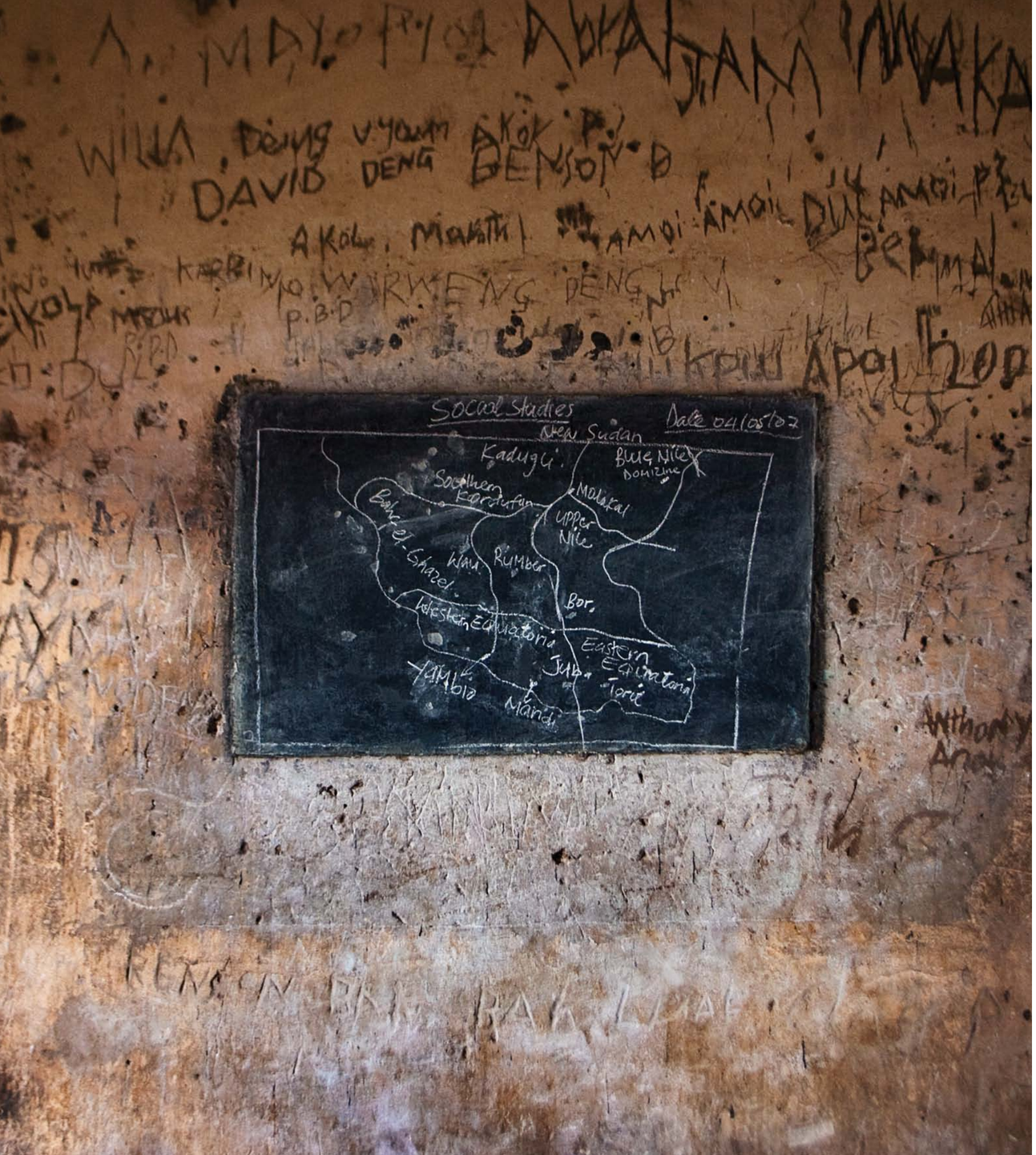
A SHARED STRUGGLE

THE PEOPLE & CULTURES OF SOUTH SUDAN



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THE PEOPLE & CULTURES OF SOUTH SUDAN

EDITED BY TIM MCKULKA

UNMISS

WHITE NILE, EASTERN EQUATORIA

Acknowledgements

This book would not have been possible without the generous support of individuals and institutions who have preserved and protected historical imagery, objects and documents from South Sudan. Pitt Rivers Museum at the University of Oxford, Durham University Sudan Archive, Gurtong Peace Trust, Mr Allan Reed, AFP and others all made generous contributions that helped to make this book possible. The Minister and staff at the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, especially, Dr. Jok Madut Jok, Ismael Mohammed Sebit, Charles Buth and Charles Loker. Thank you to Hon. Dr. Cirino Hiteng Ofuho for entrusting me with this project and SRSG Hilde F. Johnson for making it possible. Staff and administration at UNMISS, especially Liam McDowall for support and ideas through a long process and Brian Kelly for helping to complete it. The Ministries of Culture in Eastern Equatoria and Western Bahr el Ghazal were invaluable resources for identifying representatives of extremely diverse populations. The Ministry of Wildlife, South Sudan National Police Service, Ministry of Interior and other security organs for helping to facilitate access. Jane Hogan and Zoe Cormack for help in navigating the Durham archive and Jeremy Coote and Christopher Morton from Pitt Rivers Museum. Also, Rebecca Haque, Catherine Bond, Thomas W. Morley, Molly Kellogg, Globe Theatre, Juba University and the family of Dr. John Garang.

Most importantly, the people of South Sudan, whose willingness to share their experiences and aspirations have made this project possible. Pieces of the nation's history are scattered in archives, footlockers, family albums and dusty boxes of slides around the nation and the world. It is hoped that this book will serve as impetus for the further collection and dissemination of the nation's history and cultural diversity for the benefit of all South Sudan's people.

About the editor

Tim McKulka is a photographer and editor who has been living in South Sudan since 2006. He worked with the United Nations Mission in South Sudan until the end of 2012.

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Sharing the Past with Future Generations

by Hilde F. Johnson, Special Representative of the Secretary-General United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS)

The people of South Sudan have been through decades of struggle and civil war, of suffering and sacrifice. At the heart of the struggle was the fight for freedom, freedom from oppression and want, as most South Sudanese would commonly call these many years of trials and tribulations. Many freedom fighters sacrificed their lives for this hard-won freedom. They deserve to be remembered and not by storytelling alone. The role they played in South Sudanese history needs to be documented and recorded for now and future generations.

True, the history of the struggle is known to most people of South Sudan through the time-honoured traditions of fireside storytelling and song. And yes, the stories live on but very few have seen the events of the past documented and portrayed as they should be for audiences of the present and for posterity. As the children of independence grow up and become parents to new generations of South Sudanese, knowledge about their proud history is a vital legacy. In the same vein, the cultural diversity of the nation deserves to be presented to a national and international audience. This rich diversity is a hallmark of South Sudan and a precious asset. It should be the glue that binds all South Sudanese together, the foundation upon which this new nation should be built, and not a force that divides. Strengthening awareness and knowledge about the cultural richness of all the different peoples and communities of South Sudan and learning to appreciate and treasure the beauty of this diversity offers a positive way forward. That is why UNMISS has engaged in this project.

The book, *A Shared Struggle: The People and Cultures of South Sudan*, caps a one-year partnership between the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports in the Republic of South Sudan and the United Nations Mission in South Sudan.

The book has a wide reach and ambitious aims. Most importantly, the book seeks to support the development of a national identity by educating the populace about their shared history and the nation's strength through diversity. The book is also meant to be a stimulus for a more comprehensive national archive, to serve as a catalyst for a nation currently without ready access to its own history.

At the request of the Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, UNMISS' photographer and editor Tim McKulka was seconded to the Ministry for one year to lead a project developing this book about the history, the people and cultures of South Sudan.

The book incorporates four main themes, cultures and traditions, history and struggle, portraits of a people and the future envisioned through culture. These themes have been chosen in an effort to tell the story of South Sudan, and to do so by highlighting the rich cultural diversity of its people. These pages encompass the combined use of historical images, sourced from a variety of archives including Durham University and Pitt Rivers Museum, plus contributions from individual photographers. Here, for the first time, is a visual history of the nation from 1898 through 2011, with cultural artifacts and photographs from a wide range of South Sudanese identities and traditions presented side by side. Portraits and interviews representing 66 of the approximately 70 ethnic groups are featured in the book (the remaining four communities are visible in other sections of the book). Written cultural profiles accompany the images.

I would hope that this book will also encourage other people to share their photographs and cultural artifacts with the nation as a way to encourage mutual respect and understanding, and help lay the foundation for nation building.

The partnership between the Ministry and UNMISS highlights the active engagement of the Mission with the Government of the Republic of South Sudan and the role it is playing in support of this new and independent nation.

Five thousand copies of the book are being produced and many will be distributed throughout the country in partnership with the national Ministries of Education to help inform future generations of South Sudanese about their proud history and cultural diversity.

Establishing a new country and a state is difficult enough, but building a new nation is even more challenging. For South Sudan the aim must be unity in diversity. The day of Independence for South Sudan, July 9, represents Freedom Day for most people of this young nation.

As new generations of South Sudanese celebrate their independence and hard won freedom, we hope this book in its own small way can contribute to a better understanding of the past and the present, enabling them to build a better future for all citizens of this nation. We hope it can contribute to achieving a stronger South Sudan – one that is proud of its history and united in its diversity.

WUNGAK, UPPER NILE

Aerial view of Juba, Central Equatoria, 1930. ©Durham

Peoples and Cultures of South Sudan: A Journey to Collective Belonging

This book is a result of a collaboration between the National Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports and the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), particularly its chief, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the Honourable Hilde F. Johnson, and the dedication of a very talented artist, Tim McKulka. The book attempts to tell, through photos and words, stories about the people of South Sudan, their histories, cultures, traditions, values, their unique ethnic identities as well as their collective national identity and the natural landscape.

The most important of these stories is that of South Sudan's journey to nationhood, a story that includes the many decades of liberation wars, the Sudanese state violence against Southern communities and the horrific experiences of human rights violations by Khartoum, episodes of conflict within South Sudan, and the resilience of the people of this great nation in the face of war-related famines, crumbling social landscapes, displacement and refuge in foreign countries. Above all, this journey was fuelled by hope, that much of this suffering would in the end be relieved by independence, freedom and everything good that nationhood entails. The story of this journey has several strands to it, such as the unique roles played by combatants of the gallant Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army, women, Diaspora communities and the suffering endured by every village across this nation. The

book highlights the diversity of the country in terms of cultures and livelihoods, the interactions between the regions and ethnic groups and, in short, the book is aimed at stating the obvious, that South Sudan may be diverse, with unique regional histories and cultures, but belongs to all those who live in it.

The emergence of South Sudan as an independent state came at a gigantic price, paid by all, in different forms, the most important of which was blood in the form of some two and a half million souls who perished between 1983 and 2005, the period of the second round of war against what was the Republic of Sudan. This book is only a sketched outline of the contours of South Sudan's journey, not an exhaustive account of everything this country has endured, enjoyed, celebrated, mourned and told the world. The initial aim of this project was to include short chapters written by South Sudanese writers from a variety of backgrounds, covering ethnic identities, the unique histories of each region, county and locality, and the interconnections that make all of them the pieces that make up South Sudan. Unfortunately, this was not feasible in the amount of time the supporters and the Ministry of Culture had set aside, but it remains the wish of the Ministry to expand the scope of this work in subsequent editions to include more text and photos in order to cover everything we had wanted.

With this initial edition we seek to interest South Sudanese and the rest of the world in the identities of the people of South Sudan, in the hope that every South Sudanese will be able to see his or her ways of life displayed side-by-side with their fellow citizens, the message of which is the identification of commonalities while celebrating the beautiful cultural mix of their country. It is these commonalities that South Sudan wishes to build upon to create a sense of collective nationhood.

Another aim of this book is to interest the world in the story of South Sudan, that it is a resilient nation with a history of near unprecedented destruction, and commemorate that history without allowing it to define its people – without allowing them to live in the past, so to speak. Instead we wish to commemorate our history while looking towards the future with the determination of a people destined for greatness.

This project is a call to South Sudanese to recognize their common destiny, a journey in which no one will be left behind and from which no one should wish to be diverted. It is a cry for the celebration of the many generations of South Sudanese who have championed our cause for freedom, a cause for which they gave their lives so that we may stand on their shoulders today with our heads raised as equals in the family of nations, as equal members of the human family. The genocides, the enslavement, the massacres of innocent civilians, the destruction of our property, the maiming of people by cluster bombs and anti-personnel landmines, and the humiliation of South Sudanese from all directions by successive Khartoum regimes over a period of more than half a century, will all require further research to ensure that more detailed historical accounts have been verified, with dates and locations all documented. Such research could be published separately or included in a possible future edition of this book. This will enable the communities and families most directly affected by these events, in collaboration with their national leadership, to stage annual commemorative events around these experiences, so that future generations can develop appreciation for the price this nation has paid for her freedom.

Lastly, the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports wishes to state its dedication to the promotion of South Sudan's cultural heritage - our natural heritage - to the celebration of our cultural identity and respect for diversity, and to our investment in developing a proud citizenry that allows South Sudan to become the umbrella under which all its peoples find cover. It also wishes to thank the Honourable Dr. Cirino Hiteng Ofuho for initiating this important project, and to reaffirm its commitment to moving it forward for the benefit of everyone in South Sudan

Nadia Arop Dudi
Minister for Culture, Youth and Sports

Juba, South Sudan 2013

View near Morongole, Eastern Equatoria, 1913. ©Durham

CULTURES & TRADITIONS

South Sudan borders Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic and Sudan. Estimated at anywhere between eight million (the official but disputed 2008 census figure) and thirteen million people, South Sudan's population is one of the most diverse in Africa with around seventy ethnic groups. This richness in culture makes collaboration a potential joy but also a major challenge! This book provides information about most of South Sudan's communities, their history, customs and beliefs, their geographical location on the African continent, and aspects of their livelihood. The idea is to help South Sudanese – and outsiders – learn more about each other in the name of peaceful, neighbourly coexistence. Varying degrees of research and analysis are readily accessible for the different communities and in many cases the information available is very limited. Any future editions will incorporate additional information on ethnic groups that have not been sufficiently covered.

Many migrations, large and small, have shaped the South's ethnic map over the past few centuries. The movement includes that of small tribes from eastern Sudan to Darfur, and then south into Western Bahr el Gazal. Luo peoples moved around South Sudan, and in the mid-1700s, agro-pastoralists moved into Eastern Equatoria from the direction of what are now Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. Several periods of colonialism – from within Sudan or outside it - were also influential and remain relevant to people's lives. Each era left an indelible mark on the peoples they most affected.

Western Equatoria State

Western Equatoria has ten counties: Yambio, which is also the seat of its state capital, as well as the counties of Nzara, Ibba, Ezo, Maridi, Tambura, Mundri West, Mvolo, Najero and Mundri East. Its people include the Azande, Moru, Nyangwara, Avukaya, Mundu and Baka. The Azande in particular have had a major impact on the region, the 1700s and 1800s witnessing a prolonged period of Azande expansionism, as their kingdoms - most famously under King Gbudwe - spread to conquer other groups, subduing and absorbing them. The expanse of the current Azande territory is a function of such conquests. Western Equatoria borders the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), as well as the South Sudanese states of Central Equatoria, Lakes, Warrap and Western Bahr el Ghazal.

AZANDE

The Azande are the third largest nationality in South Sudan after the Dinka and Nuer. They call themselves 'Azande' although they are known simply as 'Zande' by other South Sudanese. They are mostly found in Maridi, Yambio and Tambura counties in the rain forest belt. The Azande straddle the boundaries of South Sudan, Central African Republic and DRC. The Azande are Bantu and speak Zande. Their society comprises the royal clan, the Avungara - linked to their historic leader, King Gbudwe, and his sons Yambio and Tambura - and commoners, most of them brought into the Azande people through conquest and assimilation. Gbudwe's army was weakened by defections when the British captured him. He died in detention, either murdered by his nephew or taking his own life. Afterwards, the Azande had chiefs, still mostly from the royal clan. Chiefs administered justice, often invoking witchcraft, for which the Azande are renowned. Their traditional justice was harsh: suspected thieves had their ears cut off and their backs scored with a knife, leaving permanent scars. Alleged offenders could be tied up on top of an anthill, soldier ants swarming painfully over them. Men accused of adultery, especially with chiefs' wives, were emasculated and their hands, ears and lips cut off. The Azande believed that people afflicted with mangu, or evil spirits, caused everyone's death: men suspected of witchcraft were shut in their houses and burnt alive.

When people died, they were buried in a sitting position with their chins on their knees. Men were buried facing east and women west: a man looks to the east to see if dawn is near when he gets up in the morning, and a woman fetches wood and water for the evening meal when the sun is about to set.

About twenty spears were paid in dowry for marriage and, in a custom peculiar to the Azande, two men could agree to marry each other's sisters if they had no spears to give.

Azande settlements were solitary, a household comprising a man and his wife or wives. Their society had many health and social regulations. They circumcised their boys but not their girls. Pregnant women avoided eating waterbuck and a tuber called mene as these were thought to cause miscarriage. Four days after giving birth, a mother would sit with her baby in the cleansing smoke of a fire lit with green leaves.

The Azande dance under a full moon, the men in circles moving their feet to the drums, swaying their heads and bodies from side to side. They hold their forearms parallel to the ground, palms turned upwards. At times, the whole circle goes around with women forming an inner circle. They dance

Opposite: Dinka dancing, Warrap, 1947-1950. ©Pitt Rivers

and sing songs that are often a little explicit. Everyone joins in the chorus. Azande land is agriculturally rich: in 1948, the Equatoria Project Board was established to exploit this, and the Nzara complex founded to gin and weave cloth, as well as produce soap and edible oil. This project, though initially received with trepidation and at times considered too harsh, helped monetize the Azande economy and link it to other markets in southern Sudan.

MORU, OR MORO

The Moru are said to have come from West Africa, but nothing in their collective memory points to how they ended-up where they are now in Mundri and Maridi counties. There is no known documentary evidence to this effect either. Historical attacks by the Azande – and specifically those that drove them onto a hill near Lui - and raids by slavers from the Congo, form their clearest communal narratives.

The Moru consist of clans, the largest being the Meza, but also the Gbariba, Kediro, Agyi, Andri, Lakamadi, Nyamusa, Biti and Wira. The Moru speak Moru with several variations: the dialect of Moru-Meza is the standard and rather formal in construction, while Moru-Gbariba is full of life and social expression. Their language is related to Madi, Avukaya, Lugbara, Keliku and Lulubo. They compose songs against anti-social habits that act as a deterrent to abrasive moral conduct and crime: for many years, the only known case of individual murder in Moru land occurred in 1958. They avoid confrontation, instead expressing their disdain through ostracism. They do not openly show anger, making it difficult for outsiders to identify their enemies. Even enemies are expected to pay their respects to one another in times of sickness or death. Dances are where courtship and engagements begin. Men play drums, finger guitars and trumpets, and light torches of fire to shine in their faces to attract the admiration of girls. Wedding invitations are extended to as many as possible. Funeral dances may last for days with feasting. Christians hold prayer meetings, with new members and visitors asked to introduce themselves and air their problems. Though influenced by Christianity, the Moru are pluralistic in their beliefs, with traditional systems of belief more widespread and enduring. Sorcery is practised and rainmakers respected: ignoring a rainmaker's advice would invite the sort of misfortune or bad luck only a rainmaker could undo. Witchdoctors can cleanse curses cast by wizards.

The Moru used to hunt communally during the dry season with traps, spears, bows and arrows, and to collect fish by poisoning a water channel. Hunting and fishing have been dying out as social activities, though they still have work parties when they ask others to help them dig their fields or build houses.

While they view themselves as a nation, the Moru do not see their homeland as a state. Administrative authority lies with layers of chiefs and headmen, who together resolve cases of elopement, adultery and disputes between families and clans. The Moru seek the best in human nature, qualities such as personal integrity, hard work and respect for others. They admire successful people, and their songs, dances and names reflect this. They neighbour the Nyangwara, Pojulu, Avukaya, Beli, Atuot, Mundari and Azande. They have cordial relationships with all of them and inter-marry with some. 'Foreigners' to them mean Arabs and Europeans, but they consider other South Sudanese their brothers and sisters. Moru land consists of plains with isolated hills, thick vegetation and fairly high rainfall between April and November. Until they began to acquire livestock, theirs was a farming economy with cereal crops and fruits - mangoes, pawpaws, bananas, guavas and lemons - as well as cash crops like coffee. They harvested hardwoods from their forests and panned gold from the Yei River and its tributaries.

MORU KODO, OR MORO KODO

The Moru Kodo have a strong sense of identity and do not shy away from making it clear they feel different from other Moru clans. Their language is different too, although most of them speak Moru as well. Although they have a strong hereditary chieftainship system, character and conduct also determine who inherits their leadership. A prospective chief is prepared and groomed from childhood. Their belief system helps maintain social order. They believe if people do something bad, spirits will give them a disease like leprosy, odra, or a distended abdomen, gbari. Fear of contracting these deter crime. Their culture values chastity and they practise dakpatar, a code of conduct - or abstinence - that discourages sex until a woman is handed over at her wedding. A respectful distance is maintained between in-laws and the married couple. The groom only discretely brings his in-laws gifts, like fish and game meat. When babies are brought out into the open for the first time, elders shout out names and make wishes for them. But at the beginning of life, babies are secluded – a baby boy for three days with his mother, a baby girl for four.

And as if to mirror this, at the end of life mourning lasts

Lotuka girls dancing at Torit, Eastern Equatoria, 1934-1954. ©Durham

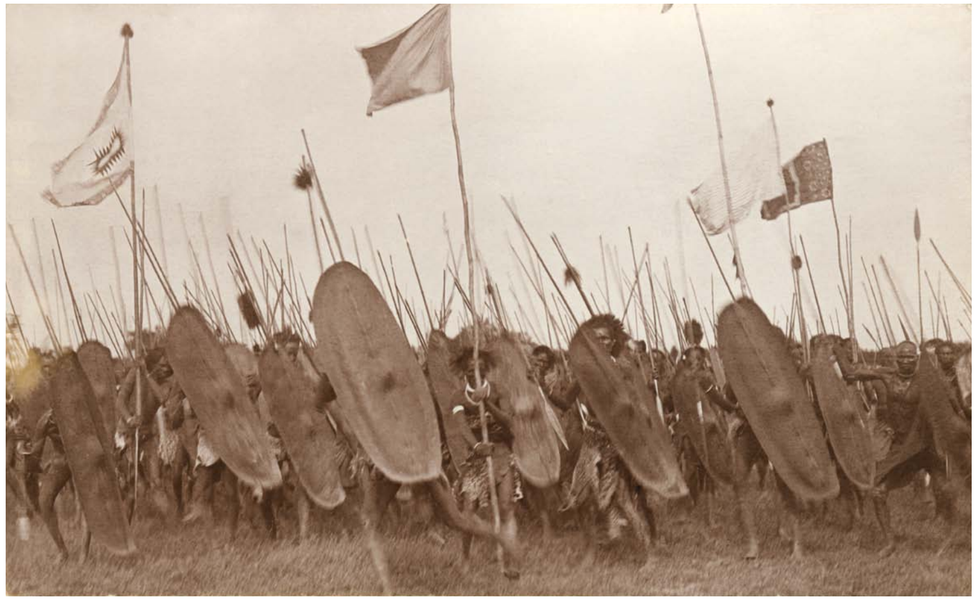
A group of men brandishing spears and shields rush towards a lone opponent as part of the warplay associated with a large dance gathering between different groups. Tali, Central Equatoria, 1950-1952. ©Pitt Rivers

for three days for man, four for a woman. The clan gathers for rites befitting the status of the deceased, a feast marking the death of a person like a chief. The compound of the deceased remains untended until after the last funeral rites. Then the compound is swept and cleansed. The Moru Kodo have different music for different occassions. Weddings and funerals each have a unique style. They hold seasonal dances. They have cordial relationships with other Moru clans like the Lakamadi, Mbiti, Kadero, Wira and Moru Meza. They also neighbour the Beli, with whom they have a close historical relationship. The Moru Kodo are great hunters and fishermen, stalking game by waiting at water points, as well as in grazing areas or even on the branches of trees to keep out of the way of larger animals. They have perfected the art of making arrows.

NYANGWARA

Their name is said to be a distortion of the word 'Yangwara' which simply means 'horns'. They speak a dialect of Bari and were part of the large migration of peoples from the east in the mid-1700s. They are thought to have been ferocious fighters for pushing out the Pojulu and Moru.

Their society is structured along clan lines: clan leaders settle petty disputes which, if they grow complicated, are referred to a sub-chief who administers a number of clans. A sultan is the highest authority in a village. Should he die, one of his local advisors takes over while the village's leading or 'royal' family puts forward the name of one of their children to replace him. The Nyangwara's clear socio-political organization was key to their recruitment as chiefs, policemen and prison warders by the British colonial authorities in Sudan.



A large group of Shilluk warriors at a dance gathering. Upper Nile, 1928. ©Pitt Rivers

Like other Bari-speaking peoples, they are highly superstitious, attributing disaster to the malevolent spirits of departed relatives, and offering sacrifices of goats or cockerels to heal the sick. They have mediums, or kujur. They love to sing. A good composer attracts the most beautiful girls, causing friction when his song shows rivals in an unfavourable light. In recent decades, however, the Nyangwara have increasingly earned the reputation of being peace lovers.

Marriages used to be arranged by parents, with a girl betrothed at an early age. Social rebellion means that this has died out; after women began to reject it, elders supported them by ruling against the practice. Girls now have the right to choose their husbands. Their parents still play an advisory role, but only to determine if a suitor has sufficient assets for a dowry of goats and money. A suitor may also be questioned by elders on moral issues, if only to get him to verbally and publicly commit himself to the welfare of his wife. The Nyangwara intermarry freely. Indeed many groups have settled without difficulty on their land. Newborn girls are named after three days, newborn boys after four. Children carry an ancestor's name, or are named after major events like a particular hunt or a war, drought or famine. In an unusual custom, a stranger passing by when a baby is being born may be asked to name the child.

The deceased are mourned for several days. Close relatives slaughter a billy goat for the funeral. A widow may remarry after a period of mourning, but is also given the chance to choose one of her husband's relatives to take care of her and their children. Many Nyangwara have converted to Christianity, with an Episcopal Diocese based in Rokon, their main town. Living not so far west of Juba, they are at times its main suppliers of food, and are adept craftsmen, making things like beehives, granaries, winnowing baskets and food trays, as well as bows and arrows for hunting and snares and nets for trapping game.

BAKA

The Baka are said to have migrated from what is now the Central African Republic in the company of the Bongo, Beli and others, and to have moved again later as a result of Azande

Group of Bari musicians with a large conical drum, preparing for a dance, Ngangala, Central Equatoria, 1934. ©Durham

Carved wooden totem on a Bongo grave, 1926-1927. ©Durham

pressure. They live around Maridi and Yei but their territory extends towards the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Baka neighbour the Mundu, Avukaya, Moru and Azande, but are organised somewhat differently into loosely linked kinship systems. Each family lives solitarily. They are superstitious, relying on traditional medicines and following what their fortune-tellers, or bange, tell them. Their culture has generations' worth of music and song, for which they have gained some recognition. The Baka live in a climate that is equatorial with tropical rain forest. They grow food crops and coffee, keep poultry and a few goats. Their natural resources include timber.

AVUKAYA

The Avukaya speak a Bantu language very close to Azande. Like them, they have a tradition of circumcising only their boys - a ritual they perform relatively late, at about the age of nineteen or twenty. This tradition of circumcision is not related to Islamic practice. They also believe a dead person returns to life as an animal - a lion or, for chiefs of the royal clan, a leopard – or a python, snake, warthog, rat or natural phenomenon like lightning. The animal's death signals their own, so they do not kill the animal they will become except in self-defence. They also believe there is no such thing as a natural death. No matter the cause, a person is believed to have been bewitched. Witchcraft, charms and oracles play a dominant role in their lives. The Avukaya have not yet phased out arranged marriages: a man might begin to pay dowry for a bride while she is still an infant. Dowry consists of money, home ware and spears. They share many Azande traditions, including the burning of green leaves outside the hut of a woman who has just given birth. Ashes from the fire are sprinkled on a path leading to the village to scare off evil spirits. The death of a man may lead to the abandonment of his village. None of his wives may enter it. All his personal domestic articles are broken and a roof of wood and grass placed over his body. His grave is then filled in, a pile of stones placed on top. Only his widows mourn outwardly, tearing off their clothes and ornaments until their husband's burial is over, and keeping their hair short. The Avukaya grow maize, cassava, telebun, yams, mangoes, citrus fruit, pineapples, palm oil, ombiro and coffee, and hunt using traps, nets and heavy spears. They also fish. They produce excellent bark-cloth, baskets, wooden tables and chairs, bows and arrows, special iron knives and swords.

MUNDU

The Mundu are said to have migrated together with other Sudanic-speaking groups from parts of the region now forming the Central Africa Republic. They speak a language related to Ndogo and Feroghe, though they neighbour the Baka, Avukaya and Azande. The Mundu are extremely superstitious, something perhaps best explained in terms of the extreme difficulties they have endured, as their practice of witchcraft could be viewed as a defence mechanism, or coping mechanism. Like the Baka and Bongo, they are skilful wood carvers, making the best hardwood totems for tombs. They also produce woven baskets, beer strainers, fishing pots and the wickerwork walls of huts and beehives.

Opposite: Suri women wearing plates in their lower lips, Boma Plateau, 1934-1966. ©Durham

a.

b.

c.

d.

a. Nuer beaded headdress.

b. Didinga or Larim beaded necklace.

c. Larim beaded necklace.

d. Lotuka beaded necklace.

a.

b.

c.

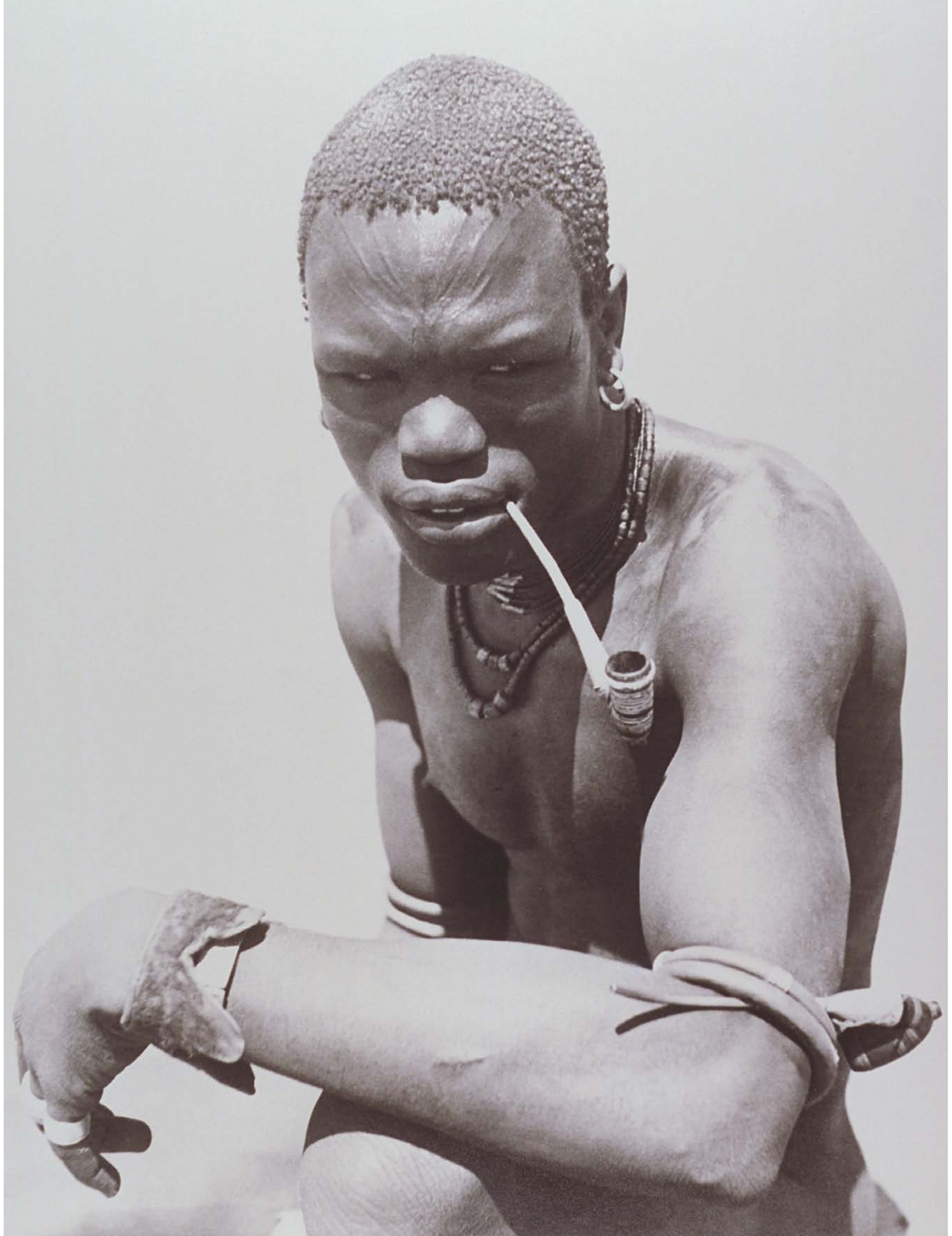
d.

a. Dinka hat with cowrie shells.

b. Kuku beaded waist ornament.

c. Dinka ivory earring.

d. Lotuka brass and iron helmet.



Full-length portrait of an elderly Nuer man with his face covered in ash, carrying a club and a spear and smoking a pipe, 1913-1930. ©Durham

Young girl picking flowers in Deim Zubeir, Western Bahr el Ghazal, 1941. ©Durham

Central Equatoria State

Central Equatoria is home to South Sudan's commercial capital, Juba, and six counties: Juba, Lainya, Morobo, Terekeka, Yei and Kajo-Keji. As a city, Juba attracts a mixed population of South Sudanese from many of the country's seventy or so ethnic groups, as well as foreigners. The state shares borders with Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as the states of Eastern and Western Equatoria, Jonglei and Lakes inside South Sudan. Its rural areas are peopled with the Bari, Kakwa, Keliku, Kuku, Lokoya, Lugbara, Makaraka, Mundari, Madi, Nyangwara and Pojulu.

MUNDARI

The Mundari form a buffer between the largely pastoral Atuot and Aliab Dinka, the Bor Dinka, and the agricultural Moru. They have many dialects of their own, and are flanked by the Bari-speaking Nyangwara, and the Bari themselves.

Opposite: Mundari man with tribal markings on his forehead, smoking a pipe, 1934-1966. ©Durham

They are also divided internally into their indigenous population, the Bora, and historical immigrants who gradually established powerful chiefdoms. A Mundari chieftainship is hereditary and named after the place where he holds sway. Other chiefs are linked to the shade of a meeting place, or the council that takes place there. The performers of rain rites and protectors of shea nut trees also have influence; so do elders and cattle camp leaders. Wider society is organised along male lines too, with marriage outside the clan. A landowning lineage of fifteen to twenty men lives in a chain of hamlets, each hamlet occupied by an elder, his married sons, their direct dependants, and as many maternal relatives as have settled with them. Hamlets may or may not be situated to form a residential unit loosely called a village. Big Mundari villages have their own water and grazing lands, but small ones composed of minor lineages, or small landowning clans, often share water and grazing. Society is knitted together by social events in the hamlets and cattle camps. Though daily tasks form new social bonds, the closest ties are still with the next of kin left behind in the old hamlets. These are the peo-

a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

a. Dinka
ivory ring.

b. Kakwa ivory
arm ornament.

c. Acholi animal
hair and fibre
arm ornament.

d. Toposa iron
pellet bells.

e. Bari iron leg
ornament.

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Pitt Rivers Museum,
University of Oxford.

a.

b.

c.

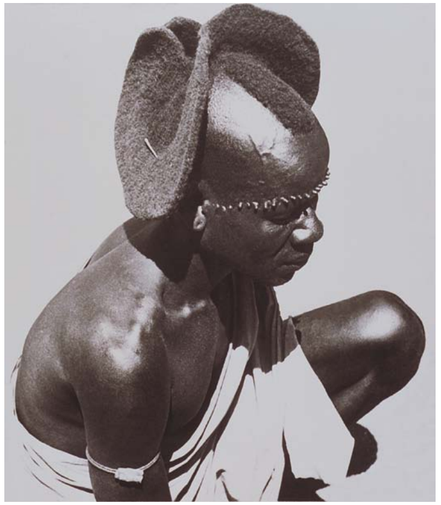
d.

a. Murle iron armlet.

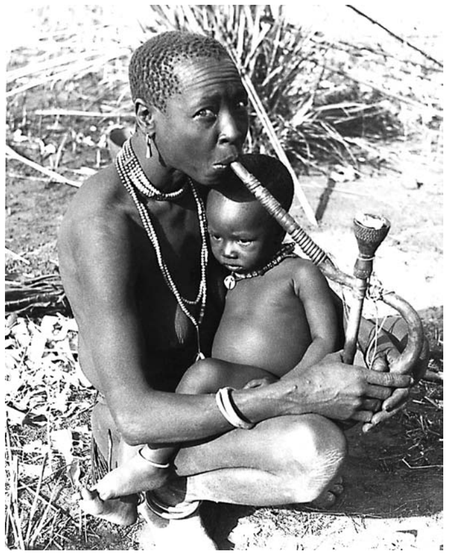
b. Lotuka beaded
back apron.

c. Lokoya iron and
leather fringe apron.

d. Bari brass finger ring.



Shilluk man with tribal scarring on his forehead and a closely matted hairstyle curved away from the head, 1934-1966. ©Durham



Maban woman with baby, smoking a pipe, 1934-1954. ©Durham

ple to whom appeals are first made in time of need. Individuals are respected and revered for their generosity among the Mundari, with sanctions against those who are either greedy or parsimonious: they may figure in satirical songs or be teased and spurned in girls' courting-huts. It is thought the complaints of the tight-fisted will make them ill. Unsociable behaviour in prominent elders - such as habitually eating at home instead of sharing their food in the hamlet or cattle kraal - invites criticism. The importance of sharing is emphasized in Mundari upbringing, the young learning to be generous by exchanging pipes, necklaces or bracelets, and passing on to others anything they do not need. Their songs are often intended to correct misdemeanour in society. They have developed physical arts too, like weaponry and body art. The Mundari raise cattle, sheep and goats. Animals have spiritual significance, connecting this world to the world of gods. They are highly religious and believe God, or Ngun, hears everything that people say and assesses their every deed. This belief helps shape their lives and social behaviour. Their rituals are carried out by landowning chiefs responsible for the well-being of their chiefdoms, and doctors who both treat sickness and divine the truth. Terekeka, Tombe and Tali are their main towns.

BARI

This name refers to the Bari living on the White Nile as opposed to other Bari-speaking communities to the west of them. The Bari inhabit the whole of Juba district, referring to themselves as Bari 'ti lobot' or northern Bari, and Bari 'ti loki' or southern Bari, with the Kit River the dividing line between the two. Bari is spoken by the Bari proper, as well as by the Mundari, Nyangwara, Pojulu, Kakwa and Kuku. It is related to Lotuka and other Nilo-Hamitic or broadly Nilotic languages in East Africa. The Bari have matat or hereditary chiefs from certain clans. Before the British colonial government introduced the idea of executive chiefs, there were monye lo kak or fathers of the land, and matat lo piong or rainmakers, who combined spiritual with secular power. Sometimes rainmakers became executive chiefs. The Bari believe in the existence of two spiritual powers: the un lo ki or Almighty, the God of Heaven, and mu lo kä or small gods that are spirits residing in big trees. These are malicious, the cause of sickness and bad omens. If you do bad things in life, these small gods will kill you, and the Almighty will not spring to

Opposite: Young Dinka mother with tribal scarring on her forehead, wearing ear-rings, bracelets and necklaces and holding a baby, 1934-1966. ©Durham

your rescue. Bari society is composed of lui or free men, and dupi, who were born into serfdom. Traditionally, the kimak or chiefs, and komonye kak or fathers of the soil, hailed from the lui. These constituted the kworiniko or aristocratic class of wealthy cattle owners. The dupi were obliged to serve the lui and differentiated only by their trade: tumunit lo yukit, the iron-mongers; lumunit lo kare or fishermen; and yaritat or hunters. Society was further divided into age-sets: lupudyot or young boys; ko'disi or young girls; kalipinok or initiates; teton or warriors; and temejek or elders. The extraction of a girl's lower teeth was carried out gradually, usually during the dry season. This was an opportunity for courtship, engagement and marriage arrangements. Boys conducted their own initiation ceremony in which they gave themselves a name indicative of their philosophy of life. Rich in oral literature, folktales and poems, Bari culture emphasises decency and dignity for young people, respect for elders and the expression of feelings in song. Marriage was lengthy: once a couple agreed between themselves, their parents were told, and if their parents accepted (on the grounds of class and other criteria), the groom's party came to pay dowry to his bride's parents, before accompanying her to her new home. Bari dowry is never completed, the idea being to perpetuate the relationship. The naming of a child is an important ceremony. The first child is named after an important person in the clan. Common names are Jada, Yugusuk or Loro for the first male child; Lado or Swaka for the second; Wani for the third male child; and Pitia for the fourth. A girl following boys is usually called Kiden. The Bari believe that no matter how a death occurs, it is because somebody has bewitched or poisoned them. If a wife dies in middle age, for example, it is because she has been mistreated by her husband. Her relatives come to the homestead and perform a mock fight until her in-laws pay kasik, that is a final fine. Her husband and children are shaven and he has to mourn his wife for at least a year before remarrying. In the case of a husband's death, a woman shaves her hair and mourns for a long time, clan elders asking her to choose a member of the clan to help take care of her children. The Bari's rural population has declined with urban migration, and their areas turned from tropical rain forest to sparser savannah. Huge forests have disappeared under the pressure of the charcoal industry. The Bari now use the narrow strips of land on both sides of the Nile to grow vegetables to feed Juba. They also make lasira or mats, beads, baskets, chairs, pots and mae or rope for hanging belongings in the hut. They have spears, bows and arrows and whips made from hippo hide that are used for friendly fighting.

POJULU

The Pojulu live in Central Equatoria but also in Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. They speak Bari with distinct variations that reflect their daily activities or traditions, and have clans like the Nyori, Morsak and Mankaro. Theirs is a male dominated society, the eldest man in a family entrusted with caring for the rest, unless he is known to be incapable or irresponsible. A Pojulu chief has judicial powers. He is assisted by elders from different clans, chosen for their wisdom, bravery and experience in tribal lore. Marriage begins with courtship, and like the Bari, dowry - paid in goats, cattle and cash - is not settled at one go, but slowly in order to preserve the link between two families. Death, even from natural causes, is also often attributed to the instigation of others. The Pojulu left their mark on South Sudan's history, forging a rare alliance in the 1830s with the Mundu and Moru against Azande invaders, splitting the main Azande force, and thus preventing some among them from returning home. These remnants emerged into the Makaraka peoples. As well as the Mundu and Moru, the Pojulu neighbour the Nyangwara, Bari and Avukaya. A new administrative unit separates them from the Kakwa. Like the Mundari, who are also Bari speakers, traditionally the Pojulu believe in Ngun, or God the Creator, as well as in the existence of the spirits of their ancestors. Central Equatoria's climate is fast changing with longer dry spells affecting the Pojulu, the majority of whom farm crops and keep goats and a few cows, though the prevalence of tsetse fly renders owning larger herds of cattle difficult.

MAKARAKA, OR ADIO

The Adio or Makaraka are a diminishing hybrid ethnicity, descendants of the different ethnic groups that formed the army of the Azande leader, King Gbudwe, in the late 1800s. Because of an alliance between the Pojulu, Mundu and Moru, they were cut off from the main Azande force and unable to return home. They do not have a separate language. Those living close to the Kakwa, speak Kakwa (a Bari dialect), while those close to the Mundu, speak Mundu (a Sudanic language). Though from Yei County, where they farmed, many of their elite have assimilated into Bari-speaking communities in towns.

a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

f.

a. Dinka woven winnowing tray.

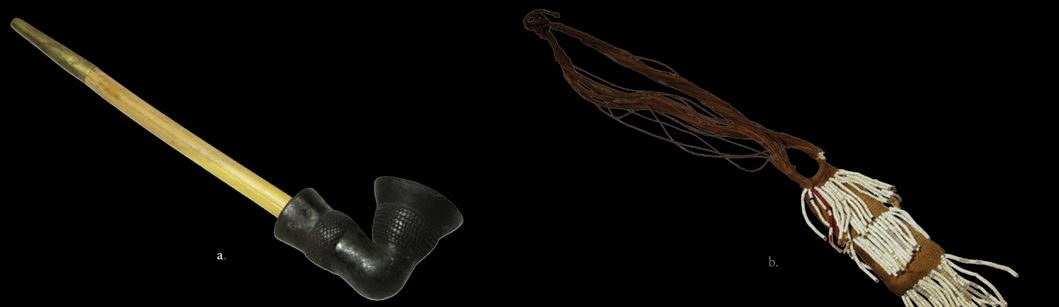
b. Toposa wood headrest/stool.

c. Bari wood stool.

d. Azande wood stool.

e. Moru woven basket.

f. Dinka wood headrest/stool.



a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

a. Larim iron and wood woman's pipe.

b. Lango beaded tobacco pouch.

c. Shilluk iron and wood tobacco pipe.

d. Imotong iron and wood tobacco pipe.

e. Bari iron and wood tobacco pipe.

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KAKWA

The Kakwa are Bari-speaking as well. They live in the Yei area but also in Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Living in different nations means that as a people, they have evolved different customs. They have two main stories about their origin: the first is that their ancestor Yeki lived in Karobe, south of Juba. Yeki is said to have produced seven sons, one of whom was fond of biting his brothers. Yeki nicknamed him 'Kakwan ji' meaning 'biter': the descendants of Yeki are said to have adapted it and called themselves 'Kakwa'. In the second story, the Kakwa were known as 'Kui', fierce fighters who inflicted heavy losses on their enemies, nicknaming themselves 'Kakwa' because their attacks were like the bite of a tooth. Socially, the Kakwa are segmented, with independent clans forming basic political units. At the head of each, a chief or matat enjoys traditional loyalty, with temejik or clan elders below him. Chiefly positions are hereditary. To choose his successor, a chief dropped a secret bead (passed down to him by his predecessors) into his food without his sons knowing, and invited them to eat. The son who discovered the bead would be the one to succeed him. He would then carry his father's ceremonial stick and stool, following him to grow acquainted with his future responsibilities. A regent was appointed if a chief died while his son was still very young. Elders also had the power to reject the chief's choice. Unusually, Kakwa society is matrilineal, and in the absence of an heir apparent, the role was passed to the chief's maternal relatives. Chieftainship is confined to rainmaking clans, a chief simultaneously assuming two titles as 'chief of the land' and 'chief of the rain'. Clans without rainmakers can borrow them from clans with them. A borrowed rainmaker does not wield political influence, but is instead paid for his services. Elders settled disputes between individuals, families and clans, referring the most serious to the chief. Women and children did not attend court cases. However, if required to testify, they would. Yei County lies on the edge of a tropical rain forest zone, influencing the Kakwa who hunt big game and bush rats, but now mostly farm maize, cassava, sesame – also commonly known in South Sudan as 'simsim' – telebun, coffee and also teak. Their economy is monetized, with small open markets moving from place to place on specific days of the week.

LUGBARA, OR LUGBWARA

The Lugbara come from the southernmost part of Yei, extending into Uganda's West Nile District. They speak a language categorised as Sudanic, close to that of the Madi, Keliku, Moru and Avukaya. Their stories begin with the creation of the universe and two superhuman beings, a male and a female, Gboro-Gboro and Meme. Meme's womb was filled with all the living things of the world until a gazelle made an opening in it, rupturing her womb with its hoof, and all the creatures inside her came out. Man was the last to emerge.

Gboro-Gboro and Meme had twins who, unlike their parents, were ordinary human beings, born in the ordinary way. Meme died immediately after giving birth to them. When they grew up, Arube, the boy, and O'duu, the girl, married each other, producing children who through generations created the Lugbara clans. Members of the same Lugbara clan claim a common ancestry of agnatic or male lineage. Clan elders influence political and social affairs and have powers to curse and punish recalcitrance. The clan was normally headed by a clan leader called the 'opi'. The most important figure was the chief, ozoo opi, some of whom exercised political, judicial and rainmaking powers, and were the custodian of the clan's property. When the chief did not have rainmaking powers, an ozoo ei was entrusted with it. The succession of a chief was a peaceful affair marked with beer and food. The most senior opi (or clan leaders) present the new opi (or chief) with a stool or anderiku and the rest of the chiefly regalia - a bow and arrows, a spear and a bracelet. They briefed the new opi on the heavy burden of leadership and the qualities expected of him. The Lugbara have a client system, amadingo, within which the poor and destitute should be looked after by the rich. Such clients could be given gifts of land and dowry. Socially, both girls and boys do face-tattooing, as well as the extraction of six front teeth from the lower jaw, serving as decoration as well as initiation on reaching puberty. A person who does not do this would still be called a child, with only those initiated into adulthood aspiring to marry. Upon the birth of a child, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord in four strokes for a boy, and three for a girl, and the mother stays in confinement for three or four days, depending on the sex of the child. She receives few visitors to guard against those who might intend to wish the child ill. Her confinement is followed by festivities ending with the child being given a name. Names evoke memorable experiences or events; a child born during a time of famine might be named 'Abiriga'. In the past, a chief's burial differed from that of ordinary men: a bull was slaughtered for mourners and the chief's corpse wrapped in its hide. People believed the chief's corpse risked turning into a leopard or lion if they wailed out loud before

his burial, which usually took place at night, his body placed in the grave with his head pointing northwards towards Mt. Lira - the place from where the Lugbara believe they came. Only then would a sorrowful song be sung and mourners wail as they danced. The Lugbara are subsistence agriculturalists. They used to hunt buffalo, bush buck, antelope, rabbits, squirrels and other animals. They also used to fish and trap birds.

KUKU

The Kuku are found in Kajo-Keji County, the descendants of Bari migrants who, motivated by the desire for more grazing land, ventured southwards in the early 1800s. These migrants were endowed with the powers for making rain. This small but formidable group of Bari claimed the fertile land that in subsequent years became known as Kajo-Keji. Over time, the Kuku population increased and new generations emerged. The Kuku criss-crossed the land, establishing farms and carving out grazing areas. They lost their cattle to tsetse fly, thereby abandoning animal husbandry and devoting their energies to agriculture. Any Kuku man with expertise in hunting, fishing, canoe-making and iron-smelting was referred to as a 'blacksmith', tumunit or tomonok, a position that conferred social status. The Kuku speak Kuku, a dialect of Bari. They are ruled by several independent chiefs, assisted by sub-chiefs and clan elders. The chief exercises administrative, political and spiritual powers. Their society is built on values emphasizing virtue, identity and self-reliance. They have a strong sense of independence, few social events and stringent traditions and customs. Marriage is very strict. They are exogamous and marriage to blood relatives is forbidden. They pay dowry of cows and a bull, goats, spears, hoes and nowadays, money. Once paid, the bride is taken to the groom's home in a ceremony. Her bridesmaids stay with her for up to ten days. A son is named after his grandfather; a daughter her father's grandmother. The second son is given the name of the mother's grandfather. The child may have pet names or nicknames. The Kuku are very particular about telling the truth, kuye: two long sticks are held while blurting it out. They used to be known for poisoning people with snake venom, a practice possibly still in use in very remote areas. They believe a person is made up of a mortal body and immortal soul. After death, the soul is liberated to exist in a sphere where it directly associates with God, or Ngukaitait. Meanwhile, it continues to communicate with living relatives, often by making them ill. Therefore, a miniature house is built in every homestead for the spirits, where the living can appease the dead. The Kuku believe in mediums, medicine men and women or kujur, respected for their mysterious powers of communication. They have smaller superstitions too: on setting out on a mission of doubtful result, they make a rope of green grass, burying it under a stone beside the road as a token of good luck.

KELIKU

The Keliku live in Yei County, with settlements on the Yei to Morobo road running parallel to the border between South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. According to traditional oral history, they broke off from the Madi-Lugbara as the group was broken up by the Azande armies, settling in the area they live in now. They speak a language very close to Moru and Madi. Like the Lugbara, on reaching puberty, both girls and boys undergo two important rituals which include face-tattooing and the extraction of lower teeth. Some marriages were also arranged between parents.

The Keliku believe in a supreme being but also entertain the idea that people change into other animals when they die. They practice magic and rituals. A chief's burial differs from that of other men, his death announced by a particular drumbeat. Like the Lugbara, a bark-cloth tree or lam is planted on his grave. The Keliku keep goats, sheep and poultry, cultivating food crops like maize, sorghum, cassava, simsim, beans, sugar cane and sweet potatoes, and cash crops like tobacco, coffee and tea. Their areas lie on the watershed between the Nile and Congo rivers, with rainfall eight to ten months a year. Minerals, like gold, and other precious metals can sometimes be found in the river beds. The Keliku weave, and make different types of baskets, pots and wooden furniture.

Warrap State

Warrap State consists of Gogrial East and West counties, Twic, as well as Tonj North, East and South, and borders the Special Administrative Area of Abyei to the north. It also borders South Kordofan in neighbouring Sudan as well as five South Sudanese states. Its population is mostly Dinka Twic, Dinka Rek, Mananger, Bongo and Luo.

DINKA

They call themselves 'Jieng' in Upper Nile, or 'Muony-Jang' in the regions of Bahr el Ghazal: the Dinka are the largest single group in South Sudan, spread out across Western and Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Unity, Warrap, Lakes, Jonglei and Upper Nile states, as well as in the Abyei area. The main groups of Dinka and their home areas include: the Rek in Gogrial and Tonj counties; Malwal in Aweil; Thoi Luach in Pangak; Ngok and Renk in Bailiet; Ruweng in Bentiu; and the Twic, Nyarweng and Hol in Bor. There are also the Agar and Gok in Rumbek; Rek and Luach in Tonj; Rek in Gogrial; Aliab, Atuot and Ciec in Yirol; and Dinka Ngok in Abyei. Traditionally, the Dinka believe that the sphere of the living and the dead interact, and that God, as well as the spirits of ancestors and departed relatives, can be addressed in a special place, yik, found in every Dinka homestead. According to their mythology, God or Nhialic created the first man and woman, Garang and Abuk. Deng was their first born, the son from whom all Dinka are descended. Within a Dinka group, chiefly clans or beny own the land. A chief is believed to possess supernatural powers associated with truth-telling, justice, wealth, knowledge and prophetic vision. Chiefly clans base their social superiority on an ancestor myth peculiar to their descent. The distinction between beny alath, chief of the cloth, and beny bith, chief of the spear, came about as a result of the colonial creation of the tradition of beny alath as customary law officers. A second category of clans have no hereditary religious status and are called collectively kic. They vary considerably in size and geographical reach. These 'commoner' clans are barely regarded as wut, meaning 'cattle camp', but as disunited families with no sense of their wider ancestry. Commoner clans are also described as koc tong - people of the war spear - in relation to chiefly clans who are koc bith, people of the fishing spear. The distinction is one of culture not of function. Based in the same places each year, the Dinka consider their seasonal cattle camps their greatest cultural asset, the setting where all key social activities take place, and where personal attributes like dignity and dheeng, or valour, and qualities like generosity and respect, are cultivated. These dry season cattle camps are owned or used on the basis of clans where the clans that have used them for generations have come to be considered owners of these slightly elevated spots in the middle of the swamps of the Nile. Livestock ownership is familial and a basis for social status: the larger the herd, the more prestigious the family. Every Dinka male is given an ox by the male relative most responsible for him. He has a 'bull-name' derived from its colour; a boy could be called Mayom, Malith, Mayen, amongst other names, and a girl Ayer or Yar after a cow. The Dinka also have special names for twins like Ngor, Chan and Bol. They have a large vocabulary to describe cattle and take great pride in shaping their horns. In dance, they throw up their arms to imitate them. Cattle are the medium of exchange in marriage, in debt and blood price, for sacrifices to the spirits, and for major occasions and rites. The cost of bride price differs from one group of Dinka to another. It is raised by the groom's family and distributed uncle to uncle, brother to brother and so on among the bride's clan. Chief's daughters fetch a higher bride price, and in the same way, a chief's son is expected to pay more for his wife. Women who are university graduates fetch more too. Marriage is mandatory: every man is expected to raise a family. Even the dead can be 'ghost fathers' if their descendents marry in their name. Initiation into adulthood involves the removal of four lower teeth. A girl's puberty is celebrated, usually by other women, to demonstrate her readiness for marriage. This is often used, especially by paternal aunts, as an opporutnity to teach the young girl about womanhood, wifehood and motherhood. Some Dinka groups scarify their face to mark adulthood and age-groups. Women of particular status may also scar their faces. The Dinka refer to their various groupings as wut, or nation, but they are a cultural rather than political federation. In the past, the concept of state did not really exist, with each Dinka group an autonomous political entity in itself. They deal with others on the basis of reciprocity. Their ethnic pride may be an important factor in their conservatism and resistance to change. Chieftainship is hereditary and holds the title of beny, which translates as 'chief', 'expert' or 'military officer'. The title is always qualified; for example, beny de ring, with the word ring meaning spiritual powers, or bith, where a sacred or ceremonial fishing-spear – without barbs or serrated edge - is held as a symbol of office. Fishing-spear chiefs, medicine men and women, and Deng's chiefs, all exert great spiritual influence, and with rare exceptions, tend to spurn secular office. Dinka chiefs are supposed to exercise their power and authority through persuasion, not coercion.

Dinka has distinct dialects: the Rek of Tonj are said to speak the most 'standard' Dinka. Their literature is largely oral, expressed in poetry, folklore and song. A common art form - the art of war - is play fighting with sticks and spears. Dinka boys duel with these with great dexterity from their youth. The Dinka share much in their culture and language with their commonest neighbours, the Nuer and Shilluk, but refer to other people as 'foreigners' or jur, further distinguishing them only by the colour of their skin. 'Jur Chol', their Luo neighbours in three states, simply means 'black foreigner'.

Their environment is varied, ranging from an ironstone plateau in the west, to the flood plains of the toich around

Certain clans are hereditary blacksmiths and play their part in the fashioning of sacred spears for the installation of the Shilluk Reth. A Shilluk blacksmith at work, 1937. ©Durham

Shilluk warriors fighting a mock battle armed with millet stalks, near Fashoda, on the first day of ceremonies to mark the installation of the Reth Anei Kur, 11 March 1944. ©Durham

Crowds of mourners, squatting in front of one of the late Reth's houses, during the second day of funeral dances in honour of the late Shilluk Reth, Fafiti Yor. 8 November 1943. ©Durham

Each chief steps forward to make his speech in traditional order; as he finishes he strikes a spear into the ground as an offering to his new king, 15 March 1944. ©Durham

Warriors carrying effigies of Nyikang and Dak up the sacred mound known as "Aturwic" to make peace with the Reth, on the fourth day of ceremonies to mark the installation of the Shilluk Reth Anei Kur, 14 March 1944. ©Durham

Shilluk warriors surrounding the Reth who has been seized by the effigy of Nyikang following a mock battle, before marching to Fashoda, on the first day of ceremonies to mark the installation of the Shilluk Reth Anei Kur. The Reth is concealed by Nyikang, 11 March 1944. ©Durham

the Nile in the centre of South Sudan, to rich savannah grasslands in the east. Their economy is cattle-keeping, subsistence farming, fishing and hunting. Parts of Dinka land are endowed with petroleum reserves. Elsewhere, their natural resources include shea nuts and an abundance of game.

Monetisation and transport are changing Dinka lives. The last war also influenced their traditions and attitudes, leading – in places - to cattle being used as oxen to farm. It also created a large Diaspora, some Dinka maintaining strong links to their families back home, regularly remitting money to support them.

Northern Bahr el Ghazal State

Northern Bahr el Ghazal State comprises five counties – Aweil Centre, North, East, South and West. It borders Western Bahr el Ghazal and Warrap states in South Sudan, and East Darfur in neighbouring Sudan. Aweil is also the name of its main town. Most people in it are Malual Dinka or Luo.

LUO

The Luo traditionally believe they are the descendants of a legendary ancestor, Dimo, whose brothers Nyikango and Gilo left Bahr el Ghazal for Upper Nile after a family feud, and ended-up founding the Shilluk kingdom.

They live around Wau, Tonj and Aweil in Western Bahr el Ghazal, Warrap and Northern Bahr el Ghazal states, and are said to be part of the larger Luo family, made up of the Shilluk, Anyuak and Acholi, as well as the Luo in Kenya. They speak dho or jo-luo, which is very close to Shilluk, Pari and Anyuak. The Luo are organised into male lineages and clans. They otherwise identify themselves by age-set, as boys circumcised in the same group. At about the age of eighteen, boys disappear into forests to learn the art of fighting.

Marriage is arranged according to seniority, the eldest son marrying first. A man and woman take an oath, or otoya, to stay together in good times or bad. They exchange beads. A goat's ear is cut in two and tied around their necks.

The Luo pay dowry equal to a suitor's ability. In the past, this was in iron products and beads, but more recently, it has been in livestock and cash. A baby boy is named when he is three days old; a baby girl, when she is four days old. Luo elders, like Moru Kodo elders, name some of the characteristics they wish the baby to have: a good hunter or farmer; for a boy, a good housekeeper, caring mother, wife and relative for a girl. The first-born boy is named after his grandfather, and girl, after her maternal grandmother. The baby's other names are sometimes more descriptive, depicting a contemporary aspect of their social or physical environment. People's deaths are mourned, but the pattern of mourning differs according to the age of the deceased, with maybe three days of mourning for the death of a young person. Relatives will slaughter a goat and old women tidy up the grave. For older people, a war drum is beaten, a dance held, and the departed and his ancestors are praised. After four years, a family conducts its last funeral rites, slaughtering a bull in sacrifice. A man's widow lives with a relative of her choice until her children come of age. In the past, the Luo used to have kings or rwot, and jaa or strong people in the village. Now they have executive chiefs, sub-chiefs, group leaders and elders to resolve conflict.

The Luo believe in a God or jwok, to whom they make sacrifices, sometimes before planting and harvesting. They believe the spirits of their dead relatives live with God and act as intermediaries between the physical and invisible worlds. They also believe spirits live in rivers, and in a custom called lwok naam, a sick person is led to the river to be cleansed or healed. They also believe in the power of the witchdoctors, or kwir. The culture of the Luo is essentially oral. Dance and song are very important, and they have perfected the art of whistling for different occasions. They are still known for working iron - making hoes, axes, spears and arrows - and for handicrafts including baskets, mats, pottery and chairs.

In Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Luo land is fertile, rocky and covered in thick forest, and its people are farmers growing crops and keeping a few livestock and poultry. They also gather honey, hunt and fish.

Lakes State

Lakes State contains Rumbek North, Centre and East counties, as well as Yirol East and West, Wulu, Awerial and Cueibet. It is encircled by five of South Sudan's ten states – Warrap, Unity, Jonglei, Central and Western Equatoria. Each of the counties is divided, like all of South Sudan's new counties, into smaller administrative units - payams, and then bomas. Ramciel in Lakes State was considered as a possible site for a new capital to replace Juba. Five different Dinka groups live in the state – Dinka Gok, Agar, Ciec, Atuot and Aliab – as well as most of the Beli and Modo, who live in Western Equatoria as well.

BELI & MODO

The Beli and Modo peoples are separated geographically by a smaller group called the Lori. The Modo have two sub-groups, the Wira and Nyamosa - often mistaken for being Moru clans. They are known by Dinka neighbours with the prefix 'Jur' or 'foreigner', for instance 'Jur Beli'. They believe they came from the Central African Republic in the company of the Bongo and Baka as they share the same language. The Bongo settled down while, being hunters, the Beli followed the forests southeastwards. The Baka proceeded southwest towards Maridi. Their society is organized into kinship systems, clans and families. People are brought together by dances, weddings, funerals, kaya or work parties, fishing and hunting. The Beli have elaborate traditions, removing their lower teeth at the age of twelve, the age they believe they officially join the human race. Boys and girls are taught their roles in society. Respect for in-laws is paramount; no one is allowed to be insulting in their presence. A child is not supposed to look an elder straight in the eye, and does not call their mother or father by their names. Marriage is a gradual process. A man wanting to marry asks an uncle to tell his father; his elders also check the bride's family is in no way related to him. Accompanied by friends, the would-be groom goes to the bride's home, where he must arrive before sunset. Once his proposal had been accepted, the groom's party is decorated to show their engagement has succeeded. The process of paying dowry then begins in earnest, to be completed only when the groom has worked a full season in his in-laws' gardens and built a house for them. Then he marries his wife in a 'mouth opening' ritual or kpakopi, marking the point at which the couple can eat openly in their in-laws' homes. Once a woman knows she is pregnant, she removes all her ornaments. Deaths are announced with special drumbeats and mourning begins straight away. A man is buried lying on his right side, a woman on her left. During a short mourning period, the widow, widower or children, shave their heads. On the fourth day, their compound is ritually cleansed. Last funeral rites are held four years later when the bereaved can be inherited by a relative or remarry. In a widower's case, his former wife's in-laws give their consent first. The Beli and Modo live in homesteads and villages in which a headman or bo ya 'da settles disputes and dispenses ancestors' blessings. A sub-chief or wakili has wider powers but less authority. The Beli and Modo believe in God the Creator, bo ko 'ba, who is unhappy when people shed human blood. Cleansing rituals, or tokpa, follow a murder or a person's first kill of big game. Avoiding the ritual is believed to invite divine punishment in the form of a hernia. The Beli compose insult songs, nda'ba, and praise songs, gumo or zari. They also make metal arrows, axes, spears and hoes, and carve wooden totem poles to mark graves. Beli men weave storage baskets for grain and make giant mud pots, while women weave smaller baskets, make necklaces and other pottery. Their main crops are sorghum, millet, beans, cassava, groundnuts and simsim. They keep some livestock and also bees - a Beli adult is supposed to own more than twenty hives. Mahogany and shea nut trees grow naturally on their land.

Jonglei State

Geographically the largest of all South Sudan's states, Jonglei is home to the Murle people as well as to different groups of Dinka – Padeng, Hol, Nyarweng, Twic, and Bor – and Lou, Jikany and Gawaar Nuer. The Anyuak, Jiye or Jie, and Kachipo or Suri, also live within the state. Jonglei is divided into eleven counties: Twic East, Duk, Bor, Akobo, Nyirol, Uror, Pibor, Pochalla, Ayod, Pigi and Fangak. Its state capital is Bor, on the River Nile. The state borders Ethiopia, as well as the South Sudanese states of Upper Nile, Unity, Lakes, Central and Eastern Equatoria.

ANYUAK, OR ANYWAA

The people call themselves 'Anywaa'; others simply know them as Anyuak. Originally their land extended along the Sobat River and its tributaries, into the Gambella region of Ethiopia. In the 1700s and 1800s, much of it was lost to Nuer migration. What used to be Anyuak settlements are now clearly Nuer or Dinka. In addition, many Anyuak have settled abroad, leaving just pockets of them in Pochalla and Akobo counties. Like the Acholi, the Anyuak believe in the spirit to which one returns when one dies, and in the power of cien or curses, and gieth or blessings - the combination of the two creating order in Anyuak society. Anyuak land is marsh, forest and grassland, where they grow food and tobacco, as well as raising cattle, goats and poultry. It has wildlife: the annual migration of the white-eared cob is a yearly source of protein. There are also shea nut trees, acacia gum and lalob. Anyuak youth pan gold from streams, trading it with Ethiopian highlanders for money or demuy – beads used for marriage. Demuy beads are now so rare that over the course of several marriages, some might make their way back to their original owner. They hold great significance in Anyuak culture.

The Anyuak kingdom used to be a federation of villages, each headed by an independent nyie, or king. The villages were constantly feuding for control of the Ocwak, the royal throne and royal bead linking the Anyuak by legend to their

a.

b.

c.

d.

a. Azande clay jar.

b. Moru wood mortar.

c. Anyuak
woven basket.

d. Iron blacksmith's
hammer.

a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

a. Jur (Beli or Modo)
carved calabash vessel.

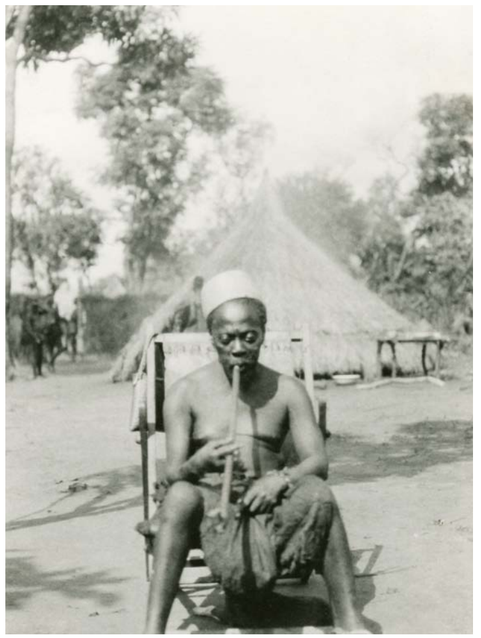
b. Nuer mud toy cow.

c. Dinka iron
cattle bell.

d. Lango animal
wheel trap.

e. Nuer cattle ornament
with cowrie shells.

Azande woman holding a new baby in the smoke of a fire lit at the entrance to the mother's hut. Purification in the smoke is part of a ceremony of bringing out the new baby from the confinement of the first few days. Yambio, Western Equatoria, 1927-1930. ©Pitt Rivers



Azande Prince Bavongara (a son of King Gbudwe who died in 1905) in his homestead. Yambio, Western Equatoria, 1927. ©Pitt Rivers

origins. The British colonial administration made just one Nyie, king of kings – all the others came to his court to sit on the Ocwak temporarily in return for a payment of three demuy.

Together, Anyuak build the Nyie's palaces, cultivate and weed his fields and gardens. In return, he provides them with food and drink for feasting, dancing and singing. At the end of his reign when he feels he can no longer hold on, he announces his spirit has returned to the river from whence it came. His anointed son remains with the people and is placed on the Ocwak, the royal throne with the bead.

MURLE

Most live in Pibor County, the Lotilla Murle on the flood plains, while the mountain Murle or Ngalam live on the Boma Plateau. The Murle believe they either came from a place called 'Jen' farther east, somewhere beyond Maji in the Omo River region of Ethiopia, or think of themselves as part of a larger group of peoples that migrated from a settlement on top of the Didinga Mountains on what is now the border with Uganda. This version of their origins involves a legendary dispute over a pot of gazelle soup, a story vivid in the minds of most Murle. One day in the Didinga Mountains, a party of hunters went out. They caught nothing but an oribi, a specific breed of small gazelle. On the way back, they boiled its meat into soup and ate it, leaving none for anyone else. An argument erupted in their settlement, dividing clans and leading to the angry departure of the Muur-lill, or Murle – the people who came down from the mountain to the valley. The Tenet and Longarim or Larim - known also as the Boya - left at the same time. This split is thought to have occurred around 1750, perhaps during a drought-induced famine, and to lend it credence, the Murle language is still closely related to Didinga and Boya. 'Drum chiefs' or 'red chiefs' are the defining feature of the Murle's political system, heading four 'drum-ships' – the name refers to the guardianship of sacred drums. Pronouncements by the 'red chiefs' are treated with the greatest respect: their spiritual powers are paramount.

Murle culture is centred around their cattle. They breed cattle, use them as dowry to marry, eat their meat, drink their blood and milk, and sleep on their hides. They compose songs about cows they captured in battle or in raids on their neighbours. Every important social event involves sacrificing a bull to secure the presence of ancestral spirits, as well as the more practical aspect of providing food for guests and relatives. Murle has a considerable vocabulary of cattle terms. There are words for cattle colours and colour combinations, as well as for horns and the shapes into which they can be trained, and for cows, calves, bulls and oxen at various stages of their growth and lives. Every young man is given an ox by his father or uncle, and spends hours singing to it. He also takes a 'bull's name'. Marriage, or kaavdhet, emphasises respecting parents-in-law. When a young man wants to marry a girl, he looks to his relatives to provide cattle for doing so, and the dowry he pays is divided among her relatives. The Murle speak of relatives as 'people who have cattle between them', or atenoc. Every five or six years, families go on a pilgrimage to a sacred spot along the Nyandit River and make offerings to 'Nyandit'. Being extremely conscious of spirits, they draw no real boundary between religious and secular aspects of life. They emphasise God and the significance of origin, which they also call Jen (after the place in Ethiopia they believe they may have migrated from). Anything they cannot explain, like a rainbow, is 'one of God's things'.

The Murle adorn their bodies with all kinds of scars, as well as drawings of animals and birds. They also wear varied beads. Their literature is invariably oral. Though they keep cattle, they also fish and hunt, being skilful in the art of stalking game. And on the Boma Plateau, where rainfall is good, they grow maize, sorghum, simsim, tobacco and coffee.

JIYE, OR JIE

The Jiye are an agro-pastoralist community living in the area around the Kathangor Hills. They are now one of the ethnic groups in Pibor County. They are related to the Toposa and other groups of the Ateker, a kinship network linking separate agro-pastoralist groups. The Ateker includes the Turkana in Kenya and Karamojong in Uganda. This means they may all share a common origin - starting with the Jiye - each breaking away as a result of population growth and feuds. The Jiye, for instance, used to live in Sudan's Equatoria region, but conflict with the Toposa over resources pushed them north. They speak the same language as the Toposa, with slight variations. Their social organization is identical, marrying outside the clan, the male line of descent prevailing. They share certain totems and body markings. Hunting, cattle raids and warfare are all important to them too.

Male adults take decisions on behalf of the whole Jiye community. Respect for elders is mandatory. The Jiye believe in a supreme being and in ancestral spirits, to whom they pray and make sacrifices during times of natural disaster. Their culture is orally transmitted. Their land lies at the foot of the Boma Plateau, the climate arid save for heavy rain between April and October. They keep a traditional mixed herd of cattle, sheep and goats. They move in search of water and pasture, but grow sorghum and tobacco as well.

SURI, NGALAM OR KACHIPO

The Suri believe they originated on the banks of the Nile in a Bor Dinka area, migrating east towards Akobo. There, one of their clans, the Meyun, broke off, the rest making their way into Ethiopia. Harassed by other tribes in the 1890s, many Suri moved to Sudan around 1925, this time to the Boma Plateau. The Suri relate linguistically and culturally to the Tirma in Ethiopia, their own society made up of six clans - Meyun, Beela, Kembo, Durugan, Baale and Jufa - with Jufa the most dominant. The head of the Jufa clan is the Suri's spiritual and temporal leader, or gonarabi. Other clan chiefs have more practical roles, dealing with justice and providing leadership in their villages. Their sub-chiefs fulfill ceremonial roles, like the blowing of an ivory horn in times of sickness, the beating of a drum for death, and the ritual use of fire-sticks at the beginning of the hunting season. Both sexes stretch their ear lobes, and though facial scarring is common, it is not universal – unlike many other South Sudanese, the Suri do not deliberately create raised scars. Piercing and stretching their lower lips is, however, considered a sign of beauty. A girl's bride price is greater if she has a pierced lower lip, though there are girls who now refuse to do it. The Suri have an age-set system for fighting sets, each set respected by its juniors: acts of disrespect are punished. Every ten years or so, villages hold ceremonies in which initiates are smeared with fresh sheep dung. The Suri believe in a supreme being but also in other spirits. They have a rainmaker, whose office is hereditary. Their dances are performed in rings. Men dance to the tune of drums, women to their own singing and the sound of their hands slapping their thighs. Suri country is hilly with deep valleys, its climate mild with heavy rainfall. The Suri farm, the fertile soils of the Boma Plateau yielding crops of millet and maize, as well as marrows, yams, cabbages, coffee and tobacco. They also keep goats and sheep, hunt game and collect honey. They pan gold and make pots.

Unity State

Unity State has nine counties, Mayom, Rubkona, Parieng, Leer, Guit, Koch, Abiemnom, Mayendit and Panyijar. Most of its peoples are Nuer – the Bul, Lek, Jikany, Jegai, Adok, Nyong, Ador all live within the state - with some Dinka Ru-

weng living in areas to the north of them. Unity borders Southern Kordofan in Sudan, as well as Upper Nile, Jonglei, Lakes and Warrap states in South Sudan. Oil reserves were discovered in it in the 1970s, and have since been developed. The capital city is Bentiu.

NUER, OR NAATH

In the distant past, the Nuer are thought to have separated as a people from the Dinka, but they have also assimilated many Dinka in the path of their migrations since. Their name, nei ti Naath, simply means 'people', and they are the second largest ethnic group in South Sudan. As the Nuer migrated, they expanded east across the Nile and Zeraf rivers, often at the expense of the Dinka, Anyuak and Maban. They now dominate parts of Upper Nile, Unity and Jonglei states, their expansion into western Ethiopia pushing the Anyuak into the highlands. Nei ti Naath Ciang is the Nuer homeland, and nei ti Naath Door, the Dinka wilderness. Rool Naath is Nuer land. Most is swampy with families living in solitary, isolated settlements. In the dry season, the Lou Nuer – who live in Jonglei State – move both east and west to the Sobat and Zeraf river basins. Some Nuer believe the Nuer myth of two peoples originating from two men, Naath and Jieng – or Nuer and Dinka – both sons of the same man. This man promised Jieng, a cow, and Naath, its calf. Thok Naath, the Nuer language, is spoken all over the rool Naath. Being Nilotic, thok Naath is very close to the Dinka and Shilluk languages, but whereas the Shilluk and Dinka have the word cen or cingo for hand, the Nuer call it te. The Nuer and Shilluk use wic for head, while the Dinka say nhom. Customarily, the Nuer remove four incisor and four lower canine teeth as a sign of maturity for dholni, or children of both sexes, cutting parallel lines across their foreheads. For boys, or dhol, of the same age, this places them in a ric, an age set. The nyal or young women and wut, or young men, are now ready for marriage, which is settled with heads of cattle and forbidden among blood relatives. Nuer political organization comprises a confederation or alliance of autonomous groups and clans in which dominant clans hold greater importance. The political life of a village and the organization of cattle camps are in the hands of gaat tuot, or elders from the dominant clan. Nuer clans do not have hereditary leadership. One clan's lineage does not rank higher than another, there is no 'father' of the clan, and no council of elders. Though the leadership of local lineages is hereditary, a winning combination of attributes - lineage, age, family seniority, the number of wives and children, marriage alliances, cattle wealth, prowess as a warrior in youth, skill in debate and the possession of ritualistic powers – can produce a person regarded as kuar or tut wec, a leader of a village or camp. Other Nuer offices include: an expert in warfare, gwan muot, and custodian of the land, kuar muon, who judges cases of murder, incest and other key moral disputes. As a result of British colonial influence though, an elaborate system of administrative chiefs - head chiefs, court presidents and sub-chiefs - evolved in Nuer areas from 1932 onwards. The Nuer believe in Kuoth, or God the Creator, but Nuer prophets have also left their mark. Of these, Ngundeng, who rose to prominence among the Lou Nuer in the late-1800s, remains the most revered. The burial Mound of Ngundeng has become part of South Sudan's cultural heritage. The Nuer are rich in songs and folktales, with different Nuer groups creating different dances: the buul is performed in the early afternoon, especially for marriages, and dom-piny at night when wut and nyal court each other. They cherish independence and their freedom, abhorring anything that insults their sacred sense of homeland. In the 1800s, when they first saw Muslim Arabs and Turks praying in Nuer areas, for example, they took offence. Western Nuer land's vast petroleum deposits have caused major disruption to Nuer life. More accessible resources include wildlife, fish, acacia gum and balanites aegyptica, also known as lalob. Sudan's civil wars had a profound impact on Nuer traditions, their exposure to other peoples bringing about some positive changes too. There is a large, sometimes temporary Diaspora as most Nuer are intimately attached to their homeland and likely to wish to return.

Upper Nile State

Upper Nile State shares two of South Sudan's international borders, one with Sudan and the other with Ethiopia. It borders the Sudanese states of Southern Kordofan, White Nile and Blue Nile, and the South Sudanese states of Unity and Jonglei. The state capital is the town of Malakal. Its people are mostly Shilluk, Dinka and Nuer, as well as Maban and Uduk.

Upper Nile is divided into twelve counties: Nasir, Baliet, Fashoda, Longechuk, Maban, Malakal, Manyo, Maiwut, Melut, Panyikang, Renk and Ulang.

SHILLUK, OR CHOLLO

The people are known as 'Shilluk', a corruption of 'Chollo'. The Shilluk live mostly on the west bank of the River Nile, with some settled on the east bank. They are a part of the Luo

A group of Azande Abinza (traditional healers) dancing at a séance (do avure) wearing elaborate dance costumes. A number of horns thrust into the earth beyond mark out the dance area. Yambio, Western Equatoria, 1928-1929. ©Pitt Rivers

a. Nuer
iron and wood
fishing spear.

b. Azande iron
and wood spear.

c. Lopit iron and
wood spear

d. Dinka iron
and wood spear.

nation. Their kingdom is divided into north, gar, and south, lwak. Its ceremonial capital is Pachodo or Fashoda, and it has other historical sites. Its main towns are Malakal or Makal, Kodhok or Kal Doro, Tonga or Tungu, and Wad Akon.

The Shilluk kingdom is a nation in the sense of having a common territory, language and central authority to which citizens pay allegiance. But since the 1830s, it has rarely been independent, its location on a navigable part of the Nile exposing it instead to Arab and European incursions, as well as the impact and influences of slavery, colonialism, Christianity and Islam. Even its origins stem from conquest: in the 1600s, Nyikango – the Shilluk founder - quarrelled with Dimo and other prominent Luo in Wic Pac, somewhere in Bahr el Ghazal. Nyikango and an entourage of close friends and relatives then took to the Nile in rafts and canoes, and when they arrived in the land of the Otango Dirim peoples, decided to settle there.

Through war and diplomacy, they assimilated the Otanga Dirim, giving each and every tribe a name and a ceremonial role. Nyikango's son, Dak, was key to consolidating the kingdom, which today comprises scores of ethnic communities, its Luo conquerors still politically and socially dominant.

As a language, Shilluk is closely related to the Luo spoken in Bahr el Ghazal, as well as to other Luo dialects like Anyuak, Pari, Shatt and Balanda-Boor. But perhaps because of proximity to its neighbours, it is also related to Nuer and Dinka. Elaborate customs and traditions shape local attitudes: Shilluk royalty is addressed with a separate vocabulary. The kwa-Jullo and kwa-Jwok clans are held to be descendants of Nyikango's cousin, Ojwok. The kwa-Oboogo is another important clan whose legendary ancestor, Oboogo, died unblocking a channel choked with reeds at the confluence of the Nile and Bahr el Ghazal rivers, allowing Nyikango's entourage to continue its initial voyage towards Upper Nile.

The king or Reth is forbidden to take a wife from his own clan, and in general, marriage to relatives is prohibited. Marriage is a priority, with dowry paid in livestock. Unless dowry is repaid, marriage binds the couple's families together for the long term, making divorce difficult. In times of extreme economic stress, girls (even unborn girls) are promised into arranged marriages. Rituals surround a baby's birth: the umbilical cord is buried to the right of a doorway for a boy, to the left for a girl. Every newborn is given a 'milk name' capturing something of their circumstances, with the prefix 'nya' usually female: 'Okach' or 'Nyakach' mean there was hunger or famine, 'Oyoo' or 'Nyayoo' mean being born on the way somewhere. A new mother eats special food to speed her recovery, and is given a stalk of sorghum to clasp in her hand if she goes out. A cross is marked on her forehead in ash.

The Shilluk accept and respect death. The body of an adult male is put in battle dress, his burial accompanied by a mock war against the jwok or spirit assumed to have played a role in killing him. A chief is buried in a hut. Deaths of the elderly, and of people viewed as important, are celebrated. However, the body of a child or uninitiated male is buried without much ceremony. The Reth is buried with much more attention to detail, his body lowered on its right, his head pointing east. His funeral is held within months of his death by his anointed successor. The Reth is believed to be the reincarnation of Nyikango, so the Shilluk do not leave a prolonged power vacuum. The Reth enforces law and order and must be replaced immediately. The council of chiefs choose a new Reth. The Reth-elect, ororo, prepares for wowo, the last funeral rites of the late Reth.

The Shilluk kingdom is divided into fifteen provinces, each under a paramount chief, who have village or clan chiefs, jagi myer or nyirath, under their authority. A Reth reigns for life from Pachodo, which was established around 1700. He is expected to found his own village too, coming to Pachodo only for major decisions. Reth Kwongo Dak Padiet is the reigning sovereign. He was installed as the 34th Shilluk Reth in 1992. There has been only one woman Reth in Shilluk history, Abudhok nya Bwoch, who allegedly decreed that no woman should be installed as Reth again because she felt other women did not respect her court. The Shilluk believe a supreme being, jwok ayimo, has a home somewhere in the sky, pa-jwok, a place where people do not do evil things. But the spirits of your deceased relatives continue to exist too in a parallel universe. And as part of this spiritual world, the spirit – or ghost - of someone who was murdered, is likely to haunt the perpetrator of the crime. The Shilluk are very particular about bodily cleanliness. They are also decorative, sometimes dressing their hair to look like two plates. They wear beads, have dot-like scars on their foreheads and tattoos on their bodies. Their folklore is rich with fairy tales for children, as well as quizzes and riddles. They play a kind of guitar, drums and a flute made from kudu horns. Shilluk country has flat plains, moderate rainfall, tall thick grass with shrubs and a few trees, including acacia gum. The Shilluk are skilful fishermen but keep livestock and grow sorghum, maize, simsim and beans.

UDUK

The Uduk live on low-lying plains beneath the Ethiopian highlands. Split into northern and southern groups, they refer to themselves as 'Kwanim pa', the southern Uduk sometimes calling themselves 'Gomus'. They have two dialects, Koman and Shyita. A history of brutality by foreigners has shaped their social attitudes: preyed upon by Ottoman and other slavers and neighbours in the late 1800s, the Uduk felt they could make a fresh start after the Sudan was re-conquered by Anglo-Egyptian forces in 1898. Since then, they have absorbed refugees and strangers to help them regenerate their depleted population. Uduk women are strongly discouraged from marrying outsiders, something seen as diluting rather than forging social links, thus evoking slavery's collective scars. In contrast, Uduk spirituality echoes their neighbours', with oracles and festivals from the Ethiopian Berta, spirits from the Nuer, Shilluk and Maban, and healing cults from the Jum Jum. They also have five branches of their own diviners, known as the 'Ebony' order. Uduk families follow their mother's blood-line, or matrilineal descent, a maternal uncle the most influential person in a clan. They prefer to live off the fruits of the forest and their crops or modest herds of sheep and pigs, shying away from commercial profiteering and the inequality it brings.

MABAN

Sometimes known as Burun, Maban or Chai, the 'Mabano' are a Nilotic people occupying the plains between the Nile east of Renk, up to the Ethiopian Highlands. They consist of several independent groups. Originally Luo, the Maban are said to have separated from the Shilluk in the Sobat River area. Different Maban groups speak different Nilotic dialects related to Shilluk, Anyuak, Dinka and Nuer. Maban society is organized into matrilineal clans. They have two important annual events, the first the feast of kornga in October when the community confesses their wrongdoings for the year, and asks God for forgiveness. They appeal for tolerance and good health for themselves and their animals.

They venture out early in the morning to a nearby stream to wash the bad things away, and on returning to their homesteads, slaughter animals, drink sorghum beer and dance the dukka-conkon. For this, they put on their best clothes and decorate themselves with beads or burngo. The second event is the harvest feast or gatti, in December: mature boys and girls are then prepared for marriage. Boys and girls appear in their smartest apparel, wearing necklaces or linyan. Marriage among the Maban is for the reproduction of children and expansion of the family. It is according to age-group; if someone misses the marriage of their age-group, they could miss it forever. It begins after the December harvest feast and is accompanied by two ceremonies.

The main marriage ceremony takes place in March when the bride goes to her husband's house, which is built near her maternal uncle's home – the man who pays her dowry. She is supposed to have been officially with her husband for long enough to give birth in their home: if she delivers their baby earlier on in her parent's home, then her husband has to pay a fine of a pig before getting her back. Naming is done ten days after birth in a ceremony when a goat is slaughtered and people eat meat and drink beer. Children are given family names, or the names of animals, birds and trees. Twins are named Keta–Buto for boys and Jote-Buta for girls. After a death, a widow or widower wears a pattern or tanyan on his arms and neck for at least a month of mourning. This ends with a woman leading a ceremony, muka duran, during which people feast and cleanse their home. The only people with authority in Maban society are spiritual leaders. Their culture is also transmitted through the art of making agricultural implements. They neighbour the Dinka and Nuer.

Eastern Equatoria State

Eastern Equatoria shares its borders with Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia, as well as the South Sudanese states of Jonglei and Central Equatoria. It has eight counties; Torit, Lopa/Lafon, Magwi, Ikotos, Budi and Kapoeta North, South and East. The town of Torit is the state capital. The state, the second most diverse in South Sudan, is home to the Pari people, the Tenet, Lopit, Lotuka, Lango, Acholi, Madi, Dongotono, Ifoto, Logir, Lokoya and Lulubo, as well as pastoralists like the Toposa, Nyangatom, Didinga and Boya.

LOTUKO, OR OTUHO

They call themselves 'Otuho' or 'Otuko' but are popularly known as 'Lotuho' or 'Lotuka'. The Lotuka are Otuho-speaking, a language also spoken by smaller groups related to them like the Horiyok, Imatong and Dongotono. They have had a strong cultural influence on all their neighbours - the Lopit, Pari, Lokoya and Lulobo, as well as the Acholi, Logir, Dongotono, Didinga and Boya. Of sixteen main Lotuka settlements in the Lopit Hills, Imatari has the most historical significance. The story goes that when a chief called Ngalamitiko grew old, people wanted to replace him with his son. His son

a. Kuku iron knife.

b. Dinka wood parrying shield.

c. Murle iron and wood axe.

d. Bongo iron lenticular knife.

e. Nuer iron and wood axe.

Azande men hunting with nets and spears, 1935-1950. ©Durham

Two Azande men carving the surface of a wooden gong (gaza) using a chisel and hammer. Yambio, Western Equatoria, 1927-1930. ©Pitt Rivers

asked them to wait but the younger generation insisted his father should abdicate. Rejected, Ngalamitiko sent a message to the Akara to destroy Imatari for him, which they did when he died, slaughtering many Lotuka there. The survivors fled to more or less the places they occupy today. Each village, amiji or amangat, has its dancing and meeting place, or faura. Often, a fig tree is planted to one side of it, an olebele or bench placed in its shade where initiated men of the amangat meet to discuss the day. Alore, or ebony stakes for hanging drums on, are driven firmly into the ground at the centre of the dancing place. A mother of all drums for raising the alarm, nogora or honye, plus five other drums, ahalur or egongi, and three angariok, are usually kept together. The hadufa, or the house of drums, has its own quarters in the village and is also where unmarried men and strangers sleep.

There is also a ceremonial stone, or ejulet, for making sacrifices on. In every village, a hereditary headman sacrifices a bull or goat at the start of each planting season. Angry words spoken then may adversely affect crops. Another sacrifice is made at the start of the hunting season, known to the Lotuka as 'nalam', and celebrated by them, like the Pari, as the New Year. The Lotuka predict the fortunes of the coming year by looking at the characteristics of the animal the headman slaughtered. Age and the incorporation of a homestead into a village, together with kinship, form the basis of society, or asinya. A person or atulo can develop his life, rights and duties only as part of a village under the protection of the age set system. Girls marry when they reach odwo, or puberty, aged about fourteen. The Lotuka marry outside their clan. A feast is held but there is no ceremony. The bride's father keeps half the dowry, distributing the rest to the bride's mother's relations and to his own. Young men dig their father-in-law's gardens for a while, and use special forms of respect to address their mothers-in-law. Couples aim for stability between their families. For war, the Lotuka have their hair sewn into a sort of solid, ceremonial helmet, plastered with red ochre and decorated with brass ornaments and a plume of weaver feathers. Their shields, usually of buffalo hide, are bleached white. A warrior carries several small-bladed spears.

The nongopira, or ceremonial making of fire, is held about every sixteen years. Two straight sticks are cut. If they are weak or crooked, the next generation of adults will be too. All fires in the village are extinguished and re-lit from these sticks. The monyomiji take over military service from their predecessors at the fire-making ceremony. Men above or below their age group only fight voluntarily. Lotuka history is one of livestock raiding and division, both among themselves and their neighbours. They dislike people trying to govern them, with the 1800s slave trade in their areas, particularly resented. Though many South Sudanese try to separate secular and spiritual traditions, among the Lotuka, rain chiefs have always had a good deal of political power too. Rain chiefs are usually men; they almost always marry the daughter of another rain chief to strengthen their rainmaking powers. But the monyomiji can fire rainmakers and appoint them. The monyomiji can declare edwar, a state of non-violence in which no fighting is allowed in the village. It is they who are responsible for the daily running of public affairs.

PARI

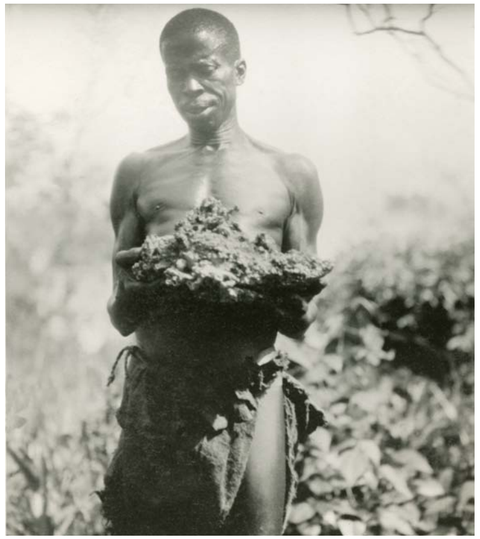
The people call themselves 'Pari' or 'Jo-Pari'. The Anyuak refer to them as 'Ojwan-Boii'. They live in Lafon County. They lived at the foot of the Lipul Hill or Jebel Lafon in six huge villages until 1993. The Pari are a Luo speaking people, their language - Dhi-Pari or 'the mouth of Pari' – very similar to Anyuak: the two are in fact mutually intelligible. In terms of linguistic affinity, they are also close to the Luo of Bahr el Ghazal and the Shilluk. Acholi, though a Luo language too, is more distant. The Pari recognize their Luo origin, sharing the Shilluk myth that all Luo once lived together somewhere called Wic Pac in Bahr el Ghazal, dispersing because of a quarrel between three brothers, Nyikango, Dimo and Giilo.

An alternative myth is of a fight between two Luo brothers, Uthienho and Giilo, in which Uthienho killed Giilo out of jealousy. This story is from more ancient times. The Pari believe the first Luo to settle at Lafon were led by Dimo, who approached Lafon from the southwest. Then a second group of Luo migrated from the northeast, leaving behind the Anyuak, some settling at Lafon while others kept going. Dimo founded Pugeri village, and the new settlers from the northeast, Bura, Puchwa, Wiatuo and Angulumere villages.

The chief of Pugeri, a direct descendant of Dimo, was the guardian of Jwok Lipul, the Pari's most important deity or jwok, named after Lipul Hill. At the beginning of the dry season, men from all six Pari villages would go out together to hunt – their most important annual ceremony, called nyalam.

When they came back, at the mouth of a cave on the hill, the Pugeri chief offered Jwok Lipul the first wild animal caught in the hunt, cooked as a meal. A couple of days of feasting for everyone with beer and dancing would follow, marking the beginning of the Pari New Year, usually in early December when the star of nyalam appeared on the horizon.

Jwok Lipul was also given offerings of beer from the year's first sorghum harvest. The final group to settle at Lafon came from the north and became the founders of Kor village. Lafon was already quite multi-ethnic, with Lopit people and Bor Dinka, as well as groups of Lokoya, Lotuka and Bari. The Pari absorbed them all, creating inter-ethnicities that have come into play during periods of communal stress. Two political hierarchies existed among them, of which chieftainship was one. Each village had its own hereditary chief or rwath, but the chief of Wiatuo, the largest village, was recognized as the 'rain chief' or rwadhi koth, possibly not so much a Luo tradition as one adopted from the Pari's neighbours, all of whom have rain chiefs. The Pari's mojomiji may have been



An Azande man holding up a lump of iron ore. Smelting of iron ore seems to have been uncommon by the mid 1920s due to the availability of trade iron, but smith working of metal was still frequently practiced. Yambio, Western Equatoria, 1927-1930. ©Pitt Rivers

adopted from the Lopit, Lotuka and Lokoya too, for whom the very slightly different word monyomiji means 'fathers of the village'. Every ten years or so, a new generation of adult Pari men graduates to this traditional position of authority, replacing the existing mojomiji, who retire to become elders. Such a handover took place in 1999 in the rural areas where many Pari had resettled. Even Pari living in Khartoum and Juba held ceremonies to acknowledge them. As the original six villages at the bottom of the hill no longer exist, the Pari live scattered in settlements along nearby rivers.

Dried and smoked fish from the Hoss and Hinyetti rivers provide the Pari an important trade. Wild plants also provide food, particularly during 'the hunger gap', the period after one harvest has ended and the other has yet begun. Pari areas used to be a reserve for wildlife, with elephant, buffalo and antelope living there.

LOPIT

The Lopit inhabit the Lopit Hills lying south of the Pari. Their settlements are often stockades. Their language is close to

a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

a. Lugbara iron and wood arrow.

b. Nuer iron fighting bracelet.

c. Jur (Beli or Modo) wood bow.

d. Azande iron throwing knife.

e. Jur (Beli or Modo) iron and wood knife.

a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

a. Shilluk wood club.

b. Azande woven shield.

c. Bongo wood club.

d. Nuer animal hide shield.

e. Imotong rhinoceros skin shield.

A group of men gathered around a sacrificed ox (Muor Nhialic, the ox of Divinity). The occasion of the sacrifice was the funerary ceremony of an old master of the fishing-spear of the Agwok tribe of the Rek Dinka. ©Pitt Rivers

A Dinka woman weeding in a millet field with a long-handled hoe. Warrap, 1947-1951. ©Pitt Rivers

that of the Lotuka living south of them. Though more sedentary than pastoralist, they share the Jiye myth of breaking away from their kinsmen after an argument involving gazelle soup. This myth involves the story of a hunting party killing an oribi and eating the soup they made from it instead of sharing it. The story is common to agro-pastoralists living in adjoining parts of South Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia. The Lopit are very proud of their identity, allowing it to shape their attitudes and social life. Their culture is similar to that of the Lotuka, or Otuho, yet also distinct. They mark stages of their lives ceremonially - childhood, adulthood, as well as initiation into the camp or mangat, and age-set. When a baby is born, both mother and child spend time in seclusion. This ends in a naming ceremony when old women come to the homestead to perform rituals particular to the child's sex. A second life cycle takes place from adolescence to adulthood, called dure horwong for boys and hodwo for the girls. Seven days are spent in seclusion in the care of a spiritual leader. As a group, initiates are served food and water in new gourds and pots. They emerge new human beings, the girls prepared for marriage, and the boys members of the ruling age-set – monyomiji - or ruling class. Like many of the communities around them, theirs is governed by this ruling class, its power handed down from one generation to another in a ceremony, hifira. This ceremony differs from one village to the other, villages in southern Lopit influenced by what the Lotuka do, while those farther from the Lotuka in central and northern Lopit have their hifira in quite a different manner. The Lopit believe in a supreme being and in spirits. Their songs, poetry and music express emotions such as love and hate. Marriage begins with courtship; a girl elopes with her sweetheart, returning home after several days. The dowry is then settled and she goes to her new home.

They grow sorghum, bulrush millet, pumpkin, groundnuts, simsim and okra. They harvest honey, as well as shea nuts, from which they press oil. They hunt extensively and trade various of their commodities like cattle, groundnuts, handicrafts, calabashes, hoes and tobacco.

DONGOTONO

The Dongotono live in large and densely populated settlements like Ikotos in the upper reaches of the northwestern slopes south of Torit town. Their land has outcrops of rocks on gently sloping plains. They are closely related to the Lango and Logir, but speak a Lotuka dialect. Their society is organised into clans linked to totems like leopards, bush buck, monkeys, elephant, crocodiles and lightning. The Dongotono believe their spirits change into their totem when their body dies. They also believe that magicians and mediums can halt misfortune. Like the other agro-pastoral communities in the area, theirs borrows from the Lotuka. They have, for example, begun to practise the monyomiji ruling age-class system. Their monyomiji initiates seclude themselves in the forest, returning to feast on unskinned roasted goat, serving it to the age-class senior to them. The ruling age-class is key to warfare, cattle raids and social events. Young men and women are not allowed to milk cows until they have been initiated. Marriage and bride-wealth are similar to the Lotuka, though unlike them, marriage is accompanied by festivity.

Like the Lotuka, their rain chiefs unusually combine spiritual and administrative duties. Their position is hereditary: it is thought no one can be an effective rainmaker unless he is descended from rainmakers on both sides. The Dongotono share the Sawa or Asawa, a sacred grove in the Dongotono Massif, with the Logir, where they carry out annual rain rituals. Their main crops are sorghum, groundnuts, simsim, telebun, dukn and sweet potatoes. They keep large herds of cattle, sheep and goats.

IFOTO

The Ifoto live on the western slopes of the Imatong Mountains in the Torit area. Like the Lotuka, they are organized into clans and families settled in homesteads and grouped in villages. They practice the age-set set system – monyomiji - relying on them to run their affairs. Rainmakers, fortune tellers and diviners also wield authority. Nonetheless, they prefer being identified as separate from the Lotuka, though they share many aspects of their language and culture.

The Ifoto are extremely conscious of the spirits, and like other Horiyok groups, do not distinguish between religious and secular aspects of life. They believe in the existence of a supreme being with whom they can communicate through the spirits of their ancestors and mediums. Like all Lotuka speakers, the Ifoto transfer their beliefs through speech and song, poetry and music, and body art - all reflecting values of the self and community. They have also perfected the arts of warfare and hunting, and have whistles made from the horns of wild game. They neighbour the Imotong, as well as the Lotuka to the north, Lango and Acholi to the south, and Dongotono to the east.

Toposa building huts, 1934. ©Durham

LOGIR

The Logir live on the east and southeastern slopes of the Dongotono Massif, their settlements facing the Kidepo Valley. Their most important settlements are Tseretenya and Agoro. They speak a dialect of Lotuka and are closely related to the Dongotono. Their society is organised into clans.

They perform the annual rain ritual with the Dongotono in the Sawa or Asawa sacred grove, their most important social and spiritual event. Rain chiefs and diviners wield authority and power. The importance of their age-classes lies in warfare, cattle raids and hunting in Kidepo. The Logir practise exhumation of the dead after a funeral period, or on the advice of diviners to remedy misfortune. They believe in a supreme being and in a spiritual sphere separate from the physical. They also believe the living can communicate with the dead through diviners, and that diviners can divert spirits that could cause illness and bad luck. Logir culture is oral. Their musical instruments include drums, as well as harps made from the horns of wild animals. Their lifestyle demands that they perfect the art of warfare, hunting and cattle raids. The Logir neighbour the Dongotono and Lango. To their east live the Didinga and Boya.

LOKOYA

They live in hills and valleys east of Juba, and are counted as a Horiyok group, peoples thought to have come from farther

east in the wave of mid-1700s migration that brought in the Lotuka. The influence of Lotuka on them is so great they virtually speak a dialect of it. The Lokoya are agro-pastoralists; they herd cattle, sheep and goats. Their cultivation of sorghum, maize, simsim, groundnuts and millet is blessed by the chief priest of the soil or ohiribo at the beginning of each rainy season. Lokoya society is stratified along occupational lines. Their main groups are: ohoromok or peasants; ohobusi or chief priests; ohobaruk, the wealthy; ohoinwanak, practitioners of medicine; ohoidwongok, blacksmiths; and ohoiyak or handicraft workers. Each of these groups plays its role in annual social and cultural activities. The end of the harvest, ohilango, and beginning of the dry season, is marked by the lifting of silence or edwar. Then the Lokoya can hunt and hold dances. The initiation of monyomiji, the abongoro, begins every new Lokoya traditional government. This ruling age set wield power for a twenty-five year period, after which the age-set younger than them takes over. The Lokoya justice system, angoco na arami, is run jointly by the monyomiji and chief priests. In fact, the chief priest of the soil acts as the Chief Justice. The monyomiji arrest the accused or ohodyahani who, if found guilty, is fined or will have his grain, groundnuts and goats confiscated. Much interest is attached to the development of girls because of the bride wealth that accrues from their marriage. Courtship or etharama could begin on the road when the girl is fetching water, or in her quarters. A boy expresses his love and interest to marry, amumo, but it could be a long time before the girl accepts. Acceptance of the marriage proposal, eruhon, kicks off the paying of bride wealth, which is shared out to all relatives, maternal and paternal.

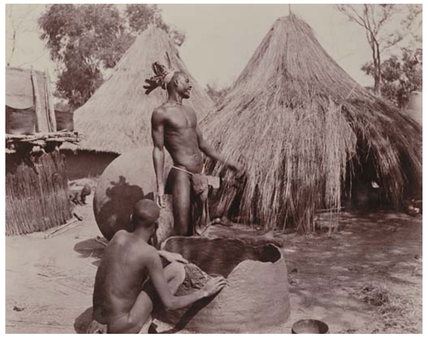
Pregnancy outside of marriage is looked down upon and incurs a heavy fine. Lokoya tradition prohibits marriages to blood relatives. Upon delivery, ethamarayo, mother and child are confined until the umbilical cord detaches from the baby. Grains are sprinkled, osingo, as a sign of good delivery and thanksgiving to God. The first born is named Oke for a boy or Ihye for a girl, and the second boy or girl, bila and odicha, or iteng. A boy born after several girls is named Okanyi. Events can be the basis for a name; for example Lama or Ama for children born during an invasion of locusts. When death or aye occurs, the corpse is placed facing the doorway of the hut. A goat is killed and the content of its stomach, amoyaho, sprinkled onto the people both inside and outside the hut. A seven foot grave, ahilame, is dug. A relative throws in earth as a sign of farewell. Three monyomiji sit next to the grave and push earth into the grave. At the end, a funeral dance is performed by the monyomiji. The Lokoya believe in one god, Ojok, the Creator, but to reach him they pray through a medium or intermediary, Ojok Lamolo. A family altar, omunu, is erected for sacrifices, especially in times of bad health. Traditional curative medical practices are linked to spiritual beliefs. They bond by eating and drinking together from one and the same calabash, decorate their bodies and carry spears and sticks wherever they travel. They interact with the Bari and Lulubo to the west, the Acholi to the south, Lotuka and Lopit to the east, and Pari to the north.

ACHOLI

They live in Magwi County and as a tribe are split by the border with Uganda – by far the most Acholi live in northern Uganda. They speak Acholi, a Luo language close to Anyuak.

Acholi society was organised into chiefdoms, comprising clusters of homesteads as well as the territory they used for planting and hunting. Their villages formed a protective ring around the royal village or gang kal. Members of the royal lineage, kaka pa rwot, were known as 'people of the court', while commoners were luak meaning 'bulk' or 'mass'. An ordinary person was known as dano. The Acholi's myth of origin is that Luo was the first man: he had no human parents and was said to have sprung from the ground. His father was Jok, or God, and his mother was Earth. Luo's son, Jipiti, had a daughter called Kilak. She is said to have conceived Lubongo, whose father was the devil, Lubanga. Lubongo was the first in the line of Rwot – the chiefs of Payera, a dominant Acholi clan. Like the Reth of the Shilluk, the Acholi Rwot or king exercised judicial, executive and legislative powers. He also enjoyed spiritual prowess, providing a link between the natural spheres of the living and the dead. He offered sacrifices to ancestors on behalf of his people. They observe elaborate systems of customs and traditions. Marriage is a lengthy process: it begins with courtship until the young man wins the girl's consent. He then goes to her father and pays a small dowry instalment. The pair are then betrothed but may remain so until his final payment. Dowry used to be settled in livestock, spears and hoes, though nowadays, money is accepted. The Acholi count up to five, like the fingers of one hand, adding on one at a time until ten, which literally means 'equal'. They can also have up to five names, their names often echoing the circumstances of their birth. 'Olum' for example

Two young Nuer women preparing grain by pounding with a pestle on a mortar sunk in the ground and using a winnowing tray to separate out the chaff. Akobo, Jonglei, 1920-1927. ©Pitt Rivers



Equatoria, Jur (Beli & Modo) men making a clay grain bin in Shayk Akko, near Mvolo, Western Equatoria, 1908. ©Durham

Evening at a Dinka cattle camp, Wau District, 1952. ©Durham

Dinka boys guiding their herd of cattle across the Jur River near Gogrial, Warrap and carrying their belongings on cross-poles across their backs, 1952. ©Durham

means 'of the grass' or 'in the bush', while 'Okech' means 'at a time of famine'. Another name like Langara or 'locust' may clarify that locusts caused the famine. And a nickname might be added as well, describing an attribute, habit or ancestor people most closely associate the person with. There also used to be war names and drum names used by youth among themselves. The giving of gifts would indicate which relationships were key to Acholi society, a man giving one tusk from the very first elephant he killed to his maternal uncle, for example, and the other to the chief. It was thought very unlucky for a man to die and not be buried at home. A special ceremony would be held by the ajwaka, or medium, to summon his spirit back to his homestead. Acholi culture is expressed in songs, music and dance. The Acholi compose tuneful songs capturing events of contemporary interest, and hold colourful communal dances. Women have the freedom to get divorced and remarry if their second husband pays the same dowry for them as the first. Acholi land lies on the slopes of Imatong Mountains. Before the 1983 to 2005 war in South Sudan, the commercial farming of Irish potatoes, tea and rice was introduced. A timber mill powered by a small hydro-electrical plant was operational, and there was mineral potential in the Kit River area.

LANGO

The Lango live on the slopes of the Dongotono Mountains in the Imatong Massif. Ikotos is one of their main towns, as well as settlements occupied by the thirteen or more clans that make up the Lango. Lango territory is mountainous with gentle slopes and valleys along which their settlements are built. The area receives enough annual rainfall and the soil is fertile. The Lango are agro-pastoralists keeping cattle as well as cultivating millet, melons, sweet potatoes, beans, bananas and tobacco. They are a member of the Horiyok group of peoples who may have arrived in the Imatong in the mid-1700s. In South Sudan, they speak Lotuka, a Nilo-Hamitic language (which some linguists now argue is simply part of one larger, Nilotic language group), with some local variation, and resemble the Lotuka in many aspects of their social organization. They have age-classes but do not perform the new fire-making ceremony of the Lotuka. The importance of age-class lies in warfare, cattle raids and other social events. It is also linked to social regulations and etiquette. Marriage

Oppostite: Young Dinka woman at the head of a parade of song bulls honouring visitors, Wau District, 1952. ©Durham

A man cuts the forehead of a Dinka girl with a long knife, with another awaiting the operation looking on, and one who has already been cut bending forwards to allow the blood to drip off her forehead. Their heads have been prepared by being shaved and smeared with ash in two sections to guide the V-shaped cuts, 1947-1951. ©Pitt Rivers

and the transfer of bride-wealth are accompanied by festivities. The Lango bury the dead outside their huts, but exhume corpses, sometimes for healing rituals, and sometimes so the bones can change into the deceased's totem, usually the wild animal representing their clan. They have never had a single political authority like the Lotuka's kobu, but before colonial and Sudanese governments introduced administration chiefs, a laboloni used to head a group of Lango villages. The Lango believe in the existence of a spiritual agency, naijok, for whom every household must build a miniature stone shrine, the natifini. People make offerings to the natifini at the beginning of the planting and hunting seasons. They also believe in the power of fortune-tellers, rainmakers, and medicine men or ibwoni. Though drumming is distinctive in their culture, not every Lango clan possesses drums. The Lango neighbour the Dongotono, Ifoto, Imotong, Lotuka and Acholi.

MADI

The Madi live on both banks of the Nile River to the south of Juba, and across the border in Uganda, its porous nature allowing them to move back and forth. The mystery of birth puzzles the Madi, whose beliefs focus on reproduction and origin. Rabanga is the supreme being responsible for creation, a spirit who is earthly, in the sense of Mother Earth. This Madi belief is grounded in the logic that everything comes from the earth. Their political set-up is closely interwoven with their spirituality, shaping their attitudes. The spirits of the dead as a whole are called babu-garee. However, Madi belief is that their relatives survive as spirits called ori who meddle in human life, leading the Madi to blame them for their every misfortune. When something goes wrong, they consult an odzo or odzogo - a witchdoctor - to find out which of their ancestors is behind it. Sacrifices are offered to head off its malevolent intent. Their society is organized into chiefdoms headed by hereditary chiefs known as opi who exercise political and religious powers. Rainmakers, land chiefs, vudipi and other chiefs are believed to retain the same powers after death as in life, their hierarchies of spirits corresponding exactly to the authority they held before. Powerful families are thought to have powerful ancestral spirits helping them. Chiefs and clan elders exercise judicial powers, but in cases of adultery or theft, a witchdoctor is consulted. He tells the accuser and the accused to each hold one end of a stalk of spear grass, then he cuts it in two. The guilty party falls sick, the truth of the matter establishing itself. Madi territory is hilly, traversed by rivers and streams, its people sedentary, their economy based on food crops. In the 1960s, tobacco was introduced as a cash crop, its output disrupted by war and changes in global demand. The Madi rear poultry and small herds of cattle, goats and sheep. The Madi speak Madi, a language related to Moro, Lugbara, Keliku and Avukaya. They neighbour the Acholi, Bari, Lulubo and Kuku.

LULUBO

The people call themselves Olu'bo but are recognised by their cousin neighbours, the Madi, as Lulubo, which translates into English as 'people who are far' - 'lulu' meaning 'far' and 'ba' meaning 'people'. They speak Olu'bo thi, which literally means 'the mouth of Olu'bo'. This language is close to Moro, Avukaya, Lugbara, Madi and Keliku, and belongs to what linguists call the Central Sudanic group. Lulubo land, now Lomega Payam of Juba County, is southeast of Juba town. Its territory is hilly, its huge trees interlaced with shrubs and tall grass. It is extremely wet during the rainy season and hot during the dry. In the past, the Lulubo, Moru, Avukaya, Madi, Lugbara and Keliku are said to have been one and the same people, perpetually feuding with the Azande. Though completely distinct from the Bari and Lotuka, nowadays the Lulubo are influenced by their neighbours. Age-sets are important to them, though unlike the Lotuka, elders – not monyomiji - are the community's main decision-makers.

The Lulubo believe a god resides on sacred mountain tops, they believe in life after death, and in making sacrifices to appease the metaphysical world. They believe their ancestors play an intermediary role between them and the spirits.

The drum dance is a distinct aspect of their culture. Drawing is also an art among them, and they make necklaces, rings and bangles, as well as cloth out of animal skin. Tsetse fly make cattle keeping impossible for the Lulubo, but they have goats, sheep and poultry. They also collect honey and extract edible oil from shea nut trees to trade. They hunt for economic and cultural reasons and grow crops like sorghum, simsim, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, millet, cassava and maize.

DIDINGA

Pastoralists by inclination and agriculturalists by necessity, the Didinga believe they came to their present home in the 1700s, part of a group that migrated from Lake Turkana or Ethiopia. The legend of the gazelle soup, shared by many groups east the White Nile, may point to a common origin.

The Didinga live in the Didinga Hills in Budi County and speak a language very close to Boya, Murle and Tenet. Though they intermarry with the Boya, the largely sedentary nature of their society has isolated them, resulting in many old Didinga customs remaining almost intact. In a ceremony called nameto, Didinga boys are initiated into adulthood. This is at about the time they grow into their first real hairdo, or temedik. They always marry outside their clan. A couple is guided by their own feelings and emotions, a suitor approaching the parents of his bride to be, taking with him six goats, a spear and a hoe as dowry. They do not practise pre-arranged or infant marriages. Sterility is not grounds for divorce, making divorce rare among the Didinga. After delivery, a woman remains secluded for several days except for seeing close relatives and friends. Considered to be in a state of ceremonial pollution, she is not allowed to cook.

Children are named after their grandparents. A child born after a series of infant deaths is named lokure or ikure. Twins and triplets are lucky, and until triplets reach puberty, their father may neither eat with others, nor may he hunt or go to war. The Didinga are divided into the eastern and western Didinga, with a hereditary position of paramount chief. Other Didinga chiefs summon people for organized raids, or in peacetime arbitrate disputes among their own and other peoples. They have few privileges and their control is negligible except in matters concerning the whole community.

The Didinga share their rain chief with the Boya. He receives offerings of goats but hands out sacred water for ceremonial use. They accept a supreme being exists and that the spiritual sphere relates to the living. The dead are buried with their heads facing east in a deep grave outside the village.

Drums and harps are played for dancing, hunting and going to war. The Sudan People's Liberation Movement held their first national convention in Chukudum, now the county headquarters, in 1994.

TENET

The Tenet live in the Lopit range. They say they stayed behind when the Murle moved north, placing themselves under the Ngaboli king of the Lopit to balance out their numbers against the Pari. Like the Didinga, they marry outside their clans. They neighbour the Pari, Lopit, Boya and Lotuka.

Tenet is a small community, little affected by modernity. Their story-telling is centred round cattle. They wear beads and adorn their bodies with markings and with drawings of animals and birds. At the start of the dry season, hunting brings them to the Kidepo Valley in pursuit of game.

The Tenet are extremely conscious of the spirits. They live in hilly terrain, practicing traditional agriculture as well as rearing cattle, sheep and goats. They harvest wild honey and fruits like shea nuts. Their main crops are sorghum, bulrush millet, pumpkins, groundnuts, simsim and okra.

BOYA, OR LARIM

The Boya are related linguistically to the Didinga and Tenet, as well as the Murle and Pokot in Kenya. They believe they came from Ethiopia as part of the group disbanded by the legendary dispute over sharing the gazelle soup.

Their culture revolves around cattle and its acquisition. They are almost culturally identical to the Didinga when it comes to marriage, dowry, rituals at birth, naming a child, and death and treatment of the deceased. They have resisted

Lotuka and Toposa influence. Beef and game form a large part of their diet. They have initiation rites for adulthood, at about age eighteen for boys, and fourteen for girls. Administrative power is vested in hereditary chiefs, and they share the Didinga's rain chief. They are highly religious, believing in a supreme being who controls all life, including the health of their cattle. They believe the spirits of the departed roam, and interact with them through collective prayer. They are dispersed in solitary and collective settlements around the Boya Hills.

TOPOSA

The Toposa live in Kapoeta County. They – like the Jiye in Jonglei State - are part of the larger Ateker kinship network, which in South Sudan also includes the Toposa and Nyangatom; in Kenya, the Turkana; and in Uganda, the various clans of the Karamojong. Their identity is rooted in the story of the gazelle soup, a legend shared by many in the region. The Toposa version is that as groups of people, they were all moving in waves, but the first wave of them to arrive at Losolia (the Mount Zulia area in what is now northeastern Uganda) cheated others who arrived later by eating gazelle meat they had hunted, leaving only the soup for everyone else. This precipitated splits and separation. This story points to a time of population pressure and of famine, probably in the mid- to late 1700s, when these groups of people found they could no longer live off the land in one area, and had to move on in search of new pastures. Toposa society is organized into male lineages of which the family is the smallest unit. They pass on their key cultural value of accumulating cattle as early as possible: boys in age-sets learn from their fathers how to herd livestock, first taking care of goats and sheep, then cattle. They walk a long way to find them grass and water. Girls learn how to farm, loo k after the home, and care for the elderly and children. Dances, weddings, funerals and cattle raids are key social events. They attend clan and community meetings. Traditionally, women and children were kept at a distance while men discussed issues, though this is slowly changing. Important decisions are made before sunrise. The Toposa believe in a supreme being and ancestral spirits to whom they pray and make sacrifices, communicating with them through mediums in times of communal stress like drought or livestock epidemics. Chiefs are held to be nearer to God by virtue of their wisdom. Their land is arid and rugged with hills and ridges, shallow plains, shrubs and short grass.

NYANGATOM

The Nyangatom are linguistically and ethnically related to the Toposa. At the turn of the twentieth century, both tribes were known as Hum or Kum, a name that still survives as Bume, an Ethiopian name for the Nyangatom.

Nyangatom territory straddles the South Sudan-Ethiopia border. They use the disputed Ilemi Triangle in the south-eastern corner of Eastern Equatoria State as seasonal pasture-land. When the rainy season ends, some Nyangatom families stay with Toposa friends instead of returning to Ethiopia. In Toposa villages north of Kapoeta, especially among the Peymong clan, established Nyangatom families have herds of zebu or Brahmin cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys. Ecologically, the Lower Omo Valley is an extension of the Lake Turkana depression, with the Ilemi Triangle sheltering a channel running towards Murle country, and from there to the river basin of the White Nile. The whole area is hot, with low rainfall. The Nyangatom live on sorghum and fish, but culturally prefer to keep cattle. As the cattle cannot survive the tsetse fly, they place them in the care of relatives between Kibish and Toposa lands. They also keep donkeys as pack animals for moving between Ethiopia and South Sudan. Nyangatom and Toposa maintain a system of mutual assistance which they call 'grandmother's thigh'. If they slaughter an ox or goat, they offer each other a hind quarter to eat. Like the Toposa and the Didinga, the Nyangatom are renowned for their oratory skills; their cattle songs are learned by other language groups. The Nyangatom are divided into about twenty clans – the singular for which is ateker and the plural ngatekerea - half of them common to the rest of the Karamajong cluster as well. The size of clan varies from several hundred people to a few individuals and they are not political units. Clan territories - singular ekitala, plural ngiteala - are given the names of migratory birds like storks, flamingos and ibises, and common names like the names of local shrubs. Territories like these have no fixed boundaries but express positions relative to settlements, reflecting a nomadic routine. The distinctive feature of Nyangatom society is a generation set - singular auriunet, plural ngauriuneta - which embraces men and women alike, allowing the Nyangatom to separate from their kinsmen, including the Toposa, and behave autonomously. Each generation is identified with the name of a species. Thus Nyangatom ethno-history records its founders and their sons, 'the wild dogs', then 'the zebras', 'the tortoises', 'the mountains' (or extinct generations), as well as 'the elephants', 'the ostriches', 'the antelopes', 'the buffaloes' (or

a.

b.

c.

a. Azande animal hide and wood bow harp.

b. Larim iron and wood lamellaphone.

c. Didinga horn and leather flute.

a. Dinka horn trumpet.

b. Moru horn flute.

c. Anyuak horn trumpet.

d. Baka horn trumpet.

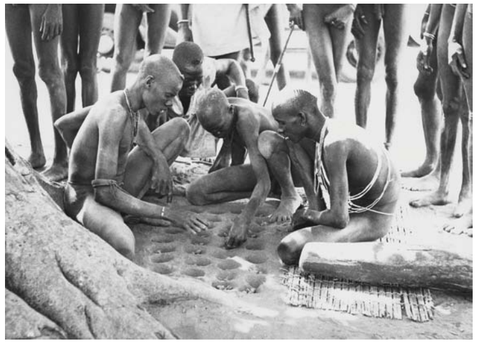
living generations), whose children will have been given another name. The closest living generations are given only two statuses, fathers and sons. Grandfathers and grandchildren share a common status. In their daily routine, fathers and sons sit under separate trees. Sons slaughter oxen for feasts dedicated to their fathers. This is their first stage of initiation.

Western Bahr el Ghazal State

Western Bahr el Ghazal State consists of Raga, which is pronounced 'Raja', Wau and Jur River Counties. It is a huge region, home to distinct ethnic groups, many known collectively as 'Fertit' – a name whose inexact meaning reflects the many different origins of its peoples. It borders the Central African Republic, as well as West Darfur State in Sudan, and Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Warrap and Western Equatoria states in South Sudan. This state is the most ethnically diverse, with 19 ethnic nationalities, and the Luo, Dinka and Bongo represented in other states. Originally, 'Dar Fertit' or 'land of the Fertit', referred to the lowland regions where non-Muslims lived, south of mountainous Dar Fur, or the 'land of the Fur', now in neighbouring Sudan. Darfur's Muslim sultanates had initiated a period of military and agricultural expansion in the 1700s, building up their armies and government, as well as terracing mountainsides and digging irrigation channels. They raided Dar Fertit for slaves who they sometimes sold on, keeping most to use as slave soldiers, bureaucrats and labourers. The movement of people was not just in one direction, however. At times of the year water-logged and cut off, Dar Fertit also became a hideout for slaves and overtaxed peasants fleeing the Darfur sultanate's excesses and demands: 'farru tihit', or 'they fled down' in Sudanese Arabic, is given as the possible origin of the Fertit name. For the next two centuries, the region that became Bahr el Ghazal continued to be used for slave raiding, periodically pillaged of its peoples, most devastatingly of all when private merchants were awarded franchises to set up armed camps, or zaribas, within it. Deim Zubeir, a town in today's Raga County, was the site of one such zariba, its name a tribute of sorts to Zubeir Pasha who, in 1874, conquered Darfur for the 'Turkiya' – the Ottoman or Turco-Eygptian colonials then ruling Sudan. Zubeir, and later his son, oversaw the setting up of the zaribas that increased the power of slavers to find, abduct and hold local people. The merchant warlords under Zubeir are estimated to have emptied Bahr el Ghazal of as many as 400,000 people in just fourteen years. Countless thousands were also killed resisting the removal of their families. New groups of migrants

Uduk men dancing with spears and clubs, 1936-1938. ©Durham

Bongo women washing clothes at the edge of the river at Tonj, Warrap,1934-1954. ©Durham



Dinka men playing games, tok ku row (one and two), 1934-1954. ©Durham

A group of Anyuak men preparing harpoons in a homestead.
Jonglei, 1952-1954. ©Pitt Rivers

– this time from French Equatoria - began to arrive at the turn of the twentieth century, punitive policies by European powers prompting groups of people to flee back and forth between colonial territories in the decades that followed, seeking refuge wherever they felt safest. This history of flight - of displacement, enslavement and escape - means that, linguistically at least, the name 'Fertit' has come to mean those people in Western Bahr el Ghazal whose mother tongue is something other than Luo, Dinka, Arabic or Fur.

BONGO

Bongo is the name by which they refer to themselves, meaning 'men' in the generic sense. Though they still register as identifiable minority in the Rumbek area, in the 1700s and 1800s, their numbers diminished to the point of near extinction as a result of Azande invasions and raids by slavers. Before modern trade, the Bongo smelted iron, selling axes, spears and hoes to their neighbours. They paid their dowry in iron plates – often ten for a young girl, each weighing two pounds (or just under one kilo) - plus twenty iron lance tips. Childlessness was grounds for divorce. If a woman left her husband, her father had to repay some dowry at least. However, if her husband sent her back, she was free to remarry. Men were limited to three wives. Chiefs or nyeri were listened to in matters of law. The Bongo place their dead in a crouching position - hands between the knees, knees drawn up to the chin - and bound them with leaves and cord for burial. They are still skilful wood carvers, known for making the best hardwood tomb totems. They also make sieves to filter beer, wicker walls for huts and bee-hives, fishing baskets, nets, lines and snares.

AJA

The Aja are a tiny community, very close to the Kresh and Banda. They once had authorities of their own; one of their chiefs dealt with the Belgians before leading his people into the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. Aja chiefs then became government chiefs. Their religion had a supreme being and spirits to whom they built shrines and made sacrifices, communicating with them for fortune and good health. Most of the few remaining Aja have, however, converted to Islam.

BAI

The Bai are another small community, their decline in numbers possibly due to centuries' worth of slave raids and invasions – a Bai, Kali Abali, defended them against the Azande in the mid-1800s. Their environment and activities are similar to those of their Ndogo and Bviri neighbours; their 'Fertit' language, to the Ndogo and Sere. They mix easily with the Gollo. Their history shows many have converted to Islam. Many have been forced into towns.

BALANDA BOOR, AND BALANDA BVIRI

The Balanda Boor speak a Luo dialect very close to Shilluk, differing only in pronunciation. They are divided into two main groups: the river people or Jo Kunam who are closely knit, and the hill people, Jo Ugot, whose kinship is looser and divided into three clans, the Fugaya, Afaranga and Mbene.

The Kunam are believed to have migrated into the region first, the Ugot following. They believe their ancestor, Bwor, was the eldest son of Nyikango – the man who founded the Shilluk nation. According to the Shilluk, Bwor did not get on well with his cousin, Dak, and was granted his father's permission to remain behind with his uncles when Nyikango and his entourage decided to migrate. Bwor established the Boor lineage by marrying a Bviri woman. The Boor lived closely alongside their Bviri neighbours until the Azande invaded. Azande domination – which lasted from the 1860s until the Anglo-Egyptian re-conquest of Sudan in 1898 – disrupted the Boor, though their system of clan chiefs and elders continued to exist. Though greatly influenced by the Bviri and Azande, like other Luo-speakers, the Boor believe in the existence of a supreme being or Juok and the living spirits of their departed ancestors. Much of their cultural heritage is contained in music and facial markings. Many have converted to Christianity and a few to Islam. They mingle with the Bviri with whom have developed strong social and cultural ties. They still neighbour the Azande. The Bongo neighbour them to the east, the Ndogo to the west and north. They are predominantly agrarian, keeping goats, sheep and poultry, collecting honey and hunting game. They live on low-lying plains dotted with isolated hills between Wau and Tambura, their territory dissected by the Sue and Bo rivers. The area is thickly wooded with tall grasses.

Jiye youth fish in a small stream which is almost liquid mud choked with "nile lettuce".
The catch is small spring mudfish south of Pibor, Jonglei, 1934-1954. ©Durham

BANDA

The Banda are a group of clans, namely the Dukpu, Wundu, Junguru, Vedere or Nvedere, Govoro, Buru, Wasa, Wada, Sopo-north Banda, Tangbagu and Togbo, distinguished from each other by their distinct dialects. They live in and around Raga, as well as in the Central African Republic.

The Banda have an interesting history. They are said to have migrated to Bahr el Ghazal in several waves: those who fled French Equatoria around 1890 and in the decades following it, when merchant slavers pushed out of Sudan put warlords like Mohammed al-Sanusi in place to steal guns from the French and establish slaving zaribas there instead; and the 'Faranza' who left later because the French colonial government forcibly displaced some four million people, half of whom died as a result. Each Banda sub-tribe has its own chiefs and headmen, but the Wasa Banda being the most numerous, a paramount chief is drawn from them. The Banda venerate intermediary spirits, believing that the spirits of departed ancestors can focus their powers on either destroying someone or saving them.

BINGA

The Binga live in Western Bahr el Ghazal and South Darfur State of Sudan. They have clans, the Chala, Moro, Raga and Lele, each name corresponding to its location. Their population is small compared even to other Fertit groups. They grow date palms and other crops, and also keep poultry, goats and sheep. In stark contrast to the Banda, the Binga are thought

Man fishing with a spear near Nimule, Eastern Equatoria, 1938-1955. ©Durham

to have come from the opposite direction – the east - several hundred years ago, settling for a time in the Jebel Marra mountains of central Darfur. Then they moved south, stopping in the River Yata basin, lands now known as 'Dar Binga'.

Like the other peoples of Western Bahr el Ghazal, in the late 1800s, they too suffered mass deportation into slavery. Nonetheless, under the leadership of a chief, Malmal, they are said to have forged an alliance with the Kara against the Yulu, a move that helped secure them a degree of autonomy.

YULU

The Yulu live in the southwest of Kafia Kingi in the far corner of Western Bahr el Ghazal on the border with neighbouring Sudan. Like the Binga and Kara, they are said to have migrated from eastern Sudan, spending centuries in Darfur on their way. Around 1795, they lived in the Jebel Marra mountain range, where they were harassed by the Fur until they migrated, finally settling in the Yata River valley under their leader Koko, or Koom. They had a well organized traditional authority with clans under Koom's overall leadership.

Later, they were driven into the Central African Republic by Arab slavers, and badly affected by the Azande and other raiders as well. Their dispersal to different parts of Western Bahr el Ghazal and Southern Darfur weakened their social bonds and traditional system of authority. Their original ways destroyed, they adopted Islam and its customs, but retain traditional African beliefs, wearing charms and other tokens to show their belief in spirits, mediums, diviners and fortune tellers. They speak a language distinct from that of their neighbours; they also speak Arabic. Marriage is thought of as binding themselves to other tribes or clans, helping resolve conflict. Their marriage practices are contradictory: on the one hand, marriages can be arranged, both girls and boys betrothed at birth, while on the other, newlyweds tend to be in their early twenties as it takes several years for a grown man to save enough for a dowry. A young man starts by giving his future in-laws produce from his field. His parents let her family know when their son is ready. The two parties sit and talk. If they agree, her family negotiates her dowry. In the past, this would be knives, axes and other possessions, but today dowry is paid in cash. Babies are named when they are seven days old, and at about seven years old, the couple's first born may be claimed as part of the woman's extended family.

Despite normal Islamic practice of burial within twenty-four hours, the Yulu are usually buried only once their relatives have arrived from afar to view their body. Children do not view dead bodies to spare them trauma. They practise wife inheritance, a woman considered an asset who cannot be let go. If her husband dies young, his funeral is not held for a year. His family and relatives, young and old, sit down with her to decide who should take her on, elders choosing someone for her after a show of hands.

FEROGHE

The Feroghe used to be known as the 'Kaligi', living scattered widely between the Kiir and Bora rivers until - under pressure from first Darfur and then the Madhists - they gradually moved south, conquering smaller groups like the Indri, as well as some of the Kresh and Mangayat. The story of their own origin is linked to one man's pilgrimage to Mecca. Originally from Bornu in what is now Nigeria, on his way back from a pilgrimage to Mecca, Hamad Abbas Himyar parted ways with his entourage in Darfur, travelling south to settle among the Kaligi to preach Islam. Local people named him 'Ferogawi', an Arabic word for somebody who has separated from the rest. He married the daughter of the Kaligi headman and had a number of sons whose names now represent Feroghe clans. Today, the Feroghe are predominantly Muslim from the Abbassia sect. They are honoured by the Fur because the mother of a sultan of Darfur assassinated by the British in 1916, was Feroghe. As a gift, the Sultan of Darfur gave the Feroghe copper drums which they still beat at Idd festivities.

The Feroghe speak Kaligi and fluent Arabic, and live around Raga, Deim Zubier, Hofrat and Nahas. Their country is hilly with forests, shallow valleys and streams draining from the Central African Republic. Their area has long been a source of copper.

GOLLO

The Gollo live west of Wau. They have three clans, the Taga, Yanga and Kpesi, and close social or linguistic links with the Kresh, Ndogo, Sere and Balanda-Bviri. The Azande invasions in the 1700s, and Zubeir's slave raids in the late 1800s, were traumatic episodes of their history. Many Gollo have abandoned their traditional beliefs of paying homage to the spirits of their ancestors, and converted to Islam or Christianity. Their culture is presented in art, music, song, dance and folklore, capturing the good in people and society at large. During more recent wars, many Gollo migrated to Wau or Khartoum, the capital of what was formerly the Sudan.

INDRI

The Indri are found near the town of Raga. There are two known clans: the Mborokukwa and the Menah or Boro. Their most important settlement is Ngula, named after a stream.

The Indri were overrun by the Feroghe in the 1930s. Their real name is 'Ya-ndiri-ka', shortened to 'Indri'. Then, they had a language of their own, but most now speak Arabic and Feroghe. Though many have converted to Islam, traditional practices and offerings to their ancestral spirits endure. Their last chief was Baningo Zeri and they had a paramount spirit, monofelee, for whom they held feasts, or karama. Assimilated by neighbours, many Indri clans have socially and culturally disappeared as separate entities. Their area is rugged with numerous streams, and the climate, tropical.

KARA

The people refer to themselves as 'Kara', but some sources say they are also called Gula. It is not clear whether this name was given to them by Arab slave raiders. The Kara form the bulk of the population in eastern Dar Kouti or 'Dar Kara' in Raga County. Like their Binga neighbours, they are believed to have originated in the east, living in Sennar near the Ethiopian border in the 1600s. Around 1750, they left and settled in the Jebel Marra, from where they finally migrated to Jebel Senghon, west of the River Yata, gradually occupying land that lay uninhabited. The Kara came under the suzerainty of Darfur until Zubeir took it over, using one of his representatives, Nur Angara, to found a station or zariba at Jebel Gounga, from where he collected taxes, consisting mostly of animal skins, ivory, young men and girls. When the Madhi – considered a holy Islamic leader - died in 1885, the same year that he captured Khartoum, his immediate successor was a Baggara Arab. The Khalifa, as he was known, relocated entire Baggara populations to consolidate his hold on Omdurman, the old city opposite Khartoum. The Khalifa recruited his armies from Bahr el Ghazal, enslaving many Kara as soldiers.

MANGAYAT

The people call themselves Bugwa, or Bukwa, but their official name is Mangayat. The name 'Bugwa' is assumed to be related to their hilly habitat along the Sopo and Kagulu rivers and the Raga to Deim Zubeir road, where the Mangayat Hills are said to rise as spectacular solid blocks of smooth granite.

Some Mangayat also live scattered among the Kreish-Ndogo people, and in Dar Sila. They do not appear to have a detailed account of their history before the Turkiya, or Turkish-Egyptian rule from 1821 to 1885. The first Sudanese civil war from 1955 to 1972, and the last from 1983 to 2005, greatly harmed the Mangayat and other small ethnic communities in Western Bahr el Ghazal.

NDOGO

The Ndogo are a small but dominant group of the Fertit dispersed around the towns of Wau, Raga and Deim Zubier. The Ndogo have had powerful leaders like Mboro Kpogede, who died in 1943. Ndogo culture – known as one of the richest among the Fertit - is captured in song, dance, music, folklore and body markings. It embodies much of the community's

history and experience. They speak a language very close to that of Sere, Bai and Bviri, suggesting a common origin, reinforced by similar customs and beliefs. Their most important social events include impressive weddings, as well as funeral rituals, and other rites linked to beliefs in magic and charms.

Their ancestors are said to have come from the head of the Kpango River, along whose streams they grew their crops, moving north into Bahr el Ghazal after a big famine, but continuing in the same direction because of Azande pressure and slave raids. They recognise the existence of a supreme being, Dungbali, as well as the spirits of departed ancestors with whom they communicate with through prayers, offerings and mediums.

NGULGULE

The Ngulgule, or Njalgulgule, are divided into ten clans, with their main settlements on the banks of the Sopo River. They believe they moved south from Darfur under pressure from the Fur. The Dahia clan was the first to cross the frontiers with well organized, armed Ngulgule invaders. From 1880 to 1883, an Ngulgule chief, Yango, ruled from their capital, Telgona, but an Azande invasion - as well as the presence of the Feroghe - reduced Ngulgule dominance. The arrival of Turks and Arabs then tilted the balance against them entirely. The Ngulgule speak a language very close to Feroghe. The decline of their once powerful leaders permitted their easy enslavement by Arabs and Azande. They used to have traditional African beliefs but as most have converted to Islam, many now subscribe to Sharia law, although some practices such as offerings to ancestral spirits still endure. Their terrain is a series of undulating hills like Jebel Telgona, and valleys in which rivers like the Sopo flow. The climate is tropical with forest and thick grasses.

SERE

The Sere are divided into three clans, the Bambi, Kulabu and Kumindi, living between Deim Zubier and Wau. Their language is unique to the area: 'Seri' literally means 'man'. They are said to have evolved as a group under their first king, Kalaga. The story goes that Kalaga himself decreed they should no longer be ruled by a king, quitting because he felt he had failed to stop the disasters befalling them. From then on, as a people, they refused to obey anyone holding sole authority. The Azande saw in this an opportunity to wage war, though in years of doing so, they never overcame the resistance the Sere put up against them. Though many Sere have converted to Islam, they used to believe in a supreme being and the influence of the spirits of departed relatives. Unable to explain thunderstorms and lightening, they saw them as punishments meted out for their wrongdoings by joki, kings or spirits in the sky. Stories about them suggest that in the past they were not only farmers but also musicians, stone carvers, artisans, carpenters and builders who under Kalaga, tried to build a tower reaching towards the sky.

SHATT, OR THURI

The Shatt are made up of several groups - Yabulu, Achana and Chelkou - all of whom live in the Raga area. They are Luo, speaking a dialect close to Shilluk, and are also linked to the Luo of Bahr el Ghazal. Geographically isolated from other Luo-speakers, they are said to have come to settle where they are today in the 1600s. In their creation myth, they believe the legendary Dimo produced their ancestor, Othuru. Each family or clan has its own totem like a crocodile, hippo or species of snake, but they also believe in a super being, or God, who resides in the sky. They respect intermediary spirits. Divided into three main lineages with more than thirty clans, the Shatt have customs held in common with the Shilluk, though their concept of state and politics is no longer as elaborate. A first-born child must be delivered in the bride's parents' home. During the naming ceremony, the baby is made to grasp three or four tiny stems of grass, each given a name; the stem that stays in its fist after its hand is dipped in water, is the name chosen. Only elderly persons prepare a corpse for burial. After a corpse is lowered into the grave, a close relative comes to sit with their back to the grave holding several stones; these are thrown into the grave. The last funeral rites are performed a few days later. Hunting was a social activity, carried out in large groups and regulated for big game like elephant, rhino and giraffe - the rules there to avoid conflict over the distribution of trophies. The hunter who stabbed the elephant first received the right tusk, the left tusk going to the second hunter. They sold the trunks of elephants to Arab merchants and bartered trophies with the Dinka in exchange for cattle. The Shatt make beautiful crafts and furniture, as well as agricultural tools, and used to weave cotton cloth with a local technology. Their culture honours the individual self in facial markings, praise and insult songs.

Opposite: Jur (Beli & Modo) man fishing with unusually large trap at Mvolo, Western Equatoria, 1934-1966. ©Durham

FULA FALLS, EASTERN EQUATORIA

FULA FALLS, EASTERN EQUATORIA

NAAM RIVER, UNITY

RURAL VILLAGE, JONGLEI

JUBA, CENTRAL EQUATORIA

HISTORY & STRUGGLE

The Political History of South Sudan

By Dr. Jok Madut Jok
Undersecretary of Culture

While the concept of South Sudanese-ness had been sustained for generations by the liberation struggle, i.e. the need to unite to resist and object to what South Sudanese were not, rather than to unite around what they actually were, the independence of South Sudan has sharpened the question of what it is that will make this ethnically diverse nation a cohesive nation.

Home to more than sixty ethnic groups, as well as many different languages, religious traditions, a multitude of identities and complex history, this question was never really asked while the liberation of this country presented a unifying factor. Such a question is extremely important because this young country has everything that makes so many African countries unstable - things that a new nation needs to avoid in order to succeed in terms of stability, economic equity and inclusive governance. South Sudan is seen by its citizens to be in the unique position of being able to learn from the experiences of other countries in the region that became independent half a century earlier, and help lead the way to give new meaning to the elusive African quest of unity in diversity.

What binds this extraordinarily diverse country together? Part of the answer is its long journey of liberation. Ever since the country we now knew as the Sudan came into existence, the people living in its southern half have had more in common than not, just as they were different from Sudan's northern population in several significant ways. The similarities among southern ethnic groups have included modes of production and livelihoods, religious traditions and culture in general. They also include important shared historical experiences — especially regarding their contact with the outside world and the effects of slavery, several eras of colonialism, and the protracted wars they experienced between north and south.

For South Sudanese, the struggle that culminated in their independence will be officially recognized as nearly two hundred years long. State medals will carry a historical timeline running from 1821, when Muhammad Ali, the Ottoman Sultan's Viceroy in Egypt, sent an expedition to invade Sudan in search of slaves and ivory, to 2011, the year South Sudan gained independence. Professional historians will debate whether or not the Turkiya from 1820 to 1881, the Mahdiya from 1881 to 1898, and the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium from 1898 to 1956, and the state of independent Sudan from 1956 to 2011, had similar policies of oppression, making the people of South Sudan view them as one continuum of colonization.

This narrative is now South Sudan's state history, the official conclusion that, united or not, this new country was once a colony of each of these powers, and has only now ended a prolonged period of foreign rule. This is the historical experience that has shaped South Sudan's sense of oneness. To paraphrase a social researcher, South Sudanese are one people, if not by genealogy, then by lived experiences, a sentiment that may help counter the notion that a country as ethnically diverse as South Sudan has no foundation upon which to build a sense of nationhood.

Until now, unity among South Sudanese has been rooted

British troops taking in Mahdist prisoners wounded after the action at Renk, Upper Nile en route to Fashoda. ©Durham

1898

Above: Sir Reginald Wingate and H. H. Kitchener on board the stern-wheel steamer "Dal", awaiting the arrival of Major J. B. Marchand's reply to Kitchener's message of the previous day, transported in a rowing boat by French troops, two miles from Fashoda, Upper Nile. ©Durham

Opposite page, top left: Vankerchoven, a Belgian steamer, moored on the White Nile at the headquarters of the Lado Enclave, leased to King Leopold II as part of the Congo Free State, until his death in 1910. ©Durham

Opposite page, top right: Ivory trade, Upper Nile. ©Durham

more in how different they were from northerners than on the similarities they shared among themselves. Those differences were cultural, religious, linguistic, ethnic and racial. The policy of the Khartoum government, as British colonialism ended, was to try to homogenize Sudan to create an Arab country. Many South Sudanese felt this was meant to do away with diversity altogether. Officials in Khartoum felt that as many South Sudanese used Arabic to communicate across their own linguistic boundaries, Arabic should become the only national language. But it did not necessarily follow that southern Sudanese were themselves Arab. As one South Sudanese journalist has pointed out southern Sudanese also spoke - and still speak English - but have never claimed to be English.

Most learned southern Sudanese knew that all successive governments viewed Khartoum and the areas immediately around it to be the centre of the country in every sense of the word, and with this in mind, built their state on policies of exclusion. Khartoum sought coercive unity, using both outright violence and more underhanded tactics, such as the propagation of Arab culture in state media.

Thus South Sudan's official history is a history from the perspective of victimhood, refashioned over time to include dissent in other aggrieved areas peripheral to the centre of power. In addition to concentrating its development and basic services in Sudan's central region, the Khartoum government promoted Arab and Islamic culture at the expense of the various cultural practices that made up the rest of the country. The result was that South Sudan and other peripheries of the old Sudan increasingly felt that this cultural, ethnic and racial exclusion was the basis for exclusion from the distribution of economic assets, services and political power. The people of what became South Sudan, or southerners as they came to be referred to and identified themselves as, found themselves needing to forge a unity of convenience — that is, the need for a collective effort to deal with negative experiences imposed on them by Arab-dominated Khartoum governments.

Opposite: Group of Murle women sitting on the ground surrounded by soldiers, during a punitive patrol against the Murle. ©Durham

Above left: A consignment of slaves leaves for Singa with their armed guard. ©Durham

Above rigth: Freed slave children at Kosti receiving ration of milk. ©Durham

1920

This need for southern unity existed even during the colonial periods. The scourge of slavery, affecting all southerners regardless of ethnic affiliation, forced them to create a unified front. When the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, the colonial power of the time, began to fight the slave trade at the turn of the twentieth century, southerners were brought together again by their opposition to various policies they saw as detrimental to their well-being. They responded to colonialism as people affected by the colonial order in ways that differed from northerners, the popular perception being that the British colonial authorities and northerners had a common goal to suppress the south and do away with the fabric of its core cultures. Religion and race, regardless of the definitions one applied, were central not only to demarcating the lines separating northern and southern identities, but also to reducing the differences among southerners. Such a sense of political unity was necessary in the efforts made against British colonialism, seen then as favouring the Arabs, Sudanese and Egyptians. A history of victimization remained a very effective force for unity.

At the end of the British colonial era in 1956, southerners found another unifying force: the view held by their political leaders regarding how independence should tackle the discord between north and south dating back to the conception of Sudan as a political entity in the nineteenth century. The idea of two countries emerging out of the colony of Sudan was raised then, since the south was neglected in terms of development during the colonial period. Southern leaders felt the independence of Sudan as one country would mean that the south would once again become a colony—this time of the north as an Arab power asserted itself over Africans. Thus united, southerners argued collectively for the British to either delay independence until the south was ready to compete with the north on an equal footing, or set up two separate countries. The British hastily exited Sudan without rectifying their wrongs, however, and southerners had to choose between remaining with the north as second-class citizens, or fighting for a better arrangement that would transform the old exploitative Sudan into a modern state where citizenship implied the same rights for all. That lived history is one of the experiences that the current population of South Sudan point to as a foundation for their new nation.

When Sudan's independence in 1956 failed to reassure southerners, a protracted and violent conflict raged between north and south for seventeen years. This post-colonial experience united southerners yet again, setting them on a collision course with the north. Despite the many disagreements among southerners, some of them at times very violent, the

Left: Coriat, Assistant District Commissioner, Abwong, talking to a Nuer prisoner surrounded by soldiers and police men, during a punitive patrol against the Nuer. ©Durham

Middle: Burning tukuls at a Nuer camp near Faddoi, Jonglei during a punitive patrol against the Nuer. ©Durham

Right: Burned remnants of the village at the base of the pyramid of Dengkur, home of Guek Ngundeng, 1928. ©Durham

experience of the war, including Khartoum's counterinsurgency tactics against civilians in the south, convinced much of the southern population that the north, represented by the government in Khartoum, was their common enemy, and all southerners should set aside their differences and unite in resistance.

South Sudan's history of struggle against oppression is one that every South Sudanese today understands as being shared by all. It is echoed in the words of Lual Diing Wol, a veteran politician from Aweil: 'We suffered together because our enemies saw our various identities as one and the same, and so we should turn that shared painful past into a positive outcome and say that we are indeed one.'

In the wake of independence, it is hoped that such messages will be heeded to stem violence among people in the south, now freed from their common oppressor.

The event most closely related to the emergence of what one might describe as a South Sudanese identity - that is, the sentiment that they are one people - was the second round of the north-south war from 1983 to 2005. When the fighting started, southern grievances included President Nimeiri's application of sharia, or Islamic law, the redrawing of north-south borders to annex newly discovered oil-rich areas, proposals to build an oil refinery in Port Sudan instead of in the oil producing areas in the south, and a plan to divide the then-autonomous south into three weaker regions, clearly abrogating the Addis Ababa Agreement that had ended the first civil war in the early 1970s. All these shared grievances allowed the south to speak with one voice against Khartoum, and the war that was triggered by these policies and the popular support given to the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M), was regarded as a testament to the south's unity of purpose. Though some southern Sudanese supported Khartoum, it was unmistakable that, the whole south had taken another step towards unity within. Most southern supporters of the 're-division' of the south came to regret their actions when they realized that it was simply a strategy northerners had used to weaken the south. They too later joined the SPLA. The Khartoum government responded with counter-insurgency tactics targeting civilians in urban centres, and accused nearly all southerners of supporting the opposition.

Collective punishment became the norm, pushing more and more people into rebellion and swelling the ranks of the opposition. In the late 1980s and throughout the 1990s, the south witnessed gruesome atrocities involving aerial bombardment, as well as ground attacks on villages and SPLA-controlled towns. These tactics resulted in the levels of displacement and destruction rarely seen anywhere in the world since World War II. Two and half million people are believed to have died of war-related causes between 1983 and 2005, with most South Sudanese still convinced that they suffered genocides while the world watched. And with that came increasingly negative feelings towards their continued unity with the north, and more determination on the south's part to attain separation from it. The treatment of internally displaced persons in the north, along with extrajudicial killings in government-controlled garrison towns, and the whole idea that all the country's political problems and balance between the periphery and the centre should be solved solely through military might, all cemented southerners' resolve to stand together - at least until their main goals were achieved.

Seductive as it was, the SPLA/M's concept of a 'New Sudan' - making all of the Sudan democratic and secular instead of seceding from it, a concept espoused by John Garang, the SPLM's liberation hero - gradually lost the support of ordinary fighters. The continuation of the conflict, the abductions and maiming of abductees, the aerial bombardments, all convinced southerners they could no longer share a nation with northerners.

Though internally muddled at times, these experiences helped form a concept of South Sudan-ness, the idea that being a South Sudanese was not just a question of geography, but also of cultural, ethnic and racial unity. It was also a question of historical injustice, meted out by Khartoum and old colonial powers.

But is this shared history enough to form the foundation of a new nation? South Sudan's independence begs the question of whether the historical experiences that have long united the old south, will endure in the new south, enabling the young country to become a unified political, cultural and social entity - a nation, in short. So far, the unity of purpose that kept the south together has been, in a sense, a negative unity, driven by opposition to the north. Now, at the end of that tragic but unifying focus of the war between Sudan and South Sudan after separation, comes the fear that old ethnic discords within the country will rear their head. There are already many signs of this happening as the relative calm that has prevailed since the 2005 ceasefire truce between north and south, runs out of steam, and many tribal confrontations in many parts of the country erupt.

These confrontations are rooted in rivalries over resources, triggered by the perception that political power in Juba is

Above: Body of Guek Ngundeng, a Gun Lou prophet, killed during a battle with government troops. ©Durham

Opposite: View of the partially destroyed pyramid of Dengkur after bombing by government troops. ©Durham

dominated by relatively few ethnic groups. Episodes of violence quickly take on an ethnic character as leaders play the ethnic card to attract fighters. However, South Sudan's political leadership believes these to be the growing pains of a young country, and is convinced that as institutions become stable and the systems for political decentralization and the more equitable distribution of resources are set up, ethnic squabbles will no longer amount to a threat to cohesive nationhood. Most, if not all, South Sudanese are quick to declare their citizenship in South Sudan; and there is no doubt they would work and fight for it. But it is unclear whether

they are talking about the same south, or whether a different south is envisioned by each ethnic group. When the peace process that ended the war in 2005 was being negotiated, self-determination for the south was its centrepiece. The entire southern population had hung their hopes for a better future on this: most southerners wanted it at any cost, and eventually, it became the issue on which every southerner was unwilling to compromise. A political leader with a dissenting opinion could only voice it to his or her detriment. Reading the mood of their people, the negotiators granted political concessions in exchange for self-determination.

With its creation as a new state, will South Sudan transform the popular demand for independence into the nation South Sudanese expect? The question is all the more pressing because of the challenges the new nation faces in attempting to address the hopes of the people who fought in a long and testing struggle, voted overwhelmingly for independence, and who expected immediate dividends. Will independence prove to be the panacea for the problems that have confronted South Sudan for over a half-century? Or will the people's expectations be so great as to result in disappointment that could disunite the country?

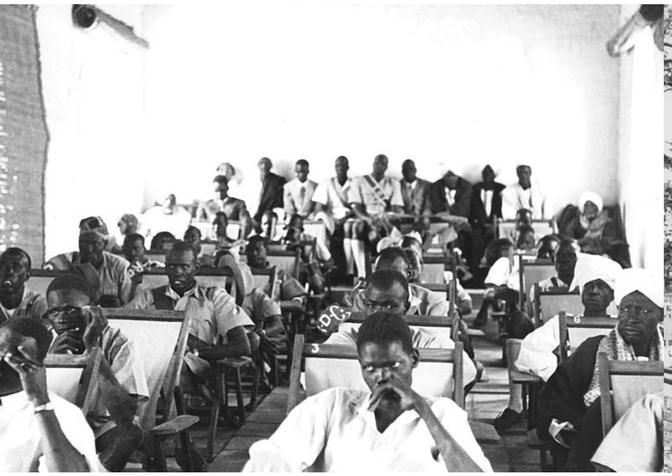
Opposite: Missionary sisters with some of their young pupils at a Roman Catholic mission school in Wau, Western Bahr el Ghazal. ©Durham

Above left: Young catechumens learning the catechism in the Kresh language, Deim Zubeir, Western Bahr el Ghazal. ©Durham

Above right: Children and local people lining the route to a newly-constructed church at a Catholic mission station in Kayango, Western Bahr el Ghazal. ©Durham

Right: Construction materials on the banks of the Nile for the founding of Juba, Central Equatoria. ©Durham

1940



Above left: Members of the rural district council in session. Bor, Jonglei ©Durham

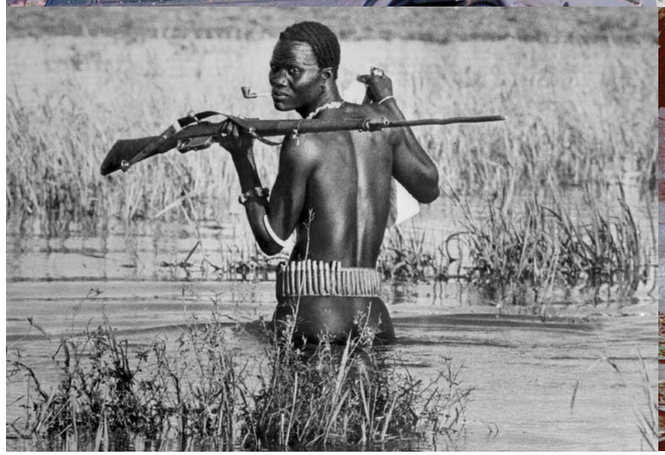
Above right: Azande workers outside the cotton factory at Nzara, Western Equatoria. ©Durham

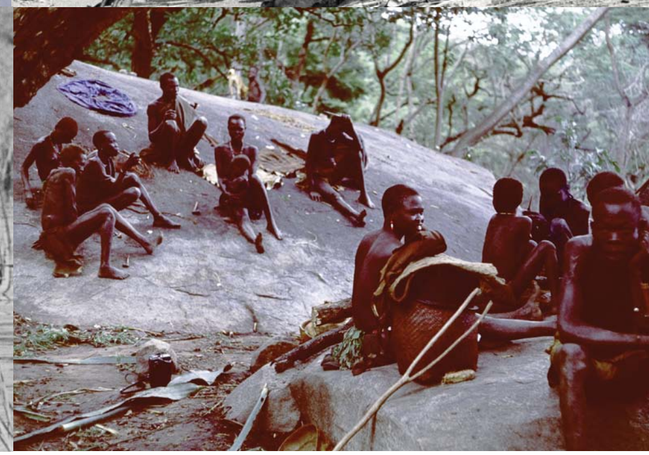
1955

Above left: The signaler's office at the government army base in Torit, Eastern Equatoria, where the first shot of the Torit Mutiny was fired. ©Tim McKulka

Above right: Road sign to the memorial of those killed during the Torit Mutiny and in subsequent reprisal killings. ©Tim McKulka

1956





Opposite: Lowering of the British and Egyptian flags outside of the former Governor-General's palace, at a ceremony to mark the independence of Sudan from Britain. ©Durham

Top left: Armoured car, part of a Sudan army convoy from Juba, Central Equatoria to Torit, Eastern Equatoria. ©Durham

Top right: Anyanya fighters with anti-aircraft defenses. ©AFP

Bottom left: Anyanya fighter wades through a swamp. ©AFP

Bottom right: Civilians hiding near Mt. Lokiri, Eastern Equatoria. ©Allan Reed

Above left: Officers address soldiers at Tedo Anyanya camp, Upper Nile. ©Allan Reed

Above right: Two Anyanya soldiers training in Upper Nile. ©Allan Reed

Opposite: A young child fleeing from Sudanese Army attacks, Eastern Equatoria. ©Allan Reed

Opposite page:
Trekking in the bush,
Central Equatoria.
©Allan Reed

Top: Anyanya soldiers
display their weaponry,
Eastern Equatoria.
©Allan Reed

Right: Young Nuer boys
following an attack on
their village, Upper Nile.
©Allan Reed

Above left: Young children stand in their destroyed tukul, following the destruction of Kur village, Upper Nile. ©Allan Reed

Above right: Anyanya operated school, Central Equatoria. ©Allan Reed

Opposite page: Murle Anyanya soldier smoking a water pipe, Jonglei. ©Allan Reed

Top: Nuer refugees stick fighting at Itang refugee camp, Ethiopia.
©Allan Reed

Middle: Soldiers stand at attention at Anyanya headquarters, Owiny Ki-Bul, Eastern Equatoria.
©Allan Reed

Bottom: Anyanya officers display captured artillery, Eastern Equatoria.
©Allan Reed

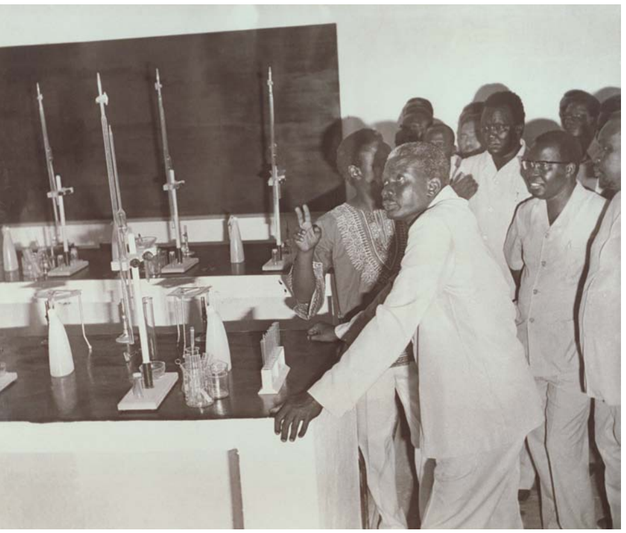
Opposite page:
A village burns following an attack by the Sudanese Army, Upper Nile
©Allan Reed

1972

Opposite page: Southern Sudanese refugees returning to the Sudan on board a small steamer after the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement. ©Durham

Above left: Fishing in Nyamlell, Northern Bahr el Ghazal. ©Allan Reed

Above right: Following the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement, southern Sudanese returned to rebuild their lives and homes, Lakes. ©Allan Reed



Above left:
Abel Alier and other government officials inspecting a chemistry laboratory during the construction of Juba University, Central Equatoria. ©Durham

Above right:
Provisional High Executive Council headquarters, Juba, Central Equatoria. ©Allan Reed

Opposite page:
An excavator works on the Jonglei Canal. ©Chip Hires/Getty

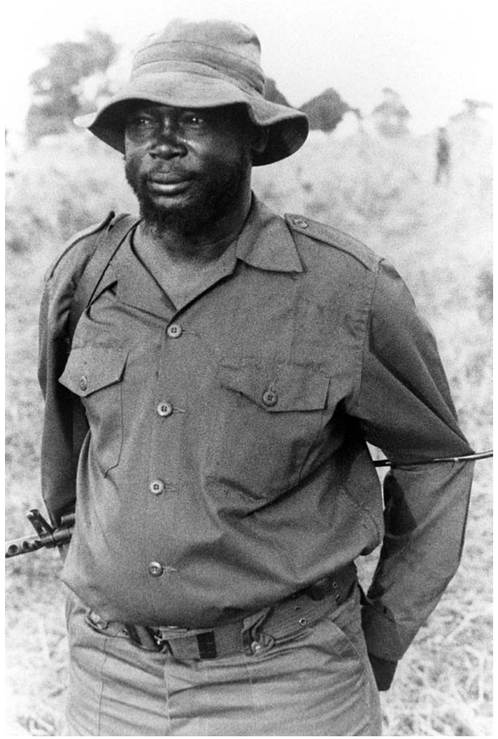
1983

Opposite page:
Dr. John Garang addresses soldiers as Salva Kiir Mayardit, Kerubino Kuanyin Bol, William Nyuon Bany and other senior commanders look on following the liberation of Boma, Jonglei, the first town captured by the SPLA.
©Garang Family

Top left: SPLA soldiers march through Pochalla, Jonglei following its capture. ©Garang Family

Top right: Dr. John Garang and senior SPLA commanders march through newly captured Pochalla, Jonglei.
©Garang Family

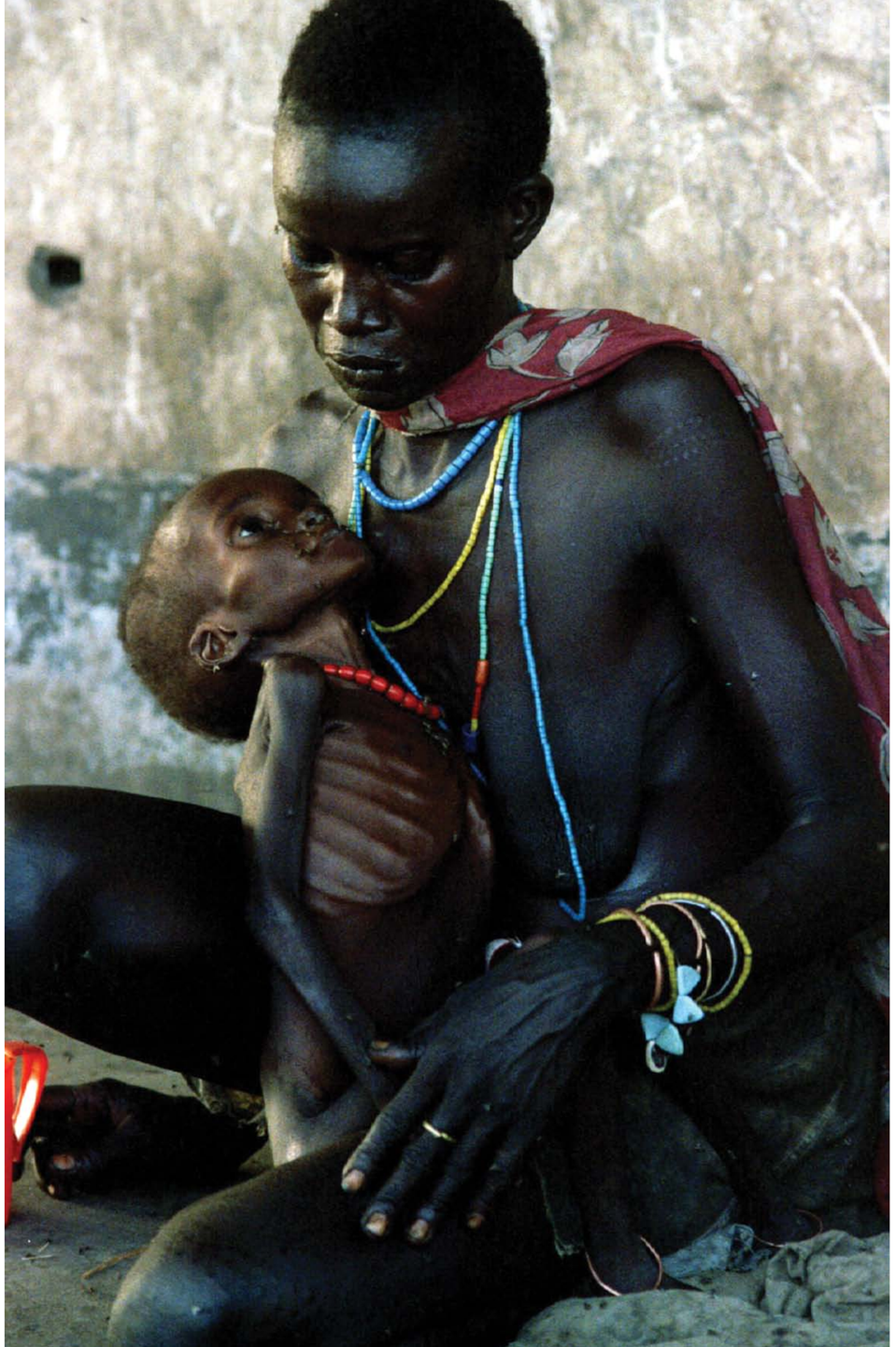
Right: SPLA senior leadership meets with chiefs and the local community following the capture of Pochalla, Jonglei. ©Garang Family



Above left: SPLA soldiers marching in the bush.
©AFP

Above right: Dr. John Garang.
©AFP

Opposite page: Southern Sudanese suffering from malnutrition walk to their villages after receiving a WFP food distribution.
©Reuters



Above lefts: Southern Sudanese internally displaced persons camped in the desert outside of Khartoum. ©AFP

Left: A boy gives some water to an old starving man in an internally displaced persons camp outside Juba, Central Equatoria. ©AFP

Opposite page:
A southern Sudanese mother tries to feed her severely malnourished child at a feeding centre in Ayod, Jonglei in what was known as the hunger triangle. ©Reuters

Above: A malnourished child is given oral rehydration salts at a feeding centre in the town of Ajiep, Warrap as famine worsens across wide swathes of southern Sudan. ©AFP

Opposite page: A group of slaves wait for freedom in Yargot, Northern Bahr el Ghazal as aid groups buy their freedom from northern traders. ©Reuters

Top right: An SPLA soldier stands next to a heavy machine gun in Bahr el Ghazal. ©AFP

Bottom left: SPLA soldiers in Yei, Central Equatoria one week after capturing the town from government forces. ©AFP

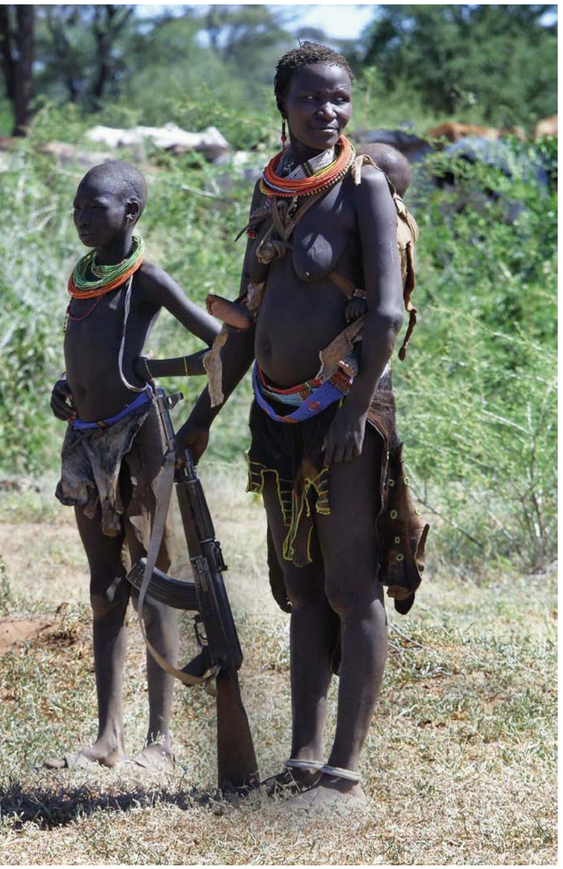
Bottom right: SPLA soldiers march in Bahr el Ghazal. ©AFP

Top: SPLA soldiers show their weapons during a parade on the market square in Thiet, Warrap. ©AFP

Left: Villagers of Akon, Warrap leave for their homes after receiving food from the World Food Programme as a dust storm sweeps through. ©AFP

Opposite page left: A United Nations plane drops crates of food provided by humanitarian aid agencies in the village of Akon, Warrap. ©AFP

Opposite page right: A malnourished child walking to get food at a feeding center in Nasir, Upper Nile. ©AFP



Left: A Toposa woman carrying her child watches activities while armed with an AK-47 at the Kapoeta, Eastern Equatoria airstrip, following the SPLA's capture of the town from government forces. ©AFP

Above: Salva Kiir Mayardit shakes hands with Ghazi Salahudin as Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi (C), chairman of the regional seven-nation Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, which is mediating the Sudanese peace talks, stands by after the signing of the Machakos Protocol, which became Chapter I of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. ©AFP

Opposite page: Dr. John Garang and Salva Kiir Mayardit arrive in Yei, Central Equatoria to explain the peace protocols that became the Comprehensive Peace Agreement to the population. ©Reuters

2005

Above left: Dr. John Garang shakes hands with Sudanese Vice-President Ali Osman Taha after signing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Nairobi, Kenya. ©AFP

Above right: Millions of Sudanese gather to hear Dr. John Garang speak upon his arrival in Khartoum for the first time since 1983. He was sworn in as First Vice-President the following day. ©Reuters

Above: Dr. John Garang's body is brought to the burial site in Juba, Central Equatoria escorted by an SPLA honour guard. ©Thomas W. Morley

Above right: Southern Sudanese refugees read the daily newspapers in Nairobi, Kenya, following the death of Dr. John Garang. ©AFP

Right: The body of Dr. John Garang is moved in a long procession from the airport to the town center. Yei, Central Equatoria ©Thomas W. Morley

Above: A young girl visits a relative wounded in fighting between the SPLA and the SAF in Malakal, Upper Nile in the first major battle after the signing of the CPA. ©Tim McKulka

Top left: Internally displaced persons on a barge returning to Bor, Jonglei. ©Tim McKulka

Top Right: Children attending school in Lainya, Central Equatoria. ©Tim McKulka

Bottom left: Road construction in Juba, Central Equatoria. ©Tim McKulka

Bottom right: President Salva Kiir Mayardit and South Sudan Defence Forces leader Paulino Matip raise their clasped hands during a ceremony to announce the Juba Declaration, which integrated militia forces into the SPLA. ©AFP

Above: Returnees leave internally displaced persons camps in Darfur to return to southern Sudan.
©Tim McKulka

Left: An enumerator conducts an interview during the Sudan's 5th National Population and Housing Census.
©Tim McKulka

Opposite page :
Oil facilities in Unity.
©Tim McKulka

Opposite page : Civilians displaced from Abyei flee south as the SPLA moves north during continued fighting with SAF.
©Tim McKulka

Right: SPLA soldiers south of Abyei.
©Tim McKulka

Left: A voter casts her ballot in the national election.
©Tim McKulka

Right: Electoral observers monitor the balloting in the national elections.
©Tim McKulka

Opposite page: Priests sing hymns during a church service in Juba, Central Equatoria. ©Tim McKulka

2011

Top left: Voters cast ballots on the second day of voting in the referendum.
©Tim McKulka

Top Right: Casting ballots on the morning of the referendum.
©Tim McKulka

Opposite page: Voters wait to cast their ballots in the self-determination referendum.
©Tim McKulka

Right: Results from the referendum are tabulated at the South Sudan Referendum Bureau office.
©Tim McKulka

Left: President Salva Kiir Mayardit with First Lady Mary Ayen Mayardit and Vice-President Riek Machar during the announcement of the referendum results, which showed 98.83% of southern Sudanese had voted for independence. ©Tim McKulka

Right: The Division Commander speaks to soldiers at an SPLA base near what will soon be the border with Sudan. ©Tim McKulka

Opposite page: The last SAF soldiers prepare to depart Juba, Central Equatoria and southern Sudan as the interim period of the CPA reached its conclusion. ©Tim McKulka

Left: President Salva Kiir Mayardit and Vice-President Riek Machar arrive at the independence celebration.
©Tim McKulka

Opposite: South Sudanese poured onto the streets in the early hours of 9 July to celebrate independence with impromptu street parties.
©Tim McKulka

Above left: A woman cries during the singing of the national anthem after the formal declaration of independence.
©Tim McKulka

Above right: A soldier prepares to raise the South Sudan flag at a rehearsal of the independence celebrations.
©Tim McKulka

SUDD, JONGLEI

LURI RIVER, CENTRAL EQUATORIA

NIMULE NATIONAL PARK,
EASTERN EQUATORIA

CATTLE CAMP, WARRAP

THE PEOPLE

Photographs by Tim McKulka

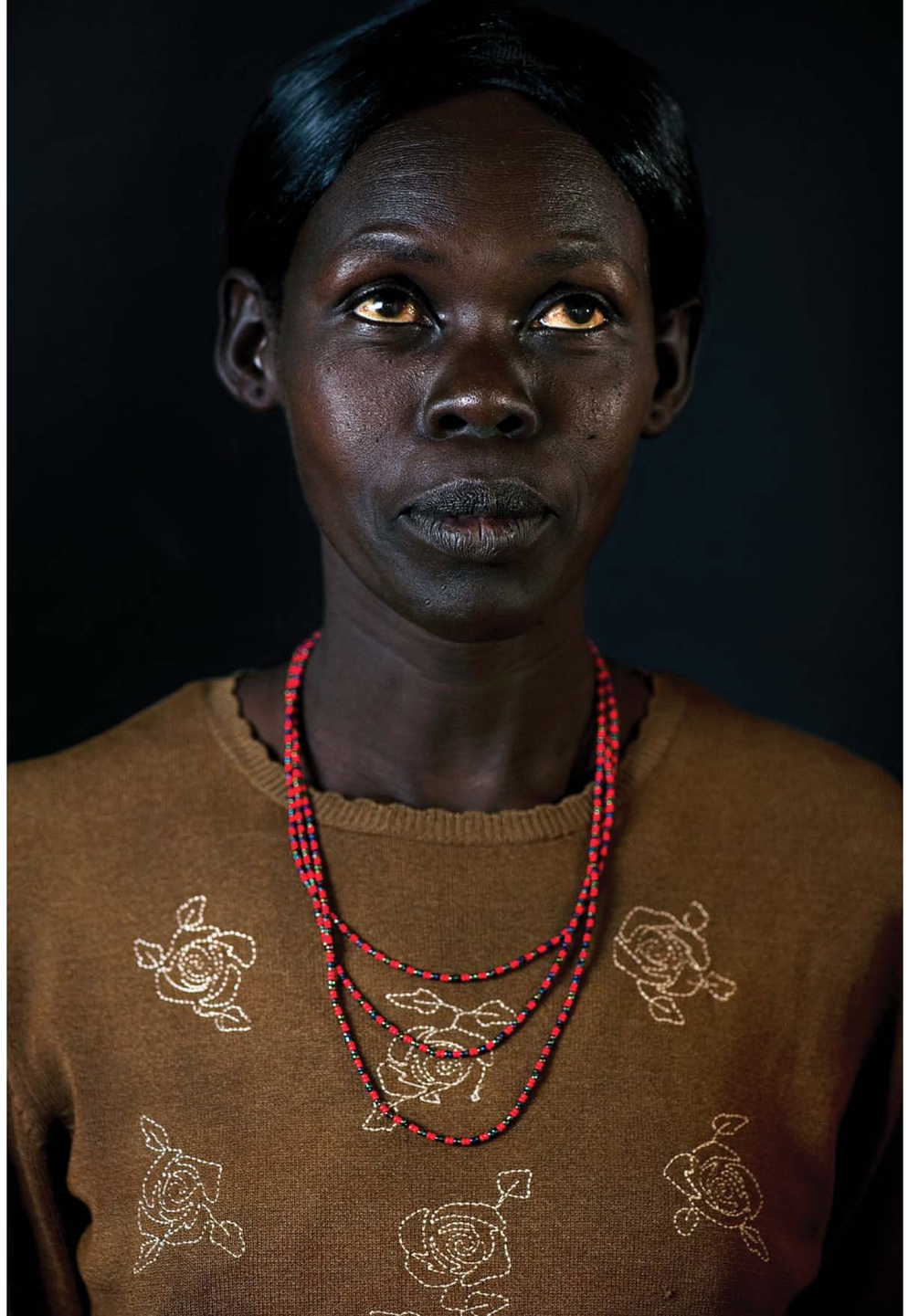
What follows is a sampling of traditions, opinions, reflections and aspirations. It is not meant to be a definitive list of all the ethnic communities in South Sudan but an attempt to showcase the cultural diversity of the nation's people. The lines between 'tribe' and 'clan' are sometimes blurred and any list of ethnic groups is open to interpretation. Unfortunately, some communities are not present in this section but every attempt has been made to represent all of South Sudan's ethnicities in this book. For larger ethnic groups, each portrait represents a state with a sizeable population. Interviews exploring cultural traditions, experience during the war, the meaning of independence and hopes for the future were conducted. The individuals speak for themselves and not on behalf of an entire community. It is essential to continue to interview members of each community, from all stations of life and society, to better understand and record the unique traditions and opinions that comprise South Sudan.

What are the traditions in your community concerning: birth, naming of children, youth, rites of passage, courtship and marriage, adulthood, elders, chiefs, dance, adornment, song, poetry, death and ancestors?

What was your experience during the war?

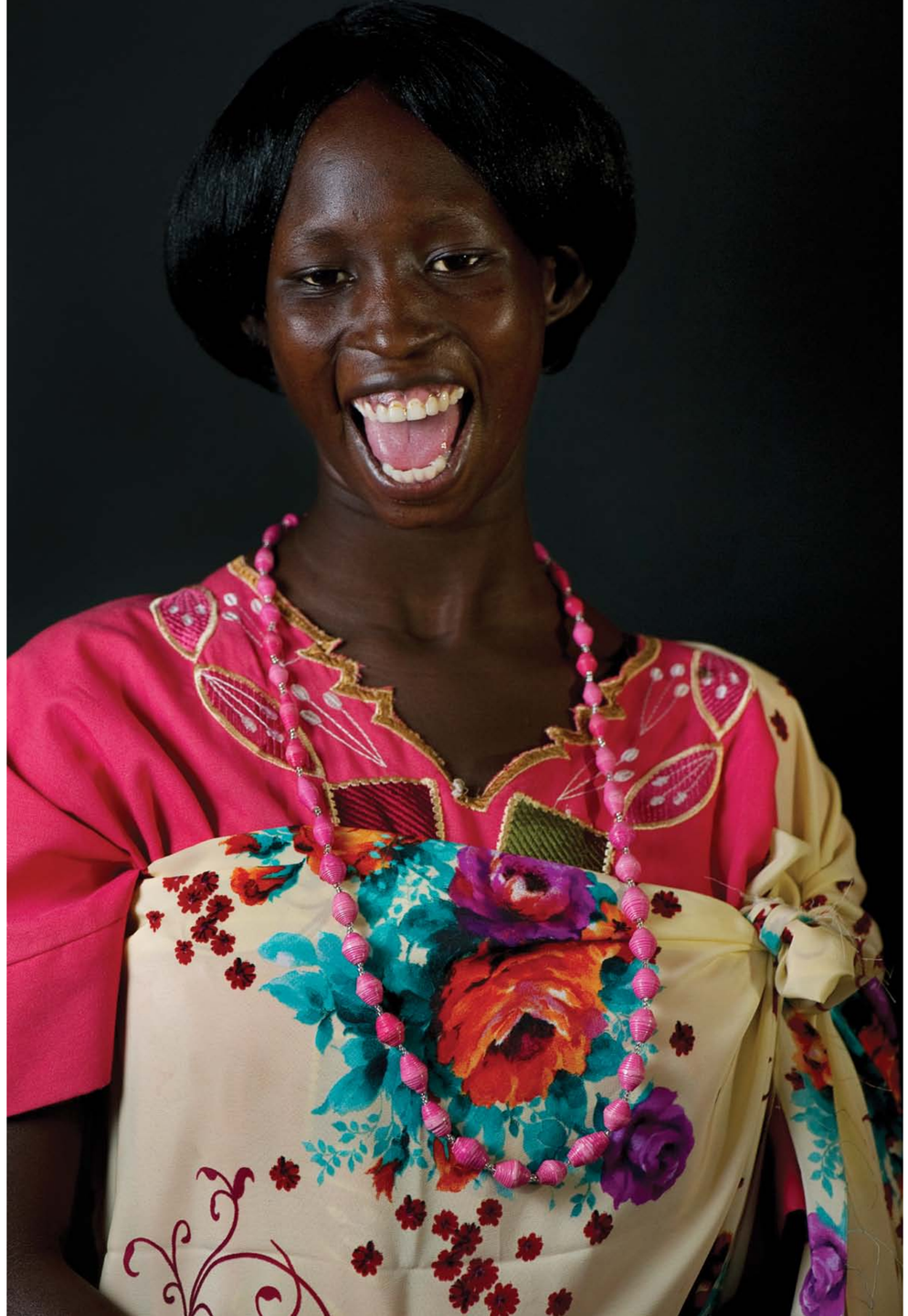
What does an independent Republic of South Sudan mean to you?

How would you make it better?



IFON ARABA PHILLIP (BARI)

I KNOW, AS A WOMAN, THAT WOMEN ARE SUFFERING GREATLY. ALL OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE HOME IS IN THEIR HANDS. WHETHER TAKING CARE OF CHILDREN, DURING PREGNANCY OR WHEN THE CHILD IS SICK, THE WOMAN IS RESPONSIBLE. SHE NEEDS TO BE SUPPORTED.

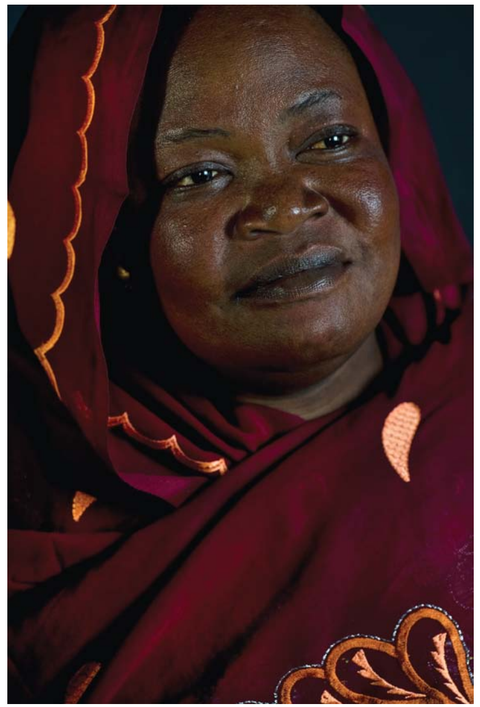


ANGELINA JAKITA (TOPOSA)

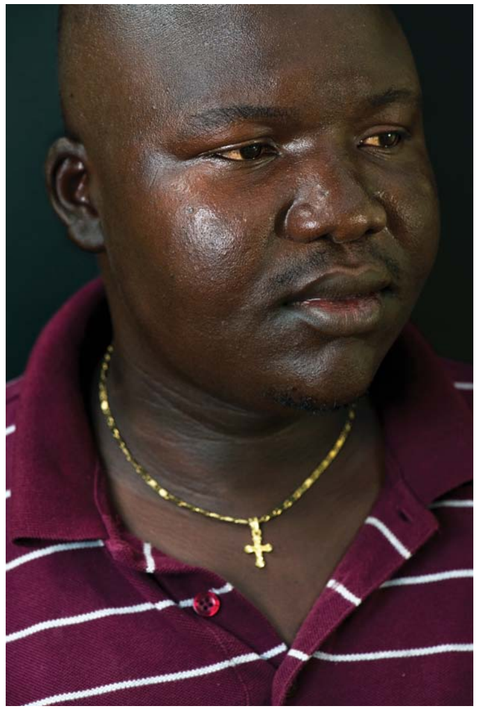
I WAS IN JUBA FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR UP UNTIL THE END. DURING THE WAR, WHEN A BOMB IS DROPPED, WE WOULD RUN FROM HOME TO THE RIVERBANK. SOME PEOPLE, FEARING THE BOMB, WOULD LOSE THEIR LIVES IN THE RIVER. WHEN THE SITUATION NORMALIZES, THEY COME BACK HOME TO STAY A BIT; WHEN IT STARTS AGAIN, THEY RUN BACK TO THE RIVER.

MARY AKUOL ATEM (DINKA) (JIENG)

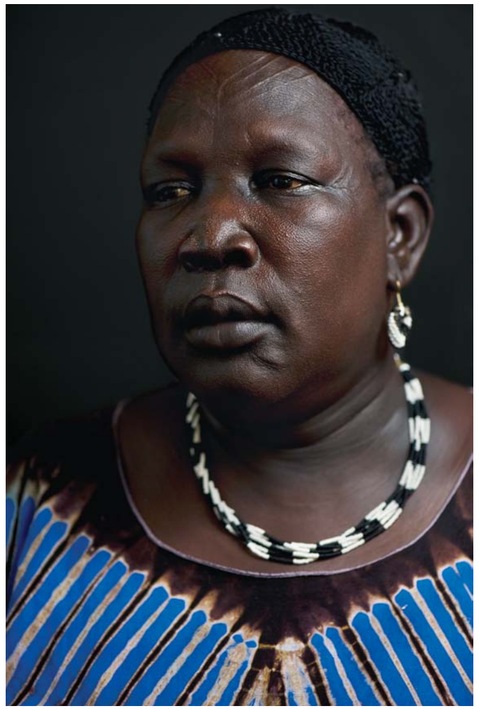
IN FEBRUARY 1967, ALL OF OUR CHIEFS WERE KILLED BY THE SUDANESE ARMY. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME WE FELT THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR. MY HUSBAND WAS KILLED...AFTER THAT I WAS BOTH THE MOTHER AND FATHER TO MY CHILDREN AND CONSULTED BY THE COMMUNITY... THE ADVICE I USED TO GIVE TO THE PEOPLE IS THAT ALL OF THE CHILDREN MUST GO TO SCHOOL. WE MUST ASSIST THEM BY SELLING COWS TO PAY THEIR SCHOOL FEES. PEOPLE SHOULD MARRY BECAUSE WE LOST MANY PEOPLE. PEOPLE SHOULD KEEP HOPE, BECAUSE THERE WILL BE LIFE AFTER THE KILLING.



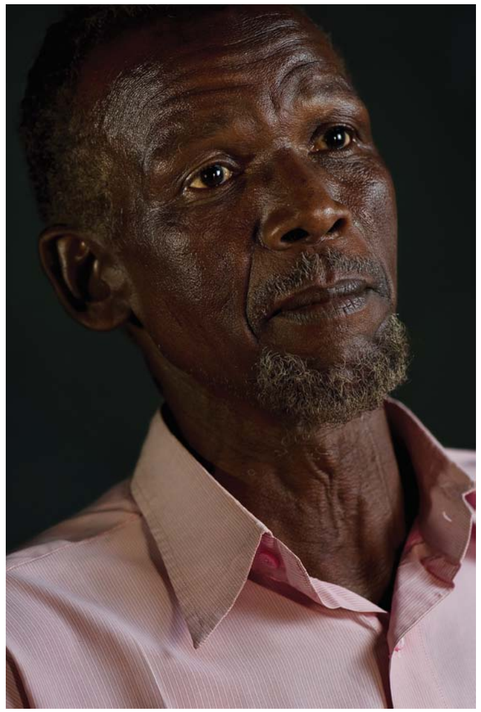
THERESA JOSEPH OKOT (BALANDA-BOOR)
SOME PEOPLE WANT TO DISRUPT THE PEACE, BUT WE CANNOT LET THEM BECAUSE WE PAID FOR IT WITH LIVES. IT WAS NOT FREE. IT IS NOT ONLY UP TO ME. IT IS UP TO ALL OF US TO MAINTAIN THE PEACE.



EMMANUEL JAMES LODONGO (POJULU)
WE WERE BORN AND LIVED IN WAR UNTIL WE WERE ADULTS. WE WANTED THE OPPORTUNITY TO LIVE AS ONE NATION AND IN PEACE. THAT WAS THE MEANING OF INDEPENDENCE FOR ME.



MARY PADAR ATHAC (ATUOT)
THIS IS THE COUNTRY I WAS BORN IN, GREW UP IN AND GOT OLD IN...DURING THE WAR, I WAS MOVING WITH THE SPLA HERE AND THERE. I WAS NOT IN THE ARMY, BUT I WAS HELPING THEM, PREPARING FOOD FOR THE MOVEMENT.



MOHAMMAD RAMADAN BAKUTU (INDRI)
THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH SUDAN IS INDEPENDENCE FROM OPPRESSION. FREEDOM. CHANGE. EQUALITY... INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT RIGHTS, WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY, IS NOT INDEPENDENCE.

AWUT GUEL GUEL (DINKA) (JIENG)
WHEN IT COMES TO THE DEATH OF A PERSON, WE HAVE LUNGARA, A DRUM. THIS LUNGARA IS NORMALLY PLAYED AT NIGHT. IF SOMEBODY ELSE DIES, THE FIRST LUNGARA WILL STOP TO SHOW RESPECT TO THE NEXT PERSON. WHEN THE KARAMA (FUNERAL RITE) IS FINISHED, THEN PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE THE LUNGARA.

SGT. NORLIN JOHN KOMBIR (KAKWA)
A LOT OF PEOPLE ARE NOT EDUCATED. THE FIRST THING IS EDUCATION AND TRAINING, SO PEOPLE CAN WORK.

LONA OMINA (LOTUKA) (OTUHO)
WHEN MY FATHER DIED, WE WERE ALL BROUGHT TOGETHER, ME AND MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS, AROUND THE GRAVE TO PERFORM THE SIBIR (DEATH RITUAL). WE TOOK THE SOIL THAT WAS REMOVED FROM THE GRAVE AND PUT IT IN CIRCLES AROUND OUR HEADS.

CHRISTINE AKUJURU WANI (LOKOYA)
WE NEED TO STRENGTHEN THE COUNTRY OURSELVES SO WE DO NOT RELY ON OUTSIDERS.

MICA SAWAKA MUKHTAR

(ADIO) (MAKARAKA)

PEOPLE CALL US MAKARAKA, BUT THAT MAKARAKA IS A NICKNAME. THE ACTUAL NAME IS ADIO. WE ARE ORIGINALLY FROM CONGO; THERE IS A PLACE CALLED ADIO ISLAND. THIS NAME, MAKARAKA, CAME FROM WHEN WE ENTERED SUDAN (HUNDREDS OF YEARS AGO)...WE SPEAK ALMOST THE SAME LANGUAGE AS THE AZANDE.

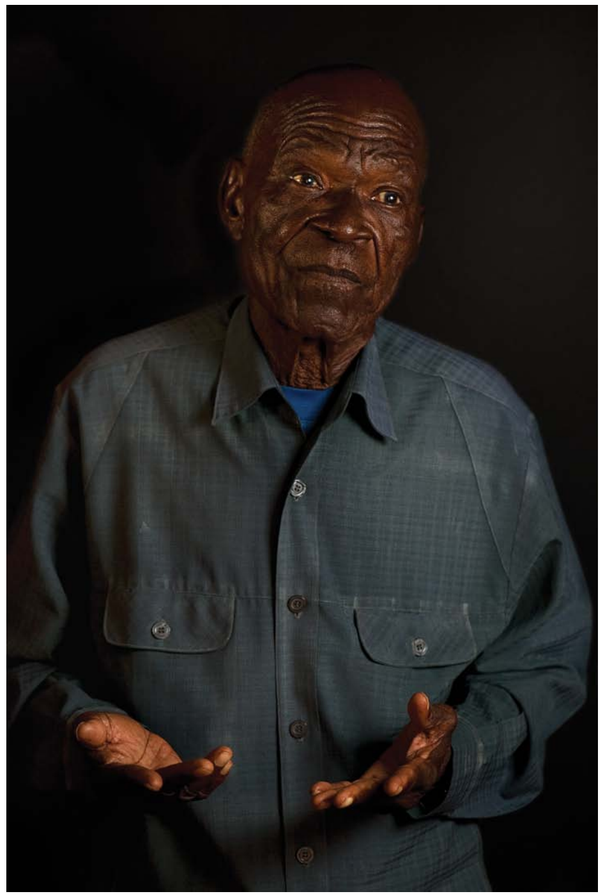
NIGHT IMMACULATE

ADELIO (IMOTONG)

WE NEED TO WORK TOGETHER AND UNITE OURSELVES. DEVELOPMENT CANNOT JUST COME BECAUSE WE SAY WE NEED DEVELOPMENT. IT NEEDS CONTRIBUTION. EVEN IF WE SAY, THE GOVERNMENT, THE GOVERNMENT, THE GOVERNMENT, WE IN SOUTH SUDAN WE ARE ALL THE GOVERNMENT. THEREFORE, IT NEEDS ALL OF US TO WORK VERY HARD, SO THAT WE CAN DEVELOP THE COUNTRY.

ESTHER TIMON
(MORO KODO)
IN THE PAST ALL OF THE ROADS WERE CLOSED AND WE WERE NOT ABLE TO CONNECT WITH EACH OTHER. DURING THE WAR VEHICLES WERE NOT THERE; WE HAD TO WALK. NOW VEHICLES AND TRANSPORT ARE HERE.

ADEL ALBERTO
(MUNDU)
ALL THE TRIBES SHOULD FOCUS ON ABANDONING THEIR HARMFUL TRADITIONS...THEY NEED TO BE EDUCATED AND THEN HAVE A VISION THAT WILL MOVE THE TRIBE FORWARD...IF THE TRIBES STILL FIGHT AND KILL EACH OTHER OVER COWS, WE WILL NOT COME TOGETHER. WE ALL NEED TO SIT IN ONE PLACE, SO PEOPLE BRING THEIR IDEAS OF UNITY, PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT.

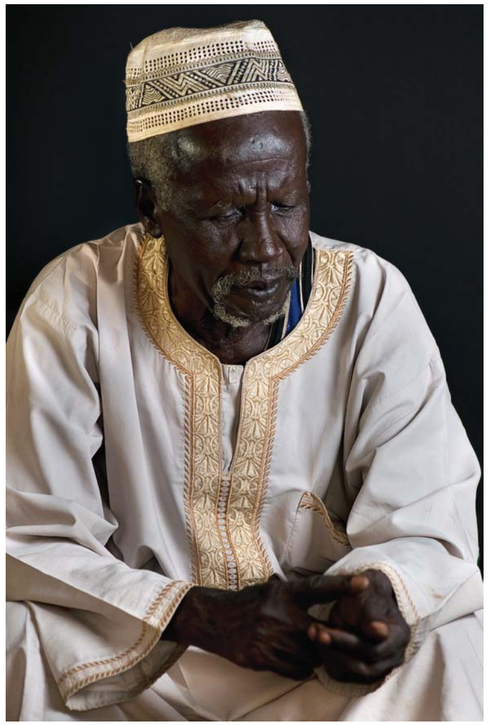


JOSEPH AYAN KATAS (NDOGO)
IF IT'S A BOY BORN DURING THE WAR, WE CALL HIM GALIGO BECAUSE IT MEANS THE PEOPLE WHO ARE RUNNING. IT IT'S A GIRL, ZUGO. NOW IN TIMES OF PEACE YOU CAN NAME THEM WHATEVER YOU WANT, BECAUSE EVERYONE IS FREE.

MIRI LUAL CHOL (NUER) (NAATH)
DURING THE WAR I WENT TO KENYA. LIFE WAS GOOD FOR THE KENYANS BUT NOT FOR THE REFUGEES, BECAUSE WE DIDN'T HAVE ANY RIGHTS AS REFUGEES. WE WERE NOT ALLOWED TO GO OUT OF THE REFUGEE CAMP AND THERE WAS NO WORK. WE JUST STAYED IDLE.

ELIZABETH JUANG (MURLE)

WHEN GOD GAVE US OUR COUNTRY WE CAME AND KILLED OURSELVES LIKE FISH. WHY DON'T WE REMEMBER THIS? WHEN WE WENT TO THE BUSH, WE DIDN'T GO BECAUSE OF TRIBALISM. WE WENT BECAUSE WE WERE SUFFERING INJUSTICE.



MAHMOUD DAHIA ABULKARIM (BINGA)
THE YOUTH PROTECT THE COMMUNITY. IF ANYTHING HAPPENS, WE CALL UPON THE YOUTH TO HELP...THE ELDERS' ROLE IS TO ADVISE THE YOUTH AND TELL THEM IF THEY ARE TAKING THE WRONG PATH.

ROBERT JADA ANGELO (LULUBO) (OLU'BO)
THE PEOPLE ARE CALLED LULUBO, BUT THE REAL NAME IS OLU'BO...I AM ACTUALLY A MUSICIAN. I PLAY GUITAR AND KEYBOARD AND SOME LOCAL INSTRUMENTS LIKE LOKOMBE (LAMELLAPHONE). IT IS PLAYED WITH THE TWO FINGERS AND THE ADUNGO YOU PLAY LIKE A GUITAR.

GADALLAH HAJA WADATALLAH (NGULGULE)
A SIMPLE PROBLEM WILL BE RESOLVED BY THE SHEIKH, A BIGGER PROBLEM WILL BE RESOLVED BY THE TRIBE AND A VERY COMPLEX PROBLEM WILL BE RESOLVED BY THE SULTAN...THE SULTAN IS HEREDITARY. IF ANYTHING HAPPENS TO HIM, HIS SON, OR WHOEVER IS CLOSEST TO HIM, WILL TAKE OVER.

MARGARET MATHIA (BAKA)
WHEN SOMEONE FROM THE COMMUNITY DIES, PEOPLE AND ELDERS COME TOGETHER AND THE DECEASED IS PUT ON A CHAIR IN THE GROUND. WE DON'T LAY THEM DOWN. WE BUILD THE GRAVE AROUND THEM AND THAT'S WHY YOU WILL SEE ROUND TOMBS IN OUR VILLAGE.

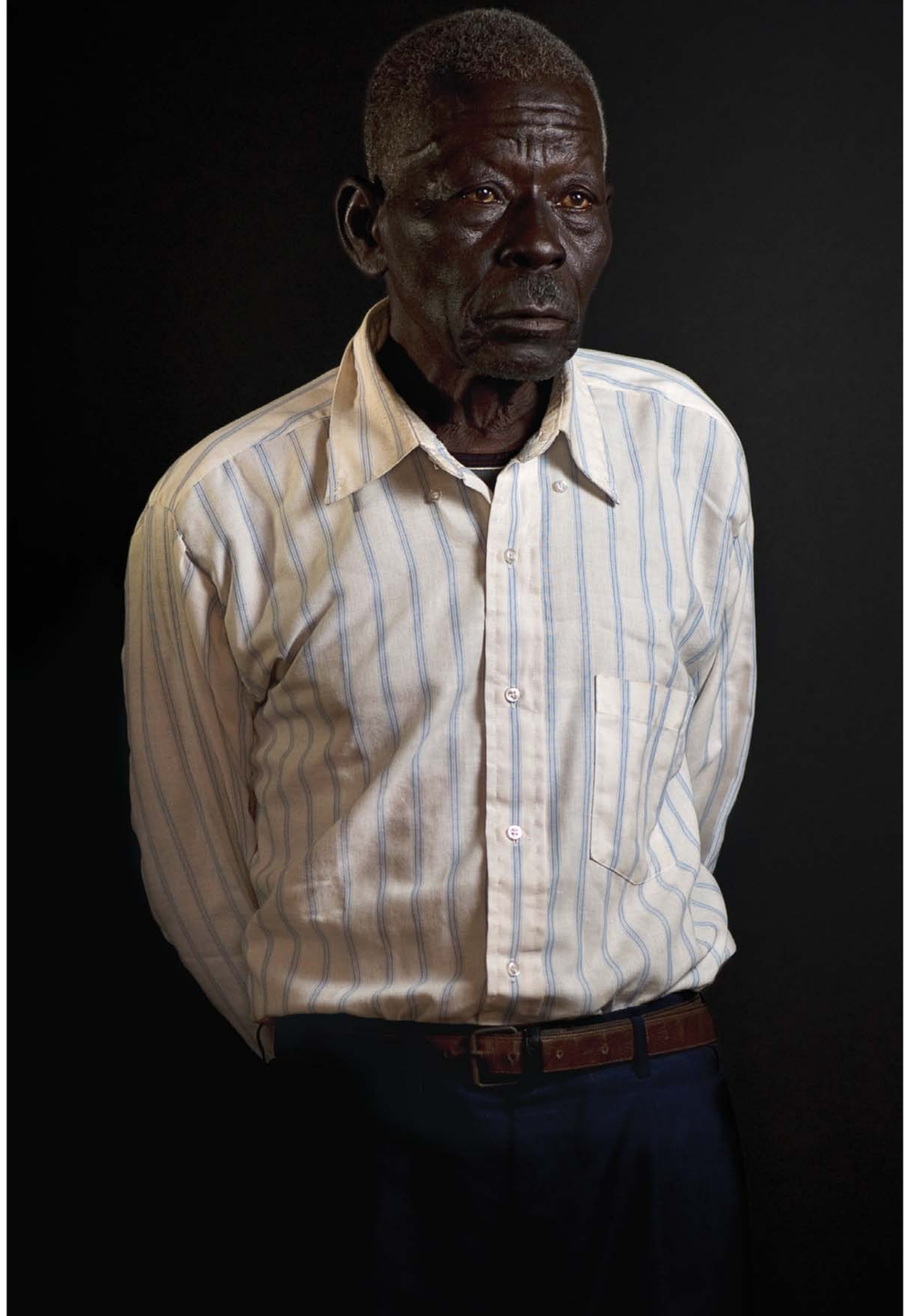
FRANCIS IBRAHIM PATRICIO (BAI)
WHEN A CHILD IS BORN, IT BRINGS GREAT JOY TO THE HOUSE. THE NEXT DAY, THE CHILD IS PLACED IN FRONT OF THE DOOR FOR THE NAMING RITUAL...IT IT'S A BOY, AN AXE, MALOGO AND A SPEAR ARE MADE SO HE WILL BE BRAVE. A STONE IS PLACED OVER HIS HEART SO HE WILL HAVE A STRONG HEART IN THE FUTURE.

DAVID KEZI VINANSIO (DONGOTONO)
BEFORE YOU CAN THINK OF MARRIAGE YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO HUNT. YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO BUILD YOUR OWN HOUSE. SO WHEN YOU MARRY YOU'LL BE ABLE TO BUILD A HOUSE FOR YOUR WIFE AND YOUR CHILDREN WHEN THEY ARE BORN.

MUSA ABRAHAMAN MUSA (FEROGHE)
ON THE WEDDING DAY, BOTH SIDES COME AND SIT TOGETHER...WHEN THE CEREMONY IS FINISHED A MAN WILL STAND AND SCREAM THREE TIMES. THAT MEANS THE WEDDING IS FINALIZED.

HENRY BRINGI BASHIR (SERE)

EVERY TRIBE HAS THEIR SONGS. SONGS ARE ONLY FROM WHAT ONE SEES OR HEARS. A SONG I REMEMBER IS: 'I HAVE BECOME BLIND BECAUSE I HAVE NO CHILD. WHO WILL SHOW ME THE WAY? WHO WILL HOLD MY WALKING STICK AND GUIDE ME? IF I ONLY HAD A CHILD HE WILL SHOW ME WHERE I'M GOING. PEOPLE LAUGH AT ME BUT THIS IS HOW THE WORLD IS. IT'S OKAY, THIS IS MY FATE.'

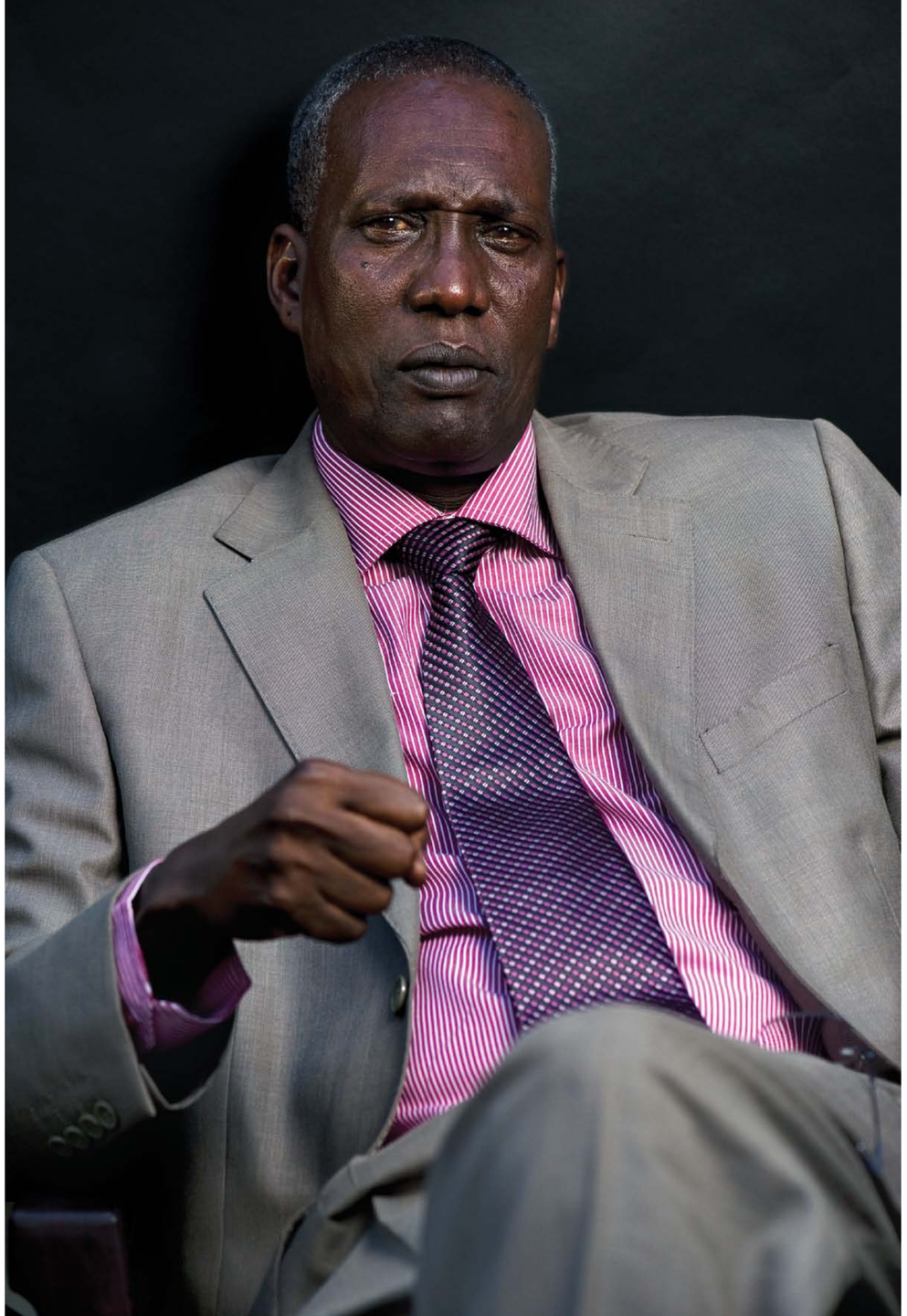


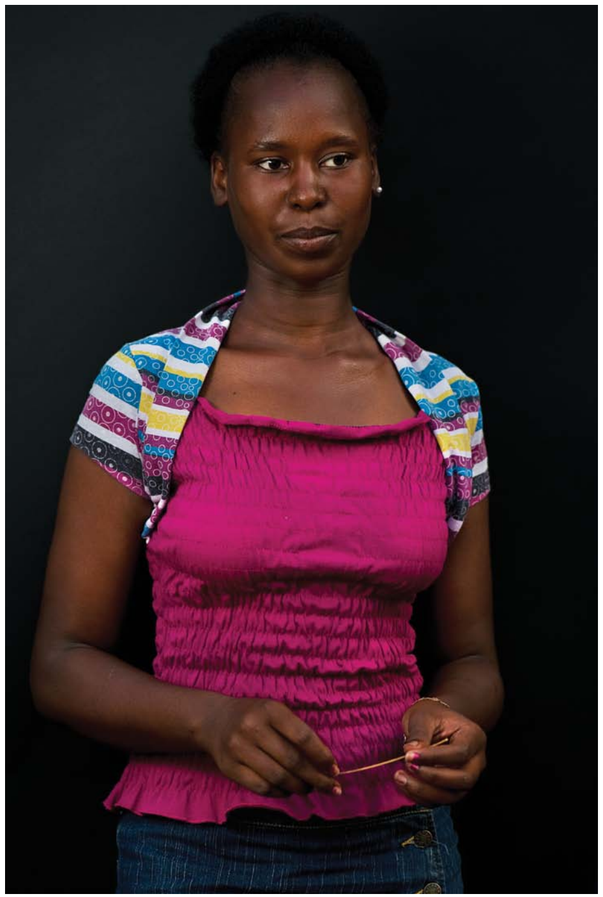
DAHIA AHMED BANDAS (BANDA)
INDEPENDENCE IS A BIG BENEFIT. IF THERE ARE ANY DIFFICULTIES, WE, AS SOUTHERNERS, MUST RESOLVE IT OURSELVES.

ANGELO JAMES ANYONYO (TENET)
I KNOW IN THE FUTURE WE ARE GOING TO BE A NATION THAT WILL NOT SEGREGATE ANYBODY; A NATION THAT WILL EMBRACE EVERYBODY AND ALL THE CULTURES, BECAUSE WE HAVE DIVERSITY IN SOUTH SUDAN…BECAUSE WHEN YOU RESPECT A CULTURE, IT IS LIKE YOU ARE RESPECTING YOURSELF AND IT IS THIS VERY CULTURE THAT CONSTITUTES SOUTH SUDAN.

HON. GEORGE ECHOM EKENO (NYANGATOM)

NYANGATOM CULTURE IS CONNECTED TO LIVESTOCK...THE YOUTH - THEY CATEGORIZE THEMSELVES ESPECIALLY AS WILD ANIMALS. FOR EXAMPLE, MY FATHER'S AGE MATES ARE CALLED ELEPHANTS AND THE CHILDREN ARE CATEGORIZED AS OSTRICH AND THE SONS OF THE OSTRICH ARE ANTELOPES AND THE CHILDREN OF THE ANTELOPES ARE BUFFALOS AND THIS IS WHERE WE HAVE REACHED NOW.





MONICA MICHAEL
MADIT (DINKA) (JIENG)
I WAS BORN IN KHARTOUM AND MOVED TO WAU IN 2011. KHARTOUM IS DIFFERENT FROM THE LIFE HERE. WAU IS BEAUTIFUL, BUT EVERYTHING COMES FROM KHARTOUM AND THINGS ARE EXPENSIVE HERE...IT'S JUST DIFFERENT.

MAJOR STEPHEN
TUACH PAL
(NUER) (NAATH)
I WAS A RED ARMY SOLDIER. I JOINED THE SPLA IN 1988 IN BILPAM WHEN I WAS 15 YEARS OLD. I EXPERIENCED THE WAR FIGHTING THE ENEMY. I WAS NOT LIVING IN A REFUGEE CAMP. I WAS LIVING ON THE WAR'S FRONTLINE.

GINA LUCIANO OKUMU (MADI)

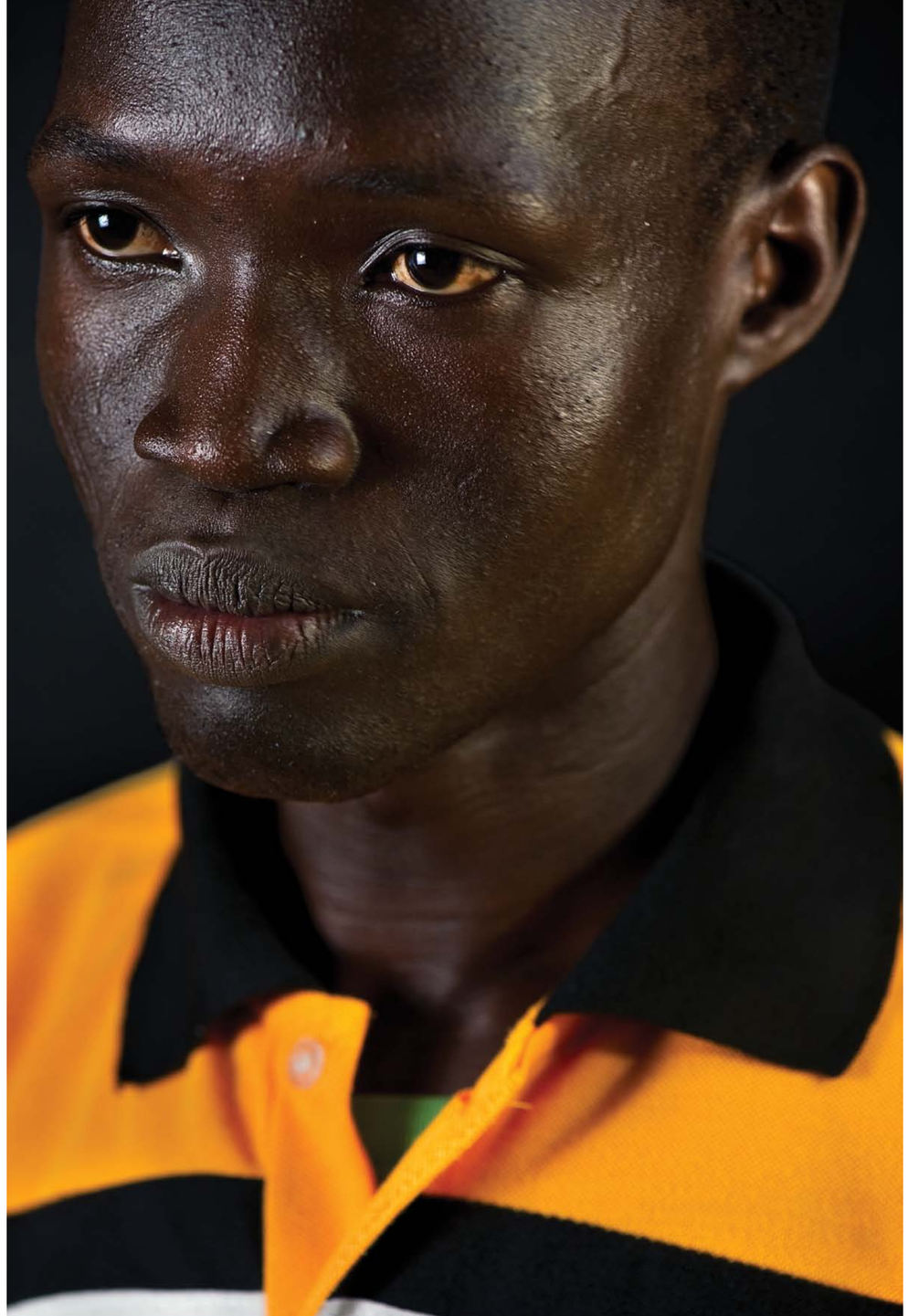
DURING THE WAR I WAS IN KHARTOUM, I STAYED MANY YEARS THERE AND CAME BACK TO JUBA IN 2010...I AM NOW ABLE TO TAKE CARE OF MY MOTHER. MY MOTHER IS VERY OLD AND THE REST OF MY BROTHERS HAVE DIED.

SOLFANI PETER (LANGO) (KETEBO)

FOR YOU TO BECOME AN ADULT YOU HAVE TO UNDERGO INITIATION... THIS INITIATION IS BECAUSE A MAN IS SUPPOSED TO BE MATURE IN A SITUATION WHERE SOMETHING BAD IS AFFECTING THE COMMUNITY. IF A FIRE BURNS, YOU CAN GO AND HELP AND RESCUE THE CHILDREN. IN THIS INITIATION THE MAN IS SUPPOSED TO JUMP FIRE THREE TIMES...THEY PUT THE FIRE IN THE MIDDLE AND THE PEOPLE ARE ON THE SIDES. WHEN YOU ARE JUMPING THE FIRE, THEY BEAT YOU.

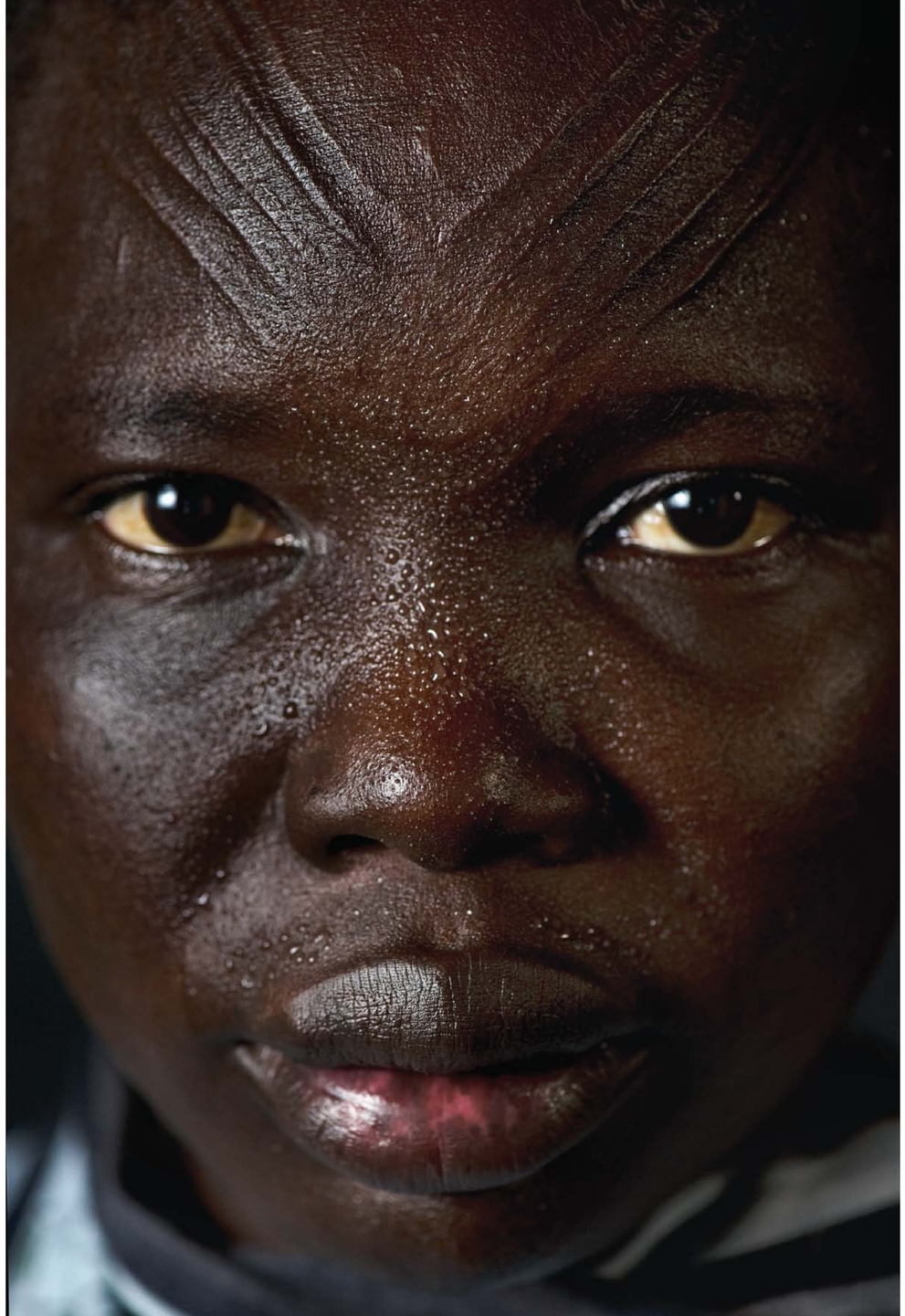
ALBINO MADUT NYOK (DINKA) (JIENG)

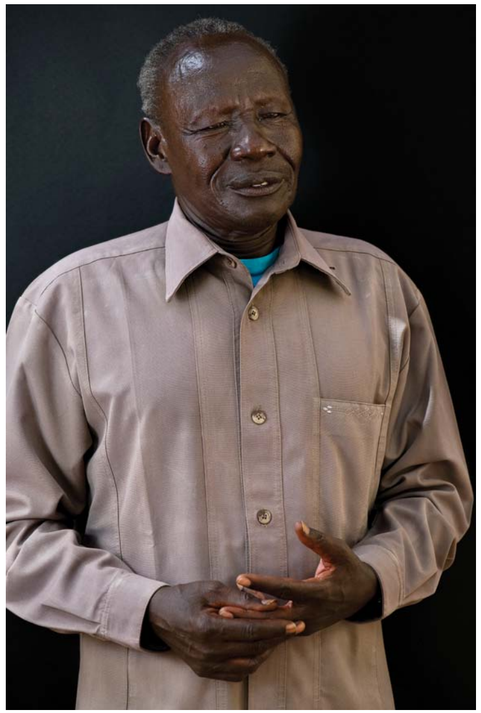
WHEN YOU REACH THAT AGE (MATURITY) YOU WILL HAVE A BULL AND YOU WILL COMPOSE A SONG. IN OUR AREA THERE IS SOMEONE CALLED BOL BOL AND THIS BOL BOL IS AN ARTIST...HE WILL TRY TO COMBINE THE HISTORY OF YOUR GRANDFATHERS WITH THE BULL...YOU WILL FIND MANY YOUNG MEN WAITING FOR THAT TIME WHEN THEY CAN COMPOSE A SONG... THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT BECAUSE IN OUR AREA WE DON'T HAVE HISTORIANS...SO THIS HISTORY IS PASSED DOWN ORALLY.



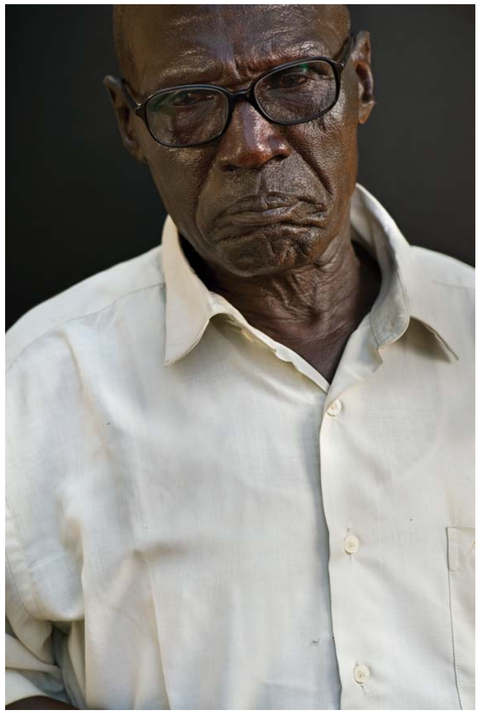
LONA PONI (MUNDARI)

DURING THE WAR WE WERE VERY YOUNG. WE WERE YOUNG, BUT WE STILL KNEW WHAT WAS TAKING PLACE, BECAUSE WE SEE PEOPLE RUN TO THE BUSH, PEOPLE RUN AWAY FROM HOME. WHEN PEOPLE SLEEP IN THE BUSH, THAT IS THE SIGN OF SOMETHING WRONG. WHENEVER THERE ARE GUNSHOTS, WE HAD TO RUN IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION.





PASQUALE IGNACIO (LOGIR)
THE FIRST WAR, I WAS THERE, ANYANYA 1. IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT. WE STARTED WITH BOWS AND ARROWS, WITH PANGAS…AND THIS IS EXACTLY THE GOAL WE WERE FIGHTING FOR… SEPARATION AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH SUDAN. WE HAVE FOUGHT ENOUGH. LET US HAVE A REST SO WE CAN DEVELOP.



EDWARD OHUCHOLI (IFOTO) (HORIYOK)
FR. SANTURNINO CAME AND HE JOINED THEM (ANYANYA). HE TOOK SOME SOLDIERS UP TO CONGO AND THEY BROUGHT GUNS AND THEY FOUGHT…THEY WERE LIVING IN THE MOUNTAINS AROUND HERE…I JOINED IN 1965…WHEN WE WERE IN ANYANYA, WE WALKED AND WE FOUGHT. THEY SENT PLANES TO FIGHT US.

AZARAK ABDAHAMAN JARKUM (YULU)
SOUTH SUDAN NEEDS UNITY. PEOPLE NEED TO HAVE A UNIFIED VOICE FIGHTING TRIBALISM. PEOPLE WHO ARE EDUCATED IN A CERTAIN FIELD NEED OPPORTUNITIES TO USE THEIR SKILLS, SO THE COUNTRY WILL MOVE FORWARD.

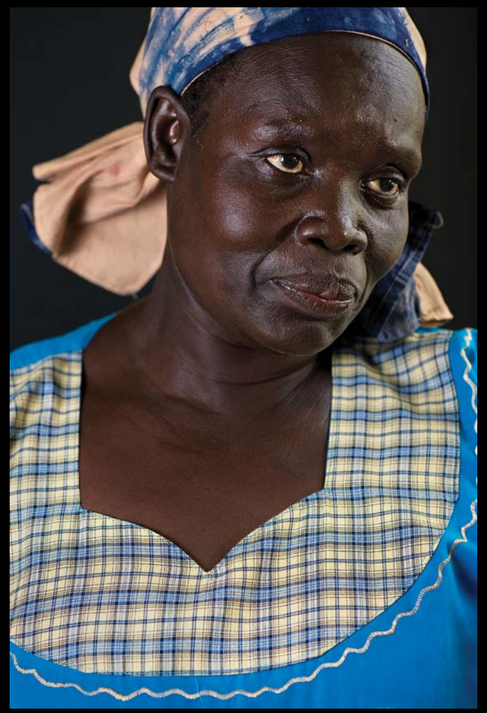
PAUL MAJAK KHALIFA (SHATT) (THURI)
IN OUR TRIBE, IF YOU ARE INJURED IN THE BACK, NO GIRL WILL MARRY YOU BECAUSE YOU ARE A COWARD. YOU HAVE TO BE INJURED IN THE FACE. WE DO THIS TO ENCOURAGE STRENGTH.

SULTAN MARINO (LARIM) (BOYA)

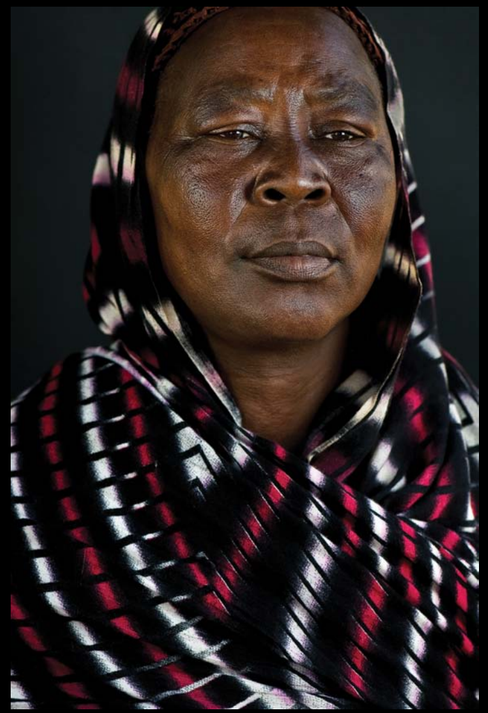
WE CAN MARRY FROM ANY TRIBE. WE MARRY FROM TOPOSA, WE MARRY FROM DIDINGA, WE MARRY FROM ANYWHERE. FOR EXAMPLE, I HAVE A WIFE FROM MUNDARI, WE HAVE THREE CHILDREN. I HAVE A WIFE FROM LARIM, WE HAVE FOUR CHILDREN.

MARK ATHUOK UBUR (PARI)

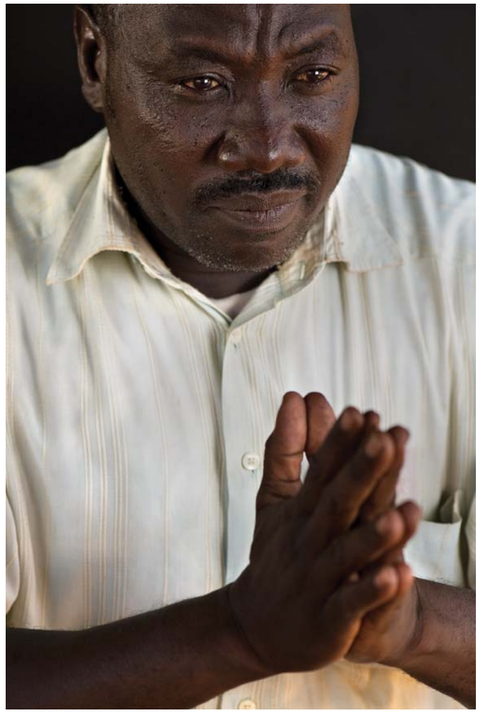
SOUTH SUDANESE HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR DIGNITY FOR OVER 50 YEARS AND PEOPLE ARE NOW FREE...LET US SEE OURSELVES AS ONE AND REMIND OURSELVES OF HOW WE REACHED THIS STATE. WE CAME A LONG WAY AND WHEN WE WERE FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENCE ALL OF THE TRIBES OF SOUTH SUDAN PARTICIPATED ACTIVELY. I CANNOT SEE MY TRIBE AS THE BEST AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER TRIBES. WE MUST SEE THE OTHER TRIBES AS EQUAL.



PHILIPA LOPA JALLE (KUKU)
CIVILIANS ARE SUFFERING. HOW CAN WE DEVELOP THE COUNTRY LIKE THIS? BUT IF (THE GOVERNMENT) COULD HELP PEOPLE FROM THE VILLAGE BRING FOOD TO SELL IN TOWN, LIKE IN THE OLDEN DAYS, THERE WOULD BE NO HUNGER IN OUR COUNTRY. THIS IS ONE OF THE THINGS HEAVY IN MY HEART.



MARUTH JOSEPH MOJAMILLY (WORO)
WE DON'T HAVE LAMPS AT NIGHT, SO THE ELDERS WILL BRING WOOD FOR A FIRE. THE YOUTH AND CHILDREN WILL LISTEN TO STORIES OF THEIR (THE ELDERS) LIVES AND OF THEIR ANCESTORS.



SAYID KAWUN ISMAIL (KARA)
WE NEED TO LEARN TO ACCEPT AND TOLERATE. IF THERE IS NO ACCEPTANCE OF EACH OTHER, WE WILL NOT BE A COUNTRY. WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO GIVE THE NEXT GENERATION A BLANK PAGE TO WRITE THEIR STORY.

GRACE WILLIAM BACATA (AZANDE)
I'M FEELING HAPPY WITH THE INDEPENDENCE BECAUSE NOW I AM FREE. I AM FREE. ANYWHERE I WANT TO GO I KNOW THAT I AM A SOUTH SUDANESE AND OUR HOME IS THIS PLACE.

MALESH OBET (KELIKU)

WHEN THE NAME IS GIVEN, THAT IS WHEN THEY WILL BRING THE CHILD OUTSIDE. THE PERSON WHO IS GIVING THE NAME TO THE CHILD WILL SAY, 'IF THIS IS NOT THE RIGHT NAME, IF THIS NAME DOES NOT FIT YOU, THE BABY SHOULD CRY THE WHOLE NIGHT.' SO THAT THE FOLLOWING DAY THEY WILL SIT DOWN AND CHANGE TO ANOTHER NAME. BUT IF THIS IS THE RIGHT NAME THAT'S BEEN GIVEN TO THE CHILD, DEFINITELY THIS CHILD WILL SLEEP PEACEFULLY AND WILL NOT DISTURB THE MOTHER.

COL. MAWAT MATHIANG ATERJOK (DINKA) (JIENG)

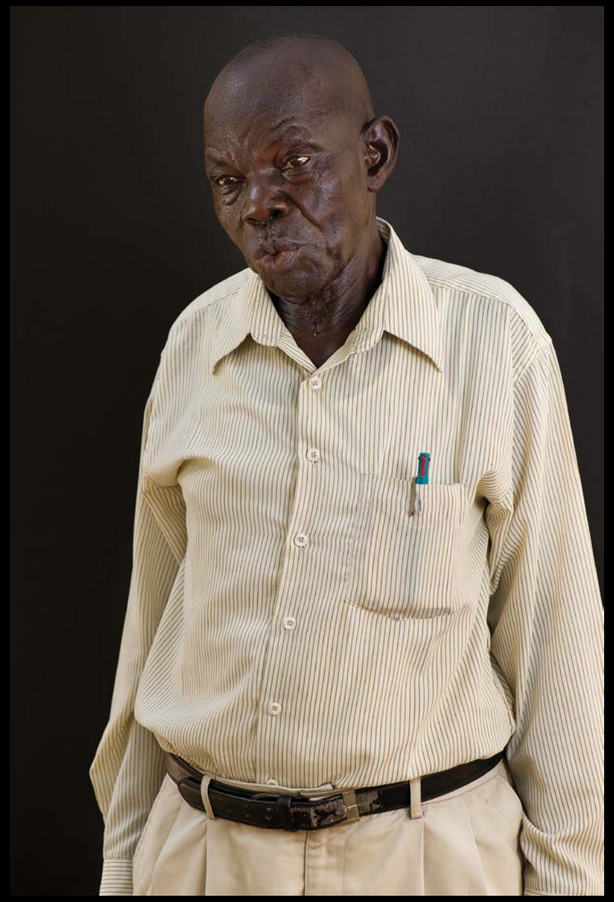
WE WERE SOLDIERS. YOU CANNOT CARE ABOUT YOURSELF... OUR AIM - IT IS ONE...WE ARE NOW ENJOYING OUR RESOURCES AND WE ARE WORKING HARD TO DEFEND OUR TERRITORY.

CECILIA ONYO (LOPIT)

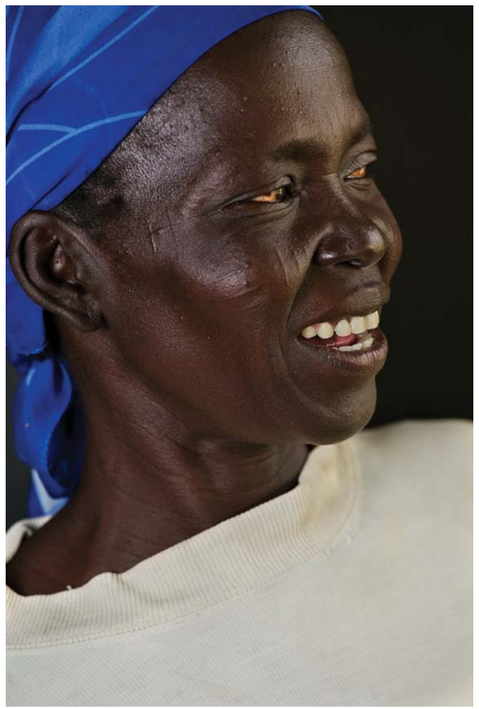
IF A CHIEF DIES, THERE WILL BE ADDITIONAL SPACE DUG OUT NEXT TO HIS GRAVE, SO NO SOIL WILL TOUCH HIM. A BLACK COW WILL BE SLAUGHTERED AND THE SKIN WILL BE PUT WITH THE CHIEF. HE WILL STAY FOR THREE MONTHS AND THEN WILL BE REMOVED FROM THE GRAVE. THE BONES OF THE CHIEF WILL BE PUT IN A POT AND TAKEN TO THE MOUNTAIN AND THE PEOPLE WILL DANCE. (IF THIS IS NOT DONE) THERE WILL NOT BE A GOOD YIELD THAT YEAR FOR THE CROPS.

FATHER SANTINO LOUNO (DIDINGA)
WHAT I EXPERIENCED IN THE SPLA AREAS WAS A LOT OF BOMBARDMENT FROM THE ANTONOV… WHEN THE PLANE HOVERS AROUND, YOU FEAR MOST. WHEN IT HAS DROPPED BOMBS, THEN IT GOES AWAY; NOW YOU RELAX BECAUSE IT IS GONE. IT WILL COME AGAIN THE FOLLOWING DAY AND DO THE SAME…I REMEMBER ONE TIME I WAS IN NAIROBI. I WAS IN A HOUSE AND I HEARD A PLANE PASSING. I RUSHED OUT OF THE ROOM TO SEE WHETHER IT WAS AN ANTONOV AND THAT'S WHEN I REALIZED I WAS IN KENYA.

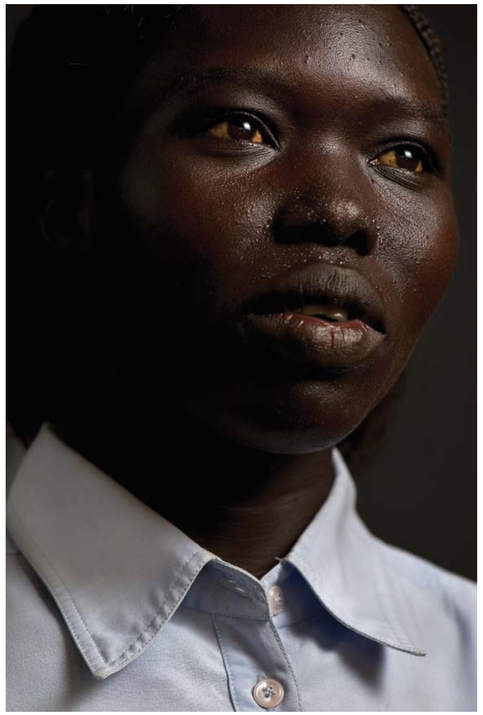
JUSTIN KILIOPES DUO (NYANGWARA)
DURING THE WAR I WAS ESTABLISHING SCHOOLS AND TEACHING…PEOPLE WERE LIVING IN FEAR. SOMETIMES THEY WERE BEING BOMBED BY ANTONOVS. WHEN YOU WAKE UP IN THE MORNING, YOU JUST THANK GOD.



NURA PASQUALE (AJA)
I WANT TO BE A TEACHER, SO THAT I CAN TEACH CHILDREN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY.



MONICA DOPIRI (JUR) (BELI & MODO)
WHEN A SUITOR COMES FOR MARRIAGE, THEY ASK HIM, 'LOOK HOW BEAUTIFUL SHE IS BUT A WOMAN'S LIFE IS HARD. WHAT IF TOMORROW SHE GOES INTO THE BUSH AND SOMETHING HAPPENS AND SHE LOSES AN EYE. WILL YOU STILL WANT HER?' THEN THEY ASK THE GIRL THE SAME QUESTION.

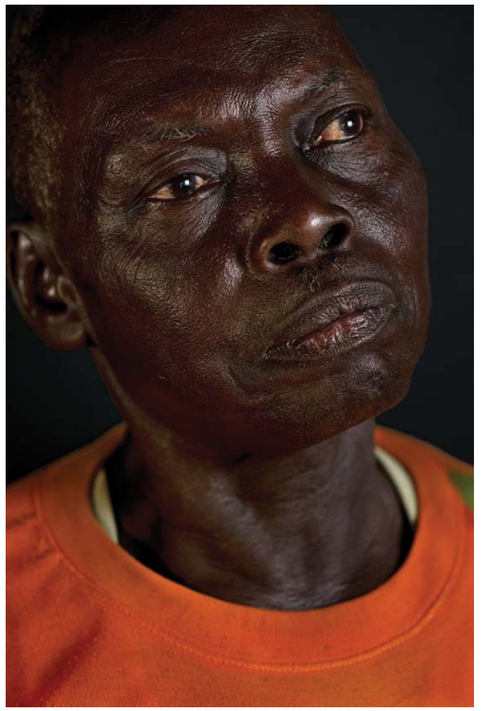


MARGARET STEVEN (ACHOLI)
DURING THE WAR WE FLED SUDAN AND WE WENT TO EAST AFRICA, IN UGANDA. I WAS EDUCATED THERE AND GREW UP THERE. THEN IN 2007, I CAME BACK.

MARGARET KAYA KUBRI (MORU)
LIFE BEFORE THE WAR WAS BEAUTIFUL, BUT DURING THE WAR THERE WERE A LOT OF PROBLEMS, LOTS OF KILLING AND MANY BAD THINGS. NOW THERE IS STILL SOME INSECURITY...IF THERE IS LOVE BETWEEN ALL OF THE PEOPLE, THINGS WILL BE BETTER.

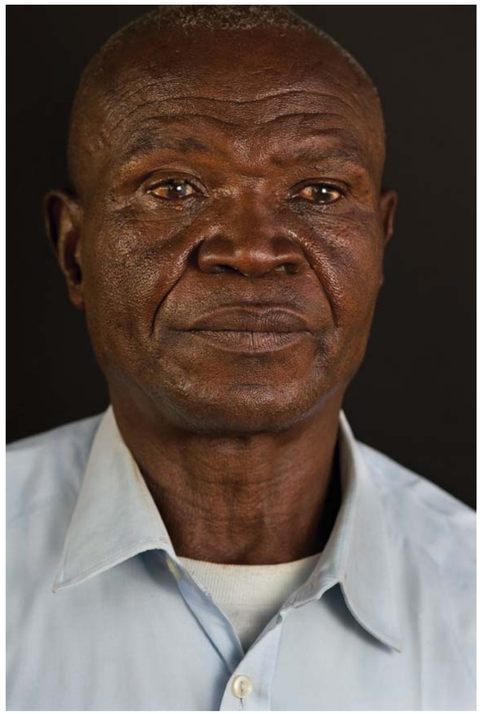
LINA TUWA REPENT (AVUKAYA)
WHAT MATTERS IS THE KNOWLEDGE I'VE ACQUIRED...I'D LIKE TO SAY LIFE HAS BECOME HARD, BECAUSE MY MOM IS NOT THERE, MY DAD IS NOT THERE, NO ONE IS HELPING ME. BUT, NO, LIFE IS ALWAYS A STRUGGLE. YOU'LL SEE IN THE FUTURE I'LL BECOME SOMEONE.

AMINA ALI AGUNDUGA (LUGBARA)
IF A CHIEF DIES, WE DON'T CRY...THE PEOPLE WILL PREPARE FOOD AND SLAUGHTER COWS... AND THE PEOPLE WILL DANCE WITH DRUMS.



RUDOLPHO RONGO NZAR (GOLLO)
SINCE 1963, WHEN I WAS IN SCHOOL, MY LUCK WAS VERY BAD...THE WAR IMPEDED MY EDUCATION. WE KEPT RUNNING FROM ONE PLACE TO ANOTHER.

MOTAI REC MOU (NUER) (NAATH)
MY EXPERIENCE DURING THE WAR IS ONLY WAR - MOVING FROM PLACE TO PLACE. THERE IS NOT ENOUGH FOOD... YOUR AMMO, YOUR GUN, ALL THOSE THINGS YOU CARRY ON YOUR BACK OR YOUR HEAD...IF YOU GET FOOD, YOU WILL EAT; IF NOT, YOU CAN WAIT. YOU WILL GET IT TOMORROW. THE FOOD IS GIVEN BY THE COMMUNITY...THAT IS THEIR CONTRIBUTION.

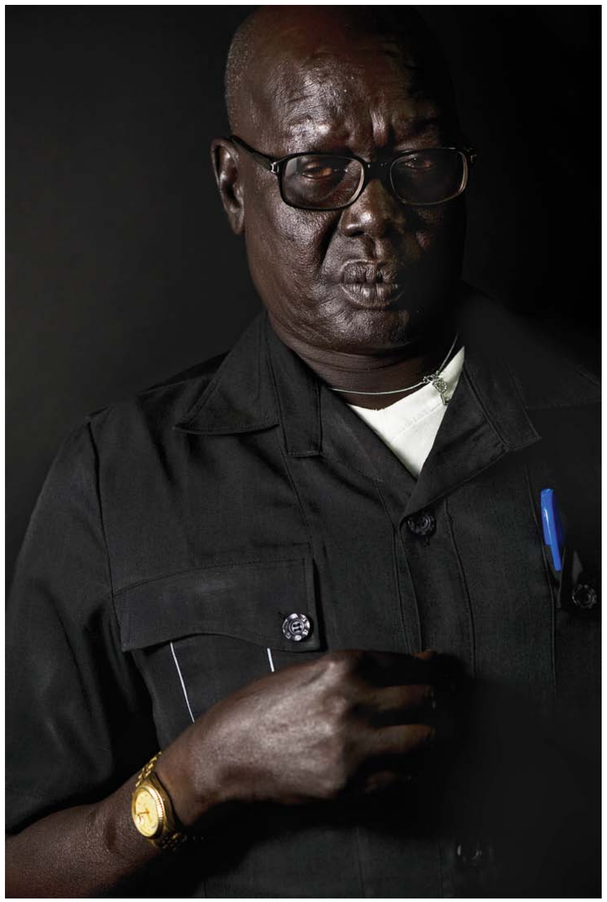


KALISTO GUNDA JULIO BANDAS (MANGAYAT)
LEADERS MUST BRING QUALIFIED PEOPLE, NOT JUST THOSE FROM THEIR TRIBE. PEOPLE MUST HAVE A NATIONALISTIC AGENDA, SO THEY WILL LOOK OUT FOR THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

ANNE GABRIEL UGUAK (LUO) (JUR CHOL)
WE THANK GOD FOR THE COUNTRY WE HAVE...DR. JOHN GARANG SHOWED US THE WAY AND THEN HE LEFT US.

JOHN MOFUM RUKU (BONGO)
WHEN A YOUNG CHILD HAS DIED, HE IS BURIED UNDER THE FAMILY HOUSE BECAUSE THEY WANT THIS CHILD TO COME BACK. IF IT'S AN OLDER PERSON (WHO HAS DIED), HE IS BURIED OUTSIDE.

COL. FRANCIS CHUANG MANYIP (DINKA) (JIENG)
IN THE GOVERNMENT I AM A SOLDIER. I WAS IN THE SUDAN ARMY IN THE 105TH BATTALION. I LEFT THE SUDAN ARMY ON 16 MAY 1983 (DURING THE BOR MUTINY)... WE SEPARATED AND THIS IS THE MEANING OF WHAT WE FOUGHT FOR. OUR FREEDOM CAME AND IT WAS THIS REASON THAT TOOK US TO THE BUSH.



MARY NBONGO VAOULI (BALANDA-BVIRI)
WE USED TO HAVE A WOMAN WHO WOULD DO THE SCARRING. THEY WOULD TAKE US TO A REMOTE PLACE TO DO THE CUTTING. YOU DON'T GO HOME UNTIL THE SCARS ARE HEALED, YOU GO TO YOUR AUNTIE'S HOUSE. IT IS A SIGN OF BEAUTY.

AKELLO CHAM ADWONG (ANYUAK) (ANYUAA)
THE FIRST THING WHICH IS IMPORTANT IS TO OPEN ROADS... THERE ARE PEOPLE DEEP IN THE VILLAGE WHO DO NOT KNOW WHERE THEY BELONG AND THEY DON'T KNOW WHETHER THERE IS PEACE. DEVELOPMENT WILL TAKE LONG, BUT AT LEAST A ROAD CAN SHOW THEM THERE IS SOME PEACE.

MIT DAK (SHILLUK) (CHOLLO)

IF TRIBALISM IS NOT LEFT BEHIND, THE COUNTRY WILL NOT GO AHEAD, IT WILL NOT DEVELOP. THIS IS OUR MAIN PROBLEM... IF WE COULD THINK THE WAY WE DID IN THE REFERENDUM VOTE, PEOPLE UNITED TOGETHER, WE WENT THERE WITH ONE HEART, WE VOTED TOGETHER. IF THIS IS HOW ALL SOUTH SUDANESE COULD THINK, THIS WOULD BE THE RIGHT WAY...IF WE CONTINUE LIKE THIS, OUR CHILDREN WILL FOLLOW THE SAME ROUTE WE ARE TAKING.

SANTO MAKOI (DINKA) (JIENG)

MY STORY WAS VERY PAINFUL. I LEFT RUMBEK WHEN I WAS A CHILD...PEOPLE WERE NOT STABLE IN ONE PLACE. I WENT TO KHARTOUM WHEN I WAS 9 YEARS OLD AND GREW WITH THE COMBONI BROTHERS AT ST. JOSEPH...I WENT TO SUDAN UNIVERSITY AND NOW I AM AN ARTIST...I PAINT EVERY CULTURE IN SOUTH SUDAN AND NOW I AM PROUD TO PAINT THE CULTURE OF OUR PEOPLE.

TIMSAHA, WESTERN BAHR EL GHAZAL

NUER HOMESTEAD, UNITY

MT. KINYETI, EASTERN EQUATORIA

TOICH, LAKES

THE FUTURE THROUGH CULTURE

Our Diverse Cultural Resources

By Anyieth D'Awol

South Sudan is a unique and special country, the newest nation in the world, born on 9 July, 2011. Within its borders, its most important asset is its peoples and their diverse and rich cultures. Economic marginalization and lack of development (one of its core disputes with the old Sudan), has left South Sudan looking almost like a blank canvas. Underneath though, South Sudan is a detailed tapestry of cultural groups, a country with vast natural resources like arable land, livestock, oil and magnificent landscapes.

South Sudan has approximately ten million people - from some seventy different tribal groups - living spread out across the highlands, plains and swamplands, the White Nile River and its tributaries sustaining their agriculture and animals. Despite the natural beauty of the new nation, the realities of life in South Sudan are less appealing. In the 1983 to 2005 civil war with Sudan's northern-led governments, we lost two and a half million fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers and children. Most people are from shattered families; almost everyone has at least one relative among South Sudan's four million internally, and one million internationally, displaced during the war.

Education and health institutions are weak, and although access to both for the majority is improving, South Sudan's indicators remain among the world's worst. Inter-tribal violence, exacerbated by a heavily armed population, plagues South Sudanese regions, the most vulnerable almost always suffering greatly. Wartime mistrust is fuelled by the lack of justice and the unfair distribution of wealth and power. As a result, South Sudan is caught in a vicious cycle that needs to be broken. Insecurity discourages development, and because of underdevelopment, insecurity persists. With poor access to basic services, and minimal peace dividends, the civilian population fights among each other. Currently, rather than being its strength, South Sudan's diversity is a source

The South Sudan Theatre Company performs Cymbeline in Juba Arabic at Shakespeare's Globe Theatre in London. The performance was the first rendition of a Shakespeare play in Juba Arabic and was part of the Globe to Globe festival bringing together theatre companies from around the world.
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of conflict manifesting itself along tribal lines. Addressing poverty through resources and merit-based structures could change this. Positive action such as the equitable distribution of wealth and power, as well as dialogue and reconciliation, could create a more conducive environment for tolerance and respect, and thus a more likely environment for progress.

Through respect and appreciation for cultural and tribal diversity, South Sudan can harness the strength it possesses in all its tribal groupings: this is where a positive future lies. To rid the nation of inter-tribal violence, we need to develop respect for cultural identity and learn to co-exist.

Part pastoralist, part agriculturalist, South Sudanese can benefit more from cooperation than the sort of conflict that affects all communities equally. Some traditions exacerbate conflict; all governmental institutions and individuals must learn to respect basic human rights and the rule of law. When communities accept each other's right to existence, and within cultures community members respect each other's basic human rights, mutual cooperation can become the agenda driving South Sudan to a brighter future.

Tribal identity is very important in the new nation. Downplaying the importance of tribal identity to emphasise unity instead would lead to a more uncertain future. Attempts by Sudan's old northern-led governments to Islamize and Arabize their southern populations testify to that. On the other hand, pride in one's tribal affiliations with little regard to the needs of the nation as a whole leaves all communities living with insecurity and need. Tribal pride and national pride need to be balanced out; South Sudan's national identity needs to embrace both for everyone's sake.

South Sudan united to fight decades-long wars and gain its independence through the joining of hands and hearts against northern Sudan, both through rebellion and through the vote. But what can unite South Sudanese of all tribes today?

The first part of this answer lies in the people consenting to live together and share the nation with respect and appreciation for all South Sudan's cultures. The tribes are culturally different, but all people from all the tribes within the geographical south have more in common than not: the need to live peaceful lives, to see their children go to school, to be safe and able to develop and contribute. Through culture, South Sudan has the opportunity to develop into a stable and productive nation.

The UN's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity puts it nicely: "As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature." Our ability to advance as a nation is made possible through embracing the various experiences and histories of all our cultures.

Culture is not stagnant and changes with the times. Through sports, music, art, fashion and theatre, many South Sudanese are already prominent ambassadors of the nation's cultural richness; with mutual cooperation and support, South Sudanese can foster unity amongst themselves.

The ROOTS Project is one of several ways an environment for cooperation and respect for tribal diversity can be created; a respect that in turn promotes unity. The organization was initiated by, and is run by women, and was created with diversity in mind. Central to this is the value and importance given to the individual identity of each tribe through making traditional beadwork and crafts, which provide the women income. The production of traditional and creative arts and crafts by the members of nineteen different tribes helps make sure that South Sudanese cultural artefacts are available to buy, whilst economically empowering the artists who make them.

The ROOTS is unique because - under one roof - members of various tribes work in unison. By sitting together, the women involved realize their similarities rather than their differences. Women from various tribes, backgrounds and age groups, provide each other with valuable social and

emotional support as they all share a similar standard of living. The Centre provides women with limited educational backgrounds and skills with a positive way to contribute and participate in their new nation. In less than three years of operation, its members have developed an understanding and appreciation of each other's tribes and work. The marketing, promotion and sale of items, pays, feeds and educates everyone who works at the Centre equally. All the women promote the products with pride. Their vested interest in the Centre's success helps them continue to work and deal better with their lives. Through working together, and sharing resources, they all stand to gain, instilling the sense of unity needed in the whole of South Sudan.

In July 2012, the women gathered to celebrate the completion of traditional beadwork. The products were to be presented and sold at the Santa Fe International Folk Art Market in New Mexico, USA. South Sudan has many unique traditional beading styles and techniques. Adornment plays an important role in the culture of many of the country's tribes: cultural events and celebrations call for full, traditional,

Above: Toposa women produce traditional beaded waist ornaments at the ROOTS Project centre. ©Tim McKulka

Right: A traditional Atuot corset worn by young women of marriageable age. ©Tim McKulka

Opposite: ROOTS Project members arrive at the centre. ©Tim McKulka

Above left: Mary Padar represents South Sudan as a cultural ambassador at the Santa Fe International Folk Art Market. ©Tim McKulka

Above right: A ROOTS Project member produces a traditional necklace as her baby sleeps. ©Tim McKulka

beaded attire. Beadwork helps accentuate beauty, drawing attention to the back and hips to create an impact during dancing. Designs and colours carry meaning signifying status, age and occasion.

Mary Padar, a mother of eleven children, was sponsored by the Market to showcase her beaded Dinka corset, as well as ornate work by the Lotuka, Mundari and Toposa tribes. She had joined the ROOTS Project in 2010 following her demobilization from the SPLA, where she had spent twenty years of her life cooking for the soldiers as a woman associated with armed forces.

During the celebrations, another woman, Tabitha Nyakedi, stood up and said, "I am a Murle woman, you are a Dinka woman. Historically, our tribes have been at war. In this place we are all women of ROOTS. When you travel … you go not as a Dinka, but as a woman of South Sudan. You represent all of us and introduce to the world the work of South Sudanese women. We send you with our thanks and our blessing."

Music, sports, theatre, fashion and arts are a cornerstone for the future of South Sudan, precisely because they bring its people together. Focusing on culture also has an impact on the next generation, empowering women and helping them create the best environment they can for their children.

The Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports has the fundamental challenge of winning over South Sudan's youth and getting them to help promote a culture of peace. This task is all the more important because almost three-quarters of South Sudan's population are under thirty years old.

The people of South Sudan must decide to peacefully live together. We need to break the cycles by creating a tolerant environment for the children – starting with mothers. Only through cultural respect and tolerance will South Sudan be able to profit from all its natural resources and realize its potential.

AWEIL, NORTHERN BAHR EL GHAZAL

SUE RIVER, WESTERN EQUATORIA

GOK MACHAR, NORTHERN BAHR EL GHAZAL

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