</td>
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</table>

(unit: UGX, 2400UGX = 1 USD)
written by Ocaya, 14 Aug 2011 Sunday

(Shown in Table 2). Finally, they asked me how much I could contribute for the selewa. When I told them that I would buy two cows, four goats, some fish, they fell silent. It seemed that I had not offered as much as they expected. Although the discussion continued, no new ideas were proposed for raising money for the other items, and the meeting finished without any agreement. It seemed everyone might have given up on staging the selewa.
her and promised to prepare cassava flour and firewood. She also promised me that she was going to encourage the women to contribute to the selewa.

The following day we had the meeting with John, Ocaya, Jenaro, Pepetwa, Raphael, and Batista. I explained the ideas from the youth and women’s groups to John and Ocaya and asked if I should leave some money for their efforts toward the selewa in advance. As they agreed with my idea, I gave each 1 million UGX to Jenaro and Pepetwa for bulls, and added 500,000 UGX for four goats and 200,000 UGX for cassava flour for Pepetwa to manage. I also promised to buy fish, tea, coffee, and gin upon my return in February.

Hearing our discussion, John suggested that he goes to Cubu to discuss their joining the selewa. When John visited Cubu on 5 January 2012, they agreed to join the selewa with agwara and to help with expenses. Hearing the result of his visit, Jenaro began to believe that the selewa could really be performed, and he guessed that the financial burden would be equally divided from now on. We were convinced that the selewa would be performed in March.

Table 2. Revised Items and Costs for the Myel Agwara 2012

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</table>

8,537,600 3,513,000 3,401,000

unit: UGX, 2400UGX = 1 USD
Table 1 is revised on Feb. 22 2012

her and promised to prepare cassava flour and firewood. She also promised me that she was going to encourage the women to contribute to the selewa.

The following day we had the meeting with John, Ocaya, Jenaro, Pepetwa, Raphael, and Batista. I explained the ideas from the youth and women’s groups to John and Ocaya and asked if I should leave some money for their efforts toward the selewa in advance. As they agreed with my idea, I gave each 1 million UGX to Jenaro and Pepetwa for bulls, and added 500,000 UGX for four goats and 200,000 UGX for cassava flour for Pepetwa to manage. I also promised to buy fish, tea, coffee, and gin upon my return in February.

Hearing our discussion, John suggested that he goes to Cubu to discuss their joining the selewa. When John visited Cubu on 5 January 2012, they agreed to join the selewa with agwara and to help with expenses. Hearing the result of his visit, Jenaro began to believe that the selewa could really be performed, and he guessed that the financial burden would be equally divided from now on. We were convinced that the selewa would be performed in March.
3. Rombo Mange Matindho (Other Small Meetings) on February 2012

Despite our confidence, more problems occurred after the third meeting. We had another meeting to solve those problems one by one.

3-1. Absence of Cubu

On my return to Pamora on 20 February, John, Ocaya, and Raphael informed me that the traditional chief’s office in Cubu was demanding one cow for permitting the Cubu people to join the selewa in Pamora because people have to cross the border between the D.R.C. and Uganda. John was afraid that if we paid the requested cow, they might increase their demand to include a goat and that another office might also begin making demands along with them. If Pamora had to assume the entire expense for the agwara, the selewa would once again become impossible. In addition, the request seemed odd because it is usual for people to visit each other across the border. This problem reminded John and Ocaya of a bitter experience that Cezario had with the myel agwara in Cubu once before. According to the story, when Cezario visited Cubu to dance, he was given different sleeping quarters and different water from the other Cubu people, which means they didn't accept Cezario as one of their members.

John and Ocaya were ready to give up on performing the selewa, but Pepetwa had an idea from her uncle, Oreste. He lives in Angal next to Pamora, but he also keeps the ambaya and has a good knowledge of Alur culture. His suggestion was that we could find other people among the Alur in Uganda who could bring the agwara. Thus, we decided to find another clan to keep the agwara and asked John and Ocaya to visit Padolo and Payera in Erussi to find people who could come with the agwara.

On 21 February, John and Ocaya left Pamora early in the morning for Erussi and came home late that night. They found a man named Odongo, who could coordinate the agwara people in order to join the selewa in Pamora. He insisted on a fee of 150,000 UGX from John and Ocaya for arranging the agwara. They agreed to his suggestion and also agreed that they would wait for information from him how many luru of agwara he could find for the myel agwara.

3-2. Economizing Budget

On 22 February, we heard that 8 luru of agwara were ready for the selewa. Although the number was smaller than we expected, it was better than nothing. The problem of the lack of agwara was solved, but the absence of Cubu meant that we still had no support for other items, specifically cattle and goats for people to eat. For example, one goat would be needed for each two luru of agwara, which means that a total of four goats were necessary for eight luru. We decided to economize on those items by using one cow instead of four goats.

Besides those difficulties, the elders and youth had minor quarrels: the elders said that the youth were not well organized enough to cope with the situation, and the youth accused the elders of discussing matters among themselves. Little by little, however, it went forward. They decided not to have a central
Preparing *Myel Agwara* for Cezario Oungi Unu

This time and that the people who came for the *selewa* would be divided among the houses to be taken care of. As usual, the slaughter of cattle and goats would be done by a youth who is licensed by the Muslims. The youth also decided to have meeting on 26 February after prayer.

### 3-3. Procurement for Items

As Table 1 and 2 indicates, all items should be divided into two, one for the *ambaya* people and one for the other people, including the *agwara* players. Because the *ambaya* has special power, the items had to be kept separate from those belongings to the other people. At that time four goats, two cocks, and *kwete* flour had already been arranged to be kept at John’s house for the *ambaya*.

For the other visitors, the youth and women would try to find and supply items. On 24 February, Jenaro and Nuru left Pamora for Angal around 5:00 o’clock in the morning with 1.3 million UGX to buy two cattle. It took some time for them to find the owner of the cattle and negotiate a price, but they finally came back at night around 10:00 o’clock with one white bull and one brown cow.

That same day, Pepetwa heard that there was some cassava in a village 24 miles (39 km) from Pakwach (1 sack = 8000UGX) the daughter of the brothers of Raphael. We immediately, sent Jimmy, the leader of the youth, to buy three sacks of cassava. Thus, the *kwete* was on the way to be made by five women at Ocaya’s house.

### 3-4. Opoicen Cultural Troops

Visitors from Pamora Akew, Ndheu sub-county, arrived to join in performing the *selewa* on 1 March and stayed until 5 March. Pamora had never thought about asking Pamora Akew to join, and it was a great surprise when they came, but provided great entertainment for the people in Pamora. Pamora Akew is where the grandfather of Oungi Cezario came from. The visitors were a cultural troop consisting of 28 people, a mixture of people from Nyaravur and Akew. The leader of this group is John Obilo, who plays the *obil* (horn of antelope: Picture 3). Other members play the *dongo* (violin: Picture 4-1, 4-2), the *kanga* (flute: Picture 5), the *mivul* (big drum: Picture 6-1), *Athimbo* (long drum: Picture 6-2) and the *akili* (small drum: Picture 7-1, 7-2). The dancers tie *ngara* (bells: Picture 8) around their ankles to make sounds, have *muzuga* (goat hairy skin: Picture 9) around their hips, tie *awula* (dried tail hair of camel: Picture 10) around their upper arms, and wave *olesu* (dried tail of cow: Picture 11) with their hands (picture 2).

Upon their arrival, they played their musical instruments and danced (Picture 12). The first stage was song and dance, and the second stage was the *aburaka*, which was a musical performance by young women. The musical consisted of a comical play about a marriage proposal (Picture 13). Finally, they played the *agwara* song: "Don’t cry, baby, your mother will come back. Don’t cry father, your wife will come back".
Noriko TAHARA

Picture 3.

Obilo: Horn of antelope.

Picture 4-1.

Dongo: A violin held against chest and played with a bowstring. The sound is gentle and melodic.

Picture 4-2.

Picture 5.

Kanga: Flute.

Picture 6-1.

Minval: Big round drum.

Picture 6-2.

Athimbo: A long drum with thin centre.
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**Picture 7-1.**

*Akili:* Small round drum.

**Ngara:* Bells of iron attached to a string. It is tied around a dancer’s ankle for making a lively sound during the dancing.

**Muzuga:* The skin of a goat with long hair. It is bound around the buttocks like a skirt.

**Awula:* The tail hair of a camel, extended from a ring for attaching to the upper arm.

**Olesu / Oleso:* Dried tail of cattle or camel. The olesu is waved during dance. Reference to Picture 16.
4. Ambaya for Selewa

4-1. Authentic Practice of Ambaya for Myel Agwara

The ambaya is the skin of the losso (a small animal) with a whistle and a herb (Picture 14). Only selected people can have it. At a myel agwara when all of the ambaya people get together, each ambaya should be examined by the elders; otherwise, if it has a bad herb, it might cause quarrels or harm people. This fact is an indication of how special and powerful the ambaya is. “A real myel agwara is made only by the power of the ambaya” an elder in Panyimur said. He continued, “Without the power of the ambaya, the myel agwara becomes only entertainment”.

Specifically, the ambaya people are supposed to carry out four stages of ritual for the myel agwara. The people of the ambaya are supposed to wear only an angwola for the front of the crotch and a law for the buttocks during myel agwara. Through these rituals, the ambaya is supposed to control all the aspects of the myel agwara, including the music and dance. The four rituals mentioned above are as follows:

1. Munyasu

This is the first ritual to welcome the visitors who are supposed to arrive during the night on Friday, around 3:00 a.m. They will not use mats but will sit down on the grass. The first goat is slaughtered.

2. Nyabo/Nyabu

The ritual is to prepare the kitchen for the ambaya. The second goat is supposed to be slaughtered for the kitchen inside the house on a grass palasa. In the house, a straight line is drawn on the ground and three holes are made on it; the line then bends at a right angle to the kitchen and one more hole is made. The kwete and the blood of the goat are poured in the holes; the men drink the blood out of the first three holes and the women who are engaged in the cooking drink the blood from all four holes.

3. Kidi

The ambaya people line up with the losso and go to the stone—that is, the cooking place (outside) near the place for the kajagi (long pole) —and slaughter one cock and one goat. They are supposed to eat all this food outside.
(4) Kajagi

Kajagi (a long pole) should be set up in the centre of the place for dance. When the agwara troops arrive, they will go together to the place for dancing.

After finishing all procedure of music and dance, they remove the kajagi and throw it away, and when they are removing the kajagi, they will throw the cock away as well. Finally, the ambaya people collect ashes and throw them in the running water or bush. This action is to protect people from bad things.

Because we were going to have a selewa instead of a myel agwara, these practices had to be amended somewhat for a different performance. I will describe each scene of the ambaya and include explanations from the ambaya people in brackets [ ].

4-2. The Ambaya People

They have ambaya (Picture 14), ulo or oluth-olo (Picture 15), and oleso (Picture 16). Some of them adorn with okondo (Picture 17) and litira (Picture 18).

The ambaya people for this selewa came from Pamora, neighbouring villages, and Erussi near DRC. Members are below:

- Ukethwengu John is the son of Cezario, a leader of ambaya from Agonda Village, Pamora.
- Tunguwngom Vital Odongo is from Adeira Village, Payera Parish, Erussi s/c. He is also the chairman of ajoga (witch doctors) and a leader of ambaya, who can cook on the top of the roof if there is a myel agwara.
- Okumu Tanislau Okok is from Ndheu s/c. He is a leader of ambaya who works with Odongo.
- Orei Stephano Mamba is from Agonda Village, Pamora. He works with John on matters relating to ambaya.
- Vincent Athindha is the ambaya leader.
- Onegiew Attinda is ambaya man.
- Oreste Okok is an ambaya and jok leader from Angal.
- Ringwegi Basilio is from Agonda village; his grandfather, Anyoli, was the brother of Cezario Oungi. He has ambaya and jok together. He was the master of ceremonies at this selewa.

For helping with the ambaya, some people were chosen, as indicated below. They are called trainees.

- Justina is Ukethwengu John's wife and a trainee for ambaya practice.
- Ovoya Oungi is from Gute North village, Pamora and a trainee for ambaya practice.
- Ovoya Orei is a trainee for ambaya practice.
The ambaya practice began at John’s house around 11:00 a.m. The first step was to tie the ambaya around the top of the agulu (pot) filled with kwete. They discussed the practice schedule and demanded that I provide two crates of beer, one crate of soda water, four packets of kavela (spirits) and 200,000
UGX to witness the practice of *ambaya*.

**Scene 1: Deciding on the place to set kajagi**

1. The *ambaya* people stood around the room to be cleansed by the *ambaya*. Then they went to where the dance would be staged and prepared to set up the *kajagi*.
   
   [The *losso* has the power to chase away evil spirits.]

2. Basilio held the *ambaya* along with the cock, and the other people held their own *ambaya*; then, they stood up in a ring, surrounding the lying *kajagi*. They ran around the *kajagi* counter clockwise, shouting “Hiya, hiya, hiya” and hitting ground with the *ambaya*. Each one then sat down on his heel, passed the *ambaya* under his knee, and then blew the whistle of the *ambaya*, which sounded like ’Pee’. They repeated the same manoeuvre, this time running clockwise (Picture 19). Afterward, they repeated the counter clockwise run as in the first time, and then another run, for a total of four, repeating the clockwise run.
   
   [We are supposed to turn three or four times at begging with counter clockwise rotation. The fourth time is done for the women, and for the fourth time, we change the hand from right to left with which we hold the *ambaya*. The leader asks the other members, “Hiya?” which means “Are you ready?” and then other members reply “Hiya, hiya’ which means ”We are ready”. With this performance, we are trying to inform the spirits what we are doing.]

3. They let the trainees, Ovoya and Ovoya Oungi, sit down on the ground so that *kwete* can be poured into their mouths.

4. They decided on the place to set the *kajagi* and collected three stones to make the kitchen.

5. Ovoya Oungi cut off the head of the cock at the place for the *kajagi* and poured the blood on the ground and at the bottom of the *kajagi*.
   
   [The cock should be white, but this time we used a coloured one as an alternative.]

6. They let the cock run without its head and waited for it to die. It finally died, with its legs straight. They judged that the place for the *kajagi* was right and made a hole where blood had been poured, then poured some water into the hole.
   
   [The way the cock dies is important. If it dies with its legs bent, we have to find another place for the *kajagi* and kill another cock.]

7. They let the two trainees sit down on the ground, and Basilio poured the *kwete* from a calabash into their mouths in a strange way (Picture 20). For example, he would stretch out the calabash to their mouths and then suddenly draw it in, or he would pass the calabash under his leg to their mouths.
   
   [This way of offering has two meanings. First, it is a sort of magic and cultural tactic. We follow our forefathers, who did the same things. Second, it is to protect the wizard from the evil spirits. The *ambaya* can protect against all those things and any harm.]

8. They stood round while Basilio, with the head of the cock stuck on the end of a knife, placed the top of the knife and the beak of the cock together on each one’s forehead and chest.
Noriko TAHARA

(9) Ovoya plucked the feathers of the cock and cut it in pieces. The head and intestines were placed beside the kitchen stones.

(10) All of them went back to John's house and straight into their room.

[It is prohibited to look back or the blessing will run away from them.]

Picture 19.

Running around the lying kajagi.

Picture 20.

Offering kwete in a strange way.

Scene 2: Munyasu

(1) In the house, obiya (a kind of spear grass) was spread around by Basilio. Justina touched his back while he worked.

[We now use a few stalks of obiya. A long time ago, obiya was scattered all over the house. But nowadays we have papyrus mats to sit on and then we regard the use of a few pieces of obiya as enough.]

(2) Basilio allowed Justina to sit down on the obiya and let her hold the ambaya with her hands horizontally.

[She may not touch the ground, or everything would be spoilt.]

(3) A black she-goat was pulled into the house.

[Any colour of goat is acceptable for this ritual.]

(4) Basilio let Ovoy Oungi sit down on the obiya and let him hold the ambaya with his hands horizontally.

[Touching the ground is also prohibited for him.]

(5) They placed the goat on the obiya on its back, cut its throat, and poured the blood in the house.

(6) The goat was then carried to the outside kitchen for the blood to be poured and to cut the rest into pieces.

[The skin of the goat will be dried outside.]

Scene 3: Eating the cock together at the place of kajagi

(1) They went back to the kajagi place. The cock from scene 1 was boiled in a pan and kwen (bread)
brought from John’s house.

(2) They boiled the water for washing their hands.

[Here, water for washing should be boiled, not cold water.]

(3) Water was poured into the hole for the *kajagi*. The depth of the hole is about 30 cm.

(4) Four trainees—Justina, Ovoya Orei, Ovoya Oungi, and another man—sat down on the ground, stretching out their feet in front of them. Basilio picked up a small piece of the cock’s liver, wrapped it with a small *kwen*, and threw it away. Then he fed each of the trainees in the same strange manner as in scene 1(7).

[We call the name of a river, mountain, tree, lake and so on when we throw a piece of liver wrapped in *kwen* and tell them, “You help us”. The hills around here are named, Bith in the west, Ayugi in the north, and Rateng and Gisi in the east. There is a *jok* named Wadhugale at the Agonda River. People may see it by chance. Sometimes dishes are washed by themselves, or they see a girl in the river. If the chance is bad, you will be sick or mentally disturbed.]

(5) The pieces of liver wrapped in a small *kwen* were put on top of each of the three kitchen stones. 1,000 UGX were placed under each stone.

(6) They gathered around and stretched out their hands to the centre of the group so that warm water could be poured over their hands to wash them. The hands are supposed to be washed all together, at the same time.

(7) Everyone ate the cock and *kwen*, sitting down on their heels.

(8) Ovoya Oungi sat down in front of one of the kitchen stones and brought his mouth close to a *kwen* on the stone, pretending to eat it without his hands. He went to the next stone, counter clockwise, and did the same thing, again repeating the action at the third stone. The Ovoya Orei did the same as Ovoya Oungi, but he ate the *kwen*. Finally, Ovoya Oungi, Ovoya Orei, and Justina took the 1,000 UGX from the bottom of each stone.

(9) All of them stood up and were beaten with the *ambaya* all over their bodies.

(10) They went back to John’s house.

**Scene 4: Eating the first goat at home**

(1) Ovoya Oungi cooked the *avula* (roasted meat) from the goat in scene 2. The *avula* should be cooked for the people who are hungry, for it is quicker to prepare it this way than to boil it in *agulu*.

(2) They ate *avula* and *kwen*.

**Scene 5: Setting up the kajagi**

(1) They went back to the *kajagi* place.

(2) They stood around the hole for the *kajagi*. Oreste examined the hole and placed an herb in it.

(3) They ran around the hole with the *ambaya*, counter clockwise, shouting ‘Hiya, hiya, hiya’, hitting the ground with the *ambaya*, sitting down on their heels and passing the *ambaya* under their knee,
then blowing the whistle of the *ambaya*. Essentially they repeated the same actions as in scene 1 (2) but without the fourth run.

(4) They placed the *kajagi* in the hole. John handled the *kajagi* while Ovoya Orei placed his hand on John’s back, and Ovoya Oungi placed his hands on Ovoya Orei’s back (Picture 21).

[First, the *kajagi* is the centre and heart of the selewa, and second, the strength of the dance. Without the *kajagi*, evil things may happen; for example, a person with a bad heart might come, quarrels could break up, or even worse, people might kill each other.]

(5) They mowed the grass around the *kajagi* to make the ground smooth and set fire to the grass and thorn.

(6) The cultural group from Erussi, the drummers, *agwara* blowers, and dancers arrived, and raised their blue flag beside the *kajagi*.

[We, *ambaya* people were supposed to examine the music.]

(7) The musicians began to play.

(8) The *ambaya* people danced to the music, having the *ambaya* and *oluth-olo* (Picture 22).

(9) Basilio tied a string of grass around the three trainees’ necks: Ovoya Orei, Ovoya Oungi, and Justina.

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**4-4. The Second Day of the Selewa, 4 March 2012**

The *agwara* music started early in the morning. Unlike yesterday, the musicians placed themselves about 50m from the *kajagi*. The *ambaya* practice started around 10:00 a.m. at John’s house.

**Scene 6 Nyabo (u)**

(1) They prepared herbs for protecting themselves from others. For that, they chewed *lenga* (green herb) and prepared *palala* (red flour from the river) and *otute* (small round seeds which color is
mixed red and black).

[This is for purposes of magic and to serve as a charm. We use different herbs and medicines for each stage. There are lenga mir ambaya (green herbs for the ambaya) and lenga mira ocama (green herbs for chewing). The lenga mira ocama will be chewed until the end. It can work against bad people and poison.]

(2) In the house, a straight line was drawn on the ground and three holes were made on it; the line was then bent at a right angle to kitchen and one hole made in it.

[The fourth hole should be facing the kitchen, and it is for the women.]

(3) The goat was slaughtered in the house. The blood was collected from the neck in a calabash. The body was placed in a corner of the house.

(4) The kwete and blood of the goat were poured into each hole, and palala and otute were added to them.

(5) Ovoya Oungi drank the blood and swallowed the palala from the first hole and then from the second and third holes. Ovoya Orei did the same thing as Ovoya Oungi. Finally, Justina repeated their actions but continued to drink from the fourth hole.

[They have to spew out the kwete and blood at first, for it should be given to the earth. They swallow one otute, which means they swallow the secret of ambaya. The secret of ambaya and the ambaya people will protect them from other bad medicine.]

(6) At the odhur (the place where garbage is dumped) outside the house, a straight line was drawn on the ground and four holes made. The kwete and blood of the goat were poured and palala and otute put in them, just as before. Ovoya Oungi, Ovoya Orei, and Justina breathed in the kwete and blood from each hole in turn.

[The holes in the odhur are all for women. If they contract a disease, they can be cured there.]

(7) The goat was cut into pieces.

[This goat should be cut and cooked in the house. The skin of the goat should also be dried in the house.]

(8) The performers relaxed in the house and explained what they were going to do until tomorrow. They demanded 200,000 UGX for my witnessing the activities, as already mentioned at the beginning before scene 1. After some negotiation, I paid them 150,000 UGX.

Scene 7: Keeping the kajagi safe

The performers went to the kajagi around 1:00 p.m., lifted the three stones from around the bottom of the kajagi, and examined the soil, where they found a broken piece of ambaya. Oreste and Basilio stood with their backs on the kajagi so that it would stand firm.

[We are careful to make sure there is no bad medicine under the kajagi. But we found something. This means that someone has done something evil to the kajagi. This is a sort of magic. We banished one man to Padolo.]
5. The Agwara, Ndara and Other Activities for the Selewa

5-1. The First Day of Selewa, 3 March 2012

Before sunset around 5:00 p.m., we heard the sounds of agwara. Then we saw the people marching slowly to Pamora, blowing the agwara. They were the Erussi United Cultural Group (Padyere County, Nebbi District), containing six luru of the agwara, drummers, and dancers. They were going to stay in Agonda Village until 5 March. Before that day (on 2 March 2012), John and Ocaya had gone to Erussi to bring back a drum for the agwara music in advance.

The kwete was ready for them to drink. The dancers put on their blue costumes and ornaments. The players for the agwara were busy putting black oil on the mouthpiece. They went to the place where the ambaya people were and prepared to play and dance.

Ocaya arranged for the store beside his house to supply food for each house that entertained the visitors. The storekeeper is the LC1 chairman of Agonda Village. That night, one white bull was slaughtered in order to supply food for the visitors at 7:00 p.m.

At the same time, the youth began preparing the ndara, which is a locally made xylophone (Picture 23). The ndara originally came from Mukambo in D.R.C. and is not traditionally used for the ritual. But at this selewa, the Jupa Unu youth decided to play the ndara as an alternative to the agwara and the drum to express weeping. They dug a deep square hole and framed the top with the stem of a matoke plant. On the stem they lined up the wooden boards, from long to short. Then they fixed those boards with short branches and strings (Picture 24). When they started playing the ndara, people danced in a circle and the Opoicen Cultural troops joined to play the obilo and dongo. People enjoyed the music and dancing until 2:00 a.m.

**Picture 23.**

**Ndara:** A xylophone. Pieces of board are lined up from short to long over a hole. At the top of the xylophone, one sits to conduct, and 3-4 persons sit on both sides. Each player uses two sticks to strike the xylophone.

**Picture 24.**
5-2. The Second Day of Selewa, 4 March 2012

At around 5:00 a.m., the agwara music began on a stage that was placed about 50 m from the kajagi. The cultural group put up its blue flag, and the agwara players marched around the flag counter clockwise. By that time, the agwara had grown to eight luru. In the centre of the circle were three drums. From the ambaya people's perspective, the reason they keep a distance from the kajagi is that they fear the ambaya and kajagi.

Outside the agwara circle, people were marching along with the dancing. Some audience members were already there. About 25 m from the flag, the youth were preparing the new ndara to play. The ambaya people also joined here to watch. Oreste told me that the agwara had not sounded good yesterday, but that today they sounded very good because the ambaya people had administered them with some medicine. After some time, the ndara was ready to start playing. The ambaya people gave the players some herb to chew and beat ndara with ambaya.

Around 9:00 a.m., another brown cow was slaughtered for visitors. In the same way as yesterday, it was done in the Muslim way by a licensed man.

The song and the dance continued all day long. All the songs were repeated several times. The agwara and ndara took turns performing, so that if the agwara players got tired, the ndara would perform. Neighbouring people were coming to enjoy the festivities, and some people came to sell food and drink.

The songs played by the agwara are below:

Agwara Song (1)

John Oketho myelno eketho manano ngo elembe tye yo.
Pamora Oketho myelno eketho manana ngo the lembe.

John has staged that dance, but he has not staged freely, there is the purpose.
Pamora have staged that dance, but they have not staged freely, there is the purpose.

Agwara Song (2)

Udong ka min.
Kan abyiyerongo malembe ovoya.
Etiti ye lembe marac juyero.

She remains on the behaviour of her mother.
Why don't I tell, moreover, that I haven't something?
If there is some problem, you must tell.

Agwara Song (3)

Umera odwogo ma lori opong.
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Aromvo ku lori yo.
Umera walara ango kud?
A bedu mawiya owil.
A poi ku lori mu pong.

My brother came back with the lorry full.
I met the lorry on the way.
What are we rushing for?
I just sit without knowing anything.
I just see the lorry with full lord.

Agwara Song (4)
Omer nyoni yoo? E~eieieie~e~~eieieie~
Omera nyo bi dwogo? E~~

Is my brother on the way?
Is my brother coming back?
[This is a hunter's song and mourning for the dead. They are sure he died there in the park.]

Agwara Song (5)
Umera wuinj bangta.
Wak nyai i wanga ei yoo.

My brother listens to me.
It brings also cry.

Agwara Song (6)
Olara ko Bible.

You bring me the bible.

Agwara Song (7)
Ai iwanga an nyathin yo ai iwanga.
Jal aryema mapodi anyathin yo, ai iwanga yo.
Ai iwanga mapodi anyol acel ye, aiwanga yo.
Yer iwanga mapodi anyal acel ye, yer iwanga yo.
Ara doro ombe ikuma abi timo ango, iri, aiiwangayo.
Get away from me because I'm too young, get away from me.
The boy is chasing me while I'm still young, get away from me.
Get away from me because I have produced just only one, get away from me.
Tell me frankly, I have produced only one, tell me, and get away from me.
I don't like to play, what can I do for you? Get away from me.

_Agwara Song (8)_
_Dhano nyang de ngo gimadho kongo kud arule._
_Dhano nyany de ngo jebo nguli ku kwete._

People do not understand why they are drinking beer with a mug.
People do not understand they are missing nguli and _kwete._

_Agwara Song (9)_
_Cezario nyany de ngo._

Cezario doesn't understand.
_[He is just quiet under the ground. An abusing song for Cezario.]_

The songs played by the _ndara_ are below:
_Ndara Song (1)_
_Ee John kudi iwaki wuru bidwogo._
_E boy kudi iywak, meru bidwogo._

John, don't cry; your father will come back.
Baby boy don't cry, your mother will come back.

_Ndara Song (2)_
_Eh, Titi lembe marac juyero._
_Kan a biyero ngo ma lembe odaro voya._
_Co : Titi kwanyo pa min._
_A bino mirembe ngo._
_Daako : A kwanyo pa won._

Titi, if you have done something wrong, you should tell.
How can I not tell, otherwise I face so many problems.
Men : Titi follows her mother.
I have not come for the problem.
Women : That person follows the behaviour of his father.
[An abusing song at each other between men and women.]

Ndara Song (3)
The polo obo gere, wa bilombo i lera.
Wa dok kudi i Pamora.
Wa dok kudi i Omer.

When the sun goes down, we shall meet in the yard.
Let us go back to Pamora.
Let us go back to Omer.
[Omer: all the Pamora and Cubu are called Omer.]

Ndara Song (4)
Yesu lara a jadubu mi kwongo.
Lembe peri rombo andha.
Yesu lara yo, an jadubu mikwongo.

Jesus save me I am the first sinner.
Your problem is now solved.
Jesus save me, I am the first sinner.

Ndara Song (5)
John otero diei polo
Nga muwondi?
Eee, John nga muwondi?

John has taken heavenly goat.
Who deceive you to marry?
Oh, John, who deceive you?
[When you want merry lady, you just send someone to ask her parents with two goats. Two goats are called diei polo. Diei polo is one means I am agree to merry that lady.]

Ndara Song (6)
Oreng ma amaro.
Preparing Myel Agwara for Cezario Oungi Umu

The lady who I love.

_Ndara Song (7)_
_Saa mi nyodo.
_E-e-e-i-e-e-
_Saa mi rombo.
_Saa marac.
_Waya okwonga kwong marac._

It's now time for giving birth.
They are hiding something.
It is time for meet.
It is the bad time.
My aunti curse me badly.

_Ndara Song (8)_
_An ma an e ngamungeya._

I am the useless person, who can know me.
[As I am the useless person, people fear me.]

_Ndara Song (9)_
_Ee nera ye ebedo mi miel ongo.
_Ee nera ye ebedo mi tho ngo.
_Wak ngoy.
_Ango (very big eagle) i nera, pa giyaga yo bin ilara._

Uncle (Aunt), that must not be for the dance.
Uncle (Aunt), that must not be for killing.
The problem can bring crying.
Ango, you are my uncle, come and pick me up to safe place, you are the brother of my mother.

_Ndara Song (10)_
_Waya lama alam ma rac._
_Omira kunu nyo bidwogo._

My aunt cursed me badly.
Maybe my brother will come back.

Ndara Song (11)

*Omera nyoni yoo?*

Is my brother on the way?

The songs played by Opoicen Cultural troops are below:

Opoicen’s Song (1)

*Ee John kudi iwaki wuru bidwogo.*

*Ee Luka kudi iwaki wuru bidwogo.*

*Ee John kudi iwaki Cezario bidwogo.*

John don't cry, your father will come back.
Luka don't cry, your father will come back.
John, don't cry, Cezario will come back.

Opoicen’s Song (2)

*Omera lara.*

*Omera kononyo bidwogo.*

May my brother come and help me.
Maybe my brother will come back.

Opoicen’s Song (3)

*Oren, i do paaro.*

*Jamer, i do ywak.*

The lady you will think later.
The lover you will cry after.

Opoicen’s Song (4)

*Thumu anyira calo moo Landi.*

The breasts of the ladies are like simsim oil.
Preparing Myel Agwara for Cezario Oungi Unu

Opoicen’s Song (5)
John odong ka won yoo...
I bi dong ka wuru yoo...

John remains behalf of his father.
You will remain instead of his father.

Opoicen’s Song (6)
Daako mu mira ogamo yor ikondo obe camo kwem, ube twono awia.
Kogweno ci kora oberemo kwem ke e be waro awara.

Wife my brother brought from Nkondo is eating food without giving the children.
When the morning comes,"I am feeling my chest paining". When the food comes, she just eats without stop.
[This is the latest song of myel agwara since it was stopped 10 years ago.]

In fact, the people do not sing with words. But every Alur speaker can hear such words in the sounds of the music. All day long, music was going on, and many people were dancing around the place near kajagi. Around 5:00 pm, a boy tried to touch the kajagi, at which he suddenly fell down, his body shocked and paralyzed. Two ambaya men came to treat him. They let the boy lie face down (Picture 25), and one of them sat on him. They repeated the same thing. Finally, they let the boy stand up and lifted him up by one arm and turned him (Picture 26). They repeated this three times, and the boy ran away from them in a lively way. Many people were watching the treatment and talking about the magic power of the kajagi.

Picture 25.

Picture 26.
5-3. The Last Stage of the Second Day: Marching to the Grave of Cezario Oungi

Around 7:00 pm, after the sun had set and it was getting dark, the agwara, ambaya, and all the other people went to the grave of Cezario Oungi, playing and dancing along the road. A car came up from behind, but people had spread out onto the road, and the car could not pass.

Everyone went to the grave in a stream, and the graveyard was full of people (Picture 27). As people stood on the graves, the off-spring of Cezario Oungi tried to keep them away from the grave of Cezario Oungi. The agwara played the song for mourning for Cezario Oungi. Listening to the song, some people got tears in their eyes. After the song, everyone returned to each one's house to rest. At the store, meat, fish, salt, etc. were still distributed busily, for everyone needed to eat separately in each house. The song at grave is below:

**Agwara Song (10)**

*Udong ka min.*

*Kan abyierongo malembe ovoya.*

*Etiti ye lembe marac juyero.*

She remains with the behaviour of her mother.

Why don't I tell, moreover, that I haven't something?

If there is some problem, you must tell it out.

6. The Third Day of the Selewa, 5 March 2012
6-1. Ambaya People

Scene 8

Odongo and Okumu went back to Erussi with their drums at 10:20 a.m.

Scene 9: Kidi and Kajagi

(1) Around 12:30 p.m., the ambaya people went to the kajagi with obiya (spear grass) collected from inside the house, grass pulled out of the roof, and kwen. They all had their belongings except for John and his wife.

[Collecting grass from the roof symbolizes that we have collected all the rubbish at John's house.]

(2) They surrounded the kajagi and again ran counter clockwise, clockwise, and counter clockwise (Picture 28).
(3) They poured kwete on the kitchen stones and burned the obiya and the grass from the roof.
(4) All together, they pushed the kajagi down.
(5) John cut about 25 cm from the top of the kajagi with a cutlass in one stroke.
   [The top of the kajagi should be cut off by the leader of the ambaya with one hand down.]
(6) The rest of the kajagi was cut into length about 25 cm. The lower thicker part was also cut into longer pieces. These parts were thrown away in the bush.
   [Sticks from the thin part can be used to make sibra (whistles for the ambaya). The lower thick part should be thrown into a stream to be carried away, but at that time there was no water flow, so they were thrown away into the bush where no one would find them. If someone were to use this remaining kajagi as firewood, it would be harmful, so it is thrown away for the protection of the people.]
(7) At the kitchen stones, another goat was slaughtered and they poured the blood on the stones.
   [This blood should not be eaten. Pouring the blood is a way of saying good-bye to the stone.]
(8) Ovoya Oungi, Ovoya Orei, Justina, and an elder’s wife lined up side by side. Then the ambaya people stood facing each of them. An elder, who was holding the ambaya horizontally, threw it to Ovoya Oungi; he caught it and immediately threw it back to the elder, who returned it to him, and again he threw back it to elder. When the elder threw it to Ovoya Oungi the third time, Ovoya Oungi kept it. Ovoya Oungi, in turn, carried out this ritual with the other Ovoya. For the ritual with Justina and the elder’s wife, they repeated the throwing back and forth four times (Picture 29).
   [The ambaya must not be dropped by any means.]
(9) At 2:40 p.m., they ate the avula of the goat and kwen.
   [We are supposed to eat all of the goat meat here, but we are full, so we regard eating the avula as eating the whole goat. At this stage, we perform the kidi and kajagi all together, although originally the kidi and kajagi should be done separately, but we are tired and have work to do at home.]
(10) All of them went straight home from here.
   [We must not go to John’s house on our way home. As all the rubbish from John’s house was carried here to burn, if we drop by John’s house, we take the fire back to John’s house again.]
6-2. Evaluation for People in Charge of the Selewa

The last day was originally *jobo vuru* which means ‘collecting ashes’. Ashes are regarded as containing various things. Nowadays, however, it is called ‘evaluation’ and is an expression of appreciation for the people who worked hard for the ritual.

At 9:00 a.m., the meat, legs, and head of the brown cow slaughtered the day before were given to the women and youth, and they began cooking. The youth boiled all the meat in an oil-drum and big *agulu*. The women cooked six big plates of *kwen* and were ready to eat at 3:30 p.m. All the food was eaten by the Jupa Unu and at 5:30 they went home. The leftover beans were divided among the women, and leftover flour were planned to brew *kwete* for the next Sunday.

7. The Discussion after the Selewa

The *selewa* was finished at last. The expenses of the *selewa* were recorded by Ocaya, Pepetwa, Jenaro and Raphael (shown in Table 3). Itemized real expenses are indicated in Table 2. The Jupa Unu, especially the clan leader John, the secretary Ocaya, the leader of the women Pepetwa, Raphael and Jenaro paid a big price for the celebration. They shared their thoughts after the *selewa* as follows:

John and Ocaya: We managed to do it on a small budget. We thought only about the *agwara* at first, but gradually the number of people increased, like the cultural groups that came to participate and the youth participation with the *ndara*. All those activities were outside the budget, and we were anxious about them, but finally everything was done well.

Acen Julena: People’s hearts were warmed by the *selewa* project.

Raphael: It is just the beginning for the real *myel agwara*. For the real one, 40 or 50 *luru* will be necessary for the *agwara*. The youth are now preparing the real *myel agwara*. It will take a long time, even more than 10 years, but certainly you will see it in the future.

Jenaro: The youth are very happy to do it. Some of them have seen an *agwara* for the first time. From now on, I am sure that something will start again.

Pepetwa: We really tried hard and did well.

For this fieldwork in Pamora, I attempted to carry out a project for staging a *myel agwara* with the Alur people for three years, and it became an action research project beyond the originally planned fieldwork. Because the *myel agwara* could not be performed and it finally became a *selewa*, I cannot say the project was entirely successful. However, I will be able to portray the world and lives of the Alur people through this project, for the process has revealed the way the Alur cope with a difficult situation. As Raphael and Jenaro said, I hope this is just the beginning of working together to discover more about the Alur culture in the future.
### Table 3. Expenses by items recorded by Ocaya, Pepetwa, Jenaro and Raphael

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Cost (UGX)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20th Feb.</td>
<td>consultation fee with Odong Tungulungom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>80,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24th Feb.</td>
<td>cassava flour</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>sacks</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>empty sacks for Odong Tungulungom</td>
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<td></td>
<td>20,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cow (brown)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>740,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bull (white)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>560,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>25th Feb.</td>
<td><em>kwete</em> flour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>175,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>halftrip load of firewood from Albert Okello</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26th Feb.</td>
<td>cocks</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>she goat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he goat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>she goat</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>small goat</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27th Feb.</td>
<td>beans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phyparus mats</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>gin</em> (<em>nguli</em>)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>jerican</td>
<td>90,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hiring drums for water</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grinding of <em>kwete</em> flour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grinding of <em>kwete</em> flour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tying ropes for cattle</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cooking oil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>purchase of yeast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>onion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>firewood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grinding of <em>kwete</em> flour (additional cost)</td>
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<td>1.5litre</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>petrol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28th Feb.</td>
<td>typing and photo copy and envelope</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transport to take the letter of sub-county chief and other offices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29th Feb.</td>
<td>additional yeast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grinding of <em>kwete</em> flour (additional cost)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grinding of cassava flour (additional cost)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cooking oil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Mar</td>
<td>transport of Ocaya to Erussi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transport of John to Padel to contact muzee Dranga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>refreshments for women who prepared <em>kwete</em> ([1 kg sugar and 2 bottle of <em>nguli]</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7,600</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arrangement with Padolo Cultural Troops (Erussi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bringing <em>agwara</em> drums</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hiring drums for water</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>gin</em> (<em>nguli</em>)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>jerican</td>
<td>90,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>refreshments for Opoicen Cultural Troops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Mar</td>
<td><em>rice</em> for <em>ambaya</em> group</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>kg</td>
<td>4,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>drinks for <em>ambaya</em> members</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hiring drums for the Erussi <em>Agwara</em> Group</td>
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<td></td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Mar</td>
<td>appreciation for Opoicen Cultural Group</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>expenses of Odongo Tungulungom for Coordination</td>
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<td></td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>additional yeast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 3,239,200

unit: UGX, 2400UGX = 1 USD
References

Acknowledgement
This study is supported by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific research B (22402043: Tahara Noriko). I appreciate the assistance.

Notes
1) The slaughtering animal is done by "Muslim way" in Pamora as below.
   (1) The horn is tied with rope and fastened to a tree, and the four legs are bundled together.
   (2) The head is turned in the direction of Mecca, the mouth is bundled (so that the cow cannot moo), and the head is cut off.
   (3) Between the hooves of a leg is cut with knife, for dying early.
   (4) Water is put into the cut neck and it is washed well.
   (5) It is cut into pieces and stored.

Appendix 1
The Third Meeting Convened to Report the Failure of Jupa Unu (Pamora) to get a Partner/Competitor for the Proposed Agwara Dance to be Staged Supposedly in Early March 2012, Head on 03/01/2012 at jupa Unu

AGENDA
1. Opening Prayer
2. Introduction
3. The village elders briefing/report
Preparing Myel Agwara for Cezario Oungi Unu (2)

4. Reaction / Opinions on the way forward from the participants
5. Closing the meeting

Min. 1/03/01/2012

An inspired Christian (Pepetua) stood up and asked God to bless and guide the proceeding to successful conclusion.

Min. 2/03/01/2012

After the opening prayer madam Tahara introduced two visitors, Mr. Ocircan and Batista from Panyimir who joined us for the programme at hand.

Min. 3/03/01/2012

The Village elder, John Okethwengu briefed the audience and explained that the team which was designated to travel to Angaba to talk to the hitherto supposed partner to dance with failed. Subsequent contacts with other possible candidates also didn't come to fruition. The purpose of this meeting was therefore to report to them and discuss the way forward to deciding an alternative position.

Min. 4/03/01/2012

Participants gave their various opinions. Mr. Andrew Orwothwum regretted the failure to reach a compromise with the supposed partners and suggested that the alternative which could serve the interest of Jupa Unu and Pamora as a whole as well as other parties would be a two day selewa (a modified version which could involve all the traditional aspects but neglect the competitive nature of the partnership). He also suggested that maybe it would now be fairer to take fewer than the number of days which would have been normally taken to reduce the costs.

Mr. Angelo Ovon Oungi said he was surprised that the contact team which carried out the failed errand to get a partner, didn't convene a meeting like this one, which in his opinion would have been the right forum to discuss the way forward. However that failure should be put aside and we go forward with the selewa which would be one best alternative option.

Mr. John Okethwengu, the village elder, stood to explain to the two foregone speakers who otherwise expressed their pessimism. He explained that our meeting of today was normal and alright. It was to just inform the Jupa Unu officially that getting a partner had failed and now what could we do to get an alternative? It was not necessary to convene another clan meeting similar to the second meeting to avoid costs and it is not the tradition to do that. So the most important thing to do is to agree on whether to go with selewa or postpone the dance and go ahead to look for another possible partner it should be noted, however that everything we do should go according to tradition.

Mr. Boashir Jangai stood and encouraged participants that the failure to get an official partner should not discourage us but we should go ahead and have the selewa which is just similar to the failed option of an official partnering. He said it would be a shame to fail even to take the only alternative, after reaching this level and the programme is already advertised to the eager community.

Paulina Okaya explained at length process by process what is involved in a selewa dance and it was discovered that all aspects of the agwara dance are actually covered in the selewa version which has been agreed on.

Jimmy Okaba also noted that if the selewa is as has been explained, then there was no fear and we should go ahead since nothing is lost.

Vincent Olwor concurred and said the selewa should go ahead since there was no difference with what happens in
the other competitive version of the agwara dance.

Moses Ocakason encouraged the go ahead not that the youth of his age didn't know what agwara dance is so it would be an eye-opener and a very significant experience for them.

Jenaro Oungi suggested that the number of luru agwara should be discussed and decided and the budget discussed since the selewa option means almost double responsibility on our expenses.

Mr. Angelo Ovon stood again and expressed satisfaction, raising away his initial apprehension. He however asked whether another meeting would be convened so as to include our sisters, aunties and their children, noting that these are important personalities who cannot be neglected.

Mr. Batista appreciated the way the meeting was managed and especially the handling of the divergent views and opinions. He agreed with the suggestion that there be subsequent and frequent meetings if success is to be realised.

Mr. Ocircan from Panyimir noted that it would not be the right time to discuss the budget but the important thing for the moment is to agree on what items of the budget are to be shouldered by the respective parties. He also noted the fact that the proponent of the project (Tahara's) major interest is how the agwara dance is organised and what is the traditional significance to the Alur as a tribe.

Mr. John, the village elder explained that traditionally, we don't handle the agwara budget the way it is envisaged. agwara budget is just apportioned to respective members in kind.

Jenaro Oungi reminded the audience that since it will now be selewa it should be noted that we shall budget for both parties ourselves, ie, almost doubling the budget cost.

Mr. John Okethwengu (chairperson) explained that it would now be the understanding between two parties to compromise on the propitious of the budget items. The restrictive involved in the purely traditional ccoompetitive version don't arise here in the selewa version.

Tahara requested that the budget be read out to the audience so as to bring a clear picture of what we are all talking about.

Jimmy Othum came out with the idea that our partner should first be consulted to find out their willingness to partner with us.

Raphael Owinja reminded the audience that in a nutshell what Tahara actually wants is that we should come out clearly on what items on the budget the respective members are willing to take, so as she can also know what items are left to give her a clear view on what to decide to take on her part.

Mr. Luka Ocaya concurred with Jimmy Othum that before we discuss the budget we should first ensure that we get our partners and know their strength which would give us the right clue to our final budget.

Mr. Daaki Ozunga added his opinion to the support of outgoing speakers, noting that there is no difference between selewa and the other version of the agwara. The important thing to do is to finds from Tahara herself how much she is offering so as to give us a clear view.

In response Tahara declared that she was willing to offer two bulls, four goats, fish, tea and coffee.

Min. 5/03/01/2012

In his closing remark the village elder concluded that since the proportion of the budget Tahara has offered to shoulder actually leaves us with a heavier load than we had earlier envisaged, we are therefore left with no option but to take time to organise ourselves. As of now, we are left in disarray with no clear decision for the moment.

With that the meeting ended at 06:10pm.

Luka Ocaya (Secretary)
translated by Raphael Owinja

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