

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

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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.

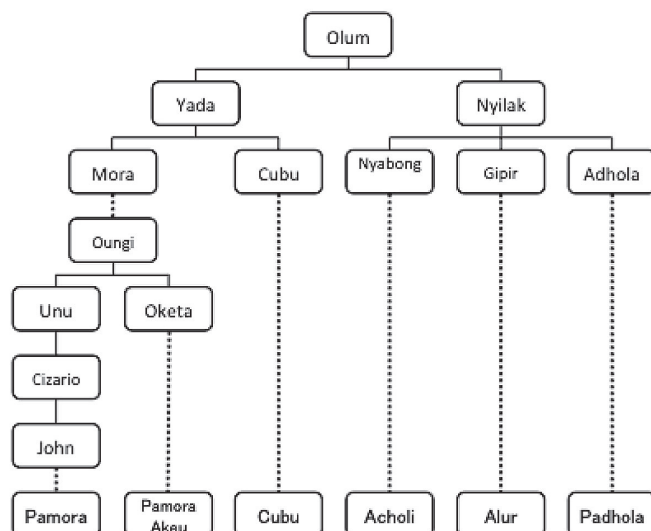
This area is named Pamora after his ancestor, Mora. Mora migrated to this area in the eighteenth century and settle down. The people of Pamora are Alur ethnic group. The Alur belongs to the River-Lake Nilotes, Luo and their original homeland is in southern Sudan. During the fifteenth century, many calamities 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*.

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 *rule* of *agwara* consists of eight *agwara*, from short to long.

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

Table 1. Estimated Items and Costs for the *Myel Agwara* (2011)

item			unit price	total price
people for <i>ambaya</i>	goat	4 heads	12,900	489,000
	cock	2 heads	20,000	40,000
	flour for <i>kwete</i>	1/2 sack	70,000	35,000
hiring <i>agwara</i> of luru 30	goat	15 heads	120,000	1,800,000
cassava flour for <i>kwen</i>		10 sacks	60,000	600,000
cattle		4 heads	720,000	2,880,000
flour for <i>kwete</i>		5 sacks	70,000	350,000
millet for yeast		1 sack	120,000	120,000
salt		1 carton (500g)	40,000	40,000
fish (<i>pedu</i>)		25 pcs	20,000	500,000
firewood		3 lorries	75,000	225,000
sugar		3 sacks (50kg)	250,000	750,000
hiring empty drum for water		10 drums	5,000	50,000
papyrus mats		30 sheets	5,000	150,000
paraffin for light		20 litres	3,000	60,000
tea leaves		3 cartons	7,200	21,600
coffee		3 cartons	30,000	90,000
gin (<i>nguli</i>)		6 jerrycans	45,000	270,000
soap		1 carton	55,000	55,000
matches		2 cartons	6,000	12,000
total price				8,537,600

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*.

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

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

item	previous	revised	previous price	revised price	real expenses
people for <i>ambaya</i>	4 goats	4 goats	489,000	489,000	489,000
	2 cocks	2 cocks	40,000	40,000	40,000
	<i>kwete</i> :1/2sack flour	<i>kwete</i> :1/2sack flour	35,000	35,000	35,000
hiring <i>agwara</i> luru of 30	15 goats	0	1,800,000	0	0
cassava flour	10 sacks	5 sacks	600,000	350,000	350,000
cattle	4 heads	2 heads	2,880,000	1,440,000	1,440,000
<i>kwete</i> flour	5 sacks	2 sacks	350,000	140,000	140,000
millet for yeast	1 sack	1/2 sacks	120,000	60,000	60,000
salt	1 carton (500g)	1 carton (500g)	40,000	40,000	40,000
fish (<i>pedu</i>)	25 pcs	15 pcs	500,000	300,000	250,000
firewood	3 lorries	1 lorry	225,000	75,000	75,000
sugar	3 sacks (50kg)	0	750,000	0	0
hiring empty drums for water	10 drums	10 drums	50,000	50,000	50,000
papyrus mats	30 pcs	20	150,000	100,000	100,000
paraffin	20 litres	5 litres	60,000	15,000	15,000
tea leaves	3 cartons	10 packets	21,600	72,000	61,000
coffee	3 cartons	10 packets	90,000	60,000	60,000
gin (<i>nguli</i>)	6 jerrycans	4 jerrycans	270,000	180,000	180,000
soap	1 carton	6 bar	55,000	55,000	12,000
matches	2 carton	2 dozen	12,000	12,000	4,000
			8,537,600	3,513,000	3,401,000

unit: UGX, 2400UGX = 1 USD

Table1 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

kitchen 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 Muslims¹⁾. 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 *obilo* (horn of antelope: Picture 3). Other members play the *dongo* (violin: Picture 4-1, 4-2), the *kanga* (flute: Picture 5), the *minvul* (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".

Picture 3.



Obilo: Horn of antelope.

Picture 5.



Kanga: Flute.

Picture 4-2.



Picture 4-1.



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

Picture 6-1.



Minvul: Big round drum.

Picture 6-2.



Athimbo: A long drum with thin centre.

Picture 7-1.



Akili: Small round drum.

Picture 7-2.



Picture 8.



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

Picture 9.



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

Picture 10.



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

Picture 11.

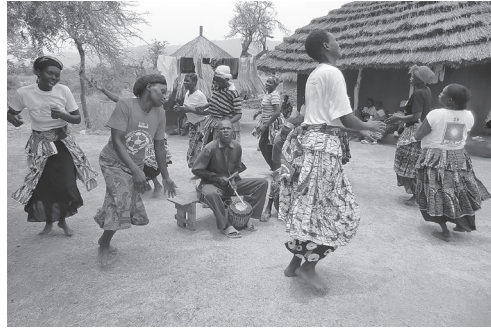


Olesu / Oleso: Dried tail of cattle or camel. The olesu is waved during dance. Reference to Picture 16.

Picture 12.



Picture 13.



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-oloo* (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.

Picture 14.



Ambaya: The skin of a losso with a whistle and an herb. The whistle is called *theya*, and *simbra* is used for the herb. John's *ambaya* was specially made with both male and female losso.

Picture 15.



Ulo/Oluth-Oloo: The cane is bent naturally at the top, although the top can be in various forms. John was given his ulo by his grandfather.

Picture 16.



Oleso/Olesu: Dried tail of cattle or camel. There is stick inside the tail to straighten it. A long one is used for the dance and a short one for ritual.

Picture 17.



Okondo/Ukondu: Feather of a bird that is coloured red, black, and white. Only an elder may attach it to his cap.

Picture 18.



Litira: Necklace made with *yath* (nuts) and *tigo* (beads)

4-3. The First Day of the *Selewa*, 3 March 2012

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 Basilo 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.

- (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 Ovoya 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 Wadhugele 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-oloo* (Picture 22).
- (9) Basilio tied a string of grass around the three trainees' necks: Ovoya Orei, , Ovoya Oungi, and Justina.

Picture 22.



Picture 21.



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.

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 load.

Agwara Song (4)

Omer nyoni yoo? E~eieieiei~e~~eieieiei~~

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 banga.

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)

Thepolo 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 jadbubu 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 diel 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 deil polo. Diel polo is one means I am agree to merry that lady.]

Ndara Song (6)

Oreng ma amaro.

The lady who I love.

Ndara Song (7)

Saa mi nyodo.

E~e~ei~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.

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 kwen, ube twono awia.

Kogweno ci kora oberemo kwen 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 10years 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:

Picture 27.



At Grave.

Agwara Song (10)

Udong ka min.

Kan abiyerongo 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.]

Picture 28.



Picture 29.



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

20th Feb.2012	consultation fee with Odong Tungulungom		unit	80,000
24th Feb	cassava flour	3sacks	80,000	240,000
	empty sacks for cassava	2	2000	6000
	cow (brown)	1	740,000	740,000
	bull (white)	1	560,000	560,000
25th Feb	<i>kwete</i> flour			175,000
	halftrip load of firewood from Albert Okello			20,000
26th Feb	cocks	2		16,000
	she goat	1		100,000
	he goat	1		100,000
	she goat	2		200,000
	small goat	2	60,000	120,000
27th Feb	beans			21,000
	phyparus mats	10		60,000
	gin (<i>nguli</i>)	2jeriican		90,000
	hiring drums for water	5		25,000
	grinding of cassava flour			30,000
	grinding of <i>kwete</i> flour			20,000
	tying ropes for cattle	2	1000	2,000
	cooking oil			6,000
	purchase of yeast			30,000
	onion			1,000
	firewood			20,000
	grinding of <i>kwete</i> flour	1.5litre		30,000
	petrol			6,000
28th Feb	typing and photo copy and envelope			4,200
	transport to take the letter of sub-county chief and other offises			8,000
29th Feb	additional yeast			13,000
	grinding of <i>kwete</i> flour (additional cost)			12,000
	grinding of cassava flour (additional cost)			20,000
	cooking oil			5,000
1st Mar	transport of Ocaya to Erussi			20,000
	transprot of John to Padel to contact muzee Dranga			4,000
	refreshments for women who prepared <i>kwete</i> (1kg sugar and 2 bottle of <i>nguli</i>)			7,600
	arrangement with Padolo Cultural Troops (Erussi)			150,000
	bringing <i>agwara</i> drums			8,000
	hiring drums for water	5		4,000
	gin (<i>nguli</i>)	2jeriican		90,000
	refreshments for Opoicen Cultural Troops			6,000
2nd Mar	rice for <i>ambaya</i> group	2kg		4,200
	drinks for <i>ambaya</i> members			7,200
	hiring drums for the Erussi Agwara Group			12,000
5th Mar	appreciation for Opoicen Cultural Group			6,000
	expenses of Odongo Tungulungom for Cordination			150,000
	additional yeast			10,000
				3,239,200

unit: UGX, 2400UGX = 1 USD

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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

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 Panyimur 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 an 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 Panyimur 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* buget 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 buget 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 propotious of the bughet items. The restrictions involved in the purely traditional coompetitive 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