

A SURVEY OF VARIATION AMONG THE MAASAI (1977)

Unpublished appendix to Paul Spencer (2003), *Time, Space, and the Unknown: Maasai Configurations of Power and Providence*, (Routledge)

CONTENTS

Map: The Maasai and Maa-speaking Region

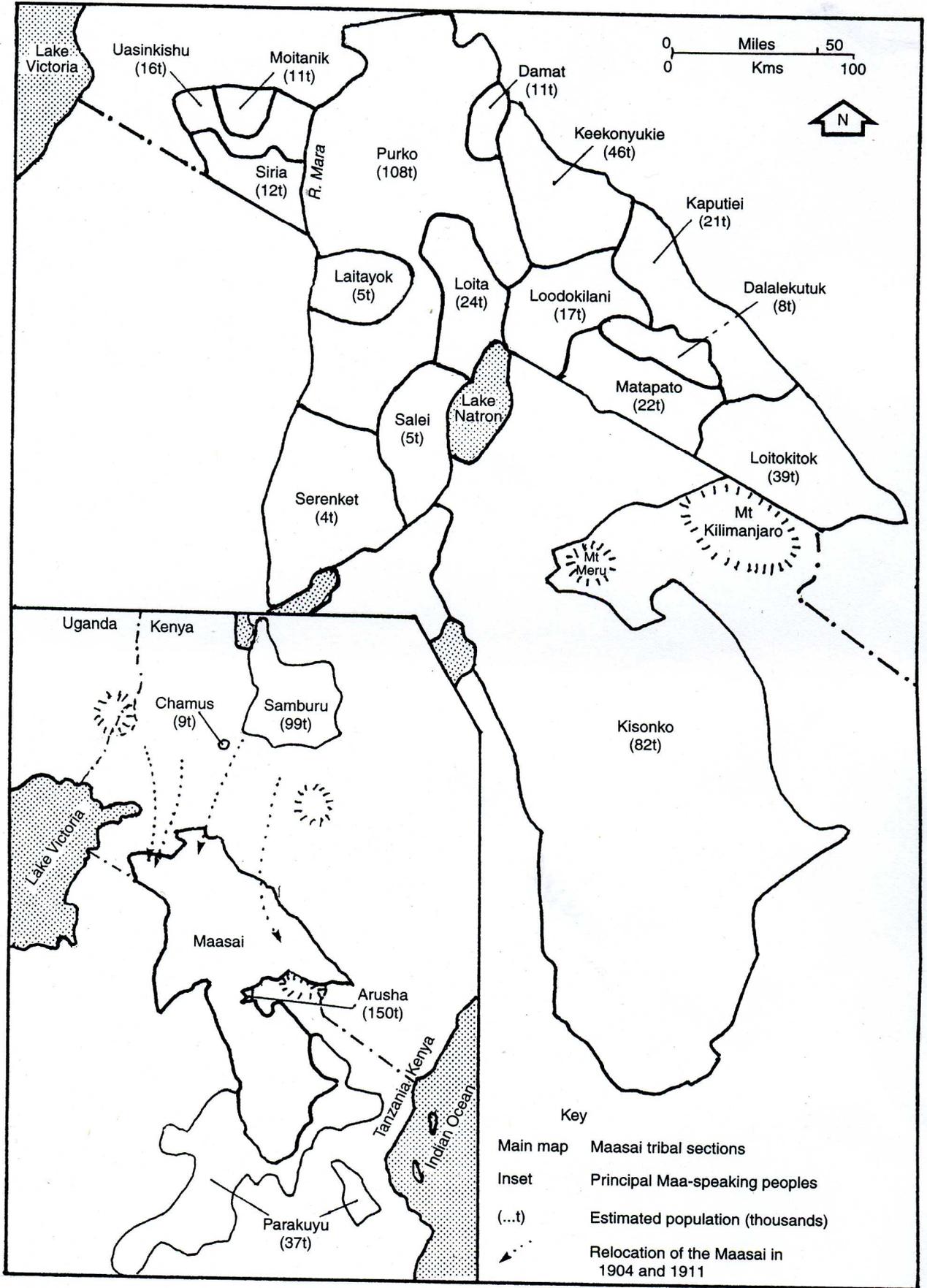
Introduction

Topics	See also <i>The Maasai of Matapato</i>
1. Clanship	Chapter 1
2. Marriage	2
3. The hut and the women's domain	[<i>Time etc</i> : 43-50, 226-8]
4. Family precedence	4
5. Setting up a new age-set	5
6. Mobilization as moran	6
7. Manyata	7
8. Forest feast and wife avoidance	8
9. Eunoto	9
10. Transition to elderhood	10
11. Women's sexuality and protest	11
12. Age-set <u>esoogo</u> punishment etc.	12
13. Paternal control and patrilineal succession	13
14. The Great Ox: Loolbaa	14 [& <i>Time etc</i> : 173-4]
15. Pacts and homicides	
16. Prophets and their clients	[<i>Time etc</i> : chapter 5]
17. The Laikipiak	[<i>Nomads in Alliance</i> : 152-8]

KEY: Maasai sources of information

M	<u>M</u>atapato
P	<u>P</u>urko
L	<u>L</u>oitokitok Kisonko
K	<u>K</u>isonko of Tanzania
A	<u>L</u>oit<u>A</u>
S	<u>S</u>iria
U	<u>U</u>asinkishu
T	Loonkidongi of <u>T</u>urben – close neighbours of Matapato
O	Loonkidongi of Morij<u>O</u> – close neighbours of and on friendly terms with Purko
C	<u>C</u>hamus – agro-pastoralists who adopted Maasai practices around 1900

Matapato, Purko, Loitokitok, Kisonko, LoitA, Siria, Uasinkishu, Loonkidongi (Turben & MorijO), Chamus



The Maasai and Maa-speaking region.

Matapato, Purko, Loitokitok, Kisonko, Loita, Siria, Uasinkishu, Loonkidongi (Turben & MorijO), Chamus

INTRODUCTION

There is a considerable variation in the literature on the Maasai, and this tends to overlook differences in practice between the 16 or so tribal sections. This is not entirely the fault of the writers. Generally among informants, there is a tendency to make wider claims for 'the Maasai' that strictly speaking are more particularly relevant to their own tribal section. Thus, the Purko especially, use the term 'Maasai' as synonymous with 'Purko', and when I drew their attention to alternative practices among their neighbours, these were regarded as idiosyncratic deviations from the norm. On another occasion, I tried to bring together two very articulate and senior age-mates from Matapato and Kisonko to discuss some of the striking differences between them that had emerged from separate discussions. The result was not a clear enunciation of principles of difference between tribal sections, but a compromising fudge on both sides of all the issues that I was trying to clarify. While they were together, it was not as Matapato and Kisonko with diverging views, but as Maasai. Above all, it was the unity of all Maasai that they stressed.

In the course of my research, it became evident that there was a broad trend of variation from north to south. To explore this systematically, I developed a growing list of questions stemming from these apparent contradictions in the literature and in my own findings up to that point. As I travelled round, I put these to elders of seven Maasai tribal sections, and also to those of two communities of Loonkidongi diviners, and to elders of the Chamus as a Maasai satellite. Here, I refer to these sources of information using the following abbreviations: M (Matapato); P (Purko); L (Loitokitok Kisonko); K (Kisonko of Tanzania); A (LoitA); S (Siria); U (Uasinkishu); T (Loonkidongi of Turben – close neighbours of Matapato); O (Loonkidongi of MorijO – close neighbours and on friendly terms with Purko); and C (Chamus). In addition to my volume on *The Maasai of Matapato* (1988), my findings concerning the Purko, Loitokitok, and Loonkidongi are presented in separate chapters of *Time, Space, and the Unknown* (2003), and my research among the Chamus in Part II of *The Pastoral Continuum* (1998),

These questions served primarily as a checklist for prompting open-ended discussion on a variety of issues. Often the question was not answered directly or the answer suggested a more precise question on a related theme. In some tribal sections that I was only visiting briefly, I omitted questions that no longer seemed relevant (ASUO) and I was not able to ask questions that emerged later among those that had I visited earlier (SUC). Lack of time and the sheer scope of this comparative survey did not permit a fuller exploration of every point, and it was not my primary purpose to list systematically the answers in every tribal section to each question. Nevertheless, it is useful to summarize here the gist of my findings, for these loose ends of my own research tie up with a number of loose ends in the literature that had prompted the question in the first place.

On a number of issues that were not directly relevant to the thrust of my research, it is uncertain how far my small sample were expressing a variety of views typical within any tribal section, as might be expressed in any debate, or how far they represented real differences between tribal sections. Thus an elder in Loitokitok (L) told me that no-one should live in the same village as his mother's-brother, whereas another in Loita (A) modified this by suggesting that if he was living with his mother's-brother then he would move away at the first signs of disagreement. The difference in the way these two elders expressed themselves may have been due to a shift in nuance between Loitokitok and Loita as separate tribal sections or to the fact that the Loitokitok informant expressed a general matter of principle whereas the other qualified how it was interpreted in practice. I deliberately extended my questions as widely as seemed most productive. I could have restricted my range of interests outside Matapato in order to check more thoroughly on fewer topics and in fewer tribal sections. However, this would have had diminishing returns, and the enhanced accuracy would have been obtained at the expense of unexpected findings. It was these that shaped the development of my understanding of the Maasai in

general and of Matapato in particular, as I tried to explore as fully as I could the differences between tribal sections that seemed to be emerging from my research.

The Samburu, who had played such an important part in formulating my understanding of Maa society and in shaping my research interests, are significantly peripheral to this survey. The Samburu share much in common with the Maasai at a very general level, notably in relation to their age system. But in matters of detail, the two societies diverge, and the questions that led to this survey were concerned with such detail, and with the confusion between different accounts in the literature, and in the field. The commentary of this survey touches on the Samburu where there is a clear relevance, but in conducting my enquiry on variation among the Maasai, I did not feel that extending this to the Samburu would serve any useful purpose. The Chamus, on the other hand, were sufficiently close to the Maasai to merit inclusion. Their social organisation had actually acquired a strong Samburu element in the mid-nineteenth century, but after 1900 they were equally influenced by the Uasinkishu and Purko Maasai, and their inclusion in this survey proved fruitful. (see *The Pastoral Continuum*. Chapter 5).

This raises an issue concerning the historical relevance of this survey. The Samburu and Maasai claim a common ancestral origin before the Maasai moved south to dominate the area that they now inhabit and beyond. Given the similarities between Maasai and Samburu at a general level and their dissimilarities in matters of detail - and indeed the contrasts between the northern and southern Maasai - this suggests a long-term divergence as local practices have shifted (see *Time, Space, and the Unknown*, Part II). It raises questions concerning how far the details recorded here will hold in the future, or may have changed even now? To what extent will the general shape of their age organisation and all that is linked to it hold together - as Maasai and Samburu societies do up to a point - while the sorts of detail discussed here shift? To what extent do the differences of practice or opinion between tribal sections that I recorded in 1977 reflect this process of change? A future survey along similar lines may answer such questions.

What follows was originally intended as an appendix to *Time, Space, and the Unknown* (2003), which was itself a sequel to *The Maasai of Matapato* (1988). As a tailpiece, rather than a further structured account of the Maasai, this survey provides a residual bundle of strands of research in 1977 that have a bearing on what has been written about these people by a range of other authors. No attempt has been made to update the survey since it was first drafted in the 1980s, except on editorial issues.

Paul Spencer
SOAS

1. CLANSHIP

1.1. Clanship and residence. Merker (1904: 32) suggested that every Maasai family had its own village before the cattle plagues around 1890. Among the *Samburu* (1965: 15-18, 74-6), elders often lived in the same village as close patrilineal kinsmen and normally within a village cluster associated with their clan as a socially cohesive group. However, Jacobs (1965: 220, 222) emphasized that respect and wisdom can only come through co-residence with other descent groups, and ideally a village should not consist exclusively or even predominantly of close kin; the reason given was that kinsmen might quarrel over cattle unless they live apart. The gist of responses to my own questions on this point shifted the emphasis towards moving apart before any quarrel builds up between any two elders, and notably between brothers who are especially at risk in this respect. But the ideal remained that brothers should be on cordial terms and even live together (cf. *Matapato* Case 63).

Thus: it does not matter whether or not a man lives with clansmen normally (ML), but he should at least live within his own geographical tribal section, and if he does have to migrate elsewhere, then that is the time to seek out his clansmen (MPA). A man would not want to be in an area where there are absolutely no clansmen (K - a recent immigrant to Matapato). Members of the Loonkidongi sub-clan of diviners on the other hand prefer to live in separate colonies, where they avoid and are avoided by other Maasai and (MPLTO – see paragraph 16.2)

Generally, it does not matter if all members of one village are of one clan or even just one family (MPLKAUTO). The important point is that those who live together should get on well and respect one another's wives (M). It is fine for clansmen to share, for this means they get on well together; quarreling between any elders (and not just clansmen) is deplorable (P). It is not clansmen that one should avoid living with, but in-laws (MU); or mother's-brothers (L) - especially if there is bad feeling (A). Above all, an elder and his family should not live alone (K cf. Llewelyn-Davies 1978: 227 that this could arouse suspicions of incest between the elder and a daughter – see 11.?)

1.2. Clanship and (tribal) section. The autonomy of tribal sections among the Maasai corresponds to a variation in the array of clans, and this is reflected in different listings by different writers, whose sources of information have been a variety of tribal sections. Segment A may appear as a clan in one account, as a sub-clan of clan B in another account and even a sub-clan of clan C in a third. One may compare, for instance, differences between Hollis 1905: 260; Merker 1904: 16-17, 97; Hobley 1910: 124-5; Leakey 1930: 206; Storrs Fox 1930: 457-8; Fosbrooke 1948: 40-1; Mpaayei 1954: 3, 29-30; Jacobs 1965: 196; Hamilton nd.: iv-vi; Sankan 1971: 1-3; Mol 1978: 43; Spencer 1988: 19. This poses an analytical confusion if one is searching for a template that applies to all Maasai. But for the immigrant of segment A, it poses no fundamental problem: the configuration of clans may be slightly different in another tribal section, but his claim to membership of A wherever he goes is impeccable. Thus the fact that Laitayok clan are numerous in the south and absent among the northern Maasai does not preclude migration between these areas: it only requires a recognized link between sub-clans, or failing that, a link of shared clanship with some earlier migrant in the area. Again, the Uasinkishu were slightly separate from other Maasai historically with their own clans; but by allying themselves more closely with the Purko since the 1930s, *ad hoc* links have been established with Purko sub-clans (cf. Waller 1984: 276).

There is a wide measure of consistency, but beyond this, the Maasai federation is a mesh of such links with no master plan, and this mesh extends beyond Maasai to those who share their language. My own adoptive clan among the Samburu, for instance, had been Lorogushu, which did not exist in Maasai and I made no attempt to search for distant kinsmen. But as I visited various Maasai tribal sections and made friends, they frequently made a point of finding some link that varied from one area to another. Again, Laitayok and Siria are names of Maasai clans and also of two tribal sections. No-one whom I questioned in Kenya admitted

any significant link between these two usages, regarding the similarities as verbal coincidence (LMS).

Note that Merker uses the term *Geschlecht* for [dispersed] clan and *Distrikt* for [territorial or tribal] section. Buxton translates these accurately as 'section' and 'district' respectively, but this is confusing because of the more recent adoption of the term 'section' for the territorial units. Among the Samburu, the official term 'section' does indeed refer to dispersed clans/phratries as the principal segmentary division of this society, and this contrasts with the Maasai where the principal segments are the 16 territorial sections (*Nomads in Alliance*: 72n).

1.3. The role of clanship. Merker (1904: 32, 47, 79) implies that clanship was stronger before the cattle epidemics around 1890: moran sported clan-emblems on their shields (see 6.5), moieties were exogamous, and every (extended patrilineal?) family had its own village. Since then he noted that now exogamy only applied to clans, several families lived together nearly everywhere, and there clan-emblems were no longer sported on shields. Generally, there is a strong association between clanship and traditional aspects of warfare and homicide, both of which appear to have diminished since Merker's time. War casualties were enumerated by clan (M); the battle oaths of moran often invoked the clan (MP); and the division of war-spoil could erupt into fighting between clans. After a homicide, blood-cattle were gathered from and distributed among the two clans involved: the unpropitious nature of cattle used for this purpose entailed spreading the risk widely (MA), but this has become a matter for the police and no payment is now made (MA). Ironically, while it is their age organization that is most popularly associated with earlier warrior activities, the attenuation of these has had a greater impact on the institution of clanship than of age-sets, although clearly the role of moran has also been affected.

Concern over each level of patrilineal descent up to the clan focuses on their eligibility for marriage (ie. marriageability: enkaputi). Especially in an area where they are few, clansmen are concerned to uphold their reputation as responsible husbands (wife-receivers) and fathers (wife-givers). Another significant feature suggesting the attenuation of clanship is the progressive breakdown of rules of clan exogamy since Merker's time, whereby marriage between the sub-clans of a clan has become increasingly common. At first in this process, a heifer-of-respect is paid by the groom in addition to the bridewealth to regularize this in-clan marriage; but once this irregularity between two sub-clans has been widely established, no further heifers-of respect are paid. Thus the history of in-marriage becomes evident from the degree of exogamy, to limited endogamy with the payment of heifers-of-respect, to more casual in-marriages without this payment. Where divorce follows the payment of a heifer-of-respect, the repayment of the marriage debt may be refused on the grounds that these cattle have reverted to being cattle of the clan: the high feelings aroused by a double infringement of tradition – in-marriage and then divorce – have unpropitious implications (M) [cf. homicide above and 2.8 below]. The greater apparent significance of clanship in the past suggests an essential link with the Samburu for whom clanship and exogamy still has a major political role in all clans except the Masula (Samburu: 287-9): the Maasai migrated from the north according to oral traditions, and the Samburu may provide some clues of the nature of a Proto-Maasai society. Very broadly, the importance of the clan cluster for resolving internal and external disputes among the Samburu corresponds to the importance of the age organization within each community of dispersed villages among the Maasai, except where there is some crisis of confidence within a clan.

There is some evidence of difference in the significance of clan among the Maasai between the north and south. In the north, a more pronounced association of moranhood with clanship persists: in their ritualised sharing of milk, moran avoid drinking milk from cattle of their own clan (PU), whereas elsewhere the etiquette of this daily display does not include this restriction (MKLATO). Among the Kisonko of Tanzania, clans jointly own permanent sources of water (K, cf. Fosbrooke 1948: 42, Ndagala 1992: 150); however this was generally denied in Kenya (MPLAU, cf.. Potkanski 1994: 29-30). Again Loitokitok area of Kisonko is divided up to a point according to clanship (*Time, Space and the Unknown*: 183) while a Tanzanian Kisonko informant specifically said that he would not want to live in an area

where there were no members of his clan (LK). Others pointed out that the dispersal of clans diminished rivalries between manyat, although they would seek out a clansmen if migrating an area where they had no friends (MPA). Generally, clanship appears to be significant by default among the Maasai: in times of hardship and uncertainty or when reputations are at stake, clanship assumes an importance that is taken for granted at other times (Matapato: 19, 104, 237, 242-3)

The outline of clans shown in Matapato (p. 19) appears broadly relevant throughout the southern Maasai, while the Laitayok clan, which is numerous in the south (LK) is absent in the north (PA), and Mamasita was generally absent from lists that I collected. For a summary of clans noted by different authors, see Mol 1978: 43 (& cf. Matapato: 7n). In Siria, a range of Maasai clans were recorded as sub-clans of the following clans: Laisir, Dorobo, Lkunono, Lkaputiei, and Olorien (S). Sankan (1971:3) provides a very different list of clans in Uasinkishu that are very similar to those that I collected there (U). For a list of Chamus clans (C), see Time, Space, and the Unknown: 160.

2. MARRIAGE

2.1. Exogamy and the heifer-of-respect. The patrilineal descent system divides into moieties, clans and sub-clans, with variation between tribal sections concerning the precise designation of certain named segments (Matapato: 19), and this corresponds to confusion in the literature concerning the level of exogamy. Generally writers agree that clan exogamy is the norm, although intermarriage is permitted between sub-clans of certain large clans with the payment of a 'heifer-of-respect' (Hollis 1905: 303, Fosbrooke 1948: 40-1, Jacobs 1965: 201, Hamilton iv-vi). Merker (1910: 16, 46) suggested that formerly there was moiety (Stamm) exogamy. Jacobs (1965: 201) suggests a shift from clan exogamy towards moiety endogamy and sub-clan exogamy at the turn of the twentieth century. Merker (1910: 46) and Jacobs (1965: 207-8) both note that a man's mother and each of his wives should belong to different clans.

The heifer-of-respect is paid in (a) marriages between certain specified subclans of large clans (MPAU); (b) as (a), however certain sub-clans of Laitayok clan are formally grouped into exogamous segments (ie. incipient clans within Laitayok) and no heifer-of-respect is paid in marriages between these segments (LK); (c) marriages may be allowed with a mother's clan-sisters as long as they do not belong to her sub-clan (ML); (d) with the daughter of a clan-sister (A). Marriage is possible with any number of women of the same clan, but not with two daughters of the same man (MP).

2.2. Ol-sarkioni. Mpaayei (1954: 4, 30, 35) notes that intermarriage between certain families is 'taboo' (sarkin), because it is bad. I have had problems with this in 1977. This would be resolved if Mpaayei's lemeyamakino had been translated as (families whose daughters) are avoided in marriage (cf. Tucker and Mpaayei 1955: 152). According to informants the term ol-sarkioni (pl. il-sarkin) is a boy born with one testicle who will bring misfortune to his brothers if a diviner does not perform a suitable ritual to avert this (L).

Sarkin/sakioni/sarkueeni are families with 'bad' blood (P), with 'eyes' (LT), homicides (T), those who are violent (MT), or are in a state of sin (engooki) with cattle but no children (K), and no-one would want to intermarry with them (MPKAT). They have no choice other than to marry one another if they are to marry at all (P). Mol 1996: 360 usefully summarizes these when translating the term as a contaminated person [or family or animal] who is to be avoided.

2.3. The virginity of the bride. Leakey (1930: 193, 201) noted that occasionally a Maasai girl remained a virgin until her marriage, and then the groom could claim a heifer from her father as compensation for having to penetrate her. My own informants noted that a heifer is still paid to the husband in compensation for his bride's virginity (LT): she returns to her father's home until it is paid (L); her father and husband are both pleased with her forbearance (T). A heifer is no longer paid (KA). There are no longer any virgin brides (K). No heifer was ever

paid (MP). There never were any virgin brides, or how could they ever have menstruated or been circumcised? (M)

2.4. Pregnant girls. Various writers have noted Maasai responses to a premarital pregnancy (Merker 1910: 44; Leakey 1930: 198-9, 203; Fox 1931: 186). According to my own informants, the attitude is partly determined by family custom. Generally, a father hates any daughter becoming pregnant before she is married (MPKA), and he may refuse to allow her circumcision within his village and 'throw her away' (PK). Though very occasionally a family may tolerate a premarital pregnancy on the grounds that the daughter's fertility is then proven (L). Her impregnator would have to placate (a-rrop) the father with eg. a heifer and a blanket/cloth/beer (MPKT), leading a delegation (olamal) of other moran (P); and he would never be allowed to marry this girl (A ie. no shot-gun marriages). Her mother would run away through fear of a beating and would get her brothers to give her some cattle to placate the father (MK).

So far as any intended husband is concerned, the father would give him a heifer (T) or feel obliged to offer him a different daughter (M). Some families would never marry such a girl (MPLKA) - it could court disaster and even death (L). Some accept these brides but without their babies (MK), and some accept them with their babies (MLKA) - these are the majority (M), and some may even welcome this (LK) - for wives and babies are not plentiful (M). Any suitor is free to reject his family's practice in these respects (MK), but he would be stupid (M).

2.5. The removal of the bride. A prompt removal of the bride after she ceases to be an initiate was emphasized by almost all informants. However, one (K) emphasized the delay in Kisonko before a father would allow his daughter to be led away by her husband, even after she had given birth. Other informants were very skeptical on this point (MPLATO) arguing that any delay in allowing the husband to lead away his bride simply increased the chance that she would run away to live with another man. If the husband is a footloose moran, she should still be led away to his father (cf. also Jacobs 1965: 212-3, who gives an account for Kisonko that corresponds closely to Matapato).

Transfer of the bride. [was 2.6] The husband establishes full physical rights over his bride from the moment her hair is shaved at the end of the initiation period (K), from the moment she sets foot in his village (M), though her father can always expect to be fed when he visits her (LAC) and if she is killed, then it is her father who will receive the bloodwealth (P). The point at which the formal bridewealth is paid marks the final point when she becomes the unambiguous possession (e-maali) of her husband.

2.6. Formal bridewealth and the marriage debt. With regard to token payment composing the ritual bridewealth, the Chamus (C) and a very few Loita families (L) appear to have a practice of prompt payment at marriage similar to the Samburu, while other Maasai (apart from a few families?) have a delayed payment as in Matapato. The term esaiyeta may refer to the ritual bridewealth (PAU), or may be extended to other unsolicited gifts offered by the groom to beg for (a-sai) his bride (K), or even more loosely to all gifts including the marriage debt (M). The term is also related to e-sinote, a girl who has been begged for and promised to a suitor (MPLKAC), or alternatively a wife for whom the ritual bridewealth has been paid (MU). In each of these meanings there is the notion of legitimacy as opposed to a wife who is en-kapiani, either living with some man other than her first husband (MPLKAUC), or still not quite fully married in that her ritual bridewealth has not yet been paid (MU).

Various authors have noted the relatively small size of bridewealth payments among the Maasai (Merker 1904: 45; Hollis 1905: 302; Fosbrooke 1948: 44, 46. Jacobs 1965: 149, 164, 207; Rigby 1985: 130, 135. However, this ritual payment taken together with gifts of stock prior to marriage (Jacobs and Rigby), and subsequent payments over an indefinite period amount to what may be termed the 'marriage debt', which is very substantial and is effectively written off as the marriage consolidates and divorce becomes unlikely, notably once the wife has been 'led with cattle'. A similar system operates among the Samburu

except that the formal payment of bridewealth occurs when the bride is first led away by the groom and further marriage payments only begin to accrue from that point (Matapato: 26-9, 33; Samburu: 35, Pastoral Continuum: 16-17). With regard to the mounting debt, the Samburu variant of delaying this appears to be a Maasai ideal, and some informants (LUO) emphasized the caution with which prudent fathers build up a significant marriage debt before their daughters have been married. It was emphasized that the formal bridewealth payment does not vary, even in intermarriage between Maasai and Loonkidongi, including Prophets and their daughters (MPLKATO). The only interpretation I was offered for Merker's suggestion that the Prophet Sendeu received only one cow on the marriage of a daughter (1904:45) was that as a rich man he would have been sensitive of his status, and reluctant to build up an early debt, but the formal payment would have been standard (O).

2.7. Wife's allotted herd. When a bride comes to her husband's village and is given the nucleus of a herd, she is first given a bull (MPKAUC) and then one (U) / several (P) / seven (K) / eight (A) / four or eight female cattle according to her husband's wealth (M). Her husband may alienate cattle from this herd, so long as he does not give them to any of his other wives: if he did so, the wife would be entitled to run back to her father (MPAS). It was even claimed that an elder is entitled to give away cattle of one wife to the kin of another, arguing that no husband would take such a step gratuitously: he alone understands the needs of his homestead and as compared with the balance between parts of its herd (MPSU). However, this is best avoided unless relations between wives are unusually cordial (A); or it may be avoided altogether (L cf. Samburu: 56). Cattle accruing to the marriage debt for a particular wife are ideally taken from her allotted herd and no-one else's. Llewelyn-Davies (1981: 334) has noted that a woman is responsible for reallocating stock from her allotted herd to her sons and may give nothing at all to a particular son. This point has been elaborated by Rigby (1985: 150), who suggested that the claim undermines Llewelyn-Davies subsequent argument concerning the fundamental inequality between Maasai men and women more generally. My Matapato informants broadly supported Llewelyn-Davies's argument. They agreed that sons may negotiate with their mother for gifts from her allotted herd, but they also insisted that the father/husband may override this reallocation, ordering his wife to give a particular cow to a particular son, or appropriating any cow given to any son for his own use (cf. Merker 1904: 2, 118).

2.8. Divorce. Increasingly as a marriage consolidates, divorce becomes more difficult, especially after the birth of the first child (MPLSUOC) and it is theoretically impossible after the payment of the formal bridewealth (MPLKA cf. Sankan 1971: 47). One informant even suggested that divorce after the death or miscarriage of a child would be tantamount to homicide by the husband (P). If the wife's father and husband cannot agree to the terms of a divorce, then it is the strength of feeling among elders that determines the outcome (MAUO). Divorce is marked by the return of all surviving cattle of the marriage debt and their offspring (LU), or perhaps just surviving females (MT). Even dead animals may have to be replaced (L), or just dead females (K), but this is no longer the case (MT). It all depends on the extent of bad feelings involved in the divorce (M). Following an in-clan marriage marked by the payment of a heifer-of-respect, the wife's father may refuse to return any of the marriage debt, arguing that the cattle have reverted to being gifts within the clan, and as such there is no obligation to return (M).

2.9. Remarriage of widows. A widow may remarry only if (a) she is still childless (MLKSTC), (b) none of her children have since died (LK), (c) formal bridewealth has not been paid (PLKA); and (d) her late husband's brothers in effect divorce her first (MPULKAT) and are quite without scruple (L). If her father does not agree to this then the matter would be discussed and resolved by the elders on both sides (MA).

3. THE HUT AND THE WOMEN'S DOMAIN.

3.1. The hut as an inviolable domain. Jacobs (1965: 183-5) and Rigby (1985: 150-1) note that the Maasai household is the basic reproductive unit of the Maasai/Baraguyu, and the hut itself is regarded as an inviolable area: it should never be entered in a raid and nor should its occupants be touched. An aggressor who pursues his victim into a hut in order to fight, even with words, would be heavily punished. Llewelyn-Davies (film - 'Maasai Manhood') echoes this and suggests that 'villages are sanctuaries of domesticity and fertility'.

My own informants denied these statements: the hut provides no sanctuary in a raid (MPLKAU), although anyone who has climbed a tree or is clutching grass should be spared (MPLAU). When Maasai moran raided other Maasai, they respected the corral and huts that they knew belonged to elders they should respect (U). Women should be spared because they are women, but not because they happen to be inside a hut (A).

3.2. Family discipline and the hut. Nor does the hut provide a sanctuary for a wife from her husband's anger. He can strike his wife inside her hut (MPLKA). But if she runs to the hut of someone that he should respect, then this may provide a refuge (M, cf. Hollis 1905: 304). However, it is not where he strikes her that matters so much as who else is present. He would normally avoid beating his wife in the presence of anyone else, and especially someone that he should respect; therefore he should choose his moment carefully (MPK). In this context he should also respect small children. Any young child can stop a man beating his wife (LAT); and especially his own child (MPUT), the child of an age-mate (MP), or of a sister or brother (KUTC) whatever their age. Children get in the way (T).

An unexpected finding in Matapato was an acceptance that as a final resort a father had the right to curse a child to death, and that this could teach other children to show respect (*Time etc*: 80). The point was raised in two other tribal sections and this view was confirmed in both - as a final resort (MLA).

3.3. Elders' access to their own huts. Jacobs (1965: 183-4; cf. Rigby 1985: 148-9) indicates (a) that no Maasai, not even the husband, can enter a hut without first being invited by the woman owner, and (b) that males must wait until milk is offered them by females; although they may at least demand milk if they have a guest. But still (c) it would be dishonourable for a husband to search where the milk calabashes are stored to determine how much there is (cf. Fosbrooke 1948: 48)..

Each of these points was consistently denied in my survey.

(a) I was told that the husband could enter the hut and take milk in the wife's absence with or without friends (MPLKAU).

(b) In some parts a very close brother or age mate could even do the same in the husband's absence (MKA), although in others he would wait to be offered the milk by a peer (PU). It would be the gourds set aside for the children and the wife's personal effects that they should respect (MPKU). If the wife is there, she should be told to hand over the milk (MLU).

(c) If she tells her husband that there is none and he disbelieves her, he will simply brush her aside to inspect for himself (MPLKA), and if she has lied he may swear at her (M) or even beat her (PL). If she is proved right, then he has not wronged her (LK), but he should not lose his temper (K).

Moran have a right to 'lift' milk from any hut (see *Matapato*: 109-10), even if the wife tries to refuse them (MPLKA), but not when any elder is present (MK), and only when one of the moran belongs to the same clan as this hut and can act as host (PAO - *Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 161). It is only recently that Loonkidongi moran have adopted this Maasai practice (T).

3.4. Fire-lighting. Jacobs (1965: 282-3) notes that (a) the family firestick symbolizes the father's domestic authority in making fire for the home, and breaking this firestick is a father's curse; and (b) women are not allowed to light fires.

According to my own informants, (a) only the firestick patrons have that curse. The father curses verbally (MPLKAT).

(b) When the Maasai move to a new village, it must be an elder who lights the first fire for the whole village (A), especially among the Loonkidongi who have their own fire-lighting ceremony (TO). On the other hand, nowadays with matches, women may light any domestic fire (MPLATO), even the first fire after moving - it does not matter (ML). But views differ regarding women using firesticks to light a fire: it would be bad (P); only very few women are strong enough to do so (K); elders would not mind, but women simply do not know how to use firesticks (MT).

3.5. Adoption. Sons may be adopted by barren co-wives but by no-one outside the family (PC), on rare occasions they may be adopted by a best friend (o-sotwa) of the father's lineage (LT), or even by a very close sister (MKA), but never by more distant people: if a son is given to someone more distant, he might return to claim his birthright one day. In rare instances a daughter may even be adopted by a very close sister of the mother or by a close friend of the husband's family (P) or clan (K) or even of another clan (MLAT). The child is the father's possession (e-maali), and some men never even consult their wives regarding the adopting out of their children, although this is unusual (MA) and would never occur in Kisonko (K). Llewelyn-Davies (verbal communication) agrees with me that in her film 'The Women's Olamal', some hostile comments by women on the arrangement of adoptions by fathers were polemic exaggerations. In the context in which the film was made, they draw attention to the abuse of power by elders, obscuring the extent to which adoption is sometimes popular among wives and can even be initiated by them.

4. FAMILY PRECEDENCE

4.1. Birth order and circumcision (see *Matapato*: 57 chart). Among the Samburu, full siblings must be initiated in order of birth (*Nomads in Alliance*: 87). This is implied for the Maasai by Sankan (1971: 25) and the same rule was confirmed among my Loonkidongi informants: according to one, strict birth order among siblings must be maintained, regardless of their sex (O); however, according to the other, the order between siblings of different sexes was relaxed after Nyankusi II, although birth order is still observed within each sex (T). Among other Maasai tribal sections, the ideal is modified before circumcision: strict birth order must be maintained between sexes up to the performance of the calf-of-the-doorway (ML) and even until the sheep-of-emergence (PK). But for circumcision itself, it is only necessary to maintain it within each sex and not between sexes (MPLKASUC). To avert misfortune when a younger sister is initiated first, (a) her cloak may be tied with string (P); (b) her older uninitiated brothers will stay well away from the village during the day of her initiation (K); (c) a Dorobo (circumciser) may be called to cut inside the right thigh of each of her older uncircumcised brothers and they and the girls will smear butter round each other's midriff (M).

4.2. Birth order and half-siblings (see *Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 170 chart). In ritual performances, the extent to which strict birth order extends beyond full-brothers to half-brothers varies between tribal sections. It should invariably extend to half-brothers for male circumcision (MPLKAU) and to half-sisters for females (MPLKAU). For first marriage and paying ritual bridewealth subsequently, it should extend to half-brothers (MP), or may simply be restricted to full-brothers (LKA). For the brides it should extend to half-sisters (MPK), or may simply be restricted to full sisters (LA). Again for killing the Great Ox (loolbaa), it should extend to half-brothers (MPK) or may be restricted to full brothers (LA).

4.3. Bridewealth and the Great Ox (loolbaa) as prerequisites for the children's circumcision. The fullest description of order of performance in family rituals was obtained in Purko (*Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 170), while other tribal sections tended to approximate to this to a greater or less extent. The payment of formal bridewealth is still observed in some parts (PLAO) though it appears to have lapsed elsewhere (MLKS), and in these parts it is no longer a prerequisite for initiating the wife's children. The Great Ox was still a prerequisite for the

initiation of a man's children in some parts (PAS) and continued to be an ideal elsewhere, although it is no longer an absolute prerequisite (MLKU), and may even lapse. The general pattern is for a man to pay his first wife's ritual bridewealth before performing his Great Ox is observed in some tribal sections (PLA cf. Sankan 1971: 36), but owing to lapsed practices this does not hold elsewhere (MKS). One informant claimed the reverse: that the Great Ox was performed first (U); and this does happen to be the Samburu and Chamus pattern where these ceremonies are performed after circumcision (*Nomads in Alliance*: 105-6 and see also *Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 173).

4.4. Passing the fence. The ceremony of passing-the-fence to which Hollis (1905: 294) refers has lapsed in many parts during the present century. It should be performed by brothers in order of birth, but they can no longer do so if their father died before performing it himself. It is still practiced by some (LTO), and is remembered as having been practiced by others (MLK), or is regarded as having been only a Loonkidongi custom (P). [See *Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 173-4; and Ndagala 1992:99. Note that the source of information for Hollis's informant was the Loonkidongi Prophet, Lenana (Fosbrooke 255-56: 25-7).]

4.5. Guardianship. Hinde (1901: 52) noted that elders have been known to appropriate the possessions of an orphan boy, beating and even killing him. Generally, the guardian is a sinister grasping figure in popular belief, especially among wives and younger males. Elders, on the other hand tend to portray guardians as responsible and accountable to the dead man's more distant kin. No orphan boy can be robbed of his birthright, although his guardian has the same rights as his father had to take away cattle from the mother's allotted herd as an aspect of fulfilling his responsibilities towards the family as a whole (MP). He should not take undue advantage of this right (U), or other members of the dead man's lineage and clan will insist that he stop (MPLKAO) and her oldest son will be initiated quickly (LK cf. Jacobs 1965: 290). He is unlikely to take advantage once his nephews are old enough to be aware of what he is doing (S). Merker (1904: 28) was surely referring to the guardian-orphan relationship when he noted that a herdboyc who has been given his own cattle should move with his mother away from his father's [sic] village or he would filch further cattle from his father's herd.

After the death of her husband, a widow retains absolute control over her allotted herd. As she relinquishes the occasional cow, she should inform her youngest son who will inherit the remainder, but neither he nor her other sons have the right to take these cattle without her permission (MPLKUTC). If she is clearly beyond childbearing, then her youngest son may take control of this herd as a pre-inheritance when he is circumcised (A). If she has no sons and is well beyond childbearing, then the man who will inherit from her effectively becomes her guardian and may take cattle from this herd; but she should always be left with enough cattle for her own needs so long as she remains loyal to her husband's family (MPLA).

5. SETTING UP A NEW AGE-SET.

5.1. Age of male circumcision. In Matapato, there was said to be a sharp drop in the age of male circumcision around 1950 when the full effect of modern conditions was felt, although this appeared to be part of a longer term trend during the course of this century averaging at perhaps one year of age per age-set (*Matapato*: 115; cf. for the Samburu, Spencer 1978: 148 n3). This may be typical of all Maasai. At one time most boys would have had facial hair before being circumcised (PU), while today they should at least have public hair (PLASU), although first sons who are orphans might be circumcised earlier (SU - to take over their inheritance from their guardian at an early opportunity). In the north, only these boys would have been allowed to join the enkipaata dance beforehand (PAS). In the south, younger boys spontaneously come to join them (K), even those whose circumcision is still far off (M).

As against this general assumption of a lowering in the age of circumcision, I have more recently noted evidence in the earlier literature that points to an actual raising of this age over the period 1885-1963 which would be consistent with my understanding of Merker's model

of moranhood (*Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 214, table 9.3). Assuming that the 12 estimates for the age of circumcision in this table were wholly independent of one another, this suggests an actual increase in the age of circumcisions in more recent peaceful times as boys have been kept uninitiated longer for herding purposes: warriorhood in its strictest sense has become superfluous. The correlation of age as against date of publication in this table is $r = 0.61$, which is significant at 5% ($T=2.45$ df. 10). Ironically, this would correspond to a line of regression that suggests again an average difference of one year for successive age-sets, but increasing rather than decreasing (with an average increase in age of 0.065 years of circumcision in successive years of observation). It suggests that like proverbial policemen, moran are not getting younger, but just that this is the view of Maasai elders as they get older. The alternative explanation, of course, is that these estimates of age of circumcision are subject to a shift in the prevailing European assumptions among visitors to the area, although I had excluded Elliot and Stigand from my list of authors because their estimates of the age of circumcision were clearly not independent of other available sources. Another explanation is that the age of initiation among Maasai did indeed rise until about 1950 (see Matapato above) and has since declined.

5.2. Fur Capes. In Purko, the firestick patrons demand that boys should provide them with a variety of capes before they can seize the ox's horn and be circumcised (*Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 148-9). In the south, apart from calfskin capes, owning and wearing other kinds is regarded as a Purko (ie. northern) practice in regions where the climate is colder (LKT). A cape is a luxury that can be worn to keep warm, but the ideal time especially is when a child is initiated. Capes of wild animals cannot be worn when leading a bride, attending a ritual delegation (olamal), or performing the Great Ox feast (or passing the fence): ie. only calf-skin capes or women's shaved sheepskin or unshaved goat or calfskin aprons can be worn on such occasions (MLKUT). In the following table, the entitlement to wear different types of cape is widely recognized, but it is among the Purko that the overall pattern is spelled out most systematically.

Type of cape (<u>enkila</u>)	Short	Long
narok [black calf]	boys and moran	elders (after <u>olngesher</u>)
ngiro [tree hyrax]	moran	elders (after <u>olngesher</u>)
naipus [sykes monkey]		elders (as firestick patrons)
mugie [blue monkey]		elders (as firestick patrons)
lolkinyangosua [topi]		elders (as firestick patrons)

5.3. Seizing the ox's horn. The ceremony of seizing the ox's horn frequently involves a group of friendly tribal sections. These are

- (i). the northern group previously included the Keekonyukie as hosts, Purko, Damat, and Delalakutuk (*Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 149-50). Following the Maasai moves, however, when Dalalakutuk were moved further south, the fourth place was taken up instead by the Uasinkishu, who were now closer neighbours of the others. In 1977, there was speculation that with the increased tension between Damat and Purko, Damat might cease to join in. No other tribal sections can perform the ceremony or initiate a new age-set before this northern group.
- (ii). the Kisonko group who follow at some point (*Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 180-2).
- (iii). Loita and until recently Siria and those Laitayok of Olgirgirri who are closely associated with the Tanzania Loita. It is not clear how the affiliation of other Laitayok (previously Dorobo) is divided between the Kisonko group and Loita.
- (iv). Matapato, Loodokilani and Kapatiei once seized the ox's horn at eunoto (and not apparently before initiation). This has now lapsed in Matapato (*Matapato*: 157).

Seizing the ox's horn in Keekonyukie does not involve their Prophet in any way (PU), and Jacobs's (1965: 258) description of this ceremony with the Prophet playing a central role in initiating proceedings appears to refer only to Kisonko where their Prophet is more directly involved (LK).

5.4. Empolosata. The term em-polosata olkiteng is variously cited in the literature in connection with the above boys' ceremony performed by the Keekonyukie Maasai, and is also referred to as ol-opolosi ol-kiteng (Mpaayei 1954: 53 [51?]; Sankan 1971: 26; Jacobs 1965: 261) and as em-bolosat o ol-giteng (Leakey 1930: 188-9; Storrs Fox 1930: 448; Fosbrooke 1948: 26-7). In fact, this term may refer to an altogether wider variety of ceremonies performed at other times for moran and for elders. In *Matapato* (pp. 139-42), the term has been translated as 'passing through the ox' in the context of Maasai sacrifices. While standard Maasai dictionaries point to the sense of 'to tear' in translating the verb a-polos, there is also the prepositional sense of (te) polos as 'between', 'through' and this seems to relate to a further meaning for the verb. Hollis (1905: 294) renders another phrase, epolos e-sita, as 'passing the fence' [through a small gap], although the invariable usage nowadays appears to be a-em e-sita (MPKATO). Again there is a diviner's remedy for illness, empolosata enkiloriti, in which a vertical strip of bark is pulled out from the enkiloriti tree while remaining attached at the top and bottom. The patient then 'passes through' the gap formed by the bark strip and the trunk. Informants draw particular attention to the final act of a sacrifice where each participant wears a finger amulet made from the hide of the ox, and so his middle-right finger passes through the slit in the amulet.

5.5. Boys' licence before circumcision. Generally in the south before boys are circumcised, they have to get permission from the moran spokesman before they can go to olpul (MLKU). Whereas in the north, they need no permission after their predecessors have 'drunk milk' (PA), but they cannot take girls with them (P). Again in the south, boys are not allowed to go on a lion hunt to prove themselves (MLKA), whereas in the north they may do so, but only for their enkpaata headdresses, and not to prove themselves (PU), and they would hide these from the moran (U)

5.6. Circumcision and family custom. In the south, a substantial majority of families are circumcised outside (auluo) the village in the early morning (MLKA). Those who are initiated inside (boo) are mostly families with a previous misfortune (M); and some families have the custom of midday circumcisions (L). In Purko on the other hand, very few boys are initiated outside the village (P) and this is the Samburu pattern (*Nomads in Alliance*: 87-8). Note also the spread of white (bush) circumcisions from black (in-village) circumcisions among the Uasinkishu and Siria is again a family matter (*Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 69-70, 95n.4).

At initiation, the southern pattern is for just one elder to hold the initiate's back (LKT); while elsewhere two further elders hold his legs (MPASU - Jacobs 1965: 287 says just one for Matapato). In Samburu and Chamus, just one leg is held as well as his back (*Nomads in Alliance*: 87). Within any tribal section, the number of legs held was said to be invariable (MPLAT), though if a family wanted to depart from the local practice then two informants suggested that no-one would mind (KA) whereas another insisted that no variation would be allowed (L): generally, informants had simply never encountered any exceptions. Thus being initiated inside or outside, and at dawn or at midday is a family custom, whereas the number holding the initiate's legs is not.

5.7. Circumcision and flinching. Fox (1931: 191) notes that an ill-wisher may try to jog an initiate's leg to make it seem as if he has flinched. This was confirmed by several informants (MS). In some parts, there is also a belief that the Dorobo circumciser dies soon if no-one flinches (MP). But this was also denied elsewhere: not even the circumciser wants any initiate to flinch (S).

5.8. Protection against those with "eyes". Generally, initiates put white chalk on their faces (MPLKATO). But so far as young mothers are concerned, this varies between tribal sections. Some do wear chalk (PAO), especially on festive occasions when there may be strangers present (A). While others do not (ML), although they once did (K); and women still take care to avoid festive occasions and stay close to their own villages (L).

6. MOBILIZATION AS MORAN

6.1. Moran avoidances (enturuj) on milk. The stipulation that moran cannot have any milk except in the presence of other moran presents them with possible hardship. In some tribal sections there can be no dispensation (MLT). Elsewhere, a hungry morani could accept milk from a more senior male (KA); or previously from a mature girl who had shared the food avoidances of moran (L). More recently, he could accept it from any girl who has associated with the moran (AC), other than a close 'sister' (PUO). It would be equally bad for a morani to sleep alone, but a non-sister might be a substitute (P).

In some tribal sections, a morani will not have milk in huts where he is the natural host to other moran, such as his own mother's hut (PAU), any other hut of his clan (PU). He will also avoid milk in the presence of clan sisters (PU), or of any non-moran of his lineage (P). Such restrictions do not apply elsewhere (MLKTC).

6.2. Enturuj restrictions on snuff and tobacco. Among moran, taking tobacco before "drinking milk" is an esoogo (ox-slaughtering) offence (LAS), and this may be extended to snuff also (P). Elsewhere, moran and girls previously despised moran who took snuff (KC) as if they were kerekeny (adulterers) (M). Now in some tribal sections no-one minds (K), but moran still conceal it from their fathers (MLSU), and more fastidious moran do not like drinking milk from a container that a morani who takes snuff has drunk from (M).

6.3. A morani's first forest slaughter: loonkulaleen. Loonkulaleen is ideally performed after becoming a morani (MPLKASU) as the first forest ox. In some Maasai tribal sections, it is mandatory, and must be performed before eunoto (P), before 'drinking milk' (A), before his Great Ox feast (LC). In others it is less mandatory, and a morani would not bother if his family cannot afford an ox (MU) or does not generally provide it (S), or if he had not provided it by eunoto (K) or when he 'drinks milk' (U).

Llewelyn-Davies ('Masai Manhood') shows horseplay between moran and their mothers at loonkulaleen. The degree of joking between them appears to vary between tribal sections. Joking was denied in some (LKU); though there could good-humoured banter (M). Elsewhere there was verbal abuse (PST). And moran might even stand over the women, forcing them to drink liquid fat like young mothers after giving birth (AT). In the south, this was seen as essentially a Loonkidongi practice (K).

6.4. Wresting the privileges of moranhood. The effective transition between age-sets is closely linked with the handing over of privileges. This is the point when the senior group of moran have to accept the fact of their ageing (*Matapato*: 84-6. Waller (1976) has shown how the moran in the past had greater autonomy from the elders, and this is consistent with a more intense skirmishes over privileges between successive age-sets in the past, as described in some of the earlier literature. Merker (1904: 81-2) focused especially on the right to build a manyata, in which the juniors would assume this right by setting up mock enclosures which would be destroyed by their seniors on successive occasions until they recognize that the juniors are their equals. At this point, there are in effect two sets of manyat coexisting. But very soon after this, the seniors disband their manyata and marry. Fosbrooke (1948: 29) portrays the transition in terms of a sporadic encounters in which the juniors assume the privileges repeatedly and are beaten up on each occasion until the seniors anticipate losing their ascendancy and retire and the juniors can proceed to their eunoto. In this version, Fosbrooke interprets the fight for privileges as culminating with eunoto rather than establishing their manyata. Storrs Fox (1930: 153) noted that in the past, the junior moran

would take on warriorhood by force once they became strong enough to defeat the seniors. Mpaayei (1954: 51, 53) noted that the seniors 'drink milk' when the elders see that the juniors dare stand up to them.

More recently, there appear to be two approaches to the hand-over of privileges. The first is regarded as a 'Kisonko' pattern, which is that when a new group of young men seize the initiative, they 'rule' and cannot be denied any of the privileges, and these are then handed over as a package (MLK) and they proceed to establish their manyata (cf. Merker). The more controlled approach forces the seniors to hand them over before that point. This may occur when they become moran (U); or perhaps in successive stages: (a) boys' privileges when their predecessors 'drink milk' (ie. the reverse of Mpaayei); (b) other privileges when the new initiates become moran (PAS).

The moran with the privileges carry the responsibility for defending the herds. In any raid, younger elders may follow the moran to retrieve any stolen cattle, while more senior elders may also follow in the hope of limiting the fighting (ML). In the south, the moran as defenders may also be followed by those of the next age-set before they have acquired the privileges (MLK), while in the north, they may even be followed by mature boys who assume the privileges at an earlier point (PA but not U).

As a privileged possession, the manyata horn can be acquired by each new sub-set (ie. right-hand or left-hand division of an age-set) from their predecessors (MLKAT) or it may be spurned (P). This is almost the exact reverse of the lion-skin headdresses, which may be acquired from their predecessors by boys mustering for initiation (PA) or these may be spurned and replaced by new trophies (MLKT)

6.5. Shield designs. Shields are normally acquired by moran of each sub-set from their older brothers or predecessors. In addition to sectional variations, Merker (1904: 79-80 and appendix) illustrates clan emblems previously carried on Maasai shields, noting that while the basic designs tended to remain unaltered, the clan emblems seemed to change with each new age-set. These emblems were 'not universally carried by all clans but only by those whose members were superior in numbers in the district (Londersteil) concerned.... members of other clans had it always held before their eyes that those particular clans were especially strong, and that every individual member of them ... [claimed] a larger share in any plunder. The mark of such a clan was then sometimes adopted by all warriors in that district.' In 1977 there was no memory of once having had clan markings (MPKAT). But note (a) that there still exists the tradition that war booty was first divided according to moiety; and also (b) the implication that clan rivalry and strength was previously more important, as has persisted among the Samburu.

Variation in shield design was suggested as follows:

- The shield markings for each tribal section was different (KU).
- Each sub-set and manyata has its own distinguishing features (M).
- Right-hand and left-hand sub-sets have distinguishing features that do not vary from one age-set to the next (PU). The right are striped (sampu) and the left reddish (esireta onyukie) (U)
- There are two basic designs - ilkituli (embellished?) and ilkidemi (ordinary) - and individual moran can choose between them - even brothers in the same manyata could choose differently (K - I should have picked up whether these referred to bravery claims - *Matapato*: 128).
- Each manyata has its own emblems which do not vary from one age-set to the next (LA)
- The shield markings are invariable (T).

Thus:

Tribal sections	Variation in shield between:			Comments
	age-sets	sub-sets	manyat	
Loonkidongi	no	no	no	
Kisonko	yes	no	no	free choice between two designs
Purko/Uasingishu	no	yes	no	invariable for successive age-sets
Loitokitok/Loita	no	no	yes	invariable for successive age-sets
Matapato	yes	yes	yes	certain variation between age-sets

6.6. Manyata mothers. If a mother-of-moran is selected for the manyata, then all her moran sons and step-sons go with her (MPLKSUT). The moran only ever take one wife of any elder to the manyata (MLT) . However, if he is very wealthy and polygamous they may take a second wife (PKAU), but this is very rare (PKU) and the two wives would be from opposite sides of the father's gateway (K); and he would be able to withdraw the second wife at any time (P). The moran son of a monogamist can join the manyata without his mother. He would not take any cattle with him (PA) / he might do so (U) / he would if he could (MKL), but with no mother, he would still be a pauper – olaisinani.

6.7. The manyata herd. Moran take as many cattle to the manyata for each hut as they expect to need. Estimates vary of cattle per hut: 4-10 (A), 5-40 (K), on average 8 (S), 9 (U), 9-20 (M), 10-20 (PT), 10-50 (L). This must always include just one bull (MPAUT) / or several bulls if the herd is really large (L). Orphans with predatory kinsmen may be given permission by the manyata to bring all their cattle, even if their herd is quite substantial (MPKAT).

6.8. The manyata catchment area. Each manyata has a well defined catchment area and the manyata affiliation of a morani is determined by where his mother is living when the recruiting sortie (empikas) comes (MPLKASU). In Purko, it was said to be possible for a morani to negotiate to transfer his mother to another manyata if he does so at once. This possibility was denied elsewhere (MLKA), although the moran could make extended visits to other manyat as individuals.

Among the Loitokitok and Kaputiei, each moiety is associated with two manyat and thus in the past, disputes over the division of spoils would in the first instance be between separate manyat in these tribal sections. In Kaputiei, each moiety is represented by one manyata in the north and they share a common catchment area for recruits, and one each in the south with a similar arrangement. In Loitokitok, like Matapato, it is primarily the catchment area that determines manyata recruitment, but the population itself in these areas is broadly segregated according to moiety. In the east are two manyat associated with the Red Oxen moiety, and especially Molelian clan; while the two manyat in the west are associated with the Black Ox moiety, and more specifically with Laisir clan in the north and Laitayok clan in the south (neither being wholly exogamous).

6.9. Diverse routes to elderhood. There are various categories of moran, including those who transfer prematurely to elderhood (Matapato: 93). Estimates of the proportion of these between tribal sections varies. See *Time, Space, and the Unknown*.: 20, Table 2.1.

6.10. The divisions of each age-sets into sub-sets. The ideal that each age-set should consist of two sub-sets (right-hand and left-hand) is variable in practice, but only up to a point. Jacobs (1965: 254) indicates a random sequence for the Maasai as a whole, with some age-sets dividing and others not dividing. Whitehouse (for Loitokitok) states that the Prophet may

decide that there should be a left-hand sub-set (1933: 150). A strict division into two sub-sets appears to be the firm intention among most northern and central tribal sections (MPASU), but the left-hand may occasionally fail to establish itself and become absorbed into the right-hand (MA, *Matapato*: 96-8; cf. Jacobs 1965: 275). Others denied that this has ever happened (PT). In the south, the division into sub-sets appears to have been the norm before Merker's time (Merker 1910: 76) but not since: for the evidence summarizing these changes in the south, see *Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 221-3. Among other groups, the Kaputiei are said to alternate between the Kisonko pattern for one firestick alliance (Dareto-Nyankusi-) and the more general northern pattern for the other (Terito-Meruturud). Those Loonkidongi I met denied having any firm rule on which age-sets divide between right and left (cf. Jacobs), but in practice appear to have followed the Kaputiei pattern during the present century.

In the south, with no left-hand sub-sets as a rule, right-hand circumcisions continue for perhaps 7 or 8 years (K) / until the circumcision knife has been cursed (L; *Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 181-2). In the north, the period of initiation for any sub-set is limited to two years (PAU), or perhaps three after which further initiations are quite unusual (P). In Matapato, the right-hand circumcisions tend to drag on; but the left-hand sub-set must be allowed to initiate for two autumn wet-seasons before the age-set is 'closed' (M).

7. THE MANYATA (warrior village)

7.1. The manyata fire. Whitehouse (1933: 151) and Jacobs (1965: 301) note that the first manyata fire is lit on top of a bull/bullock. The Prophet's medication may also be used and this may be repeated at eunoto before the ritual leader is seized, but the exact practice appears to vary between tribal sections.

Details of ritual	Prophet's medication used at manyata inauguration?		Prophet's medication used at eunoto?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Firelighting				
Kindled on bull's back?				
Yes	MK	-	MKU	-
No	PU	LA	P?	A

[Note that the Loitokitok informant seems to contradict Whitehouse who gives the most complete description of the founding of a manyata taken from Loitokitok. But NB also that my Loitokitok informant, himself an appointed manyata patron, gave me a fullish account of this ceremony and consistently omitted any mention of the fire and even denied that it was lit (6.17 VII: 59bc).

7.2. Manyata patrons. Moran spokesmen should consult with their manyata patrons regularly (MP), and these elders would visit the manyata at any hint of trouble (M) or when they are called by the moran (PL), otherwise they would let the manyata look after itself (PL). Often their wives are at the manyata, and they might stay for two or three nights and then keep away for a month or even two (M). On the other hand, in Loita there appears to be a tighter regime by the elders with two manyata patrons always in residence at the manyata, staying there in shifts (A). This appears to stem back to the murder of the D.C. in Loita in 1946, when the administration may have made this a condition for Loita continuing to have manyat?

7.3. Moran as police? Jacobs (1965: 341-4, 385) notes two cases where the firestick patrons threatened to involve moran to enforce the payment of compensation by other elders, and he suggests that the crisis of old age among elders occurs when their firestick wards become elders themselves and are no longer strong enough to fulfill this role. Among my own

informants, it was unanimously held as a matter of principle that moran - 'children' – should not be politically involved in settling the affairs of elders. On any matter of disagreement, the elders would debate the issue until a clear consensus was reached and then any defaulter would be accountable to his own age-set, who could threaten their curse without involving the moran (MPLKAUTO). It was conceded in the south that if the elders had agreed on a settlement on some private issue and a debtor continually deferred repayment, then as a final resort the creditor could approach the elders for permission to involve his own moran sons in collecting the debt and bringing the matter to an end (MLK). It was argued that by the time a private dispute had reached this stage, the authority of the elders of all age-sets would have been imposed sufficiently to deter any fighting. But such cases were extremely rare (MK), and since the 1920's ('Dareto'), such outstanding matters have been referred to the local courts for settlement, bypassing the moran completely (L). In the more northern tribal sections it was firmly denied that moran could ever be so involved, as this would provoke moran kinsmen of the debtor to respond with force (PAUTO).

7.4. Moran and the Prophet. Waller (1976) has indicated the extent to which pacification among the Kenya Maasai has tilted power towards the elders and away from the Prophets who previously had considerable influence (*Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 216-23). In 1977, moran should never visit the Prophet unaccompanied by their patrons (MLKT), although they used to do so before a major raid (PK), and in Loita where there were close local ties with their Prophet Simel, moran might visit him informally on very minor matters (A), rather as moran elsewhere might visit their manyata diviner (MT).

7.5. Mobility of the manyata. In some tribal sections, a manyata could not move its site until eunoto (MKAS). In others, it could move in situations of serious drought (PLU) and would not then return to the previous site (P). The pragmatic point is that the manyat should be fully established during each wet season when the conditions are ideal for cattle raids from outside (L).

7.6. Cattle theft. Throughout Maasai, moran would mobilize themselves for cattle-theft which only occurs across the boundaries of tribal sections (MPLKASU), and only the more unfriendly boundaries at that (PK). Moran of one manyata may follow stolen cattle if they pass through the territory of another manyata of the same tribal section, and moran from this other manyata may join in the chase, and may even be called on (MPLS); but they would not get involved in any other circumstances or if the theft was only of the odd cow (P). They do not respond to the theft of small stock which may occur within the tribal section (MPLKASU), though a single theft of say ten small stock might provoke them, for this would not be just for the pot (A).

7.7. Age affiliation and raids. Moran of different age-sets would not join in a raid together (MPLKAT). In some tribal sections this applies also to sub-sets within an age-set (PLT); but not in others (MKA), and the cattle gains of the two sub-sets would be separated at once by their spokesmen to avoid subsequent fighting between them (MK). Age affiliation is less important in response to a raid by outsiders. The moran with the privileges carry the responsibility of defending the herds, and elders or more senior moran may follow them to retrieve any stolen cattle. More senior elders will also follow with the aim of limiting the fighting (ML). In the south, they may also be followed by moran of the next age-set before they have acquired the privileges (MLK), and in the north where boys assume the privileges early, the sortie against raiders may even be followed by larger boys (PA but not U).

7.8. Death and the moran. The pigtails of moran are loosened (a) at eunoto (MPLKAC); (b) when they are killed in battle (MPLA); (c) when they are seriously ill (MA); (d) when they die in the bush (M); (e) when a moran close to them dies unshaved (L). The hair of a moran will be shaved off (a) if he dies in the village (MLA); (b) if he is seriously ill in the bush - and might then just live (PL); (c) if he dies in the bush (A). It is just possible that other deaths

within the family will follow if these precautions are not taken (L); they would be in an unpropitious state - engooki (A).

The Maasai had no cleansing ceremony or precautions after killing an enemy in war (MPLKAT). The Chamus were similar to the Samburu, however, in having such a ceremony with certain features similar to olbaa (*Nomads in Alliance*: 96-7; cf. the notion of loolbaa among the Maasai – see section 14 below).

7.9. Manyata and elders' village areas (karai). Moran who visit the elder's villages will be teased by the manyata women when they return and are despised by the other manyata moran (MPLA), especially if they stay more than two (MPSC) or perhaps four (KU) or more (L) nights, and the manyata will want to know the reason (MUC). Other moran may beat them when they return if they have gone by themselves or with no good reason, for they will be suspected of drinking milk by themselves and of having affairs with wives (SU). Ideally, there would be about ten moran together who would stay for only one or two nights, or the elders want to know what they are there for (S). Those that have gone to help their father look after his herds are not despised for they have gone for a good reason (MPU). Claiming high standards of respect in Loita, it was suggested that, so long as two or more moran have gone together, it does not matter how long they stay, for it will not be without good reason (A).

7.10. Moran as 'predators'. The negative aspects of moranhood are widely recognized. Moran are without wives or children and they just wander around aimlessly (M). They do not want to look after stock; they just want things to eat (P). Moran who ignore herding and prefer 'moraning' are not just lowarak: (wild predators) they are ilwishiwish (wastrels) (K). Despite their high standards of respect, Loonkidongi moran are hungry and behave just like Maasai moran: they too are predators (TO).

7.11. Fathers of moran and the manyata. Moran take their mothers and a small herd of cattle to the manyata, and their fathers cannot force them to return these before eunoto (MPLKA). But in so far as the father allows uninitiated sons and daughters to go to the manyata, he can insist on the return of these at any time (MLKAU); and also any further cattle he may have loaned to the manyata (MLKA). Among the Purko, the moran appear to have a greater autonomy and will only allow a father to return his herdboy sons if he really has need for them, and his daughters only for their circumcision. If the father feels any of his possessions are being neglected or maltreated, then his recourse is to complain to the manyata spokesman and then the reputation of the manyata is involved; but he cannot insist that they should be returned (P).

7.12. Lifting milk. Moran have a right to appropriate ('lift' a-dumu) milk from any village (MLK). After all these are the same moran who will be called on to defend the herds when there is a raid (L). But then only from villages within their manyata area and only of the clan/family of one of the moran, who will abstain (PAO); and not from a hut while an elder is there (K). The Loonkidongi despised this as a Maasai practice and only the most recent age-set of moran have adopted it (T).

7.13. Moran and their girls. The moran may give his girls beads (MPLKU). In the past, a morani might even sell an ox to present his girl with all kinds of finery and cloths but no longer (M). These gifts are not returnable if their relationship is ended (MLK). Alternatively, they are are returnable as an outward sign of ending the relationship (PU cf. Samburu).

7.14. Girls as benefactors of the moran. Girls who are very generous towards moran, inviting them to their huts to have milk and persuading their fathers to provide forest oxen for the moran may be regarded informally as 'benefactors' (MPLK cf. Merker 1910: 144-5, referring to girls at the manyata with no moran brothers, and *Matapato*: 117-18).

8. THE FOREST FEAST AND WIFE AVOIDANCE.

8.1. Forest feasts. Small groups of moran have their separate eating places (ilpuli) in the forest to feast on oxen. According to one informant, non-manyata moran eat separately from manyata moran until eunoto (U). This was denied by others (MPLKAT); but it was suggested that these non-manayta moran are too busy herding to go to these feasts anyway (P), and that they have to make arrangements with close kinsmen or chose more convenient locations (K). More controversially in the south were the premature elders ((ngusanik) that are really despised and avoided (L). But even they can share in the feasting of moran if they provide oxen for forest slaughter, and they are then quite popular (A).

8.2. Diehards and the warrior vow. The loontorosi in Matapato were at one time an elite squad of diehards (*Matapato*: 125). The same term has a variety of overlapping associations in different tribal sections corresponding to various oblique references in the literature, but all associated with a vow to win or die in battle. The Matapato view was repeated in Loita and again held to apply to all Maasai tribal sections (A).

In Loitokitok a similar view was held, but was associated with the notion of warrior `bulls' rather than the term -ntorosi. In Purko, the existence of any elite squad was denied and the term was applied to all warriors preparing themselves for war in their forest feasts and performing their enkipaata war-dance (cf. vonHohnel 1894 i: 248).

The term was also associated with a garment shredded at the edges as a vow to win or die (PKA cf. Hollis 1905: 301). This could be a `favour' (Mpaayei 1954: 53), which had been acquired from a girl-friend (K cf. Merker 1904: 100 11), or a token borrowed from an elder (Merker idem) or a father (Hollis idem). The notion of a diehard vow is associated with each of these usages, and they have an affinity to the term a-manya, to boast, invoking the father's name in battle as a vow of bravery.

It could refer to any war after a period of peace (Hollis idem), or more specifically to the culminating raid after eunoto (Hollis idem; Fosbrooke 1948: 19; Mpaayei 1955: 51). In Kisonko, it is remembered as a term used of a group of `bull' warriors who were selected at eunoto and had their own forest feasts and monopolized the enkipaata dancing before eunoto itself: a usage that combines the Matapato/Loita notion of an elite with references in the literature to eunoto.

Elsewhere in the literature, Rosi is regarded as a war dance among the Chagga (Raum 2.3[?]: 222-3), and as a militant women's fertility dance among the Samburu (Spencer 1985: 158).

Thus one has an array of meanings associated in different ways with the vow to be a diehard:

Reference of 'loontorosi'	In war	Following eunoto
Displayed as a token by an elite force by all/any moran	A PK, Merker, Hollis	Hollis, Mpaayei
Preparatory forest feasting by an elite force by all/any moran	MA P, vonHohnel	K Mpaayei
A specific raid		Fosbrooke

8.3. Moran or elders as `bulls'. The Maasai term for bull (olaingoni) may be used of a particularly brave moran or a particularly influential elder – both excelling in their domains. When a bull is ill, it can be slaughtered in some tribal sections, just like any other cow

(MUOC), whereas it is left to die in others (PLKAT). On the whole, moran are prepared to eat this meat (MKAUTO), though not in Loitokitok because it is tough and lean (L), nor in Purko where it is left for women and boys to cut up and cook for themselves (P). If an elder is very ill, his reigning bull might be slaughtered and parts left for predators in the hope that the elder will recover (K).

8.4. Adultery by moran. The perceived increase in adultery by moran, especially since the age of women's marriage was lowered around 1950, is a matter of serious concern among Maasai elders. Llewelyn-Davies, in TV films of the Loita Loonkidongi, pursues the theme in noting that a wife ... "can - and does - choose her lover"; and she records a song by a young wife openly praising her lover (1974). Elsewhere (1975) she suggests that "After dark ... the moran ... come out of the forest and break one of the respect rules by stealing through the village fences to find their mistresses - the young wives of the elders ... ". But is this closer perhaps to a popular fantasy than to the reality where, as she notes, " ... Husbands are outraged and wives are beaten for the offence ..." (1975). In the first place, it is precisely in the forest that moran are said develop an aversion for the smell of married women, and to come straight from the forest to an adulterous liaison would be a gross incongruity in their terms. It is those moran who do not go to the forest but loiter in the village areas that are the prime suspects. Secondly, elders share in their vigilance, and the adulteries of the moran are furtive acts of opportunism rather like stealing small stock. Extreme discretion has to be practised by both moran and wives, especially in Loita and Loonkidong communities who both share a high reputation for showing respect. If a moran is seen entering the hut of a young wife for no obvious reason, then he would be questioned very closely by the elders (L) and she would be closely questioned by her husband (K). Elsewhere, this fact in itself is strong enough evidence of adultery to incriminate the couple, and the moran could find a future marriage vetoed until he placates the husband (MPATC); or he may even have to placate the husband at once if he is two or more age-sets his senior (TC). And it is strong enough evidence for the wife to run away from her husband, and she too will have to placate him (MP). She could even be given a severe beating by her brothers if not her husband if she is suspected on a second occasion; and few wives, they say, will ever risk a second beating of this sort (M).

In Matapato, a widow can have a lover, but a wife should not, although it is popularly assumed that many do, and there are rare instances of wives running away to their lovers and even marrying them. However, the suggestion of a young wife publicly praising her lover in song was regarded as foolhardy to the point of being unthinkable. The only explanation offered to me for the song praising the lover was that it was merely a fond memory of her girlhood, rather as elders over beer sometimes sing the songs of their moranhood praising their past mistresses. An elder will condone such sentimentality by his wife, but he would castigate her for any hint that she still retained any relationship with her past lover; and would be especially vigilant if he or a more recent lover is known to be in the area, warning her not to incite a beating, and she too would be especially on her guard. If the lover is caught - even only circumstantially - and persists then he would be disciplined by his age-set.

Wherever the truth lies between these two points of view - and perhaps no-one can ever know the precise balance - it should be noted that in Loita and especially among the Loonkidongi, standards of respect are widely held to be generally higher than among most other Kenya Maasai, and a popular nickname for the Loonkidongi refers to the fact that they are notoriously jealous of their wives: *ilomet*. Because the films had been made in Loita, I made a point of discussing the same issues with elders when on a visit there (but admittedly not with wives). The explanation offered me was the same as in Matapato, reinforced by the pride they expressed in their high standards of respect. Thus the situation evoked by the film seems even less likely in Loita than in Matapato. But the fantasy itself, like the fantasy of the entorosi diehards and not unrelated to it, arouses deep passions. It is not a topic simply to be dismissed, but one that lies at the heart of the system, as Llewelyn-Davies herself points out. (cf. *Samburu*: 146, 266; *Matapato*: 110-11, 125-30).

8.5. Moran punishments. Jacobs (1965: 362-3, 391) emphasizes the abhorrence of violence in punishment. Gulliver (1963: 284) also notes the reluctance to resort to physical violence in Arusha. According to my informants, the need to show respect for older people and for age mates is instilled. It is the fear of their curse that limits physical confrontations. A man should run away if any elder who is two or more age-sets senior tries to strike him. Not to do so would be to imply gross disrespect and a desire to hit him back (MPLKAUTC). If he does not do this, then he must placate the elder at once to avert his curse (PT) or later on when the elders vetoes his marriage (MKU). If it is his father, then he would placate him at once to avoid his curse (MT). After he has run away he may call on other elders to intercede for him if he feels that his father is in the wrong (MU). If the elder who threatens him is just one age-set senior (or junior) then he will stand his ground to fight (MPLKATC), and risk having his marriage vetoed later (MPL). But they both would try to avoid such a situation (P).

Maguire (1928: 16) notes that a man caught with the wife of another age-set is tied up, beaten, pelted with cow dung and spat upon by everyone including women, and if he is a moran then his pigtail will be cut off (cf. *Matapato*: 129-30). In 1977, it was suggested that the pigtails of adulterous moran were not now cut off (MPLKA), but this was held to have been the practice in the past (MA).

9. EUNOTO

9.1. Eunoto and the role of the Prophet. In the Kisonko and Loita eunoto, the presence of the Prophet may increase his influence on the proceedings (KA), but elsewhere there is well defined limit to his involvement at a distance (MPTO), and outside the Loonkidongi sphere of influence the role is filled by a locally appointed diviner (SU).

9.2. Sacrifice and the possibility of sorcery. Popularly, it is maintained that the threat of sorcery at a sacrifice as at other times comes from complete strangers of other tribal sections and ultimately from Loonkidongi (MPKASU). But there is always the possibility of some inscrutable psychopath from within ones own tribal section, and at a firestick sacrifice he is likely to be a member of the other firestick stream (MLKTC). This was discounted in the north (PAU), but it was a matter of central concern in Loitokitok (L). This was an outstanding reason for prohibiting members of the other stream from sacrifices (MLK). In some tribal sections, very senior elders were above suspicion and were sometimes allowed to attend (MKUTC). In others however, they were banned, not because they could be suspected of sorcery, but because their very presence would bring the firestick stream to an end (P), because the strength to be gained from the sacrifice would be diverted to the other stream, leaving the performers weaker rather than stronger (A). How far there can be or should not be any relaxation of the rule that prohibits members of the other firestick stream from a sacrifice is spelled out clearly by the Prophet beforehand (LK).

9.3. Esinkira episode. There are two principal versions of refusing moran entry to the esinkira hut. According to one version, only moran adulterers are refused permission (Leakey 1930: 194-5; Storrs-Fox 1930: 452; *Matapato*: 160-1). This appears to be a very general pattern in which it is sometimes held to be the moran and girls who refuse the adulterers entry (PASC) and elsewhere it is the patrons whose curse prevents them (MK) and also a belief that to infringe this restriction would bring automatic misfortune (A). According to the other version, any moran who has infringed the ideal of moranhood may be refused (Sankan 1971: 29), and Jacobs (1965: 266) lists about ten offences besides adultery which may be drawn up by their patrons. This appears to be a northern pattern. Ideally, all known offences by moran will have been settled before eunoto, including food infringements and grudges held by elders. However, if there are any unsettled matters then the patrons may refuse these particular moran (PUC). This appears to be especially elaborated in Purko where on the one hand the patrons draw up their list of prohibited moran, while the moran may refuse entry not only to adulterers but also to those whom they consider to be wastrels (P; *Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 159-60).

9.4. Ritual leader and misfortune. Beliefs in impending misfortune are sometimes confined to the ritual leader (PLKC) and sometimes extend to his deputy also (MASU). A northern variant of this belief is that it is ominous for his age-set if he dies early (C) or before his first marriage after which it does not matter (P; cf. *Samburu*: 88). Elsewhere it was once believed that he would die an early death (MPLKASU), because he had been cursed by the firestick patrons (MK). Although this is no longer believed in some parts (PKSU), it is consistent with a view that his fortune is inversely related to that of his age-set (ML), which appears to be a southern pattern. A further interpretation of the ritual leader's misfortune was that his compromising role in situations of violence, as when he (like the Prophet) was expected to offer sanctuary to boys that were being hounded by his age mates, was unpopular with other moran and their widespread antipathy had the effect of a curse (A). This was fully consistent with his role in all tribal sections, but this interpretation was not offered elsewhere and it was even questioned in some areas: neither the ritual leader's home (MPLUC), nor for that matter the Prophet's home provides a recognized sanctuary (MPLKUTC; cf. Merker 1904: 206). However, any diviner can provide medicines to protect a homicide (MLKT) especially nowadays from the police (P). A recognized person to ask for protection in the heat of the moment is a widely respected and influential elder (MU).

According to some, ritual leaders are under certain constraints in their daily lives (LS), although this was discounted by others (MKAC). But when travelling away from home, a ritual leader is under similar restrictions to a formal delegation (olamal) and should never be alone (PALKC) nor be out of the village after the cattle have returned in the evening (PL). Ideally his companions should be age mates (P); though this does not really matter (AK). In some more northern tribal sections, neither the ritual leader nor his deputy should ever sit on a cracked stool (PSU), but this restriction does not extend further south (MLKAC). Again, there are differences in opinion as to whether the more general restrictions apply equally to the deputy ritual leader (AL) or not (MPK)

9.5. Ritual leader and spokesman. Jacobs (1965: 317-9) notes that the ritual leader should have qualities similar to those of the spokesman, and outlines his role. He leads deputations to the Prophet, tours his area to ensure that his age mates comply with custom, holds meetings with the firestick patrons to hear their complaints, imposes his own cattle fines, but unlike the spokesman, these cattle become his personal possession. Jacobs cites the Loita ritual leader who had collected over 20 cattle in this way.

It is hard to reconcile Jacobs's remarks with my own survey (but see also *Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 157). None of my informants suggested that a ritual leader should lead a delegation to the Prophet; although after being installed he might well seek the Prophet's protection from misfortune and join the next delegation to him for this purpose (MAS). Subsequently, he could at any time be selected to join such a delegation as a respected member of his age-set, but without any specific role (K). It is the senior spokesman who is best qualified to lead (or oversee - P) a delegation and he plays the most prominent role (MPLAU). Above all, he should be protected from sorcery by the Prophet for it is he who is most closely bound to the fortunes of his (sub-)age-set, politically as much as ritually (MPLKASU). 'He is their brain' (M).

Again no-one suggested that a ritual leader actively assumes an active disciplinary role. At most he should be reactive, responding to any breach of the peace that occurs in his presence, while others should avoid such an occurrence (MP). Spokesmen, on the other hand, are clearly involved in disciplinary matters among the moran and may be summoned by the elders to resolve any breach (MPLU). "The ritual leader should keep silent, whereas the spokesman should talk but restrain himself" (P). "The spokesman has work to do, and the ritual leader does not" (U). No-one suggested that either a spokesman or a ritual leader could confiscate cattle. This is a matter for the age-set, typically at an esoogo punishment (MPLKASU), which cannot involve a ritual leader (because it is mounted in anger which he must suppress in himself). As cattle collected by the age-set, these are suitable for a future payment to the Prophet (MPKA), but the odd cow may also be presented to a deserving age

mate such as a spokesman (MKA) or ritual leader (MKA). Where Jacobs's cites the Loita ritual leader who had acquired 20 cattle in fines, the most logical construction to place on this is that the cattle had been taken from esoogo payments and presented to the ritual leader by his sub-age-set.

9.6. The eunoto raid. Various authorities refer to the raid that once followed eunoto. (Merker 1904: 72; Hollis 1905: 301; Fosbrooke 1948: 19; Mpaayei 1954: 51). Among my informants, this was described in Purko as a massive raid (P), whereas other informants were equivocal (MLKAC): it was after initiation that moran were rarin' to raid (M); moran were just about ready to settle down by eunoto (K); it was after Maasai had been raided that they really wanted to mount a counter-raid (L). As with responses to the concept of diehards and loontorosi (cf.) it seems rather likely that this is not firm evidence of earlier differences between tribal sections, but of the way in which elements of an earlier tradition have survived in a somewhat haphazard fashion between areas.

9.7. Eunoto and marriage. Merker (1910: 73) suggested that the eunoto is held after the senior warriors have all married. Other authors suggest that moran only begin to marry some years after this point (Fox 1930: 452; Fosbrooke 1948: 24). I too was told that moran only married before this point in quite exceptional circumstances previously (MPLKAU) and it is still unusual (MPLK). More precisely, eunoto appears to be the point at which the sexual avoidance between moran and married women, including their own wives, is relaxed (MLKA), or even after 'drinking milk' (P).

9.8. Moran marriage and wife avoidance. Authorities are generally agreed that moran should avoid their own wives (Leakey 1930: 192, 200) and marriage itself before eunoto (Fox 1930: 452, 455). In Chamus only the most recent age-set of moran have been allowed to marry before eunoto (C; cf. Samburu), but among the Maasai proper, this always has been possible (MPLKAUT), though on an altogether smaller scale than at present (MPLKAT), and at one time a moran would first have to get permission to become a 'slightly premature elder' (P; cf. Leakey 1930: 201). The moran husband should generally avoid his wife before eunoto (MPLKAUT) making a point of sharing her sexually with his age mates (MLKAT). There is, however, no harm in his having sex with her discreetly and infrequently or in impregnating her (MPLKAUT). But moran are too proud to have sex with their own wives (K); and some are so embarrassed (e-sora) and disgusted, that their avoidance verges on negligence and their age mates may even have to force them to sleep with their wives at all (A; cf. Leakey 1930: 201).

In principle, moran do not want any of their wives at the manyata, and these should remain at the father's village (MPLKUTC). However, there is a variety of interpretation of this principle: under no circumstances can the wife of a moran come to the manyata (PU); orphan moran with nowhere else to leave them, however, may bring them (MLT) under quite exceptional circumstances (K), and they are likely to be maltreated there (MT). But in Loita, where the Loita manyat are under more direct control of the elders, a morani may bring his wife to the manyata so long as he has his father's permission; it is keeping the moran away from the wives of young elders that really matters (A).

The anomaly of marriage among moran is expressed in a variety of beliefs concerning the practice of excluding their wives from eunoto (MPLKC). When this is performed, these wives should take their children and return to their natal fathers (MK) or at least stay at their husband's fathers' village (P). This was said to be: because the moran stamping during their enkipaata dancing would symbolically stamp their children, born and unborn, into the ground and kill them (C); because the leather tether lead on the ritual leaders' oxen going to sacrifice could harm these wives through the leather belts they wear after giving birth (M); because moran of other manyat at eunoto could be unduly rough with them, especially in the Kisonko group where various tribal sections share the same eunoto (L). Only one informant expressed no concern about such an avoidance (A).

Merker (1904: 51) noted that the husband of a pregnant woman may not go to war or he would die on the way. This was denied by informants (MPLKA): the moran were too proud to stay at home, and even if he died, she was still of 'of his father' (lemenye) and would continue to bear him children (K); his wife would praise him (in song) when he returns (M); the important point was that the moran husband should avoid her hut (L). It seems quite possible that in the past when marriage among moran was clearly more anomalous and rarer than now, there were a number of associated beliefs that have since been lost; but it is also just possible that Merker misinterpreted the widespread belief that in war, it is the killer of a pregnant woman (and not her husband) who is at risk (*Matapato*: 39).

10. THE TRANSITION TO ELDERHOOD

10.1. The marriage veto. The right of any elder to veto the marriage of a clan or age-set 'daughter' as a means of settling a grievance has been outlined in some detail for the Samburu (*Samburu*: 194-209). In the literature on the Maasai, this alternative to the curse appears to have been largely overlooked, but it is clearly as widespread as among the Samburu (KSUC), and an elder can extend his veto to such 'daughters' living in other Maasai tribal sections (MPLAT): cf. *Matapato*: 29, 177-8. An elder with a grudge is entitled to nine female cattle for his blessing on the marriage, but is expected to reduce his demands to just one, with beer and smaller gifts. According to some, he may risk his reputation by refusing to be placated (MPC). The offending suitor could then mobilize a deputation of age mates to implore him to accept the offer and it would then be difficult to refuse (PL); or if he still refuses, he would not be allowed by other elders to repeat this a second time against the same adversary (M).

Among the Maasai, it is even possible for an elder with a new grudge to lead back any 'daughter' who is already married to the offender (MPLKAT). The offender may first be warned to give him a chance to offer placation (P). Or his wife may be led back directly to her father's village (K), or to the village of the offended elder, or to an age mate of his clan who lives closer to her husband's village (M).

Feeling against moran is often especially bitter among the young elders of the next age over suspicions of adultery with their wives, and in some tribal sections this can lead to a mass vetoing of their 'daughters' until the moran have placated them with a mass payment (MLKAS). But in other parts such a practice was denied (PUTC).

10.2. Age ceremony and veto. Elders with unresolved grudges may raise these before the performance of major ceremonies, especially eunoto, and these lead to a prompt settlement where the elders have a good case, with no delays in holding the ceremony (MPLKA). In Kisonko it is the olngesher rather than eunoto that is recognized as the ideal time to settle outstanding grudges (K). In Purko, the firestick patrons may decide which particular grudges to support as a condition for proceeding, and no elder has a right to hold out other individual grudges (P). When a morani 'drinks milk', then this provides a further opportunity for individual patrons with grudges; but this is comparatively rare and unlikely to lead to a delay (MPK).

10.3. 'Drinking milk' and 'eating meat'. Throughout Maasai, moran perform the ceremony of 'drinking milk' individually at their fathers' homes as a significant step towards elderhood after the disbanding of their manyat. This is an important festive occasion, especially in the north, when an ox is killed for food (PAU), or even a number of oxen as moran 'drink milk' together (O). But while an ox feast is ideal (MK), the size of the feast tends to respond to the number who turn up (MT), and it doesn't matter if for some reason it is a smaller occasion (K). It need only be a sheep feast with beer (L).

The next ceremonial step occurs when moran 'eat meat' and formally discard their food avoidances with regard to their wives. This is again an individual ceremony in some parts (PA), but in others it is a sub-age-set ceremony some time before their olngesher (MS), and elsewhere still it is an aspect of olngesher itself (LKU). For the Chamus, both 'drinking milk'

and 'eating meat' are shared age-set ceremonies, and 'eating meat' is in effect their olngesher ceremony (C).

10.4. Olngesher and symbols of elderhood.

(a) The elder's stool. The importance of an elder having his own stool is constantly stressed, but the point at which he should acquire one tends to vary: at eunoto when his hair is shaved (MA); at his olngesher (L)/ 'village of the stool' (P); when he marries and has his own hut (KTC); and especially for when he performs his Great Ox before his children are initiated (PK).

(b) Tobacco containers. A clear north-south pattern. Generally, the question of an elder's having tobacco (and hence a container) is a personal matter between him and his father (MPLKASUC); and it may go no further than that (PUC). But in more southern parts, a large bamboo tobacco container must be acquired for his olngesher after which he can wear it round his neck (MLKAST). Even those who do not chew tobacco should have one at home with tobacco in it for guests (MT).

(c) Eseeki herding sticks. These are a privilege of elders in the north and can be carried after their 'village of the stools' (PU), or after their firestick wards have seized the ox's horn and the first fire for this age-set has been kindled (A). (See also Mol 1996: 361)

10.5. Olngesher and loolsurutia. The man 'of the brass earrings is chosen at the Kisonko olngesher, and he chosen from Lolesinko lineage (Laisir: Parsinko) in Sikirari. He can go to any of the tribal sections that followed the Prophet Lanana to ask for oxen, but if he is too greedy in asking then he could be cursed by his age mates. If a man has no ox, he could give him a heifer (K). Although he serves for all Maasai, he is variously and only dimly perceived elsewhere. He must never marry or his age-set would come to an end (P). He will be given an ox by any age mate he visits in Maasai. On one tour he could even collect 100 cattle, but they must all be oxen (P). He is chosen at eunoto and is likely to die even before the ritual leader. If he lives then his age-set is finished. The Loosurutia for Nyankusi age-set was given four heifers by each of the four Loitokitok manyat.(L)

The name for the whole age-set is chosen in Kisonko by loolsurutia (P); by the elder who provides the olngesher ox (K); by the firestick patrons (L).

10.6. Lolaji and olporror. The Maasai term for a right-hand or a left-hand sub-age-set is lemurata: of the same circumcision (cf. Merker 1904: 71; Hollis 1905: 262; Fox 1930: 449). There are two terms that refer to the age-set: lolaji (ol-aji cf. Fox 1930: 449) and lolporror (cf. Gulliver 1963: 26). The first refers to all members of one's own age-set and especially those who come from other Maasai tribal sections, 'of [other] countries' loonkuaapi (MPKAOS). In referring to these, it is the necessity to vacate one's hut as a host that is stressed (MPLKAUTO) or to give hospitality more generally (S): they are 'those of the' (lol-) 'hut' (-aji) because they lie in each other's huts as guests (T). They are feared (MKAS) for their curse is particularly strong if they are not hosted properly (MKA), and you cannot refuse them (MO).

The most common use of the term olporror is the converse of lolaji. It refers to members of one's age-set who are closer than lolaji and are less feared as they belong to the same tribal section or to a close ally (MPLS). You should vacate your hut for them as well but you do not fear them, and if you know them extremely well and they invite you to stay in the hut, then you can stay and it does not matter (MPLKAT). When this term is loosely used among moran to refer to their sub-age-set, it is to evoke the warmth of their age bond. Less commonly, olporror may be used as an inclusive term that extends to cover olaji also, and hence the whole age-set within Maasai, emphasizing the benign aspects (AU). According to one informant, it can be extended to firestick patrons and wards (U), although the more usual term for this firestick alliance is olpiron: firestick (MPLKAT).

10.7. The relaxation of meat avoidances. The Purko have a practice of avoiding meat in the huts of the next junior age-set until the juniors have reached a certain level of seniority (P, see

Time, Space, and the Unknown: 161-9). The Uasinkishu have a less elaborate practice of relaxing these avoidances at their `village of meat' (ie. olngesher) when the next senior age-set can come to eat meat in their huts. Tribal sections further south appear to have no similar practice other than the gifts presented to each elder of the next age-set by the newly initiated moran - ideally by their younger brothers (MLKAST).

Elders who retain the moran ideal may never relax over meat inside their huts (M). Others may do so as they become accustomed to elderhood (P), but only in the hut of a very senior and favourite wife (M), and with the company of age mates (MA), and many feel too inhibited without some beer (MP). As they grow older some may even eat meat in their huts by themselves (MKA), but not before they have a circumcised child (P). There is no harm in having meat alone in this way (LTC), especially during the hunger of the dry season (PA). All this is a very personal matter (MA), and an elder who feels uneasy can always call in another elder (PC). Beer at least should only be drunk in company (MLT), except by a few very senior men with no surviving age mates nearby, and these might start to drink alone (M). The Loonkidongi regard themselves as above the Maasai and more rigid in these respects (T).

10.8. The avoidance between father and married daughter. In most tribal sections only the senior daughter pays the heifer of avoidance to her father (MPLK); but in Loita it is paid by every daughter (A). In some tribal sections, this heifer is only paid to the father (PKU), and if he dies first, then it is paid to a close agnate of his father's age-set (PLKA). In Matapato, however, the father may offer the heifer to an age mate or to resolve a long-standing debt (M). The Loonkidongi are too proud to accept this heifer from their daughters to end this avoidance (T); although some may accept it on behalf of age mates, but they would never relax the avoidance themselves (O).

Before the payment of this heifer, the father and his age mates may have beer (MPKATO) or water (MKO) in their `daughters' hut, and after the relaxation this may extend to milk (MPKAO), tea (MK), but never any solid food (MPA). However, some elders may accept posho (O), and in Uasinkishu the relaxation was said to extend to all food (U). If an elder drinks beer and drops off to sleep in his daughter's hut, then he would be said to have done so 'with respect', with no compromising implications (MPLKATO). However, other elders would try to lead or carry him away first (PLAT).

10.9. Mother-in-law and son-in-law avoidance. A wife's husband and her mother avoid food in each other's presence out of embarrassment (esora), but not because it is a formal avoidance (enturuj) (MLK), and this gradually relaxes over time (K), or there may be a gift marking the end of this avoidance: this could be a heifer paid to the son-in-law (MS), a cow paid to the parents-in-law (SU); or the son-in-law could be invited to bring some age mates to drink beer in wife's mother's hut (P). The pattern of relaxation generally concerns restrictions on solid as against liquid foods. The prevailing pattern is that there is some relaxation.

Nature of avoidance:	Avoidance by:	
	(a) husband in wife's-mother's hut	(b) wife's-mother in husband's presence
No food initially	MPKASU	PKAT
Liquid food initially	LT	MLS
Liquid food after gift	MPU	
Solid food after gift	S	MS
Relaxation only over time	K	K
No relaxation	A	PAT

10.10. Change-over of ruling elders. At the time of change-over, members of the rival age-sets of elders may obtain medicines from diviners to 'tie up' their opponents in debate (LATO). Elsewhere, considerable rivalry was admitted, but the possibility of any form of sorcery was denied (MPSU). The Kisonko of Loitokitok (L) were vividly outspoken on this issue, whereas their counterparts of Tanzania (K) were visitors to Matapato when I met them and would not be drawn: it was their reputation for high standards of respect above all that they emphasized to me.

11. WOMEN'S SEXUALITY AND PROTEST.

11.1. Entalepa (cf. *Samburu*: 95, 1973: 32, 72-3). In a loose sense, the term entalepa may simply refer to the sexual avoidance of the wives of full brothers, which coincides with the non-avoidance of the wives and especially the widows of half-brothers (AL). This may extend to respect between generations within the lineage and the linking of alternate generations as though they are generational coevals (L). The linking of alternate generations has a parallel with the firestick relationship between alternate age-sets, which may also loosely be referred to as entalepa (M). It goes round and round: e-manaa (MK).

More specifically, entalepa may refer to sexual avoidances between certain families of a clan (MPLKTO), associated with some earlier pact (olmomo) between them to maintain respect among their descendants (MK). Within an entalepa, men and their wives respect adjacent generations as if they are 'parents' and 'children' (PLK). A southern variant is that within the generation of an entalepa, there is a privileged familiarity with each other's wives: they are sintak as between half-brothers (LK). Elsewhere, however, these wives are avoided as though they were the wives of full brothers (MPTO), and in Purko the term enkabaya is used to emphasize this avoidance in the absence of any gift of respect (a-mal) between them (P).

The vagueness and contradictions surrounding this term suggested to one elder that it had more relevance in the past and stemmed from an attempt by older men to increase their control over junior generations (M).

11.2. Women's mobbing: translation of ol-kishoroto (m). This term for a women's mobbing is hard to place. At first sight it may be linked to the word identified by Tucker and Mpaayei (1955: 293) as a 'gift', en-kishoroto (f), derived from the verb 'to give', a-isho. The term appears to be derived from a causative + goal oriented form of this verb. When mustering their numbers the women may say 'Maape a-ishoroki ele payian' (Let us go with the purpose of causing this elder to give.' Llewelyn-Davies (1978: 227) appears to have this in mind when she refers to ol-kishoroto as 'the levy', the animal slaughtered by the women. The significance of stressing the act of giving rather than taking or snatching (a-isimaa) could well be that in the spirit of a gift it would calm the anger and annul the curse. Alternatively, it is possible that the term derives from a-ishiro, which is used when moran summon one another to muster their forces 'so that they can become many', and ultimately from a-ishir to cry, implying a mounting anger as the mustering gathers momentum. Ol-kishoroto is sometimes used also of a men's punishment, o-soogo, in which again there is an emphasis on mounting anger, which is resolved by snatching stock for a feast. [Cf.? Mol (1996: 133), who translates the Chamus term a-isoget as 'to cry' (in what sense?).]

11.3. Women's mobbing: the attack on the victim's corral. Sankan (1971: 43) gives a graphic outline of a women's mobbing against an elder who has violated his wife, and this may be a Uasinkishu (U) version of this practice. This included turning the branch closing the elder's gateway upside down, beating up the man's cattle, and selecting a few which they slaughter and eat. According to my own informants, the women can turn the elder's gate-branch around to face the bush (MLK), and this is a form of sorcery, but they can put this right by cutting other wood for the gateway (M). In Purko, reversing the gate-branch is denied: this is a mother's brother's curse (P). A mobbing may also be mounted against a woman thought to have abused her own fertility. Only one ox is ever slaughtered (MPLA), and it could be

beaten with their belts (LA), but only the guilty woman would be beaten with sticks (A). The Loonkidongi do not have any mobbing (TO). At most a woman's husband may tell other women to beat her with sticks (T) or the elders would do what is necessary (O).

11.4. Women's mobbing: response to verbal abuse. If a man abuses a 'daughter' verbally, even if he is drunk, then according to some informants, he is liable to be mobbed by the women (ASU); although they would ignore an isolated occurrence (MK). According to others such behaviour does not merit a mobbing, and he would just be despised by his 'daughters' (PL) for behaving like a dog (P), and he should buy the girl a cloth (L).

11.5. Women's mobbing: relevance of tribal sectional boundaries. Because a women's mobbing is provoked by their collective anger, this raises the possibility that this anger can well across the boundary between tribal sections, uniting women on both sides. According to one elder living towards the centre of his tribal section, under no circumstances would women from other tribal sections be expected to join (P). However, others were less definite. Women from a neighbouring tribal section could join in if they feel worked up about the issue enough (L). The boundary means nothing: it's a matter of distance (A). They might join in if they are recent immigrants from across the border or if their neighbours are very close and friendly (eg. Kisonko/Loitokitok K). They could come to the final feast if they live nearby (M).

The same question could be asked in relation to the women's fertility gathering. Again, women would not join neighbouring tribal sections (PLK). They can cross over into a neighbouring tribal section to ask for gifts in return for their blessing (A); and conversely, women from neighbouring tribal sections could join the dancing, but only when it comes close to their village and they would not join in the requests for gifts from the elders nor attend the final ceremony (M). They just might join in if they are very recent emigrants from the neighbouring tribal section or it is a close ally (K). Among the Loonkidongi, the elders at Terben would not allow their wives to join with Maasai in women's festivals (T); whereas in Morijo, an exception might be made for joining a Purko women's festival because they are good friends (O).

11.6. Adultery and protest. Llewelyn-Davies (1978: 235) pins much of her analysis on women's (non-incestuous) adulteries as a symbol of their rejection of husbands' authority and of male superiority in Loita. This, however, would seem to exclude the male partners who also covet this activity. I would suggest that it should be regarded more as a rejection of the authority of older men in general by the younger lovers, an assertion of the vigorous attractions of youth against age (cf. *Samburu*: 146); while the symbol of women's rejection of male superiority in Loita as in Matapato is their mobbing and songs of abuse.

11.7. 'Brother'-'sister' incest. Sexual relations with distant clan sisters is slightly shocking, but one that provokes a laugh (ML). It shows that they have no respect (MPK): are foolish (K); unseemly (*emokwa*) and people would gossip (A); ugly (*esuuji*), and everyone would argue with the man (O). But it is despicable if she's a close 'sister' (PKA). The lack of respect would be really shocking if she's as close as a half-sister (L): but even then there is no standard punishment (A); though the man could be cursed by the elders (K); or even mobbed by the women (L). With a full sister, he would 'fall' utterly, but there is still no punishment (T).

11.8. Women as traders. For a summary of the early literature on Maasai women's trading, see *Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 228, 233 n. 46. My informants in 1977 generally maintained that any trading undertaken by Maasai women would have been local, or exceptionally with neighbouring friendly peoples. Kisonko women accompanied by elders have been known to go on trading expeditions to nearby friends in times of peace (K). Matapato married quite widely, and some of their wives could have had outside links that they could have utilized in times of serious drought, but they would not have traded beyond

Matapato in normal times (M). Some had never heard of Maasai women trading (PLSU), nor Chamus (C), but Arusha women did (L); Only Kikuyu women came any distance to trade (A); only women from other tribes, especially Kikuyu (S); it was Kikuyu women accompanied by elders who came to trade their grain surpluses for goats; and also Dorobo with their products (P).

12. THE AGE-SET ESOOGO PUNISHMENT ETC.

12.1. Scope of the esoogo fine. There is a scale of punishment for a disloyal member of an age-set, with brewing beer for his local age mates at one end and then as a next stage, the slaughter of an ox to provide an age-set feast. Beyond this, it is the number and quality of cattle confiscated that indicates the degree of punishment, and these would include females, but not for slaughter. Gulliver (1963: 63) notes slaughtering a heifer as an extreme punishment for an unrepentant man in Arusha. This appears to be a very remote possibility among the Maasai. A fat ox would be taken for a esoogo punishment (MK), but if there is no ox, then a female just might be taken instead (M). A pregnant female would only be taken following the direction of the Prophet and not for a punishment (K).

Beyond the feast, the cattle confiscated at an esoogo may be given to deserving members of the age-set (MLK); or they may help make up the herd for the next visit to the Prophet (MPK). Or they may even be taken straight to the Prophet with the prime aim of bringing the culprit to his senses (AO).

12.2. Scope of esoogo offences. There are some offences for which an esoogo fine is discretionary on the part of the age-set locally, and others for which it is mandatory, as when one age mate draws the blood of another (MKA), and this may even extend to fighting between elders of different age-sets (PLSUTO). For lesser offences, the age-set may decide that a culprit should brew some beer for them to share in return for their blessing (P), but if the strength of feeling is strong enough, they may insist on an esoogo payment (KA).

If the fighting is a family issue that flares up, between close brothers for instance, then the formality of an esoogo will be avoided in favour of drinking beer, but if there has been a bitter running grievance between them, then there could be an esoogo to finally resolve the issue.

In certain tribal sections, the performance of esoogo after fighting, is conducted in the culprits' villages separately (MKAT). In others, they are made to move together in one village (L) or neighbouring villages (PO) on the same day.

Seducing a 'daughter' is punished by the women (see section 11), but if an elder seduces an uninitiated girl who is not 'daughter', he would be despised by other elders, and there could be an esoogo payment. The seducer would be eligible for this after 'drinking milk' (U), 'eating meat' (O), the 'village of the thong' (S), the circumcision of children (K), or again there may be no exact point and a decision would depend on the strength of feeling against him (ML).

More generally for other types of offence, the point at which an elder become liable to pay esoogo may be after 'eunoto' (S); 'drinking milk' (MK), or 'eating meat' (AO), or somewhere between these two events (UO), after olngesher/lolorikan (LP), or later still (T). Typically, there may be some flexibility in interpreting the exact point depending on the circumstances and the maturity of the age-set (KAUT).

13. PATERNAL CONTROL AND PATRILINEAL SUCCESSION

13.0 (was 1.4). The father's possessions. Various Marxist writers have questioned the relevance of any concept of individual ownership among such societies as the Maasai. (Terry 1972: 163-76; Bonte 1977: 176; Rigby 1985: 16, 152-3). While it is necessary to break any notion of ownership down to an array of rights and duties (cf. Rigby 1985: 142), among the Matapato, it was quite clear that the head of a family had substantial rights over

his cattle, and indeed over his children and wives, as well as some well defined responsibilities. The concept of ownership is subsumed in the Maasai concept of his possessions, which he controls (*e-itore*) as against the world. The term possession, *e-maal* (pl. *imaali*) applies also to the 'dewlap' possessed by a cow. In Hohfeldian terms, this ownership consists of clear demand rights that are quite separate from the privilege rights that his age-mates can assume in relation to hospitality at his home and cohabitation with his wives. Other elders would only interfere in his management of his affairs when one of his dependants has first raised some legitimate complaint concerning the extent to which he has abused his responsibilities towards them (*Matapato*: 54, 235-6). The rights of a stock-owner to dispose of his cattle, to demand obedience from his wives, to marry off his daughters, and retain control over his sons' marriages and cattle was equally marked in all other communities visited. The notion of any woman as the possession of her husband (K) still extended to her father even after her marriage and for life (MPLAT). Although, if she were killed after the husband had 'led her with cattle', then the blood-wealth would be paid to him and not to the father (MP).

13.1. Independence of the son. My earlier reading of the literature suggested that the manyata episode is a significant stage in the son's acquiring full independence (Spencer 1976: 169-70). Fieldwork among the Maasai subsequently revealed that, the son returns to the paternal fold after the manyata episode, albeit with a claim to maturity (Spencer 1977 (unpublished mss on the 'paternal yoke'); *Pastoral Continuum*: 30n). A father retains the privilege of threatening to strike his son (MPLASTC), and the son, whatever his age must respond by running away or risking the father's curse (MLKASUTC); even to implore the father's mercy at that point is not enough - the son must not attempt to hold his ground (L). But a wronged son can run to other elders for support (MU).

13.2. The father's permission regarding tobacco. An indication of the subservience of a son while his father is still alive is that the father has a right to be angry when he first discovers that his son takes snuff (MLKASUTC) or chews tobacco (MPLKASUTC) and can confiscate a heifer from him. After this confiscation (subject to age-set restrictions on younger men), the son can openly take snuff/tobacco (MPLKASUTC). There is no confession: the father has to find this out (M); but sons who are tired of maintaining secrecy may confess and pay a heifer to placate the father sooner (SUC). According to just one informant, the mother would also be paid a heifer at the same time (A).

Similarly, a husband may take a heifer from his wife's herd when he first discovers that she takes tobacco or snuff, and then she can openly take these (MPLKASUTC). There is no confession (M).

Only in the south can there be some dispensation while the father/husband is still alive. The son may have tobacco as of right after his *olngesher*, and would not have to placate his father after this point (LK). The wife may have tobacco as of right after the circumcision of her first child, and would not have to placate her husband after this point (K); or some husbands may no longer mind and forego their right to confiscate the heifer (L).

13.3. The father and his son's marriage. The dependence of a son on his father to arrange his marriage (*Matapato*: 228-32) raises the question of a girl's preference for an older or younger suitor. A young man could treat her badly, whereas an older man would look after her, but he might die. God knows (LK). A younger man with a living father is the ideal husband (L). If two men of identical age and worthiness asked for the same daughter - one asking on his own behalf and the other on behalf of his son, then the first to ask should be given her: it is the only tactful solution (T). No two men are identical, so this does not arise and she would be given to the worthiest regardless of whether it is for the father as suitor or his son; or if they are both really worthy, then one of them could be promised another girl at the same time (M).

13.4. The father and his son's stock. The father is the ultimate owner of the family herd. The son may acquire some stock at various times of upgrading in the age system. The principal occasions are:

(a) At circumcision so long as he does not immediately get up after the operation (MPLKSO), and he may sullenly refuse to do so (MPLKO). In some parts this may even amount to 10 head (MT) or even 20 (C).

(b) After eunoto (MAU) when he 'drinks milk' (PLKSO). Again in some parts this may be the most substantial gift he can ever expect with as many as 15-20 cattle (LAUO), although about 3-5 is more usual elsewhere, and again he may only be given these if he refuses to 'drink milk' in the first place (PAUO).

(c) A few cattle could be given when he 'eats meat': these may be gratuitous gifts (M), or again he may have to demand them by refusing first to perform (A).

Fosbrooke (1948: 31) indicates that after performing olngesher, a son is in complete control of his cattle vis-a-vis his father, or there would be friction between them. All my informants denied that olngesher was in any way relevant to a separation of a son from his father (MPLKAT). To resolve any friction, the father may agree to allow the son greater independence in managing his stock once he is an established and trustworthy elder (MPLKAUC), but he is always entitled to refuse this step (MPLUTC) and even to reverse it later (MLKAC).

Jacobs (1965: 191-2) notes a ceremony of the left-overs (il-mangoishi) when a father may hand over his remaining cattle and retire to live with his youngest son. None of my informants had encountered either this ceremony or the practice of formal retirement in this sense (MLKASUTC). It would be the mother who could finally hand over the care of her remaining stock to her youngest son (*Matapato*: 232, cf. *Samburu*: 62). Il-mongoishi (s. ol-mongo) normally refers to scraps of food or milk left over, especially for children (MLAS).

13.5. Location of death. Ideally, any adult with a son should die within the village: (a) if he has a son (MT); (b) if he has performed the Great Ox feast, entitling his children to circumcision (A); (c) if he is no longer a moran (L). Other circumcised men should be taken to die outside the village (MTA).

13.6. The death slaughter. An ox is normally slaughtered after an elder has died (or a sheep for a woman), and its fat is smeared on the corpse, at one time to attract predators to devour it promptly as a propitious disposal: predators are knowing beasts and would smell out any ngooki and leave the corpse.

When a person is very ill, it is possible to slaughter a cow or small stock beforehand, smearing the stomach parts with fat to attract night predators with the aim of forestalling the death and curing the illness, whence it is called the animal 'of the predators' (loowarak). A range of animals are possible for this slaughter. For an elder it could be a bull (MKO even the leading bull K), an ox (K), or a pregnant cow (L); for a moran a bull (MO), an ox (LK); for a wife a young cow (K) or a sheep (LK); and for a child a sheep (L). A diviner need not be consulted for these (MK); but if he is consulted then his oracle could prescribe a wider range of animals: a pregnant cow, heifer, ox, sheep or goat for any ill adult, but a bull only for an elder, and only a sheep or goat for a child (TO). (Or it could suggest that an ambulance should be called).

If it is relatively certain that the elder will die, then some regarded it as quite permissible to kill his death ox beforehand to be fully prepared when the moment comes - the extracted fat to anoint his body, for instance, would be cool; and if he does not die, then the fat can be used as food to help his recovery (MPAO). Other informants were horrified at the suggestion of killing this animal prematurely (LKT).

13.7. Burial. At one time burial was rare, and the literature is relatively consistent on this practice: those buried included diviners (Hinde 1901: 32; Merker 1910: 201, 202 II, XX: 3, 5-6; Hollis 1905: 305, 307; Fox 1930: 455, Mpaayei 1954: 57-8; Hamilton nd:) and rich or influential men (op. cit.: Hollis, Fox, Mpaayei, Hamilton). My own informants expressed a

variety of views on burial in the past: (a) no Maasai were ever buried (SUC); as against (b) well established elders could be buried if that was their expressed wish - either inside the village or in the bush (M); (c) only really rich or influential men would be buried (PLKA), and this would be inside the village (KA); and (d) important Loonkidongi Prophets would be given a village burial (L), and also other Loonkidongi could be buried if that was their wish (M). However, the two informants who were themselves Loonkidongi were consistent and quite adamant that within their experience, no Loonkidongi were or are buried as a matter of principle (TO and also K). An anomalous exception was the Prophet Mbeiya, who died in Arusha away from his people, and was buried there (K).

Merker (1910: 205, II, XXI: 3) and Hinde 1901: 101) suggested beliefs in life after death, while Thomson (1885: 444) and Hollis (1905: 307) denied this possibility, although Hollis noted that rich men and diviners are buried and survive as snakes. Any suggestion of life after death was firmly denied by my own informants (MPKS), and they insisted it had absolutely no connection with the changing practice of burial (MK).

13.8. The father's chest. After an elder's death, his most senior brother may request 'the father's chest' from the inherited herd. This may be just one female cow (MPKT) or a number of cattle (L). If he leaves no 'cattle of the corral', then his senior son may be given a similar gift by each of his brothers (MPA). In each instance there is the notion of a possible curse because the recipient has been cheated of some inheritance. The term used for this gift varies, ranging from 'the father's chest' (olgoo lepapa MPKT), to the father's 'shoulder' (lolailelai L), to the father's 'tears' (loolkiyio PAST). My Siria informant insisted that the last term related to the brisket fat (olkiyu or enkiyu), which would previously have been given to the father after any slaughter (S; see *Matapato*: 234, 241-2, 264).

13.9. Inheritance. Each wife is allocated cattle from her husband's herd, and the remainder are his cattle 'of the corral' (eboo), which are inherited by his senior son when he dies. It is the oldest living son who inherits, even if he comes from a relatively junior hut on the left-hand side of his father's gateway, and even if a more senior son has previously died leaving a grandson (MPLKAT). If an elder has no heir, he may nominate a daughter to remain unmarried and bear him male heirs (MPLKASUC). In the north, such a girl is known as emaretuei (PAU), while elsewhere she may be simply 'a girl that has been kept by her father' (MKC), and her son would be loltito, 'of the [male?] daughter' (L).

13.10. Wastrels. An older son who is a wastrel will remain a bachelor with no effective curse (MPLKATO), and he will have no control over the marriages of his sisters (MPKOT). But as a precaution, he will be given a heifer at the first marriage of each younger brother (AT) or sister (MT), and again when they perform their ritual slaughters, such as the Great Ox, out of turn (L).

14. THE GREAT OX FEAST: LOOLBAA

14.1. Confusion over Loolbaa. For details of the structure of loolbaa, see *Matapato*: 57, 252-5. Accounts by other writers may be viewed against this analysis, which appears broadly typical of other tribal sections. The sequence of personal ceremonies culminating in loolbaa is as follows for males: (a) calf-of-the-threshold; (b) the sheep-of-emergence; (c) initiation itself; (d) goat-of-the-shrubs (olkine loombenek); and then a generation later as fathers of would-be initiates (e) the Great Ox (Olkiteng loolbaa); and leading at one time for certain families to (f) passing-the-fence. Of these, (d) is closely linked to (e) and has some corresponding features.

Jacobs (1965: 291) noted that a young moran is washed with leaves dipped in the blood of his goat-of-the-shrubs. No informants had heard of this practice (MPLKATC), though its blood could be drunk by others (PL); and alternatively a diviner's oracle might prescribe washing in the blood of a goat (T) or even a sheep (K) as part of a cure for an illness (KT), but not this particular goat/sheep. Another informant (L) expressed the importance of the

related loolbaa feast metaphorically with the claim that the bad things of moranhood are washed away (e-suja): perhaps Jacobs' informants were also speaking metaphorically.

Jacobs (1965: 284) also noted three synonyms for the loolbaa ox (e) which appear to equate it with (a), (b) and (f) above. Certainly, there is a link between all of these in prescribing the order in which they are performed and in some parallel features. However, none of my informants suggested that any of these terms are synonyms for the same ceremony (MPLKAUTO). Indeed, the symbolic thrust of loolbaa among the Maasai, emphasizes an elder's total re-incorporation into the domestic domain; and this is opposed to his earlier symbolic removal when he emerged from his mother's hut following his initiation (b). In other words, as an elder settles down, rough traces of his moranhood persist for an extended period, and these are finally renounced at his loolbaa.

A possible source of this confusion is a certain family variation among Maasai with regard to the goat-of-the-shrubs and the loolbaa ox. The following table summarizes my own information on this. See also *Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 173 for an interpretation of the same data.

	On becoming moran (after their initiation)	'On becoming great' (before the initiation of their children)	Comments
All Samburu :90)	<u>loolbaa</u> ox		(see <i>Nomads in Alliance</i> : :90)
+ a few Chamus families	<u>loolbaa</u> ox		
+ some Uasinkishu families	<u>loolbaa</u> ox		
Other Chamus 155)	<u>loolbaa</u> sheep		(see <i>Pastoral Continuum</i> : 155)
A few Purko families + a few Kisonko families	goat only goat only		
Blacksmiths in Loita		goat only	(& blacksmiths elsewhere?)
Loonkidongi + some Siria families + some Uasinkishu families		<u>loolbaa</u> ox <u>loolbaa</u> ox <u>loolbaa</u> ox	(formerly before marriage (T)) (on relaxing food avoidances)
Some Purko families, + many Loita families, + other Siria families		goat and then <u>loolbaa</u> ox on the following day	
Most Maasai (MPLKA)	goat	<u>loolbaa</u> ox	(see <i>Matapato</i> : 253)

As the table indicates, among the Samburu (and incidentally Chamus), the loolbaa is the point at which initiates become moran, corresponding closely in this respect to the-goat-of-the-shrubs among most Maasai. There is a similar shift in timing with regard to the point at which a woman is formally led away in marriage after the formal payment of bridewealth, which occurs immediately after her initiation in Samburu (and Chamus), but only before the initiation of her children in Maasai custom. Because these corresponding practices for young men and women automatically follow initiation in Samburu, the tortuous strictures that appear to typify the Maasai system where there is a long delay are absent in Samburu (see *Time, Space, and the Unknown*: 173-4).

Matapato, Purko, Loitokitok, Kisonko, LoitA, Siria, Uasinkishu, Loonkidongi (Turben & MorijO), Chamus

14.2. The pattern of delay. Delay appears to be a recurrent pattern that bedevils these personal rituals among the Maasai. The Purko express the problems of retaining correct order of precedence as a matter of concern (*Time, Space, and the Unknown.*: 169-74). In Matapato, constant delays in leading wives in formal marriage has led to the effectual abandonment of this practice, and the loolbaa itself was virtually suspended during my period of fieldwork there. In Uasinkishu, it was suggested that in some families at least the loolbaa was performed at the time of ending the food avoidances of moranhood (U), and this corresponds closely to Merker's comments on loolbaa among the Kisonko earlier this century (Merker 1904: 102). The Loonkidongi previously performed it before marriage, while passing the fence was the principal ceremony of arriving at full elderhood (T): cf. Hollis's comments suggesting that 'passing the fence' once occurred at the point that corresponds to loolbaa today: immediately before the initiation of children (Hollis 1905: 294). It is as if there is a type of Gresham's Law that applies to ritual with delay inherent in the system as 'junior' rituals displace 'senior' rituals. Without wishing to speculate beyond this point, it is at least worth pointing out that the Samburu practice of performing the corresponding ceremonies at the earliest stage of an adult's career appears almost to represent a pristine form that could have led to the variety of forms reported among the Maasai if subjected to endemic delays.

14.3. Translation of the term loolbaa. My own earlier translation of the term lool-baa (m. pl.) rendered it as 'of the arrows', referring to the fact that the transition from being initiates to becoming moran involved throwing away the arrows (f.. im-baa) they had used to shoot birds for their headdresses (*Nomads in Alliance*: 90). This rendering of lool-baa ignored the gender switch in the prefix, but seemed logical in that an alternative term for the ceremony was 'of-the-birds', because the feathered headdresses were also discarded at this point: arrows and bird headdresses were closely linked to initiate status as opposed to moranhood. This translation was confirmed on a visit to the Chamus in 1977.

The transformation of usage from Samburu to Maasai is from the point immediately following initiation to the point immediately preceding it in the next generation when arrows are only a minor detail: the celebrant will carry an unstrung bow and a quiver with blunted arrows. Altogether the translation of the term il-baa in this context poses problems, and it seems just possible that it has acquired a wider meaning as the context of the ceremony itself has shifted. Tucker and Mpaayei (1955: 245 cf. Mol 1978) translate il-baa as 'wounds, injuries, opinions', while the corresponding range of feminine meanings are given as 'arrows, matters, affairs'. The translation 'ox of the wounds' is suggested by Jacobs (1965: 284), and also by Hamilton (nd. 227-31) who links this with a man's former misdeeds and those who have wronged him. One of my own informants suggested a similar meaning: the term loolbaa refers to any unsettled matters from the celebrant's past, especially in moranhood, which are now put right and he becomes great (L). Jacobs notes that the celebrant swears he will lead a quiet life and will not fight with spears. Merker (1904: 102) notes that after the loolbaa celebration, an elder tells the celebrant that he is now an elder and should leave the warrior occupation to tend his stock. But significantly, Merker adds that it is for the retiring warrior to choose whether to go on further raids. Another informant noted that elders would hate it if an elder strikes another elder after his loolbaa (P). But this was not stressed by my other informants. It was even denied that an elder renounces his moranhood at this point (MLA): he would have ceased to behave like a moran long since (AT), notably after olngesher (LK), but he would continue to carry a spear (P) and chase stock thieves for as long as he has strength (A).

Various informants denied that the term loolbaa had any particular meaning in the context of this ceremony (MPAS) apart from marking its importance (O). And the latter view is consistent with those who reiterated that when an elder celebrates this feast, he becomes truly great and has to be respected by everyone (MLA). My reason for coining the term 'Great Ox' for this event has been to reflect the general regard that Maasai have for it.

14.4. The celebrant's new name at loolbaa. Although no new name is given to the loolbaa celebrant in the north (PU), it is precisely this feature that is regarded as a memorable aspect of the ceremony elsewhere (MLKASTO). It is a really important name (KA) chosen by his patrons who light the fire (MKAT); perhaps the name of a rich man who has recently died that will bring him luck (T); and it is a name that his sons may invoke in battle (MS).

14.5. The whipping contest for the rib-fat. Accounts of the whipping contest between elders and wives at the loolbaa vary between tribal sections. The women are allowed the fat on the fourth sortie (ML). The contest is limited to only four age mates and their wives (A). It extends to age mates of the celebrants and their wives (MPLS), and even to other women who wish to join in (MPS) and to other elders too (S). A seasoned Purko informant, who had witnessed this contest on a visit to Siria, expressed his horror at the viciousness displayed by both sexes compared with the more token whipping in his own tribal section (P).

14.6. Stews and medicines. Nine bushes commonly used in treating illness in Matapato are listed below, together with Merker's reference identification (1910: 352-376).

Olmaraibaiti bark (309) was a strong purgative/emetic taken for oloirobi (coughing and flu).

Loodua fruit (353) was a purgative taken for enchooki {tapeworm}.

Olmotoor bark was a purgative taken for enkoshoke (stomach aches with diarrhoea).

Olmame root was a strong emetic/purgative used especially for lbye (gonorrhoea).

Esokonoi bark (460) was a general purpose emetic taken for stomach aches, especially olodua (fever), and oltikana (jaundice without fever).

Olkonyil root {248} inducing peeing and olkokola root as a purgative, were taken for fever, jaundice, rheumatism, headache, and lower stomach aches.

Eremit root (415) was a mild purgative/emetic for gonorrhoea, jaundice and lower stomach ache.

Olkiloriti root (212) was a strong emetic/purgative for malaria, gonorrhoea, rheumatism and headache.

Olmokotan root (323), a strong emetic/purgative, was popularly used in stews, but it also was used to cure general illness.

A number of other bushes were valued in stews because they induced peeing: these included oeiti bark or wood, olmokotan wood, entepesi bark, and oldeebe root or wood.. Cf. *Matapato*: 258, 268 n. 1, and *Time, Space and the Unknown*: 66 n.6.

15. PACTS AND HOMICIDES

15.1. Olmomoi pacts between tribes. Olmomoi pacts are reported by some earlier writers: eg. Merker 1904: 100-101 (who claimed it was borrowed from other tribes) and Hollis 1905: 322 (who noted that the Maasai went away but did not keep the peace), and also Hamilton nd.: 60. Less information is available on this today, and generally, it could be a waning institution with the establishment of peace in the area. A number of informants asserted that their own tribal section had no Olmomoi pacts with any other group or tribe (MPLUTC). There were no olmomoi pacts reported between Uasinkishu and Kalenjin, who are still just 'enemies' (U). Olmomoi pacts were however reported between the Loita and Sonjo following a period of fighting (PA). This was arranged by the elders and not the Prophet, who had no hand in it (A). Kisonko have a truce with Purko and at one time with Arusha, but these do not seem to amount to an olmomoi pacts (K). The Chamus has something approaching an olmomoi pact between clans (cf. ritual brotherhood in Samburu), but not with any other tribal groups. Note also the pact between Samburu and Pokot (Suk). See *Pastoral Continuum*: 159-62; *Samburu*: 78-80; *Nomads in Alliance*: 153.

15.2 Oloikop and the settlement of homicides. The Samburu denied that the term Loikop that they use for themselves has any bearing on the term for a homicide, who was said to have loikop. The herd of cattle of the killer that were seized by the clansmen of the murdered man was known as engiroi. (*Nomads in Alliance*: 109-10; *Time, Space, and the Unknown*.: 66 n. 10; cf. Sankan 1971: 15-16). My Maasai informants tended to be uncertain regarding this

earlier practice of collecting blood-wealth, and my notes from different parts make somewhat garbled reading. The herd of cattle collected by force following a homicide was called iloikop (MLKA) or engiroi (PL). There was a further voluntary collection from the killer's clansmen to finally settle the matter (MPA) and this was called engiroi (M) or iloikop (P). The herd of 49 cattle constituted the first payment (KA) or the second (MP). But in the south, there was only one payment (LK). The term engiroi was unfamiliar (KO)

16. PROPHETS AND THEIR CLIENTS

16.1. Prophets and the age system. There appear to be a variety of systems of Prophets among the Maasai.

- (a) Two concurrent Loonkidongi Prophets - one for each age stream (LKT and all other Tanzanian Maasai, though not for Paraguyu).
- (b) A new non-Loonkidongi Prophet appointed for each new age-group of moran (SU and Moitanik). A new Loonkidongi Prophet appointed for each new age-set among some Loonkidongi themselves (O).
- (c) A single permanent Loonkidongi Prophet (MPA and all other Kenya Maasai). This is the preferred form among Maasai.
- (d) No designated Prophets (C and Samburu).

16.2. Prophets at a safe distance. Opinions are divided over the desirability of having a Prophet living actually within the tribal section. If he were to be invited to live locally, his sons and kinsmen would bring sorcery, so he should be kept away (PL). Other lesser Loonkidongi can come for we can control them (P). If lesser Loonkidongi want to come, we want to know why and we only allow one family to visit the area at a time (L). Only known and trusted Loonkidongi diviners are welcome in our area (MA). As long as our Loonkidongi live around Monduli, those Kisonko who mind can always move away from there; but when Loonkidongi come from the Monduli area to other parts of Kisonko, we tell them to leave at once and report them to our Prophet (K). The rival Prophet (Loopir) lives on our [southern] border but we are protected by our own Prophet (Simel), even though he lives beyond Loodokilani [in the west] (M). It is fine to have our Prophet living among us, protecting us; we always tell him any news (A). We only tell our Prophet of any news when we visit him formally (MPLK). If we made a point of offering our Prophet any further news, this would be like asking him to intervene in our affairs and use his sorcery, and we want to avoid this (K).

Generally, members of Loonkidongi sub-clan prefer to avoid other Maasai and live in separate colonies along the borders between tribal sections. They despise the lower standards of behaviour among other Maasai, and above all they do not want other Maasai to impregnate their wives, which would make their children wastrels (TO). This desire for avoidance is reciprocated by the Maasai who are wary of possible sorcery (MPLK).

16.3. Prophet succession. A Prophet chooses his own successor (MPLATO). Any tribal section that wants to change their Prophet may do so, but they put themselves at risk from the sorcery of the deposed man who would create havoc (M); and the spokesmen especially would be at risk (MK). It would be madness to change him so long as he gives adequate protection (PL). No-one would dare question the Prophet's choice of successor (ATO). But if he chooses an unacceptable successor, then that would be the time to change (P). If a Prophet dies without a nominated successor, then the Maasai of the relevant section(s) can choose one, and then they are stuck with this (LTO). The ideal time to change would be after the completion of the payments to one Prophet with the olngesher of an age-set (L).

16.4. Payment for the Prophet's services. The payment to a Prophet for advising on some ceremony is only made after all the ritual business is completed and the elders feel that it has fulfilled its purpose (MPLKASO). Prophets and diviners vary: Simmel expects payment in advance, whereas Loopir accepts payment afterwards (T). Simmel expects the payment to

have been gathered together before the consultation, even if he is only given it after the benefit has been experienced (A). For a major sacrifice, the Prophet would be given a lesser payment at the initial consultation (1 bull, 1 ox, 7 heifers) and then 49 cattle subsequently (M). And for minor consultations, he could be given some spirits and money initially, and then a few cattle afterwards (M). The Prophet indicates on the first visit how much he should be paid. He would be paid this, even if they feel that his advice has been ineffective (PKO). If they are dissatisfied, they should switch to another Prophet (K). The Prophet may ask for any payment from 5 to 40 cattle; if the elders feel dissatisfied later, they might initially pay him less than he asks, and he would then be obliged to offer them more help (L). If the Purko have had no clear results, they would not keep it to themselves: they would visit Loopir and expect him to complete his task (O).

16.5. Prophets and moran. Merker (1904: 90ff) has provided possibly the best contemporary account of raiding by the Maasai, and stresses the spy network of the more influential Prophets which enabled them to be so well informed on matters beyond immediate territories of the Maasai; while the ambiguities of their elliptical instructions could leave considerable room for free interpretation by the moran on their raids. A deputation of moran led by the spokesman would consult the Prophet to advise them on strategy, and he is credited with having been able to tell them where to go, what they would find, what to avoid, and so on in elliptical terms; and he would tell them exactly which stolen cattle they should bring back for him as payment for his services, and he would provide them with charms and instructions to protect them. It was the spokesman's personal responsibility to ensure that these instructions were exactly followed.

16.6. The Prophet's protection of the moran spokesman. The Prophet's protection for the moran spokesman is to protect him from jealous diviners or other Prophets (MPLKAUT). And he also has to be protected from any jealous elders who might want to curse him (LT) or moran who resent his authority (L); and from the diffuse envy of all others (M). And that is why each new age-group in Uasinkishu must have a new Prophet: so that frustration among other diviners is lessened (U).

16.7. The role of the moran singing during Prophecy. It is generally held that the singing of the moran is necessary to make the Prophet happy before he can 'see' and prophesy (MPLKATO). The moran may shiver because they are apprehensive and their singing makes them angry (LO). The singing makes the Prophet shiver and work up a trance (MK). Then he tells the moran to stop singing and prophecies (LK). Or perhaps more perceptively: the Prophet cannot 'see' when he is drunk and angry; only when he is drunk and happy (P), and this does not make him shiver. But what he 'sees' may make him angry, and then he shakes (LO); unlike the moran, he can be conscious when he shakes (O).

16.8. Loonkidongi moran. Merker (1904: 21) refers to the moran who formed the Prophet's bodyguard, and it would be useful to know if these were in fact Loonkidongi moran: it seems very logical and consistent with the Loonkidongi tradition of having their own moran - to defend their own cattle. For a period (and more generally in the past?), the Loonkidongi had their own manyat (T). Today, they may attach themselves as non-manyata moran to a local manyata and even attend the eunoto celebrations, but they avoid the sacrifice itself and the ritual leader's village (MLAO). In some parts they may move with their mothers as full manyata moran and (apparently) attend eunoto (PK: this refers only to the Monduli area in Kisonko and could be questionable in Purko). [There are no Loonkidongi in TransMara anyway (SU)].

16.9. The local manyata diviner. The existence of a local diviner for routine manyata consultations was denied by some informants (PLKA), but acknowledged elsewhere (M and also TO referring specifically to Purko), where he would be from the widely respected but less fearful Lolkokua branch (M).

16.10. The Loonkidongi of Sigirari. These are reported in the literature as concentrations of Loonkidongi in both Tanzania and in Ngong, Kenya (Hamilton nd. ii, Fosbrooke 1948: 7, Sandford 1919: Jacobs 1965: 321-2). Those near Ngong were at Enchoremuny, but they are no longer there (P). They originally came from the place, Sikirari south of Kilimanjaro, and it is a term that may be used of any other concentration of Loonkidongi, but it is not an alternative name for them (T).

16.11. Diviners and homicides. [See also 9(5)] Merker (1904: 206) noted that a diviner's/Prophet's home can be a sanctuary for a homicide. This was denied by my informants (MPLKUTC), but a diviner can provide medicines to protect a homicide (MLKT) since the days of interference in such matters by the administration (PLKT). A recognized person to ask for protection in the heat of the moment is a widely respected and influential elder (MU).

16.12. Loonkidongi coercive marriage (olmomoi). Fosbrooke (1948: 20) notes the demands that a Prophet makes on his followers for wives. Among the Loonkidongi generally, when a diviner places a bid for a wife by placing a chain round her neck, then it is held to be dangerous to refuse. Even those who do not use a chain still mix the butter of 'anointment' with some medicine to ensure success (T). Loonkidongi living at peace in Matapato use more conventional methods for suiting girls; but if any coercion is implied then the girl would be given, and the diviner would be told to leave, and the Prophet would be informed (M). Alternatively, the coercion will be ignored and they will go to an even more powerful diviner to get him to 'tie' the Loonkidongi suitor and tell to leave the area (K). Loitokitok elders do not even chance it: that is one of the reasons why they do not want Loonkidongi in their area (L). The Maasai will not tolerate this degree of licence (MPLK).

17. THE LAIKIPIAK

17.1. Descendants of the Laikipiak. A number of families are remembered as having Laikipiak ancestry, but any possibility of their still observing any surviving Laikipiak customs is either denied (PLKA) or quite unknown (MC).

17.2 Terms for the Laikipiak. The Chamus knew of the Laikipiak as Ilkidongi - but not necessarily related in anyway with Loonkidongi – the people of the oracles (fem.) (C). Other informants had not heard of this name for Laikipiak (MLKATO). But according to one elder they had been devoted to snuff and had ilkidongi (masc.) as containers to keep it in (O). Another had heard of some people called Ilkidongi, but could not place them - the Laikipiak were just Laikipiak, and like the Samburu they liked snuff, but they would have kept it in (snuff) intulet and not in (tobacco) ilkidongi. No-one else had heard of any addiction to snuff that the Laikipiak might have had (MLKT).

INDEX

- Adoption, 3.5. Adultery 11.6; Affinal Avoidances, 10.9. Age-set and age-groups 6.10
- Baraguyu, 17.2. Birth order & circumcision, 4.1. Birth order & half-siblings, 4.2. Boundaries between tribal sections, 11.5. Boys' before circumcision, 5.5. Bride removal, 2.5. Bride virginity, 2.3. Bridewealth 2.6. Bride transfer 2.5. Bridewealth & circumcision, 4.3. Brother - `sister', 11.7. Burial, 13.7
- Circumcision & family custom, 5.6. Circumcision and flinching, 5.7. Circumcision, age of male, 5.1. Clan shield emblems, 1.3, 6.5. Clanship among Maasai, 1.2. Clanship and residence, 1.1. Cursing a small child, 3.2
- Daughter avoidance, 10.8; Daughter, verbal abuse, 11.4. Death and the moran, 7.8. Death slaughter, 13.6. Death, location of, 13.5. Diviners and homicides, 16.11. Divorce, 2.8. `Drinking milk' & `eating meat', 10.3
- Elderhood, routes to, 6.9. Empolosata, 5.4. Entalepa, 11.1. Enturuj restrictions on milk, 6.1. Enturuj snuff restrictions, 6.2. Esinkira episode, 9.3. Esoogo fine, scope of, 12.1. Esoogo offences, scope of, 12.2. Eunoto & the Prophet, 9.1. Eunoto and marriage, 9.7. Eunoto raid, 9.6. Exogamy & heifer of respect, 2.1. `Eyes', protection against, 5.8
- Family discipline, 3.2. Father & tobacco, 13.2. Father's chest, 13.8. Fathers & the manyata, 7.11. Fire-lighting, 3.4. Forest feasts, 8.1. Fur Capes, 5.2
- Girls as benefactors, 7.14. Girls' pregnancy, 2.4. Great Ox & circumcision, 4.3. Guardianship, 4.5
- Homicides, 15.2, 16.11. Hut inviolability 3.1, 3.2. Hut, elder's access, 3.3
- Laikipiak, 17.1. Lifting milk, 7.12. Lolaji and lolporror, 10.6. Loolbaa, confusion over, 14.1. Loolbaa, fat contest, 14.5. Loolbaa, name, 14.4. Loolbaa, pattern of delay, 14.2. Loolbaa, translation, 14.3. Loonkidongi marriage 16.12. Loonkidongi moran, 16.8. Loonkidongi of Sigirari, 16.10. Loonkulaleen, 6.3. Loontorosi & the warrior vow, 8.2
- Manyata catchment area, 6.8. Manyata diviner, 16.9. Manyata & elders' villages, 7.9. Manyata fire, 7.1. Manyata herd, 6.7. Manyata mobility, 7.5. Manyata mothers, 6.6. Manyata patrons, 7.2. Marriage debt, 2.6. Meat avoidances, ending, 10.7. Moran adultery, 8.4. Moran or elders as `bulls', 8.3. Moran and girls, 7.13. Moran and marriage avoidance, 9.8. Moran and milk sharing, 3.3. Moran as police? 7.3. Moran as `predators', 7.10. Moran and Prophet, 7.4. Moran punishments, 8.5. Moran role during Prophecy, 16.7
- Ol-kishoroto attack, 11.3. Ol-kishoroto translation, 11.2. Ol-sarkioni, 2.2. Olmomoi pacts between tribes, 15.1. Olngesher & elderhood, 10.4. Olngesher and loolurutia, 10.5. Oloikop & homicides, 15.2. Ownership, 1.3, 13.0, 13.4
- Passing the fence, 4.4. Privileges of moranhood, 6.4. Prophecy, role of the moran, 16.7. Prophets & the age system, 16.1. Prophets & moran, 16.5. Prophet & moran spokesman, 16.6. Prophet's, payment, 16.4. Prophets at a safe distance, 16.2. Prophet succession, 16.3
- Raids and age affiliation, 7.7. Removal of the bride, 2.5. Ritual leader, 9.4. Ritual leader & spokesman, 9.5. Ruling elders, change-over of, 10.10

Sacrifice and sorcery, 9.2. Seizing the ox's horn, 5.3. Shield designs, 6.5. Son's independence, 13.1. Son's inheritance, 13.9. Son's marriage, and father, 13.3. Son's stock, and father, 13.4. Stock theft, 7.6

Veto on age ceremony, 10.2. Veto on marriage, 10.1. Virginity of the bride, 2.3

Wastrels, 13.10. Widows remarriage, 2.9. Wife's allotted herd, 2.7. Women as traders, 11.8

REFERENCES

1. References are as listed in Spencer, P., 1988, *The Maasai of Matapato: a study of rituals of rebellion* (Manchester University Press, paperback, 2004, London: Routledge).
2. Additional references:
 - Bonte, P., 1977, 'Non-stratified Social Formations among Pastoral Nomads', in Friedman, J. and Rowlands, M. (eds), *The Evolution of Social Systems*, London: Duckworth.
 - Llewelyn-Davies, M., 1981, 'Women, Warriors, and Patriarchs', in Ortner, S. and Whitehead, H., *Sexual Meanings*, Cambridge University Press.
 - Ndagala, D.K., 1992, *Territory, Pastoralists, and Livestock*, University of Uppsala
 - Potkanski, T., 1993, *Property Concepts, Herding Patterns and Management of Natural Resources among the Ngorongoro and Salei Maasai of Tanzania*, International Institute for Environmental Development, SAREC and NORAD)
 - Rigby, P., 1985, *Persistent Pastoralists*, Zed Books.
 - Spencer, P., 1998, *The Pastoral Continuum: the marginalization of tradition in East Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
 - 2003, *Time, Space, and the Unknown: Maasai configurations of power and providence*, London: Routledge.
 - Terray, E., 1972, *Marxism and "Primitive" Societies*, NY: Monthly Review.

For fuller details on various points, see:

- (a) the index to *The Maasai of Matapato*
- (b) the index to *Time, Space, and the Unknown*, especially with reference to the Purko Maasai, the Loitokitok Kisonko Maasai, and the Loonkidongi Prophets and diviners
- (c) the index to *The Pastoral Continuum* Part II, with reference to the Chamus

KEY: Maasai sources of information

M	<u>M</u> atapato
P	<u>P</u> urko
L	<u>L</u> oitokitok Kisonko
K	<u>K</u> isonko of Tanzania
A	<u>L</u> oit <u>A</u>
S	<u>S</u> iria
U	<u>U</u> asinkishu
T	Loonkidongi of <u>T</u> urben – close neighbours of Matapato
O	Loonkidongi of Morij <u>O</u> – close neighbours and on friendly terms with Purko
C	<u>C</u> hamus – agro-pastoralists who adopted Maasai practices around 1900