

Tiv

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Entered by Emily Pitek, Human Relations Area Files

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Entry tags: African Religions, Religious Group

The Tiv are a group of people who have historically lived in what is now the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, along the Benue River. The first recorded contact between the Tiv and Europeans occurred in 1852, and the British began occupation in Tiv lands around 1906 (Bohannon, 1998). More consistent contact with the British started around 1911, at which time Dutch Reformed missionaries arrived, followed by Catholic missions in the 1920s and U.S. Protestants in the 1940s (Bohannon, 1998). More substantial changes to Tiv social and political structure as a result of the British administration occurred in 1934. This entry focuses on the Tiv living in the Benue Province of Ethiopia around the time of 1920. Although the Tiv had contact with missionaries, their influence was minimal and Tiv religion maintained its traditional practices. According to the principal ethnographic authorities, Bohannon and Bohannon, "the total field of Tiv religion does not form a single, complete, or closed system of thought" (1953:81). Rather, several important concepts are associated with one another, such as tsav [ability/witchcraft potential], akombo [magical emblems and associated ritual], and mbatsav [individuals with tsav, who can utilize akombo]. No formal priesthood is present, but diviners are utilized, and mbatsav are capable of carrying out rituals. This entry considers the Tiv religious group to be coterminous with society at large.

Date Range: 1905 CE - 1934 CE

Region: Tiv settlements of Benue province

Region tags: Nigeria

Tiv settlements of Benue province, Nigeria, ca. 1920

Status of Participants:

✓ Elite ✓ Religious Specialists ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Tuden, A. & Marshall, C. (Oct., 1972). Political organization: Cross-cultural codes 4. *Ethnology*, 11(4), 436-464.
- Source 1: Divale, W. (2004). Codebook of Variables for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample. *World Cultures: The Journal of Cross-Cultural and Comparative Research*.
- Source 2: Murdock, G.P. & Wilson, S.F. (Jul., 1972). Settlement patterns and community organization: Cross-Cultural Codes 3. *Ethnology*, 11(3), 254-295.
- Source 3: Murdock, G.P. (1967). *Ethnographic Atlas*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=ff57-019>
- Source 1 Description: Bohannan, L., & Bohannan, P. (1953). The Tiv of central Nigeria. In *Ethnographic survey of Africa: Western Africa* (p. 100). International African Institute.
- Source 2 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=ff57-000>
- Source 2 Description: Bohannan, P. (1998). Culture summary: Tiv. HRAF.
- Source 3 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=ff57-030>
- Source 3 Description: Bohannan, P., & Bohannan, L. (1969). A source book on Tiv religion. In *HRAFlex books. Ethnography series* (p. 5 v. (xv, 802 leaves)). Human Relations Area Files.

General Variables

Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: "Missions have been present in Tivland since 1911, when the Dutch Reformed Church made its first settlement on the eastern marches of Tivland, south of Wukari; they were followed by the Roman Catholics in the 1920s. In the opinion of the writers of this report, missionary influence has not been very great in Tivland" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:14).



Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– Yes

Notes: According to SCCS Variable 1649, Internal Warfare (resolved rating), the Tiv were coded 17, representing "internal warfare seems to occur almost constantly and at any time of the year" (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).



Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

– Yes

Notes: According to SCCS Variable 1650, External Warfare (resolved rating), the Tiv were coded 13, representing "external warfare seems to occur every year, but usually only during a particular season" (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the Tiv would actively proselytize and recruit new members.

Does the religion have official political support

– Yes

Notes: Because Tiv religious life permeated all aspects of society (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953), this entry considers the religious group to be coterminous with the society at large. Consequently, religion

can be said to have political support.

↳ Are the priests paid by polity:

— No

Notes: A priesthood is not present. "The greatest difficulty in any analysis of Tiv religion is that, since there is no priesthood, there is no heresy. Equally there is no orthodoxy. Every man's notions are determined by his own experience and by his own interest" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:93).

↳ Are the head of the polity and the head of the religion the same figure:

— No

Notes: Based on ethnographic evidence, there does not appear to be a singular head of the polity or religion.

↳ Are political officials equivalent to religious officials:

— Yes

Notes: "...nothing could give a falsier picture of Tiv leadership than a strict differentiation of governmental activities into civil and religious. References in this section to 'secular' and 'mystical' should be taken as indications of a greater proportion of the one or the other; the terms are not mutually exclusive among the Tiv" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:33).

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating a conception of apostasy is present among the Tiv.

Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

— Estimated population, numeric: 600000

Notes: "The earliest estimate of the Tiv population, in 1933, was 600,000" (Bohannon, 1998:1).

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

— No

Notes: "The greatest difficulty in any analysis of Tiv religion is that, since there is no priesthood, there is no heresy. Equally there is no orthodoxy. Every man's notions are determined by his own experience and by his own interest" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:93).

— Yes

Notes: "In the indigenous Tiv system nothing resembling an office existed, nor was there any position of leadership attached to any absolute lineage span. The only Tiv group of which one could say 'there must be someone responsible' was the compound, but, as has been seen, the activities of the

compound head are domestic rather than political. In a consideration of Tiv leadership one may distinguish roughly between (a) elders, (b) men of affluence and prestige, and (c) men who, generally by a combination of these two roles, became men of wider political influence... But nothing could give a falsier picture of Tiv leadership than a strict differentiation of governmental activities into civil and religious. References in this section to 'secular' and 'mystical' should be taken as indications of a greater proportion of the one or the other; the terms are not mutually exclusive among the Tiv" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:33).

↳ Is there a hierarchy among these leaders:

— No

Notes: (See Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:36).

↳ Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

— Yes

Notes: "He [an elder in a leadership position] should have the mastery of many important akombo [magical emblem]. Elders hold these akombo and perform their rituals for the benefit of the tar [land]: that is, for the health and fertility of land and people and to repair damages in the field of social relationships. ...most important, an elder must have tsav, that is, talent, ability, and a certain witchcraft potential. The possession of tsav grants power to bewitch and to prevent bewitching: in both aspects it is the most powerful means of discipline in the hands of the elders and, in practice, the force by which their decisions are upheld. It is, then, through the mystical powers inherent in tsav and akombo that the elders wield moral and secular influence" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:33-34).

↳ Powers are acquired by individual deeds carried out in the current life:

— Yes

Notes: (See Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:33-34)

↳ Are leaders considered fallible:

— I don't know

Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of scripture.

Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

— No

Notes: According to Column 6, Large or Impressive Structures, of Murdock and Wilson, 1972 (Note: equivalent to SCCS variable 66) "there are no structures in the community that are appreciably larger or more impressive than the usual residential dwellings."

Are pilgrimages present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of pilgrimages.

Beliefs

Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body.

Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

— Yes

Notes: "Every man has a jijingi and can point to it, for the jijingi is his reflection (in water or a mirror), his shadow, or as we shall translate it, his shade...During a man's lifetime his shade is always with him, imitating his every motion; it is also associated with life, as it departs at death" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:82).

Belief in afterlife:

— Yes

Notes: "At death a man's shade leaves him...Today most Tiv say, when first asked, that the shade then goes to heaven...but add that they learnt this story from the missionaries...When pressed for a more indigenous notion, many Tiv say that the shade of a person stays around his usual haunts for about three months or so (some say for a year if a second funeral is held). Then it goes to the mbakuv. The mbakuv are not a society composed of the shades of the dead; they are one sort of sprite...When the shade goes to the mbakuv it undergoes a fundamental metamorphosis...wherein it loses all individual, and indeed all human, characteristics; it becomes a sprite (ormbakuv)" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:82).



Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: "...the shade of a person stays around his usual haunts for about three months or so (some say for a year if a second funeral is held). Then it goes to the mbakuv. The mbakuv are not a society composed of the shades of the dead; they are one sort of sprite...When the shade goes to the mbakuv it undergoes a fundamental metamorphosis...wherein it loses all individual, and indeed all human, characteristics; it becomes a sprite (ormbakuv)" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:82).

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined “above” space:

– No

Notes: Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:82

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined “below” space:

– No

Notes: Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:82

Reincarnation in this world:

– Yes

Notes: "The jijingi [the shadow/shade/soul-like component of a person] of a person 'comes to rest' (sa) in his child, and becomes a component in the jijingi of his grandchildren, where it may show up as a physical resemblance. The jijingi is thus, both transmitted to the son, where it stays, but is also transmitted further through the generations--this includes women, and it can pass in any line" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1969:89).

↳ In a human form:

– No

Notes: (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1969:89)

↳ In animal/plant form:

– No

Notes: (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1969:89)

↳ In form of an inanimate object(s):

– No

Notes: (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1969:89)

↳ In non-individual form (i.e. some form of corporate rebirth, tribe, lineage. etc.):

– Yes

Notes: "The jijingi [the shadow/shade/soul-like component of a person] of a person 'comes to rest' (sa) in his child, and becomes a component in the jijingi of his grandchildren, where it may show up as a physical resemblance. The jijingi is thus, both transmitted to the son, where it stays, but is also transmitted further through the generations--this includes women, and it can pass in any line" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1969:89).

↳ Reincarnation linked to notion of life-transcending causality (e.g. karma):

– No

Notes: (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1969:89)

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

— Yes

Notes: "All but the most important elders are buried by the side of a path in a deep trench" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:79).

↳ Cremation:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of cremation.

↳ Mummification:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of mummification.

↳ Interment:

— Yes

Notes: "All but the most important elders are buried by the side of a path in a deep trench" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:79).

↳ Cannibalism:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of cannibalism.

↳ Secondary burial:

— Yes

Notes: "What is often, by English-speakers, loosely described as secondary burial still occurs" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:79).

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

— I don't know

Notes: The following excerpt describes animal sacrifice, but it is unclear whether the activity is part of funeral practices in general or specifically co-sacrifices for burial. Additionally, this only pertains to important men who have killed others during their lives. "In southern Tivland, in the case of an important man who had in his life taken heads in war, the girnya is danced—sometimes in the presence of the corpse which is propped up in a chair. As a climax, while dancing, the chief dancers cut off the heads of goats to the number of the heads taken by the deceased" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:79).

Are grave goods present:

— Yes

Notes: "An important elder may be buried in the yard (tembe) of his compound, generally just outside

his reception hut (ate); he is occasionally buried inside the reception hut. For such men a small thatched shelter may be erected above the grave; on this roof, or on the floor below it, some personal possession (a cloth or an ornament) may be placed; similar objects are often placed on the path-side graves" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:79).



Personal effects:

– No

Notes: "An important elder may be buried in the yard (tembe) of his compound, generally just outside his reception hut (ate); he is occasionally buried inside the reception hut. For such men a small thatched shelter may be erected above the grave; on this roof, or on the floor below it, some personal possession (a cloth or an ornament) may be placed; similar objects are often placed on the path-side graves" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:79).



Valuable items:

– I don't know



Other grave goods:

– I don't know

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

Notes: "All but the most important elders are buried by the side of a path in a deep trench...An important elder may be buried in the yard (tembe) of his compound, generally just outside his reception hut (ate); he is occasionally buried inside the reception hut" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:79).



In cemetery:

– No

Notes: Cemeteries are not described, however, "All but the most important elders are buried by the side of a path in a deep trench...An important elder may be buried in the yard (tembe) of his compound, generally just outside his reception hut (ate); he is occasionally buried inside the reception hut" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:79).



Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

– No

Notes: "All but the most important elders are buried by the side of a path in a deep trench...An important elder may be buried in the yard (tembe) of his compound, generally just outside his reception hut (ate); he is occasionally buried inside the reception hut" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:79).



Other formal burial type:

— Yes [specify]: By the side of a path in a deep trench

Notes: "All but the most important elders are buried by the side of a path in a deep trench...An important elder may be buried in the yard (tembe) of his compound, generally just outside his reception hut (ate); he is occasionally buried inside the reception hut" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:79).

Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

— Yes

Notes: Supernatural beings are present, but not described in immense ethnographic detail. Supernatural beings do not appear to be a central focus in Tiv religion. See questions below for available information.

↳ A supreme high god is present:

— No

Notes: According to Ethnographic Atlas Column 34, High Gods, "a high god is absent or not reported in substantial descriptions of religious beliefs" (Murdock, 1967).

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

— No

Notes: "The point to be made here is that Tiv have no beliefs concerning souls or spirits which affect in any appreciable measure the rest of their religion. The Tiv have no ancestral cult in the usual West African sense of ancestors as beings to whose intervention illness, misfortune, or anything else can be attributed. Tiv do not recognize an ancestral spirit which can affect the lives of descendants" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:83).

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

— Yes

Notes: "...the shade of a person stays around his usual haunts for about three months or so (some say for a year if a second funeral is held). Then it goes to the mbakuv. The mbakuv are not a society composed of the shades of the dead; they are one sort of sprite...When the shade goes to the mbakuv it undergoes a fundamental metamorphosis...wherein it loses all individual, and indeed all human, characteristics; it becomes a sprite (ormbakuv)" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:82).

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

— No

Notes: The principal ethnographic authority reported that no informants described having seen a sprite (non-human spirit). See Bohannon and Bohannon, 1969:27.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– I don't know

↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Notes: "The sprites are of several kinds. The great sprites lurk in the woods of stream beds and hills and can cause dumbness, monstrous births, and one kind of madness; the described reaction to an encounter with them is very like panic. Among the lesser ones are the sprites of the compound who, if not propitiated with bits of food, can cause all sorts of malicious and mischievous damage; the mbaakume who are ape-like creatures which may be controlled by men of tsav (mbatsav); and the mbakuv, who live in the bush and control the abundance of game by their release of their own domestic surplus" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:82).

↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:

– I don't know

Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– I don't know

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– No

Notes: Ethnographic evidence suggests supernatural beings are present but do not play a very active role in everyday life. Supernatural beings do not appear to actively partake in meeting out punishment. (See Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953; Bohannon and Bohannon, 1969).

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– No

Notes: Ethnographic evidence suggests supernatural beings are present but do not play a very active role in everyday life. Supernatural beings do not appear to actively partake in bestowing rewards. (See Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953; Bohannon and Bohannon, 1969).

Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of messianic beliefs.

Is an eschatology present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of an eschatology.

Norms and Moral Realism

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: "An Akombo [magical emblems and forces] has ritual regulations and medicines. The ritual regulations which an akombo has are primarily laws (tindi), taboos (mtswer), usages (ayom), and prohibitions (mhange). To disregard or accidentally infringe any of these is to violate the akombo and make oneself vulnerable to it...akombo have ritual regulations which appear to be of a moral nature. Thus, to kill a man is not only a crime which evokes a social response but also a violation of the akombo swendegh" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:86).



What is the nature of this distinction:

— Present and clear

Notes: (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:86)



Are specifically moral norms prescribed by the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: See questions below for more details.



Specifically moral norms are implicitly linked to vague metaphysical concepts:

— Yes

Notes: Akombo are the metaphysical concepts that moral norms are linked to. "An Akombo [magical emblems and forces] has ritual regulations and medicines. The ritual regulations which an akombo has are primarily laws (tindi), taboos (mtswer), usages (ayom), and prohibitions (mhange). To disregard or accidentally infringe any of these is to violate the akombo and make oneself vulnerable to it...akombo have ritual regulations which appear to be of a moral nature. Thus, to kill a man is not only a crime which evokes a social response but also a violation of the akombo swendegh" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:86).



Specifically moral norms are linked in some way to an anthropomorphic being:

— No

Notes: (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:86)



Specifically moral norms are linked explicitly to commands of anthropomorphic being:

— No

Notes: (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:86)



Specifically moral norms are have no special connection to metaphysical:

— No

Notes: (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:86)

Practices

Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of required celibacy.

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

— No

Notes: "Tiv say that they never castrated males, including prisoners" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1969:70).

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of required fasting.

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

— No

Notes: Although food taboos are mentioned (see Bohannon and Bohannon, 1969:49-52), it appears that these taboos are specific to certain lineages.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Notes: It appears that human sacrifice was present for specific rituals, but not required for membership in the religious group. "Such akombo [magical emblems and forces] as the owl pipe arouse highly ambivalent reactions in Tiv during discussion. They are necessary and good things: the performance of their ritual helps to make crops and human beings fertile and abundant as no other means can. But they are also evil and dangerous things, for their ritual requires the sacrifice of human lives. Thus, the entire community agrees that the rites of the great akombo must and should be

performed for the benefit of the community; the entire community also agrees that it is wicked and horrible to bewitch and kill people, even for the most legitimate ends and even when it is entrusted to the most knowledgeable and respected elders of the community. The compromise in belief actually reached is that there exists a secret society of those who have ability (tsav), the primary function of which is to perform all those acts which are ritually necessary but anti-social in means (not end) and thus morally condemned" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:90).

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

i.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale "ceremonies" and "festivals."

— Yes

Notes: Although large-scale rituals do not appear to be explicitly required, such rituals are important and involve the community. "He [an elder in a leadership position] should have the mastery of many important akombo [magical emblem]. Elders hold these akombo and perform their rituals for the benefit of the tar [land]: that is, for the health and fertility of land and people and to repair damages in the field of social relationships. Treaties, peace-making, theft, homicide, childbirth, widow inheritance—almost any field of social activity one can mention—eventually involved the performance of magical ritual which is in the hands of the elders" (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:33).

↳ On average, for large-scale rituals how many participants gather in one location:
— I don't know

↳ What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):
Performances here refers to large-scale rituals.
— I don't know

↳ Are there orthodoxy checks:
Orthodoxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are interpreted in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper interpretation, etc.
— I don't know

↳ Are there orthopraxy checks:
Orthopraxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are performed in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper procedure, etc.
— Yes

Notes: Rituals are led by people who possess the required training and skill (Bohannon and Bohannon, 1953:33)

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

– Yes

Notes: "There is in the case of cicatrization (and of tooth filing) a rough association, in the minds and actions of the Tiv, with age, tribal identity, and personal attractiveness" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:66).

↳ Tattoos/scarification:

– Yes

Notes: "There is a wide variation in the degree of scarification and in the patterns adopted. Nevertheless, certain markings and, in a much less easily described way, the total effect of combined patterns, are felt to be peculiarly Tiv" (Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953:66).

↳ Circumcision:

– Yes

Notes: See Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953 pp. 64-65.

↳ Hair:

– Yes

Notes: See Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953 p. 68

↳ Dress:

– Yes

Notes: See Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953 p. 67

↳ Ornaments:

– Yes

Notes: See Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953 p. 68

↳ Other:

– Yes [specify]: Tooth filing and ear piercing

Notes: See Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953 p. 67

Society and Institutions

Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

– A chiefdom

Notes: The Tiv had one level of jurisdictional hierarchy beyond the local community, which is indicative of a petty chiefdom (Ethnographic Atlas column 33, Murdock, 1967). For a more detailed description of

leadership among the Tiv, see Bohannan and Bohannan, 1953.

Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of a formal bureaucracy within the Tiv society at the time this entry focuses on.

Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

— No

Notes: According to SCCS Variable 20, Food Storage, food is stored in individual houses (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Notes: According to SCCS Variable 20, Food Storage, food is stored in individual houses (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

— No

Notes: It can be assumed that transportation infrastructure is not present, as routes of land transport are "unimproved trails", according to Murdock and Morrow (1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004; SCCS Variable 14).

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Notes: It can be assumed that transportation infrastructure is not present, as routes of land transport are "unimproved trails", according to Murdock and Morrow (1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004; SCCS Variable 14).

Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

— No

Notes: Tuden and Marshall (1972) column 10, Police (note, equivalent to SCCS variable 90, Police) indicates that "police functions are not specialized or institutionalized at any level of political

integration, the maintenance of law and order being left exclusively to informal mechanisms of social control, to private retaliation, or to sorcery."

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

— No

Notes: Tuden and Marshall (1972) column 9, Judiciary (note, equivalent to SCCS Variable 89, Judiciary) indicates that "supreme judicial authority is lacking at any level above that of the local community."

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

— No

Notes: Because justice and social control are not institutionalized (see previous questions), it follows that punishment is not institutionally forced.

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

— No

Notes: Because there is no formal social control among the Tiv, it can be assumed that there is no formal legal code. Additionally, no ethnographic evidence indicates that a formal legal code is present.

Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

— Yes

Notes: See Bohannan and Bohannan, 1969, p.183.



Is use of this distinct written language confined to religious professionals:

— No

Notes: See Bohannan and Bohannan, 1969, p.183.

Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

— Yes

Notes: The Tiv rely primarily on extensive or shifting agriculture, with hunting as an additional source of subsistence. Gathering, fishing, and animal husbandry supplement the diet. Source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.



Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

— Gathering

— Hunting (including marine animals)

- Fishing
- Pastoralism
- Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards

Notes: The Tiv rely primarily on extensive or shifting agriculture, with hunting as an additional source of subsistence. Gathering, fishing, and animal husbandry supplement the diet. Source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.