



Dissertation

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Color symbolism in the Sudanese Zar rituals

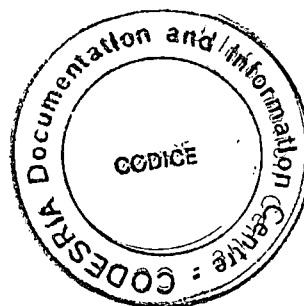
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Color Symbolism In The
Sudanese Zar Rituals

By

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A thesis Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the M.A. Degree
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Dedicated to my parents

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Abstract

This study examines the communication process in the Sudanese cultures through an investigation of color symbolism in the Sudanese zar rituals .

Zar is an ancient folk healing practice . Its history goes back to the ancient cultures . Yet it still exists in several middle Eastern and African countries . It has undergone considerable modifications to suit prevailing religions , sociocultural ,ethnic ,and other local influences.

The symbolic usage of colors in zar rituals is very significant ,that each spirit archetype in zar is characterized by certain color and that one of the zar names in the Sudan is the red wind ,rih al ahmar.The widely used colors in zar rituals as in the other Sudanese and African rituals are red ,white,and black.

This study of color symbolism in the Sudanese zar rituals shows how the different cultures in the Sudan can communicate in one tradition of knowledge . And how this tradition of knowledge has undergone many changes through history.

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INTRODUCTION

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The Purpose of The Research:

The purpose of this research is to study the communication process in the Sudanese culture through examining colors symbolism in zar rituals in the Sudan.

The hypothesis of this research is that the symbols in zar especially the colors show how different cultures in the Sudan can communicate in one tradition of knowledge such as zar rituals.

Methodology And Field Work :

An example of this kind of investigation is the approach offered by Fredrick Barth in his book about the cultural variations among the Baktaman of inner New Guinea¹. I have chosen this methodology of treating rituals and symbolism because the particular problem Barth examines is one which goes to the heart of the comparative analysis of human interaction among neighboring peoples. The problem Barth examines in his book is how best to approach a situation of this kind. The functionalist and the structuralists procedures of such analysis first making a series of functional or logical models which can be interwoven then second constructing a single model which can generate the different forms. But Barth suggests if wants to look at a wider range of data approaches available are very limited This limitation applies even internally to a particular system. For all variants of functional and structural models assume a high degree of order ,of unity ,either in terms of their isomorphly with other sociocultural aspects or

with respect to an understanding model. From this stand point ,the substance of local variations is essentially ignored. For Barth in the contrary internal variations provide an entry into the actual process by which wider cultural variations occur; that is to make realistic analysis of change ,one needs to examine these internal variations carefully if one want to get our ontological assumption. That means not only making an appeal to bricolage to creativity (wanting to set the general cognitive process in a wider transcultural context),but also examining the use and elaboration of metaphor as any literally critic can predict. For ritual lay on metaphor,that the leading actors in a ritual and myth elaborate the performance ,particularly because in oral societies this can be little precise verbatim transmission of complex thought or acted intermittently. In the light of Barth what is called "culture" as a distinct from its sub-tradition, tends to be arbitrary,that culture is always in the making and rarely collective representations. Indeed the very concept of a culture as a tidy bundle of meaningful tradition handed down by a particular social group must be append to a question ,except for a relatively small and isolated groups. And even among the latter ,the process of communication both within and between generations act in generative ways creating variants which are not simply substitute ,except in parley formal sense ².

Barth is neither like the British scholars nor like the French ones .The former when they analyze a performance of a ritual ,their first step is to educe from the observational data the structure of social positions associated with that kind of ritual

The next step is to examine the relationship of that structure to other structural patterns ,both ritual and secular, found in that society and to the form of its local structure. It is only when these procedures have been completed ,that the cultural pattern of the ritual is normally elicited i.e. the pattern of its symbolic activity,objects,relationship and gestures ,it is at this point that recourse is commonly made to informant's texts.

These texts are moreover collected with reference to the observed rites.The French were inclined to seek out the links between symbols and believes in different rituals (and frequently to find them in cosmological myth). So if one wants to study a ritual he has to use the same methods at the same time³ .

In this study besides the available literature ,data has been collected through observation of zar rituals and by direct and indirect interviews with both zar leaders and clients .

The area of research is Khartoum,the capital of Sudan situated in the center of the country where almost all the sudanese tribes are represented.

Definition Of Terms:-

Zar is an ancient variant of folk healing practice.its history goes back to the ancient cultures .Yet it still prevails in several middle Eastern and African countries . It has undergone considerable modifications to suit prevailing religious, sociocultural ethnic and other local influences⁴.

The word zar is believed to be the name of the Supreme divinity of the Pagan Kushites of Ethiopia, called adjar in Agaw and Yaro in Sidma languages⁵. The word zar could be derived from Zara, a town north of Iran, or from Zar an Arabic village east of Yemen or from zyara meaning visitation⁶.

Zar in the Sudan has a number of names, zahar, dastor, mydan, shababy nady, and rih al ahmar, the red wind.

Ritual means a mimetic enactment addressed to supernatural powers, fundamentally for the attainment of practical ends. As a latter development for ethnic gratification⁷, ritual also means pertaining or relating to connected with rites or of the nature of forming a rite or rites⁸.

Symbolism means the practice of representing things by symbols or giving a symbolic character to objects or acts, the systematic use of symbol collectively or generally. Also it is a use or set or system of written symbols⁹. Symbolism in folklore is the recognizable and usable property of a cultural group¹⁰.

Difficulties Encountered : -

The period of the fieldwork is 1990-1992, a time when the government started to fight zar rituals. Many zar leaders the researcher worked with were arrested and forbidden from practicing their rituals. All the rituals the researcher observed and participated in were secret ones. The researcher herself was once arrested with other participants by the police for three hours and released by interference of a cousin who works as a policeman¹¹.

Plan of The Study :-

This study falls into four chapters. Chapter one deals with the state of scholarship of zar in the Sudan. Chapter two is about the use of colors in various aspects like in rituals, religions, Psychology astrology and archeology. Chapter three gives a close description of the zar rituals in the field attended by the researcher. Chapter four is an analysis of the data presented in chapter three. It examines the symbols and their meanings and concentrate on how colors in zar rituals reflect the communication between the diverse cultures in the Sudan. For the transliteration of Arabic words, I have adopted a system that used by Sudan Notes and Records.

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CHAPTER ONE

**STATE OF SCHOLARSHIP
OF ZAR IN THE SUDAN**

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The literature of zar- spirit possession- in the Sudan is vast. The phenomenon has attracted scholars from different fields: anthropologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, dramatists and folklorists. Most of the earlier studies were either descriptive or followed the diffusionist approach. They tried to find the origin of the phenomenon and discuss its geographical spread. Most of the latter studies were functional, either by the psychotherapists who discussed its curing values or by the anthropologists who were interested in its social functions. Other anthropologists and folklorists handled its dramatic and cultural aspects.

Most of the diffusionists claimed that this phenomenon started in Ethiopia¹. Others thought that the Sudanese zar came from either Egypt or Nigeria. Ceruli was the first to advocate the hypothesis of the Ethiopian origin of zar. For him zar is of non semitic origin, with its name derived from that of the supreme divinity of the pagan Kushites. According to Ceruli "the God of heaven was called in Agau (Billen) adjar and in Sidma language (Kafa) Yaro. This God is degenerated to a malevolent zar²."

Similarly Trimmingham traced the origin of zar to Ethiopia from where it spreaded to the Sudan and other areas. He stated that this practice was forbidden during the mahdia and was reintroduced after that time from Egypt with slight variations. He considered zar as one of the pagan practices which have been labelled, modified and have taken on islamic coloring³.

Brenda Seligman was interested in speculating about the origin of zar in Egypt.

In examining the existing literature on the Egyptian form of zar culture ,she stated that "although every social class of women participated in the zar ,it was said to be particularly attractive to negress slaves and freed women .Cult group leader were frequently described as free negresses 4."

This led Seligman to think back to spirit possessions rituals she had witnessed in the Sudan in the early 1900 among the so called the black Battalions,the remainders of the Southern troops of the Turko-Egyption period . Seligman came to believe that both the ritual practices and belief of zar had imported to Egypt from the Sudan after Mohamed Ali's conquest of the country 1821.She writes "I think it may be stated that the custom has spreaded wherever negress have been admitted to the haremes ⁵."Sohir Mursi claimed that spirit possession was known among the ancient Egyptian medical religions⁶ .This is not strange because spirit possession was known among all ancient populations.

Unlike the scholars who believed in the Ethiopian origin of zar in the Sudan ,Forbenus relates zar in the Sudan to the bori cult in Nigeria ,raising the possibility that the bori cult might have originated in Persia .He mentioned the zar prevalence in the Funj Kingdom where it was called bum.Forbenus also discussed its spread in Omdurman and Khartoum where it is called desatir⁷

These explanations of zar origin involved suggestions based on the assumption that zar was invented in one place and transmitted to other societies ,but these scholars have not made it clear how these practices were transmitted from one place to another, and how they were established as historical realities .The existence of similar practices among different people can be taken as conclusive evidence of culture contact but the important question is why the practice of one society is adopted by another one when contact occurs .

The studies of zar during the second half of this century dealt with the phenomenon in terms of its social function and therapeutic value.

One of the earliest studies pointing out the mental health aspect in this field is Kennedy's .He presented the features of zar possessions in the Nubian culture and its therapeutic aims of relief of symptoms and improved functioning of zar⁸.

Psychiatrist Eltigani Almahi claimed that zar came as a result of the state of women in the eastern societies where they suffered from inferiority complex ,sense of guilt and emotional hunger and suppression⁹ .His fellow psychiatrists became interested in the phenomenon as a traditional psychotherapy .for example Baasher believed that zar practice was essentially a traditional psychotherapy based on a system of patient -healer relationship ,group interaction ,vigorous drumming ,psychodramatic

expression of emotion and observation of a range of ritualistic behavior ,according to him : "There are psycho-social determinants which cause psychiatric manifestations that led the patients to go to zar ,the majority of clients are married females ,unemployed,unhappy,and frustrated with history of marital disharmony and emotional and social deprivation .

In view of husband -wife discord for example one of the zar prototype is the "deaf" -significantly that the possessed wife is dealing with a husband whom she cannot establish a healthy emotional and social relationship ,nor can she communicate with him literally ,he cannot hear nor listen¹⁰ ."

On a similar line of interpretation Shaikh Idris said that more than third of middle aged female psychiatric patients who came to Khartoum North psychiatric hospital ,went at the same time to zar .On conclusion to his research he stressed the therapeutic beneficial effect as a form of group -therapy and psychodrama mobilizing various modelities in a group which allowed for social support ,identification ,projection,abreaction and socially accepted ventilation of inbent emotions¹¹ ."

Also Abdallah Abdin developed a hypothesis that zar was a complete folk -medical theory with its etiological,diagnostic and therapeutic aspects ,he writes "The supernatural power being the causative agent ,the symptomatology of zar patients is of neurosis and most of the clients suffer from hysteric reactions

.the Shaika, zar leader, uses her diagnostic methods ,experience and common sense¹² ."He discussed the positive aspects of zar as a healing practice among Sudanese women .First it fulfills the criteria of modern psychotherapy.Second and more important is the adoption of these aspects in zar to the unique needs of Sudanese women .His conclusion was that the effectiveness of zar was connected with the effectiveness of mental health programmes around the world.

Psychologist Fathia Omer claimed that the subjects suffering from certain personality disorder tended to make up for this personality shortcoming in the zar party .She writes:"For instance it was shown that subjects with low self-esteem tend to exhibit lavish zar behavior .Female subjects in this study who have a high score in masculinity take up male archetypes ,presumably to satisfy suppressed tendencies on their part to become males¹³."

While the therapists study deal with the therapeutic aspects of this cult , the anthropologists are very interested in its social functions .Barckly considered the zar cult in Burri Al Lamab as a functional counterpart to mens religious brotherhood. At the village level both provide for similar emotional outlet and social interaction . Harold Barckly also outlined the features and participation in the cult. He discussed the practice of popular islam, stressing the inferior position of women and the minor role they are allowed in religious activities. So he associated zar cult with the women inferiority in the society¹⁴.

W. James thought that zar in Port Sudan was ".....a solution of sports provided by a town society for those suffering the economic and social hardship, illhealth and possible psychological disturbance common in the poor parts of the town"¹⁵ I.M. Lewis studied the zar cult among the Somali women. He generalized his analysis to include a similar possession cult in the Sudan, Egypt and Kenya. In conclusion to his study he stated that women used zar as an oblique strategy to get from their husbands what they cannot get directly.¹⁶

Samia El Nagar criticized her fellow anthropologists when she followed a sociocultural approach in her study of zar among the women of Omdurman. "They overlooked the fact that women in the so called male-dominant societies may have leader roles in household activities. They also play an active role in the political and social life of the society as can be seen in the example of Baggara of Kordofan among whom mothers encourage their daughters to have lovers who visit them in their tents, and mothers get gifts from their daughters' lovers. Also women of Omdurman have independent means of economic gains to get extra things they may need. For example selling hand made things, baskets and decorated dresses...., one would expect all women in male dominant society to be possessed, but this is not the case because only a minority of them is associated with possession."¹⁷

In his study of spirit possession in the north east Africa

I.M. Lewis made a distinction between two types of possession .The first one was moral ,its concern was to maintain general morality in the society. This cult is venerating ancestors or other mythical powers who are believed to reward the just.As example of this type Lewis gave a good account of spirit possession of the Kafa of south west Ethiopia,the other type which he described as a peripheral ,is addressed to the disaffiliated spirits or other powers which are credited with bringing disease and affliction capriciously and without reference to the victims moral condition :"The peripheral zar cult in such northern Sudan towns as Omdurman is not directly concerned of the official public cult of Islam ,nor does it perform any central role in the maintenance of general morality . As is well known it primarily involves women and appears to function as a compensation for their partial exclusion from full participation in the men 's world of islam. The spirits involved here may be loosely equated with jinn. are often of foreign origin,and strike their victims haphazardly and mischievously¹⁸.

The problem with Lewis' analysis is that he defined zar in Omdurman as a cult which is not directly concerned with the maintenance of morality in the society .It is clear that he does not take into consideration the construction of zar spirits,because these spirits in their context belief are called asyad meaning masters .Also most of the names of the spirits are of respectable leaders and of religious men like Al Shiekh Abdelgadir Elgilani .

The folklorist Sayyid Hurreiz described zar in the Sudan as a dramatic performance while focusing on its ritualistic and psychotherapeutic attributes . He considered zar as a folkdrama in the society that works as a catering for conflict and conflict resolution at both the individual and communal level .He indicated the close similarity between zar performance and psychodrama ¹⁹.

like Hurreiz Bamela Sellers considered zar in Yambio, Southern Sudan, as a social drama in which women can provide assemblance of power for themselves and as a group to share common concerns and social history through the enactment of ritual theater ²⁰

Abdulsalam stressed on the tendency among the folk and especially those who are involved in the zar to fit it within the context of the folk religion of Islam .He sighted the Islamic effect on the cult but not the elements from other religions.²¹

The above survey of the literature on zar in the Sudan suggests that there is no study which is fully devoted to color symbolism .The importance to studying ritual symbolism is to make visible and tangible believes ,ideas,values,sentiments and psychological dispositions which can not be directly perceived .²²

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CHAPTER TWO

COLOR

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The Meaning of Colors:

Since the beginning of history colors have been part of the fabric of human life. They have been an intimate part of man's religion, mysticism, culture, healing, science, art, astrology, and psychology, all of which contributed to his civilization.¹

At a more conscious level, however color does have meanings. Yet the meanings of colors are ambiguous and continually differ according to customs and cultures. For example the association of black with death and mourning is very strong in western civilization, but it has never been a universal color of mourning. The Burmese use yellow, the Turcks violet, some parts of China use white, other parts use purple, and in the south seas some islanders use black and white strips.²

Color in costume is also significant. In China it has been suggested that black is worn to echo the emptiness of death and that white as a color of purity that ward off the jealousy spirits attempting to return to its former place in the world. They equate red with the blood of the war anger and possession, blue with the sky and the sacredness of heaven, green with growth. But so many exceptions may be noted that any such generalization is dangerous. In India black, red and yellow are all protective against spirits which do not like these colors. Red and purple are potent in the Japanese magic.

Color plays an important part in the relationship of men socially .Race,color,or previous condition of servitude are singled out in the 15th amendment to the constitution of the United States. The "black" race is no more black than the white race is white ,yet those are the color terms commonly in use ,though is brown rather than black and the other pink rather than white.³

Color Symbolism In Some Religions And Traditions:

Nearly all early color expressions concerned mysticism and the enigmas of life and death . At the dawn of civilization man recognized that sun light was essential to life .Color as a manifestation of light held a divine meaning. Historical records relating to color show little early interest in its physical nature or even in its abstract beauty ,but in symbolism that attempted to resolve the strange workings of creation and provide color with personal and human meaning.⁴ Examples from different religions can show this.

In Chandogya Ubanshid of ancient Hinduism ,colors are sometimes ,known as dieties.Examples are given in the way they manifest themselves in phenomena .Thus food when eaten become three folds: what is coarsest-the black part -becomes faeces,what is subtlest- or white part-becomes mind, and what is- medium the red part-becomes blood .⁵

The Greeks also identified color with universal harmony . As they conceived of a god ,his body was his virtue and his garment his achievement.Athene wore a golden robe.The red ,poppy was sacred to Ceres.Purple signified the sea wanderings of Ulysses .In the presentation of Odyssey reciters of the Iliad wore scarlet as the token of the bloody encounter recounted in the poem.Budda's color was similarly yellow or gold ,although he wore red when he pondered the vicissitudes of man. And the blessed one putting on a tunic of double red cloth and binding on his girdle and throwing his upper robe over his right shoulder, would go thither,sit down and remain for a while in a state of mediation.

Color as a manifestation of light held a divine meaning for the old Egyptians.In many instances the sun represented the masculine virtues of a deity and the moon the feminine. The Egyptians in fact, had an impressive color symbolism which pervaded their entire culture the hues of the rainbow were as significant as language and were generally part of hieroglyphics,temples ,talismans,charms,and burial trappings.

Among the people of Tibet in Central Asia ,the world was conceived as being a high mountain called Summur.As the earth grew from the beginning of time ,its summit rose into the sky and provided a convenient dwelling place for the god. The mountain of Summur was shaped like a pyramid with its top broken off.The sides faced the four quarters were variously hued and shown like jewels. To the north was yellow,to the south was blue ,to the east white

,to the west red . In each of these directions was a continent within a salty sea ,inhabited by different races of people with square oval and round faces .

The American Indians also had color designation for a lower world , which was generally black and for the upper world which had many colors .

In Judaism the divine hues are red ,blue ,purple and white .The viels are composed of four things . White linen is proper to signify the earth because the flux grows out of the earth. Purple signifies the sea because the color is mixed with the blood of the sea shellfish. The blue is lit to signify the air and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire .⁶

In Hebrew and Christian lore, color symbolism is not less important.Blue is the hue of lord Jehovah. Red connotes heat. Yellow represents earth ,and white is looked upon as a symbol of the divine .Gold was used as a radiant area , naturally those radiant areas are associated with holly figures. ⁷

In Roman catholic church ,black represents death ,green hope and peace, violet mourning and penitence,white purity used at festivals of angles.⁸

To the muslims the color of all colors is green in Quran one reads " As to those who believe and do good work for

them are prepared for eternal abode they shall be adorned there in with bracelets of gold and shall be dressed in green garments of fine silk." ⁹ So green is the major color for the muslim sufi groups . Each group has a specific color which initialize it. These colors are red ,black, white and yellow. In their concept if a man is on his way to be near God he has to pass many stages .Each stage is called mawta meaning abstract death and has a color name . The black death is a stage to bear people and their harms. The red death symbolizes struggling with hunger, lack of sleep and keeping one's tongue . the green death is the stage to desert people and stay in hermitage to worship God . The yellow death is the stage in which the sufi person should keep his tongue except from telling the truth .The white symbolizes reaching the end of the way after passing all the above difficulties ¹⁰

When the Mahdi of the Sudan tried to organize all the Sufi groups in his Mahdia during the nineteenth century , he gave the colors of these sufi groups to each of his army battalions . And he ordered his believers to wear the patched clothes , almaragaa. He told them that he had a dream of Shaikh Abdulgadir El Gilani with the Prophet who told him that the human body consisted of many patches ,the black one was his head ,the red was the interior part of his lips ,the white patch was his teeth ,and the yellow one was his haies. ¹¹

Color Symbolism In Ancient Astrology:

Man has always been convinced that his destiny is controlled by divine forces within the sky. The macrocosm of the universe and the macrocosm of the soul both come out of darkness into light. All known knowledge was with the gods who come from fire places like the sun ,the planets and the stars held answers to secrets of life.

More than two thousand years before Christ ,astrology was an important science, and to some extent including colors . Among the Cherokees white represented peace , happiness and the south ,red was equated with success and the north ,black with death and the west and blue with trouble and the east.

The Egyptians called time the ever-lasting green one. The Chaldeen gazed into the sky and saw the movement of the planets and the sun. Eternal laws were written that the planets controlled the earth and all upon it . Each had its hour of ascendancy during which it ruled men ,formed their life and spirits and brought health and fortune,adversity or death to them.

The famous mountain of God at Ur ,dating back to 2300 B.C.,was built in four stages ,each of different color.According to the archeologist Leonard Woolly,these colors have mystical power and stand for the various divisions of the world: the habitable earth,the heaven and the sun. The same is true

as the people know of the tower of Babel. One such temple was that of Nebuchadnezzar, described centuries ago. The cylinders which were at its angle were dedicated to the seven planets or heavenly spheres and were found consequently adorned with the colors of each. The lower which was also richly panelled was black, the color of Saturn. The next was orange, the color of Jupiter. The third red emblematic of Mars, the fourth yellow belonging to the sun. The fifth and sixth green and blue, respectively as dedicated to Venus and Mercury. The upper was probably white belonging to the moon whose place in the Chaldean system would naturally be upper-most.

Similar symbolism has been found in remote lands as Ireland, China, and America. In ancient Ireland black represented the north, red the south, green the east and the white the west. In America thousands of years ago according to the Navaho legend, men dwelt in a land surrounded by high mountains created night and day. The southern mountains were blue and made the dawn. The eastern mountains were yellow and brought twilight. The northern ones were black and covered the earth with darkness.

The word "Zodiac", derived from Greek meaning circles of small animals, hold the secrets of divination of life and death. The zodiac presumes the occurrence of a zone in the sky through which the sun, the moon and the planets travel. The twelve consultations are twelve houses which the sun visits each year. Each sign of zodiac thus has its own symbol and color: red of Aries, dark green of Taurus, brown of Gemini, silver for Cancer, gold

for leo, variegated hues for Sagittarius, black for Capricorn ,gray for Aquarius, sea blue for Pices.¹²

Color And Psychology:-

In the study of human moods and emotions, color has always been significant. A persons psyche has had in the past been symbolized by color . Just as a divine light of the sun penetrated the body of the ancient man ,so did he in turn emit light in the form of an aura. The halos ,robes, insignia, jewels, crowns worn by gods and holy persons were supposed to indicate the high quality of their spiritual energy. To the mystics astral light revealed human character and was token of health and illness and in turn be used in transference to cure the sick .A person with the healthy aura ,like the vigor of the well man ,could by some strange magic be made to enter the body of the weak .The human aura may by no means rival the sunset or the rainbow as the mystic presumes ,it definitely does exists .Just as odors emanate from the body ,so do rays of heat and color .In brief the color of the aura ,if any are full gray or dull blue it is comprised of two parts .The inner part next to the flesh ,is about three inches wide and seems to emit rays that shoot out in straight lines . The outer aura is more filmy. The whole aura shifts and changes with activity and rest anger, and peace of mind. To some observers physical disturbance tend to affect the brightness so nervous conditions affect the color. Organic troubles seem to affect the inner aura which may lose its sparkle. Nervous disorders seem to affect the outer aura ,

while an aura can not be seen by any person, it will signify the elusive personality .It is known to medical science, psychiatry and psychoanalytic that many neurotic and mental disturbances make human beings extremely sensitive to color.¹³

It is safe to state that color perception is the same for people of different ages, different backgrounds or different cultures .Except for individual pathology ,such as color blindness,we all have the same nervous system .Psychologists know that colors carry strong expressions ,but they have two theories One is the theory of association i.e. red is said to be exciting because it reminds us of fire ,blood,and revolution.Green calls up the refreshing side of nature and blue is cooling like water. The other theory is the psycho-neurotic based on a neurological experiment ,Goldstein 's findings are that the colors corresponding to long wave length go with the expansive reaction ,where as the short wave length make for constriction .For example a person with cerebellar disease suffered disruption of his sense of balance ,become dizzy and was in danger of falling when she wore a red dress ,symptoms that disappear when she wears green.In what is called photogenic epilepsy,flickering red light is more likely to induce radical brain waves and clinical seizures than other colors. in some cases wearing the eye glasses that cut off the red of the spectrum has been found to reduce the frequency of seizures even though medication was discontinued .Blue might well act as a relaxant to bring relief to anxious individuals since this effect was marked in the more anxious subjects .It has been found that a

person who is excited or hysterical is very sensitive to color. The person who is depressed hardly rejects color while the schizophrenic (dementia paradox) types are usually introverts and normally prefer cool colors. A clinical psychologist who uses the Rorschach ink-blot test may well study reaction to color and will gain a remarkable insight. The eye of a person with manic tendencies may light up at the sight of a color when a frown may pass over the brow of the schizophrenic or depressed.

In the psychology of personality, the emotional qualities found in color usually parallel the same emotions. It also showed that color preferences are the result of early childhood experience, education and cultural training. Researchers who have studied the art of expression of large groups of children have learned much about them. A general delight in color demonstrated the normal emotional tendencies expected in the young. When a child prefers to use a black pencil, there is an indication of repressed emotion - probably cruel or strict domination. Love of red revealed carefree emotions. Yellow seems to go with infantile traits and dependence on adults. Green shows greater balance, fewer emotional impulses and a simple uncomplicated nature.¹⁴

color affects the appetite of the people. Red makes people greedy, blue whets the appetite, green decreases it for grease, white increases the ability to eat more sweets and starches, black leads to more fats, while yellow decreases the appetite in general while rose helps for relaxation and digestion.¹⁵

The color of the place affects the productivity of the workers .As well blue and grey are preferred in the warm countries while orange and brown for the cold ones.¹⁶ Rankol and Bart in their experiment made a connection between music tunes and colors.For example a person who prefers a certain color tends to prefer a specific tune. Those who likes red prefers Do,orange with Re, green with Fa, and purple with Si.

Color And Language:-

When people of different cultural backgrounds are asked to point out certain colors in the spectrum ,the results vary because people mean different sensations with different color names. Color names are somewhat determinate because the conceptualization of colors themselves is problematic.To be sure the world of colors is not simply a collection of innumerable hues that are clearly structured on the basis of the three fundamental primaries and their combinations. Instead a person's world is a world of objects whose given perceptual properties in varying degrees. A particular culture may distinguish the colors of plants from those of the soil or water, but have no use of any other subdivision of hues - perceptual classification that will be reflected in the vocabulary. A pastoral tribe may possess many words to describe subtle differences in the colors of cattle ,but non to distinguish green from blue . The Kamura Indians of Brazil do not make a distinction between blue and green . ,spots of either color are designated by a single word meaning parakeet-colored.This is

token as evidence that these people manifest a "diffuse conceptual construction".¹⁸

The Ndembo of Zambia possess primary terms for red ,white and black .Terms of other colors are either derivative of these as in the case of chitookolola, "gray", which is derived from took,"white".Or as in the case of "green" ,mejiamatamba ,which means water of sweat potato leaves.¹⁹

Anthropological studies done by Berlin and Kay suggested that the basic color terms ,relatively few in number ,are common to all languages and they also cover different ranges of hues and that not all languages possess all these names .They indicate that color names do not occur in arbitrary selection .The most elementary momeuculture distinguish only between the darkness and lightness ,and old colors are classified according to this simple dicotomy.When a language contained a third color name,it is always red .This new category includes the reds ,oranges, most yellows, pinks, and purples including violet. The remainder are divided between darkness and lightness,"black" and "white" .²⁰

An analysis of the Mursi color names lends no support to the relativist view,that each language divides the spectrum in a way which is unique to itself .Mursi use cattle colors and configuration of cattle colors as the model to represent the differences between categories of color and pattern which are universally given and therefore perceived in the daily experience

of all human beings. This argument suggests that the significant difference between the color naming systems of technologically advanced and technologically simple culture is not that the latter generally makes use of fewer color names -basic or otherwise -but they are more likely to use a single highly salient model for color naming.²¹

On the same line Lienhardt emphasized the extent to which the Dinka of the Sudan experience of their natural and social environment is reflected to the central theme of their cattle .He writes " Almost the whole extensive color vocabulary at the Dinka is one of cattle colors,and the Dinka's very perception of color ,light, and shade in the world round them is inextricably connected with the recognition of color configuration in their cattle."²²

In some languages terms that are given to inanimate objects differ from those given to human beings. For example ,in Arabic language if a person has a dark skin ,his color is said to be green and if he has a light color he is said to be red. This is widely known in the Sudan and in the Nubian language and in the Dinka one .

Everyday's speech is full of color ,from such expressions as "was my face red to the metaphoric" That is white of you" and the symbolic he got "he has got a yellow struck down his back " Similar to this colloquial form of expression is the color cliché of literature well established in folk forms . like the balled and folktale :hair is black as raven's plumage ,lips red as

rubies skin white as snow or ivory.²³

Colors are also found in common sayings and symbolic poetry to express high sounding phrases and to summon metaphors ,gestures and smiles .In Central sudan if a man is described having a red eye this expresses bravery .But if a woman in the western Sudan is said to have a red eye this means she is a loose girl .Among the Azande of southern Sudan a person with a red eye has come to mean a witch.²⁴

Color Symbolism In Some African Rituals:-

There is a significant use of colors in african religions,traditions,and rituals. Bawman writing of the Chokwe of eastern Angola had asserted that for these people white is the color of life ,health ,of moon light and of women ,red on the other hand has connections with sickness, the sun and men .He then attempted to equate the opposition between the other colors with that between right and left.He also admitted that white clay figures life principle and consequently forced by the logic of his dual scheme to regard red as a color of death .Yet when he discusses the red decoration of the novice of the circumcision ceremony he writes" it seems as though the red color was in itself not only the color illness ,but a color of averting illness"²⁵

Other theories of the west central Bantu are in agreement with Bawman's interpretation, that red is symbolic of life and blood in

various Luale contexts, and various red fruits and trees are consequently associated with fertility and life²⁶

Other accounts of initiation rites in Central Africa mention many elements .For example Harries records several texts among the Nogonde of Southern Tanjanyika which discuss the meaning of the color traid in both male and female initiation. He asked native informants to interpret for him some of the cryptic songs of the seclusion lodge One explanation is as follows " A woman conceives through the semen of a man ,if the man has a white semen he will have a child ,but if he has a black one there will be no bearing of children The esoteric teaching given to the novice includes the displaying by an elder of three things :white flour which is the symbolic of sexual purity ,black charcoal of sexual disease through impurity and for menstruation they use red.²⁷

In the discussion of symbolism of circumcision rites among the Mandja ,it is recorded that black is devoted to death ,that warriors smear themselves with soot when they leave for war.People in mourning stay dirty,black is the symbol of impurity the color white is that of rebirth ,it protects from illness.At the end of rites they are new men .Red is the symbol of life ,joy and health.The natives rub themselves with red for dancing and those who are sick pass it frequently over their bodies .Among the Dogon of west Africa ,black is associated with pollution ,red with the menstrual blood of the earth mother who committed incest with her first born the Jacal.White is connected with purity. A large wooden

image of a serpent representing death and rebirth ,is consecrated by blood sacrifices decorated with these colors .Young initiated males wear masks colored with white ,black and red .Wall paintings used in the rites are renewed with pigments of these hues. Red is also associated with the sun and fire²⁸ Arther Lieb described the mythical significance as follows: with black unpleasant evil,suspicious , disagreeable things and undirectable things were associated ,white is connected with light ,joy,and purity,with red,power,might,and wealth are associated²⁹

Discussing color symbolism among the Ndembo Victor Turner dealt with the symbolism of three colors ,red,white,black. These are the only colors for which Ndembo possess primary names and are dominant ones in their rituals. According to Turner ,white for the Ndembo represents goodness, strong health,to have power ,authority or chieftainship.Red represents the blood of the animals ,blood of paturition of mothers,blood of menstruation and blood of which craft and sorcery.Black stands for evil ,badness lack of purity ,suffering or misfortune to have disease sexual desire and might.

It is clear that in the African rituals the colors black ,white and red are the major ones .This fact is deeply rooted in the african countries i.e. in different archeological sites in Africa the excavations support this. For example in the eastern border of southern Angola artifacts of the middle stone age are made of red ocher mixed of similar sized pieces of charcoal .In

Kenya buried skeletons were sprinkled with red .Also in the late stone age in Bushmen burials ,red and black are used.³⁰

In Kerma northern Sudan cemeteries dated four centuries red was used in the interior while white and black pebbles are used to cover the exterior.³¹ This custom of putting pebbles on the graves is still practiced by the sudanese. So all over the world in different periods of time the usage of color is very significant.

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CHAPTER THREE

**THE SUDANESE ZAR
RITUALS AND THE SPIRITS ARCHETYPES**

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In this chapter the researcher will try to give an account of zar activity and a close description of the acts and message that are used to express meanings. A classification of the spirits and their characteristics will be given in tables. Besides the documentation of the forms of zar activity, the chapter will, as far as possible, establish not only what may be understood by the leaders of this cult, but what is actually received as a message by the audience and the participants. In this way the researcher will try to establish a body of data from which questions may be asked, both about the structure of ritual activity as a medium of communication, and the nature and the extent of the knowledge and insight which is transmitted in this medium.

Zar Rituals :-

Zar consists of various rituals based on a concept that certain spirits, when they are evoked, celebrated and sacrificed to, will help the patient to recover from his/her illness. The patient must be submitted to three diagnostic rituals after which he/she will be or will not be proved to be possessed. He/she will be informed to continue the rituals or to be directed by the zar leader to other means of treatment either traditional healing or modern medicine.

These rituals are :-

1- The Opening of the Box : " Fatyh al ilba " :-

The box is a small one in which the incenses of the different spirit archetypes are kept. This box is very important that it contains the means to contact and control zar spirits and it symbolize the identity, power and knowledge that is associated with a particular leader.

when a patient is brought to zar leaders house, he/she is always accompanied by a relative who has experienced zar possession and a client of the zar leader. The patient and the relative enter the room bare-footed. The relative kneels in front of the zar leader, kisses his/her hand, both shoulders, chest, forehead and sometimes the leader's lips. The zar leader asks the patient and the relative of the patient's complains and social life. In most cases the patient may have visited doctors and religious leaders before he/she comes to the zar house. The zar leader then stays alone with the patient, opens the box, takes out the incenses and burns them in the incense pot. There are four pots, red for the Ethiopian spirits, white for the Muslim saints, black for the black spirits and a multi color one for the rest of the spirits. While the patient is subjected to the incenses the response is observed by the zar leader. If the response is positive like weeping, sweating or trembling, the patient is possessed and the rest of the rituals will be held. two other diagnostic methods are used to

affirm the opening of the box . The zar leader takes part of the patient clothes, al alaga, and puts it under his/her pillow with seven coffee grains and a piece of sweat. He or She is believed to dream of the possessing spirits of the patient. The next testing method is the taftysh, searching, a testing of short songs of different spirits to see their effect on the patient who usually responds to the specific music and incense of the spirit the zar leader dreamt of. sometimes the patient has had a dream of his spirit before he/she has come to the zar leader's house. Then the zar leader tells the patient of his/her possessing spirits and their demands of clothes , food , ornaments and objects, and their color and the color of the sacrifice. The date of the celebration should be fixed . If the patient can not afford to sacrifice an animal or to hold the seven day's celebration, three days celebration should be held. This ceremony is called the white dish, gadah al byad, usually made of yogurt and white grain porridge. this ritual is called taspyra, or saving, and is meant to protect the novice until he/she is capable of holding seven days celebration. If the novice can not afford to have the three days celebration, one day yawmya , should be held for him/her. The opening of the box usually takes place on Sundays and Wednesdays, days in which the zar leader can contact the spirits.

2- The Hinna:-

On Tuesday, the day before the celebration which always started on a Wednesday, Hinna is applied to the novice hands and

feet and to sacrificed animal limbs and to the drums. Hinna in the Sudanese concept indicates happiness . Also it is generally made as a decoration by married women , it has additional meaning when it is applied to both sexes on different occasions like zar or circumcision. It is believed that something bad will happen to those who don't use it, such as not having children or getting sick. Hinna in zar is meant to please the spirits who like happiness, beauty and cleanliness . So even if the novice has recovered she should not mourn and continue to use hinna unlike other mourning women.

3- the Celebration

The celebration is the central ritual which takes seven days. It usually starts on Wednesdays . If the possessing spirits are Muslims it called , Kursi , chair , if they are christians it is called , myze , decipline . The difference is that in the case of myze there will be no visit to the river.

Once the ceremony starts the novice will be called bride , arouse , or bridegroom , aryse .He / She sits under the instrument until the animal is sacrificed. He/she is dabbed with blood and taken into an adjacent room or isolated from the crowd by a curtain and remained segregated until the festival are over. In this situation the novice will be attended by another woman referred to as wazyra , minister , who should hold the novice's outside activities . He/she is believed to be protected . Women who

are in mourning , or who recently attended a funeral or who are menstruating are forbidden from entering the novice room, if this happens a protective ritual, almoshahara, should be performed. A monuposal woman cuts the novice finger secretly , washes it with water and ties the hand with a red handkerchief . Those who enter the room are not allowed to shake hands with the novice but greet her verbally.

By mid_day the sacrificial animal is slaughtered . After this ritual a procession leaded by the zar leader followed by the novice , assistants and the rest of the participants go seven times around the table were all the spirits' demands are placed , while clapping and singing . In the past when zar was much more accepted by the society , the procession used to go round the village or town and visit the tombs of sheikhs and give presents.

After going round the table the group make a line at the middle of which stands the zar leader . He/she starts invoking God, Prophet Mohammed and then the rest of the spirits. They then sit down and sing the songs pertaining to the spirits. When they begin to sing the songs of the possessing spirits of the novice, the novice begins dancing . He/she and all the devotees share in the dancing. The novice and the participants who have already sacrificed dance while standing up , but the rest dance while sitting down. The novice can dance to complete exhaustion and collapse. He/she might go into a transe and be completely unaware of his/her surroundings. The zar leader comes close to the novice

and listen to spirits' demands which the novice articulates in clear Arabic, sometimes with an accent simulating the language of the possessing spirits. The zar leader assure the spirits of meeting their demands and request them to be kind to the patient. The novice will be told later about the demands which he/she is supposed to fulfill for his/her health sake.

Singing and dancing stop several times during the day for prayers , meals and for rest. During the pauses for the rest the participants should keep silent, eyes cast to the ground. This is observed by one of the zar leader's assistants called Jalyssa who keep a watchful eye on the participants. For example if one wants to go to the lavatory should ask a permission by raising a finger. In any case no participant is allowed to leave the house without company.

4- The sacrifice , al dabyha or al karama :-

The sacrificed animal , sheep or goat, which is of the color of the possessing spirit is laid facing Mekka and slaughtered in the islamic way after having a coin inserted between its teeth. The Blood is caught before reaching the ground. A procession which is lead by the zar leader followed by the novice and the rest of the participants go seven times round the slaughtered animal. There is drumming but no clapping or singing. After this the participants make a line . The zar leader places his/her stick and the dish of the blood in front of the sacrifice and kisses the ground drawing a

cross and draw a cross of blood on his/her shoulder and forehead and great the animal by touching both shoulders, the chest and the forehead. Then he/she gets up taking the dish of the blood and draws a spot of blood on the novice' forehead and does the same with to the assistants and the participants who place coins in the blood. This money is distributed later among the assistants. In the past the novice is to drink three mouthful of the blood and dabbed with it. Sacrificing the animal used to take place at mid-day but now the animal is slaughtered early in the morning so that most of the people can share the meat. The food should be cooked under the supervision of habobat al kanon, the grandmother of the stove.

Before serving the food there is a ritual, fath al ras, splitting the sacrifice head open, the novice put a coin in its mouth and cut the head meat, all the participants should eat part of it.

5 The Jertiq :-

The jertiq is a protective ceremony which the Sudanese perform in circumcision, marriage, child pregnancy and birth. The people in this stages of life are believed to be vulnerable to evil powers. This ceremony is associated with the drastic moments of which the person is on a state of changing from a phase of life to another¹. This ritual is also practiced in zar in the last day. The novice is dressed in red and seated on a chair that is covered with a red sheet, the novice's body is rubbed with dihin, perfumed oil, and

dilka, perfumed grain porridge. The eye is blackened with antimony. Some zorya, white grain which has germinated, is put on the novice's head. A red silk string, a small golden ball with a turquoise bead with a vertebra of a Nile fish are string and tied round the novice arm. The Nile fish vertebra is believed to possess power of protecting and bestowing fertility. The big black rosary sibhat al yasur with some red beads is put round the neck with other stringed white and black beads with golden ends. These beads are tied with red silk strings.

6 Visiting The River

After the ceremony of jertig and at sun set, the novice accompanied by the zar leader, the assistants and the relatives visit the Nile. The remains of the dylka by which the novice's body was rubbed during the last seven days, the bones of the sacrifice, and part of the balyla, boiled white grains, are thrown into the river. The rest of the balyla is shared by the participants. The novice with clothes on is immersed in the water. This is the last ceremony after which the novice is identified as mazyora, possessed by zar spirits for all his/her life. He/she should keep all the demands of his/her possessing spirits. He/she is forbidden from mourning. And is to be invited to other zar rituals as a respectable person.

A part from the ceremonies held for the individuals, there are some other occasions which are celebrated by all zar leaders:

during the two Muslims eyd the birth day of Prophet Mohammed , mulid, and the big celebration held on the 27th day of the Arabic month rajab called rajabiyyah there is also the coffee ritual which is held twice a week on Wednesdays and Sundays.

Al Rajabiyyah : -

The 27th of the Arabic month rajab is known among the muslims as a day of isra and myraj the muslims believe that in this day Prophet Mohammed met with the God and the other Prophets in the sky. On this day all the zar possessed bring their spirits demands and an amount of money to the zar leader's house. The zar leader slaughters four sacrifices. White for muslims saints , red for the Ethiopian spirits, black for the black spirit and the multi_colored one for the other spirits. Beside the feast there are singing and dancing . The importance of this occasion is that zar ceremonies should stop for the next two months and start after the month of ramadan. The muslims believe that the spirits are imprisoned by the God during this month .

The coffee Rituals :-

The coffee ritual is held twice a week on Wednesdays and Sundays at mid_day. It can take place either in the zar leader's house or in the house of the possessed by the Ethiopian spirits. There are no drumming or singing. The participants and the zar leader sit in a circle they keep silent while the zar leader pours

the coffee, he greets the spirits' in Amharic . He/she sips his/her coffee followed by the rest. Then they stand up and read al fatha, part of Quran, and greet all the spirits of zar then everyone leaves for his house.

Kenyon mentioned that this ritual was recently introduced in sinnar ² . Shaikh Mohamed informed the researcher that he introduced this ritual during the fiftieth after he had attended a Galla zar in Portsudan . He said , he introduced it because it concerns the Ethiopian spirits and because it is a beautiful ritual

Positions and Ranks in Zar Rituals :-

There are many people who participate in the zar ritual : the zar leader, his assistants , the novice and the audience.

The Zar leader :-

The zar leader can be a male , shaikh , called abona or a female , shakha , called al haboba . He/she should have passed a process of installation called tahzuma , this installation should be performed by a more experienced zar leader from whom the initiated is going to inherit the zar box. He/she can be a relative or a close devotee who has been possessed by zar spirits and has recovered and has had the power of contacting and controlling the

zar spirits and deciphering their language. He/she should have baraka , sacred ability of healing.

The assistants : -

1- The Jalya : -

The jalya is the zar leader's second lady. She keeps the incense pots alight all the time, works as guard for the participants and treats all the irregular behavior with a whip. No participant should do any thing without her permission.

2- The najyba : -

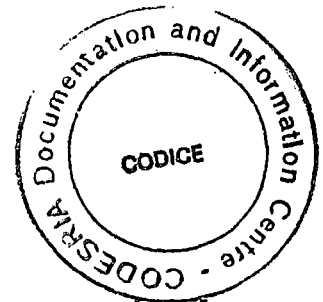
The najyba is responsible of serving the participants.

3- The Jaraya : -

The jaraya , the runner , is the girl who holds messages and distributes the invitations for zar ceremonies.

4- habobat al kanon

The habobat al kanon , the grandmother of the stove, is responsible of cooking the food.



The novice : -

The novice is generally a female, arous , bride , or occasionally a male, aryse , bridegroom. He/she should have had a disease which could not be treated except by zar leader. In most cases the novice is from a family who believes in zar and has many relatives who are already possessed. These relatives are probably the people who direct the patient to the zar leader and accompany him/her in the first visit. Since the novice is segregated during the seven days, he/she should have an assistant to perform the outside activities called wazyra , minister.

The musicians : " banat al idda "

The musicians are responsible of playing different instruments, keeping them during the vacations and cleaning them in the mid of ramadan .

All the zar leader's assistants should have sacrificed for zar spirits. They are very connected to their leader and never follow another one and don't go to other zar ceremonies except with him/her.

The Audience :

There are three kinds of the audiences :- those who have sacrificed , those who are possessed but have not sacrificed yet

and those who are not possessed but invited because they are relative or friends of the novice. This last group is usually under the focus of the jalya who controls them firmly because they are probably ignorant of zar rules. There are always to obey her for fear of getting possessed.

Zar Music and Songs :-

Music and songs are very important in zar rituals. Each spirit has a song called jawab , letter , by which it is called until the novice gets possessed. This transe state is called al hadra or injyab . The songs are very short, their duration varies between seconds and one minute. They are in Arabic with some Hausa words in the songs of west Africa spirits like Dodohawia. The songs start and end with what is known in the Sudanese songs as al ramya , some words before songs, or al kasra , repetition of the last sentence of the song³.

Zar music represents most of the rhythms in the Sudan. For example , the zar known in the big cities is characterized by the tomtum rhythm. But in the remote provinces for instance in the Anggasana mountains and in Kordofan province the local rhythms are more dominant ⁴.

The musical instruments are drums with different sizes , rattles , bottles , which are hit with metal things like spoons. The most important instrument is the drum. Hinna is applied to it

before the ceremonies and is dabbed with blood. It should be kept in a certain room during the two months vacation until the mid of ramadan when it is taken out , cleaned and stored again . The drums should not be touched or used except by the musician.

The zar spirits archetypes : -

In the sudanese zar there are various spirits archetypes each one has its own songs and symbols.

Although zar spirits are considered jinns and evils by the society, specially by the muslim orthotdox, they are considered masters, asyad by the zar believers who also call them fathers. If it happens that one called them evils in the context of zar , the zar leader and the believers will get angry. A possessed individual should not talk about his possessing spirits publicly or they will get angry.

The most known spirits archetypes in the Sudan are : - the sufi saints , darawish , the Ethiopian spirits , habash , the black spirit, al zyrooq , there are from west Africa , southern Sudan or Noba mountains. There are the European spirits al khawwgat . There are also the Turko-Egyptians, bashwat , and the arabs.

Note : The spirits archetypes and their symbols are in the following tables :

Table 1

Spirits	Sacrifice	Food	Clothes	Objects And Ornaments
The Muslim Saints (Darawish)	White Sheep	Boiled White grain. (<u>balila</u>)	A white <u>jalabia</u> , <u>galabawia</u> , the Mahadi supporters <u>jalabia</u> , embroidered with green tape. A white head cover <u>tagia</u> . Sometimes <u>al maraga</u> the patched <u>jalabia</u>	A rosary with green strings. A stick with a V shape end.
Shaikh Abdalgadir Algailani
Sayyid Al Badawi
Sayyid Al Rufae
Shaikh Mohamed
Al Shobashi
Al Khadrani Shaikh Ahmed
Al Disogi
Al Baiomi
Morsi Abo Alabass
Al Bastawi
Sayyid Ismail Al Wali
Al Kabbashi
Wad Rayya
Sayyidi Al Hassan Ab Jalabia
Sayyidi Marhabtain
Shaikh Al Tayib Al Magzob
Al Genawl

Table 1

Spirits	Sacrifice	Food	Clothes	Objects And Ornaments
Shaikh Yousif	|||||	|||||	|||||	|||||
The Darawish Daughters				
Site Khadra				
Site Aisha				
Site Zienab				

continuation of table 1.

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Table 2

Spirits	Sacrifice	Food	Clothes	Objects And Ornaments
The Ethiopian (Al Habasha)	red sheep	<u>marara</u> , uncooked abdomin parts, <u>aragi</u> , liquor. coffee		
Sultan Habbash Faris Habbash, wazir mama,	Red men <u>jalabia</u> , red shawl , red head cover, <u>tarboosh</u> , red handcherchief , in the pocket.	golden ring with a red diamond, <u>khatim dum.</u> a cross
Bakasa	Red coat , red <u>jalabia</u> , red velvet shawl, red headcover, <u>tarboosh</u>	ebony stick with ivory end, a star and a crescent fixed on the <u>tarboosh.</u> A cross
Sultan Jabair , brother of Bakasa	<u>jabyra</u> , <u>fydwa</u> , a cross
Hai Haw Sultan Gwa	red <u>jalabia</u> , red head cover, a cross
Bashir
Yousai
Meulik
Sasana
Sharele	<u>jalabia</u> made of white <u>ferda</u> , white shawl with red tape.	a whip
Ba Maje
Rekamo	Red <u>jalabia</u> , red <u>goftan</u>	golden <u>jabira</u> , across

Abu Doka	////////	////////	red jalabia	a hat made of red beads, a cross
Jabalnado	////////	////////	red jalabia, red head cover	
Lalabo (lalabela)	////////	////////	////////	
The Ethiopian daughters				
Loolya	////////	////////	red dress , red <u>tob, fyrka</u>	<u>jadla, fydwa, jabyra, saymuta, rial abu madafe</u> , a ring of half golden bound, and golden bracelets, and perfumes of sandal
Berli Nawama,	////////	////////	red dress, red <u>tarha</u>	////////
Berli Makrooff	////////	////////	////////	////////

Continuation of table 2.

Table 3

Spirits	Sacrifice	Food	Clothes	Objects And Ornaments
The Black (al Zirooq)	black sheep	<u>gado</u> <u>gado</u> , Yogurt		rocks, grind stone and an ax
Surki	black <u>jalabia</u> , black head cover, black handcherchief under the hat	silver ring with a black diamond
Shakir Menzo	cover the face with a black handcherchief.	.....
Al tomsah (crocodile)	un-cooked meat	black dress	.....
Dodohawia
Nimir al kando (tiger)	Tiger skin
The Pligrim (al haj)	a white jalabia, white showl	a mate, rosary made of sandal , a pot of water
Al turabi al haboba alturabia	covered with a white sheet	.....
Sahib al harba al gengawi Dinkawi (the southerner)	white <u>aragi</u> , white <u>sirwal</u> , paint body with white ashes	showl of white beads.
Angaba	Manjur
Billal	black <u>jalabia</u>	.....
Al Nuba Khail	black stick
Haboba al sabur	black <u>top</u> and <u>tyrga</u>	.....
Haboba al risala

Mal'lam			any larba dress	
Amina	.....	.....	.....	.....
The Begger al shahat	.....	.....	ragged clothes	.....
Al barnawi	white aragi, white syrwal
Sultan Barno
Sultan Bori
Wad Darfur

Continuation of table 3

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Table 4

Spirits	Sacrifice	Food	Clothes	Objects And Ornaments
The Turks (Al Bshawat)	Any sacrifice			
Amin Bey		tarbosh, jalabia, of any color , Yellow ibaya	a stick
Khalil Basha
Robi
Dairabo
Nor Wajdi
Yawra
Braima Basha
Danadir Basha
Kaura Basha		a short, T-shirt	Play with a ball
Fatma Khimeria		any tob and dress	
Arafa Bye	golden bracelets
Site al warwood		Pink clothes	carry roses
Banat al Bahar		White clothes	

Table 5

Spirit	Sacrifice	Food	Clothes	Objects And Ornaments
The Europeans (Nasara, Khawajat)		Olive, cheese, bread, sweets, exported al coholic drinks	A suit, cap.	golden cross
Gergis
Micknaeel
Saba Marakib (seven boats)
Site Mariam al Alazra (Mary, the holly Mother)	Black dress, black shoes, black stockings
Hakim Basha (The Doctor)	White coat, shirt , trouser, cap.

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table 6

Spirits	Sacrifice	Food	Clothes	Objects And Ornaments
The Arabs (al Arab)			A white <u>tob</u> , <u>aragi</u> , <u>sirwal</u> , red tagia	a whip, <u>khulal</u> , comb.
Ahmed al Bashir
Alnur Saba
Darsoli, Dasholi
Arabi al Aurban
Dodo al gamali
Abo Hamadain

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Footnotes to chapte Three

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CHAPTER FOUR

**CULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND
COLOR SYMBOLISM IN ZAR RITUALS**

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Cultural Communication in Zar:-

Zar or spirit possession cult is a tradition of knowledge in which communication between different cultures has been taking place in a long cross-cultural process that may go back to the Nubian era. The ritual will be analyzed in its social context. Throughout the texts an attempt is made to discover what is being communicated in this cult and what are the aspects of ritual acts and symbols that make them capable of working as vehicles for concepts, understandings and emotions. The focus will be on the symbolic usage of colors because of its significance as a code through which messages are conveyed. The analysis will be based on the preceding descriptive chapter.

The process of communication in zar rituals is constrained by the following set of cognitive operations : a- the messages which constitute zar rituals are kept or released because of the state and the need of the patient, b- the rituals are performed by the zar leader for the benefit of the patient; c- the decision to hold the rituals releases a flow of communicating events characterized by pre-established conventions of body of symbols and the knowledge they contain. d- The content of these messages entails a change in the life of the recipient (patient) that he or she is going to be possessed by these specific spirits for all his/her life.

The analysis will include both verbal and nonverbal codes. The verbal codes are the songs, both their musical or linguistic elements, and the ritual phrases, either between the zar leader

and the spirits or between him/her and the novice. Consideration will be given to the zar names in the Sudan. The nonverbal codes are the performed acts and the objects used during the rituals. Since the two acts are connected they are going to be analyzed together in both ritual and spirit archetypes.

Communication in the Rituals :-

Zar consists of various rituals based on the concept that certain spirits when they are evoked help a novice recover from his/her illness.

The following part of this chapter is concerned with the symbolic codes and messages. Consideration will be given to the usage of colors as a set of symbols.

The language of zar in the capital is Arabic either in the ritual formula, recited phrases or the songs. There are some exceptions. For example in the west African spirits songs such as Dodohawia and Menzo some Hausa words appear mixed with Arabic words. The speech in zar is either between the zar leader and the patient or his relatives or between him/her and the spirits. The first kind of speech is diagnostic through which the zar leader classifies the symptoms, for the zar leader specific spirits cause certain deceases. For example, Menzo causes blindness. The ethnic background is carefully considered. For example, most of those who are possessed by the black spirits are descendant from slaves or west African and those who are possessed by the Muslim saints come from religious families.

All the formula phrases recited by the zar leader are in Arabic except in the coffee ritual the zar leader greets the spirits in Amharic. The speech between the zar leader and the relatives is part of the treatment, i.e the leader directs the relatives to solve the social problems that led to the stress. The zar leader speaks with the spirits in different situations. In opening the box the zar leader speaks while the incense is burned. He/she asks them to tell their names and appear to cure the novice. The speech which is more important is the one that takes place during the songs. The songs are called jawabat, letters, which are sent for the spirits to come and cure the novice.

The box in itself is a very important message that contains the means to contact and control zar spirits and symbolize the identity, power and knowledge that is associated with a certain leader who should decipher the language and demands of the spirits. The amount of money to be paid for the incense is called bayad or whiteness, it is an act shared by all the traditional leaders. The alaga, part of the patient's clothes is also practiced by the leader of traditional institutions like the sufi orders.

The hinna dye applied to the drums and the limbs either of the novice or the sacrifice has a message of happiness and is meant to please the spirits who like happiness, beauty and cleanliness. So if the patient recovers from her illness, she should have hinna applied through all her life and never mourn a deceased relative. This act of hinna exists among the female

pilgrims who should apply it before going to Mekka and after that they should never mourn.

In Hausa bori hinna is evoked as a possessing spirit¹. In the Nubian zar hinna is mixed with blood of the sacrifice and the novice should drink part of it².

Many elements of zar are shared with the marriage ones like calling the novice arous, bride, and calling the celebration subhia and the novice's assistant wazira, visiting the river. There are also some zar songs and dances applied to the Sudanese bridal dances. When the singer starts to sing these songs in the wedding all the women who are possessed fall in a state of trance³.

The concept of sacrificing animals karama, is practiced on different occasions. For example, upon recovering from illness or when a house is built or a car is bought. On such occasions if the person doesn't sacrifice, it is believed that something bad will happen to him.

Another ceremony which shows the communication between zar and other rituals in the society is the jertiq. This very old protective ceremony is practiced by the sudanese in different occasions such as marriage and circumcision.

Visiting the river, which is practiced in many rituals, is also practiced in zar. The zar procession in the past used to go round the village or town and visit and give presents to all the

tombs in the area. But now that zar has become less accepted by the society, the practice has been stopped. So they visit the river calmly and practice the same rituals that exist in other ceremonies in the sudanese society.

Visiting the river and the presence of the vertebra of the Nile fish among the jertiq objects show the sudanese belief in river spirits, a belief that goes back centuries in the history of the Sudan before Christianity and Islam, when there were gods connected with the Nile and fertility such as Amon and Osiris.

It is clear from the comparison between the available literature of zar and the data obtained in field work by the researcher that there has been always a process of change in zar rituals. These changes are caused either by economic or political factors. There is also the historical factor and the change in the generation knowledge. So we have two kinds of changes one is normal the other is obligatory or by force.

The normal changes can be shown clearly in the spirit archetypes. For example, some spirits rise others demise. Some spirits which were in a specific archetype has now shifted to another one. For example the river spirits were among the most important ones, but now have shifted to the Turko_Egyptian archetype and have become less important. Kenyon mentioned that the river spirits were mentioned directly after the spirits of the drawysh, muslim saints, but are now less important⁵.

Zar acquired some religious elements, some islamic others

christian and traditional beliefs. One which occurs as normal communicating process is al rajabiyah and celebrating Prophet Mohammed birthday.

The forced changes occurred as a result of the suppression practiced by the dogmatic muslims who accuse zar of being non_islamic. In 1983 when the Islamic laws were implemented Shaikh Mohammed with others of his colleagues produced a pamphlet in which every non islamic practice such as drinking blood or mixing between men and women is going to be seized. When May regime was toppled and in October 1987 Shaikh Mohamed organized a union that was registered in the sudanese trade union. As from June and under the National Salvation Revolution, zar practice was banned and the leaders of zar were arrested by the police and sometimes were taken to courts⁶. This is inspite of the fact that there is up to now no law against zar has been issued. To avoid this Shaikh Mohamed has organized an artistic group which has a professional director who has made many changes to islamise this group. For example the green color become dominant instead of red. The female dancers wear their clothes in the islamic way that is with long dress with long sleeves and a head cover. They borrowed certain dances in which there are certain movements of the muslim prayers. these dances were adopted from ones that were shown on the second anniversary of the present government. This group has the permission to hold shows in public theaters and psychiatric hospitals. But still Shaikh Mohamed holds the rituals secretly at home.

Communication In The Spirit Archetypes :-

There is always a process of change and communication among the spirit archetypes.

1- the Muslim Saints, darawish, :-

In this archetype the spirits of the famous leaders of sufi orders such as Abdulgadir Algilani are invoked, besides there are many sudanese muslim saints from different parts of the Sudan such as Hasan Wad Hisona and Al Mirgani. Their daughters are also invoked like Sitti Nafisa the descendant of Al Mirgani. Although the dress of these spirits is either the patched dress, al margaa, or the clothes of the Mahadi supporters, neither the Mahadi nor his followers are invoked except for Osman Digna. This may be because the Mahadi banned the zar rituals when he stopped all kinds of music and drumming⁸

The songs of this archetype are longer than the rest. For example in Al Badawi song the music rhythm is like the egyptian one of the wedding procession⁹. The possessed women of this archetype come from religious families.

The reason that the sufi spirits are invoked among the zar spirits is the link between the zikir cult and the zar cult. In both the participant passes through a trance. In both cults the trance state is called hadra, presence. Both leaders are called shaikhs and believed to have the power of treating the patient and contacting the world of spirits.

The muslim saints spirits' color is white in both food, clothes and sacrifice. The clothes are white embroidered with green, but recently the green dress is introduced especially by shaikh Mohamed. He explained this as a color preferred by the sufi orders. But his director of his artistic group informed the researcher that it was he who advised Shaikh Mohamed to introduce the green color because it is the color of the present islamized government i.e. to give zar an islamic color so as to be more acceptable.

The Ethiopian Spirits :-

most of the Ethiopian spirits are those of great kings such as Sasana who came after Izana¹⁰. There is Menlik who was the descendant of the Amhara kings. In Ethiopian tradition he was the son of King Salmon and the Queen of Sheba who was mentioned in the Old Testament. After Menlik consecration in Jerusalem he ruled an empire extending from the Nile to the west and Shoa in the south of eastern India¹¹. There is also Bakasa who was the king of Gondar during the 17th century, he was a very religious man and also called Theodore II. Lalibela is another king who ruled during the fourth century, he was famous of the rock churches named after him. King Jabair who wears jabira¹², ornament, is invoked as Bakas's brother , his name is not Ethiopian¹³. He is probably so named for his ornament.

Among the Ethiopian spirits there are ones who have Arabic names such as Basheer and Mohamed El Siraif. There is also Bamagai who is from the black Hausa bori of Nigeria¹⁴. He exists

among the Ethiopian spirits but the song rhythm is that of west Africa.¹⁵ The Ethiopian spirits have daughters, such as Loolya or loola. Her perfume, clothes and ornaments are typically the ones of a sudanese bride. the name Loola is also a Nubian female name. The possessed by this spirit dance the same sudanese bridal dances. The rest of the spirits wear red clothes with a red head cover where a crescent and a star are fixed. The method they are fixed is similar to the ones drawn over sudanese graves and in front of houses¹⁶. On top of the Mosques and on the head of the bridegroom. A red ring known among the sudanese rites of passage as khatim al dam, the ring of blood, is worn¹⁷. The preferred dish and drink, marara¹⁸ and aragi¹⁹ are very popular among the sudanese people. Although these spirits do wear white crosses round their necks they are not described as christians as the european spirits. The rhythms of the songs is Nubian, lyrics are in arabic. In the coffee drinking ritual the zar leader greets the spirits in Amharic. This may be because this ritual is recently introduced into the sudanese zar²⁰.

Scholars always relate the existence of the Ethiopian spirits to recent contact with the Ethiopians, but from the above mentioned material, it is clear that the contact between these nations is very old.

The Black Spirits, Zoroog :-

Black spirits are either from the Nuba mountains, southern Sudan or west Africa. Among the Nyamang of the Nuba mountains spirit possession is a very important factor. every one might be

possessed by a spirit or several spirits, but relatively a small number possessed by powerful spirits and become tribal priests. These priests get possessed on different occasions while carrying a small black stick symbolic of the black power²¹. people get possessed by the spirits of the dead people with whom they have had bad dealings during their life time. The objects that are used by the possessed of the Nuba spirits in zar rituals are the same ones that are used by Nuba priests in different ceremonies such as the ax, the black stick and a collection of various kinds of crops that are cultivated in the Nuba mountains²². The presence of the rocks among the objects of these spirits show the Nuba belief on the rock spirits. Nuba still have sacred ones in front of which they hold many ceremonies. The Nuba spirits in zar are connected with places in the Nuba mountains such as Tagali.

Among the black spirits is the Dinkawi from the Dinka tribe. This spirit dances with the symbolic spear of the Dinka and cover the body with ashes or wear white clothes. Among the Dinka the man who becomes sick is believed to be possessed by either his free divinity who is called father of the people or his clan divinity an animal which is called grand father of the people. So when the sick person get possessed, the divinities announces their names and demands through the possessed mouth. The possessed should have sacrificed for his divinity and gained the reputation of diagnosis of the other people illness²⁴.

When Kenyon speculated about the history of zar in sinnar, she mentioned that the leader of zar in Sinnar during the 19th

century was from the Degga tribe near Waw in the South²⁵. Mansfield Parkyns, during his travels in Ethiopia in the first half of the 19th century described the spirit possession cult in Tigray. He mentioned the similarities between it and the one he witnessed in Sinnar called sahhar²⁶. The spirit of the sahhar or tomsah, crocodile, is still invoked in the sudanese zar. The spirit of the crocodile is well known in the Shiluk religion. Its color is black and it causes illness associated with females²⁷. The crocodile existed among the sacred animals and was connected with fertility in the old Nubian Kingdoms. The existence of a lion spirit in zar can be related to the Dinka clan divinity or to Abadamak, an old Nubian god represented by a lion.

One of the most important spirits in the black spirit archetypes is haboba al torabia, the grandmother of the grave. Her patient should have had a dream of a corpse. In this case a female sheep should be slaughtered and rolled in a white sheet and buried. The main characteristic of this spirit is that when the possessed falls in the state of trance her abdomen enlarged. Parrinder, during his study of the African religions mentioned the existence of a similar spirit in different African counties²⁸. This could be part of the ancestor worship in Africa. To have a dream of an ancestor and sacrifice for him is still practiced by the sudanese muslims communities. They believe to have a link with their dead relative and they invoke them on different occasions. For example, if a person wants to get married he/she should visit the graves of his relatives and tell them. The ancestors are also invoked on the last Friday of Ramadan, the women distribute food among the children. This meal

is called asha al myteen, the dinner of the dead. When sudanese muslim women cook food they throw part of it on the ground for nas al wata, people of the earth.

Most of the west African spirits are spirits in the Hausa bori of Nigeria such as Papa Menzo. Some are sudanese of western tribes like the Son of Darfur and Hassan of the Barno. Some spirits represent social phenomena connected with the west african in the Sudan such as the spirit of the pilgrim and the beggar, because most of the west africans go to Mekka through the Sudan and they stay for years and act as beggars.

The sacrificial animal of the black spirits is a black sheep. The black sacrifice for the ancestors is known among the Fur and Bari in their rain_making ceremonies²⁹.

So the black spirits in zar represent different cultures of different parts in the Sudan and Africa.

The Turko_Egyptians, Bashawat, :-

All the names in this spirit archetype are of origin with basha or bey linked to their names, except Amin Bey and Khalil Bey. Amin Bey was a Prussian who was appointed governor in the Sudan during the Turko_Egyptian period (1821-1885). He found a land in a state of disorganization and corruption and a land of slave raiders. He cleared the stables of slaves and freed them within few months. He got rid of the corrupted Egyptian soldiers and replaced them by sudanese ones. He effectively encouraged

agriculture³⁰. Khalil Bey was the chief merchant in Kasala and was the chief of the court of the Taka province. He died during the siege of Kasala by the Mahadist forces³¹.

The origins of the sudanese beys and bashas are not known to zar leaders except for a female zar leader in Sawakin during the Anglo_Egyptian period. Bey was linked to her name after she was taken by one of the egyptians in the government to treat one of his relatives in a challenge if she failed he would have killed her. She succeeded and when she came back she was called Arafa Bey³².

The spirits of the sudanese who have bey and basha linked to their names were invoked among the black spirits during the period 1930-1960³³. Yawra and his son Kawra who were Hausa bori spirits are now invoked among this archetype. Kawra who in the past wore a golden crown and invoked as a great king, now wears sporting clothes and plays with a ball, kora, but still invoked as the son of Yawra, the music rhythm still the west african one. These spirits have no specific colors.

The European Spirits :-

The European spirits are called nasara, christians, or khawajat. Khawajat is a name given by the sudanese to indicate christians, Copts, Syrians, Greeks or British. Most of the spirits are Copts. The important spirit is the Hakimbasha, the head of the doctors. He wears a white coat, eats olive and cheese and drinks whisky.

From the above analysis we come to the conclusion that there is always a process of change in these rituals and a communication between them and other rituals and religions in the society.

Color Symbolism In zar Rituals :-

The symbolic usage of colors in zar is very significant. The widely used colors are red, black and white. One of the zar names is rih al ahmar, the red wind. There is a myth that the red wind was one of the seven jinns who were controlled by Prophet Solomon. This red wind refused his order to join his army. It flew into the sky as a red cloud and announced that it was a troublesome spirit which possessed people, caused them illness, and never leave them until incenses were burned and drums were beaten³⁴. Among the Shaigia there are two types of spirits. The black ones which are evils and devils which prefer dirty places and cause madness that should be treated by the sufi leaders. The other type is the red wind which is neither evil nor jinn. It prefers beautiful clothes, perfumes, cleanliness and happiness. It causes psychological troubles but never reach madness³⁵.

Outside the zar context, zar spirits are called jinns and evils especially by the strict muslims, but in zar context neither leaders nor participant call them so. They call them masters and fathers.

Red:- In zar rituals :-

Red seems to be the most clearly and variously manipulated of colors. This code is used in different occasions in zar rituals. It comes as the blood of either the sacrificed animal or as the blood of the period in almushahara ceremony. Red appears as a kingship color of the Ethiopian spirits and as a bridal color of their daughter Loolya. In the jertiq ceremony red symbolizes the fertility or is used as a protective color.

Red appears as the blood of sacrifice animal which is a mediating symbol between the world of man and that of the spirits. The novice tongue, lips and forehead are reddened with the blood. In the past they used to drink part of it, and pour the rest on the novice's head.

The blood that is shed from the novice's finger in the tabo ritual of almoshahara symbolizes protection of the novice's fertility from the women who has her period and attended the rituals.

Red in the jertiq ceremony symbolizes protecting fertility or the life of the novice who is in a state of changing from one stage of life to another. All the objects of clothes, sheets, pots of incenses and ornaments are red.

Among the Ethiopian spirits red appears as a kingship color of the Ethiopian kings. It also appears as a female color worn by loolya.

In the northern Sudan red is a female color which is never worn by men unless as a head cover or in certain ornaments in the jertiq ceremony. The old women are not to wear red unless they have zar spirits.

White :-

White represents different meanings in zar. It is the color of the muslim saints. In sufism white is a stage a sufi man reaches after passing all the difficulties on the way to be near God. In Quran white is opposed to black, the white faces are of the good muslims who have good intentions. Besides the muslim saints spirits, white is the preferred color of the river spirits. In the ritual of visiting the river some boiled white grains are thrown into the river. There is also the white vertebra of the Nile fish used in the jertiq ceremony.

White in zar appears as the grand mother of the grave. In the riverain communities the white color is the color of the dead relatives and sufi shaikhs who always come in dreams wearing white clothes. Also the mourning clothes of the sudanese women are white. So when women started to work outside home against the community wishes, they started to wear white until it became the uniform of the working women. White clothes are also connected with old women. Although white is not an obligatory color for the muslim female pilgrim, the sudanese, females wear white when they go to Mekka. White is also the color of the men clothes in the northern communities. Connecting white with death is very clearly practiced by the Nubian communities on their graves. The graves are covered with pebbles of white quartz. This practice extended

down the Nile. In al Damer a basket full of white pebbles is brought to the grave, people read Quran over it and scatter the pebbles over the grave and pour water over them. In 1819 it is explained to Burckardt that the soul of the deceased when here after visiting the tombs might be glad to find these pebbles in order to use them as leads in addressing in its prayers to the creator. In the first half of this century the explanation that was given to Cavendish was that the pebbles are used as prayers counters not by the deceased but by his relatives. These white pebbles are not put on the children graves. The reason for this is that the white pebbles represent prayers for forgiveness of sins and children have no sins. The association of white pebbles with water is also practiced by the Bari of western Sudan. They bring pebbles from shrine stone of rain making³⁶.

In the black spirits white is found as beads surrounding the black fighting shield. White beads are known of their divinity as bringing good fortune. They are also fixed to the hats of the west Africans. The spirits of the Dinka wear white clothes. In the past, they painted their body with white ashes. They dance with the symbolic spear of the Dinka religion. In the Dinka religion white has a divine meaning. Garang who was the first man in the myth of the separation of the earth and the sky, became the cult divinity of particular families is connected with the white colored snake. In Dinka Maybor they kill the white ox so that God may be nearer. One of the ox names of the important Agar Dinka priest is explained as " Build the white head on the black body", the white head symbolizing wisdom and goodness. White oxen are specially appropriate for sacrifice to divinity³⁷. albiyad or

whiteness is an amount of money given by the patient to his traditional leader either in zar or sufi orders. It represents the white or clear intention.

The white dish, gadah al biad, that is distributed in the third day in zar, is made of white food, of Yogurt and Pudding of white grain or of rice and milk. The same dish is distributed in other rituals of life crises. The white food of milk was a sacred food in the old Nubian kingdoms. At the archaeological sites the kings appear to present milk to their god.

So white in zar context, like in the sudanese belief, symbolizes saints, ancestors, death or going to God. It also symbolizes the river spirits. In the European spirits white appears as the clothing of the doctor, a new meaning of life brought by the Europeans instead of death.

Black :-

Black is the color of the black spirits. For the west Africans, Hausa, Fur, Bari and Noba, black represents their ancestors. For the Noba the black stick represents the power of their ancestors. The black spirit of the crocodile in zar is probably the one believed by the Shiluk to be a troublesome spirit which is connected with black night and river³⁸. The name of zar as sahar, crocodile two centuries ago in Sinnar leads us back to the hypothesis of the Shiluk origin of the Funj.

The black beads in the black rosary in the jertiq ceremony gives the meaning of making things easier.

So black in zar has a dual meaning, as respected ancestors for the west Africans and as a troublesome spirit for the southerners.

We can conclude that zar rituals is a model that represent the process of communication between the different cultures in the Sudan. This can be clearly shown in the color symbolism, that one color may has several meanings in the rituals.

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16- The symbol of the crescent and star is shown on the graves of Buri and in Gazira and in front of houses in Omdurman.

17- The red ring, the ring of blood, is a ring used by the Sudanese women as a protective ornament in the rites of passage.

18- Marara, is a dish of different uncooked parts of animal abdomen.

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PLATES

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Plate 1:A woman greeting the zar leader



Plate 2: An interview between a patient and the zar leader



Plate 3: The box and the pots of the incense



Plate 4: A hall in the zar leader's house where the ceremonies are held



Plate 5: A woman get possessed



Plate 6: A woman who get possessed of the turabi spirit when the abdomen enlarged



Plate 7: A woman who get possessed by the Ethiopian spirits



Plate 8: The Ethiopian spirits' objects



Plate 9: a woman who get possessed by the black spirits



Plate 10: The black spirits' objects



Plate 11: The tigre skin which should be used by the woman who is possessed by the tigre spirit



Plate 12: The coffee ritual



Plate 13: The objects of the jertiqe ceremony

CONCLUSION

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The act of communication in zar rituals is constrained by many directivness. First ,the messages which constitute zar rituals are kept or released because of the state of the need of the patient. Second ,the rituals are held by the zar leader for patient's sake. Third, the decision to hold the rituals releases a flow of communicating events characterized by pre-established conventions as to the body of symbols and knowledge they contain. Fourth ,the contents of these messages initials a change in the life of the recipient(patient) .He/she is going to be possessed by these specific spirits for all his/her life .The factor that makes zar an addictive practice is the belief that zar -possessed should continue practicing the rituals because this is the will of the possessing spirits .Most of the subjects report the need for such a continuity either to prevent recurrence of the symptoms or to alleviate them when they have already occurred .This belief has been serving the economic interest of the zar leaders and the continuity of their work .

Zar consists of various rituals based on a concept that certain spirits when they are invoked ,celebrated and sacrificed to will cause the patient to recover from his/her illness .There is a belief that each zar spirit causes a certain disease .The ethnic background of the patient identify the possessing spirits.

There are many zar rituals which are shared with other rituals in other ceremonies in the Sudanese society . For example

the jertiq ceremony and the ritual visit to the river .This shows the cultural communication between zar rituals and other rituals in the Sudanese society. there is always a process of change in the zar rituals .These changes are due to economic ,socio-political and religious factors or changes in the generations' knowledge .

The zar archetypes represent different ethno_cultural groups that live in the Sudan and different political groups that ruled the country in different historical periods.

The symbolic usage of colors in zar is very significant. The widely used colors are red, white and black. It is noticed that the colors have various meanings in zar rituals. The color symbolism in zar rituals represent the communication between the different cultures in the Sudan .

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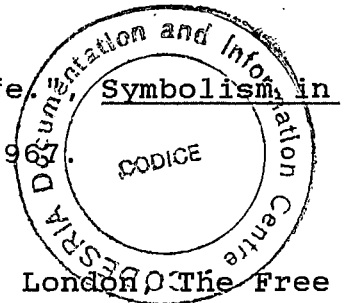
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