



TANGANYIKA NOTES and RECORDS

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Tanganyika Notes and Records

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EDITORIAL NOTE

This issue of *Notes and Records* constitutes a departure from the usual form in that almost the whole of it is devoted to one area and one tribe of the Territory. It is to be hoped however that the intrinsic appeal of Masailand and the Masai will justify the experiment in the eyes of the reader, — especially as the subject has, curiously enough, only very occasionally and incidentally been touched upon in past issues of this journal.

It was originally intended to combine in this issue surveys of the two main groups of people inhabiting Masailand, that of the Masai by H. A. Fosbrooke, which appears here, and that of the Dorobo by R. A. J. Maguire. But considerations of space and the desire to maintain the tradition of wide variety in style and content of the papers in each issue, prompted the printing of '*Il Torobo*' in a separate issue, and readers who have not seen it are recommended to invest in a copy (No. 25) in order to supplement their knowledge of one of the most interesting regions of Tanganyika.



An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System

By H. A. Fosbrooke

PREFACE.

The accompanying notes do not presume to give a balanced picture of the Masai social system. They were compiled in 1939 when the writer, after 4 years' service in the Masai District of Tanganyika was seconded to study the political system and to submit proposals on administrative reorganisation. These latter are omitted from the present publication, but the chapters on History, the Laibon, the Age Grade System, the Tribal Officials, and Clan and Family matters are presented in that order and in practically the same form as when originally submitted, and consequently refer to the position as it existed in 1939. This introduction and the conclusion are being written in 1948.

By reason of its origins this material has a heavy bias on the political side of the social organization; the purely social — birth, marriage and death customs — and the socio-economic — the cattle culture, land usage, etc. — leave a large field of interesting material for future study. It is hoped that one result of the publication of these notes will be to stimulate those at present serving in Masailand in whatever capacity, in both Kenya and Tanganyika, to take up these untouched branches of study in addition to correcting, bringing up-to-date and noting local divergences in this and other published material.

The Masai are known, by reputation or repute, to the majority of those into whose hands the present publication will fall. Here it will suffice to say that they are a race of semi-nomadic pastoralists, of Nilo-Hamitic stock, occupying a large area of country on both sides of the Kenya-Tanganyika border. The census due to take place this month will reveal their true numbers, and perhaps the editor of Notes and Records will be in a position to quote an accurate figure before this appears in print. But the whole tribe probably does not exceed 25,000 adult males or 100,000 persons in all.* It has been frequently pointed out by its critics that the tribe occupied more land and has played a more important part in history than is justified by its numbers, but the same remarks apply to many strong-charactered and virile races.

To illustrate this paper some of the numerous photographs which I took during my sojourn in Masailand are reproduced, though they have perhaps suffered through time and inadequate storage; in addition those interested will find that the works marked in the bibliography with an asterisk give an adequate pictorial representation of Masai life. And finally 400 feet of 16 mm. ciné film, kindly edited and 'duplicated' by the Colonial Film Unit, has been deposited with the Information Officer, Dar-es-Salaam, from whom it may be obtained on loan. Of particular interest are shots

* The Director of Statistics, E.A. High Commission, has kindly supplied the following preliminary estimate figures of the Census enumeration: Total number of Masai in the Masai districts of Kenya and Tanganyika — 107,309, of which 54,535 are males.—Ed.

of ceremonial dances taken during the Jubilee Celebrations of King George V in 1935, and of water drawing from the deep pre-historic wells of Central Masailand.

A word about Masai terms; throughout clarity rather than pedantic accuracy has been the aim. Thus the anglicized "Laibon" has been used for *ol Oiboni*, "Unoto" for *e Uncto*, "Laiser" for *l Aiser*, etc., i.e. the article has been retained or dropped as the occasion demands. Where the plural forms have become current in local administrative usage, e.g. Laigwanak, they have been retained, but in other cases their employment would merely have led to confusion. When anglicized or in common use, these terms have been left in standard print: when italicized the word or phrase is, as far as known, grammatically correct.

Finally, it was thought undesirable to burden the report with frequent references and footnotes. A list of the works consulted is appended.

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SECTION I. — HISTORY.

A. Early History: the Exodus — origin of the Laibonok — southward penetration — consolidation in Tanganyika under Subet — origin of the Lumbwa or Kwavi — limit of expansion — dispossessed tribes — archaeological evidence.

The Masai are generally regarded as coming from Nilo-Hamitic stock. From the known history of other tribes, and a comparison of various cultures with that of the Masai, it is believed that, some four hundred

* Fully illustrated,

years ago, the latter were located in the area lying to the north and west of Lake Rudolph.

The Masai themselves carry their history back to a time when they lived in a lowland called Kieru; this cannot be other than the desert region lying between Lake Rudolph and the Kenya Highlands. The following is the story of their exodus from that area.

An elder, Maasinda, constructed a ladder or staircase up the scarp, which, till then, had prevented the Masai from moving south; on the plateau beyond he found good grazing and water. He consequently arranged to migrate, and he and his six sons, followed by the Laikipiak and the Kwavi, successfully negotiated the climb with all their cattle and possessions. The remaining Masai, who had previously been instructed to follow in an agreed order, then rushed the ladder, which broke under them. They were thus unable to follow.

The scarp is named Endigirr oo Namuga (the scarp of the sandals) and the country at the top Olkeju lol dughu (the river of palms). At this latter place Maasinda met with the Laitayok, the Uasingishu and Siria Masai, and the Kipsikis (Lumbwa).

Maasinda has become the culture hero of the Masai, to whom numerous legends have been attached. In one it is alleged that a woman, Naiterokop, came down from Heaven and bore two sons, Maasinda and ol Meek, this being the origin of the Masai and the Bantu. Maasinda is believed to have ordered the Masai to live at peace with their neighbours and, in the event of war, never to kill women or children. The invention of branding cattle as a means of identification is also attributed to him.

His six sons are also alleged to have been the founders of the existing Masai clans, Morungiro being the founder of the Laiser, Lolkesen of the Mokasen, Lesita of the Mamasita, Lelyan of the Molelyan, and Lesero of the Tarosero. The name of the founder of the Lughumae is not recorded.

The next event in tribal history is the acquisition by the Masai of the Medicine Man or Laibonok. The legend of the members of the Laiser clan finding a heaven-born child on Ngong Mountain is recorded by Hollis, who also gives a genealogy in which Lenana's name is the ninth. If thirty years is allowed for each generation (possibly an underestimate, since primogeniture is not the rule of succession), the first laibon must have been found about the year 1640. This agrees with all my informants, who state that this event took place prior to the earliest remembered age grade, i.e. before the beginning of the eighteenth century.

From the fact that the finding of the laibon took place at Ngong, it may be presumed that the period from the exodus to this event was one of slow penetration southward through the Kenya Highlands.

Contrary to the evidence previously recorded, it appears that the advance guard of the Masai had penetrated as far south as Usagara (Mpwapwa District) and made contact with the Hehe by the beginning of the nineteenth century. The story is that when the Merishari were reaching the age of circumcision, two big bomas penetrated into Gogo country to a place called Muli (Masai) or Lodi (Gogo) in search of grass. The leaders of the movement were two uncircumcised youths. One of

the bomas subsequently returned north, the other went as far south as Usagara. Laibon Subet sent instructions to this boma to return, but they disobeyed his order so were brought back by force. The descendants of the members of this boma are to-day known as il Muli.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of consolidation in the area now known as Tanganyika. To nearly every area of the Masai District there is attached a legend of how, and by and from whom it was conquered; examples of these are quoted below.

The Lake Manyara area was in the old days inhabited by a pastoral tribe known to the Masai as il Adoru. From descriptions it would appear that this tribe was one of the branches of the Tatog group, possibly the Barabaig. The moran of the Merishari age had a pitched battle on one side of a rain pond or lake, now known as Balbal lol Merishari, and there defeated one half of the Adoru warriors. The remainder stood drawn up on the far side of the lake and urged the Masai to attack. The latter consequently waded into the lake until the water reached their necks, but were unable to cross. They were thus left floundering whilst the balance of the Adoru made good their escape.

The Kidotu age was responsible for the capture of the Naberera wells from the Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Lumbwa made their escape whilst each Masai was engaged in pegging out a claim to the captured wells. The Lumbwa laibon, father of the present one, closed the pass to the west of Naberera, Engamata o ndareta, by magical means, which prevented pursuit by the Masai. It is alleged that, to the present day, no Masai will pass the spot where the medicine was placed without throwing a stone on to a cairn which has thus grown up there.

A third story also concerns the Lumbwa, this time those of Sanya. Two Lumbwa manyattas, known as Sabuki and Sitet, fled before the onslaught of the earlier Dwati moran, and following down the Ruvu valley, then cut across country and inhabited an area near Kilosa known as Kilena. Here they fought with the local inhabitants; the Sabuki, being beaten, retreated back to Nguu country. The Sitet, however, penetrated southward, where they found a large crater similar to Ngorongoro. They closed the pass by which they had entered the crater with stones and wild fig trees, and there lived at peace till a German was led to the place by a dog.

It is as well at this point to examine the origins of these Lumbwa or Kwavi. The Masai regard themselves as having a common origin with the Lumbwa, and consider that only recently have the latter diverged from Masai ways and taken to agriculture. As evidence the Masai cite physical appearance, common language and customs, and historical data. On the other hand, Elliot in the introduction to Hollis talks of the agricultural and pastoral sections and says that "it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient." Hollis states that "the Coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masai or Wa-Kwavi, names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others." It would appear that this lack of discrimination was due to the fact that at the time when Krapf was writing (circ. 1850) the Masai



MASAI 'MORAN'

—From a drawing by Dorothy Kingdon.

and Lumbwa were indistinguishable, merely two sub-tribes of a pastoral tribe, indulging in civil war; c.f. Krapf—"the two kindred tribes the Wakuafi and the Masai hate each other mortally, which is, however, a fortunate circumstance for the weaker African tribes"; Thomson also regards the Masai and Kwavi as two sections of the same pastoral tribe, and records in detail the ascendancy of the former. As he was writing fifty years ago, when all phases of the civil war were well within living memory, his account may certainly be accepted as correct. Elliot's suggestion that the nomads are offshoots from an agricultural Masai tribe is also discounted by legends recorded since he wrote, notably that of the exodus.

The first part of this section, dealing with events occurring prior to those within living memory, may well be closed with a review of the state of affairs circa 1869, a survey of the tribes dispossessed by the Masai, and an examination of any evidence throwing light on the era prior to Masai invasion. Subet, who died about 1860, was settled at Lashaine, below the present District Office at Mondul, with Rashanasha as his main water. He was surrounded by members of the Engidong clan at Musa, Engare ol Motonyi and Olgeju Lolera. The Arusha were established on the slopes of Mount Meru, and the Masai effectively occupied an area corresponding closely to their present boundaries. They had suffered a severe famine about 1830, but owing to the warlike efforts of the first Dwati age the country was by this time fully restocked. The Nyangusi, a few of whom are alive to-day (1939), were carrying on border wars with the Nguu, Gogo and Mbulu tribes, and it is doubtful whether Karatu, Talamai or Kiteto were as yet in Masai hands. On the other hand, they at this time possessed areas now lost to them, as for example the country between the east bank of the Ruvu and the Pare Hills, extending as far south as Bwiko; the alienated and reserved areas around Kilimanjaro, Meru and Mondul; and the country between the Naberera-Kibaya road and the Kondoa Hills, now lost to "fly".

To the west of, and also immediately below the Rift Wall, the country was probably inhabited by at least three tribes, the il Datwa lol Orokishu (Mbulu ?), the il Datwa lol Kuroto (Mbugwe ?) and the Sonjo. It seems likely that at any rate some of these tribes practised agriculture under irrigation, but that they possessed cattle also is almost certain. The Manyara area, as shown above, was in possession of the Adoru, a pastoral tribe, whilst the Mondul, Mweandet, Engare Nanyuki and Simanjiro areas were occupied by the Iligolala, again pastoralists, said to have been akin to the Masai.

Further south, Masai tradition of previous habitation, except by the various tribes of Dorobo, is lacking, owing to the fact that the Lumbwa and not the Masai evicted the previous occupants, if any. It is possible that the Nguu and Burungi tribes extended slightly farther to the north than they do at present, but existing climatic conditions indicate that, at most, these people have lost no more than a few border waters to the Masai.

It is impossible here to digress at length into the realms of pure archaeology, with reference to the Olduvai man, obsidian flakes, etc., but any evidence which throws light on the type of life that the country supported prior to Masai occupation is of interest in relation to the type of culture which the Masai may be expected to attain.

Briefly, then, the evidence shows that immediately below the Rift Wall cultivation under irrigation was practised, and that east of the Rift the country had at one time been inhabited by a tribe fully acquainted with the arts of well-digging and dam-building. These people may have practised agriculture, but there is no evidence to show that they did; their water conservation measures certainly show them as being cattle keepers, since no agricultural community, drawing domestic water only, would sink 50 or 60 wells in one small area, as at Naberera. That a cattle owning community requires such numbers is obvious from the fact that the Masai use nearly every prehistoric well, and have opened many new ones in addition. These same people were possibly responsible for the dams on the south-east flank of Monduli mountain, and perhaps they constructed the irrigation system which the Chagga are alleged to have found on Kilimanjaro.

But the people who dug the Naberera, Makami, Ndedo, Ngasumet and Londergess wells were most certainly pure pastoralists, and were probably responsible for the construction of the rain ponds in this area. A rain pond, liable to dry up, is obviously as useless to a settled agricultural population, as a group of twenty or thirty wells in a confined area. But to a pastoral people two such sources of water in conjunction enable an otherwise inhospitable country to carry a large cattle population.

The only available evidence of settled habitation in the southern area is found near Makami and Londergess. In concentrated areas, one at each of these places, are to be found numerous large kitchen middens, composed of ash and refuse, and containing numerous pot-sherds, bones, and — most important of all — the clay mouths of native bellows, and the clinkers formed when iron ore is smelted.

Thus, throughout the whole of Masai District, the only signs of settlement are associated either with agriculture under irrigation, or with metal work. The rest of the evidence points to the fact that the country was inhabited by nomadic pastoralists. For this reason any other mode of living cannot be expected from the Masai unless by the provision of water a radical change is made in the environment.

B. Sub-tribes and Sections : Sub-tribes — Sections — Kenya Sections — Sections common to Kenya and Tanganyika — Laitayok, clan or section ? — Salei — Serenget — Engaruka — Kissongo — Kiteto — Moibo.

The early history of the tribe has been summarized above; before turning to recent history, i.e. events occurring within living memory, it is necessary to define the sub-tribes and sections of the Masai, as a record of recent events is mainly a chronicle of civil war and strife between such units.

There are certain units, which may be termed *sub-tribes*, whom the "pure" Masai regard as inferior. By "pure" Masai is meant those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda. It is of interest that the word *ol Maasinda* is frequently used in place of *ol Masani* as the singular of *il Masai*. Such socially inferior sub-tribes are the Laikipiak, Siria, Uasingishu, and Kwavi, with the Laitayok as possibly a sub-tribe absorbed by the "pure" Masai. The nineteenth century witnessed the ascendancy of the Masai over the "inferior" sub-tribes, whilst in the fifty years which have elapsed since the Great Famine the rivalries of the sections within the Masai themselves have brought about many changes.

By *section* is meant a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of their waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oshon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laibon, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers.

The list of sections in Hollis, divided into districts and sub-districts, is too exhaustive to be of practical value, and for this reason the "Administrative History of the Masai" is taken as a basis for the following list. Those sections which live entirely in Kenya are:—Siria (a sub-tribe?), il Damat, il Kakonyuke (see Age Grades), L'Odo Kilani, Nguruman (Lumbwa living north of Lake Natron), il Dala Lekutuk and Kaputiei.

Of more immediate interest in Tanganyika is the Sighirari, apparently a section composed entirely of members of the Engidong clan. The Administrative History refers to Sighirari of Ngong and of Laitokitok. The area between Kilimanjaro and Meru is also known as Sighirari, and is probably the original home of this section. When their lands were alienated by the Germans they returned to Kenya.

The Matapatu are another purely Kenya section of interest to Tanganyika, since it appears that their original grazing grounds included Longido, Kiserian, Engare Naibor, and the numerous small waters to the north thereof. First turned out by the Germans, they again penetrated south at the end of the War, and were again removed by the British, their country being occupied by the Kissongo.

Finally the Laitokitok are of particular interest to us, in that they are closely associated with the Kissongo, and acknowledge the Mondul laibon. This section appears to be composed of Laiser, Laitayok and Molelian clansmen; here as in other areas the Laitayok do not fuse with the other clans, but have independent manyattas, perform separate fertility ceremonies, etc.

A number of sections are divided by the inter-territorial boundary. Of these the Purku alone have no pre-European claim to inhabit Tanganyika. On their eviction from the Naivasha area a portion of this section moved to the area in the Kenya reserve immediately north of Loliondo. By the end of the War they had penetrated as far south as Ngorongoro, whence they were evicted in 1920. All did not, however, return to Kenya; a number settled in the then unadministered area round Loliondo, where

they were found in 1928 by the Sonjo Patrol, and allowed to stay on in terms of the agreement made with the "Kenya Masai."

The other two sections included in the terms of this agreement, the Loita and Laitayok, were not in fact Kenya Masai at all. For a division of the Loita, called il Ndasagera, had inhabited the highland area round Loliondo, as far south as Lemunyani, since the Masai took possession of the country. The history of this section is bound up with that of Sendeyo, and is recorded below.

Likewise a division of the Laitayok possessed ancestral grazing grounds to the west of the area inhabited by the Loita, which, like those of the latter, were bisected by the inter-territorial boundary.

There are numerous other Masai found in many sections who call themselves Laitayok, and it is difficult to decide whether the name applies to a clan or to a section. From the recorded legend (see Early History) it would appear that they were not amongst the Masai who took part in the exodus, and even to-day a certain stigma attaches to them. When inhabiting the country of another section they usually dwell apart, as for example, amongst the Laitokitok or at Engasumet; Ngongongare on south-east Meru mountain is also regarded as a traditional Laitayok area. Frequently the name il Mingana is used to distinguish the Laitayok from the "pure" Masai.

The probable explanation of their status is that they do in fact belong to a lower stratum; in some areas they have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually came to be regarded as a *clan*; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own. An example of the latter is the Loliondo group, who are rightly regarded as forming a separate *section*; or again the il Dala Lekutuk is reputed to be a section composed entirely of Laitayok.

Another section divided by the border is the Salei or Saleh who now inhabit the area immediately west of the Rift, from the Loita to the Ngorongoro Highlands. They are reputed to have been in the past an important and numerous section, with the true Salei living on the Sanjan Plain (known to the Masai as Salei, the Sanjan is a river) and various sub-sections; the il Merik at ol Donyo Gol, il Bokai on the Osopuku lol Datwa, and il Ngorongoro in the place which their name signifies. Apparently they, together with the Serenget, acknowledged Mako, brother of Mbatian, as Laibon. They are recorded in the "Administrative History" as following Sendeyo; their present nominal allegiance to Mondul is probably due to the conscious efforts of the administration to bring all the Loliondo Masai into the Kissongo fold.

The Serenget, as their name implies, live on the plains to the west of Ngorongoro, from Lake Eyasi to Engare Nanyuki. They were dispersed by famine and Loita invasion between 1890 and 1900, and only reassembled during the post-war period. The strength of their allegiance to Mondul is also very doubtful.

The Engaruka are a section who perhaps took their name from having maintained themselves through the famine of 1890 by cultivation at

Engaruka in the Rift valley. The main body of the section uses the Engaruka stream in the dry season, but Kavinjiro above the Rift Wall should also be included in their area, as forming their reserve of highland grazing. Many of the section are found on the Sanjan and Lemunyani, having, it is reported, originally been sent there for veterinary reasons.

The majority of the Masai of Tanganyika regard themselves as Kissongo, but Kissongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon". But there are numerous border line cases, such as those sections defined above whose allegiance to Mondul is doubtful. The Kissongo proper divide themselves into two groups, the Kiteto and the Moibo. Each of these groups may be regarded as a section, since they exhibit a certain jealousy one to the other, as was shown by a dispute as to whether Lengijabe should belong to Naberera (Moibo) or to Makami (Kiteto); such feeling is not shown between, say, the Longido and Mondul people.

The Kiteto section comprises those who inhabit Kiteto, Talamai, Kibaya, Makami and Simanjiro. Those Masai now resident in the Central Province, (*for the most part with the inception of the Groundnut Scheme they have been returned to Masailand—Ed.*) also belong to this section and take part with their brethren on this side of the border in those tribal matters concerning which the Kiteto section functions as a unit.

The Moibo section is an unwieldy unit now in the process of sub-division. It takes its name from the Ruvu (Pangani) river, where the section claims to have originated. When for various reasons the Mondul, Longido and Ngorongoro areas became practically vacant, the Moibo proceeded to occupy them, frequently intermingling with the remnants of the original inhabitants. That new sections are in the process of formation amongst the Moibo and the remnants they have absorbed is shown by the organisation of the Kisale age, (see Age Grade section). Longido, Naberera or Mondul may soon be as jealous of their individuality as are the Laitokitok, Salei and Engaruka.

That a section is in the first place a fortuitous grouping of individuals may be shown by an analysis of the Longido and Engare Naibor areas, which were made free for settlement by the eviction of the Matapatu.

Sectional origins of the Population of Longido and Engare Naibor.

Moibo	...	...	134	Sighirari	...	10
Mweandet	...	...	47	Kiteto	...	9
Longoswa	...	...	42	Engaruka	...	7
Ngongongare	...	...	29	Loita	...	6
Damat	...	...	23	Sundry	...	27

The Mweandet are the remnants of a scattered section who originally inhabited Musa, Mweandet and Kisimere, areas now included in the Arusha District. Longoswa is a name for the area round the Engare ol Motonyi furrow. Those who came from Ngongongare are the remains of the Laitayok who lost their land to alienation. The remaining names on the table have already been defined.

The members of this heterogeneous group are, insofar as the more

junior ages are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where similar conditions pertain.

C. Recent History : Famine — civil war — German Policy.

Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1860 to 1890 is regarded by the Masai as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at this time; it was he who called up the Moibo Masai to fight the Usingishu and Laikipiak sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes: the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the "Administrative History".

But about 1890 the Masai were visited by the triple misfortune of famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture; in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was in fact scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their earnings or stealings commenced to build up new herds.

During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purku and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Nairobi, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita beat in turn the Laitayok, Salei and Serenget of the Loliondo area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kissongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Olmolog. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Lossogonoi, but later returned to Ngorongoro. When below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans, and also with the Kissongo, supported by the Purku. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement; the Kissongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Lenana, who agreed to send his Purku from the north, via Loliondo, whilst the Kissongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, he saw that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Lenana to admit defeat. Lenana allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German Government pursued in relation to the Masai. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Masai of Tanganyika, being scattered by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Moshi—Arusha—Mbugwe road was therefore thought sufficient as a Masai Reserve, and the objective was to keep Mondul, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loliondo areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Ndasegera Loita of Loliondo, the Salei and Serenget west of the Rift, the Mweandet of north Meru and Mondul, the Sighirari of Sanya and the Matapatu of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when this policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

reassemble and return, each to its own area. But the Moibo section seems to have flourished above all others and penetrated, during and after the war, into areas which had never before been in its possession.

The details of this period of famine, civil war and European intervention have not been recorded at length, but it is hoped that sufficient has been said to drive home the point that the period 1890 to 1920 was one of great upheaval for the Tanganyika Masai. The most obvious effect of this was the break-up and submergence of many of the sections, together with the loss of the loyalties which hold those sections together and generally of political cohesion. Only time can bring about a reorientation in accordance with the present distribution of population.

Another aspect of the above historical review should also be borne in mind. It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

For clarity this historical section is concluded with a chronological chart showing the main events and personalities referred to.

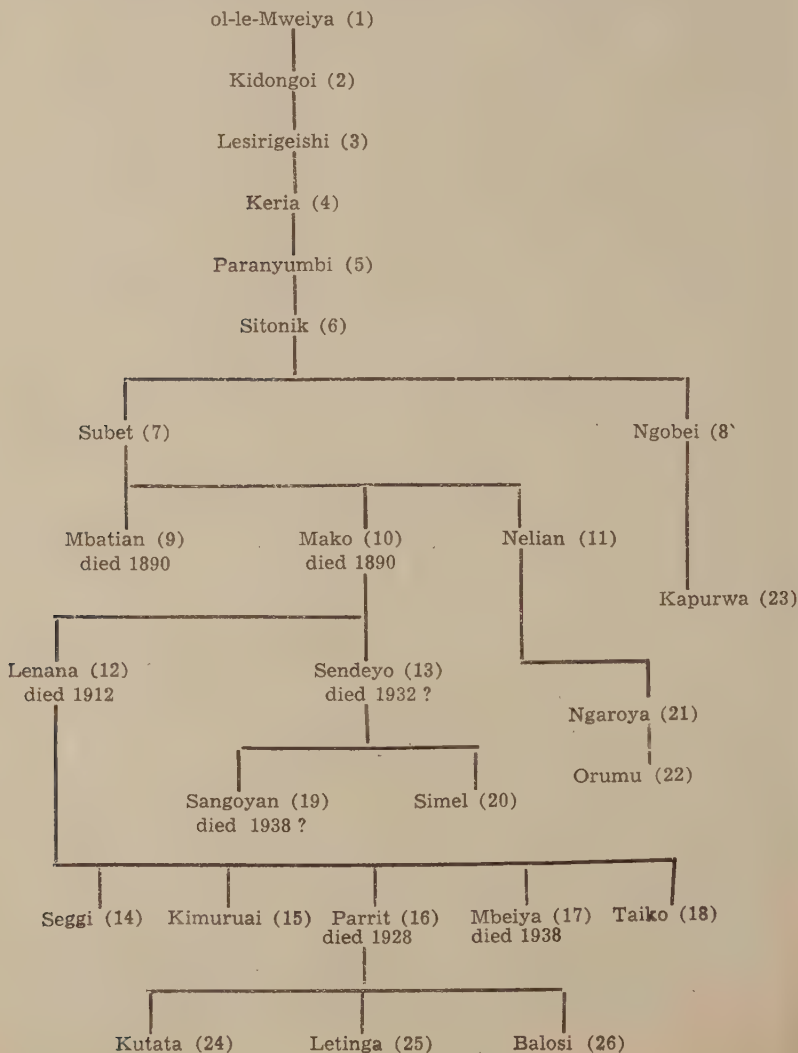
CHRONOLOGICAL CHART.

Age	Approx. date of circumcision.	Important Events.
DIYOGI	1776	Members of this age can be remembered by living elders. Subet belonged to this age.
KISARUNI	1791	Masai penetrated to Usagara.
MERISHARI	1806	Conquered Manyara from Adoru.
KIDOTU	1821	Took Naberera from the Kwavi. Kikoin (the original Waarusha) brought up from Arusha Chini. Capture of Engaruka.
DWATI	1836	Captured Lolbene, Moibo and Kibaya from Kwavi. Drove Datwa from Ngorongoro Highlands. Mbatian belonged to this age.
NYANGUSI	1851	One or two members of this age still alive. Took Karatu from Datwa. Death of Subet.
LAIMER	1866	Moibo Masai called up by Mbatian for Laikipiak war. Capture of Talamai and Kiteto.
DALALA	1881	Peace made between Masai and Kwavi at Ruvu. Death of Mbatian. Famine, rinderpest and smallpox. Lenana and Sendeyo belonged to this age.
DWATI	1896	Civil war between Lenana and Sendeyo. First contact with European administration. Parrit promoted to this age, though actually Dareto.

DARETO	1911	Death of Lenana. The Great War. Fight between Dwati and Dareto at lol Kisali. Return of laibon to Tanganyika. Mbeiya belonged to this age .
KISALE)	1926	Death of Parrit.
)		Death of Sendeyo.
MERISHO)	1935	Death of Mbeiya.

GENEALOGY OF THE LAIBON FAMILY.

Showing only those who attained political importance.





ON THE MOVE — Old lady loading donkey.



MASAI HERD BOY

The one-leg stance characteristic of Hamitic peoples.

SECTION II. THE LAIBON.

NOTE.—Numbers following names refer to *Genealogical Chart*.

The aim of this section is to record the functions of the laibon, or Masai Medicine Man, and the Masai attitude to him and his work, to study the character of recent laibonok, and the adaptations they have made under modern conditions, and from an analysis of these factors to consider what place the laibon should take in tribal government. One is apt to lose the main thread of such a thesis in a mass of detail, and for this reason many incidents will be omitted when they only confirm what has already been illustrated by example. Facts which are known to run counter to the general argument are, however, recorded.

A. History — recent origins — development — the three types of Medicine man — rules of succession.

The Masai legend of the origin of the laibon is recorded by Hollis. Briefly, a youth, ol-le-Mweiya by name, was found sitting on the top of Ngong Mountain, was adopted by the Laiser clan, and proved himself to be a great medicine man. This occurred about ten generations ago. The only difference between this legend and the one generally current in Kissongo is that Kidongoi (2), shown as the son of the original laibon in the Hollis genealogy, is regarded by most elders as the first laibon.

One interesting fact arises from the legend, namely that the Masai had penetrated as far as Ngong before they adopted a laibon, thus their original move and occupation of the Kenya Highlands must have been made without the supernatural guidance which the laibon alone can provide. On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home. Thus it appears that the laibon is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists to-day, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the laibon and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened.

Assuming that the institution is but recently acquired, its development can be deduced from similar occurrences to-day. For there are, generally speaking, three types of laibon to be found at present. First, there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remuneration, will perform such services as curing sickness, removing barrenness and insuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such practices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints, and may also prove useful in procuring

success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonial affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes, and is the sense in which the word is used throughout this paper, unless otherwise indicated.

It is very possible that the office of laibon developed by progression through the three stages outlined above. It may further be assumed that the process took two or three generations to complete, before the laibon was fully installed in a position of power. For this reason the immediately pre-European conception of the office was not as old as the genealogy would at first indicate.

It is possible to quote examples of practising laibonok, representing each of the three types of medicine man. Any number of the Engidong clan is credited with a certain amount of supernatural power. Not all exercise their gifts, but as an example of one who did, Kakenya, murdered at Longido in 1939, may be quoted. In addition to the Engidong clan, however, numerous aliens, particularly Kikuyu, often build up reputations as private practitioners.

Of the second type, those who cater for various groups, the example of Oruma (22) springs to mind. He probably exercised 'group' functions in the supply of charms for cattle raiding, but was brought to book when he tried to usurp the privileges of the elders in the matters of tribal ceremonial. Taiko (18) was doubtless another member of this class, supplying raiding medicine to the moran of the Longido area. Both these people are of the Engidong clan, but as an example of one who is not, one can quote ole Shongo, of the Ngorongoro Highland area. He is a Kikuyu, and his activities are not fully understood. He was believed responsible for a series of raids in 1933, and has still got a reputation, known beyond the bounds of his particular area, as a powerful laibon.

The third type, the acknowledged laibon of the tribe or group of sections, must always be a member of the Engidong clan. One frequently hears that in olden times all the Masai acknowledged one laibon, but Mbatian (9) had a fellow practitioner, if not a rival, in his brother Mako (10), and it is more than probable that many other figures, important competitors to the known holders of office, have been lost in the mists of antiquity. The phrase "all Masai acknowledged one laibon" requires also a further qualification, as the rival sub-tribes, Uasingishu, Kwavi, etc., had their own medicine men.

The office is hereditary, insofar as the holders must be members of the Engidong clan, and preferably close relations of the deceased laibon. More distant relatives confine themselves to activities of the two inferior laibon types. There are, however, no definite rules of succession, the

choice resting on the general consent of the tribe. He whom the previous laibon had held in greatest esteem, and trained and nominated for the office, would normally be chosen. The past reputation of the candidate would, however, be a matter for consideration; if someone, other than the deceased's choice, had proved himself extremely powerful, it is possible that he would be chosen, for fear of the consequences were he overlooked. The maxim of English law, that none should benefit by his crime, is also applied. For the death of a laibon is as a matter of course attributed to witchcraft by a fellow Engidong, and the first step in choosing a new laibon is to ascertain who killed the old; such person is automatically barred from succession.

It has been represented that the above theory of late development of the institution stands or falls on a Masai legend. The answer to that is that very few legends are found without some foundation of fact, and secondly that there are many indications that it is a feature not fully assimilated by the Masai organisation.

B. Pre-European Functions of the Laibon : Raids and War — Age-grade ceremonies (with certain restrictions) — local ceremonies — tribute — supposed administrative actions.

Immediately prior to his death in 1890 Mbatian was living at Namanga, but had previously lived, as had his father Subet (8), at Lashaine Hill, immediately below the Mondul District Office. He was nominally the official laibon for the whole of the tribe, though his brother Mako lived and practised as a laibon at Engutoto lol Mako, in Ngorongoro Crater. It is also significant that Thomson refers to "the important Lybons (medicine men) Lengobe, Mbaration, and Lembarsacout," without singling out Mbatian as the leader. If he in fact occupied the position, bordering on chieftainship, that many Masai elders would have us believe, it is improbable that even an early traveller would fail to note and comment on it.

There can be little doubt that at this time a laibon's chief functions were :

- i. Dispensing charms for raids.
- ii. Supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies.
- iii. Propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

It is probable that any acts which he performed in the executive sphere arose from these three main duties, which must now be examined more fully.

In the matter of providing *charms for raids*, it should be noted that raids are divided by the Masai into two types, major (*ol orora*), and minor (*ol wamba*). Both these names also signify a group of moran fitted out for war, the former larger than the latter. A third term, which might well be recorded here is *o remove*, signifying a fight with spears, more particularly the deliberate killing of an alien for the purpose of acquiring a reputation.

Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kissongo Dwati and Dareto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kiteto, about 1916, were taken to Laibon Parrit (16), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Masai, but at that time resident in Kenya.

The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with the moran, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage slovenly sections to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organised locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom none of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Masai involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different, as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Laimer informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbatian called us up to fight the Laikipiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbatian, it is obvious that Lenana and Sendeyo were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and blessing the *age grade ceremonies*. It is probable that a laibon at least gives charms, if he does not attend in person the Embolosat ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kakonyuke section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Unoto and Ngeherr ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organisation of such matters, nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position, it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Merisho age was agreed to at an Ol Kiama (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the dictation of the laibon. The *il Piron* elders, i.e. those of the reciprocating age — set next but one above the warrior set — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the moran. An interesting case occurred in February 1939, after the Endungore, or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naibor Murt decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Dareto, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his boma, and drank the beer themselves. It

is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the laibon had given his sanction for the circumcision, the Dareto elders would have been justified in acting as they did.

On a safari in June, 1938, laibon Mbeiya laid down a ceremonial for closing the age. It consisted of taking a small bird (dead) and breaking its legs and putting out its eyes. Whitehouse records a similar ritual in the same connection. On further enquiry it appears that this procedure is merely a curse which may be laid on any elder who is determined to circumcise his son during the 'closed season' in defiance of warnings. It is generally considered improbable that such a ceremony will actually be performed. The point of recording this case is to illustrate that the laibon's part in this matter is merely to re-inforce by magical means a decision that had already been taken by the elders. It is also of interest to note that Mbeiya was passing off as original a curse which had been used in Kenya for years.

Although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the laibon, this activity is subject to curious restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain. The facts, however, show that the laibon of one section may perform the ceremony for another, or alternatively the assistance of an 'unofficial' laibon may be sought; for instance the Ngeherr or passing out ceremony of the Dareto age-set of the Kissongo section was nominally held under Parrit, and the Unoto or promotion ceremony of the Kisale age under Mbeiya, who were respectively the ruling Laibon at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adoptee of the Engidong clan, one Lolkokwa ole Kashungu (now deceased), was called in to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondul laibon received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Naberera and Kibaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longido Masai went to Lolkokwa at Bisil, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangoyan, laibon of the Loita section, performed the Unoto or promotion of the Kisale age for the Matapatu and Lodokilani sections, which are nominally under Kimuruai (15). All that can be said, therefore, in our present state of knowledge, is that the 'official' laibon to the section does not necessarily play the leading part in the age grade ceremonies of that section.

In the choice of Laigwanak or Spokesmen of the Age-grades, Whitehouse records "The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him," a statement for which there is ample confirmation throughout Kissongo. Hollis, it is true, states "If the chief medicine man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief . . .", but this is with reference to the launon who is a chief of ceremonies only, and certainly does not apply to the Laigwanak or Spokesmen.

It is also noteworthy that the il Piron elders keep in very close touch with the laibon, from the time they take charge of the new age, until their charges stand down. Most of the Laigwanak of the Kisale or Senior Warrior Age of to-day state that they were first taken to Laibon Parrit when he was still resident in Kenya, i.e. prior to 1923: they were of course only boys at the time. The laigwanan of Lossogono for instance

states that he went eleven times to Parrit before circumcision, numerous times after initiation, when Parrit was resident at Mondul, and six times to laibon Mbeiya. One cannot regard the figures as accurate, but at least they show that the laibon is in close touch with the developing moran and their guardians.

It has been recorded above that the third main function of a laibon is to lay down the ritual and to provide charms for *local ceremonies*, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

Whitehouse's description of visits to the laibon for this purpose is of interest. "Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred — and probably effects another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained, a drought for instance may make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; or perhaps the objects of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what has happened to his medicine and will be angry if its fate is concealed from him."

Most of these points are confirmed by Kissongo informants. The organisation of deputations to the laibon is one of the principal duties of the laigwanak. I have heard it explained of various elders — "he always goes on *ilamal* as he has a good memory." The "complicated directions" usually involve the building of a boma, to which all the participants temporarily remove; the duration of their stay is laid down by the laibon. The charms given may be applied in numberless ways; they may be eaten or drunk, sprinkled or smeared over the bodies of those concerned. They may be mixed with decoctions of tree roots, with the fat of the sacrificial beast, or even with the *liquor animi* if the slaughtered beast is pregnant.

This slaughtering of a beast is the most usual ceremonial, its species, sex, colour and condition being laid down by the laibon. Examples of such types are — black bullock, black and white heifer in-calf, brown ram, pregnant ewe, etc., etc. The skin of the beast is usually cut up and divided amongst the participants. Such pieces of skin are termed *il keretin*, (sing. *ol kereti*) and may be worn on the finger, (a particular finger being named by the laibon) hung round the neck, or suspended over the door or bed in the house.

Other variants concern the situation of the boma, or the phase of the moon, so altogether there are an infinite variety of ceremonies which may be ordered.



On left —

LAIBON MBEIYA (17)

Below—

**WARRIOR IN FULL
CEREMONIAL DRESS**

wearing lion-killer's head-
dress with ostrich-plumes on
spear as a sign of peace.



One is frequently told by elders that in the old days the laibon concerned himself primarily with the moran, giving them war charms, supervising their ceremonies, etc., his payment consisting of a share in the spoils of war. After the Unoto or promotion ceremony it appears that a special raid was undertaken, called *enoondorosi*, a portion of the produce of this doubtless being handed to the laibon. I should think, however, that the custom of collecting cattle by general levy on the Age, at some time after the ngeherr or 'passing-out' ceremony, is old established. When such cattle are presented to the laibon, it appears customary for him to decree a ceremony, and to supply charms for it free of charge. This, according to some elders, was the last official connection between the laibon and the age as a whole, except of course his natural association with the *il piron* elders concerning the initiation of a new age. Other dealings with him by the elders were in the nature of private practice.

Before concluding the reconstruction of a laibon's functions in the old days, reference may be made to certain *administrative actions* alleged to have been taken by certain past Laibonok. For instance Subet (7) is alleged to have recalled a section of the Masai who had penetrated far into Gogo country (see Sec. I), and when they refused to obey him, sent a body of moran to compel them to return. Again he is credited with transplanting some families of an agricultural tribe, *il Kikoin*, from Arusha Chini to the slopes of Mount Meru, to grow his tobacco, and to dig water furrows, notably the Engare ol Motonyi and the Engare Nanyuki; these agriculturists subsequently developed into the Arusha tribe. Mbatian (9), apart from his civil war activities, took such 'administrative action' as telling the Masai not to move at the time of the famine — in fact imposing a quarantine — and ordering the tribe not to resist the Europeans.

But it frequently happens that past events become linked with the names of important personages of the time, when in fact there was no connection between the two. This may have occurred at least in the case of those actions recorded above attributed to Subet. But even if this is not so, the few instances of executive acts undertaken by the laibon in the past are insufficient evidence on which to base any theory that the institution of the laibon at any time approached the status of chieftainship amongst the Masai.

The picture of a pre-European laibon may therefore be re-constructed as follows:—

He was primarily the medicine man of the moran, both in respect of war charms and of supervising and blessing their promotion ceremonies. As junior elders, the Masai still maintained contact with the laibon (paying ngeherr fees) and as *il piron* elders visited him on behalf of the new age. But except as private patients the elders seem to have done less business with the laibon than they do to-day. Administrative, executive or judicial functions were not part of a laibon's duties, though he could exert a certain amount of control by judicious advice. He was in no sense a paramount chief.

C. Modern adaptation of the Laibonate — increase in local ceremonies — payment of fees — right to demand girls — extra-tribal contacts — attitude of Masai to Laibon and spiritual matters in general — conclusions.

The main factor altering the position of the laibon is the enforced prohibition of cattle raiding. As pointed out above, the supply of charms for cattle raiding was one of the Laibon's chief functions. The first effect of this change was to reduce the laibon's status, in addition to cutting off his main source of income. Some continued to draw glory and dividends by continuing the practice in secret, others, more loyal to the new order, sought for something to replace this loss. It is difficult to assess which motive was uppermost, love of power or greed for cattle, but whichever it was, the reaction was the same. It consisted of an intensification of another of their main functions, viz. providing charms for, and prescribing the ritual for, local ceremonies. This is thought to have been less important in the old days, but it is now the laibon's chief function and principal source of income, and as such merits attention.

The nature of the ceremonies has already been briefly described and with regard to their frequency, it is improbable that a year passes without some ceremony or other taking place in every area of the district. An aspect not yet touched upon is that of the method of collecting the fees paid to the Laibon.

In respect of the cattle paid for the *age grade ceremonies* their number seems to be laid down either by custom or by the laibon himself, (I am not sure which). They are collected by general agreement from the members of the age concerned, after long discussion. A point of interest is that members of the Engidong clan are not expected to contribute, but may add a 'present' of their own, e.g. in one instance encountered, in the proportion of 8 Engidong cattle to 40 from other clans. But what is very striking about these levies is that the Masai in general are seldom sure for what they are paying. When enquiring about a known mob of cattle, one may be told that they are the fees being paid by the Dwati age in respect of their Ngeherr ceremony, or by others that they represent payment by the Dareto age in respect of their Unoto, or promotion. One can only conclude that the general public do not really know for what they are paying; they have been told to contribute cattle, and do so without further enquiry.

In the matter of *local ceremonies* the situation is different. The idea of holding such a ceremony frequently arises from an old man having a run of bad luck — his cattle or children dying, or his wives not giving birth. He calls a number of his neighbours together, they discuss the situation and decide that a visit to the laibon is indicated — thus the movement starts. Other local ceremonies may be sought when the area in general is affected by drought or disease, or again the laibon himself may remind an area that he has not heard from them for some time. This may be done, for example, in the following manner: when the laibon is throwing the bones or is in a trance deciding some matter for a Naberera deputation, he will suddenly switch round and say, "I see the Moibo people

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Moibo will visit him without delay.

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Dalala age should not give cattle to be taken to the laibon, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is one for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a beast last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that Z has not helped for many years, and so on.

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which homa to boma levies were made was when a party of moran returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so ashamed that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laibon.

Another demand which a laibon makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, motor transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laibon sees a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increases his demands. Parrit (15) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of the safari he went round South Masailand when the boundary was demarcated: the Dwati paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Mbeiya (17), on a safari to Kibaya in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemauna, although she was engaged to another; Kapurwa (23) paid one beast towards the dowry and contributed the ram-skins for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mondul, a number of milch cows were presented to form the nucleus of her herd. On the same trip, Mbeiya demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Losogonoi. Taiko (18) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sanya; the father asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laibon, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist; one cannot approach a laibon for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laibon to let either one's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits.

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and alien witch doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kikuyu and the Engidong clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the heaven-sent child ol-le-Mweiya was merely a Kikuyu impostor. But if, as one gathers, the Masai and Kikuyu were

frequently fighting, contact must have been limited. But that is not the case to-day. When Mbeiya's boma was infected with measles in 1935 he hired a lorry and himself travelled to Nairobi and beyond, bringing back a Kikuyu medicine man to cleanse his boma for him. Kutata (24) is reputed to have obtained a charm to kill Mbeiya from a Sukuma witch doctor in Pare, and Letinga (25) and Balosi (26) hired a car to go and interview this doctor, in order to verify the rumour and/or to obtain charms stronger than those given to Kutata.

The cult of the laibon must therefore have much in common with the beliefs and practices of neighbouring tribes, and I put it forward as a possibility that, with further contacts, the institution may eventually end up merely as an instrument of common witchcraft.

In the absence of rational scientific explanations for the many natural phenomena which surround them, — drought and disease, fecundity and sterility, birth and death, — it is natural that the Masai, in common with all other primitive peoples, should regard the unseen with deep fear and awe, and grasp at any opportunity offered which purports to control these mysterious factors in their lives. They believe the laibon to be capable of controlling these unseen forces; he is the intermediary between themselves and the supernatural. His blessing will assure prosperity, his charms and rituals can alleviate an existing calamity, and his power of foretelling the future enables steps to be taken to ward off an impending catastrophe.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the strength of these beliefs amongst individual Masai, but it is considered that the majority of the Kissongo hold them implicitly. Some areas, e.g. Kibaya, have a reputation for consulting the laibon more frequently than others, but none the less the beliefs are general. The practice of the ritual may fall into temporary abeyance in certain areas, but the belief remains, and manifests itself in outward form on the advent of a drought or of a personal reminder from the laibon. Modern contacts have as yet done little to shake these beliefs. A few Christian Masai are completely sceptical; others may have their doubts, but when the occasion arises feel that they had better do what they are told, 'to be on the safe side'. One of the chief factors which guarantees the maintenance of these beliefs is the age grade system. From early adolescence the future leaders of the tribe, the *laigwanak* and *ingobir*, are frequently taken to the laibon by their guardians, the *il piron* elders. The lengthy discussions beforehand, the actual journey, the reverential attitude of the elders to the laibon, the ritual, the mysterious voice in the darkened hut foretelling the future, all these must make a deep impression on the youths. This in turn is spread to the rest of their age-mates when they return home and perform the ordained ceremony.

There seems little doubt therefore that so long as the age-grade system is maintained in its present form these beliefs, and the consequent power they give the laibon, will be perpetuated. True, as education progresses, this power will decrease, but disbelief will dissociate a youth from his age-mates, and consequently his influence on others will be small; on the

other hand those brought up in awe of the laibon are in a position to influence large numbers of their fellows. For this reason it is probable that these beliefs will be held for many years to come, although their intensity and their outward manifestations may decrease, as in fact they appear to be doing in Kenya to-day.

The time has now come to summarise this section and to draw our conclusions. In doing so it will be necessary to differentiate between the Masai attitude to the laibon, and the laibon's attitude to the Masai. The Masai do not regard, nor have they ever in the past regarded the laibon as a chief or lawgiver. They regard him as an intermediary between themselves and the unseen, and in consequence hold him in great respect and awe. Any order that he cared to give, suitably disguised as a prophecy, would therefore be obeyed; the laibon is thus a great potential political leader. But here the attitude of the laibon to the Masai comes in. It may be that in the past a laibon has felt responsibility for the welfare of the tribe, but there are very few instances of this taking practical form. At the present time one can only judge the attitude of the laibon to the Masai on facts, and these reveal that he thinks only of himself and not of the tribe. With the possible exception of Lenana, no laibon has made any effort to assist the tribe to adapt themselves to modern conditions. Rather the reverse; for their own personal profit they have made themselves the focus of the tribe's intense conservatism. When cut off from one source of income (a share of raided stock), they have used their powers to develop an alternative (extended sale of charms).

AGE GRADE SYSTEM.

Generation A.

Generation B.

Year.	Age w. (right)	Age x. (left)	Age y. (right)	Age z. (left)
1.	)			
2.	) circumcision			
3.	)			
4.	) manyatta formed			
5.	) junior warriors	EMBOLOSAT		
6.	) demanding promotion	ENDUNGORE		
7.	) UNOTO	ENGIBATA		
8.	)	)		
9.	)	) circumcision		
10.	)	)		
11.	)	) manyatta formed		
12.	) senior warriors	) junior warriors	EMBOLOSAT	
13.	) towards end of	) demanding promotion.	ENDUNGORE	
14.	) this period	)	ENGIBATA	
15.	) beginning to	UNOTO	)	
16.	) marry.	)	)	
17.	)	) senior warriors	) circumcision	
18.	)	)	)	
19.	)	)	) manyatta formed	
20.	)		) junior warriors	
21.			) demanding promotion	
22.	N G E H E R R		UNOTO	) EMBOLOSAT
23.			)	) ENDUNGORE
24.			)	) ENGIBATA
25.			)	) circumcision
26.			) senior warriors	) manyatta formed
27.			)	) junior warriors
28.			)	) demanding promotion
29.			)	UNOTO
30.			)	senior warriors

SECTION III: THE AGE GRADE SYSTEM.

A. Basic importance of the system — an age-grade chart — formation of a new age and its ceremonies — endungore — engibata — embo-losat.

The importance of the age grade system to the Masai social organisation cannot be over-estimated. It regulates a man's conduct in relation to his fellow men; it is the basis of such political organisation as the tribe possesses: together with clan and kinship it regulates a man's sexual life; organised religion, certain economic activities, and above all military organisation are dependent on the age grade system for their existence.

In this chapter it is necessary to describe the system and thereafter to examine it in relation to the above-mentioned activities; this presentation has the unfortunate effect of appearing to divide up its manifestations into water-tight compartments. So it must be stressed at the commencement and borne in mind throughout that there is hardly a phase of male activity which is not subordinate to, regulated by, or interlocked with the age grades.

It is not proposed to give full particulars of every ceremony: in some cases these are not known, in others they have been recorded elsewhere. Sufficient detail however must be included to emphasise the theme of this chapter, that the system is all-embracing and that in its various aspects it absorbs a considerable amount of the energies of those participating and is a constant theme of thought and conversation throughout the tribe.

A brief outline of the system will enable the ceremonies hereafter mentioned to be appreciated at their true value.

The accompanying chart, dealing with two generations (*olaje*: plur. *ilajijik*) A. and B. each composed of two ages (*ol poror*: plur. *il poror*) w, x, y, and z, will, it is hoped, make the overlapping clear. Disregarding their relationship with the previous generation, age *w* is circumcised over a period of four years. Being the first age in the generation they are called *emurata tatene*, the right hand circumcision, but they are none the less junior warriors, i.e. junior to those of the previous generation. After about 7 years they are promoted to senior warriorhood in a ceremony called *eunoto*. About this time, preliminary steps are being taken for the formation of age *x*, which will also enter generation A, as the left hand circumcision, *emurata kedyenye*. About the time when age *x* is demanding promotion to senior warriorhood, some 5 years after their circumcision, age *y* of generation B, once again right hand, will be in process of formation. When *y* have been circumcised, *x* can perform their unoto ceremony, thus becoming senior warriors, but nevertheless remaining left hand. When age *y* is nearing senior warriorhood, and age *z* about to be circumcised, ages *w* and *x* perform the *ol ngeherr* ceremony, whereby they become elders.

From this it will be seen that the right hand circumcision invariably enjoys a longer period of warriorhood than the left, also that the country is never without a standing army of at least one complete age of warriors.

An attempt is made in the chart to give approximate dates to the various steps, regarding the circumcision of age *w* as the year one. It should be borne in mind, however, that each period is liable to variation: in the old days famine, civil war, etc., played havoc with the ordered sequence of events; modern conditions are causing certain further modifications in the system.

None the less, if the chart be studied vertically, the various steps through which any particular age passes become apparent; if it is read horizontally, the position of the ages in relation to each other at any given time can be ascertained.

Before embarking on a description of the various ceremonies involved, it may be helpful to tabulate as an example the Kissongo generations and ages and their status as at 1939, so that reference may be made to concrete examples in the succeeding pages.

Existing Generations and Ages.

Kissongo 1939.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Status.</i>	<i>Present political occupation.</i>
Nyangusi	Retired	Do not participate actively.
Laimer	"	" "
Dalala	"	" "
Dwati	Senior elders	Guardians of moran, both Kisale and Merisho.
Dareto.	Junior elders	Guardians of uncircumcised youths, now being formed into new age.
Generation name not yet given.	Kisale — senior moran	Now beginning to marry.
	Merisho — junior moran	Now claiming privileges of the seniors.
	Uncircumcised youths.	Performing ceremonies prior to circumcision.

The movement for the formation of a new generation comes from the elders immediately above the existing warrior generation, i.e. at present the Dareto. Such elders are the sponsors of the new age, and their guardians and instructors in all the ceremonies which lead from boyhood to eldership. The reciprocal term *il piron* is used between guardian and ward, being derived from the firestick which plays a conspicuous part at certain stages.

The official closing of one age is performed by the *il piron* of the succeeding age; i.e. the Dareto closed the Merisho age before commencing to organise the formation of the uncircumcised youths into an age of their own. It is marked by a ceremony called *Endungore* (the cutting)

in the course of which a curse is laid on a circumcision knife, and a fire-stick is ceremoniously broken. The actual ceremony is perhaps worked in conjunction with the *engibata* (see below), but the knowledge that it is about to take place is a sufficient deterrent to prevent unauthorised circumcision. The example has already been quoted (with reference to the laibon and age-grade ceremonies) of how, during his tour of Southern Masai in 1938 (June), the Laibon, Mbeiya, decreed at Kibaya, Makami and Simanjiro that the *endungore* ceremony should be performed in a certain manner. In 1939, a certain Dwati elder at Naibormurt had brewed beer in preparation for the circumcision of his son. The Dareto elders, hearing of this, visited his boma in force, with the intention of spilling all the beer. In point of fact they drank it in company with the offending owner, but none the less they prevented the circumcision from taking place; this in spite of the fact that the *endungore* ceremony had not been actually performed.

The ceremony of *Engibata* appears to be a recruiting campaign for the new age. Bands of youths who are of a suitable age for circumcision wander round the country dressed as moran, but carrying only bows in their hands. They send news to a certain elder, by an *olamal* (deputation) of nine of their fellows, that they will visit his boma. The elder prepares food, milk and an ox, and any youths of the boma who are ready for circumcision are duly prepared to enter the *engibata*. The band thus wanders round the countryside adding to its numbers *en route*. This ceremony is performed four times without further incident, (twice only in the case of a left hand circumcision); on the conclusion of the fifth *engibata*, by which time all suitable candidates in the area concerned have been enrolled, the youths retire to a secluded spot in the bush, in company with the *il piron* elders. A beast is slaughtered, blessings invoked on the new age, and each boy given a strip of hide from the ceremonial ox.

There is a further pre-circumcision ceremony practised only by certain sections of the Masai, notably the Kenya Kakonyuke. It is said to occur prior to the above two ceremonies. The ceremony appears to be somewhat on the lines of the Unoto (see below): choosing a master of ceremonies from amongst the participants, seizing an ox by the horns, rivalry between sections, are all common features. The Kakonyuke ceremony must be performed before all others, and is attended by representatives of those sections who do not hold a ceremony of their own. There is, however, no information of representatives of the Kissongo attending this ceremony — in fact in South Masai the elders are extremely vague as to its meaning — but that the new age is formally inaugurated by *Embolosat* in Kenya is fully confirmed by the elders round Mondul.

The choosing of a laigwanan or spokesman for each age and each area normally takes place in the hiatus between the end of one circumcision and the commencement of the next, i.e. at the same time as the above ceremonies. The method of their choice and their presentation to the laibon are dealt with elsewhere. It is sufficient to say here that between one generation and the next there may be a gap of two or three years, so negotiations are not hurried; between the two ages of one generation the gap is probably less, but the ceremonies are likewise less important.

B. Junior Warriorhood. — circumcision — subdivisions of age — formation of Manyattas — relations between junior and senior warriors — promotion (Unoto).

As in the case of other ceremonies, it is not the details but the wider significance of the operation which claims our attention. The first most important point is that circumcision is the visible sign of admittance to full membership of the tribe, and that anyone desirous of becoming a "Masai" must be operated upon. After admittance there are many ceremonies of promotion but it is not essential that every member of the tribe should attend; it is essential, however, that he should be circumcised. Prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to. Further, the moran, whose perquisite the mature girls are, deny the youths' access to their girls. Consequently circumcision and its attendant ceremonies admit the youths to a full sex life.

Hollis states that circumcision usually takes place between the ages of 13 and 17, though orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty. My own observations would indicate that 16 or 17 is the lower limit, except in the case of youths whose fathers have died, who want to be in a position to inherit. The existence of this latter custom, circumcision to permit inheritance, is a good example of the meaning of the ceremony. If it has not been performed, the youth whose father dies cannot inherit; the cattle, wives, etc., must all be taken over by a paternal uncle as guardian pending the circumcision of the eldest male child. But if permission can be obtained for his circumcision a youth of ten or twelve can assume control of a boma, to the exclusion of all other relatives. In other words, as stated above, circumcision is the mark of full membership of the tribe.

When the initiation of a new age has been sanctioned circumcision takes place singly or in groups of two or three in the father's boma. The ceremony is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty amongst the Masai, and is suspended during the dry season. Four successive years are taken up with the circumcision of an age, and it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation. They are, for the first batch, *il Changen opirr* or *il Kiperen*, followed by *il Paringótwalung*, *il Kirimbot* and finally *il Tareto*. The above refers to a right hand age; a left hand age, being fewer in number, possesses only the three last-mentioned divisions.

When all of one age have been circumcised they divide themselves into companies (*isirit*) each of which forms a warrior village or barracks (*emanyatta*). In Tanganyika the manyattas are usually formed on a territorial or sectional basis, e.g. Engasumet, Olmolog, Mferegi (areas) or Selei, Purku, etc. (sections), though Whitehouse describes a ceremony whereby the warriors, presumably of one area, divide themselves up, frequently on a clan basis.

When the whole of one age has been circumcised, and the *endungore* ceremony performed, the members of the completed age feel it is about time to claim some privileges from the prior age. Whether the age immediately above is of the same or a different generation does not appear to affect the rule that these privileges are only granted when the senior age begins to doubt its capacity to retain them by force. The chief privileges are (a) the marking on the shield known as *oseret onyuki* (most important), (b) the spear handle of black wood called *enjata narok*, and (c) the right to hold a dance without seeking permission from the senior moran.

No formal demand is made. The juniors will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will be promptly beaten up and retract. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the *Unoto* ceremony.

In the first few years subsequent to circumcision, the new moran have been kept in a position of subjection by the moran of the preceding age or generation. But these latter have now handed over the marks of seniority and entered into elderhood through the *ngeherr* ceremony. What does this change of status mean to the moran concerned?

Fundamentally it means that having shown their worth in the fights for the coveted insignia, the junior moran are now deemed capable of guarding the country. Their seniors can retire to the more peaceful occupations of marriage and animal husbandry, in the knowledge that their juniors are worthy successors. But their period of junior service has done more than make them efficient warriors; it has moulded them in ways which are to-day more important than the purely military aspect. Both as individuals and as a group they have been taught respect for authority. If as individuals they are found associating with the mature girls who are the perquisite of the seniors, they are beaten; if as individuals they quarrel with a member of the senior grade, the wrath of the whole of that age falls upon them. An example of this is the case of a Merisho of Kibaya who at Kibaya quarrelled with a Kisale of Makami. The Kibaya Kisale promptly gave the Merisho a good beating. A few days later, having got news of the quarrel, a party of Makami Kisale appeared on the scene to beat the Merisho. But having heard that the Kibaya Kisale had done the job for them they went home forthwith.

The ceremony of promotion from junior to senior warriorhood, called *eunoto*, is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age grade system. Hollis, Merker and Storrs Fox all regard it as the step between warriorhood and eldership, and only Leakey and Hemsted (the latter somewhat vaguely) regard it as a ceremony of promotion.

It is performed by sections or groups of sections. The Kissongo traditionally perform the ceremony at Mugulat near Musa, i.e. on the eastern slopes of Mondul mountain, actually in the Arusha district. As many as possible of the age attend, but by no means all. The Arusha tribe

also by tradition join in the Kisongo ceremony. The Laitayok of Loliondo are believed to perform the ceremony by themselves. The Loita and Purku of that area do not apparently attend the ceremony performed by the remainder of those sections living in Kenya. They are sent a bit of the hide of the ceremonially slaughtered ox, and certain charms, and hold what one might call a "sub-ceremony" of their own.

Not all members of the age attend; some are doubtless detained by family matters; others are perhaps deterred by a magical test designed to discover whether they have had intercourse with a married woman. However, a very large number do attend and perform various ceremonies. They compete in seizing an ox by the horns, ceremonial fire is kindled; pigtails are cut off but are subsequently grown again, the *launon* or *olotuno*, the ceremonial and spiritual head of the age, is chosen and installed. (The details of the ceremonial are described by Whitehouse under the term "fire drilling ceremony", which must in fact be the unoto; the exact procedure is however unimportant). The change in status which the ceremony gives is discussed earlier in this chapter.

C. Senior Warriorhood and the passage to elderhood — the Ngeherr ceremony — economic status of Warriors — elderhood — the distribution of population between the ages — advantages and disadvantages of the system.

It is obvious from the chart that the right hand age of any generation must go through a longer period of senior warriorhood than the left hand age. That moran may not marry is a rule so frequently repeated that one is almost compelled to believe that in pre-European times they did not marry. But there are many indications to the contrary. Aged informants will sometimes admit that they were married whilst still moran, though they often did not set up house on their own, but left the wife with her mother or mother-in-law. Again there is a special ceremony by which a moran is permitted to drink the milk from his wife's cattle. He brews beer for his age mates, calls them to his house and receives the necessary permission and blessing. This does not, however, permit him to drink milk by himself; this must always be done in company with his age mates until such time as all go through the ngeherr ceremony. It is improbable that this ceremony is of recent origin; one therefore feels justified in concluding that towards the end of the period of senior warriorhood the moran were beginning to marry and settle down.

The final step between warrior- and elder-hood is taken at the *olngeherr* or *olngesher* ceremony. Just as the Kakonyuke ceremony of *embolosat* starts off the age for the whole tribe, it appears that the Kisongo *ngeherr* closes it throughout Masailand. It is traditionally held at Oldonyo loo 'Imoruak (the hill of the Elders), Upper Sanya, Moshi District. Here again details are only of interest in so far as they show the purpose of the ceremony. Pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, showing entrance to elderhood. A single official, *ol-loo-surutya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation, thus symbolising the union of the two ages which have up to now been independent, each with its own *launon* or ceremonial leader.



SENIOR MORAN — blowing Kudu horn.



NEWLY CIRCUMCISED YOUTH.

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned.

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal boma; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters.

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in *ol pul*, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed.

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent.

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the *ngeherr* ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

moran, acting as their guardians and instructors. But after the period devoted to family matters the newly made elders also start thinking about their protégés. Thus, at the moment, the Dwati are responsible for both ages of moran, Kisale and Merisho, yet the Dareto are already engaged in the preliminary ceremonies, *endungore* and *engibata*, of the future moran. This means that under the age grade system, two generations of elders are responsible for two generations of moran for a short time (note overlap on chart). But the elders who shoulder most political responsibility are the *il piron* or guardians of the main body of moran. The matter is by no means clear, but there exist vestiges of a ceremony now practised in conjunction with fertility rites, etc., whereby the senior elders retire and hand over the government to the junior elders.

So it should once more be stressed that after his service as a warrior a Masai does not settle into a dead level of elderhood. The different generations keep themselves aloof in such matters as deputations to the Laibon (though at times they combine) and in the meetings preceding and ceremonies following such deputations. A modern tendency to be noted is that when camped at cattle auctions each generation will cook and eat by itself. It is natural that men of equal age should associate, but the age grade system provides a clear-cut means of providing for this.

The following table, compiled in 1939, gives some examples of the distribution of population amongst the then existing age-grade generations. It is probable that there were a few more Nyangusi and Laimer than the table indicates, but that they had been exempt and omitted from the tax-registers which were used as the basis of enquiry.

Distribution of Population by Generations.

	Kibaya.	Samatwa.	Engasumet.	Longido.	Total.
Nyangusi	1	—	—	—	1
Laimer	2	1	—	1	4
Dalala	14	12	8	23	57
Dwati	58	52	23	26	159
Dareto	49	69	38	62	218
Total Elders	124	134	69	112	439
Kisale	82	123	55	200	460
Merisho	41	36	11	34	122
Total Moran	123	159	66	234	582
Grand Total	247	293	135	346	1021
% Moran to Total	49.9	54.3	48.9	67.6	57.0

The two most striking facts that emerge from this table are that more than half the adult male population were at the time moran, and that the Merisho or left hand age formed only a quarter of the moran population.

The basic function of the age grade system is doubtless military, and now that the necessity for maintaining a standing army has been removed it might be thought that the early demise of the system is an object to be desired and encouraged. True, modern conditions make

many of its features undesirable. The body of young men is largely relieved of economic duties and might be more fully and profitably employed for the benefit of the tribe and the community in general. Further, the process whereby the juniors have to fight the seniors for promotion is wholly bad. Again, the disparity of age between husband and wife is a direct result of the system; a large proportion of unmarried men leads to restlessness on their part; a large number of discontented wives leads to infidelity (even within the wide bounds of the Masai system) on theirs. Thus there is a constant threat to family stability.

But the system possesses many features of value, which are worthy of retention. It teaches discipline, manners and respect for one's seniors, the passing of which the elders of so many Bantu tribes deplore. Earlier circumcision, which would be one of the first results of any breakdown of the system, would shorten the period now devoted to herding, with consequent upset of the economic system. It would also mean that a full sex life could, with traditional approval, be practised earlier, with consequent detriment to the social organisation. Again, abstinence from tobacco and intoxicants during warriorhood are doubtless advantageous. Finally, the all embracing nature of the institution was stressed at the beginning of this chapter and was illustrated throughout. Its abandonment would, therefore, remove one of the main interests of a Masai's life, remove one of his chief topics of conversation and, unless replaced by an equal interest, lead to reduced vitality in the tribe generally.

What is required, therefore, is obviously adaptation of the system to modern conditions. The most pressing need is fuller occupation for the moran, to replace their previous military exploits. Many ideas, ranging from organised games to road work, have been and are being discussed and tried out with varying success. An alternative or complementary solution lies in shortening the period of warriorhood. This should not be done by later circumcision but by earlier standing down. If each age performed a ngeherr (or retirement) ceremony immediately after their unoto (or promotion) ceremony, they would have served as moran for a period sufficient — perhaps more than sufficient — to gain all the advantages which the age-grade system gives. Such a course would do away with the right and left hand ages in each generation. Each age would be a generation in itself, thus reducing the incidence of inter-age disputes. It would also mean that all moran would serve for an equal period and not involve the right hand age in 15 or more years' service. The Masai *can* adapt their organisation when conditions demand. For instance the right and left hand ages of the Dalala generation performed separate ngeherr ceremonies. The Dwati and Daretu generations were composed of right hand ages only. If such changes were possible in the past, they can and must be made at present, since the necessity for adaptation is even more imperative.

But retirement to elderhood involves more than the ritual act now practised at the ngeherr ceremony. It means a complete change of outlook brought about by the assumption of responsibility in family and economic matters. In other words it involves a psychological rather than a ceremonial

change. To assume elderhood a Masai must have a wife or wives, and cattle. But the majority of both of these are at present under the control of the elders. How this has come about is recorded in the later section on Clan and Family matters.

The root difficulty is that neither party, the moran nor the elders desire any change; the former are perfectly happy to be in a more or less irresponsible state, the latter naturally unwilling to give up their matrimonial and economic privileges. But there is little doubt that this difficulty can in course of time be overcome, both by constant propaganda and also by economic methods. Thus, if the principle is accepted of using taxation to achieve desirable social ends, a cattle tax might be adapted to ensure a more even distribution of stock among adult males. If such a tax were so graduated that, say, 400 head in a single herd would be taxed at four times the rate applicable when divided into two herds, direct encouragement could be given to an elder to allow his sons to depart with their cattle and to the sons to take over that control, to marry and settle down.

Many other methods of tackling the problem may be devised, but whatever the means there is no doubt that the adaptation of the age grade system is the most urgent administrative problem and the key to political development, increased family stability, improved treatment of women and economic progress.

SECTION IV: TRIBAL OFFICIALS.

A. The Laigwanan and his Assistants — choice of Laigwanak — visits to the Laibon — installation — unpopularity of office — the head Laigwanan — relations between officials.

The following are brief definitions of the Masai terms involved:—

ol aigwanani, pl. *il aigwanak*. Hollis translates this word as 'counsellor or spokesman.' It is a generic term, and specific appointments bear their own designation, i.e.

ol aigwanani loongishu pokin, literally, the laigwanan of all the cattle. The chief *lai gwanan* of the age.

ol aigwanani lol kuma orok; a duly appointed laigwanan, to whom a black club has been presented.

e murt ol aigwanani; literally, the "neck of the laigwanan," the laigwanan's right hand man, in whose absence no important decisions are taken.

engobiro, pl. *ingobir*; the leading men of a given age and area. They form an inner council for appointing or degrading the laigwanan, and for the conduct of important public business.

The officers of an age are not appointed simultaneously, nor do they immediately attain their full status. Some years prior to circumcision, the *il piron* elders, i.e. the guardians of the youths, start coaching the senior boys in citizenship, taking them to the laibon, making them sit at their meetings, etc. These senior boys are the *ingobir*, and it is their duty, under the guidance of the elders, to choose the laigwanan. At first a

laigwanan will be chosen for a large area, e.g. Naberera, including Engasumet and Ruvu. But later, as the number of recruits to the age increases, the *ingobir* of Engasumet and Ruvu will choose laigwanak of their own. These latter will, however, remain in a status of slight inferiority to the laigwanan first appointed. In their own areas they will be virtually independent, but at any communal gathering the senior appointment takes precedence.

This process of sub-division is important, as it not only gives a key to the really influential people, but also accounts for the fact that the areas of laigwanak vary from age to age. For instance, when the Dwati age was in process of formation, numbers were so few that in the whole of Tanganyika there were only three areas, Moibo, Kiteto and Engaruka. In the Dareto age, both the divisions and sub-divisions were more numerous, whilst the number of Kisale candidates justified even more appointments.

The visits to the laibon of the embryo laigwanak and ingobir appear to form a large part of their training. Even prior to the selection of a laigwanan, the leading youths are taken by the *il piron* elders, and the lengthy discussions which precede such visits must give the youths good practice in debate. Of these visits Whitehouse writes, "when the boys have elected their *laigwanan* the *il piron* elders take him, together with a few boys, to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him and prepares for him a special medicine called *ol oingonimykia* — the red bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe." It would thus seem, and my informants confirm, that the laibon has no power of veto over these appointments.

The official installation of the laigwanan may take place immediately after he is chosen, or it may be delayed. Thus in some cases it occurs before, and in others after, circumcision. An assembly is summoned for the ceremony; the *ingobir* of the moran and the *il piron* elders are the chief participants, but others drawn both from these and from the remaining ages are naturally present. A black club is prepared beforehand, which forms the centre of the ceremony. In some accounts a cow with a female calf at hoof is brought in, and its milk smeared on the right arm and on the club of the laigwanan, the divine blessing being invoked, and prayers offered that the new laigwanan may rule his people with strength and justice. Other accounts replace the milk with beer, and state that the milk need not be that of the mother of the calf, which incidentally the laigwanan keeps, but that it must be such-and-such a coloured cow. Again, others say that the club must be bound with green grass. The details are immaterial, but the ritualistic nature of the ceremony indicates that the office is regarded as one of permanency and importance.

The discussions preceding the choosing of a laigwanan never take place in the presence of possible candidates. For frequently they will refuse to undertake the work, and will run away if they know beforehand that they may be chosen. The chosen one may even throw down the

club — a gesture of resignation, — when it is presented to him, but is less likely to do so if taken by surprise.

The second favourite in the discussions usually becomes the *emurt* of the chosen laigwanan, but there is no definite appointment or installation ceremony.

It appears that there is no laigwanan of the whole age until all sections and areas meet together for the unoto ceremony. Here one man is singled out to be head laigwanan of the age in respect of all sections attending the ceremony. Thus at the time of writing Lesimbe is nominally the head of all the Kisale of Moibo, Kiteto, Laitokitok, Engaruka, Salei and Serenget sections. But except when all meet together, he carries little weight in any but his own section. He does not appear to keep in touch with his (nominal) subordinates in other sections, nor even with the leading laigwanak of the Moibo of other areas, — Mondul, Ngorongoro and Naberera — which are thus, in respect of the Kisale age, practically separate sections. Lesimbe claims, however, that a deputation from the Laitayok of Laitokitok came to consult him about their standing down, but he took no decision, and referred them to the *launon*, the ceremonial head of the age, at Mondul.

The relations between the senior laigwanan of an area and his juniors are only important when all are concerned in a common matter. In most affairs, once a sub-area has a laigwanan of its own, it acts as an independent unit. It will send its own deputation to the laibon, and perform its own local ceremonies. But when an occasion arises when the whole area acts in concert, e.g. payment of ngeherr cattle or assembly to greet a visiting laibon, the senior man takes precedence. But the relations between the laigwanan, his *emurt*, and the ingobir in any particular sub-area are much more close. The laigwanan should take no important decision except in the presence of his *emurt*, whose duty it is to prevent him from taking any rash step. The ingobir also play a large part in local politics; for it is their duty to depose an unsatisfactory laigwanan, or to choose a successor to one who has resigned. But there is no definite office of engobiro. As Whitehouse says "... they are those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates ..." For this reason they are not necessarily confined to the first batch of initiates in any age. For amongst those circumcised later, youths of ability and strength of character are bound to emerge who will be taken into the confidence of their seniors, and so come to rank as ingobir.

This process of strong characters emerging after the age has been formed continues during elderhood. In areas recently opened to settlement, as for instance Longido, elders will emerge as leaders who are in effect laigwanak or ingobir, though lacking the title. It appears that once a laigwanan has reached elderhood he cannot thereafter be deposed. But a forceful character who is desirous of undertaking the work may in effect deprive the laigwanan of his position, and the Masai are, in fact, glad to accept anyone who is willing to undertake by no means always popular duties.

B. The duties of Laigwanak — in theory — and in practice — influence in raids and war — position in regard to individual disputes.

One method of discovering the duties of the laigwanak is to ask them what *they* regard as their task. This method does not necessarily show what they actually do in practice, but it gives a very good idea of their own conception of the office. Placed by different informants in different orders, the following list represents the majority of the answers given :—

- (a) To collect cattle for, and organise deputations to the laibon.
- (b) To represent their age in disputes with other ages, and to prevent such disputes from developing into fights.
- (c) To lead their people in war, or now-a-days, to prevent them going on raids, (probably a sop to the questioner).
- (d) To settle individual cases — payment of debt, compensation, blood-money, etc.

One old gentleman, whose duties as laigwanan take him from his boma perhaps once or twice a year, imagined himself so over-worked that he described a laigwanan's duties as being like those of a houseboy !

The above are specific duties, but what may be called the guiding principles were best summed up by the Kisale laigwanan of Losogonoi — "a laigwanan does not like to see a poor man robbed by a rich, or an old man oppressed by a young one."

But how far are these principles lived up to in practice ? How are the above duties fulfilled ? The organisation of deputations to the laibon, if informants are to be believed, fell in the old days mainly on the laigwanan of moran, as when he went to get charms for war, or to take the laibon his share of raided stock. But now-a-days this duty falls on all ages except the very senior, i.e. from Dalala upwards. If one age, say Dareto, thinks it good to send a deputation to the laibon in conjunction with the other ages, the Dareto laigwanan will call the Kisale and Dwati laigwanak and ingobir to a meeting. Here it will be decided how many cattle each will contribute, and when the deputation will depart. Thereupon the leaders of each age call a separate meeting, and decide who shall go to the laibon, and who shall contribute cattle. It is the meeting and not the laigwanan which decides these points, but the laigwanan, having obtained his position by virtue of his strength of character, probably has more say in the matter than the others. Considering that these cattle are often in the nature of fines, and that a journey to the Laibon at Mondul is frequently unpopular, it is a tribute to the Masai organisation that such meetings pass off peacefully. No instance is on record of a single dispute coming to official notice arising from such cause. The laigwanan does not necessarily escort the deputation, but quite frequently he does. On the return of the deputation a meeting is again held to hear a report of the laibon's message, and, if a local ceremony has been decreed, to make arrangements for holding it. In any given area it is improbable that a single year passes without the dispatch of a deputation, or the holding of a local ceremony. So, considering the time it takes a Masai meeting to reach a decision, these duties must occupy a considerable — but not inordinate — proportion of a laigwanan's time.

By the very nature of the Masai organisation, inter-age disputes are bound to crop up periodically (see Age-grades). In the 'Promotion' dispute between the Kisale and the Merisho of the Mondul area in 1939, the respective laigwanak played a considerable part, not only at their own meetings, but in reporting decisions to the District Office.

In the old days it was the duty of the laigwanan to assemble his people for war, and to settle the disputes which inevitably arose when the spoils were divided. But by custom he should not enter into the actual fight, but remain in the rear with a small body-guard. This is probably because the laigwanan wore the charm which had been obtained from the laibon, and its loss could not be risked. It is difficult to say what part the laigwanak play in what they regard as their present-day duty, namely the suppression of raiding. Very probably in respect of large-scale raiding they have considerable influence. If any area were openly considering a major raid, and the laigwanan agreed to it, many would join in against their better judgment; but if the laigwanan discouraged it, the project might well be dropped.

Generally speaking it is unusual for a laigwanan to interfere in an *individual dispute* without invitation. It appears to be the privilege of the aggrieved party to select his judges. He brews beer, perhaps slaughters an ox and calls in neighbouring elders, together with the defendant. If a local laigwanan has a reputation for fairness and justice, he will be called even from a distance, but proceedings are not invalidated if no laigwanan is present. If the defendant fails to turn up, the assembled elders will none the less discuss the case, and if the claimant's suit is well founded, they will tell him so. He in his turn will go and tell the defendant that the elders have given judgment in his (the claimant's) favour. This may be sufficient to induce the defendant to pay up, but as often as not he will refuse. The claimant may then muster his moran, and take his claim by force, in which case the defendant will call a meeting and claim the return of property wrongfully removed from his boma. And so the circle starts again. Or the matter may be allowed to drop, to be re-opened after a year or two, possibly on the appearance of some new witness.

To sum up the laigwanan's position in relation to the dispensation of justice, it cannot be said that he holds a formal position in the judicial system. He is sought as a judge by virtue of his qualities and not of his position. Nor is this aspect of his duties irksome, since a case means a social gathering, and attendant hospitality. The position is different of course in the case of laigwanak who are at the same time paid 'Native Authority' officials. When the assistance of such people is required, it has become customary to take the case to them in their own boma.

The above description is intended to convey some idea of how far the laigwanak do in practice fulfil the duties imposed on them. The duty of helping the poor and oppressed seems to be honoured in the breach. The deputations to the laibon appear to occupy the major portion of the time which a laigwanan devotes to public duty, but even here the time he spends is little more than that spent by the average elder of the area.

The organisation of these deputations is actually a magico-religious rather than a political duty — that is, from our point of view — to the Masai it is just one aspect of the general theme of ensuring peace and prosperity to the area.

It will also be noted that there are very few duties which might be called executive. The laigwanan does not enforce judgments, or visit bomas collecting cattle for the laibon — the matters are discussed in open baraza and the weight of public opinion compels the individual to act as required. When this fails there is nothing to take its place. This explains why the laigwanak often make unsatisfactory paid headmen. Frequently the action required of a headman has not got this necessary weight of public opinion behind it, and consequently there is no indigenous method of enforcing an order.

The relations between senior laigwanak and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale communal efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of moran got together for raids the senior laigwanak must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture. With decreased opportunities of asserting his position, it is natural that the power of the laigwanan should itself decrease.

Another tendency to be noted is the manner in which laigwanak move from their areas, more especially during elderhood. A senior laigwanan of the Kiteto lives at Naberera, one from Engare Nanyuki at Ngorongoro, another from Engaruka at Piaya, each at least a hundred miles away from the people they are supposed to lead. This is only another aspect of the break-up of the sections previously recorded, but it does illustrate the loss of old loyalties.

C. Other officials — the launon — magico-religious position — his duties — the ol buro engene — the losurutya.

At the unoto, or promotion ceremony, there is chosen an official known as the Launon, — *ol aunoni* pl. *il aunok*, — or Olotuno. He is acknowledged by all the sections which attend the unoto, as their ceremonial or religious head. The position is not popular, so the candidate has to be installed by compulsion. After appointment the launon takes on the mode of living of an elder, being given a wife and cattle by his age-set.

The duties of the position are obscure, but as far as is known the launon appears to be a sort of scape-goat for the age. If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age. But his adversity will indicate the age's prosperity.

He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the moran, standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the launon as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age.

But the launon is held in great respect by his age-mates, and any demands that he makes on them must be fulfilled. It is stated that he is the only official whose order must be obeyed. In discussing this with an elder, I pointed out that this should give the office great political importance, in reply to which the elder indicated that such did not necessarily follow, as "we can always tell the launon what order to give!"

Hollis states that the launon is responsible to the laibon for the appearance of the moran in case of war; this may well have been so in the old days, for it is generally admitted to-day that he is responsible for the smart turn-out of the moran. Thus unless in cases of sickness or mourning, a moran is not supposed to cut off his pig-tail without the launon's permission. It is alleged, however, that the office is losing its status and authority, for whereas the Dareto age launon is supposed to have gone on frequent 'tours of inspection' and to have inflicted many fines, nowadays many Kisale shave their heads without consulting their launon.

During elderhood, by virtue of his previous position, the launon is still held in respect, though no specific duties seem to attach to him. He may perhaps play some part at the unoto and ngeherr ceremonies of the age next-but-one- below, by virtue of the ol piron relationship.

Another official chosen at the unoto is called *ol buro engene*, who splits the skin of the ceremonially slaughtered ox. He is given four or five cattle as a fee, and in after life is held in respect, but appears to have no duties.

At the ngeherr ceremony, an official, the *Losorutya*, is chosen in respect of the whole generation, whose position corresponds to that of the launon at the unoto. As there is only one ngeherr ceremony for all sections of the Masai, so there is only one *losurutya*. No duties, but considerable respect, appear to attach to the office in after life.

CLAN ORGANIZATION CHART.

GROUPS	CLANS	SUB-CLANS
Endaloshi	Englishome	Olgilata
	<i>I. Engaje Masai.</i>	
LAISER or L'OOROKITENG (right hand)	LAISER	Engidong Parkinet Parsingo Engaje-Nanuki or L'oodo-gishu Partimaroi Parsa Buko
	LUGHUMAI	Sitayo Keri-ngishu

MOLELIAN or L'OODOMONGI (left hand)	MOLELIAN	- Masangwa - Moingo - L'oorok-kishu - Parserengo - Mukulere - Parsindei - Kivuyuni
	TAROSERO	- Nanaapowaru - Lais
	MOKASEN	- Loiger - Kiveron - Pirda
	MAMASITA	- Munai - Jagei - Kuyuni - Paralangat - Maravashi

II. Il Mingana. (*Laitayok*)

LAITAYOK (attached to right hand)	LAITAYOK	- Sesoikineji - Kisikon - Parsais - Paramangi - Makuperia - Lema - Mosejwa - Pojos - Mohono
	MARUMAI	- Parsele - Maraani - Leberet

Square brackets indicate exogamous groups; when not shown, sub-clans may inter-marry.

SECTION V. CLAN AND FAMILY MATTERS.

A. Clans — the clan chart — ownership of waters — areas peculiar to certain clans — clan responsibility.

The chart reproduced above explains the system more clearly than a lengthy description, but a few explanatory notes are necessary. The true Masai, i.e. those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda, divide themselves into two main groups (*indaloishin*, sing. *endaloshi*), the Laiser or Loorokiteng (black bullock) who are regarded as the right hand of the tribe, and the Molelian or Loodomongi (blood-red bull), the left hand.

These main groups are in turn divided into clans and sub-clans, called on the chart *engishome* and *olgilata* respectively. Some informants however reverse the terms. The clans are patrilineal, i.e. a child takes the father's clan. They are also exogamous, i.e. a man may not marry

a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occurs certain payments called *enganyit* are made.

The true status of the Laitayok is discussed elsewhere (Sect. 1) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Masai clans.

One of the most important aspect of the clan system lies in the ownership of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country was conquered, each moran, so far as he was able, claimed a water on behalf of his clan. Thus all the Naberera and other Central Masai wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Losogonoi, Kibaya, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is in control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determines the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Masai may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A moran claimed this privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water reached one decision in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, when waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

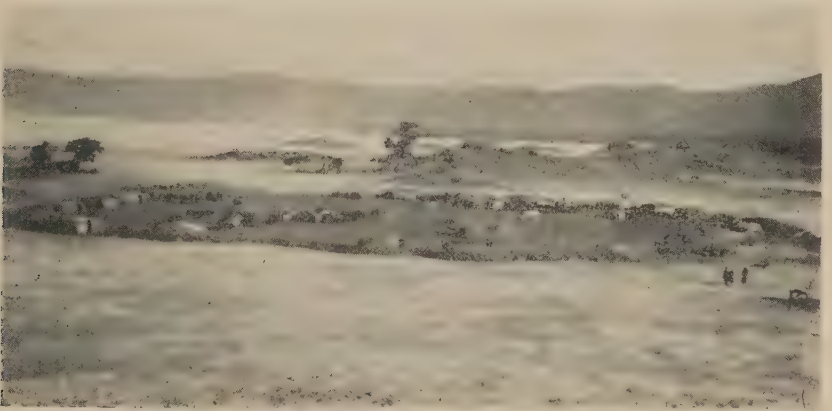
The value of these tribunals should not be overstressed, since in many cases waters are not in clan ownership; where water is abundant, as in a river or furrow, the water is communal, (*engare loongishu*): in other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Laitokitok in Kenya the Molelian and Laitayok have separate manyattas, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Loliondo it was found to be of great political advantage when the Laitayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Laitayok at Engasumet, where this clan forms two-thirds of the total population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle taken by deputations to the laibon — himself an Engidong — but may add a present of their own. When blood-money is paid, it is less when the



**A PROMINENT LAIGWANAN AND TWO OF HIS WIVES,
Oltimbau ole Mesiaya of Ngorongoro area.**



**LAIGWANAN OLTIMBAU'S 'BOMA'
showing grouping of huts and cattle by 'gates'.**

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans.

B. Family matters — the boma system — the 'gates' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — economic.

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, *engishome*, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries, he places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *engishu e boo*. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *indaloishin*, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the manyatta, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in meat-camps in the bush (*ol pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has reached senility.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the

number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gate with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased brothers' wives are frequently included; and nowadays married warriors are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gate' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Masai elder attempts to main a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Masai, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the moran, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Masai; within the age-set the wives are communal to all age-mates, and an age-mate known to be the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is nominally prohibited, but its extensive practice is acknowledged by the Masai, and in fact receives general connivance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. Not that the actual dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor moran. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

The extent to which polygyny is practised can be judged from the following table :—

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	<i>Kibaya</i>		<i>Samatwa</i>		<i>Engasumet</i>		<i>Longido</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	102	—	135	—	53	—	151	—	441	—
One wife	65	65	82	82	50	50	134	134	331	331
Two wives	46	92	46	92	15	30	46	92	153	306
Three wives	13	39	12	36	11	33	10	30	46	138
Four wives	8	32	6	24	5	20	1	4	20	80
Five wives	1	5	2	10	1	5	—	—	4	20
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	25	4	25
Total polygamists	68	—	66	—	32	—	61	—	227	—
Total of men and women	235	233	283	244	135	138	346	285	999	900

These figures were obtained by reading through tax registers to groups of elders, who supplied the information. The number of wives showing in the registers were not revealed to them, and it was noted that in many cases the numbers given by the elders exceeded those recorded in the books.

The percentages to be drawn from this table are of special interest when compared with another tribe. For this reason they are tabulated below, in conjunction with those of the Hehe, figures from Brown and Hutt's 'Anthropology in Action', page 107.

Marriage Statistics.

	MASAI	HEHE	
Unmarried men	42.2%	25.3%	) of adult male population.
Men with one wife	33.1%	46.4%	
Men with two or more wives	22.7%	28.3%	
Wives for every 100 married men	161	153	

Two points of interest arise from these figures. The first is the much larger proportion of unmarried men amongst the Masai. These fall mainly in the warrior class, as the following table shows:—

Marriage of Moran.

	Kibaya	Samatwa	Engas- umet	Longido	Total
Total moran	123	159	66	234	582
Total married moran	17	23	20	85	145
Percentage married	13.8%	14.5%	30.3%	36.3%	28.0%

The other interesting point is that one would expect both the percentage of polygamous marriages to total marriages, and the number of married women per 100 men to be much higher in the case of the Masai than the figures actually reveal. The reason for this lies in the number of dependent women not classified by the Masai as wives. The first table shows that for 999 adult males there are only 900 wives; but census figures show a preponderance of females over males, and the 999 males probably represent at least 1,200 adult females, the balance being made up by mothers (with husbands still alive) living with their moran sons, deceased brothers' wives with male issue, (not therefore taken to wife), etc.

In one area the distribution of the women (wives only) amongst the ages was worked out; it was found that there were approximately 2 wives to every Dwati, 1.5 to every Dareto and 0.3 only to every Kisale.

Although it was found that on an average each gate pays only four taxes, the probability is that there are usually more than four huts to a gate, for those moran who pay tax but do not possess a hut are thought to be more than offset by those women who do possess a hut yet pay no tax. The number of cattle to each gate were examined in the Longido area, with the results shown in the table below:—

Cattle per Gate.			
Number of cattle.		Gates.	Percentage.
Under 50	—	52	10.1%
50 — 100	—	92	17.9%
101 — 200	—	193	37.5%
201 — 300	—	115	22.4%
301 — 400	—	34	6.8%
401 — 500	—	11	2.1%
501 — 600	—	9	1.7%
601 — 700	—	3	1.5%
701 — 800	—	2	
801 — 900	—	1	
901 — 1000	—	1	
Over 1000	—	1	
Total		514	

As 156,966 cattle were owned by these 514 gates it follows that the average number per gate is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd; if a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will transfer cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact, almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage does. This latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections; for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the moran are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullocks for meat-feasts, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Masai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

Another point of considerable importance in Masai family affairs is the adoption of children, frequently practised both in respect of Masai

* The mean number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 200 or between 25 and 50 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

and alien children; the latter frequently come to be regarded as tribesmen by this process.

First of all a Masai adopts any child born to his wife by anyone other than himself, including those born prior to marriage: in fact a betrothed girl is frequently left in her father's boma until she bears a child. The child of one's own loins is called *oiunoto*, that of another *engera oilaitalak*. No distinction is made between the two, and the latter term is generally used playfully.

If a man has one wife with a number of children, and another who is barren, when the former gives birth to another child, there is a ceremony by which the latter may adopt this child. The adopting mother sits on the after-birth, and pays to the true mother a cow and calf called *nongeya*. She takes over the child as her own, and it is asserted that by stimulation of the breasts and special food, lactation can be artificially induced, even when the foster-mother has never given birth. The fact that a woman has adopted a child in this manner is seldom referred to afterwards — the child is regarded as though she herself had given birth to it.

In the olden days children were frequently captured in war and adopted into the tribe: such a child is referred to as *ol arnoti lembere*. It was, and still is, not uncommon for a Masai to adopt an alien's child; at times this will occur when the Masai marries the alien's daughter and adopts a younger son; or in time of famine amongst aliens, the Masai may find an abandoned child, or be given one to look after; or he may give some cattle to the alien for the privilege of adopting the child. The use of the word 'purchase' has been deliberately avoided, for neither party looks on the transaction in this light. A son acquired in this manner is called *atabarno*. These last two categories of adoptee can inherit the cattle of their foster-mother's house, whilst their children can inherit the 'gate' like any other Masai.

A peculiar custom of adoption exists amongst the Engidong or laibon's clan. Any Masai, child or adult, can attach himself to a member of the clan, and such person must treat him as a son, giving him cattle, and arranging his circumcision and/or marriage. Such a person is called *ol onito*, as also are the numerous Kikuyu received into the clan. The relationship is terminable at will, the adoptee shaving and departing, but leaving behind everything that he has been given. Though theoretically applicable to the whole clan, such adoptions usually only take place in the laibon's immediate family.

These notes on adoption are by no means full: they may, however, be sufficient to emphasise that it is a mistake to regard the Masai as being racially pure. If they come in time to accept new ideas as readily as they accept new blood, their rapid advancement would be assured.

It is important for a number of reasons to know who holds the purse-strings in a Masai family group, but it is a question to which no definite answer can be given. Rules, where they exist, are seldom followed — in such intimate family matters it is personality that counts.

The cattle which have been allocated to a woman in trust for her children are nominally in her control. The elder looks after the animal

husbandry side, deciding which beasts shall be castrated, etc. He may also take bullocks and exchange them for heifers, or sell them at auctions and buy heifers. He is however expected to use his own reserve (*ongishu le boo*) for tax payments, and if he uses his wife's bullock he should later replace it with a heifer. When however the son takes over responsibility for his mother, the tax payable on their hut will be met by a bullock from the mother's herd.

When relations come to beg cattle, if they are clansmen of the husband, he should try to find cattle for them out of his own reserve, but may beg on their behalf from his wives. If a relation of one of his wives comes begging, the request should be met from that wife's herd, but the elder may also help from his own cattle. But wife B is not expected to assist the relations of wife A, and would in fact be very insulted if asked.

In the matter of milk and beer, the wife is in control. The husband should not go into the partitioned-off, private bed-chamber of the wife, where such drinks are kept. If the wife says the milk or beer is finished, the husband should accept her word, but if it is obviously untrue, he will at times look for himself. If he finds any, the wife is in the wrong; if he does not, he himself is: so in either case a quarrel starts.

Concerning cash realised by the sale of bullocks, the husband will grudgingly give it out to his wives for purchase of beads, wire, etc., but one sees no great display of generosity at auctions. When a man pays another's tax — the most frequent occasion on which one sees cash changing hands — the matter is always remembered and set off later, even in the case of a son.

Though these notes are only superficial, certain aspects of them must be regarded as important. In some cases the wives doubtless follow the advice of their husbands concerning the sale of stock but they do possess rights of their own, on which — if strong-minded — they can insist. Thus if, for example, stock limitation were made compulsory, many an elder would be placed in an awkward position; if he refused to cull his stock, he would be prosecuted, if he arbitrarily sold his wives' beasts, he would have to face their wrath.

The introduction of economic schemes should, therefore, be preceded by consideration of their social aspects, so that the co-operation of the right person can be enlisted. It has been mentioned for instance that the women have complete control of the distribution of milk; it would appear, therefore, that the women should be consulted and agree to the establishment of any creamery or ghee manufacturing project, and that they should also directly enjoy its profits.

CONCLUSION.

In place of the administrative proposals with which this paper originally concluded, perhaps the writer may be permitted to substitute a few general reflections. These are based on 17 years' experience of purely District Administration in country ranging from the most unspoilt to the most heavily eroded, from the thickest of fly bush to the broadest

of plains, with inhabitants ranging from the purest of Bantu, through various Hamitic strains to the Nilo-Hamitic Masai.

Lest my interest in and affection for the Masai may label me in the minds of my readers as an exponent of the theory that the so-called unspoilt primitive tribes should be preserved as museum specimens, I would here state my belief that, for survival, any culture must adapt itself to its environment : and environment includes not only the physical, but the political, social and economic forces with which such culture finds itself in contact.

There are numerous features in the Masai mode of life which, relative to these external forces, can only be regarded as undesirable. On the physical side one frequently hears cited the unhygienic state of life in the bomas and the high incidence of venereal disease brought about, it is alleged, by the social system. But is life any more hygienic in the slums of great cities in Europe and America ?

On the political side there is much talk of broadening the basis of Native Administrations, of greater democratic representation in the local government machine. How do the Masai compare with their neighbours to this respect ? It has been written of Kenya — and within my knowledge it applies to certain areas of Tanganyika, — that "In districts where hereditary chiefs were unknown the Government-appointed chief or the chief elected without secret ballot from a short list of men presented to the people, very often now possesses wealth, lands and power." But this is obviously no new tendency in African social development : it is significant that in two cases the word for "Chief" in one dialect of a language group means "rich man" in a neighbouring dialect. (*ol-karsis* in Masai means a rich man, in Arusha, a chief : *msungati* in Irangi means a rich man, in Mbugwe a chief). This political nest-feathering is, however, a tendency not to be found in Masailand; the laibons by their magico-religious position have waxed and grown fat on the gifts of their followers, but the chosen representatives of the people, the laigwanak, never. Once a departure was made from the original misconception that the laibon was a type of chief, the Native Administration of the Masai was set on a truly broad-based democratic foundation of African, not European, conception. Of how many neighbouring tribes can the same be said ?

On the economic side the Masai are frequently alleged to maintain large herds of useless cattle, but to one who has watched the process develop over the last 14 years, the growth of the livestock marketing system and the conception of the economic value of cattle is not the least remarkable feature of Masai development. Is this conception growing at an equal rate amongst neighbouring tribes ? Over the last decade has any African tribe exported a greater number of cattle than the Masai, without at the same time exporting the stored fertility of its land ?

It is fair criticism of Masai pastoralism that much forest has been burnt out and many waters trampled. But the well-managed grass land which replaced the forest at least preserves soil stability, as contrasted with forest cut by agricultural tribes who expose the soil to erosion; and the trampled out waters can be restored by suitable conservation

measures, as contrasted with the devastation which agricultural misuse has caused the drainage systems in the Mbulu, Irangi and Uluguru Highlands; devastation which only vast expenditure or decades of natural healing will restore.

So, with all its faults, the Masai social and economic system does at least preserve a tradition of open range animal husbandry which may prove most useful if large areas are cleared for ranching by new insecticides or in rotation or conjunction with major agricultural projects such as the Groundnut Scheme.

It has been pertinently stated that the two great evils from which Africa is suffering are Soil erosion and Soul erosion. Concerning the former the Masai must incontrovertibly be classed amongst the lesser offenders: what is their position in relation to the latter?

If by soul erosion is meant a deterioration in obedience to existing moral standards, a falling off in observance of organised religion, a lack of purpose in life, then the Masai are amongst the least affected of peoples. Ever since their original contact with Europeans, more than half a century ago, they have as a people most courteously defined their attitude, more by deeds than words, that they are satisfied with their mode of life and intend to adhere to it. Certain adaptations and concessions they have made but only after critical examination and slow absorption, not by unreasonable apeing.

The above points provide an answer to those who maintain, either in despair or in anticipation of acquiring the vacated land, that the Masai are doomed. True, adaptations must be made; undesirable features must be weeded out; some territorial adjustments must be made; but let not the land-hungry expect to be handed well-watered, 'fly-free' land — there is a sufficiency of tsetse-infested bush in Masailand awaiting utilisation to provide all the land needed for many a decade.

Thus a critical comparative examination shews that there is too much of value in the Masai mode of life for any right-thinking person to regard with equanimity its extinction: it sets a standard of democratic representation, of social behaviour and of land usage, without which East Africa would be immeasurably the poorer.

Water in Masailand

By F. H. Page-Jones

I.

The title of this article is something of a misnomer and might be more accurately written "Lack of Water in Masailand." It is proposed to give a short account of general physical conditions in Tanganyika Masailand, of natural waters existing and of works carried out over the period 1920 to 1944; with some notes on indigenous water law and some personal reminiscences. The account is not entirely up to date as regards water works in that the author left Masailand in 1944 and has not been in touch with developments since then.

The Masai district is 23,000 square miles in area; from Kibaya in the south to Loliondo in the north is a distance of no less than 500 miles. The human population is about 50,000 and the cattle population, fluctuating considerably following disease and drought, somewhere between half a million and 700,000. To the Masai therefore water is a problem of stock rather than a domestic one.

A tribe small in numbers occupies a vast area of land, startling in contrast with the heavily populated Arusha and Moshi districts which, with their mountains of Meru and Kilimanjaro, are in fact islands in it. More startling, perhaps, is the comparison between these latter beautifully watered and fertile areas and the arid and unfertile mass of much of Masailand, which, despite its size, is at present frequently found insufficient for tribal needs.

The Masai ranch their cattle, placing their **bomas** approximately five miles from their water supplies. The cattle drink every other day, grazing quietly on the way to water and back on the first day, outwards about five miles and back again without drinking on the second day, again to water on the third day, and so on. The effective grazing area round any water is thus a circle of about ten miles radius. In the dry season the grazing circles are round the permanent waters; in the rainy season temporary waters form and the Masai move out to these at once, leaving the grass around the permanent waters to rest and re-seed. If the rains are good they may stay out for several months, but in bad years a matter of weeks only; in the latter case an early return spells a too early use of permanent grazing, and starvation in some degree naturally follows.

Thus Masai economy as at present practised depends as much on the incidence of rainfall, which fills the temporary water holes and makes the grass grow, as on permanent water supplies whether natural or artificially created.

It is said that rain falls evenly throughout Masailand only once in seven years; and the writer's experience certainly tends to bear this out. Only one such year in eight is remembered. In all others one large area or another was always drought stricken: Kibaya, Makami, Loliondo, Longido, Kisongo, all suffered in turn, not unusually for periods of two years at a time, drought bringing difficulties both economic and political.

In a drought season cattle must be driven into fly bush, to take the choice between possible death from tsetse and certain death from starvation, or be crowded into better favoured areas where they can only be ill received as an added burden on grazing or on water. And when these areas happen to be in contiguous districts such as Moshi, Mpwapwa or Handeni, misunderstandings are not always easily resolved. There was one year in which the total annual rainfall over the Longido area of Masai was eight inches only, of which at least three fell in a single night: the result was that all grass cover disappeared, even on the mountains of Kitumbeine and Gelai, and the permanent waters could not be used. The banks of these waters were strewn with the bones of cattle which had delayed too long: but it was still not easy to persuade others of the reality of the disaster and that invasion of their areas was the result of rigid economic pressure.

One remedy for Masai difficulties sometimes suggested is a change from ranching to intensive farming, whereby land would be put to better use and less of it be required: and with better communications ready markets could be found for animal products, particularly milk. There is the obvious difficulty of changing the traditional habits of any peoples, whether pastoral or agricultural, but this apart, intensive farming demands permanent waters and sufficient grazing round them. Permanent waters can be created artificially, but grazing, in the absence of irrigation, not usually possible in Masailand, cannot: and grazing is thus dependent on rainfall which is, as shown, erratic. There are exceptions in certain mountain areas below the forest lines, e.g. on Mondul, Kitumbeine, or in the Loliondo division: but these higher and wetter areas are limited and their present useful function is that of a reserve against the time when grazing in the plains dries up.

Intensive mixed farming seems thus impossible for the majority of Masai: one might almost go further and say that these people have in fact achieved a balance with nature in which they put their land to as good a use as present conditions allow.

II.

The double problem in Masailand is thus the need for further permanent waters and regular rainfall. We have not yet got to the stage when we can sprinkle ice on the clouds from aircraft and control our rains: so all that can be done at present is to concentrate on the former, and try to put additional areas of grazing into use. There are three methods of tackling this, namely, by the improvement of present and provision of new waters; by the clearing of bush round permanent waters at present unusable for reasons of tsetse; and by the strict conservation of the remnants of forests on the mountains in northern Masailand.

Tsetse clearing and forest conservation can, unfortunately be dealt with in a few lines only. **Tsetse clearing** round existing waters has hitherto been carried out only on a small scale, as at the Terat waters in Simanjiro, mainly because the available manpower at any given place is always, in the sparsely populated Masai areas, insufficient. There are, however, a



MASAI MAIDEN.

—From a drawing by Dorothy Kingdon.

number of important waters at present lost to use through 'fly' and the modern tendency is to rely more on expensive clearing by machine. But a serious disadvantage of tsetse clearing in purely pastoral country, apart from its initial cost, is that subsequent grazing does not adequately keep down the regeneration of the bush.

Forests. The preservation of forests is a problem mainly in the north Kilimanjaro, Longido, Kisongo and Ngorongoro areas and in Loliondo. Apart from the gazetted Forest Reserves at Olmolog, Mondul and Ngorongoro, there are a number of other mountains — Gelai, Kitumbeine, Longido and the like — with forest caps essential for the water supplies they produce. There is a constant tendency for Masai to graze their cattle within the forests, for Warusha or Kikuyu cultivators to hack out small holdings for themselves within them, and for the firing of grass lands to destroy the forest perimeter. Clearly more reserves — Government or Native Authority — are needed. There are, however, very great physical difficulties in the matter of ground survey and it has been suggested that the best way to tackle the problem would be to take a series of aerial photographs on which the forest boundaries could first be marked; these could then be delineated on the ground. Once the boundaries were in, watch could be kept by the use of aircraft during the danger season: fires spotted from the air could be pin-pointed on the map and the necessary instructions sent out on return to base. The honey-hunter who fires his tree and abandons it still burning is practically impossible to trace: but some watch could at least be kept on careless firing on grazing grounds below the forest edge.

Improvements to existing water supplies and the creation of new waters. The natural water resources in the Masai district are comparatively few and easily described.

(i) **Rivers.** In all Masailand there is only one major river, namely the Ruvu, the boundary between the Northern and Tanga provinces, and there are only two or three minor streams; e.g. the Engaruka, emerging from the rift wall due west of Mondul, the Mto wa Mbu streams, also emerging from the wall at the village of that name, the Munge, running into the north side of the Ngorongoro crater, the Engare Sero, running into Lake Natron, a few miles north of the active volcano Oldonyo Lengai, and the Arash, rising in the eastern Serengeti hills. The Ruvu, of course, is an excellent water, but there is "fly" on the upper reaches and endemic East Coast Fever in the valley lower down. The Engaruka, the Munge and the Arash are good usable waters. The Mto wa Mbu streams are practically unusable through "fly" and the Engare Sero runs through volcanic country, of astonishing scenic value but destitute of grazing. There are also a number of mountain streams reaching the plains during the wet weather only, dependent on the volume of the rains for their strength and the distance they travel: e.g. on Kitumbeine, Longido, Mondul, Gelai, Lolkisale and Losogonoi mountains.

(ii) **Lakes.** There are three of considerable size, viz. Eyasi, Manyara and Natron; Eyasi is useful for stock but Manyara largely useless, owing to "fly", and Natron owing to high salinity. A fourth, Mbagai, lies at the

bottom of the Mbagai crater in the rift wall, and is a gem without price for the future tourist, but is almost impossible of access for cattle and highly saline.

(iii) There are a number of limestone well fields in southern Masailand constructed by pre-Masai tribes of whom no tradition remains. The wells go down to a maximum depth of sixty feet and were originally cylindrical with a diameter of three to four feet; ramps have been constructed to take cattle nearer to the water level, and water is raised by Masai moran standing on supports in the well holes one below the other and using leather buckets. No less than nine moran are needed at the wells at Londergess; other shallower fields occur at Naberera, Lengijabe, Ngasumet, Makami and Ndedo. All closely resemble, it is said, the wells at Wajir and other places in the Northern Frontier Province of Kenya. Good grazing is found round them all, but during the last few years the Makami field has been abandoned through "fly", now also, it is understood, tragically closing in on the very valuable wells at Naberera.

(iv) **Springs and wells.** The most important springs are found at Kibaya and Talamai in southern Masai and at Loliondo in northern Masai, and there are various, but not numerous, other wells to be found, always, however, at distances apart.

As stated, the list is short, particularly having regard to the vast area in which the waters are found. A traveller trekking north from Mpwapwa would leave the Lenjogi spring on the border in the dry season and find his first water of any size fifty miles away at Kibaya (a spring yielding nine thousand gallons daily). From Kibaya his next permanent water would be Makami, another forty miles or more on; thence to Lengijabe and Naberera thirty and ten miles respectively, Landenai twenty miles, and the Kikuletwa (Ruvu) river, thirty-five miles. From the Kikuletwa he could make for either the Arusha or Moshi districts according to his choice: twenty miles perhaps to each respective border, after which water is abundant.

The dire need for supplementary water supplies in Masailand has been recognised from the time the British Administration first took over this Territory, and the creation of artificial waters falls naturally into three periods. In the early period, from 1918 to 1924, three large works were completed in the Kisongo area near Arusha, then district headquarters. Major E. D. Browne was responsible for the cleaning of the Engare Olmotonyi furrow, south from Arusha into Lolera, and the cutting of a new seventeen miles long furrow to the north of Meru from the Ngare-Nanyuki river. The latter, dug by R. N. Pretorius of Oldonyo Sambu, was unsurveyed, but remarkably successful: it later fell into disuse and was cleared again by Pretorius in about 1934. Extended by a further three miles a year or two later it is still a standby, taking water from the Ngare-Nanyuki river twenty miles into the plains and bringing into use the grazing between Meru and Longido mountains. The third work of this period, the construction of the Eluanata dam on the Ardai plans south of Mondul, was carried out by Capt. (now Col.) Hallier. This dam

is shallow and therefore dries up at times but a surprising amount of water can be impounded by the short and inexpensive wall.

The second period, that from 1925-1934, was dominated by Mr. H. C. Murrells, District Commissioner for ten years and an enthusiastic amateur engineer. There were a few failures in dam making, as at Lashene and Mangula in Kisongo, at Lerok near Talamai, and at Kibaya, but in the middle twenties a loan of £5,000 was made by Government to the Masai to cover the cost of various ambitious piping schemes. With this money the streams on Longido and Mondul and a spring on Losogonoi were successfully led into storage tanks and thence to concrete drinking troughs. Seepage was avoided and supplies thereby increased, and the greater speed of watering extended the grazing range. Two schemes to pump water from the Makami and Naberera wells similarly into storage tanks and thence into troughs failed: the rate of pumping was too slow, and the Masai preferred their own privately-owned hand wells, cleaned by Chagga labour, where they could at least be certain that no mechanical breakdown would intervene. There were difficulties about repayment of the loan: the costs to which the Masai had originally agreed had been given to them in terms of cattle, but the average price of slaughter stock fell from Shs. 100/- to Shs. 20/- in a few years. Thus for a work costing £1,000 (i.e. two hundred head) demands were finally made for five times as many: and one result of this was political, in that the Administrative Officer found that his chief function had involuntarily become that of debt collector, with damaging results to his general administrative activities. In 1935, on the advice of Capt. Hallier, the balance of the debt was taken over by the Native Treasury (being finally discharged in 1944) and debt collecting from individuals ceased, to the great advantage of all concerned. Two lessons learnt in particular during this period were thus, first, that the cost of all works undertaken should be met from the Native Treasury, and secondly, that no works however small should be undertaken without competent professional advice. The latter was particularly important not only from the point of view of avoiding wastage of money: the damage to prestige from a spectacular failure was found to be not easily repaired.

In the third period, from 1936 onwards, the list of successes lengthened, and much advantage was gained from the fact that the Irrigation Engineer (now the Director of Water Development) was then stationed nearby in Arusha. A guiding principle was that work should be confined only to the improvement or creation of waters where additional grazing would be brought into use ('luxury' improvements to waters where grazing was already sufficient being avoided); and the Masai themselves in Council early affirmed that the proportionate amount contributed by any area to the common funds, viz. the Native Treasury should not be taken into account when determining priorities. A poor area needing help could thus be sure of getting it. As many works as possible were put out to contract, a decision forced on the administration in that while they had an efficient works organisation of their own they could not hope to cope themselves with all the work requiring to be done.

Major works during this period included extensions to the Mondul and Longido pipelines, and to the Ngare-Nanyuki furrow; the construction of dams at Angata Nyangusi and Meserani — the latter with a bank 1,100 feet long, 20 feet high and 100 feet thick at the base; the Loliondo station supply, the Lesingeta borehole and windmill, near Longido, the piping of the Kibaya spring, construction of leech proof troughs at Arash, Olalaa and Piaya, and of the Olmoti-Sendu furrow at Ngorongoro. The two biggest works were those of this latter furrow and the Meserani dam. The Olmoti furrow was dug by contract by a Moshi firm, but the concrete intake, complete with sluice gate leading from the river bank beneath the waterfall to the furrow proper was constructed by the Mondul works team under the District Foreman, Mr. L. J. Van Emmenes. This furrow took water five miles from the waterfall in a northerly direction and after the rains when the volume of water was at its greatest poured it into the head of a *korongo* which took it down to the Sanjan plains beneath. The Meserani dam when full holds 243 million gallons. This work was begun with four hundred trek oxen, all trained locally by Mr. Van Emmenes; and forty dam scoops were used. The soil was volcanic and friable and the dust terrific, the whole resembling some vast biblical operation. Water entered the dam during the short rains and there was a grave danger that if the long rains began before the work was completed the wall would be a total loss. Thus the Construction Company of Nairobi took over the job in January, 1942, and finished it with machinery, the first time in which "Carry-All" scrapers had been used in this Territory. The work was finished by the narrowest of margins — the day before the main rains broke; and within ten days the dam was full. One other major operation was carried out in 1943, when with the aid of a drilling company an endeavour was made to find fresh limestone well fields in the Masai steppe. The operation was preceded by an intensive search for limestone formations by a Masai prospecting party, and exploration of much little known ground during which incidentally the inaccurate German maps of the area were corrected. The object was to find further surface waters at a maximum depth of sixty feet, to be worked by hand by the Masai themselves, and some twenty test holes were put down at the cost of £1,000. Of these only one was successful: but a somewhat negative but nevertheless valuable result was obtained in that it was now clear that only medium depth boring and the use of pumps and windmills would suffice.

III.

When planning water works in Masailand it is necessary, of course, to pay attention to local water law and water usage. In Masailand very few waters are so abundant that they are adequate for the needs of all in all seasons; but where this is so, as in the cases of the Ruvu river and the Kitumbeine mountain stream, the water is recognised as common tribal property, free to use without restriction by all. Most running waters, however, diminish in volume seasonally and can be used only by a limited number of cattle: in such instances the waters are admitted as the

"property" of various clans, the heads of which as trustees for the water have the power to admit, or reduce the number of, users as required. Individual ownership exists usually only in the case of wells. Ownership in Masai law, whether by clans or individuals, cannot lapse even if the waters lie unused for years. Improvements by strangers, e.g., using an abandoned water, give no property rights whatever. A new problem is that of ownership or trusteeship of waters created by the Native Authority, as for example the Lesingeta borehole near Longido. As an *ad hoc* measure the rights of allocation were here handed to a local water board of leading elders, who immediately allocated the water to themselves: perhaps as good a solution as any!

IV.

Stories connected with the various waters in Masai, and with the mountains on which many of them are found, spring easily to memory. A number of them naturally concern Mondul mountain on the slopes of which the administrative station stands. The Mondul pipeline, a mile and a half long, leads up the streambed of the Mondul *korongo* to a small concrete control. A path is kept cleared for maintenance and this now serves as a taking off place for those wishing to climb the mountain, 8,500 feet high: the rest of the climb, after negotiating giant nettle beds, is through thick bush along rhino paths. There is a verdant green amphitheatre near the top, with lush short grass and clover, and thereafter on the ridge a surprisingly dry flat plateau, thick with clumps of reeds and the home of buffalo. Survey parties were the first to climb Mondul in the early thirties: the writer, J. E. S. Griffiths and H. C. Smith climbed it on Empire Day some years later. This was in some sense exploration, and a beer bottle was planted as a mark in the lone tree in the plateau's centre. Shortly afterwards the hooves of buffalo breaking away from us out of sight drummed like a troop of cavalry going by: coincidentally, finding time short — and having no weapons — the party decided to retreat. Thereafter ascents became more common. H. F. I. Elliott did a great deal of climbing alone in search of mountain birds, and was known to pot at rhino from safe perches of his own with .22 dust shot. Mrs. Elliott, Dr. H. T. Wilson and a party from Arusha got bushed on the way down one evening and arrived something the worse for wear next day at eight a.m., just as a party with stretchers and rifles was moving out to look for them. On another occasion the writer, Dr. Wilson and an R.A.F. visitor narrowly escaped meeting an enraged elephant who had got their wind; their heaviest weapon was a walking stick and in their escape they pressed urgently through patches of giant nettles with no thought for hurt. There could be real danger on this mountain; and I. L. Robinson with his eleven-year-old son and C. C. B. Brown were lucky to escape when a rhino charged down the path they were ascending. Masai moran at the Engaroini waters farther along the Mondul range were not always so fortunate. In drought their cattle had to share the water with rhinoceros, and on more than one occasion herds were scattered and the moran herdsmen brought down wounded to the station hospital.

Buffalo are common also on Longido and Lolbene mountains, among other places. Two recollections in particular remain, of seeing a herd of these creatures belly deep in pasture on the summit of Longido, and of missing others by a short distance in the mists on Lolbene. Longido on that occasion had been climbed with H. Fraser, the last of a procession of three climbs in ten days of forest survey on Kitumbeine, Gelai and Longido. The summit of Gelai was reached, again in mist, on hands and knees along rhino paths through bamboo. On the summit of Kitumbeine was found a lake set in a large *mbuga*, reputed *rendezvous* of cattle thieves with stolen stock.

The Loliondo area of the district is one of great beauty, containing as it does the Ngorongoro crater and the Serengeti plains. At Endondol in this area the Masai are always anxious to have water brought down from Olmoti mountain into the Olbalbal depression. For various reasons this has not been possible but a succession of officers has followed the water to its source, where elephant continually foul the outlet from a mountain swamp. Rhino again are often met on this climb as H. A. Fosbrooke can verify. Another recollection shared with Fosbrooke is the descent from Loliondo (7,000 feet) through Sonjo 'fly' country to the Sanjan plain and thence to the Engare Sero water (2,500 feet) near lake Natron. The change of temperature was very great and the heat at Natron torrid. The Engare Sero comes tumbling out of a thousand foot deep rock gorge in the rift wall into bare volcanic country where it is practically useless for man or beast: but we on that occasion made use of it, sitting up to our necks in the cool water for a couple of hours before sundown. Also shared with Fosbrooke are recollections of a trip by lorry to Endulele, at the junction of the Northern and Lake Provinces and Kenya Colony; thence to Klein's camp in perfect hunting country, on down to the Kilimafeza gold fields and back across the Serengeti to Arash. The Endulele country one would have thought perfect for stock, with its open parkland and abundant water: but *tsetse* keep them out effectively.

Southern Masailand—or the Masai steppe—has an attraction of its own, a plateau of between 4,000 to 5,000 feet high studded with rocky nubicles, granite or lime, rising to 6,000 or 7,000 feet. No rivers run from this plateau down the steep scarp to the Ruvu river which borders it to the north and east. On it are found the limestone well fields and the ancient lake bed at Makami — Ndedo. Grilling in the hot season, the steppe can be bitterly cold in June and July, when an overcoat is needed for lorry travel up to eleven a.m. The summits of the nubicles were found to make perfect bases for plane table work over the plains below. Mists settle on them in the cool season until a late hour in the morning, and tree orchids can be found, a collection sent to R. E. Moreau showing an astonishing variety of species. Dorobo, the hunting tribe, share this expanse of bush with elephant; water is found in season in baobab trees and in certain turnip-like roots; and there are grasses also which are full of moisture. Thus game can go for very long periods without drinking, and one Masai near Londergess claims his cattle do the same: and it is a fact that the latter often drink no more frequently than once a week. But such grasses

are unfortunately strictly localised. The Dorobo lead a hard life, apparently in reasonable content. Not all, however, are as solitary of disposition as the one found by R. A. J. Maguire at Talamai: this man fenced himself in with thorn bushes and, when the mood for celebration took him, tied himself by the leg to a tree so that he should come to no harm when his honey beer overcame him.

Other reminiscences recur: duck shooting on the Eluanata dam and the removal of leeches collected after wading in it waist deep; a ring of crocodiles snapping at a carcase caught up in the overhanging branches of a tree in the Ruvu river, where G. E. Howe and the writer had gone to evacuate Masai from Jipe to Losogonoi; the sight of the volcano Oldonyo Lengai in full eruption ten miles away as one broke camp at Engaruka water; bathing in the Murrells dam at Losogonoi after climbing most of the way up the mountain hand over hand on the pipeline so precipitously laid by L. J. van Emmenes; and the sight of the camp of R. N. Pretorious on the Engare Nanyuki furrow, hot, dusty, with raiding lion at night and Pretorious 'taking' it as perhaps only an Afrikaner can.

Two Views On The Masai

By R. H. Gower

INTRODUCTION.

The views of early travellers to East Africa when compared with the present day are always of some interest and in an issue of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* largely devoted to the Masai, it seems appropriate to glance at the impressions of some of the earliest travellers in Masailand. Of these, Joseph Thomson and Dr. Karl Peters have provided the most interesting accounts, not only because their books are perhaps the most easily accessible,* but also because their views on the Masai are so completely divergent.

Thomson, a 25-year-old Scot, left Mombasa in 1883, crossed the Masai country to the foothills of Mount Kenya and finally reached Lake Victoria itself. Peters was leader of the German expedition which set out from Kwahiu, just north of Lamu, in June 1889, to search for Emin Pasha. Thus he left just five years after Thomson's return from Masailand. Peters too reached Lake Victoria but circled back to the coast through Tanganyika. It should be remembered that both travellers confined themselves to those parts of Masailand now in Kenya with the exception that Thomson spent a short time in what is known as the "Masai Corridor," in the Sanya plains west of Kilimanjaro. However, at that time the Masai were a unified tribe, untroubled by artificial boundaries.

Of the two travellers Thomson was far more interested in the Masai as human beings. True the bulk of Thomson's book contains long and detailed accounts of the author's hunting exploits and although he devotes a whole chapter to Masai manners and customs, his impressions are rather superficial. Thomson was a geographer rather than an anthropologist. Peters was neither; he was a soldier first and last. To him the Masai were merely an element who might prove obstructive to his progress through their country. Peters never forgot that he was a member of a master race and his book advertises at every page the author's lack of humanity. It is the absence of this quality that so sharply distinguishes Peters from Thomson.

II. THE VELVET GLOVE.

In his earlier chapters as he progresses from the coast, Thomson is constantly harping on the evil reputation of the Masai. He refers to "the terrible Masai" — "the dreaded Masai country" — "a tribe whose very name carried fear into the hearts of all who knew it" and to 'the dreaded district Laitokitok'. After these awe-inspiring preliminaries, Thomson seems to have been agreeably surprised when he eventually came into actual contact with the Masai in the flesh. When he finally set eyes upon the dreaded warriors Thomson "could not but involuntarily exclaim 'what splendid fellows'."

* Through Masailand, by Joseph Thomson (London, 1885).

New Light on Dark Africa, by Karl Peters (English Edition, 1891).

After a "ceremonious greeting performed with much gravity and aristocratic dignity" Thomson was quickly introduced to the sight of a Masai spokesman in action. He noted the Masai "speaking with a natural fluency and grace, and a dignity of attitude beyond all praise." Typically enough — "during this harangue the knobkerry was not idle, but was employed with much oratorical effect to emphasize his remarks." Such a picture can still be seen in any Masai gathering to-day. The Masai were renowned "as tremendous talkers as well as fighters." They still retain the former characteristic.

Subsequently Thomson acquired a great admiration for Masai elders. He refers to some as "magnificent specimens of their race" and mentions their "aristocratic manner and consciousness of power." He became particularly friendly with others who showed a remarkable "frankness and absence of suspicion." He notices too that "they had an admirable knowledge of the geography of an enormous area, which they had acquired by their continuous war raids and nomadic habits." Despite the absence of war raids to-day, such knowledge still excites amazement in the modern traveller.

On other occasions the insolence of the Masai was to excite Thomson's bile — just as Thomson's submission to such insolence was subsequently to rouse Peter's wrath. The young unmarried girls (the "ndito" — recorded by Thomson as the "ditto") appear as "most insolent and not showing the slightest trace of fear." Even the small herd boys offended in the same way. In driving their cattle to the water they hustled Thomson's porters aside "in a fearless and insolent manner." From the "Moran" (the warrior class) Thomson had expected insolence, but on his first meeting with them, surprisingly enough, his party was "not a bit inconvenienced by crowding or annoyed by their rude remarks." A subsequent meeting was not so happy. But then Thomson attributed the extreme and exceptional insolence of some warriors to their "gorging of themselves with flesh in the forest." Thomson remarks that this practice (known as "olpul") was thought to make them fiercer and braver but apparently made them so short of breath as to be able to breathe only with difficulty.

Later Thomson sets out to describe the life story of an imaginary Masai whom he calls MORAN. The account opens with a description of a Masai kraal and the primitive conditions under which the Masai mother gives birth to her child. The Masai, then as now, always prefers boys to girls. Unlike many Bantu tribes the Masai do not regard girls as potential cattle producers in the shape of bride price when they are married.

After weaning, Thomson shows the young Masai "soon exercising his incipient teeth on a huge chunk of beef . . . (which) doubtless produced that unpleasant setting of the teeth which acquired an outward projection unpleasant to behold . . . (the teeth) seemed to become separated from each other, till they appeared as isolated fangs." This feature is still noticeable to-day whether or not the reason for it is that given by Thomson.

Thomson passes quickly over boyhood, noting briefly the substitution of anointment with grease and clay for washing; the cultivation of the

ear lobes; the study of practical geography while herding. As a boy MORAN ate the food of a "non-fighter, namely, curdled milk, maize or millet, and meat. But vegetable paste was the meat of women and children, and he loathed it, though he ate it." Present day boarders at Monduli School seem to have no such inhibitions about the balanced diet which they receive there.

In mentioning the circumcision ceremony, which precedes entrance into the warrior class, Thomson by his brevity succeeds in telling us only that he was himself a "Victorian" — "a certain rite better known in Africa than in Europe was performed; and he was no longer a boy, he was a warrior."

The warrior's dress is described. The only garment worn is apparently "a handsomely decorated kid skin garment of very scanty dimensions which served to cover his breast and shoulders but hardly reached below the waist." Modern Masai male fashions demand a longer cloak and almost universally "Americani" cloth has replaced the skin. Thomson in describing the typical Masai physical characteristics mentions that the two middle lower incisors are extracted. He does not explain that this is done to facilitate feeding in the event of illness — in particular, tetanus.

Next the dress of a young unmarried girl is described. "They wear a dressed bullock's hide from which the hair has been scraped a beaded belt confines it round the waist." Thomson mentions the wire coils worn round the neck, arms and legs. These leg ornaments are put on "when very young so that the calf is not allowed to develop and when grown up the leg remains at a uniform thickness from ankle to knee — mere animated stilts in fact." Even to-day one can notice but little change in Masai women's dress.

For the warrior in the "Manyatta" (the kraal especially reserved for warriors) — "the strictest diet imaginable was the rule. He had to be content with absolutely nothing but meat and milk. Tobacco or snuff, beer or spirits, vegetable food of all kinds, even the flesh of all animals except cattle, sheep, and goats were alike eschewed." More than this "he must not be seen eating meat in the kraal, neither must he take it along with milk." How far the modern Masai warrior has departed from this former strict regime may be seen at any beer drink at a cattle auction. But the failing is much more prominent among the Waarusha "warriors" who imitate the Masai in everything but abstinence and may be seen staggering home from the Township beer market every evening.

An "Olpul" (Thomson does not use the word) is next described. A party of warriors retires to the forest, accompanied by some unmarried girls to act as cooks. First they take a powerful purgative to ensure that no milk remains in their stomachs. The bullock is killed and fresh blood drawn off from an opened vein. This custom to which Thomson had previously ascribed the extreme insolence of the warriors, is here considered "wise but repulsive as the blood thus drunk provided the salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do not partake of any salt in the common form." The establishment of trading centres has since provided an alternative source of supply.

Until a war raid was planned, life in the kraal was dull. The warriors lived a serious life. "They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no lively songs, no thundering drums" — BUT — "Life in the warriors' kraal was promiscuous in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the sweetheart system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attention to one only." The serious life apparently had its relaxations.

Preparations for a cattle raid are now afoot. But it is only after a successful raid that the real fighting begins — to divide the spoil between the warriors. "There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil, than in the original capturing of it." Anyone who has seen meat distributed amongst Masai will well believe this. Then, as now, the traditional compensation for murder was forty-nine bullocks, but to kill a man in quarrels over the spoils of a raid was not considered as murder.

On the death of his father, "MORAN lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal." The explanation is given elsewhere — the Masai "will on no account allow a human body to be buried, as they consider that it poisons the soil." The hyaena still retains his position as official undertaker.

MORAN now proceeds to marry — a step which is taken only because our warrior finds himself not so young as he used to be. Such is the reason that Thomson gives, for he does not seem to have understood the workings of the age grade system. Once married MORAN's "sole idea was to rear a brood of young cattle lifters. He was not jealous. If a friend should visit him, he was hospitable in a degree not consistent with a high level of morality."

As an elder our hero, we learn, can now vary his diet of meat and milk with vegetable foods. "He chewed tobacco though he never smoked. He liked to foregather with his friends and have a jolly carouse over beer . . . Henceforward his time is occupied in eternal and interminable discussions or wandering long distances on visits to his friends." And in this idyllic state we leave our hero.

Finally we may take note of the difficulties which Thomson encountered in trying to buy cattle from the Masai. It was "an exhausting labour — no bullock being secured under an hour to two hours of haggling and debate." This situation is repeated in miniature at every cattle auction to-day. But then there was a difference for in those days "the final seal was put on the bargain by each party spitting on the bullock."

Thomson in fact soon learnt that it was essential to become an accomplished "spitter". To increase his flow of saliva he often had resort to sucking stones or bullets. For with the Masai, spitting "expresses the greatest goodwill and the best of wishes. You spit when you meet and you do the same on leaving." On this fitting note we may leave Thomson. It was just such "truckling" to native custom that so enraged Peters. For him understanding or mutual sympathy were quite unnecessary.

III. THE MAILED FIST.

Peters prepared to cross the Laikipia Plateau just before Christmas, 1889. Here he knew that must contact the Masai. Peters tells us that previous to his expedition the Masai route had in general been considered as "practically almost impassable." He recalls with elation Stanley's opinion that to get through "The Masais" in warlike fashion a man must have a force of at least one thousand Europeans at his back. For Thomson and his methods of dealing with the Masai, Peters had the utmost contempt. He at least had no intention of suffering similar treatment from the Masai — treatment which "judged by a European standard, not only falls below the notion of gentlemanlike but must be plainly designated as unworthy."

Peters sums up the difference of approach used by Thomson and himself — "Thomson thought he could produce an impression on the Masais by all kinds of tricks as, for instance, by playing the part of a great magician, taking out his set of false teeth and putting it back again, preparing effervescing lemonade with Eno's Fruit Salt and declaring the devil was in the mixture. I have tried to produce an impression on the Masais by means of forest fires, by fiery rockets, and even by a total eclipse of the sun that happened to occur on December 23rd; but I have found, after all, that the one thing which would make an impression on these wild Sons of the Steppe was a bullet from the repeater or the double-barrelled rifle, and then only when employed in emphatic relation to their own bodies." The difference in methods is left in no doubt. Peters continues, "The results of the Thomsonian manipulation were what might have been expected." Passages are cited from Thomson's book to prove this. Peters concludes, "Such had been the previous record, in the relations between the white race and the arrogant Masai nation. I was firmly resolved, let come what would, not to put up with such behaviour towards myself."

Peters compares the Masai to Attila's Huns since "they have developed in the highest degree a propensity for plunder and a thirst for blood." Peters differs from Thomson in explaining this characteristic. "The continued flesh diet on which they live has physiologically increased their natural savageness and the brutalising of the feelings that must ensue with people who are in the habit of slaughtering and devouring, in a cold blooded manner, the domestic animal they themselves have reared, appears here in a very decided manner." The idyllic state of herdsmen who do not double the role of shepherd and butcher is contrasted. In addition, as Peters rightly points out — "the possession of great herds necessitates a continual change of domicile." The nomad becomes so indifferent to the charms of owning a home that he naturally tends to acquire a warlike disposition.

This disposition is further encouraged by religious sanctions for the Masai have built up for themselves a religious belief "according to which only the Masais are sons of the Deity and as such have a natural right, confirmed by God, to all the cattle of the earth."

Even Peters, critical and hostile as he is, had to admit that "the warriors of the race have acquired a natural pride which cannot be



MASAI WARRIOR ON THE ALERT

Note the knobkerry and sharp sword in its crimson sheath.

designated otherwise than as aristocratic." This he attributes to the fact that "they recognise only one kind of work, namely war, and the protection of the herds."

The Masai form of government, Peters tells us, is "the very ancient patriarchal one which we meet with in the Old Testament" That is to say, briefly, "the elders of the families manage the great affairs of the tribe" and for inter-tribal disputes "the vendetta has developed itself in its purest form."

Peters finds that the characteristic most peculiar to the Masai community "is the strict social separation of the married from the unmarried element." He describes the warriors' traditional dietetic taboos and notes that they live in villages of their own, where the girls have the right to choose a lover according to their fancy. In this Peters sees "a new incentive to the warlike rough spirit of the Elmoran" as the girls always desire the fiercest and bravest in battle.

Once married the Masai becomes "exceedingly indifferent with respect to his wife's faithfulness. To have as many children as possible, especially sons, in whatever way it may be, is the chief object of the mature man." In this respect Peters naively compares the Masai to "our peasants in the lower German marches."

These few impressions of the Masai, inserted in the course of the main narrative, serve to build up considerable dramatic tension. For after Peters' tirade against Thomson's methods the reader is waiting expectantly to see Peters himself in action.

Peters' actual introduction to the Masai was unfortunate for he camped across the route to the watering place of the Masai cattle. But graciously, Peters allowed the Masai to continue to water their cattle despite the proximity of his camp. Next, Peters attempts to cut an impressive figure but with disconcerting results. "Unfortunately I shot twice at a vulture with my rifle and missed each time; whereupon there arose contemptuous laughter, especially among the old Masai women" — laughter which is echoed by the reader.

On returning to camp Peters fell in with some Masai bulls that had gone wild. Without hesitation he stretched one out on the ground with his rifle — "An incident which evidently impressed the Masai in a very disagreeable manner." But Peters is still very conscious of the treatment which Thomson suffered at this very place — an impression has still to be made. "Accordingly I shot at a vulture on a tree under which the Masai warriors were seated; and when a fat elder came to forbid my shooting . . . I twice fired off my rifle over his head."

As if this exploit was not sufficient to point the difference between a Thomson and a Peters, Peters proceeded to make the position emphatically clear in a speech to the Masai. "Among white men there are differences. The white man who was here was an Englishman (Ingelese) and you treated him badly enough. But I belong to the race of the Germans (Badutochi) and we would rather die than submit to such treatment." Thereafter war was inevitable. The Kikuyu interpreter tried to intimidate the Masai by exclaiming "You cannot make war against

the white man. See! He leads eleven of us Wakikuyu bound with cords." Unfortunately this only drew a curt parthian shot, "But we are not Wakikuyu, we are Masai."

The way was now clear for the use of the repeater and the double barrelled rifle. From henceforward Peters' narrative develops into a report of the running fight which continued intermittently until his arrival at Lake Baringo.

In the first encounter Peters finds himself in contact with an elder whom he considered had been insolent at the previous negotiations. "Three of the elder's arrows flew past me; and, for my part I also missed my mark twice. My third bullet crashed through his temples." Round one to Peters.

At the next fight Peters himself was nearly killed. "A Masai who was just preparing to thrust at me, was first laid low by a bullet in the face from our kitchen boy, Fargalla." Peters was again victorious, and the warriors' kraal was burnt. "What time the advent bells were calling to Church in Germany, the flames were crackling over the great kraal." It seems an odd juxtaposition.

Masai losses were estimated at three times the number of corpses which when counted numbered forty-three. Peters too had lost seven men and as these "had been mutilated in a shameful manner, we made reprisals, for our people cut the heads off the Masai corpses and hurled them high through the air down among their fellow countrymen." Peters had acquired as booty no less than two thousand head of cattle. The fruits of victory provided a free-for-all feast, which led Peters to comment "The digestive powers of a negro are of a magnitude of which we in Europe can hardly form a conception."

Although the Masai had been severely defeated, they were planning their revenge. Peters considers that it was their intention "to destroy our column at any cost." Then at the crucial moment, by an amazing coincidence, a total eclipse of the sun occurred. This was too much for the Masai, who withdrew at once. It seems unjust that Peters should owe his escape to an eclipse when he himself was so scornful of Thomson's attempts to make use of natural phenomena.

On Christmas Eve "the hyaena-like battle howl of the Masai" was again heard. Peters to encourage his men called out in Ki-Swahili — (unwittingly Masai-like in its disregard for grammar) "Karibu, Elmoran, mutakufa wiote." There ensued another fierce night battle, but the Masai kept their distance. The only casualty amongst Peters' men was a porter who had been shot through the arm by one of his Somalis, "in the line of whose fire he had foolishly placed himself." Next day the Masai sent out an old woman, clutching a handful of grass as a peace envoy.

Peters was so relieved at the conclusion of a peace that at dinner he "took the opportunity of delivering a short address to Herr Von Tiedemann on Arthur Schopenhauer's negativity of the perception of pleasure." It comes as no surprise to the reader that on the next day "the early symptoms appeared in Herr von Tiedemann of a serious disease, dysentery." As if this did not suffice as a warning, only two days later

Peters again "had an opportunity of explaining to Herr von Tiedemann Schopenhauer's theory of the negativity of pleasurable sensations." Peters himself slept well but not so von Tiedemann. Day must follow night. On the next day "dysentery definitely declared itself." By then, fortunately, the expedition was no longer in danger from the Masai.

So Peters had justified to himself his philosophy of the repeater and of the double barrelled rifle. Yet despite his contempt for Thomson's technique of movable teeth and the bottle of Eno's, we cannot forget the fortunate occurrence of that eclipse. Even if the Masai could not compete with the repeater they soon came to understand its meaning; the eclipse, like the Eno's, they could not fathom. To it they had offered no resistance.

Peters himself has recorded the difference between his own methods and those of Thomson. In a report to the Expedition Committee he wrote "The dangers of Masailand did not frighten me. The travellers who tell us of them — Thomson and Dr. Fletcher — never assumed a resolute attitude towards these somewhat impudent Sons of the Wilderness, and therefore could not be accepted as authorities concerning the difficulties of this march. In reality, these dangers are in no wise so formidable as people say and believe. My march through this territory, though I had only sixty or seventy men altogether, had nothing of the conjurer, though not without its difficulties, and though on certain days our situation was, to some extent, grave . . . our expedition has been respected, in all countries, in the manner becoming the dignity of the European race."

How that respect was gained, was, to Peters, quite immaterial.

Some Hints On Climbing Masailand Mountains

By H. F. I. Elliott

Reference is made elsewhere in this issue to certain features and difficulties which may be met with on Masailand hills, and it is perhaps worth setting on record the fruit of four years' experience in which all but a few of the major peaks of the Tanganyika Masai District were ascended to their summits. From this experience emerged a pattern of procedure, a description of which may save others a certain amount of trouble. Furthermore there can be few areas where mountains exercise a greater attraction or indeed give a better reason, if reason be relevant in such matters, for making the effort of ascent. This is because almost all of them rise like islands from a sea of arid bush, their cool forested slopes and clean airy crags inviting escape from the flies, dust, heat and thorn-tree-limited views of the plateau (to list the discomforts of Masailand in order of merit). And, the mountains being the source of some of the few precious permanent waters in the arid steppe, there is always the excuse of water utilization, forest protection or grazing control to justify a day's climbing. If the hints in the following paragraphs are kept in mind, very few of the island mountains need more than the hours of daylight for the ascent; their average height is about double that of the highest peaks of Britain, but the general level of the plains is seldom below three to four thousand feet so that the foot-pounds of energy to be expended are very much the same as demanded by Ben Nevis or the Cairngorms.

One may begin by disposing of a few of the troubles one will *not* encounter on Masailand hills. There is in the first place little to exercise the skill of the expert cragsman, although there undoubtedly exist almost untouched opportunities for rock-climbing. The writer and Mr. F. H. Page-Jones once attempted the ascent of Lengai volcano (9,443 feet) from the south flank, having insufficient time to work round to the more straightforward eastern side from which the two or three ascents have been made. We were without climbing equipment and footgear and were finally held up about 1,000 feet from the summit on a rapidly steepening lava knife-edge of about the texture of a bitumen pavement with tremendous drops on either side. There was no doubt that the remainder of the ascent up the narrowing rib and finally a hundred foot or so of broken chimney would have provided an exhilarating climb. It is noteworthy that even on the straightforward eastern route, Mr. Richard and his party (who most recently climbed the cone in pursuit of his volcanological studies) found ice-axes of assistance (see the *Journal of the East Africa and Uganda Nat. Hist. Soc.*, Vol XVI, Nos. 1, 2 and 3, Feb. 1947). That curious East African instrument, the mattock or 'sururu-jembe', might well be used as a substitute.

Various other opportunities of skilled climbing deserve mention: the south western cliffs of Oldonyo Orok, the "Black Mountain," just north of the Kenya border (the boundary in fact runs along the lower slopes of the precipices) near the Great North Road; the magnificent southern buttress of Losogonoi, ("Warburgia (Greenheart) tree mountain"), a hundred miles south of Kilimanjaro; the huge rock pinnacles of Longido and Naibor Murt, ("White Neck Mountain"), the former on the Great North Road 15 miles south of Erok, the latter one of the few land marks of Central Masailand, (and at one time used as such by transcontinental aircraft) some 50 miles south of Losogonoi. But by and large all the mountains offer routes to the summit of no technical difficulty and for which no equipment is required except soundness of wind and limb.

A second obstacle which is rare on Masai mountains, by virtue of their equatorial latitudes and moderate height, is undue severity of weather conditions. Excluding Kilimanjaro and Meru, which geographically though not politically belong to Masailand, there are no mountains on which extreme cold is likely to cause trouble. The benighted climber will indeed probably feel frozen to the bone, but night frost is only seasonal even on the peaks of the Crater Highlands Massif (one of the few mountain ranges in Masailand). It is all a matter of contrasts. On the summit of Olosirwa ("Eland Mountain"), in the Crater Highlands, which is the highest peak in the Masai district proper (11,969 feet), the midday shade temperature may top 70° Fahr. A night temperature of 35° or so is therefore bound to feel nippy.

On the other hand due precautions should be taken to counter the long term effects of these terrific temperature variations in the form of pneumonia, as well as the short term destruction of enjoyment. In other words extreme heat at the start of a climb should not dissuade one from carrying adequate clothing. Tastes differ in this respect but the best combination to my mind is a thick woollen sweater next the skin, topped by a light grenfell-cloth windproof jacket. In the heat the latter can be fully unzipped or divested, and the sweater readily evaporates, but if clouds come up or evening falls, the wool is warm and the exclusion of the bitter wind does the rest. Gloves or balaclava are not needed below 17,000 feet on Kilimanjaro, but no doubt if one intends to spend a night out anywhere above 7,000 feet both would be a comfort.

Other weather conditions likely to impede ascent can be dismissed more briefly. At the outbreak of the rains in November and again in March severe thunderstorms are not uncommon on the peaks. I have never been caught in one at any altitude and so cannot assert positively whether they are more than a nuisance. Probably a philosophical pipe if suitable shelter is to hand or descent to one's camp and a hot bath are the only answers. During the rains the chances are that the mountains will be unapproachable anyhow, so that any special problems set by torrential water-courses and slippery slopes are unlikely to be put to the test. At the end of, and for a month or two after the rains, the habitual formation of a dense cloud layer at six or seven thousand feet provides the climatic condition of most importance to the Masailand

climber. But the problem it sets is tied up with the general problem of finding and keeping one's way up and down these mountains and had better be dealt with under that head.

We can therefore turn to the real difficulties of Masailand climbing and attempt an exposition of the technique required to overcome them, a technique not concerned with handholes and snow conditions, overhangs and iced rocks, but mainly with the mastery of certain floral and faunal impediments and, basically, with not getting lost.

First of all then there are certain characteristics common to all Masailand mountains (Lengai, blasted by periodic eruptions, is the only obvious exception), even though geologically they fall into two strongly opposed groups, the volcanic, and the non-volcanic or ancient crystalline, with concomitant differences in fauna and flora. Starting at the base one finds that few have more than one or two easy routes of access, motorable tracks, that is, leading to some small settlement or group of kraals based on one of the few waters strong enough to flow to the plains, or led down by piping. Consequently an error of descent which brings the climber out even a few degrees wide of his starting point may involve a long walk over rough broken ground through thick bush (there are sure to be numerous gullies and ravines even where water is lacking).

Proceeding upwards, one finds the lower slopes thick with thorn bush, very often composed of a nice admixture of 'wait-a-bit', bayonet aloe and trailing barbed asparagus, which in hollows and gullies may be quite impenetrable. This gives place at 5,000 foot levels, just below the forest or where forest formerly existed, to an even denser thicket, often six to eight feet tall, in which a peculiarly unpleasant member of the potato family, *solanum*, with mauve flowers and round yellow fruit, plays a leading part. Needless to say this plant carries barbs or hooks and in damper places is ably abetted by forests of giant nettle. The Masai mountain nettle has to be seen and felt to be believed; two pairs of strong khaki slacks are barely sufficient to ward off the sting. The only real answer is — short of a suit of chain-mail — to give the plant a wide berth.

The evergreen forest belt on the mountains usually provides pleasant and easy going, but this does not mean that care can be cast aside. There is of course no view and, particularly on descent, direction is surprisingly hard to maintain. The ridges are constantly bifurcating and splitting into threes and fours and a wrong choice will result, if it is discovered early enough, in an arduous traverse of gorges which in spite of the trees that cloak them may be almost perpendicular-sided, or, if one persist down the wrong ridge, an exasperating struggle with thicket, followed on one's final exit from the mountain by a five or ten mile walk. I well remember how loss of direction in the forest on my first ascent of Longido resulted in five hours of most strenuous descent, with a section of a mile or so on hands and knees along rhino tunnels in bayonet aloe, the ascent to the summit having taken a shade over two hours. In the forest, too, and particularly its glades and clearings, the climber is likely to become abruptly aware of the three main animate snags, the elephant, rhino and buffalo. The presence or indications of the presence of one or other of

them is likely to affect his actions and choice of route right up to the summit.

Conditions are rather variable above the forest belt. On some mountains bamboo may prevail (Gelai mountain, 9,653 feet, is covered with it to the very top, although the mountain is named after the Teclea or Toddalia Tree, a point on which the authorities differ); on others its place is taken by the handsome chestnut-like *Hagenia* trees with their great drooping bunches of red or orange flowers. Of all obstacles to the climber, I would be inclined to rank bamboo as the most pestilential and, if infested with elephant, the most dangerous. Progress may be slowed to a mile or less an hour as one forces a way under, over and through the pliant young and brittle old shoots. If elephant are met there is no simple escape and the crackling of one's progress seems to attract them while they remain quite invisible. To add insult to injury the leafy bamboo tops from quite a short distance give an impression of lovely open meadows. The disappointment, if the climb has been hard, of emerging into a dim 20 foot bamboo tangle can be acute.

Most of the higher mountain summits are clad in some form of moorland. Where this is semi-alpine in character as on the nearly 12,000 foot peak of Olosirwa, nothing could be more delightful — short heather freely sprinkled with numerous lovely flowers of which gladioli are the most striking. Olosirwa summit itself is further adorned with a swampy patch bearing a species of giant *Lobelia* of considerable rarity (*Lobelia Burttii*) and hence the Masai name Loolmalasin, 'the place of the gourds'. often applied to the whole mountain. The Masai use it only of the summit area and there is little doubt that in the dank mists which so often overhang the peaks, the six-foot high lobelias were confused with some form of gourd. At any rate a good deal of mystery surrounds the name and Masai if pressed will explain that the 'gourds' are very rare and wonderful, "growing in water the height of a man", a description which fits the lobelia in silhouette very well.

The mists of the summits are very nearly their only danger, especially where unbroken slabs fall away from one side or other of the summit ridge or where on lowlier peaks the moorland is of a shrubbier variety, with head high St. John's Wort or forests of Red Hot Pokers to conceal some ill-tempered rhino.

Having thus briefly reviewed what one is up against, one can set out the rules which such conditions impose.

(a) The most cardinal is undoubtedly: always keep to the ridges; avoid valleys, gullies or streams like the plague. The numerous animals which for one reason or another climb up and down mountains follow the ridges and if there is any reasonable route through the thicket and and nettle levels it is on the ridges it will be found. To make for a stream if one is lost is as good as condemning oneself to a night out with sleep rendered impossible by the after effects of stings and scratches.

(b) Keep a very good eye over your shoulder and if there is any doubt about the choice of route as seen in descent, blaze the upper side of trees as indication. Where one has ascended one can always descend,

but unless food and water are carried, time is no object and a night out no objection, it is folly to indulge in new routes on descent. If there is a likelihood of mist in the open country of the summit, stakes or cairns should be used as markers at frequent intervals. The top edge of the forest looks much the same anywhere and, on a mountain such as Meru, if one enters the forest at a point even a hundred yards from where one emerged on ascent, there is a very good chance of reaching the base of the mountain next morning 10 or 15 miles from where one left one's car, having spent the night repelling rhino and lion. The reader may think that the obvious precaution is an African guide, but it cannot be too strongly emphasized that a guide is only infallible *on his home ground*. On some of the lesser known mountains, a suitable man may be hard to come by. On Kitumbeine I once employed a Masai guide who only had a superficial knowledge of the mountain. We descended in good order, but missed our camp in the thick bush at the base by about 400 yards and not until we had walked in intense heat some 4 miles too far did my doubts overcome my faith in the guide and the guide himself begin to falter. We found the camp at nightfall having counted on being back for tea.

(c) Keep a good eye in front and make it your business to see elephant, rhino and buffalo as soon as or preferably before they see you. Noise is the most useful ally. Noisy climbers are usually anathema, but on a narrow ridge infested by rhino a noisy approach even if it only disturbs the flock of Tick-birds from a sleeping rhino's back may save a deal of unpleasantness. None of these animals, with the possible exception of elephant in certain moods, is really a danger unless startled. Elephants are better quietly circumvented, although, trapped once in bamboo with a small herd 12 yards away, I was forced as a last resort to fire a shot in the air. The effect was satisfactory, but the elephant might just as well have decided to flatten the source of disturbance. The other two can almost invariably be moved on by a good rowdy demonstration, nor is there any fear that one will miss seeing these spectacular creatures by creating a racket. Buffalo in particular seem to require a considerable period of reflection before the significance of a demonstration sinks into their skulls.

Again the critic will probably enquire why the above-mentioned snags should not be most easily met by a gun. The answer is that a gun is not only heavy and awkward to handle in the thicketed stages of a climb, but is apt to lull into a false security. It cannot safely be carried loaded on a rough ascent and if unloaded requires more time to bring into action than is the slightest use on the sudden appearance of an elephant at ten yards range. Much better to rely on acute hearing, watchfulness and wits, carrying at the most some small-calibre slung weapon to be used in emergency solely for its noise-making qualities. Even those are of doubtful value. On one occasion I wasted six rounds or more of 12-bore ammunition, attempting to remove two rhino which had settled down to a fight in the path we wished to pursue. Though slightly irritated by the explosions, the beasts continued their prods and buttings with little

more than raised eyebrows. Only when all those present were organised into producing a synchronised shout, did the fight break up or remove itself over the brow of the hill.

With these three rules in mind, the equipment necessary for Masailand ascents can be briefly reviewed. The clothing of one's upper parts has already been mentioned in an earlier paragraph. Slacks linked to stout boots by a thick band of puttee or gaiter are undoubtedly the most suitable nether garments, saving endless worry by the protection afforded from nettles, thorns and even snakes. Light footwear is ineffective for breaking down a barrier of vegetation, and if screes or precipitous slopes and even plain mud are encountered, disintegrates with surprising rapidity. A bush-knife, machete or panga is an essential adjunct for clearing a way where game tracks fail, blazing signposts on trees and when banged on a stick or stone making a din apparently capable of striking fear even into a charging buffalo. Finally a water bottle carefully resorted to and re-filled at every opportunity is an essential safeguard (it will be remembered that one is on a ridge all the time if possible; I have climbed for 13 hours non-stop on Meru without encountering a drop of water). Rations in the form of chocolates, prunes and hard fruit are the most useful and provide encouragement if things go wrong. A spiked stick, preferably a five- or six-foot, strong, thumb stick, is on the whole a good thing, especially on steep open slopes or screes, although sometimes rather awkward in bamboo or thicket. The forked top is useful for lifting aside stinging creepers and no doubt for pinning down snakes if one is that way inclined. I have found it of great value also in dislodging tree orchids in which the non-volcanic hills of Masailand are particularly rich.

To conclude this survey, a short account of four Masailand climbs may be of interest as illustrating the application of the principles I have tried to elucidate and the rewards which await the climber.

Elanairobi ("the Cold Mountain"), 10,365 feet, volcanic. The most interesting of the Crater Highland (Ngorongoro) group. Involves at least one night's camping. There are several possible routes. The easiest is to turn off the main Ngorongoro road a few miles short of the rest camp, follow the track which threads its way round the crest of the eastern wall of Ngorongoro to Nainokanoka (rest house: apply D.O., Loliondo); thence a ten mile walk to the southern slopes of the mountain. The most satisfactory and spectacular approach is, however, direct from the Rift Valley. From Engaruka 3,500 ft. (rest house: apply D.C. Monduli), 40 miles north of the Arusha Oldeani road, a lorry or sturdy car can be pushed six or seven miles north along the foot of the Rift wall towards Kerimasi mountain. Where a spur of this mountain runs south into the Rift, strike left up the Rift wall: a precipitous goat track up cliffs haunted by the magnificent Verreaux's, or Black Eagle, leads to a gentler ridge. Soon after the arid bush has given way to mountain thicket (c. 7,000'), Lengopiron water is reached, a pleasant perennial stream, the vicinity of which affords the most suitable camping place, (5/6 hours from start). On no account,

however, camp too near the water — mosquitoes even at this height are extremely numerous and fierce.

Two hours' walk next morning to summit ridge through dense thicket, much frequented by rhino and buffalo. The route is confusing owing to the number of cattle and game tracks but the general rule is to bear right and keep on upwards; tracks leading left skirt the mountain flank and debouch into the Nainokanoka plateau.

Summit ridge, 9,000-ft. at this point, is an open narrow cattle track looking straight down into stupendous Embagai crater, four miles across, forested slopes dropping precipitously 2,000 feet to emerald green sward surrounding large lake, itself bordered by a belt of scarlet Lesser Flamingo. Eastwards from ridge Kilimanjaro (100 miles) visible on clear day or at dawn. Northwards grey white peak of Lengai volcano rises sheer from north shores of Lake Natron glimmering 7,000 feet below. To reach the bleak grassy summit of Elanairobi a long trudge round the eastern and northern rim of the crater, the limitless but usually hazy view westwards over the Serengeti plains perhaps scarcely a sufficient inducement when the alternative is a descent into the crater itself by a steep cattle track. (Allow 4 hours for either alternative.)

Descent to Lengopiron and on to Rift *can* be done in four hours from Crater Rim. If porters and camp have preceded and lorry is waiting at rendezvous, Engaruka can be regained by nightfall.

Monduli Mt. (8,722 feet, volcanic). An account of this mountain is included, although there is little spectacular about it and no pronounced summit; because of its accessibility from Monduli station and Arusha it makes a good day's outing, but being a long ridge, rather than a peak, with numerous spurs and offshoots is especially easy to get lost on. The most straightforward route follows the path up the station water pipe line for about half an hour to a point some quarter-mile from the intake, where the ravine on one's right has risen to the level of the path. Constant alertness should be kept for rhino.

A game track crossing the stream bed should now be chosen and a route forced up the steep opposite slope to the ridge, which should be clearly blazed especially at the point where it reaches the ridge. (On the return the ridge can of course be followed the whole way back but it is very thickly overgrown where it leaves the forest and the game tracks peter out before the open farmland is reached ;it is better therefore to strike back to the pipe-line path.)

The ridge is followed for about half a mile, when it opens out into a small plateau with dense thickets and open grassy patches. This is a very popular haunt of buffalo and steps may have to be taken to move the herd on if it is in residence. One cuts across the plateau to the right and up the nose of a forested buttress to achieve the true ridge leading to summit. It is *very* important to blaze this portion of the ascent so that on returning, when one descends from the higher ridge, one strikes across to the right to gain the lower ridge. A mistake here ensures benightment. Once the upper ridge which rapidly narrows is gained, it is plain sailing along a very well beaten or, to be more exact, hollowed



ELANAIROBI MOUNTAIN, 10,365 feet — showing Embagai Crater Lake

rhino path. Rhino may be frequently observed in the dells below the ridge on either side in circumstances of peculiar comfort (for the ridge is too steep for the brutes to climb quickly).

Near the summit, which should be reached in 2—2½ hours after leaving the pipe-line, the slopes flatten out in a tangle of mountain plants, St. John's Wort and Red Hot Poker predominating. One bears right to the summit which is marked by a survey beacon. The herbage is too thick for much view, but points of vantage may be found for looking down into the grassy hollow beyond (north of) the ridge, which contains an attractive little lake, or eastwards to the dominating mass of Meru. The return to the base, if the route is properly marked, should not take more than an hour or so and a wide view south over Masailand may be enjoyed (if one's attention is not too taken up with buffalo or rhino). Elephants make only occasional visits to this mountain.

Losogonoi ('Greenheart Tree' mountain). 6,968 feet, ancient crystalline. About 75 miles due south of Kilimanjaro the silhouette of Losogonoi from the west especially gives a fine impression of height and steepness. Great perpendicular cliffs are set in the flanks and the sharp summit surges up at a severe angle. The route to the summit lies up the north flank, from Landenai trading centre (5 miles off the north-south Central Masailand road), a deep forested gully breaking the line of cliffs and marking the one good source of water. This water has been led through 2,000 feet of piping to a small dam a few hundred feet up the slopes and thence to a cattle trough at the base.

A path leads from the trough to the dam and thence the pipe line is followed steeply upwards through dense thicket for about two hours. The pipe itself is a useful handrail and the four break-pressure tanks give welcome excuses for a pause. From the intake, set cunningly between two boulders in a palm shaded hollow, the route is far from simple, there being no defined ridge. It lies through a series of glades covered with head-high scrub, huge boulders, short granite ridges and a maze of buffalo tracks. The only thing to do is to keep on upwards and bear right when in doubt. The summit ridge should be reached in an hour and a traverse eastwards to the right brings one to the summit cone in about half an hour. The ridge is very narrow and particular care must be taken with buffalo which visit it in the dry season for the sake of a succulent plant growing on the rocks. The cone is an enormous boulder perched on the ridge. Its sides are nearly sheer except on the east where it is broken. One may climb it directly with the help of a few tendrils and cracks or traverse to the east. The summit cairn, an old concrete beacon, is not on the highest point, which is yet another boulder twenty feet high, a few yards away, only climbable in socks or rubbers, though an old moss and orchid laden tree close by (if it still stands) gives some assistance.

The view is magnificent, from Meru and Kilimanjaro in the north embracing the whole length of the Pangani valley to the far Usambara range and south and west over the vast Masai steppe and its many island mountains. One is able furthermore to look almost straight down on one's

starting point and watch the ant-like cattle creeping from the kraals to Landenai water trough.

The descent may be made comfortably in two hours, provided that great care is taken to bear gently right till the palms round the pipe line intake are spotted. An error of judgment will result in an abrupt halt at the edge of 2,000-foot cliffs and laborious and difficult traversing. In conclusion it may be worth noting that the ears of a buffalo calf stick out at right angles. About to succour what, ignoring this fact, I thought was a lost domestic calf on the summit ridge, I was brusquely interrupted by its bulky, but very fast moving and well armed mother.

Lenjogi Mt., 6,363 feet. Ancient crystalline. I choose this, the extreme south-western corner stone of Masailand in conclusion, because although when I climbed it the view stretched over a vast empty plain to the Mpwapwa hills, it must surely now provide a splendid panorama of the Kongwa section of the Groundnut Scheme.

The route followed starts at the Masai water on the north-eastern base, reached in half an hour's walk from the Zoisa road. A rough path climbs as high as the top of the three retaining-tanks on a short pipe line and from here a short scramble through boulders and combretum bush brings one out on a pleasant stretch of downland. A steady pull of half an hour and the forest edge is reached. The forest is delightful with fine trees, laden with numerous orchids and ferns and little undergrowth. It appears to be visited by elephant, but I found a water bottle much more essential than a gun. The summit is inside the forest, surrounded by a series of depressions which look as if they had once been ponds, but a hundred yards to the west there is a slightly lower view point, overlooking the whole Kongwa plain. This is an ascent well worth the while of any who now inhabit that plain, able to spare four or five hours and a modicum of energy for the sake of a novel and refreshing view of their labours.

Note.—For further accounts of Masailand climbs, the reader is strongly recommended to refer to 'A Note on Longido and Ketumbeine Mountains' by R. E. Moreau and P. J. Greenway (*Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 3, April 1937) with its wealth of detailed information and superb photographs.

Notes

THE EFFECT OF A CHANGE OF DIET ON MASAI SCHOOLBOYS.

By R. H. Gower

(The following notes are recorded as a result of investigations into the health of Masai schoolboys at Monduli School during 1945.)

Monduli boarding school was started in 1937, and until the recent establishment of a number of bush schools of the "mothers and cows"* type,* it was the only school in the whole of Masailand's 23,800 square miles. It is built to house 80 Masai boarders. The children are drawn from every area in Masailand. In 1945, the sons of "aliens" living and working at Monduli began to be admitted as dayboys. Because of transport difficulties in returning these 80 boarders to their homes, often more than 200 miles away, the school has only one long term which lasts from November to August, followed by a long leave.

At school the children are given a normal diet far removed from what they eat at their homes. The milk was obtained from the herd attached to the school. Milking in the morning and evening was done by the boys themselves. At the time of these investigations the diet at school was as follows :—

Maize Meal $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. daily;

Meat $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. daily;

Sugar $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. daily;

Salt $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. daily;

Rice $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. — 3 times a week.

Beans $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. — 4 times a week;

Ghee 1 oz. daily;

Milk — about one bottle per day.

It is surprising how quickly the boys became accustomed to this, which differs so much from their normal diet.

At their homes they ate the traditional Masai food. For children the staple food is milk. When meat is available they will obtain their share, and nowadays universally the diet is supplemented with cooked maize or maize flour served in the form of *uji* or *ugali*. It should be remembered that the time of their leave corresponded with the end of the dry season. At this time, except in a few areas favoured with adequate water and grazing, the milk supply would be at its lowest. As compensation there would probably be more meat available as at this season cattle inevitably die from starvation.

The children were all medically examined by the African Hospital Assistant in August at the end of their 9 months' term and also on their

* "Mothers and Cows" schools are bush schools which Masai children attend. They live in a communal boma near the school but each child stays in a separate hut with his mother and a few milk cows with their calves. These schools were started in an attempt to adapt education to the special Masai conditions.

return from leave after three months at their homes. They were weighed on a new market scale, and measured in a rather rough and ready fashion against a wall. No great accuracy can therefore be claimed for any of the statistics, but examinations were carried out as carefully as conditions allowed.

The ages of the 60 children investigated varied from 8 to 16 years; their average age was 12 years 9 months. Again it should be remembered that, except in one or two cases, ages were estimated in accordance with physical development.

During the period of leave it was found that on the average the children had grown 7/60 of an inch. Four of them had grown as much as $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches and only two had apparently not grown at all. The average height of the children on their return to school was 4 feet $\frac{4}{5}$ inches.

In other respects the poor diet at home was reflected in physical deterioration. Out of the 60 children 4 had gone home with skin diseases; on their return 26 were either suffering from a definite disease or their state of nutrition had so deteriorated as to be remarked on by the Hospital Assistant.

By far the most common diseases were impetigo, ringworm and scabies. Surprisingly enough — in view of the enormous number of flies in Masailand at this time of year — only one child was found to be suffering from conjunctivitis. The prevalence of skin diseases was expected, as Masai living conditions are notoriously filthy, and every child whilst on leave had lived in the traditional Masai "kraal".

If dirty conditions were the chief cause of these complaints, diet deficiency was certainly to blame for the loss of weight recorded. Before going home the average weight of the children was 80.2 pounds. On return to school the average had dropped to 78.6 pounds, a loss of 1.6 pounds. Out of the 60 children 62 had lost weight and only 8 had gained weight. These 52 children had on average lost 2.37 pounds each. Ten of them had lost more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ pounds — the largest loss being $6\frac{1}{4}$ pounds. Of the 8 who gained weight, four had gained insignificant amounts and the other four had gained $3\frac{1}{4}$, $7\frac{1}{4}$, $7\frac{1}{2}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ pounds respectively.

In an attempt to find an explanation I interrogated these latter four boys and the ten who had lost a large amount of weight, as to their feeding habits at home. Their replies provided much varied and interesting information but it was difficult to find any single factor which would explain why some had lost weight and others had gained.

Since the staple diet of all the children whilst at home was milk, it can readily be understood that the sons of rich parents would naturally obtain more milk than those who lived in kraals where there were fewer cattle. Only four of the 14 children did not have some maize flour either in the form of *ugali* or *uji*. But this is not significant as, of these four, two gained weight and two lost weight.

Practically all the children spent their time herding even if not every day at least on certain days each week. This means that they would drink milk or *uji* in the morning before setting out and that they would get no food again until the main meal either of milk and maize flour

or of meat in the evening. It is noticeable that 3 out of the 4 who gained weight did not herd at all. It is certain that the diet eaten by a herdsboy would not be conducive to increasing the weight of a growing boy.

Most of the children attended one or more *olpuls*. At an *olpul* a few *moran* (warriors) will go into the bush and slaughter a bullock or goats. They take with them a few uncircumcised boys and girls. They camp in the bush for any period from 10 to 30 days, depending on how many bullocks they have to slaughter. For the first few days they eat the meat roasted and cooked; thereafter they subsist on soup. The Masai consider that this diet gives considerable strength. When the bullock is slaughtered the blood is also drunk. Even those children who did not attend an *olpul* occasionally had meat at their homes. On such days as they ate meat they would not drink milk or eat *ugali* or *uji* until the evening, as to mix meat and milk is forbidden. From their answers it was, however, clear that the days on which meat is eaten at a Masai kraal are far fewer than is commonly thought.

It was interesting to note how those who had lost weight very rapidly put on weight as soon as they returned to their regular meals and balanced diet at the school. The following table shows the varying changes. The first column shows the amount in pounds lost or gained during the holidays: the second column shows the change two months after their return to school.

1.	...	- 4	+ 3½	8.	...	- 5	+ 8
2.	...	- 5½	+ 1½	9.	...	- 5	+ 4½
3.	...	- 6	+ 3½	10.	...	- 6½	+ 5½
4.	...	- 5½	+ 9	11.	...	+ 3½	+ 4½
5.	...	- 5½	+ 3¾	12.	...	+ 7½	+ 4
6.	...	- 5½	+ 6	13.	...	+ 7½	- 4½
7.	...	- 4½	- ?	14.	...	+ 4½	- 1½

It will be seen that all those who had lost weight regained weight at school, while 2 who had gained weight, lost weight at school. Both the latter two children were special cases; the one was abnormal physically and had a very varied diet even at home as he was the son of the office interpreter who lived at Monduli. Thus the school diet was little different from his home diet. The second boy was recovering from a knife wound received on leave and was not fit during these two months at school.

Conclusion: It is difficult to draw any very definite conclusion from the above notes. It is however clear that the vast majority of the children did not obtain enough meat and milk at home. Eaten in sufficient quantities these two foods are fully adequate dietetically. The few who gained weight were fortunate in that they were probably the sons of fathers with many cattle or that grazing near their homes was better than in other areas. It would, however, be interesting if the school holiday could be fixed during the rainy season instead of during the dry season, as at present. It seems likely that then no such general physical deterioration would occur as the milk available would compensate for other deficiencies in the diet.

THE COIFFEUR OF THE MASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'moran' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Masailand may perhaps be put on record here.

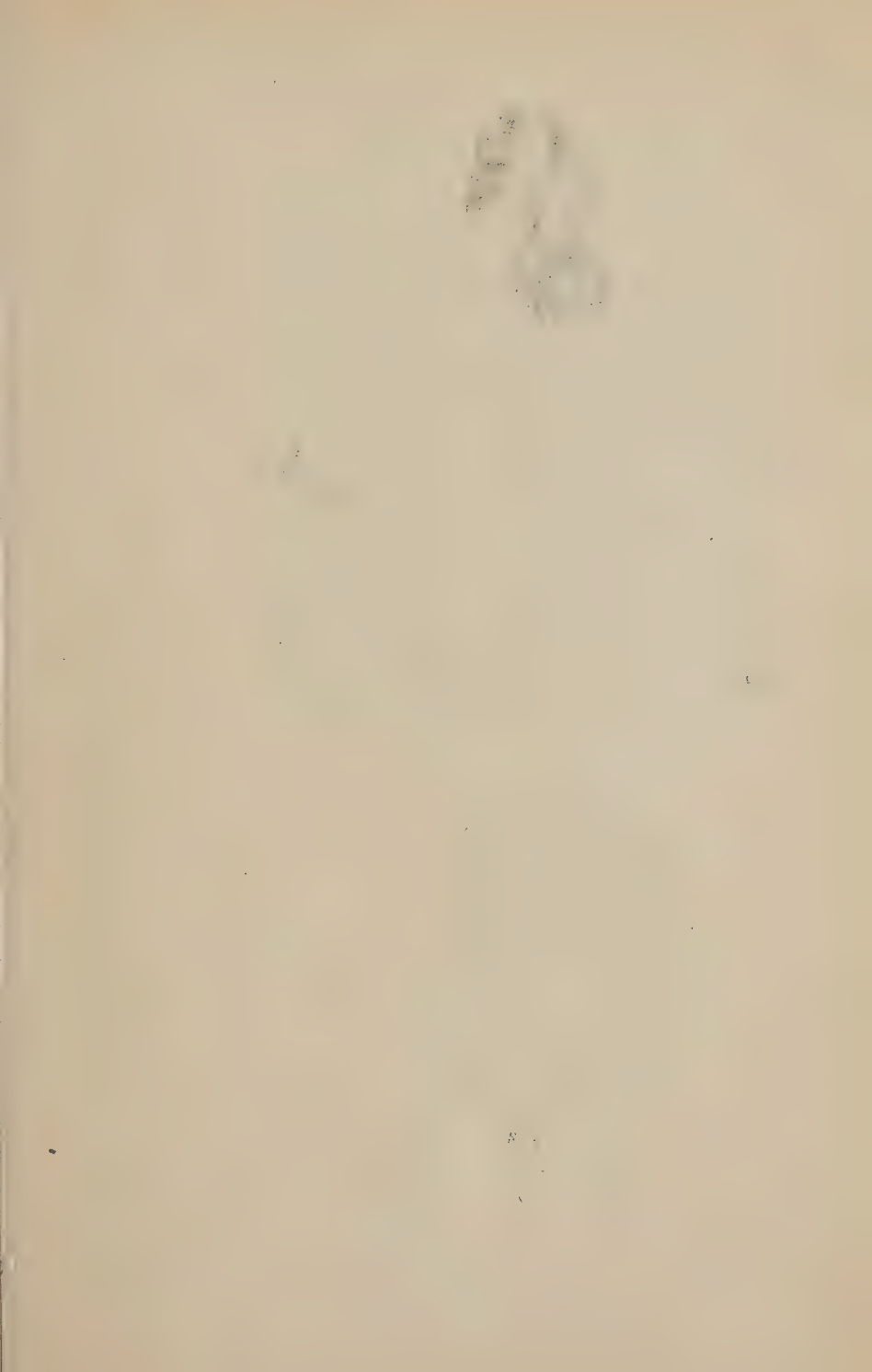
Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their conscious or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the coiffeur and its concomitant red ochre has a surprising effect in obliterating Hamitic characteristics of feature and bringing out those derived from the now liberal admixture of 'Bantu' blood.

It is still so customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old school pigtail' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pig-tailed and ochred 'moran' discussing their performances in some inter-house football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

There are many varieties of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and loosely braided styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Ol daika'.

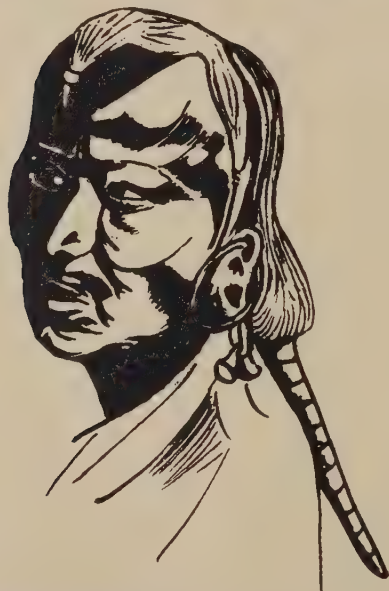
The materials used in the head gear are as follows :

- (i) a length or lengths of pliant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'O-siteti' (*Tamarindus indica* L.; the name is also applied to the shrub *Grewia* which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes).
- (ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep an inch wide and two or more feet in length.
- (iii) several feet of fine string made from ox gut or tendon.
- (iv) a foot or two of cord made from the 'ol-reteti' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Hochstetteri*, the cord being prepared from the aerial rootlets. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Battiscombe





HAIR GROWN READY FOR PIGTAIL.



**STYLE OF PIGTAIL MOST COMMON IN
NABERERA AREA.**

(Common Trees and Wood Plants of Kenya Colony) gives the Masai name of *F. Hochstetteri* as 'Ol-edeti' and identifies 'Ol-retei' (the name used by my informants) with a small tree growing on highland forest edges called *Maesa lanceolata* Forsk.

- (v) Fat, sheep fat for preference, but otherwise the best bovine rib fat.
- (vi) Red ochre (*ol Karia*).
- (vii) Ornaments, usually comprising a metal clasp, wire bangles usually strung with coloured beads (*engiok*) and double-lobed copper weights (*esekerwa*).

The method is as follows: The hair is grown until it hangs on the shoulders, that is, about nine inches long. This it does naturally and only in exceptional cases has to be eked out with cow hair. During the growing period the hair usually remains in a mop, but occasionally is braided into short pigtailed.

As soon as the necessary length has been reached, the hair is parted transversely across the top of the head, that is at right angles to the European fashion. The largest portion, that at the back of the parting, is painstakingly twisted by hand into braided strands which are then grouped round the end of the 'siteti' stick or sticks (according to the number of pigtailed to be worn) and lashed on with the gut string. The stick and hair ends are then bound neatly with the sheep skin strip so as to taper to a point.

The hair in front of the parting is divided into three equal portions and braided. The ends of each portion are bound together with gut string. The two side pieces which fall in front of each ear are then tied together by a cord under the chin, tight enough to hold them flat against the face. The central forelock' is finished off with a metal clasp.

If the warrior wishes to wear the ultra-smart 'helmet' style, the single pigtail is brought forward over the top of the head and its tip bound to the tip of the 'forelock' but as the pigtail stick is pliant and would therefore pull the forelock up, the latter is bound down by a further cord, passing across the forehead and tied at either end to the tips of the 'side-locks', which as we have already seen are firmly tied down to the face by the chin cord. As soon as the pigtail is securely fastened in the ridge position, the whole coiffeur is liberally coated with fat, tinted with red-ochre, and the 'helmet' effect is complete.

The wire bangles with coloured beads pass through the top of the ear, and the copper weights are of course suspended from the earlobes, which have been carefully lengthened during many years of youth — initially by the insertion of wooden plugs. In extreme cases the ear lobe has been so stretched that if it is desired to get it out of the way, it can be hitched right over the crown of the head onto the opposite ear!

The fat-plastered 'helmet' coiffeur is open to the objection that it soon spoils in the rain and the warrior adopting the style will have, if the weather is at all doubtful, a 'sou-wester' attached round his neck and dangling down the back of his neck. This is a little hood of finely prepared skin from a goat's stomach and gives full waterproof protection to the head-dress in case of need.

In fact, however, the 'helmet' style is heavy and uncomfortable with its tight forehead string and is worn for special occasions and short periods only. The fat is then washed off, a clasp put back on the forelock and the pigtail left to dangle comfortably or be divided into several smaller and lighter pigtails, the bases of which are arranged asymmetrically so that the pigtails tend to fan out instead of hanging clumsily together.

Market Day On Meru

Tall, ochre-painted women,
Blithe children, driving sheep,
Come down
To town
On Market Day,
A rendezvous to keep.
The Market is
Their trysting day
And all the Mountain
Hums.

The Whites sit in their windows
To watch the people pass.
The dust,
Upthrust
By eager feet,
Chrome-powders the parched grass.
The clash of bells
On thigh and shin
From every laneway
Comes,

While warriors stalk, silent,
The plangent, vivid, street.
The Day
Is gay
With promise and
The dancing drummer's beat —
A beat that sounds
Beyond the town
And echoes on the
Plain.

The leaning forest foothills
Are dark. Each river bed
Is kist
With mist.
Above the cloud
The Mountain flaunts his head,
Wearing, aslant,
A cap of white
That is the frozen
Rain.

Correspondence

P.O. Box 32,

Lusaka,

Northern Rhodesia.

The Editor,
Tanganyika Notes and Records.

Sir,

The query made by Mr. G. W. Hatchell in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 24 about the use of pigeons in medicine is intriguing. I am hoping that you will already have received authoritative explanations for the widely-spread practice. I venture only to point out that Fraser, in "The Golden Bough", Vol. 1, p. 151, mentions that "in Morocco a fowl or pigeon may sometimes be seen with a little red bundle tied to its foot; the bundle contains a charm, and it is believed that as the charm is kept in constant motion by the bird, a corresponding restlessness is kept up in the mind of him or her against whom the charm is directed." Could this have any connection with the tethering of pigeons to a sick bed, noted by Mr. Hatchell in Tanga two years ago?

In Pepys' days pigeons seem to have been used more as hot-water bottles than as prophylactic charms. When Sir Henry Unton, English Ambassador to France, lay ill of a malignant fever in 1596, Henri IV's physicians prescribed "confectio alcarnas, compounded of musk, amber, gold, pearl and unicorn's horn, with pigeons applied to his side and all other means that art could devise, sufficient to expel the strongest poison and he be not bewitched withal." Thus reported an English friend who visited the sick man; but all was in vain and Sir Henry died two days later. (Quoted in 'Oriental Papers' by C. S. Emden, 1948, p.4.)

Yours faithfully,

W. C. LITTLE.

Kondoa Irangi.

The Editor,
Tanganyika Notes and Records.

Sir,

Captain Grant's most interesting article in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 25 stimulates me to add a further note on the lakes of Kondoa District.

2. Lake Haubi can now be reached by motor track, which leaves the Great North Road about 200 yards north of the milestone 110 (ex Dodoma). The western shore of the lake is reached after a hilly 8½ mile journey, whilst a further 1½ mile drive along the lake shore brings one to a pleasant Rest House with a magnificent view of the lake and forest beyond.

3. The road continues a further 5 miles to the edge of the evergreen rain forest; from the terminus, a short but sharp climb brings one to the crest of a ridge from which a vast expanse of Masai Steppe can be viewed. After an easy walk along the ridge through cool forest the trig. point MKONGA, 7,195 feet, is reached, from which the first few hundred of the 2,500 foot drop to the plains below is vertical.

4. Captain Grant is uncertain of the depth of Lake Haubi. So am I, but informants tell me that in a year of exceptionally low rainfall the lake practically dries out, only a few muddy puddles remaining.

5. Lake Bicha, which Captain Grant refers to not by name but as lying "one mile south-east of Kondoa town," still provides good duck shooting. After the good 1946/47 rains (34.61 inches) it contained water throughout the subsequent dry season, but after the poor 1947/48 rainfall (18.17 inches) the lake was dry by September 1948. The December rainfall caused it temporarily to hold water but this was quickly absorbed by the parched earth and it was not till February 1949 that the lake resumed its pleasant normal appearance.

6. Some 8 miles to the west of Kondoa a series of 3 lakes lie in the Bubu valley: those not actually in the river-bed doubtless indicate old courses of the stream. The southernmost, Seria, is, as far as is known, permanent and forms a watering point at certain seasons for large herds of elephant and other game. Coming as they do from the fly bush to the west, these animals largely nullify the efforts of the Government by bringing fly back into the clearings designed and executed at great cost to protect the population from sleeping sickness, a disease particularly rife in this area.

7. The two lakes to the north, Deramatai and Mungule, are said to be more transitory, their capacity to hold water depending on the unpredictable deposition or removal of sandbanks by the floods.

8. There is an interesting vantage point on Tura Hill, 2 miles in a direct line N.N.W. of Kondoa Boma. One can motor to within 300 yards of the peak, by a track which takes off from the aerodrome. Besides serving the primary purpose of enabling the visitor to see an interesting example of Kondoa's prehistoric Rock Paintings, a visit to this site reveals all the lakes mentioned above save Haubi, whose position nevertheless is readily ascertainable relative to the forest-clad hill which can be seen on the north-eastern horizon.

I am, etc.,
H. A. FOSBROOKE.

Ifunda Training Centre,
P.O. Ifunda, T.T.

The Editor,
Tanganyika Notes and Records.
Dear Sir,

Can you shed any light on the meaning of this extract from Mr. G. W. Hatchell's article on the Angoni in the June 1948 issue?

(p.70, line 18) . . . He had four sons named Mpangarara, Mvumba, Mini and Muvi . . . and was succeeded by his son *Mtambarara* . . .

Is this son-successor meant to be Mpangarara?

Again:

"Zuru was succeeded by Muharule, who was succeeded by his nephew, Chabruma. On the death of Chipeta a dispute arose between his sons, Mpepo and Chabruma . . ." (Page 71, lines 16-18).

Does this mean 'between his son (i.e. Chipeta's son Mpepo) and Chabruma'?

Yours faithfully,

PETER M. WORSLEY.

We thank Mr. Worsley for calling attention to these two misprints. On page 70 of No. 25, line 20 read Mpangarara. Page 71 line 18 read 'son Mpepo' for 'sons, Mpepo'.—Editor.

Ifunda Training Centre,
P.O. Ifunda, T.T.

The Editor,
Tanganyika Notes and Records.
Dear Sir,

On reading through Mr. Maguire's article on the Dorobo, I noted his remarks on the relationship of the Mosiro tongue to Nandi with interest. It seems quite definite, and may be closer than the few examples given indicate. For example, to the best of my recollection, an alternative Nandi word for 'night' is 'lagat', a word heard in the extremely common name Kiplagat (also rendered Kiplakat or Kiplangat). The variations are due to the difficulty of rendering the nasal Nandi accent in conventional orthography.

The word 'teta' for 'ox' is correct enough, but it is always used as meaning the singular of 'cattle'; the word for 'bull' is 'kiruk', much nearer to the Mosiro word given for 'ox'.

So this gives us (with the article used) 'lagatet' equivalent to Mosiro 'langet' and 'kirkit' equivalent to Mosiro 'kirigi'. With due allowance for pronunciation, there is little difference ('kirkit' often sounds like 'girgit'). Thus of the equivalents given only the pairs 'chepkeswai-silélé', 'ekonnet-fetinda' and 'Asis-Tororéta' appear to have no connection.

Yours faithfully,

PETER M. WORSLEY.

NOTICE.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS AND BACK NUMBERS.

All members of the Tanganyika Society and others who are students of the Swahili language and its literature will be interested to hear that the Government Press has now completed the printing for the Society of 'Utenzi wa Kiyama (Siku ya Hukumu)' by Hemedi bin Abdallah bin Saidi e-Buhry, a symbolic poem descriptive of the Judgment Day and Life after Death and one of the best of the few extant examples of classical Swahili literature. The text was edited by the late Rev. Roland Allen who enhanced it by a fine translation, an introduction in which the character and symbolism of the poem are discussed, an analysis, and full textual notes on the difficulties of interpretation.

The printing of the 'Utenzi' has been delayed for several years by post-war shortages and difficulties, but was approved by the Editorial Committee of 'Notes and Records' (prior to its being taken over by the Society) as part of a policy of preserving for posterity, in or through this journal, knowledge of every aspect of the history, culture and natural history of Tanganyika, past and present. It need hardly be emphasized how closely this policy accords with the aims and objects of the Tanganyika Society.

The 'Utenzi wa Kiyama' may be obtained, price Shs. 2/-, at the King George V Memorial Museum or through the post by sending Shs. 2/20 in stamps to the Hon. Treasurer, Tanganyika Society, P.O. Box 511, Dar-es-Salaam.

Other occasional papers and back numbers which may be obtained in the same way are: *Tanganyika Arrow Poisons* by W. D. Raymond, *The International Red Locust Control* by A. P. G. Michelmores, *Rezende's Description of East Africa in 1634* by Sir John Gray, (all at Shs. 2/-), *Arabic Script for Swahili Students* by J. W. T. Allen and 'Notes and Records' Nos. 4, 5, 11 and 22 to 25 (all at Shs. 5/- except No. 24 and 25 which are Shs. 7/50). All members interested in ornithology are strongly recommended to purchase a copy of No. 4, which contains a most interesting paper by R. E. Moreau covering all *Bird Migration* in Tanganyika both from Europe and Asia and also internally within the African continent. No. 5 is of special interest to gardeners (*Flowering and Ornamental Shrubs and Trees* by H. A. Lindeman) and fishermen (*Sea-Fishing near Tanga* by G. W. Hatchell). No. 11 is primarily a historical number containing E. C. Baker's *Notes on the Shirazi of East Africa* and D. W. I. Piggott's *History of Mafia*.

THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY

c/o King George V Memorial Museum,
P.O. Box 511,
DAR ES SALAAM,
Tanganyika.

This Society came into being on August 8th, 1947. Its objects are to promote the study of ethnology, history, geography, natural history and kindred sciences in their relation to Tanganyika; to co-operate with the King George V Memorial Museum to this end; and to encourage and facilitate the publication of records and studies in these subjects.

In pursuance of these aims, a major activity of the Society has been to take over and continue publication of "Tanganyika Notes and Records" from the Editorial Committee by whom it has been carried on so successfully since its foundation in 1936. The journal is issued twice a year, in June and December, priced at Shs. 7/50 a copy to non-members.

The Society enjoys the hospitality of the Museum at its headquarters, and this helps to foster close co-operation between its members and the Museum Trustees. Members of the Society are privileged to use the Museum library, and in return the library is enriched by the exchange journals and reports donated by the Society. The Museum is also the meeting place for discussions or reading of papers on subjects within the Society's field of interest.

The subscription rate for ordinary members (who are entitled to borrow from the library, and receive "Notes and Records" free) is Shs. 10/- per annum. Associate members (who may attend all meetings, and read in the library, but do not receive the journal), pay an annual subscription of Shs. 2/50. Societies, clubs, libraries, schools, etc., may join as institutional members, at the same rate as ordinary members. Societies or institutions which publish journals or reports of interest to the Tanganyika Society are invited to enter into exchange arrangements; a specimen copy of "Notes and Records" will be sent on request.

The success of the Society will depend on its members, both in numbers and active interest. The committee has set as its target to obtain 1,000 members in the first two years. There is no doubt that there are quite enough people interested in the Society's objects to enable this figure to be quickly passed, were they all to join now. On our success in attaining our membership target will depend the Society's ability to maintain the journal at its present high standard and low subscription rate, and to contemplate embarking on other ventures.

Send your subscription **now** to the Honorary Treasurer at the above address.