
The Karamajong Cluster

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THE KARAMAJONG CLUSTER

P. H. GULLIVER

WITHIN the Nilo-Hamitic group of tribes in East Africa is a sub-group, the tribes of which speak closely related dialects. So close are these dialects that a native speaker of any one can understand a speaker of any other. In the normal intercourse between the peoples this does in fact happen constantly. Linguistically this group of dialects might be called the Teso Dialect Cluster, after the tribe of that name.¹

From a socio-cultural point of view this group of tribes can be divided into two—the Teso and the rest. The Teso live in a well-watered, fertile region and, during the last 40 years, have turned over from a mixed economy, with a strong emphasis on pastoralism, to primarily the cultivation of cotton as a cash crop. At the beginning of the century Teso were administered by Buganda agents, and the indigenous clan and community system was heavily overlaid with a Baganda-like political structure. In the greatly changed conditions this has been fairly easily accepted and appears to work efficiently. Today Teso are one of the rapidly developing tribes of East Africa. There is the hierarchical administrative system, a cash-crop plus subsistence-crop agriculture with relatively less emphasis on animal husbandry, a rapidly developing cash economy and modern education.

The rest of the tribes referred to above I propose to call the Karamajong Cluster, for reasons to be given presently. They are as follows:

In Uganda: Karamajong, Jie, Dodoth.

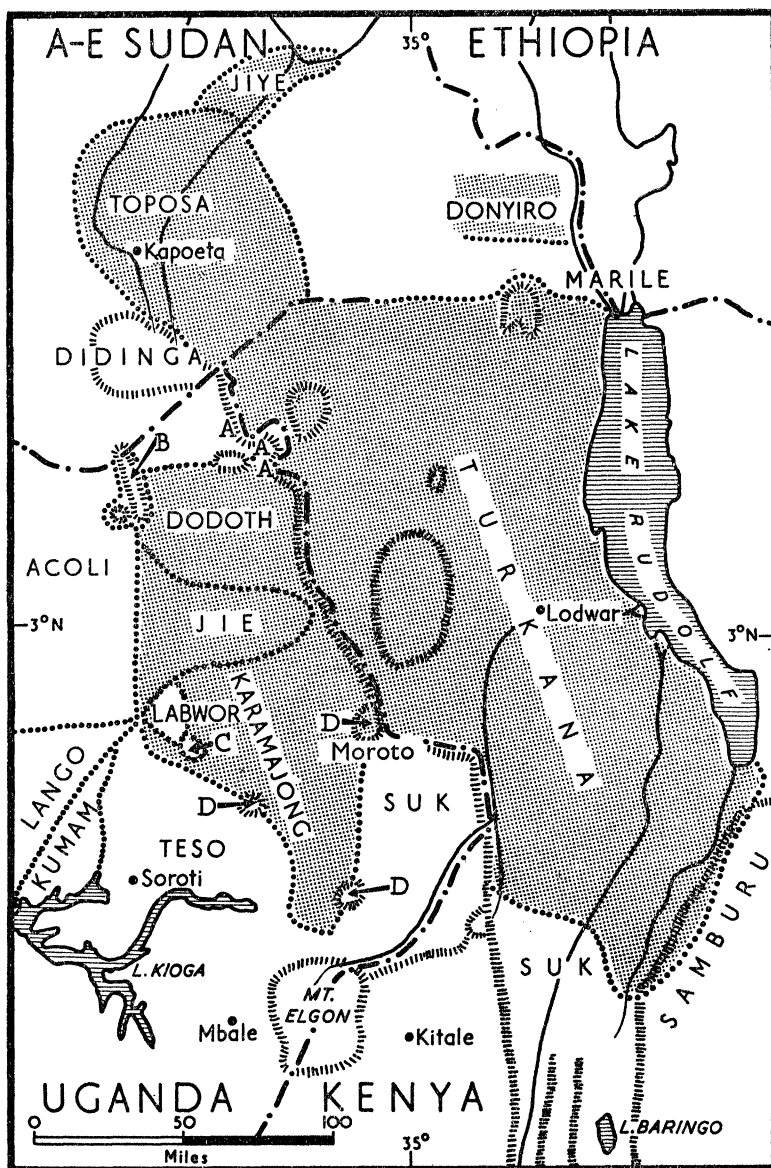
In Kenya: Turkana.

In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan: Toposa, Jiye.

In Ethiopia and the Sudan: Donyiro (or Dianatom).





In addition to using mutually intelligible dialects they have a common cultural heritage. In contradistinction to the Teso, they all inhabit an arid region, varying from almost sheer desert to dry savannah. Everywhere a strong emphasis is laid on pastoralism, and values and attitudes connected with their herds, and transactions with them, penetrate every aspect of social life. The amount of agriculture varies according to the limitations enforced by rainfall. Thus the western tribes have a

¹ It should be noted that linguistically the Teso themselves are not one. There are several dialects. 'Standard' Teso is taken to be that of the Ngora District.



SKETCH-MAP SHOWING TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION

Notes

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
|  The area of the Karamajong Cluster | A. Teuso tribe |
|  International administrative boundaries | B. Napore-Nyangeya group of peoples |
|  Approximate tribal boundaries | C. Diakwai tribe |
|  Chief mountain formations and escarpments | D. Tepes tribe |

N.B. There is an administrative no-man's land between the Turkana and the Donyiro. Although there is a gazetted boundary between Kenya and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, it runs across uninhabited country in parts and has never been fully controlled. Various concessions have been made to the Kenya Government by the Sudan Government in order to allow the former administrative authority over all territory inhabited by the Turkana, and also to establish posts from which to prevent Donyiro and Marile raids.

Because of tsetse fly there is an uninhabited region in the Kidepo valley, between the Dodoth and the Didinga.

mixed economy of farming and animal husbandry, while the Turkana in particular cultivate only very small gardens, and cereals form a very small part of their diet, except where trade is possible. It is important to point out that none of these people despise agriculture, for cereal food is much desired. Turkana say that they envy their western neighbours who can grow almost enough sorghum to last through the dry season. A mixed economy is the ideal. What these people do tend to disdain is a tribe which has few or no cattle. Everywhere cultivation is women's work, but in the more truly mixed economies the middle-aged and older men usually lend a hand or even own their own gardens.

A feature of the sociology of the cluster is that nowhere are there specific rights in grazing land. The head of a cattle or goat camp can and does move his camp as and when he sees fit, according to the requirements of the herds and the family. Everywhere this leads to a complete intermingling of herds and people in any one tribal area, cutting across all lines of kinship, territory, &c. It is true that in Turkanaland, towards the end of the dry season, new and unrelated arrivals in an area may be driven out, but this is because the present occupants believe the vegetational resources to be insufficient for more herds, and not because any group of people have a prescribed right there. Water rights are only individual where a hole has been dug; open or running water cannot be claimed by any group. Herds are not always to be found in the same area each year at the same time. Not only do climatic (and thus vegetational) conditions vary greatly, but individual preferences change.

In each tribe patrilineal kinship based on rights in stock is of fundamental importance, within a range of men descended from a common grandfather. This group, the extended family, *eowe*, provides the core of almost all types of social activity—economic, ritual, legal, and political. Within the extended family, groups based on the father (polygynous family) and on the mother ('house', *ekal*) contain more concentrated kin ties between half-brothers and full brothers respectively. Inheritance is invariably through the house, i.e. via the mother.

Wider than the extended family is the clan, *ateger*, which is the largest agnatic group known, and whose importance is chiefly ritual, especially concerning the series of rites connected with marriage, fertility, and the welfare of children. Though asserted to be a patrilineal group, no claim is made to be able to trace actual connexions. There is no eponymous ancestor, and individual extended families cannot trace genealogical ties. There is no trace of a segmentary lineage system. Clans are exogamous. Each has its own stock brand for each type of animal, male and female. Details cannot be given here, but throughout the Cluster there is a considerable spread of common clan names. For instance, a very large number of Jie clan names are to be found in one or more of the other tribes. There are some names in common with the Teso, and one or two with the Uganda Lango, but the area of greatest agreement is that of the Cluster itself. The types of clans within the tribes vary from small territorial ones in Jie to large widespread ones in Turkana and Karamajong. It is most likely, however, that the latter are a development of the former, following the increase in population and the colonization of new areas. Jie is typified by a high concentration of a relatively small population, which has scarcely moved for many generations; Turkana and Karamajong are both typified by larger populations which

have spread out in the last hundred years or so. Indeed, the Turkana say that formerly their clans were concentrated. Clan ritual shows a common pattern everywhere where details are known.

Nowhere are there indigenous chiefs or any organized political system based on elders, clan leaders, or clan or lineage groups. Adult men are arranged in an age-set system (age-set, *atherpan*), but not enough is known about the whole Cluster to show conclusively a common pattern. Age-sets have some political functions, but are most important in the systematizing of a complex scheme of seniority, which ranges all the adult men of a tribe from eldest to youngest on a combined basis of physical age, position in the extended family and position of the father. This provides a basis of leadership, particularly in ritual affairs. Amongst Turkana, Karamajong, and Jie there are vestigial traces of an age-set system for women, which appears to be an imitation of the male system and of little importance.

There is an omnipotent, if rather vague, High God, *Akuj*, who, however, takes little interest in mortal affairs unless continually exhorted. He controls the rain, can send individual or general disaster, and may punish ritual breaches. Through the powers of *Akuj* a diviner (*imuron*) can make rain, cure disease and witchcraft, and foretell the future. There is little in the way of magic, and in that prime feature of life, animal husbandry, there is an almost complete absence of magico-ritual practices.¹ At death a person is vaguely believed to go to the High God, but a grave is scarcely remembered. There is no ancestor-worship. There are obscure spirits of little importance and who cannot be influenced by men.

The Karamajong Cluster is also distinguished by certain cultural features, such as dress, ornamentation, material culture, and so on. Formerly all the men went naked, while the greatest propriety has always been observed in women and girls wearing skirts and pinafores. Men were and still are distinguished by a special type of muddled head-dress, which today has the form of a large bun of hair at the back of the head (*emedot*) and a plate in coloured ochre above the forehead. Formerly, at the time of the first British arrivals, older men wore a chignon of matted hair and mud which might reach as far as the waist behind. These were detachable, and are still to be found occasionally. The edge of the ear is pierced in up to eight places for both sexes, and rings or beads are inserted. The lower lip and septum are pierced; older men wear a large oval of flat iron (*ebilebirat*) hanging from the nose and over the chin. Men wear metal waist-belts of a peculiar design. Much use is made of ostrich-egg beads, reaching profusion among Turkana girls. Further details will not be given here. It may be remarked that such cultural features are not confined to this cluster of tribes. The Suk, for instance, used to wear the long chignon; the Lango wear ostrich-egg beads. But the area of the greatest concentration of all these and other traits is that of the Karamajong Cluster, and the peoples regard them as their own particular heritage. Borrowing from the Cluster by outsiders, and vice versa, would appear to be a satisfactory explanation.

While none of these peoples is keenly interested in history, legend, myths, or stories, all of which are few in number, yet throughout the Cluster there is a consistent account of an original unity, and a story of splitting up.

¹ Cf. Schapera, I., 'Herding ritual of the Bechuanaland BaKaxla', *American Anthropologist*, xxxvi, 4, 1934, for an account of cattle ritual in contrast to this.

THE STORY OF ORIGIN AND DISPERSAL

It is proposed to call this group of tribes the Karamajong Cluster, since the Karamajong are supposed to be the original tribe from which all the others are descended.¹ As will be seen, the modern Karamajong are the second largest tribe of the Cluster. The peoples themselves have no generic name for the Cluster as a whole.

According to the Karamajong account, a single tribe of that name lived near and above the western wall of the eastern branch of the Rift valley. The actual area was roughly between the Mogos Hills in the south and Kote Hill in the north. As today, in the dry season the bulk of the herds and flocks were kept in camps away from the settled homesteads, and were controlled by the younger men. One year, at the beginning of the wet season, the young men refused to return to or near the homesteads when ordered by the older men. On their refusing a second time, the older men set off to compel them by force, but were beaten in a spear-fight.² The younger men remained completely obdurate and so the tribe split into two—the Karamajong proper, and the seceding people who became known as the Jie.³ The Jie lived in the vicinity of Kote Hill, and the Karamajong lived near the Mogos Hills. From that time on the two tribes were sworn enemies.

This is the Karamajong version. Jie will not voluntarily tell this story at all, but maintain that the two tribes were always separate and refuse to comment on the close similarities in language and custom. However, when I have confronted them with the Karamajong story they would either grudgingly admit it or at least not attempt to deny it.

At a later date—and like the peoples themselves I do not try to give any dates—a split occurred among the Jie; but this time it was peaceful. Out of this division the Jie proper, the older people, remained behind, and the seceding people, the Turkana, moved below the 2,000 feet escarpment, into what is now the Tarash valley in western Turkana Land. The Turkana version of this split is known all over their country, even in those distant areas in which the people cannot have had much contact with the Jie for at least a hundred years. The Jie account only differs in that it is less elaborate.

One day an ox strayed, and some young men went off in search of it. They descended into the Tarash valley, following the tracks of the animal. Finally they caught up with it and found also an old woman of their own tribe who had come down to look for wild fruits.⁴ They found a land that was rich in grass and water, and empty of people. They stayed for a few days, living on the wild fruits, and then returned to their own country. There they related their adventures to their relatives and friends,

¹ In *A preliminary survey of the Turkana* (School of African Studies, University of Cape Town, 1951) I referred to this group as 'the Turkana-speaking peoples'; but this name, based on language, cannot exclude the Teso, and possibly others. At the time of writing that monograph I was not sufficiently aware of the interconnections of these tribes.

² The point is, here, that spears must not be used in fights between members of the same tribe. Permitted weapons are fighting-sticks, clubs, and wrist-knives.

³ In this account I omit all linguistic prefixes. Strictly the full name here is *Ijije*. Literally this means, 'the ones who fight'; no one has ever suggested to me that the name was given for the obvious reason, though this is probably the case.

⁴ The significance of the reference to wild fruits is that in Turkana Land, as distinct from Jieland, wild fruits, berries, and nuts today form an important part of the normal diet of the people, and are almost everywhere plentiful.

and aroused such enthusiasm that in company with a crowd of young people, men and women, they descended again into the Tarash valley. They took their stock and began to live there permanently. The older people (*apakothi*, 'our fathers', or *luar-polok*, 'the older ones') stayed behind in the old country. Today both Jie and Turkana refer to each other as *kaipopai*, a word indicating near patrilineal relationship in the same generation. Both tribes, and early records, agree that the two peoples were always friendly, never fought each other, and sometimes formed an alliance against common enemies. Friendly Jie territory provided a corridor by which Turkana could travel west to obtain spears and iron goods, and by which traders reached Turkanaland.

Some time after this the Jie proper moved west to their present location. That is to say, the homesteads around Koten were deserted and new ones built around Kotido. I have not been able to learn any reasons for this move of about 30 miles.¹ About the same time the Karamajong split up again, also peacefully, when a section moved northwards and became known as the Dodoth. Tentatively I put these two events at the same period.

The Jiye, now in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, apparently also came from this same nucleus,² but I have not visited them and no story remains in Jie. Probably at a later date than that of the Turkana secession there was a further split among the Jie, when the Toposa tribe was formed. The Jie have no specific story of this, but they say that the Toposa are the descendants of those Jie who formerly inhabited what is now the Regen District of modern Jieland, around the still-existing ritual grove of Daidai. Regen people have told me that if today a Toposa visits that area when a feast is being held, he has the right to claim the left hind leg of the slaughtered animal. This portion of a sacrificial animal (*amuro*) is ritually important throughout the whole Cluster. The split was again peaceful and the Jie and Toposa are traditional friends. Toposa made their way north-eastwards through what is now north-west Turkanaland; and according to Captain King they reached the Liyoro river in the modern Anglo-Egyptian Sudan about 150 years ago. They carried there with them a sacred stone, which still exists and is the tribal centre for ritual connected with rain-making, initiations, and the treatment of disease, famine, and tribal disasters. One section, the Nmachi, claim that they reached their present location in western Toposaland from the south via the lower Kidepo valley and to the west of the Didinga Hills.

The Donyiro split off from the Toposa in what is now north-west Turkanaland. They moved north-east to the Sudan/Ethiopian borderlands. Donyiro and Toposa are friends and allies.

The history of the Cluster can be represented as shown opposite.

THE SITUATION BEFORE THE BRITISH ARRIVED

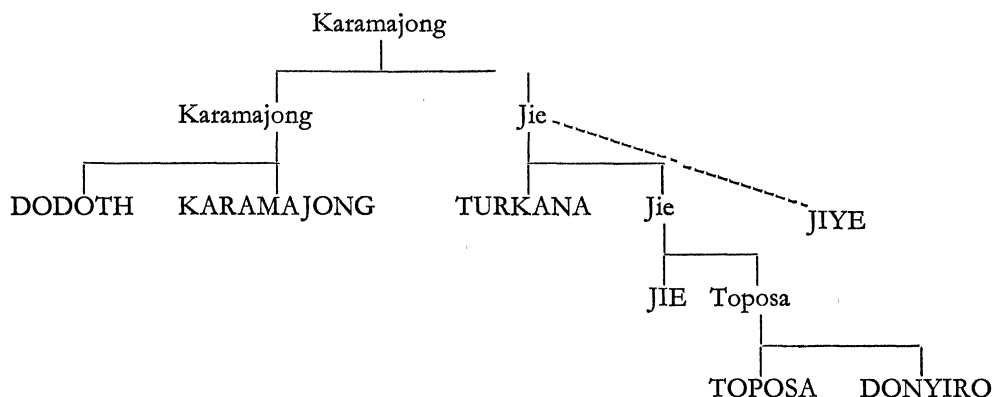
Before the British enforced peace in this part of East Africa in the early nineteenth-century the pattern of enmity and friendship was as follows: Turkana made war on

¹ I can suggest several reasons, such as the increasing pressure of population in the Koten area and increasing aridity there, defeat at the hands of the rather stronger Karamajong, and also the possibility that the southward-moving Lango might by that time have left modern Jieland empty. The move

certainly gave the Jie better country and more accessible cattle pastures in the west.

² In correspondence Capt. G. King informs me that the Jiye claim this link, naming the Jie as their parent tribe. See also *A tribal survey of Mongalla Province*, ed. Nalder, 1937, Part 2, chap. 1.

all their neighbours with the exception of the Jie, with whom they occasionally allied themselves against the Karamajong and the Dodoth. Karamajong similarly made war on all their neighbours with the exception of the Dodoth, with whom they occasionally allied themselves against the Jie. Jie claim friendship with the Toposa, but since they have no common boundaries this would have been of little importance. Toposa and Donyiro did not fight each other, and are known to have formed an alliance against the Turkana. Toposa and Jiye were enemies.



War was carried on more or less continuously by raiding parties, whose chief interest was the capture of cattle and other stock. Over a period the net effect was to cause a change of tribal territories, but this was not a conscious cause of warfare. As far as is known there was nowhere any internecine warfare within any tribe. Temporary, exiguous friendships, and even alliances, between tribes occurred and, during lulls in the raiding, peoples were extremely tolerant towards each other and, especially for purposes of barter-trade, mixed a good deal. Old Turkana men have told me how they and Karamajong attended each other's weddings and feasts on Muruarpolon. There was a certain amount of intermarriage, especially with captured girls, which as far as possible established working in-law relationships. Captive boys could be ransomed, though it is not known how frequently this occurred. The ransomed boy would tend to maintain relations with his captor thereafter, and called him 'father'.

About 70 years ago the distribution of the tribes was not the same as it is today. The Turkana had continued to move eastwards after their descent of the escarpment, and had encountered the Marile and Samburu at the northern and southern ends respectively of Lake Rudolf. The Samburu were early driven south, and many of them were absorbed into the Turkana tribe. Turkana now occupied eastern Turkanaland, especially on the Turkwel and Kerio rivers, the lake, and the Pelekec and Muruarpolon mountains. Some Karamajong moved below the escarpment and had cattle camps in the plains and on western Muruarpolon. The Dodoth also occupied areas below the escarpment to the north. The Toposa occupied Thugut, Mogila, and the adjacent plains. The Jiye kept to the north of the Toposa all the time. All the tribes agree on this distribution, and supporting evidence is found in early British records. But about 70 years ago the Turkana began a phase of expansion.

Briefly the reasons for this were: that they were isolated from the main brunt of the rinderpest epidemic of the latter part of the nineteenth century and were thus comparatively stronger; they were most probably forced to expand by the pressure of increasing population on an increasingly arid country; and they obtained guns and ammunition from Abyssinia, whence they also received encouragement and help in initiating raids. On all sides the Turkana pushed outwards as the result of successful, fierce raiding, until they reached the Rift valley escarpment everywhere to the west and south-west. Early military reports say that they were reaching towards Lake Baringo, at least in raiding parties. This process was going on when the British arrived, and the *Pax Britannica* stabilized a new situation, possibly preventing further expansion at the expense of the Suk and the Samburu in the south, and the Marile, Donyiro, and Toposa in the north.

The Toposa moved northwards, pushing the Jiye before them. The Karamajong moved southwards—a movement which, in terms of permanent settlement, reached almost to Kadam Mountain. Further movements here were also stopped by the British.

THE KARAMAJONG CLUSTER TODAY

Some ethnographic evidence has been given to support this historico-legendary account of the basic unity of the Cluster. Below, each tribe is dealt with in outline so far as the present writer knows the facts. Data have been collected during normal field-work amongst the Turkana (18 months) and the Jie (8 months), and these two are described in greater detail here as examples of the contemporary social systems.¹ There is only a scanty literature on these tribes, much of which is inaccurate if not wrong.² Nowhere have the precise locations and relationships of the tribes been made clear.

The total Cluster numbers about 214,000 people, spread over an area of some 250 miles from north to south, and 175 miles from east to west. Population densities vary considerably, as will be shown. There are four small unrelated tribes within the Cluster's area—Teuso, Tepes, Diakwai, and Labwor—numbering about 11,000 people.

One of the chief theoretical interests in this group of tribes lies in the range of conditions in which the people live, producing significant variations in the social structure and organization. A preliminary classification might be as follows:

TURKANA—harsh, semi-desert environment; sparse, widely scattered population; compulsory nomadism; little agriculture.

JIYE—probably similar to Turkana on a much smaller scale.

JIE—dry savannah plains; highly concentrated, small population; permanent homesteads; pastoral transhumance; a mixed economy of animal husbandry and agriculture; no tribal movement for many generations.

TOPOSA—similar to Jie, with riverain settlement and a relatively recent occupation of their country.

¹ It is hoped to make a detailed comparative study of the Turkana and Jie in the near future. Field-work was carried out under the auspices of the Colonial Social Science Research Council.

² A complete bibliography on Turkana is given in Appendix No. 1 of *A preliminary survey of the Turkana*, already cited.

DONYIRO—similar to Jie on a smaller scale, with the complication of very recent movement and occupation of their country.

KARAMAJONG—dry savannah plains; fairly recent movements; relatively larger, more spread-out population, otherwise similar to Jie.

DODOTH—similar to Karamajong, with, in parts, very broken, hilly country tending to cause concentrations of people in valleys and mountain basins, relatively isolated from one another.

Each of these sets of conditions appears to produce a definite species of social structure and mode of life within the limits of the basic culture. Perhaps the greatest contrast is between Turkana and Jie. Karamajong and Dodoth appear to represent two intermediate versions. Of course there have been alien agencies acting upon each tribe, whose net effect is difficult to gauge. Turkana, in particular, have had considerable contact to the east—Marile to the north-east, Rendile and Samburu to the east, and Suk to the south. Jie have been influenced by Acoli to the west; Dodoth have had contact with the Didinga to the north, and to the west with the Napore group, and so on. In each border area influence seems to have been important, relatively speaking. In one instance, the camel, an important new element has spread over the whole of Turkanaland, but not elsewhere, from the east. Nevertheless, my data indicate that the basic differences are the result not of borrowing but of modification and adjustment in response to specific conditions.

NOTE. Population figures given here are approximate only. No census has ever been made in the relevant parts of Kenya and the Sudan, and estimates are based on tax registers. Figures are to the nearest hundred where possible.

TURKANA (c. 69,400 in Turkana District; 1,500 in Isiolo District; 4,000 in Samburu District).

The Turkana inhabit an area west and south-west of Lake Rudolf in N.W. Kenya, wholly within the eastern section of the Rift valley, and thus 2,500–3,000 feet below the rest of British East Africa to the west and south-west. Their country is about 24,000 square miles, and thus there is an average density of population of about 2.9 persons per square mile—or, ignoring certain areas which are completely unpopulated for almost all the year, perhaps 3.5–4 persons per square mile is a more useful figure. The country is a semi-desert of thorn scrub for the most part, degenerating into almost complete desert in the east near Lake Rudolf. Rainfall varies from an average of 5.7 inches in the east (Lodwar) to about 16 inches in the west and north (Lokitaung, 16.1 inches). Basically the area is a vast plain, dipping from the western escarpment to the Lake at 1,230 feet. Here and there it is broken by ranges of low hills, and there are eight important mountain blocks where rainfall is appreciably higher. Above about 4,000 feet there is usually permanent grass. Here the cattle live for at least eight months of the year, usually, but not always, being driven into the plains, where they live on the young grass on water-courses and the lower hills in the wet season (May–August). In addition the Turkana own goats, sheep, and camels, which are herded from nomadic homesteads in the plains, where they live on the leaves of the acacias and other bush. Poverty of vegetation necessitates considerable movement in search of pastures, and towards the end of the dry season large areas

are uninhabited, while goat and camel camps find their way up into the mountains. No homesteads are permanent anywhere. The longest period between moves is, in my experience, about eight months in the more favourable plains areas, but moves every six to eight weeks are not uncommon, while, in the poorer parts, homesteads may be shifted after only ten days or so. Cattle camps tend to be less mobile, but there is the normal bi-annual movement between plains and mountains, as well as two or three moves within the mountain area itself.

The feature of Turkana land is the harsh environment, compelling a nomadic life and a sparse population. Homesteads are loosely grouped into neighbourhoods of not more than about five homesteads in all. These are based merely on temporary contiguity, which allows a certain degree of economic and social co-operation, but at any time they may break up as constituent homesteads move away, or be added to as fresh arrivals come to the area. Up to 10 miles of empty country separates such neighbourhoods. A group of homesteads may move and keep together for a time, but they are always likely to break up.

The basis of social life is the domestic family—i.e. a man and his wives and unmarried children with perhaps dependants. Each family owns its own herds, and the norm is two homesteads per family—one for cattle, and one for goats, sheep, and camels. A wealthy family may further subdivide any of its herds. In most cases the two homestead-units are widely separated and in daily life operate independently. Typical organization is for the younger people to herd the cattle, and for the older people to remain in the plains with the other stock. The head of the family invariably stays in the plains so long as there is a homestead there; but he may move to the cattle homestead in the wet season. If at all possible at least one wife lives in the cattle homestead. Thus a junior wife or a son's wife is to be found with the cattle, so that she can supervise the domestic side of life, including milking, the care of young animals, watering, and cooking.

A man becomes independent and moves away with his share of the family herds as soon as he has children old enough, or other dependants capable of carrying out herding, watering, &c. He often takes his younger brothers with him, and also the mother. Full brothers are closely linked because, in general, stock are inherited via the 'house' of the mother. Nevertheless, they often do not live together once each has his own family, and the herds are then divided between them. There are conscious reasons for this. Most important, the Turkana feel strongly that too much stock in an area only serves to cause more frequent movements because the vegetation is more quickly finished. The clustering together of brothers and half-brothers, &c. is therefore to be deprecated, just as too large a neighbourhood group is disliked and the arrival of new-comers in the dry season may cause fighting. Secondly, because of the system of inheritance there is a sense of strain between brothers which it is thought is best avoided by separation. Thirdly, the whole system of pastoralism is based on a strong sense of individualism and personal choice. The head of each homestead is free to move as and when he thinks fit according to the needs of his herds, the state of vegetation and water, and the location of relatives and friends. This lies behind the impermanency of neighbourhood groups. Men do not like to have their liberty curtailed by dependence on or alliance with a brother or anyone else. There are, of course, exceptions, but the Turkana always insist that pastoral alliances, whether

between brothers or between a man and his brother-in-law or a bond-friend, &c., can be and are broken at will. There can be no doubt that this is true. In all spheres of life social tension is relieved by the movement of one or both parties. The separation of brothers is only the chief example of this.

The patrilineal descendants of a common grandfather, though often widely spread over the country (at certain seasons up to a hundred miles apart), do form a distinguishable unit which is here called the extended family. Based on a common source of inheritance of stock, the extended family acts as a unit where the collection and distribution of bridewealth is concerned, in collection and distribution of compensation (in stock), or when one of their number suffers misfortune from stock disease or famine or, in the old days, from raiding. There is a wide range of people from whom a man seeks and to whom he gives assistance, in-laws being particularly important, but the extended family forms the core of the system of mutual aid where stock are concerned. Turkana recognize that all important relationships are based on mutual rights in stock of the two parties. The inheritance of stock is the most important of these.

A man belongs to the exogamous clan of his father; a woman belongs to the clan of her husband. There are 26 clans all widely distributed, the largest of which (there are 11 with over 1,000 taxpayers) have a tribal distribution. No particular pattern can be observed in this, nor do the Turkana claim that it exists. For a man his clan is of little importance. His stock are marked with the clan brands. For a married woman her husband's clan determines the particular pattern of ritual to be followed in connexion with fertility, marriage, and the well-being of her children. There are also minor differences of dress.

Marriage is forbidden with a member of the clan of both father and mother's father. Bridewealth is made up of all types of stock. A preliminary estimate from cases collected indicates an average number of 30 cattle and 15 camels (regarded as 'big stock'), and 85 sheep and goats. Polygyny is general, and a preliminary estimate shows for men over 40 about three wives per man.

There are twelve territorial sections, but these are of very slight importance, having neither political nor ritual functions. A man and his family belong to that section in whose area they normally spend the wet season, and where the women cultivate their small gardens. The age-set system is roughly based on these sections.

Every Turkana male automatically belongs to one of two alternations—Stones and Leopards—taking the opposite one to that of his father. Youths are initiated by spearing a male animal, and belong to the newly formed age-set of their alternation. Thus each initiation year (there are about four or five years between sets) produces two new sets, one in each alternation. These sets and alternations were the core of the rudimentary military organization. It is doubtful if sets were ever of predominant importance, since their unity and corporate activities were and still are subservient to the needs of nomadic pastoralism. Men who were initiated together might for much, or even all, of the year be spread over a large tract of country, intermingling with men of sets of other sections; although in the past Turkana were more concentrated and therefore sets would have worked more efficiently. Today the chief importance of the system lies in the initiation of youths to manhood, and the arrangement of feasts, ritual and otherwise.

There were no chiefs or institutional political leaders. Wealthy men were able to exert a degree of influence, but the consistent possibility of movement restricted its force. Diviners, who are also rain-makers and doctors, had a magico-religious function in military matters, both forecasting and initiating raids, and magically protecting and strengthening the warriors. This tended to give the more ambitious ones a good deal of power and, at the time of the prolonged struggle with the British, one or two diviners succeeded in gaining considerable following.

The whole tribe consists of a single political unit. That is, there never was or is any serious fighting between groups of tribesmen and, in principle at least, injuries must be compensated for by a payment of stock. This distinguished a Turkana from an enemy alien. Adulterers and murderers could be killed if caught red-handed; otherwise it would be impossible in practice and public opinion would be against it morally. The group responsible for paying compensation, or receiving it, and in general supporting a principal in judicial affairs is relative only to that principal, whether injured or offender. This group—the stock group—has a core of close agnates (the extended family) together with a range of others, more especially the man's own close in-laws and bond-friends, and also close cognatic kin, other in-laws, friends and even neighbours. These people all centre on the one man, and no two men, not even full brothers, have the same stock group. The basis of the relationship lies in mutual rights and obligations in stock between the man and each other party individually. With the support of the stock group, self-help is the method of carrying out judicial affairs, with the ultimate sanction of direct force. Law is purely the moral precepts accepted by all Turkana. In the most serious cases (e.g. homicide, adultery) the whole stock group may assemble; in less serious cases only those members who live fairly near at that time will arrive. In petty cases a resort to fighting between the injured and accused parties is sufficient. In this system of self-help a feud is impossible since the two opposing groups are not corporate, and the men of each have direct relations only with the principal, not necessarily with each other. Owing to nomadic movement they are often widespread, and their distribution varies over the year. Members of a man's stock group may assist in attempting to seize by force stock for compensation, but there is no possibility of this developing into a feud. It is a highly individualized system as opposed, for example, to the corporate agnatic and territorial groups of the pastoral Nuer or Bedouin.

The expansion of the Turkana within the last two or three generations has caused a good deal of social disintegration. It is most likely that clans, territorial sections, and age-sets were more important when Turkanaland was more compact. Certainly the cohesion of age-sets was much stronger. Turkana say that they were 'a small tribe long ago', and it was possible for them to act as a unit. As an example, older men recollect how the Turkana men of the senior age-sets all met at one place (Chokichok, on the lower Turkwel river) to decide on times of initiation and the tribe-wide naming of new sets. Today, although insisting on a basic unity, people of, say, the south have no relations with those bordering on Uganda. What organization there was on a tribal basis has disappeared or remains as a shadow. Even in the long struggle against the advancing British the Turkana could not and did not fight as a tribe. Diviner war-leaders had ill-defined spheres of influence from which they drew supporters.

Today the tribe occupies the Turkana District of Kenya, with headquarters at Lodwar. There is a rudimentary system of appointed headmen, but no native courts or councils.

Jiye (c. 4,000 people).

The Jiye at present live near the Boma Plateau, on the lower Kurun and Kathangor water-courses. Little is known about the tribe. Administration is still fairly recent and rather slight. Their country is arid and unlikely to allow much agriculture. They moved about north of the Toposa during the 1920s and 1930s. It would appear that primarily they are nomadic pastoralists. Nothing is known of their relations northwards, but there is no evidence of any further Teso-speaking tribe.

Jie (18,200 people).

The tribal area is some 25 miles from north to south, and about 65 miles from east to west, stretching from Koten Hill in the east to Labwor and Acoli in the west. The area of present-day settlement lies in a rough circle of radius six miles from Kotido. The country is a continuous plain dipping to the west, at an average height of 4,000 feet. Rainfall is about 25 inches a year in the centre and east, rising to over 30 inches in the west bordering on Acoli. To the east, therefore, grass is short and thin, to the west tall and profuse. A system of transhumance obtains, whereby broadly speaking both cattle and small stock live in the west in the dry season and early wet season (October–March and March–June), moving to the east and centre for the rest of the wet season. This system is enforced by a complete lack of water in the dry season in the east. Before the British came the permanent homesteads, with very little water near, were deserted in the dry season, and all the people gathered near about seven water-points in the west. Women returned to the homesteads with the first rains in order to begin cultivation. Cattle followed as conditions allowed, and the bulk of the herds moved east to wet-season pastures.

While the *Pax Britannica* was being established about 30–40 years ago this system was changed in order to stabilize an unruly population. Today the homesteads are permanently occupied by the older men, the women, and children. Camps are in the charge of young men and boys. This has created severe water problems since the settled area has only two sources of permanent water, one extremely meagre and the other on the western outskirts. This hardship is at present being partly relieved by the introduction of bore-holes.

Agriculture is mainly women's work, but most older men assist and may have gardens of their own. About 2 acres per wife is indicated by a survey of some 70 women which I carried out in two areas. The hoe is the normal tool; about two years ago ploughs were first introduced through the Indian store and now (1951) they number about 20. The main crop is sorghum, amounting to about 85 per cent. of all production. Small patches of maize, eleusine, tobacco, squashes, and groundnuts are clustered on old homestead sites and near occupied homesteads. Cereals form the basis of the diet in the homesteads, supplemented by milk, for about 10 months of the year, and other lesser items. Older men have the lion's share of the meat through their ritual privileges. At the camps the young men live on milk and blood. Cereals

more or less last the year, but only with stringent rationing during February and March and concentration on milk and wild greens from April to harvest time (August). Towards the end of the dry season a good deal of grain is obtained from Labwor and Acoli, and eleusine, especially, from Napore.

Homesteads are arranged into settlements, consisting of from one to eight clan-hamlets. Each settlement has at least one excavated pond to provide catchment water in the wet season. Each has its ritual grove, *akiriket*, at which the ritual of the constituent clans takes place. There is a good deal of everyday social and economic co-operation between members. Garden land lies in and around the settlement, which, however, has no specific boundaries. Most, but not all, settlements are named. They are the units for initiation and arrangement into age-sets. While each clan's ritual is slightly different, ceremonies are carried out by the settlement as a group. There are also common rituals for rain-making, warding off disease and disaster, and so on.

A clan is a putative agnatic group; typically its homesteads are grouped in a single distinct hamlet, and are found nowhere else in the country. Formerly, in times of danger from raids, the whole clan lived in a single large homestead; but with that danger over, individual preferences and fears of witchcraft have split up very many of these. Clans are all small, consisting of two to four extended families, and they are largely ritual groups, clan affiliation determining the course of ritual connected with marriage, fertility, and children. Extended families are not related in any traceable way with each other. That is to say, such families do not form a system of segmented lineages. Agnates are either related by known ties (i.e. within the three-generation extended family) or are included in a general blanket category of 'clansmen'. New clans are never formed, and all Jie affirm that their clans are age-old. It may be recalled that Jie clan names are to be found elsewhere in the Karamajong Cluster. Thus an extended family is not a potential clan; and there are no other agnatic groups, either greater or less than a clan, beyond the extended family. Very few men know their great-grandfather's name. None of my collected genealogies records agnates other than the descendants of a man's grandfather. His brothers and their descendants are quite forgotten. Jie invariably express surprise at questions about such relatives. There are no fictions of relationships between two clans, whether of the same settlement or not.

The basic social unit is the 'house', *ekal*, the sons of one woman. These men jointly own their herds under the supervision of the eldest. Internally, for domestic purposes, the herds are allocated among all the wives. Stock are only inherited through the houses; any one house holds together so long as one of the original full brothers remains alive. Stock do not pass jointly to the descendant houses, but are split up between them on the basis of the earlier domestic allocations. So long as one's father or his full brother is alive the unity of the herds persists, and the head of the house has full rights of control. For instance, at marriage the head of the house orders what number of stock each descendant house shall give to the one who is marrying. Once the original brothers are dead the unity of the house and herds disappears. One cannot claim as of right assistance in bridewealth from a half-brother or paternal cousin. Then, 'it is a matter of the heart', say the Jie; that is, co-operation depends on the cordiality of relations. A head of a house can and does hold on to his cattle

for his second or third marriage rather than generously assisting a wifeless cousin. Nevertheless, it is widely felt that half-brothers and paternal cousins should keep together and assist and co-operate with one another, and this in fact usually happens. Legally they must accept responsibility for each other where payment of compensation is concerned. On the other hand, strong rivalries and jealousies do exist between these near agnates. There is rivalry over the initial allocation and distribution of stock, which may be exacerbated each year when marriages are being considered. Marriage is the chief occasion of stock expenditure, mainly cattle, and involves also the mutual assistance of all types of kin and friends, principally near agnates. Friction arises then between the man who has two or three wives already and his agnate who has perhaps only one. The very specific distinction between houses tends to engender rivalry automatically. Full brothers maintain an inviolate unity, which is seldom touched, under the authority of the most senior. I only encountered two serious rifts between full brothers, in one of which there had been an unusual catastrophe in disease in the cattle herd, almost wiping it out, and the death of the father, one brother, a wife and some young children.

Marriage is in strict order of seniority within the house; i.e. right through the as yet unbroken group of brothers, half-brothers and paternal cousins, except that the most senior brother may exercise the right to take two or even three wives before his next brother takes his first. Once a house breaks up the members of the resultant houses become independent of one another in this respect. Nevertheless, since a man relies upon the help of his half-brothers and cousins in assembling sufficient stock for bridewealth, he may well be constrained to wait if they disagree with his projected marriage and refuse to give contributions. Such contributions are also begged from maternal kin, in-laws, and bond-friends. Contributions of goats and sheep cover a wider field—clansmen, distant in-laws, co-members of the settlement, friends, and possibly more distant maternal kin. Jie say that a man can afford to marry if his house owns about 20 cattle. Bridewealth is between 30 and 70 cattle, and up to 200 goats and sheep. This is distributed amongst an equal range of kin and kith on the bride's father's side. The aim is for a man to have two or three wives, and few older men have only one.

Settlements amalgamate into seven named districts, each of which combines for rain-making and other ceremonial functions, in particular the magical treatment of both males and cattle, symbolically marking the turn of the year, when in the wet season all the cattle have returned to the east. There are one or more ritual groves for each district. The ritual activities are organized by the more senior elders under the age-set classification. Similarly for tribal ceremonies connected with rain, general distress, or the periodic inauguration of a new generation in the age-set system, the most senior elders of the whole tribe are the leaders.

A man automatically belongs to the named generation following that of his father. Youths are initiated at their own homesteads, but in strict order of seniority within the settlement. Seniority is not necessarily equated with age. The senior brother of a junior house is senior to at least two older half-brothers of a senior house; which means that a boy of 14 may be initiated quickly in order not to keep his 20-year-old half-brother waiting. Men initiated in one year (sometimes over a period of two or three years) make up a new age-set. A new set is formed about every four years; there

is no specific interval. It also happens that a man may be equal in age to his father's younger paternal cousin, but he is inevitably of a junior generation, and may be 40 years of age before he can be initiated. In rare cases he is an old man. As between unrelated initiates seniority is determined by the fathers' seniority in the generation above. When all the members of a generation have been initiated (perhaps a period of 25 years) a new generation, sons of the former, is inaugurated at the tribal ritual grove, used only at this time. Inauguration and naming of the new generation should be done by the surviving members of the grandfathers' generation. On the last occasion when this occurred only one very old man remained to perform this duty, and he had to be carried the eight miles to the grove. The function of age-sets is chiefly ritual; non-initiates are not barred from marriage or normal adult activities, only from participation in most ritual—tribal, district, or settlement. By the seniority ranking the elders of each type of area are automatically chosen. Any set must give obedience to a senior, and this applies particularly between the generations. While the elders of the current senior generation decide when and where to hold, say, a rain ceremony, and also carry out the ritual, they will order the junior generation, through the latter's senior man, to obtain the necessary sacrificial animals for the prescribed feast. In the old days, although men set out on raids in age-set groups, it was not thought of as a battle formation. Being chiefly ritual in function, and not military, the system flourishes in modern times, only slightly attenuated.

On the political side there were no chiefs or formal leaders. By their ritual importance elders could command respect. Age-sets compelled a degree of social conformity, and could corporately award punishments, especially for ritual infringements. Wealthy men did achieve considerable influence by the display of cattle and generosity. Their influence was principally exercised in the initiation of raids and the division of spoils afterwards. Such raids, if successful, of course brought further wealth and power.

What has been said, very briefly, about the nature of judicial affairs in Turkanaland also applies to Jie. The whole tribe is a single political unit of internal peace, and injuries must be compensated by payment of stock. In this the stock group is important and is, as in Turkanaland, a grouping of individuals relative to the one man on the basis of rights and obligations in stock. The very specific local identity of the Jie clan does not much alter the situation. Clans are principally groups for ritual and everyday co-operation. Close in-laws and bond-friends are often more important than next-door neighbours who are clansmen, though the latter invariably support a man too. But as the stock relationship is an inter-personal bond, linking individuals and not groups, so the mechanism of judicial action is based on individual ties and not on group relationships.

Today, as one county in the Karamoja District of Uganda, the Jie have an administrative system of the usual Uganda hierarchical type. The native courts under this system are used a good deal, probably because of the abolition of the use of private force in self-help. Like the rest of Karamoja, modern developments are under way in the form of artificial water supplies, trade for cash in cattle, goats, and sheep, and rinderpest inoculations. This is in its infancy, however, and Karamoja remains a relatively arid region where development must necessarily be slower than elsewhere in Uganda.

TOPOSA (c. 34,000 people).¹

The tribal area centres on Kapoeta, bordered by Epota and Lotuko groups to the west, Didinga and Turkana to the south, Jiye to the north, and the empty plains around Murugipi to the east. It is roughly 60 miles from east to west, and 80 miles from north to south. Geographically it is part of the low-lying dry savannah of the southern Sudan. Permanent settlements are concentrated on the larger water-courses, in particular the Zingaita and the Lokalyan. Here settlement is so intense as to give an effect almost of a continuous ribbon of homesteads. A system of transhumance is worked between here and the plains all around, settlements tending to be nearly deserted towards the end of the dry season. It is known that considerable cultivation of sorghum occurs in the riverain settlements. It is possible that, in relation to population, the Toposa possess rather fewer cattle than the other tribes, since bride-wealth is estimated to be only 3–10 cattle (loc. cit.); and the Turkana say that they have less cattle. On the other hand Beaton estimates about 60,000 cattle in 1948—just under two per head of population.²

The best existing account of the Toposa is given in *A tribal survey of Mongalla Province*, ed. Nalder, 1937, Part 2, chapter 1 and *passim*, based on information from Captain G. King, District Commissioner. There is, however, too little of a sociological nature for comparative use. The typical similarities in clan names are observable. One rather unusual feature is the existence of a fire-making clan, from which are drawn the fire-makers who play a significant part in the tribal rituals used for war, hunting, initiation, and in times of tribal trouble. It may be that the Toposa have developed a trait that is, today at any rate, practically dormant in Jie. Or it might possibly be that they have borrowed it from the Marile of the Omo Delta area (Abyssinia), where fire ritual is known to be important.³

DONYIRO (c. 5,500 people).

Though called Donyiro by all the rest of the Cluster, their own name for themselves is *Njanatom*. This tribe is in a most unfortunate dilemma today, which is best explained historically. There is no doubt that the Donyiro split off from the Toposa after the latter left Jie. King suggests that this split occurred from the Liyoro river in modern Toposaland. I would suggest that the break was less specific and more a gradual secession from the main body of the tribe. It is doubtful if the main body of the Donyiro ever reached Toposaland. Both they and the Turkana agree that they lived near Thugut Mountain and stretched north-eastwards to Lokwanamur. A gradual move north-eastwards not more than about 70 years ago brought them to the Omo and Kibish rivers, north of the Marile, but allowed them to use Lokwanamur as cattle pastures. Early Europeans found their cattle camps there. As Turkana pushed northwards, and as the need for peace spread from Kenya, Donyiro retired to the Omo/Kibish area, leaving the Turkana in sole occupation of the Lokwanamur/Lorienetom block. Legally they are therefore Ethiopian subjects, under Ethiopian taxation and administration. The Donyiro resisted all efforts of the Ethiopians to take

¹ Figure taken from Beaton, 'Record of the Toposa tribe', *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxi, June 1950, p. 129.

² Cf. Turkana, about 4 cattle and camels per head,

and Jie about 3–4 cattle per head.

³ Manuscript by Shackleton, Government of Kenya, N.A.D.M. 19, iv, no. 193, 1933.

taxation (in kind) and finally moved across the Kibish river into what is gazetted as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The final phase of this movement was precipitated by severe losses of people and stock at the hands of Marile war-bands. Although outside Ethiopia, the Donyiro could not be accepted by the Sudan authorities, as that part of their territory has never been administered by them. For purposes of maintaining frontier peace the Kenya Government has established a police fort in the current Donyiro area and has, more or less successfully, compelled the people to surrender their arms and ammunition. But the Kenya Government will not accept them as anything but Ethiopian subjects and has advised them to pay tax to their legal rulers. Kenya will not accept administrative responsibility. Equally the Donyiro will not return to Ethiopian territory. So at present they inhabit a no-man's land in a good deal of hardship.

Permanent homesteads are all grouped near the Kibish police fort. In the dry season cattle camps are to the west in the Tapeisi Hills and beyond, and as near the foothills of Lorienetom Mountain as they can get without being turned back by Kenya Police patrols. When I visited them in 1950 no pattern of homestead grouping was readily observable. People had moved in—some early, some late, some at leisure, some at the greatest speed to escape Marile raids. The territorial and clan structure was, temporarily at least, in abeyance. Each homestead was the base of at least one extended family. According to the fortunes of rainfall a good deal of agriculture is done, though not enough for cereals to last the dry season. Towards the end of the dry season most people go to live in the cattle camps, so that it is presumed that some system of transhumance is indigenous to them, as it is with the Toposa and the Uganda tribes under review.

Owing to considerable contact and intermingling with the Turkana, the Donyiro have been much influenced by them in speech and dress. Since their continued residence in British territory depends on good relations with the authorities, they have tended strongly to follow the lead of the man with whom the Kenya Administration deals as chief. In reality he is only an important, wealthy man of considerable personality. But under him, and owing to their small numbers and recent history, the Donyiro have a degree of political unity under a leader not met elsewhere in the Cluster. According to police officers stationed there, this man, Atiliabong, now very old, has been able to act as judge or arbitrator in the internal affairs of the tribe. He was made responsible for the collection of compensation cattle following a Donyiro raid on the Turkana in 1948, and also for the handing over of five men who had killed Turkana herd-boys.

To escape the rigours of Kenya peace the Donyiro, in 1949–50, attempted to flee to the Toposa, but were turned back by the Sudan authorities.

KARAMAJONG (55,600 people).¹

The Karamajong inhabit country to the south of the Jie, extending southwards to Kadam Mountain, west to Labwor, and south-west to Napak Mountain. The country is a westwards-dipping plain, with an average rainfall of about 20–25 inches, but extremely variable from year to year. Economically the Karamajong closely resemble the Jie, with a mixed economy and pastoral transhumance.

¹ I am indebted to Canon and Mrs. Clark, B.C.M.S., Lotome, for help and information.

Unlike the Jie, Karamajong are spread out amongst a number of settled areas, which include *inter alia* the area around the base of Moroto Mountain, the Lokichar river, the Manimani river, and the Amuda/Nabilatuk area. My impression is that even in these areas settlement is more scattered than in Jie or Dodoth. True to the norms of all these peoples, no specific pasture rights are held, and consequently in all grazing areas there is a mixture of herds from different districts. The chief dry-season pastures are westwards near the Labwor Hills, south-west near Napak, and south near Kadam. In the wet season there is a concentration of cattle in the east near the Escarpment, between Moroto and Koton.

Today the Karamajong are divided into three administrative counties, each with its own chief, sub-chiefs and courts; but it appears probable that there are actually rather smaller indigenous districts, which include Matheniko to the east, Lopei on the Lokichar, Lotome on the middle Manimani, Bokora on the lower Manimani, and Pian near to Nabilatuk. This is not necessarily an exhaustive list. These are territorial groups in which there is ritual co-operation in rain-making, at the change of the seasons, and in other large-scale activities. Within these groups are hamlets which appear to consist of homesteads of mixed clan affiliation. One Karamajong told me that, unlike Jie, Karamajong clans were dispersed because of the relatively recent moves from the old eastern areas. There is a certain amount of social and economic co-operation within the hamlet, and also ritual co-operation in the ceremonies of each clan represented there. There is a ritual grove owned by each hamlet, as well as those of the larger districts.

While no details are known about kinship relations and family organization, it seems that the extended family and the 'house' have similar values to those in Jie.

Some information is given by Doris Clark¹ on the age-set system, and a similar generation and age-set organization to that described for Jie appears to exist, with important ritual functions. Periodically a tribal ceremony is held at Napule river, near the Mogos Hills, which marks the change-over of the generations, and at which a special spear and axe are used. These must be obtained from a particular family of iron-workers in Labwor. New fire is kindled for the tribe on this occasion. Pian, Bokora, and Dodoth (using the modern county system) attend this, but Matheniko only come by invitation (*loc. cit.*).

DODOTH (20,200 people).

Dodothland lies to the north of Jie, reaching Mt. Murongole in the north and Nyangeya Hills in the west. North of Murongole and west of the Chibak river both settlement and pasturage are prevented by tsetse fly, which is believed to have spread from the Sudan in the last 40 years.

There are two types of settlement. One is an arrangement of homesteads into hamlets in the plains, similar to the Karamajong system. In this way about half the population lives in the Liyoro/Koputh area in the south of the country. In the northern parts the country is rather higher (5-6,000 feet) and broken up by hills into valleys and mountain basins. Here a hamlet may occupy the whole of such a natural location, and be separate from other hamlets. Such a system tends to affect the pattern of grazing organization, each hamlet probably having its own pastures distinct from

¹ *Uganda Journal*, xiv, Sept. 1950, pp. 215-18.

others. Thus there may be less intermingling of the people. No information is known about district organization, i.e. above hamlet level. For the southerly people there is the usual plains transhumance between east and west, from wet season to dry.

Within a hamlet are homesteads of different clan affiliations. Clans are probably spread over the whole tribal area. Each hamlet has its own ritual grove. Co-operation within a hamlet follows the usual lines in the economic, social, and ritual spheres.

Today the Dodoth form a county in the Karamoja District.

OTHER TRIBES IN THE AREA

There are four other unrelated tribes in the area of the Karamajong Cluster. Besides their own languages all these peoples, from childhood, speak a dialect of Karamajong.

The TEUSO (c. 1,150 people) are a pigmy-like people living in scattered homesteads on ledges and in small valleys in the face of the Rift valley escarpment from Kamion northwards to the Didinga Hills, between the Turkana and Dodoth. A short vocabulary I have collected does not agree with that of any other East African language so far as I can ascertain. They cultivate gardens both in the escarpment and below in Turkanaland, and are also skilled hunters. To this latter end, and also to collect wild honey and fruits, they wander freely over Turkanaland, Dodoth, and the Didinga Hills. They have almost no stock and were never raided by their stronger neighbours, though acting as spies for both sides. They told me that they had been monogamous until fairly recently when they adopted the Dodoth custom of polygyny. They have also apparently copied Dodoth methods of building, style of dress, &c.

The TEPEs, a people of normal stature, live on the three large mountains of southern Karamoja. On Moroto, up to about 6,500 feet, live about 3,100 people. On Kadam, at about 7,000 feet, are about 730 people, nowadays much influenced by the Suk. And on Napak in 1939 there was a single homestead of some 100 people at about 6,500 feet. Their language is unintelligible to both Karamajong and Suk. They claim Kadam as their original homeland. In the old days they rarely left their mountain fastnesses, and were generally hostile to the Karamajong. Today, those on Moroto have copied Karamajong dress and hair-styles. They are largely agricultural but own some cattle and goats.

The DIAKWAI (c. 1,000 people) live at the southern end of the Labwor Hills. Karamajong say that formerly the Diakwai inhabited the plains between Moroto and Labwor, but moved west when they themselves moved from the Mogos area. Some were apparently absorbed into the Karamajong tribe, forming a clan called Diakwai.¹ Today they are highly Karamajongized, being predominantly pastoralists. Their herds intermingle freely with those of their larger neighbour. Their language is unintelligible to the Karamajong.

The LABWOR (5,200 people) inhabit the Labwor Hills. They speak a dialect of Acoli, but claim to have come from the present Jie country. They are principally agricultural, owning little stock. They have always been the chief iron-workers for the Karamajong Cluster and on account of this became important traders, exchanging iron and agricultural goods for pastoral produce. They were traditionally friendly with both Jie and Karamajong, and for mutual help and barter formal friendships

¹ Information from Canon Clark.

exist between pairs of individuals, one on either side. Both of the latter tribes use invaluable water points and grazing grounds for their cattle in the Labwor Hills. Formerly a Jie type head-dress was worn by the men, and the women still wear Jie aprons, or versions of them. However, Acoli influence appears to be strong, in view of the affinities in economy and way of life. Labwor have more in common with the Acoli to the west than with the more primitive pastoralists to the east, with whom they trade.

In conclusion, one obvious but often forgotten fact may be mentioned. The Nilo-Hamitic group of peoples, of which the Teso and Karamajong Cluster are part, is a linguistic classification only. Not enough comparative data are to hand to establish a socio-cultural classification with certainty. Some confusion has arisen because it so happens that most Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists. Primitive pastoralism tends to produce similar traits everywhere in eastern and southern Africa, because of ecological and economic conditions. But the Teso and Bakede groups of eastern Uganda are today predominantly agricultural, and so are the Bari and Masai-Lumbwa. Like most of the Nandi-speaking peoples, several of the tribes of the Karamajong Cluster have mixed economies which are not of recent origin. Pure pastoralism would appear to be confined, amongst Nilo-Hamites, to the Turkana (who have no real alternative), Samburu, some sections of Suk (in the more arid parts only), Masai, and Tatog (or Barabaig) of Tanganyika. I instance one obvious cultural feature, the age-set system. This, in its most significant forms, is not confined to the Nilo-Hamites but is also found amongst the Kikuyu, Galla, Didinga, the Nuba hill tribes, and elsewhere in eastern and southern Africa. The systems of the Jie, Nandi, and Masai have little in common except the principle of arrangement of adult males according to some gradation of social age. Not only are initiation rites and the formation of sets different, but their social functions also are unlike. Similarly, other cultural and sociological features show wide divergences. Data from the Karamajong Cluster, and particularly detailed material on the Jie and Turkana, would appear to indicate that the grouping of the Nilo-Hamites is of linguistic value only, and may be a source of confusion in socio-cultural comparisons. This is not the place to affirm or deny the validity of supposed common origins, which by their nature are bound to be obscure. I refer only to the recent past and to modern times.

In this paper some account has been given of the Karamajong Cluster, with its basic unity in history, language, customs, and social organization. A comparable cluster of the Nandi-speaking peoples is indicated. A Masai Cluster might contain the Masai proper,¹ Samburu, Njemps, Lumbwa, and others. Other clusters might centre on the Tatog, the Teso, the Lotuko, and the Bari respectively. Such clusters may be useful socio-cultural units for the purposes both of general ethnology and comparative work.

¹ According to Fosbrooke, the Masai proper are the putative descendants of the culture-hero Maasinda. See Fosbrooke, H. A., 'An administrative survey of the Masai', *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 1948.

Résumé

LE GROUPEMENT KARAMAJONG

Le Groupement Karamajong est un rassemblement de sept tribus du groupe nilo-hamitique, parlant toutes des dialectes qui sont mutuellement intelligibles, et ayant toutes une origine commune et des systèmes sociaux et culturels communs. Ces tribus sont les Karamajong, les Jie et les Dodoth dans l'Ouganda, les Turkana au Kénia, les Toposa et les Jiye au Soudan anglo-égyptien et les Donyiro dans la zone frontière du Soudan et de l'Éthiopie. Les régions tribales constituent un territoire continu et ont une population totale de 214.000 habitants environ. Le développement historique de ces tribus, à partir de la tribu Karamajong primitive, est exposé, ainsi qu'une description de la répartition des tribus et de leurs guerres avant l'occupation britannique; de brèves indications suivent sur chaque tribu avec des détails un peu plus amples sur les Turkana et les Jie. La communication se termine par une note brève au sujet de quatre petites tribus non-apparentées qui habitent dans la région du groupement. Trois d'entre elles ne sont pas encore classées — les Teuso, les Tepes et les Diakwai; la quatrième est la tribu Labwor de langue acoli.

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