

H. WORLD VIEW: IDEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

Ideology is here taken to have a narrower area of signification than world view. While the former includes primarily the ideas which a society has about the ultimate premises of existence, e.g. of supranormal powers and their influences on man, the latter covers the modes how man classifies various aspects of universe, including the surrounding nature (cf. Pentikäinen 1977a:144; 1978). What is described below is selected to illuminate the main hypothesis of this study, not to give a comprehensive analysis of ideology or world view.

Of the various genre categories (Pentikäinen 1978:55-57; Honko 1972:63-87) particularly the category *enkiterunoto* (from *aiter* = to begin), which covers the myths of origin, is illuminating in the analysis of thought structures. The myths of origin which I recorded among the Parakuyo do not extend beyond the historical exodus from the northern place called Kerio. Yet they have myths, partly common with the Pastoral Maasai, on the origin of pastoralism (Beidelman 1968:86-88).

The myths of origin are quite few in number and their structure is simple. Therefore, their message does not leave much place for speculation. In short, they tell that long ago cattle were given to the Maasai, probably to the Parakuyo (Ole Saibull and Carr 1981:17), while the Dorobo were left without, and the Ilmeek (all other people whom they knew) were given the skill to cultivate.¹

Mythical paucity (Olsson 1977:120) does not mean poverty of ideas. It may reflect the rather simple and consistent way of ordering cosmology, which is pragmatically oriented rather than engaged in constructing hierarchies of spirits. The myths of origin relate the establishment of a

close affective bond between the Maasai and cattle. It was Enkai himself, the creator of the universe, who gave the cattle to the Maasai. There are several versions of this myth in the oral tradition of the Pastoral Maasai and Parakuyo (Beidelman 1968:86-87), and all of them have certain features in common. They state that the cattle were not intended originally to be given to the Maasai but to the Dorobo. Enkai asked the Dorobo, so the myth relates, to be ready early in the morning to receive the cattle, when they will be let down from heaven with the aid of a rope twined of the bark of the *oreteti*-tree (*Ficus natalensis*) or with a strip of hide (Benson 1974:77; Hollis 1905:266-71). The message of the myth is that the Dorobo was either unwilling or unable to tend the cattle. In one version he overslept in the morning and the Maasai received the cattle instead (Hollis 1905:270-71). In another version the Dorobo became astonished at the multity of cattle and as a consequence Enkai retreated permanently (Ole Kipusi 1972:41-42), and again according to one version the Dorobo cut the cord by shooting an arrow (Hollis 1905:271; Benson 1974:78).

All of these versions and other myths transmit the message, that the Dorobo were given a chance to practise pastoralism, but they were rather more inclined to hunt and collect honey, and pastoralism was entrusted to the Maasai. These myths are not purely Maasai rationalizations for their claims to possess all the cattle; also the Dorobo mythology contains similar messages. Impatience and gluttony are said in their mythology to be the qualities which do not make them good herders (Maquire 1928a:264), and the Maasai are therefore better practitioners of cattle husbandry.

In addition to the Dorobo, the old Maasai mythology does not deal with relations with any other ethnic groups. Therefore it can be suggested that the relations with the Dorobo are of much longer duration than with other ethnic groups in whose vicinity the Maasai are presently living. But also in the new surroundings the Maasai see themselves as true cattle holders, and also where they are densely surrounded by agriculturalists, as is the case with the Parakuyo, they still prefer pastoralism. In their ideology cattle husbandry is not only a deliberate choice. It is in fact a divine calling, where refusal is divinely sanctioned. Pastoralism is in their ideology the only true alternative, and other choices are viewed as temporary solutions in face of hardships.

38. ENKAI - THE DEITY

According to Parakuyo thought, man's existence is ultimately dependent on the functions of Enkai, the single divine being they acknowledge. There is no hierarchical structure of various levels of supranormal beings above man; he is directly subordinated to Enkai, to whom he is supposed to pray regularly.² It could be expected that in a dualistically ordered society there would be a dualistic theology, where good and beneficial influences are traced to a benevolent divinity and harmful events to his polar counterpart. This is not the case, however, although some traditions would seem to suggest this. Enenaunir, whom Hollis has translated as a devil (1905:265), does not belong to a category of powerful supranormal beings, and it can be classified differently as will be shown later.

There is a clear tendency to credit both positive and negative supranormal influences to the same source, Enkai. The rationalization of negative events - drought, diseases, barrenness etc. - has been a problem to Maasai philosophers. They have to be credited to some extrahuman agency, and when witchcraft has not been the common resolution, they must have been traced to a divine source. One alternative is the one recorded by Hollis, that there are in fact two gods: Enkai Narok (Black God) and Enkai Naado (Red God). The former one is benevolent and wants to protect people and give them sufficient rain, while the latter one wishes to torture people by sending droughts and diseases.

The symbolic colours of the divinities are, of course, reminiscent of the black rain clouds and the reddish hazy sky during the dry season. This theory of two gods has apparently not been accepted by all the Maasai and Parakuyo, and I recorded no confirmation of it.

Another alternative is to apply the three symbolic colours to the divinity and call his different manifestations as Enkai Nanyuki (= Enkai Naado), Enkai Narok, and Enkai Naibor (White God), as Merker has recorded (1910:205). Here the whole triadic spectrum of symbolic colours has been the

means to characterize the qualities of Enkai.³

Still one more possibility is to apply the principle of double dualism and use the symbolic number four in describing divinity. Thus we get a version recorded by Baxter and Butt (1953:118-19), where the Maasai originally had four gods, the black, white, blue, and red ones, of which only the black one at present exists.

All these rationalizations are attempts to classify the universe and its events according to one single code, although they superficially seem to be very dissimilar. They are realizations of the basic dual principle. Different names of the divinity have to be understood as attributes of one God, Enkai, and not as separate entities. The dual division Enkai Narok/Enkai Naado credits the source of all events to Enkai, and these events can be broadly grouped into two categories: positive-beneficial and negative-harmful. The triadic division Enkai Narok/Enkai Naado/Enkai Naibor adds one more attribute, naibor (white), which is morally indifferent and functions as a mediator between the two polar categories. The quadruple division is a duplication of dualism, and represents the number four very common in Maasai numerical symbolism. It does not fit properly into the facts, because the name of the colour 'blue' is not found in the Maasai basic colour terminology; it is identified with 'black' in colour symbolism.⁴ It seems as if the felt necessity to find four representations of the divinity would have forced one to supercede the facts.

In order to understand the Parakuyo world structure it is important to note that Enkai has a feminine prefix. This may sound odd in a patrilineal society unless we understand, that enkai is also a term for 'sky' and 'clouds'. Enkai presents his, or should we say her, benevolence towards the people through sending dark clouds full of rain, which within a few days make grass grow and cattle prosper. Therefore the exclamation "Eshata Enkai!" includes all the following connotations: clouds are raining; heaven is raining; God is raining.⁵ The femininity of the term is apparently closely connected with fertility. It is the females who are fertile and on whom the continuity of various species depends; therefore the feminine attribute of God.⁶

This conclusion is supported also by the fact that the sun, *enkolong'* (pl. *inkolong'i*), is feminine and the moon, *olapa* (pl. *ilapaitin*), is masculine. The sun is essential in ensuring fertility, although it can also destroy when excessive. The moon, on the other hand, does not contribute to fertility. It merely lights the ways of males, who often travel at night. Therefore the masculine connotations. The femininity of the source of abundance, rain and sun, points to the suggestion, that not masculine but feminine qualities are in the final analysis the decisive ones in ensuring man's existence.⁷

Some writers have emphasized the vagueness of the concept 'Enkai' in the minds of the Maasai (Thomson 1968:260; Wincza 1970:19). No anthropomorphic attributes have been attached to the term itself, although the communication of *Enkai* with the primeval Maasai and Dorobo would suggest this. Much of the confusion and assumed vagueness in the concept 'Enkai' is due to an inability to make a difference between the concept itself and its varying representations or realizations. Such expressions as *Enkai Narok* (Black God), *Enkai Naado* (Red God), *Eshata Enkai* (God 'rains'), *E-dalu Enkai* (God brings drought),⁸ and even that *Enkai* lives on *Oldoinyo Lenkai* (Mountain of *Enkai*), an active volcano in Northern Tanzania, or on Mount Kilimanjaro, or in steaming holes (Thomson 1968:260), or in the evergreen *oreteti*-tree (*Ficus natalensis*), or in the thunderstorm, are realizations of the thought that *Enkai* acts in different ways which are varying in form and context, but all of which have a single source and explanation. To translate the same into the language of structural levels, the different modes of revelation of *Enkai* belong to the lower level of syntagmatic (realization) structures, while the concept itself, *Enkai*, belonging to the paradigmatic level of reality, is a non-observable common source of the former. It is here as with other components of structure, that the realization structures are what we observe, and the paradigmatic deep structures what we infer.

The position of *Naiterukop* (probably 'the one who started on the earth')⁹ is somewhat ambiguous in the cosmology. In some old versions of myth she (with feminine gender) is equated with *Enkai*, the giver of cattle (Hollis 1905:266-70), or she is thought to be a lesser divinity or spirit (Thomson

1968:260). But it is also possible, as some authors have suggested, that *Naiterukop* means the first human being on earth,¹⁰ who is the ancestor of all races and who may be of divine origin simultaneously.

In the ideological scheme *Naiterukop* stands between man and divinity. She is not ascribed a status of the ultimate source, but she is more than man. It is possible, as Olsson has suggested, that it represents, as its usage in different non-ritual contexts shows, an etymological concept in more than one sense, e.g. 'the first human being', 'the first Maasai', 'the Maasai as opposed to other ethnic groups', or even 'the first age-set' (Olsson 1977:123,127).

39. LIVING - DEAD

The Parakuyo society was previously more nomadic than at present, and this has influenced the ideas of the Parakuyo regarding the relationships between the living and the dead. In a nomadic economy there has scarcely been a possibility to develop any kind of ancestor worship because the dead had to be left behind.¹¹ Prior to governmental persuasion they did not even bury the corpses. They were left to the hyenas and other predators, except persons of great reverence, who were buried in the middle of the kraal. When it was not possible to return to the graves of the forefathers there was no institutionalized, private or communal, system of worshipping or offering to the departed ones. It can be inferred further that lack of ancestor worship has also prevented the development of a hierarchical system of divinities.

In addition to *Enkai*, the Maasai and the Parakuyo can occasionally pray to some of their departed religious leaders, *iloibonok kituaak* (s. *oloibonok kitok*). In some of the ritual songs,¹² usually sung by mature women in rituals, references are found to e.g. Subet and Mbatian, who were the most famous of the Maasai *iloibonok* being able to unite various Maasai sections, so that they could fight and defeat the rebellious Maasai sections and finally the *Iloikop* between 1850 - 1884 (Low 1966:306). These are, however, exceptions, but these *iloibonok* are probably in a process of becoming intermediaries between man and *Enkai*.

There are a number of factors which have contributed to the change in customs of treating the dead. In addition to governmental persuasion, the more settled way of life and the influence of neighbouring groups have made the Parakuyo bury their dead. A decisive factor in the change is said to be the government policy, but also other factors are significant. As a consequence, burial rituals as well as memorial rituals later on have become common.

The ways of treating the dead depend on the social status of the person concerned. In the latter half of the last century, from which time we have quite reliable records, there were at least four ways of treating the dead. First, the children, warriors and women without children were taken outside the kraal with a minimum of ritual, to be devoured by hyenas, lions, vultures and marabou storks. Second, the elders and women with children were also placed outside the kraal but with accompanying ritual procedures. It might have included preparing new leather sandals, slaughtering a sheep and smearing the body with its fat, as well as slaughtering and eating a bullock on the spot where the corpse was placed. Third, in the case of a medicine man (oloiboni) or a rich and revered man (olkarsis), the corpse was smeared with fresh sheep fat and wrapped into an ox hide. The corpse was then placed in a shallow trench, which had been dug in a shady place, and stones were piled on the trench to keep the predators away.¹³ Fourth, the Pastoral Maasai and Parakuyo sources know the custom of burying a revered elder in the middle of the cattle kraal under cow dung.¹⁴

Although all these four types of treating the dead can be found in the sources, a clear trend of change can be identified. Before the colonial orders the custom of leaving the corpse to predators was common also among the elders, and only persons of exceptional reverence were buried in a shallow trench. This was common among the Pastoral Maasai (Thomson 1968:211,259) and also the Parakuyo.¹⁵ The custom of burying the corpses became common in the Kiberashi area during the time when Ilkijaru were warriors, and it is presently a rule. The place of burial varies considerably. If a person dies when travelling in a distant area he is buried there.¹⁶ An elder or a respected wife may be buried inside the kraal, but also burial outside of it is known.¹⁷ Disposal of corpses is not said

to be in use any more, although burying immature people is regarded as a custom of Ilmeek.

Death itself is accompanied with very little ritualization.¹⁸ Compared with the communal mortuary rituals of many Bantu groups, the Pastoral Maasai and Parakuyo rituals are almost family affairs. Why should it be so? Spencer has suggested for the Samburu, that the explanation would be in the absence of "a critical change in social organization or intense competition for property" (Spencer 1965:274) caused by the death of a man or woman. The laws of inheritance are quite clear and readjustment of property relationships would involve only close kin, and therefore no public ritual is needed.

Paucity of ritual is apparently linked with the total world-view. The ideas of afterlife are very faint, and there is not such a strong belief in the dependence of descendants on the departed ones, as was the case with e.g. the Nyakyusa.¹⁹ Concerning belief in afterlife, the following examples may be given: "When man dies, be it through being eaten by animals or through any other way, his spirit (oltau) will be left there"²⁰; "...when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul (oltau) dies with him...But when a medicine-man (oloiboni) or a rich person (olkarsis) dies and is buried, his soul turns into a snake as soon as his body rots" (Hollis 1905:307). "The concept of an afterlife is very vague among the Maasai. They think that the deceased go and live under the earth. This is the case at least regarding the most respected people. They may appear later to the living in a form of a white-coloured snake."²¹ Some tribes... say a body is just a temporal hut and once a person dies, the breath (Maasai call it *engiang'et* or *olmumua*) leaves the body and carries on life (*engishui*) independent of the body, and this is why the Maasai remove ornaments from the corpse. Therefore, to a Maasai, death is only the ceasing of the flesh because the breath (*engiang'et*) is indestructible" (Lotegeluaki 1970:32). And finally a statement of Thomson: "He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life ... When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork. The Maasai believe in annihilation" (Thomson 1968:259)

Whatever is the truth of the beliefs of the 19th century Maasai, the Parakuyo believe in the continuity of life after death. Otherwise the mortuary rituals conducted sometimes several months after death would be unintelligible. If the dead elder has children, they have to slaughter a fleckless ox (olkiteng osinyaari), cook its fat, particularly the valued chest fat (enkiyieu), and anoint the whole body of the deceased. The eldest child will start anointing from the head, the others will continue in turn until the whole body is anointed. All the other people being present shall cut leaves of certain trees and throw them on the head of the corpse. When doing this, they ask the revered elder to give them peace and blessing.²² Also other offerings are given to him. Milk is sprinkled over his body, beer and tobacco is poured on the face, as well as contents of the stomach of the killed ox. All decorations will be taken away from the corpse and, in case he is an elder (olmoruo), his eldest son will take the right-hand decorations, while other decorations are left to the other children. The eldest son will also inherit all the cattle.

New leather sandals (enamuke, pl. inamuka) are prepared and put on his feet. Covered with his blanket he is placed on a fleckless ox hide and buried. The position of the dead is head northwards and face westwards, to the direction of the setting sun, so that he will be lying on the right side.²³

The burial ritual can also take place several months, even two years, after death. By this time, the dead is revered by killing an ox, and its meat is eaten by the participants. Part of the contents of the stomach is taken from the ox in the bowl-shaped embunuka and poured on the grave. Each of the sons of the elder pours honey beer, milk and tobacco on the grave starting from the head to the feet asking at the same time the elder to bless them. As can be seen, this ritual resembles the actual mortuary ritual in many respects.

The belief in some kind of continuity of life after death becomes apparent in rituals of crisis, conducted at the site of a revered elder's death. Someone faced with misfortune is supposed to go to his father's 'grave', whether buried or eaten by animals, and take honey beer, milk and tobacco along, place them down and ask the dead to receive the gifts and

give them peace. An example of such a prayer was given by one elder:

Papa lai, nyele olopa kumbau lino, taama, incoo iyiook
My father, take your tobacco and eat, give us what is
isidan. Incoo iyiook embwuan. Nipal iyiook amu kintarruoiti.
good. Give us life. Leave us for we are spoiled.

Nening, kintarruoitie amu etii ilewak loo inyal ilkulikai.
Listen, we are spoiled but there are other men to be annoyed.

Itarruoiye opa oltaani ng'ania. Kitejo iyiook inkera inoono.
So-and-so man has been spoiled. We have told, we your
children

Kitasaiyaa iyie incoo esidai.
We have prayed to you, give good things.²⁴

After the prayer the ingredients are poured again as offering on behalf of the person who has sinned against the dead, so that this would forgive and leave him in peace. In case of misfortune they travel even long distances to make these offerings, if the cause of misfortune is thought to be misconduct (eng'oki) against the deceased elder.

40. OLOIBONI - THE PROPHET AND HEALER

In the egalitarian Parakuyo society there is no built-in structural mechanism, which would produce social or economic strata in a horizontal direction. There is a mechanism composed of successive age-sets, which creates socio-economic differences in a vertical direction, but this can be seen as a constructive element, because no individual is structurally excluded from the promotion brought by age. An exception to this principle of egalitarianity is demonstrated by the male members of the Enki-dong (= Iloibonok)²⁵ sub-clan of the Ilwarakishu clan, who are practically all medical experts and diviners, one of them being elected at a time as oloiboni kitok (great prophet, ritual leader, medical expert).²⁶

The office of curing is institutionally entrusted to one sub-clan, and therefore rivalry for positions is limited to the members of that group only. Therefore, unnecessary competition for positions has been minimized, although medical practitioning would bring along with it social and also economic privileges.

Strictly speaking, medical curing is not entirely excluded from the rest of the society. There are lesser diviners and healers called *ilkuyatik* (s. *olkuyati*) among the Pastoral Maasai and Parakuyo. Among the former they are often of Kikuyu origin, while among the Parakuyo they are members of the Ilmooge clan.²⁷

The Parakuyo *ilkuyatik* were formerly respected as healers but were gradually suppressed by the present *iloibonok*. They do not practise curing openly, but they have a role in conducting rituals in face of drought. In these rituals, which are conducted by the eldest live male member of the Ilmooge-clan,²⁸ and where women participate, the *iloibonok* do not have any privileged share. The symbolism connected with this *osinkolio le'nkai* (the song of God) ritual is concentrated on producing rain. The black fleckless female goat, black clothes on its back, water sprinkled from calabashes stuffed with two kinds of grass (*enkaiteteyai* and *oljani lo 'nkera*) on the goat, and songs of prayer directed to *Enkai*, all this repeated every morning and evening for two to four days are meant to ensure the availability of rain.²⁹

From the viewpoint of the ideological structure there are a few interesting points to be made regarding the role of the *iloibonok*. First, the institution of *iloibonok* is not very old in the societies we are concerned with. Some authors have taken pains to prove this, and with apparent success. Although the genealogy of *Enkidong iloibonok* among the Pastoral Maasai can be traced back as far as to the 1640s, it has been suggested that they received their first *oloiboni* only after having moved as far south as the Kenya Highlands. The Ngong Hills is the place of the first *oloiboni* according to myth (Fosbrooke 1948:13-14; Oliver 1966:200), but later on, until 1890, the members of the *Enkidong* sub-clan were locally concentrated "almost exclusively in the Sanya corridor between Mounts Kilimanjaro and Meru" (Berntsen 1973:79). Still more recent is the *oloiboni*-type system among the Nandi, who by 1860 had adopted the system from the victorious Uasin Gishu Maasai (Middleton 1968:381; Arap Magut 1969:95) or Segela Maasai (Hollis 1909:49).

The system was operative during the time of Hollis (1905-1909), who was able to trace the genealogy of Nandi *orkoiik*, equivalent of *iloibonok*, six

terms of office back.³⁰ The clan of Nandi *orkoiik*, Talai, was exogamous, and formed a clan with several religious and medical duties comparable with the *Enkidong* sub-clan of the Maasai (Arap Magut 1969:95-96). The *Kipsigis*, called *Lumbwa* by Hollis, adopted the system from the Nandi "some time before 1895" (Middleton 1968:382; Hollis 1909:49), and the first *orkoiyot* among them was a Nandi.

In addition to being a rather recent development, the system of *iloibonok* has another significant feature. In all these societies, Pastoral Maasai, Nandi, *Kipsigis*, and *Parakuyo*, the *iloibonok* are adoptees from alien societies. For the Pastoral Maasai they were *Kikuyu*, for the Nandi they were *Wuasinkishu* Maasai who may have been of *Kikuyu* origin, for the *Kipsigis* again they were of Nandi origin, and finally for the *Parakuyo* they are of *Mbugu* origin. How has this process been possible in societies with strong self-identity and prohibitions against intermarriage with alien ethnic groups? First we have to note that *oloiboni* does not possess direct political power, although his indirect influence in preparing raids and wars used to be significant. His position is crucial in creating coherence in otherwise widely dispersed societies, and his role is indispensable in regulating rituals connected with the age-set system. In important matters he can make no decisions without consulting the local elected political leaders (*olaiguenani*, pl. *ilaiguenak*). Therefore, although being to some extent isolated from the rest of the society, the *Enkidong* sub-clan does not constitute a political threat, because they are virtually excluded from direct political power. On the other hand, although the *iloibonok* are of alien origin, they are becoming fully assimilated in the society. They have a central position in the social structure, and the sub-clan exogamous practice ensures that also physical assimilation is taking place.

However, there are also aspects with wider implications in the issue. It is not only the absence of a political threat that has made it possible for the society to accept, or in fact to welcome, foreign healers and push aside its own practitioners. It is not the ethnicity which in the final analysis defines one's suitability for curing; skill and reputation as an impartial healer are more decisive. A powerful healer of foreign origin can be accepted into a society and he has one more advantage over the indigenous healer; he is likely to be free from the internal rivalries of

his host society, and it is very unlikely that he would use his skills for bewitching. This is at least the situation at the moment when the acceptance of the foreign healer takes place; later on he may become involved in partialities of various kinds. Health is such a crucial issue that ethnicity means little in face of it. The Parakuyo use frequently healers of the neighbouring Bantu groups. A Maasai elder in northern Tanzania hired a lorry and went to Kenya to fetch a Kikuyu healer, because he did not trust the impartiality of the local healers.

When the Parakuyo became separated from the Maasai after leaving Kerio, their oloiboni kitok did not follow that particular group which proceeded southwards. For some time they did not have a recognized ritual leader, although several lesser iloibonok and ilkuyatik came along; none of them emerged as a recognized leader.³¹ The confused situation continued until a powerful healer was adopted into the society during a time when a section of the Parakuyo had moved to the Pare - Mombo area. From the genealogy of the Parakuyo iloibonok (Fig. 12) it can be estimated that this took place some time at the end of the 19th century.³²

Fig. 12. A genealogy of the Parakuyo iloibonok kituaak.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>YEARS OF OFFICE</u>
Saing'unet	
Tilian	
Mtango	← A contemporary of Supeet, the famous Pastoral Maasai oloiboni
Olkojaja 'le Tero	
Shakaile/Konge	
Maitei	- appr. 1925
Moreto	1932 - 1969
Mtare	1969 -

In the following I shall illustrate the complexities connected with the adoption of the alien oloiboni kitok and the disputes in passing over the office to the follower. The information has been received mainly from four

informants, two of whom are members of the Enkidong sub-clan.³³

The present iloibonok of the Parakuyo originate from the Pare and Usambara mountains from a Southern Cushitic ethnic group called the Mbugu, who have been able to preserve their identity despite of the pressure of the surrounding majority Bantu ethnic groups (Ehret 1974:153-55; Kimambo 1974:199). They were pastoralists like the Maasai, and practiced circumcision and clitoridectomy, which custom made it possible to intermarry with the Maasai and the Parakuyo. The Parakuyo found that the Mbugu have powerful healers who could compete with their own iloibonok. These did not want to allow the strangers to come to their territory and blamed them for being Ilmeek.

I couple of incidents changed the situation rapidly. Tilian, a known Mbugu healer, was able to prepare medicine which cured a child with a bad headache. Soon afterwards he cured a woman who had lost her fertility. When rumor spread that Tilian is a man with skills to cure children and women, he was invited to live among the Parakuyo with the consequence that the other iloibonok had to seek their fortune further south.

Tilian was the first renowned healer in this line, although his predecessor Saing'unet is also known in the genealogy. Tilian was succeeded by his son Mtango, who despite of his blindness was a famous healer. The fate of Mtango was to become a martyr, when he was brutally killed and skinned by some Kisongo Maasai. There is a tradition that a fountain of water emerged on the spot where his blood was spilled making the soil fertile.

After Mtango, there was a period when the iloibonok kituaak followed one another rapidly. Olkojaja 'le Tero occupied the post for some time. Then the cousins Shakaile and Konge were apparently in the office in turns,³⁴ although no unanimosity exists regarding the details. There was a competition for the post when it had to be transferred to the next generation. Shakaile wanted his son Kamunyu to be elected, and Konge wanted the same for his son Maitei. The dispute was resolved when Kamunyu refused the post claiming that his economic situation would not guarantee to him the respect necessary for the oloiboni kitok. Therefore, the quarrel was

resolved in favour of Maitei who was suffering from T.B.

At the next change-over of the post there were quarrels again. Kamunyu had sons older than Maitei, and therefore it was thought that one of them would be elected. Kamunyu himself was in favour of his younger son Saito, but Maitei wanted Saito's elder brother Keiya. When no solution was found, Maitei finally decided that his own son Moreto should be appointed. The quarrel continued, however, for years after Maitei's death (about 1925), and was finally resolved in a meeting in Handeni (about 1932), where several government officials were present. Kamunyu lost the case, and Moreto continued as oloiboni kitok until his death in 1969, whereafter his son Mtare has continued in the office.

The residence of oloiboni kitok was in the Same - Mombo area for some time, e.g. in Hedaru, until it was moved to Kambala, south of Mvomero and north of Morogoro, in the beginning of the 1970s. This concerns the residence of oloiboni kitok only; the other members of the Enkidong sub-clan, also known as Iloibonok by the Parakuyo, are dispersed in a wide area among the eastern and northern Parakuyo.

As already noted, the Parakuyo of Tanzania are divided into two ritual entities, each of which has its own oloiboni kitok. What is said above concerns principally the northeastern section. The southwestern section has its own iloibonok, who belong to the Ilkerinkishu clan. Their oloiboni kitok was Pololet Kipondo in 1976 and he was residing in Mkata, close to Kilosa. His elder brother Kashoka had refused to receive the office from his father Kipondo Madumba in 1967, and so it was passed over to Pololet.³⁵ In minor issues he is independent in his decisions, but in matters concerning crucial changes in age-grades, like opening a circumcision period or arranging a promotion ritual (eunoto) and graduation rituals (olng'eher, edanyata o'loirien), he has to follow the time table of the northeastern section.³⁶

The role of iloibonok has changed considerably over time. Before colonial rule they had an important role in foretelling favourable times for warfare and cattle raids and in preparing war charms for warriors. They also

prepared medicines for curing cattle and people. Their particular role was, however, in regulating the periods of age-set recruitment and rituals connected with transfers in age-grades (Fosbrooke 1948:15).

Since wars and cattle raids are virtually past history, this aspect of the duties has in fact been left out. The introduction of modern medical services has considerably diminished their role in curing. The iloibonok used to provide all the medical services for livestock and people. The effectiveness of veterinary services on one hand, and of the local medical centres and regional hospitals on the other, has placed them in a dilemma. Characteristic of the development process is the introduction of cattle dips into the Mindu Tulieni village. The local oloiboni warned his clients against using the dips, lest their cattle die. The effectiveness of the treatment was, however, so impressive, that soon all Parakuyo were competing in bringing their cattle for treatment in dips, the local oloiboni with over 2 000 cattle among them.

The local healers have, nevertheless, retained some of their medical tasks. In curing cattle, the dip treatment and the injections against several livestock diseases would cover the need quite well, if the supply were reliable. Over the years, the supply of these services has been so irregular, that trust in such services has been shaken to the extent that far too often the people have had to rely on the only alternative at hand: the move to a more healthy area irrespective of villagization programs. In this process also the iloibonok have resumed some of their roles in cattle curing, although they also have suffered from the poor supply of medicines. In the changing role of iloibonok, their responsibility in controlling critical phases in promotion of age-sets, e.g. emurata, eunoto, and olngeher rituals, has become central. Age-set structure is one of the central institutions of the society, and in maintaining it, the oloibonok has a central position. Therefore, there is no reason to doubt that the iloibonok will hold their position in the society within the foreseeable future.

41. OLAUNONI - THE COUNTERPOLE OF WARRIORHOOD

From the viewpoint of the ideological structure, the position of *olaunoni* as an age-set leader is informative. Contrary to the qualities of his secular counterpart (*olaignenani*, pl. *ilaighenak*), *olaunoni* is supposed to possess qualities very different from those of warriors, or of men as a whole. There is only one *olaunoni* for the whole age-set, and he is elected by *oloiboni kitok* in connection with the promotion ritual (*eunoto*) of the warriors.

The name itself derives from *aun* ('to erect', 'to put upright') and has actually two noun forms, *olaunoni* ('the one who erects') and *olotuno* ('the one who erected'), the former being used by the Parakuyo and some of Tanzania Maasai, and the latter is known in Kenya.³⁷ In the *eunoto* ritual certain symbolic objects are ritually set up, put upright; hence the name *olaunoni*. These symbolic acts represent a change in the status of the age-set. The warrior time before *eunoto* has been in many ways probationary, and only after having reached this stage the age-set will be fully recognized, and, as a proof of this, the *oloiboni kitok* gives it a new and permanent age-set name.³⁸

Contrary to the position of *olaignenani*, who is a public secular leader, and whose position is sought after, nobody would like to be elected as *olaunoni*. It is not the multitude of duties which makes the candidates oppose the possible election, but the marginality of the position within the society which causes confused feelings. *Olaunoni* is factually separated from his age-set, in order to be its head. After appointment, he will bear symbols very different from those of the warriors (p. 4). He is going to wear spiral-shaped brass coils, female symbols of a married woman, in his ear-lobes for the rest of his life, although all of his age-mates will wear masculine symbols also in elderhood. He is placed by his age-set to be a forerunner in the life-cycle. Among the Pastoral Maasai he is the first one whose long hair (*oltaika*) is cut; the Parakuyo do not shave heads in *eunoto*. In earlier times he used to be the first one in his age-set to marry, and his age-mates paid the bridewealth for him. He was the first one to build his own kraal

and establish his own cattle gate (enkishomi).

But his role as a forerunner involves more than this. He is factually transferred into another age-set, to the alternate set above him. He will therefore be identified with the age-set of his olupiron-elders, which is also normally his father's age-set. He is in fact addressed by his age-mates as *papa lainei* (our father) with appropriate respect. He is not supposed to have sexual relations with the wives of his age-mates, because they are his 'children's wives'. In greetings these wives bow their heads before him - a sign of great respect. He is allowed to deal with the wives of his new age-set, the members of which are about 30 years older than he. When travelling, he is supposed to sleep with the members of the alternate age-set above him.

This ambiguous position involves also the fact that he is supposed to live only 17-18 years after having been elected as *olaunoni*. Thereafter he should die, lest his age-mates suffer from diseases and misfortune. He is not supposed to prosper economically, otherwise his age-mates will turn poor. In a sense, he represents a counterpole of the desired qualities. Therefore his role in society is burdensome.

As a compensation to these adverse expectations *olaunoni* is held in high esteem. Whenever he chooses a wife, his age-mates have to collect the full bride-wealth, and any previous engagement of the girl will be cancelled. Only *oloiboni kitok* enjoys similar privileges. Contrary to accounts told of the Pastoral Maasai *olaunoni*'s strict monogamy (Wincza 1970:48), a Parakuyo *olaunoni* is theoretically free to marry any number of wives.³⁹ He is, however, deterred by the expectations of not being successful in his life, and therefore he should be modest in wanting riches, be they wives, children or livestock.

The main duty of *olaunoni* is to guard the adherence of his age-set to tradition. He may go around and investigate the behaviour of his age-mates. They are scattered, however, over a very wide area, and *olaunoni* is not seen every year in a location. More important than the spontaneous inspection tours is his mere existence as a controlling agent. In questions concerning a single age-set, he is on the top of the hierarchy of officials,

even above oloiboni kitok. Age-set disputes are first discussed under the leadership of olaiguenani l'emurt olikai ('another neck's spokesman'), then of olaiguenani l'olorok olkuma ('a black club's spokesman'). If the dispute continues the oloiboni kitok is invited, and the last resort is the invitation of olaunoni, whose position within an age-set is "like that of the president within a nation".⁴⁰

Because of the great symbolic significance of olaunoni the election is carried out carefully. His parents have to be alive and healthy, without any bodily or mental defects. The candidate himself has to be good-tempered, not having killed anyone, of good bodily shape and beauty. A crippled limb or blind eye, which are acceptable for an oloiboni (the famous Mtango was blind), are absolute obstacles in choosing the olaunoni. In addition to this, he should be rich in cattle.

Catching olaunoni has to be made secretly. Otherwise he would run away or he might hurt himself in order to become unfit. Especially interesting is the form of the order of the oloiboni kitok to warriors prior to eunoto, " Enjom eimbunga olaunoni! " (= Go (pl.) and catch olaunoni!). It is said that oloiboni kitok receives in dreams the information of whom he should elect, and that he is able to 'bind' (aibon) the candidate so that he will have no idea of the plans.

Olaunoni can be elected from any area, but some concentration seems to be in Sangeni, south of Handeni. The olaunoni of Iltwati age-set, Nakaru 'le Kimakon (Ilaikwamak clan), and of the Ilmedoti age-set, Parirong 'le Tumaina, are inhabitants of that area. Also Sailen Launoni, a son of olaunoni, was living in the neighborhood of those two.⁴¹ The behaviour and characteristics of the ilaunok were in my experience quite in accordance with expectations.

Although I have a detailed personal account by Parirong of his election and duties as olaunoni, the story of Paulo Chaparisi of how the olaunoni of his age-set (Iltareto) was elected, is still more vivid. I shall present it in a shortened form:

Olaunoni is chosen by oloiboni kitok, who through dreams gets to know the right candidate. He will be very respected in his

age-set. If one would be said that he will be elected as *olaunoni*, he would hide himself. We were told that we should not hire a lorry, but finally we were allowed to. He was living very deep in the forest. The lorry got a puncture and sank in mud, and so we had to lift it up. We paid the lorry and the rest we walked. We were told that the candidate will be tending cattle that day with his younger brother. We could not approach him as a group, for he would have fled. Two of us proceeded first to greet him. By seeing us in the background he asked: "What is this?" Those two told him: "Run, or you will be beaten!" But he had no place to hide himself and so we caught him. We had to carry him for five miles until he agreed to use his own legs.

Seven of us were selected to send a message to his father. By hearing what had happened to his son, he pulled up his *olalem* (pl. *ilalema*, a kind of sword) and wanted to kill us. We had to run away and invite more warriors. They were received by the father, this time by a rifle in hand, and they had to persuade him for a long time until he finally agreed. He did not dare to oppose the choice of *oloiboni kitok*. Then we continued with the chosen *olaunoni* until after days of walk we came to the site of *eunoto*, on the way blowing into a *vodu horn (emalo)* to invite more warriors.⁴²

In the analysis of the ideological structure, the *olaunoni* as a person and as a concept is particularly informative. By being a warrior by age and elder by conceptual promotion, he physically links together age-sets which otherwise are designated to be of 'one firestick' (*olpiron obo*). He stands as a concrete and symbolic link between disparate age-sets by being, in some sense, permanently a member of both. The *olaunoni* of the sponsor age-set is similarly a member of his age-mates' age-set and of the next-but-one set above, etc. The *ilaunok* form visible links in a stream of age-sets, separated from each other by the system of alternation. The role of a visible symbol of various ideals places the *olaunoni* permanently in a marginal position. Physical and mental purity, the characteristics of elderhood, wisdom, and 'femininity' (brass coils in the ears), and the fact that in him future is made present, sets him apart from the rest of his age-mates. He stands for the whole age-set and is a perfect model of behaviour, an icon (Galaty 1983:370), for the others.

42. DIRECTIONS, TIME PERIODS, NATURE AND CULTURE

Directions play a prominent part in Parakuyo cosmology. North (*kopikop*), the direction where they came from, is vested with strong positive connotations as against south (*moikuapi*) which is almost forgotten.⁴³ On the east/west axis east (*oloosaen*), the direction of sunrise, is preferable to west (*endoyioroto*), which is the grave of the sun and the direction of death. Contrary to some Bantu societies, e.g. the Gogo who have strongly elaborated the east/west axis (Rigby 1973:268-70), the Parakuyo emphasize more the northern direction. *Naiterukop* (She(!) who started on the earth), the first human (or superhuman) being on the earth, has a phonetic resemblance with *kopikop*. It is also interesting to note that the 'original' home country was Kerio, which in a little different form (*Urrio*) means 'north' in the Meru (Kenya) language (Needham 1973:112-13).⁴⁴ Also historically Kerio suits to represent the northern direction, since the Parakuyo have come from the north. In the north are the roots, there is the history of the famous forefathers.⁴⁵ Therefore, the dead are buried head northwards on the right side. The face will be directed to the west which is the direction of death and misfortune. It is probably, however, a minor loss, compared with losing the symbolism of right and north.

The east/west dichotomy is taken into account, for example, in constructing kraals. Individual houses cannot be constructed following the points of a compass, because they are arranged surrounding the circular or elliptical cattle kraal, facing the centre. The main gate of the kraal is normally on the eastern side, the side of the rising sun. In the kraals with only one family head the western side is virtually closed. Thus, the cattle going to pasture after the morning milking are heading towards the life giver, the sun. The circumcision operation is carried out at the gate post in the light of the rising sun. The morning prayers are expressed face towards the sun in the east.

The phases of the moon are observed in the way that rituals are performed during the waxing moon,⁴⁶ preferably during the first quarter of the cycle. Eleven of the twelve initiation rituals which I observed at

least partially in 1975-76 were performed during the preferable half of the lunar month. Ritual activities during the moonless time are particularly avoided, because it is a time in the cycle of the lunar month when the moon has been 'caught' and carried away (Hollis 1905:273-74). It is a time of danger and bad luck, and no important tasks should be performed during those days. The first half of the month is considered 'bright' and favourable, the latter half 'dark' and dangerous (Ole San-kan 1973:66).

Most rituals are performed at sunrise or sunset. The initiate is taken inside the house before sunset, and the operation is performed by sunrise. Those are the times when the sun appears to be close to the earth. There is a resemblance of the mythical time when heaven and earth were close to one another and Enkai sent the cattle to men. This does not exclude the possibility to perform rituals at any moment of the day, if the sequence of rituals so requires. The preference is, however, in the morning and evening hours.

The rhythm of rainy and dry seasons influences the incidence of various types of rituals differently. Rain rituals are concentrated naturally to the end of the excessively long dry seasons. Initiation rituals, which allow flexibility in timing, are preferably performed during a time of plenty, i.e. when grass grows well, milk production is good, and there is general joy of life. There is a double reason for timing. Initiation rituals are performed during a time when there are the best economic resources to cover the high costs of the rituals. These periods coincide with the blooming of nature, which is also ritually preferable time.

The Parakuyo recognize clearly the dichotomy between nature and culture, and various groups of the society are differently associated with these categories. Spatially, the kraal represents most clearly the culture and the wild bush nature. Culture is the result of man's appropriation of nature. The more nature is transformed by man the more the subject has an appearance of culture. In a pastoral society where no cultivated fields surround the homestead 'wild' nature is very close. Still these categories have to be kept apart.



Picture 22. All kinds of household chores are the domain of females. The daily task of cleaning milk calabashes with hot water, burning embers and *esosian* reeds is often performed by uninitiated girls. The females are associated with the kraal.



Picture 23. The father of an initiate sitting on a four-legged stool by the wall of the seclusion house. The black cloak, the black fly-whisk, and a snuff-container (*olkidong*) with a long chain are symbols of an elder.

Of the social categories, the warriors (ilmurran) are associated with nature more than others. They are supposed to spend a considerable time in bush, and at least once a year they should participate in the olupul ritual in a remote place unknown to others. This may take even weeks at a time. While in olupul, the warriors should avoid contact with outsiders, but in practice they are occasionally seen to visit local centres. The institution of enturuj should keep them away from the fertile women for the whole time of warriorhood. The warriors should learn all the skills and qualities needed in protecting the society and livestock. Sharing and cooperation with age-mates is encouraged by a set of rules imposed on them. The prohibitions to eat alone, to discuss lengthly with people of other age-sets, particularly with the father and mature women, are means of directing behaviour. The warriors are expected to be able to cope with the dangers of the bush. They should not fear travelling in the bush at night or attacking a lion under any conditions.

After the warrior period, the men will as elders be more associated with the kraal. After establishing a family and constructing kraals of their own they are brought to the domain of culture. However, the women (inkituaak) are associated with culture more than men. They work and stay day and night in kraals. Each wife has her own house (enkaji), the cows to milk, and the children to take care of. They are not expected to go to local bars to drink pombe brewed by the Bantu neighbours, although the elders use this possibility extensively. The house with the cooking fire as its centre is the very heart of the female domain. Earlier, before the services of the neighbours were not available, the women used to build their own houses, while men constructed the kraal fences.

The association of social groups with the nature/culture dichotomy is reflected also in eating habits. Women cook their food, also the meat when it is available in rituals, and eat it within the kraal compound. This takes place in private life as well as in communal rituals. The share of men, instead, is roasted on an open fire and eaten outside the kraal. Closest to nature are the warriors, who kill the animals and roast the meat in the bush. They also use, particularly in olupul, several medicines and drugs obtained from bush trees. Also in the bush the warriors create a kind of elementary cultural sphere, by building a temporary fence a-

round the very simple shelters where they sleep. A specially appointed warrior conducts the prayers to Enkai before opening the fence in the morning and after closing it in the evening.⁴⁷ It is probably trivial to state that the uninitiated boys (ilaiyiok) and girls (intoiyie) are associated with the kraal (culture).

In communal rituals, such as circumcision, the distinctions between groups in relation to nature and culture, and to each other, become clear. Warriors roast meat and eat it in the bush out of reach of mature women. Elders roast and eat outside the kraal but not in the bush, and eat in groups formed by the members of each age-set. Mature women cook and eat within the kraal bounds, together with boys and girls.

The location of various groups in relation to nature and culture is illustrated in Figure 13.

Fig. 13. The place of various social groups in relation to nature and culture. The modes of preparing food in these groups. Houses placed in order of marriage.

