

The Social Organization
of the Dassanetch of
the Lower Omo

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THE CROWN

Education and Research Experience

I obtained my B.A. in 1964 in Sociology and Political Science and my M.A. (with Distinction) in 1968. Both degrees were awarded by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

I carried out fieldwork among the Dassanetch of the Lower Omo in Southwest Ethiopia from July 1968 to January 1970.

* * * * *

The material presented in this thesis has not been submitted in application for any other degree.

Abstract

This thesis is primarily a study of the inter-relationship between ecology and social relationships using both general observations and small case studies.

Political events on the Lower Omo have restricted the Dassanetch to a small homeland within which they practice stock husbandry and cultivate grain in those parts which are flooded by the river. In Chapter 1, I discuss the historical and political background in so far as it is essential to my later analysis.

Inundations are irregular and the areas flooded vary from one year to another. Each elementary family, the basic unit of production and consumption, follows a transhumant pattern of herding and also cultivates. The exigencies of maintaining an adequate subsistence imposes on each family seasonal shifts of labour from one occupation to another. The complex of agricultural and herding activities is described in Chapters 2 to 5. In Chapter 6, I examine the factors, such as a high infant mortality, the favourable conditions for cattle breeding and the absence of markets, which cause the Dassanetch to engage in a regular and heavy slaughter of some of their beasts. I concentrate particularly on the contrast between the slaughter of beasts in the dry season

and the high yield of grain and milk during the wet season, which, I argue, is related to a clear-cut seasonal distinction over the control of food. Men control meat and blood, women control grain and milk. In Chapter 7, I describe how, in relation to a man's life cycle, the slaughter of stock can be seen as being divided into two distinct stages; the first is that of accumulation, which is followed by one of slaughter during which a man's herd is diminished. A mass slaughter of beasts, and thus a substantive reduction in herd size, takes place at the dimi ceremony when a man is in his early forties. A man seldom inherits stock from his father, and on his marriage establishes his own socially and economically independent household, distinct from that of his father and brothers.

Even prior to their marriage, the interests of a father and his sons differ; even while they herd together and live in one household, the social investments which each wishes to make with his stock differ. The differing social needs of alternate generations are discussed in Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, I discuss the manner in which the conflicting interests of fathers and sons are also manifested in the social ties that each tries to establish through the marriages of the nubile girls of the household. I endeavour to demonstrate how each Dassanetch man builds up his own economic and social status by his own endeavours.

The establishment of useful affinal ties also forms a crucial means of creating economic and social independence.

A man's wife-givers assist him during the period after his marriage when he is most actively engaged in intensive economic activities. Relationships with affines are kept up through a long process of bridewealth allocations and transfers. At this stage in his life, a man needs assistance because his sons are too small to assist him with herding or farming. An analysis of this process is made in Chapters 9 and 10.

A man starts, in fact, to build up his social and economic status even before his marriage when he is engaged in herding for his father or bond partners made by his father. He does this by creating his own bond partnerships. This process of creating bonds continues up to elderhood. Each of the bonds a man establishes at each stage of his life is a response to the social and economic needs he has at that particular stage. I discuss bond partnerships in Chapters 11 and 12.

A man who has a full life span dies stockless, because of the pressures on him to behave like a "big man". Successful "big men" are required to slaughter stock for hospitality, to transfer bridewealth regularly to wife-givers and to constantly strengthen their affectionate relationships with their coevals.

Acknowledgement

This thesis was written under the supervision of Dr. P.T.W. Baxter. I am most grateful to him for his extensive comments and the many analytical points which he took up and discussed with me. He carried out field work among the Arusi, in a neighbouring Province of Ethiopia, during the time I was in the field, and I was able to consult him regularly and benefit from his experience and knowledge. I owe a great deal to his assistance and friendship.

I wish to express my thanks to my first teachers at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I owe a personal and intellectual debt to Professor S.N. Eisenstadt, Professor R.J.Z. Werblowsky who introduced me to the study of other cultures and belief systems, and to the late Professor Yonina Talmon to whom my debt is greater than any mere acknowledgement can express.

I am also grateful to Prof. M. Gluckman for the help and advice he gave me, and the interest he has shown in my field work. I discussed parts of the thesis with Professor E.L. Peters, Professor J.C. Mitchell, Dr. B. Sansom, Dr. K. Garbett and Dr. R. Werbner, to all of whom I am grateful for valuable comments.

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My thanks are also due to Miss C.J. Carr of the Department of Geography, the University of Chicago, who carried out an ecological survey of the Lower Omo during two months in the summer of 1969. I discussed some geographical problems with her which I have acknowledged at the appropriate points in the text.

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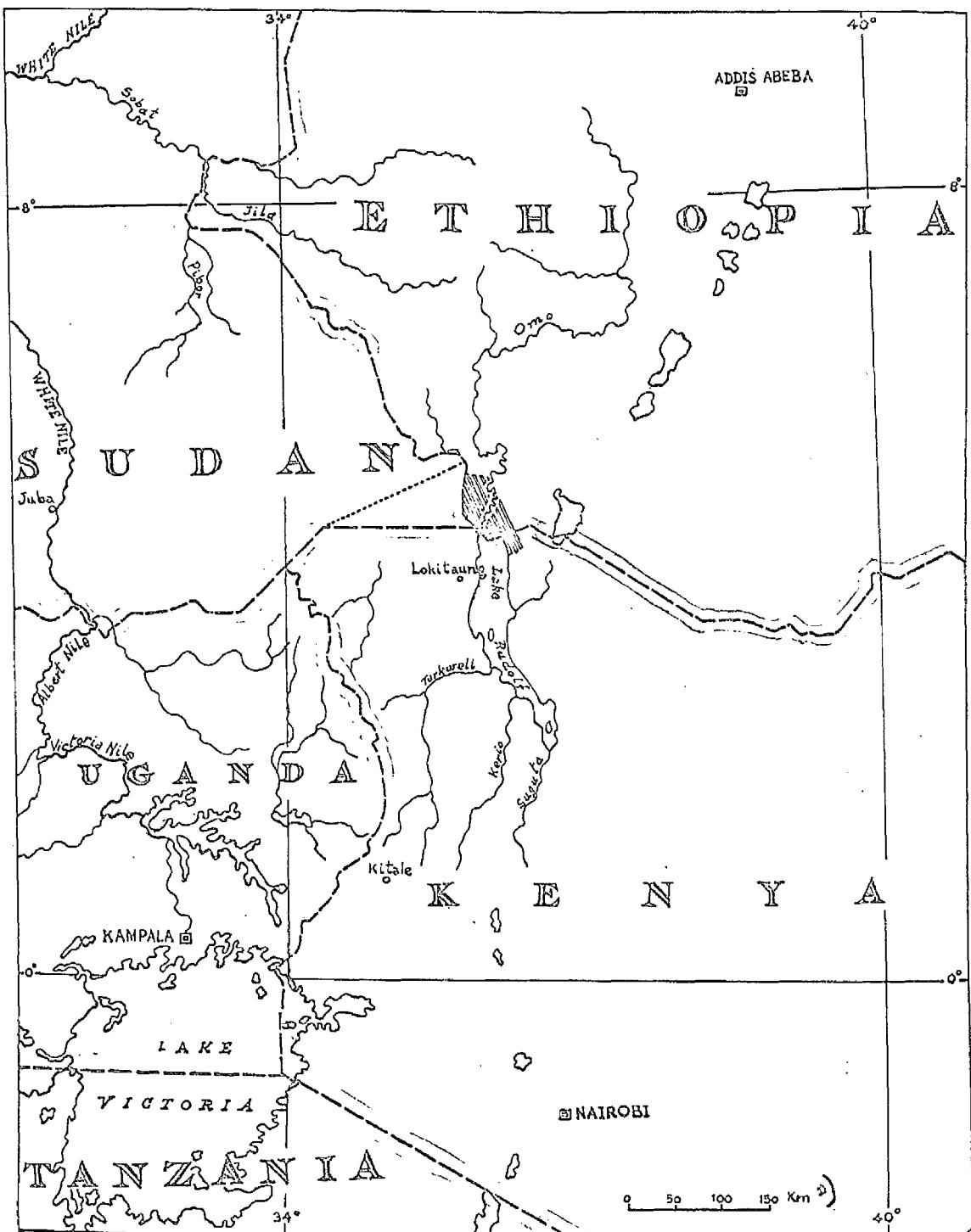
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Map A : Showing the approximate area occupied by the Dassanetch.



A metric scale is used in all the maps, but in the text I have sometimes used the Imperial measurements which I recorded in the field.

Chapter 1: The Historical and Political Background.

A: INTRODUCTION

The people who live in the area north of Lake Rudolf and along the Omo River in Ethiopia are generally known by three names: Reshiat, Geleba and the Merile.

Reshiat was the name they were called by Von Hohnel¹ who was the first traveller to reach them, and it is probably a Samburu name. The name Geleba is an Amharic, and Merile is a Turkana name. The people call themselves Dassanetch and resent the foreign names. I shall only use the name Dassanetch.

The Gemu Gofa province of Ethiopia has hardly been investigated and least of all the sub-provinces of Geleb and Hamar Baco (in which Dassanetchland is included). It is not possible even to make an accurate tribal map. Each tribe is given a different name by each of its neighbours. The result is that often writers refer to the same tribe by different names.²

1. Von Hohnel, L. Discoveries of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie, Chapters 3 and 4, Longmans and Co., 1894. This name is less mentioned in the literature in this century probably due to the Ethiopian conquest of the area. The name Reshiat is unknown to the Dassanetch.

2. See for instance Cerulli, Ernesta, People of Southwest Ethiopia and its Borderland, International African Institute, 1956, p. 84, where she deals with the Merile and Geleba as if they were two different tribes.

The unsatisfactory state of ethnographic knowledge, particularly of tribal nomenclature, is reflected in a note by almost everyone who has tried to edit the information available. I have decided to use the people's own names for those tribes that I have had contact with and know (Inyangatom, Turkana, Hamar), while for other tribes I use the name most common in the literature (e.g. Arbore, Murle, Kere).

No census has ever been carried out, and the Dassanetch population has been differently estimated by different observers.³

I estimate that they number around 15,000. This estimate is based on a hut count from air photographs, allowing an average number of five people per hut, five being the average number of residents per hut according to my own census of camps and settlements.

Very little has been published or written about the Dassanetch, except for passing references either by travellers or in superficial ethnological surveys.

The limited literature on the Dassanetch can be considered as falling into two parts. The first consists

3. Von Hohnel, L., op. cit., p. 167, estimated Dassanetch population in 1888 as being between 2,000 and 3,000. A British Intelligence Officer estimated their population as being 15,000 in 1930. Italian Army censuses alleged to have been taken in early 1941 estimated them as 2,635 people. In the same year they were estimated by various British Sundry Military Officers as numbering 15,000, and by Captain C. Jackson as between 6,000 and 7,000.

of the writing of travellers and adventurers⁴ up to the early 1930's and the use one can make of it is limited indeed.

4. Von Hohnel, L., 1894, op. cit.

Smith, A.D., "Expedition Through Somaliland and Lake Rudolf" in The Geographical Journal, Vol. 8 (2), 1896, pp. 120-137, and Vol. 8 (3), 1896, pp. 221-239.

—, "An Expedition between Lake Rudolf and the Nile" in The Geographical Journal, Vol. 16 (6), 1900, pp. 600-25.

Neumann, A.H., Elephant Hunting in East Equatorial Africa, London, 1897.

Cavendish, H.S.H., "Through Somaliland and around South of Lake Rudolf", in The Geographical Journal, Vol. 11, 1898, pp. 372-393.

Vanutelli, L. e Citterni, C., Seconda Spedizione Bottego L'omo, Milan, 1899.

Austin, H.H., "Journeys in the North of Uganda (Lake Rudolf)" in The Geographical Journal, Vol. 14, 1899, pp. 148-152.

—, "A Journey from Omdurman to Mombassa via Lake Rudolf", in The Geographical Journal, Vol. 19, 1902, pp. 669-688.

—, Among Swamps and Giants in Equatorial Africa, London, C.A. Pearson, 1902.

Wellby, M.S., "King Menelik's Dominions and the Country between Lake Rudolf and the White Nile Valley" in The Geographical Journal, Vol. 16 (3), 1900, pp. 292-306.

—, Twixt Sidar and Menelik, London, 1901.

Maud, P., "Exploration of the Southern Border of Abyssinia" in The Geographical Journal, Vol. 23, 1904, pp. 552-579.

Brooke, I.W., "A Journey West and North of Lake Rudolf" in The Geographical Journal, Vol. 25, 1905, pp. 531-552.

Stigand, C.H., To Abyssinia Through an Unknown Land, London, 1910.

The second heading includes the various publications which appeared, mainly during the 1930's and 1940's, written, in the main, by Italian ethnologists.⁵ The investigations

5. Conti, Rossini C., "Sui linguaggi parlati a nord dei Laghi Rudolfo e Stefania" in Festschrift Meinhof, Hamburg, 1927.
- Fuchs, V.E., "The Lake Rudolf Rift Valley Expedition" in The Geographical Journal, Vol. 86 (2), 1934, pp. 114-42.
- Moreno, M., Museum National d'histoire naturelle - Mission scientifique de l'Ono (1932-33), Vol. I, Géologie, Anthropologie, par C. Arambourg, P.A. Chappuis etc. fsc. 1, Paris 1936.
- Devalle, G., "Sulle sponde del Lago Rudolfo", in Universo, Vol. 21, 1940, Roma.
- Zavattari, E., "Sudditi dell'Impero: i Geleba del Lago Rudolfo" in Italia d'Oltremare, November 1940, Roma, pp. 324-6.
- _____, Dal Guiba al Lago Rudolfo, Florence, 1941.
- Cerulli, Enrico, "Il linguaggio dei tre popolazioni della zona del Lago Rudolfo" in Oriente moderno, 22, 1942, pp. 26-35.
- Chiomio, G., "I maji (Masi) nell'Etiopia del sud-ovest", in Rassegna di studi etiopici, Vol. I, Roma, 1941.
- Ricci, M., "Usanze funerarie degli Arbore, degli Amarr e degli Gheleba nel sud etiopico" in Rassegna di studi etiopici, Vol. III, 1943, pp. 214-22.
- _____, "Usanze matrimoniali etica sessuale e credenze degli Arbore, degli Amarr e degli Gheleba" in Studi etiopici raccolti da C. Conti Rossini, Instituto per l'oriente, 1945 Roma, pp. 182-92.

carried out by the Italians were mostly of a general nature about the whole area of Southwest Ethiopia, have a strong linguistic emphasis and contain very little specific reference to the Dassanetch.

The only paper based on a survey was written by Shackleton⁶ and references to the Dassanetch in later publications have been mainly based on the information in his paper.⁷ However, as Shackleton himself admits, his data was supplied by only one informant.

I was unable to trace anything that has been published in Amharic on the Dassanetch. The National Sample Survey of Ethiopia designed to collect data on various aspects of land and population which was carried out in 1963 did not cover Dassanetchland, because the Survey teams failed to reach there.

6. Shackleton, E.R., "The Marile or Gelubba", Ms. Kenya Government, 1933, N.A.D.M. 19, No. 193.

7. Publications which are based mainly on Shackleton's information are:

Nalder, L.F. (ed.), A Tribal Survey of Mongalla Province, International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, London, 1937, pp. 148-150.

Pauli, E., "Die Splitterstamme Nordlich des Rudolfses" in Annali Literanensi, 1950, Vol. 14, pp. 155-161.

Cerulli, Ernesto, op. cit., pp. 81-84.

B. A SHORT HISTORY OF POLITICAL
EVENTS ON THE LOWER OMO.

The history of tribal clashes and boundary disputes is a separate subject which I do not intend to develop here. It is, however, crucial to know something about political events which have taken place in this area, because they have had serious ecological and social consequences for the Dassanetch. (Major events are summarized chronologically in Appendix 1).

The earliest record we have about the Dassanetch is by Von Hohnel⁸, who together with Count Teleki was the first European to explore and report on this area in 1888. It is worth noting that Von Hohnel reports that the Dassanetch occupied more or less the same area as they do at present and as being a prosperous and rich tribe. But when Smith⁹ came to the area, he described the conditions north of Lake Rudolf as follows:

"The Reshiat (i.e. Dassanetch) were not in the same thriving conditions as they were when discovered by Count Teleki. All their cattle had been carried away by disease . . . now there is scarcely anything left of the once rich and powerful tribe."

Cavendish¹⁰ who also visited the area at

8. Von Hohnel, op. cit., Chapters 3 and 4.

9. Smith, D., 1896, op. cit., p. 226.

10. Cavendish, H.S.H., op. cit., p. 382.

that time found conditions to be the same and writes that the Dassanetch ". . . were now literally starving, having been looted by Boran on several occasions and having lost all their wealth of cattle through rinderpest". In 1897 the area was conquered by troops of the Emperor Menelik II. Austin¹¹, who was in the area in 1898 immediately after the Ethiopian occupation, reports that he found the country north of Lake Rudolf laid waste by Ethiopians, all the cattle which had survived the rinderpest had been driven away, the granaries burnt to the ground and crops in the fields destroyed.

A year later Smith made a second journey to Lake Rudolf¹² and reported that, during the four years which had passed since his previous visit, the formerly rich tribe of Rusia (i.e. Dassanetch) had "ceased to exist", there being only a few groups of huts on the west bank of the Omo River.

The Dassanetch were formally included within Ethiopia by the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1907. Since most of the tribes along the Southern border of Ethiopia were nomadic, the treaty aimed to ensure their grazing rights. The treaty contained the following paragraph:

"The tribes occupying either side of the line have the right to use the grazing

11. Austin, H.H., 1899, op. cit., p. 149.

12. Smith, D., 1900, op. cit., p. 607.

grounds on their side as in the past, but during their migration it is understood that they shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the territorial authority. Free access to the nearest well is equally accorded to the tribes occupying either side of the line".

It is clear from the reports of the early travellers that at the end of the last century and during the first decade of this century, neighbouring tribes such as Gabbra, Rendille, Samburu and Turkana were close to Dassanetchland and that the herds of these tribes used pastures within a distance of a few miles from each other and that each tribe had its own pastures and patterns of grazing. Clashes or fights over water wells or grazing grounds did little to change permanently the "status quo", and seldom, if ever, forced tribes to evacuate areas they customarily grazed.

The turning point in the history of this area occurred in 1909, when the Dassanetch began to acquire rifles which enabled them, in only a few years, to destroy the tribal equilibrium based on pastoral co-existence. By gaining military superiority, the Dassanetch put an end to what one report described as: "the nicely balanced community of small tribes around the north of the Lake and along the Omo river".¹³

13. Here and elsewhere when I quote without specific reference, I am quoting from uncatalogued Intelligence Reports.

Dassanetch were now able to take the military initiative and became the most powerful tribe in the whole area, and drove away the Nyawatella and Ngithigerr sections of the Turkana from Lorienatom, Lomogol and Labur and also the northern sections of the Rendille, Samburu and Gabra from the eastern shores of Lake Rudolf.

There are no records from which a clear picture of what happened immediately after the Ethiopian conquest can be reconstructed. The Ethiopian troops which had occupied Dassanetchland soon left, and no official Ethiopian presence on the Lower Omo was established until the end of the 1920's. It is known, however, that arms traders visited the area and that army officers and officials who had deserted or been dismissed from the service of the Imperial Ethiopian Government set up military bands of army deserters and local tribesmen.¹⁴ For about a decade, Dassanetch warriors joined forces with these bands in raiding other tribes. One report states that the Dassanetch gradually became so wealthy and powerful that they threw off the "Abyssinian yoke" of their "colleague raiders" and raided neighbouring tribes on their own account. They also became the principal arms traders in the area.

14. Yardley, J., Parergon or Eddies in Equatoria, J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., No date. See M.R. Bullock's letter 21.7.1924 to Her Majesty Judith, Empress of Ethiopia, pp. 246-247.

The easy availability of arms, on the one hand, and the non-existence^s, or at best ineffective, control of the Ethiopian authorities on the other, permitted the Dassanetch to become the "trouble makers" who engaged the Anglo-Egyptian, the Sudan, the Turkana District of Uganda and the Northern Frontier District of Kenya in constant expense and trouble. Although some other tribes, such as the Turkana and Gabbra, were also able to obtain arms, none were able to acquire them as easily and in such quantities as the Dassanetch.

One report from 1933 states that 80% of the fighting strength of the Dassanetch was armed with rifles. The Dassanetch obtained their arms during the period when the British Government were starting to gain effective control of the neighbouring districts of Kenya, Uganda and the Sudan. British policy was to disarm the tribes living in British territory and to put an end to tribal clashes. While the Dassanetch became militarily stronger and were free of any control whatsoever by the Ethiopian Government, the disarmed neighbouring tribes were unable to meet the Dassanetch on equal terms, yet were not afforded secure armed protection by the British Colonial Forces. The introduction of firearms had radically changed the pattern of war and raiding between tribes.

A small rifle-armed raiding party was able to, and frequently did, massacre whole unarmed villages. What had been local clashes escalated into threats to large

sections of the immediately neighbouring tribes. Their neighbours describe the Dassanetch as "warlike and blood thirsty people".¹⁵

Dassanetch gained a clear superiority over the more numerous, but less well armed and more rigorously administrated Turkana Rendille, Samburu and Gabbra, who were forced to move southwards and put themselves under the protection, inadequate as it was, of the Ugandan or Kenyan Governments.

Effective action against Dassanetch raiders was inhibited by the complicated disputes over International Boundaries and under whose administrative control the Dassanetch western pastures should come.

In 1914 the Boundary between the Sudan and Uganda was provisionally settled by drawing a straight line on the map from the northern point of Lake Rudolf to Kilim-Habash, the area north of this line going to the Sudan.

The agreement also demarcated an administrative triangle in the Sudan and north of the border which became

15. In one Report (1917) it is stated "the distinctive feature of Gelubba raids appears to have been the killing of people as opposed to a preoccupation with loot"; Mr. Harrington (A.D.C. Maikona) gives this as the chief reason why they were "so greatly feared by the Gabbra". In another Report (1941) it is stated that the Dassanetch "went so far as to slaughter stock they had no hope of getting away".

known as the "Ilemi Triangle". The boundaries of the triangle were also known as the "Red Line". This arrangement was intended to "leave to Uganda the customary grazing grounds of the Turkana tribe . . . who live in Kenya and only use the grazing areas of the triangle in a certain time of the year".

The area which lies east of the triangle (the Lorienatom range, Lomogol and Lebur) is known as the "Ilemi Appendix" and was a traditional Dassanetch grazing ground. The Turkana who grazed their herds in the "protected" "Ilemi Triangle" were not safe from Dassanetch raids. Immediately after the triangle was demarcated, conditions there were described in some reports as chaotic.

In 1918 the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and the Sudan mounted a joint expedition, known as either "the Turkana Patrol" or "the Lebur Patrol", which was intended "to punish the Turkana, Marile, and Inyangatom, to expel Ethiopian raiders from British territory and to bring the area to a state suitable for civil administration". Apart from a partial disarmament of the Turkana, none of the aims of the expedition were fulfilled.¹⁶ The area was not occupied and the people remained as belligerent and uncontrolled as before. A confrontation between the two

16. The Patrol did not fight with the Dassanetch and the only battle took place at Kangalla (south of Lorienatom) between the Patrol and an Ethiopian force coming from Maji. Immediately after this battle, the Patrol retired to the Turkwell river. See Collins, R.O., "The Turkana Patrol 1918" in Uganda Journal, 1961, Vol. 25 (I), p. 28.

tribes was unavoidable and a series of small clashes culminated in the massacre of 1924, in which 250 Turkana were killed. Turkana were obliged to abandon the area and move further south in order to have more effective British protection.

On the east side of Lake Rudolf, the events were more or less similar. Since 1913 a series of aggressive Dassanetch raids have been recorded. A report in 1917 stated that the Gabra had changed their grazing routes and were afraid to go north of Maikona for fear of Dassanetch raids. In 1919, 57 Rendille at Gurgunwa were killed by the Dassanetch and in September 1925, 34 Gabra and Rendille were killed at Moile. Both places are about 100 miles inside Kenya territory. The only armed post between Marsabit and the Frontier was a small immobile garrison at North-Horr, so no effective action against the raiders could be taken.

So another punishment force, known as "The 1925 Expedition", was despatched. This punitive expedition killed 40 Dassanetch and brought back 7000 sheep and goats which were handed over to the Gabra. But both to the east and west of Lake Rudolf the general situation remained much the same as it had done before.

1928 marked the beginning of a period of more effective administration. In that year, Lokitaung was opened as H.Q. of Turkana District and the King's African

Rifles were replaced in the Northern Frontier District by Kenyan Police. Nevertheless, during the late 'twenties and early 'thirties, the Dassanetch attacked on both fronts with such a strength and aggression that several hundreds of British-protected tribesmen were killed in their raids and thousands of their livestock were looted. For example, one Report states: "In 1928 the Merille raided in such strength that the Turkana lost 215 dead and were again obliged to retire from the northern grazing areas. In 1929, after the establishment of Lockitaung Post and in spite of the protection which we then claimed to be giving the Turkana, raiding was almost equally serious, and a further 135 men, women and children were killed and large numbers of stock carried off".

The problem area was not the "Ilemi Triangle" itself but to the east of it in the "Ilemi Appendix". The Kenya Government, which was anxious to protect the Turkana, was unable to take effective action against the raiders because the "Appendix" was within the Sudan. The Sudanese administration, however, was unable to control the area effectively. From 1924 the Kenya Government pressed the Government of the Sudan with two alternative proposals: either that it administered the "Ilemi Appendix" effectively or handed over the administration of it to the Kenyan authorities. The Government of the Sudan, unable to implement the first and unenthusiastic about

the second, delayed its decision until 1932. (For quite a long time the Government of Ethiopia held the view that administrative responsibility for the "Appendix" had only been provisionally settled by the 1907 Agreement, and from time to time claimed part of it). The Government of the Sudan suggested several times over the years that the Ethiopian Government exchange the "Appendix" for the Baru Salient, the "Appendix" to become recognized grazing for the Dassanetch and the Baru Salient recognized grazing for the Nuer.

This proposal was strongly opposed by the Kenya Government who feared that the Ethiopian Government would be unable to police the "Appendix" effectively. In 1932, however, after a patrol from Kapeota had surveyed the "Appendix", the Government of the Sudan recognized that the second alternative was the only practicable solution and agreed officially that Kenya should police the area and, irrespective of the 1914 Border, take action against raiders and establish posts in Sudanese territory. At that period also two adjustments were made to the original "Red Line" (1914) Boundary.

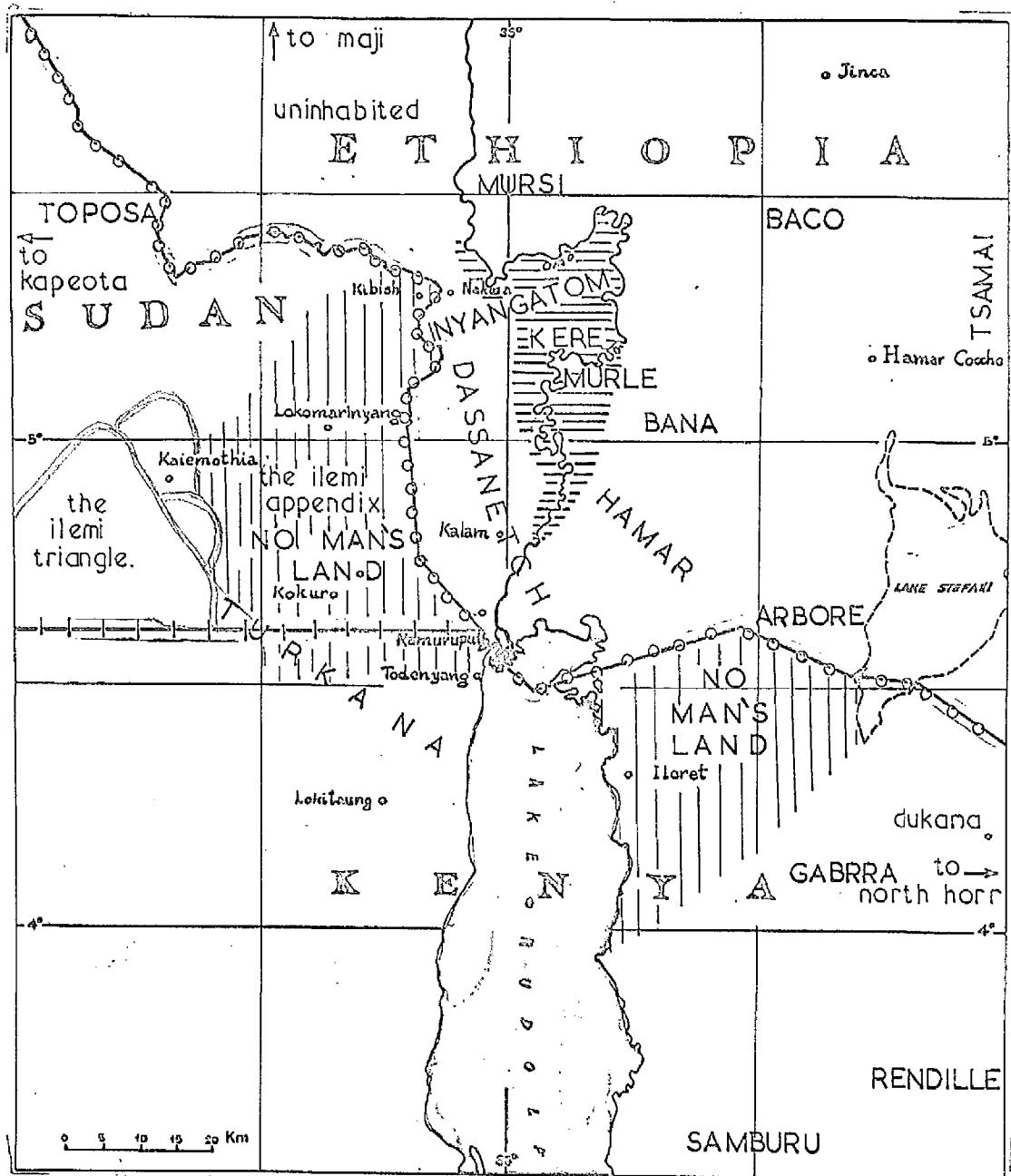
The first was known as the "Green Line" (1932) and was an extension of the triangle towards the north-east in order to include the top of the Lorienatom range and certain essential water holes to the west of Kamathia, which water and pasture were reserved for the Turkana.

The second adjustment was known as the "Blue Line" (1934) and was a further extension eastwards to include the grazing and watering areas of Kanaroo and other upland valleys in east Lorienatom. (See Map B). The areas which had been added to the Triangle by these adjustments were regarded by the Dassanetch as their grazing grounds, and they raided the Turkana intensively from the "Appendix". But, in 1934, a peace ceremony between the Turkana, the Dassanetch and Inyangatom was held under British and Ethiopian auspices. It was agreed in the peace agreement that the Turkana should limit themselves to within the Border of the "Red Line" and the Dassanetch could only graze in east Lorienatom and Labur in the "Appendix".

The situation was somewhat different in the Northern Frontier District.

During 1932, 110 Gabra and Rendille lost their lives to Dassanetch raiders who also looted about 10,000 head of stock. At the end of 1932, after a massacre at Lug Banya, a punitive expedition was despatched against the Dassanetch but it was abortive and demonstrated once more the inability of such expeditions to put an end to Dassanetch raids. The Gabra left the northwestern grazing areas of the Northern Frontier District and pushed further south. The evacuation of these areas by Gabra and Rendille had, in fact, started long before, but 1933 was the first time that the authorities in the N.F.D. restricted the

Map 8 : Dassanetchland and surrounding areas



No-man's-land



Tsetse area



Tribe



International Border (1907)



The 1914 Border



The "Red Line" (1914)



The "Green Line" (1932)



The "Blue Line" (1934)

Kenyan tribes from grazing north of a line known as the "Stigand line", which was a line drawn from Moite on the lake shore following Lug Bulal and Dukana to North Horr. The Gabbra and Rendille were kept back well to the south of the "Stigand line".

A "cordon sanitaire"¹⁷ was formally established in 1935, and included the whole area northwest of the "Stigand line". Anyone found in the forbidden area was liable to be shot on sight.

An Italian force of about 1,000 troops occupied the Lower Omo in 1937. They recruited many Dassanetch warriors into their irregular forces whom they trained and issued with new Mauser rifles in place of their old rifles. The year 1939 in the Turkana District and the year 1940 in the N.F.D., mark the beginning of a new wave of raids.

The Dassanetch struck again with a new strength. Between then and 1942, when the British occupied the Lower Omo after the Italian retreat, a series of bloody raids were perpetrated against the Turkana and the Gabbra. The British had long realized that, from their point of view, the only solution to the "Merile problem" was the disarming of the Dassanetch. Once in control of the country, they attempted to do that. A military blockade was established to prevent any tribesmen or stock from crossing the Omo

17. I use the term "no man's land" throughout the thesis, as it was the phrase most used by Kenyan and Ethiopian officials.

River to the west bank unless they handed over their rifles. However, on the advice of the medical authorities who stated that the Omo delta was too unhealthy for troops, the blockade was withdrawn.

Upon the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Ethiopia, in 1942, Police posts were established by Kenya Government in front of the "Red Line" near to the border of Ethiopia. These were: Kokura, Liwan, Lockimarniang, Kamathia and Kibish. A "no man's land" was established between Lorienatom and the Tapeisi Hills in the north, and between Lorienatom and the International Border of Sudan and Ethiopia in the east. It was decided, in view of their past record of pillage and massacre and because they were heavily armed, that the Dassanetch should not only not be permitted to return to their old grazing grounds, but should also be excluded from all parts of the "Ilemi Appendix". When the Ethiopians returned to the Lower Omo after the capitulation of the Italians, they faced a political "fait accompli". All the grazing areas to the south and west of Dassanetchland had been declared a "no man's land" in which every tribesman crossing the International Border was likely to be shot.¹⁸ The Dassanetch made several attempts to force a way into

18. During the period of my field work, six tribesmen were shot dead by Kenyan Patrols. These were three Dassanetch and two Inyangatom near Kibish, and one Dassanetch near Kokurø.

their old grazing grounds, and have had serious armed clashes with the Kenyan Police, but they have been unable to return to their former grazing area. But, less intensively, they have continued to raid other tribes, mainly the Turkana and the Gabbra.

Up to World War II, the Lower Omo valley was under the formal administration from Maji and Jimma, of Kaffa Province of Ethiopia. But effective control over the Dassanetch could not be exercised from either of these two centres, though from the late 'twenties about a dozen troops were permanently stationed in Dassanetchland. These troops could do nothing to prevent raids or tribal clashes and could do very little even to protect the tax collectors who visited the area every few years. In 1933, for example, five tax collectors were killed by Dassanetch.

By the "Bai ^h" Agreement¹ of 1932 made between Ethiopian officials and British officers, the Ethiopian Government promised to disarm the Dassanetch, and an attempt to do so was made in 1934. A force of about 800 to 1000 troops came from Baco to attack the Dassanetch, but in the event failed to meet them in battle.

The force commander Dejazmatch Ababa Dimtu, like the British, later decided that the country was too unhealthy to stay in and withdrew his troops.

After World War II, the Imperial Ethiopian Government treated the southwestern corner of Ethiopia as a problem area, and for administrative purposes placed it as a separate zone under the direct control of the Ministry of Interior in Addis Ababa.

Relations between the Ethiopian authorities and the Dassanetch had never been good. Both sides were afraid ^{and} suspicious ^{of} and hostile ^{to} each other. Some Dassanetch still remembered the near total disaster which the earlier Ethiopian conquest had brought to their country. They also accused the Ethiopians of doing nothing to regain lost Dassanetch grazing grounds in the "Ilemi Appendix" and contrasted them with the Italians who had not only crossed the Border and occupied parts of the "Appendix" and N.F.D., but had also backed them in all their claims and supported them in every possible way.¹⁹ Since both the Ethiopians and the Dassanetch were armed and both feared the consequences of a serious clash, a

19. Dr. Frangipani, the representative of the Italian Government, had several meetings with British officials in Juba from 1937 up to 1940 to discuss the Italian claims to the "Ilemi Appendix". His argument was that "the possession of the whole of this area (i.e. the "Appendix") by the Gelleba is based upon a right of tribal ownership (une droit de possession collective), and not on the friendly custom of grazing by nomads (tradition amicale de transhumance) obtaining among people on other sections of the frontier".

situation of uncooperative co-existence developed. The Ethiopian authorities did not interfere in any tribal affairs unless there were serious clashes or disturbances with other tribes within Ethiopia.²⁰ The Dassanetch, on the other hand, did not attack the Ethiopians and left them undisturbed in their Police posts. This was the situation up until and during my field work.

During the decade following the end of World War II, there was a considerable reduction of Dassanetch raids on other tribes and in 1954 the Lower Omo District was incorporated into the Province of Gemu Gofa and the number of troops stationed there was reduced. Since 1954, about 150 policemen have been stationed in six posts which are distributed along the Frontier.

There are no regular communications between the posts or between them and the new administrative centre of the sub-province at Jinca. Policemen at these posts are entirely dependent on irregular supplies brought from Jinca and Addis Ababa. There are no all-weather roads in Gemu Gofa Province, and the rainy season in the northeastern part of the province does not coincide with that in the southwestern part, so that policemen in the posts are frequently cut off from supplies and other posts for several months.

20. Following clashes between the Arbore and Hamar and between the Hamar and Dassanetch, the Governor of the sub-province of Geleb and Hamar Baco gathered all the Government Chiefs of the above tribes in Turmi in October 1969 and announced that unless tribal clashes cease at once, the Government would be forced to act and to confiscate their cattle.

Although there was a reduction in the number of Dassanetch raids on their neighbours, the situation along the Frontier did not improve. Small clashes between Dassanetch or Inyangatom and Kenyan patrols were commonplace. The Kenyan police officer commanding Todenyang Post told me that the situation along the Border was such that several policemen were killed there every month, especially in Kibish. He also said that there was a time at the beginning of the 'sixties when policemen preferred to resign from the service rather than to be stationed at Kibish.

The biggest single clash between the Dassanetch and the Turkana since the end of World War II took place in Mogila in 1959, when the Dassanetch attacked in unexpected strength in what was then considered to be a safe part of the "Ilemi Triangle". Unfortunately, I have been unable to obtain casualty figures. However, Dassanetch regard the "Magla War" as nyakiryam, which means "a massacre", and is only used when hundreds of people have been slaughtered, many stock looted and young girls kidnapped.

Since 1963, when Kenya gained its Independence, there has been a great deal of pressure on the Ethiopian Government to put an end to Dassanetch raids. In 1965 an unannounced hut to hut search was carried out by a

supplemented garrison in an attempt to disarm the Dassanetch, but the operation could hardly be called a success since only about 300 rifles were found. The Dassanetch had managed to hide their rifles in time. Pressures on the Dassanetch by the Ethiopian Government and on the Turkana by the Kenya Government led to a peace agreement between the two sides, being concluded in Kokuro in 1966. But Kenya still excludes the Dassanetch from the "Ilomi Appendix" and maintains the "no man's land" around their country. Neither the Turkana nor the Gabra have been allowed to return.

The political events which forced the Dassanetch into a very restricted homeland had some severe ecological and social consequences, to some of which I shall need to refer in this thesis.

I only wish to comment now that the "political isolation" of Dassanetchland was also accompanied by an economic isolation.

The "cordon sanitaire" around their country prevented the Dassanetch from benefiting from the new market centre which was developing in Loekintaung. To reach Jinka, the nearest market centre in Ethiopia, a Dassanetch has to cross Hamarland which is an extremely dangerous and almost impossible journey. Another market centre is at Maji, about four days walk from Kalam, but

the land between is heavily infested with big game which almost rules out the possibility of travelling there. The few goods, mainly cloth and coffee beans, which the Dassanetch wish to acquire they get by bartering small stock with the Ethiopian policemen who are stationed in Dassanetchland.

Dassanetch complain that they have been betrayed and humiliated by everyone except the Italians. They express xenophobic feelings about the Amhara, the British, the Kenyans and most neighbouring tribes. These strong feelings are reinforced by their political and economic isolation.

C. DASSANETCH TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN AND SETTLEMENT

The Dassanetch not only appear to be a political and economic "island", but also a linguistic and cultural one. Each of the neighbouring peoples can be classified as belonging to a larger linguistic and cultural grouping.²¹ Dassanetch are aware that linguistically and culturally they have nothing in common with their immediate neighbours and that they are a mixture of different peoples who came from

21. The Turkana and Inyangatom both speak Turkana, one of the languages of the Karimojong cluster. The Gabbra are one of the numerous, widespread and relatively culturally and linguistically homogenous Galla people. The Hamar speak a dialect which is similar to that of other local tribes (Bana, Kere and Ari).

Linguists completely disagree with each other about the classification of Dassanetch. I hope to publish some of my linguistic material later.

"far places beyond mountains and seas", to settle on the Lower Omo. This awareness is demonstrated in almost every aspect of their social, economic and religious activities.²² To describe all the different origins and histories of all the sections is beyond the purpose and scope of this thesis, and I shall only summarise those which are immediately relevant to the understanding of their contemporary territorial sections and clans.

An en, which I translate as a territorial section, is usually the first group that a Dassanetch will describe himself as belonging to. From his membership in a territorial section, a man derives some of his most important rights and, in particular, those to grazing and cultivation. Membership of a territorial section is primarily ascribed by being the child of a man of that section.

Dassanetch are divided into two distinct categories within which their eight sections are included as follows:

(SEE FOLLOWING PAGE)

22. One cannot speak about a Dassanetch "type" as Spencer does about a Turkana or a Samburu (The Samburu, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1965, p. 276). There is no such thing as a "typical Dassanetch", and considerable differences of physical type are apparent.

<u>category of people</u>	<u>section</u>	<u>estimated population²³</u>	<u>location</u>
Sheer	Inkabelo	7,000	west and east bank
	Inkoria	2,000	east bank
	Naritch	1,800	east bank
Yenmeto	Elele	1,500	west bank
	Randal	1,000	west bank
	Oro	800	west bank
	Koro	500	west bank
	Riele	400	east bank
	total	15,000	

The majority of Dassanetch are Sheer, and it is they who are regarded as "proper Dassanetch". The Yenmeto²⁴ have more territorial sections than the Sheer, but they are much smaller in population. Territorial sections are not

23. The population of each territorial section is based on my estimation and census data.

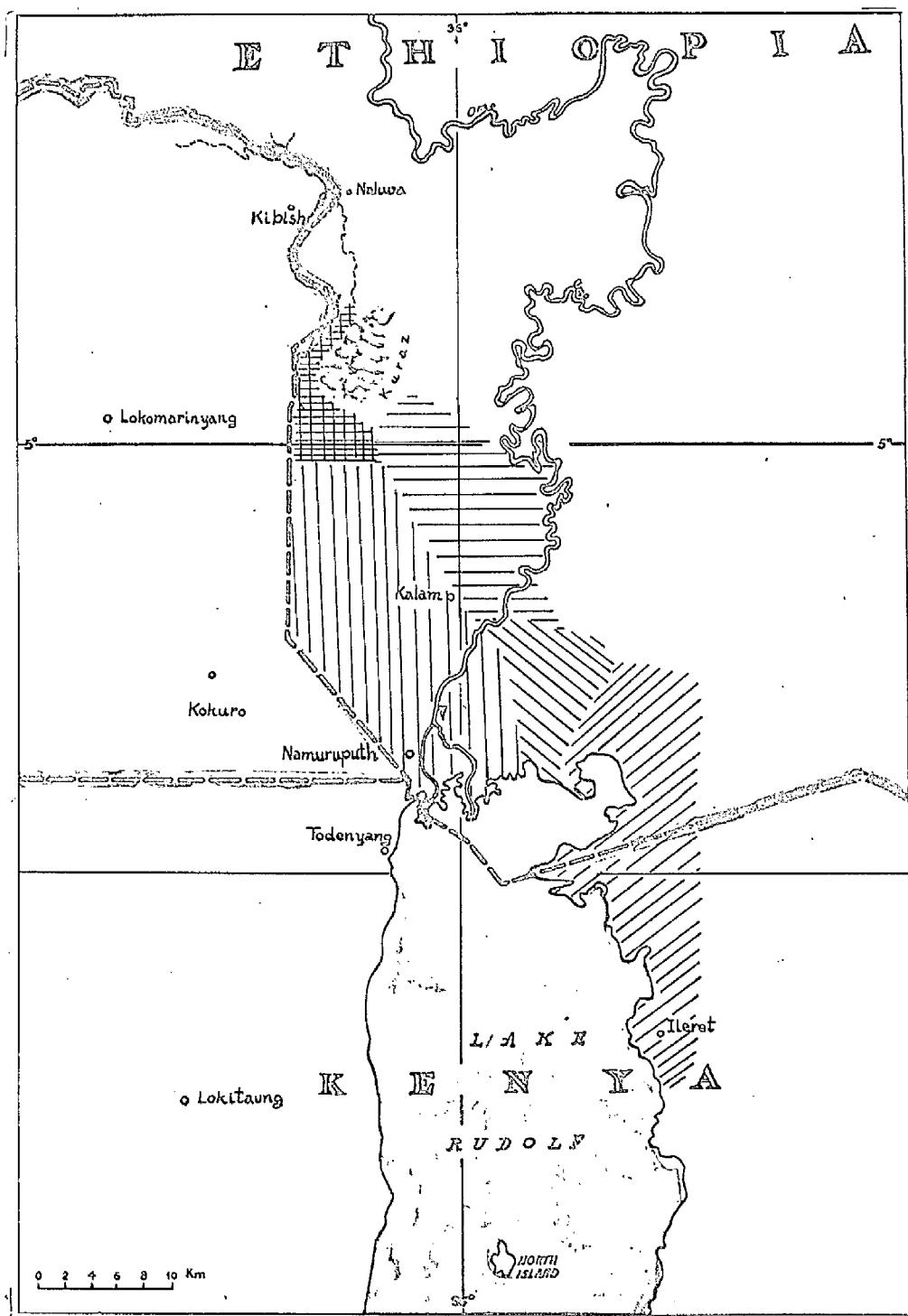
24. Yenmeto literally translates as "names of a giraffe" and implies many names like the spots of a giraffe and thus, "a collection of pieces" as the Dassanetch describe them. Affiliation to the Sheer and thus, being "proper Dassanetch" is emphasized often by members of that category. On the other hand, Dassanetch who belong to the Yenmeto category will rarely, if ever, explicitly say that they belong to that category of "collection of pieces".

equal in their numbers or size of territory, their structure or their power. Indeed, the phrase "territorial section" is somewhat of a misnomer, because some sections do not have a territory. As can be seen from Map C , only the three sections of the Sheer and the Elele, Randal and Riele sections of Yenmeto have distinct territories. The Oro and the Koro do not have territory of their own, and their members are spread throughout the territory of the Inkabelo, with whom they are closely associated socially, economically and politically. They and the Riele (most members of which are concentrated in one temporary settlement within the territory of the Inkabelo) are called Sheer-baritcho, which means the "spleen of Sheer", thus implying that they have been absorbed in the Inkabelo territorial section.²⁵

In Dassanetch tradition, the division into territorial sections represents different origins. It will be clear, when I discuss the division into clans and sub-clans, why this is so. They claim that the Sheer came

25. Since the population of the Inkabelo territorial section composes about half the population of the tribe and is the dominant section within the Sheer, it is often, in daily speech, identified with the whole category of Sheer. My field work was carried out mainly among the Inkabelo. Throughout the thesis, all references are to the Inkabelo, unless stated otherwise.

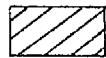
Map C : Locations of territorial sections.



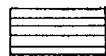
Inkabelo



Naritch



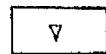
Inkoria



Elele



Randal



Riele

from the Southwest. According to tradition the Inkabelo, from whom the Inkoria and Naritch are offshoots, all came to the Lower Omo together from the Southwest as one group - the Sheer. The Oro came from the South, the Elele from the North, the Randal from the West and the Koro from the Southeast, while the Riele were the aboriginal riverine inhabitants of the Lower Omo.

It would be impossible for me to reconstruct an accurate historical account of these migrations, but it is probable that the traditions are reasonably reliable. Certainly, each territorial section maintains some customs and folk tales, which they probably brought with them from the place from whence they came. It is certain that the Randal and the Koro were the last territorial sections to join the tribe, probably about 100 to 150 years ago, before the early travellers of the last century reached the Lower Omo.²⁶ The Randal themselves say that all the

26. Spencer, P. (personal communication) informs me that the Kitaku age set of the Samburu (initiated in 1851) led a migration northwards and established friendly contact with the Dassanetch. Von Hohnel, op. cit., p. 163, states that there were two recent settlements of Burkeneji (i.e. Samburu) among the Dassanetch and in his "The Lake Rudolf Region: Its Discovery and Subsequent Exploration 1888-1909", in Journal of African Society, 1938, Vol. 37, p. 32, he states that in 1896 he found a Rendille settlement northwest of the Lake. Cavendish, op. cit., p. 382, also indicates that an offshoot of the Masai (Kore) lived on the shores of the northern part of Lake Rudolf.

cultivated areas were occupied when they came to Dassanetch-land. The Randal came from the Rendille and the Koro from the Samburu.²⁷ Migration by small groups also took place and most of the present population are descendants of people who came and joined the tribe piece-meal. This type of immigration, by which households or groups of households accreted themselves, is apparent from the names and traditions of clans and sub-clans. Individual immigrants, mostly Turkana, are still regularly absorbed into Dassanetch.

Each territorial section is divided into clans (tur) and each of the clans into sub-clans (bil). Clans within territorial sections and sub-clans within clans are traditionally ordered in the sequence of their arrival. It can be seen from the list of clans and sub-clans in Appendix 2 that the same name appears in different territorial sections and as sub-clan names in different clans. The sequential order of the same name also varies. For example, the Dabavien sub-clan of the Fargaro clan appears second in the order in the Inkabelo territorial section, while it is the fourth in the Inkoria and Naritch territorial sections. The same name appears as that of a clan in one territorial section but as a sub-clan in another. For example, Dabavien is a clan in the Randal territorial

27. See Note to Appendix 2.

section while among the Inkabelo, Inkoria and Naritch it is a sub-clan, and Turat is a clan among the Inkabelo, Inkoria, Naritch, Oro and Riele, but only a sub-clan among the Koro. Further, the name of a territorial section may also appear as a sub-clan name in another territorial section. For example, the Koro sub-clan among the Inkabelo and the Elele sub-clan among the Oro. Dassanetch themselves explain that this pattern of nomenclature derives from the way small groups were accreted by larger ones. When a substantial group arrived en bloc, they formed a clan group which later split into sub-clans.

Clan membership is determined by patrilineal descent, and cannot be changed, in contrast to the membership in a territorial section which can be changed, though it occurs rarely, when a man settles in another territorial section. Within one territorial section, clans are exogamous, but clans which have the same name but belong to different territorial sections are not usually exogamous. Of sub-clans sharing the same name it is said: "It has the same name only" (af takhama), implying that the original clan ancestors who settled in Dassanetchland were not kinsmen. But members of clans and sub-clans which share the same cattle brand are seen as having been at one time kin and are forbidden to marry. Such groupings by cattle brand may be scattered among different

²⁸ territorial sections. Clans are exogamous named groupings of putative common descent. They do not have a genealogical structure, territory, shared ritual or any political organisation, but men are circumcised and erect their huts for the "dimi" ceremony (see Chapters 6 and 7) in the sequential order of their clan.

D. AGE SETS

The age set system is the central political institution of the Dassanetch. Age sets have their own traditions, culture heroes, places of meetings, and their activities cover almost every aspect of their members' social lives. Members of the same sub-age set have a strong sense of solidarity and affiliation.

One informant described to me the differences between clans and age sets as follows: "What is tur (i.e. clan)? Tur is nothing. Every man has a father. Hari (i.e. age set) is important. A man grows in his hari. How can a man live without a hari?" That is to say that a man's social position is primarily determined through his membership in an age set and particularly

28. The topic of cattle brands is very complex, and a discussion of it would run over into a discussion of moieties and age sets. It is not immediately relevant here.

his active participation in its activities. The age set organisation and associate rituals are very complex, but here I only want to present such a brief sketch of the age system as is necessary to make my later, and frequent references, intelligible. I have decided to postpone a detailed exposition of the system for another occasion. My decision to do this is reluctant, but essential, if I am to have the space to pursue my thesis.

A son belongs to the ^{adjacent} alternate age set to his father. A person belongs to one of the following basic age sets. These are divided into a number of sub-sets, each of which is divided into four annually recruited initiation sets.

"Fathers"	Nigabite	Nilimeto	Numor
"Sons"	Nilimkorio	Nikorio	Nuogolomogen
"fathers"	Nigabite	Nilimeto	Numor

The horizontal division divides the age sets into two grand-sets, the senior of which is that of "fathers" (izam), and the junior one that of the "sons" (umo).

From infancy, play-mates who belong to the same annually recruited age set become what I call "immediate age mates". These mates undergo together the ceremonies which mark stages in their lives, such as the transformation from boyhood to manhood in the "hairdressing" ceremony, marriage and circumcision. As they age together, they

advance in the political hierarchy of the age set and eventually, in old age, become the senior sub-age set of their age set.

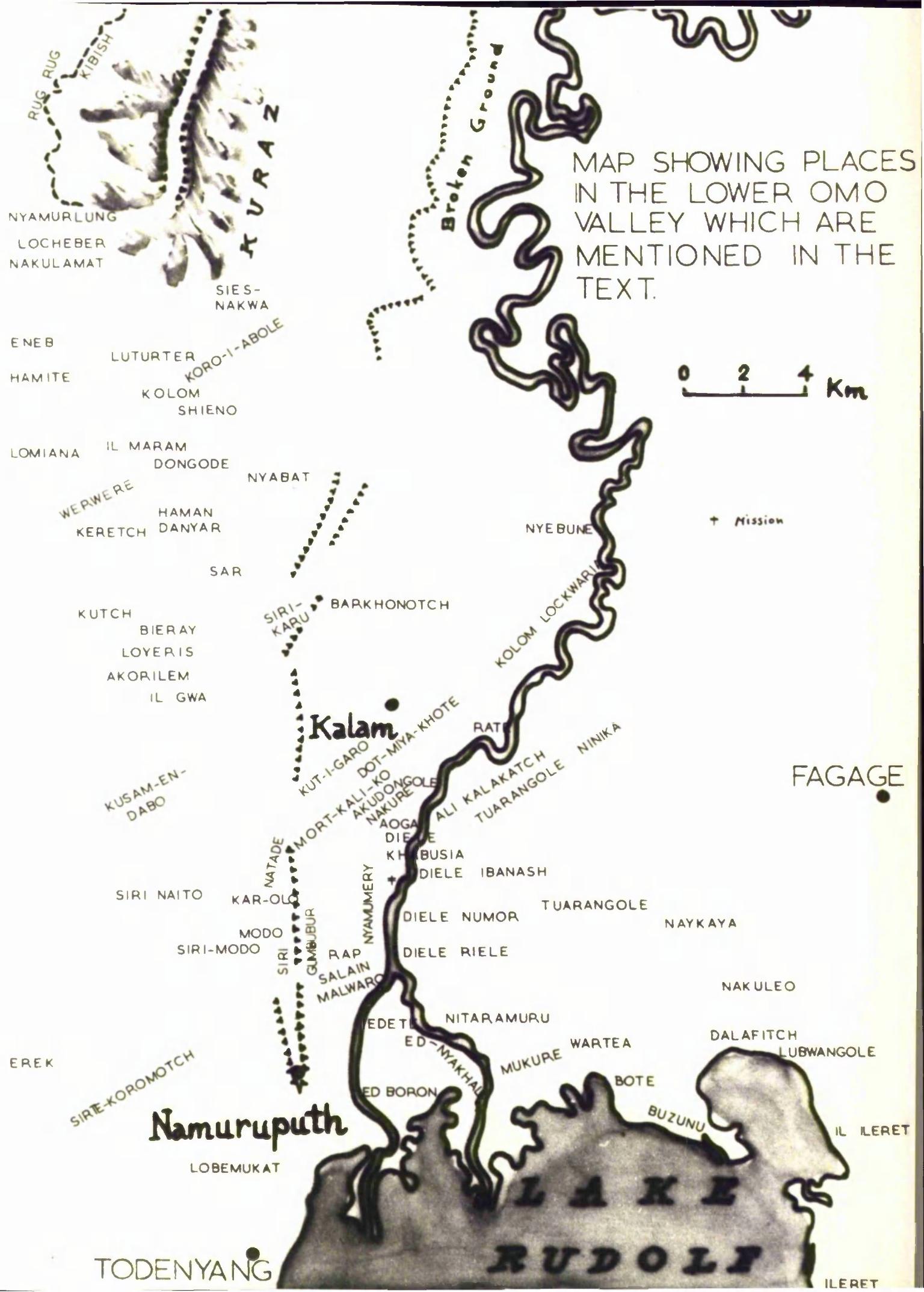
When Dassanetch say that a man grows up in his own age set, they refer to the fact that in the major events of his life, a man is accompanied in close association by his immediate age mate.

MAP SHOWING PLACES
IN THE LOWER OMO
VALLEY WHICH ARE
MENTIONED IN THE
TEXT.

0 2 Km

+ Mission

FAGAGE



Chapter 2: The Ecological BackgroundA. Introduction

Dassanetchland straddles the Lower Omo River at the north of Lake Rudolf in the Rift Valley, between $4^{\circ}37'$ and $5^{\circ}06'$ latitude and $35^{\circ}48'$ to $36^{\circ}15'$ longitude and at an altitude of 1250 ft. It consists of a narrow plain contained on the east by the Long Hamar Range (3324 ft.) and Adas Arbore Highlands (2886 ft.) and on the west by a range of hills and mountains: Labur (4836 ft.), Katcheriang'or (4089 ft.), Lomogol (2000 ft.), Lorienatotom (5789 ft.) and Lockimatiang (3000 ft.).¹

Geographically the Lower Omo area lies at the conjunction of three climatological areas:

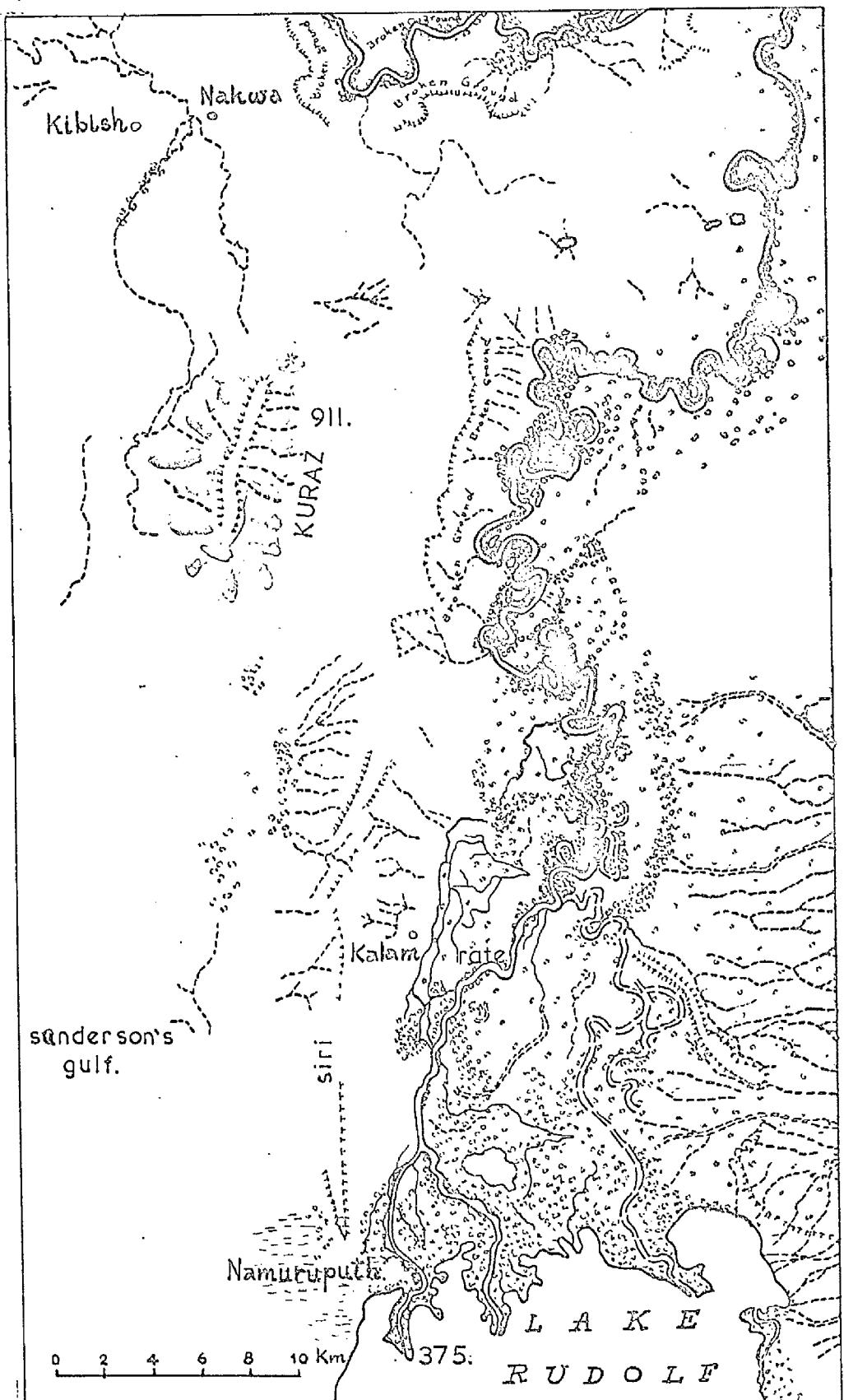
- a) Dassanetchland lies along the edge of the Ethiopian plateau. The land rises steadily to the east and northeast of the Omo River into the Hamar Range which is only ten kilometres away. Turmi, which is only about 40 km. east of the river, is at an altitude of 3500 ft. and Baco, which is about 100 km. northeast of Kalam (i.e. or 115 km. north of the mouth of the river) is at an altitude of 6500 ft. Sketch Map E, which shows the drainage system of the east bank of the

1. This western range can be clearly seen on Namuruputh Map 1:100,000 Series Y633, Sheet 4A, Edition 1, GSGS.

Omo River, also clearly shows the steep mountain slopes to the Omo Valley. Once a year, following the rains in the Omo basin of the Ethiopian central plateau, the Omo River rises and floods low-lying parts of Dassanetchland. In these flooded areas, Dassanetch are able to plant and grow their crops and also, when the waters have subsided, to graze their animals on the excellent alluvial pastures. It is the rainfall in the central plateau which determines the crop yield and the grain yield of some of the pastures in Dassanetchland, rather than local rainfall. The flood waters from outside are of greater consequence for the economy of the Dassanetch than the rain which actually falls on them.

- b) The Lower Omo Valley skirts the eastern edge of a huge area of swamps and flooded areas of the Southern Sudan. During the period of the big rains, which are usually in April, more than half of Dassanetchland is covered by water.
- c) The immense arid area, which includes Turkana, the N.F.D. of Kenya and the deserts of South Ethiopia, also extends over the Lower Omo basin. In these areas the rainfall is insufficient to permit agriculture, and permanent vegetation is restricted almost entirely to the beds of the seasonal river and streams.

Map D : The west bank of the Lower Omo
(The same symbols are used for Map E, too)



Seasonal stream bed.



Ridge.



Hills and mountains.



Trees and shrubs.



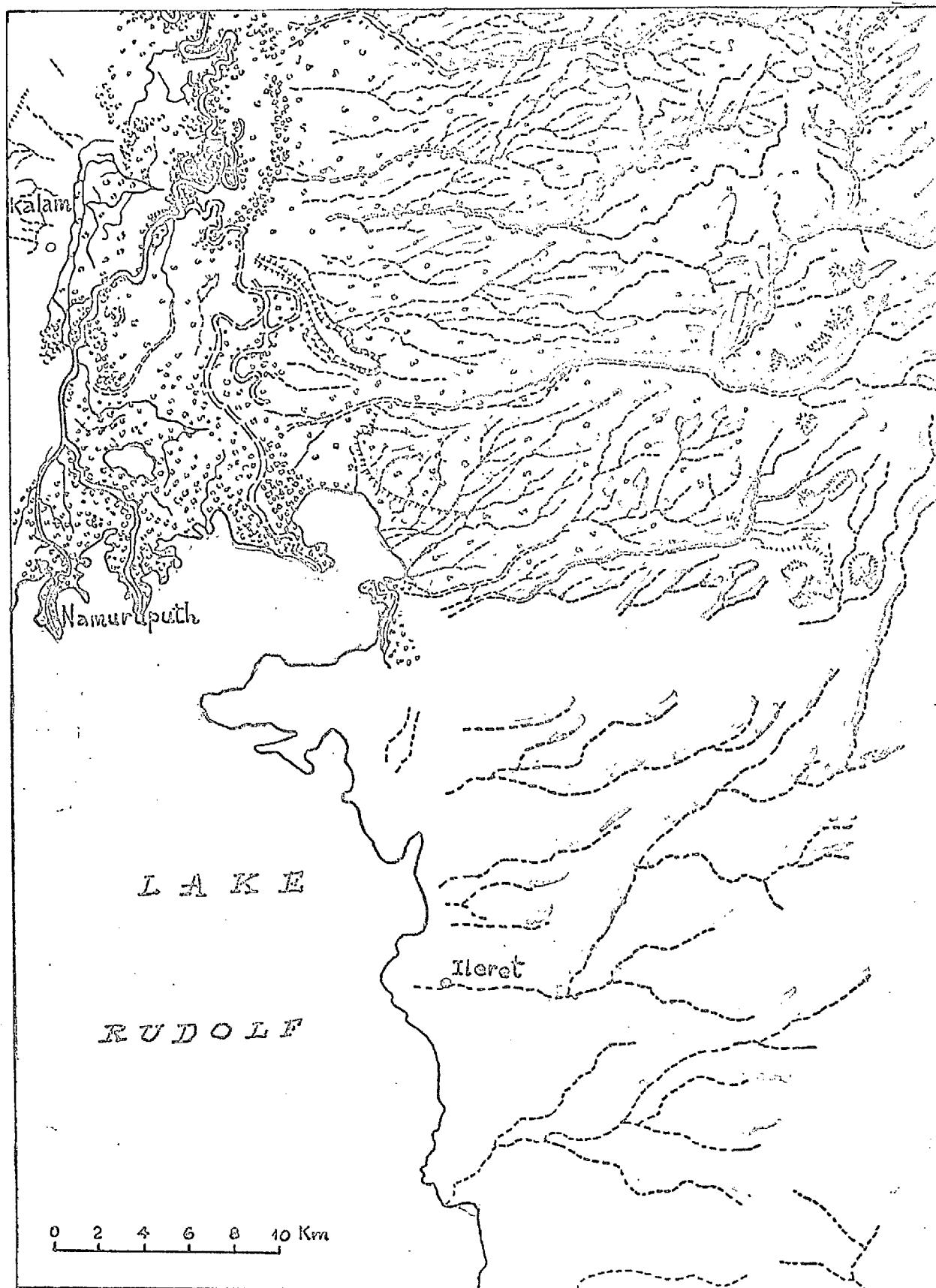
Steep slope.

Dassanetchland covers approximately 800 sq. miles of very varied land. The west bank soils are mainly sandy, and there are only a few patches of clay, which support a few sparse and thin bushes and a few scattered trees (see Sketch Map D). Parallel to the Omo River, and between two to ten kilometres from it, there is a ridge of low hills (Siri) that crosses the west bank at Namuruputh and runs to the northwest of Kalem. West of this ridge lies Sanderson's Gulf, now dry, which is a flat plain. In years of both big floodings and high rainfall, the whole area, including Kibish, the land west of Kuraz and Sanderson's Gulf, are flooded and look like an extension of Lake Rudolf itself.

North of Rate and along the courses of the Omo River there is thick orchard bush which is infected with tsetse and, except for a few villages of fishermen and riverside cultivators, is uninhabited. Other Dassanetch do not enter this infected area and do not risk their animals by bringing them to the edge of the bush, even during the harshest drought.

The delta and the east bank strip to the south of Rate are the main flooded areas and are both geographically very similar. Vegetation there is plentiful and green; it varies from thin to medium bush, but everywhere there are many more trees and shrubs than there is on the west bank. Many parts of the east bank and the delta are inaccessible from April to September, because they are either flooded by the river or deep in mud after the rains (see Sketch Map E).

Map E : The east bank of the Lower Omo.



Generally speaking temperatures in Dassanetchland are lower than those in the surrounding areas. The hottest place in Dassanetchland is Sanderson's Gulf (Barar) and even there the temperature only reaches 40°C (105°F) during the dry season. I only have records for parts of the last six years, that is, since a Mission was established on the west bank of the Omo. The annual average temperature during the day time (14^{°C}_{hrs}) was 32°C (90°F) and for the night 22°C (71°F).² Generally, the difference between day and night temperatures is greater than those between seasonal maximum and minimum day time temperatures. Accurate figures about rainfall are not obtainable. According to the 10% probability annual rainfall map of East Africa,³ rainfall in the northern part of Lake Rudolf is below 10 inches; but the Atlas of Kenya⁴ (p. 12) records the "mean annual rainfall" as being between 10 to 20 inches. All that this clearly indicates is that the rainfall is unstable. (See Appendix 3). I estimate that, in a year of high rainfall, one that the Dassanetch call "plenty of rain" (ir burnaya), from 10 inches up to 15 inches of rain falls.

2. Data on temperature and rainfall was kindly supplied to me by Rev. Swart.
3. Meteorological Department of East Africa High Commission, 1:2,000,000, Survey of Kenya, 1961.
4. Survey of Kenya, Nairobi, 1959, Edition 2 (Based on all available data at 1955).

Each year has two rainy seasons - the big rains (ir gudolha) usually last for about six weeks and fall during the end of March and during April, and the small rains (nyarobe) which usually fall about October and last about a month. But, the amount of rainfall and its timing are both very irregular and the latter can vary by three or four months, though, in any one year the amount of rain that falls is more or less equal throughout Dassanetchland. The big rains are preceded by sand storms and strong winds. The small rains, however, are erratic, in place and timing, but are not usually accompanied by strong winds. In one place the mud can be deep enough to bog down a Land-Rover, whereas only one kilometre away there may have been no rain at all. Dassanetch say that the small rains in the Mt. Kuraz area are heavier than in other parts, but only a few patches of land become so muddy that people are forced to leave them. Whereas, during the big rains, on the delta and in the flooded areas of the east bank and east and west of the Siri Ridge on the west bank, most areas are too muddy and swampy to be used.

Dassanetch agriculture is determined by the inundation of the river. Some of the flooded areas also provide pastures. The rains, on the other hand, only provide pastures (Fig. below).



I shall therefore consider inundation and rains separately.

B. Inundation and Cultivation

The Omo is a permanent river, and where it runs through Dassanetchland is approximately 200 metres wide throughout its length. It creates a spreading delta at its mouth in Lake Rudolf. In its northern part of the Lower Omo there are many of the meanders which are typical of a slow river in a flat plain. The river frequently shifts its bed and creates other new meanders, leaving a network of minor and old dry courses away from the main stream. The thick, permanent and quick growing bush along the meanders means that the clearing of lands for cultivation there requires the investment of a great amount of regular work. But agriculture depends on silt brought by the inundations from the central highlands which flood flats south of the tsetse bush zone. Dassanetch therefore very rarely cultivate in the bush meanders, particularly when plenty of more fertile plots are available south of the tsetse zone.

Inundation by the river starts about a month after the big rains have fallen in the Omo catchment to the north, usually in June-July, that is, 2-3 months after the end of the big rains in Dassanetchland itself. But the rains in the Omo basin are irregular and hence so are inundations in Dassanetchland. The water lies for about three months, but this period, like the timing, is also very uncertain and liable to vary from one year to another. A low rainfall in the Omo catchment area causes only a limited inundation of Dassanetchland, what the Dassanetch call 'a low river' (war ninika); while a high

rainfall in the catchment area causes an extensive flooding or 'a big river' (war gudokha).

Both the flooding and ebbing gradually occur. The river rises about 3-4 metres in a series of spurts and starts until it finally overflows its banks and inundates the surrounding flats. The water lies there for a while, and then slowly retreats back again within its usual banks. The flood period may vary from two weeks to four months. Dassanetch say that there is a 'big river' only once in every few years. My description is based on a medium inundation.

In a small inundation, water tends to concentrate in lower places while in a big one water floods many flat areas. The east bank is lower than the west bank so a greater area is flooded on the east than on the west.

The irregularity of the inundations is apparent even from the limited data recorded in recent years.⁵ (See Table 1).

The time an inundation lasts does not necessarily indicate the extent of land flooded. For example, both in 1967 and in 1968 the duration and timing of flooding were the same. However, in 1967 many areas were covered with water which in 1968 were left dry.

There are other sources of water, but they are of much less consequence. Next in importance to the Omo is the Kibish River whose catchment area lies to the northeast of Dassanetchland.

5. The influences of the irregularities of both rains and inundations on Dassanetch cultivation and pastoralism will be dealt with in Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Here I am only immediately concerned with the general picture. Some of the complexities will be dealt with later and analysed.

Table 1

The Durations of Inundations by Year

Year	Started	Ended	Scale of Inundation
1965	October	November	Small
1966	August	August	Small
1967	July	September	Big
1968	July	September	Small
1969	June	September	Medium

Note: This data is based on my own observations,
and information supplied to me by Rev. Swart
and the Governor of West Geleb district -
Col. Bizune Yeglato.

This is not a permanent river and usually only runs for two months, around April-May, during which it creates a big swamp in Kor-Rugrug, where the neighbouring Tnyangatom are able to grow sorghum. The Kibish River dries out immediately after the big rains have ended, but where it has flooded, water can always be got by digging a few feet below the surface. People who camp there in the area during the dry season water their stock from wells dug there.

There are other seasonal rivers on the east bank which also run during the two months of the big rains. Another important source of water as the Omo River is Lake Rudolf. Its water, though a little salty, is drinkable. The water level of the Lake is lower than used to be. Fluctuations in the water level of the Lake of up to several metres are frequent.⁶ A map that was drawn of the northern part of Lake Rudolf from an air photograph in 1947 shows an entirely different outline from that in an air photograph of the same area taken in 1967.⁷ Sanderson's Gulf at the beginning of this century was an

6. Smith, 1900, op. cit., p. 607, found a difference of 12 ft. in the water level of the Lake between his first journey in 1895 and his second in 1899.

7. Compare the Map of Kenya-Ethiopia Boundary Commission, Sheet 2, 2-SK, 1:50,000, Kenya Government 1964 (reliable source-air photograph 1947) with air photographs of the Ethiopian Mapping Mission: VM 1370, FMW AF 58.3 2 DE067, R332 Numbers 35372-8.

extension of Lake Rudolf, but had dried out before 1940.⁸

By the same date Fort Wilkinson, the old Kenya police post on the shores of the northwestern end of Lake Rudolf had been covered with water and a new station had had to be built a few miles from the old site at Todenyang. Dassanetch say that in the past the whole area up to Kuraz was a shallow swamp.⁹ These changes of water level still occur.

Water started to advance in the delta a few years ago, and C. Carr told me that it will only be a matter of a few years before the whole delta is again covered with water.

Three years ago the water started to retreat at Buzuno and Bote on the east bank while further east the water had started to advance. Every year about a month after the inundation of the river, the Lake rises in its turn and floods the land. But whereas river inundation fluctuates up and down for several months (usually reaching its peak in August), the

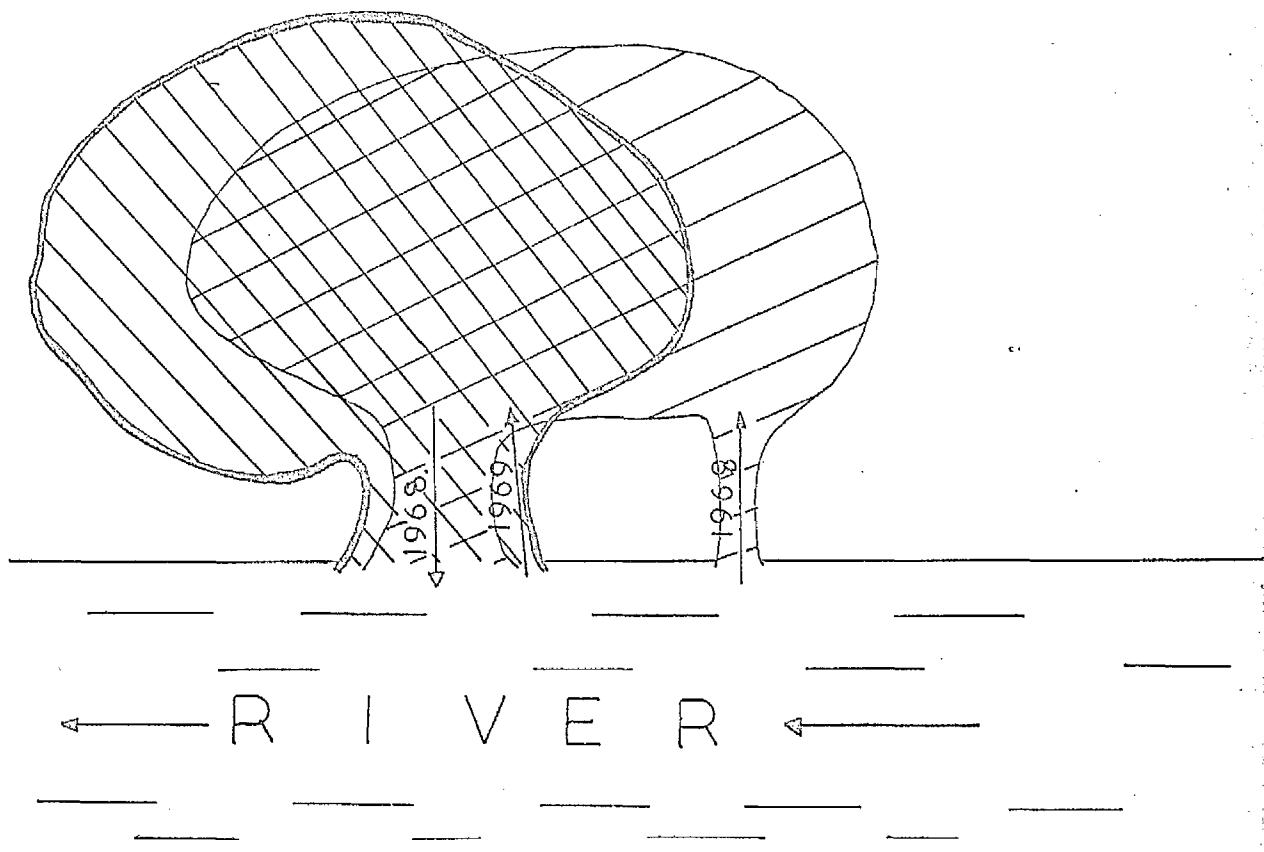
8. Austin, 1902 op. cit., p. 789, presents a sketch map where Sanderson's Gulf is the northwestern branch of Lake Rudolf. That can also be seen in the map of the "Turkana Patrol 1918" (Collins, op. cit., p. 24). On the other hand, on the Map of East Africa (Lockitaung), 1:500,000 GSGS 4355, Sheet NB 36/6 (Third Edition), published by the War Office 1947 and based on air photograph taken in December 1940, it was already stated that Sanderson's Gulf was dry.
9. This is supported by Austin, op. cit., p. 789; Cavendish, op. cit., p. 386 ("We reached the lake again at the foot of Mount Narkwa" (i.e. Kuraz); and Von Hohnel, ¹⁸⁹⁷op. cit., p. 163.

lake rises regularly and quickly, but its inundation only lasts for a few days.

The areas which are flooded are therefore suitable for agriculture, but are liable to change each year. The same plots are not necessarily flooded year after year. Even if a certain area is flooded regularly, the amount of water is likely to vary. These changes are not predictable and vary from year to year. Apart from the variable rains in the Omo catchment which determine the timing and extent of the inundations, variations in the flooded places themselves are a function of three basic factors:

- a) The volume of water which floods a particular place in relation to its area; this is unpredictable because the water may break away into different places in different years. Therefore, a given plot might be subject to the variable inundation both in timing and also in the volume of water which covers it.
- b) The structure of the drainage system varies in detail by locality from year to year; the pressure of water in the rain flood may transfer the rich alluvial deposits from one plot to another. This is particularly so on the east bank where the steep hill slopes to the Omo Valley create greater changes in alluvial deposits.

Diagram 1 : An illustration of the way
an exit channel is converted
into an entry channel.



Year 1, e.g. 1968.

Year 2, e.g. 1969.

c) Another source for changes in the actual places to be flooded is the drainage courses of the water after the inundation of the river and the lake. Water may enter a flooded flat by one channel but force a new and different exit channel through which to drain. In the following year that exit channel may become an entrance channel and result in a different, frequently partly overlapping, area being flooded (see Diagram 1).

The interplay of these factors creates frequent surface changes, with the consequence that the plots which are flooded vary from one year to another. There are also two additional factors that have to be taken into consideration. The first concerns those flooded areas by the river northeast of Kalam. The river flats which flank the meander are liable to undergo extreme changes because of shifts in the direction of the river. A change of direction into a new meander may leave old and regularly flooded areas completely dry (as happened in Nyebune in 1963), at the same time floods previously dry areas, thereby permitting the creation of new flooded plots. Secondly, the lake inundates areas which only a month earlier had been inundated by the river. As the lake water itself is constantly changing in level, it is clear that the amount and position of cultivable areas is constantly shifting. The very flatness of Dassanetch country maximises the possibilities of erratic and irregular surface changes. As the Dassanetch do not build dams,

dig channels nor attempt to control the flow of water in any way, they must adapt their own movements and settlements to the vagaries of the floods.

Dassanetch distinguish between different kinds of flooded areas:

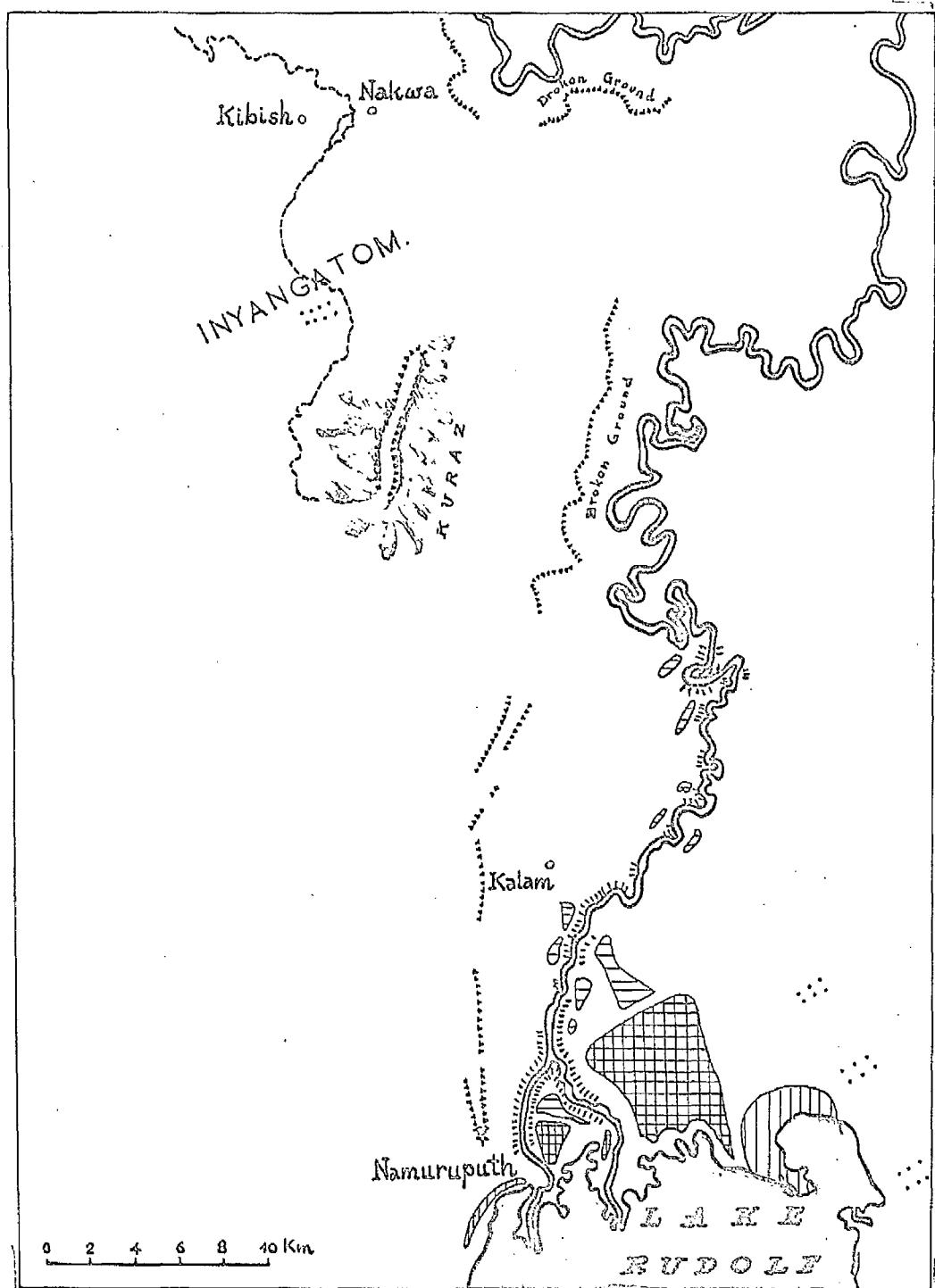
Diele a) Flooded places along river banks which are usually small and narrow. These vary in width and in some places are only as wide as the river bank itself. Diele areas constitute only a small part of the total flooded areas.

Har Dassanetch use the term har (pl. haram) to refer to all kinds of flooded flats, though they are productively distinguishable and differentially valued.

- b) Areas which are not necessarily close to the river but which are flooded only by the river.
- c) Flats which are subject to inundation both by the river and the lake. Such flats are found only in the southern part of the Lower Omo near Lake Rudolf.
- d) Some flats are only flooded by the lake. These are places at the northeastern and northwestern edges of Lake Rudolf which are not reached by the river flood water. When the lake floods nearby areas of alluvial soil (Buzuno and Bote) people can plant (see Map F).

The quality and quantity of grain from har plots, especially those which receive mixed water from both the river and the lake,

Map F : Inundated areas according to type of flooding.



The areas shown on the Sketch Map are based on air photographs taken by the Ethiopian Mapping Mission in 1967 (op. cit. plus numbers: 34872-82; 38714-24; 83737-47; 39870-72; 38821-3; 39048-52) and my own maps and air photographs taken in 1969.



Ridge.



River banks.



River flats.



Lake flats.



River and lake flats.



Rain cultivation.

is higher than that harvested from plots only flooded from one source, because they receive more minerals and have a sufficient time to absorb them. Dassanetch sow grain after they are sure that the waters have gone down and the flow of water has ceased. But inundation on its own is by no means a guarantee of agricultural productivity, and not every plot which is flooded is good for agriculture. Sorghum grows even in conditions of relative dryness, but it needs specific wetness for a certain period in order to build up a complicated system of roots. A sandy soil does not hold the water long enough to permit this building up, and therefore it is impossible to plant sorghum in sandy inundated areas. Dassanetch describe a situation, in which having planted on flooded land and either nothing grows, or ^{and} grows and then shrivels up, as the 'refusal of the sorghum' (rub hai dite).

Dassanetch engage in only a very small amount of agriculture which depends only on the rains. In some valleys near the temporary rivers on the east bank there are some patches of alluvial soil. In these places (Il Ileret, Nakuleo and Lubwangole) people plant sorghum once a year immediately after the big rains. The small rains are too meagre and unreliable to permit any kind of cultivation.

The above differences in types of lands between river bank (diels) and river and lake flat (har) are also reflected in other aspects of agricultural activities, grain yield and rights over land. These will be dealt with in the next three chapters.

But, for now, I only want to note that the main difference between river banks and river and lake flats is in the timing of agricultural activities. The early agricultural activities (simago) take place on river banks, whereas the river and lake flats are only used for late agricultural activities (hol dim).

C. Rains and Pastoralism

The early travellers who passed through Dassanetchland were impressed by the number of cattle they saw. This was also my own impression.¹⁰ Mr. Thompson, a Nuer medical assistant stationed at the Omo River Mission, told me that the Dassanetch had many more cattle than the Nuer, and Rev. Swart who had spent 16 years among the Anuak told me the same of them. But to speak about "large number of cattle" in itself tells little, unless the term is related to the two factors of pastures and population.

No figures of stock population on the Lower Omo exist, so I must rely on my own estimations: my estimates are based on two sources. The first is my own census of a more or less random sample of the herds of the Inkabelo territorial section. The second is information supplied to me by Government chiefs about the amount of money they had collected from their respective people in taxes.

10. Nalder, op. cit., p. 149 and Cerulli, Ernesta, op. cit., p. 82 who have both edited the available literature on tribes in this area confirm this impression.

Taxes are assessed on a 'per head of cattle' basis, but a chief only collects money from those who are generally considered to be wealthy, and only presents to the Ethiopian authorities a list of the names of the wealthy people, with amounts, from whom he has collected tax.

Tax is not an onerous burden and few men try to avoid payment. There are no disputes. Three of the Government chiefs (Atol, Yerar and Anokhosia) provided me with their list of taxpayers. My census data, with that of the three chiefs, enabled me to make approximate estimates of the number of cattle a taxpayer owns, and more importantly, to determine the proportion of taxpayers to non-taxpayers. Most taxpayers own more than 30 head of cattle, and the total cattle owned by taxpayers as a body makes up about one-third of the total stock population of the district. A taxpayer has to pay ET £ 0.25 (10d.) per each head of cattle (this means that a man who is assessed at 32 cattle has to pay two sheep, or their equivalent, to the authorities). The amount of money collected from the west bank in 1969 was ET £3570.¹¹ Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain figures

11. In 1969 tax collection from Government chiefs (Kansitch Ochumba) was as follows:

Chief Anokhosia (Numor and Nyogolomogen age sets plus the Riele territorial section)	ET £	700
Chief Irgudu (Nigabite and Nilimkorio age sets plus the Koro territorial section)		900
Chief Atol (Nilimeto and Nikorio age sets)		570
Chief Yerar (Oro territorial section)		500
Chief Lumorumoi (Randal territorial section)		500
Chief Korugur (Elele territorial section)		400
Total	ET £	3570

for the territorial sections (Inkoria and Naritch) of the east bank. However, I estimate both of the east bank sections to possess together about the same number of livestock as do the people of Chief Irgudo (Nigabite and Nilimkorio age sets plus Koro territorial section) who collected ET \$900. This means that about ET \$4500 ($3570 \div 900$) can be estimated as the amount of money paid by Dassanetch as tax for cattle. Since ET \$1 is the rate for 4 head of cattle, it means that about 18,000 head of cattle are owned by taxpayers. If my estimates are reliable, that makes the total Dassanetch cattle population something between 55,000 and 60,000 head.

My own rough estimate of the total small stock is between 140,000 to 160,000 head. This means that there are 4 head of cattle and about 9-11 head of small stock per person. In absolute terms these figures show that the Dassanetch possess neither strikingly more nor strikingly less livestock than other tribes in the area.¹² Dassanetch possess very few camels, probably not more than 50 head altogether. Dassanetchland

12. See, for instance, Gulliver, P.H., The Family Herds, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1955, p. 38 where figures for the Turkana are 3-4 head of large stock and 10 head of small stock per person, and for the Jie 3-4 head of large stock and 4 head of small stock, and Allen, W., The African Husbandman, Oliver and Boyd, London, 1964, p. 307 who states that the Somali (British Somaliland) figures are 2.4 large stock and 15.6 of small stock per head.

is too small an area for camel herding. As one Turkana settler told me, "When a camel is lost, and they frequently are, even Lodwar (i.e. a distance of about 200 miles from the delta of the Omo River) is too near to find it". The few camels Dassanetch possess were looted from Turkana and Gabbra in past raids.

According to my census data there is about one donkey to every two people, making a total of about 7500 head. Their importance as baggage animals is great indeed, because the people move very frequently from one part of the Lower Omo to another. It is not unusual for a nuclear family to change its camping site seven times in one year. Donkeys are only used for burden.

What is crucial for Dassanetch is the relation of livestock to available grazing grounds. The estimated area of Dassanetchland is 800 sq. miles; as far as grazing areas are concerned, this is a misleading figure. Some areas can never be used because of their unsuitability, such as the thick bush of the tsetse area, areas of poisonous grass (on the western margins of the tsetse area), Kuraz Mountain,* broken and rocky lands, permanent swamps, flooded areas used for cultivation and the rivers and their beds. The possible grazing area, in my estimation, is reduced to at most not more than 700 sq. miles; this gives the very high density

*It is volcanic and Dassanetch fear a mystical demi-human monster that resides in the Kuraz Mountain.

of 128 "livestock units"¹³ and 21 persons per one sq. mile of pasture. If the "carrying capacity" required by one livestock unit is 5 acres, it is clear that only a limited amount of grass is available per beast.

The main problem arising from their ecological situation for Dassanetch is therefore to manage their stock on the limited pasture while ensuring a minimum of pasture deterioration. This requires them to maintain an equilibrium between people-pastures-and stock.

In this chapter I will discuss the ways in which pastures and stock are managed and in Chapter 6, I will discuss the ways in which a balance between people and stock is maintained. The pattern of seasonal movements of camps and movements and allocation of labour between camps and settlements I will deal with in the next chapter. Immediately I am only concerned with the restrictions imposed by the physical environment and wish to present a general description of the stock management practices which are used to cope with them.

Dassanetch divide the year into rainy and dry seasons, and also into seasons during which different kinds of pasture are available.

For the two months (May-June) after the big rains, called ish hirai, the whole of Dassanetchland is green and

13. According to Allan's (op. cit., p. 306) estimate that 5 head of small stock are equal to one head of cattle in grazing requirements.

the grass is plentiful and succulent. The times when parts of the grazing grounds are still green but when other parts have become dry and yellow (in July and October) are called morgotch. When everywhere has become dry and yellow (August, September and from November to March) these are seasons called shante.

The sequence of pasture seasons, on the west bank, is therefore approximately as follows: big rains (April), ish hirai (May, June), morgotch (July), shante (August, September), morgotch (October - the small rains) and shante (November to March), and then again the big rains, ish hirai and so on. This sequence of seasons accords with the differences between the rainy and dry seasons.

Occasional and localized small rains are not sufficient to restore grazing generally, but they may create temporary patches of green and dry pastures, i.e. morgotch.

The differences in the amount of rain which falls in the two rainy seasons also affects the number of wells which give water during the succeeding dry seasons. The soil on the west bank of the river is mainly sandy and will not hold water for long. Water, therefore, only holds in the few places where there is clay and which hold water for several months. Where such clay spots are found, livestock and people are able to utilize the nearby pastures continuously. The last two months before the small rains (in October) are difficult times. Pastures become dry and sparse and the only adequate sources of water for animals are the Omo River and some of its

tributaries, Lake Rudolf and the Kibish wells. All other wells dry out.

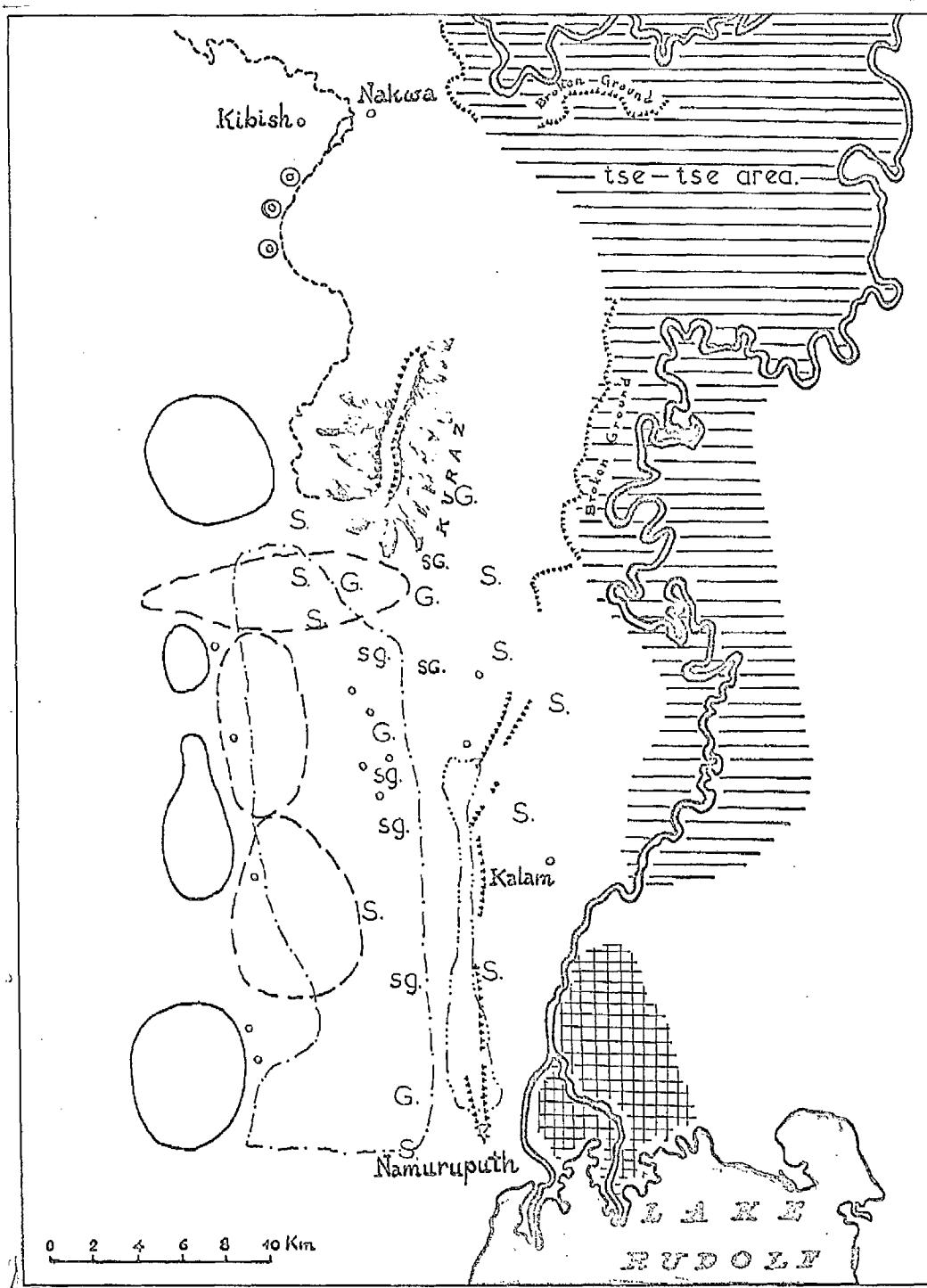
Since the amount of rainfall of the small rains is much less than that of the big rains, after the small rains, the wells only hold water for a short period. Moreover, the small rains are localized and uneven and some wells are not replenished at all by the small rains. These seasonal differences in the availability of pastures and water determine the movements of livestock and the patterns of watering.

I will start with a description of the stock movements of the largest and the dominant territorial section - the Inkabelo. Except in settlements and home camps where some cows, calves, lambs and milking small stock are kept together, cattle and small stock are herded and grazed separately. Stock movements of the Inkabelo territorial section are mapped on Maps G and H .

During the big rains of April, most of the east bank and the delta are muddy and inaccessible. On the west bank, the areas mainly to the east and west of the Siri Ridge and around Kuraz are either covered with water or muddy and inaccessible.

During the rains, therefore, cattle and small stock are both grazed in elevated strathes along the Siri Ridge (Natade, Modo, Mort Kalieko, Kut-i-garo, Gumbubur, Salain and Rap). Part of the small stock also graze around and

Map G : The grazing grounds of cattle and small stock according to seasons.
(Inkabelo territorial section)

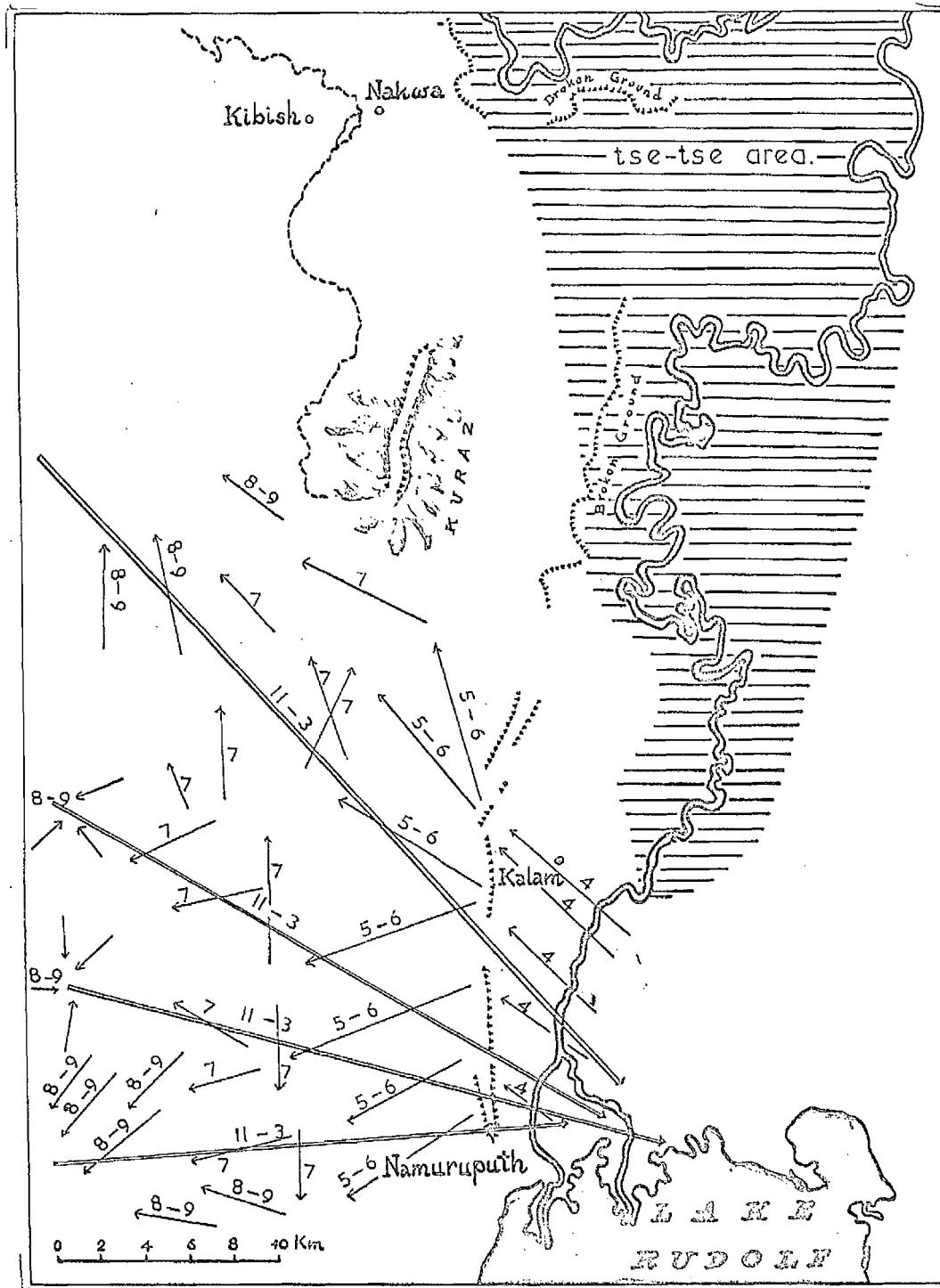


- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| [Grid Pattern] | East bank and delta
(Nov. to March) | [S] | Sheep during dry season |
| [Oval] | Shante (Aug.-Sep.) | [G] | Goats during dry season |
| [Circle with dot] | Morgotch (July) | [sg] | Sheep and goats during July |
| [Circle with cross] | Ish hirai (May-Jun) | [SG] | Sheep and goats during May-June |
| [Circle with diagonal line] | Stock during big rains | [o] | Temporary water pools |
| [Zigzag Line] | Ridge | [Circle with dot] | Permanent wells |

to the north of Kalam. After the big rains, which last about six weeks, most areas west of the Siri Ridge cease to be muddy and then the movements of cattle westwards (Il gwa, Loyeris, Koro-i-abole, Dongode, Modo, Siri naito and Kutch) and a movement of small stock northwards (Kolom shieno, Il Maram, Sar and Nyabat) begin.

In this period of ish hirai, which lasts two months (May, June), the grass and water are good and plentiful everywhere. Cattle are grazed in small herds of about 10-15 head each, and small stock in flocks of about 40 to 50 head. During this season stock movements from one place to another are rapid, and stock camps, both those of cattle and small stock, shift their site every few days. Herders and shepherds deliberately drive stock from one place to another and do not allow livestock to graze intensively in any one place. During this season most pastures contain rainpools and natural pans which permit the rapid movements of stock from one site to another. Herders have no worries about water. In July only few places still have green grass while in others the grass will have already dried out. This period is called morgotch, a general term which can be translated as a "mixture of good and bad". During July (morgotch) when there is a mixture of good and dry pastures, cattle move further west and concentrate around the seasonal waterholes (Eneb, Luturtur, Erek, Lomiana and Hamite). Movements are not rapid during this time. Camps

Map H : Cattle movements of the Inkabelo territorial section according to months.



Movements to the east bank and to the delta.



Movements across and from the west bank.



Numbers above arrows stand for months.

may move from one pasture to another, but not so frequently as they had done during the preceding two months. The camps are usually established near the water and the cattle are able to graze on the surrounding pastures. This period is described by Dassanetch as "moving to green places" (Ish gleba a gala). During this time small stock is herded southwards to pastures to the west and northwest of the Siri Ridge pastures (Luturtur, Il gwa, Loyeris, Modo, Koro-i-abole, Siri naito and Kutch), that is, on to those pastures which had been grazed by the cattle during ish hirai (May, June). They are watered every day at the river.

During the two dry months of shante (August, September) which follow, the cattle are moved further west up to the International Border, which marks the limit of their grazing grounds. Most of the cattle are concentrated in three places to the west and southwest of Kuraz (Nyamurlung, Locheber and Nakulamat), Erek (Sirte Koromotch) and Lomiana (Hamite and Eneb). These are the last areas which hold water and are in the seasonal Lomogol river drainage system. Pastures there, although they are poor, are less bad than those available elsewhere. During this time stock can only be watered at three places - the Kibish wells, the Omo River and Lake Rudolf. (Apart from those at Kibish, there are only a very few and small wells, which are scarcely sufficient to provide water for some home camps in the

neighbourhoods of Lomiana and Erek. Cattle grazing around Kuraz are watered at the Kibish wells. Cattle concentrated around Erek are watered at Lake Rudolf, and cattle from the Lomiana and Hamite areas at the Omo River. During the dry season, movement between each of the available pastures and water sources is repeated. The movement to and from pastures to water takes two days (aruma), which means that livestock and people in the stock camps only get water every second day. On a watering day the cattle are driven to water early in the morning and do not get back in the camps until the evening. The next day stock spend the whole day at the pastures without water and only on the following day do they again go to water. Camps usually remain settled at one site, near to the grazing grounds, for the whole two months.

At the beginning of the dry season (shante), the sheep are separated from goats and each are grazed separately according to their different grazing requirements. Some of the sheep flocks remain grazing west of the Siri Ridge (Siri Karu, Koro-i-abole, Mort-kali-ko, Barkhonotch and Modo), and others move further west to those pastures on which the cattle had grazed during the previous season of morgotch (Luturtur, Eneb). Sheep grazing in these pastures are watered at the Omo River every second day. Goats graze to the north of the grazing area of the sheep (Il gwa, Keretch naito, Sies Nakwa and Il Maram) and are watered either at the Omo River or at Kolom Lockwaria (a branch of the Omo River

northeast of Kalam). The small rains usually fall during October. As the small rains are localized, irregular and uneven in distribution, some pastures sprout new good green grass and others remain covered with old poor dry grass. Cattle movements during this time follow no definite pattern. There appears to be a 'scramble' or rush for temporary pastures. Everyone is anxious to have information about places where rain has fallen. Camps spring up on these new pastures like 'mushrooms after the rain'. When I was travelling from Nakwa to Kalam during the small rains, I was stopped many times by herders and asked which places on my way "had been green".

During the month of small rains sheep and goats continue to graze separately and in the same grazing areas. The only change is in watering. During this month and the following one, small stock is watered every day in the nearest water pool or well.

After the small rains have ended, usually in mid November, cattle are swum across the river from the west bank to the delta and the flooded areas of the east bank. By that time, the early sowing of simago (September) and the late sowing of hol dim l (October) have been completed. The uncultivated places which have been left for later grazing, show up clearly because they are covered by high green grass. The places flooded by the river and/or by the lake produce the best pastures in the Lower Omo. Pasture

is excellent there because it contains minerals brought by the river and the lake inundations. Most crops are cultivated in those flooded areas of the east bank and the delta, where cattle are grazed at this time. Cattle grazing in those pastures which are contiguous to the cultivated plots eat the crops which the Dassanetch themselves do not reap - that is, the third growth of sorghum, the second growth of maize and the third growth of beans. These serve as good sources of stock food. During this period cattle on the east bank are grazed in large herds, of an average of about 40 head. Boys who are not needed for herding move to the cultivated plots in order to help there. Cattle stay on the east bank until the first rain of the big rains falls. Then they are swim across the river to the west bank, and the annual cycle of transhumance starts again: cattle are concentrated along the Siri Ridge and moved westwards when the rains are over. The transhumance movement can be seen in Sketch Map H.

The east bank pastures are kept exclusively for cattle. Small stock cannot swim across the river and therefore remain on the west bank where they graze the same areas and are watered every second day as they were in the dry months of August and September before the small rains fell. Sheep and goats are each still grazed separately.

When the big rains fall, sheep and goats are united again and moved to higher places along the Siri Ridge near the north of Kalam. C. Carr told me that she found clear

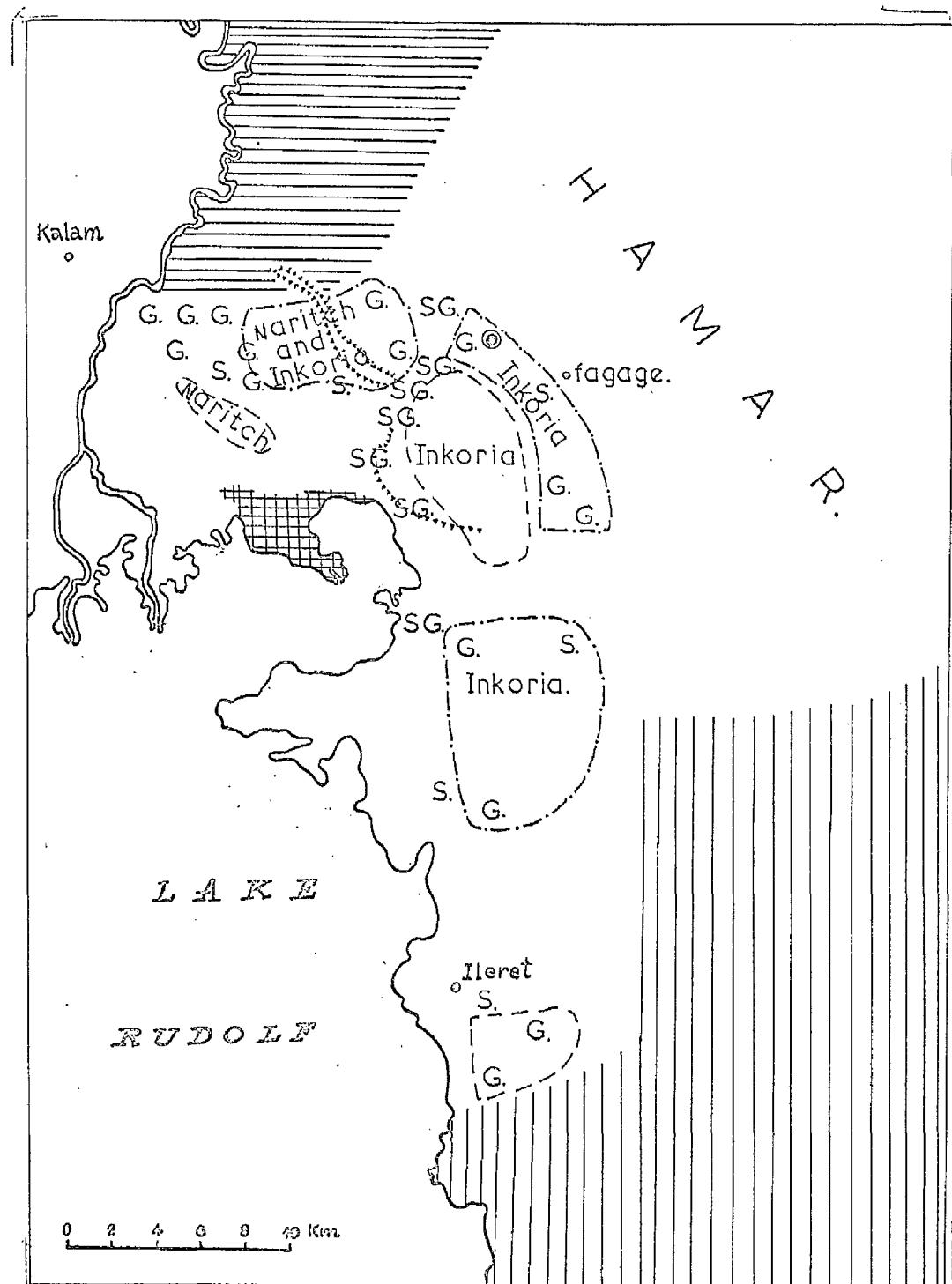
signs of overgrazing along the Siri Ridge, where during the big rains large flocks are concentrated.

So far I have only spoken of the Inkabelo territorial section. Before I turn to describe the movements of other territorial sections, I want to emphasize that no man follows exactly the same pattern of movements or even uses exactly the same grazing areas in successive years. The various pastures within Inkabelo territory are open to every Inkabelo in each and every season. Similarly, the pastures of the other territorial sections are reserved for their members. But, no individual has specific pasture rights in any one place, at any one time, within his tribal territory.

The cattle and small stock movements of the Inkoria and Naritch territorial sections can be seen on Map I .

The Inkoria people cultivate in two areas - Il Ileret, Nakuleo and Lubwangole, which are places where the crops depend on the rains, and in Buzuno, which is an area flooded by the lake. Accordingly, the Inkoria are divided into two sub-sections, each of which has its own pattern of stock movement. The southern section, which sows sorghum after the big rains, follows a pattern of movement between the valleys and the hills around Fagage. During the rainy season and the three months that follow, their cattle graze in the hills, while during the dry season from August to March their cattle graze in the valleys. During the rains these people avoid the valleys when some of the bottoms are

Map I : Grazing grounds of cattle and small stock according to seasons.
(Inkoria and Naritch territorial sections)



 Inundated area by lake.  No-man's-land.

Grazing area during rainy season. Tsetse area.

 Grazing area during dry season.

S. Sheep during dry season. (S) Permanent well at Narama

G. Goats during dry season.

SG Sheep and goats during rainy season.

flooded by overflowing rivers. The return of the people and cattle to the valleys coincides with sorghum harvest (August-September). The second crop growth is left for the cattle. The people living at Ileret in Kenya have their own plots there (near the International Border). Their pattern of grazing is different because they are able to exploit the grazing in Kenya near Ileret and Kokoi.

The grazing cycle of the Naritch and the other section of the Inkoria, both of which cultivate in Buzuno and Bote, resembles that of the Inkabelo. During the big rains and the two months which follow, their cattle graze on the hills north and northeast of the flooded areas of Buzuno and Bote. During the dry season from August to October, their cattle graze in the valleys southeast of the hills, and in November they shift to the flooded areas where the cattle stay until the big rains commence when they move on again to the hills. Their small stock, as well as those of the other section of Inkoria, is concentrated during the big rains and for about the two months that follow along a line of hills which run from north to south. During the dry season, i.e. from July to March, the sheep are separated from the goats and both graze over the whole area of hills; the small stock is watered at the Omo River, Lake Rudolf or at Narama wells. It is almost unknown in this area for stock to be watered only every second day, and daily watering is practiced throughout the year.

The Naritch and Inkoria pattern of transhumance is less elaborated than that of the Inkabelo. Both the available pastures and the number of people to be supported on them are smaller than on the west bank. The moves of these sections are simple ones - between wet and dry season pastures.

The Elele territorial section, which inhabits the area along the river west of the tsetse area, has to graze its herds where there is no access to the Omo River. The only water sources are a branch of the Omo River - the Kolom Lockwaria northeast of Kalam and some temporary wells in the Kuraz area. This section has a smaller proportion of livestock than any other territorial section.

I did not fully investigate the movements of the Elele and the Randal. I only wish to make three general notes about them. Firstly, their movements to pastures follow a pattern; after the big rains have ended, they leave the settlements and go to fresh pastures. During the dry season they go back to water sources (Kibish wells for the Randal and Kolom Lockwaria for the Elele). Secondly, both sections do not cross to the east bank or the delta and throughout the year utilize the pastures of the west bank. (Only a small portion of the Elele people, whose plots are in Rate, take their cattle to the east bank and graze near Tuarangole-Ninika). Thirdly, the Randal territorial section do not cultivate at all and can be classified as "pure" pastoralists.

They are called "outsiders" (gal bado), a term which refers to people who rarely approach the river for agricultural purposes.

Small stock are more likely to spoil pastures than are cattle. Cattle crop the grass from above whereas small stock browse and nibble it near the roots, which they may also tug out. It is sensible therefore to let cattle graze before small stock in order to protect the pastures, as Dassanetch do. During the wet season when the grass is growing, sheep and goats graze together in pastures which are good for both. In the dry season when pastures are poor, the sheep are separated from the goats and each sent to graze according to their different requirements.

The separation of sheep from goats during the dry season is also clearly in the interest of good pasture management.

Dassanetch say, and it is probably true, that grazing on the west bank is better for sheep, while that on the east bank is better for goats.

From my sample of stockowners, I estimate that 60% of the small stock owned by east bank stockowners are goats, whereas on the west bank 60% of small stock were sheep.

That cattle graze pastures before small stock does not, of course, in itself, assure that those pastures will not be overgrazed. In Dassanetchland, which is like an island in that it is surrounded by territory from which Dassanetch are

excluded, there is always a danger of overgrazing, but some of the pasture management practices described above are aimed to avoid this. Dassanetch themselves are quite explicit that they vary the paces at which they move stock at different seasons in order to make the best use of pastures. During ish hirai (May, June) the best grass is distributed unevenly on scattered pastures, hence the herds are moved rapidly from one place to another in order to graze the most nutritious flushes. In morgotch (July), when there are broad expanses of good grass, the herds systematically crop all the good grass available in any one place. During shante (August, September) the grass is equally poor in all places and the choice of pasture is determined by its closeness to water. Dassanetch are concerned primarily with immediate stock needs, but certainly the rapid movement of herds, especially when the grass is green and still short after the big rains, prevents overgrazing and consequent spoiling of pastures.

When the pastures are dry and poor, intensive grazing makes very little difference to them in the long term. But an intensive grazing on fresh growing grass is likely to cause overgrazed pastures. The Dassanetch practice of running their cattle in small herds also limits overgrazing and consequent pasture deterioration. A large herd is less mobile than a small one. Therefore, the practice of herding cattle in small herds of 10-15 head, especially during the two months after the big rains when the new grass is re-establishing itself,

assists in the maintenance of good long-term grazing. During this period even a herd of 30 head is considered to be too big. Only in rare instances, during the wet season, will a herd average more than 15 head or a flock more than 40 to 50 head. Dassanetch are well aware of the danger of overgrazing and consequent pasture deterioration.

I remember seeing in a grazing area south of Mt. Kuraz a herd of about 100 head approaching the pasture. The young herdboys already herding there ran to the approaching herdsman and shouted out at him: "Why do you bring so many cattle here? There is no grass for you here. Take away your cattle." The boys desisted only after they had heard his explanation, which was that the owner of this big herd had suddenly died and that he was merely driving it to Kalam so that, according to custom, all the dead man's stock could be gathered for his funeral.

To most Dassanetch how to split the herd they own into suitable grazing herds is a problem. But to those who only possess a few head of stock, the problem is rather how to arrange that their stock join with the small herd of a man in order to create one viable grazing unit. Grazing units of less than 10 beasts are rare. As we have seen, in order to maintain pastures in their grazing "island" throughout each and every year, a pattern of transhumance is employed. But, because of the habitat of the Lower Omo not being homogenous, a variety of transhumance patterns exist which are in accord with the territorial divisions and relative power of the different sections.

The most numerous and dominant section, the Inkabelo, occupy the largest territory containing the most diversity of natural resources and have an elaborated pattern of trans-humance. Other territorial sections, which occupy the margins of Dassanetchland follow different patterns and demonstrate different usages in response to different geographical conditions.

A simple distinction between wet and dry season pastures obscures the complexity of actual movements. By crossing the river to the flooded areas of the east bank in November as soon as the small rains have ended, the dependence of cattle on poor dry pastures is reduced to only about three months. The annual grazing cycle for Inkabelo cattle is as follows: After the big rains have ended, cattle graze on the fresh pastures until July. Then up to November cattle graze on dry pastures only for three months, because after the small rains have ended, cattle cross to the east bank and the delta to graze the lush pastures that spring up after the inundations of both the river and the lake. Later cattle graze those crop growths which the Dassanetch do not reap. Cattle return to the west bank only when the big rains fall to move afterwards to the fresh pastures which follow the big rains.

On the east bank pastoralism and cultivation are combined activities and the people consume both agricultural and pastoral foodstuffs. In December the early sowing of

simego is harvested; at about the same time, the milk yield starts to rise and during the following months there is plenty of grain and milk. This plenty continues until about the end of June when both the milk yield drops and grain stores become exhausted. Then starts the period of food shortage, which the Dassanetch call "the months of hunger" (guiam mariet). The distinction between the time of plenty when there is a lot of grain and milk for people to consume, and the time of scarcity when they have very little to eat is striking indeed. But, as could be expected from the above description, the seasons of plenty (mismatch) and the times of scarcity (mar) do not simply coincide with the wet and dry seasons. As can be seen from Diagram 9, the 'hunger' and 'plenty' seasons overlap with the dry and wet seasons.

The economic cycle in the Lower Omo is influenced by the inundations of the river and the lake which determine the timing and yields of both the cultivated plots and of cattle.

The apparent advantages of a mixed economy are reduced to something like a mono-economy because both peak and trough milk and grain seasons coincide.

The time of scarcity, however, provides a season when other economic activities are pursued. Most of animal slaughterings take place during the dry season which is the period when, on the one hand, they reduce the number of livestock on their poor and limited pastures, and, on the other, when they supplement their diet with meat. For only three dry months before the small rains fall are the

cattle bled for food. Dassanetch, unlike most other desert pastoralists, take blood only in the dry season when food is short. Presumably, they are able to do this because there is always plenty of water available to the cattle.

Lake Rudolf and the Omo River are both rich in fish. Nevertheless, Dassanetch do not like fish and despise activities that are connected with fishing. A poor man and a fisherman are both described by the same word (ma dies), and there are many restrictions on social relations with fishermen. There are only two villages of the Inkoria territorial sections (in Buzuno and Lubwangole) in which the people live mainly on fish. Some small Elele villages along the Omo River in the tsetse meanders area subsist on cultivation and fishing. In ^{gatherings} ~~villages~~ (Lobemukat, Diele Riele and Nyamumery) along the Omo River, a little fishing is done throughout the year, mainly by poor people who need to supplement their diet. But most Dassanetch do not eat fish except during the dry season of shante, but even then only when they are offered it as gifts and refuse to engage in fishing themselves.

Wild fruit collection is even less commonly practised than fishing and is only done by fishermen and poor people, who gather fruits in the permanent swamps for the two months after the inundations.

Fishing and fruit collection both have a strong stigma. Dassanetch usually avoid these activities. I was told that

only in years when both the inundation and rains failed did people turn to fishing.¹⁴ But such a drought is very rare, and even elders of about 65 could recall only one season when this had happened.

14. Smith, 1896, op. cit., p. 227, states that many Dassanetch were living by fishing. Austin, 1902, op. cit., p. 682, mentions fishing also and gives, as a reason, that a severe drought had occurred a year earlier, when the Omo River had almost dried out.

CHAPTER 3: Movements of and Changes in Residential UnitsA. INTRODUCTION

The established cyclical routine of stock movements which was described in the second part of the second chapter was merely a general description of movements in accord with the seasonal variations in pasture and water. These resources impose limits on the pastoral economy of the whole tribe. Within these wide limits, however, people move in directions and form differing sorts of residential units. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the movements of people and the residential units which they form at different stages during their movements.

Inevitably the joint study of movements and residential units will also lead us to discuss some aspects of the division of labour within the residential units and especially within each component of these units (i.e. the nuclear family), the types of cooperation within residential units, the shift of labour between the units and the connections which are maintained between various residential units at different seasons of the year.

The vernacular terms for different types of residential units and movements are insufficiently precise for our analytical purposes because the words used on some occasions for territorial units, residential units and types of movement are not distinctly separated.

Dassanetch terms in themselves do not permit us to distinguish between one kind of unit and another, or between different patterns of movements. Therefore, I use my own terms, such as settlements, home camps, stock camps and cultivators' camps. This will enable us to see the basic differences between these units and their movements.

Before I turn to discuss each type of residential unit, I wish to make one note about the method by which I collected the data on which the descriptions of this chapter are based. As will be seen, membership of residential units fluctuates, and persons are constantly shifting from one to another, which creates some technical difficulties when trying to follow people's movements. If, for instance, a camp splits into several units, each of which moves in a different direction, it is technically impossible to follow all of them at the same time and to observe their activities regularly. I was only able, therefore, to follow the movements of some of the people of three residential units throughout a cycle of twelve months. However, I maintained regular contacts with all the members of the "original" units through a network of informants, who regularly informed me about the movement of the people I was following and about some other changes or social events which took place at the places where they were staying.

B. SETTLEMENTS

When Von Hohnel visited the lower Omo in 1888, he described some of his impressions as follows:

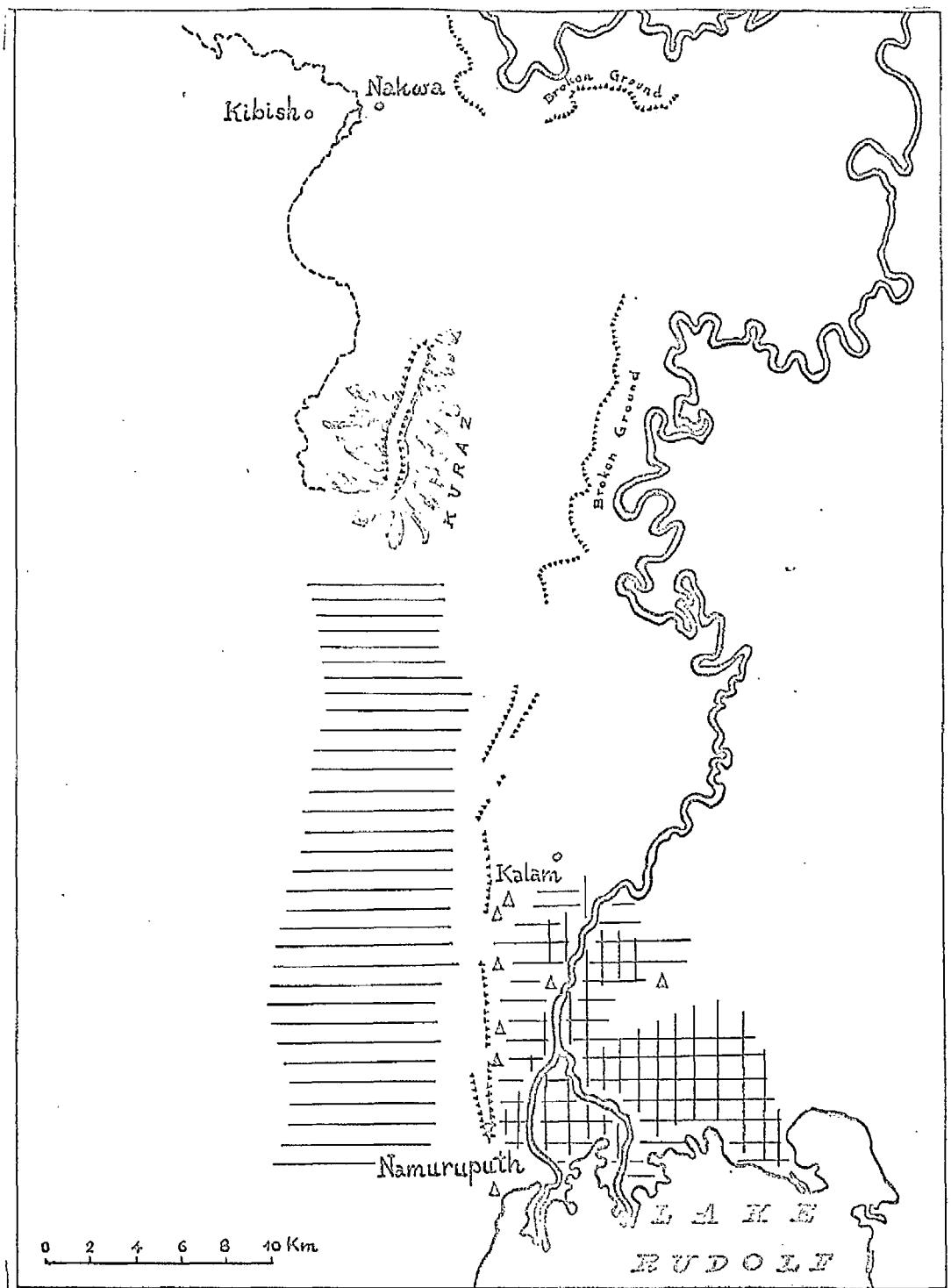
"Their huts looked as if they were only intended as temporary habitations. This may probably be explained by the fact that the lake rises in the rainy season, flooding the neighbouring plains, so that the Reshiat (i.e. Dassanetch) are compelled to shift their settlements to higher grounds."¹

It could be that when Von Hohnel visited the lower Omo, the inundation of the river and the lake took place simultaneously during the rainy season (the big rains or the small rains?), but as was shown in Chapter 2 there are two independent climatological phenomena which usually occur at different times of the year. When the big rains fall (March-April), they create muddy and inaccessible tracts along both banks of the river. These muddy tracts caused by the big rains do not necessarily coincide with those areas which are flooded by the inundations of the Omo river and Lake Rudolf. The two quite distinct flooded areas can clearly be seen in Sketch Map J. But, generally speaking, Von Hohnel's impression was correct and settlements are located on elevated stretches where neither the muddy swamps of the big rains nor the floods of the river or the lake cover them. Also settlements are built close to the main cultivated areas² and to

1894
1. Von Hohnel, op. cit., p. 164.

2. I have been told that in the past Dot-miya-khote which is southeast of Kalam and on the west bank of the river, used to be a site for a permanent settlement, but was abandoned a few years ago because the areas of Harem Seitch, Nakure and Aoga ceased to be flooded regularly.

Map J : Location of settlements and areas flooded either by the rains or inundations



[Vertical lines] Approximate areas which are covered by water after the inundation of the river and the lake.

[Horizontal lines] Approximate areas which become muddy swamps after the big rains.

[Circle] Police post.

[Square with triangle] Settlement.

(The flooded areas are based partly on my own mapping and partly on air photographs (1967 op. cit.) which were taken immediately after the inundation from Lake Rudolf in 1967).

water sources and where there are relatively few mosquitoes. What I call a settlement has a site which is used over many years. It is the only residential unit that does not change site because of short-run climatological conditions, but the number of people who are staying in a settlement varies from one season to the other. It is overcrowded during the big rains of March and April, when everyone seeks refuge in one settlement or another. Most settlements at this time contain between 200 and 250 huts, whereas from May to September the only inhabitants are likely to be old people, women with small children and men who are not directly engaged in herding and therefore did not follow the camps to the western pastures.

From the early sowing of simago in September and up to the harvest of the late sowing of hol dim in January-February, settlements become more populated, but not so densely as in March-April. Those people whose plots are near a settlement join it then, but some prefer to dwell in camps near the river or in cultivators' camps in order to be as close as possible to their plots.

Membership of a settlement is subject to variations. A person does not usually or necessarily cultivate the same plot every year; the irregular conditions of inundation and changes in the flooding of plots may force a man to seek land in another place, so that he moves to a settlement more conveniently situated to the new land.

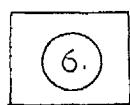
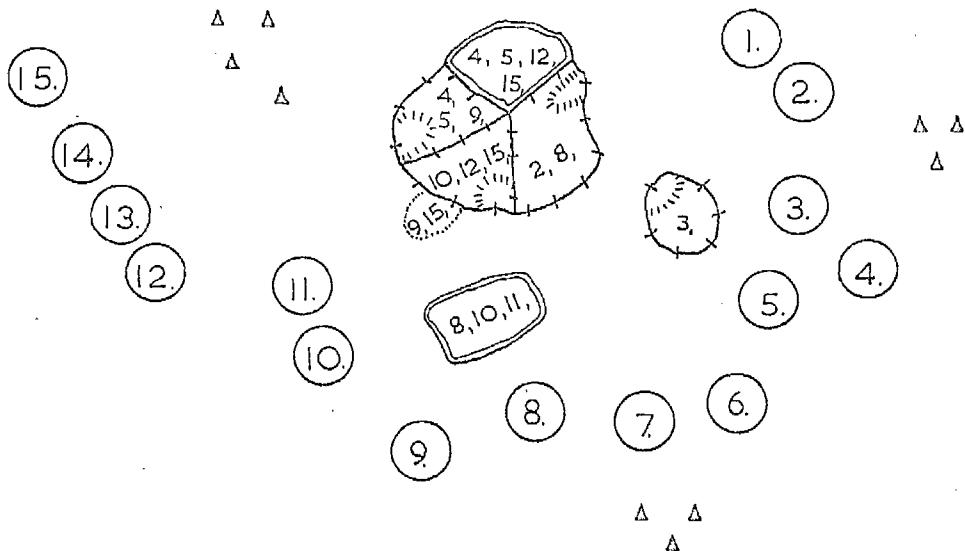
A man does not reside in a settlement by himself but is attached to and lives in a smaller residential unit. Each unit within a settlement is composed of nuclear families which, though not necessarily genealogically connected to each other, so that at any one time of year, though there seems to be a great deal of individual mobility, the actual movements a man makes are determined by his tasks as a member of a residential unit.

C. CASE STUDY 1: UNIT A

I started to collect information in early December 1968. Unit A was located on the southwestern edge of Nyamunyery settlement and its formation was as it can be seen in Diagram 2. The names, sex, approximate age, social affiliation and number of children of the inhabitants of Unit A are listed in Table 2. Their relationships are summarised in Diagram 3. 1 is the mother of 3; 2 and 20 are related through a bond friendship of 'holding' (2 was the 'holder' of 20). 4 is related to 8 through a bond friendship of 'smearing' (8 was the 'smearer' of 4), at which time also the fathers of 4 and 8 were bond partners of 'gift'. 6 is the eldest son of 8; 26 is the maternal cousin of 8; 11 is the younger full sister of 20. 14 had no traceable kin link or bond friendship to anyone in Unit A, and each of the inhabitants stated that their relations with him were based on 'neighbourhood' (holow). 17 was related to 26 through a bond of 'holding' (17 was the 'holder' of 26). 26 was the husband

Diagram 2 : A sketch map of Unit A.

(Nyamumery December 1968).



Hut numbered as in the text.



Small stock.



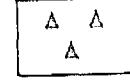
Calves.



Lambs and kids.



Young donkeys.



Dung heaps.

The line of huts in any residential unit is called hirib (i.e. "the line of young seedlings in a cultivated plot"), sometimes but not necessarily huts are ranked by seniority of wives and the order in which families joined the unit.

Table 2

Names, Affiliation, Age and Number
of Children of the Inhabitants of Unit A

Hut No.	Number mentioned in next line	Name	Sex Female	Age approx. Age	Age Set	Exogamous clan (Tur)	No. of children Under 10		Remarks
							10	10	
1	1	Kukuda	X	40-50	(Oro) Nilimkorio	Turat	2	1	Widow
2	2	Alain	X	30-40	(Oro) Nigabite	Ili	-	-	
2	3	Lodeken	X	20-30	(Oro) Nigabite	Turnyerim	1	-	
3	4	Kenkoko	X	30-40	Nigabite	Turnyerim	-	-	
3	5	Mierko	X	20-30	Nigabite	Galbur	2	-	
4	6	Sirgute	X	20-30	Nvogolomogen	Galbur	-	-	
4	7	Borite	X	20-30	Nikorio	Ede	-	-	
5	8	Murietch	X	50-60	Numor	Galbur	-	-	
5	9	Gilgilateh	X	40-50	Numor	Ili	2	2	(1)
6	10	Segudo	X	50+	Numor	Fargaro	-	2	(1) Widow
6	11	Miede	X	20-30	Nvogolomogen	Turnyerim	-	-	
8	12	Gudan	X	30-40	Nvogolomogen	Turat	-	-	
8	13	Alain	X	20-30	Nvogolomogen	Galbur	2	-	
9	14	Ar	X	40-50	Nigabite	Murle	-	-	
9	15	Anabuma	X	30-40	Nigabite	Turat	1	2	
16	16	Nachere	X	20-30	Nilimeto	Fargaro	1	-	

• • • cont'd.

... Cont.

Hut No.	Number mentioned in Text	Name	<u>Sex</u> <u>M</u> <u>F**</u>	APPROX. Age	Age Set	Exogamous clan (Tur)	No. of Children ^{*#*}			Remarks
							Under 10	Above 10	Total	
10	17	Longolemoi	X	40-50	Numor	Turat	4	**	(2)	
10	18	Tode	X	30-40	Nilimeto	Fargaro	2	-	-	
	19	Nikile	X	20-30	Numor	Galbur	2	-	-	
11	20	Niakhol	X	20-30	Nikorio	Turnyerim	-	-	-	
11	21	Nabuma	X	20-30	Nyogolomogen	Turnyerim	2	-	-	
12	22	Gabite	X	20-30	Nyogolomogen	Turat	-	-	-	
12	23	Wiede	X	-20	Nikorio	Ili	1	-	-	Levirated
13	24	Borite	X	20-30	Nilimeto	Turat	-	-	-	
14	25	Kamate	X	20-30	Nilimeto	Ili	2	-	-	
15	26	Vergleb	X	40-50	Nilimeto	Galbur	-	-	-	
15	27	Warges	X	40-50	Numor	Turat	1	2	(1)	

Notes:

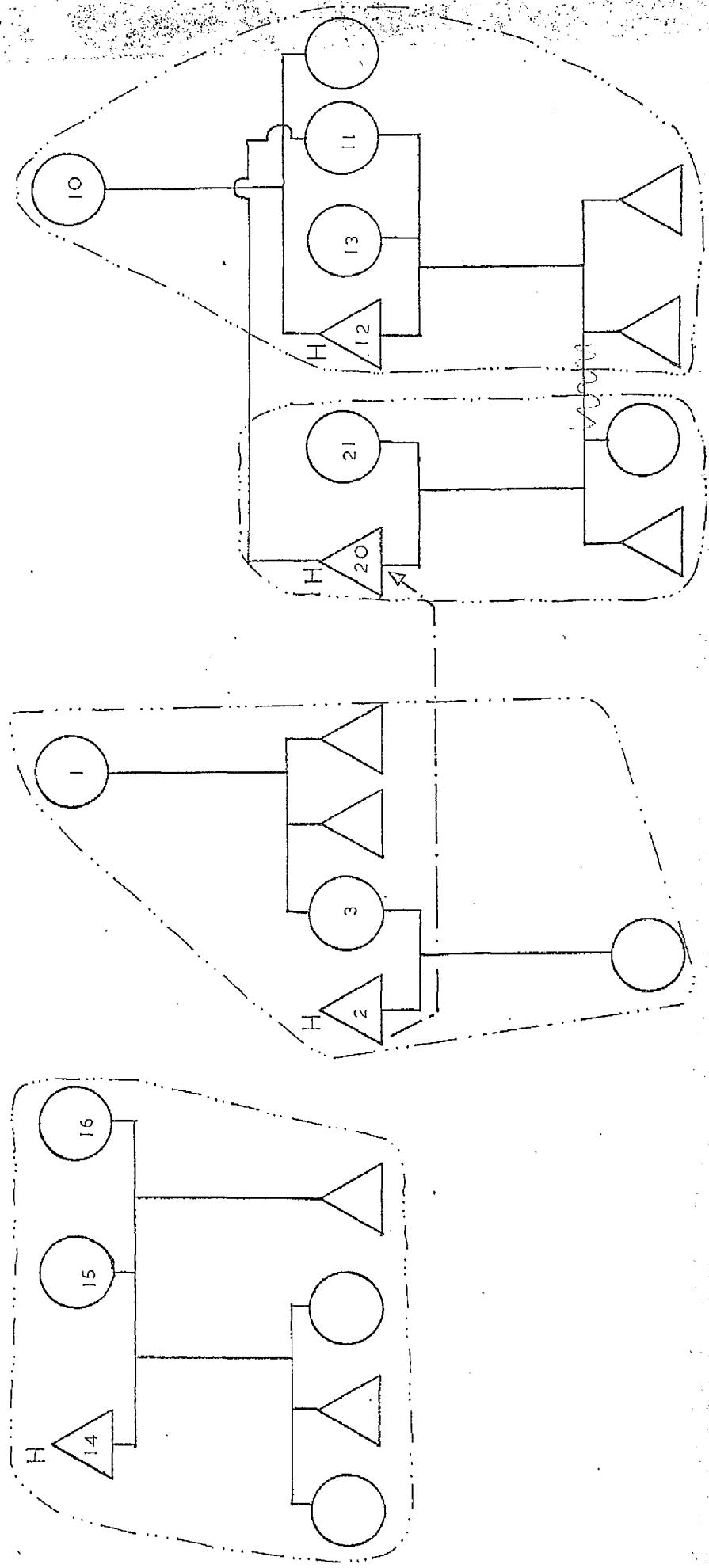
* In a polygynous family, I included the husband in the hut of his senior wife.

** The order of wives in a polygynous family is recorded not by the order of their marriage but by the order of their huts.

** All the living children of a woman are included. Married children of unmarried sons who are not normally part of their parents' residential unit are inscribed in brackets.

** Two of the children are those of a deceased senior wife of 17.

DIAGRAM 3 : RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INHABITANTS OF UNIT A.
(NYAMUMERY, DECEMBER 1968.)



Notes to Diagram 3.

Unit A included people of all ages. The Diagram does not indicate generational differences but should rather be viewed as indicating separate households. Some persons who were not dwelling in Unit A in December 1968 have been included in the Diagram, since they were connected through engagement in economic activities with some inhabitants of Unit A and have therefore been mentioned in the Text.

Deceased persons have been included only where they point out a connection between the inhabitants of Unit A.

H Stands for the head of a household.

— — — — Household.

— — — → Indicates bond tie.

The above symbols stand for Diagrams 4, 5, 6 and 7 also).

of 22's paternal aunt. Most of the inhabitants of Unit A kept some of their milk stock and young animals with them as listed in Table 3.

All the mature cows and oxen were herded by the second son of 17. The calves and heifers (apart from three newly born) were herded by 2. 12 shepherded his and 2's small stock. All the small stock belonging to 8, 6, 14 and 4 was tended by the son-in-law of 8 who lived in a neighbouring residential unit. Another flock was shepherded by 26 in which were included the small stock of 26, 22 and 17. Lambs and kids belonging to 26, 22 and 17 and 6 were taken care of by 17. (The animals were grazed near Nyamunery settlement and had to be kept in the shade from 11³⁰ to 15⁰⁰). 14 took care of his own lambs plus those of 12, 4 and 2.

The rest of the inhabitants' stock was grazing in the east bank (cattle) and the west bank (small stock) and were camping in stock camps. (See Tables 4 and 5).

The stock holdings listed are mainly based on my observations, but in a few instances I was unable to count the stock and the information is based on the owner's statement supported by other informants (a question mark has been put beside those numbers).

Since milk stock was also kept in stock camps, milk was transferred daily between the camps and Unit A. 14 used to cross the river every morning to a cattle camp in the delta and take milk to bring to Unit A, and then in the evening he used to cross the river again to the east bank to bring milk to his

Table 3 : Stock kept in Unit A

stock owner	cows	mature oxen	heifers and calves	small stock ^a	lambs and kids	donkeys
2	-	-	-	26	7	-
4	-	-	-	10	4	2
6	1	3 ^b	3	6	5	1
8	1	2	3	9	6	2
12	3	1 ^b	4	40	16	3
14	-	-	-	11	6	2
17	1	1	4	5	3	1
20	-	2	-	-	-	1
22	-	1 ^b	2	22	9	-
26	1	-	5	16	5	6
Total	7	10	21	145	61	18

^a Personal name=ox

^b Mainly sheep

Table 4 : Number, Area of Grazing and Herders of Cattle
Owned by the Inhabitants of Unit A

Stock Owner	Estimated Number of Cattle	Cattle Camping at	Relationship of Herder to Stock Owner	Remarks
2	25	Edete (delta)	young full brother	
4	15	Nitaramuru (east bank)	'smeared' partner	
6	20	Mukure (east bank)	son of 9's full brother	forming one herd
8	15	Mukure (east bank)		
12	12	Wartea (east bank)	full brother of second wife	
14	25(?)	Edete (delta)	son	
17	6	Tuarangole (east bank)	half brother of second wife	
20	16	Nitaramuru (east bank)	'smeared' partner of 4	cattle of 4 and 20 make one herd
22	25(?)	Edete (delta)	two full brothers of levirated wife of 26	forming one herd
26	40(?)	Edete (delta)		

Table 5 : Number and Shepherds of Small Stock Owned
by the Inhabitants of Unit A

Stock Owner	Estimated Number of Small Stock		Small Stock Camping at	Relationship of Shepherd to Stock Owner	Remarks
	Sheep	Goats			
2	20	-	west bank	full younger brother of 21	
		10	west bank	full younger brother	
4	35	15	west bank	son of 'name given'	
6	50(?)		west bank	Turkana boy }	forming one flock with 8
		20	west bank	son of 17	
8	7		west bank	Turkana boy	
		5	west bank	son of 17	
12	-	11	west bank	home camp of 13's father	
14	10	30	east bank	full brother's son	
17	(?)	(?)	west bank	son	19 was staying at her brother's camp to take care of 17's goats
20	30(?)		west bank	full young brother of 21	
		20(?)	west bank	full young brother of 2	
22	-	10(?)	west bank	son of 17	
26	-	-			all small stock at Unit A

second wife (16) and her child who were staying in a cultivators' camp. 16 and her child also received small stock milk which was brought to them daily from a small stock camp north of Tuarangole. Occasionally 2 used to cross the river to the delta with 14 to bring milk that was milked at sunset, but usually 14 used to bring with him 2's milk when the latter did not go to the delta. 12 had only one milk cow in a cattle camp. Most of his milking animals were kept in Unit A. Every morning after milking the animals in Nyamumery, the sister of 12, before starting her daily agricultural work in Diele Riele, used to bring milk to 13 and her children who were staying in a cultivators' camp in Wartea and bring back the empty containers when she returned to Nyamumery in the evening. Occasionally 13 also received milk from 11's brother, when she walked to the cattle camp where he was staying.

20, 6 and 4 also regularly crossed the river every morning and went to cattle camps where their cattle were staying and brought milk to Nyamumery. 6 used to do that quite often during the evenings as well, but I noticed that 4 and 20 did so only rarely.

The eldest daughter of 18 crossed the river every morning with her mother to work on a plot in Diele Ibanash. The daughter before starting her work went to the cattle camp to collect the milk and went again to that camp after the sunset milking before crossing the river back to Nyamumery.

Finally, 22 went to the delta every day shortly after

sunrise and at sunset³ to bring his milk and that of his paternal aunt's husband (26).

December is usually a month of hectic agricultural activities. It is the time of the harvest of early simago, after which a movement to river and lake flats commences.

The high proportion of people in Unit A cultivating two plots, both on river banks and in river and/or lake flats, (*table 6*) can be explained by the short number of years the river banks had been cultivated. (Some of them were under cultivation for the first time). The people of Unit A did not want to risk having only a low yield of grain from the new river bank plots and therefore also cleared and sowed in the flat flooded areas where they had cultivated the previous year. The need to cultivate in two places is a hard burden on a nuclear family which must also undertake herding. In a sense, Unit A is not representative, because most of its members had come to Nyamumery settlement from other areas of cultivation just recently and were cultivating plots on the banks of the nearby river for the first time. Nevertheless, this data shows clearly the changes in their labour cooperation due to the movement of some of them to the "other plot" in river and/or lake flat.

3. Not only are early morning (Shormotch) and sunset (Tyo sani) milking times but they are also the times when the river is quiet, and crossing is simple and fast. Between 8⁰⁰ and half an hour before sunset winds and squalls make the crossing of the river hazardous.

Table 6 : Location of plots, years of cultivation and the persons allocating the plots to the inhabitants of Unit A.

(Since it is women who are actively engaged in agricultural work, I only list below the women. The plots they cultivated, however, were allocated to their husbands).

woman no.	location of plot	type of flooded area and river bank	allocated by**	relation to woman's husband	years* of cultivation	remarks
1	-	-	-	-	-	not cultivate.
3	Diele Numor	river bank (east)	Niakhol	bond partner	1	20 in Unit A
	Har Mukure	river and lake flat (east)	-	-	1	
5	Diele Riele	river bank (east)	Lobus	?	?	
	Ed Boron	lake flat (delta)	-	-	1	
7	Diele Khabusia	river bank (west)	Yerbok-hotch (0)	bond partner 'gift'	1	
	Har Edete	river flat (delta)	-	-	2	
9	-	-	-	-	-	not cult.
10	-	-	-	-	-	not cult.
11	Diele Riele	river bank (east)	Ikoliye (0)	no relation	1	
13	Wartea	river and lake flat (east)	-	-	2	staying in cultiva-tors' camp
15	Diele Khabusia	river bank (east)	Lotimoi	age mate	1	
16	Wartea	river and lake flat (east)	-	-	2	staying in cult. camp Tuarangole
18	Diele Ibanash	river bank (east)	Kinatch	distant agnate	1	
	Har Edete	river flat (delta)	-	-	2	
21	Diele Numor	river bank (east)	Lolabamoi	sister's husband	2	
	Har Nakure	river flat (west)	-	-	1	
23	Diele Riele	river bank (east)	Yergleb	husband of maternal aunt	3	
	Har Mukure	river and lake flat (east)	-	-	2	
24	Diele Riele	river bank (east)	Ykoliye (0)	friendship 'namegiving'	3	cultiva-tion together
25	Har Mukure	river and lake flat (east)	-	-	2	the two plots
27	-	-	-	-	-	not cult.

* Year 1 means that it was the first year of cultivation when this data was collected (1968/9). Years of cultivation in a river and/or lake flat means cultivation in the same area.

** If the owner of the land allocated the plot to the woman's husband, he has been marked with (0) after his name.

In December, before the early harvest of simago on river banks, most of the women of Unit A were mainly engaged in scaring birds and were practicing "yes", i.e. spending their nights in the settlement and their days in the plots. Scaring birds is an exhausting task. It involves standing on platforms from sunrise to sunset, shouting, clapping hands and throwing balls of mud at the birds. 1, 10 and 27, who were the older women of Unit A, were not directly engaged in agricultural works at this time and hardly left the settlement except to go to the river to bring water. They took care of the small children of 3, 5, 13, 21 and 25 who were at the plots. At that time (December) the crops of the late sowing of hol dim l were at a height of about 70-100 cm. (Kolto che) and were not guarded. (Only the daughter of 18 went to the delta every day to guard the crops in her mother's plot from the cattle, because 18's plot was on the very edge of cultivated plots and near to the cattle's grazing field).

Although the flooded water on river banks retreats more or less at the same time, the early harvest of simago does not take place at the same time in all the plots. In Unit A the plots of 8 in Diele Khabusia and of 12 in Diele Riele were the last to be sown and were not ready for harvest on the 13th and 14th of December as were all the others.

The early harvest of simago is not a difficult task. The plots are relatively small and the actual reaping lasts less than a day. Each man reaped the crops in his own

plot after which each of them helped his wife to collect the grain. Since all the inhabitants of Unit A reaped the crops in only two days, it is interesting to note the arrangements that were made in order to release the men for the reaping. Those who reaped on the first day had their animals herded by those who reaped on the second, and vice versa.

By mid-December all the inhabitants of Unit A (except for 8, 6 and 12 who did not reap until the end of December) had their grain in Nyamumery and enjoyed eating lavish porridge of milk and sorghum (bado). (8 and 12 borrowed some grain from the others). Porridges and raw grain were also sent to dependents who were staying in cultivators' and stock camps.

The first change in Unit A was on the 23rd December when 14 left the settlement. 15 also dismantled her hut, and with their equipment and their children they crossed the river together to the east bank. 14 joined a residential unit in Tuarangole settlement where two of his age mates were staying. Later 15 joined 16 in the cultivators' camp in Wartea. 14 withdrew his small stock, and 4 took over the herding of the lambs and kids which 14 used to do.

On the 17th of January 1969, 4 left for the delta with his wife (5) and two children and joined a cultivators' camp in Ed-Boron. 5 took with her some of her domestic equipment, but also left some in her hut which she left up. Four days later, 6 and his wife (7) and 17 and his wife (18) and their children also left for the delta and joined a temporary cluster of huts in Edete. 8 and his wife (9) with

her two younger children remained in Nyamumery. On the 26th of January, 10, 11 and 12 crossed to the east bank and joined the cultivators' camp in Wartea where 13 was staying. The rest remained in residential Unit A, and apart from 15 who dismantled her hut, all other huts of those who left the unit, remained as they were.

Those who were left behind in Nyamumery did not stay there for long. At the beginning of February, 2 left the delta and crossed the river with his cattle to the east bank and left his cattle at another cattle camp in Nitaramuru. 1 with her two young boys went and joined a cultivators' camp in Nakure near their plot. 2 continued to shepherd on the west bank his and his partner's (20) small stock and was staying in Unit A. 21 who was cultivating her husband's plot in the river flat of Nakure on the west bank was practising 'yes' and returned every night to Unit A. The two oxen of 20 crossed the river to the east bank and were added to his cattle in the cattle camp south of Nitaramuru. The brother of 19 was called from a small stock camp with the animals and 2 took over the care of the beasts, while the brother of 19 went to Diele Numor to guard the crops in the two plots on the river bank for the harvest of the second growth of the early sowing of simago.

25 and her children and 24 and her eldest full brother went to a cultivators' camp in Mukure and established two temporary huts there. The combined cattle herds of 26

and 22 remained in the delta but moved to another place (south of Ed Nyakhaluk). 27 with her son joined the cattle camp in Ed Nyakhaluk and replaced the eldest brother of 24 who went to help with work on the plots at Mukure. 26 took care of his and 22's small stock, and 23 helped him with their lambs and kids. 22 was regularly going between the cattle camp, cultivators' camp and Nyamumery bringing milk and taking back empty containers. 26 and 22 were the only people of Unit A who sowed in part of their plots in Diele Riele a late sowing of hol dim l. On the 16th of January, the sister of 22 went to Diele Riele temporary settlement, and stayed with the second wife of Ikoliye (the man who allocated the plot to 26), from which she went daily to guard the crops against birds. She remained in Diele Riele for both the harvest of the second growing of early sowing of simago which took place at the end of January and the harvest of late sowing of hol dim l. at the river bank which took place in mid-February. She was helped in the time of reaping by her brother (22).

The milk cows of 12 joined his other cattle in the cattle camp. His small stock was sent to the father of 13 who was staying in another residential unit in Nyamumery. At the beginning of February, 13 went to the river bank plot and established a temporary hut there for the harvest of the second growing of simago, after which she joined her husband and 11 in the cultivators' camp in Wartea. 4 was the only person in Unit A who sowed the late sowing of

hol dim 2 in the southern part of the delta. He also returned with his wife to reap the second growing of simago in his plot at Diele Riele. Two of 4's milk cows in the cattle camp crossed the river from the east bank to the delta and were kept near his cultivators' camp. Some of his small stock were sent to the small stock camp in Kolom Shieno where most of his small stock was kept while 3 lambs and their 2 dams plus 2 donkeys were transferred to a person in Gumbubur settlement who was related to him through an inherited tie of bond friendship ('smearing').

The cattle that 8 and 6 previously kept in Nyamumery was sent to a cattle camp in Mukure. The sister of 6 joined the cattle camp in Mukure and helped with milking. 6 used to bring milk to his father (8) twice a day from Edete where he was staying with his wife (7) and mother (9). 7 did not return to Diele Khabusia for the harvest of the second growth of simago. When I went to see the plot on the 18th of January, cattle were grazing there. I asked 8 why this was so, and he told me that his sorghum had "refused a little". By that he meant that he was displeased with the yield of that plot on the river bank. 17 sent his small stock to a paternal uncle of his eldest daughter's husband in Kut-i-garo. The cattle of 17 moved from Tuarangole to Mukure and, together with the cattle he previously kept in Nyamumery, they joined the cattle camp where the cattle of 8 and 6 were staying. In January, 19 was called back to Nyamumery and went to Diele Riele and joined the sister of 22,

both of whom were staying in the same hut during the time of the harvest of the second growing of simago. After that harvest 19 went to the delta and joined her husband (17) and 18.

This was the distribution of Unit A during the agricultural activities of late sowing of hol dim l in the flooded flats. I did not notice any further changes up to the middle of March when the harvest of the second growing of hol dim l was completed.

Between the harvest of the first growth of hol dim l, which took place at the end of January and the harvest of the second growing of that crop which took place in the middle of March, the inhabitants of Unit A were engaged in preparation for storage which indicated the direction of their next movement. Women were drying the grain, putting it in skin sacks and making baskets, all of which are activities that still take place in cultivators' camps where they were still staying and waiting for the last harvest. Meanwhile their husbands went to the settlements to prepare the poles on which the granaries would be placed, or to ask permission to use someone else's standing poles. Their families followed later when the big rains started.

Since the late sowing of hol dim l is sowed at different times its harvest accordingly takes place at different times. 6 was the first member of Unit A to start to reap on the 12th of March and the last one was 17 on the 23rd of March.

On the 21st of March, I went to Edete in the delta, and the once overcrowded and concentrated place of temporary huts of cultivators was almost deserted. There were only a few scattered huts here and there. All the others had crossed back to the west bank after they had reaped and dried their grain. Cattle were grazing on the stubble in the plots and when people crossed the river to the west bank their cattle remained behind at the delta and the east bank to graze the "grandmother" (duna) - the third growing or ~~or~~ sheets of the crops.

During January and February a few light rains fell but these were not sufficient to make the east bank muddy. But the rains of the 28th and 29th ^{March} were heavy and not only destroyed part of the crops but caused mud. In those two days thousands of head of cattle crossed the river to the west bank and the east bank was almost deserted. When the heavy rains of the 28th of March started, all the people of Unit A had their grain stored in granaries and they were all safe in settlements, but not in one residential unit and not even in one settlement. All those that left Unit A came to Nyamumery before the big rains started to disassemble their huts and take them to the new residential units in which they were staying.

14 and his two wives with their children did not return to Nyamumery but rejoined the residential unit at Tuarangole settlement, the one which they first joined after they had left Nyamumery. 14 kept his grain in the granaries of one of his age mates (?) who was dwelling at the same residential unit.

The largest part of the crops of the late sowing of hol dim 2 planted by 4 were destroyed by the rains, and he went to Gumbubur settlement which is the closest to the delta, and stored his salvaged grain with a person who was related to him through an inherited bond tie of 'smearing' and whose residential unit he joined.

6 and his wife and 17 with his two wives went back to Nyamumery and joined 8 in Unit A. So did 22 and 26. At the beginning of March, 6, 2, 22 and 17 were cutting big poles at Nakure and Diele Numor with which to strengthen last year's granaries, which had been left standing in the middle of the cattle enclosures.

12, his mother (10) and his wives (13, 11) with their children, returned to Nyamumery but went to dwell in another residential unit with the father of 13 who took care of 12's small stock. When 20, his wife (21) and their children returned to Nyamumery, they followed 2 and his wife (3) who went to dwell with 1's full brother in another residential unit in Nyamumery, where 2 and 20 kept half of their grain in Unit A and half in the granaries of 2's maternal uncle. Iriono with his wife Shiene and their children joined Unit A at the end of March. He was a distant wife giver to 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ (Father's mother's brother's son of 19). He came from a cultivators' camp south of Diele Riele in the east bank and earlier was camping in a home camp on the west bank opposite Diele Riele. He kept only half of his grain in the granaries of 17 and the other half with an age mate in another residential unit in Nyamumery.

At the beginning of May, people started to leave their settlements and move westwards to pastures which were beginning to drain and become free of mud.

Some of the 'original' inhabitants of Unit A, who were scattered in various residential units, left their settlements, too. They left for different pastures and camps between which very little contact was kept up. Most of them changed their camps several times during their movements. Their movements to and between camps is my next topic, which I shall describe through a case study which will illustrate the movements of 12 and his dependants.

D. HOME CAMPS

Evans-Pritchard's description of the Nuer movements, "While camps change into villages overnight, villages change into camps more slowly"⁴, could also fit Dassanetch. Independent camps which were situated along the river during the season of agricultural works, plus cultivators' camps near the cultivated fields, move to settlements when the big rains start and overnight these separate camp units change into a crowded settlement. But when the big rains end, people gradually leave their settlements and move out to the western pasture by camps.

4. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, The Nuer, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940, p. 63.

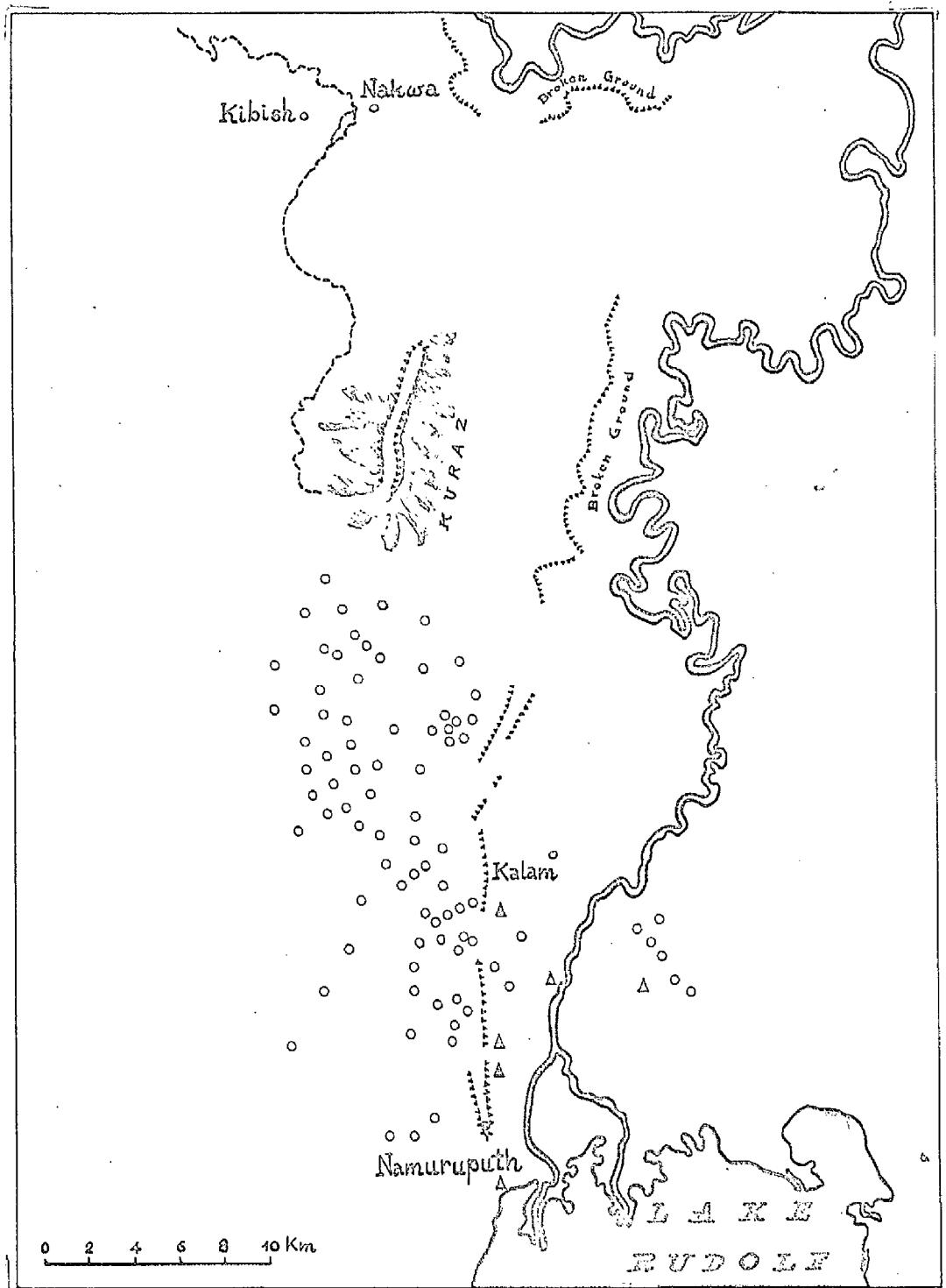
A settlement which is composed of residential units like Unit A becomes depopulated when those units leave the settlement. In April, during the big rains, I counted 253 huts in Nyamumery, in every one of which people were living. In July there were only 168 huts of which only 82 had inhabitants. Those who remain in the settlements are elders, women, children and some men who are not engaged at that time of the year in productive economic activities. It means, therefore, that not every residential unit within a settlement leaves to pasture en bloc, but that only some inhabitants of each unit leave. Secondly, people from different residential units within the settlement make together a new unit which moves in a particular direction which for the time being suits their interests.

I have decided to call these camping units which leave the settlement to pasture a home camp, because such a unit links and connects the family's stock and herders in the stock camps with the remaining members of the family in a settlement. We shall see later in what way these three units of settlement, home camp and stock camp are connected to each other, but for now I only want to make a general note that the residential unit which I call 'home camp' serves not only as a 'home' and a base to herders and stock in the more mobile stock camps, but also as a front runner camp to its members who remain in the settlement.

From the time the home camps move to pasture and up to the beginning of the dry season (end of July) the young calves and heifers, lambs and kids and their dams are kept in the home camps. The rest of the stock, including milk-beasts, are kept in the stock camps. Stock camps, as will be shown later, are connected to home camps through the transfer of milk, grain, animals and labour, and there is a clear and close connection between the movements of a family from one home camp to another and the movements of its stock (mainly cattle) during the season of ish hirai, i.e. of good pasture after the rains (up to July). Home camps and stock camps are less connected during the dry season of shante (from the end of July up to October), and more animals, including milk, stock and oxen for bleeding are kept in the home camp. These last are kept in the home camp to be close to the pasture and water which they require, which, by and large, is different from that of the mature stock which is kept in stock camps. Dams must often be milked and also have to give suck to young beasts. During the dry season all the home camp animals are watered daily, in contrast to mature stock, which is sometimes watered only every other day. Young animals moreover need to be kept in the shade during noon time.

The factors which influence the movement or the distribution (in case of a polygynous family) of a family at different seasons are pasture, water, the size of its herd and its labour resources.

Map K : Distribution of home camps
during the time of their movements
to the western pastures (May).



- Settlement.
- Home camp.
- Police post.

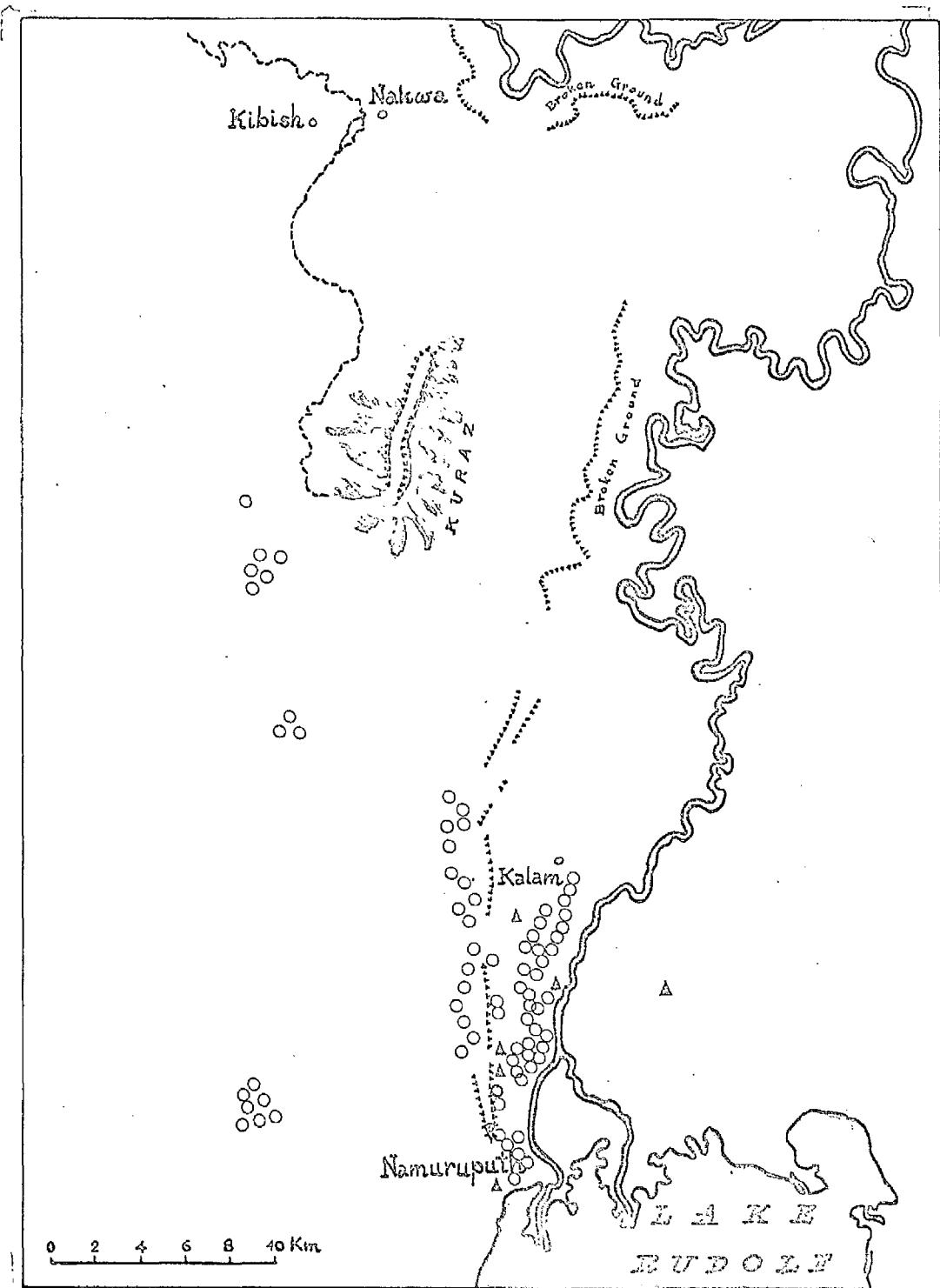
The location of home camps in the above Map and
in Map M is based on my own mapping.

When the western pastures become suitable for grazing, home camps move and spread throughout the whole area west of the Siri Ridge. The water pools are full and available everywhere, so the home camps can move freely from one place to another. Sketch Map K shows clearly the distribution of home camps in mid-May.

But by the end of August and the beginning of September, as can be seen from Sketch Map L, home camps are scattered not far from the river. The movement towards the rivers has two objects. Firstly, because the pools of the western pasture have dried out, they must move towards the river for water. Secondly, it is the time when the agricultural work starts. This means clearing the plots after the inundation has ended and then sowing the early grain of simago. If the water has retreated from the river banks, this is organised in the form of yes, i.e. working at the fields during the day and spending the nights in the home camp.

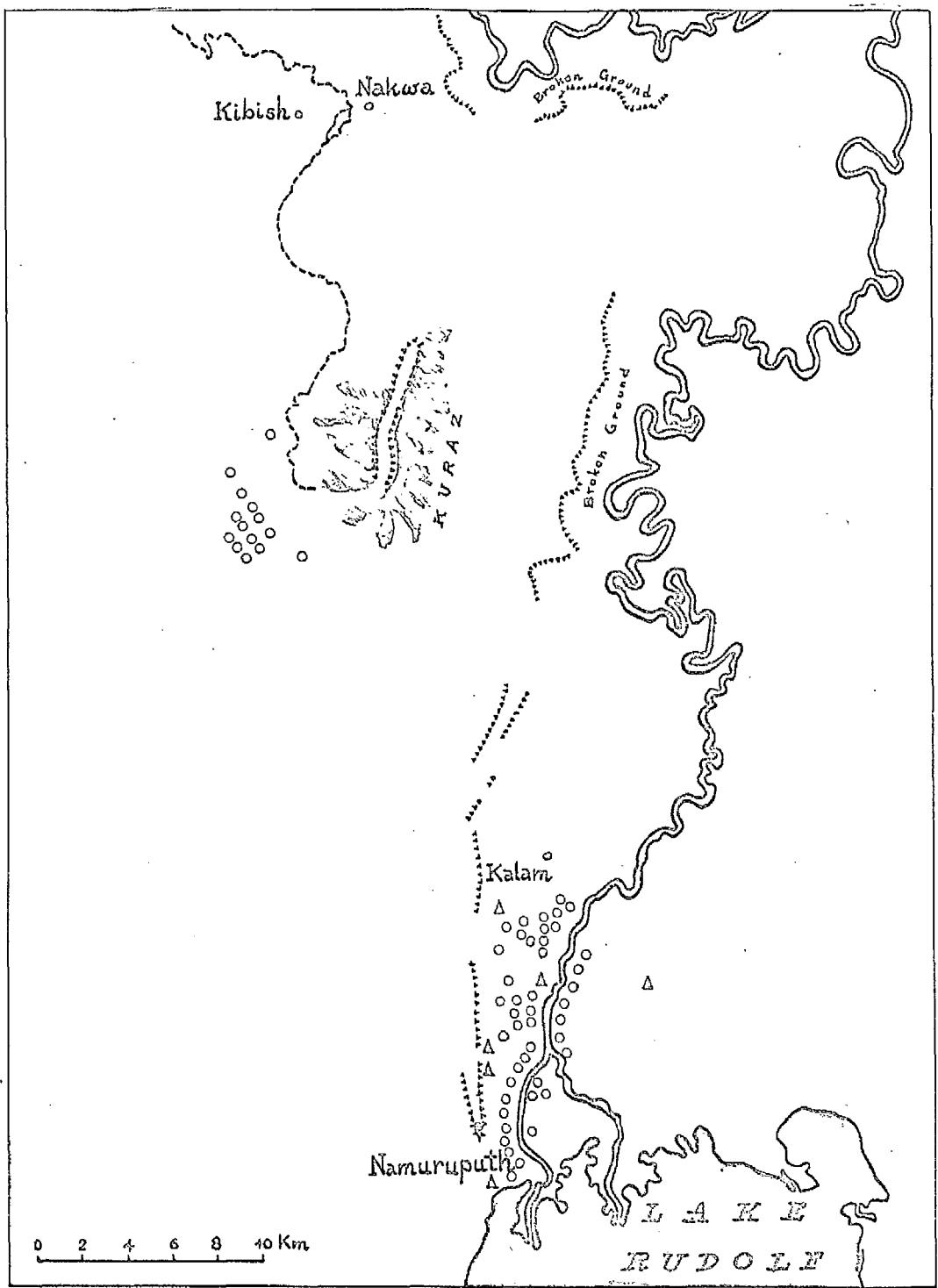
When the cattle which is kept at stock camps cross the river to the east bank and the delta, there is further movement towards the river. Sketch Map M shows the distribution of home camps in November-December, and it can be seen that some of the home camps were situated very close to the river. Some indeed had joined the settlements and established themselves therein as residential units. (This explains why the number of independent home camps on Map M is less than in Sketch Maps K and L). This movement occurs for two reasons. Firstly, camping close to the river or within settlements enables the

Map L : Distribution of home camps
during the dry season of shante
(July-October).



Part of the information about the location of home camps I collected with C.J. Carr (Department of Geography, University of Chicago) during the end of August and the beginning of September 1969.

Map M: Distribution of home camps during the early agricultural activities of simago (November-December).



Settlement.

Home Camp.

Police post.

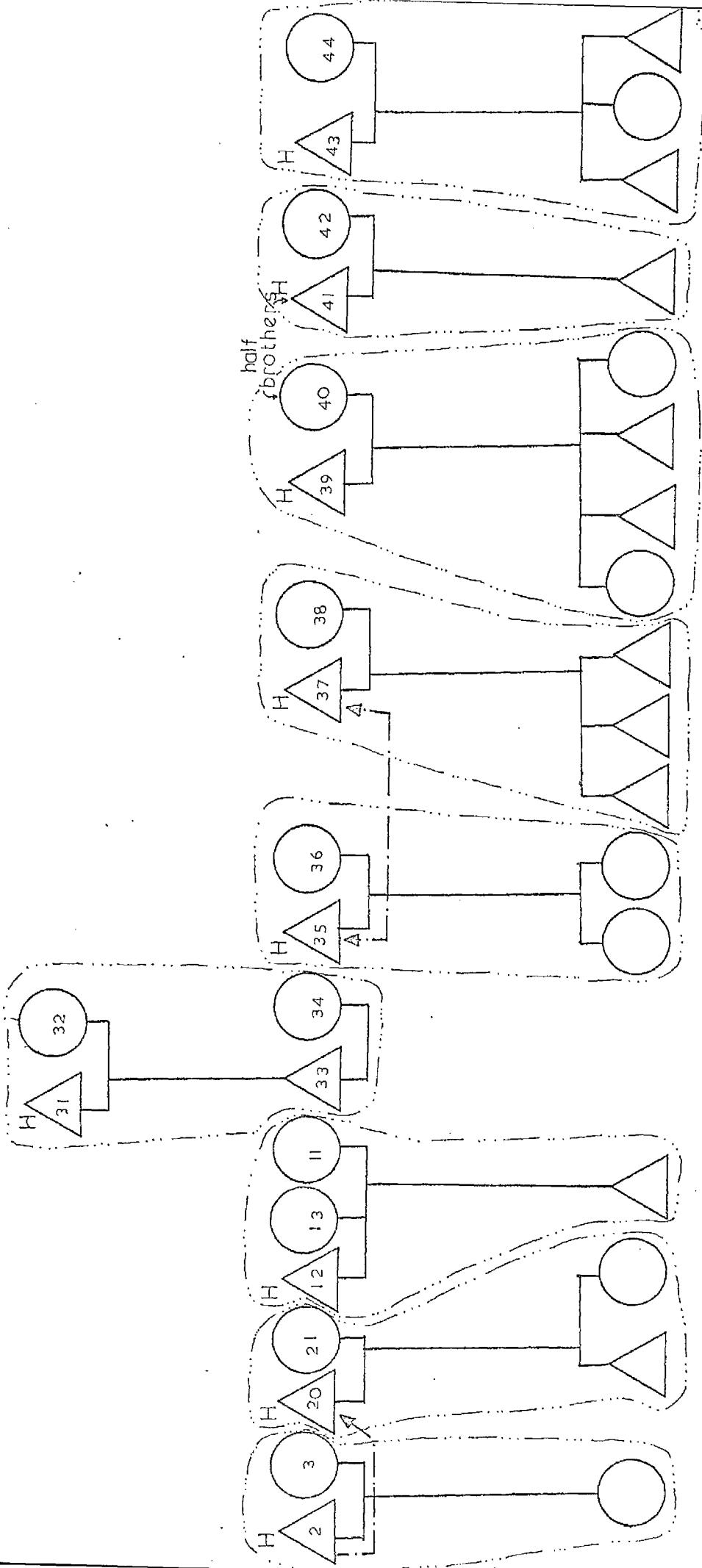
people to be closer to stock which graze on the east bank and the delta, where some of the milk cattle is kept. As we have seen in the case of Unit A, milk was regularly transferred from stock camps to Nyamumery. Secondly, the early sown crops, by this time, have become high and need care, especially guarding them, so it is convenient to be near to the cultivated plots.

I proceed now to describe the changes and movement of home camps through the movements of one family which will serve as a case study.

E. CASE STUDY 2: THE MOVEMENTS OF
GUDAN'S (12) FAMILY

12, accompanied by his mother, wives and children, had joined the residential unit of 13's father in Nyamumery at the end of March. On the 16th of May, he left with 2 and 20, and some other people drawn from the residential unit of his father-in-law and some other units. 10 did not follow her son but remained in Nyamumery (so did 1). 11's and 13's huts and domestic equipment plus two large and one small sacks of sorghum were loaded on to the family's three donkeys, and they all headed off to Akorilem. The beasts they took with them included a cow, a calf, three ewes and one nanny-goat, four lambs, two kids and one dog. When they arrived on the same day at Akorilem, they immediately established their huts there. The composition of and relations within that home camp (which I call home camp B) can be seen in Diagram 4. Apart from 12, 2, 20 and their wives who are known to us from case study 1, there were also

DIAGRAM 4 : RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INHABITANTS OF CAMP B.
 (AKORILEM, MAY-JUNE 1969.)



an old man (31) and his wife (32) and their newly married son (33) and his bride (34), two bond partners of 'gift' who were in their early forties (35 and 37) and their wives (36 and 38) and their small children, and finally a man in his mid-forties (39), his wife (40), children and his wife's half-brother (41) (who was in his mid-thirties) with his wife (42) and their only son.

On the 2nd of June (43), a man in his mid-thirties, with his wife (44) and three children joined that home camp from another home camp in Kut-i-garo. He had no kin connection with anyone in home camp B. As can be seen from Diagram 4, four persons from Diagram 3 (1, 10, 13's son and 12's sister) were absent. 12's youngest son was left with his grandmother (10) in Nyamumery, and 12's sister had joined her husband's brother-in-law in a cattle camp in Loyeris in mid-April. Most of the cattle belonging to members of home camp B were in different stock camps in the Loyeris area.

The location of home camp B was relatively close to the camps where their stock was kept, so they kept few animals in home camp B. Nevertheless, they cooperated in the management of the stock which was kept in camp B, though 12, 2 and 20 kept distinct from the others in home camp B. 12 shepherded the small stock of the other two - a total number of 17 beasts. 20 herded his own two milk cows - and the three of 12 and 2, while 2 took care of the calves (8 beasts).

The routine of grazing and milking in home camp B was as follows: every morning at about 0600, 13 or 11 used to

milk the small stock. At about 0900, 12 took the small stock to graze and returned to the camp after two hours, and the beasts were milked again. The small stock remained in the camp up to about 1300, when they were milked again after which 12 took the beasts to graze and returned to the camp a short time before sunset (1800) for milking. The small stock was then kept inside the fence and the last milking was at about 2000. Cows were milked five times daily, firstly at 0600, after which 20 took them for grazing. The cattle returned to the camp at about 0900 for milking, then left again to pasture until around 1130 when they were milked again, after which they returned to pasture until about 1730. Then they were milked again, and the last milking of the day finally took place at about 2300. The calves or lambs also suckled at the milking times. Milking was always done by women in the camp, and each woman milked the stock of her husband. I noticed one day that 11 and 42 milked, in turn, the stock of 31 and 33. I was told that 34 was in her 'monthly period', so 11 and 42 therefore helped her.

Up to the 29th of May, 11 went early every morning to the cattle camp where the stock of her husband was kept in order to help her brother and sister-in-law, returning home around 1000 with containers full of milk. 12 himself went every evening at about 1900 to the stock camp to take sorghum porridge or grain and bring back milk. On the 29th May, 12's stock moved to fresh pastures at Bieray; 11 accompanied them

in order to help her sister-in-law, in place of the latter's sister who returned to home camp B on the 31st May. At the same time the stock of 20 and 2 were also moved to the stock camp at Bieray, and 11 helped milk their stock as well as her husband's. (2 and 20 moved their stock to Bieray because they lost the services of their herdsman - a 'smeared' partner of 4 - who became ill). This period when 12 was at camp B was a time of plenty when there was plenty of milk and sorghum. His wives went six times with the donkeys to Nyamumery to fill the empty sacks with sorghum. (On two of those occasions, 13 brought sorghum to 41 and 35). Grain and porridge were sent from camp B not only to 12's sister (later to 11) and his brother-in-law in the cattle camp but occasionally also to 13's brothers in the small stock camps. Many guests who visited camp B, among whom were kinsmen, age mates, bond partners and their relatives. All were offered porridge and milk. During the evenings when they were free of guests, the men and women sat together eating, drinking and chatting. Apart from the mutual short-term lending of sorghum to each other, other forms of cooperation were practiced, such as taking care of each other's small children, collecting firewood and water and stock driving. For example, when 43 returned from the small stock camp, he carried back for 12 his newborn lamb at the request of 12's wife's brother. Similarly, when 20's cow dropped a calf, 11 tended the herd while 3's young brother went to inform 2 of the event.

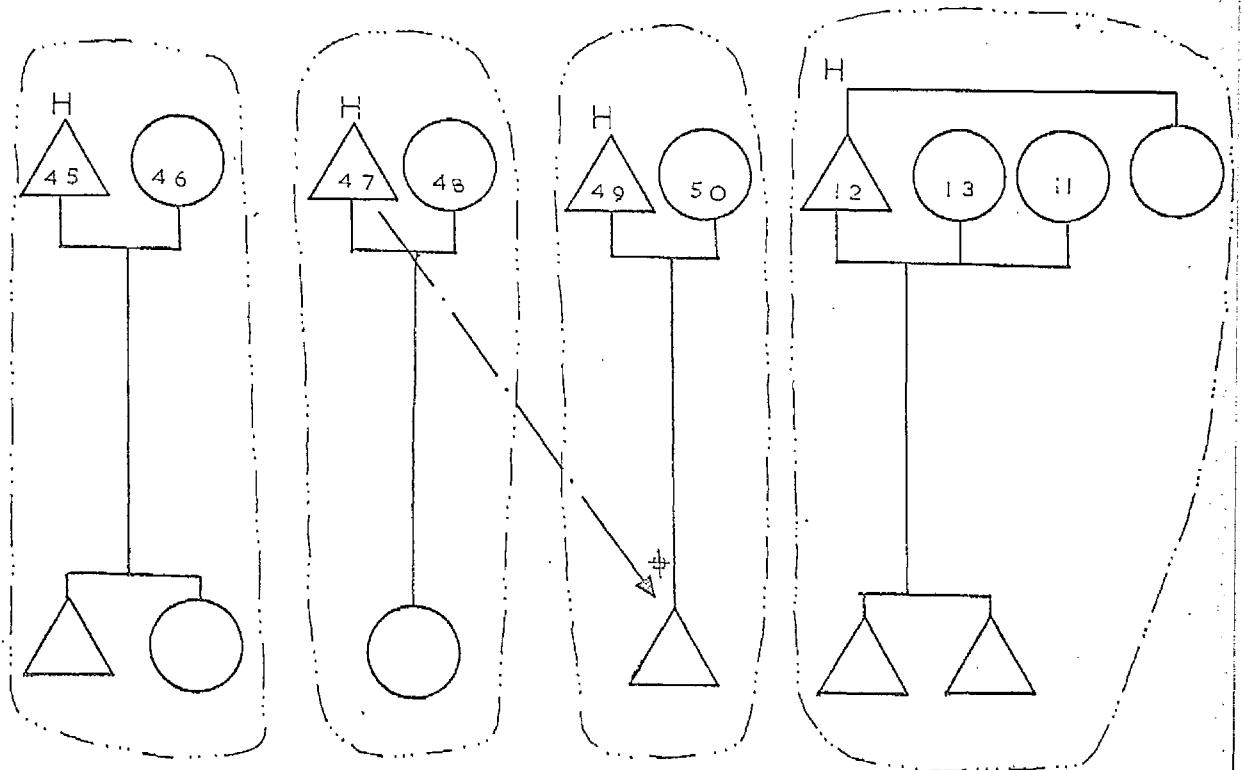
2 then went to Bieray and brought the cow and calf back to camp B.

On the 18th of June, 31, 33 and their wives left camp B and joined a home camp in Erek (?). On the 23rd of June, 12, 2 and 20 went off in different directions and joined other camps. 12 and his wives went to Kusam-en-Dabo and 2 and 20 went to Il gwa. 35, 37, 39, 41 and 43 stayed on for another six days then split up and left for other camps. When I asked 12 why he left camp B and came to Kusam-en-Dabo, he answered: "Because my cattle went to Werwere" (i.e. a neighbouring grazing area). Indeed, two days before 12 went to Kusam-en-Dabo, his cattle had been driven from the cattle camp in Bieray to another one in Werwere.

The home camp which 12 joined in Kusam-en-Dabo (which I shall call camp C), consisted of only three huts. The relationships in this camp can be seen in Diagram 5.

45 was a maternal cousin to 12's immediate age mate and had no other formal connection with the others in camp C. (I later learned that, earlier 46 and 50 had cultivated neighbouring plots in the delta and spent some time together in a cultivators' camp). 47 was the 'smearer' of 49's son who was herding in a cattle camp. 45 and 47 were in their late thirties and 49 in his mid-forties. As it can be seen in Diagram 5, the younger son of 13 returned to his mother from Nyamumery and 11 returned from the cattle camp at Werwere. The mother of 12 (10) joined camp C a few days before 12 and his wives moved on to another camp, so I did not include her in Diagram 5.

DIAGRAM 5: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INHABITANTS OF
CAMP C. (KUSAM-EN-DABO. JUNE-JULY 1969.)



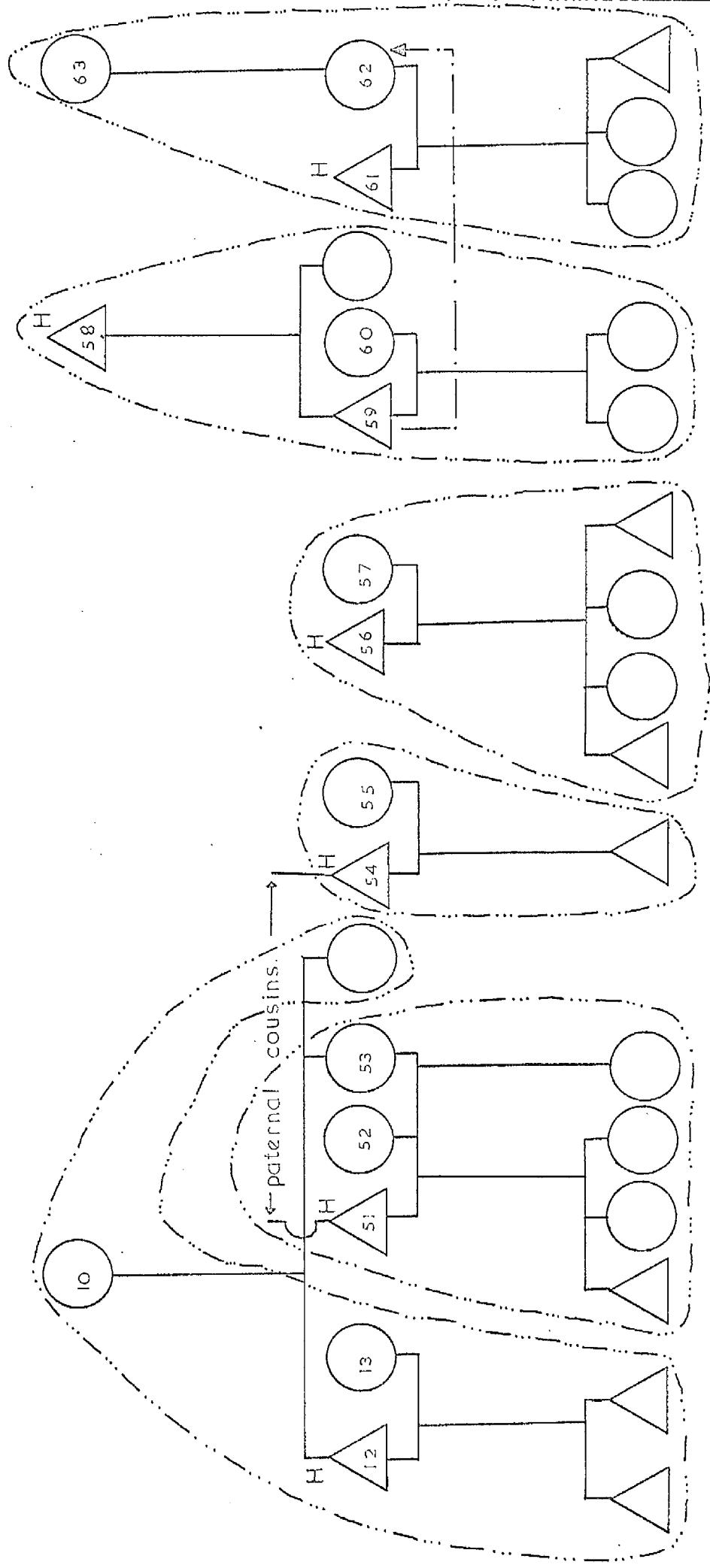
+ 47 was the "smearer" bond partner of 49's son
who was herding in a cattle camp.

The move from home camp B to home camp C brought about some changes in stock management. 12's stock was distributed for care among the other members of the camp, i.e. cows to 45, calves to 48, lambs to the son of 49, but the sister of 12 took over the shepherding of all the camp's small stock from 47.

During the time 12 and his wife spent in camp C, I noticed a sharp reduction in the milk yield. By the end of June, cows and small stock were milked only three times daily, at sunrise, noon and sunset. The twice-a-day trips to the cattle camp at Werwere to fetch milk continued, 11 going in the morning and 12 after dark. From the beginning of July, however, only 11 continued ~~to~~ ^{the} morning trips. This period, when 12's family camped in camp C, also marks the end of the grain. 13 brought the last small sack of grain from Nyamumery on the 29th of June, and this was consumed by the 2nd of July. 12 and his family remained in camp C until the 7th of July and then moved southeast to another home camp (which I call camp D) at Kar-olo, where 12's married sister was staying. Camp D had nine huts and the relationships within that camp can be seen in Diagram 6.

12's junior wife (11) did not join camp D but went to a home camp at Haman Danyar where the son of the "name giver" to her husband was staying. She took with her half of 12's small stock (mainly goats), while the other half (mainly sheep) were moved further south to another small stock camp at Loyeris.

DIAGRAM 6 : RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INHABITANTS OF CAMP D.
 (KAR-OLO. JULY - AUGUST 1969)



53 was the younger married sister of 12. Her husband (51) was the paternal full cousin of 54. 56 had no relationship to anyone in the camp (apart from the vague kinship affiliation of belonging to the same exogamous clan (tur) of Galbur of 51 and 54). 59 joined camp D with his wife and children, his widowed father and unmarried sister and was the 'holder' of 62's eldest brother. 12, 56, 59 and 61 were in their thirties, 51 and 54 in their forties and 58 and 63 in their sixties.

None of the members of camp D had any grain left when 12 joined it, and the milk yield was very low, and contacts with the cattle camp gradually decreased. During July, 12 went every morning to the cattle camp at Eneb where his cattle were staying, but by August the milk yield was so low that it was hardly sufficient for his brother-in-law who herded there and he ceased. The shortage of milk there was aggravated when 12 had transferred two milk cows (and an ox) from the cattle camp to home camp D. 12 also transferred his remaining small stock to Haman Danyar where his wife (11) was staying. 51's eldest son returned from the cattle camp to camp D and took care of the cattle of 51, 54, 12 and 56. During August, cattle were only milked at sunrise before they went to graze and at sunset when they returned to camp. 12 continued to visit between the camps. He went to Haman Danyar, where his wife

was staying, as well as to the small stock camp in Loyeris in order to bleed the small stock and bring back blood to his dependents at home camp D. He also went to the cattle camp in Eneb in order to bring back an ox for bleeding.

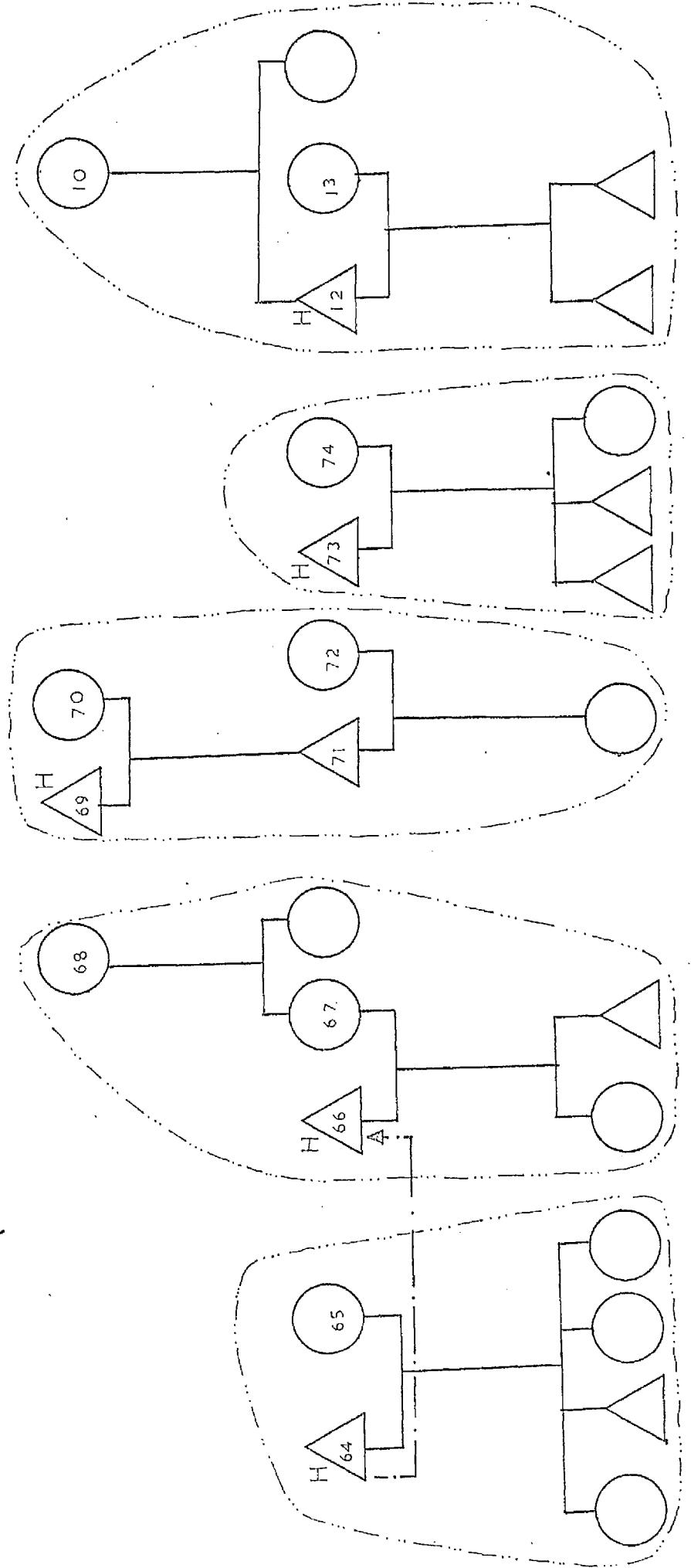
That ox remained in camp D for a while and was watered every day at noon with the other animals. Camp D lay about 1 k"m west of the Siri Ridge and the only source of water for animals and people was the Omo river about 6 k"m away.

Most of the men in camp D spent some time visiting friends and kinsmen in other home camps or eating meat with age mates in other camps, but they spent most of their time in the settlements. The men of camp D each slaughtered two head of small stock for age mates or guests during July and August. 58 slaughtered one head more, and 54 also slaughtered an ox for meat consumption. A special hut (lokhol) was built for the meat eating, each camp member received a chunk of meat and other agnates, affines and age mates of 54 came to camp D and were given meat as well. During July and August 12 sent meat twice to his brother-in-law in the cattle camp in Eneb and to his wife at Haman Danyar. On the 12th of August 58, 59 and his wife (60), and children and sister of 59 left camp D to Mort-kali-ko. On the 20th of August camp D again moved 3 k"m to the east towards the river and camped east of the Siri Ridge at Natade. On the 22nd of August an immediate age mate of 56 joined camp D. On the very day that camp D established itself at Natade, 12 went to

Nyamumery and did not return to camp D until the 24th of August. He informed his mother and 51 that his plot in Diele Riele had not flooded, which he expressed as the "refusal of the river" (war hai dite). The next day he went north towards Kalam and returned after two days. He then told his wife and mother to take down their huts and the party left on the 27th of August for Dot-miya-khote where they joined a home camp in which a paternal half cousin of 12 was staying. 12 had been to Kalam to seek a plot for cultivation. His maternal uncle there had told him that his plot was too small to be further subdivided, but his paternal half cousin had agreed to allocate him part of his plot in Akudongole on the west bank of the river. The relationships between the inhabitants of the camp in Dot-miya-khote (which I shall call camp E) were as follows: (see Diagram 7)

73 was the paternal half cousin who had allocated part of his own plot to 12. 69 and 71 and their wives had no relationships with any others except that 71 belonged to the same age set (nyogolomogen) ^{as} of 12. 66 was related to 64 through a bond tie (64's father was the 'smearer' of 66). 66 and 71 were in their late thirties, 64 and 73 in their mid-forties, and 68, 69 and 70 were all over 60. At the end of September the members of camp E cooperated for stock management as follows:- 64's eldest son who had returned from a cattle camp herded the cattle of the others. 12 took care of all the calves and 71 shepherded all the small stock. Either 66's eldest daughter or sister-in-law alternately took care of the lambs and kids. At mid-September a

DIAGRAM 7 : RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INHABITANTS OF CAMP E.
(DOT-MIYA-KHOTE. SEPTEMBER - DECEMBER 1969.)



wife of a policeman stationed in Kalam put up her home in camp E along with her sister-in-law and two small children but without any stock. About a month after 12 had sown his grain in the plot at Akundongole, his wife (13) went to Nyamumery with the small stock that 11 took care of and joined the residential unit of her father. A few days later she was joined by 12's unmarried sister, and both went to a cultivators' camp in Wartea to erect a temporary hut. They were assisted by 12 who came to the cultivators' camp to help clear a plot and prepare it for the late sowing of hol dim l. When 11 went from Haman Danyar to Dot-miya-khote to bring the small stock she took care of, she remained with her husband. During October the milk yield started to rise (due to new pasture after the small rains) and 12 transferred two milk cows to his brother-in-law to join his other cattle. During October and the first part of November he went between the camps to bring milk every morning to his wife and sister in the cultivators' camp at Wartea. On the 17th of December the early simago was harvested and after they had dried the grain and sacked it, 12 and his family left Dot-miya-khote on the 21st of December and went to Nyamumery to the home camp of 13's father. Part of his small stock was kept there. 12 left camp E after the first harvest of simago and did not wait the second growing of simago. He stated that he did this because "The land (i.e. plot) was too small. If Lomoyo (i.e. his paternal half cousin) wants it, he will reap it."

12 also hinted that he would seek another plot on another river bank for the next season because the plot which Lomoyo had allocated him was too small.

In the middle of November the cattle of 12 crossed to the east bank and went to graze in the area south of Tuarangole. 11's brother remained in Nyamumery and took care of 12's and the father of 13's small stock. He was replaced by 13's young brother who went with the stock to the east bank. I have mentioned some connections which were maintained between home camps and stock camps above, but in order to see more clearly the stock movements between stock camps, I will illustrate the movements of one herd - that of 12 in the next case study.

F. STOCK CAMPS

What I call a stock camp the Dassanetch call foritch. This term implies three things. Firstly, it is a type of grazing place. The "foritch pastures" are mainly of the type described in the second chapter. Secondly, foritch refers to the type of stock which grazes on that type of pasture. This is mature stock which is taken care of by young herders. Thirdly, foritch may also be applied to a type of unit (eh foritch) which is distinct from other residential units. A foritch herding unit usually only consists of fenced pens or folds (i.e. of sheep and goats) but it may have a few temporary huts (i.e. cattle camp). The foritch unit consists of young herders who are usually not related to each other, each herds the stock of a person who does

not reside in a stock camp. The meanings referring to the type of pasture and residential unit probably derive from the primary meaning of a particular type of stock.

During the first decade of their lives children usually live with their mothers. Wherever a mother stays, her young children stay with her. At about the age of 10, boys join the stock camps, but even before then they sometimes undertake herding tasks at the home camp and start to learn about stock. When they join cattle camps they usually accompany older brothers or a cognate and for a few years only "help" in herding as they learn more about stock and can manage the cattle by themselves. In almost every boy's life cycle there is a clear cut distinction between early and late teens as far as herding is concerned. Boys herd and youths and young men shepherd.

Usually a boy first joins a cattle camp and only after he becomes a herdboy does he move to small stock camps to become a shepherd, because shepherding is a much more arduous task than herding. Small stock is driven over longer distances and at a faster pace than cattle, and small stock camps move more frequently than cattle camps. Small stock are also more easily lost. Small stock multiply faster than cattle and lambs, kids and their dams have to be constantly moved back to home camps or settlements where they are usually kept. Small stock milking is more arduous than cattle milking. But, above all, is the danger from hyenas. Hyenas seldom attack cattle but they do attack small stock. Every night

hyenas come from the bush to try and snatch from the flocks, so small stock camps only consist of small pens within which the flocks are kept, the whole surrounded by a high fence of branches and thorns, huts are not built. The shepherds spend the nights at the fence gates guarding their flocks, warming themselves around a small fire, chatting, and occasionally dozing off when they rely on their dogs to warn them of approaching dangers.

Negligent herders can lose a flock. The danger from hyenas is greater in the small stock camps because the small stock graze the peripheral area farthest from the more permanent settlement. From what I have been told it seems that every stock owner reckons to lose about one or two head of small stock each year to hyenas.

Temporary shelters are built in the cattle camps and women and girls stay there and help the young herders, whereas no woman stays overnight in a small stock camp.

The population of some cattle and small stock camps, which is summarised in Tables 7 and 8, clearly illustrates the age and sex differentiation which I have described as distinguishing the management of cattle from small stock. Herders do not necessarily take care only of their fathers' stock, a father can allocate the labour of a son to herd for anyone else with whom he is cooperating, in order that both parties may most effectively organize their pastoral and agricultural activities.

Table 7 : Population of Cattle

Camps in June 1969

	Camp 1 in Herum	Camp 2 in Werwere	Camp 3 in Getcham
Children too young to herd	6	4	3
Children under 13 ⁺ but old enough to herd	10	6	7
Boys 14-20 (Boy's hair style)	4	4	3
Unmarried young men	3	2	2
Married men	2	1	1
Unmarried girls (including childless women)	4	2	5
Women	4	3	2
TOTAL	33	22	23
Number of Cattle	231	177	204

Table 8 : Population of Small Stock

Camps in July 1969

	Camp 4 in Kolom Shieno (mainly sheep)	Camp 5 in Kolom Shieno (mainly sheep)	Camp 6 in Gabite (mainly goats)
Children too young to herd	-	-	-
Children under 13 ⁺ but old enough to herd	1	3	1
Boys 14-20 (Boy's hair style)	18	14	21
Unmarried young men	3	4	7
Married men	1	2	2
Unmarried girls (including childless women)	-	-	-
Women	-	-	-
TOTAL	23	23	31
Estimated number of small stock	1,100	1,000	1,700

Table 9 presents information about the herders in a cattle camp in Werwere (camp 2 in Table 7), the camp in which the brother-in-law of 12 who herded his stock was staying in June at the time when 12 and his wives camped at camp B. (See page 89 above).

G: CASE STUDY 3: THE MOVEMENTS OF LOCHIYE AS THE HERDER OF GUDAN'S CATTLE

Lochiye, who was the brother of 11, the second wife of 12, was herding 12's stock. He was a boy of about 13-14 years of age, whose movements I followed from December 1968 to December 1969.

In December 1968, Lochiye was on the east bank herding cattle which grazed in the pastures of Wartea. The time he spent on the east bank can be divided into two periods, each of approximately two months. First, he joined a cattle camp north of Wartea. 13, who at that time was in a neighbouring cultivators' camp in Wartea, helped him put up there a temporary hut made of branches, leaves and grass. In January, after 12, 11 and 10 had crossed to the east bank, either 13 or 10 used to come at sunrise and sunset to help with the milking. The milk yield was high at that time, and the cows were milked 4 times a day (0600, 1100, 1800 and 2200). During the evenings, Lochiye sometimes went to dances where members of his age set were gathered in Tuarangole. When one herder went to a dance or to visit relatives, other

Table 9 : Herders in a Cattle Camp at Werwere*

name of herder	relation to cattle owner	resident assistant	remarks
1. Yerboro	husband of father's sister	mother of 12	bond partner of "lips" with 12
2. Lobelile	father's "holder's" son	stock owner's second wife	
3. Arkir	son	young brother (not herding)	
4. Alain	brother-in-law		
5. Lutwara	son		4 oxen in the herd belong to father's age mate
6. Lochiye	brother-in-law	sister	brother of 12's wife (11) in case studies 1 and 2
7. Randal	brother-in-law	sister	brother of 9
8. Yerar	father's brother's son	young brother (not herding)	
9. Doshite	brother	sister	brother of 7
10. Lockwaria	son		
11. Yerongor	"smearer"	wife of "smearer"	"smearer" also an immediate age mate of father
12. Falal	son	mother	
13. Arongor	himself		married man replacing his son who became ill and left to settlement (Kut-i-garo)

* The information above was collected on the 22nd of June. Lochiye's sister left camp two days later and joined her husband in home camp C at Kusam-en-Dabo where they had moved the day before.

boys took care of his stock. Indeed, Lochiye sometimes went to the cultivators' camp where his sister and brother-in-law were staying in order to eat porridge, but at other times the food was brought to him. There were two herders with whom Lochiye mainly cooperated, one was a childhood friend who became an immediate age mate and the other was the son of a bond friend of his father ('held').

At the beginning of February Lochiye was sent by 12 to join another cattle camp further south. 12 often came to visit his cattle and maintained close contact with Lochiye and his cattle in the new cattle camp. Every morning and evening he went to bring empty milk containers and fetch milk for his dependants. Especially at sunset 12 would help with milking. There were 16 herders at the new cattle camp, to the south of Wartea, but only 5 temporary huts had been put up and Lochiye had no shelter in which to keep the milk containers or to sleep. He kept the milk containers inside the hut of another herder and slept on the ground near the cattle (The two herders with whom he had cooperated at the previous cattle camp had gone to another cattle camp east of Wartea). From the middle of March, Lochiye drove his cattle gradually towards the northeast, spending each night in a different cattle camp. He did this on 12's orders so that he could graze on the third sorghum growth in the deserted cultivated fields of the late harvest of hol dim 1. On the 29th of March Lochiye crossed the river to the east

bank, in which task he was assisted by 12 who helped to push the cattle to the water and then accompanied them as they swam in a dugout. 12's cattle and Lochiye then stayed in Nyamumery (in the residential unit of 13's father) for four days. Then 12's sister joined Lochiye and both left with the cattle to Natade. They arrived there, with some other herders from Nyamumery, and put up some huts to protect themselves from the heavy big rains. The cattle grazed nearby on the Siri Ridge. After a few days, 12's sister returned to Nyamumery and after that only went back occasionally to help with the milking (two milk cows of 12 remained in Nyamumery during the big rains period). At the end of April, she rejoined the cattle camp and brought with her from Nyamumery a milk cow. On the 2nd of May she took down the hut she had established earlier and left for Loyeris with Lochiye. From then until the 29th of May, Lochiye and 12's sister moved every few days to another camp. The routine of their daily work was as follows: 12's sister milked the cows early in the morning just before sunrise (0600), then Lochiye took the cattle to graze. He returned to the cattle camp at about 0900 for milking which 12's sister did, and immediately after that left again for grazing. After the second milking, 11 came to the cattle camp bringing with her empty containers, and took all the milk back to the home camp. Lochiye returned for the third milking at about 1130 and 12's sister milked the cows again. If 11 had brought porridge or grain, he used to eat it then, and after that drive the cattle to another pasture only.

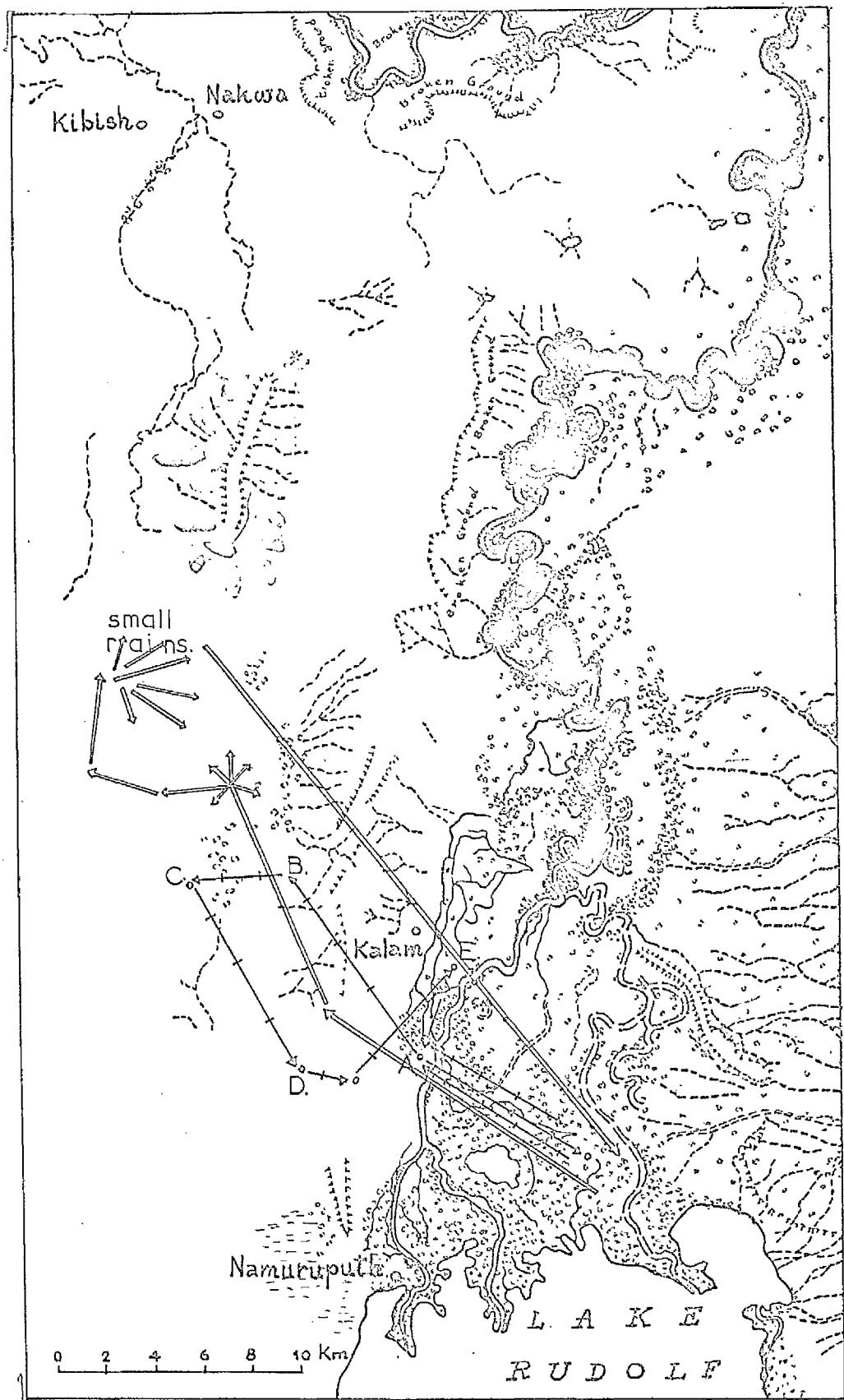
returning to the cattle camp shortly before sunset (1730) for milking. The cattle then rested around small dung fires which had been built by 12's sister. During the evening, 12 would come to the cattle camp bringing empty milk containers and returning with the full ones. The last and the fifth milking was at about 2200. When they moved on to another camp, Lochiye and 12's sister would start around midnight after the fifth and final milking. There were many cattle camps in the area and a move usually only involved a walk of a few kilometres. In those evenings when Lochiye and 12's sister did not move to a new camp, they went to dance. Boys and girls from a neighbourhood of cattle camps used to gather in one place and dance for a few hours, during which the boys and young men courted the girls. During the time 12's sister was in the cattle camp, she slept inside the hut (as did 11 who replaced her later) and Lochiye slept on the ground near the cattle. If rain fell, Lochiye went to the hut but sat inside near the entrance until the rain was over and then went out again. Lochiye made all the decisions about when and where to move. He searched out new pastures himself during the day and enquired of others from neighbours and friends. He moved to another camp every few days. One evening at the end of May, when I went with 12 from camp B (Akorilem) to the cattle camp where his sister and brother-in-law were staying, we arrived at the cattle camp and Lochiye, 12's sister and the cattle were not there. 12 enquired of a young herder

who pointed out the direction in which they had gone. Accordingly, we went and found 12's sister putting up a hut in a cattle camp about three kilometres away. On the 29th of May, 11 went to see her brother and told him that her husband asked him to move to another area in Bieray. On that day Lochiye, 11 and 12's sister moved to a cattle camp in Bieray, where the herds of 20 and 2 were also. 11 and 12's sister helped in building a fence and a hut and on the 31st of May, 12's sister returned to home camp B. In this cattle camp, close cooperation developed between Lochiye and Kinatch, who was the herder of his brother-in-law's (2) stock. At that time cows were only being milked three times a day and 11 also helped to milk the stock of her brother (20) and that of her brother's partner (2). Lochiye and 11 remained in that camp until the 21st of June, then they left to go to Werwere and join a cattle camp there. 11 remained in the cattle camp at Werwere for three days helping to erect a hut and with the milking, and on the 24th of June, 12 called his wife (11) to return to the home camp in Kusam-en-Dabo. But as long as they camped in camp C, 11 continued to visit the cattle camp in Werwere every morning to collect the milk and to help with the milking as did 12 each evening. When there was no assistance, Lochiye milked the cow by himself.⁵

5. By custom the only camp in which men can milk is the stock camp. Milking in settlements, home camps and cultivators' camps is restricted to women only.

On the 7th July, 12 transferred two milk cows from the cattle camp to his home camp and moved with one of his wives (13) to Kar-olo and joined home camp D, but Lochiye remained in the cattle camp at Werwere until the 13th of July. He then moved to Eneb. In Eneb he met his partner of 'lips', a herdboy of his own age, and they helped each other especially by taking care of each other's cattle when one of them went away for a day. In the stock camp at Eneb, cattle were watered every second day at Kolom Lockwaria (a branch of the Omo River, northeast of Kalam). During the dry months of July, August and September small stock was also watered in Kolom Lockwaria every second day. 12 still kept a close contact with his cattle and Lochiye. 12 used to come to bring oxen for bleeding and return others. He sometimes also brought meat from his home camp or ordered his brother-in-law (13's brother) in the small stock camp at Loyeris to take some meat to Lochiye. During October and the beginning of November, Lochiye drove the cattle in the area west of Eneb, to Il Maram and Kada, to new pastures after the small rains and changed his camp every few days. He was visited by 12 every morning (at 0900) who fetched milk for his wife (13) and his sister who were staying in a cultivators' camp in Wartea on the east bank. On the 13th of November, 12 went to see Lochiye and both returned to Nyamumery with the cattle. The next day 12's cattle crossed the river to the east bank. Lochiye remained in Nyamumery and was replaced as herder by Doshite (the young brother of 13)

Map N : The movements of Gudan's household cattle.



B Home camps mentioned in the text.

↔ Movements of Gudan's household.

→ Movements of Gudan's cattle.

who went to a cattle camp in Wartea. 12 went with Doshite to Wartea and it was 12 who chose the cattle camp in which Doshite was to stay for about two months. 12 chose a cattle camp where the brother's son of his 'smearer' partner was staying. The latter was older than Doshite, and 12 asked his partner's nephew to take care of and help Doshite. At the end of November and during December all of 12's milk cows were in the cattle camp at Wartea. The milk yield increased, and someone from the cultivators' camp came to help with every milking. At first, it was 13 or 12's sister and later 12 himself or his mother.

The movements of 12 to different home camps and the independent movements of his cattle to cattle camps can be seen in Sketch Map N° .

The changes in the composition of a cultivators' camp and the forms of cooperation within such a camp will be discussed in Chapter 5 .

H. CONCLUSION

This chapter is intended to examine various residential units, the changes which take place within these units and the movements of people from one unit to another.

The two main points which, I think, run throughout the descriptions are:

Firstly, the high number of movements from one place to another that any one person makes in the course of

one year. Among the neighbouring Turkana, for example, the average number of places a Turkana moves to (6-7)⁶ and those of a Dassanetch (7), if we take 12's movement as an example, are very similar. But whilst a Turkana moves from one place to the other as a member of the same residential unit, a Dassanetch does not. As individuals move from one unit to another, the unit of which they are a member is likewise shedding members or having members attach themselves to it. Dassanetch residential units, as we have seen, split, change their membership, move or disperse. Each time any change takes place in a residential unit, it means, inevitably, that a reorganization of social relations and of cooperation is needed.

Secondly, not only do movements by individuals between units of the same type take place throughout the year, but also movements take place in different seasons between members of different types of units. Settlements, home camps and cultivators' camps have different structures and patterns of cooperation, and a man, by the fact of joining another kind of unit, must adapt himself to that type of unit.

These two characteristic features are derived from a combination of two factors. Firstly, the variable availability of pasture and water at different times of the year. Secondly, the different demands at different seasons for labour in the

6. Gulliver, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

mixed economy. Generally speaking, during the peak periods of agricultural work, there is a clear shift of labour from all other units into agriculture, and conversely, when the agricultural work demands diminish, labour shifts to help with the pastoral tasks. But let us see these two factors in each kind of residential unit I have described.

I will start first with the connections between home camps and stock camps.

When the west bank pastures have dried out sufficiently to enable them to be grazed, agricultural work has normally already ended. The east bank is deserted, as people leave their settlements to go westwards and stay in camps. The question is, why stock and people do not move in one camping unit, as the Nuer do, but are split into stock camps which differ from home camps? There are several reasons for this.

Firstly, there is the different usage which is made of pasture. The mature stock, which is kept in the stock camps of foritch can move faster from one pasture to another and be driven for longer distances than the young animals which are kept in the home camp. These either fully or partially depend on milk. Milk stock must be milked frequently, so they can only be taken short distances from the home camp, since they must return to be milked and to suckle offspring several times during the day.

Secondly, animals which are kept in the camps have variable watering needs. During the dry season, stock at stock camps may graze far from water and only be watered every

two days, whereas stock which is kept in home camps (including oxen which need to recover after their bleeding) need to be watered daily. Home camps, therefore, must be close to water during the dry season.

Thirdly, the beginning of the agricultural season, which occurs while stock is still kept in pastures far from the river, imposes a temporary separation between the two camps. Connections between home camps which approach the river and stock camps which remain far from the river are virtually cut off during the dry season of shante. Milk yields are low and there is hardly ^{any} milk to transfer from stock camps to home camps. This was clearly shown in the case of 12 who moved southeast from camp C at Kusam-en-Dabo to camp D at Kar-olo, while his cattle moved northwest from Werwere to Eneb.

Fourthly, because the area available for grazing is limited, the exploitation of pasture must be maximal. This is why cattle are separated from small stock and the small stock itself is sometimes divided into separate flocks of sheep and goats. Within both, at certain seasons, milk stock and young animals are herded separately from dry stock. When there is plenty of pasture, home camps and stock camps move to the same good grazing grounds, though the former are less mobile for the reasons outlined above. During the dry season the mature stock utilizes relatively poor pasture where there is less water, and the stock of the home camp, which is more

sensitive to the quality of pasture, grazes on the margins of the flooded places of the west bank. The diminished mutual dependence of home camps and stock camps during the dry season also suits the social considerations of mature men in home camps. They move towards the river and close to the settlements, where home camps are clustered and ^{they} are able therefore to spend time with some of their bond friends, affines and age mates and to participate in ceremonial feastings of slaughtered stock.

The distances between the different agricultural areas and the different grazing areas are short and easily traversable, so that visiting and the transfer of food are easy. The timetable of agricultural and herding tasks, which is determined by the changing (and changeable) seasons, demands a mobile labour supply and the splitting of herds and flocks. The establishment of distinct home and stock camps, between which labour can shuttle, is a logical and efficient response to these conditions, which would probably not be possible if the distances between them had to be greater. Except during the dry season, either 12 or his wife were able to reach the cattle camp twice a day and still have time to engage in other economic activities.

Home camps and cattle camps have quite different patterns of stock management which are related to their patterns of movement. In a stock camp, although some forms of cooperation are practised, the herders and shepherds are not

dependent on each other as far as herding is concerned.

Herders and the stock they herd are independent units and can easily move to another area and join another stock camp.

The assistance a herder receives with milking, ^{with} hut- and fence-building, ^{with} and the transfer of milk and food comes mainly from the home camp of the stock owner. If the herder moves to another stock camp, that assistance "follows" him to the new camp. In the home camp, on the other hand, stock management is more complicated in two respects. Firstly, since the economic activities of the family in a home camp are many and more complicated than those of a stock camp, the family can hardly rely on its own labour and needs the cooperation of others in the management and division of labour. Secondly, economic cooperation within the home camp is usually interwoven with a network of social relations. Though these economic and social ties in a home camp can be reorganised, it is not so easy to do so, and certainly they cannot be changed every few days.

Furthermore, the number of economic and social ties a man utilises during one year of movements are many. Some of them are strong ties and some less strong, some are temporary and some enduring. This variety of links affects a man's decisions about which camps to join. Herders in stock camps, on the other hand, are not restricted in their mobility because of their connections with other herdsmen. It is true that at some times of the year a herder makes independent

decisions as to where he should go and when, but for most of the year he is under the control and supervision of the stock owner, the stock owner's wife or other dependents of ~~his who~~^{the owner} come to assist him. A herder is usually connected to the stock owner through his own father, ~~which~~^{by what} is usually a strong and enduring tie. But the very fact that a boy usually herds the stock of someone else's stock ~~other~~^{if} than that of his father's implies that the stock owner and the boy's father are bound strongly, otherwise the boy would not have been recruited as a herder. For a father only sends out his son to herd for someone ~~with whom~~^{to} he is already bound.

Between December 1968 and December 1969 only the herders of 4 and 20 in Unit A had changed, the others were the same. Whereas the stock herders of the members of Unit A were more or less the same in December 1969 as they were in December 1968, the actual membership in December 1969 of Unit A had altered. Only 6, 8, 17, 22 and 26 returned to Unit A - the rest went to other residential units or settlements. The latter were, naturally, practicing economic cooperation with the other people with whom they dwelt.

Although grain is sent from the home camp to all herders and shepherds of the family stock, the connections of the latter with the home camp are particularly strong during the dry season. At that time assistance with fence building and the transfer of stock for slaughter or for bleeding between the camps is frequent at a time when a cattle camp needs less labour so labour can and is shifted (e.g. 11 went to Naman Danyar in July to assist in

small stock management). Within the limited labour available to a family, labour is not only transferred from agriculture to pastoralism, but also within pastoralism. During the early good pastures of ish hirai the need is in the cattle camps, and during the dry season of shante it is in the small stock camps.

The amount of stock a man owns, and especially the proportion between his cattle and small stock, largely determines his movements. Dassanetch operate a rule that no one sends his stock to foritch stock camps, unless he has a sufficient number of milk animals to feed and support the boys who tend his stock. So that a man with insufficient milking small stock to satisfy this condition might keep them in his home camp. Quite often Dassanetch men keep all their small stock in the home camp (as did 12, 26 and 17), especially during the dry season when pasture is poor everywhere. An alternative mode of exploitation is by what the Dassanetch call a "small foritchi". This occurs when a man moves with only his wife or wives and children and herds his small stock and small herd of cattle as one unit. This allows easier mobility from one pasture to another than can be achieved by remaining attached to a less mobile home camp. The case of 12, who followed his cattle to the stock camp, was simple and clear because he had a relatively small herd. But if a man has more cattle, say 30 head, he will split the herd into two separate herds whose movements he will coordinate. A man in such a position may keep some cows in the home camp and therefore be less dependent on the movements of the stock camps than was 12,

and while also the stock herders in the foritch camp can achieve freedom of choice and more mobility than can those who have to send milk back to the home camps.

Home camps become residential units within settlements (or home camps near settlements) because demands for agricultural labour require close cooperation by their members. As I have described in the three case studies (and which will be developed in the next chapters), the family is the basic unit of production and consumption. Since the family sometimes cultivates in two places (river bank and river and lake flats) and there are two growths of each harvest, the labour demands on the family at that time of the year are great. Arrangements are made to unite herds or to send relatively inexperienced young boys as herders, or to bring the small stock to settlements, in order to save labour and to shift it into agriculture. Furthermore, the very fact that the family cultivates in two places and that some of its members do not stay in the residential unit or the home camp but are engaged in economic activities elsewhere, forces the family into a closer cooperation with other members of the residential unit. This stimulates a more differentiated division of labour, in order that each family may withstand the great demands for labour at that time, and during which a family, as we have seen, must exploit all its available links. The close cooperation in Unit A at Nyamumery broke down when its members moved to their cultivated plots in river and lake flats. My impression was that the proportion of inhabitants of Unit A who were cultivating in two plots (of river bank and river and

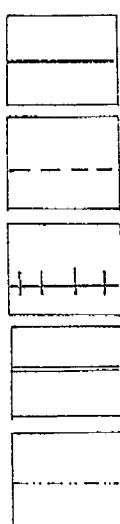
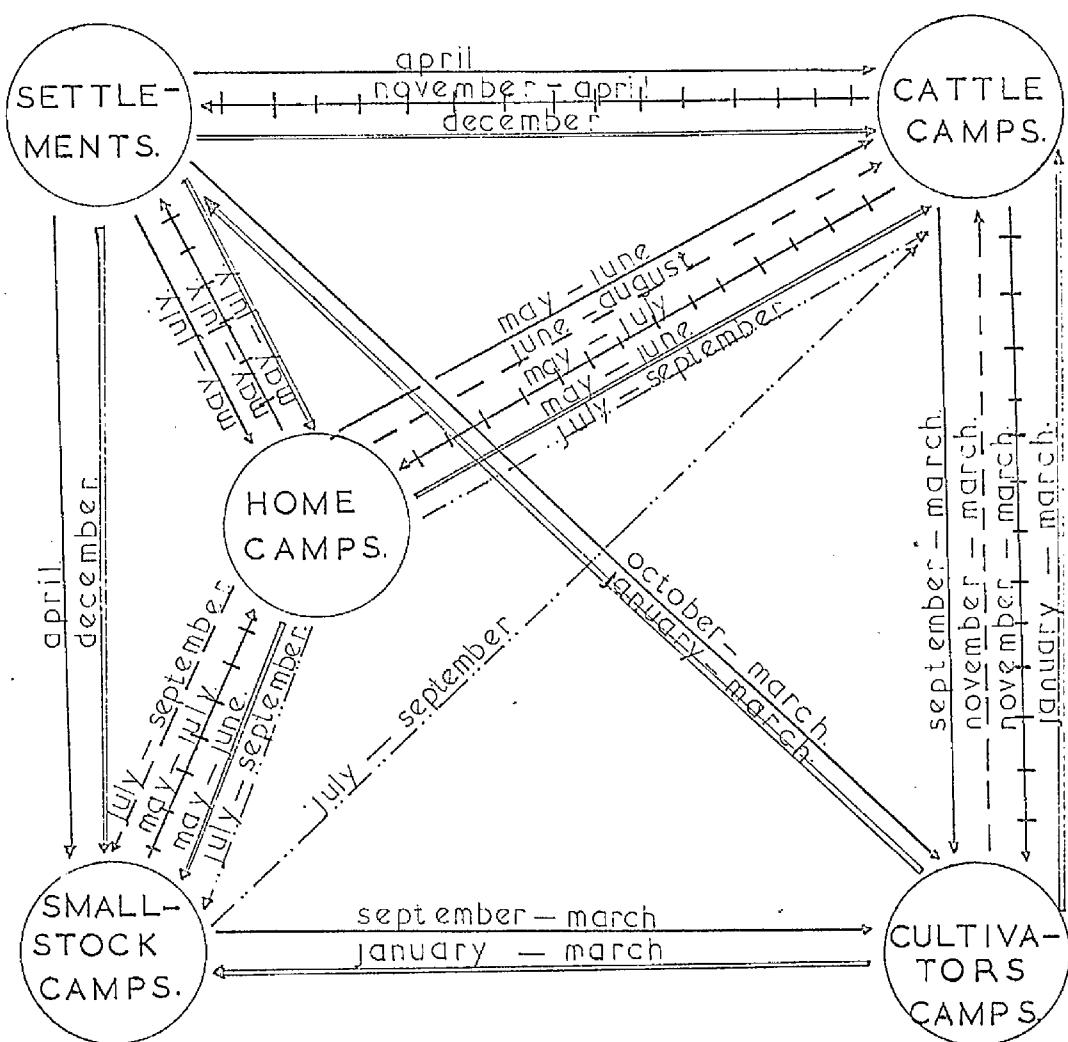
lake flats) was higher than the norm, because most of them cultivated river bank plots in the periphery of the flooded river bank areas. Nevertheless, the movement to cultivators' camps is normal and at that time affects most of the residential units or home camps and therefore inevitably the type of cooperation within those units. This movement is required because cultivators' camps are near to stock camps but both are relatively far from settlements or home camps on the west bank (in which there is no point in staying when the work there has almost ended). The fact that cattle graze in pasture near the cultivated areas and that the family stays in a cultivators' camp enables the family to shift labour from herding to cultivation at the peak demand time, that is, when the crops of the late sowing of hol dim l have grown. Cooperation within a cultivators' camp is limited to neighbouring cultivators and is limited to mutual help in taking care of children, drying and storing the grain, lending agricultural tools and the like. As will be shown in Chapter 5, a cultivators' camp often changes its membership since people may not cultivate the same plot in succeeding years. Cultivators' camps and stock camps on the east bank are mutually dependent as far as the transfer of milk, grain and labour are concerned. The irregularities of the small rains in any one year stress this dependence. For instance, in 1968 the small rains fell at the end of November and December, after which there were fresh pastures on the west bank. Usually the small rains fall in October. But the fact that the small rains were late did not prevent the cattle

crossing to the east bank in mid-November, and forego the grazing in the fresh pastures which followed the small rains later.

Twice a year a settlement is a "base" to which most active Dassanetch who are mobile throughout the year return. Those who are not engaged in economic activities are less mobile and remain in settlements for the greatest part of the year. Grain is stored in settlements, and the mobile family in a home camp keeps up regular connections with a settlement from which it receives grain supplies. During the dry season of shante, settlements become centers for stock slaughter. The big ceremonies, which include a mass slaughter, take place in settlements or in their neighbourhood. A high proportion of 'big men', elders, and judges (ara) who ~~natively~~ slaughter stock for hospitality, status considerations or prestige gaining remain in the settlements. Most of the older specialists also stay in the settlements and demands for their services are highest during the dry season when epidemics of dysentery break out or when deaths are most frequent, all of which involve the slaughter of stock.

Although the slaughter of stock does take place within the mobile home camps, most stock slaughter takes place in the settlements, which most men go to visit often. An elder who does not leave his settlement and stays in one residential unit receives milk from his sons or sons-in-law who have moved to pastures. During the time when the milk yield is high, each family also has grain, and there is a

Diagram 8 : Shifts of Labour and the Transfers of Food between Residential Units according to Months*.



Shift of labour from one occupation to another.

Temporary assistance which does not involve a change of residential unit or occupation.

Transfer of milk.

Transfer of grain.

Transfer of meat.

*Home camps which were located along the river as independent units during the agricultural work period (October to March) are treated in this diagram as settlements. Home camps only refer to mobile camps during the period May-September. The months above the lines indicate the period during which the shifts of labour or the transfers of food mainly took place.

feedback of grain and milk between settlements and home camps. Each settlement then throughout the year maintains a concentration of residential units, but the population residing there fluctuates greatly. As its population shifts and changes throughout the year, some families join and others leave. The changes in a settlement's structure and membership are a function of the total changes that occur within its components, i.e. the changes which occur in each unit which compose it. Though most of an elder's strong social ties are to be found in other residential units of the same settlement, economic cooperation between various residential units within one settlement is negligible. Each member of a residential unit has either strong ties of cooperation to other members of his unit, or to members of a home camp which is moving between pastures or cultivated areas, both of which are family ones.

The connections between the different residential units with respect to the shift of labour assistance, transfer of milk, grain and meat can be seen in Diagram 8, which illustrates the connection of members of the family who are scattered in different residential units, during different months of the year and the ways the family also manages to be the basic unit of production and consumption.

Because of the changing ecological conditions which were described in the second chapter, the unit of production must be highly mobile and flexible enough to adapt itself to these changing conditions and to shift its own resources

accordingly. This can best be achieved by small groups, i.e. the nuclear family, the movements, location and productive tasks of which throughout the year have been described above.

It is, however, only partially true that the nuclear family can fulfill the demands of a mixed economy from its own resources. The ~~very fact that~~ A family, as I have shown, quite often needs to reorganize ~~its~~ relations ^{the} ~~it has~~ with other members of the same residential unit or beyond ~~it~~, indeed each time any change in ~~that~~ unit or in others takes place means that ~~any~~ ^{every} family needs as many links of all sorts as possible, beyond those which the agnatic relatives provide, in order to find support and assistance wherever ~~the family~~ dwells or whenever a social or ecological change occurs, which might interfere with its productive routine. This subject of a man's social ties will be developed in the second part of this thesis.

CHAPTER 4: Inundations, allocation of plots
and the mobility of cultivators

A. INTRODUCTION

Surface changes, as I pointed out in the first part of the second chapter, are much greater in river and lake flats than they are on river banks. The difference between the two is not merely in the quality and quantity of grain; rights of cultivation are differently allocated, cultivation is differently timed and the work demands are different. (See the case studies in Chapter 3.)

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the differences between river banks and river and lake flats and to see how they affect Dassanetch agricultural activities. My concern is not to dichotomize cultivation in river banks and cultivation in river and lake flats, but rather to see how the irregularities of inundations in both flooded areas are connected to each other in so far as their yields are concerned.

I start with a short description of the inundations and cultivation in river banks and river and lake flats, and proceed to describe the different types of land-holding rights, and the ways by which the system of allocating plots on river banks operates. I hope also to show the ecological as well as the social reasons for the frequent mobility of workers and finally to demonstrate the role that agnation plays in determining land-holding rights.

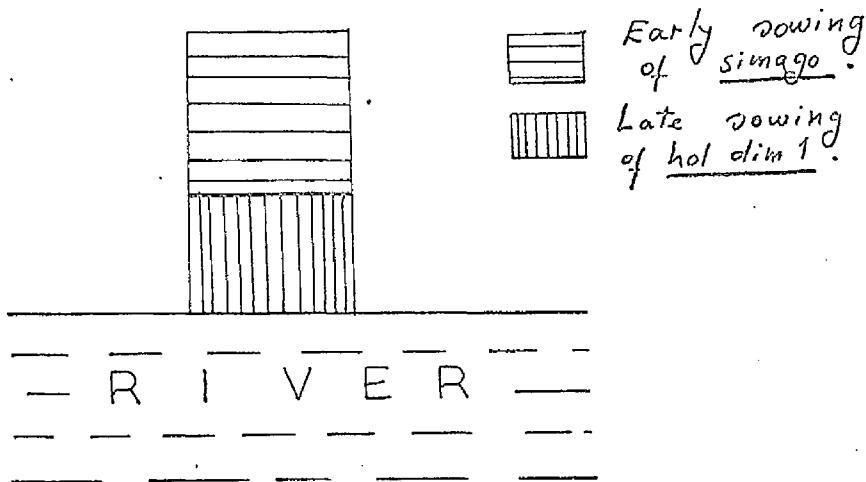
B. INUNDATIONS OF RIVER BANKS
AND RIVER AND LAKE FLATS

Grain is sown after an inundation, the precise timing is determined by the wetness of the soil. It cannot be done when the soil has dried out or while water still stands. Therefore, the sowing time for any particular plot depends on when the water retreats from it. Since there are two inundations (of the river and the lake) which flood different places, the water goes down in different places at different times. Thus, the time of sowing of any given plot depends on its location.

Dassanetch divide the time the water goes down into two distinct periods: that of the early agricultural activities (simago) and that of the later ones (hol dim). The latter is further divided into three sub-periods of hol dim 1, 2 and 3, each lasting about a month.

Since water retreats from flooded flats more slowly than from river banks, one might assume that the division between the early agricultural activities and the late ones will parallel the distinction between river banks and river and lake flats, and, generally speaking, this is so. But, such a distinction is a gross one. On most river banks the inundation floods small and narrow flats, located parallel to the river, in which water stands for sometime after the river has retreated. The sowing which takes place immediately after the water has retreated is the early sowing of simago, but on part of some plots along the river banks, sowing takes place later when the water has completely

retreated at the same time as the late sowing of hol dim 1 in river and lake flats. This means river and lake flats are only suitable for the late sowings of hol dim; river bank plots may sometimes be used for that and also for early sown simago, as the following figure indicates:



The large flooded flats of the river, and especially those which receive the mixed river and lake waters, are those which hold water for the highest quality water for the longest time, and which therefore produce the biggest share of the total agricultural production.

Agricultural activities, which depend on inundation, are restricted in time by two climatological events which are independent of each other. These are: the flooding of the river and the big

rains. Clearing and sowing can only be started when the plots have ceased to be muddy, which is usually in September for early sowing and October or early November for the late sowing of hol dim 1. Crops sown then produce their first harvestable growth in January-February. Later sowings of hol dim 2 and 3 in December-January are harvestable by March-April, by which time they are endangered by the big rains. The big rains can immediately turn the east bank and the delta into a swamp. Agricultural activities then are limited to 6-7 months. The early sown crops of simago (September) and the late hol dim 1 (October-November) are those most likely to be harvested, and crops which are sown late in hol dim 2 or 3 risk being destroyed by the big rains.

The timing ^{of} sowing and consequent yield of different types of inundated places, as can be seen in the following table, depend on the location of a specific plot, the quantity of water which floods it, the time the waters retreat and permit sowing, and the time that is left for growth before the rains.

(SEE FOLLOWING PAGE)

Table 10: The timing of agricultural activities and
consequent yield of different types of inundated places.

place of cultivation	time of agricultural work	Early activities	Late activities (Hol Dim)			after the big rains
		(simago)	Hol dim 1	Hol dim 2	Hol dim 3	
river banks (<u>dielam</u>)		0	0			
flats (<u>haram</u>)	river		x	*		
	river and lake		x	*		*
	lake	0		*		
rains cultivation						*

* very small yield

0 small yield

x large yield

The harvest of hol dim l produces the most grain, but grain from river banks is highly important for several additional reasons. The first is dietary. The first harvest takes place at the end of the dry season at a time when the diet is poor, and there is no grain and only very little milk; what Dassanetch call "the months of hunger" (guiam mariet). The first grain is particularly important for women and children who will have had less meat than the men during the dry season. Though milk production starts to rise during December, its yield is still insufficient to satisfy a family, so though the early river bank harvest provides only a small yield, it helps tide the family over until the main harvest of hol dim l is ready. This harvest is never stored but is all consumed within the month which marks the beginning of the "months of plenty" (guiam heiet). So a person who does not sow early on the river banks must rely on the main harvest of hol dim l, which means waiting until February, and such few people must exchange beasts (mainly small stock) for grain.

Secondly, river bank cultivation provides a reserve which minimizes the risks created by irregularities of both the inundations and the big rains. In a year of a very late inundation followed by early big rains, the time available for agricultural activities is even more restricted, and river bank grain, though small in quantity, has to serve as the main crop. For example, in 1965 the inundation started as late as October (see Table 4). On the other hand, the big rains of

1968 fell in February. If two such years come in succession the river bank crops have to serve in place of the main crop, because the crops of a late sowing of hol dim l might not be harvested.

Thirdly, as we have seen in Chapter 3, cultivation on both river banks and in flood flats imposes an arduous burden of work and movement on a family. Where one can cultivate one river bank plot which produces both the early grain of simago and the later grain of hol dim l, both labour and movement are saved.

According to my rough estimation, river banks produce at most a quarter of the total grain harvested, but that quarter is of crucial importance. This leads us to the discussion of how rights in and allocation of plots is determined.

C. LAND HOLDING RIGHTS IN RIVER BANKS AND RIVER AND LAKE FLATS

One could assume that the shortage of good plots on river banks will lead to a different system of allocating rights in them to that which regulates access to the flooded flats of which there is a greater area available than is needed. And, indeed, two different systems of allocation exist, which Dassanetch distinguish by the two types of land. River bank plots are divided into the "land of a father" (les baba), or "a land that was allocated" (les rogo), whereas river and lake flats are called "the land of God" (les waqiet). The names imply the differences between the two, rights in river bank plots derive from a person, while those of flooded flats derive from God, i.e. are of open access.

I will first examine rights in river banks.

In the past, some elders told me that there were cultivated areas near Kuraz, Eneb and Lomiana, and only when the water retreated did people gradually move to the areas at present cultivated. For only two to three generations ago, the areas at present cultivated were covered by water. The first people to settle and clear the bush in the shallow swamps near the river became the "owners" of various stretches along the banks. They frequently endured hardship. Yerbokhotch, son of Khabusia who had inherited Diele Khabusia, told me: "When my father first came to stay here, there was only water, and for many years he lived only on fish and on the water".

The number of early settlers who became "owners" was small. I only recorded 57 people who had inherited large stretches of river banks (dielam). These sections are named after their 'fathers' or first 'owners', and are called "the land of the father" (les baba). Rights over "the land of the father" are unique in Dassanetch law because they are inherited rights while all other rights over land are not, and because they are inalienable. In theory, the rights to control and allocate plots in these stretches are strong, but in reality, as we shall see later on, their scope and strength are limited. The rights to cultivate a particular plot allocated by an owner, directly or indirectly, only last while that plot continues to be flooded and while the rights are being exercised. If a person other than an 'owner' leaves a plot, he loses his rights to cultivate it. Only a few people have inherited

land, but most Dassanetch cultivate along river banks on "land that was allocated" (les rogo) to them. The two features which inhere in the rights of "land that was allocated" suit the 'circular and horizontal' allocation described by Poirier¹ as follows: "Plantations allocated to a man during his life time are not regarded as an individual's property. On his death his property returns to the clan head". Rewritten as follows, this statement suits the method of 'circular allocation' practised by Dassanetch: "Plantations allocated to a man during his life time are not regarded as an individual right. On his leaving, his right returns to the allocator". I deliberately use the word 'allocator', rather than 'land owner', because an 'owner' does not necessarily himself allocate land to every cultivator on his land and, in fact, most people receive their plots through a person other than its 'owner'. 'Owners' themselves cultivate more or less the same size of plot as those people who cultivate on their land. Neither owners nor other allocators receive any share of the crops from the plots of those to whom they allocate. An owner has strong jural rights over his inherited land (les baba) but only very weak rights of beneficial enjoyment, for which there could be little scope. Firstly, though some exchange takes place with neighbouring tribes, especially with the Turkana, the grain

1. Gluckman, M. (ed.), Ideas and Procedures in African Customary Law, Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 52.

market is negligible. The little exchange there is exaggerated by Dassanetch, and during my field work I only saw a very few Turkana come to exchange beads or tobacco for grain, and Dassanetch do not cross the border to Kenya to sell grain. Although a peace agreement was made between the Dassanetch and the Turkana in 1966, traders still take great risks. Colonel Bizune Yegleto, the governor of West Geleb, told me that the only case of murder he had had to deal with during two and a half years in office concerned a Turkana who had been killed when he came to Dassanetchland to buy grain. The commander of the Todenyang police station in Kenya told me that on 24th December 1968, when on his way to Kalam he had saved three Turkana traders in Lobemukat settlement from being lynched.

Furthermore, the main harvest coincides with the big rains which turn Dassanetchland and neighbouring areas into muddy swamps, which do not dry out until the grain is nearly exhausted. Grain from the early harvest of simago and rain plots is only used for internal consumption and exchange. The Amhara police usually only buy livestock. So an 'owner' has little incentive to grow more grain than he and his family need.

Secondly, the only sources of labour a man has are those his elementary family can provide, as we saw in Chapter 3. During the short planting period, a family can only possibly cultivate a plot large enough to provide for its own consumption. There is no labour available with which to expand economic production.

Thirdly, although river banks are more regularly flooded than flats, they are still subject to irregularities of inundation due to surface changes. Within the last three generations, the river bank areas of Nyebune, Aoga and Malwaro have ceased to be flooded, and there have been great changes along the river banks at Ali-Kaffakatch and Rate Ninika. The river banks of the northeastern part of the delta have been turned into a regularly flooded river flat. The 'owners' of those stretches now need cultivate in other places allocated to them by others. The irregularities of the inundations mean that even an 'owner' can have no security. The combination of the uncertain utility of ownership and the impossibility of expanding grain production because of labour shortages and the absence of a market support a pattern of cultivation in which plots on river banks are small, more or less equal in size and which are farmed by family labour.

When a man's plot fails to flood, he moves to another place, which may be far away (as did 12 in case study two, Chapter 3, who moved from Diele Riele to Diele Akudongole).

Let us see how the land system operates in more detail. In the first place, only married men may allocate or be allocated plots. One husband always allocates to another husband. While husbands have the right to acquire land and control its allocation, their wives merely have

rights to cultivate and control the storage and distribution of the harvested grain. A man who has had land allocated him by an owner cannot transfer the rights over the plot but he may share part of it with another cultivator if he wishes to do so. In other words, from his allocated plot, one husband may sub-allocate a part to another husband.

I did not record a river bank plot which exceeded 2/3 of an acre (about 3000 sq.m.); therefore, the number of people that can share and cultivate a plot and still have enough grain for their needs is limited. Since a man can only allocate parts of his plot to others, so long as he still cultivates part of it himself, the number of the "other" cultivators can usually be no more than two or three. Once a man ceases to cultivate an inundated plot that has ceased to be flooded, he loses his rights over it even if it floods again in a later season. If he wishes to return to that "old" plot, it must be re-allocated to him as the following example shows.

I first met Gabite when he cultivated a plot which had been allocated to him by Lokholingole along the river bank of Akudongole. The owner of the Akudongole river banks was Government Chief Atol. He had allocated a plot to Lokholingole who, in turn, agreed to share part of it with Gabite, since the latter's plot, also allocated by Chief Atol, had not flooded in 1968. Gabite and Lokholingole were immediate age mates, but there was no relationship between Gabite and Chief Atol. Lokholingole was able to allocate part of his plot to Gabite

only because his brother's son who had cultivated it had left to cultivate a plot which neighboured that of his brother-in-law. In 1969 Gabite's former plot flooded again and Chief Atol told me that Gabite came to him to ask for the return to his "old" plot, to which Atol agreed. I met Gabite in December 1969 a short time before I left the field and he told me that the grain on this plot had "refused". By this he meant that the inundation in 1969 had been insufficient. He said that he would look for another plot but would definitely not return to the plot that Lokholingole had allocated to him in 1968 because it was too small.

When Lokholingole allocated part of his plot to Gabite, who was his immediate age mate, he did not ask permission from, nor even inform, Chief Atol, the 'owner of the land'. Neither did Gabite inform Chief Atol when he left his plot because it had not flooded. The land owner is only informed when a cultivator leaves a plot while it is still flooded and suitable for cultivation. Even then, it is not the mover who informs,^{him}, but usually the one who remains to cultivate part of the plot. That "information" is usually "accompanied" by a request either to take in that plot himself or for its re-allocation to another.² When a plot is left the right to cultivate it can either be allocated to the first person to come and ask for it, as occurred when

2. No case came to my attention of an allocator's plot not flooding while a plot he had allocated did.

Locholingole allocated the land that his brother's son had left to Gabite, or if it is a small sub-plot, the allocator may take it back for his own use. Locholingole told me he might do this with Gabite's sub-plot.

If we look at the overall situation in a river bank area, it is clear that while an 'owner' formally has the right to allocate plots to whomever he wishes, in fact his practical rights are limited. His land will be divided into many small plots, in each of which changes of cultivators take place without his knowledge. His control over sub-allocations is negligible, and he can have no control over the inundations. But, nevertheless, an 'owner' can choose the most likely plots for himself and directly allocate other likely plots to those he favours. On the other hand, demands and requests on him for plots are constant and high, and refusal of any request which is possible to fulfill is difficult. In practice, over most of the plots he 'owns' his right is limited to giving his formal approval to changes made by the actual cultivators. He does not 'supervise' his land, seldom visits his plots and does not interfere or mediate in land disputes. In fact, the bigger the area in which a man has premier rights of ownership, the less effective control he has over the cultivators of it. This is illustrated by a comparison of Chief Atol, who had inherited the extensive river bank of Akudongole, and Yerbokhotch who had inherited the smaller river bank of Diele Khabusia. Atol told me that he

did not even know how many people cultivated his lands, nor who they were. Once, when I was asking about his bond ties with other political leaders in the age set system, I mentioned the name of judge (ma ara) Iyerkoi. Atol remarked on that Iyerkoi cultivated/his land, but was corrected by a bystander who said that Iyerkoi had left to cultivate in Diele Riele. An opposite example occurred when Atol mentioned Ayebas, "the man of a spear" (ma name) who was a leader of the Nilimeto age set, and his son-in-law pointed out that Ayebas had come to cultivate in Akudongole, which Atol had not known. Yerbokhotch, on the other hand, who worked for me for a period, clearly knew all about those who cultivated on his ^{area of} small land.

In the second part of this chapter, I will discuss sub-allocations and the movements of cultivators, but first I will discuss land holding rights in river and lake flats.

In contrast with small river bank plots which are sometimes fragmented, the plots on river and lake flats are relatively big (an average size of 3000 sq.m. to one elementary family) and are not allocated by people. On flats, the flooded places are available for cultivation and exceed the actual area cultivated, and a man has a choice of good plots. Most of the flooded flats are left for cattle to graze in and people only choose to cultivate in a place where the grass is short, which indicates that water had stood there long enough to provide a good crop and also

takes relatively little clearing. A person acquires rights over a plot in a flooded flat by the very act of clearing it, and retains them until he moves away.³ I never encountered a dispute over land in flooded flats.

The differences between river banks and flats are reflected in the terms Dassanetch use to describe their plots. A plot on a river bank is always referred to as "my land" (leschu) or "I am cultivating my land" (ya leschu ogugusa). A plot in a flat, however, is referred to by the name of the place where it is. For example: "I cultivate in Wartea land" (ya les Wartea ogugusa).

3. There are some similarities between grazing rights and those in flats. Firstly, while some members of other territorial sections can cultivate plots in river banks where most of the cultivators belong to one territorial section, the cultivators in flats are almost exclusively of the territorial section in which the flooded flats are. On river banks the right of a person over land is an individual one and he controls that right even to the extent of allocating part of it to a member of another territorial section. Flats within a territory of a section belong collectively to that territorial section, as do grazing areas. Secondly, that cultivation in flats is like grazing, emphasized by the way cattle graze the "grandmother" - i.e. the third growth of the plants (duna), why by custom it is not harvested but left for the cattle of the section. Dassanetch say that just as a man does not grow grass for his own cattle, but only "God" provides it for all cattle, so a man's plot is similarly not preserved for his own cattle but is open to ^{whoever} comes first to graze it.

D. ALLOCATION OF PLOTS AND THE MOBILITY
OF CULTIVATORS

I am not so much concerned in this section with the mobility of cultivators from their plots in river banks to their plots in flooded flats (which was partly discussed in Chapter 3 and will be dealt with in Chapter 5), but rather with the mobility of cultivators between plots on river banks.

It will seem, from what I have written above, that the only reason for leaving a plot in a river bank is if it fails to be inundated, but this is only half the truth. Another and not less important factor is the social one. Sometimes the apparent economic reason for leaving a plot is only an excuse to cover the social tensions between two persons which have caused a man to leave.

The norm among the Dassanetch is to allocate land whenever it is available. In theory, anyone can come and ask for land, and not only people with whom the land holder already has social relations. But, in reality a land holder allocates parts of his land to people with whom he has social relations, or with whom he intends to establish relations, or as a means to manipulate his relations with others. The greater the range of social links a man has, the greater his opportunities to be a continuous cultivator on the river banks. Because if his plot in any one area dries out, or gives poor yield, or for any other reason he leaves his plot, ~~the greater his chance by exploitation of these links of gaining access~~ to a plot in other flooded areas. Agnates do not necessarily

cultivate in one place and allocate plots to each other. A husband's network of social relations, of which agnatic relations are only part, open for him access to plots in different places. Those with whom a husband has social ties are affines, age mates, bond partners, neighbours, agnates, etc., all of whom are people with different social, political and economic statuses. Some of them are younger than he is and some are older, some wealthy and some poor, some persons with political authority and great influence and some without. To some he will be in debt and others will be in debt to him. Plots are not necessarily allocated by seniors to juniors. It is rather that a person who needs a plot asks anyone who has land and with whom he has some kind of relations to allocate him one. There are not two distinct enduring categories of allocators and receivers. For example, a man whose land was allocated to him by his bond partner in one year, may in turn be the allocator to a senior age mate the next year.⁴

4. The hierachial system which Gluckman (ed., op. cit., Chapter XII, Property Rights and Status in African Traditional Law, p. 259) describes of seniors with rights of administration who control the land vis-à-vis producers who "should give support and respectful allegiance to the senior", does not exist among the Dassanetch. A right to cultivate land is usually a temporary one. It does not last long enough to develop a regular pattern of 'seniors' and 'juniors'. Land relations are only a temporary component of social relations.

Table 11 : Categories of relationship between plot holders and allocators by years of cultivation (from samples of cultivators in Akudongole and Diele Khabusia 1968**).

category of relation	years of cultivation			years			Total
	1	2	3	4-6	7+		
close agnate***	8 (1)	5 (1)	14	3 (1)	3 (1)	33 (4)	
distant agnate or maternal kinsman	4 (1)	3	1	2 (1)	2	12 (2)	
affine	11 (3)	9 (1)	7	4 (1)	4	35 (5)	
bond partner or his relative	5 (2)	3	14 (3)	6	2 (1)	30 (6)	
age mate***	7	12 (1)	4	1	-	24 (1)	
neighbour in the same residential unit***	10	2	2 (1)	-	-	14 (1)	
no relation	10	8	2	-	1	21	
total	55 (7)	42 (3)	54 (4)	16 (3)	12 (2)	169 (19)	

* Each number represents a plot. For polygynous families cultivating in several places, each wife's plot has been counted as a separate one. The numbers in brackets represent a direct relation to the land owner.

** Only FaBrSo, Br, FaFaBrSo and FaFaBrSoSo.
*** Members of the same age set.

**** Relation to a neighbour in the same residential unit at the time when the plot was allocated.

Table #2 : Reasons given by cultivators for leaving
 their former plots by the category of
 person who had allocated that plot.

	distant	close agnate	agnate or maternal kin	affine	bond partner	age mate	neighbour	no relation	total
no longer flooding	7	10		34	11	12	2	6	82
insufficient yield	1		6		4	9	1	1	36
plot too small		12		4		1	2	-	22
wanted to be close to the "other" plot in flooded flat		3		-		1	4	-	3
non-economic reasons	4	2		-		2	5	2	3
total	27	22		49	19	32	7	13	169

Tables 11 and 12 provide us with a starting point in this discussion. Table 11 shows the categories of relation between plot holders and allocators. Table 12, which is based on the same sample of people as Table 11, summarises the variety of reasons given by cultivators for leaving their former plot.

These tables have three prominent features. Firstly, most of the cultivators in the sample of Table 11 had been cultivating their plots from one to three years, and about a third of the total cultivators (32%) for only one year. Secondly, from Table 12, it would seem that simple economic reasons had caused people to leave their former plots. Thirdly, Table 11 shows the relatively small number of agnates who had allocated plots.

Although these aspects are interconnected, I will examine each of them separately.

In dealing with the mobility of cultivators on river banks, one should distinguish between the stated economic reasons which people give for seeking another plot and the social tensions which are sometimes expressed in economic terms.

The categories of reasons which cultivators gave for leaving their former plot could all be genuine. But "insufficient yield", "plot too small" or "wanted to be close to the other plot in a flooded flat" could be partially or altogether overlapping categories. The case of 12 in case

study 2 in Chapter 3 illustrates this. He told me he would seek a plot other than the one which his paternal uncle had allocated him in Akudongole. When 12 realized in August that his plot in Diele Riele was not flooded, he went immediately to look for another. August is a short time before the work on river bank plots starts, and those whose plots have not flooded must move then to seek other plots, but by that time also a plot is difficult to find. A man with a plot may find it difficult to divide it or sub-allocate part of it to another person, and indeed, some people refuse to do so, as did 12's maternal uncle. But if such a small plot is divided, it will inevitably produce an insufficient yield. An insufficient yield from such a small plot is different from an insufficient yield because of "the refusal of the sorghum". The insufficiency from a small plot means that there is a gap in a family food supply while it awaits the early simago. This was so in the case of 12. When there is a "refusal of the sorghum", a family is left with no grain and must usually exchange small stock for it. The reason "insufficient yield" given by cultivators in Table 12 applies mainly to the former type of a small plot. The "refusal of the sorghum" because of insufficient flooding is usually included in the "no longer flooding" category. If the yield of a river bank plot is insufficient until its main grain is harvested on the 'other' plot, the family has two alternatives: either to cultivate next season on another river bank which

is closer to its 'other' plot, or to cultivate in another flat which is closer to the river bank. A great distance between the two plots causes difficulties for the transfer of grain and milk,^{and} also for shifting labour between camps, as was shown in Chapter 3. If the cultivated plot on river banks was 'too small' and the yield insufficient, the family changes its river bank plot.

Secondly, it can be seen from Table 12 that 89% of the people in the sample gave economic reasons for leaving their plots. As we shall later see, there are reasons why people emphasize economic rather than social as reasons for leaving a plot.

In 1968 Goro cultivated a plot at Akudongole which had been allocated to him in that year by Kute, who was his age mate. Both of them dwelt in the settlement of Kut-i-garo though not in one residential unit. The wives of both cultivated plots of about 0.4 acre. Both were cultivating early (simago) and late (hol dim) grain. In October 1969 I met Goro camping with his wife and children in a home camp in Hatalago near the river and opposite Diele Riele where he cultivated the early grain of simago. I asked him why he had left his former plot and he told me that it was too small. Kute had remained cultivating in Akudongole (he allocated part of the plot that Goro had left to a relative of his bond partner). When our conversation shifted to Goro he also said that Kute's plot was too small for him. This

could have been the end of the case, but one of my assistants was a Father's Brother's Son to Goro's wife, and he added information which throws light on the "real" reason for Goro's departure. A short time before Goro asked Kute to allocate him a plot, Kute's bull had died suddenly, so Kute distributed his cows among the herds of his brother, two affines and a neighbour in his residential unit. About the time of the late harvest of hol dim l (or after it?) Kute asked Goro if he could transfer two cows to Goro's herd. It seemed that Goro refused and towards the end of the dry season he joined the Gumbubur settlement (not far from the place I met him in October 1969) and asked his affine to allocate him a plot for the early sowing of simago, which his affine did. I could not confirm this information for reasons of tact, but it might have been that Goro refused Kute because the latter asked his age mate a short time after he had allocated him a plot and did it too explicitly, especially so as when their relations were not so close nor based on cooperation. For Dassanetch to ask something as a direct return for an allocation of a plot is despicable, as the following answer by an elder to my question "What is important in a man's possessions and how can a man be valued?" illustrates. His answer was: "What is important is livestock." I then asked if a man who owns an extensive area which floods regularly and also had a few head of cattle was also important or wealthy. He answered: "Such a man is not wealthy. Such a man is not

important. What is land? Land is nothing. Today I cultivate here, tomorrow I cultivate in another place. Today it (i.e. land) exists and tomorrow it vanishes. Cattle stay forever." Cattle, that is, create enduring relationships, land only temporary ones. Rights over land, it is true, are an important asset, but they should not be used to benefit the rights holder in a direct economic exchange. One could argue, on the other hand, that Goro, by the very fact that Kute allocated him a relatively large plot which was flooded for enough time to permit the late sowing of hol dim 1, should have anticipated some kind of a demand from Kute. Kute's request, on the other hand, sounded like an attempt to receive an immediate return for a plot he had allocated. Goro could have agreed to Kute's request, provided that he had wanted to develop relations or to cooperate further with Kute. But he did not.

The difference between allocating a plot as one part of an ongoing series of reciprocal exchanges and allocating ~~of~~^{as} a plot in the expectancy of some immediate return Dassanetch express through the word fargoginte. In different social contexts, it can be translated as "showing off" or "demanding by force", or "imposing one's will on others". To be referred to^{as} a person who is exploiting another cultivator by the way of fargoginte is to acquire a stigma which might harm one's relations with others. At the beginning of July 1969 Yerbokhotch, an assistant of mine had consumed all his grain, while some

persons to whom he had allocated plots still had a little. I asked Yerbokhotch why he did not ask one of them to give him or lend him some grain. The very question alarmed Yerbokhotch and he answered: "Leave it, leave it. No. No. People would say that I am 'fargoginte'".

What a receiver may interpret as fargoginte a giver may interpret as simply a normal request. Accusations, unless a quarrel has broken out, of being fargoginte are rare. A refusal to acknowledge a request from an allocator does not necessarily mean a quarrel or that the plot receiver moves off. Offended people do leave their plots. One of these was Yerar who cultivated in Diele Numor for one year and then left to cultivate in Akudongole. Yerar first gave "too small plot" as his reason for leaving, but later he gave me a fuller explanation. His plot in Diele Riele had been allocated to him by Lago who was related to him through a bond tie (Lago was the Father's Brother's Son of the man who had 'smeared' Yerar's son). Both men were in their early forties. Lago allocated a plot to Yerar and then later asked Yerar to let him run his herd along with that of Yerar's (which was being herded by his young brother-in-law) and for help from Yerar's young brother with bird scaring at his plot in the river and lake flat in Wartea. Yerar explained to Lago that his wife's brother would be unable to undertake the work, but emphasized to me that he had not quarrelled with Lago. He had moved away because: "This I hate. Why did he ask me? We are distant (i.e. not bond partners but only relatives of partners)

and I did not want it". I suggest each man had interpreted their relationship differently, or stressed different components of it. Yerar's relationship to Lago was not distant. Lago was in the range of people from whom a man could ask to allocate a plot. But Yerar was quite right in saying that Lago had no customary right to ask that his brother-in-law should herd his cattle, and this is probably what Yerar meant by "we are distant". But Lago could have legitimately interpreted Yerar's request for a plot as a move by him to intensify their relationship. But obviously Yerar thought that Lago was using fargoginte.

Whatever the confusion in interpretation of their relationship, certainly neither wanted to break their relationship. Reasons expressed in terms of cultivating needs, whether they be true or false, can preserve the potentiality for development of a relationship without generating acrimony which might endanger it. Moreover, because of the variable patterns of inundation in different years, the roles of allocator and receiver can easily be reversed, and to quarrel over a resented claim might be to put oneself at future risk. Explanations in economic terms permit face saving and leave open the opportunity for later cooperation.

I consider next only a relatively small number of plots which are allocated by agnates. As can be seen from Table II , 65% of plots were allocated by persons with

whom a man had formal ties of agnation, kinship, affinity or bond partnership. The boundaries of acknowledged relationships are, of course, egocentrically drawn. One man may report his allocator as a kinsman and another may describe an identical connection as no relationship. I encountered an instance where a man said he had 'no relations' with a person who was his Father's Father's Brother's Son's Son to his 'name giver', which others recognised as a relationship. In response to my queries he depreciated the connection as "too far". On the other hand, an identical relation was expressed by another man as a "relative of a bond partner". Whether a distant relationship is given formal recognition depends on its active content, but all have the potentiality to be activated into a formally recognized relationship.

In some of the cases of 'neighbour in the same residential unit' in Table II, the relationships were later extended to a higher level, in one case into a 'smearing' bond and in the other by marriage. The category of 'age mate' is a vague one and can include many people of different ages and of different territorial sections. About half of the cases in the sample allocation had been made by an immediate age mate with whom usually a man has warm relations.

In summary then the gross explanations given by respondents are mainly useful as indicators of the degree of intensity which, at that moment, a particular respondent attributes to a relationship, rather than as a general guide to the strength of specified categorical relationships.

When deciding whether to continue to use a particular allocated plot, one factor a receiver must bear in mind is the extent to which he wants the relationship with the allocator to develop. A cultivator has to ask himself where it best suits him to go and whom it best suits him to ask for a plot. Sometimes a cultivator only moves to another plot a short time before work must be started, so that his choices are limited and he must accept the first plot offered. But when he has time to choose, he turns to people with whom he already has good relations and claims of some kind as Table II indicates. What is surprising is that agnates are so rarely selected, because by custom an agnate cannot be denied the use of a plot for the early sowing of simago. Moreover, to refuse an agnate is to run the risk of occult retaliation. In other words, while a person has some freedom of choice in allocating land to persons who are not his agnates, he has none in so far as agnates are concerned. I did observe that where one agnate has claimed part of another agnate's plot and cultivated it over several years, disputes develop between them.

The case of Rap is typical. Rap's plot had been allocated to him by his Father's Father's Brother's Son, on the river bank of Akudongole. He cultivated it for two years and left to cultivate another plot along the same river bank which was allocated to him by his wife's maternal aunt's husband. Rap told me that he had left his agnate's plot because the latter "asked me all the time to do him favours". One day he had asked Rap to take care of his two cows for a day, and

on another to buy him coffee in Kalam. Rap said: "These I do not like". In other words, Rap's agnate used "fargoginte" against him. There is a big difference between the fargoginte used by non-agnates and fargoginte used by agnates. Use of fargoginte by a non-agnate may jeopardise its user's good name, because the offended might take the case to a "compromise meeting" (nyebukui) and publicise the matter. But an agnate cannot complain about another agnate using fargoginte against him because it is regarded as a normal part of their relationship. When I discussed the use of fargoginte against Rap with another informant, he answered: "Is he (i.e. Rap) not his uncle's son?", implying what else could he reasonably expect.

Close kin also have a customary right to come and claim grain, if they are without, from the early harvest of simago, and hardworking men try to avoid being too close to close kinsmen who might press that claim.

Seeking a plot from an agnate then is regarded as a last recourse, and equally men are reluctant to allocate to agnates.

E. CONCLUSION

Though river bank plots only yield a small proportion of the total grain harvested, they are of crucial importance because they yield a harvest just when the food supply is at its lowest, and because they also provide an insurance against irregularities of both inundations and the big rains. River

banks are 'owned' by people who inherited them from their fathers, but the economic advantages of such inheritance are extremely limited. An 'owner' is thus a 'father of the land' rather than an exploiter of resources. Rights of allocation are vested in husbands, but rights to cultivate are vested in wives. The elementary family is the basic unit of production and consumption and bachelors are forced to be dependent on others for their grain supplies. Bachelors often come to their father's houses to eat grain and drink milk and, occasionally, even help with seasonal work, but they spend a lot of their time in the homesteads of their brothers-in-law or married age mates as guests. This is a stage in a bachelor's life during which he is formally still dependent on his father and under his authority but during which, in fact, he spends most of his time with his age mates and affines. Finally he establishes his independence from his father when he marries, though he is not fully independent until he has reared children to assist him with herding. The reservation of plots for husbands and the modes of allocation also permit, even encourage, a young married man to establish a wide set of relationships independent from those of his father. Though an elder gives up intensive economic activities, he still maintains his rights to allocate land and is able to manipulate them according to his interests in other fields of social relations. River bank plots, as we have seen, can be divided and allocated to different people

and can provide a useful resource with which to make social ties.

Every cultivator strives to acquire a plot on a regularly flooded river bank, both for his own use and to sub-allocate, but strategic planning in this respect is difficult, because a receiver who feels exploited can easily move away, and the movements of the river are not accurately predictable. Ecological and social factors combine to ensure that for most Dassanetch rights over land are only temporary.

Since there is a frequent mobility of cultivators from one plot to another, those who leave as a consequence of deterioration of relations, do not usually accuse each other but explain their movements as responses to ecological or economic variations. A man's social network extends increasingly beyond his natal group as he matures. The relationships he makes either as a plot allocator or receiver extend his web of connections.

One of the factors which most influences plot holders to move on or to remain is the availability of labour assistance. An elementary family tries to cultivate its land with its own resources, but often it needs outside help. When this cooperative assistance cannot be found among neighbouring cultivators, a family seeks to move to where such help can be found. One way of driving away a neighbour who is not useful is to claim more help than is reasonable, that is, use fargoginte. The high sensitivity to fargoginte exploitation can be explained, I think, by the nature of the activities

in which a married man is engaged in comparison ^{with} to the tasks he performed as a bachelor.

A boy farms and herds as his father orders him. A father uses his son's labour to further his own social and economic interests. Many men to whom I talked were bitter about the way their fathers and their fathers' bond partners had "used" them as herders when they were "boys". Even a bachelor in his twenties, although he is usually free from herding, is still subject to his father's control, in many spheres of social relations. A bachelor in his twenties will only rarely clash openly with his father, though he frequently grows bitter towards him. While his father is alive, a bachelor son is open to various demands for assistance from his father and his father's bond friends. But as soon as he marries, there is a total change and he at once assumes economic and social independence and enters into relationships of his own choice as an equal.

Dassanetch say that one should not have a big river-bank plot. They have many sayings on this topic, one of which is that: "A man who has too much grain will have too few cattle".

Finally, I suggest that the occult sanctions which agnates are believed to be able to wield against those who refuse them a plot serve, in part, to prevent individuals exploiting large holdings.

CHAPTER 5The Family as a Unit of Production and ConsumptionA. Introduction

Three major features of Dassanetch cultivation have so far been described. Firstly, cultivation depends on the inundation of plots and flats by the river and/or lake. Secondly, the nuclear family is the basic unit of production and manages its agricultural tasks by shifting its own labour from one camp to another. Thirdly, changes in the actual places flooded, combined with social demands cause frequent mobility.

This chapter will elaborate on some of these features. Chapter 3 and 4 concentrated mainly on river bank cultivation. This chapter will concentrate on cultivation in the flats.

Rain cultivation, though small in its scope and yield, makes a contribution to the overall annual yield and I shall examine its relation to cultivation based on inundation. I hope to show the productive routine of a family through a case study which will illustrate the activities undertaken by a husband and his wife who resided in a cultivators' camp at Ed-Nyakhaluk in the delta and cultivated a plot in a neighbouring river flat.

I also intend to examine at the same time, two other features of cultivation. Firstly, through the agricultural activities which a husband and his wife practice, I hope to emphasize some general points about Dassanetch grain production. Secondly, I shall describe the sexual ^{division} discussion of labour and its the ways a family stores and consumes/grain.

B. A Case Study of Kute's Grain Cultivation in the River Flat of Ed-Nyakhaluk

Kute was in his early thirties and married to Segudo who was in her early twenties; they had one son who was about three years old. When I first met Kute and Segudo on 28th September they crossed the river to the delta in order to cultivate their plot in the river flat of Ed-Nyakhaluk. They were the last people to join that cultivators^s) camp, which had 8 temporary huts all the residents of which were cultivating plots in the river flat of Ed-Nyakhaluk.

I have already described cultivation on river banks, the transfer of milk between camps and the division of labour within the family according to the seasonal demands of agriculture and pastoralism. Before ^cdescribing Kute's flat cultivation I need to summarise his other related agricultural activities.

Firstly, Kute had previously resided in a residential unit at Gumbubur settlement with his father and the

latter's young second wife named Borte to whom he had been married for about ten years and had borne two daughters, Kute's mother was dead. Kute's river bank plot at Malwaro was 40 x 23 meters (0,2 acre) and had been allocated to Kute's father by Loyaba, an immediate age mate. Kute had cultivated that plot for the last three years. Kute and Segudo had just come from that plot, the care of which was taken over by Borte. Thirdly, at the beginning of September 1968, Kute had acquired seed sorghum by exchanging a sheep with a man of the Inkoria territorial section, who had come to Tuarangole to trade seed from the recently reaped rain cultivation at Lubwangole on the east bank. This seed was sown on both the river-bank plot and the river flat. Fourthly, Kute's ^{and his} father's livestock formed a jointly managed herd which totalled 27 head and was taken care of by Kute's young brother-in-law. Their sheep and goats were looked after by Kute's bond partner's ('smearer') youngest son. All their cattle crossed to the delta early in November to graze south of Ed-Nyakhaluk. During the time when Kute and his wife cultivated in the delta, milk was regularly transferred from the stock camp to Kute and his wife in the cultivators' camp and also to Gumbubur settlement.

When they crossed the river Kute and his wife left

their son at Gumbubur settlement in the care of Borte.

After Segudo had established her temporary hut, which was made of branches and leaves, Kute went to clear a nearby plot. He cleared an area of 85 x 35 meters (0.66 acre), the work consisting mainly of weeding wild grass (called "the sickness of the sorghum"), and clearing pieces of wood, branches and leaves which had been brought down by the flood. Segudo gave him some assistance with the weeding. Before sowing Kute waited a few days because the "sorghum does not like muddy soil" (digirte). In the meantime he set some of the seed in a calabash of water and Segudo started to make holes (godo) with a digging stick (yegen). The holes were about 10 c'm deep but the distances between one hole to the other varied. In the drying portions of the plot the distance between holes was about 70-80 c'm, while in the muddy sections the distance was about 1.20 - 1.50 meters. Kute explained that the denser holes were for sorghum and the more widely scattered holes were for maize. Segudo sowed the sorghum (*Sorghum Vulgaris*) between the 5th and 15th of October. For the next five days seed was sown in ^{the} ~~now~~ drying maize (*Zea Mays*) section of the plot. From the 20th to 23rd October Segudo sowed two kinds of beans, ~~ham~~ ham (*Phaseolus Vulgaris*) and gada (*Vigna Sp.*), Finally, on the 24th and 25th October, tobacco (*Nicotiana Rustica*) was sown around the margins. The sowing of all the grain on Kute's plot took place during the time of the late agricultural activities hol dim I and was completed by 26th of

October. Kute only helped his wife in sowing sorghum. Once Segudo had completed the sowing she lent a small hoe (olte) to a neighbouring woman who still had work to do.

Segudo then crossed the river to Gumbubur settlement to fetch her son, with whom she returned two days later. Meanwhile, Kute left for the west bank, to assist Borte with bird scaring. The early harvest of simago took place on 13th December and yielded 6 big sacks of sorghum, three of which Borte took with her to Gumbubur and the other three Kute took back to the cultivators' camp. Kute remained in the cultivators' camps with his wife and son to the end of March, but crossed the river daily to bring milk to his father and other members of his family.

When the sorghum and maize plants reached a height of 40-50 cm, (hiro mude) Segudo weeded out the weak plants. Apart from guarding the plants from the cattle there was not much work to be done at this stage. During the evenings Kute, Segudo and their son ate porridge and drank milk. Few guests came to visit during the evenings, the men and women sat together singing chatting and drinking milk.

When the crops reached a height of 1.80 m. (gala gu disate), Kute started to build a temporary platform for the bird scarers. On the 25th December

Segudo reaped the first growth of beans (both ham and gada). She brought them to her hut for threshing and then packed them into a small bag (shomoze). On the 14th January Borte crossed the river to the delta and joined Kute and Segudo, leaving her children at Gumbubur.

The maize was reaped on 18th January by Kute and Segudo helped to carry the cobs to the cultivators' camp. When they had been shucked about a week later, 2 big bags were carried by Kute to Gumbubur. Since maize is harvested about a month before the main sorghum harvest, part of it is consumed immediately, and is known as "the simago of hol dim", i.e. the first grain of the late agricultural activities. For the few people who had not sown river bank plots, this maize is their first grain but, for most people, it comes opportunely between the early sorghum and the main crop. Apart from the two big bags which were sent to Gumbubur, Segudo and Borte kept 3 big bags for domestic consumption from which Borte prepared porridge daily, which Kute took to Gumbubur when he went with milk.

From the 10th of January Kute and Segudo scared birds, which became a more and more arduous task once the cobs started to flower (dalo gi due). Borte came to assist them and the three worked in pairs from sunrise to sunset, shouting, clapping hands and throwing mud balls.

On the 21st January, Borte cut the first tobacco, stored it in her hut and two days later, assisted by Segudo she cut and knead it into a thick pulp and

put it away in bags. On the 3rd February, Kute reaped the sorghum which Borte and Segudo carried it to the cultivators' camp and later threshed.

After both the maize and the sorghum harvests, Kute went to the stock camp east of Ed-Boron and asked his brother-in-law to bring the cattle to Ed-Nuakhaluk, and the herd came to eat up the leaves and stalks. Some sorghum was sent to the herders, and the quantity of grain that was consumed in the cultivators' camp consisted only of one daily meal of porridge and milk. During February the dry grain was taken in big sacks by Kute bit by bit to Gumbubur. In mid-February Borte returned to Gumbubur,^{is} Kute helped her to store the grain into granaries.

Segudo cut the second growth of beans (ham) on the 22nd February, the second growth of tobacco on the 24th and other beans (gada) on the 26th. Kute had reaped the plants of the second growth of sorghum by the 25th of March by which time most of the people had already left the camp for the settlements. Only three other temporary huts remained containing people waiting for the second sorghum harvest. I saw Segudo uprooting the plants of the ham beans and I asked Kute why she did not wait for another harvest. Kute answered: "Because rains will fall soon. When it trembles (i.e. ~~to~~ ^{is} lightning) in the east, rains will fall soon". The sorghum of the 25th of March was put straight into bags, and Kute and Segudo crossed the river to the west bank, leaving their temporary hut,

only taking their domestic equipment and agricultural tools. Kute dismantled the two scaring platforms and took the main poles with him to Gumbubur. A few days before Kute reaped the second growth of sorghum the cattle ~~were~~ grazing nearby plots of the third growth of sorghum (dunna).

The women dried the grain while Kute returned to the delta to direct his brother-in-law about the best places to take the cattle to graze the still growing crops. When the big rains came both of them with their cattle crossed to the west bank and went to Gumbubur settlement.

After the next inundation in 1969, only four out of nine of the 1968 cultivators set up in the one camp, though they all cultivated somewhere in the same river flat. Of the five who moved elsewhere three went to another cultivators' camp about 1.5 km., west of 1968 site. Two of these told me that they moved because there were too many mosquitoes at the old site. The third one said that he had decided to try another plot. The other two joined different cultivators' camps one with an age mate and the other with an affine. The cultivators' camp did not set up on exactly the same site in 1969, because the flooded flat area had altered.

Seven 'new' families joined the 1969 camp, but each of them had cultivated in the delta in recent years though in different places.

C. Summary of Some Aspects of Dassanetch Grain Cultivation

The actions of Kute and Segudo are typical of those of other Dassanetch, and I now intend to comment generally on some of the practices I have described for them.

a) In chapter 3, I showed that by July most Dassanetch have finished their grain. Seed is obtained in two ways.

A little may be stored in calabashes and beans and maize are always so stored. Or it may be, and usually is, obtained by exchange from the Inkoria or Inyangatom. This is what Kute did. Probably the fresh ^{seed grown in the} rain grain ^{by} seed of the Inkoria and Inyangatom is better than ^{the seed stored} in calabash ~~seed~~.

b) Kute planted more sorghum than any other crop, and in my rough estimation ^{of} ~~of~~ the grain yield is ^{white} sorghum, maize and beans only make up one quarter.

c) The order of planting followed by Kute and Segudo followed the drying of the soil, ^{was planted after} Maize following sorghum. Beans are usually sown on the margins of plots, as Kute did. The yield of beans is very small, because cultivators do not want to "waste" the main land of the plots.

d) The variable flooding, in effect, creates fallow land in some seasons, and, in so far as patches dry at different speeds in different years, leads to random crop rotation.

e) The cattle graze the stubble and add their droppings to the minerals deposited by the floods; ^{this}

also helps crop yields. Samples of sorghum examined for me by the Department of Agriculture at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, proved to be big, heavy and of a good quality.

f) Cultivators' camps vary in household composition from year to year.

D. Grain Storage and Consumption

Two objects immediately strike the eyes of any traveller in Dassanetchland. One is the scattered termite mounds, which average 3 meters in height; the other is the equally high granaries, which are raised to protect ^{the grain} from pests. Some grain is kept in skin bags which families carry with them when they move to the western pastures. Beans, tobacco and maize are not usually stored in granaries.

Storage arrangements depend on three factors:

- a) the different quantities of the various kinds of crops;
- b) the patterns of production; and
- c) the connections maintained between the members of the family in the western pastures and the members in the settlement.

Let us examine these points in respect to Kute's case.

- a) Kute only sowed a little maize, part of which was consumed directly by himself and Segundo and only two bags of which were sent to Gumbubur settlement for storage. This was insufficient to justify building

even a small granary and it ^{w^{as}} kept in skin bags, one by Segudo and one by Borte. Kute harvested three big bags of beans, which again were not sufficient to store in even a small granary; two were kept in Segudo's hut and one in Borte's. Tobacco is very rarely stored in granaries. It is mainly sorghum which is stored in granaries. When the big rains fell at the end of March Kute had three full granaries of sorghum.

I estimate a granary¹ to contain about 100 kg., so at the beginning of April Kute had about 400 kg. of grain. Allowing for the grain consumed during the months of January, February and March, about 10 to 12 big bags, from both plots ^(about 6 bags), Kute harvested about 600 kg. ~~from about 0.86 acre.~~

b) Each wife has her own granaries. When two women, such as Borte and Segudo, have cultivated together, the crop is divided between them and each has an equal number of granaries. In the case of Borte and Segudo there was an uneven number of granaries so during April both women took grain from the "shared" granary and only started to use their own granaries after the "shared" one had been emptied. Grain is always stored and consumed on a nuclear family basis. A husband eats with each of his wives in turn. Segudo and Borte cultivated together and formed one unit of production, but once the agricultural work was completed, they became two distinct units of consumption. Segudo prepared food for her husband Kute and their child, while Borte prepared it for

¹ One granary holds about 6 big bags (horgom) of grain.

Kute's father and their children. Furthermore, each wife independently prepared food for her husband's guests.

There was very little contact between the two units as far as the preparation and consumption of food was concerned.

c) Storage is also influenced by the time when the family moves to fresh pastures. A family which leaves no dependents in a settlement, stores less grain and takes more with it to the home camps. The time when the family has grain coincides with the time when milk yield is high, (see Diagram 9) and from them, at this period Dassanetch make a rich and filling porridge,² which during the "months of plenty" (guiam heiet) is eaten several times a day.

Between March and June Kute and his wife ate as follows:

In the morning each ate one medium calabash of porridge called moshotch, made of ground sorghum, hot water and a little milk and washed down with milk. At noon Segudo prepared a big calabash of porridge called niado, which is thicker than the moshotch porridge ^{which was washed} was had down with water. At noon only their son drank milk. In the evening another kind of porridge, called bada was prepared by Segudo. The preparation of bada porridge takes several hours, it includes the same components of the other two porridges but is very thick. During its cooking milk is added three times, at intervals of about one hour. The milk is gradually absorbed in the mixture and produce a heavy porridge. This porridge is only eaten by men and rarely more than half a calabash

² Sorghum is a plant of cross pollination and Dassanetch have 35 kinds of sorghum, each of which has a different flavour and is consumed as different types of food. Maize and beans are rarely eaten by themselves and serve as a supplement to sorghum porridge.

at one time. During the evenings Kute ate the bada porridge while Segudo and her son ate the thinner niado porridge. After the porridge, milk was served by Segudo and all drank it. Kute ate porridge thrice a day when he spent the whole day in his home camp, except when he went visiting, but he always used to come home and drink milk. From January to June Kute and Segudo drank daily an average of a big container of milk and their son had about half of such a container. But during the period of heavy agricultural work (January - March) each only ate one big calabash of porridge a day (bada porridge for Kute and niado porridge for Segudo). Segudo prepared the porridge in the afternoon, half of which was eaten at evening and the other half the next morning.

Once the grain had been stored Kute had no access to grain except as it was served to him by his wife. It was Segudo herself who decided when to go to Gumbubur to fill in the empty bags, what kinds of porridge to prepare, and when to send it to other dependents in the stock camps. Grain as well as milk was entirely in the control of Segudo, not only the milk that she milked herself but also that brought to her from stock camps was used and distributed according to her wish. She who gave the milk to Kute, and he never helped himself. One day at the beginning of May Kute spent the morning with his age mates in Nyamumery and then went in the afternoon to Gumbubur to drink milk. When he came to his home camp he was told that Segudo had gone to the river to bring water. Kute waited outside his hut for about an hour until she returned. Kute asked his wife to give him milk and she gave him one small container. On some evenings age mates, bond partners and affines came to visit Kute, first in the Gumbubur settlement and later in other places where he camped with his family. Guests were served with milk and porridge or raw grain with ghee^{were} or balls of sorghum which cooked in steam or on the embers. Some of these foods were delicious and guests complimented Segudo on "knowing how to make food". On several occasions neighbours from the

same residential units gathered in front of a hut and the women and men sat together eating raw grain and drinking milk. During the time that Kute stayed in Gumbubur in the same residential unit ^{as} of his father, they ^{each} both ate separately in their wives' huts and the food was prepared and served to them by their wives, even when one or the other was entertaining guests. During June Kute ate more niado than bada porridge, probably because milk yield was diminishing. But as long as the family had grain, porridge continued to be served. Even in June, Kute and Segudo ate porridge twice a day even though they were coming to the end of their stores.

I noticed no effort to save grain for consumption at a later time. The transfer from the period of "the months of plenty" (guiam heiet) to the period of "the months of hunger" (guiam mariet) was sudden and drastic. I could hardly believe it when I saw the diet of people in the middle of July and compared it to their diet only a fortnight earlier.

Immediately after Kute's grain supplies were exhausted he brought an ox to his home camp to bleed it, and also transferred to his home camp some small stock for the same purpose. From then on the family's diet was mainly blood and milk. At the middle of July the average blood and milk consumption of Kute's family ^{was} as follows: a half of a medium container of blood and milk per adult (the mixture was about 2/3 blood and 1/3 milk) and less than that for a child, in the morning. The same quantity was drunk in the evening but then 2/3 of the mixture was milk and only 1/3 of it was blood. The differences in the preparations of milk and blood in the morning mixture compared to that in the evening, according to Kute was because the cows gave more milk after they had been grazing throughout the whole day.

Bleeding is always done by men. A women can assist only by holding the calabash to catch the spurting blood. Men also mixing blood and milk. It is done as follows: the family assembles and sits in a circle. The

man then takes the container of blood and pours it ⁱⁿ to another container, he then adds milk to it and, if his son is old enough, (around 6 years of age or more), he gives it to his son to taste and asks him how he finds it. If he has no son the man does it himself. If the son tells him "red" (bur) it means that there is more blood in it than milk and if he says "white" (ez) it is the other way round. The man himself decides which "colour" he wants the mixture and when it is ready he either gives to his dependents to drink it immediately or hands it over to his wife to distribute it later.

During the "months of hunger" Dassanetch also eat fish and wild fruits. These will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The 600 kg. of grain which Segudo and Borte produced can be divided by six of making 100 kg. per adult person.³ Consumption of porridge varies, as I have described above, but during the months of plenty, assuming porridge usually contains one third of grain to two thirds of liquid, ^{there} would be an adult intake of 2.2 kg. of porridge a day. Which, when one considers the milk which is also drunk, I think justifies me naming this period the "bacchanalia of sorghum and milk".

^{3/} This figure is based on the assumption, according to my observation, that the average grain consumption of two children is equal to that of an adult. The household consisted of four adults, three children and one herder to whom grain was occasionally sent.

Chapter 6: Social and Cultural Controls
on Stock Populations and on Food.

Introduction

One evening when my assistant Manako and I were drinking coffee, I asked him the derivation of the word Dassanetch. He answered: "Dassanetch was an ox. It is an ox name". He continued that once an ox named Dassanetch had been speared by a group of men, who made a horse-shoe (rash) of green leaves around it, and ate its meat. The descendants of these men are the Dassanetch. I asked Manako if any women had eaten. He exclaimed: "Oh no! How can women sit in the horse-shoe of leaves and eat meat of a beast that has been speared by men? They (i.e. women) have milk." This myth which I confirmed with other informants points to a clear distinction in the controls which men and women have over food, but first I shall discuss a topic which has been touched on before, the relation between expanding herds on limited pastures and Dassanetch population expansion and subsistence. Then I shall compare the controls that men and women have over food resources and show that men control the primary food during "the months of hunger" (guiam mariet) and women control the primary food during "the months of plenty" (guiam heiet).

Part I: Controls on the Stock Populations

Part I: Controls on the Stock population.

A. THE PROBLEM: THE GROWTH AND MORTALITY RATES OF STOCK AND PEOPLE

In the second part of Chapter 2, I described the grazing methods adopted by herdsmen in order to make the fullest use of the rigidly limited pastures. I proceeded as if the total number of livestock, and hence the ratio of livestock to pastures, remained constant. People and livestock and pasture are poised in such a delicate equilibrium that any change in any one of the three components could result in a disturbance which would reduce the food available. So, to avoid a reduction in living standards, a balance between the number of people and livestock needs to be maintained. This is achieved by the systematic slaughtering of selected beasts, which keeps stock population in line with the human.

Table 13, based on a sample of 136 married women, shows a high fecundity rate. Table 14, which is based on the same sample of women, shows a very high infant mortality rate. The information in Table 15 summarises the data of Tables 13 and 14, according to the age categories of mothers and shows a total infant death ratio of 403 to 1000 births. A comparison of this figure with standard Life Model Tables¹ suggests that infant mortality in the lower Omo is one of the highest in the world.

1. Coale, A.J. and Demeny, P., Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Population, 1966, Princeton University Press, Princeton, p. 35.

Table 13: Number of births per woman by age

age of women	no. of births												Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
-20	6	5	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
20-30	5	5	2	8	8	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	38
30-40	2	1	1	3	4	11	9	5	2	1	-	-	-	40
40-50	-	-	-	-	-	5	9	5	3	3	1	1	2	27
50+	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	6	3	-	-	14
Total	14	11	7	11	12	9	21	20	11	11	7	1	1	136

Table 14 : Number of children who died in their
first year and age of mothers

age of women	no. of children	Total						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6
-20	12	5	-	-	-	-	-	17
20-30	14	8	9	6	1	-	-	38
30-40	6	7	6	10	8	3	-	40
40-50	-	4	6	10	2	4	1	27
50+	2	1	1	5	3	1	1	14
Total	34	25	22	31	14	8	2	136

Table 65 : Number of births and children dying in their first year
per women and infant death and survival ratios

Age of women	number of births	total number of children dying in first year	no. of children dying in first year	number of births per woman (mean)	Infant death ratio (mean)	number of surviving children per woman	no. of child- ren dying in first year per woman	number of surviving children per woman	survival ratio per woman	survival ratio
-20	17	19	5	1.1	0.3	267	14	0.94	736	
20-30	38	120	48	3.1	1.2	400	51	1.34	425	
30-40	40	235	96	5.8	2.4	408	81	2.02	344	
40-50	27	213	80	7.8	2.9	375	81	3.00	380	
50+	14	110	41	7.8	2.9	372	47	3.35	427	
Total	136	697	270	5.1	1.9	403	274	2.39	398	

Several factors combine to make this so. Firstly, the large areas of still or slow moving waters provide ideal conditions for mosquitoes and every Dassanetch suffers from malaria. According to Rev. Swart, malaria is rarely the immediate cause of adult death, but when an attack of malaria coincides with one of the other prevalent diseases, such as dysentery, pneumonia or tuberculosis, it is generally fatal. This is particularly so during the dry season, when most deaths occur, ^{since} when an epidemic of acute dysentery usually breaks out at the very time when the diet of children, women and old people is at its poorest. Dassanetch medical practices probably increase the human mortality.² I do not wish to discuss the subject of death here, but I will quote

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2. Modern medicine was first introduced in 1966 by the Mission. It hardly extends services beyond Nyamumery settlement and its immediate neighbourhood. Dassanetch believe that any sick person who drinks water will cause himself more suffering. Whenever I suggested that a patient should be given water, the suggestion was met with horrified disbelief. A sick person may be given milk, blood and boiled meat but, especially during the dry season, these can hardly replace lost body fluids, particularly dysentery for sufferers, who frequently die from dehydration. Rev. Swart told me that at the clinic, mothers would beat their children who took water to ease the swallowing of a pill, and that he had probably saved many children's lives simply by giving them water with red syrup as a "medicine".

what Ricci has reported about the secrecy observed by Dassanetch about death: "Funerals and tombs are kept so secret that the Somali maintain that the Geleba (i.e. Dassanetch) eat their dead. Europeans also have had reason to believe this, though no conclusive evidence has ever been discovered".³ The suggestion of necrophagy is, of course, an ethnocentric canard, but the subject of death is certainly kept surrounded by mystery and secrecy and makes the collection of reliable data extremely difficult. People do not talk about, mention nor refer to the dead. They might mention the word death (kufe) but very rarely with specific reference to a person alive or dead. Very often indeed, it is difficult to know from a conversational reference if a person referred to is dead or alive.

The data on which Tables 13 and 14 are based were collected only from people whom I knew well. All were collected in the last stage of my field work when I was sufficiently acquainted with the language to distinguish its nuances. I think, therefore, that they are reasonably accurate but they were definitely not collected on a proper random basis, nor from any unit bounded by residential or social criteria.

3. Ricci, M., Rassegna di Studi, 1943, op. cit., p. 222.

There are two other shortcomings in this material. Firstly, women's ages were mostly estimated by eye, and therefore are subject to error. Secondly, the information on fecundity and child mortality was supplied to me by husbands, who probably did not always accurately remember either the number of times their wives had given birth, nor their children who had died within a few days of birth. Nevertheless, in my opinion, this data represents a fair picture of fertility and death rates.

As can be seen from Table 15, the actual reproduction rate of women is remarkably low, and the mean number is only 2,39 living children per woman. Moreover, the sample includes only married women who had been exposed to pregnancy and it is reasonable to assume that, in a random sample which had included unmarried girls of child-bearing age, the mean number would have been lower.

On this sample and following Coale and Demeny⁴ life models, the approximate rate of Dassanetch population growth is 0,5 which means that the population is just replacing itself.⁵

The picture with respect to livestock is different. No official figures exist, and I did not attempt to collect

4. I am grateful to Prof. J.C. Mitchell and Dr. K. Garbett for their guidance at this point.

5. A British Intelligence Report estimated the Dassanetch population at 15,000 in 1930, which is also my estimate for 1969 (see page 2).

information on the rates of livestock growth and mortality on a statistically significant scale myself. Also, the limited information I collected was unreliable and misleading. So I have had to rely on my own general observation and on some other indicators. I consider that stock mortality from diseases is low and stock fertility is high. Most of the animals I saw which died in camps were mature beasts. Dassanetch say that the average number of calves that a cow bears is about 9 or 10, which is higher than the average of 8 reported for the Nuer⁶ and the Fulani⁷. (*Northern Nigeria*).

There are some favourable conditions on the lower Omo which might encourage the high fertility of livestock on the one hand and reduce the rate of livestock mortality on the other. These conditions are as follows.

Firstly, livestock generally is well nourished. As was shown in Chapters 2 and 3, cattle only need to graze in the dry poor pastures of the west bank for three to four months. Throughout the greater part of the year, good green grass is plentiful plus the supplementary high quality foods of sorghum, maize and bean stalks. Even in a year of poor rain, there is always green grass in the inundated areas. Secondly, however bad the year, there is always water available in the Omo River and Lake Rudolf. Thirdly,

6. Evans-Pritchard, E.E., The Nuer, op. cit., p. 39.

7. Berman, Dr. A., (Weizman Institute), personal communication.

distances between pastures are relatively short, and livestock is very rarely over-driven and over-exhausted. Fourthly, Dassanetch only bleed their animals at long intervals during the four months of the dry season⁸ and then only mature oxen and male small stock. Fifthly, calving occurs mainly in January–February and October–November when both crops and the best east bank pastures, or the fresh pastures that follow the small rains, are available. From January to May especially the milk yield is high and for most families beyond their needs, so that calves and lambs are able to suckle liberally for the few months before they go on to the stock camps. Thus, they get a good start, which presumably is reflected in the high rate of calvings.

Conditions in Dassanetchland therefore, it seems to me, are such as to permit a relatively high reproduction rate for livestock.

But generally speaking, in most East African pastoral societies, increases in the stock population are checked, over time, by periodic stock epidemics or droughts.

The first wave of the great rinderpest epidemic of the 1880's appears to have skipped Dassanetch country.

8. I mention, in passing, that Dassanetch, unlike desert pastoralists, take blood only in the dry season when human food is short; presumably, they are able to do this because there is always plenty of water available.

Von Hohnel described the people as being rich and prosperous in 1888, and observed "thousands of oxen".⁹ Von Hohnel reached the lower Omo immediately after travelling through Samburu country, where rinderpest had decimated stock,¹⁰ and could easily compare the two tribes. I consider it also unlikely that the second rinderpest wave of the 1890's caused great loss to Dassanetch herds. Smith, Neumann and Cavendish¹¹, it is true, reported rinderpest between 1896 and 1898, but they only visited the lower Omo very briefly and it is likely that there were few people and stock on the delta and the east bank because they were away grazing to the northwest of the delta. Indeed, Neumann¹² states that he learned that there were people and cattle northwest of the delta. Further, if rinderpest had destroyed the herds, it is unlikely that the Ethiopian troops who conquered the area in the late 1890's would have been able to loot as extensively as they did. Captain P. Maud¹³, a reliable

9. Von Hohnel, ¹⁸⁹⁴op. cit., p. 166.

10. Spencer, P., personal communication.

11. Smith, D., 1896, op. cit., p. 226; Neumann A.H., 1897, op. cit.; Cavendish, H. 1898, op. cit., p. 382.

12. Neumann A.H., Ibid., p. 102.

13. Maud, P., "Exploration of the Southern Borderland of Abyssinia", Geographical Journal, Vol. 22 (5), 1904.

writer, reports that in 1902 he encountered the advance guard of an Ethiopian force which had taken several thousand head of cattle from the Dassanetch. Neighbouring pastoral peoples all have vivid folk memories of the epidemic and the devastation it caused,¹⁴ but the nearest recollection I could unearth among the Dassanetch^{was} to a human epidemic which took place "long ago" (udare)^{which} was presumably the smallpox epidemic which Von Hohnel¹⁵ had reported.

I was assured that outbreaks of stock diseases are irregular and localized and do not occur in the form of decimating epidemics.¹⁶ All in all, it would seem that the stock population could steadily increase. Allan states that in Africa: ". . . while conditions were favourable and there was freedom from epidemics and disastrous droughts, the herd did tend to increase annually at rates varying from about 4 per cent to perhaps 10 per cent or more."¹⁷

It is possible that my informants could have forgotten the great rinderpest outbreak. Apart from Smith, Netmara and Cavendish who reported it, there are some other

14. Spencer, P. (personal communication) says that the Samburu refer to it as the "disaster" (emutai) and Baxter, P.T.W. tells me that among the Borana of Northern Kenya a similar term ("rib bones black with flies") is used to describe the devastation.

15. Von Hohnel, 1894 II, op. cit., p. 207.

16. Gulliver, op. cit., p. 7, says that the Turkana (who are closer to, and have more contact with, other tribes than the Dassanetch) are isolated from the cattle diseases of East Africa. Particularly since the establishment of "no man's land", the isolation of the Dassanetch and their stock had increased.

17. Allan, op. cit., p. 316.

indicators of its presence. Firstly, the outbreak of rinderpest in Ethiopia was accompanied by an epidemic of smallpox¹⁸, and Von Hohnel reported smallpox among the Dassanetch in 1888.

Stigand and Cavendish¹⁹ describe the Dassanetch, in 1905, as a small tribe with little stock who were surrounded by the wealthier and larger Turkana and Borana. Some other early travellers²⁰ also reported that the Dassanetch owned few stock, though this may have been when compared to the huge herds owned by Gabbra and Boran. So it could be that, up until this century, raids by other tribes and epidemics provided an effective check on the growth of Dassanetch herds and flocks. But certainly neither disastrous droughts nor epidemics have been reported in this century.²¹ In the early years of the century, two events occurred which had crucial consequences as far as Dassanetch stock is concerned. One event was the acquisition of rifles by the Dassanetch, who thereby immediately gained

- 18. Pankhurst, R., "The Great Ethiopian Famine of 1888-1892: A New Assessment", Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, 1966, Vol. 21 (2 and 3), p. 108.
- 19. Stigand, C.H., 1910, op. cit., Cavendish, H.S.H., 1898, op. cit.
- 20. See for instance Smith, D., 1900, op. cit., p. 606.
- 21. For example, the droughts which hit Kenya and Northern Uganda in 1969/70 had little effect on Dassanetchland. Rainfall, as can be seen from Appendix 3, was sufficient to renew the pastures, and Rev. Swart's information was that in 1970/71 large areas were inundated (i.e. "a big river") and the crops were good.

military superiority over neighbouring and more populous tribes. The second was the extension of British control over neighbouring tribes to the south whom they disarmed. This enabled the Dassanetch to raid and loot thousands of cattle, while they themselves were safe from effective reprisals. The British, while themselves unable to control the Dassanetch in Ethiopia, prevented the tribesmen under their protection from retaliating. All the British could do was to try to reduce Dassanetch raids by establishing a no man's land as a 'cordon sanitaire' and to deprive them of their former grazing grounds. This last they did effectively but they were unable to prevent Dassanetch raids entirely, which still continue. In consequence, Dassanetch had more and more stock in conditions favourable to their multiplication while their pastures became more limited. The problem of having a large number of stock on limited pastures, described in Chapter 2, became acute. From what I have learned from old people, even before the establishment of the no man's land²², this was a problem. It has merely become more acute. No stock markets through which the surplus could be siphoned off have been established.

Even if we take Allan's 4% annual rate of live-stock growth and compare that with the high rate of infant

22. Cavendish, 1898, op. cit., p. 386, describes a "natural" no man's land between the Dassanetch and the Turkana not far from Erek in the Ilambi Appendix, and states that "if a party of either race crosses this plain it is a declaration of war."

mortality and the estimated population growth of around 0,5%, it is clear that the gap between the two indicators is high, and it is extremely likely that the human population has increased very slowly, or more probably remained stable, while the livestock population has reproduced rapidly.

The balance between population and livestock and between both of them and pasture are, I estimate, at the points of critical population density and the land-carrying capacity for livestock. Therefore, in order to maintain their economic well being, Dassanetch must reduce the number of livestock. They do this by the regular slaughter of some of their animals, because if they fail to do so, the favourable conditions they enjoy will cease to be favourable.

B. THE SLAUGHTER²³ OF STOCK

One of my first field impressions was of the many occasions on which Dassanetch engaged in ceremonial feastings. I first stayed in Nyamumery, a settlement near the river, during the dry season and hardly a day passed on which, in one home or another, animals were not slaughtered. My first thoughts were that I had arrived at a time of ceremonies, but I later found out that what I had seen was common, and that animals were frequently slaughtered and not only for ritual purposes.

23. Throughout the thesis, I use the word slaughter as a neutral and comprehensive term. Dassanetch, in fact, slaughter animals in four ways: spearing, cutting the throat, strangling and by striking on the forehead with a stone, each of which is practiced for different beasts and in different social and ritual contexts. But, for now, I am only concerned with the general affects of slaughter.

In Dassanetchland one can immediately recognize the site of an old residential unit or camp by the carpeting of white bones.

From a very early stage in my field work I also noticed that fertile female animals were also sometimes slaughtered, which appeared to contradict what I had thought was a clear-cut distinction between female animals whose function was to reproduce and to provide milk and male animals which are for meat eating and ritual purposes.

The slaughter of beasts is, of course, controlled by various customs which define when and why and what type of animal is slaughtered. But, for the moment, all I am concerned with is the extent of slaughterings.

Over any one year the slaughter of beasts is dispersed randomly among families, age groups and individuals. No family, home camp or other social unit can serve as a "typical" unit of observation, nor is there a reliable way by which the annual average number of beasts slaughtered can be assessed. I will, therefore, limit myself to describing some general facts from my own observation.

For convenience of presentation, I distinguish between communal and ritual slaughterings and ~~secular~~ ^{secular} ~~non-ritual~~ slaughterings carried out by households.

Let us start with the latter.

The first common beast slaughter I shall consider is ai fasiet which, translated literally, means "the bleeding

small stock". The many occasions on which a sheep or a goat is slaughtered in a family context are mostly connected with witchcraft. Witchcraft accusations are frequent and there are various specific kinds of witchcraft, some of which are directly connected with death. Every death, except death from old age, provokes accusations of witchcraft.

Kinatch's daughter died about two months after her birth. Kinatch said that she had died because Doshite, who was his paternal cousin, had activated witchcraft against him through his newly born daughter, because he had refused to share his small plot with Doshite. Two days after his daughter's death, Kinatch slaughtered a sheep in his home camp. Two of his neighbours held the beast high in the air while Kinatch and his two wives with all their children passed under the bleeding carcass so that the blood dripped over their bodies. Doshite, who denied the accusation, performed the ai fasiet too to avoid a "retaliation". In Dassanetch belief, the blood of "the bleeding small stock" prevents a possible misfortune, and whenever a man has to protect himself or his family from a feared misfortune, he slaughters a sheep or a goat as ai fasiet. I saw a man performing ai fasiet for fear that he had offended a "joking partner" or by an insulting reference to his deceased mother. Blood is believed to be antithetical to demons. The world of demons (garam) is a vital one, and Dassanetch see the incarnations of demons

in birds (especially nightjar, pied crow, owl, goliath heron), bats, several wild animals and dust devils that move to a home camp. Bad omens, which indicate a possible danger from a demon, lead to the performance of ai fasiet, as does the performance of the levirate,^{and} the killing or kidnapping of a member of another tribe. I estimate that each nuclear family slaughters at least one head of small stock, usually male, as ai fasiet each year.

Death involves also the slaughter of other beasts. When a woman or a boy dies, only a few head of small stock are slaughtered, but when a stock owner dies, the number of animals slaughtered on the day of his death depends on the number of livestock he had left and his status.²⁴ But always all his surviving bulls, rams and one heifer must be slaughtered immediately after the death. The news that a man has died spreads rapidly and hundreds of women from surrounding

24. At the seven funerals of stock owners which I attended, the number slaughtered was as follows:

<u>Funeral</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Small Stock</u>
1	1	7
2	4	12
3	-	9
4	3	7
5	-	3
6	2	6
7	2	9

(Bulls, rams and a heifer are excluded from the above figures).

settlements and camps stream into the dead man's home.

The funeral meat is distributed to unrelated or only distantly related women who take their chunks back to their homes to cook and eat. The meat is specifically prohibited to all close kin.

Death is normally followed by a flurry of witchcraft accusation, both of which require the slaughter of stock just when the pastures and food supplies are at their poorest. But Dassanetch also say that "the months of hunger" are too difficult for the old and the sick who cannot stand the dry season and that therefore it is justifiable to slaughter animals in order to feed them. The number of beasts a stock owner slaughters in this category depends on the number of old and sick people in his family. If a stock owner has living parents, he usually slaughters for them a head of small stock once a year. A beast slaughtered for an old or a sick person is usually consumed only by them.

Animals may be slaughtered during the dry season whenever a man wishes to provide meat for his family. He usually slaughters small stock for that purpose. When a man slaughters a sheep or a goat, he cuts the meat and brings it to his wife to cook. Not every husband slaughters stock for purely meat consumption for his family during the dry season. If a man had performed, for instance, "the bleeding small stock" and slaughtered other stock for other purposes, he may be reluctant to slaughter more stock just

for food. But wealthy stock owners may slaughter an ox just to feed their family, called "the meat for children" (bul umo). When a man slaughters an ox as "the meat for children", he builds a shed into which the carcass is dragged and cut up. The stock owner himself cuts the meat and presents small pieces to his cognates, affines, bond partners and their relatives and members of his own age set and clan, who come to ask for it. The slaughter of an ox as "the meat for children" is not very common and only a few sheds built for that purpose can be seen during any dry season. Quite a number of animals are slaughtered and eaten in the small stock camps during the dry season. Whenever a stock owner visits his flocks, the shepherds usually request permission to slaughter small stock for meat, and a man may come to the camp in order to eat meat. Part of such meat is sent to feed the herders in the cattle camps and part is also sent to the stock owner's family in his home camp. During the agricultural season, shepherds who remain on the west bank will occasionally slaughter a beast when they are hungry, and later may tell the owner that "the animals had been taken by hyenas".

I proceed now to describe types of ritual and communal slaughter.

The most common feasting is when a name-ox is slaughtered. A stock owner usually keeps a small herd of name-oxen, (ain bisiet) or "beasts of the colour". One of these is identified as a man's "personal ox". Name-oxen are

identified with the owner's age set. As Dassanetch expresses it, "the beast of the colour is given to the men of the age set". The slaughter of a name-ox also involves the accompanying slaughter of a few head of small stock, all of which are consumed in a ceremonial feast. A man cherishes his personal ox and such an ox must always be in perfect condition. Immediately it shows any scratch, wound or weakness, it is slaughtered and fed to age mates and replaced by another ox from among the name-oxen. Every stock owner from the age of about 20 to the age of about 50 slaughters one name-ox about every two years.

Slaughtering beasts for hospitality is also common during the dry season. When age mates, bond partners or affines come to visit a stock owner, he might sometimes slaughter a sheep or a goat just to honour his guests. On such occasions, boys put green leaves in the form of a horse-shoe. The beast is roasted and served by the host. After the meal is finished, the guests bless the host for his hospitality and generosity. Every married man slaughters at least one head of small stock a year, and sometimes more, especially if he is a "big man" or a man with a high political status.

Ceremonies of the life cycle of men are also marked by the slaughter of animals.

At childbirth a wether and a ewe are slaughtered. In the "smearing" ceremony (uru), which is the initiation

ceremony at the physical maturity of a boy, a few head of small stock are slaughtered (this ceremony is described in Chapter 11). A boy is transformed to a man by the "hair-dressing" ceremony (me tagniya) at which a sheep or a goat is slaughtered. The "hairdressing" ceremony usually takes place when the young man has given up herding tasks and is starting to spend most of his time with his age mates. Indeed, during a man's twenties, he spends most of his time with his age mates who practice "the meat for men" ceremony (bul kabana). This ceremony is held during the dry season when a group of ten to twenty young men of the same age set build a shed with a fence around it, in which they spend three weeks to a month together eating meat. Each of the participants brings an ox and on successive days each slaughters his ox, the meat of which is jointly eaten. During this time, none of the participants leaves the fenced area and no one else enters it. Participants are forbidden contact with their families and only members of the age set of the participants can come and eat the meat. Such meat is pushed out to them through a doorway of the shed with sticks. During the time of "the meat for men" ceremony, the participants consume only meat and water.

I only saw two ceremonies of the joint eating of "the meat for men", and was told that they are held infrequently nowadays, because the opportunities for cattle raiding have been reduced. The purpose of "the meat for men"

is to acquire strength and, therefore, it was held either before going on a long distance raid or when coming back from such a raid.

Dassanetch men are usually circumcised shortly before or after their marriage. Each year men from one age set in each territorial section are circumcised at a collective ceremony. The number varies from year to year.²⁵ Each of the men to be circumcised slaughters a ewe at his father's home the day before the collective ceremony begins. During the ten days after the circumcision, the men, who are gathered in one big hut specially built for this occasion, drink only milk and eat porridge of milk and sorghum (bada). Then, for about a fortnight, they are fed with boiled meat which is brought daily to each man by members of his family. About five to eight small stock are slaughtered during this period for each circumcised man.

Throughout the long process of bridewealth transfers, as will be described in Chapter 10, a number of small stock are jointly consumed by the groom and his affines. When a man has finally transferred the bulk of his bridewealth, he performs the "departed oxen" (it galan) and "household" (gol) ceremonies which mark the transformation of a bride to wife and the incorporation of a wife in her husband's group^s, at both of which a few oxen are slaughtered.

25. In 1969, there was only one circumcision rite in the Inkoria territorial section at which 62 men were circumcised.

Ceremonies of the life cycle are spread over a span of many years and although they involve the slaughter of a large number of stock, the total is small compared to that which is slaughtered during the "dimi" ceremony.

Dimi, "the planting of a tree in a barren land", is the ceremony held for every father when his first-born daughter, at around eight years old, receives the blessing of the old "bulls" (ara) on her future marriage. Every man must "go to dimi" before the breasts of his eldest daughter "come out".

This ceremony takes place in the peak of the dry season and lasts for six weeks, during which the men of dimi and their families gather in especially established settlements.

The numbers of animals slaughtered during and for the ceremony by each of the "men of dimi" are as follows: 9 to 10 head of cattle (two of which are heifers) and 30 head of small stock (four of which are ewes). Throughout this ceremony, there is a great emphasis on conspicuous and extravagant waste of stock, tobacco and coffee. A man's total stock expenditure should include those which he may have to barter for display goods, but for now I am only immediately concerned with beasts actually slaughtered during the ceremony. The "men of dimi" perform rituals, dance, sing and entertain guests. The family of a "man of dimi" is constantly engaged in preparing and serving

food to guests. The ceremonial peak occurs in the last three days, during which hundreds of beasts are slaughtered and thousands of Dassanetch come to the dimi settlements for a non-stop three-day meat feast.

In 1969 the number of "men of dimi" from the different territorial sections was 132.²⁶

I think that a smaller than usual number of men underwent the dimi ceremonies in 1969, but if we accept it as an average year, it means that every year more than 5000 beasts (1320 cattle and about 4000 small stock) are slaughtered during the six-week period. That is 2.5% of the estimated total number of stock.

The connection between livestock slaughtering and ecological conditions is shown by the timing of the dimi ceremony.

The slaughtering of thousands of animals at this time, I suggest, not only provides a meat supplement to a poor diet but also represents an attempt to reduce the number of livestock which crowd the withering pastures.

26. Their affiliation to territorial sections was as follows:

Inkabelo	42
Inkoria	26
Naritch	18
Elele	20
Oro	13
Riele	<u>13</u>
Total	132

I also suggest that the slaughter of livestock at the dimi ceremony may point up a connection between the reproductive capacity of a woman and the reproductive capacity of livestock. A father conspicuously reduces his herd by slaughter at the very ceremony in which he participates by virtue of having a nubile daughter; that is, a daughter who is about to marry and to enter the productive phase of her own life.

C. SUMMARY

The acuteness of the problem of the pressures of livestock on limited pastures has, I hope, been clearly demonstrated in this chapter by a comparison of the low rate of the human population growth with the ecological conditions which encourage a high reproduction rate of stock. I suggested that there is a marked discrepancy between the growth of the human and of the stock populations.

It is unlikely that the Dassanetch are fully aware of the ways in which human and stock populations are kept balanced, but they are aware of the immense pressures their livestock impose on the limited pastures.

Most of the stock slaughter, as we have seen, is controlled by various customs which define the situations when slaughter is approved or required. These customs ensure that the rate is more or less equal from one year to the next.

Pastoralists are notoriously reluctant to slaughter stock on which their very livelihood depends but the Dassanetch have little option. Allan writes as follows:

"The alternatives for pastoralists and for cultivators who maintain great herds are succinctly expressed in a despatch of Sir Philip Mitchell's: 'There are only two alternatives for the African people - either they eat their surplus stock or their surplus stock will eat them!'"²⁷

Dassanetch eat theirs.

Before turning to discuss the controls on food resources, I should note that the slaughter of animals that I have described does not directly affect the herd from which a stock owner gets his daily milk because, as his own herd declines, he drinks from that of his descendants. But this will be the topic of the next chapter.

Part II: Controls on Food

In the last chapter I described how a family lavishly consumes its grain within only three months, before the onset of "the months of hunger". If the grain was consumed in a less spendthrift manner, it could be

27. Allan, op. cit., p. 331.

stretched to last through the year. At first, I thought the grain might be consumed so rapidly because, if not, it would be spoilt by termites or insects. But this is not so. Dassanetch do have the means to protect their grain.

I suggest, therefore, that the fact that grain is consumed in three months "bac^qalia of sorghum" has a social explanation.

To explain it, we should look at the division of the year into three distinct seasons, during each of which activities and the availability of food resources are different.

The first period is from October to March, which includes the period of the small rains. It is also the time when cattle graze the lush pastures of the east bank and the delta, the time of peak agricultural activities. The second period is from April to June, which includes the big rains and the fresh pastures which follow them. The third period is the dry season from July to September. Though the timing of these periods is irregular, there are some climatological events which mark the transformation from one period to the other. The small rains mark the end of the harsh dry season. The big heavy rains mark at once the end of agricultural activities and the time when cattle cross to the west bank and everyone finds refuge in the settlements. The dry season, though not so clearly marked, also settles in quickly. The grass everywhere becomes dry and poor and the milk yield rapidly decreases.

During the first period from October to March, men and women collaborate and work together in the cultivated plots, and on the east bank and the delta agriculture and pastoralism are combined. Both cultivators and cattle use the same inundated areas at this period, which is also the ~~cleving~~^{when} season. In other words, this is a period that men and women jointly produce the means on which their livelihood in the following periods depends. Men and women jointly help to manage the cattle and both undertake agricultural tasks. Also, at that period there is no clear cut distinction in their social activities, and both men and women dwell for most of the period in a cultivators' camp.

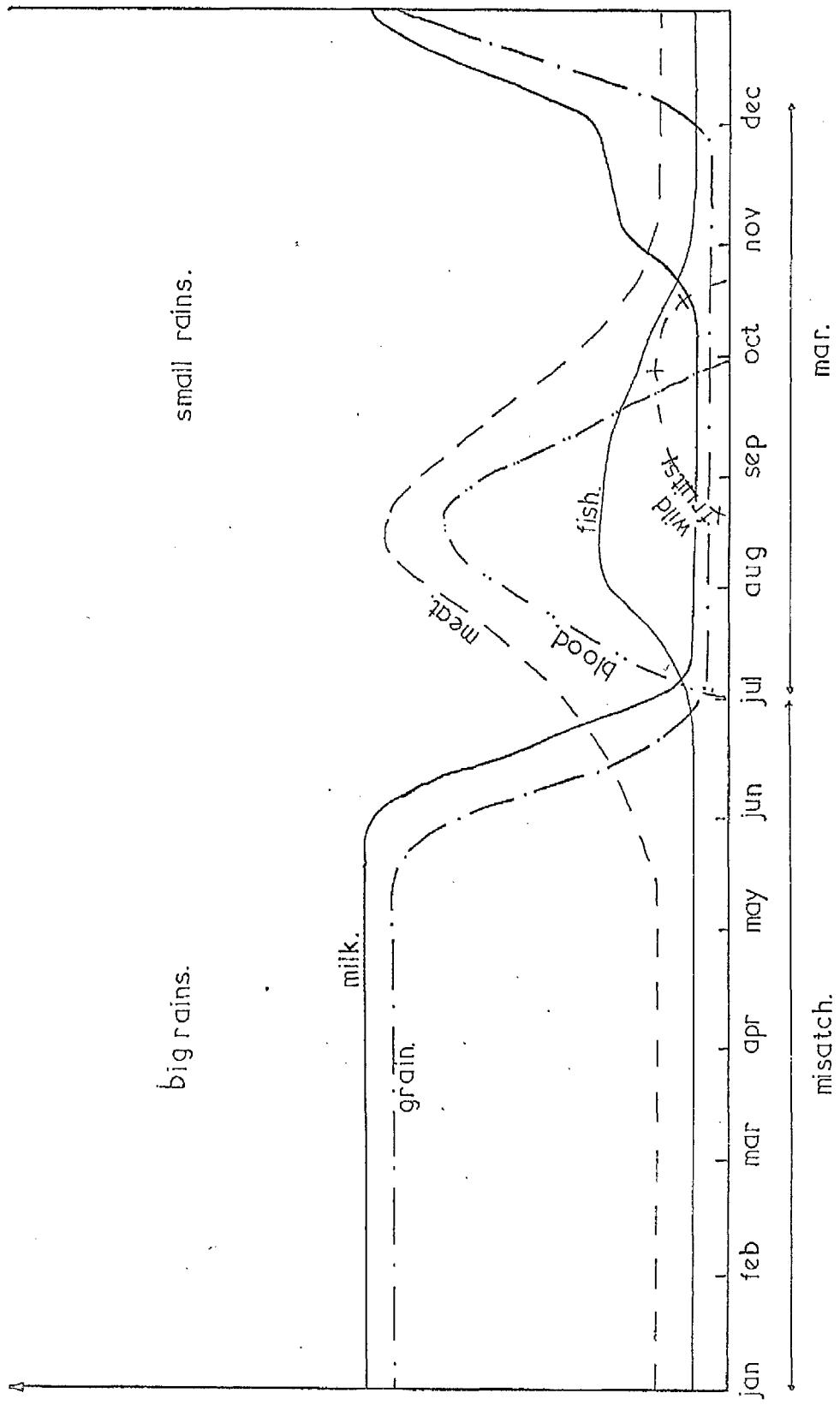
By the time the big rains fall, the grain will have been harvested and stored. The cattle, which are in peak condition, are forced by the big rains to cross to the west bank. In other words, at the beginning of the period which is called "the months of plenty" the family, which is the basic unit of consumption, has both grain and milk at its command. This period is centred on family activities, either in the settlement at the beginning of the period or later in the camps when the family moves to the western pastures.

The combinations of three activities which by custom are undertaken only by women (milking²⁸, storage

28. The foritch stock camps where men can milk are an exception. The social composition of a stock camp, which mostly consists of individual young herders, is entirely different from all other residential units which are based on households. Dassanetch say that a stock camp is a unit which is excluded from the social domain and many social restrictions do not apply to stock camps. Moreover, young herders in the stock camps are often referred to as being "like women".

of grain and the preparation and distribution of food) place women at this period in exclusive control of all the available food resources. This is also reflected in the social activities that women engage in during that period, which are 'equal' to those of men. Although most of the guests a woman and her husband entertain are his, during the evenings men sit together with their guests and wives eating and drinking milk, chatting and singing. Moreover, a wife's status and importance are emphasized. She alone provides the grain and the milk to guests, while her husband plays a passive role and sits and receives his food as if he were one of the guests. She is the hostess, it is she, and not her husband, who receives the compliments and thanks of the guests. She jokes and speaks freely with her male guests who address her with respect. Her husband becomes a sort of "runner" between the camps to bring milk, and he depends on his wife for his food. These distinctions are marked by strict etiquette. A woman should never milk a cow that a man had milked (except in the foritch stock camps) and equally a man should not help himself to milk but should be served. Kute, whom I mentioned in the last chapter, had to wait for his milk until his wife returned from the river and served it to him. (But Kute controlled the tobacco and occasionally handed some balls of it to his wife. Tobacco is not food and therefore ^{is} not in control of women.)

Diagram J : ANNUAL CYCLE OF FOOD CONSUMPTION.



It is women who go to settlements to fill their empty grain bags and, in a polygynous family, it is women who lend each other grain. Husbands hardly know how much of their wives' grain is left. Towards the end of this period as the grain is finished, pastures become dry and the milk yield decreases accordingly. Then the dry period starts during which most of the stock slaughter takes place (see Diagram 9). Women have no rights in stock, and stock owners are always men. Men, as we have seen, absolutely control the slaughtering and distribution of meat, which control they assume as soon as the milk yield drops. The period during which women control food is thereby sharply segregated from the period in which it is controlled by men.

The "third period" of the dry season (July to September) is exclusively a "world of men". Almost all the social activities during this period are entirely centred on social relationships between men, and centre on slaughtering distributions of meat. Most of the slaughter is communal and the ritual takes the form of eating meat within a horse-shoe of green leaves. Women are excluded from the slaughter of name-oxen, the slaughter for hospitality especially by big men, the "smearing" and "hairdressing" ceremonies, "the meat for men" ceremony, the feasts which accompany the transfer of bride small stock, and from men's circumcision feastings. The only occasions on which women have an opportunity to get a piece of meat are funerals, "the

bleeding small stock", from beasts slaughtered for the sake of meat eating, from "the meat for children", or from beasts that die.

It is difficult for me to assess the quantity of meat a person eats over a period of time, since the occasions for meat eating are erratic and uneven, but it is certain that most of the meat is consumed by men and only very little by women and children. The quantity of meat each woman takes home from funerals is small, and the quantity of meat from small stock slaughtering for the household is also small. All the meat women get during the dry season is always supplied by men. During the three months of the dry season, my impression was that many men moved from one feast of meat eating to another, and this is the period men spend time with their age mates, bond partners, affines and kinsmen as each man provides hospitality in his turn. Even when a man slaughters a beast for his men guests at his home camp, a horse-shoe of green leaves is formed and only men eat the roasted beast. A host's wife, on such an occasion, sits shyly either inside her hut or in front of it, and does not interfere or become involved in the men's affair. This contrasts sharply with the occasions of hospitality of the previous period of plenty. The difference in the quantity of meat men and women consume is reflected in the rule which forbids the drinking of milk for two days after a person had eaten meat, which reserves

what little quantity of milk is available for the women and children. The myth Manako told, with which I started this chapter, implies that women cannot participate together with men in feasts of meat eating, though they control the milk.

Even in those occasions of stock slaughter at home camps or during the dimi ceremony, ^{during} in which women have an opportunity to eat meat, it is always given to them to cook by men. Women always eat boiled meat but men, on the other hand, always eat roasted meat. Also animals are always bled by men and the distribution of blood and the mixing of it with milk is always supervised by men.

In contrast to the season of plenty, in the season of hunger the food supply is firmly in the control of the men. The differences between the two periods is also manifested in the different calabashes from which men eat at each period. During the period of plenty, a calabash pot called dat qomiet is used for milk and sorghum. During the dry season another pot, called dat bilan, is only used for blood and milk.

But, apart from the uneven distribution of meat between men, women and children, or the differences in quantities of meat consumed by persons of different ages or belonging to different sets of social relations (which affect the number of meat feastings in which a man

participates)²⁹, overall people eat comparatively well and Dassanetchland, with its milk, grain, beans, meat, blood, fish and wild fruits, is known, by contrast with the large neighbouring desert areas, as the "place where food is plentiful". The "months of hunger" are alleviated by the regular slaughtering of beasts, the act which is commemorated in the myth of origin.

29. Men who are poor in cattle engage in fishing during the dry season while their wives collect wild fruits.

Chapter 7: The events in a man's life-cycle
which affect his control over livestock.

A. INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter I endeavoured to show how the slaughter of livestock is regulated by custom. In this chapter I wish to centre my discussion on the ways in which a man's association with, and control of, stock varies at different stages in his life with particular reference to their slaughter. Dassanetch constantly stress the identification of a man and his cattle; it is difficult to discuss cattle except in the context of the men who own, or have rights in them. In the last chapter, I described the strict rules which define the slaughter of beasts in ceremonies of the life-cycle and are incumbent on every man to perform, and mentioned that there are also many situations in which slaughter is voluntary and the number of beasts that should be offered is not clear. I argued that an effect of slaughtering, which is at a higher rate than the maintenance of subsistence would require, is to keep the total stock population in line with the available pasture. Individuals, of course, are not concerned with slaughtering as a contribution to the general welfare, but are concerned with their own livelihood. I want to proceed to examine the pressures which bear on individual stock owners to slaughter, or not to slaughter, stock at different stages in their lives.

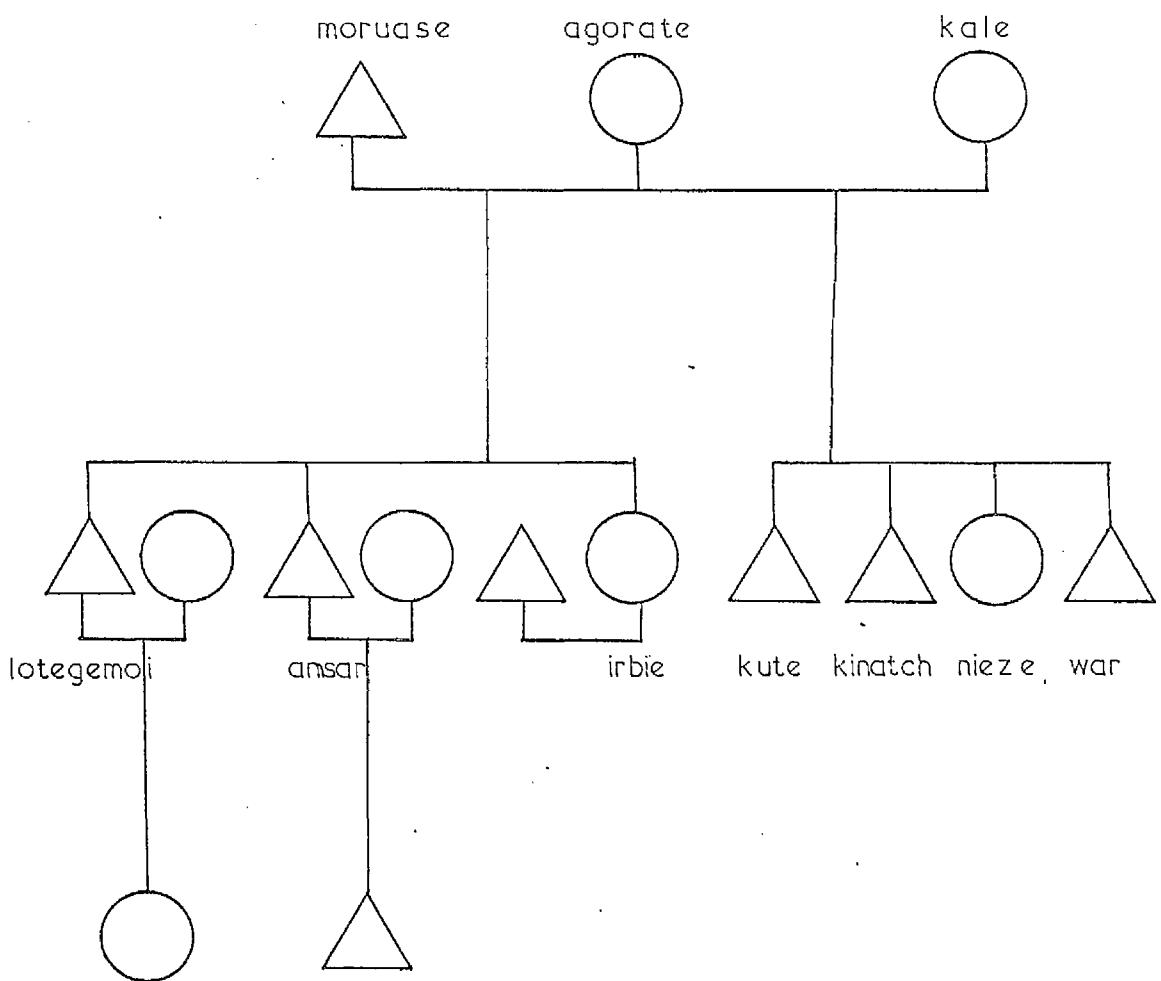
When a man is born, he receives a cow or a heifer from his father which is called "cow of the navel" (se honir) plus three ewes. A boy also sometimes receives a heifer, which is called "cow of the name" (se meto), from his namesake. These beasts form the nucleus of a man's herd and all their progeny belong to him. Dassanetch say that "a man and his herd grow together", and as a boy grows and develops socially, so should his herd. As his activities and social relationships alter, so should his herd and his relationship to it.

I shall examine this process through a case study of one household herd, that of Moruase and his sons.

B. CASE STUDY - THE HOUSEHOLD
HERD OF MORUASE

Moruase, an elder in his early sixties, had two wives, Agorate and Kale. Moruase and his wives in recent years had stayed at Nyamumery, as was appropriate for a man of his years and status, and except for visits seldom left it. Agorate had two sons and a daughter who were married, and Kale had three sons and a daughter all unmarried.

(SEE FOLLOWING PAGE)

The household of Moruase:

Lotegemoi, Agorate's eldest son, was in his early thirties, married and father of one daughter, and was living with his father. Amsar, the second son, who was also in his early thirties, was married and had one newly born son. Since his marriage, Amsar had lived in another settlement at Mort-Kali-Ko in the same home camp as an immediate age mate (who was also the "name giver" to his son). Irbie, Agorate's ~~eldest~~ daughter had recently married and gone to live with her husband at

Tuarangole on the east bank. Kute, the eldest son of Kale, was a bachelor in his late twenties. Kinatch, her next born, was in his late teens and was shepherding small stock. Kale's daughter Nieze was a maiden of about 15 years of age, and her youngest son War was about ten years old.

Lotegemoi, his wife and his half-sister Nieze formed a residential unit which moved from a home camp in the western pastures, to the plots^{bu1} for a short time, but which during the dry season and the big rains usually resided at Nyamumery. Kinatch and War spent most of their time in stock camps. Kute, apart from some occasional help which he gave in the stock camp and cultivators' camp, spent most of his time with his age mates and only came to Nyamumery to drink and to eat. Moruase's household "owned" 56 head of cattle and 84 sheep and goats, which for care were split into several separate units. Milking and young animals were usually kept in the settlement or in the home camp of Lotegemoi. Two young brothers of Lotegemoi's wife, assisted by War, herded the main herd in one of the cattle camps. A smaller herd was taken care of by the son of the "name giver" to Ansar's son. The family's flock was divided between the settlement, the home camp, and the flock which Kinatch shepherded in a small stock camp.

For my census I interviewed Moruase and Lotegemoi separately. Moruase told me that he had a flock of about 100 strong and about 50 head of cattle. Lotegemoi stated

that he owned no stock. Later I studied Moruase's household and each of his sons stated that they all owned no stock. Lotegemoi argued that all the stock belonged to their father because: "A man's children came from his penis. A father and his sons have the same body and the same animals".¹ When fathers and sons live together, as was confirmed by my census, sons do not claim to own any stock at all.

But, though as far as livestock husbandry is concerned, the family herd is one, each male member of a household has individual rights of ownership. On detailed enquiry, I found Moruase's household herd was "owned" as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Small Stock</u>
Moruase	3	7
Lotegemoi	16	15
Amsar (kept his stock separately - see below)		
Kute	19	33
Kinatch	13	18
War	5	11
Total	56	84

Every male member of the household knew his own animals, but did not always know where they were grazing or

1. For taxpaying purposes, the herd of a father and son is treated as one unit. (See page 48, especially for Government Chiefs Anokhosia, Atol and Irgudo).

at which camp they were at any particular time. The household herds and flocks, for management purposes, were treated as one irrespective of individual ownership. Equally, milk was shared by the family regardless of individual ownership claims. Close contact was maintained throughout the year between the home camps, the stock camps and Nyamumery settlement, and milk, grain and labour ~~were~~ transferred between them. It was Lotegemoi who assumed day-to-day management of the stock. He used to visit the stock camp often and would sometimes order the herders to move to other pastures, and took independent decisions about the transfer of stock from one camp to another and the labour arrangements. Moruase, it seemed to me, knew little about the movement of the stock and he was usually only informed after a move had taken place. The only clash which occurred between Moruase and Lotegemoi about stock management arose when Moruase objected to Lotegemoi's wish to change some shepherding arrangements. Lotegemoi wanted his "smeared" partner, who was a boy of about 15 years of age, to shepherd that part of the flock that his half-brother Kinatch had been shepherding, so that some of the sheep of his wife's father's brother's son could join Kinatch's flock. Moruase objected to the proposal and for over two months Lotegemoi raised this subject several times without success. Neither Moruase nor Lotegemoi wanted to discuss that issue with me, but I noticed that Lotegemoi was cross each time his father refused

him. I noticed no disputes between Lotegemoi and his brothers or the stock herders, none of whom disputed his authority; even when Lotegemoi asked him to do so, Kute^{esem} agreed to stay for some time in a cattle camp with the son of Amsar's son's partner. Amsar, the younger married full-brother of Lotegemoi, herded his animals separately with an immediate age mate and a neighbour. (He owned 15 head of cattle and 22 head of small stock).

When the dry season began, Lotegemoi usually used to rejoin his father's residential unit in Nyamumery, which was possible because the household had sufficient animals to permit them to keep enough milking cows there during the dry season and not be dependent on the foritch camps during the dry season.

During the dry season, some beasts were slaughtered in Moruase's residential unit in Nyamumery.

The first occasion on which Moruase slaughtered a sheep was when two of his affines, together with Government Chief Yerar, came to visit him in Nyamumery. They were joined by the brother of Chief Yerar and four other contemporaries and neighbours of Moruase. A horse-shoe of leaves was laid out and Lotegemoi speared one of his father's beasts, after which he cut it up and roasted it. He also helped to serve the meat but he did not join the elders behind the green leaves to eat the meat, but sat outside with the other youngsters. The second occasion of slaughter was

when a group of seven age mates, men of the junior sub-age set of Moruase, came to discuss with Moruase the subject of the coming dimi ceremony which they had to perform. The guests first just sat in front of Moruase chatting. Then one of them said to Moruase: "Are you not a 'big man'?" (kun ma gudo moning) to which Moruase answered: "True, true" (tagle, tagle). Then Moruase stood and went to Kute who was standing near and said: "I want to give a beast to the men. Bring it." Kute went to the small stock enclosure and took out one of his own goats which he speared. A horse-shoe of leaves was built and the roasted beast was eaten by Moruase and the age mates. Lotegemoi and Kute helped to serve the meat but did not eat themselves. When the meat was consumed the discussion started, each of the participants stood in turn, took the spear of Moruase and spoke to the others while pacing up and down.

The only occasion on which Lotegemoi slaughtered a sheep was when a group of his age mates came to visit him. They were joined by three affines and one bond partner and three neighbours of Lotegemoi all of whom were residing in Nyamumery. It was noon time and Lotegemoi asked a boy to go to Nakure, where the flock was grazing, and to bring a beast. The boy returned after an hour with the beast. Meanwhile, the horse-shoe of leaves was ready and the beast was immediately slaughtered. While Lotegemoi was feasting with his guests, Moruase remained sitting with some of his friends in the shade under a granary about 200 metres away.

My last example concerns Moruase and his bachelor son Kute. At the end of November 1969, after the small rains had ended and before the early harvest of simago was ready, Kute asked Moruase's permission to slaughter one of his own name-oxen and to give it to his age mates where they were staying at Diele Riele. Moruase first said that it was not the right time to slaughter the ox, but eventually he agreed, but asked his son to slaughter the beast at Nyamumery. Kute explained to his father that his age mates were all expecting him in Diele Riele. But Moruase insisted that the beast be slaughtered at Nyamumery. Kute left his father's home in anger saying that, in spite of his father's insistence, the slaughter should take place at Diele Riele. Kute waited until sunset, when the river is quiet, and then crossed to the east bank and went to Diele Riele. That evening Kute's age mates started to decorate and paint themselves for the ceremony which was supposed to take place the next day.

The next day Kute's age mates gathered north of Diele Riele waiting for Kute and the beast. Kute went in the morning of that day to the cattle camp at Nitaramuru to fetch his ox to Diele Riele. But, while his age mates were waiting, Kute hesitated for a while and made a last effort to persuade his father. He crossed the river in a dug-out at a time when the winds were particularly strong and it was a hazardous journey. Kute went straight to his father's home to speak to him. But, when Kute arrived, Moruase was sitting among about ten of his contemporaries,

all of whom were elders from Nyamumery settlement. The dispute between father and son had already become a public matter. Rumours were spread in Nyamumery that Kute's age mates were gathering in Diele Riele and that the ceremony was about to begin. I listened to the discussion among the elders prior to Kute's arrival and some of the phrases which I recorded were: "Who is the father? Moruase is the father of Kute.", "This is very bad; sons (i.e. the grand-set of 'sons' in the age set system) do not listen.", etc. Moruase's contemporaries urged him not to give ⁱⁿ up and Moruase insisted that the slaughter must take place in Nyamumery. Kute went back to Diele Riele and told his disappointed and furious age mates that the ceremony was cancelled.

For convenience, I will discuss the issues raised in my account of Moruase's family under three headings.
| deal with
 First, the growth and decline of a man's herd and flock, then with the subject of "big men" and the dimi ceremony, and finally with the relationship between fathers and sons as far as livestock is concerned.

C. THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF A
MAN'S HERD AND FLOCK.

First, I shall examine the different rights of ownership which the members of Moruase's household had in stock, and how these rights are reflected in the different number of beasts each of them "owned". Secondly, I shall

examine why Moruase slaughtered two beasts, his son Lotegemoi only one and none of the other sons any during my period of observation. I suggest that both questions are best understood as aspects of the process by which early in his career a man endeavours to accumulate stock while later on he dispenses it. Up to the time when a young man undergoes the "hairdressing" ceremony, he is engaged in herding and agricultural tasks, and his herd and flock multiply while there are no demands on them.

From an early stage of his childhood, a boy knows his own animals and visits them often, accompanying his mother or father whenever they go to visit a camp where any of his animals may be. By the age of four, boys are aware of the number of animals they own, their colour and their progress. As a boy grows up, his herd grows in parallel. Although a boy's animals form part of the joint herd of the household, his rights of ownership in them are indisputable. When a boy becomes a man (in the "hairdressing" ceremony), he usually spends most of his time with his age mates and, although he might slaughter one name-ox about every two years, he is still subject to his father's control who may prohibit the slaughter. The only other time a young man may be called upon to slaughter a beast is if he and his contemporaries go off on a raid. Kute, as can be seen from ~~the~~ table p.201, owned more stock than his father or his married brother Lotegemoi, yet he slaughtered none.

Marriage marks the beginning of the inroads into a man's herd by two events which occur shortly afterwards. One is the circumcision rite and the other is the slaughter of small stock ^{during} ~~in~~ the few months which follow the marriage ceremony. In theory a man can be circumcised only if he has a daughter, but in practice all Dassanetch men are circumcised. Bachelors and daughterless men are circumcised along with their age mates, because it is also held that all age mates should be circumcised together, and it is sufficient if at least one member of a group of immediate age mates has fathered a daughter. The ages of those to be circumcised vary from year to year, but, generally speaking, men are circumcised either after marriage or very close to it*. The small stock which are slaughtered to feed a circumcised man are taken from his own flock. The five to eight beasts slaughtered at circumcision, when added to those slaughtered in connection with marriage, make a sharp reduction in the size of a man's flock. For up to about a year after their marriage, a newly married couple stays in the hut of the groom's mother while the latter makes a leather skirt (ogo) for her son's wife. This skirt requires an equal number of sheep and goat skins, usually seven or eight of each. The skins used are usually those of small stock slaughtered at any occasion held in the residential

* In the circumcision rite of the Inkoria territorial section in 1969, most of the circumcised were already married. By custom, all men of the Randal territorial section are circumcised after their marriage.

unit of the father and his son during this period. Most, and sometimes all, the beasts slaughtered are taken from the flock of the groom who should provide hospitality to those who come to visit him after his marriage.

From the time of his marriage, a man starts to assume responsibility for others which means he must slaughter beasts more regularly and more often. Apart from "the meat for men" feast and the slaughter of name-oxen, which can be performed by bachelors, all other occasions for slaughtering involve a married man.

A man is held to be most vulnerable to occult attack through his family, because "a man and his children have the same body". Following this, a married man is more exposed to misfortune than a bachelor because he can be struck through his dependants.

I did not see even one instance of a bachelor alone who performed the "bleeding small stock" (ai fasiet). All were performed by husbands or fathers on behalf of their families.

The ewe and wether which are slaughtered at a birth ceremony, the occasional slaughtering of beasts during the allocation of bride small stock, the slaughter of oxen for the "departed oxen" (it galan) and "household" (gol) ceremonies to make stages in the completion of bridewealth, must all, by definition, occur after marriage.

Animals slaughtered to allay hunger are nearly all exclusively consumed within the family.

By custom, a man is only entitled to own a bull after his marriage. (Moruase's household herd included two bulls). But, also according to Dassanetch concepts, all bulls belong to the elders in power, the "bulls" (ara) of the country. Dassanetch say that "a bull can never die", and when one does, the elders must perform a post-mortem ceremony which transforms the "bull" into a "post bull" (zor). This involves the slaughter of some beasts. If a bull dies suddenly, its owner must persuade the "bulls" that he had not intended to activate occult forces against them, and is often required to prove that this is so and to compensate them by slaughtering some head of small stock.

After his marriage, a man becomes a host. Bachelors have no huts of their own, for they can only be established and kept up by and for women. ^{so} Wherever they live, whether it is ^{bachelors} with their father, brother, age mate or affine, they are only "visitors". Only husbands and fathers can be hosts in the full sense of the word. Bachelors are receivers of hospitality, husbands and fathers are givers of it.

When he starts herding, a young boy starts to establish bonds with other people, some of which he will maintain and hope to develop further. (This subject is dealt with in Chapters 11 and 12). Marriage enables a man to extend and enlarge his range of relationships ^{and} to strengthen

them by slaughtering animals and offering hospitality.

This stage of his life culminates at the dimi ceremony, which follows about ten years after circumcision and is the subject of the next section, at which he slaughters about 10 head of cattle and 30 head of small stock.

In so far as a man is considered as an individual stock owner, the pattern is clear, the bulk of his outgoings in stock occurs after his marriage, from which time the stock he "owns" at any one time diminishes. But, if we consider the household herd owned and managed by a family as the unit, as Dassanetch do when they say a father and son are one, then the emphasis is different. Then, over time the family herd remains more or less constant in composition, and what varies is the proportions within it over which particular members of the family have specific individual rights. Certainly, from the point of view of securing his subsistence, a man can freely dispose of his own stock by slaughter, so long as his sons retain their milking stock from which he, and all the household, may drink. From the time he reaches adulthood, by marrying and then producing children (marked by potentially nubile daughters), a man converts his stock into a complex network of social relationships.

Moruase who had been "a man with plenty of stock" was left with only a few head and will clearly die stockless,

Lotegemoi, who had a daughter of about three years of age, has about five years for his stock to multiply before he must "go to dimi", when the size of his herd will be substantially reduced. When Dassanetch identify a man with his stock and say "a man and his cattle grow together", they are implying that, ideally, during a full span of life a man "grows" his own herd from birth to maturity, then spends it during his maturity so that as he declines, so does his herd. So that, when he dies, he should not have any stock left to bequeath to his sons. I met very few Dassanetch who had inherited more than a few beasts from their fathers.

Sometimes, however, a man dies prematurely, also some fathers do not have daughters and thus do not "go to dimi". In the following section, I will discuss the social pressures which are brought to bear on such men in order to keep their herds at a strength equal to that of their coevals.

Finally, I only want to comment briefly on the transfer of beasts in bridewealth in so far as they affect the size of a man's herd. Bridewealth is usually transferred gradually over a period of 20 to 30 years, and the annual transfers are so small (an average of one cow or ox and two to three small stock) that they have little immediate effect on the size of a herd. The subject of bridewealth transfers is discussed fully in Chapters 9 and 10.

D. "BIG MEN" AND THE DIMI CEREMONY

The performance of the dimi ceremony is the central event of a man's life. It marks a change in the livestock he "owns" and a change in his personal status in so far as it permits him to start being considered as a "big man" (ma gudo).

The dimi ceremony requires conspicuous waste² and in addition to nine or ten cattle and around thirty small stock for slaughtering, a man must barter other stock in order to acquire about two or three big bags of coffee beans, about ten containers of ghee, about ten big bags of sorghum, and about forty small bags of tobacco. This is a heavy burden, and sometimes a man needs to borrow beasts.³

2. For example, Dassanetch do not grind their coffee beans but simply pour boiling water over them, and the same beans can serve for three infusions, but during the dimi ceremony, they are only used once. Tobacco balls are usually chewed four to five times, but, during the dimi ceremony, only once.
3. A man usually starts to prepare these goods two years before he "goes to dimi", but most men are pressed for time towards the end and have to make disadvantageous exchanges. An Inkabelo, who performed the dimi ceremony in 1969, told me that he had had to exchange a sheep for a medium-sized calabash of grain towards the end of the ceremony when his own grain supplies were exhausted. A sheep is usually exchanged for four big calabashes of grain.

After the dimi ceremony, a man is often left with only a few cows, a bull and a burden of stock debts which take him many years to clear.⁴

Dassanetch perceive three qualities required in a "big man": years, wealth and, in particular, to have performed the dimi ceremony. A proper "big man" will have all these attributes, but the word is used, as a polite term, more loosely. A "big man" should be addressed with respect, and people, especially women and juniors, address him as ma gudu, i.e. "big man". He should speak first and be the first to receive food. By custom, he should also give up some practices and is entitled to wear some special ornaments to mark his status.

Every elder is a "big man", and may be so addressed when he begins to look sufficiently old, regardless as to whether he is wealthy or poor, powerful or weak. I once ~~saw~~^{heard} a man who was only in his late thirties asked to give something because he was a "big man". He answered: "No, I am a little one", and pointed at his beard to indicate that it contained no white hairs.

4. A man does not usually take from the beasts of his sons, for that is considered shameful. Some men, however, do so, a course which later leads to fierce disputes. Most of the cases which I encountered occurred when a man took from his deceased brother's sons whose mother he had taken in levirate marriage.

A man who is wealthy in livestock is also a "big man", so long as he is also married, even if he has not been to dimi. Political office is only open to wealthy elders. Dassanetch say that to appoint a poor man to a position of power is equivalent to cursing the land and an invitation to disaster.

Although a man may loosely be called a "big man" before he "went to dimi", especially if his going is delayed, the performance of the dimi ceremony is a pre-condition to any formal post of political authority. A man who has not performed the dimi is not even included among the elders who are invited by the "bulls" in power to be the "elders of honour" and to attend some ceremonies, and when the age set in power holds its ceremonies, those who have not performed the dimi ceremony must sit behind those who have and are given their food with a gesture of insult as if they were dogs.

When a man is addressed as a "big man", therefore, one or several of his attributes may be being referred to. When Moruase's guests of his junior sub-age set asked him if he were not a "big man", they were referring to the fact that he was mature in age and had concluded the dimi ceremony. They did not refer to his wealth, because he was not wealthy. But / Moruase understood their hint that they wanted a beast slaughtered for them and did so. "Big men" are frequently

so pressured, because a "big man" is "like a father", and as such should provide what he has for the "little ones". And this, in practice, is what "big men" do. But though some "big men" are wealthier than others, Dassanetch never speak directly of the wealth a man has when they are urging a "big man" to slaughter for them. They always ask him to give because of the position of respect which he holds, and invoke his sense of fatherly compassion and responsibility for his "little ones".

I think that "give" (shish) is the most commonly used word in Dassanetchland. I constantly heard people, especially the young, requesting older people to give them tobacco/coffee or to slaughter a beast for the "young men". To refuse harms the prestige of a "big man" and exposes him to the risk of occult sanctions, especially if he denies close agnates or members of his age set. A "big man" who is accused of refusing immediately repudiates the charge by saying "I do not refuse. I do not have."

I met Yerbokhotch, my former local assistant one day in Nyamumery settlement. His face and chest were smeared with mud. A few days earlier five young men of a junior sub-age set had come to his home and asked for coffee. He told them that he had none but they argued that as he had been working for me, he must have some money. Yerbokhotch told them that the "money had gone", but they pointed the finger towards him and said, "This 'big man' is bad". Afterwards Yerbokhotch

was afraid and slaughtered a goat and he and his family passed under "the bleeding small stock". Still unsure, he went to consult a diviner who threw the sandals and told Yerbokhotch that, unless he invited the young men to drink coffee, something could happen to his young son. Yerbokhotch went to Kalam to barter a sheep for coffee, smeared himself and went to find the young men to invite them to drink. I was told that, rather than refuse and lose face, a man will borrow a beast to slaughter for the young men of his age set.

A rumour that a man has inherited stock, or come into any wealth, provokes requests for him to slaughter.

All "big men", particularly office holders, are expected to be generous. I was told that one senior age-set officer (ma faritch) was once deposed because at one meeting he had slaughtered insufficient stock and hence brought a drought to the whole of Dassanetchland.

After the dimi ceremony, a man is left with few beasts and a bundle of stock debts, ^{for} as he becomes a "big man" ^{he is} and under constant pressure to act generously. So the replacement of his stock losses is made impossible. This general pressure is aggravated, so that eventually a man's herd is gradually totally reduced, by a combination of factors: firstly, the obligation to return the dimi stock debts; secondly, the increasing demands for bridewealth payments (see Chapter 10); and, involvements in two types of bond partnership which require a man to give gifts of stock (see Chapter 11).

An elder is able to slaughter extensively because his beasts and those of his sons are managed in one joint herd from which the whole family subsist.

E. THE STOCK RELATIONS OF
FATHERS AND SONS

I stated above that Lotegemoi, Moruase's first-born son stayed with his father while Amsar, the second-born son, lived in another settlement. As far as cooperation over stock was concerned, Amsar lived independently from his father and brothers. Lotegemoi managed the herd, and Moruase had very little contact with the herders in the stock camp.

The differences between the relations of a father ^{with} to his first-born son and the relations ^{with} of both of them ^{to} ~~with~~ the rest of the stock owners in a household are crucial. A first-born son is expected to stay on in his father's home, whereas any other son, with his father's approval, can withdraw his stock from the family herd and set up on his own, as Amsar had done. Sometimes, a father may insist that a younger son only withdraws his stock gradually. The special position of the first-born son derives from the extra rights and duties he has towards the stock of the household. In theory, a first-born son inherits half of any stock his father may leave, and should assume stock debts left by his father. "When the father dies, he becomes like the father", and in fact assumes his father's mantle as manager of the family herd long before his father

dies. But, as I have shown above, most elders die stockless, and frequently when a man does die leaving stock, they are slaughtered on the very day of his death. This contradiction is a constant source of disputes between fathers and sons.

After the dimi ceremony, a man has a series of choices about what to do with his stock, providing that enough are retained in the household herd to supply the family with milk. He can make bridewealth transfers which are outstanding, take further wives, pay off his dimi debts, or slaughter for his associates. From what I was told, it seems that fathers are usually reluctant to pay their debts. They prefer, as many sons told me, to pay bridewealth or to slaughter, thereby widening and strengthening their range of social connections, and to leave their debts for their sons. Sons resent this because this means they inherit a set of relationships and debts from their fathers and are not free to establish their own network of social relationships in their own interests. Sons cannot tell their fathers how to dispose of stock, but they worry about their father's behaviour. This is accentuated because they assume management responsibility for the household herd, just as their father is most likely to be disposing of beasts in ways which bring the son little or no advantage. The different interests of fathers and sons are clearly demonstrated by the examples of the slaughterings carried out by Motuase

and his sons; neither participated in the meat, nor accompanying social intercourse, of the beasts offered by the other. The strains to which the relationship between a father and his eldest son are prone are obvious. This is particularly so if a father slaughters so fast that he finishes his own stock and then seeks, in order to maintain his prestige among his coevals, to request stock from his sons.

A father must ask a son for permission to slaughter one of the son's beasts, but it is difficult for a son to refuse, to ask an unmarried son for a beast while one has any stock of one's own, which is considered unfair, but it occurs. Moruase asked his unmarried son Kute, while he had stock of his own, to give him a beast which Kute did. Such requests sometimes lead to quarrels.

An elder's food is provided for him by the stock and cultivation of other members of his household.⁵

But, if a father starts to slaughter his sons' beasts, he inevitably deprives them of the means to create their own social connections in due course. A father controls his unmarried sons' stock through his possession of a bull. As can be seen from Table 16, 64% of the men

5. If an elder has no sons, he incorporates his stock with that of his son-in-law or his brothers.

Table 16: Men whose fathers were alive
at the times of their marriages.*

order of marriage	father alive at marriage	father not alive at marriage	total
first or only wife	37	67	104
second wife	2	39	41
TOTAL	39	106	145

*Note: The information was collected
by and about sons, not by and
about fathers.

in the sample were fatherless when they first married. This means that the fathers of the majority of men had controlled their sons' stock up until they had died. But a father can still exert considerable actual control, as well as absolute formal control over the herd, even when his first-born son is married and established with his own family.

I do not know why Moruase objected to the changes in the shepherding arrangement which Lotegenoi suggested, but that he did so effectively shows the amount of control a father has over his married son. Similarly, his refusal to permit Kute to slaughter for his age mates as and where he wished, and hence create his own independent network of social relationships, demonstrates the control a father has over his unmarried sons. But whereas the interests which fathers and sons have in the household herd are, in certain areas at any rate, competitive, those of brothers are not. Their claims on particular beasts are clear and normally there is little inheritance for them to compete over. They are united in that they want to save beasts from slaughter by their father, in order to preserve those beasts for their own later use.

Whereas the control of a father over his first-born son and his other unmarried sons is effective, his control over his married sons who do not live with him is minimal. A father who had exhausted his own stock might ask such a son to slaughter a beast for him, and a son could scarcely refuse

but, if a son has taken his beasts from the joint herd of the household, his stock relations with his father are limited. Moruase, for example, did not know to whom Amsar had allocated bridewealth. Each brother on his marriage withdraws his beasts from the household herd. The eldest brother, on the death of a father, assumes responsibility for his unmarried brothers and holds their beasts in the joint herd until they, in turn, marry. But when all the brothers are married, each becomes an independent stock management unit, and each of them becomes the head of his own independent household. Each then tends to look for herding and other help to his affines, partners, age mates and neighbours, rather than, as earlier, to his agnates. Marriage thus establishes a man's economic and social independence from his father and brothers. But as Table 16 shows, the majority of men established their independence only after their father had died. Indeed, most men do not marry until they are in their late twenties or early thirties.

F. CONCLUSION

The identification of a man with his cattle can be summarized under the two main stages of a man's life, as follows:

(SEE FOLLOWING PAGE)

<u>Pre-marriage</u>	<u>Post-marriage</u>
Bachelorhood	Reproduction
Accumulation and Growth	Diminishment and Decline
Self-Interest	Responsibility
Dependence (no bull)	Independence (ownership of bull)

To slaughter for others brings prestige but to maintain a large herd is also prestigious; so every stock owner is in an ambivalent position, in that he is confronted by a dilemma of choice; beasts which are not slaughtered but transferred to others serve to create or strengthen one's relations with affines and bond partners.

But the slaughter of beasts provides a compensation to those who thus lose their stock by an immediate reward in the form of the high prestige bestowed upon a man who slaughters and "gives". A "big man" must maintain that position by regular slaughter, the claims of which he must balance against the claims of his immediate family, particularly his sons, and the alternative of "investing" the stock in social relationships with affines and bond partners. But if a "big man" possesses an appreciable number of beasts, the pressures on him to slaughter are usually strong enough to induce him to do so. A successful "big man" must preserve a balance between the competing claims of slaughtering, transfers, sons' requirements and subsistence needs.

Finally, the death of a father and the dispersal of brothers on their marriage leaves little room for future economic cooperation along agnatic lines.

*Chapter 8: Dassanetch types of marriage and
the activities which influence spouse selection*

A. Introduction

When a girl is about 8 years old she is circumcised and her virginal membrane, clitoris and inner-labia are cut and removed. Dassanetch call this the "removal of the red parts" (shagitch) which indicates the removal of the end of a girl's virginity. Up to her marriage a girl enjoys sexual freedom, which indeed most girls practice. A girl may have simultaneous or serial love affairs, some permanent and some casual, and most girls are sexually experienced when they marry.

A girl's brothers are those who appear to limit her freedom of choice among lovers. They sometimes follow her when she visits other camps and regard her as under their protection. In this Dassanetch resemble Nuer among whom: "The only person who may interfere is a brother in an affair of his sister, for her virtue is his responsibility".¹ Evans-Pritchard states that a brother wants his sister to marry a man with cattle and tries to prevent her from having "plenty of lovers but no suitors" or "giving herself to all and sundry",² and implies that a brother places checks on his sister's

1. Evans-Pritchard, E. E. - Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1951. p. 54

2. Ibid p. 53

sexual behaviour in order that she will make a good marriage.

This chapter will argue that the sexual activities of a Dassanetch girl and the control her brothers and paternal cousins exert on her sexual activities, represent not only their wish to find her a good suitor and concern with her virtue, but that their concern in a sister's sexual activities are an expression of their concern in arranging her marriage in their own interest, in so far as they may and frequently do, run counter to the interests of their father and his brothers. This clash of interests between the girl's father and his brothers on the one hand and the girl's brothers on the other, runs as a leitmotif throughout the various types of marriage and influence the activities of each side to control spouse selection in its own favour.

In the next chapter I examine the strength of affinal ties and demonstrate that they include many of the most important ~~inv~~able and enduring social ties that a man forms. Clearly, if this is so, the selection of a spouse, or spouses, is of crucial significance for building up a set of social relations.

That cognatic and agnatic ties, particularly in so far as they involve economic co-operation are weak, makes wise spouse selection extremely important. But marriage just in itself does not create strong ties between wife givers and the receivers. It is the

manner in which the ties are strengthened by proper behaviour, particularly through transfers of stock, which is important. Effective affinity is built up through marriage by the development of relations with affines, not simply created by the act of marriage.

I hope to show the activities which influence spouse selection, the different pressures which influence selection and the range of choice that a groom or a bride have.

Dassanetch marriage can be divided into 4 basic types:

- A) Hai sriye³ - Marriage based on mutual choice i.e. - attraction between a suitor and girl.
- B) Su (a "promised" girl) - Marriage by betrothal arranged between the close agnates of a suitor and the close agnates of a girl.
- C) Daratcho - Marriage by negotiation between the close agnates of a groom and those of a bride.

3. This word can be translated both as 'sexual intercourse' and 'marriage'. Another name for this type of marriage is Afo which translates as "Lips" and implies an agreement between the suitor and the girl. Hai sriye stresses more the aspect of elopement while Afo is more connected to an agreement between the spouses followed by a negotiation between the parents of both. This distinction, however, is not always strictly applied and Dassanetch quite often do not absolutely separate the two categories.

D) Hai həsade - Marriage by capture,
usually by the immediate age
mates of the groom.

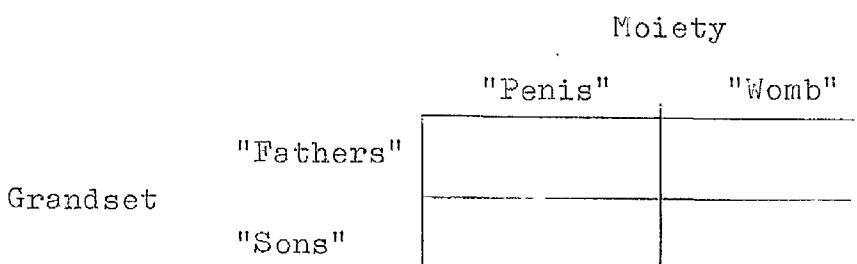
These types of marriage are not mutually exclusive and may be combined, for instance, AB, AC, AD and CD. I hope to show why there should be so many types and combinations of marriage.

The type of marriage determines the circumstances and the form of the first formal contact between wife givers and wife receivers and sometimes also determines the nature of the relations which pertain between them in the future. I hope also to make a sociological analysis of the various combinations of marriage as well as the distinction between the first marriage of a man and his later marriages. In the next chapter I shall examine how bridewealth transfer serves to secure and maintain an enduring network of social ties between givers and receivers. In this chapter I will be concerned only with examples of bridewealth transfer in so far as it is used as a means to cut off social relations.

I shall not be concerned here with the different parts of the marriage ceremony itself nor with the rules of marriage and exogamy but only with the social activities prior to the ceremony i.e. the activities and manipulations which are utilized to control the establishment of social relations. It is, however, important to make two notes. ^{the} First is about the range of exogamy. Dassanetch have two distinct types of

affiliation which prohibit marriage between those who share them. One is affiliation to a grandset of the ageset system and the other is affiliation to a moiety, both of which affiliations are determined by birth.

Figure



A person belongs to the opposite section to that of his father. For example if a man belongs to the 'sons' grandset and the "Womb" moiety, all his children will belong to the "Father" and "Penis" moieties, and their spouses must be found from within the "Father" and "Penis" moieties.

Secondly, a man must not take a girl from his own exogamous clan (tur) nor from any other section which shares the same cattle brands as his own. Thirdly, a man may not marry a woman within variously specified ranges of certain types of bond friendship. Nor may a man marry a sister of any of his own siblings' spouses. The "rules" of marriage can be divided into

main categories. The first includes those rules which are ~~inflexible~~ and which cannot be changed under any circumstances, and includes those rules regulating marriage between persons belonging to a moiety, ~~grandset~~ and exogamous clan (Tur).

Any ~~break~~ of such a rule is regarded as a severe incestuous offence. The second category is more flexible and in certain conditional circumstances it can be changed and "bent". This applies to certain weak bond friendship ties only. In this category of rules which can be "bent" and re-adjusted for marriage purposes there is a tolerance within its limits of some sexual activities as well. But these are absolutely forbidden in the first category. These restrictions mean 1) that the number of girls available to a man are limited and that competition for girls may be very acute, and 2) that marriage connections must be made with persons who are socially distant, though not totally strange to each other, 3) and that no 'family' can concentrate its marriage links within any one social area, as, for example, is ensured by the rules regulating marriage between spouses of siblings.

Every ~~girl~~^{group} of agnates must have a widely dispersed set ~~form~~ of affines. The second general note which I want to make is that the age mates of the groom perform all the ceremonies and rituals of marriage even to holding the bride for the first ceremonial sexual intercourse and the families of the bride and the groom do not participate in these ceremonies.

B. Controls which brothers exert over their sisters

During the first decade of her life a girl lives constantly with her mother, but during her 'teens' she gradually undertakes more economic and domestic tasks. Her economic activities like those of her mother are divided into agricultural work (from September to March) and stock work (from April to August). This means that throughout the year she will have to spend sometime at the home camp of her mother and other periods at cultivator's camps and cattle camps. An unmarried girl (marte) never stays alone in a camp and since the polygynous family is the basic unit of economic production, a member of her family usually stays with her. But she is not always accompanied when she travels between camps. As I described in Chapter 3, milk and grain are regularly transferred between camps, and girls play an important role in this transfer. This means that a girl has many opportunities to meet boys. Furthermore at dances, which are held during the evenings, girls and young men perform institutionalised erotic dances (hibisan) which are sometimes a prelude to casual love making in the bush (tim). Affairs are usually a supplement to more regular love affairs. Dassanetch distinguish between a casual lover and a regular one. A girl gives a necklace called urien to her regular lover, which indicates that it is he whom she thinks of seriously as a potential husband. A young man tries to get a necklace from a girl, for this gives him the right to meet her wherever she may be staying

and permits him to shorten the courting period. A girl will not give the necklace unless she really wants the young man. Many young men told me that it is much easier to make love to a girl than to get a necklace from her and that often a girl says "I will not give you the necklace but you can take me" ("Ya ko urien ma shigin ye i fish"). But the giving of a necklace in itself, does not mean any permanent obligation has been entered into, or that the girl must always submit to the man; it simply indicates that a flirtation has become, for the time being, a regular love affair. Necklace giving is not a public act and indeed is kept secret. Even if a girl should give five necklaces to five different lovers their absence would scarcely be noticeable from among the many that she wears. The lover himself does not wear it but gives it to his sister or his father's brother's daughter, who wears it amongst her own. Neither men nor girls inform their parents or brothers about their love affairs, though they discuss them with intimate friends.

Guardianship by brothers is described as "preventing her from being stolen". A girl and her lover are said to fear the girl's brothers, who will beat them both if they catch them love making. But brothers

cannot watch their sisters all the time and a couple who manage their affair well are unlikely to be caught. I only heard of a few couples actually being caught making love. My own observations showed clearly that usually brothers not only know who are the regular lovers of their sisters, but that they actually approach a new lover themselves and either become his friend or discourage him. It is unusual for a brother to be surprised when a sister elopes and they usually know exactly with whom she went away and where she is staying. The degree of amity which exists between a girl's brother and a lover whom she marries, influences spouse selection, the type of marriage by which a girl is taken and at least the initial relations between the groups of wife givers and receivers. In both instances of which I heard, when brothers objected explicitly/a particular suitor, to the objection was stated to be that the suitor did not have cattle for bridewealth. One suitor was the son of a fisherman, and the other belonged to the Riele territorial section. Of both it was said that "These are people that only eat fish, they do not know about cattle". (Any activity which is connected with fishing is despised.) But lack of cattle is not usually a reason put forward for objecting to a marriage. The amount of bridewealth to be transferred is not discussed prior to a marriage taking place and the transfer itself takes place over a period of twenty to thirty years

after the couple have set up together. It is not therefore the immediate stock wealth of a suitor that matters, because the amount transferred is decided by custom and spread over such a long period. From the point of view of the bride givers, the quality and quantity of the sets of social relations of the suitor and his family are what matters. There is usually one lover who is favoured by the girl's brothers. Brothers sometimes map out between themselves the various relationships of a sister's lover particularly his father's relations, his brothers relations and his own; his number of married sisters, his birth order, his sub-age set etc. A lover and his sweetheart's brothers can frequently be seen drinking together and at such times brothers make no effort to hide their interests. Brothers sometimes described to me the favoured lover of their sister in terms such as: "He speaks nicely" (Af le mezaba), "he speaks the truth" (Af le eduakha), or "he is a brave fighter" (mela os ok), but when pressed they would admit his connections with an important man (fargogo). An unfavoured lover usually knows the attitude his sweetheart's brothers take towards him. Nevertheless, I never encountered an instance in which the brothers told a suitor outright that they did not want him. Dassanetch have several

ways of indicating their disapproval indirectly. Here are some examples. Firstly, they might refer to a fictitious weak bond-friendship tie between themselves and the lover which would prevent marriage between their sister and the suitor. For Dassanetch the range of prohibited marriage partners is the same as the range of prohibited sexual partners. These boundaries are not precisely defined and the margins may be subject to negotiation and redefinition. Yerbur was the lover of Nyarobe until her two brothers and a paternal cousin told him that they had heard from their mother's sister that Lil metch uru (bond friendship of 'smearing') existed between the families. Nyarobe they said was a Mother's Sister's Daughter of their maternal cousin, who had been 'smeared' by the deceased father of Yerbur. Thus, a marriage between him and Nyarobe would be forbidden. Yerbur ceased to be her lover, and Nyarobe married another man but he was bitter about Nyarobe's brothers and said: "These people are bad. There is no relationship". It is possible to cut off certain weak ties of bond friendship by the performance of a simple ceremony if the two families want to establish a marriage, after which the "former" rule which prevented marriage between members of the two partners' families is no longer applicable.

In other words, a weak tie can give way to a strong one. But I learned later that Yerbur's father's brother had also pressed him to cut off relations with Nyarobe. Disapproving brothers may also approach the close kin of an undesirable suitor. For example a girl's brother may come with his age mates to the home camp of one of the suitors' close kin for a "visit". The girl's brother does not mention his sister nor her lover, but his close kin will get the drift and may later warn the suitor. Sometimes on such a "visit" age mates of the girl's brother may be deliberately rude. I saw an occasion on which the brother wanted to prevent the marriage of his sister to a member of another age set. During the "visit" his age mates used phrases that are usually restricted to the joking-relationship but here were intended to abuse the suitor's age set. Brothers may also drop encouraging or discouraging hints directly to the suitor. My impression was that close kin of a girl who object to a particular marriage are loath to appear to give offence by a direct refusal. When Iyerar and Ar, the half brothers of Dongol, did not want their sister to marry Loyamoi, they told him when he approached them "we don't refuse, it is God that refuses" (nien ni ma din wəqo dite). If they gave an explicit refusal the girl's kin might talk themselves into a position from which retreat

was difficult. Sometimes a refusal by a girl's family does not mean that a marriage does not take place, as happened when Dongol married Loyamoi. We shall later return to this case.

The sexual freedom a Dassanetch girl enjoys exposes her to pre-marital pregnancy, as indeed sometimes occurs. As soon as a girl's pregnancy becomes obvious her close agnates take their sticks (aldjyo) and go to the lover's home camp to ask for nyakitchul. Nyakitchul is a compensation for pre-marital pregnancy. It consists of 8 cows and is always paid on the spot.⁴

Even if the lover is not the genitor he has very little choice, once the girl's kinsmen have come, if he had been well known as the girl's lover. He may either refuse to marry her and pay the nyakitchul, which is very rare, or agree to marry her and to pay 4 or 5 cows immediately. In almost every case of pre-marital pregnancy the latter takes place.⁵ Both sides

4. The payment of 8 cows is an equivalent to the transfer of 12 head of cattle (usually half cows and half calves) as the first instalment of bridewealth which Dassanetch regard as a legitimization payment. The number 8 (siet) is a "bad number" and is often identified with the stigma of a nyakitchul payment. I was told that nyakitchul is also paid by a husband who devotes his wife in her first pregnancy; but I have not encountered such a case.
5. One exception is that of girls belonging to the Randal territorial section. Any pre-marital pregnancy of a Randal girl leads immediately to her expulsion from the Randal territorial section, and usually she marries a man from another territorial section. Her family do not receive bridewealth for such a girl. This might be seen from another angle. It will be remembered that people belonging to the Randal territorial section do not cultivate and could be called "pure"

(foot note continued)

pastoralists. The Inkabelo territorial section on the other hand is not only engaged in pastoralism and agriculture, but has the most diversified economic resources and naturally is in the greatest need of labour. The expulsion by the Randal of pregnant girls fits in with their ecological and economic situation:-

- a) the Randal territorial section has less economic resources than other sections, which limit the chances of the population increasing.
- b) pregnant girls join other territorial sections (mainly the Inkabelo) to which they contribute labour and children. It was almost impossible for me to verify the nature of past inter-section marriages, but the following figures might provide some indication. In my census the percentage of marriages of Inkabelo men to women of other territorial section occurred with:

Randal	22%	Elele	17%	Naritch	14%
Oro	19%	Riele	14%	Koro	10%
				Inkorie	4%

i.e. there was a greater percentage of marriages with women from one of the smallest sections, the Randal.

lose by the nyakitchul payment.

Such a girl becomes a shakhantgaye, that is a divorced woman, and thereafter is only likely to "remarry" an old, poor man. Nyakitchul lays a stigma on both the girl and her lover. The latter may be refused by other girls who had heard about his nyakitchul payment and, more important such a man is excluded from any post of political and religious authority in the future.

I observed a compromise meeting (nyebukui) at Tuərəngole on the east bank, which lasted the whole day. A group of close agnates, accompanied by the pregnant girl, came from Nyəmumery (on the west bank) to ask for compensation. Her close agnates waited until the lover's cattle returned from grazing and then re-crossed to the west bank driving 4 of his milk cows with them. I listened to the discussion and the demands. The girl's kin did not suggest by a word that she had been treated disrespectfully, or that her virtue had been damaged. But they repeatedly asserted that "she was stolen", and accused her lover of being "a thief" (bura). My clear impression was that there was no doubt that the couple would marry, and in fact the girl stayed on at the lover's home camp and the marriage ceremony was performed. It appeared to me that a great number of Dəssənetch girls were married in this way, though it was difficult to verify this

for past marriages, because Dassanetch try to conceal when they have paid cows as a consequence of a pre-marital pregnancy.

C. Hai ariye - Marriage by elopement

The most common form of marriage is hai ariye, an agreement between a lover and his sweetheart to get married, after which they usually elope to the lover's father's home camp. Sometimes such an agreement is a preliminary which precedes the second stage of marriage by arrangement and/or negotiation or by capture. But when it is simple hai ariye the lover and sweetheart elope to the lover's father's home camp. It is anticipated that soon afterwards the girl's close agnates will come and ask for her.

One of the occasions on which an agreement to elope takes place is when the girl's brothers reject the marriage. Iyerat told me that Loysmoi, who was the lover of his sister Dongol, used to come time and again to ask for their approval for his marriage to Dongol. I was staying in Kut-i-garo when Dongol disappeared. She went to fetch water (from Kolom) and did not return to her mother's home. The next day Iyerat, his brother Ar and Dongol's mother went to Gumbubur's settlement to summon two half brothers and four paternal cousins of Dongol from Selsin and Gumbubur. They all crossed together

to the east bank and went to the lover's home camp at Diele Riele. The discussion took place in the central yard (nap) of the settlement and about 40 people were actively involved. It was an open meeting (nyebukui) and everyone was speaking and shouting. During the first day of the discussion Iyerar and his close agnates did not want to listen to any argument or explanation from Loyamoi, who was the chief speaker, but insisted on the return of Dongol. Dongol's close agnates spent the night in Diele-Riele, where they received food and accommodation from some of Loyamoi's age mates and agnates. But the next day an agreement was reached. It was agreed that when Dongol gave birth, Loyamoi would transfer 4 cows to Dongol's half brother as the first instalment of the bridewealth. During the two days of the discussion none of Dongol's agnates were allowed to see her, and only on the third day was she seen by her mother and Iyerar. I accompanied Iyerar and his brothers during the three days and neither when speaking among themselves or with others, did I hear even one single word which imputed immoral conduct ~~by~~ of Dongol, ~~that~~ that she had betrayed her family by running away. It was only said that Dongol was physically weak, as are women in general, and did not really know what she wanted. The blame was placed squarely on Loyamoi, who was said to have "stolen" her.

Iyerar and his brothers appeared to be genuinely angry when they first came to Diele-Riele, yet within a single day they were totally 'recovered'. But on our way back to Kut-i-garo three age mates of Iyerar asked him about Dongol and he said:

"She will stay there, but when her ogo is finished I will hold her until Loyəmoi brings 4 cows as he promised"⁵. But when the "cow of the skirt exchange" was given to Lotely (the eldest half brother of Dongol) as the heir of his deceased father, Dongol was not kept, but returned with her husband to his home camp at Diele-Riele. When Dongol gave birth, Loyəmoi did not transfer the cows he had promised but only one ox. Before I left the field I asked Iyerar if Loyəmoi had made any further stock transfers, and he answered: "No, not yet, everyone knows that he is a poor man and has no cattle". But a marriage by

5. The custom is that when a bride's pregnancy becomes apparent the groom's mother makes her an ogo skirt from the skins of about 15 small stock. When the ogo is ready the groom's parents go to the bride's parents to return the rear part (habuna) of her maiden's skirt, and to present the galim milk cow in exchange for the bride's ornaments which are given to the groom's sister.

elopement does not automatically receive the approval of the bride's family. Kute, a divorced man, was the lover of Nabuma and was favoured by her two paternal cousins. (Nabuma was the eldest daughter of her father and her eldest brother was still a little boy). Kute and the two paternal cousins belonged to the Nilimkorio age set and some of the agnates of both Kute and Nabuma, lived with them in the same home camp at Nyemumery. They were all linked by various forms of economic co-operation, and in recent years had cultivated neighbouring plots at Diele Khabusia. But Nabuma eloped with Geritch, a young man of the Nyogolomogen age set, to his home camp at Diele-Numor. Nabuma's father, his brother and the latter's sons immediately went to Diele-Numor. From the start they let Geritch's father understand that they did not want any compromise or arrangement but only the return of Nabuma. Geritch's father said: "You have all seen that my son wants your daughter. Go now and when "the rear part of the maiden's skirt" (habuna) is returned you will get your bridewealth". Nabuma's paternal uncle answered: "We do not want to "eat" your bridewealth. Our daughter was stolen and we want her back". Geritch's father answered: "Leave it, he took her and it is all over", to which Nabuma's father responded: "No, it will not be, it is not over".

The discussion went on and on for the whole day and at one point it almost looked as if a fight would break out. That night Nabuma returned with her agnates to Nyamumery, and the marriage between Nabuma and Geritch did not take place. Sometimes marriage by elopement takes place with the tacit approval of the bride's brothers. Lotelim, who was the *Levir* of Jim'a's mother, wanted Jim'a to marry Kinatch as his second wife. Kinatch was the son of an immediate age mate of Lotelim and had already approached Lotelim with coffee, the initial step in making a negotiated marriage. The two unmarried full brothers of Jim'a, Yerongor and Sula were on bad terms with their deceased father's brother. They had earlier accused Lotelim of tampering with their inheritance by transferring cattle for his first wife (not their mother) from the herd of their deceased father. Yerongor and Sula objected to the proposed marriage with Kinatch. When I later asked Sula the reason for this objection to Kinatch he said: "He is a liar, all his kin are liars, everyone knows that". Yerongor and Sula went to Lorengamoi, their sister's lover, who on that very same day eloped with their sister to his home camp at Naykaya. During the discussion that followed, Yerongor and Sula hardly spoke, from time to time merely saying "right, right" (tagle, tagle) in response to Lorengamoi's father's retracted statement that in effect the marriage had

taken place and that no further approval was needed because the couple loved each other. During the compromise meeting the dispute shifted into a quarrel between Yerongor and Sula and their paternal uncle. Lotelim accused his brother's sons by saying: "You knew it, you knew it, you are thieves". Yerongor and Sula in their turn raised their old dispute with him and accused him of stealing their cattle.

A girl's brothers may also encourage their sister to elope with a lover whom they favour but who is unable to marry because his eldest brother has not yet been married.⁶ Brothers are reluctant to wait until the lover they favour can legally marry their sister and justifiably fear that she might take a husband against their wishes and interests.

D. Su - Marriage by betrothal

Su (a "promised" girl) is a form of "arranged marriage" which is relatively rare (9% in Table 17). When a boy in his late 'teens' or a young man in his

6. Within a household men take wives according to the order of their birth. If a junior born son married before a senior, some of the marriage ceremonies are not performed and the couple are not permitted to reside in the home camp of the groom's father. Though the groom transfers bridewealth, his marriage is not regarded as a 'full' marriage until after the marriage of his eldest brother.

Table: 17

Types of Marriage According
to the Order of Marriage

Form of Marriage	Order of Marriage		I		II		III			Total Wives
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	
A <u>Ha arive</u> (mutual choice, elopement)	26	27	7	12	10	8				90
B <u>Su</u> (betrothal)	3	4	0	1	1	2				11
C <u>Daratcho</u> (negotiation)	17	4	26	8	9	17				81
D <u>Hasade</u> (capture)	4	1	1	0	4	0				10
AB	2	2	3	2	1	0				10
AC	7	0	3	2	2	0				14
AD	2	3	0	1	0	0				6
CD	2	0	1	1	0	0				4
TOTAL WIVES	63	41	41	27	27	27				226
TOTAL HUSBANDS	63	41			27					131

early twenties desires a particular girl (between the ages of 10 and 15) to be his future wife, he tells his father that he wants that girl to become his betrothed. According to my information in most cases though it is the father or his brother, or both, who point out the qualities of a particular girl to the boy. The social standing of members of her family ~~is~~ urged and directly or indirectly the boy is persuaded that it is worthwhile for him to try to make her his betrothed.

When a young man wants a girl to become his betrothed, he puts a necklace of yellow beads called biedite around her neck. (The name biedite means a small biero necklace. The latter is mentioned in Chapter 10 and is worn only by a woman for whom the gol ceremony has been performed, it marks the completion of the transfer of bridewealth and the incorporation of a woman into her husband's exogamous clan and age set group. The two necklaces demonstrate a connection. Biedite is given to a nubile girl when she is espoused, while biero marks the final establishment of a woman's marriage). Prior to the giving of the biedite necklace the young man's father usually approaches the girl's paternal uncle and tells him about his son's intentions. Later the girl's paternal uncle points out to the father that someone wants his daughter. The brothers then consult about the suitability of the match. If they refuse, the necklace is returned to the young man, ^{but} if

it is not returned, it is a hint that the brothers tentatively agree to the proposal. The girl does not wear the necklace which becomes the property of her father. My data does not permit me to generalize about the persons who pull the strings but from what I heard it is the girl's paternal uncle who plays a central role in this kind of arrangement, especially when he has an immediate interest in establishing relations with the girl's kin which might await him within a settlement or in the allocation of plots.

If the bride's family is interested in the proposed betrothal a meeting is arranged, at which it is agreed that when the girl is ripe, marriage between her and the young man will take place. But such an agreement is only tentative and by no means certain. The second stage of the betrothal, which may be several years later, is the "going with a container of milk" (kurum size) which takes place a short time before the marriage ceremony itself. The groom's close agnates come to the bride's father with containers of milk and coffee beans to secure his final approval for the marriage. The 'container of milk', 'visit' (kurum size) takes the same form as previous visits, except in the one important respect that it creates an absolutely binding agreement. Custom states that a suitor and his betrothed should not have sexual relations with each other prior to their marriage. For a boy to be betrothed is a matter of pride and prestige, usually

his age mates and other people in his father's neighbourhood will know the betrothed girl. Though, a betrothed girl should not have a regular lover, she is permitted to have casual love affairs in the bush after dances. But her love affairs are said to be less frequent than those of other girls. A betrothed girl who becomes pregnant or elopes, automatically breaks the betrothal. The same rule applies to the young man who causes the pregnancy of another sweetheart or elopes with another girl. If a betrothed girl becomes known as having a regular lover, her fiancé should and ~~infact~~ may reject her. In addition to the cases in my sample I also encountered 17 cases of betrothals which had been broken. I would estimate that about half the betrothals end in marriage. Betrothals are vulnerable for a number of reasons. Firstly, during the years between betrothal and marriage the girl may become pregnant or elope and the suitor may get the girl pregnant or himself elope. Secondly, the reasons which led the kin of the boy and girl to arrange the match may cease to exist, or the principal arrangers may die and be replaced by others who have different aims. A cancellation made on the grounds of a girl's promiscuity or attachment to a particular lover may be merely an excuse for breaking a relationship which changed circumstances have made no longer useful. When the brothers of a betrothed girl are interested in maintaining the agreement they can exert control

over her movements, but when they do not want to do so, as often happens, they can ~~ignore or~~ even encourage their sister to have a lover. On one occasion a man passed by the home camp in which I was staying. I knew him to belong to the Nigabite age set and that his sister was well known to be betrothed. He was in company with a man of the Nilimeto age set who was not the suitor of his betrothed sister. When I enquired about the relation between the two, I was answered that they were "brothers-in-law" (niaro). My informant and the other people around laughed and giggled. I learned later that the reason for their merriment was because they knew that the Nilimeto man was the regular lover of the others' betrothed sister and it was he, not the suitor, who was generally and jocularly referred to as the "real husband" of the betrothed girl.

Thirdly, betrothals are usually made by parents to suit their interests. During the many years of betrothal, the brothers of the girl or the boy may grow up and find that the proposed marriage does not suit their interest and they may, therefore, endeavour to break it off. In a dispute I witnessed, Ibile the father of Kamate, who was the betrothed bride of Buite, came together with his age mates from Mort-kali-ko to the home camp of Gabite at Kut-i-garo. Gabite was accompanied by Bile and Lomiede who were the sons of Ibile. Ibile accused Gabite of trying to persuade Kamate his daughter to elope. He claimed

that Kamate had refused and told him of the plot. During the dispute Ibile, though he did not directly accuse his own sons of being privy to if not sponsors of the plot, left no doubt of his meaning. In the first place Gabite the accused, and Ibile's son Bile were close and immediate age mates. Secondly, while Ibile was saying: "How is it possible that you did not know she is betrothed, Dassanetchland is one and everyone knows" (Ateyi, inila su kun mok, les Dassanetch tigle, lule ok) he was looking towards his sons, though he was addressing Gabite.

Fourthly, betrothals are arranged between wealthy families, or between one family which is wealthy and one which has some other potentially important assets such as many children, or networks of important social relations, etc. Boys and girls who are betrothed are the children of notable families, with which others wish to establish relations. They are, therefore, desired targets and are exposed to intensive courting by other suitors who compete to establish relations with people of high status and large resources.

E. Daratcho - Marriage by negotiation

Daratcho, or negotiated marriage, is the third type and, one of the two common types.

Before describing it I repeat that the number of beasts which compose bridewealth and the rights which a person has to receive a portion of bridewealth, are fixed by custom. Therefore, the total number of

stock to be transferred as bridewealth cannot be discussed nor the persons who will receive their customary shares of it. At first glance it would seem that there would be no point in negotiations. Nevertheless, a negotiated marriage depends on more than a meeting between the parties to agree whether they should establish relations by marriage or not. In contrast to betrothal, which aims to secure a marriage in the far future, the settlement for a "negotiated marriage" takes place only a short time before the marriage. After agreement has been reached it should not be broken by either side.

A negotiated marriage involves several meetings, which take place at the home camp of the bride's father. They are usually started by the suitor who one night after sunset crawls to the hut of the girl's father and throws in a small bag of coffee beans. The next evening the young man comes again and sits quietly about 20 metres away from the hut of the girl's father. Then the father says: "The one who threw the coffee will come and drink", which is an invitation for the young man to approach. The father then asks him his reasons for throwing the coffee. The suitor replies - "I want your daughter". During the interview the girl sits quietly beside her father. If her father tells the suitor, "Why did you come to me, I do not "eat" (i.e. receive bridewealth) go and speak to my brothers, they

"eat", it is an indication that the father objects to the marriage and that there is no point in further negotiation. The girl herself, I was told, may refuse. But I never encountered a girl who opposed her father's wish, though I did hear stories about girls who had either run away to Turkana land or committed suicide when their fathers forced them to marry against their inclinations. If the father agrees to the proposed marriage he tells the man: "I want to consult my brothers". This is a hint to the man that his parents or other close agnates of the ascending generation should come with coffee after a decent interval of a few days for further negotiations. After a series of meetings among the girl's agnates themselves, and between some of them separately with the groom's father and his brothers, there is a joint meeting between the close agnates of the girl (only those who have right to receive bridewealth) and the suitor's close agnates (usually his father and brothers) with no other intermediaries. If the close agnates of the girl do not reside in the same home camp or neighbourhood (which is usually the case) the suitor's immediate age mates travel and call them to come and "drink coffee" in the home camp of the girl's father. The procedure in all such meetings which I attended was as follows: after drinking coffee and blessing the girl's father, each party starts to map out the fields of relations of the

members of the other side. It is done by asking who is the brother/sister of whom, to whom he/she is married, the number of children, their age etc.. Several times I noticed that during the negotiations, the girl's close agnates repeatedly asked questions about particular individuals, in the would-be-wife receiver's group. Such questions would be about who had an important asset such as many teenage children (i.e. for herding), or a plot in a regularly inundated area, etc., such questions clearly indicate where their interests lie.

This mapping out of the fields of relationships goes on for hours and sometimes for days, after which, if there is an agreement, all the people bless the girl by blowing coffee into the air (abarain) and pray for her fertility. Usually after agreement has been reached the bride leaves her father's home camp and moves to the home camp of the groom's father, where all the marriage ceremonies take place. The description I have given best suits the negotiations made on behalf of a young man rather than those by a middle-aged man or an elder. When an elder wants to marry a young girl, he approaches her father directly with coffee and starts the negotiations immediately. A young man will transfer the bridewealth gradually over a period of 20-30 years, but an elder is usually asked to promise to transfer some cattle at once and more when his bride gives birth. Indeed sometimes a substantial contribution of the bridewealth is transferred immediately the negotiations have been successfully completed.

The number of cattle to be transferred in that event depends on the age of the man, the young wife's potential levir etc. The proverb, "cattle reach agreement" (Gwo kiho hasot), means that an offer by an elder to transfer a larger number of cattle in one go is a sufficient temptation to secure a marriage agreement. But this has another aspect in that the wife givers want to secure the allocation of a large portion of the bridewealth during the life time of the elder groom, because a son does not inherit his own father's bridewealth debts, which are assumed by her levir. But a son does inherit his father's rights to receive debts during the life time of the wife receiver. This stresses the way in which the marriage of an elder to a young girl differs from the marriage of two youngsters, at which only a few cattle are transferred at any one time. Furthermore, in the marriage negotiation between an elder and the bride's agnates the details of which cattle shall be transferred to which members of the wife givers group are detailed, whereas at the marriage negotiation of a young man such a detailed demand would be insulting. At the marriage negotiations between Gabite, who was about 50 years of age, and the close agnates of Gilgilatch his bride, Gabite was asked to transfer 13 head of cattle when Gilgilatch gave birth. During the negotiations it was agreed that Gilgilatch's eldest paternal uncle should receive 4 head of cattle,

a younger paternal uncle should get 3 head of cattle and the youngest - 2 cattle. Gilgilatch's brother should receive a cow, her mother a heifer and her eldest maternal uncle an ox. To all this Gabite agreed but Gilgilatch's father in addition wanted Gabite to transfer a milk cow to his bond friendship partner (the one who was 'smeared' by him - lil metch uru). It was obvious that Gabite was reluctant to agree. He argued, justifiably, that lil metch uru was not such a close bond-friendship that it called for a transfer of bridewealth as the first transfer. He wanted to transfer this beast later and said that he would transfer it "when the child spoke". The bride's father insisted and most of the discussion was centered around that point. At one stage, Gilgilatch's eldest paternal uncle tried to persuade his brother to give up and said: "he is one of us let us give up" (by "one of us" he meant that Gabite belonged to the Nigabite age set, and Gilgilatch's agnates of her father's generation to the Nilimkorio age set, both of which are two age sets in one line of succession). But Gilgilatch's father said: "He is too (i.e. the bond-friendship partner who belonged also to Nilimkorio age set and was one of the judges). You bring him the cow and it will be good", and left no doubt that the marriage would not take place unless

Gabite agreed, as eventually Gabite did.

Sometimes the offer for a large immediate transfer of bridewealth comes from the groom's agnates. When Bilile, whose father was one of the wealthiest men in Dassanetchland, wanted to marry Natade, his close agnates came to the daratcho negotiation with a herd of 15 head of cattle as the first payment of bridewealth. Bilile's father had several hundred head of cattle, and was an "outsider" (ma bado), a man who had cattle and was outside the river and its flooded cultivated plots. Natade's father was not so wealthy but was quite well off. Natade's father agreed to the marriage but refused to accept the bridewealth, he told Bilile's agnates - "how can we "eat" now when our daughter has not yet given birth". Bilile's father said: "we are "outsiders" (gal bado) we do not come here (i.e. to Nyamumery settlement near the cultivated plots) so it is good if you "eat" now", but Natade's father refused and said: "no, we shall "eat" later". Though, a marriage agreement had been reached, Bilile's agnates returned to their home camp in Kar-olo without transferring any cattle. It is not, however, the amount and timing of bridewealth transfers that are the only subject for negotiations. Sometimes the bride cattle demands on the groom are so heavy that the real intention is to force other concessions from the groom. Doshite's case is an example of this. Doshite was in his late twenties

and the son of a fisherman. He was poor and had only 4 head of cattle and 12 head of small stock. Though, he himself was not engaged in fishing, both his agnates and maternal kin were all fishermen who lived in a fishing village, (at Lubwangole on the east bank). Doshite had courted Nabuid for some time but probably was not her lover. Nabuid always answered Doshite's suggestion that they ^{should} eloped by saying "go and speak to my father". Doshite told me that he had "thrown" coffee beans several times but that Nabuid's father had refused to invite him to talk. Eventually Nabuid's father did so. During the marriage negotiations, which I attended, Nabuid's father, who was a wealthy man especially in small stock, repeated in different ways that his daughter was only used to drinking milk and that "she does not know anything else". Nabuid's father, then, asked Doshite to come and stay at his home camp so that he could find out if he knew about small stock, and he also asked that Doshite's youngest brother should come too. In other words, Nabuid's father agreed to the marriage on the condition that Doshite would stay in his home camp and together with his brother assist in the management and herding of the small stock of the bride's father. This is, indeed, what happened as I saw when I visited the home camp of Nabuid's father in Dalafitch a few months later.

F. Hai hasade - Marriage by capture

Finally, there is a marriage by capture (hai hasade). Dassanetch say that a girl can be captured by force only if her groom is from another age set and/or territorial section. They say also that if the groom is of the same age set and territorial section as the bride's, then marriage should be of the elopement or negotiated type. My data does not support this statement. I found that capture by force did take place within one age set and territorial section, and that girls and men belonging to different age sets and territorial sections were married by elopement or negotiation.⁷ Dassanetch distinguish between two different kinds of capture. The first is what they call fārgoginte, which translates as "showing off by force". This usually occurs either after a girl has agreed to elope with her lover, with or without the knowledge of her brothers, or after the girl's brothers and/or her father have refused the young man. In both cases the girl usually knows and agrees to marry the young man, and her agnates will have some knowledge of the capturer.

The other kind of capture is hai sare, which occurs when a young man captures a girl who has not been courted by him and whom is hardly known to her, either to her agnates. This form of capture usually takes the girl's kinsmen as well as the capturer's kinsmen by surprise. Indeed, even the

7. The Rendal territorial section is an exception. Since Rendal girls are not circumcised before marriage they are not captured by force by members of other territorial sections.

capturer's father will be surprised. Generally, only the immediate age mates of the capturer know the details of the operation. What distinguishes the above two forms of capture from the elopement type of marriage, is the immediate performance by the capturer's age mates of some marriage ceremonies especially the ceremonial first sexual intercourse of the bride and the capturer, the opening of her leg rings and the loosening of the front part of her maiden skirt (sila).

But it must be emphasised that the performance of these ceremonies do not mean that the girl is legally married. When the girl's agnates have found out who the capturer is and where he stays they travel to the scene, though they will not usually arrive until after the above ceremonies have been completed. If the ceremonies have been carried out and they still refuse to allow the marriage, they take the girl back with her leg rings and other ornaments, plus an ox as a compensation. Even if the ceremonies have been carried out, but the marriage is not accepted by the girl's kin, she reverts to her pre-capture status ~~of~~ as an unmarried girl (marte). On one occasion I went to the capturer's home camp at Tuərongole with Arkoi's agnates. I had the impression that Arkoi and his agnates might have agreed to the marriage. But when they arrived the girl screamed and shouted - "No, no, you will not "eat" my bridewealth. I do not want him", and the marriage did not take

place, and the girl with her agnates returned to Nyəmumery with an ox as a compensation.

The only other case of negotiation after capture which I attended was after Liwan's marriage proposal had been rejected by Nachere's brothers, and Nachere had been captured by her lover Liwan and his age mates. When Nachere's agnates came to Diele Riele from Mort-kali-ko, they saw Nachere wearing the skirt of a married woman (modotch), which meant that the first marriage ceremonies had been completed. They immediately requested the return of her rings and ornaments. Liwan told Nachere's agnates that he had already given them to his sister, and Nachere's father asked, therefore, for a milk cow as an equivalent for them. For several hours Nachere's agnates refused to listen to any solution or offer but insisted on her return. But towards sunset there was a change of heart and the discussion was concluded by Nachere's father who told Liwan: "I do not know you, your language is not mine, you captured my daughter and I do not want anything to do with you. Bring now 4 cattle". Nachere was left with her husband and the party returned to Mort-kali-ko with 3 cows and one ox as the first payment to Nachere's eldest paternal uncle and one cow for Nachere's father. This last was not a bridewealth portion but a return for Nachere's ornaments.

This incident indicates the ~~uniqueness~~^{rarity} of the capture by force type of marriage and distinguishes

it from all other forms of Dassanetch marriages. That is whenever, an agreement for marriage after capture is agreed, the wife givers demand and receive the first payment of a few head of cattle on the spot. I interviewed a man who captured a girl by force. Neither the girl herself nor her agnates objected to the marriage, but his father did. Therefore, he said, the "marriage, of course did not take place". I asked why, of course, and his answer was: "Who will make her the ogo skirt? Who will shave her hair? Who will build her a hut? Who will take the galim cow to her parents?" All of which are tasks which the groom's mother and father are required to perform and without which the marriage ceremony cannot be regarded as completed.

In any type of marriage, if the groom's father absolutely objects to his son's marriage, the marriage will not take place. Since Dassanetch men marry relatively late in life, usually, in their late twenties or early thirties, the majority of men's first marriages (64%) occurred after the death of their fathers, and almost all second marriages (96%) took place after the death of their fathers (See Table 16).

Only a man's father can openly object to a boy's marriage, his brothers or paternal uncles cannot. The latter can influence the groom's father to veto the marriage, and a father might listen to them.

After the death of a man's father, the objections of brothers or paternal uncles cannot prevent a marriage.

Table 17 shows, besides the four "pure" types of marriage, some other combinations which deserve an explanation. AB indicates that betrothal was followed by a mutual agreement between the suitor and the girl. This combination does not occur when the future bride is still young, as in a "pure" betrothal, but only when she is ready for marriage. The suitor and the girl inform their kinsmen, both sets of kinsmen then exchange visits and decide to establish formal relations at a meeting of "the going with a container of milk" (kurum size). In all the instances of betrothal which followed an agreement between the suitor and his sweetheart, negotiations were short and simple and only a brief time elapsed before the marriage.

When agreement between the suitor and his sweetheart precedes a negotiated marriage (type AC) it means that the girl's father and/or brothers, who had been informed about the couple's agreement, had asked the groom's agnates to approach them for further negotiation. In such instances the girl says to her lover: "My father wants you to bring him some coffee". This usually occurs when a girl's agnates either want to arrange some special arrangements about bridewealth transfer or impose some other special conditions on the

suitors. Marriage by capture may follow an agreement between the suitor and girl for several reasons. It might be a public demonstration to abolish the betrothal of each or either of them to another spouse, and ~~(to)~~ publicly display their different intentions. It could also be a means of blocking the advances made by a suitor who is the favoured choice of the girl's brothers, or a means used by the suitor to bring pressures to bear on his agnates, particularly his father, by facing them with a fait accompli.

Sometimes a girl agrees to marry a man but wants to delay the marriage itself, so the eager man captures her. Or a girl may accept a suitor's proposal but asks him also to secure the agreement of her parents and brothers, whom the suitor fears may reject him so he forces the hands of the girl and her kin.

Sometimes capture occurs after negotiations (type CD) have failed or become dead locked. The frustrated suitor then uses capture to force the agreement of the girl's family. The 20 instances in my sample in the categories (D, AD and CD) in which 'capture' occurred, of course, only indicate those which were successful. I am unable to estimate the proportion of unsuccessful attempts.

I encountered no instances of other combinations of marriage types such as CA or ACD.

G. Conclusion

Two interwoven themes, I suggest, run through the description I have given of marriage types. One is the variety of marriage types, each of which relates to a different mode of spouse selection. The other is concerned with the intense competition for available nubile girls and the different ways in which the various peoples concerned in a marriage endeavour to influence spouse selection.

To understand the various types and combination of types of marriage and the responses and actions of the various actors concerned in a marriage, it is first necessary to refer to some points from previous chapters. Firstly, Dassanetch farming and herding is based on the very mobile polygynous family, for which a man needs the labour of a wife or wives and their children, but also needs the support of others in order to recruit labour and to get access to plots. Those rights stem, at least in good part, from descent; but their development, and a man's life chances, depend on his skills at agriculture and herding plus his skills at creating a support network of social relations which is centered on him, rather than on the set which he acquires from his position in a kin group.

The intense competition for nubile girls is aggravated by the high rate of polygyny among elders who are in competition with their juniors. Elders' people who compete with young men for nubile girls

~~but~~ elders seek young wives not so much for sexual satisfaction ^{as for} prestige or to increase their social ties but particularly because an elder needs the domestic labour of a young wife, especially to provide hospitality for his guests. ^{The, a person} ~~The clear~~ ^{a term which} distinction between a first wife taken by a young man and a later young bride taken by an elder is illustrated by the terms by which wives are called. A first wife is called "min a shurte", - which translates as "wife of the front part of a man's hairdress". The front part of a man's hairdress symbolizes a man's reproductive aspects. It is a man's pride and the place in which feathers are inserted for special rituals. On the other hand, a young wife of an elder is called min kars, which translates as 'wife of the stool', Dassanetch state that she is called so because it is she who brings her husband the stool to sit on, whenever he wants but especially when he entertains, co-residents and an only and elderly wife of an old man can hardly cope with the economic and social demands of daily work^s and hospitality of a 'big man'. For a man the search for a wife is made more difficult by the various rules of exogamy which restrict the range and number of girls available to him. But a young man is not generally restricted by lack of cattle for bridewealth in his search for a bride, nor is he dependent on his father's good will to provide bridewealth cattle. Bridewealth

is transferred over many years by instalments and very few men are prevented from getting a wife simply by lack of cattle. What a man needs to acquire a wife (and perhaps through her access to economic resources such as land and labour independent from his father and brothers) is not so much economic assets, but a set of social assets in the form of social relationships which he can utilize. A man's own access to potential spouses and to economic resources is affected by the marriages of his siblings and other close agnates, so any marriage may become the centre of a wide range of conflicting interests, particularly between father and sons and between brothers or between the girl's brothers and their paternal cousins. From Table 17 we can see not only that marriage by elopement and marriage by negotiation, are the two most frequent types of marriage, but also that 64% of all negotiated marriages were in respect of second and third wives and 70% of all marriages by elopement only, were of first wives. The greatest number of marriages by young bachelors were by elopement and those of established elders were by negotiation.

That young men relied more on force, persuasion or seduction than elders does not only depend on physiological differences (i.e. that young bachelors are more likely to be attractive and intrepid lovers than elders) but is also crucially related to the central issue of who exercises control over the bride.

A son inherits some of the social connections of his father, frequently expressed in terms of stock debts,⁸ but as he matures and particularly through marriage, a man must establish relationships that are independent of his father. Such relationships and the potentials which inhere in them, may run counter to the interests of a suitor's close kin, or counter to those of the close kin of the girl he seeks to marry. Indeed, in the interests of most bachelors are likely to diverge from those of his agnates and those of the kin of his bride. The desires of a girl may also run counter to the interests of her father and her brothers and other agnates.

An elder who wants to take a young bride can only secure the marriage by approaching a girl's father and paternal uncles and entering into negotiations. An elder who is of the same age as a girl's father is unlikely to live for many years and so, as bridewealth debts of wife receivers are not inherited, he can reasonably be asked to transfer a large number of cattle

8. Apart from the right to receive bridewealth which a son inherits from his father, all other relationships which a son inherits are weak, though, some may in certain conditions be redeveloped; but most inherited relationships are likely to decline in strength and be replaced by new bond-friendships which the heir himself establishes and fosters. (This subject is developed in Chapters 11 and 12).

in early and large instalments.⁹

Whether or not cattle should be transferred immediately is one of the causes of dispute between a girl's father and his brothers on the one hand and a girl's brothers on the other. During the daratcho negotiations a girl's father is in a position to dictate when and to whom cattle should be transferred. The lion's share goes to his own brothers, and his sons the girl's brothers are forced to wait or may even be deprived of their share. Thus it is the bride's father who determines the first series of debt relationships which an old groom will establish. A father's choice usually favours his own interests and those of his brothers rather than those of his sons. The girl's father and his brothers then receive an immediate reward and are enabled to use the cattle they receive to strengthen their own social connections. Elders, it will be remembered, are in a stage in their life, during which their herds are diminishing but when they still need cattle. Marriageable bachelors, on the other hand, are not

9. In case of levirate the levir usually completes the bridewealth transfers. But these are a supplement to the payments of the deceased who had covered the payment for his children. It is difficult to exert pressures to complete bridewealth on a levir.

interested in the immediate receipt of cattle into their herds, but are more concerned to establish relationships for the future. This they can do best not by transferring large instalments of stock but by becoming indebted to set of affines from whom they take a bride, and to whom bridewealth will only need to be paid over a long run of future years. Similarly a girl's brothers may object to her marriage by negotiation to an elder because such a sister's husband will bring with him into the marriage an already well-established network of relationships, and one in which most persons will be other elders of the groom's own age. That is, relationships which are formed and do not contain the potential to be developed by them, in their own interests, which are likely to be different from those of their fathers. In other words, the second or third marriage of an elder tends to strengthen a set of social relationships which is already formed and fully developed, while young men want to establish relationships with their contemporaries which can be mutually built up and developed as they jointly age and which hence are likely to endure. Contrast between an elder who marries a young bride and a young couple's marriage is demonstrated in the avoidance rule (somo) which the wife receiver and the bride's agnates of the ascending generation must maintain. The rule is applied in the marriage of two youngsters, but is not applied between an elder groom and his young bride's father and uncles. A simple ceremony

to abolish this rule of avoidance is performed.

No matter how the bride's brothers' interests among themselves differ in establishing affinal ties with a young suitor, their interests are antithetical to those of their father and paternal uncles. The marriage of their sister to an elder groom means that they will be in the position of juniors towards the people in the elder groom's social network.

The influence which a girl's brothers can have over her sexual activities, provide them with opportunities to manipulate her choice to coincide with theirs.

A girl's sexual experiments are directed towards marriage and, since the rules which regulate all sexual intercourse are the same as those of marriage, her love affairs are part of a game through which she aims to find herself a suitable suitor. The question is the "right" suitor for whom? A girl can indicate her favours among those who court her by giving a favourite lover (or lovers) an urien necklace. Here she has choice because her brothers will never solicit lovers for her. The brothers can only divert potential spouses from ^{or} _A towards her, within the limits of her choices, by either discouraging or encouraging a particular lover or lovers. Young boys and girls in their 'love play' may well not be aware of affinal links which a marriage might create, nevertheless as we have seen, the consequences of their "play" can determine whole sets of relationships

for their families. There are only a few prohibitions on the "love play" of boys and girls (such as sexual intercourse between the betrothed) but their activities are institutionalised and, to a certain extent, controlled. This control is sometimes expressed in the ways in which, and by whom, the initiative is taken. It is, therefore, difficult to distinguish the patterning of Dassanetch marriages in terms of status relations. As we have seen, within these limits there are many uncontrolled and unexpected elements, one of which of course, is unintended pregnancy. Certainly not all, or even most, marriages by elopement or capture are regulated by a girl's brothers, and as we have seen marriages by elopement or capture occur quite often in spite of the inclination of a girl's brothers. A marriage by negotiation is not restricted to suitors who are elders. It often happens that a young man who wants to by-pass the objections of his sweetheart's brothers approaches her father directly. This is especially so where there is some sort of affectionate relations between one of the suitors kinsmen and one of the girl's. The disputes between the older generation (of the girl's paternal uncles) and the younger one (of the girl's brothers) ^{and} is even more acute if the girl is an orphan. In such a case the rivalry between the girl's paternal uncles and her own brothers often becomes acute. Because custom states that the ascending

generation has the prior right to negotiate the terms of her marriage. The girl's brothers, on the other hand, may object and this sometimes leads to an open clash between the girl's brothers and her paternal uncles. Similar confrontations of interest between the two generations also occur over betrothal arrangements. A betrothal is initiated by the parents of both a boy and a girl while she is still small, in order to establish close social relationship between the two families. The maintenance of a betrothal for a long time is difficult for the reasons I outlined above, but some betrothals do end in marriage. But, if a girl's brothers do find that her betrothal is against their interests, they have the same means of disrupting the arrangements by influencing the sexual activities of their sister as they have in other forms of marriage. A marriage by capture sometimes creates a difficult dilemma both for the elders and youngsters of the captured girl's family. It is difficult for me to draw definite conclusions from the two discussions that I observed. But I suggest that if both the elders and the youngsters think they will be worse off with the relationships the capturer's family offers, than they would be from an alternative marriage, then their united objections would be firm enough to ensure that the girl is returned to her father's home camp. But, if one party thinks that relations with the capturer's family are to their advantage, even if the other does not, then the girl will not be returned. It is not always, however,

the girl's brothers who press for acceptance. In Chapter 7 I indicated the disputes that stem from conflicting interests in livestock management, different rights in a herd and in inheritance which exist between father and sons. In this chapter we have seen another area of potential dispute between fathers and sons which is centred on the interest that fathers have in consolidating existing social relationships as opposed to the interest sons have in creating openings through which to build up social relationships. One of the ways which a man's status can be valued is from how he succeeds to establish a plurality of affinal ties. Table 17 also indicates that young men strive to establish certain specific affinal relations with many affines among their contemporaries whose economic assets offer future ~~possible~~ ^{likely} ~~like~~ of exploitation. But when they in turn age and seek second or third wives they will seek a different kind of affinal relationships, at this time among their contemporaries who have high status and social assets which are immediately exploitable. Confrontations between fathers and sons ~~are~~ clear and frequent in Dassanetch. Young people often talk disparagingly of elders saying "Their time has passed" (war le be) and elders, on the other hand, as one of them told me, say: "It is no good to have sons. Sons do not listen and there are always quarrels with them. Girls are good. A man who has girls is a wealthy man". The wealth that girls provide is in term of status which is reinforced and strengthened

by their marriages. These place a father in key positions in networks of social relationships in which he articulates and crystallizes the interests of his close agnates and the in-laws of his own generation. It does not refer to bridewealth because a father does not receive any bridewealth from his daughters' marriages. In other words, the brothers of the older generation compete with the succeeding generation of brothers for the same affinal ties. Since marriageable girls are scarce, the generations are in a strong competition for spouses, but they are not in direct competition for the same women; they cannot be so because they each belong to different exogamous grand sets and moieties. Therefore, when marriage is established and the affinal ties which were created are in favour of one generation it is usually at the expense of the other. As both generations are jointly wife givers, the generation which was prevented from creating affinal ties in its own interests, may carry its discontent into the post-marriage relationship and exert undue pressures on the wife receiver. The type of marriage itself may also influence the relations between the affines it creates. The wife givers may totally reject a suitor but they seldom do so explicitly. My impression was that they were generally reluctant to talk themselves into a position from which there was no retreat and one which might be outflanked by surprise - i.e. by capture or by a tacit alliance between the brothers of a bride and her suitor. In

many situations a marriage seemed to be imposed on the wife givers in that they first demanded the girl back but later agreed on the condition that when she gave birth, bride cattle would be transferred. In my experience this condition is seldom fulfilled. Once marriage has taken place, ~~the transfer of~~ bridewealth is gradually transferred and only a small amount of livestock is given annually. When wife givers, after a girl has eloped, or been captured, or became pregnant, agree to the marriage on certain conditions they are in fact saving face but recognizing that one generation or the other or both have failed to ensure that the husband chosen was one that suited all their interests. Such accommodation also permits the wife givers to leave the "door open" for an improvement of their relations with the bride receivers. But such improvement depends on the future behaviour of the wife receivers. A husband lives under constant pressures to complete his bridewealth payments, as we shall see in the next chapter, and one of the features of a good relationship is the regular transfer of bridewealth instalments. The high rate of divorce where relations are bad shows that the pressures to pay bridewealth may become intolerable. Many men who had divorced their wives told me that they had done so because they could not stand the constant demands from their former wife's kin. But such pressures also follow on a negotiated marriage. Sometimes the sons exert pressures on the wife receiver

without the knowledge or the approval of their father or uncles. I shall discuss divorce in another place. Here I only want to stress that the very fact that marriages of all types may result from a series of ad hoc arrangements ~~and~~ may prove to be a source of weakness a few years later. Some of the reasons which led to the establishment of the marriage may no longer be relevant and mutual dissatisfaction may arise. Dassanetch do not regard elopement, capture or pre-marital pregnancy as immoral conduct or as carrying any social stigma, but rather as the "stealing" of an asset for which the wife givers had other plans. This moral neutrality enables both families to engage in concrete negotiations immediately through a compromise meeting (nyebukui). Both sides can endeavour to reach an agreement from which each side may salvage what it can without the discussion deteriorating into a fight or generating intolerable emotional hostility, that could last for years.

Finally, the competition for women is not such that the holders of the valuable asset, a nubile girl, can always be sure of getting the highest return for her. There are always unpredictable elements so that men must strive to control and influence spouse selection, but never be sure, that their striving will be successful. This very uncertainty generates its own intensity.

Some Aspects of 'Gift' and 'Debt' relationships and the transfer of bridewealthA. Introduction

One day two young men who were wife givers to a man named Ardero came for four days in succession to demand from him their father's share of bridewealth which was due for Ardero's second wife, their father's brother's daughter. The father of the young men was dead and they were claiming as his heirs. Both young men were about 25 years of age. Ardero was about 35 and he and his two wife givers, all belong to the Nigabit age set though of different sub-sets. The two young men talked constantly and their speeches were studded with phrases such as: "Did you really understand"? (Kun ata bana male) and "Bring it"! (Kha eb), this last expression is used when demanding the return of a debt. The disputants sometimes raised their voices, and the young men did not behave towards Ardero with the respect due to him as a member of a senior sub-age set, indeed they even threatened him. They did not quarrel but I could feel the tenseness. When they left the young men were promised that their bride-wealth would be given to them during the coming period of plenty.

In another home camp at Kut-i-garo, on the west bank, I was working with Yerer the son of Government chief Atol. He showed me his and his father's herd of milk cattle and named each of the cows according to its colour, its yield and other qualities and described to whom it belonged. Of

one cow he said "this is a gift" (se hala he shisho). When I asked what kind of gift, he distinguished it from a gift of the "bond friendship of gift" (Lil metch shisho) and stressed "it is from bridewealth from my brother-in-law". Later, this brother-in-law confirmed this saying, "It is true, I gave it" (tagle, Yu shis), an expression which is used mainly when someone gives a gift as a gesture of generosity. In the instance of Ardero the demands for bridewealth payment were expressed in terms of debt and in that of Yerar of gift. In other situations bridewealth was referred to neither as debt nor gift but, "eating" was used as a synonym for receiving bridewealth. Within the long and gradual process of bridewealth transfer, I shall first examine the social contexts in which bridewealth allocation is treated as either a gift or a debt and when it is not. This will be done by an illustration of the actual options and manipulations open to a man when he transfers bridewealth. I will concentrate on the sequence of bridewealth allocation and will emphasize the selective aspect of affinity. In the next ^{chapter} paper I will elaborate the issues of jural rights in bridewealth and its manipulation through various claims in different categories of social relationships.

B. General information about the allocation of bride cattle and bride small stock

I will first present some general information about bridewealth. Dassanetch divide bridewealth into two distinct categories - bridewealth of cattle (fotcho) and bridewealth

of small stock (shebedam)¹. For convenience I will use the term bridewealth to include both bride-cattle and bride-small stock.

The distinction between types of stock indicates a sociological distinction:

- a. Most ^{, but not all,} of the people who have the right to receive bride cattle also have the right to receive bride small stock.
~~But not all have the right.~~ (see paradigm App.4)
- b. The number of bride cattle a wife giver receives as his portion of the bridewealth depends on his ^{genealogical} ~~sociological~~ proximity to the bride and his order of birth. Bride small stock, on the other hand is given in equal amounts to each person who has the right to receive it and it is always one ram and one ewe.
- c. Bride cattle and bride small stock payments are not usually transferred at the same time (i.e. the relationship is kept open for once all has been transferred the relationship becomes one of a different order). Bride small stock, for example, may be transferred in the year the wife gives birth, but the transfer of bride cattle may be delayed for another fifteen years or vice versa.
- d. Bride cattle are rarely slaughtered on the day of the transfer but are added to the herd of the receiver. Sometimes one head of bride small-stock is slaughtered on the very day of its transfer and eaten together by the donor and the receiver.

¹ The term fotcho is also used as a general term for bridewealth. When they want to distinguish between stock they maintain the above distinction.

As was shown in the previous chapter the total amount of bridewealth a groom is expected to transfer to his affines is never discussed during marriage negotiations, and the exact number of beasts the wife receiver will transfer to wife givers is unknown at the time the marriage takes place. The number of beasts transferred varies from marriage to marriage, in part because the total number and the social composition of wife giving groups varies. The number of living wife givers at the time of the marriage also does not indicate the total amount of stock which eventually may have to be transferred. The number of bride-wealth receivers may increase after the marriage if more children are born to the girl's father or if he makes other bond friendships. But it must also be emphasized that when some positions in the set of wife givers are not filled there is no allocation.

^{Appendix 4} ⁵
 Paradigm of ¹ and Table ^{Appendix} show the categories of people who have the right to receive bride cattle and bride small stock. They are divided by Dassanetch into three orders of priority. These orders represent an ideal type only. A Dassanetch when questioned about the order of allocation will give this ideal model as the order in which bridewealth should be transferred. But in fact I found that in almost all instances of bridewealth transfer that I encountered, these orders of priority were not strictly kept. These orders of priority are not exclusive, in that all debts of the first priority have to be discharged before payment of the second commences.

What then do these orders represent? They do not indicate the strength of the right to claim bridewealth, but only the order in time when they should be transferred. Some of the

strongest claims, for example those of the brothers of the bride, are among the last to be met. Equally others with less strong claims, some of whom are not even agnates of the bride (bond friendship partners of the bride's father for example) receive their share early. This discrepancy between the categories creates a situation where the debt relations of a wife receiver to his affines is a complex one, in which it is not precisely clear whose right among wife givers has more weight at any one point in time. This leaves options open to the wife receiver and bridewealth payer to exercise personal choices when ^{later} ~~he~~ actually transfers portions of the bridewealth. Sometimes the time gap between payments to two persons belonging to the same category of priority can be 10 years or more. Moreover, a person does not necessarily receive all the beasts he has a right to at one time and the discharge of obligations may be spread over a period of years.

The rights of a wife giver to receive bridewealth cannot be denied and are inherited. Dassanetch often say "bridewealth is never lost" (fotcho he ma badain). By this they mean not only that everyone will receive his share in due course, however long the time may be, but also that even if a particular wife giver dies before his share is handed over or fully completed the right to receive that share is inherited by his sons. So a man may not leave a herd of cattle as was shown in chapter 7, but he sometimes may leave to his heirs clusters of rights in clusters of debts. I will show later that there are options both within each category and between them, though there are certain expectations that the wife

receiver must fulfil, such as that an elder brother should receive bridewealth before his younger brother.

Over the years the transfer of both bride cattle and bride small stock is regulated by certain rules which define the amount of cattle and small stock transferred and the times when those transfers should occur. When these rules of bridewealth transfers are satisfactorily fulfilled, a wife receiver has certain rights which entitle him, on receipt, to undergo certain ceremonies which permit him to achieve a higher social status. Let us see these rules in detail:

a. If a man's first born child is a daughter he must transfer 12 head of cattle between the time of birth and his "going to dimi". This means that within the period of 7 years the wife receiver must transfer at least 12 head of bride-cattle in order to be allowed to proceed to dimi. In other words, the first 12 head of cattle which are transferred as bride cattle are regarded as also being a legitimization payment. In the event of a divorce, or if his wife dies, a man must complete the transfer of 12 cattle in order to acquire full rights over his children. If he does not do so, then he relinquishes any rights over the children of that wife and his rights are transferred to the child's eldest maternal uncle.² But by the transfer of 12 cattle the father acquires not only full rights over the first born but also over any other children which his wife may bear, so long,

² During the dimi ceremonies of 1969 two men (one from Inkabelo territorial section and one from Inkoria) out of 132, performed the dimi ceremony for their sister's daughters.

that is, as she remains his wife. Every husband then is expected to complete the transfer of this 12 head of cattle within 5 - 7 years after the birth of his first born.

b. There is no time limit within which bride small stock should be transferred, but its completion entitles a man to perform the "departed oxen" ceremony (it galan) which occasion provides him with high prestige and status. However, not every man can perform that ceremony which is hedged by many customary restrictions. But regardless of whether or not they are entitled to perform the ceremony, most men try to complete the transfer of bride small stock as soon as possible. It can be seen from table 18 that bride small stock had been transferred for 92 women out of 177 which is 62% of all women in my sample. The transfer of bride small stock gives a husband certain rights over his wife.

Although a woman is spoken of as "wife" prior to the completion of the transfer of all the bride small stock, the term is used only as "a way of speaking" (af takhama) and she is not regarded as being a full wife. The following dispute illustrates this point. Iriono was "visited" by three sons of the father's father's brother's son of his bride who came to force Iriono to hand over cattle to them as heirs of their father. They surrounded the byre fence which contained his milk cattle at Iriono's residential unit at Nyamumery and announced that "the cattle will not go to graze unless you give us our cattle".³ Everyone was shouting

³ A Dassanetch when demanding bridewealth usually demands it by saying "my cattle". But if he comes to demand the bridewealth in the name of his father or his father's inherited right he says "our cattle", referring thereby to one unit of inheritance.

Table 18 : Age categories of men and the transfer of bride stock and cattle for their wives.

and cursing and the situation was tense. Among the phrases which I recorded were: "Your mother was not circumcised" (ye le torin gaye), "Your mother was paid a compensation for pre-marital pregnancy without marriage" (ye le gwo nyakitchul gale), "Your grandfather did not go to dimi" (eshiku he ma kha din), and in particular "bride small stock was not completed for your mother" (ye le mae shebedam gale man). All of these remarks abuse a man by denying the legal status of his mother's marriage. That the transfer of bride small stock not bride cattle was used as the criterion, even by men who came to collect bride cattle, indicates that it is the transfer of bride small stock which gives legal status to a marriage. Decisions in adultery cases also stress the importance of small stock transfers.

One of the cases I heard in Nyamumery was the as follows: Geritch was accused of having committed adultery with Nasale, the wife of Iamutakhori one of his distant agnates. Geritch was found guilty and was asked to give two milk cows to Iamutakhori. This was a severe sentence and I asked Loyoko, one of the judges, why the elders had a ruled so. His answer was "Because she is a wife", and went on to explain that if the transfer of her bride small stock had not been completed only one milk cow would have been awarded. But marital offences for which a husband can claim are rare; much more important is the shift in rights a husband has over his wife vis-à-vis the wife givers. Before the completion of bride small stock the brothers of a bride can temporarily take back their sister, and indeed often do so, when they think that the husband is procrastinating over the transfer

of bride cattle, and particularly so if he delays after the birth of a child. A sister is retained until her husband transfers enough cattle to satisfy them. Then the bride and her little children return to the husband. But, once the transfer of bride small stock has been completed a wife cannot be taken from her husband, even if there is a delay in the bridewealth transfer, and any dispute over bridewealth transfer must be taken to a 'compromise meeting' (nyebukui).

Bride cattle and bride small stock are not simultaneously transferred. The wife givers will not normally accept the final bride small stock until the bulk of the bride cattle have been transferred.

The wife givers discuss among themselves and may decide that the wife receiver has been giving out bride small stock ~~more~~ disproportionately to his transfers of bride cattle. There should not be a big gap between the two. They may then refuse to accept bride small stock, especially towards the end of the transfer period. The completed transfer of bride small stock marks the full transformation of a bride to a wife, and the relinquishment of any legal controls over her by her brothers. Sometimes, however, the rights a husband achieves on completion of the bride small stock may in practice be ignored by wife givers, as the next two cases show.

Ilorama came to complain to the judges at Mort-kali-ko that the young paternal cousins of his wife had removed her by force to the home camp of one of them which was at Rap. Ilorama, who had completed the transfer of bride small stock, did not mention the word shebedam throughout the hearing, but he frequently repeated: "She is a wife and I want her back".

One of the judges concluded the case by using a proverb: "When the bull shifts the cow he should not be hit on the nose" (Ar he ke se mari min ha so a me ga doin). The young cousins of the wife were told that they did not have the right to take their father's brother's daughter that she must be returned to her husband and that they should slaughter a head of small stock which they should eat together with Ilorame and his immediate age mates.

A woman for whom bride small stock has been entirely transferred cannot leave her husband and cannot remarry except with her husband's permission.

Another example will illustrate this point. Ar had completed the payments of bride small stock but only transferred 8 head of bride cattle for his second wife, who had borne him two sons the eldest of which was about 7 years old. Ar came to the judges (at Mort-kali-ko) to ask for justice. He claimed that his wife had been removed from him by her brothers about 3 months earlier, and had since been married by them to a member of the Elele territorial section. An informant, who knew Ar well, told me that there was a history of quarrels, between Ar and his affines, and that when his wife had been removed Ar had said that he was not going to the judges but would wait until his affines wearied. My informant thought that Ar had not approached the judges immediately because in the past he had twice been brought before them for delaying the transfer of the bridewealth for his first wife. Ar had hoped he might reach an agreement with his affines and that his wife would return to him. The affines claimed that their sister had not been married to the Elele man but was only his

concubine. Nevertheless, the judges regarded the case with particular severity and ruled that the wife should return and that Ar should be compensated with 3 milk cows.

A husband who has completed the transfer of bride small stock but not yet carried out the it galan ceremony may still send his wife away, but such a wife must wait for one year before she can remarry, and then can only do so with the permission of her husband. A widow for whom full bride small stock has been transferred is bound by the levirate.

The transfer of bridewealth payments through the years is not always a peaceful and smooth process. The wife givers make constant demands which the wife receivers resist. Most of the disputes I recorded were connected with bridewealth. In every home camp at which I stayed, at least one of its residents had "visitors", usually the wife's brothers or paternal cousins, who came to ask for bridewealth. I observed a similar pattern in most of the disputes. Usually two brothers or cousins come to the home camp of the wife receiver to ask for bridewealth. They do not enter but sit outside and wait. The wife receiver approaches them and has usually already guessed what they have come for. The wife receiver and his in-laws discuss the matter for hours and the wife givers usually spend the whole day in the wife receiver's home camp as guests. The two brothers often return home and then come the next day and then again a few days later. Each time the request is discussed all over again. Or, in the meantime they may just mention the bridewealth issue at intervals, but not press it. My impression was that most married men are under more or less constant

pressure from their wife givers to make further payments of bridewealth.

Yerbur, the eldest married full brother of Nacheré, came to Nyamumery to see her husband Alain about transferring bride-cattle. Yerbur came from Kut-i-garo where he was staying with his father, and spent the whole day in his brother-in-law's home camp. There discourse was friendly and Yerbur made no explicit demands but only hinted that it might be good if Alain could pay some cattle now, because his wife's father was under pressure from his own brothers etc. Two and a half months later, Bilile, the younger unmarried half brother of Nacheré and Labur, the paternal half cousin of Nacheré, came to visit Alain and demanded that he complete the transfer of bridewealth. Their language was not friendly at all. They shouted and said that 6 head of cattle were not enough, because the wife Nacheré had given birth (the boy was about 4 years old) and demanded three head of cattle more. Alain said that he had no cattle available at the moment but when he in his turn received stock from the bridewealth of his sister, he would deliver it to them. Five days later, when Alain was on the east bank, Bilile and Labur came to Nyamumery and took Nacheré with her son to Mort-kali-ko to the home camp of Inyakoko, who was the eldest married half-cousin of Nacheré. Nacheré's hut and its belongings in Nyamumery ~~were~~ left as it was. When Alain came back and was told that his wife had been taken, he went to Kut-i-garo to see Nacheré's father and her brother Yerbur. Alain asked Yerbur to help him get his wife back and Yerbur said: "Give them the bride-cattle they want. They

are bad. Our bride-cattle is not important and you can give it to us in another year, but their bride-cattle give now". When Alain went to the home camp where his wife was kept, Yerbur went with him, and was the one who spoke to his cousins, while Alain just sat quiet. Yerbur's paternal uncle and his son Inyakoko were tough and did not want to give up. It looked as if Yerbur was on Alain's side and was trying to appease his uncle and cousins. Alain hardly spoke, from time to time, he just said: "Yes, I understand (Eh, Ya male)". The agreement was that two head of cattle would be delivered immediately. Inyakoko's father would receive an ox and Nächere's maternal uncle would receive a milk cow. Alain asked a bond friendship partner to lend him a cow; and six days after his wife was taken, he took the beasts to Kut-i-garo to the home camp of his bride's father. Immediately on their arrival, Nächere's little brother was sent to Mort-kali-ko, and two hours later all arrived - i.e. Nächere, Labur, Inyakoko and their father. Yerbur and Bilile were already in Kut-i-garo. All drank coffee and they were joined by neighbours of Nächere's father. Alain and his wife spent the night in Kut-i-garo and the next day returned to their home camp in Nyamumery. In none of the eight cases of wife taking by force which I encountered was the wife taken to her father of full brothers' home camp. All the wives were taken to the home camp of either half brothers (5 cases) or of paternal full cousins (2 cases) or ^{or} a paternal half cousin (the case of Alain). When a wife is taken she should not be brought to her father or full brothers' camp, but to that of other close agnates.

When there are no half brothers or cousins, a wife must never be taken to her father's nor full brother's home camp, but only to the home of other agnates. The bride's father is in a unique position among wife givers to mediate and settle bridewealth disputes between his own agnates and in-laws and the wife receivers. This is so because he does not receive bride cattle and is not in direct competition with his son-in-law over livestock.⁴ His son-in-law also needs him because the bride's father can not only direct pressures on the wife receivers but he can also reduce or divert these pressures, and where there is a dispute, he will strive to mediate and achieve an agreement, because he personally can gain nothing from a dispute. He is structured to be a mediator because he is involved with both parties but has not any immediate self-interest in the receipt of any cattle. Of course, his role as a "mediator" is influenced by his relations with his agnates and in-laws and, as was mentioned in chapter 8, he is the focal point at which the interests of his own generation crystallise. Nevertheless, the fact that he does not receive bride cattle (and custom very clearly emphasizes this) enables him to act as the "wife receiver's man" among the wife givers, and it is he to whom first appeals to mediate or to use his influence are addressed. Furthermore, the fact that the bride is never taken from her husband by her father and is never brought to his home camp enables the husband to develop affectionate

⁴ A wife's father "does not receive bridewealth" applies even to "his share" of bride cattle which he is entitled to receive as one of the set of brothers because that right is in fact transferred to his sons.

relations with him or even to reside in his home camp. He need not fear that his father-in-law will use his wife against him whenever she goes to visit her father. Whatever disputes arise from demands for bridewealth, relations between a husband and his bride's father remain good. The relationship is further protected by "relations of avoidance" (somo) the avoidance being one of respect and not of shame.

Another, and much harsher way of extracting bridecattle is to force the wife receiver to pay by closing his calves and small stock inside the byre, on such occasions a small fight may develop between wife givers and wife receivers. Without exception after such closing a 'compromise meeting' (nyebukui) is held; at which the two sides reach an agreement and the wife receiver slaughters a sheep or a goat and sometimes also even provides coffee to drink.

At one such 'compromise meeting' which I witnessed, Ibile the wife receiver was asked to pay four head of cattle to his wife givers. In the agreement Ibile promised to give one ox immediately and one cow two months later when the big rains started.⁵ The ox that Ibile promised to give was his personal name-ox (ain bisiet). For purposes of reckoning, such an ox counts for no more than an ordinary ox, but it has a special importance because it is considered as a special gesture (bulls and personal name-oxen are not normally transferred as bridecattle) and an honour to the wife givers.

⁵ Bride cattle are moved during the wet season, but bride small stock can be transferred throughout the year.

I encountered only three cases of personal name-oxen being given as bride cattle, and in two of them it was after a quarrel. Dassanetch say that to give a personal name-oxen as bridewealth requires a strong reason such as a serious quarrel with affines. I noticed a common pattern running through all disputes over bridewealth. Whatever the nature of the dispute, and whatever the way in which agreement or compromise was reached, cattle or small stock were never transferred on the same day of the compromise or agreement but at sometime afterwards. The wife receiver himself drives the beasts to the home camp of the wife givers where both drink coffee and sometimes eat together the meat of a slaughtered sheep or goat.

C. A case study of the distribution of bridewealth by Arturga

Let us turn now to see the way in which Arturga actually allocated bridewealth. Since the transfer of bridewealth extends over many years I could not observe the events, but could only record the information supplied to me and reconstruct the social ties which had existed at different stages in the past. I could only check some of this information such as data about allocation of land in the past, bond friendship partners, recruitment of labour at different times etc. with some wife givers and other informants. I could not check with them the actual sequence of bridewealth allocation. The information I collected from wife givers about the sequence of beasts transfers was unreliable, so I had to rely on the information supplied to me by the allocator, i.e. the husband. Though, naturally, there must

be some errors in reconstructing the sequence of the transfers over a long period of time accurately, I think that, by and large, my account is reasonably correct. I also must ignore the changes and shifts in relations that occurred between wife givers and wife receivers after each transfer of bride cattle or bride small stock. Reliable information such as that could only have been collected by observation over many years. What I am concerned with now is only the sequence in which Arturga had distributed the bride cattle and bride small stock to his wife givers over a period of about 20 years. This is summarised in Diagrams 10 and Appendix 6.

In this instance, as is usual, the wife givers and the wife receivers were involved in some kinds of social relationships before Arturga's marriage took place.

When I was in the field Arturga was about 50 years of age. He had married Nämiede, who was about forty, by elopement. Both of them belonged to the Numor age set, which means that both wife givers and wife receivers of the same generation belonged to the same age set, which indicates that political and other kinds of co-operation already existed between them. Indeed, some of the wife givers and some of the wife receivers were immediate age mates. Other forms of economic and social co-operation existed between some individual wife givers and wife receivers as well as between bond friendship partners. Though, the sequence of stock allocation is crucially relevant, it is impossible to point out the immediate connections which existed at the time of each stock transfer. Description of the forms of cooperation

which Arturga described to me as existing are listed in Appendix 7. According to Arturga, ^{bride cattle} had been distributed in the following order.⁶ After the name giving ceremony of his daughter he gave 5 head of cattle (2 cows and 3 oxen) to his wife's father's brother (17), who had died about two years after that. Secondly, the wife's mother (20) had received a heifer which she had transferred to her youngest son (38) who was a bachelor. About that time the bride's father's sister (18) had died. She had not received her portion and 78 became her heir. Third, to receive was the bride's mother's brother (25) who received an ox. Next was the half brother of the bride's father (23) who received one milk cow and one ox as an instalment of his portion. Regarded as a unit his household was entitled to receive six head, these two beasts went to the eldest brother. Fifth to receive was a son of the bride's father's mother's sister's son (43), he received an ox as the heir of his father (27) who had died. 43 still had a right to receive another cow, but at the time this information was collected, Arturga had not transferred it. At this stage after transferring 10 head of cattle Arturga "went to dimi". After that the first to receive bride-cattle was the son of the bride's father's mother's brother's son (29) who received one cow and one ox. He was the only surviving male heir of his grandfather (1). After that Arturga transferred bride cattle to the bride's father's half brothers as representatives of the "other" household. One cow and one ox were allocated to 24, and one ox to 23. (The household was entitled to receive another

⁶ There is about one year between each transfer.

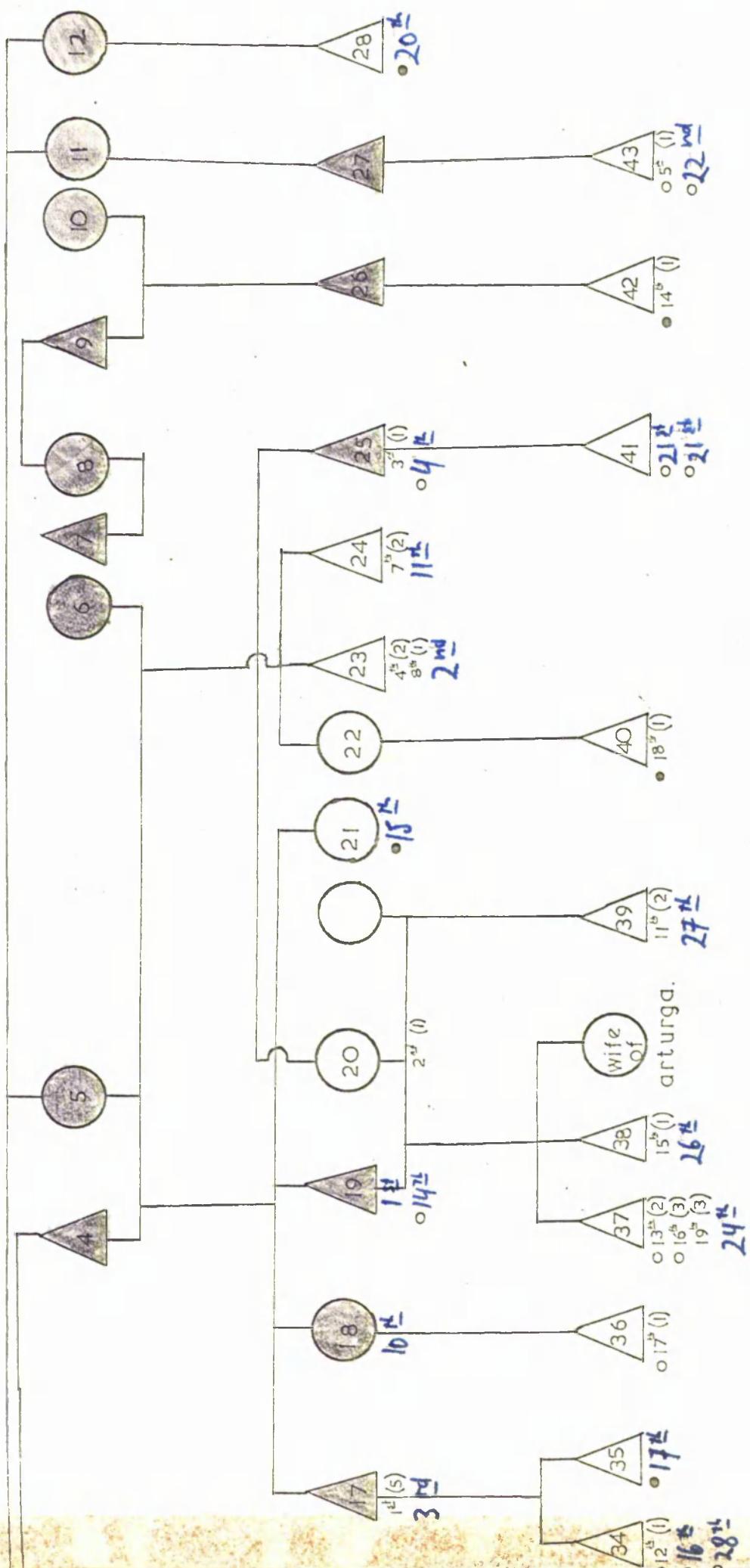
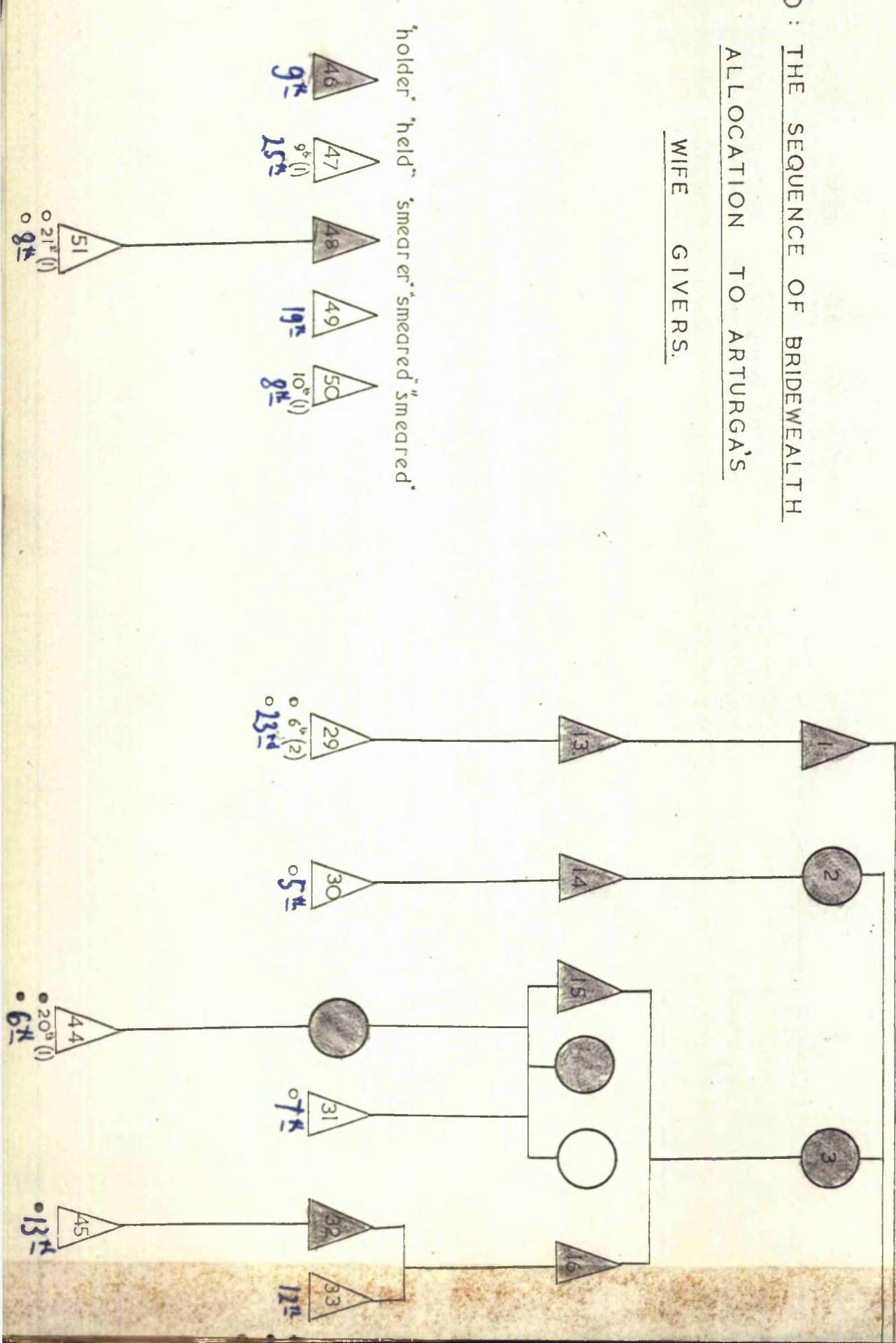


Diagram 10 : THE SEQUENCE OF BRIDewealth
ALLOCATION TO ARTURGA'S

WIFE GIVERS.



Key to Diagram 10.

7th(2) The approximate sequence for receiving bride cattle. Number in brackets stands for number of cattle.

5th The approximate sequence for receiving bride small stock.

◎ Person who had no customary right to receive bridewealth.

○ Received bridewealth as an heir.

cow which had not yet been transferred). The first people to receive bride cattle from among the bond friendship partners of the bride's father were the man who had been "held" by the bride's father at circumcision (47), and the one who was "smeared" by the father at the physical maturity ceremony (50); both of them received one ox. Next to receive was the wife's half brother (39) who received a heifer and an ox. About that time the wife's father died. The twelfth to receive bride cattle was the wife's paternal cousin (34) who received an ox. As was mentioned above Arturga transferred 5 head of cattle to 17. 34 had no right to receive an ox because Arturga had completed the payment of that father's brother's share, before 17 died but, so Arturga told me, he gave one ox because "he liked" 34. Arturga also gave one milk cow and one ox to his wife's eldest full brother (37) as heir to the right which his father had had (the bride's father has a right to receive bridecattle as one brother in the order of birth. Since 19 was the second born son of his father he had the right to 4 head of cattle. But, as was mentioned earlier, the bride's father never receives bridecattle, the cattle to which he has a right are always transferred to his sons.) Next Arturga allocated an ox to 42, who was the grandson of the woman who had "held" Arturga's mother's sister in the latter's circumcision. 42 had no customary right to receive bridewealth as he was not among Namiede's wife givers. When I asked Arturga why he had given to 42, if he had no right, his answer was "because I liked him". During the same year Arturga told me he also gave a milk

cow to his wife's youngest full brother (38), who had married a short time earlier. Next he transferred 3 head of cattle to 37. (two of the cattle a heifer and an ox - were the completion of bridecattle that 37's father had had the right to receive, and one cow was the instalment to 37 himself, as a brother of his wife. 37 still has the right to receive another 5 head of cattle). The son (36) of the bride's father's sister (18) received an ox because he was the heir to his mother's right. Arturga also gave an ox to the son of the eldest half sister of the bride's father (40); he also had no right to receive but Arturga explained the gift in terms of the good friendship. (I think, however, that behind this gift was a desire by Arturga to use 40's unmarried brothers as labour, because Arturga told me that a few years earlier a younger brother of 40 had shepherded Arturga's small stock in the small stock camps). After that Arturga allocated 2 oxen and one milk cow to the eldest full brother of his wife (37). This transfer, which occurred about 5 months before this information was collected, was to 44, the grandson of Arturga's wife's father's father's sister (3). Again 44 had no right to receive an ox and Arturga's explanation was that he just wanted to give it to him. The eldest son (51) of the one who had "smearred" the bride's father (48) was the last to receive an ox as bridecattle.

When I collected this information the transfer of bride small stock had already been completed. Stock had been transferred approximately in the following order: The bride's

father (19); bride's father's brother (half) (23); bride's father's brother (full) (17); bride's mother's brother (25) as the heir to bride's mother's mother (8); the son to the bride's father's father's sister's son (30) as the heir to his father (14); the son (44) of the daughter of the bride's father's father's sister's son (15). 44 has no right to receive bride small stock since the heir to his grandfather was 31 who inherited this right as the heir to 15; the eldest son (51) as the heir of his father (48); the "holder" (46); the bride's (full) father's sister (18); bride's half father's brother (24). The son (33) as a heir to bride's father's father's sister's son (16); the son (45) of the son of bride's father's father's sister's son (16) who had no customary right to receive it; bride's father (19) as the heir of bride's father's mother (5); bride's father's sister (21) who had no customary right to receive it; bride's father's half brothers (34 and 35) both had no customary right to receive it; since their father had received his share; the two "smeared" partners (50 and 49); bride's mother's sister's son (28) who had no customary right to receive bride small stock; the son of the bride's mother's brother (41) who received four head of small stock at once as the heir to his grandfather (7) and as a heir to his father (25). When I asked Arturga why he had transferred two bride small stock payments at one time, his answer was that 41 "went to dimi" at that time and was in a great need of small stock; 43 as the heir to his father (27); 29 as the heir to his father's brother. The bride's brother (37); the partner of the bride's father (47) and the bride's brothers

(38 and 39). Last to receive was 34 as the heir to bride's father's father (4). Arturga had completed all the bride small stock transfers about six-seven years before this information was collected.

D. Conclusion

In the previous chapter I demonstrated the intensive activities undertaken by bride givers to control the marriage of girls in order to affect the formation of future relationship. I also stressed that nevertheless once a marriage has taken place, control over the relationships which derive from it is not automatic. Affinity like other non-kinship ties, needs development and fostering if it is to be effective. Among the Dassanetch ties based on agnation are weak, changes in the composition of residential units are frequent, and territorial mobility is high, so ties of affinity are important because they provide a man with a variety of relationships which contain a potential utility. This is particularly important in such a harsh country. The patterns by which bridewealth is distributed enables any particular giver to transfer stock as and where it suited him to do so within a set of general rules. He used his stock to build up a supporting network of effective affinal ties which he could adjust over time and at places which most suited his needs. In other words, the general and flexible modes of transmitting bride-wealth enable givers to plan and organize in order to secure and maintain future and long run relationships.

Normally a groom transfers only a few beasts in any one year. Arturga transferred 35 cattle and 58 small stock over a period of about 20 years, an annual average of 175 head of

cattle and about 4 head of small stock. Arturga's disbursements were probably on the low side, nevertheless, they show the selective aspect of allocation, i.e. that a man has a good deal of freedom within the limits of the rules to dispose of his stock to whom he wished where and when it suits him.

The distinction which is maintained between small stock and cattle also means that a wife receiver is able to distribute stock among the maximum possible number of wife givers, since one who receives bride cattle does not necessarily receive bride small stock at the same time. For however long the transfer of bride cattle may drag out, a wife receiver is under pressure to complete the transfer of bride small stock. Bride small stock transfer is most important in establishing social relations with wife givers and especially those that have not received their share in bride-cattle and may have to wait for it for many years. The transfer of bride small stock enables the wife receiver to meet many sets of wife givers demand rights more regularly and earlier than he might be able to do with cattle.

Arturga was about 50 years of age when I collected this information. Clearly, he will die without transferring all the bridewealth to all the wife givers who have a right. That most Dassanetch men reach old age and die before they complete bridewealth transfers, shows that bridewealth is not primarily a payment for a wife, nor only a compensation to the wife givers for the loss of the reproductive and labour powers of their daughter. The long period of bridewealth transfer encourages the continued maintenance of active social relations

between the two groups. In this two aspects are apparent. Firstly, the selectivity in allocating bridewealth stresses the importance of maintaining a network of effective ties rather than treating all affines as equal. It means, that not all people with rights to receive bridewealth will receive it, and also that the rights of ^{only} some wife givers will only be met.

So the Dassanetch statement that "bridewealth is never lost" is not exactly true, and certainly not so far ^{as concerns} those whose portion in the bridewealth was either not allocated or not completed by the wife receiver during his life time. Secondly, after the transfer of 12 head of cattle, and especially when it coincides with the completion of bride small stock, the bridewealth transfers are not exactly bridewealth payments any more, but beasts that are transferred to strengthen useful social relationships which are of a different nature ^{from} to those which are marked during the first stages of bridewealth transfers.

Furthermore, at the point in a late stage of bridewealth allocation, that is when the wife's daughter marries, the two groups of wife givers and wife receivers become in respect to that girl's marriage jointly wife givers. When Arturga's daughters marry his wife's brothers will also become wife givers with rights to receive bridewealth from those marriages.

It could be, for example, that 37 will receive in the same year two head of cattle from Arturga as the completion of his share, and also two head of cattle from Arturga's son-in-law in his role as a maternal uncle of Arturga's daughter. In this respect certainly affinity does become effective kinship for the succeeding generation. At this point the ties between wife givers and wife receivers become

complicated with a variety of rights. The fact that in the later stages of bridewealth transfer, some wife givers and some bride receivers share a common interest perpetuates their relations. When Dassanetch say "today we 'eat' their bridewealth, tomorrow we shall 'eat' together someone's else", they are stating a literal truth.

We have seen that close agnates can influence a man's selection of a spouse but that once a marriage has taken place, it is up to the husband to exploit, by deciding to whom and when he transfers stock, the set of potential relationship which marriage ^{has} opened up to him. Because transfers are spread over many years, a groom is not impoverished by marriage nor are the wife givers suddenly or spectacularly enriched. Also, because a man pays his own bridewealth in his own time he demonstrates his independence from his father and brothers. No bachelor needs to wait either for the family herd to multiply or for his sister to marry in order to take a bride himself. It is true that the sequence of transfers might be influenced by the relations a man has with his agnates, and particularly the relations his close agnates may have with his group of wife givers, nevertheless, the decisions as to whom to transfer to, and when to do so, are entirely up to the man himself. In a sense, one of the means through which a man competes for status with his father and brothers is through bridewealth transfers, and this is connected to my earlier argument about development and decline of a man's herd. Prior to his first marriage a man accumulates stock and is not under pressures, but after marriage he enters the phase of reducing his herd, as he distributes stock to his

wife givers and establishes relationships independent of those of father and brothers.

A man inherits some of the bond friends of his father, but he inherits only a few stock from him. A man must create his own social position which does not depend on his agnates. Some of a man's set of active relationships are established before he marries, but marriage provides him with starting point from which he can build his own set of relationships and create his own social position. A man's formal status is controlled by his performance at the dimi ceremony and by the speed with which he completes bride small stock transfers (until he has completed small stock transfers a man cannot become a judge or hold any formal office in his age set), This means that his status is affected by the nature of his relationships with his wife givers.

Furthermore, the completion of bride small stock can facilitate a man's second marriage. It shows that a man's relationship with his affines during the period of his first marriage was such that his wife givers did not block his transfer of the bride small stock which implies that he must have made substantive transfers of bride cattle.

The series of transfers of bridewealth reflects the relations a man has with his wife givers. Bridewealth is a social investment which explains why some people continue to pay bride cattle even after a wife has died or even been divorced by them. In my census I encountered many husbands whose wives had died prematurely but who continued to pay bride cattle of from one to six head but I did not encounter even one case when bride small stock had been transferred after a wife's death. In some cases after a divorce the husband had transferred a few head of cattle. One divorced husband

explained this to me by saying: "she is bad but her brothers are good". I suggest that he was reluctant despite his divorce to write off his earlier investments which he had made over the years in the relationships with his wife givers. If a widow has completed her reproductive span and she is ~~not~~^{taken in} ~~levirated~~^{marrying}, she goes to reside in the home camp of a married son or daughter and then there are no further transfers of bridewealth. A son cannot pay the bridewealth of his father. Dassanetch identify women with cattle. If a son transferred bridewealth for his father, who is of alternate moiety, it would be ~~Tanlamont~~ to incest, because he would be paying with his own cattle the bridewealth debts of his father. Therefore if a son cannot pay his father's debts of bridewealth, and if a widow is not ~~levirated~~^{taken in}, it inevitably leads to a decline in the strength of the relationship between the wife givers ^{and} to the deceased and his sons, this is especially so if the deceased had had no daughters. This clearly connects to my earlier argument that a son must build up and establish his own set of social ties, which are independent of those of his father.

After some passage of time and transfer of bridewealth, there is shift in the relations between wife givers and wife receivers. At the beginning the wife is the focal point between the two sides, but later the relationship between givers and receivers takes on a momentum of its own.

The long and gradual transfers of bridewealth is the counterpart of the long and gradual process of bestowing rights over the wife to the wife receiver. The greater number of beasts transferred the more rights the husband acquires

over his wife. Dassanetch say that a man is called upon to transfer less cattle if he has good relations with his wife givers.⁷ Several times when I mentioned the name of a man who had transferred less than I had expected, the comment was: "Oh, that man, he has good relations with his affines". Dassanetch endeavour to transfer as few beasts as possible while also maintaining good relations with their wife givers. Sometimes it is in the interest of wife givers not to press for rapid transfer but rather to slow it down, and thereby to maintain their rights over the wife receivers for a longer time. But sometimes the transfers are not as smooth and peaceful as I have perhaps suggested. Disputes and quarrels over bridewealth are commonplace and an integral part of the process of transfers. Up to the completion of bride small stock the strongest sanction that the wife givers can take against a groom, is to temporarily take back his wife. Apart from damaging his prestige, this can socially and economically harm him because a man needs a wife's assistance with daily domestic activities such as milking, cooking, taking care of children and entertainment, agricultural tasks and herding. Because agnates are not usually co-resident a man cannot call on a brother's wife for assistance. After the transfer of bride small stock is completed the disputes turn to the exchange of hard words, or regular 'visits' to close his byre by the wife givers, which disrupt the husband's daily routine. Settlement is eased by the following combination of multiplex

⁷ One indication of this in the case of Arturga is that Arturga's "went to dimi" after transferring only 10 head of cattle, and his wife givers raised no objection to this.

relationships.

Wife givers cannot take bridewealth, it must be given to them. Which means that regardless of where a dispute takes place (usually in the home camp of the husband) and the extent of the bad feelings, a husband must always go to a wife giver's home camp and hand over the beasts there. After which the wife giver and the wife receiver drink and eat together. Secondly, it is the half brothers and cousins of the wife who demand bridewealth and get involved in disputes over its transfer, not the full brothers of the wife who remain friends with their brother-in-law. In contrast to a wife's full brothers, her half brothers and paternal cousins do not receive bridewealth from the marriage of their father's brother's daughters^{, daughters} or those of half sister's daughters, and they are more concerned about their father's or their share of present bridewealth. A wife's half brothers and paternal cousins are frequently in dispute with the wife's full brothers over the policy they should adopt towards their in-laws. Thirdly, because bridewealth receiving rights are so widespread, there are usually certain people on both sides who are anxious to reach a quick settlement. Fourthly, when a quarrel is severe a personal named-ox is given to the wife givers. Such an unusual and generous gesture should appease the angriest wife givers. I once heard a man telling his age mates with pride "he gave his personal named-ox", which implied that the husband had subjected himself to his affines. Fifthly, up to the time when a man goes to dimi he is under few demands to transfer bridewealth, but after dimi the number and frequency of the demands increases. When a man marries he may only vaguely know what sort of pressures the

wife givers will exert on him in the future. Equally, the wife givers themselves cannot be sure how good a wife the girl they have given will be and what will be her reproductive capacity. After dimi the demands start to build up and wife givers sometimes approach a "big man" and say to him "now you are a big man". It is shameful for a 'big man' to delay the transfer or for such a man to employ all his social assets in other links, in order to withstand the demands for bridewealth. Finally, the dry season is the season when bridewealth demands are highest and the time when most disputes take place. On the other hand the custom is that bridecattle is actually transferred during the wet season of plenty when there is plenty of milk and grain to provide hospitality. It means also that if the two parties have parted with bad feelings, there is a cooling off period. Bride small stock on the other hand can be transferred throughout the year, and in the dry season, when there is no milk or grain, the slaughter of one beast from the small stock payment permits hospitality. This is an excellent way to reestablish a higher level of relations between the donor and the receiver.

Disputes over bridewealth transfer arise not so much over the number of beasts but because certain wife givers feel they have been deprived of their share for too long, and it is those who feel neglected who press for sanctions against the wife receiver. The very way bridewealth is distributed fosters disputes. The wife receiver himself allocates at his own discretion. Though, the wife's father is aware and informed about these allocations, and to a certain extent may influence them, he cannot entirely control them. Some wife givers decide to act on their own initiative

but frequently, a man may not press for his share because by maintaining a debt he places himself in a strong position vis-à-vis the husband, which enables him to exploit other aspects of their relationship. The gap in years between the generations also mitigates pressures on the wife receiver. Most men marry fairly late so when a man starts to allocate bridewealth, the number of surviving men in the bride's father's generation are few, and their rights will usually have been transmitted to their heirs. Those who inherit the rights are often reluctant to pressure the husband and hence strain the relationship, especially when an inherited right carries less weight, in so far as the ability to exert direct pressures on the husband is concerned. (Modes of manipulating bridewealth claims and exerting them in other spheres and the use of inherited rights will be dealt with in the next chapter). Furthermore, as one marriage into a family excludes the possibility of other marriages into it (for example, two brothers cannot marry related women),^{the} not only limits the range of brides available to a man, but also disperses affinal ties instead of concentrating them within certain groups of wife givers. This means that no wife receivers can be under multiple pressures from the same set of wife givers.

Secondly, the fact that bridewealth from the marriages of each of a man's daughters is allocated to different wife givers according to birth order, serves to avoid the concentration of many claims to bridewealth in the hands of a limited number of wife givers. (See notes to Paradigm App.4)

Since the transfer of bridewealth extends over a long period the sequence in which particular transfers are made has importance for the ongoing set of relationships of the wife receivers and the wife givers. The sequence of bride

cattle transfer determines to a high degree the sequence of bride small stock transfers. A man endeavours to distribute the two kinds of bridewealth as widely as possible, and not to concentrate his payments. I have not examined the relations that exist between wife givers and wife receivers throughout the time of bridewealth allocation; it would have been impossible for me to examine these in the field, and equally impossible for me to observe how one transfer affects others.

Nevertheless, the main point which I am endeavouring to make is that over the years, a man transfers the bride-cattle and bride small-stock in a certain sequence which is not always the same as that which Dassanetch custom prescribes.

When a man marries he enters a network of debts to a set of wife givers. The strength of each of the giver's claims depends on the positions they occupy in the genealogy of wife givers and the principles which govern the customary priorities of allocation. Therefore, when a wife giver has not received his "share" by the time defined by custom, i.e. the payment has been deferred for too long, he expresses a demand for his share as if he were calling for return of a "debt". The Dassanetch concept of bridewealth debts is based on their 'ideal model' of rights and their priorities of allocation defined in the paradigm (appendix 4), the main function of which is to define who has a claim and when it, relatively to others, is due. Dassanetch define a gift between wife givers and receivers in two senses:-

a. a transfer of bridewealth before it is finally due to a wife giver who has a right to it, is a 'gift'. When Arturga transferred one ox to 43, for example, it was regarded as a

gift, because 43's right to receive was among the last but he received among the first, (the fifth).

b. The transfer of stock to a wife giver who has no prescribed right to receive it, as for example, to 42, 40, 34 and 44 in the case of Arturga are also 'gifts'.

I could have argued that a 'gift' presented before it becomes a due 'debt' or a gift presented to one with ~~no~~ ^{debt minus and} prescribed right acted to relieve pressures on the particular wife receiver, because such gift receivers occupied key positions among the wife givers and could influence the other wife givers, in favour of the wife receiver. Certainly, such a gift receiver owes "something" to the donor because he is not expected to return the gift. The receipt of such a gift shifts some of the claims which the wife givers have against the wife receiver back towards that gift receiver in the wife's givers group. But, to say that a 'gift' is that ~~plus~~ ^{which eliminates the} ~~i.e. the pressures and demands to return "debts"~~, is to argue that such a 'gift' operates solely to reduce the pressures of debt claims. This is too simple, and the reality is more complicated. When a man gives such a bridewealth gift, he usually states he has done so because he "liked" the receiver. But behind such a statement there are usually other reasons connected to labour recruitment needs, other forms of co-operative help, relations with joint partners in other enterprises, the dimi ceremony and the competition for status (the subject of the next chapter). It is seldom that a marriage is the first connection made between the group of givers and receivers. Usually there will have been prior involvements in other spheres of activity,

politically, economically, or ritually, as bondfriends, in the age-set system through common residence or/and particularly, shared joint interests in agricultural plots. A marriage causes a shift of emphasis in the relations between some of the members of the wife giving and receiving groups. The distinction between people who have rights and claims and those who must meet these rights is not always clear cut. Rather, various contradictory rights overlap between the same people at the same time. The multiplex relations between wife givers and receivers need to be examined in this context.

In the case of Arturga the principal actors were mutually involved before the marriage took place. (See Appendix 7) The sequence of bridewealth allocation for a man whose relation with his wife givers had been different would also have been different. It seems to me that the sequence of transfers depends on three main factors:

- a. Demographic changes, mainly the deaths which occurs among members of the older generation of the wife givers. For instance, in the case of Arturga the wife's father was the heir to his own mother's share of bride small stock, which share he received 14th in order. 41 who had inherited the right of bride small stock from his grandfather, received his 21st in the order. But if 5 and 7 had been alive they would have received their shares among the first. The wife's eldest paternal uncle (17) was alive when Arturga's daughter was born and he received his share among the first but, if he had been dead his son and heir (34) would certainly have had to wait for that share for several years. As can be seen

from the matrix Table in Appendix 6 the generation of the bride's father received their share first (they are concentrated on the matrix in the ^{-left} ~~Upper~~ quarter) and the succeeding generation were the last to receive their portion (the ~~Lower~~-right quarter of the matrix).

Because he has no entitlement to receive bride cattle the wife's father is in a position to "mediate" and also to play a central role in directing demands on the wife receivers and thus influence the direction and sequence of bridewealth allocations. When the wife's father is dead the role is left vacant and the husband's freedom of choice is therefore greater.

b. Another factor which influences the allocation is the very number of stock transferred as bridewealth. The more stock transferred the more freedom of choice the husband has, and it was not accidental that Arturga started to distribute cattle as gifts to people with no rights only after he had made substantive transfers to claimants by right.

c. Changes in the life cycle of some wife givers also influence allocations. The marriage of 38 or the going to dimi of 41 both meant a change in their social status, which provoked Arturga to transfer livestock to them and thereby to put his relations with them on a fresh basis. Other factors may influence a bridewealth giver's choice, for example the transfers to numbers 29, 43, 47, 50 were probably affected by the fact that Arturga at that time had no young sons to herd for him, whereas 29, 43, 47, 50 had and were able to help fill that labour gap with theirs. A man may also use a choice to reinforce a weak bond friendship tie, as in the case of Arturga who gave a gift to 42.

These three factors which, I suggest, influence the sequence of bridewealth allocation, are not exclusive and are interwoven with and strengthen other ties. In other words, effective affinity is demonstrated through a series of transfers to specific persons over a long period of time. Men sustain a variety of demands and obligations and also keep relationships warmed through careful distribution of gifts.

Finally, affinity is called *lil metch*, the same term used for other forms of bond friendships, but it is much stronger than those. Some bond friendship ties exclude affinity, but affinity does not exclude other forms of bond friendship which can spring from them and strengthen them. Marriage among the Dassanetch is something like a game, in which a hand can be strengthened or weakened. Gluckman and others have quoted the saying "they are our enemies, we marry them"⁸ of those who utilize marriage to make links with people whose interests are in other respects competitive. By the same token Dassanetch call affinity and other forms of bond friendship *lil metch* which literally translates as "person of the wound" (*lil*-wound; *metch*-person). Among Dassanetch affinity is a 'wound' which can either be neglected and become malignant, as hostile affines become, or it can be nursed as good affines are.

⁸ M. Gluckman - Custom and Conflict in Africa. Basil Blackwell. Oxford. 1965. p. 13.

Chapter 10

The Transfer of stock and the transfer of rights in bridewealth.

A. Introduction

"Eating", a word which has often been used in the last two chapters to describe the receiving of bridewealth, is also a synonym for sexual intercourse. But, in contrast to other expressions (Tim, burai, boboy) which are mainly applied to pre-marital or extra-marital sexual activities and stress its illicitness, the term "eating" is only applied to intercourse between a husband and a wife. It emphasises the sexual rights a husband has in his wife. A husband "eats" his wife and wife givers "eat" bridewealth. In other words, the husband acquires rights over his wife while wife givers acquire stock.

In discussing the lengthy and parallel transfers of stock to wife givers and of rights to the husband, I will deal with some points which were raised in the last chapter. First, I will examine the subject of the wife giver's rights to receive various forms of bridewealth, the transmission of these rights by inheritance, and the ways in which these rights are pressed and manipulated by their holders. I shall try to contrast the long-term strategic decisions of wife receivers with the short-term chances they have to exploit tactical advantages.

I shall also endeavour to show the connections between the stages in the life cycle of a man in his role as husband and his selective use of affinal ties during the long span of time during which bridewealth is transferred.

Thirdly, I intend to enlarge on the crucial role that a wife plays in the relationships between her husband and her agnates and maternal kinsfolk.

Fourthly, I shall examine the ceremonies which conclude the transfer of stock and rights, which are performed at "departed oxen" (it galan) and "household" (gol) ceremonies, and consider the implications of these ceremonies for the relationships of the wife givers and wife receivers.

Finally, I shall examine the ritual forms which bridewealth transfers take.

B. The manipulation of inherited rights to bridewealth.

When a marriage is established the wife givers receive rights to bridewealth which ~~is~~^{are} transferred over a long period of time. These rights are translated into claims which are differently manipulated, by various wife givers at different stages in the sequence of stock transfer. Stock that is transferred in a certain sequence, besides being a recognition of a wife giver's rights, represents a particular profile of a reciprocal exchange of relationships, the components of which are varying and often competitive, social, economic and political interests.

The especial manner in which a right is translated into a claim is expressed through a wide range of social and economic activities because the needs that a husband faces vary day by day as the demands of flood agriculture and pastoral transhumance, and their consequent labour demands alter with a startling rapidity.

A man normally claims his rights in the following ways:-- Labour for herding, domestic cooperation in his home camp, help in the transfer of stock, milk and grain between camps; help in storing grain, borrowing beasts in times of need; (especially before and after the dimi ceremony); invitations to eat meat and to drink coffee; political support in times of need, (especially if the wife givers and receivers belong to the same age set).

I have

Of course claims of the type ~~there~~ mentioned above are not exclusive to wife givers and close agnates of a wife receiver, especially his brothers, also participate in any given set of exchange and cooperative relationships. Furthermore, cooperation and exchange between givers and receivers does not depend only on the transfer of stock following a marriage. The establishment of relationships by marriage opens up opportunities for cooperation and exchange which have the potentiality of development into a flourishing relationship which, over time, may be dynamically developed.

In essence, the sequence of bridewealth transfers should be seen as transfers within a developing network of social relationships.

From this four issues for discussion emerge:

- a) Why at particular stages certain wife givers receive

their portion and others do not.

- b) How the transfer of stock to particular wife givers affects the claims of other wife givers.
- c) What are the implications of the transfer to particular wife givers at particular times.
- d) In what way it is possible to distinguish, from an examination of particular transfers at particular points in time, long-term strategies from short-term tactical gains.

Let us deal with these points one by one :-

- a) From the matrix in ^{Appendix 6} Diagram, it can be seen that Arturga started by allocating bridewealth to wife givers of the ascending generation. Without exception in every case of bridewealth allocation which I encountered the rights of the living ascending generation were dealt with first. This follows because wife givers of the ascending generation open to their wife receiver opportunities of access to economic resources at a time when he is in great need of them. A newly married husband especially needs the labour of his wife giver's young agnates to herd his stock. (By custom the young close agnates of the wife take on most of the herding tasks of the bride's husband. A wife's close agnates should invite the husband to join their home camp and such invitations are frequently accepted because in the home camp of his wife's agnates a man can procure domestic help for his wife and also some help in milk stock management. Moreover he may also get the use of a plot for cultivation (Table II shows that 20% of plots had been allocated by affines). This assistance can be proffered because the close agnates of the ascending generation of wife givers are in the stage of their life when they are giving up most of their economic assets and can effectively re-employ these by transferring them to their young affine. In return what they need are bridewealth cattle which they can use to strengthen social relationships with bond friends or age mates or to provide cattle for their second or third marriages. Thus, agnates of the ascending generation will tend to press their claims if they have not received their shares during the first period of

stock transfers. Up to the "going to dimi" of the wife receiver, only the wife's father's brothers usually press to take action against the husband, and the bride's father can seldom prevent them. A distant agnate or wife giver (the wife's father's brother's son or father's mother's brother's son for example) will not usually press their claims at this stage if the wife's father's brothers are alive. If they do so while the brothers of the wife's father have not pressed their claims they will encounter opposition from the wife's father's brother.

After a wife receiver has "gone to dimi" he usually starts to distribute stock to "distant" wife givers. From the point of view of 'rights' he is meeting the rights of those wife givers to whom he is in debt, but as time goes on he cannot rely solely on the economic and social opportunities that are opened up to him by his wife's close agnates of the ascending generation. He needs to spread his relations and to establish his own network of social ties either with bond friendship partners or among distant agnates and paternal and maternal kinsmen of his wife. In short, to exploit those friendships and connections which have been made independently.

From the end of the dimi ceremony and up to the completion of the allocation of bride small stock (shebedam), the wife receiver allocates or makes "gifts" of a relatively large number of stock to as many wife givers as he possibly can. At this period he is also exposed to demands from his wife givers who may appear as frequent "visitors".

In Dassanetch theory anyone who has a right to bridewealth can demand the immediate transfer of stock during this time. In reality the number of right holders who press their rights is limited for several reasons. First, many inherited rights in themselves are not powerful enough to force a wife receiver to meet them immediately, they carry different weights. They can first be distinguished by the times at which they were inherited. The weakest right of all is a right which was already an inherited one at the time of marriage. On the other hand, a right that was inherited several years after the marriage took place is the strongest of all.

Secondly, the stage in the sequence of bridewealth

allocations in which the right was inherited also affects the strength of a claim.

By and large, the closer the time between the wife receiver "going to dimi" and the inheritance of the right the more powerful the claim.

Thirdly, the power of an inherited right depends to a large extent on the composition of the group of living wife givers with direct claims, especially those of the ascending generation. This is especially so for distant agnates and for bond friendship partners of the wife's father. The rights of the ascending generation, and especially those of the wife's paternal uncles, are the strongest and can be easily and forcibly urged. This is well known so to avoid exposure to anger and indignities their rights are usually met first before they are strongly pressed.

Moreover, at this stage in his life the husband is likely to need economic assistance from these same persons, while they in their turn need cattle. Those who have inherited rights, or have the rights of distant agnates, or rights as kinsmen of the wife have weaker claims, which are not likely to be met until stronger claims have been satisfied or it is to the general interest of the husband to satisfy them. As the sequence of bridewealth allocation progresses in time, the people who have inherited rights are more restrained in pressing their rights which allows some freedom of choice to the husband. Inheritance of rights can also affect diverse interests of fathers and sons. If a man receives all the stock to which he has a right during his lifetime, he leaves no rights to be inherited by his sons, so that the relationship between givers and receivers may not be perpetuated into the second generation. It is therefore to the interest of sons that their father should not receive all his share of bridewealth.

Similarly, though a man may let his turn pass to his sons, though they may be reluctant to receive it because they may not want to be put in a position where they "owe" him "something". All men who had received bride cattle in this way through their fathers told me that after that "transfer" their fathers had multiplied their requests

to them for gifts or beasts for slaughter to an amount greater than that which they themselves had received. Whereas if they had waited for their inheritance they would have received them without any moral encumbrances.

b) Dassametch are aware that all the wife giver's legitimate claims cannot be met. Stock transfers are connected to other forms of cooperation and exchange. So in discussing "how the transfer of stock to a certain wife giver affects the claims of another wife giver", it is necessary to examine what provokes a man to enforce a claim and what measures a man takes to dissuade right holders from pressing their claims. It is necessary to distinguish between a right which is pressed as a device for directly extracting some other concession from one which leads to the severance or closure of relations.

As I suggested above the transfer of stock and the claiming of rights occurs within the context of a network of reciprocal relations between the wife givers and wife receivers. A man cannot maintain relationships of similar intensity with all his wife givers. Cooperation with near affines is usually close but is limited to her distant agnates unless they are neighbours. Further, most Dassanetch are forced to be very mobile and need to call for assistance on many different people at different times. A man who thinks he has not been sufficiently assisted by a wife-receiver on whom he has a claim may press that claim from chagrin, as the following story illustrates

Kwata was a father's father's brother's son to Maro who was Yotok's wife.

I was staying with Kwata in a home camp at Dot-miye-khote when Yotok and his wife and children joined us for about three weeks. Kwata asked Yotok to transfer stock due as bridewealth for Maro. Yotok said that at the moment he had none available but as soon as ever he had some he would transfer it. When Yotok had left I asked Kwata why he had made the request. Kwata merely said that he just wanted his share which had been delayed for too long, but I learned later that during the previous year Kwata asked Yotok's youngest full brother for a share in the latter's plot and been refused, Yotok's brother arguing that his plot was too small to be shared. Kwata was unable to cultivate and that year had to exchange eight head of small stock for grain.

Also, according to Kwata, for some years Yorok had been used to join the home camp where Kwata was staying at the beginning of the dry season. Kotok only had young daughters so Kwata used to help Yorok with his stock; i.e. Yotok's stock joined the milk herd of Kwata. Kwata in this instance was evoking his rights in the mildest way, merely pressing his claim in order to keep open the chance to obtain other concessions in the future.

Another way of pressing a claim is to spread rumours. The few instances of this which I heard and saw all occurred where the relationships between the giver and receiver had become moribund. Nyakai had been one of the first to receive his share of bride small stock from Kutchotometi when, as he phrased it, "only a few rainy seasons had passed" after Kutchotometi's marriage to Bilile. Since then many years had passed and few social or economic exchanges had passed between Nyakai and Kutchotometi. I met Nyakai in a home camp in Nyamunery, and for several days Nyakhai brought it up in every conversation that Kutchotometi had given one ox to the half-brother of Bilile's mother while he, as "one of Bilile's people", had not yet received his share. Some 7 months later Kutchotometi¹ asked him if what I had heard from Nyakhai was true. Kutchotometi confirmed the report and commented : - "I know Nyakhai, I know that he wants bride cattle but other people have not received theirs either".

Since it takes many years to meet all wife giver's claims, at any point in time a distant agnate among the wife givers can invoke his right and say that his share has been delayed for too many years, but if he can also make a reference to the transfer of stock to a wife giver who did not possess a jural right to receive, he is able to stress his own right more firmly. By spreading rumours in this way, the wife giver is indirectly sending a "message" to the wife receiver, which states that he is weary of waiting for some sign of economic and social cooperation by the wife receiver who must either move towards closer relations with him, (and there is likely to be some specific help needed which will be known to both of them), or transfer the stock. Usually the wife receiver only transfers one beast which still leaves a door open for further relations. Sometimes

when he does not see any advantage in a further delay, the wife giver will demand the transfer of all the stock to which he has a right. If the wife receiver does not respond appropriately to the rumours, the wife giver will press his agnates to take some action against the wife receiver, and may even take them directly himself, as I have described in the last chapter.

But spreading rumours can lead to other consequences. Other wife givers with rights may when such a rumour has reached them, all at the same time press their claims. This is probably what had happened to Saniye in Nyamumery when I saw his brothers-in-law returning back to him his wife Koboso after he had sent her away. Saniye shouted: "All the time bridewealth, all the time bridewealth, this I don't want". Koboso's eldest full brother tried to persuade Saniye to forget the incident by saying "It is true, leave it, leave it", and Saniye answered: "I am one, they are many, now they all want bridewealth. She also". (Pointing towards his wife as he said this and implying that she had also pressed him to pay the demanders). Eventually, Saniye listened to his brothers-in-law and his wife Koboso remained with him.

This example shows that the pressing of claims is not only a simple one sided process limited to wife givers. The wife receivers can stand on his right by sending his wife away, especially if he has completed the legitimization payment for his children. Such action either serves as a warning that he will cut off the relationship if the wife givers do not reduce their pressures. The latter close kin of the bride might lose by cutting off relations and strive therefore to restore them by restraining their distant agnates. My data on husbands who temporarily send their wives away, is limited, but my impression was that in many cases the pressures of wife givers was the reason for such an act.

c) From what I have written earlier, it should be clear that the actual physical transfer of stock to different wife givers at different stages in the sequence of bride-wealth transfers, necessarily implies a variety of types of relationships. Three main types of stock transfer can be distinguished:-

1) Transfers which open up relationships;

2) transfers which strengthen already existing relationships;

3) transfers which close relationships.

Naturally, the first transfers of both bride cattle and bride small stock^{which} are transfers which open up relationships. This is also true of the transfers of bride small stock which are intended to open up potential relationships with those to whom bride cattle cannot be transferred during the early stages of stock allocation. After the time of dimi, the transfers of stock by the wife receiver are still mostly directed to open up relationships with a range of wife givers, but as time goes on and more stock is transferred the bride small stock allocation comes to its final stages. Theoretically, the bride small stock transfers of the last stages could still be directed towards opening up relationships with wife givers with whom no previous exchange relations had taken place, but in practice, this does not occur. In almost every case of the completion of bride small stock that came to my attention, the last transfers were made to people with whom the wife receiver had previously cooperated and who had already received bride cattle. This can clearly be seen in the case of Arturga who, from the twentieth transfer of bride small stock, allocated only to wife givers who had already received bride cattle.

There is a good reason for acting in this way. A man with whom no relationships had been established, might refuse to accept the bride small stock but by invoking his right to bride cattle thereby block the process of transference of rights to the husband. The last transfers of bride small stock do not close relationships, they merely mark the change in the relations which occur because from then on the wife givers will no longer have any legal hold over the wife. This means that after a husband has completed the transfer of bride small stock the relations between the wife givers and receiver take on a different nature since the sanctions they can bring to bear against the husband are limited. This recognition of the transfer of rights over the wife to her husband is also marked by a change of emphasis in the transfer of

bride cattle from that time on. A wife receiver might wish to open up relations at this stage by "gifts" (as in the twentieth allocation of bride cattle to 44 made by Arturga which took place after the marriage of the youngest full sister of 44 to a younger half brother of the "name giver" to Arturga's eldest son. See Appendix 7

But, by and large, bride cattle transfers at these stages are directed either to strengthen, or to close relationships. When economic and social cooperation was established between a wife giver and a wife receiver and reciprocal exchanges between them were developing, an enforced transfer of bride cattle tends to strengthen relations. In a home camp in Ilgwa I saw a man surprised and delighted when his affine unexpectedly brought him two oxen.

Rights to receive bridewealth are not only divided between bride small stock and bride cattle, but all cattle due to an individual ~~and~~ do not have to be transferred together, so a husband may, and usually does, spread his payments to any one receiver over a long period of time. (Arturga told me that in the future he would like first to complete the transfer to his wife's brothers 38, 39 and 40). The very fact that a wife receiver does not meet a wife giver's rights in full but only in part, emphasises the wish of them both to maintain their relationship.

Kinatch had inherited from his father the right to receive bridewealth from Arlar ~~from~~ the marriage of Nyadome. About fifteen years after the marriage had taken place he received one milk cow and one ox. I asked Arlar why he had transferred the beasts after so many years had elapsed but I could not get an adequate answer from him, but I learned later that Kinatch and Arlar and their wives had cooperated closely together for many years as neighbours, hersmen and cultivators. When Arlar's plot in Diele Khabusia had not been flooded in the inundation of 1968, he had moved with his wife and milk stock to Kut-i-Garo to cultivate along the river bank of Diele Akhudongole. Kinatch's plot, according to Arlar, had been too small for them to share. At the beginning of the rainy season of 1969 Arlar transferred

the two beasts to Kinatch. It could be argued that while the relationship between the two remained close, there had been no need of stock transfers and the transfer occurred only after their cooperation had reduced and the transfer served to strengthen a relationship that was likely to decline. But it could also be that Arlal transferred the beast in order to restrain Kinatch from evoking his right, since it seems that Arlar wanted their relationship to continue (Kinatch's youngest brother was still herding part of Arlal's cattle in a cattle camp). It is not so much the transfer of stock and meeting the rights of a wife giver that ends relationships but rather the way in which it is transferred and the kind of co-operation and exchange that had existed between the two persons. When the cooperative relationships have been weak an insistence on receiving one's rights is likely. But such closures, even if accompanied by a dispute, are not necessarily either accompanied by ill feeling nor need the closure be permanent. It is most likely that in the future the "disputants" may find themselves sharing a common interest and resuscitate their old relationship. But such a closure may be a form of provocative demonstration by the wife receiver. When Arturga allocated a "gift" to 44, the sixth in the sequence of bridewealth allocation, and before he had transferred to 31 who was the lawful heir to 15 and had a prior claim, it was an indication to 31 that he was uninterested in their relationship, a point that is stressed again when Arturga later allocated another ox as a "gift" to 44.

Another common form of closure is when a husband comes to a wife giver and presents him with his share of the bridewealth and states that he is doing so to direct misfortune from his children (especially if they are ill), or to prevent the use of occult forces against his wife and her children. This is likely to occur as a response to the rumours the wife giver has spread about the delays he is suffering in receiving his bridewealth share and the husband fears his anger.

The final transfers of bride cattle are mostly limited to those few wife givers who will become maternal wife

givers when the daughters of the wife receiver are married. They will be few in number because by the time given and received will both have reached the stages in their lives when their herds and economic interests are declining. At first sight it would appear to be difficult to plan so far ahead. Firstly, because over time the needs of people change from those they had when they made plans, as they develop and also as changes occur in their status and social networks. Secondly, during the long period of bridewealth transfers a man finds himself in many unanticipated situations of need which he could not anticipate and plan for. On the other hand, there^{is as} I have shown, a pattern in the ~~wife receiver~~, allocation of bridewealth. First transfers are usually made to the wife's close agnates of the ascending generation, then, after the dini ceremony, a wife receiver distributes to more distant people and creates a wider set of relationships. Final allocations are usually made only to the wife's brothers. But these changes in the direction of the flow of stock are interdependent. The relationships between a wife receiver and his wife's brothers and between a wife receiver and the rest of the wife givers appear to be of a different order. Whatever the extent of cooperation in a common residence of a home camp between a wife receiver and a wife giver (other than the wife's brothers) may be, it is usually and characteristically only of limited duration, and is either of an intense or an extremely limited kind. If they are not actively cooperating then each only makes very limited demands on the other which are usually restricted to requests for plot use. On the

other hand a wife receiver and his wife's brothers normally maintain continuous steady and close mutual cooperation throughout the years. The first period, that of bridewealth allocation to the wife's close agnates of the ascending generation, this usually centres on the sons ~~of these~~ senior males. The youngest brothers of his wife or the sons of older brothers-in-law take over the herding tasks and the bachelor brothers of his wife spend time as his guests at his home camp. The brothers in law probably allocate him a plot and his wife will receive various domestic help from her brothers ^{or} _{and} wives' sisters. In a later stage and even before the wife receiver has close cooperation with other wife givers, this mutual help extends to cover almost all aspects of herding, agriculture, help in dimi by lending animals, hospitality and especially domestic help. The relationships become even closer after the completion of the allocation of bride small stock. Such herding assistance continues, I was frequently told, until a man has sons of his own to undertake the work. Finally, after about twenty years, his daughter in her turn marries and the brothers-in-law of the wife receiver's become in their turn wife givers and acquire rights, as maternal uncles of that daughter's husband. I suggest that one of the reasons why only few people complete the allocation of bridewealth lies in the interest that a wife's brothers have in slowing down the handing over of bride cattle in order to maintain their affinal rights so that they can give strength to the "new" rights they acquire as maternal kinsmen of the new bride. If a wife receiver completes all the transfer of bridewealth, this leads to a decline in the intensity

of relationship and weakens their potential for extension. I interviewed Alain at Nyamunery and he described to me in detail the transfers of bridewealth he had made and the stock he had received from the marriages of his two elder sisters. From the marriage of Tufa the eldest, he received five head of cattle but had received none as yet from the marriage of Tufa's daughter who had not yet given birth. Alain explained that he had not received the other cow to which he had a right, (as the only full brother of Tufa), because "it had disappeared" (he badai). Later, after collecting additional information from his brother-in-law, I concluded that the cow had not "disappeared" and that Tufa's husband Labur acknowledged that Alain still has a right to another beast. I suggest that Alain wanted to overlook that particular right in order to maintain his "new" rights as a maternal uncle, and as the only heir to the 'rights' of his father and mother.

C. The use of affinal ties at different stages in a man's life-cycle.

A husband's life can be seen as falling into three periods which are related to different intensities of stock transfers and the rights he acquires in his wife.

The first period from the start of the marriage until "going to dimi", about eight years, is also the first reproductive period of his wife, and is a period of "adjustment". The young couple get to know the attitude of the wife's agnates, of both the ascending and succeeding generations, through the nature and the extent of the economic and social help they offer the husband. A newly married couple finds it very difficult to sustain their

married life without the consent and cooperation of the wife's agnates. The close agnates of the wife can show their disapproval by urging their rights, thus indicating their feelings about the marriage. But, if they accept the marriage, or come to do so, their feelings are apparent from the degree of help and cooperation which they proffer. But whether their demands for stock are many or few, the actual number of stock transferred during this period is small and only covers the legitimization payment for the children born of the union.

The second period starts after the conclusion of the dimi ceremony and usually ends at the completion of bride small stock, a period which might stretch from six to ten years. This period is marked by an extension of relationships between the two parties and by the husband allocating a large number of stock, especially of small stock, to a range of wife givers. The total range of claims during this period is greater than most husbands could meet and, as I have stressed above, a husband must select which claims to honour and in what order. When a wife receiver has completed the allocation of bride small stock, he acquires a legal hold over his wife, and during the third period enters into different kinds of relationships with his wife givers. By this time his sons are likely to be old enough to herd and the man himself can "relax" a little. He moves less between camps and usually stays in one settlement and depends much less on the kind of exchange relations that he needed when he moved constantly between camps and was in need of labour and assistance. Moreover he will by then have acquired some bond friends on whom he can now rely (Bond friendship is the subject

of the next chapter) and therefore depends less on his wife givers, and during this period he allocates a diminishing number of cattle to his wife givers. The allocations he does make are usually made to his wife's brothers with whom further relationship will be developed following the marriages of their daughters. (In the case of Arturga, the last transfers of bride cattle, i.e. from the fifteenth, were to his wife's brothers). This period also accords with the general decrease in his herd, a process described in Chapter 7. During the first 15 years of marriage the transfer of bridewealth stock is not a burden. Each annual transfer consists of only a few head, which taking into consideration the natural reproduction of a herd, means only a marginal loss. But during the third period a man's stock will normally have been reduced to only a few beasts and the transfer of bride cattle becomes a burden. As a wife receiver transfers less and less cattle he thus "closes" or diminishes his relationships with more and more wife givers, and he must, perforce, select from his wide range of affines those with whom he wishes to maintain intimate relationships. Normally he selects from among his wife's brothers.

D. The intermediary role of a wife in bridewealth transfers.

Before describing the effective ways by which a wife can influence her husband to allocate bridewealth, it is important to understand Dassanetch concepts about supernatural sanctions in so far as they concern bridewealth transfers. It is believed that a wife giver who is not an agnate to the bride might use some weak occult forces

against the wife receiver if the latter refused him his share. (dorto galjete) But any dissatisfied agnate of the bride may utilise much stronger occult forces. (dorto fotcho). Especially he may use a severe sanction which will hit the wife and/or her children. A wife therefore is anxious that her husband will transfer bridewealth for the sake of her own and her children's well-being. But, a wife never just simply asks her husband to keep on transferring bridewealth generally in order to avoid misfortune, rather she urges him to allocate to a particular wife giver when she or her child are ill. In most instances a wife retains membership of her groups of origin (exogamous clan and age set) during her life time; only when the 'departed oxen' (it galan) and "household" (gol) ceremonies have been performed for the wife, is she fully incorporated in her husband's groups. A wife maintains close contacts with her parents and full brothers, she goes often to visit them and she is kept well informed about the internal pressures and disagreements between her agnates and ^{and} members of the group of wife givers. She will know exactly the attitudes of her parents and brothers to a particular wife giver who may be pressing his claims. She usually knows that the stability of her marriage, depends to a large extent on the consent and satisfaction of her parents and brothers whom she wants to please. This is especially so when the wife's family is of a higher status than the husband's or when they had raised an objection to her marriage. So, when a woman influences her husband to transfer stock to particular person she does so not only to avert the occult forces she fears may be arrayed against

her or her children, but also in the awareness of what her father and brothers wish ~~to be done~~. A husband usually follows a wife's advice. In Nyamumery, during the dry season of 1968, I saw Doshite and his wife Segudo approaching a specialist to diagnose the illness of their second child (about 5 years old). He had had severe stomach pains for several days. The specialist threw his sandals and told them that an elder wife giver who had not received his share had activated an occult power which struck the child. During the afternoon of that same day I saw Doshite with a sheep on his way to Kalam, and he told me "That is for coffee." (i.e. he was going to exchange the sheep for a small bag of coffee beans for Gudan"). Gudan was a father's mother's brother's son of Segudo. I asked him how he knew that Gudan had caused the illness of his child and he answered "She knows". (i.e. his wife). Doshite himself added that not only would she give Gudan coffee to satisfy him and to end the illness of his child but in the coming big rains they would also transfer cattle to him.

Through his wife a husband learns the attitude of her close agnates towards himself. A wife not only indirectly informs the husband of her close agnates' desires about the "right" sequence of allocation but she also informs her agnates about her husband's intentions and actions. Sometimes the transfer of beasts, especially as a "gift" to a remote agnate of the wife who has no customary right to receive it, might affect the interests of the wife's brothers. I have been told that the husband's brothers-in-law will show their displeasure indirectly through their sister. It is also important for a husband to know the state of the internal relationships among his wife givers

and the attitudes of his wife's close agnates towards his transfers. On the one hand a wife can play this role through her continuing membership of her pre-marital groups of origin and maintain close contact with her parents and brothers; (this is particularly important when the wife's brothers are still young children and her husband is restricted in his relations with the ascending generations of the wife givers because of the customary avoidance relationship). On the other hand she can inform, advise and influence her husband in certain situations of misfortune, about the configurations of social relationships which exist among her agnates.

This balance must be carefully kept. If the wife presses too often with direct demands, or leaves her husband little freedom of choice in creating his own social relations and tries to impose her close agnates' wishes too often and too obviously, she may antagonise her husband and even provoke him to divorce her. Among the reasons men gave for divorcing a wife such as "she is lazy", "she is not good", "she quarrels and her language is bad", I also often heard, "she asked to transfer bridewealth all the time". On the other hand a wife who is reluctant to influence her husband, or fails to inform him about some stock transfers which her close agnates wish can lead her brothers to formally press their rights and may endanger her marriage. The wife's role then is to maintain her marriage by not pressing her husband too hard, and yet still to satisfy her close agnates.

It will be remembered that women cannot own stock ^{may} and only to cultivate but not ~~to~~ own land. Similarly women are deprived of their due portions of bridewealth.

This is so especially for the wife's sisters and paternal and maternal aunts. My impression in the field was that unless the wife receiver wanted to establish and develop relationships with the husband ^{of} a woman who had a right to bridewealth, women's shares in the bridewealth were either ignored, or long deferred or "lost". In almost every case of bridewealth transfer which I encountered the women's rights among wife givers to receive bridewealth were not fully met^y. Women have crucial roles as mediators in marriage - but not as receivers of bride stock. This accords with Peter^vs argument that whenever jural rights of women are low their mediatory importance is of a high significance ¹.

E. The transfer of stock at the "departed oxen" and "household" ceremonies.

Of the 147 wives in the sample in Table 18 only 11 (7.5%) had had the "departed oxen" (It galan) performed, and of that^ell only 8 had also had the later "household" (Gol) ceremony performed for them. Five out of 11 women had husbands who were estimated to be fifty or more years of age. The performances of these two ceremonies

1. E. L. Peters - "Sex differentiation in two Arab communities. Acts of the Mediterranean Conference (vol. titled Masculine and Feminine) 1966, stresses the differences in the mediatory status of Lebanese and Bedouin women. Among the Bedouin women mediate relationships between wife givers and receivers.

are hedged by many customary restrictions².

The It galan ceremony is performed only after all the wife-givers' rights to receive bride small stock have been met, and after the bulk of bride cattle have been transferred. It is performed by the wife-receiver for his wife-givers and their age mates.

On the East bank of the Omo river I observed the ceremony performed by Toyamoi for his second wife, and I present a short description of this ceremony.

One afternoon Toyamoi left his home camp in Dulafitch with his two wives, all their camping equipment loaded onto three donkeys and driving a small herd of 10 head of cattle. Also travelling with him were his two full brothers with their wives, and his three half-brothers. The faces and chests of all the men were smeared with yellow mud.³ They all went to Naykaya where the wife givers of Toyamoi

2. These are : The It galan ceremony is performed according to birth order and the seniority of the mothers of the performers. An eldest son of a second wife should not perform the ceremony before the youngest son of the first wife. Birth order also regulates the timing of the It galan for women. A man cannot perform the ceremony for his wife before it has been performed for her older sisters. Similarly a husband must perform the ceremony for his wives according to their order of marriage. The ceremony cannot be performed for a wife if she has a living mother for whom the ceremony has not been performed. Performance of the "departed oxen" (It galan) and "household" (gol) ceremonies provide a man and his wife with high prestige and status and men endeavour to perform these ceremonies.

3. Whenever there is a transfer of 4 or more head of cattle on one day the wife receiver and his companions smear themselves with yellow mud.

were dwelling at the home camp of the eldest paternal uncle of Toyamoi's wife. Toyamoi's wife's father was dead. Other wife givers who had joined that home camp for the ceremony were Toyamoi's wife's brothers, the wife's youngest paternal uncle, her maternal uncle, the son of Toyamoi's wife's father's mother's sister, two bond friendship partners of Toyamoi's wife's father, and the married sons of the above. About 40 immediate age mates of Toyamoi's wife's father and paternal uncle were also waiting there for the ceremony. On the arrival of Toyamoi's party the women erected their huts beside those of the wife givers, while the men sat talking and drinking coffee, which was served by the wives of the wife givers. Before the ceremony started Toyamoi allocated the bride cattle as follows : one cow and one ox to his wife's youngest full brother; one ox to the son of the father's mother's sister of his wife; one ox to his wife's only maternal uncle⁹ and one cow to a bond friendship partner of his wife's father. (The 'name giver' to his wife's youngest brother).

I was told later that Toyamoi has already transferred 24 head of cattle and that he had been asked to bring 3 more for the ceremony, but that he had only offered 5 bridecattle which offer the wife givers accepted. The ceremony started after sunset when Toyamoi speared an ox, called "the ox of the elders" (ain karu). Then the age mates of the wife's father and uncles smeared themselves with yellow mud after which Toyamoi started to present the customary gifts. He gave an ox to the eldest father's brother of his wife ("the ox of the cloth"-- ain dafare); one heifer (mor) to the youngest brother of his wife⁹ and a cow with a heifer calf (huram) to the eldest father's brother of his wife. Toyamoi also gave 4

small bags (shomoze) or coffee beans to the wife givers and their age mates.

Neither the coffee beans nor these beasts are part of the bridewealth payment and are named "gifts of it galan" (it galan shisho).

The wife receivers, wife givers and their age mates all spent the night eating meat, drinking coffee and chatting. Towards the morning some of them left for their home camps and the others fell asleep for several hours. In the morning all the age mates left. The wife givers and receivers remained and drank coffee together. Before that the wife givers had smeared themselves with ghee (which Toyamoi supplied) and while drinking coffee, the eldest paternal uncle of Toyamoi's wife, blew the coffee on his brother's daughter's body which is a customary blessing (abarayn). Toyamoi and his brothers spent a few more days with their wife givers in Naykaya and then returned to their home camp in Dalafitch.

This ceremony should be followed one to three years later by the second ceremony of the 'household' (gol).⁴⁾ While the it galan ceremony is performed by the wife receiver for his wife givers, the gol ceremony is performed by the wife givers for the wife receiver and his age mates. It takes place in the camp of the wife receiver.

I was told that a man would be in 'trouble' from his age mates if the performance of the gol ceremony were delayed for too long, and that once the it galan ceremony has been completed a husband is under constant pressure
 4)Even if the husband dies immediately after the it galan ceremony, the gol ceremony must be performed for the wife, the age mates and the brothers of the deceased.

to arrange the gol ceremony. To do this, he must make arrangements with his wife givers, the very people for whom he had performed the it galan ceremony. One rule which Dassanetch keep is that there should be no mention, let alone negotiation, about the gol during the it galan ceremony. At the ceremonies I observed I found this rule strictly kept. When I asked Ibare, who had recently performed the gol ceremony for his son-in-law, why this was so his answer was : "We do not put together "fathers" (i.e. the father and paternal uncles of the bride for whom the it galan ceremony was performed) and "sons" (i.e. the wife receiver and his brothers for whom the gol ceremony is performed) 5). He went on to explain in detail that one should not mix up and confuse these two categories, "fathers" are not "sons" and if one mentions the gol ceremony (which is for sons) while the it galan ceremony takes place (which is for 'fathers') it is like abusing and cursing them". Ibare emphasised this by saying that there is an order of priority, and 'fathers' come first because "one marries the father's daughter". The rule that the coming gol ceremony cannot be mentioned during the it galan ceremony, forces the wife receiver to approach his wife givers again, and to negotiate with them about the gol

- 5) Even if members of the wife receiver's ascending generation are alive, they do not actively participate in the ceremony since they belong to another grandset in the age sets system.

ceremony which they are obliged to perform. I have been told that wife givers try to postpone the gol ceremony and say "It is too early, let us wait for a better year". etc. but what they really mean and want is a further transfer of bride cattle. When agreement is reached on the number of cattle and about the time at which the ceremony should take place, the actual ceremony follows. (This is usually held at the end of the following season of ish hirai and a short time before the dry season of shante.)

The purpose of the 'household' (gol) ceremony is what its name implies, i.e. the wife givers establish a house for the wife in a ceremony performed for her husband and his age mates. This formally symbolizes and marks the transformation of a "bride" to a "wife", and the departure of the wife from her groups of origin (exogamous clan and age set) and her incorporation in those of her husband.

I encountered only one case of the gol ceremony performed for a husband who was about 35 years of age and before he "went to dimi". Usually the gol ceremony takes place after the wife receiver "went to dimi", at time when the couple have been married for twenty years or more. Dassanetch stressed to me very strongly that it is impossible to perform the gol ceremony for one's wife unless one had completed the transfer of bride small stock and the transfer of most of the bride cattle.

Whereas the completion of bride small stock for a woman makes her fully her husband's wife (mine), the performance of the gol ceremony makes her "the wife of the age set" (min kabana). I often heard members of an age set of a man for whose wife a gol ceremony had been performed refer to her as "our wife" (mikiyo). The gol

ceremony is so identified with the age set of a woman's husband that whenever people ask if someone has concluded the gol ceremony they frequently say: "Did your age set dance for your house?" (bilkhu hari a lala).

The it galan ceremony is performed during the night, attracts only a limited number of people (usually 50-70) who are drawn only from the wife givers and the immediate age mates of the ascending generation. The gol ceremony is performed during the day time and lasts for two days and is attended by hundreds of people drawn from all the age sets of the wife receiver's grand set. The gol ceremony is one of the most spectacular and colourful of Dassanetch ceremonies but for now I shall only concentrate on the relations between wife receiver and wife givers.

The wife ^{givers} ~~receivers~~ present 'gifts' similar to those which they had been given at the it galan, but they are given sometime before the day of the ceremony. I recorded the following information from Ibare who had performed the gol ceremony for his son-in-law at Kusam-en-dabo. Immediately after the it galan ceremony the wife givers started to collect and manufacture the gifts which must be handed to the wife receiver. These are :

- a) A giraffe tail necklace called som or damitch. Ibare exchanged a heifer for this.
- b) A necklace of yellow beads which is called biero; for this Ibare exchanged a milk cow.
- c) A necklace of green beads called challa; for this Ibare exchanged two head of small stock.

These three necklaces are customarily supplied by the wife's father or paternal uncle.

- d) Ibare's four brothers collected or made about 40 milk

containers; for all these they exchanged three oxen and five head of small stock.

e) The wives of the wife's four paternal uncles made about 50 mats of a shrub (kamate) which grows on the edges of the southern part of the Omo river and Lake Rudolf. These mats are used to cover huts or to sit on.

f) The eldest son of Ibare exchanged a heifer for 'arm rings' (mul gilo).

g) The wife of Ibare made a big mat of a type called raritch for use at the actual ceremony and which afterwards is placed inside the hut of her daughter.

Except for the raritch mat (g) all the gifts were handed to Yerar (Ibare's son-in-law) in his home camp at Mort-Kali-Ko about two months before the ceremony began.

About a week before the ceremony started Ibare and his brothers, plus their wives and sons, left for Kusam-en-Dabo at which place Yerar was camping with eight of his immediate age mates, two full brothers, his mother, his youngest father's brother and his two unmarried sons. Ibare and the rest of the wife givers did not join the home camp of Yerar but camped about 400 metres from it. On the arrival of Ibare's party his daughter Bure (the wife of Yerar) for whom the ceremony was being performed, left the home camp of her husband and moved into the hut of her mother at the other home camp. She stayed there until the ceremony began. The day before the ceremony began Yerar, with his paternal uncle and his two brothers, drove a small herd of cattle to the camp of Ibare. The herd consisted of 5 head, 3 of which (2 oxen and one cow), were the last instalment of bride cattle to Bure's eldest full brother and over which

Ibare and Yerar had earlier agreed. Prior to the gol ceremony Yerar had transferred a total of 37 head of cattle to his wife givers. A heifer and a cow in calf were also given, but these were not bride cattle but customary gifts which are given to the wife givers the day before the gol ceremony starts. The heifer was given to Ibare,⁶⁾ and the cow in calf (faji) was given to the second son of Ibare. The ceremony began at noon the following day when Bure and about 30 unmarried girls from her age set left the home camp of Ibare, driving four donkeys loaded with a disassembled big hut, the full domestic equipment for a hut and the raritch mat. They were singing and headed towards the home camp of Bure's husband Yerar, at which place about 400 young men from the three age sets of Yerar's grand set (Nyogolomogen, Nikorio and Nilimkorio) were waiting. The young men had smeared their bodies with mud of various colours and were decorated with ornaments and feathers. When the girls were about 100 metres from the home camp of Yerar about 20 boys from the age set of Yerar ran to meet them, wrenched the mat from them and ran back again to the home camp of Yerar where they danced and jumped around the mat. The girls tried unsuccessfully to recapture the mat, which the boys held high in the air to preventing the girls from reaching it. After the boys had "won" the girls grouped on one side and the boys with the mat on the other. Then a man from the senior sub-age set of Yerar took the mat and pitched it on the ground between the boys and the girls. The ceremony then started immediate-

⁶⁾ The heifer is called "grandmother" (dunna) and it is usually given to the father's mother of the wife. Since she was dead Ibare received it as her heir.

ly, and the boys and the girls made a circle and danced around the mat. While the boys and girls danced the mother of Bure, assisted by the wives of Ibare's brothers, started to erect the hut for Bure. Ibare went to spear two oxen for his son-in-law's age mates.⁷⁾ By the time the it galan and the gol ceremonies are performed, which is many years after the marriage was established, the relations between the wife receiver and some of the wife givers will have been developed into a highly complicated network of relationships and of rights. This is particularly so after the marriages of the daughters of the succeeding generation and the establishment of new bond friendship ties among the affines. The relations then will have become so interwoven that the early distinction between wife givers and wife receivers is no longer clear cut. This transfer of rights between the two groups is demonstrated and dramatized by the forceful taking of the raritch mat, which stands for the household of the wife and hence the wife herself. The mat is taken by boys who belong to the age sets of the husband from the wife and girls of her age set, in the very ceremony which establishes the fact of her incorporation into her husband's groups.

A woman for whom the gol ceremony has been performed is accorded high status which is usually marked by the three necklaces she wears (the "red" one of the damitch, the yellow one of the biero, and the green one of the

7) The beasts slaughtered at the gol ceremony are called "cattle of the age set" (gwo hari).

challa).⁸⁾ Dassanetch only regard the marriage of a man as legally completed after the gol ceremony. As they express it, "The marriage is closed"⁹⁾

8) The three colours which symbolize for Dassanetch the rainbow, and are the very colours of the 'hand rings' which customarily only old men wear.

9) The question which Dassanetch put to ask about the performance of the gol ceremony is "Did you close your house?" (ko bil furate). It refers to the second of two symbolic actions undertaken by members of the husband's age set, the first of which marks the beginning of the marriage and the other of which marks the legal end of it. The former takes place at the marriage ceremony where the husband's age mates open the maiden leg rings of the bride and thus "open" the marriage. The latter takes place at the gol ceremony when the husband's age mates take by force the raritch mat which marks the incorporation of the wife into her husband's groups and the "closing" of the marriage.

After the gol ceremony the wife for whom the ceremony was performed belongs to the exogamous clan (tur) of her husband. Other members of that exogamous clan refer to her as "our daughter" (inikinyo) and speak and treat her with respect. And, since she is now "the wife of the age set" the age mates of her husband refer to her as "our wife" (minkinyo) and treat her with great respect. There is also a change in terms which she and her husband use to address each other. Up to the gol ceremony a wife calls and refers to her husband as "friend" (bel). After the gol ceremony she calls him my "son" (intehu) and her husband calls her my "mother" (djiyechu). (Only a husband and wife may use these terms and only to each other). Dassanetch say that such a husband respects his wife as if she were his mother. 10). A wife who has had the ceremony performed for her is buried in the centre of the small stock enclosure. 11).

10. I heard old people, who did not perform the gol ceremony for their wives, address them as "mother" and being addressed as "son", and I have been told that in the past only a husband of a wife for whom the gol ceremony was performed could use this term, but nowadays old people who have/^{not} undergone the gol ceremony use it too.

11. The legal status of a woman determines the place in which she is buried. The only woman who is buried inside a livestock enclosure is one for whom the gol ceremony has been performed. All other women are buried either outside their hut or outside a livestock enclosure.

The performance of the it galan and gol ceremonies have one other aspect. The performance of the exchanges at the it galan and gol ceremonies strengthens the relations between the groups at the highest level of ritual exchange just as they fade away as exchanges of economic goods and services. Relations with the "selected" few affines from among the wife givers are strengthened through those ritual forms. The wife is incorporated into the groups of her husband at the time when transfer of stock ceases and the wife givers lose their rights in their daughter. For the wife as her intermediary role ends she is accorded high compensatory status and prestige.

F. The ritual forms of transferring stock.

Dassanetch do not weight the legal status of a wife by the number of children she gives birth to but only by the transfer of stock and particularly bride small stock (shebedam), to wife givers.¹²⁾

12) A woman is called by the same names as are applied to stock. A woman who has borne one child is called rut (the name of a she-goat which dropped from one to three kids) and one who has borne two or more children is called se (cow). A woman who has been very reproductive is known as se hisiet (a cow that has dropped more than eight calves).

Only a few husbands perform the it galan and gol ceremonies and for most men the completion of bride small stock allocation is the point which gives them an effective legal hold over their wives and is thus the main object they pursue.

From Arturga's case we can see that the annual transfer of approximately six head of small stock is not an economic burden.

Why then is there not a shorter period for completing the transfer of bride small stock? And why are there old men who have not completed that transfer? (see Table 18). The answer lies in what I have written above. The transfer of bride small stock is connected to the transfer of bride cattle. They are simultaneously transferred, and wife givers try to keep a balance and a proportionate allocation of the two. The questions are How do they do it?, Who does it? and what are the circumstances that can upset the "balanced allocation"?

A wife receiver starts to allocate bride small stock only after his first child has been born and has survived the first year. Usually he first transfers to at least one or two prominent persons among the wife giver's ascending generation; the bride's father usually receiving first. Most instances I saw of first transfer were accompanied by joint consumption of one of the beasts. The wife receiver drives the two beasts to the home camp of his wife's father, or if the latter is not alive, to his eldest brother. The wife's father spears the beast. A "horse-shoe" made of green leaves about 5 metres in diameter and facing to the east is arranged by the boys.

The beast is cut up and roasted on a fire made in the middle of the horse-shoe leaves. The wife receiver and the wife's father and some neighbours of the home camp sit outside and behind the green leaves and wait for their meat which is usually served to them by the brothers of the wife or two or three young men of the home camp.

After the meat has been consumed, one or two of the participants blesses the host for his generosity, and also pray for the fertility of his daughter.¹³⁾ The transfer of the bride small stock to a wife giver does not always take this form of a joint ritual consumption of meat. A wife giver may ask the wife receiver to bring him coffee beans instead of small stock. Another common way is that the wife receiver brings the beasts to the home camp of the wife giver but no beast is slaughtered and the donor and the receiver only drink coffee or milk.

Dote, who was asked by his wife's maternal uncle to bring him coffee beans instead of stock as his portion in the bride small stock, explained to me that the reason for his wife's maternal uncle's request was because he was old and wanted Dote to trade them with an Amhara policeman, in Kalam for him. Other wife receivers who brought coffee

13) This is a similar situation to that described by J. H. M. Beattie Bunyoro : An African Kingdom, Henry Holt and Company 1960 p. 69 in which the roles of the offender and offended are transformed into those of host and guest.

beans to their wife givers gave me similar answers, such as :-

"What does it matter, one wants coffee and one wants small stock". Similarly when I asked some wife receivers why they ate with one wife giver and not with another they expressed it in terms of respect, friendship etc.

Nevertheless a pattern can be discerned. In most of the instances of bride small stock allocation which I encountered, the close agnates of the ascending generation (wife's father and his brothers and the wife's brothers) received their portion at a ritual meal. On the other hand of the instances which I recorded of distant agnates among the wife givers I noted that the majority of them received their portion either as coffee beans or that no ritual meal was performed. This simple distinction implicitly includes the explanation.

A wife receiver first transfers bride stock to his wife's father and one or two of ~~his~~^{the latter} brothers. The joint ritual consumption of one of their beasts is the first ceremonial recognition the agnates of the ascending generation give to the marriage. It also marks their formal approval of the beginning of bridewealth allocation, (this is especially important if there has been an earlier dispute or objection to the marriage).

During the second period of bridewealth transfer a wife giver may slaughter a beast for a particular wife receiver if he seeks to strengthen that relationship, but at later stages the need for this type of giving diminishes. At this stage the demands for gifts of coffee increase and the simple transfer of small stock

unaccompanied by joint ritual eating is more common. The initiative lies with the wife giver who can 'close' or keep open the relationship since it depends entirely on him how he reacts to the offer of the beasts. Some wife givers use the opportunity which arises when the wife receiver approaches their home camp with small stock, to press their right to cattle and to refuse to accept the bride small stock. The delays wife givers may impose is one of the reasons why the completion of transfers of bride stock take so long. But when a man does succeed in transferring bride small stock to wife givers without the latter seriously blocking his advancement, he reaches the final stage, that of allocating it to his wife's brothers. The wife's brothers can show their disapproval of their brother-in-law's distribution of bride cattle by not offering a beast for their joint consumption.

The crucial positions the wife's brothers hold in the last stage, enables them to block the transfer of a right to the husband. The heir of the wife's father's father who may in fact be the bride's father, has here a crucial position, his right to bride small stock is the last to be met (see Table of Priorities). Nominally the father's father as the senior member of this group represents the whole group of wife givers and thus his acceptance of the last transfer of bride small stock ^{and} carries with it the recognition by ~~the whole~~ of the wife givers of the rights of the wife receiver.

CHAPTER 11: The Establishment of Bond Partnerships
at Different Stages in a Man's Life*

A. INTRODUCTION

The importance of bond ~~friendship~~^{partnership} in tribal societies which have a predominantly pastoral economy has been pointed out by other social anthropologists.¹ The social importance of the relationship derives from needs pastoralists share for a wider range of supportive relations than kinship and affinity can supply. Institutionalized bond partnership is of especial importance where the independent elementary family is the primary productive unit. From the accounts, certain features common to bond partnership can be discerned. Firstly, it is created by a customarily defined "contract" between two or more persons. It is usually entered into voluntarily, but once entered into, it is binding and formally alters the relationship previously existing between the parties. The relationship is sometimes spoken in kinship terms and perceived

* In previous chapters I have sometimes used the word 'bond friends' interchangeably for 'bond partners'. In writing these last chapters, I have decided that 'bond partner' is the more accurate term.

1. For example among four neighbouring tribes: Gulliver, P.H., op. cit., 1955, pp. 196-222 for the Turkana and the J^éll; Spencer, P., The Samburu, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1965, pp. 78-80; and Dyson-Hudson, N., Karimojong Politics, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1966, pp. 85, 92.

as taking on a quasi-kinship quality. Bond-partners, like blood-brothers, assume certain reciprocal duties and obligations towards each other. The creation of the relationship is marked by an exchange of gifts. In addition to its formal qualities, an element of genuine friendship, affection and trust is usually interwoven.

The four elements with which this chapter will be concerned are: contract, reciprocal assistance, formal exchange of gifts and the degree of warmth in the relationship. I will proceed through an examination of the different ties in the order in which a man normally enters into them at different stages in his life.

In each stage of his life, a man has particular economic and social needs, and my first argument is that the establishment of each kind of bond at a particular time of his life reflects or is a response to his social and economic needs at that time. The "strength" of any bond therefore relates to the time at which it is established rather than to the degree of affection between the partners or their personalities. Bond partnerships impose prohibitions on the marriages of the partners and some of their kin. Moreover, as the marriage prohibitions based on moiety and grandset affiliation already limit the pool of available nubiles, the assumption of additional restrictions is a matter of general concern and, in its turn, limits the range of bond partners open to any individual. A bond partnership, therefore, as

it affects others, cannot be established simply at the whim of the partners.

The second argument of this chapter will be that because bonds can be, and in practise usually are, established with persons with whom marriage is already prohibited or restricted, the additional restrictions they add are usually slight.

The general term for bond friendship is bele but this is seldom used of what I call bond partnerships which are usually referred to by a set of specific terms, for example, lil metch uru, which means "relationship of the smearing bond" etc. There are five distinct types of bond ties, which, in ascending order of strength, are:

- a) bond friendship of "lips" (lil metch afo)
- b) bond friendship of "gift" (lil metch shisho)
- c) bond friendship of "smearing" (lil metch uru)
- d) bond friendship of "holding" (lil metch kerno)
- e) bond friendship of "name" (lil metch meto)

B. BOND PARTNERSHIP OF "LIPS" (lil metch afo)

This bond is only established between teenage boys who are 'best friends' who wish to formalize a relation of friendship. Such 'best friends' address each other as 'my friend' (mayebel), a term which is customarily used between adult bond partners, even before they establish a formal bond

tie. The bond is made privately by exchanging gifts such as a long feather in a horn container, a necklace or arm rings. Elders speak of this bond ^{as} merely being a way of demonstrating boyhood affections. The very name "lips" implies its fleetingness, that it is only expressive. It creates no marriage restrictions, nor stock obligations. Nevertheless, for the partners while they are unmarried, it does have obligatory weight, and partners of the "lips" should assist and relieve each other during their teens. Partners exchange information about grazing grounds and stock camps, and they offer each other milk in times of need and let each other know about meat feasts. "Lips" partners lend ornaments when one of them goes to a dance, and they go about together to court and play with girls. Any two boys may make "lips" partnerships but I found that most partners belonged to the same age set and territorial section. The bond of "lips" connects only boys, and is automatically dissolved when the partners undergo the hair-dressing ceremony and pass from boyhood to manhood. If the partners want to continue their friendship relations, they can do so by establishing a new bond "of men". This is not uncommon.

C. BOND PARTNERSHIP OF "GIFT"
(lil metch shisho)

This bond is usually established between men who are between twenty ^{to 40^d} and forty, i.e. in that stage of life between the hairdressing ceremony and "going to dimili".

There are no restrictions by age set or section which limit the range of partnership.

When a man wants to establish bond partnership of "gift", he approaches the home camp of the desired partner with a small bag of coffee beans and presents it. Usually the desired partner gives it to his wife to prepare coffee, and the men sit in front of the hut talking and drinking coffee. Then the guest says: "I want to establish a bond tie with you". The host responds: "What kind of bond tie?" and the visitor replies: "The bond partnership of 'gift'". I did not hear of a refusal, but I was told that refusal is not uncommon. In the only instance which I observed, the host did not ask what the visitor intended to bring but only said: "I understand" (yu male), indicating that he had no explicit objection. I was told that the host should never ask, at that time, about the sort of gift offered or when it is likely to be delivered.

The strength of the bond tie which the initiator has in mind is expressed by the nature of the gift he brings a few days after he has presented the coffee. An ox "is very strong" and a heifer "strong". I was told that the presentation of an ox or a heifer as a first gift is, in fact, rare; usually a sheep, a goat or an ox-name bell (akhudonte) is the first gift. Coffee beans are also brought to the second meeting. While the two partners drink the coffee, they blow over each other and into the air, bless and praise each other, and repeat:

"Bond tie exists, bond tie exists" (lil metch a ijo). Sometimes one or two of each of the partner's brothers attend the second meeting. After some time, varying from a week to a few months, the partner who was offered the first gift returns the visit bringing a gift and coffee beans to his partner's home camp. He usually brings a gift equal to the gift he has received or "something" more. For instance, if he had received a sheep he might return a gift of a sheep or lamb. Dassanetch say that a series of periodic gift exchanges follow, and each time the gifts are of higher value. But, in reality, this is not so. In most cases that came to my notice further exchanges were not, in fact, made. Only in a minority of cases there were only another round of exchanges, and in none of the cases was it extended beyond three rounds. The establishment of a bond partnership of "gift" excludes marriages between the siblings of each partner. But, in fact, most Dassanetch whom I interviewed did not know, or knew very little about, the siblings of their partners, and the marriage restrictions are not taken too seriously. I knew a man and a girl who were lovers and both siblings of bond friends of "gift", but when I queried their relationship, I was told: "He deo man" - 'it is not wrong' or 'no incest offence was committed', because bond friendship of "gift" is a "small tie", because between the partners "there is no 'eating' of bridewealth". I asked a man about his bond ties, and he rarely counted those of "gift". Their primary importance is in opening up relations which may

lead to the formation of a stronger bond tie. Dassanetch do not place high value on partnerships of "gift" because their establishment usually derives from simple economic interests which are approximately equivalent as the following example illustrates.

Lyesho was a bachelor of about 30 years of age and the eldest son of his father. He had a bachelor brother of about 25 and a married sister. Their father was dead. Lyesho and his brother, following previous cattle disputes, were on bad terms with their father's only brother who had ~~named~~ ^{inherited} ~~their mother's~~ They kept their milk stock in the home camp of their mother's brother. A few months after their Father's Brother's son had been "smeared" (at his physical initiation ceremony) by the son of Lotulyakhor's sister, Lyesho came to Lotulyakhor and offered him a bond partnership of "gift", which Lotulyakhor accepted. Lotulyakhor was about 40 years of age, had a son of about 7 and a daughter about 4 (Lotulyakhor had not yet "gone to dimi"). After an exchange of goats, Lyesho ran a few cows along with one of Lotulyakhor's herds. When I collected this information about a year after they had established their bond of "gift", no further gifts had been exchanged. The economic interest of Lyesho is obvious. As a bachelor, whose relations with his paternal uncle were bad, he needed to find bulls for his and his brother's cows, and had to distribute the beasts among affines, kinsmen, age mates and

bond friends. He needed as many such connections as possible because both he and his brother were at the stage of their lives when their stock was at its peak, and they had about 80 head. Lotulyakhor's interest was probably that the two brothers, who were moving regularly between stock and home camps, would keep an eye on his own herds which were taken care ^{of} by three young herders. The "smearing" of the agnate of one by the other's kinsman brought the two persons into a relationship which they strengthened by establishing a bond tie, which served the interests of both of them.

A bond of "gift" may also derive from economic cooperation between two persons rather than be created in response to a specific need.

Nieren allocated part of his plot in the northern part of the delta to Aroriya. Previously, I was told, both had dwelt together in the same home camp. After one season Aroriya offered bond partnership of "gift" to Nieren which he accepted. At that time both their wives were both staying in a cultivators' camp at Ed Nyakhaluk and they were living in separate residential units at Gumbubur settlement. Aroriya presented a sheep to Nieren, and Nieren in return gave Aroriya an ox-name bell with a cattle-tail bracelet. At the beginning of the dry season, Nieren joined his flock of about twenty sheep with Aroriya's which the latter's younger brother shepherded. There is little doubt that Aroriya had anticipated Nieren's intention and welcomed it because it gave him a better hold over the plot which Nieren had allocated him.

These two examples illustrate the main reasons for making bond partners of "gift", which are economic. But, a specific economic interest in Dassanetchland does not last for long, due to the ecological and residential changes which occur. However, if the specific economic interests which led two persons to establish bond ties of "gift" develop and endure, then the partners usually strengthen their relationship by establishing another and much stronger type of bond partnership.

Yergleb presented Tulya with an ox, but Tulya did not make a return gift for several months. Yergleb, who was in a great need of herding labour, came to Tulya after a few months and asked to recruit Tulya's half-brother as a herder. Tulya refused but a few days later went to Yergleb's home camp and presented him with a return gift of an ox. To return a gift reduces the strength of any claim that can be made, and Dassanetch told me that usually the first partner to receive a gift does not wait too long to make a return. Rights which are achieved through the bond of "gift" are usually not extendable to the kin of either partner and only concern the actual partners.

Dassanetch think it is rude to ask a person who offers to establish a partnership of "gift" exactly what he wants, but, by and large, a person risks nothing in accepting a bond of "gift" even if he does not know the intentions of his partner. If it later turns out that a partner makes exaggerated claims (as Tulya's probably were

in the above example), then all he needs to do is to return a gift and withdraw from any further cooperation. Frequently after a few years, as the interests of the partners change, the partnership of "gift" just dwindles away.

D. BOND PARTNERSHIP OF "SMEARING"
(lil metch uru)

The third bond tie is the bond of "smearing". What this means and implies is easiest explained by describing the ceremony which creates it.

Kwanga, a boy of about 14 years of age, was living with his widowed mother, his eldest full brother Iyerar and an unmarried full sister in a home camp at Kut-i-garo. During the several months which preceded Kwanga's uru ceremony, I often saw Iyerar, a man in his early thirties, in the company of Kuya, a man of about thirty-five. Kwanga and Kuya belonged to the same age set of Nigabite, but to different exogamous clans. I was present when Iyerar proposed that Kuya should become the "smearer" of his brother, and that the present was a good occasion to hold a ceremony he had long wanted. Kuya agreed and a time for the ceremony was fixed. This offer was made in the home camp of Iyerar, and Kwanga was sitting beside and was listening to the conversation. My impression was that Kwanga was not consulted before this offer was made and that Iyerar made the proposal without consulting his other brothers. During the preparations for the ceremony and

ceremony itself, Kwanga played a passive role. He followed his brother's instructions, and just fulfilled his part of the ceremony. There appeared to be no immediate cooperation of any sort between Iyerar and Kuya. Kuya had a relatively big herd of about 40 head and, with his two wives, was mobile in the area between Mt. Kuraz and Kalam. He also had many young brothers-in-law who took care of his herds and flocks. Iyerar was serving as a policeman at Kalam Post, and his home camp remained permanently at Kut-i-garo. Iyerar's father-in-law was Government Chief Atol, a man of great power and influence, who was also the "father of the land" of the flooded river bank at Akudongole. But Iyerar had the real problem of recruiting labour to herd his stock, which consisted of about 20 head of cattle and 40 head of small stock. He employed a Turkana boy because his brother Kwanga had a limp and could not take care of stock, his two sons were too young and his affines and other brothers too old for herding. The uru ceremony for Kwanga started at sunrise when Kwanga speared three of his small stock. The entrails of the beasts were removed from the carcasses, taking special care not to cut the stomach. The three stomachs were laid on the ground in the centre of a horse shoe of green leaves. The three carcasses were put to roast, and just half of the meat was served to about 25 immediate age mates and neighbours of the Nigabite age of Iyerar and Kuya. Then Kwanga entered the centre of the horse shoe and invited Kuya to join him. Kwanga and Kuya

stood facing each other and between them on the ground were the three stomachs. An elderly neighbour of Kuya was asked to spear the stomachs, after which Kuya took the dung and smeared Kwanga which Kwanga reciprocated. Meanwhile, the assembled men sang ceremonial songs. After that, Kwanga was asked to sit on the stool of Kuya among the adults, and the rest of the meat was consumed. Kuya and Kwanga, the "smearer" and the "smeared", were now tied in an unbreakable bond. Moreover, this bond created a tie between the families of the two partners and also excluded marriages between the brothers and sisters of both the father and mother of each of the partners and their sons and daughters, the sons and daughters of each partner and those of each partner's brothers, sisters and full paternal cousins.

The "smearer" and the "smeared" should always belong to the same age set but may or may not be clansmen. Indeed, Table 19 shows that one out of six "smearers" in the sample belonged to the same exogamous clan as the "smeared". In almost every case of "smearing" bond partners which I encountered, the gap in years between the "smearer" and the "smeared" was wide, as was that between Kuya and Kwanga. No doubt, as the case of Kwanga shows, the boy who is to be "smeared" does not choose the partner who is to "smear" him, nor the timing, nor the place. These decisions are made either by the boy's father or eldest brother.

Table 19 : The Relationships of "Smearers"
to those whom they "Smeared".

"smearer"		of a		total
		of the same clan (tur)	different clan (tur)	
"smeared"	live	2	13	15
	dead	1	2	3
30 > 40	live	5	18	23
	dead	2	7	9
40 > 50	live	2	15	17
	dead	3	10	13
50 +	live	1	4	5
	dead	0	18	18
total		16	87	103

The case of Kwanga also shows that both partners, or at least the 'smearer' and the sponsor of the 'smeared', have complementary interests. Kuya established a bond with a boy whose brother, as a serving policeman, commanded a regular salary. Through Iyerar, and especially through his father-in-law, Kuya could achieve access to a regularly flooded plot and establish a relationship with powerful Government Chief Atol. Iyerar was able to get access to labour for herding. Both partners achieve some rights though not of equal sort. The "smeared", who is the young partner, is expected to herd or shepherd for his "smearer" who is the elder partner, and to do so with enthusiasm. The "smeared" partner, in turn, is expected to present occasional gifts to his elder partner, such as all sorts of gifts of hairdressing clay, coffee beans, or a head of small stock. "Smeared" partners in their teens are less obliged to give gifts to their partners than adults. Whenever the "smeared" visits his elder "smearer" partner after an interval, he should bring his partner a gift. When I drove to Logkitaung, the market centre of north Turkana District in Kenya, one of my assistants took a sack of sorghum to exchange for a flashlight which, on our way back, he presented as a gift to his "smearer" at Lobemukat (a settlement near the border of Kenya). By custom the "smearer" should also give some gifts to his younger partner, but smaller ones and less often. The

elder partner asks the younger partner to assist him whenever he has urgent need, such as helping to erect granary poles, clearing a plot, reaping or emergency herding. When a "smearer" "goes to dimi", his younger partner usually gives him an ox, by which presentation the younger partner acquires rights to "eat" bridewealth from marriages of the partner's daughters. This right is reciprocal. When the "smeared" "goes to dimi", his "smearer" should also present him with a gift of an ox. But, in practice, "smearers" seldom live long enough to witness the marriage of a daughter of their "smeared" partners, and their rights are usually inherited.

Relations between a young "smeared" boy and his elder partner should be affectionate. The elder is like a patron to the young boy. Whenever the young boy needs help or advice, he asks his elder partner. The relations between the two are continually strengthened all the time by gift exchanges. When the boy grows and becomes a man, he should behave towards his "smearer" with great respect and bring him coffee beans and a sheep or a goat from time to time. The "smeared" should also invite his elder partner, whenever possible, to eat meat and drink coffee. On average, a man of a high status "smears" two to four boys during his life time. A "smearer" sometimes acts as a mediator in cattle disputes between the kin ^{and} of affines of the "smeared" and especially in the disputes of his younger partner with his age mates. Because the "smearer" is a senior member of the

same age set, he is in a good position to do this. He should also use any influence he has, especially in age-set affairs, for the benefit of his younger partner. Finally, the sons of a "smearer" sometimes herd for the "smeared" when he, in turn, has grown up and is particularly short of labour.

The age gap between "smearers" and the "smeared" is clearly demonstrated in Table 19. It can be seen that the death rate increases proportionately from one age category of "smeared" partners to the next. Sometimes, as we shall see in the next chapter, the bond tie of the two "original" partners is extended to their sons.

E. BOND PARTNERSHIP OF "HOLDING" (lil metch kerno)

This bond tie is established between one person who is the "holder" and another person who is the "held" at the latter's circumcision ceremony. Here I am concerned only with the role that the "holder" and the "held" play, and wish to ignore other aspects of the circumcision ceremony.

The man who is to be circumcised comes to the ceremony equipped with some required accessories supplied to him as gifts by the person who is to "hold" him. These include a special stool (kara heriet) which is used only in the circumcision ceremony, a forehead necklace (ingurite) made of small beads, a necklace (gunite) made of the roots of

a particular shrub (gom) , a bow with four arrows, two calabashes - one calabash for drinking water and another for milk, and finally a skirt (tele) used during the last few days of the ceremony (and also again when the circumcised "goes to dimi"). The decision as to who shall "hold" the circumcision candidate is taken by the candidate a few months before the ceremony. Usually the "holder" elect himself makes some of the accessories needed and trades for the others. But the burden is not great and a maximum of about 4-5 head of small stock covers all.

The actual bond tie is established at the ceremony when the "holder" holds the circumcised. Hence, the terms "holder" (ma kern fasiet) and the "held" (match kerno).²

The ceremony lasts for about a month, and on the last day the "holder" washes the "held" from a calabash full of milk and water. Several months later the "held" partner goes to his "holder" and takes him coffee beans and a robe (dafare), and the "holder" gives the "held" a heifer. On

2. Ma kern fasiet literally means "the man who sits on the blood" and match kerno means "the man who sits" (and is "held"). In daily usage, however, Dassanetch do not distinguish between the two, and the "holder" and the "held" are both referred to as "the man who sits" (match kerno).

this occasion, the "holder" and the "held" drink coffee and the "holder" blesses his partner by blowing coffee on him.³

The bond of "holding" is considered to be stronger than that of "smearing", even though the marriage restrictions it imposes are the same and it is the only strong bond which may be broken because "holding" carries with it greater rights to "eat" bridewealth and is accompanied by strong rules of avoidance. These avoidance relations, in some respects, are more rigid than those imposed on affines, but Dassanetch call them only "a little avoidance" (somo nini). Rules of avoidance are unique to the bond of "holding". Those who are prohibited from marrying are also prohibited even from touching each other, and though social interaction between persons in those categories is frequent, the rules are strictly kept.⁴

I observed the ceremony for breaking bond partnership of "holding" at Diele Riele. The two partners were Narabuin, a man in his mid-forties, and Nyao, a man in his mid-thirties. Both had inherited the bond partnership.

3. Among the Koro territorial section a second and different bond partnership is also established at the circumcision ceremony. In addition to the "man who sits on the blood" (ma kern fasiel), the "held" also establishes a bond of "holding the bone" (lil metch kern lafite). The circumcised and another person drink blood drawn from a cow which is then speared. Both partners eat of its meat and finally hold the two ends of the bond of the right thigh of the beast, which the "held" breaks with a special stick (zanite).

4. Note that it is the "bond" established by "holding", i.e. grasping, which is marked by a prohibition on any later physical contact.

I was told that the immediate provocation which caused the bond to be broken had been a squabble between two seven-year old boys. Nyao's half-sister's little boy quarrelled with the son of Narabuin's youngest full brother and ended up with a bruised arm. Nyao then went to Narabuin and told him that it was a "bad omen" and that "God does not like this bond" (lil metch hala waq he ma ferin), and the two partners agreed to break their inherited bond partnership. Nyao and his full brother came from Nyamunery to the home camp of Narabuin bringing with them a cow and coffee beans. They gave the coffee beans to Narabuin who handed them to his wife to prepare coffee. The men sat in front of Narabuin's hut chatting with age mates and neighbours. Some boys went to the river to cut some bark of the ritual tree (Miede). When the boys came back with the bark, coffee was served, and Nyao and Narabuin tied strips of the bark on their necks, knees and elbows. Nyao also tied some strips of bark and a gunite necklace on the neck of the cow. Nyao led the cow, which is called "cow of the holding" (se kerno), and gave it to Narabuin. Then Nyao and Narabuin ~~bowl~~^{bow} coffee over each other repeatedly saying: "The bond tie has gone" (lil metch eyo gale) and "Go with God's blessing" (Waq si). Nyao and his brother spent the night at Diele Riele and returned the next day. When I pursued the matter, it became clear that the boys' squabble, which had involved them touching each other, was just an excuse to break off the relations. Each side felt bitter

towards the other. Narabuin told me that Nyao had not invited him to eat one day when he slaughtered some small stock, and never came to offer him coffee. Nyao's brother told me that his father had not "eaten" bridewealth from either of the marriages of Narabuin's two sisters, and their inherited right to "eat" had never been met. Also, he claimed that his brother had asked a paternal cousin of Narabuin to allocate him land for cultivation near Diele Riele and had been turned down. The bond of "holding" can also be broken if two persons belonging to the two families of the partners want to get married.⁵

"Holding" partnerships may be made anywhere. Table 20 shows that 43% of "holders" were of the same age set or exogamous clan, or both, of the "held", and 57% of the "held" chose their "holder" from age sets, exogamous clans or territorial sections other than their own.

Besides being a means of strengthening other connections, the bond of "holding", like that of "gift", clearly represents a way of expanding one's relations

5. I have not seen a ceremony held to break the bond partnership of "gift", but I have been told that only a declaration by both partners is needed. Some informants told me that sometimes a partnership of "gift" just "vanishes" (man).

Table 20 : The relationships of "holders" to those whom they "held".

"holder"		same territorial section of "held" partner						another territorial section total
		same age set	same age and same clan	same age set only	same clan only	another age set and another clan	2	
20 > < 30	Live dead	3	1	1	2	2	2	8
30 > < 40	Live dead	5	7	1	2	6	6	28
40 > < 50	Live dead	2	3	1	2	5	5	18
50 +	Live dead	1	3	2	1	4	3	12
							19	4
total		11	21	8	29	23	29	92

Note: The persons included in this sample are the same as those of Table 1, less 11 persons who were not circumcised at the time I collected this data.

outside one's age set and exogamous clan from which bond partners of "lips" and "smearing" are recruited. In order to understand the choices of partners which men make as they approach the time of their circumcision, it is necessary to first describe the expectations which are involved in the bond of "holding".

The two partners, their brothers and their children are expected to assist each other in times of need, in home camps and stock camps and by allocating plots. Wives of partners should also help each with farming. As one might expect, the strength and the extent of social and economic cooperation between "holding" partners varies from pair to pair, and generalization is difficult. Dassanetch say that "the holder is like a father to the held" and the expectations parallel, in their unspecified generality, those which exist between a father and son. The "holder" is senior to the "held", and "holders" are usually, but not invariably, the elder. The "held" should respect his "holder" as if he were his father, i.e., bring him coffee to drink and small stock to eat, invite him to social occasions and provide him with tobacco, porridge or milk whenever the "holder" comes to visit him.

If the partners are affines, age differences have less significance than if they are not. The partnership strengthens the affinal connection. Sometimes indeed affinal roles may be reversed and the "holder" becomes the junior and the "held" the senior partner.

At the Inkoria circumcision ceremony in 1969 Dibo, a man in his early thirties, was "held" by a boy of about fifteen. I asked Dibo why he chose a young boy to be his "holder" and he answered: "His fathers are old, they will soon die". The boy was the son of the youngest full brother of Dibo's brother-in-law. Dibo's sister was the second wife of Gol who was in his late forties. When Gol approached Dibo's father to negotiate the terms for his marriage to Dibo's sister, Dibo and his brothers objected to the proposed marriage. The marriage, however, took place. Needless to say, Dibo wanted to salvage something from the undesired marriage and so he established a bond of "holding" with a member of the succeeding generation of his affines. In such a case, age differences take priority over the seniority of "held" and "holder", and when two partners are of the same age, seniority is similarly not stressed. But even if there are age differences between "holders" and "held", they are not so great as those between "smearers" and "smeared". Table 20 shows a steep rise in the number of deceased "held" partners in the 40-49 and 50+ age categories, in sharp contrast to the proportion of partners' "younger" age categories (20-29 and 30-39), in which the proportion of deceased partners is remarkably low. Every man must acquire a "holder" partner, because every man is circumcised, but not every man becomes a "holder" to others. Some are never chosen and others "hold" six or even more partners. A young partner prefers to choose a man of high

status as his partner, and there are no restrictions on the range of people from whom he can select. I found a correlation between the status of a man and the number of persons to whom he acted as "holder". A man is circumcised shortly before or after his marriage, that is, as he establishes his independence from his father, so he seeks an influential man to be his "holder" who , he hopes, may be of use to him. The particular assets sought in a "holder" partner and his brothers are many children, access to a regularly flooded plot, and wealth in stock or political influence.

A "holder" who is older is likely to be on the eve of becoming a "big man" or be a big man already, and is likely to be seeking juniors who will acknowledge his patronage and thus enhance his dignity. A young partner presents his elder partner with coffee and small stock to help him "enjoy the pleasures of life" which old men are entitled to, ^{and this} which suits the elder whose access to economic resources, especially stock, diminishes as he ages. The very old are unlikely to be asked to become "holders" because they have little to offer in return. I estimate that a man is most likely to become a "holder" when he is between the ages of 35 to 55, and very unlikely to do so when he passes the age of 55.

A comparable type of bond tie of "holding" is established between women at the time of a girl's circumcision, when she is about 8 to 10 years old. The woman

who "holds" the girl becomes the "holder" and the girl the "held".⁶ Dassanetch say that this friendship is weak and compare it to that of the "lips" which is a "bond of boys".⁷ They say it is established between girls out of affection and involves mutual assistance with domestic chores and farming. No rights to "eat" bridewealth are involved, and only the children of the two women partners are prohibited from marrying, but if a marriage is arranged, the bond can be broken. I did not observe a girl's circumcision and depend mostly on information supplied to me by men, but my impression is that some girls choose their "holders" from among their girl friends, but that the majority of "holders" were older women selected by the girl's parents and of about the same age as the girl's mother. Frequently there is little contact between a girl and her "holder". They address each other as bel (friend), but this is a general term of address between any two unrelated women, and unless the partners happen to be neighbours, they seldom meet. Most of the husbands with whom I talked were ignorant and unconcerned

6. Women, unlike men, refer to a "holding" partner as a "friend of holding" (bel kerno).

7. I mention it here because the similarities it bears in name and timing to the male relationship.

about the "holders" of their wives, but knew well both their sisters' "holders" or those who had been "held" by their sisters and wives. This direction of their knowledge points up a crucial feature of this relationship, that it is established between women but organized by, and has most importance, to men. If a wife's "holder" was more or less the same age as her mother, then her husband, if alive still, would be an old man whose active interests were declining and thus would be a useless connection. On the other hand, the close agnates of either a girl who is "held" by one's ^{wife} wife or the "holder" of one's sister, ~~is~~ likely to be of a much more potentially useful age to men who are in the stage of their lives when they are expanding their activities. When a man is old, his interest in the bond friends of his women folk is very slight. When Lokhoro told me that he did not know his wife's partner of "holding", I asked him what would happen if one of his sons wanted to marry a daughter of his wife's "holder". He answered briefly: "It is enough that the boy's mother knows". Though Dassanetch insist that a breaking ceremony must be performed before a marriage between the children of "holding" partners can take place, I never heard of such a ceremony actually being held, and I suspect that the rule is ignored in practice.

F. BOND PARTNERSHIP OF "NAME GIVING"
(lil metch meto)

Dassanetch regard the bond friendship of "name giving" as the strongest bond tie of all. The bond is established when a newly born child is given a partner's name at the "name giving" ceremony.⁸

The "name giving" ceremony takes place inside the hut of the baby's mother on the very day his navel umbilical cord drops off. The ceremony is attended by no more than 8-10 people; usually included are the "name giver" and his brothers, the baby's mother and father and the latter's brothers. The ceremony is a simple one. It starts with mutual praises and blessings of the "name giver" and the baby's father. The baby's mother sits near a pot of coffee, which she serves to the guests. The ceremony reaches its climax when the baby's father announces the baby's name and the "name giver" blows coffee on the body of the baby and blesses him, after which all the participants blow coffee into the air blessing the baby and his father. If the baby lives, this bond of "name giving" cannot be broken. Formally, the bond of "name giving" ceases if the baby dies, but in practice it is maintained. This bond involves the greatest range of agnates and kinsmen of each partner. The intensity of the relationships established depends on their genealogical

8. Dassanetch men have many names, but the one which is given at the "name giving" ceremony is usually the "pot name" (me hibil) of the "name giver".

proximity to each partner. For instance, the "name giver" and the father of the baby (the "name receiver") become "son" and "father", and the "name receiver" addresses his "name giver" as "elder brother" (anga) or "my father's son" (indjiachu), and they behave towards each other as the holders of those kin positions should. The kin of each should also act as if they were the appropriate kin. A paternal cousin of the "name giver", for example, will address and behave towards the sister of the "name receiver's" mother as a "paternal aunt" (ada baba), and she will treat him as "my sister's son" (in niarchu). But, so far as actual behaviour goes, the obligations are only expressed and observed very generally in terms such as: "One should help his people", "He should not refuse when asked to give" or "Are they not his people?" These modes of expression point to a particular feature of this bond, which is that it is described not as a bond (lil metch) but rather as a form of kinship (gal le). It is the only bond in which the partners refer to each other by specified kinship terms. I saw Lobus, a man in his mid-thirties, approach a group of people sitting in the shade of a granary. Aingudu and Lobus addressed each other by the term eshi, a respectful term of address used between grandfathers and sons. Aingudu was the father of the woman who had given birth to his "name receiver". Next to Aingudu sat another man who was his nephew, and he and Lobus addressed each other

in the general term of "friend" (meso) which unrelated persons do. When I asked why they used a term which implied the absence of relationships, they replied that no relations existed between them. The people around us added: "It is far" (i.e. they were too distant genealogically to be included in this bond). The people included within the bond of "name giving", and with that the associated marriage restrictions, are those who have rights to receive bride-wealth (see Paradigm App.4) plus their children but excluding their spouses and other bond friendship partners.

The "name giver" gives the "name receiver" a cow or a heifer which is called "cow of the name" (ain meto). By custom the proper time to give it is when the "name receiver" changes his hairdress from that of a boy to that of a man. But in practice the time of presentation varies and, in those cases which came to my attention, the "cow of the name" was given at other times. The strength of the bond friendship of name is most clearly manifested in the primacy of the claims to receive bridewealth which are associated with it. These claims are also more extensive because, potentially, they encompass a greater number of marriageable girls, and include the daughters and sisters of the partners and the daughters of the partner's brothers and sisters.

The right to claim bridewealth, as a bond partner of whatsoever type, depends on the claimant having first given

Table 21: Categories of Relationship
of "Name Giving"

	no.	%
no previous bond or relation	22	18
"lips" or "gift" partner	9	7
"smearing" partner or his brother	29	23
"holding" partner or his close agnates	13	10
affine	53	42
total	126	100%

Note: A man has been included if he had either received or bestowed a name, whether or not his partner fell within the sample, i.e. each partnership is counted as one unit.

an ox, so the father of a "name receiver" usually soon transfers the beast to the "name giver", if he has any nubile kinswomen. If he has not, he is likely to wait many years before he does so. One bond of "name giving" tends to encourage the creation of another and to create thereby what Dassanetch call "an interwoven bond" (lil metch holi ma made ka). In theory a bond of "name" can be established with anyone, but in practice, in most of the cases, 82% (as can be seen from Table 21), it is established with affines or partners with whom previous bond ties have been established. It is a relationship within which affection is held to be important, that is, one in which generalised goodwill should override precise reciprocity. Bond partnership of "name giving" is frequently transmuted into kinship. A "name giver" is someone who is a "man of confidence" whom the boy can trust, because "they are the same and have the same name". The more respected a man, the more often he will be called upon to be a "name giver".

G. CONCLUSION

I have described the various bond friendships in their order of strength and assumed that the strength of a bond depends on the combination of the four inherent elements: the nature of ^{the} contract, the extent of the reciprocal duties, the range of gift exchanges and the affection and trust which it creates, and there is an increasing incidence of mutual

contractual responsibilities through the partnerships of "gift", "smearing" and "holding" until that of "name giving" in which the partners are identified as if they were mutually responsible for each other as close agnates should be.

The bond of "lips" is simple and contains no contractual elements. The reciprocal duties of partners of the "lips" are few and temporary and are limited to mutual assistance with herding. Bonds of "gift" are ad hoc alliances based on temporary mutual interests as is the bond of "holding" between women. The bonds of "smearing", "holding" and "name giving" each involve a progressively wider range of economic and social support, the bonds of "holding" and "name giving" being similar, in the generality, to the range of assistance which a close kinsman should supply. The value of gifts exchanged and the ceremonial formality surrounding their exchange progress similarly from simple exchange of boy's ornaments by partners of "lips" to the public and ceremonial exchange of stock by "holding" and "name" partners. The exchange of gifts is a crucial element in the bonds of "lips", "gift" and "holding", that is, those partnerships which may be broken. An exchange of gifts initiates the bond of "lips" and further exchanges maintain it. The bonds of "gift" and "holding", though created by the presentation and acceptance of a gift, can be broken by the dissatisfied partner returning an equivalent to the gift he received, thereby indicating his intention to break off the relationship. To present a

"holder" with the "cow of the holding" indicates the discharge of a "debt" incurred when the "holder" presented the "held" with his circumcision gifts. Direct exchanges of gifts are not so important between those partners linked by the enduring ties of "smearing" and "name giving", but indirectly they are deeply enmeshed in a web of stock debts and exchanges because of the rights such partners acquire in the bride-stock received for each other's female dependants. In the context of bridewealth, the strength of the relationships resides in their cross-cutting nature and the range of persons involved in the exchanges. The actual objects of exchange, the beasts, each represent a bundle of social connections.

The fourth element of affection and trust is difficult to measure and to compare. No doubt the bond of "lips" is frequently based on genuine and deep affection. Mutual respect and affection certainly has a part in bonds of "gift", "smearing", "holding" and "name giving", but the bonds vary in the time which they endure and the degree to which the affection is institutionalized. The bonds of "lips", "gift" and "holding" between women last for only a short period but during that time interaction between the partners is intensive. The other bonds endure for longer but are less intense. Thus, when partners to one of the weaker bonds develop lasting warmth and enduring interests, their partnership is likely to be converted into another and a stronger type of bond which gives regularity and social recognition to their strong friendship and mutual trust.

It is clear that one of the general consequences of bond friendship is to fill the gaps in a man's kin^{and}
affinal ties and to enable him, at various stages of his life, to find assistance in times of need. This is particularly so because neighbourhood and kin groups, because of the exigencies of herding and flood agriculture, are so impermanent ~~in residence and composition~~. But I have also endeavoured to point out the sociological differences between the various types of bond partnership. Three features, on which I want to make further comments, are distinguishable here. Firstly, partnerships are not made haphazardly or randomly. A man establishes specific kinds of bond friendship at different times in his life stages in the development of his herd and family. Secondly, some bonds can be broken and some cannot, some are based on a relationship of equality and some are not, and some are obligatory, in that every man must at some time in his life enter into them, while entry into others depends on contingent factors. Thirdly, the range of marriage restrictions which they impose vary with the different types of bond partnership, and hence affect the range of potential spouses available, in a field already restricted by the rules of incest, exogamy, and age set and moiety restrictions.

A boy takes a partner of "smearing" at about the time he starts to herd cattle at the cattle camps, which coincides with a drastic change in his relations with his

parents and elder brothers, which ^{is} characterized by many status, food and dwelling restrictions, ^{when} and he is still under firm control by adults. At this stage, he is assisted by his "smearer" and sometimes his "name giver", who are his adult partners, and whose advice and actual assistance in cattle management he seeks. These are "patron" partners to whom, in turn, he may give labour, help. He is also at this stage in his life beginning to seek to make connections with people who may assist him to establish himself independently from his natal kinsmen. In time real affection may develop between the senior and the junior partners, but first it is the bond which commits them to each other. In his late teens, a boy undertakes more independent economic tasks with less control from adults, and usually moves to shepherd flocks in the small stock camps, and though still under the control of his father, he starts to become concerned about the management of his own stock. This concern increases when he becomes a young man and gives up herding to younger boys. At this stage in his life, he accumulates stock and spends most of his time with age mates. The partnerships (of "lips" and "gift") which he establishes at this stage are with contemporaries, derive from affection or economic interest, or both, and have a character of equality and are frequently temporary. After marriage and until he is about 45, a man needs access to independent resources and particularly to farming plots

and herding and domestic assistance. To do this, he needs partnerships of a more enduring quality. These are developed through bonds with his daughters' "holders" and the "smearers" of his sons, or by becoming a "smearer" to other men's sons. This last is extremely important while a man needs the labour of young herders and his own sons are too young. Young "smeared" partners can be used as substitutes for young affines and enable a man to withstand pressures exerted on him by his wife-givers if they threaten to withdraw their young herd boys. Young "smeared" partners can be crucial for a man if he is divorced or if his wife-givers are hostile.

Another bond which is established during this period is that of "holding". "Holder" and "held" are often of similar age, and although this bond is marked by many restrictions of avoidance and the social seniority of the "holder" is stressed, it creates a network of relationship from which equal and mutually useful cooperation can be worked out, in part because the obligations of partners are not strictly defined by custom.

The similarities between the bond of "holding" and affinal relations are not restricted to "avoidance". The "held" partner, like a wife receiver, becomes very clearly in debt to his "holder", who presents many gifts to him at the ceremony without any immediate reciprocation. Like a wife receiver, the "held" partner is placed under a great debt. The tie of "holding" also, unlike the other strong bond partnerships but like marriage, can be broken.

Particularly after he has undergone the dimi ceremony, a man may use bond partnerships of "holding" to remedy any shortcomings in his affinal relationships. If the marriages of his sisters have turned out to be against his interests or of little value to him, or if his own wife-givers have proved to be unhelpful, a man may endeavour to develop "holding" partnerships as sorts of "pseudo-affinal" relationships.

Finally, the establishment of bonds of "name giving", though they may take place when a man is still actively engaged in economic activities, ^{is} usually forged when a man's active interests are declining. These partnerships are usually made, as can be seen from Table 21, either with affines or earlier bond partners of other types. That is, the partnership is made out of recognition and to further strengthen a relationship based on already established trust, affection and friendship. The content of the partnership is more social than economic; this in accord with the stage in life of the "name giver". In most of the "name giving" partnerships between affines, a brother-in-law gives his name to a man's son. By this, brothers-in-law who are ceasing to pass cattle, as the period of transfer draws to a close and the distinction between wife-givers and wife-receivers becomes obscured, recreate their connections. This is particularly so if the "name giver", or the "name receiver's" father, has nubile daughters whose marriages

will make them all wife-givers. When a man reaches old age, he is unlikely to establish new bonds. The types of bond partnerships a man makes during his life time are summarised in Table 22.

Finally, I discuss the marriage restrictions which bond ties impose on partners and their relatives. At first sight, it would seem to be difficult for a Dassanetch to locate an eligible girl. But a closer examination shows that in practice the marriage restrictions imposed by bond ties are not so irksome as they first appear to be. Let us examine the marriage restrictions of each bond. a) The establishment of the bond of "lips" creates no marriage restriction. b) The bond of "gift" is a temporary one, which normally dies out after a short time. c) The bond of "smearing" is established between two partners of the same age set, and the marriage prohibitions of the age set system overlap to such an extent with those of the bond friendship that, in practice, a man's range of potential spouses is unaffected. d) Although the bond of "holding" imposes marriage restrictions on a relatively large number of people, in practice it can be broken if a particular marriage is desired; bond partnership in practice giving way before the stronger bond of affinity. e) The bond of "name giving" is mostly established between those whose women already lie in prohibited categories. As can be seen from Table 21, two-thirds of the partnerships were made between those who

Table 22 : The types of bond partnership a man establishes
at different stages in his life

approximate age	bond partner of	character of bonds	duration	enduring or breakable	status and predominant occupation
0-15	"name receiver" "smearer"	non-equality (junior)	enduring	unbreakable	departure from natal kinship group. Herding cattle and agricultural tasks. Accumulation of stock. Dependence on adults. Partners are like patrons.
12-45	"lives" "gift" "holding" (women) "smearer" "shield" "holder"	equality	temporary	die out or breakable	independent stock herding. Close association with age mates. Marriage, circumcision. Expansion of economic activities. Opening up of social relationships. Building up one's status.
40-55	"holder" "name giver"	non-equality (senior)	enduring	unbreakable	"big man". Diminishment of one's stock. Emphasis on status. Strengthening affinal ties. Being patron partner to others. Bonds which lead to "kinship".

were already prevented from becoming affines. As we have seen already, other forms of bond partnership are used to strengthen affinal ties which already exist.

CHAPTER 12: Some aspects of shifts and
changes in bond partnerships

A. INTRODUCTION

A man inherits a set of bond partnerships from his father, establishes a set of his own throughout his life and is involved in some of those of his brothers and sons. Every adult male must also have sets of kin and affines. The theoretical number of primary or secondary such ties a man may have are legion, yet as I moved around Dassanetchland I constantly met men who could trace no social connections with others in the camp in which they were living.

No man can maintain active and warm relations with all the persons to whom he is related, and those which he does maintain perforce must wax and wane.

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the factors which influence the rises, shifts and declines of relationship between bond partners and their relatives. Firstly, I hope to show that there are many factors which diminish the effectiveness of inherited bond partnerships.

Secondly, I will endeavour to show that one of the main factors which influences the strength or decline of relations between bond partners, and particularly between their heirs, is the right in bridewealth.

Thirdly, I will examine the ways by which the strength of a right to claim bridewealth by a bond partner is reduced until it becomes just a nominal right.

I shall argue that the search by sons for bond partners, distinct from those of their fathers, is in accord with the conflicting interests of successive generations.

B. THE INHERITANCE OF
BOND PARTNERSHIPS

In Chapters 7 and 9, I wrote that a man inherits some bond ties from his father, particularly those of "smearing", "holding", and "name giving", but that he himself establishes new bonds which are independent of those of his father. In Chapter 11, I showed that at each stage of his life a man establishes different kinds of bond partnerships, and that the ones he creates himself are more important to him than those he inherits. Two main questions arise when one thinks about inherited bond ties: Why does a man only maintain ties with a minority of his inherited bond partners, and how are those which are maintained selected?

A man's knowledge about the kin of the heirs of his father's partners is very limited indeed, and he usually does not know about the bond partners, let alone the relatives, of his paternal and maternal uncles. Very often when I worked on family samples or interviewed people, I found that a man usually only knew of the heirs of two or three of the "strong" bond partnerships of his father. I never heard of any sort of social and economic connection or any emotional attachment between grandsons of bond partners. This ignorance contrasts

with Dassanetch statements that when a bond is established between two partners, the tie also includes their cognates and their children. Yet during the life times of partners, the prohibitions and cooperative relationships usually appear to be well known and well maintained. Why then should they fade so rapidly once they are inherited? To my enquiries, many Dassanetch answered: "My father has disappeared and it is far" (i.e. there have been many years since the bond was established). This is true, so far as it goes, but not all inherited partnerships wither away.

I suggest that if a man's father dies when he is about to get married, or has only recently married, this is when he needs child labour and access to plots but before he has had the opportunity to create a set of useful social relationships of his own choice, then he will maintain, because they are readily available and useful to him, his inherited bond ties. If, however, he is a child, or already well established when his father dies, then he will let his inherited bond ties fade away. This accords with the data from my samples, which show a clear distinction between the knowledge of their fathers' bond partners held by the sons of a first wife and the knowledge held by sons of a second or third wife. While the older sons of a first wife usually maintained contacts with some of their fathers' "strong" bond partners and also had some knowledge of the heirs of those men, the sons of a second and third wife knew very little about their fathers' bond ties. Often they did

not know who had been their fathers' partners, let alone about their heirs. Sometimes even the information about a deceased father's bond partner came as a surprise, as the following story illustrates.

A short time after Itatch joined a cattle camp in Erek, Yerdurgatch, his father's youngest half-brother, came to visit him. Itatch, who was about 14 years of age, was taking care of part of the cattle of his thirty-year old married paternal uncle. It was the beginning of the dry season (July). Some young herders from Il gwa and Kusen-Dabo had joined the camp a few days earlier. Yerdurgatch approached one of them named Niadie and addressed him as "friend" (meso) and Niadie responded likewise. Yerdurgatch then asked Niadie if he belonged to the age set of Nyogolomogen, which he did. Yerdurgatch then asked him if his father's name was Nyalawo, and when Niadie answered "yes", Yerdurgatch called him "son of my bond partner" (in mayebel), and explained to the surprised boy that his deceased father had "held" Yerdurgatch's deceased eldest half-brother. Yerdurgatch then went and explained the relationship to Itatch. I only stayed for two more days but I noticed that henceforth Itatch and Niadie addressed each other as "my friend" (mayebel) rather than by the previous neutral term they had used. Itatch was the last-born son of his mother who had been his deceased father's second wife and Niadie was a son of his deceased father's third wife. Their fathers' bond partners, like their own fathers, had died when they were small boys.

It is open to Itatch and Niadie to sustain the tie, and perhaps make a bond friendship of their own, or to let the connection die. The following example of establishment of a bond friendship between the heirs of two bond partners illustrates how this can occur.

Yokono was the sister's son of the man who had given his name to the paternal cousin of Loborite. Both therefore were related through the bond tie of "name giving". Both their fathers were dead. Yokono was in his early forties and Loborite in his late thirties, but neither had yet "gone to dimi". For a few years they had helped each other out from time to time. I came to know them at the "smearing" ceremony of Yokono's eldest son at which Loborite was the "smearer". They were formally re-establishing the tenuous inherited bond tie through the bond of "smearing". Loborite's eldest daughter was about 4 years of age at the time and one can anticipate that Yokono will "advise" his son, the "smeared", to present an ox to Loborite in order to acquire bridewealth rights in the marriage of Loborite's daughters.

Inherited bond ties which are not reactivated or been maintained by the heirs during the life times of their fathers, mean little or nothing. The latter is rare. When I asked why this should be so, one/^{man} explained as follows: "My father is old. He stays always in Nyamumery and all the time drinks coffee with his friends. I move to all places.

I need herders and land." By this he meant that his father's friends were all old and wrapped up in sociable meetings in one settlement, whereas he was a young married man actively involved in economic tasks who needed the labour of others and access to land. As neither his father's bond partners nor their sons could supply him with either, then there was no advantage for him in maintaining relations. He needed to look elsewhere, because his interests and those of both his father, his father's bond partners and their heirs did not converge. This divergence is particularly marked among the heirs of the partnerships of "holding" and "smearing", in which the age differences of the partners is great. "Smearing" partners, in fact, often let the partnership die even during their own life times and somepartners often expressed resentment to me about the behaviour of their partners. A "smearer", it will be remembered, is the partner who is chosen by the father of the "smeared" and who will choose the "smearer" in his own interest. Even though neglect by such a "smearer" should be anticipated, nevertheless some men were bitter about the behaviour of their fathers and "smearers" and accused them of acting like "masters" rather than patrons. The bond of "holding" is also similarly often broken. Its avoidance restrictions make it difficult to keep up warmly for long, especially if the expectations of either side or both are not fulfilled. This was clearly

shown by the case of Narabuin and Nyao, in Chapter 11, who were heirs of a "holding" bond and dissatisfied with each other. Briefly, an inherited bond tie ~~in order to remain~~ "strong" needs reinforcement if it is to remain "strong", and this reinforcement is most effectively supplied through bridewealth rights which can be maintained as claims.

C. BRIDeweALTH RIGHTS AS A FACTOR
WHICH INFLUENCE THE STRENGTH
OF RELATIONS BETWEEN BOND PARTNERS.

I shall now examine the rights to bridewealth in each of the strong bonds and show how they influence the decline or renewal of relationships between the heirs of partners. I have previously described the rights which inhere in each kind of bond with respect to bridewealth in Chapter 9, and the stages in a man's life when he establishes a particular bond in Chapter 11. Let us see bonds of bridewealth rights one by one.

In the bond of "smearing", as well as in that of "holding" and "name giving", a partner acquires bridewealth rights if he presents an ox to his partner. Since each of the "smearing" partners "eats" bridewealth only from the marriages of the other partner's daughters, the "smeared" usually "eats" first, because of the age difference between the partners. It is probable by the time that the daughters of the "smeared" are married, the

"smearer" will be dead. Table 19 shows that by the time the "smeared" had reached the age of 40, 58.5% of their "smearers" were not alive. The "smearers'" bridewealth rights are, therefore, inherited by their sons. But in general the bridewealth rights of bond partners are not among the first to be met and are sometimes never, or at best only partially, met. The allocation of bride cattle to a "smeared" partner therefore is a test of the strength of the relationship. During the long interval between the establishment of the bond and the time an heir can make claims, the interests of the two parties may have changed radically. The simple fact that an ox was presented to the "smearer" does not necessarily guarantee that bride cattle will be given to the "smeared". By and large, actual bridewealth allocation to bond partners or their heirs depends to a large extent on the insistence of the wife's father or the wife's brothers that such allocation be made. A wife-receiver will only rarely allocate bride cattle to a bond partner of his wife's father against the wishes of the latter or his sons. I was frequently told that sometimes the sons of the "smearer" want to keep up relations with their father's partner, who might be ~~at~~ ^{their} ~~age~~, and thus insist that their brother-in-law transfer the beast to the "smeared". According to my information in those cases in which the "smeared" has "eaten" bride cattle, the bond of "smearing" develops along one of two directions. Either there is a short period of

cooperation between the "smeared" and the sons of the "smearer" followed by a decline, or that their cooperation develops fruitfully and the two decide to formalize their relations on a stronger basis by either repeating the "smearing" partnership in the succeeding generation or by creating a "name giving" bond. The proportion of "name giving" bonds which follow a "smearing" bond can be clearly seen in Table 21. If this does not occur, then the bond usually withers away. In the bond of "holding" the situation is more complicated since there are additional bridewealth rights which each partner acquires and also the age difference between the "holder" and the "held" is not so great as ^{it is} they are in the bond of "smearing". Sometimes the two partners may be of the same age. But either of the partners, or their heirs, may break this bond.

The following example illustrates the problematic position this bond has in the sphere of bridewealth allocation.

Nitira, who was about 40 years old, married and with two daughters, described to me in detail to whom he had given bridewealth. I noticed none of the "holding" partners of his wife's father had received bridewealth, while the bond partners of "smearing" and "name giving" had. I asked Nitira why he had not allocated to the "holder" of his wife's father, both of whom were about 65 years old. Nitira answered that his wife's father had neither asked nor indicated that he wanted stock to be transferred to his partner.

Furthermore, he had heard that there had been an exchange of

'hard words' between his brother-in-law and the "holder's" son, after their wives had quarreled. I then asked Nitira why he had not allocated bridewealth to those partners of his wife's father whom the latter had "held". Nitira answered: "I will give them bride small stock soon, but bride cattle I do not know". Nitira did not tell me directly his reasons for not allocating stock to his father-in-law's "holding" partners; however, I think it is quite clear what he meant. Firstly, when he said that there was no pressure from his wife-givers to allocate bridewealth to the "holder" partner of his father-in-law, he meant that relations between his father-in-law and his partner had not developed. This points to a crucial asset which the wife-givers hold. Although the bond partners of the wife's father have their own rights to bridewealth by the very fact of the bond, their rights are dependent on and mediated through the wife-givers, namely, the wife's father and his brothers and the wife's full brothers. In other words, if over the years relations between the wife's father and his partner are good and successful, the wife's father opens up a new field of relations between his partner and his son-in-law. But if his relations with his partner are not particularly good, the wife's father will indicate to his son-in-law not to transfer any stock. Even if a man wishes to allocate bridewealth to his father-in-law's partner, he will not do so if doing so would endanger his relations with his immediate wife-givers.

Secondly, Nitira's mention of the quarrel between his brother-in-law and the "holder's" son indicates the vulnerability of this bond. The break of a bond of "holding" automatically cancels the rights which inhere in the bond including bridewealth rights. Usually, when a wife-receiver hears that relations between his wife-givers and their bond partners are not at their best, he will be reluctant to allocate to them. If the bad relations between the wife-givers and their bond partners continue, it is very likely that the partner's rights to bride cattle will be ignored and "lost".

Thirdly, Nitira said that he intended to allocate bride small stock in the near future to other "holding" partners of his wife's father. This, no doubt, is to acquire his own rights irrespective of the relations that exist between his wife-givers and their partners.

Fourthly, he implied that he did not know about cattle in the future, by which he meant that he could not forecast how future relations would develop.

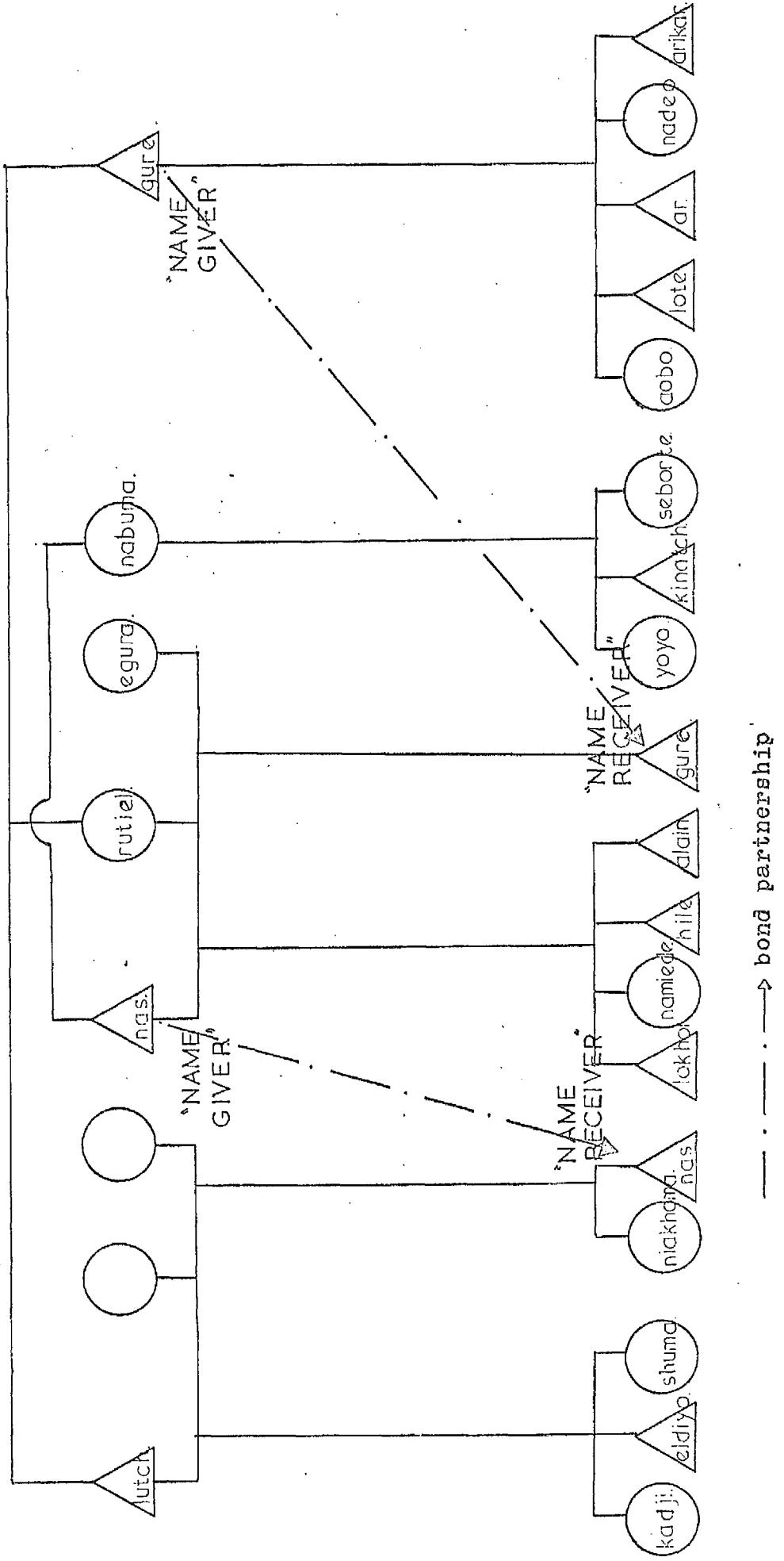
When Nitira said "I do not know", he meant "I will wait and see how things turn out". There was, however, another good reason for "not knowing" and waiting. One of the partners who was "held" by his wife's father had a sister who had married a few years earlier. At the time of the "held" partner's circumcision, his sister was under the age of dimi (i.e. about 8 years old). When the father

of Nitira's wife presented an ox to his "held" partner, he acquired rights to receive bridewealth from her husband. In this respect, the father of Nitira's wife was also waiting to see how much pressure his "held" partner would exert on his brother-in-law in order that stock would be transferred.

The following example shows how different the bond of "name giving" is from other bonds in so far as bridewealth rights are concerned. (See Diagram *Appendix 4* note number 13).

Nas, who was about 50 years of age, gave his name to the youngest son of his eldest brother-in-law. The boy was about five and his father Lutch about 55 years old. Gure, who was about the same age as his brother-in-law Nas, gave his name to the son of Nas, who was only a few months old. This interwoven bond of "name giving" created a complicated network of bridewealth rights. Nas (the "name giver") has bridewealth rights as a "brother" from the marriages of Lutch's daughters Kadji, Shuma and Niakhoma, and prospective bridewealth rights from the marriages of the daughters of Kadji, Shuma and Niakhoma as a "maternal uncle". These rights will probably be inherited by his son Lokhol, who should also acquire rights in the marriage of Nas (the "name receiver") as well as rights in the marriages of Eldiyo's daughters as a "paternal uncle". Nas (the "name receiver") has a right to receive two head of cattle from the bridewealth of Nas (the "name giver's") sister Nabuma

Diagram 11 : The complex bonds of "name giving" between Nas and his wife-givers.
 (Only the names of those persons who are concerned with bridewealth rights are given).



as a "brother" and from the marriages of Nabuma's daughters - Yoyo and Seborote as a "maternal uncle". He also has rights to receive bridewealth from the marriage of Namiede) Nas the name giver's daughter, as a "paternal uncle". Gure (the name giver) will receive rights to bridewealth from the marriages of Namiede as a "brother", and from the marriages of Namiede's daughters as a "maternal uncle". The marriages of the daughters of Lokhol, Hile, Alain and Gure (the "name receiver") will provide him with bridewealth rights as a "paternal uncle". All the above rights of Gure (the "name giver") will be inherited by his eldest son Lote. Gure (the "name receiver") has rights only from the marriages of Aobo and Nadeo, as a "paternal uncle", and none as a "maternal uncle", since a man cannot have bridewealth rights from the marriage of his mother.

The above rights of Nas and Gure (the "name givers") will be inherited by their sons, because they were already mature when the relationship was contracted. Because of the age gap between the partners, it is unlikely that either will live to receive bridewealth from the sisters, let alone daughters, of their partners. When a bond of "name giving" is established between brothers-in-law at the end or during the "third period" of bridewealth allocation, when the "name giver" is in his fifties, it tends to strengthen the relationship of the wife-receiver with his brothers-in-law. The creation of the bond is an expression of deep affection and a wish that warm relations will continue into the next generation. Indeed, the many bridewealth rights which are inherited in such a bond provide an excellent framework for the succeeding generation to continue the "pseudo-kinship" relations of their fathers if they wish to do so.

But the needs of members of the succeeding generation are inevitably different from those of their fathers. The fathers, i.e. the "name giver" and the father of the "name receiver", have established an affectionate bond after many years of close and warm relationship. Both were among the few selected people with whom each of them chose to be in close and intimate relations in their old age. Their sons could not possibly continue their own relations from the point their fathers had reached when they died. Firstly, because the time before their inherited claims mature will be too long. Secondly, they are unlikely to continue to have the same interests which in the first place led their fathers to cooperate and eventually to establish close bond partnership. Thirdly old people, unlike their children, usually stay in the neighbourhood of one settlement and thus are more able to maintain regular and close relations with each other than young men. "Name giving" bonds provide the succeeding generation with the ties from which cooperation can commence, which strengthened by the bride-wealth claims, enable their heirs to continue the relationship if both so wish. But, in fact, I did not find even one person whose relations with another were based on a bond of "name giving" between his father and another person, or that of the father of another person to him. I also found that in almost all the cases of bridewealth allocation which I encountered, persons who held inherited rights of "name giving" were referred to as if they were distant relatives whose rights were quite often ignored.

The example of Nas is an illustration of "name giving" in old age, but a "name giver" may be in his forties or even younger. If a "name giver" is only in his early

forties, the bond which he establishes stresses the actual bridewealth rights which he himself hopes to acquire rather than the potential rights of his heirs, and are focused on (His expectancies) from the bridewealth due from the marriages of his partners' sisters. That is, the "name giver" is looking to his immediate interests - not the vague interests of his heirs. Moreover, such a "name giver" will probably become, about ten years later, a "patron" partner to the "name receiver" who will be engaged in herding. When a bond of "name giving" is established with a partner of a previous bond, the other partner achieves new and additional bridewealth rights. Tara, who was the "smeared" partner of Akhonio, only received his share of bride small stock from the marriage of Akhonio's daughter. Later Tara gave to his first-born son the name of Akhonio. A few years later the little boy received a cow from Akhonio's son-in-law. Tara's bride cattle right presumably would have been ignored if the bond of "name giving" had not been established. But the very fact that it was established indicated to Akhonio's son-in-law the importance of the relations between his father-in-law and Tara, which led to the transfer of a cow to Tara - the father of Akhonio's partner.

D. THE MANIPULATION OF CONDITIONAL BRIDeweALTH RIGHTS.

The satisfaction of a bridewealth claim is conditional on the exchange of gifts of oxen (See notes to Appendix 4).

Sometimes neither of the partners gives an ox and sometimes only one partner does so. What is the significance of these "conditional" bridewealth rights?

If a bond is established before the older partner

"goes to dimi" there is a good chance that an ox will be given to him by either his partner or the father of his junior partner. The dimi ceremony is a time of big expenses and custom explicitly states that it is the proper time to present the ox. I interviewed a man who told me that he hated his 'held' partner because the latter had not given him an ox when he "went to dimi". Reluctance to give an ox when a partner "goes to dimi" is a demonstration of reluctance to develop social relations. But, a failure to claim bridewealth rights by not presenting an ox if the bond was established after the other partner has already gone to dimi, may be regarded as a response to special circumstances. Circumstances vary from bond to bond, but generally speaking they may be divided into three types:

- 1) A bond which was established from affection and long and successful cooperation;
- 2) a bond which was established following economic cooperation between two persons;
- 3) a bond established for status or political considerations,

When two elders establish a bond of "name giving" and there seem to be no immediate possibilities of receiving bridewealth for either of them, they sometimes do not present beasts to each other. One informant told me that he had ^{had} a quarrel with his father, because his father ^{had} refused to give an ox to the father's ^{the son's own} ~~of his~~ partner.

A father, thus, can deliberately withhold the transfer of a beast inherited by his sons. Several people whose fathers had not transferred beasts in order to acquire bridewealth rights were indifferent about their loss.

They said it did not matter, if they wished they would establish a bond with the sons or relatives of their fathers' partners. Nevertheless, an inherited right does carry a slight advantage. An inherited right permits, even without further reinforcement, occasional claims for cooperation. A much more interesting situation arises when only one partner presents a beast while the other partner does not. Logically it seems that the one who presented the beast to his partner is in a stronger position because he has bridewealth rights while his partner who did not present it has not. But, in reality, and apparently paradoxically, such rights are so weak as to be almost nominal. When debt relations, whatever their nature may be, are derived from direct exchange relations between two persons the one whose gifts were not returned retains claims over the other who is in debt to him. But bond partners' bridewealth rights do not derive directly from each other but from their wife-receivers or in-laws. In other words, the bridewealth rights of a bond partner are mediated through his partner. The very fact that a bond tie exists between two persons gives both of them rights in the stock of two unrelated persons.

This means that even if a bond partner ~~had~~ not presented a return ox to his partner, the latter's right still depends on the former who, ⁴~~was reluctant to achieve~~ ~~a similar right, but who nevertheless mediates the right~~ for him.

The fact that a bond partner did not return a beast to his partner is usually well known to the former's wife receiver, who naturally takes it into his consideration

of bridewealth allocation. In the case of Arturga (Chapter 9) a "held" partner of his wife's father was not even included in the genealogy of wife-givers, although he had presented an ox to Arturga's father-in-law. Arturga explained it to me in the following words : "Nabuma (i.e. his wife) told me that her father did not give him an ox. His 'holding' partner was held a long time ago. Now Nabuma's father went away (i.e. died) and I do not know that man". Arturga was referring to the fact that his father-in-law had had sufficient time since his partner's circumcision to present an ox, but had not done so, which meant that he was not particularly keen on developing relations. Furthermore, when Arturga's father-in-law died, the partner's right was lost for good and by stating "I do not know that man", Arturga was in fact stating that he did not recognise the legality of the partner's right. This leads us to the third factor which influences the establishment of a bond friendship, which occurs when one partner seeks a relationship with a man of high social status and the latter wants to establish as many bonds as possible to create a network of effective political influence. Quite often a high status elder might refuse to establish a bond with a person with whom he sees no advantage. But, if such an elder accepts the proposal, a situation of one-sided beast presentation usually arises.

When an elder establishes a bond of "name giving" or "holding" (the two bonds that an elder is most likely to establish), with another person who is younger, the probability of the latter receiving bridewealth is higher than that of the elder. If the elder does not present

a return ox to the junior partner, the elder minimises the strength of his partner's claim. But elders never state to their junior partners that they are not interested in acquiring bridewealth rights from the latter's wife receiver. Instead, they proffer excuses such as "a shortage of stock at the moment", "waiting to receive bridewealth" etc. Sometimes elders who seek political influence do present oxen and achieve bridewealth rights, but they can withhold the presentation of a return ox until it suits their political interests. Chief Atol illustrates this point.¹

Government Chief Atol presented an ox to the father of his name receiver partner in October 1969, immediately after Government chiefs collected tax from their people. The name receiver was a young boy of about 10 years of age; and Chief Atol returned an ox, and thereby acquired bridewealth rights seven years after the father of his junior partner had presented him with an ox. From what I gathered it appeared that Chief Atol wanted to eliminate, through the father of the "name receiver", some objection to ~~tax payment~~^{their} raised by his two wealthy brothers-in-law.

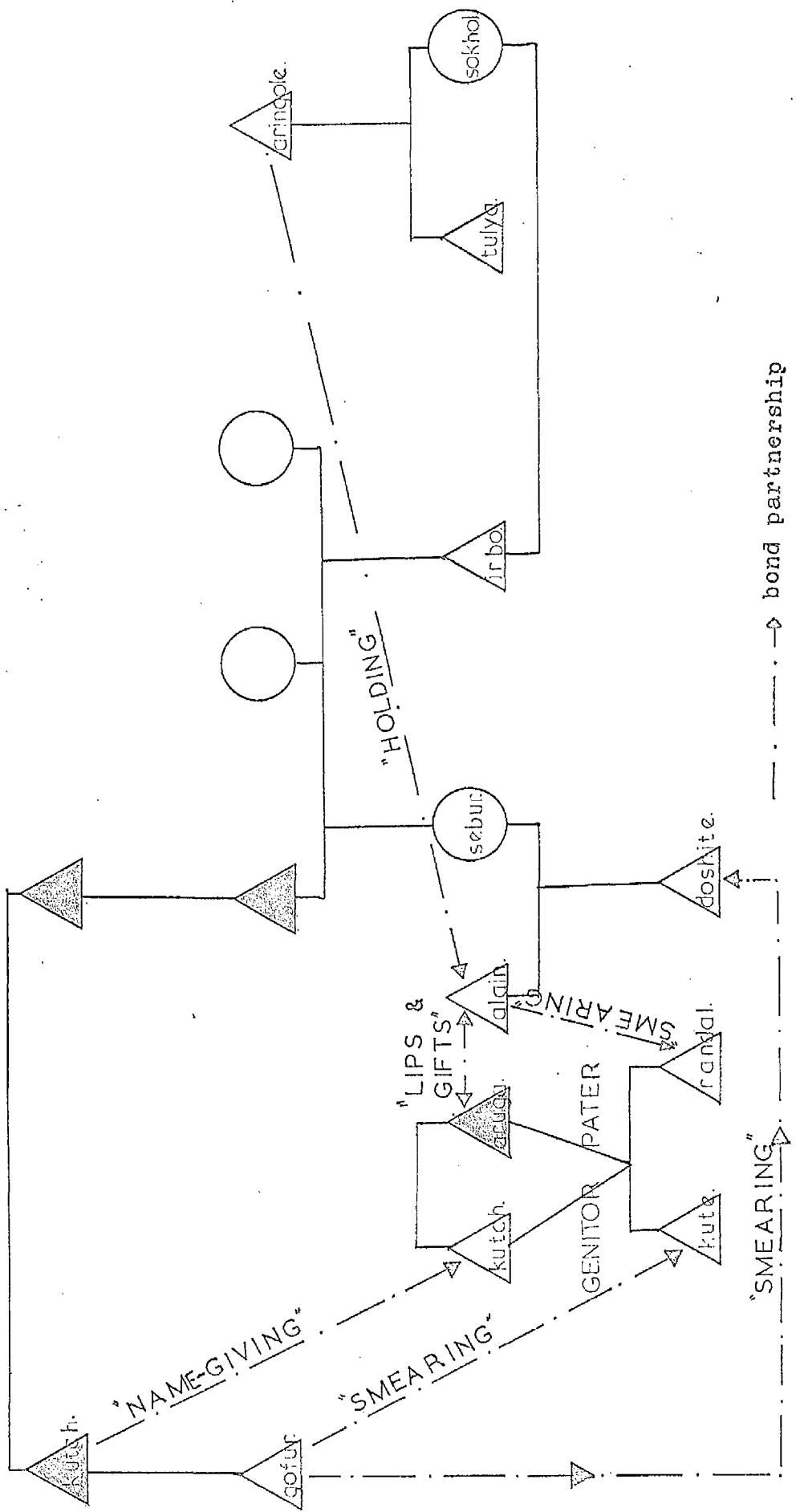
1. Bond partnership ties between judges (ara), Government chiefs (kansu ochimba) and age-set leaders (gal nane), have some other traits which are connected with the power struggle. This subject will be developed elsewhere. Here, I am only concerned with one-sided presentations of beasts.

Now I will consider ongoing changes in the relationship between bond partners.

The following case illustrates the changes that occurred in Alain's relations with a bond partner and an affine, following the marriage of his brother-in-law and Alain's own establishment of a bond friendship with another person. (See Diagram 12).

As in the case of Arturga (Chapter 9) I had to rely on information which was supplied to me by Alain, and could only check his account in so far as I was able to observe the state of relationships as they were when I was in the field. Alain, who was about 40 years of age, "went to dimi" in 1968. He had three children, the eldest of whom was Doshite, a boy about 12 years old, a daughter of seven, and a baby of about 9 months old. Aringole, who had "held" Alain, was in his sixties. According to Alain, he and Aringole had only good relations for a short time after his circumcision. Alain told me that he resented his partner's constant demands for coffee so he tried to avoid meeting him. His relations with Aringole had virtually ceased. Neither had presented the other ^{with} ^{under} an ox to acquire bridewealth rights. Shortly before Alain went to dimi ~~under~~ Irbo, the half brother of Sebur, eloped with Sokhol who was a daughter of Aringole. When Alain went to dimi, Tulyya, the son of Aringole came to Alain's home camp in Nyamumery and presented him with an ox that "his father had sent", in order to acquire bridewealth rights in the future marriage of Alain's daughter. I twice saw Alain drinking coffee at Aringole's home camp at Natada, something which Alain told me would not have occurred before Sokhol's marriage.

Diagram #2: Alain's bond partners and some of his Kin.



Another change also occurred in another field of Alain's social relationships.

Alain and Aruga had been immediate age mates and close friends. They had established bonds of "lips" when they were herders, which they had later strengthened through a bond of "gift". Aruga was killed on a raid against the Turkana, and his still childless wife was taken in by his brother Kutch, and latter gave birth to Kute and Randal. Alain expressed a great affection towards Randal and used to visit him. When Randal was a boy of about 7, he was "smeared" by Alain, because, in Alain's words; "I liked Aruga very much". This "smearing" bond seems to have changed Alain's relations with Gofur, who was the father's father's brother's son of Alain's wife, for the better. According to Alain's story, it would appear that Gofur claimed his bridewealth cattle in quite an aggressive way. "After only a few years", Gofur claimed that since Sebur had only two full brothers and no maternal uncles or paternal aunts, his rights should be met first since he was older and senior to the other claimants. Alain told him that he intended to go to dimi in a few years and needed all the cattle he possessed. Gofur refused to listen and one morning he and his two sons surrounded Alain's calves enclosure and demanded their cattle. After a 'compromise meeting', Alain gave Gofur one cow and one ox. After that incident their relations "were bad". Gofur's father had been the "name giver" of Kutch, and Gofur and Kutch (the "name receiver") were close friends. Gofur was also the "smearer" of Kutch's "son" Kute. The bond of "smearing" which Alain established with Randal brought Alain into close social relations with Kutch who was also

Gofur's partner and friend. Relations between Alain and Gofur improved and Alain asked Gofur to be the "smearer" of his son Doshite. I observed the ceremony of Doshite and I saw Alain and Gofur behaving towards each other with friendliness. I later asked Alain about this change and he answered: "It is not a change, he is my friend. In the past, it is true, we had a quarrel, but no hatred". Alain's relations with both Aringole and Gofur had lapsed for some time, but became close again, one through the marriage of Irbo and the other through the establishment of a bond tie with Randal.

Though it would have been unlikely, Aringole could have presented an ox to Alain without the marriage of his daughter, but obviously the reason for presenting it was the marriage of Sokhol. By the very fact of presenting the ox, Tulya not only regained relations with his father's partner, but also created for himself a favourable position in his relations with his wife-givers, since Alain was on particularly good terms with his brothers-in-law who are also Tulya's. When Alain established bond relations with Randal, he entered into relations with Randal's brother, father and their close partner Gofur. So, by requesting Gofur to be the "smearer" of Doshite, Alain "re-opened" relations with Gofur that had been "closed".

When I left the field Doshite had not presented an ox to Gofur. One can assume, however, that he will shortly do so, because by doing so will not only further improve Alain and Gofur's relations, but will also give Doshite a chance of receiving bridewealth from the marriage of Gofur's daughter. But it is doubtful if Gofur will present Doshite an ox in the near future since he gets bridewealth

rights only from the marriages of Doshite's daughters, which cannot happen in Gofur's lifetime. Or he might present it if he wishes to leave to his sons an inherited jural right which the latter might claim in the future.

E. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have examined the various factors which limit the potentially large number of people who are committed by inherited ties of bond friendship, to manageable numbers. Some of these factors are :— the age differences between partners; the time in a man's life at which such partnerships are entered into; the possibilities of inheriting effective bridewealth claims; the effects of the rule that in order to claim bridewealth rights an ox must be presented at customary times by the partner-claimant; the consequences of the option which some partners have to break their bond; and the consequences of the influence which some bridewealth receivers have to direct the flow of cattle to or from claims by bond partners.

All these factors have some effects on the relations between the heirs of bond partners. Sons who inherited their fathers' rights were sometimes bitter towards other heirs of their fathers' partner because they thought that ^{not} their fathers' rights and hence their own claims, had been ~~not~~ respected.

In spite of the apparent unenforceability of inherited bond-partnership claims, sons do inherit such claims, some of which they may exert. The most likely time in a man's life for him to press such claims, and with the highest likelihood of success, is at the time of a man's marriage when he is establishing his own household.

Such partnerships as a man, at that stage in his life,

establishes are not likely to be enduring because they are ones of immediate expediency. A man may "jump" from one partnership to another.

A man inherits a set of potential ties but which of those he maintains depends on a series of factors. The partnerships into which a man enters during the time he is engaged in intensive economic activities are more numerous than ^{he} can possibly maintain in his old age, because social relations need ^{the} reciprocity, either by exchanges of stock or rights or services, if they are to be effective. This applies, though with diminishing force, to even the "strongest" customary forms of bonding. The partnerships which are most useful, and hence maintained, are those which are found, by trial and error, to have proved to be successful at the level of economic cooperation. But few ties, if any, are single-stranded, and one, as was shown by the case of Alain, affects others. As a man becomes a 'big man' consideration of social prestige and ^{congeniality} influence, his choices. Not every man becomes a "holder" or a "smearer" or a "name giver" to many others, and, since these bonds depend to a large extent on the status of an elder, men may compete for partners for the sake of honour, which may be contrary to their economic interests. This form of prestige and status competition is similar to that I have described in previous chapters and is a cumulative process. In particular, elders may be in competition with their sons. Elders also compete, as individuals, against other elders, not as representatives of families, kin groups, descent groups, territorial sections, or age-sets.

In this competition the selective exploitation of affinal ties and the selective exploitation of bond

partnerships are complementary. This complementarity can best be seen in the "third period" of bridewealth allocation. Since all status and prestige are achieved through competition with one's coevals a young man has to strive from at least the time he starts courting, which means that his personal choices ^{from that} of dancing partners to his final choice of bond partners may influence his future status. Finally the differing and competing interests of proximate generations is a constant structural feature of Dassanetch society.

Appendix 1: A Chronological List of Political Events
on the Lower Omo.

The only events listed below are those which affected, directly or indirectly, the Dassanetch.

Minor raids or clashes are not listed; raiding has never been put down by Governments, even during those years described as "peaceful" some raids, clashes or looting of livestock occurred. I have only listed deaths when they are given in my sources.

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 1888 | Count Teleki and L. Von Hohnel, the first explorers, arrive at the Lower Omo. |
| <hr/> | |
| 1898 | Troops of Emperor Menelik II occupy the Lower Omo. |
| <hr/> | |
| 1902 | "Uganda Order in Council 1902", which defined the border between the Sudan and Uganda. |
| <hr/> | |
| 1907 | "Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement 1907", which defined the Southern and Eastern borders of Ethiopia. |
| <hr/> | |
| 1909 | Dassanetch acquire rifles from Ethiopian troops and traders. |
| <hr/> | |
| 1913 | Dassanetch raid near to Marsabit. 14 Rondile and Samburu and 25 Dassanetch were killed. Dassanetch raid Samburu in Kulal. 4 Samburu killed. |
-

- 1915 Gabbra killed by Dassanetch raiders in North-Horr.
-
- 1916 Dassanetch raid Gabbra in Dukana, North-Horr and Koronli.
-
- 1917 Gabbra and Rendile evacuate areas west of Maikona and are pushed southwards.
-
- 1918 A joint punitive expedition by Kenya, Uganda and the Sudan known as the "Labur Patrol".
A battle in Kangala between the patrol and an Ethiopian force coming from Maji.
-
- 1919 Dassanetch raid Rendile near Kurkum killing 57 people. 67 Rendile were killed during a Dassanetch raid at Kulal. 17 of the raiders were killed.
-
- 1920-
1921 Serious intertribal fighting between the Turkana, Dassanetch, Inyangatom and Tapotha. Hundreds of people killed but exact number of casualties unknown.
-
- 1924 Dassanetch raided Gabbra at Maikona.
-
- 1925 April. Breakdown of peace negotiations between the Dassanetch and the Ngwatella section of the Turkana at Kalin.
September. 34 Rendile and Gabbra killed during Dassanetch raids at Moite and Balesse.

1925

November. A force of King's African Rifles attack Dassanetch at Lug Banya and 40 Dassanetch killed.

1926

Rudolf Province of Uganda taken over by Kenya.

1927

A number of joint Dassanetch-Tnyangatom raids on the Turkana.

1928

Military post established at Lockitaung. Dassanetch raids on Turkana. Turkana lost 215 dead (place unknown). Kenya police replace King's African Rifles in Northern Frontier District.

1931

Sudan Government granted Kenya authorities permission to take action against raiders irrespective of the 1914 "Red Line" and gave permission for the establishment of Kenya police posts in Sudan territory. (In fact posts were not established until 1942.)

1932

The extension of the "Red Line" eastwards, known as the "Green Line".

August. 6 Turkana killed by Dassanetch raiders.

September. Dassanetch raid at Lug Banya. 93 Gabra killed.

October. 26 Gabra and Rendile killed at Gudas by Dassanetch raiders.

November. A British "punishment expedition" to Dassanetchland. A minor clash at Banya. 4 Dassanetch and 2 Ethiopian officials killed.

- 1933 56 Turkana killed during a Dassanetch raid (place unknown). Tribesmen in Northern Frontier District were kept behind the "Stigand Line".
Dassanetch raid at Hobok. 11 Gabra killed.
Dassanetch kill 5 Ethiopian tax-collectors who came from Baco.
-
- 1934 Peace agreement made between the Dassanetch, Turkana and Inyagatom.
An eastwards extension of the "Red Line", which was known as the "Blue Line". Dejazmatch Ababa Dimtu arrived in Dassanetch-land with a force of about 1000 troops to attack the Dassanetch and disarm them, but in the event there was no engagement and Ethiopian troops withdrew for medical reasons.
-
- 1935 A 'no man's land' established in Northern Frontier District. Serious clashes between the Dassanetch and Hamar in which hundreds were killed.
-
- 1936 Dassanetch raid Gabra in Gorai.
-
- 1937 Italian troops occupy the Lower Omo.
-
- 1938 Italians patrol the 'Ilemi Appendix' and establish military posts there.
Kenya establishes police posts in the Northern Frontier District, Dukana, El Yibo, El Sardu, Derati and North Horr.

1939

July. Dassanetch raided Turkana at Lokibuk, Lokwanya and Adingatom. Approximately 250 Turkana were killed in these raids.

August. A column of King's African Rifles assisted by a flight of the R.A.F. undertook operations in the Ilemi Appendix. 24 Dassanetch were killed.

1940

102 Gabra and Rendile were killed in Maikona by Dassanetch raiders.

February-August. 33 Gabra were killed in raids at Defati, Dukana and Karsa.

1941

January. 1,000 new rifles were given Dassanetch by the Italians.

February. A major engagement took place between the Dassanetch and two King's African Rifles battalions with aircraft and artillery in support. Dassanetch settlements bombed from the air by the R.A.F. One plane was shot down.

April. Dassanetch raided Gabra at Kulumi, Burchuma, Balessa and Kalatcha. 32 Gabra and 2 Dassanetch were killed.

May. Dassanetch raided Gabra near Karawi, 27 Gabra were killed.

October. Dassanetchland occupied by British troops.

November. The Military blockade the Omo river with the intention of disarming the Dassanetch.

1942

January. British troops leave Dassanetchland on medical grounds, the blockade failed. Gabra raid Dassanetch at El Moriet and kill 9 Dassanetch.

March. Dassanetch attack road workers on the Turkana road (no casualties).

Kenya establish police posts in the Ilemi Appendix; at Kokiro, Liwan, Kamathia, Lockimarin yang and Kibish.

Kenya Government establishes a 'no man's land' in the Ilemi Appendix.

1943 Ethiopian troops return to the Lower Omo. Dassanetchland was established as an independent and restricted zone under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Interior of the Imperial Ethiopian Government.

1954 Dassanetchland included in the Ethiopian Province of Gemu Gofa, under control from Jinka.
Ethiopian police posts established along the frontier at Turmi, Fagage, Hado, Rate, Kalam, Namuruputh and Nakwa.

1958 The 'Magla War' between the Turkana and Dassanetch.
Dassanetch attack and massacre Turkana in Mogila. About 100 Turkana killed.

1965 Ethiopian Police undertook a hut to hut search to disarm the Dassanetch but only 300 rifles collected.
A station of the American Presbyterian Mission established on the west bank of the Omo river near to the delta.

1966 A peace ceremony between the Turkana and the Dassanetch took place at Kokuru.

1967 Dassanetch ambushed and killed 28 Gabra raiders near Ileret.

1969 Clashes between Inyangatom and Kere.
Clashes between Hamar and Arbore.
Clashes between Dassanetch and Hamar.

1970

Serious clashes between Dassanetch and
Memar.

Appendix 2: Dassanetch territorial sections,
clans and sub-clans

Territorial Section (<u>en</u>)	Clan (<u>tur</u>)	Sub-Clan (<u>bil</u>)
Inkabelo	Turnyerim	Reykume Bado Merigil Lockwabate Merisiya
Fargaro		Olboniga **Dabalvien Fade Niakhol Gethco (Bofon) Ede
Turat		Miede Komalo Bonto i * Koro (Lokomoi)
Galbur		Garder (basiet) Shadatch a. Terle b. Riele c. Matchini d. Dyemu

Appendix 2.
Page 2.

<u>Territorial Section (en)</u>	<u>Clan (tur)</u>	<u>Sub-Clan (bil)</u>
Inkabelo (Cont.)	Ede	Boron Shimiti Karatchaluk Yerakal
	Tiem le	
	Murle	Abyazat Abadin
	Ili	Ore Olmayli Kidenya (Shasha) Angatch Alemunyo Nyeris
Inkoria and Naritch	Turnyerim	Reykume Bado
	Fargaro	Olboniga Fade Boron **Dabalvien

Appendix 2.
Page 3.

Territorial Section (<u>en</u>)	Clan (<u>tur</u>)	Sub-Clan (<u>bil</u>)
Inkoria and Naritch (Cont.)	Turat	Komalo Diri
	@albur	Basiet Shadatch
	Ede	Wanitch le Loykama
	Tiem le	Charle Rod ez le
	Murle	Abyazat Abadin
	Ili	Ore Kidenia Shasha Farla Olmayli
Elele	Turnyerim	Hedmudle Bashole Kolniar

Territorial Section (<u>en</u>)	Clan (<u>tur</u>)	Sub-Clan (<u>bil</u>)
Elele (Cont.)	Tusitch	Miede Basiet (Boron) Murle
	Fargaro	Mirisamo i Kurumurte (Horigudan)
	**Urubur	Turat Narwatikoi
	Megote	Megote Hamar (dire)
	Deritech	
Randal	**Dabalvien	
	Waq le	
	San le	Hod oz ka Hod bur ka
	**Bulier	
	**Guiam	
	**Nagan	

Territorial Section (<u>en</u>)	Clan (<u>tur</u>)	Sub-Clan (<u>bil</u>)
Randal (Cont.)	* Bilso	
	Moilette	
	* Baldur	
	Agala	
Oro	Turnyerim	Muditch Bur Ongor
	Deritch	Lotcheria Tchoromoi
	Turat	Amutulim Akuri Garmatch Elele
	Ili	Ore Mureu
Koro	* Ilmosi	Boron Turat
	* Lokomoi	Logogoso Trbarkeno

Territorial Section (<u>en</u>)	Clan (<u>tur</u>)	Sub-Clan (<u>bil</u>)
Koro (Cont.)	* Lurukiteho	Lurukitcho Moilete
Riele	Ede	
	Fargaro	
	Murle	
	Turat	
	Iyeber	
	Ili	
	Odiyo	
	Loror	
	Turnyerim	Bado Galbur = basiet

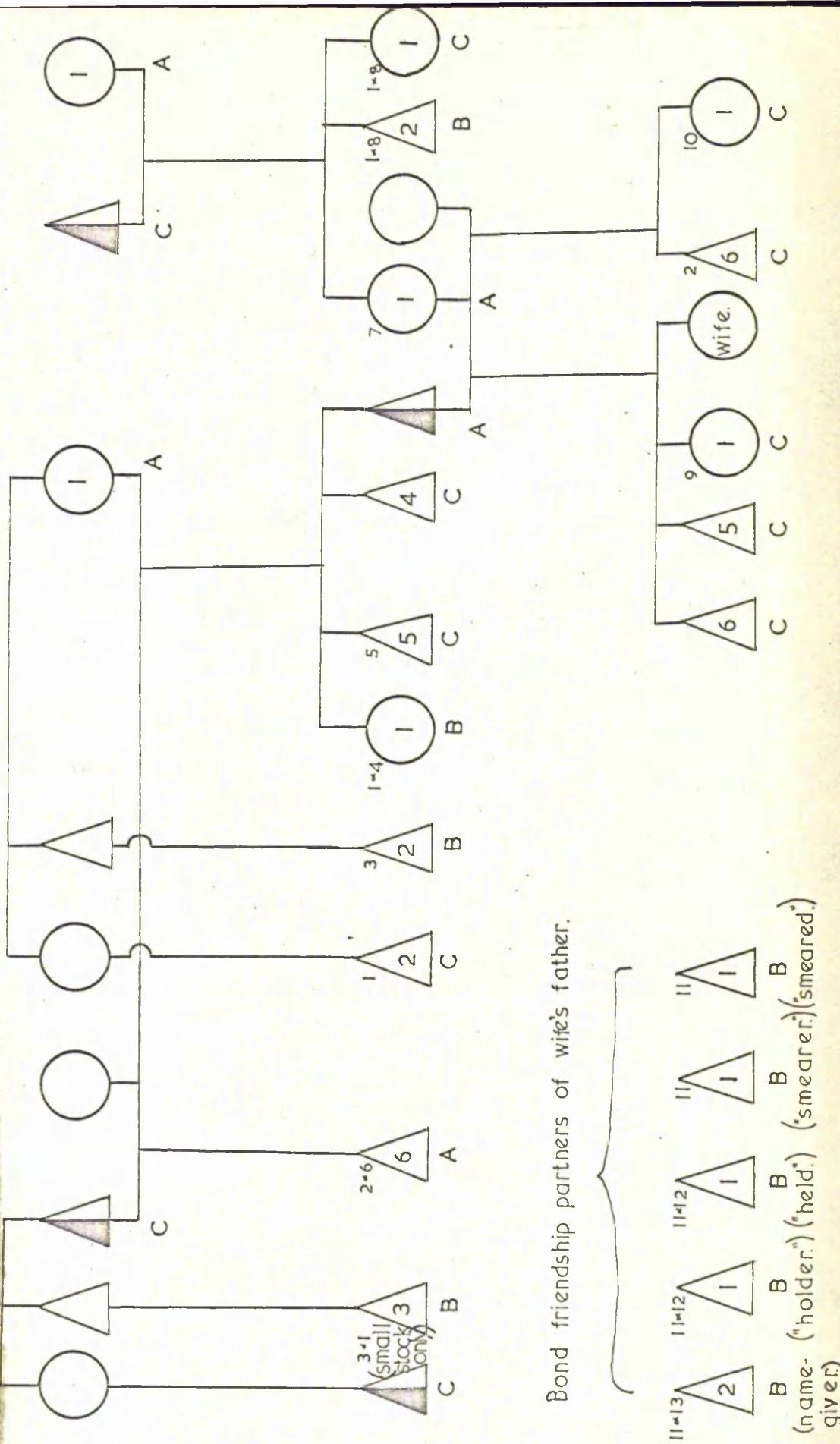
There is unmistakable similarity in names marked * to the Samburu, (Spencer, p. 1965, op. cit., pp. 72-73) and in those marked ** to the Rendille, (Spencer, P. - personal communication).

Appendix: 3Rainfall Amount in MM. and Number of Rainy Days

Year	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Month						
Jan. rain days		9 2	2 1	2 2	45 3	13 1
Feb. rain days		1 1	131 5	45 3	0 0	
Mar. rain days	NO DATA	73.5 8	35 6	41.5 5	6 7	2
Apr. rain days		39.5 3	10.5 3	140 9	78 6	
May rain days		87.5 9	0 0	19 3	49 3	4 4
Jun. rain days	0 0	16 1	13 1	3 1	0 0	
Jul. rain days	1 1	127.5 6	0 0	0 0	0 0	
Aug. rain days	65.2 4	0 0	0 1	0 0	0.5 1	
Sep. rain days	34.5 5	4 2	0 0	1 1	0 0	
Oct. rain days	0 0		2 2	59 7	15 3	
Nov. rain days	31 5	NO DATA		43.5 7	1 9	1 1
Dec. rain days	0 0		9 9	0 0	24 3	
TOT. rain days	131 15	358 32	193.5 36	40	331 28	

This data was supplied to me by Rev. R. Swart and it only shows rainfall at the Mission station. From August 1968 to September 1969 I only have data for the number of rainy days from my own observation.

Appendix 4: GENEOLOGICAL PARADIGM OF WIFE GIVERS WHO HAVE RIGHTS TO RECEIVE BRIDEWEALTH.



Bond friendship partners of wife's father.

11-13 11-12 11-1 B
 B (name- ("holder") ("held") B ("smearer") ("smearer")
 giver)

Notes to Paradigm Appendix 4:



A number inside triangle or circle stands for the number of cattle a person has a right to receive. Such a person also had an implicit right to receive bride small stock.



The right to receive bride small stock only.

B

Has a priority right to receive bridewealth.

3

Footnote as follows:

1. A sibling receives a portion of the bride-wealth of the daughters of any one of his siblings according to their own order of birth and the order of birth of their daughters, i.e. the principle of seniority of birth determines the allocation within both generations.
2. The right to receive bridewealth of the wife's half-brothers and that of the half-brothers of the wife's father is not an individual right but rests in the household. The senior household (other than that of the wife's father) receives six head of cattle irrespective of the number of male members of that household. The next household in seniority receives five cattle and so on.
3. The beasts are given to all full and half-brothers jointly irrespective of their number.
4. Only full sisters of the wife's father receive bridewealth.
5. The eldest full brother of the wife's father receives five head of cattle, the second born four cattle, and so on. The wife's father receives bridecattle according to his position in the order of siblings. But, he does not take his share for himself, but transfers it to his sons. The wife's father should receive "his" share only after all his full brothers have received their shares.

6. If the wife is the eldest or the only daughter of her father, only the eldest senior born man of each household receives bride small stock.
7. A mother does not receive bride small stock. By custom she should also transfer the heifer to which she has a right to her youngest son.
8. Only full brothers and sisters of the wife's mother receive bridecattle and small stock.
9. A first born sister receives a heifer and bride small stock from the marriage of the second born full sister and so on.
10. The bride's eldest half sister of the junior household receives bridewealth from the marriage of the youngest half-sister of the next senior household to her own.
11. There may be a conditional transfer of bridecattle and small stock. If a bond friendship partner gives an ox to the wife's father when the latter "goes to dimi", the partner has a right to receive bridewealth from each of that partner's daughters' marriages. If a man enters into a bond friendship after performing dimi, the bond partner may acquire bride-wealth rights by presentation of an ox.
12. If at the time a bond friendship is established, any of the partners has a sister under the age of dimi (i.e. under 8), the other partner has a right to receive bride-wealth from her marriage, provided that he gives his partner an ox either for the dimi ceremony or as a gift.
13. A "name giver" is regarded as a "little brother" to the wife and he receives bride-wealth from all the marriages of that wife's sisters. A name giver may receive bridewealth many times from only one bond friendship, i.e. from the marriages of his "brothers" (i.e. wife's brothers) daughters as a "paternal uncle" and from the marriages of his "sisters" (i.e. wife's sisters) daughters as a "maternal uncle".

Appendix: 5

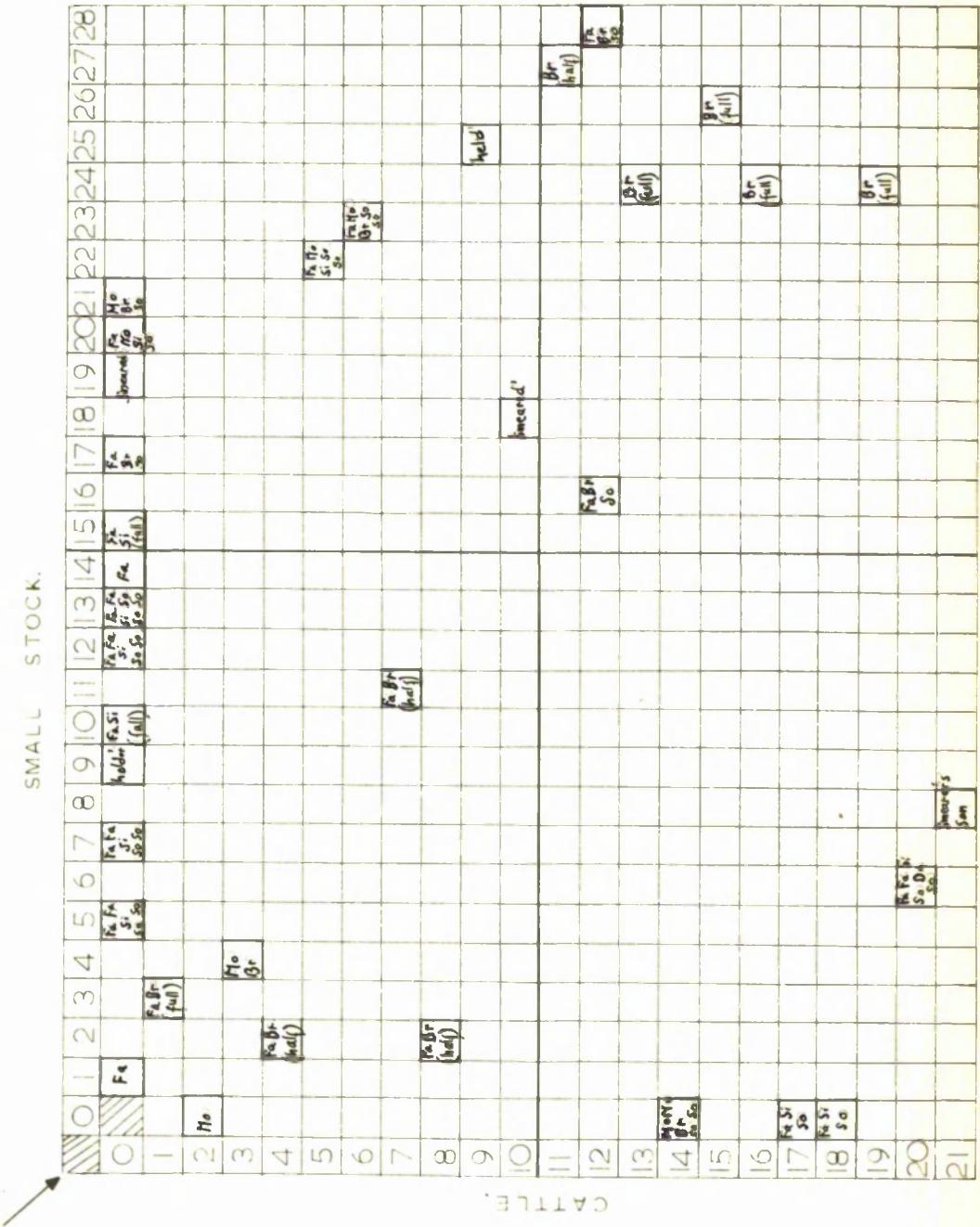
Priorities in Allocation
of Bridewealth to Wife Givers

(Terms are in relation to "Wife")

(S) - Bride Small Stock Only

- | | | |
|--|---|---------------------------------|
| A
First Priority
<u>(bi_erkob)</u> | 1) Fa Mo
2) Mo Mo
3) Fa Br (half). Senior household
only and excluding that of
the father.
4) Mo
5) Fa (S) | |
| B
Second Priority
<u>(bi_tomo)</u> | 1) Fa Si
2) Mo Br
3) Fa Fa Br So
4) Fa Mo Br So
5) Name giver
6) "Holder" (of Fa)
7) "Held" (by Fa)
8) "Smearer" (of Fa)
9) "Smear" (by Fa) | Bond-
Friendship
Partners |
| C
Third Priority
<u>(bi_eldad)</u> | 1) Fa Br (half). According to
seniority of households.
2) Fa Br (full).
3) Mo Si
4) Fa Mo Si So
5) Br (half).
6) Br (full).
7) Fa Fa Si So (S)
8) Mo Fa (S)
9) Fa Fa (S) | |

APPENDIX 6 : THE COMBINED SEQUENCE OF BRIDE CATTLE AND BRIDE SMALL STOCK ALLOCATIONS MADE BY ARTURGA.



Appendix 7.

Types of cooperative relationships existing between Arturga's wife givers and receivers, as described by Arturga himself:

Some wife givers and receivers of all ages were also immediate age mates. Members of both groups so linked were:

- a) Arturga himself, 36 and the brother-in-law of 36.
- b) Arturga's full brother's son and 44.
- c) Arturga's youngest son, the son of 50 and the son of Arturga's mother's sister's husband's second wife.

The linkages of some wife givers and receivers as members of the same sub-age sets were as follows:

- a) 34's eldest half brother; the husband of Arturga's father's brother's daughter and Arturga's eldest paternal cousin all belonged to Inyagamong - the senior sub-age set of the Numor age-set.
- b) Arturga himself, his eldest full brother, 20's eldest daughter's husband, 32, 36 and his brother-in-law and the husband of Arturga's father's sister's daughter all belonged to the sub-age set of Nirara. (Arturga's eldest full brother was a "man of the spear" (ma nane), one of the four official leaders of the whole age set of Numor).
- c) 38 and Arturga's youngest half-brother belonged to the sub-age set of Nimenagatuk.

There were also some ties of bond friendship between members of the two groups:

- a) 15 was the "smearer" of Arturga's paternal half cousin (Lil metch uru).
- b) 10 "held" Arturga's mother's sister at her circumcision (Lil metch kerno).

- c) 46's full youngest brother "held" Arturga's youngest half-brother at the later's circumcision (Lil metch kerno).
- d) The youngest full sister of 44 married a younger brother of the 'name giver' to Arturga's eldest son.

In the past economic cooperation between members of the two groups had occurred as follows:

- a) Arturga's father's sister's son allocated plots to his maternal cousin and to 41. All three cultivated neighbouring plots along the river bank at Akudongole.
- b) 17's son-in-law had allocated plots to Arturga also at Akudongole; he shared part of it with the husband of his mother's sister's daughter.
- c) The eldest son of Arturga was herding the small stock of his father and also those of 38.
- d) Arturga's eldest full brother and the brother-in-law of 31 were staying on one residential unit at Gumbubur, and ran their milk cattle together in one herd which was looked after by the youngest son of the brother of Arturga mentioned above.
- e) At sometime 39 had herded Arturga's cattle.
- f) Arturga's youngest paternal uncle, before he retired from active pastoral work, had shepherded the small stock of 17 before the latter's death after which he had shepherded the small stock of 19.

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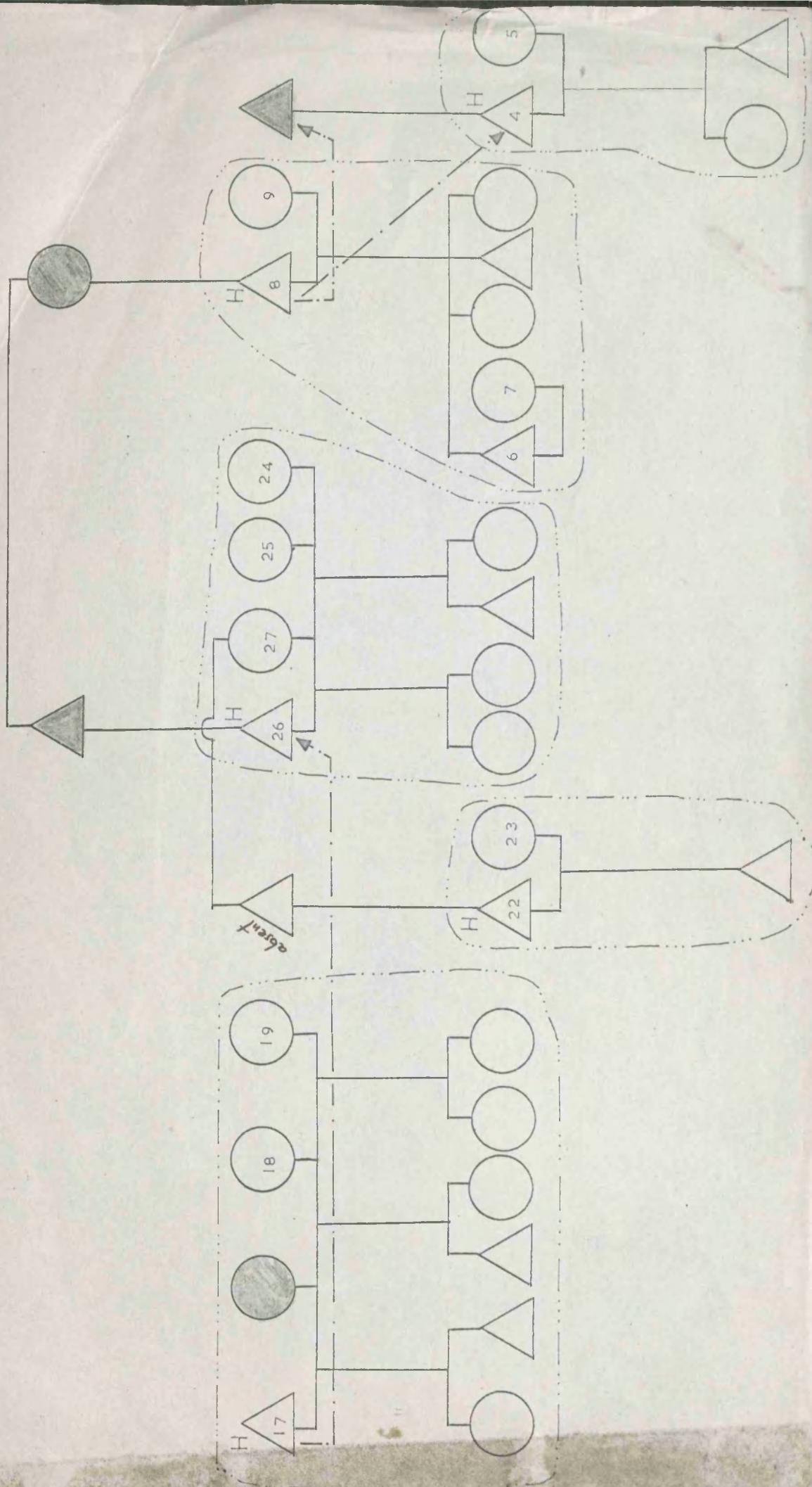
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