

I. WORLD VIEW: CLASSIFICATION OF NATURE

Following the assumption that human beings are bound to classify surrounding nature, we may now try to analyse, how the Parakuyo classify fauna and flora. Of the latter I have accumulated extensive information, of the former more fragmentarily. Still I think that this imbalance reflects the actual importance of these two categories in reality. I start with the classification of fauna.

43. CLASSIFICATION OF ANIMALS

It may help our understanding if we remember that the Parakuyo are a decidedly pastoral people, not engaged in hunting for acquiring food. If we classify the animals into three groups according to the degree of 'holiness' (Douglas 1975:263),⁴⁸ we get a very narrow range of animals into the two first groups (sacrificial and edible) and the majority falls into the third category (non-edible for the Parakuyo).

Sacrificial animals

The Parakuyo make no exception to the rule that people use those animals for sacrifice, which are most appreciated and valued. The first discriminating principle is that an animal suitable for ritual killing has to be a domestic animal.⁴⁹ In order of suitability for sacrifice these animals are: cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys. The two first species are commonly used, goats seldom, and donkeys never, as far as I know. Dogs are out of question as well as poultry, which are never eaten although raised.

Not all cattle and sheep are acceptable for sacrifice; they have to meet the requirements of purity. What *olkiteng osinyaari* (ritually pure ox) or *olkerr osinyaari* (ritually pure male sheep) actually means is subject to dispute, and varies with the situation. General qualities are good health, strength, lack of scars and acceptable colouring. Male animals are more

often used for sacrifice than females. This is understandable taking into account the reproductory value of females. Each ritual requires a specified animal of appropriate sex, according to a rigid logic. There is no space to go more into details here.

The killing of domestic animals as sacrifice is a distinct feature of the Parakuyo, and of many pastoral societies of course. All cattle are communally consumed, and this generally calls for some kind of ritual or ceremony. There is an implicit awareness of the basis of the society and pastoralism, that Enkai once gave the cattle to the Maasai, and he deserves continued veneration for this gift. How the presence of Enkai in rituals is thought to take place is obscure, but the connection of cattle with Enkai is clearly demonstrated. There are rules of how the animals are sacrificed, which parts are used by each category of the society, which parts of the animal are most valued, how the sacrificial act itself is used in symbolic communication by utilizing space, time, directions, and colours. Without going into details I shall proceed with classification.

In rituals, two ways of killing are used: strangling and stabbing in the neck with a knife. The former is used when the spilling of blood has to be avoided, and this way is regarded superior to the latter. However, the more common way of killing a ritual animal is by stabbing. This is used in killing oxen in initiation rituals (emurata), in men's maturity rituals (olkiteng lo 'lbaak), in warriors' olupul-rituals etc. It is also the way of killing in situations with no particular ritual connection.

Blood is always consumed and never spilt on the ground. Also the blood of strangled animals is spilt into a container immediately after the animal has ceased to breathe, and consumed according to the appropriate rules. At first sight this practice may seem the opposite of that of the Hebrews, who abhorred eating blood or bloody meat (Lev. 17:10-14; Deut. 12:23-27). Still the rationalization in this question in both societies is similar, and the applications are parallel rather than opposite. Both societies view blood as containing the very essence of life, the 'soul'. The Hebrews concluded that, because of its extraordinary sanctity, it has to be given to God. The Parakuyo have inferred the conclusion that it is the most powerful substance of an animal to give strength, health, and courage, and

therefore they have chosen to drink it. It must also be remembered that blood has been their subsidiary food during times of scarce milk production.⁵⁰

In short, the sacrificial animals are always domesticated ones. Mostly cattle are used, sheep are also quite common, goats occur more rarely, and donkeys, dogs and poultry are never sacrificed.

Edible animals

The criteria for classifying animals into edible and non-edible are culturally constituted, and only a few criteria for distinguishing these categories are used. The basic principle is that only domestic animals are eaten, i.e. cattle, sheep, and goats. Donkeys were virtually absent in the research area, but they are used for carrying water and loads in more healthy areas. The donkey is a work animal and its meat is not human nourishment. Poultry is raised to some extent, although its economical significance compared to livestock is minimal. Yet the chicken are raised for economic reasons. It is the domain of women where the males do not interfere. I never saw them eat chicken or eggs and this attitude was confirmed by their oral comments. The chicken are utilized in two ways: (1) the women sell them to other ethnic groups in order to earn cash; (2) chicken are needed as 'medicine' in healing rites of the Bantu healers, to whom the Parakuyo frequently go.⁵¹

The Parakuyo and Pastoral Maasai do not hunt for food, although they have traditionally lived in good game areas. They used to hunt only for protecting the livestock from predators, such as lions, hyenas, leopards etc. The Parakuyo do not use the meat or skins of these predators, but chest and stomach fat of a lion is used by iloibonok for preparing medicine. Why they did not utilize the vast stock of antelope for food is not fully clear. Their own comment is plainly that game is not the food of the Maasai. But herein may lie a key for understanding the situation. To abstain from eating game and other wild animals is part of their selfdefinition and ethnic identity. In their universe the Maasai are herders and entirely dependent on livestock. It is the necessary and sufficient source

of existence. By the same classification, the Dorobo are hunters, who do not herd but collect honey and hunt for food. Therefore, for a Maasai, going hunting is homologous with behaving like the Dorobo. This would mean bringing disorder into the human categories and the existing order.

The prohibition of killing wild animals for food may temporarily be laxed in times of need, but only those game animals may be eaten which closely resemble livestock. Such are: buffalo (olosokwan, pl. ilosokwani), hart-ebeest (olkoldiny, pl. ilkoldinyi), eland (osirua, pl. isiruai), and a number of minor antelopes.⁵² But this is done exceptionally and aware of the fact that hunting for game is a non-Maasai activity. The normal way of how the Parakuyo consume meat of these wild animals is by being served by the neighbouring people; they themselves would not hunt. A well-to-do Maasai would communicate his self-identity through subsisting on a pastoral diet, whereas hunting is a sign of poor success in life, and such activities, as well as agriculture, are viewed as a temporary remedy in face of necessity.

Non-edible animals

The number of animals culturally defined as edible is rather small compared to the total fauna available. The rules which define one category of animals as edible and others as non-edible do not coincide with the physical characteristics of animals. In fact, they are an outcome of the logical classification derived from the basic ordering principles of the society. Elephant (oltome, pl. iltomia) is not eaten because it resembles human being; its two breasts are between the front legs. Giraffe (olmeut, pl. ilmeuti) has dark and tough meat and is not eaten. In the Lugoba area there are animals eaten by others but not by the Parakuyo. Such are: warthog (olbitir, pl. ilbitiro), hare (enkitojo, pl. inkitojon), monkey (endere, pl. inderei) and guinea-fowl (engelesure, pl. ingelesureni).⁵³ In addition, there are animals eaten by no ethnic groups.

Once again it must be remembered that what is non-edible for a Maasai may be readily edible for other ethnic groups, and that we are dealing with one universe, one world-view. Therefore, when we classify a species

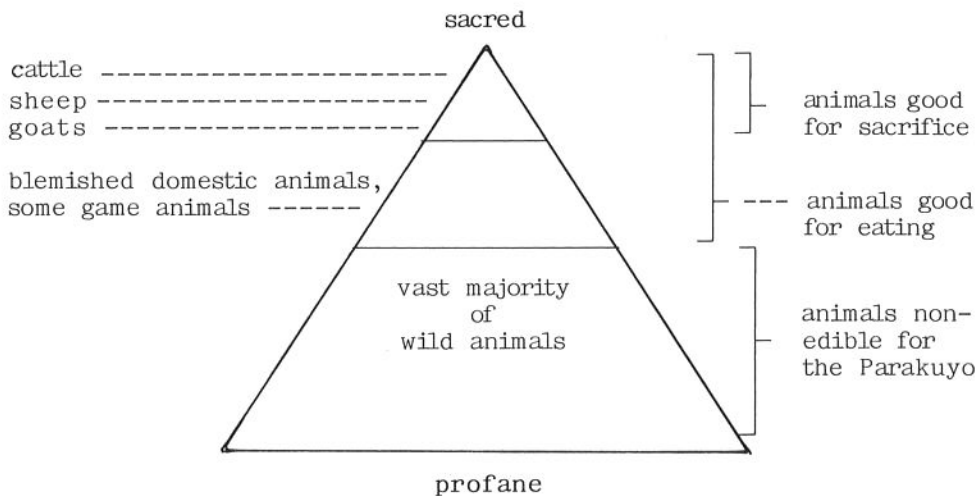
as edible or non-edible, we have to specify whether the rule applies to Maasai, Dorobo, or to agriculturalists. In this universe, the resources available for food can be roughly classified in this way:

Maasi : livestock :: Dorobo : wild animals :: agriculturalists : plants. Although this is a classification of the Maasai world-structure, it corresponds well with those of the other ethnic groups.

Ideally the Parakuyo would not consume food which does not have its origin in animal husbandry. In rituals and offerings this ideal is followed, but in daily life agricultural products form a fairly large part of the diet. How large, has yet to be assessed. It is not yet known either, whether the diet of pastoralists is as healthy as it can be in the given circumstances, or whether it could be improved by adding agricultural products. On the other hand, diet is a culturally constituted choice, and also the requirements of identity have to be reckoned with in proposing a diet, which might be considered more healthy.

The reluctance towards eating fish is probably a result of contacts with Cushites, because this attitude is quite common among them (Ehret 1971:36). The above discussion of the cultural classification of animals is summarized in Figure 14.

Fig. 14. Parakuyo classification of animals.



44. CLASSIFICATION OF VEGETATION

I have collected a wealth of information regarding the vegetation which the Parakuyo and Pastoral Maasai are able to identify and make use of, and only a fraction of it can be presented here. I prepared myself for the investigation by collecting and compiling the information already available, and used this as a base for further inquiries in January 1982. The previous information was based mainly on studies by Hollis (1905), Huntingford (1976), Jacobs (1965), Dale-Greenway (1961), and Harjula (1980, 1981). These sources, particularly Dale-Greenway, helped me to identify and find botanical names for many of the plants which I knew only in the Maa-language. On the other hand, very little information of how the Maasai use these plants was included in these typically botanical descriptions. In this respect Hollis is more informative,⁵⁴ and Harjula provides comparative material of the medical usages of plants among the Meru in Northern Tanzania. At least 20 of the 129 medical plants used by Mirau (Harjula 1981:155-61) in curing have Maasai names, and in addition a number of plants with non-Maasai names used by him are also known by the Maasai.

Having information regarding ca 180 plants known by the Pastoral Maasai, I investigated, (1) how many of these plants the Parakuyo recognize and how they make use of them, and (2) which other plants they know and use. The result turned out to be very interesting. There were 122 plants known to the Pastoral Maasai but unknown to the Parakuyo. And almost the same number (124) of plants were known by the Parakuyo only. The number of plants known by both was almost half of that (61). The ratio of plants known by the Pastoral Maasai (M) to plants known by both (MP) to plants known by Parakuyo (P) is as follows $M:MP:P = 122:61:124 = 2:1:2$

The tidy result is, of course, an accident, but it may be taken to roughly illustrate the situation. The rather poor coverage (20%) is mostly due to the very different climatic conditions in the Lugoba area and Kenya Highlands. The plants are simply different. The coverage is bound to improve, however, when more research in this area will be done, and the



Picture 24. Enkoilalei (*Zizyphus mucronata*) is a tree with good shade in burning sunshine. A sapling of this tree is erected in front of the seclusion house during the initiation festivities. Its roots and bark are used for curing diarrhoea and other stomach troubles.

Picture 25. A branch of the oltim tree is placed in the cattle gate to protect the livestock at night. Other branches are needed as well, of course, but it is the oltim which ensures the safety of the livestock.



Picture 26. Olkiloriti (*Acacia abyssinica*) is widely used as medicine. In olupul its roots and bark are boiled in water to prepare a drink which improves the stomach condition after large quantities of meat have been eaten. It is also used for 'curing' warriors from the state of shaking and trance.



plants will be identified. It is possible also that many of the plants are given different names by Kenya Maasai and Tanzania Parakuyo. It is also more than likely that if investigation would be carried out in those Pastoral Maasai areas, where climatic conditions are similar to the Lugoba area, the coverage would be far better.

My main concern here was to investigate, what plants the Parakuyo know and how they use them. Also I was interested to see, whether there are classificatory principles in grouping the vegetation. The approach was entirely cultural, i.e. I did not embark on surveying and classifying the flora in a given area. It remains to be investigated, to what extent this folk classification coincides with the botanical one.

Prior to the systematic investigation, I had already accumulated a large amount of information of the medical and ritual uses of plants during my field work in 1975-76. The systematic survey was made, however, with my co-worker Paulo Chaparisi, first so that he responded to the plant names known to me from Pastoral Maasai areas, and later adding the plant names which were not in my file. This information was then supplemented by his father Chaparisi Mdomwa and others living in his kraal. It turned out that the women know very well the plants they make use of, either for medical purposes or for producing commodities. The acquired information is not complete, but adequate for present purposes.

The first notion is that plants are significant to them as far as they can be utilized for the needs of the society. The utilitarian preference was noticeable in the order in which various plants were mentioned. Plants with marginal or no use came last.

The largest group of plants thus identified was that used for medical purposes. The pastoral economy does not require a large variety of commodities to be fabricated from the available materials, and the level of sophistication is rather low. Instead, in securing the continuation and reproduction of the society various plants are of great significance. What seems culturally constituted in the selection of the medical plants is that they use almost exclusively different parts of trees, their roots, bark, leaves, flowers, fruit, and sometimes heartpith wood. Grasses and other minor

plants are only minimally utilized for this purpose.

Table 15. The number of plants used for medical and ritual purposes (Parakuyo and Pastoral Maasai).

PURPOSE	NUMBER OF PLANTS								
Curing stomach disorders:									
1. General	12								
2. Through causing vomiting	14								
3. Through causing diarrhoea	6								
Fever:									
1. Unspecified	6								
2. Malaria	2								
Increasing strength and courage	23								
Improving blood	6								
Increasing fertility and love	8								
Curing boils and sores	3								
Curing nervous troubles	2								
Curing syphilis	4								
Curing gonorrhoea	2								
Curing spleen	3								
Breathing	2								
Against bewitching	2								
Against itching	2								
Clearing head	1								
Clearing veins	1								
Curing snake bites	1								
	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">Elatim (circumcision and clitoridectomy)</td> <td style="padding: 0 5px;">18</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">Olpul</td> <td style="padding: 0 5px;">14</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 5px;">Oltogom (mixture of 22 different kinds of medicines; only five identified here)</td> <td style="padding: 0 5px;">5</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: right;"><u>Total 137</u></td> </tr> </table>	Elatim (circumcision and clitoridectomy)	18	Olpul	14	Oltogom (mixture of 22 different kinds of medicines; only five identified here)	5	<u>Total 137</u>	
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RITUAL									

The largest single group of cures concerns stomach disorders (Table 15). Altogether 32 plants are used for curing various kinds of stomach troubles.

Some trees (12) are thought to help the stomach work normally after e.g. excessive meat consumption. Others are thought to help in stomach disorders through emptying the digestive organs by means of causing vomiting (14) or diarrhoea (6). Also in the medicines labelled under *olpul* and *oltogom* (Table 15) there are several ones with similar effects.

Medicines meant for increasing strength and courage are the largest single group (23) of plant species. This is entirely in agreement with the desired qualities of warriors, who are the principal consumers of these herbs. Many of these are used in ritual contexts, as in *elatim* and *olpul*. Particularly the latter has an emphasis on increasing the strength and courage of the warriors. A staple drink in it is *oltogom*, a concoction of 22 different medicines stored in *embunuka*, the stomach of a recently killed ox. The blood-improving medicines (6) are actually a subgroup of the above. A person with strong blood is thought to be physically strong and brave.

Medicines for securing the fertility of people and livestock (8) are very important for the continuity of the society. The rather small amount of trees used for this purpose is not quite in accordance with its significance. There are ritual remedies of many types for restoring fertility. The term 'fertility' is a holistic concept, and it includes the fertility of women, livestock, and soil. The rain rituals are attempts to restore the growth of grass by means of producing rain, and hence the wellbeing of livestock and people. In rain rituals there are several elements in common with women's fertility rituals. Rituals as well as medicines are devices for restoring the disturbed natural order, the central property of which is reproduction. The existence of ritual remedies in addition to medical ones is an indication of its central significance.

There are a few more medicines for curing various ailments. For fever (8), syphilis (4) and gonorrhoea (2) there are several medical trees, but for some others only one or two. Taking into account the fact that all that is described above is part of the collective tradition, not the esoteric knowledge of a few medical experts, the achievement deserves all respect. It shows that there is a great variety of medicines readily available for everyone, without having a need to consult *oloiboni* or other medical experts. The medicines for increasing strength and courage are mainly used

and known by men, but the medicines for actual illnesses are known by both sexes. It is difficult to estimate how much the esoteric medical knowledge of iloibonok, for example, would add to the common medical knowledge. As long as the iloibonok continue to maintain their position as a distinguished group of traditional medical experts, there will remain an area of expertise known within that group only. There is no reason to doubt why they should not continue to do so.

A pastoral society living in surroundings with rich flora is likely to make use of it for domestic purposes. The most common uses are listed in the Table below.

Table 16. The number of plants used for household purposes (Parakuyo and Pastoral Maasai).

PURPOSE	NUMBER OF PLANTS
Building kraal fence, firewood	12
Cattle sticks	12
Making clubs and spear shafts	16
Making rope	11
Building houses	13
Plaiting warriors' hair	3
Cleaning gourds	11
Firesticks	6
Preparing dyes	8
Chewing gum and gum for mending	12
Piercing ear lobes	1
Enlarging holes of ear lobes	1
Building beds	2
Making honey barrels	1
Making arrows	1
Making sword sheaths	1
	<u>Total 112</u>

The kraal fence is important for protecting livestock at night, and several acacia species with sharp thorns are used for building it. These together with trees suitable for firewood make a total of 12. The same number of trees are used for chopping cattle sticks, without which the elders would go nowhere. The variety of trees for making clubs and spear shafts is rather big (16). Due to their relative importance in the attire of warriors this is understandable. House-building (13) used to be the work of women, but has been increasingly given to hired labour. Rope is prepared from 11 species, not including the species (3) used for plaiting warriors' hair. Gourd cleaning is a daily task, and several species (11) are used for fumigating gourds and for preparing cleaning brushes. Firemaking is the men's affair, and 6 species are used for preparing either a hard olpiron or a soft endobole.⁵⁵ Trees (8) are used also for preparing dyes, but also red (olkaria) and white soils (enturoto) are used. There are several trees which exude gum. This is used for mending broken calabashes, and literally as chewing gum, for children and women, as the men pretentiously used to say. In addition, a variety of trees are used for minor purposes, including the piercing of ear-lobes and enlarging the holes. Poisonous plants (6) are identified, and some of them are used to provide poison for arrow-heads.

In extracting medicine, bark and roots are commonly used, more rarely leaves, flowers and fruits. In addition to medicinal purposes, fruit is also consumed as food. At least 34 trees produce edible fruits, which are said to be eaten mainly by children. Different varieties of grasses for livestock food (13) are identified. The most valued species, such as emurua and enkaiteteiyai, are frequently used in rituals where milk is a ritual element. Some varieties are used exclusively during the dry season, some are particularly used for goats etc.

Dualistic tendencies in the classification of flora

There is not space enough to give a full list of all the plants and their uses. It would have shown clearly the conceptual division of plants into two groups. We have already noted that nouns are grammatically divided into two genders. In the case of the Maa-language this division involves

more than a purely formal distinction. The prefixes o-, ol-, and e-, en-, em-, enk- refer to masculinity and femininity and also to differences in size. Therefore, plants with the prefix o- are invariably trees of considerable size, and names of grasses are provided with the prefix e-. The connotation of difference in size in this classification is also seen in the fact, that the same species can be provided with either prefix depending on the size of the tree referred to. Even the same species may have a different gender in the early years of its growth. For example, the ritually important *Cordia ovalis* is eseki (pl. isek) when small and olseki (pl. ilsek) later on; *Acacia abyssinica* (enkiloriti, pl. inkilorit and olkiloriti, pl. ilkilorit) form a similar case.

It has been suggested (Jacobs 1965c:138-39) that the self-identification of the Pastoral Maasai with the space above the earth, and therefore the big trees, particularly *Ficus natalensis* (oreteti, pl. iretet) with areal roots, is part of their ideological structure. Another counterpart in this structure, as suggested by Jacobs, are the 'non-authentic' Maasai, e.g. Parakuyo and Arusha, who are cognitively attached to the soil. The data from the Parakuyo do not suggest such a distinction between the 'authentic' and 'non-authentic' Maasai. Instead, the Parakuyo and the Pastoral Maasai seem to classify the flora on similar principles, with a close attachment to trees, the species of masculine gender. To avoid the danger of over-systematisation,⁵⁶ I would suggest, as the data clearly show, that the Parakuyo use plants of both genders, and that it is incorrect to grade them according to gender. The trees are important, and some are more significant than others in producing medicine and material for domestic use. The species of feminine gender, particularly grasses, are indispensable as food for livestock. Therefore, also grasses, particularly the most useful species, are used in rituals to produce desired ends.⁵⁷ Trees are used for direct appropriation to secure people's health and good condition, and also for providing raw material in producing necessary commodities. Grasses are utilized indirectly as livestock food, but they are equally indispensable in securing the continuity of life and the pastoral identity of the society.

The above discussion of the Parakuyo and Pastoral Maasai use of flora is summarized in Table 17. It has to be remembered, however, that it

is based only on the information available to me, and is therefore not comprehensive. Only those species have been taken, which are reported to be of some use. The species identified but with no record of use have been omitted.

Table 17. Summary of Parakuyo and Pastoral Maasai appropriation of flora.

TREES USED AS MEDICINE	Trees used as medicine for more than one cure	11	
	Trees used as medicine, only one cure mentioned	115	
	Trees used as medicine also in rituals	37	
Trees used for household needs, (building, kraal fence, firewood, fire-sticks, cattle sticks, clubs, spear shafts, rope, cleaning gourds, dyes, plaiting hair, etc.)		112	
Grasses known to be suitable for livestock food		13	

45. CLASSIFICATION OF SOILS

The Parakuyo classify also different types of soils. The area is classified according to its physical features on one hand, and to its suitability for grazing on the other. The following types of soils can be distinguished:⁵⁸

- (1) Olkung'u enkirongo - A hilly area with valleys and black sandy soil, which sticks badly during rainy season; grows good grass.
- (2) Olkung'u onyokie - An area of low hills with red soil. Grows good grass for cattle. For example, much of the Mindu Tulieni village area is of this type.
- (3) Enkusero - An even ground with good grass. Old abandoned cultivated fields also given this name.
- (4) Olng'arua - An even ground in a valley, at a lower level than enkusero. It grows good grass but not very tall.
- (5) Ilgirro - An area with small stony hills. It grows short grass, for example emuketia.
- (6) Oloibor sunyai - An area with white sand. Very good to live in and feed cattle.
- (7) Olpurkel - An area with red soil and small hills. In its main features it is even without valleys. Much of the Mindu Tulieni village area is of olpurkel type.
- (8) Endimi - A dense forest with big trees. Not suitable for grazing, but contains many trees used for household needs and medicine.
- (9) Enkasakan - A thicket with bushes and small trees. Not suitable for grazing.
- (10) Oloilili - A plot separated as a grazing area for small calves (ilohok) when grass is becoming scarce. The choice of such an area is made communally and anyone grazing other cattle there will be heavily sanctioned. Oloilili is not actually an area with specific physical characteristics, and therefore it does not belong to the same classification with the others.
- (11) Osero - A general name for the savannah with short trees and bushes.

As it can be seen from the above, there are many types of soil which grow good grass. The supply of grass is regarded as being fairly good,

except towards the end of the dry season. A more serious problem is the insufficiency of water, and particularly the cattle diseases, especially dorobo, which has spread to the village area in alarming proportions. There are good grazing areas, which have become totally unused because of increased tsetse infestation, particularly in the area planned for pastoralists. By far, it is not the availability of grass, but the effective control of cattle diseases, which determines the areas used for pastoral appropriation.

As to the linguistic masculine/feminine dichotomy, no clear classification can be found. Places with some elevation, such as hills, tend to be masculine, but so are also plain and valley areas (e.g. oIng'arua). It would seem that thickets with dense vegetation (e.g. endimi and enkasakan) are feminine. They are also unsuitable for grazing because of poor grass and livestock diseases. On the other hand, an even bush savannah, sometimes with good grass, may have both genders (enkusero and osero). The information available does not allow further conclusions.

NOTES to Chapters H and I

- 1 UTAf 1976/08/60. The myths are often rationalizations of the existing conditions. Therefore, when the conditions change the mythical form and content are likely to change accordingly. The myths do not have a fixed form, because each narrator of the myth makes his own changes, consciously or not, to the versions he has heard. It must also be noted that the myth-teller is also a myth-maker, who assembles mythical elements to serve his private purposes. The myth-maker is, as Lévi-Strauss says, a bricoleur, who feels himself free to manipulate the mythical material for given ends. See Lévi-Strauss 1967:30-35; Bourdillon 1972:112, 116.
- 2 Also Merker mentions the marked monotheism of the Maasai, although he may have had special reasons for this emphasis. He wanted to prove the hypothesis that the Maasai were descendants of the ancient Hebrews; Merker 1910:204. See also Ole Saibull and Carr 1981:16-18.
- 3 Merker was mistaken in explaining the significance of the colours. According to him, Enkai Narok signifies the blue cloudless sky, and Enkai Naibor the white clouds respectively. However, the adjective -rok refers to a source of fertility and plenty, and this is brought in a pastoral society through dark rain clouds. In face of draught or barrenness the Maasai pray to Enkai Narok. This is recorded also by Merker (1910:205). Enkai Narok does not refer, therefore, to "den blauen, wolkenlosen Himmel", but to the thick and 'black' rain clouds. Cf. Kenyatta 1937:309-12.
- 4 In Parakuyo language there are the terms pus (dark blue) and peuti (light blue) signifying hues of blue. These are not, however, symbolic colours; UTAf 1983/4.2./35.
- 5 UTAf 1976/04/18.
- 6 Another alternative to explain the feminine gender of Enkai is that the term refers to an abstract entity. This explanation, quoted by Benson from John Mpaayei, can be defended by pointing out, that the Maa-language provides abstract nouns with female prefixes; Benson 1974:76. Still I think that the feminine connotations combined with fertility in the term 'Enkai' should be given first priority in explanation, merely because of its simplicity. This position is not in opposition to the observations of Benson, that when the Maasai speak of the deity it is done as if he were masculine, a father. The deity may have had these dual characteristics for a long time, but it may also have received masculine connotations through indirect Muslim and Christian influences; Streck 1982.
- 7 Not only the Maasai but also several other societies, such as the Beir, Didinga, Idoma, Iyala, Piti, Suk, Kikuyu, Kaonde, Nuer, Tiv, Akamba, Lango, Ila etc., associate dark clouds and rain with the divinity. For these societies the lack of rain is a recurrent threat, and therefore sufficient rain is crucial; Mbiti 1970:137-39.
- 8 UTAf 1976/04/18. Harjula has also paid attention to ecological determinants in the Meru (Tanzania) concept of God and suggested that the benevolent Enkai of the Paasai is related to the rain; Harjula 1969:72.

- 9 The full term should be e-na-iteru-kop, which also could mean 'the one who started the earth', i.e. signifying a creator and therefore a clearly divine entity; Benson 1971:74; Ole Kipusi 1973:46.
- 10 Olsson 1977:121-24; UTaf 1976/03/21; Ole Kipusi 1973:46.
- 11 Thomson reports of individual cases when dead members of his expedition had to be left to hyenas, because burrying a corpse in a Maasai territory would have polluted the soil; Thomson 1968:334. Nass holds the opinion that the Maasai have scarcely any notion of life after death (1971:60), while Lotegeluaki (1970:32-33) claims that according to them only the body decays while the breath (engiang'et or olmumua) carries on the life separate from the body.
- 12 UTA 1976/48/8.
- 13 These are the types of burial, which can be identified from the accounts recorded by Hollis 1905:304-06. The earlier accounts of Thomson emphasize the refusal to bury the corpse and the absence of any mortuary ritual. His description apparently applies only to the immature young members of the society; Thomson 1968:160, 211, 259, 334.
- 14 UTA 1975/15/A3.
- 15 UTA 1975/15/A3-4; UTA 1976/14/3-4.
- 16 UTaf 1975/01/99.
- 17 In the case where I followed the mortuary ritual the elder had said during his lifetime that he should not be buried inside the kraal, as had told also his father concerning his own burial; UTaf 1976/05/10.11.
- 18 This was noted by Hollis (1905:304-05) and Thomson (1968:160, 259), but particularly Spencer (1965:273) has emphasized the almost total absence of mortuary ceremonies among the Samburu, as opposed to the very elaborate rituals conducted in some other phases of life. See also Nass 1971:60.
- 19 Burial rites and farewell rites to the dead comprise the first two long chapters in Wilson's "Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa", thus correctly showing their relative importance in the lives of the Nyakyusa; Wilson 1957:13-85.
- 20 UTA 1976/14/3.
- 21 UTaf 1976/03/27.
- 22 UTA 1976/14/3.
- 23 UTA 1976/97/3-4.
- 24 UTA 1976/14/3.
- 25 The name 'Enkidong' derives from the longeval calebash, enkidong (pl. inkidongi), which is used by iloibonok (s. oloiboni) in divining. The root -kidong has here a feminine prefix en-, although it is in fact much larger than olkidong (snuff container) worn by ilmoruak (s. olmoruo, elder) in a neck chain. It is not the size of the object but its connotation with sexes that has been decisive in choosing prefixes. Calebashes belong normally to the women's realm. There are misspellings of this term in literature, i.g. Il-Kidoni (Middle-

- ton 1968:381), Engodongi (Wincza 1970:30), Ngidong'i (Oliver 1966:200).
- 26 Tucker and Mpaayei have taken the stand that oloiboni means 'medicine man, diviner, ritual expert' (1955:269) and derives therefore from the root -ibon, 'to prophesy, make medicine' (1955:250). It is probable, however, that oloiboni as a name of a medical expert and prophet has a wider signification. It is as well possible that oloiboni derives from the root -ibok (to hinder, detain, prevent), whereas the noun is olaiboni (the one who prevents, pl. ilaibook). To go back still further, both the verbal roots -ibon and -ibok have a common origin. In the function of the medical expert both of the significations are relevant. Oloiboni prophesies and makes medicine, but he also prevents diseases and disasters from breaking out. This view is strongly supported by the fact that both forms, oloiboni and olaiboni are widely used by the Pastoral Maasai and Parakuyo, and also in the literature; Berntsen 1973:70; Fosbrooke 1948:13-14; Beidelman 1960:264; Lemenye 1953:33.
- 27 One of my medical informants, Mako Sambain, was a Kikuyu living in Kerere, southeast of Arusha. He was a kind of adoptee into the Maasai society and identified himself as olkuyati recognizing the supremacy of Enkidong iloibonok. However, he used enkidong in divining; UTaf 1976/03/68-73.
- 28 It is significant that the ilkuyatik of the Ilmooge clan are members of the Iloodomong'i moiety. Thus each moiety has its own medical experts who in ordinary curing activities are rivals, but not in matters which concern major ritual activities. Still it is structurally 'correct' that the iloibonok kituaak are members of the right-hand (Iloorokiteng) moiety. Berntsen sees it possible that there has been a transfer of ritual power from the left-hand moiety to the other in the nineteenth century; Berntsen 1979:118-19.
- 29 UTaf 1976/08/53-55. Merker reports of rituals where married women pray for fertility using songs and medicines prepared by ol goiatiki (i.e. olkuyati). Also rituals for curing cattle, olokor lo'nkishu (ritual fire for cattle) are arranged by ilkuyatik; Merker 1910:209.
- 30 The evidence suggests that they are terms of office and not generations of about 30 years, because in some cases two persons of the same generation could succeed in the office; Hollis 1909:50.
- 31 UTaf 1976/08/56.
- 32 Mtango or Tilian are often mentioned as founders of the oloiboni kitok succession. It is apparent, however, that Saing'unet was their predecessor and the first oloiboni. Cf. Berntsen 1979:133.
- 33 The informants were: Mtare Moreto, the oloiboni kitok during the time of fieldwork; Paulo Moreto, the younger brother of the former; Keke Loita, Maitei's wife's brother's son; and Lelingo Lusekere, an elder of the Itwati age-set. UTaf 1976/09/33-36; UTaf 1976/08/4-10; UTaf 1976/08/56-57.
- 34 According to one tradition, Shakaille was elected by the Parakuyo to be oloiboni kitok; UTaf 1976/08/07. Another genealogy knows only Konge; UTaf 1976/09/33.

- 35 UTaf 1976/02/84. See also Beidelman 1960:265.
- 36 UTaf 1976/09/36.
- 37 The form *olaunoni* is used by the Parakuyo throughout, by Fosbrooke of the Kisongo Maasai (1948:39-40), and by Hollis probably of the Parakuyo (1905:299). Hamilton knows the form *ol-otuno* (1963:107), and Thomson (1968:253) refers to 'Lytunu', which is a misspelling of *olotuno*.
- 38 The *Ilmakaa* age-set was given the permanent name *Iltareto* in the *eunoto* in October 1979; UTA 1982/15.1./A6.
- 39 UTaf 1982/15.1./6.
- 40 UTA 1982/15.1./5.
- 41 UTaf 1976/07/73-77.
- 42 UTA 1982/15.1./3-5.
- 43 *Kopikop* is derived from *enkop*, land or country, by doubling it. *Moikuapi* has the same root word, *enkop* (pl. *inkuapi*). The first part *moi-* may have affinity with *olmodai* (fool), but this is not sure.
- 44 The terms *urio* (north) and *umotho* (south) in the Meru language mean also right and left, and in this meaning they are used also to symbolize distinctions, which in many societies are made with a right/left dichotomy; Needham 1973:112-13, 116, 118.
- 45 The identification of the preferred direction with the direction of historical origin is realized also in some Bantu groups, who have come from the south. This direction is preferred in their cosmologies for the same reason as north in the Maasai and Meru cosmologies; Rigby 1973:280; Beidelman 1973:151.
- 46 As do also the Nandi according to Hollis (1909:52).
- 47 UTaf 1976/03/12-13..
- 48 According to this scheme, which may have universal distribution, animals form three categories: (1) those which are good enough to be brought to an altar, (2) those which are acceptable for food but not for sacrifice, and (3) those which are abominable, and not good for table or altar; Douglas 1975:263.
- 49 In this respect they are not far from the ancient Hebrews, who also had to sacrifice domestic animals, i.e. cattle and sheep (Lev. 1:2).
- 50 A further indication that the Parakuyo and Hebrew usages are not far apart is Holy Communion, where the 'blood' of Christ is consumed by the participants. Whether this is primarily a symbolic act or whether wine really contains the 'essence' of blood is a subject of dispute. In either case blood is considered sacred. Sprinkling blood over the altar and drinking it, both of these practices are based on a similar view of blood.
- 51 UTA 1982/17.1./A13.
- 52 UTA 1983/5.2./A10. The Parakuyo do not eat zebra, probably because it resembles a donkey, which is not suitable for eating; UTaf 1976/08/64.

- 53 UTaf 1983/4.2./33-34. Talbot reports that the Pastoral Maasai may hunt buffalo and eland for food, giraffe for hides and tail hairs, and rhinoceros for horns. Lions are hunted for manes and their fat is used for preparing medicine. In total, there are records that the Maasai eat wildebeest, Grant's gazelle, Thomson's gazelle, elephant, buffalo, eland, and kongoni; Talbot 1964:137, 161.
- 54 Huntingford (1976) has merely collected and rearranged the information already available in Hollis.
- 55 Note the masculine gender for *olpiron* and feminine for *endobole*. The genders correspond to the sexual symbolism inherent in firemaking. The masculine *olpiron* kindles the fire and the feminine *endobole* receives and feeds it.
- 56 Prof. I. M. Lewis, personal communication, September 1982.
- 57 Ritual symbols are not necessarily esoteric emblems. On the contrary, societies tend to utilize in rituals secular symbols which are well known and already full of significance in their secular associations. See Douglas 1966; 1975:15, 21; Leach 1954.
- 58 UTA 1982/17.1./10-11.