

11
A STUDY OF LOGOOLI MORAL VALUES: WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO TABOOS,
CURSES AND OATHS 11

THIS THESIS HAS BEEN ACCEPTED FOR
THE DEGREE OF.....PH.D..... 1996
AND A COPY MAY BE BORROWED IN THE
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

STEPHEN BERNARD IFEDHA AKARANGA

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University
of Nairobi.

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI LIBRARY

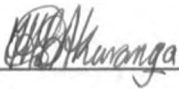


0144007 2

1996

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

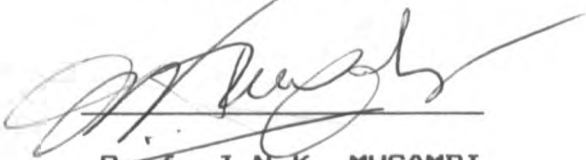


STEPHEN IFEDHA AKARANGA

29.09.96.

DATE

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University supervisors.



Prof. J.N.K. MUGAMBI

26 Sept 1996

DATE



Prof. J.J. ONGONG'A

29.09.96.

DATE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Declaration	
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgement.....	vii
List of Abbreviations.....	viii

CHAPTER ONE - GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0.	Introduction.....	1
1.1.	Geographical setting.....	4
	Fig. 1. Map of Kenya: Location of the study area.....	5
	Fig. 2. Map of Vihiga and Sabatia divisions.....	6
1.2.	The Sociological set up.....	7
1.3.	Logooli moral background.....	13
1.4.	Statement of the Problem.....	18
1.5.	Research objectives.....	21
1.6.	Research premises.....	22
1.7.	Justification and significance.....	23
1.8.	Review of related literature	25
1.9.	Theoretical framework.....	30
1.10.	Methodology.....	33
	Notes.....	36

CHAPTER TWO - LOGOOLI MORAL EDUCATION

2.0.	Introduction.....	37
2.1.	Parental education.....	40
2.2.	Sibling and peer group education	47
2.3.	Education during initiation into adulthood.	50
2.4.	Grandparents role in youth education.....	56
2.5.	Education in weddings and married life....	61
2.6.	The moral significance of beer parties....	69
2.7.	Summary.....	72
	Notes.....	76

CHAPTER THREE - LOGOOLI TABOO SYSTEM

3.0.	Introduction.....	78
3.1.	Pregnancy and child birth related taboos..	81
3.2.	Circumcision related taboos.....	86
3.3.	Taboos in married life.....	90
3.4.	House related taboos.....	99
3.5.	Agricultural taboos.....	102
3.6.	Tools and weaponry taboos.....	105
3.7.	Death related taboos.....	107
3.8.	Summary.....	113
	Notes.....	118

CHAPTER FOUR- CURSES AND OATHS

4.0.	Introduction.....	120
4.1.	Direct curses.....	122
4.2.	Indirect curses.....	126
4.3.	Assertory oaths.....	130
4.4.	Prommissory oaths.....	135
4.5.	Summary.....	136
	Notes.....	139

CHAPTER FIVE - RITUALS OF PACIFICATION AND OR RECONCILIATION

5.0.	Introduction.....	141
5.1.	Arson cleansing ritual.....	142
5.2.	Incest taboo purification.....	142
5.3.	Physical mal-development cleansing rituals.....	145
5.4.	Barrenness cleansing ritual.....	148
5.5.	Haemorrhage ritual cleansing in women.....	151
5.6.	Circumcision cleansing rituals.....	153
5.7.	Cleansing a murderer.....	155
5.8.	Death cleansing rituals.....	157
5.9.	Summary.....	160
	Notes.....	162

CHAPTER SIX - CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0.	Introduction.....	164
6.1.	Comments on Logooli moral education.....	165
6.2.	Some remarks on Logooli moral values.....	171
6.3.	Recommendations.....	181
	Notes.....	194
	Glossary.....	196
	The questionnaire.....	202
	List of informants.....	210
	Bibliography.....	218

ABSTRACT

In contemporary Kenya, aspects of social and moral instability have been aggravated by changes in life patterns both in rural and urban areas. Hence, rehabilitation centres, law courts and jails are not sufficient in curbing such ills in society. In attempting to curb this situation of immorality, there is greater interest in many African sectors of society for efforts to recapture the lost African moral values. It is within this setting that the present study endeavours to highlight the indigenous Logooli morality.

This study on the Logooli investigates first, the meaning and practice of indigenous Logooli morality and moral education. Second, the part played by taboos as cardinal elements for enforcing morality among these people. Third, the role of oaths and curses as elements of asserting truth behind certain actions. Fourth, how deviant members in Logooli were dealt with and incorporated into the society.

Two main research instruments have been employed in this work. First, primary data encompassing oral sources whereby questionnaire schedules were administered to 55 purposively selected informants. Their selection was based on age categorization, gender balance, accessibility and level of education.

The informants comprised mainly elderly peasant farmers, teachers, students, businessmen and civil servants. Second, written sources constituting books journals, theses and archival material obtained from the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library at the University of Nairobi University, Kenyatta University Library and the Kenya National Archives have been used in this study.

Moral education was a life long process where moral principles were taught through formal, informal instructions, imitating parents, older siblings, peer groups, grandparents and guardians. The youth were encouraged to observe courtesy, compassion, justice, prudence, temperance, fortitude, humility and chastity among other moral values.

Taboos in the indigenous Logooli society were vital elements of enforcing morality. They instilled discipline, reduced crime and carelessness in society. Most taboos as moral sanctions were found in rites of passage, agricultural practices, usage of tools, weapons and in house related activities.

The elaborate system of direct and indirect curses reinforced justice, respect of each other and property among the Logooli. Since the negative consequences of curses was felt by the concerned victim, family and clan members at large, people restrained from cursing each other any minor reason.

Assertory oaths were taken in order to test child legitimacy, inhibit theft and alleged forms of witchcraft. While promissory oaths were taken in order to strengthen faithfulness and friendship.

Among sanctions of morality was ritual cleansing which was conducted in the indigenous society so as to restore the state of normality among offenders. Some of the offenses that required ritual cleansing were incest and murder.

Nevertheless, socio-economic, political and religious changes have affected the observation of some of the indigenous Logooli moral values in the contemporary society. Indeed, the teachings obtained from the indigenous Logooli moral values could help in understanding the moral problem in contemporary Kenya. Since children spend most of their time in school with their teachers and peers, they could be encouraged to visit and learn from their grandparents during school holidays. And while at their various homes, children could be encouraged by their parents to watch only appropriate video and television programmes.

Most teachings that are associated with the observation of taboos, oaths and curses in the indigenous Logooli society are universal moral elements that are found in many societies in Kenya and beyond. Hence it is vital to enhance the main

teachings that emanate from these moral values.

The current study could be of great help in teaching Social Education and Ethics in the Kenyan Secondary schools. And, there is need for more research of this nature on various ethnic communities in Kenya. For, it is hoped that such research could help in strengthening morality in contemporary Kenyan society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank the following persons for their contribution in various ways who led the way all through to the completion of this thesis. First, my sincere gratitude goes to my academic supervisors, Professors J.N.K. Mugambi, Hannah. W. Kinoti of University of Nairobi and J.J. Ongong'a Kenyatta University for their guidance, criticisms and corrections.

Second, my parents Mr. Herbert Ifedha and Mrs. Emmah Kageha Ifedha for their earnest sacrifice in educating me. My children, Lilian, Patricia, Constantine, Imelda, Immaculate and my wife Joyce for their patience whenever I was in the field collecting data.

Thirdly, I would like to register a vote of thanks to my oral informants, and in particular Daudi Ng'alwa, Samuel Kevogo Mwanzi and John Mwavichi. It is hard, of course, to forget my late grandmother Cecilia Vigedi. I am also grateful to the Deans Committee, University of Nairobi for funding the study. To all the persons mentioned and to those not mentioned by name, I pray that God may bless you all.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- C.H.I.E.A., Catholic Higher Institute in Eastern
Africa (The new name is Catholic
University of East Africa- C.U.E.A)
- C.M.S., Church Missionary Society
- C.U.P., Cambridge University Press
- D.C., District Commissioner
- E.A.E.P., East African Educational Publishers
- E.A.L.B., East African Literature Bureau.
- E.A.P.H., East Africa Publishing House
- H.E.B., Heinemann Educational Books
- K.L.B., Kenya Literature Bureau
- K.N.A., Kenya National Archives
- M.A., Master of Arts
- N.N., North Nyanza
- N.U.P., Nairobi University Press.
- O.U.P., Oxford University Press
- Ph.D., Doctor of Philosophy
- S.C.M., Student Christian Movement
- T.M.P., Tanzania Mission Publications

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Many scholars in Kenya have written books and articles on different peoples highlighting various aspects of African culture. Their works cover a wide range of subjects, which include among others; history, literature and religion. The main objective of these writers is to show the place of indigenous African beliefs and practices in contemporary Kenya. However, these works alone are not adequate in inculcating moral values among Africans.

Therefore, the starting point of this study is a situation of conflict, the indigenous versus modern values and ways of life. The indigenous African outlook towards morality and life was affected by European, North American missionaries and colonialists. These people introduced Christianity and formal education to the Africans. In this way, the Logooli abandoned in part some of their beliefs and practices which were an aspect of their integral communal life in favour of the Western oriented values. This was facilitated through Sunday schools and worship services. Accordingly, most if not all new values were accepted without adequate

investigation.

But, with lapse of time, the contemporary socio-economic and cultural innovations have in one hand led to rapid growth in population; and on the other created widespread social evils. This nature of immoral behaviour is threatening the survival of harmony in the Logooli society. For, it is common both in print and audio-visual media for readers, listeners or viewers to come across evidences of public condemnation and criticism against many immoral practices.

Furthermore, in this newfangled society there also exists a generation gap between adolescents and adults. Children look down upon their parents, likewise parents find it difficult to understand their children. Accordingly, contemporary adolescent moral behaviour leaves most adults perplexed. For the older members of society tend to condemn the youth rather than to identify and help them in solving these new moral problems.

Thus, the intensity with which moral values are upheld by individuals in the contemporary Logooli society varies considerably. For instance, some individuals may easily violate established values and norms, while others who adhere to them with greater intensity may suffer profusely from a feeling of inferiority or guilt for the same act. Hence, the

Logooli now find themselves in a situation where indigenous beliefs and practices, loyalty to elders, family and communal customs are drastically weakened by the impact of new cultures. And, the question which arises is: are the Logooli fated to lose the old culture that once gave meaning and direction to their lives without being able to assimilate the alien Western culture?

Indeed, the Logooli are forced to adopt some aspects of their indigenous values in addition to assimilating some elements of western cultural influence. And, since these people are prone to emulating various elements of foreign culture and forms of entertainments, it is somewhat difficult for the Logooli to understand the place of their own indigenous values in the present set up.

Accordingly, in order to understand the Logooli moral evolvement and continuity, there is need to study their mythology, system of moral education, social relationships and rules of conduct. For, it is this conglomeration of their moral and social life principles which form the core of their moral obligations and mutual assistance. However, before we analyze these social elements, it is inevitable to establish the present geographical setting of the said people, their origin, kinship ties, migration and settlement patterns.

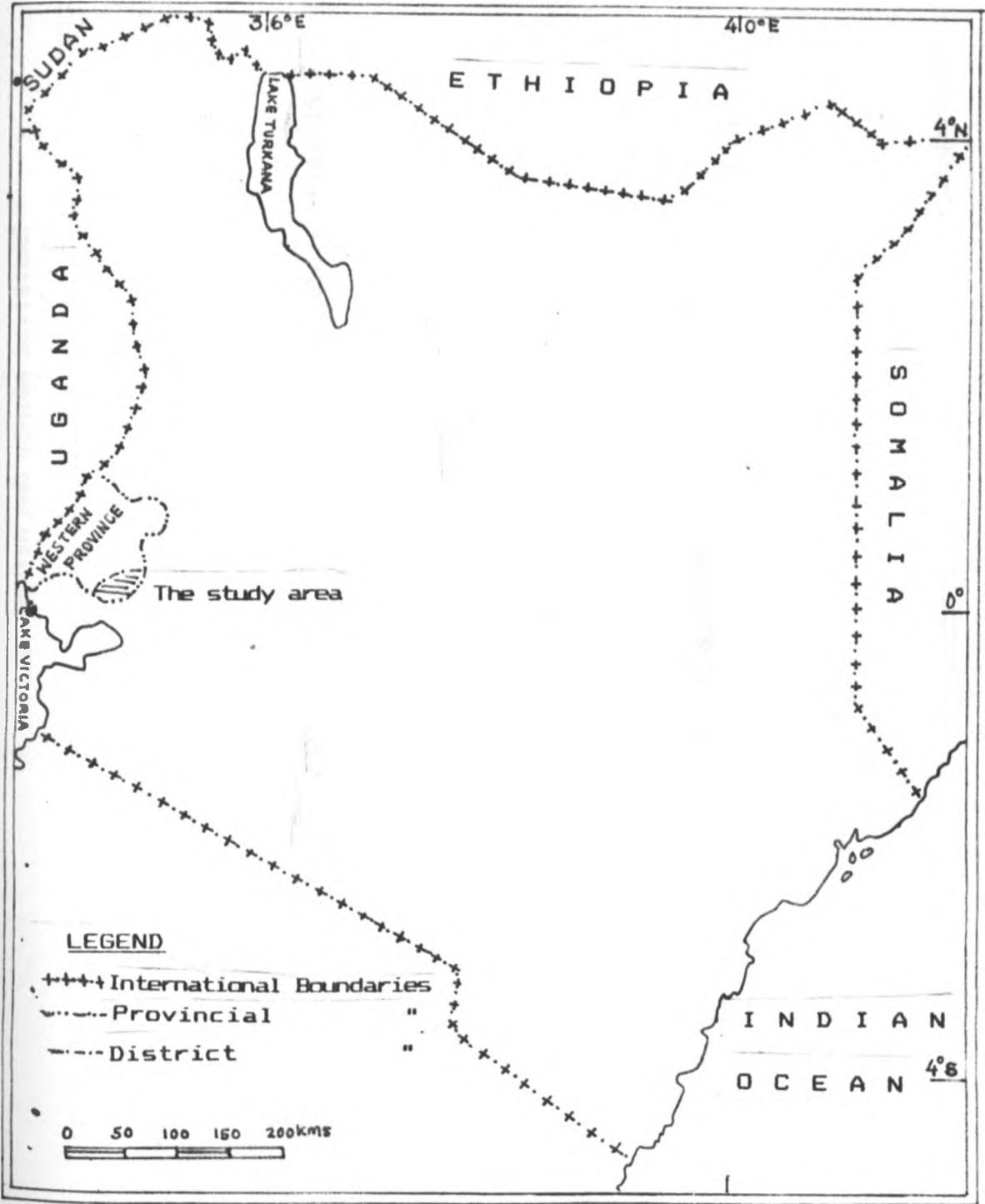
1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The Logooli are a people who inhabit Vihiga and Sabatia divisions in Vihiga District in the Western Province of Kenya. These two adjacent divisions comprise various densely populated locations and sub-locations. It is common to find a family occupying less than half an acre of land. Although, this area is characterized by granitic extrusions of boulders and rocks of different sizes and shapes, most of Logooli soil is red laterite. Furthermore, due to the close proximity of this area to lake Victoria, Vihiga and Sabatia divisions experience two distinct rainfall seasons.

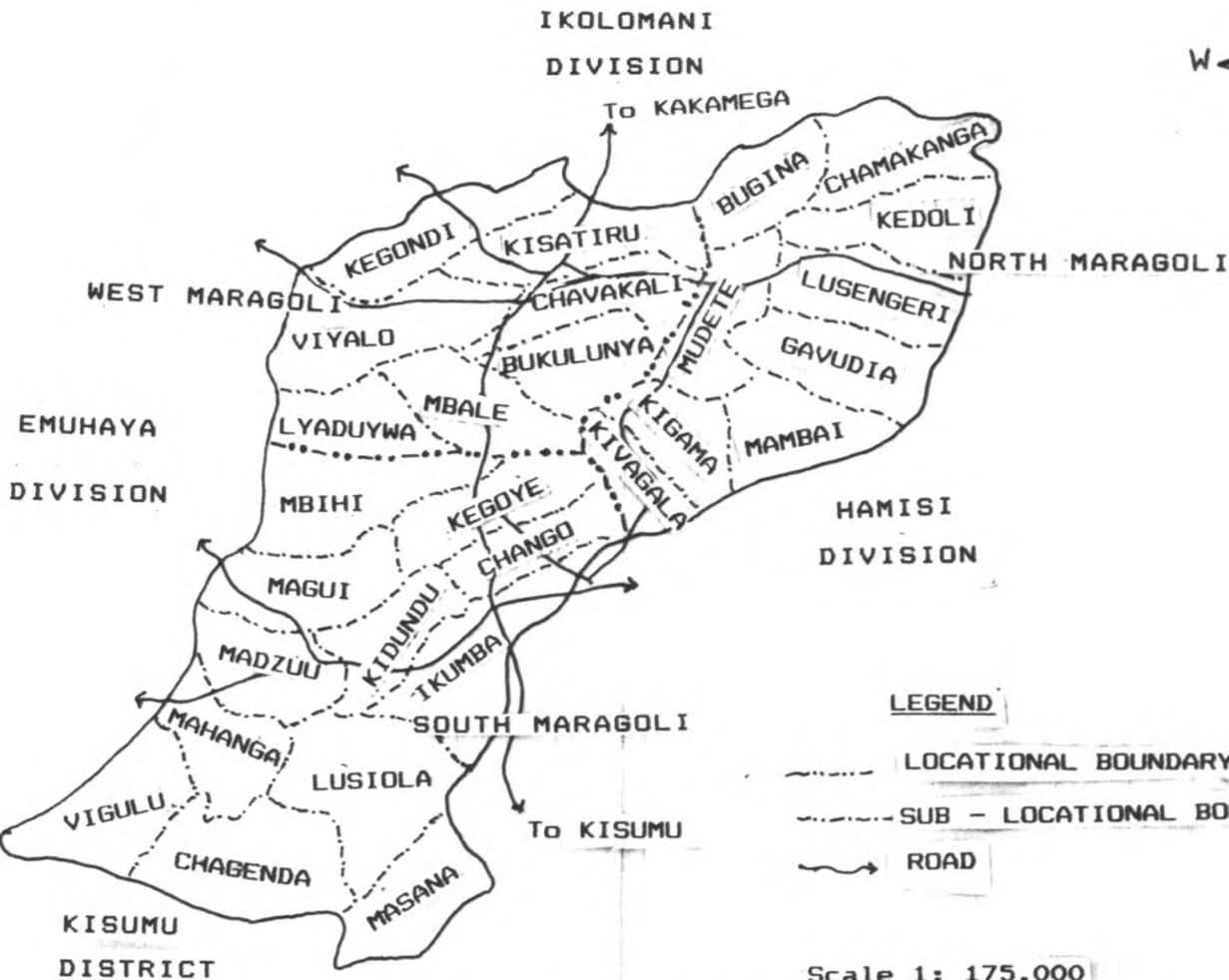
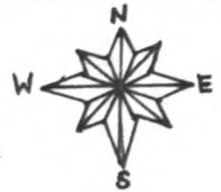
Convectional rainfall which occurs in this area is caused as a result of shifting of the Inter Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ). Long rains occur from March to May, while short rains are common between August and November. The mean recorded annual rainfall is 1910.1 mm, with the driest month being January. Thus, many parts of Vihiga district are well drained with numerous rivers which have wide, open and flat valleys.

The following two maps illustrate the geographical location of our study area in Kenya.

KENYA: LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA



A MAP OF SABATIA AND VIHIGA DIVISIONS



The reliable rainfall pattern in this area supports the growth of indigenous vegetation which is noticeable in some parts of the southern area, especially in Maragoli Hills. However, in other parts of the district, indigenous trees have been depleted and replaced with exotic trees, coffee, tea plantations and banana groves.

Some of the most significant public centres in both Vihiga and Sabatia divisions are Mbale, Chavakali, Mudete, Majengo, Bendera, Sabatia, Mahanga, Lusengeri and Lunyerere. After this brief discussion of the geographical area inhabited by the Logooli, it is appropriate to consider their sociological background.

1.2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL SET UP

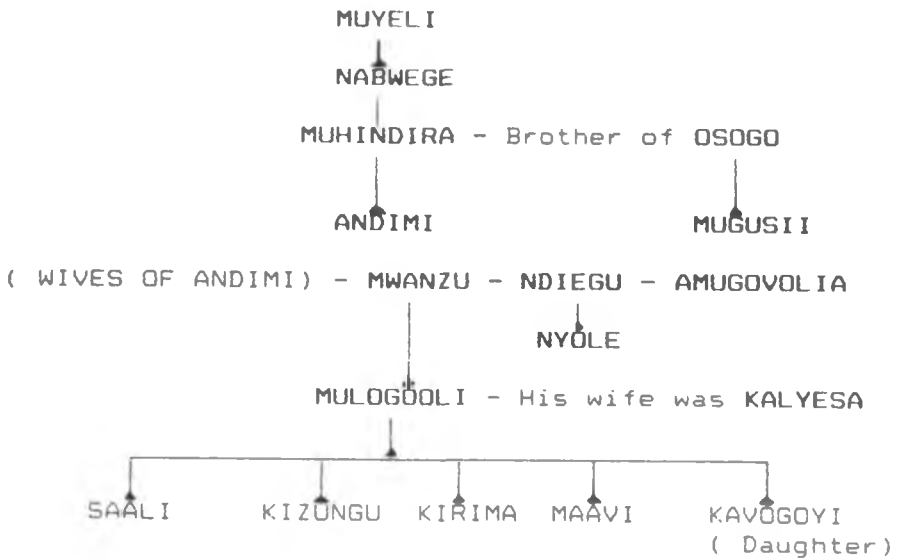
The Logooli are one of the seventeen Abaluhya sub-ethnic groups whose immediate neighbours are the Tiriki, Nyang'ori, Nyole, Nandi and Luo. The Logooli patrilineal clan system traces its lineage mythologically from Mulogooli. It is believed that Wega, the father of Mulogooli could have died in Egypt / Misri.¹ This early historical account agrees with most Abaluhya myths which assert that they came from Misri. It is therefore, postulated that from Egypt; Mulogooli and his sons sailed by boat along

river Nile up to the Rusinga Islands in Lake Victoria where they made their first settlement.

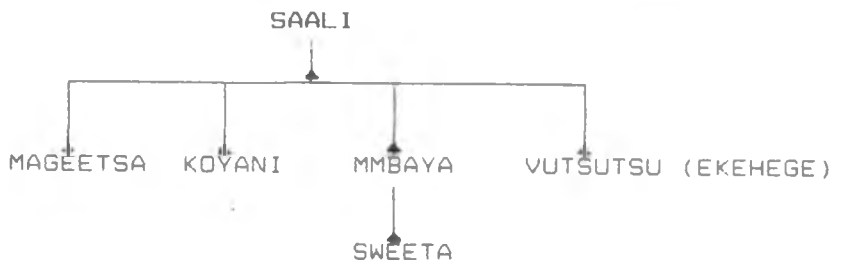
These kinsmen stayed on these islands for some time before moving further to the south. It is stated that, one of Mulogooli's relative Musuva was left behind on these Islands occupying Katsigiri and the mainland of South Nyanza. Meanwhile, Mulogooli, Gimasambo and Lugada sailed eastward in search of suitable settlement around the shores of lake Victoria. The Logooli also suppose that Lugada and Gimasambo apparently moved into the Kisii highlands, while Mulogooli's family and a few Avasuva went south of the lake.

Later on, Mulogooli and his family crossed the Kavirondo Gulf in boats and made their second settlement at Mumuseno from which the present name Maseno is derived. After staying here for a while, this kinsfolk moved to Kitsava, the present Kima in Bunyore, where Mulogooli's wife Kalyesa is presumed to have been buried. Mulogooli then moved further and settled at Mwigono near Liamagale in South Maragoli. Here, the mythological founding father finally settled for many years before his death at an advanced age. Below are four figures which illustrate in summary the lineage of Mulogooli.

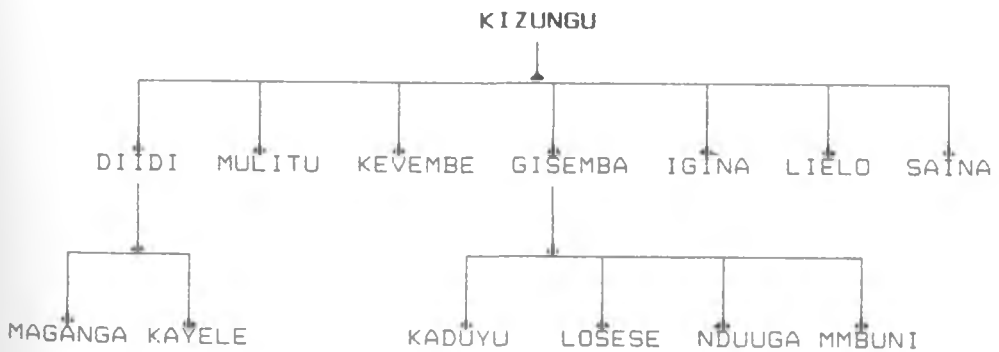
MULOGOOLI AND HIS LINEAGE



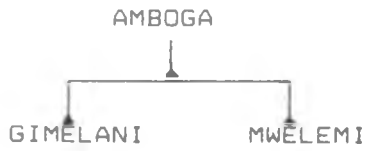
a)



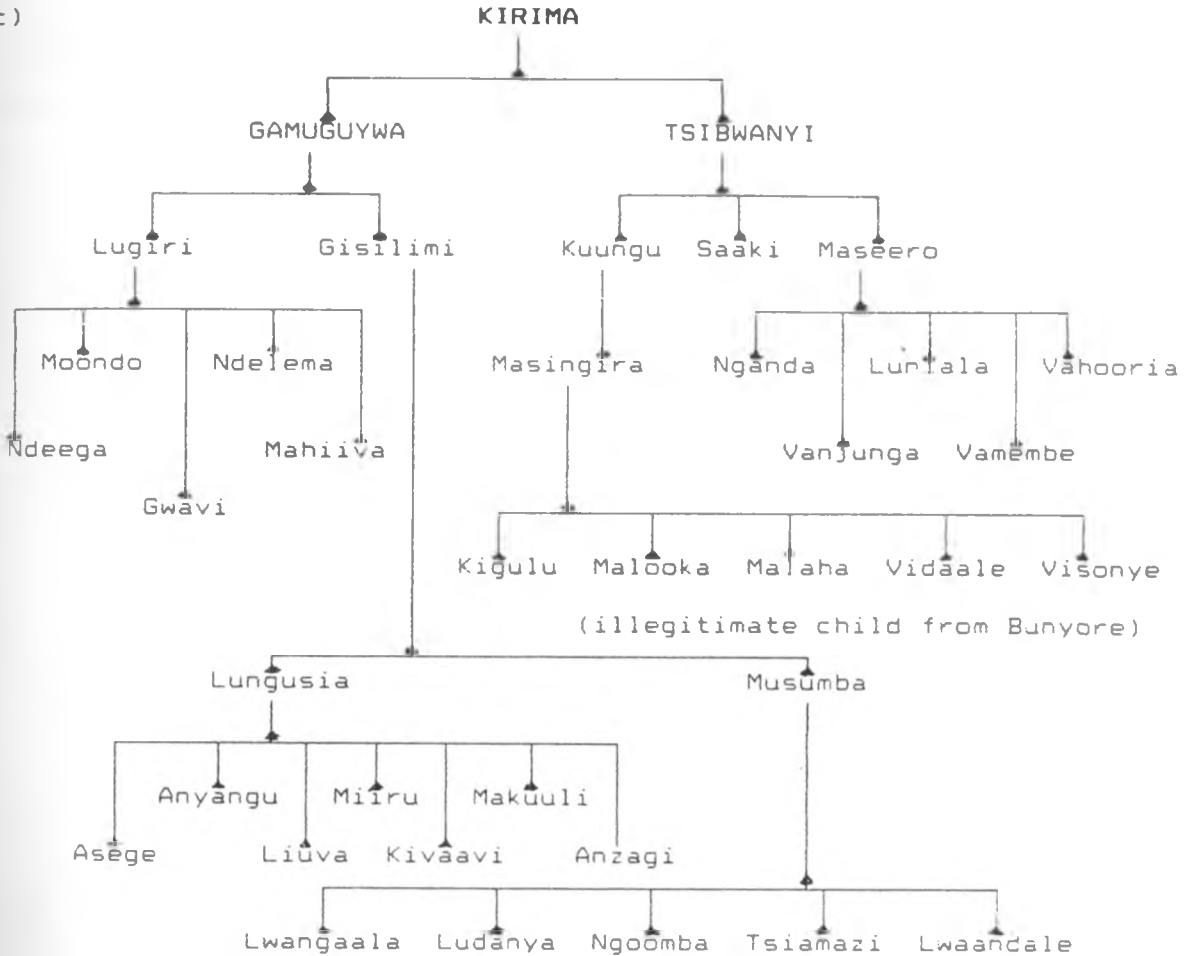
b)

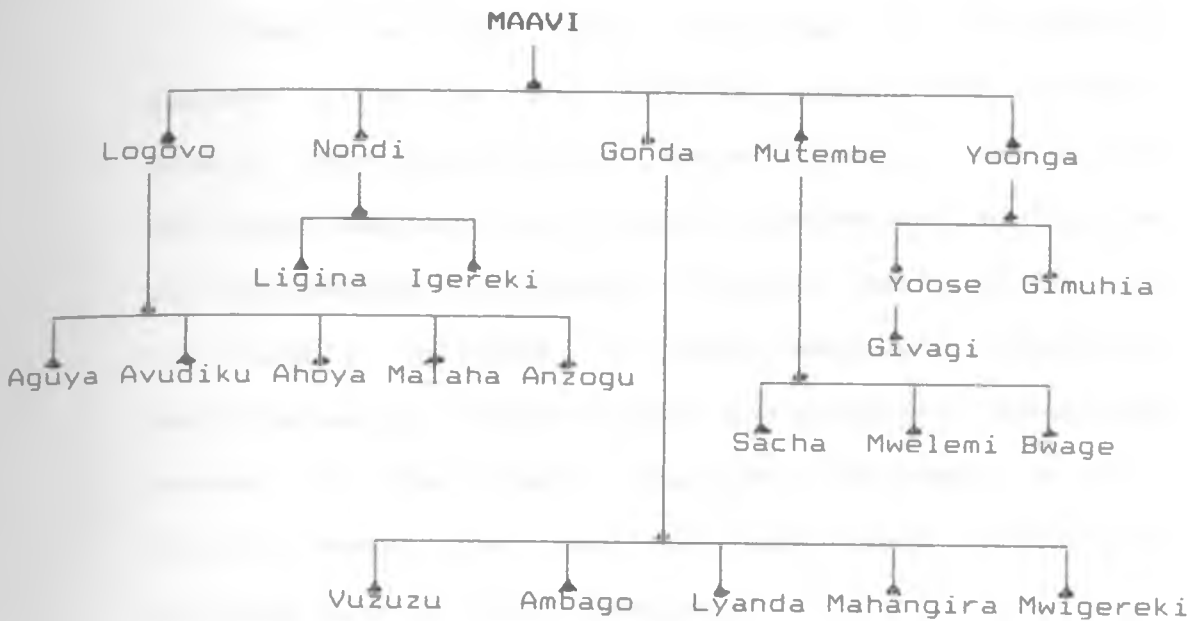


Other KIZUNGU Clans



c)





Mulogooli and his wife Kalyesa had five children. Four sons and one daughter. The sons were:- Saali, Kizungu, Kirima and Maavi. Their only daughter was Kavogoyi. It is these four sons that form the basis of Logooli clan system. Indeed, these major clans have continued to subdivide and increase in number over the years. Historically, it has also been asserted that the Logooli arrived in the present day Sabatia and Vihiga divisions around 1699-1706.²

During their early settlement here, it is emphasized that the initial effects of demographic dispersal resulting into continuous search for virgin arable land, was motivated by increased pressure from neighbouring Nandi, Luo and Nyole. As a result, the Logooli further split from Mwigono to various parts of Vihiga and Sabatia divisions.

Saali and his family dispersed to the North-eastern direction and settled around the present Busali Secondary School. While Kizungu, the second son moved eastward and finally settled around Sabatia as the immediate neighbour of Saali. Next, Kirima and his family followed in the northward direction settling mainly around Viyalo and gradually spreading across to the present Chavakali Secondary School. Finally, Maavi, the last born son stayed behind and occupied much of South Maragoli.

Although, the above description summarily explains the geographical distribution of various major clans in Vihiga and Sabatia divisions, there is no clear or adequate knowledge as to what happened to Mulogooli's only daughter Kavogoyi. This may partly be due to the fact that girls are normally absorbed into various alien ethnic groups into which they are married. Nevertheless, with these introductory accounts of the early Logooli settlement, it is now appropriate to discuss the background of their moral system and how such moral values attempted to keep the community together.

1.3. LOGOOLI MORAL BACKGROUND

In this study, it is important to note that morality is derived from the latin noun, mos (mores, pl.). This term implies the customs and conventions of any social group or community.³ To be moral means to live or act in accordance with the customs of a particular ethnic or religious community. However, in the contemporary society, morality connotes a wider meaning which transcends mere customs and conventions. Indeed, morality refers to any set of norms or standards which could be indigenous or otherwise. And, the purpose of morality in any stipulated community is to define, guide and regulate acceptable behaviours among its members.

In applying the above description of morality to the indigenous Logooli, it is implied that these people applauded certain sets of values which governed their conduct. These values were expected to be positively applied in their daily life experiences. The Logooli also rationalized about the need to uphold their expected moral code. Most members in the indigenous set up reacted positively and conformed to the laid down moral principles leading to acceptable behaviour or positive moral conduct. Sometimes, certain people reacted negatively contrary to the stipulated moral code resulting into

deviant or immoral behaviour.

In order to enhance the need of comprehending and observing indigenous Logooli moral values and the resultant negative implications of not observing these values, the indigenous Logooli rationalized on why members should conform to their moral values. This was based on the fact that acceptable moral values were rooted in their socio-cultural experiences. It was therefore the responsibility of every member in the society to conform to the established moral code.

Sometimes the decision taken by any member in the indigenous Logooli society to either conform or act contrary to the indigenous Logooli moral values depended on how a person had been brought up in the society. Each member was taught the society's cultural traditions, religious beliefs and the impeding socio-economic factors in life. It was therefore, the comprehension of the indigenous Logooli moral values and how people applied them in their daily life experiences that made the indigenous Logooli fit well in their society. Hence, any action taken by an individual in the indigenous set up was seen to be a reflection of the society's moral values. It was therefore, imperative that a member behaved well so as not to tarnish his or her society.

Our brief account of geographical distribution and settlement patterns of the Logooli reveal that the indigenous set up was made up of small organized communities based on clan relationships. And, since there were no policemen or prisons to deter people from evil practices, belief in God and fear of supernatural repercussions and respect accorded to the ancestors and elders of the community were regarded as principal bases of morality. There was a strong sense of respect for parents by children. Since, nearly everyone was related to the other and owed his or her allegiance to a common ancestor such relationships made moral cohesion an easier exercise.

It follows that all members in the community were bound by communal fears and hopes that facilitated the Logooli to live in harmony. Hence, there were rare cases of moral misconduct in the indigenous set up. In essence, the indigenous Logooli concept of moral principles entailed values which were found in the community's customs, and traditions. The indigenous Logooli asserted that any breach of the society's moral code could cause some form of suffering or ill health to its members.

Therefore, well behaved or brave persons were praised or honoured in the indigenous set up. Such people could be offered land or any other material property in reciprocation. In some cases, parental

gifts were offered to obedient or reliable children. For example, a circumcised boy could be rewarded animals, some of which would be used as payment for bride wealth; while an adolescent girl could be recompensed some beads and pots of different sizes. Apart from receiving these material gifts, most well behaved children continued to enjoy the confidence of their parents or elders and could be entrusted with family and clan secrets.

Although, it was maintained that moral values enabled all members in the indigenous Logooli set up to live in harmony within a family or society, in practice it was difficult to maintain such a balance. There occurred some frequent cases of deviant behaviour in the indigenous Logooli society which resulted in conflicts. But, those members in society who acted contrary to the set down norms could not go without adequate correction and admonition. And, the form of punishment depended on age and gender of the offender.

It was observed that each village, lusoma which consisted of a cluster of houses whose members were closely related as kin was administered by a clan elder, liqutu. In addition, a village council of elders, ekiruazo comprising of adult men was chaired by an appointed clan male elder. It was the deliberations of this council which were responsible

for maintaining peace and order in a village.

Among the Logooli, one way in which a village council executed judgement was by renouncing an errant individual, thus, correcting his or her behaviour. In this way, the society was protected from any possible disharmonies. This form of judgement of repudiating an errant member included those suspected or proved to be practising witchcraft or anybody who intentionally committed murder. Furthermore, deviant members in society, who engaged in incest or dissipated family wealth entrusted to their care were equally disgraced. More than often, those caught indulging in incest were teased by clan elders that if caught in the act, they would be summoned to repeat the act in public. It was this fear of such an ordeal that prevented moral carelessness in the indigenous Logooli society. For, no one was ready to submit to such public shame.

A habitual thief was warned to stop such ill behaviour when caught. However, if he or she made no effort to reform in behaviour, he or she risked being ostracised from the village. This mode of punishment ensured that such immoral behaviour was checked from extending to other members of the community. But, if such a deviant individual did not improve even after migrating to a new locality, he or she could be killed in the end.

On the other hand, an adulterous man was prohibited from socializing with other men at beer parties, let alone participating in the society's security matters. Such an adult male offender was also denied the opportunity of teaching initiated male children while they were in seclusion. For, he was not of exemplary moral behaviour worth to be emulated by the initiates. Meanwhile, an adulterous woman was avoided by other women in fear that if their husbands discovered their close association with this woman, their marital relationships would be severed.

It was therefore, the responsibility of both men and women in the indigenous Logooli society to behave responsibly in their society and propagate their moral principles accordingly to their children. However, the indigenous set up has been influenced by various factors of social change, thus, modifying the moral values of these people.

1.4. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Most people tend to take it for granted that both the school and the church are cardinal centres for re-enforcing morality in children. The reason for this reliance is that parents have very little time to stay with their children and educate them on their

indigenous moral values. Furthermore, during daytime, children spend much of their time in school with their teachers. Here, most of the disciplines taught are geared towards inculcating basic practical skills which children are required to copy and apply in their lives.

And, out of the many subjects that they learn in school, the only discipline which attempts to instil some moral values in school going children is Religious Education. This is complemented with Sunday school attendance in case such children are positively motivated by their parents. In the evening, after the normal school timetable, children spend the remaining time at their homes with parents reading story books, doing carry home assignments and watching television programmes or video shows. Occasionally, their parents also take them out to watch film shows in towns during the weekends. Indeed, the above mentioned forms of print and audio-visual media are widespread forms of entertainment both in rural and urban centres, which sometimes contribute negatively against the perpetuation of indigenous African moral values.

In addition, the urban set-up prevents most children from discussing relevant indigenous values with their grandparents, uncles and aunts. There is no conducive environment, especially, where a family

lives in a small house without adequate privacy for children of both gender to be taught separately. In the past, the older folk played a significant role in educating the youth their indigenous moral values. Where, apart from receiving oral teachings from these elders, children had a chance to observe some indigenous ceremonies and practices. Today, such occasions are not common, let alone forthcoming.

The Church and the school as we have said are not effective in enhancing morality to the youth, probably because of their unfamiliarity with the indigenous African moral and cultural values. Can we therefore, continue to blame the youth who are left in abeyance as to which forms of ethical standard they should subscribe to? It seems that there is an acute problem of who should teach moral behaviour. The school system is failing, the parents seem to be ignorant. Something needs to be done. This study is an example of such concern and a move to finding a solution.

1.5. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In order to find out some roots of the present moral problems of unhealthy relationship between the youth and adults, make possible suggestions and conclusions; we need to investigate the following:

- i. The concept of morality and the aspect of moral education among the indigenous Logooli.
- ii. The conceptual basis of taboos as cardinal elements for enforcing morality among these people.
- iii. The purpose of oaths and curses as expected forms of utterances aimed at protecting individuals, family members and the entire society from violating their established moral code.
- iv. The significance of ritual cleansing and or pacification which are found in the daily lives of the Logooli.

1.6. RESEARCH PREMISES

The following are the research premises for this study:

i. Indigenous moral education is an important development aspect among the indigenous Logooli.

ii. There are conceptual bases of observing taboos as cardinal elements of enforcing morality among the Logooli.

iii. Curses and oaths are expected forms of utterances aimed at protecting family members from violating their established moral code.

iv. Ritual cleansing and or pacification which act as positive forms of reconciliation are found in the daily lives of the Logooli.

In discussing the above objectives and premises, our study is intended to make appropriate conclusions about the need for continuity of some indigenous moral values in the present Logooli systems of moral judgement.

1.7. JUSTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

We have earlier on pointed out that this study focuses on the Logooli who inhabit Vihiga and Sabatia divisions in Vihiga District in the Western Province of Kenya. This is one area which has undergone rapid socio-cultural change and transformation, thus providing a good base for this research; namely, morality of the Logooli today. Next, the study attempts to create a working paradigm of individual and communal ethics within this single dynamic African community.

In an attempt to assist the youth recall their indigenous values; the Logooli leaders, scholars and elders have today introduced and sustained the Vihiga cultural festival. This annual, one day event, is held on the 26th of December at Mbale town in Vihiga District, in Western Kenya. It is more of a social gathering occasion which brings together various Logooli people from different parts of Kenya to their local urban centre, than a day of educational significance.

On this day, the Logooli assemble at the open market ground at Mbale to watch displays of various indigenous cultural materials and artifacts. A few old men are selected to briefly dramatize some of the practices they could remember as having been

prevalent during their youthful days. These older folk highlight on the importance of such indigenous cultural values, some of which have been watered down by factors of social change. This annual festival which is intended to instruct the youth on various indigenous Logooli values is not sufficient on its own, let alone being the most desirable method of teaching to the local youths.

The one day event cannot adequately inculcate values of a life time continuum to a younger generation. Furthermore, the selected elders who preside over this festival are not trained teachers as such. They lack the capacity of analytical procedure. And, such elders can also hardly meet challenges of the present youth. Again, some of the Logooli youth are not so familiar with their indigenous language. Therefore, it is essential that a systematically researched and analyzed work written in English be carried out to avail the said cultural and moral values of the Logooli to its up coming youths.

However, one handicap noted while conducting field interviews in Vihiga and Sabatia was that, the generation of men and women with indigenous knowledge of Logooli people is rapidly dying out. And, whatever information that is available to be given, is done so mainly by retired civil servants and teachers who

have spent a greater part of their lives in urban centres, away from the indigenous Logooli community. Thus, owing to this apparent uncertainty, much information received from these interlocutors of Logooli morality is somewhat vague, if not exaggerated.

Indeed, the findings and conclusions in this study are meant to create a bridging endeavour between the past and present without necessarily exaggerating either. Finally, it is expected that outcomes from this study will form part of the ongoing discussion on Social Education and Ethics in the Kenyan Educational System.

1.8. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Apart from oral sources, it is paramount for this study to be supplemented with existing literature on the Logooli. These available, though, scarce works comprise books written in English and Logooli native language. It is apparent that these works emphasize rites of passage and their educational impact, history and economy. For example, G. Wagner (1939) discusses the various agents of change in the family structure among the Bukusu and Logooli of Western Kenya.

Furthermore, G. Wagner (1949) deliberates on indigenous lifestyles of the Bukusu and Logooli. The author focuses on their economic practices and rites of passage. In addition, he discusses the kinship structure, religious beliefs and practices of these people. The study examines as well, the coming and impact of European explorers, missionaries and the imposition of colonial rule upon the Logooli. However, no attempt is made to provide views which could reconcile Western values with indigenous ones.

With regard to morality, G. Wagner records a number of ritual prohibitions or taboos, amahano/miqiro respectively. He points out that mystical situations in which man finds himself, call for the need to observe moral avoidance /taboos. G. Wagner notes two categories of taboos; first, ordinary prohibitions which are meant to instil good manners. Such prohibitions are sanctioned in the form of physical punishment, ridicule, retaliation or fines. Second, are taboos associated with rituals which are endorsed by consequences of a mystical order. The author finally makes reference to curses, various methods of purification and reconciliation in the event of some unbecoming behaviour. However, in these works, he does not address the issue of oaths which is part of our present study.

S. Jumba (1946/ 1965) provides some background knowledge on the Logooli. He summarizes migration patterns, early settlement period, practice of agriculture, clan system and the rite of circumcision. In addition, Jumba narrates a few taboos, but does not deal with curses, and situations of oath taking.

A. Mukulu (1980) gives an account of a few tales which have some moral input. The author also discusses in brief some occasions where the youth are taught their indigenous Logooli moral values. In his foreword, A. Mukulu assumes that all teachers have some adequate knowledge of the Logooli beliefs and practices. Hence, he suggests that a teacher could innovate other examples to enhance the teachings which he has provided in brief in his book. This book which was specifically written for the Kenya School Equipment Scheme for standard three primary pupils in Vihiga and Sabatia Divisions is not detailed enough. And, since it is basically meant to teach children how to read in Luragooli, it does not deal in depth with the concepts of taboos, curses and oaths.

Just like A. Mukulu's work, S.L.Sabwa (1980) wrote his book for the Kenya School Equipment Scheme so as to be read by standard, three school going children. The author claims that although his work focuses on the Logooli, it is also a relevant text

which could be read by other Luhya ethnic groups found in Western Kenya. He states that in the contemporary society, children have very little information about indigenous Logooli culture. S.L.Sabwa discusses in brief indigenous Logooli childhood education, youth education and initiation into adulthood. Nonetheless, the teachings that are expounded by the author in this book are not detailed enough to provide adequate moral input.

R. Kagoni (1985) discusses a few indigenous Logooli customs. While focusing on rites of passage, he elaborates in detail the concept of contemporary marriage among the Logooli. His emphasis is laid on the ritual aspect without mentioning the ethical standards that accompany this rite of passage.

N. Luvai (1986) discusses the concept of house construction, meaning and purpose of marriage. He further outlines the behaviour expected of a bride in a new house. Although, N. Luvai provides a long list of taboos, he does not furnish a clear explanation about the moral lessons that accompany them.

S.I. Akaranga (1986) makes a comparative study between indigenous Logooli rituals and Christian Sacraments. This work which focuses on childbirth and male circumcision rituals, attempts to relate Logooli culture to Christianity. Nonetheless, the work was not intended to explore in detail other rites of

passage and their related religious or moral values.

E. Ndanyi (1988) discusses mainly circumcision among the Logooli. Although, he has dealt with this ritual in detail, nevertheless, he has ignored its moral bearing. However, E. Ndanyi's work is important for this study inasmuch as it provides a brief summary of Logooli socio-political, religious systems and enumerates a few taboos that are found therein. This work does not deal with the concepts of curses and oaths which form parts of our objectives.

In conclusion, a brief review of the above literature reveals that, indigenous Logooli moral values could be found in taboos, oaths, curses, ritual cleansing and or pacification. These rituals are well spread in the whole life span of an individual. And, the purpose of this study is to analyze in depth, the above stated moral values and either commend or criticize their worthiness in the contemporary Logooli society. Nevertheless, in realizing the objectives set out in this study, the following theoretical framework has been employed.

1.9. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Before discussing the Logooli moral system, it is worthwhile expounding that ethics can be studied from three main approaches: normative, meta-ethical or descriptive. First, normative ethics makes proposals and establishes standards or norms for conduct which dictate how one ought to live.⁴ This approach employs terms such as 'good' or 'bad' acts, 'right' or 'wrong' decisions. Indeed, different norms have direct bearings on what people feel or do. This implies that people only select those values which seem relevant to them.

In discussing indigenous Logooli morality, there is need to grapple with the following questions: First, what norms dictate the Logooli ethical system? Second, are Logooli elders living according to their societal norms? Third, are these norms dynamic? Fourth, what factors are responsible for changing the said norms? However, not everything which is established to be normative is intrinsically right. Accordingly, this approach does not adequately answer what is 'good', 'right' or 'obligatory' among the Logooli. Furthermore, it makes the taking of moral decisions seem too easy, in that the individual person making such decisions, does not bother to adequately understand the historical aspect and

nature of each human moral experience.

Nevertheless, no behaviour or action could be definitely normative, because, customs, physical conditions of life, useful knowledge, lifestyles and cultures are ever changing in practice and symbolism. This is imminent in the existence of a generation gap between parents and their children. Hence, morality evolves with age so that demands made on a child and an adult is viewed to be different.

The second ethical approach meta-ethics is referred to as critical, philosophical or analytical ethics. It deals with questions which are related to the nature, meaning and justification of moral concepts, statements and judgements.⁵ In the present study, facts about indigenous Logooli moral values are presented without involving deeper philosophical speculation. Hence, the meta-ethical approach does not benefit this study.

Last, but not least, is the descriptive approach to ethics which is historical or scientific in nature. It depicts prevailing moral rules, principles or practices which are specific to a particular community.⁶ In employing this method for the current study, a clear description is made of the acceptable forms of behaviour which are embraced in the daily life experiences of these people. We have made a systematic description of the various taboos, oaths

and curses found in every day life of the Logooli. And, in seeking for a moral decision or a coherent moral judgement in this study, we have employed both a deductive and inductive approach. In utilizing the deductive approach, we apply known indigenous moral values to the current situations in the Logooli society. While, the inductive approach considers various acts in all their complex reality before referring to a value judgement.

It is also vital in this study to draw a relationship between norms and human experience by describing various moral values. Hence, we analyze the flexibility and the nature of moral judgements. However, it is not generalized in this enquiry that, whatever qualifies to be moral among the Logooli can automatically work for other societies in Kenya. This is so because, moral values are tied to the prevailing socio-cultural realities which often tend to be subjective in nature. It is also presumptuous to generalize on the observations made, even though, objectivity cannot be entirely disregarded in ethical discussions.

1.10. METHODOLOGY

Two main research instruments have been employed in this work; secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources comprising mainly of books, journals, theses and archival material were obtained from the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library at the University of Nairobi University, Kenyatta University Library and from the Kenya National Archives have been utilized. The acquisition of such secondary resource material was vital in documenting information on early Logooli settlement, their related socio-political practices and the concept of morality in general.

The primary source of data collection was obtained through oral interviews that were carried out from August, 1991 to December 1992. The selection of respondents was based on age categorization, gender balance, accessibility and level of education. These factors influenced the response of informants with regard to indigenous Logooli morality. The basis of such a variety of respondents enabled the researcher to compare and make a representative observation of the general Logooli concept of morality.

Initially it was projected that 4 respondents viz. 2 adult and 2 adolescent students would be interviewed from each of the 28 sub-locations which comprise North, West and South Maragoli locations respectively. However, out of the projected 116 respondents, only 55 were interviewed. 39 respondents were interviewed from West Maragoli, 7 from North Maragoli and 9 from South Maragoli locations. Furthermore, out of the 55 respondents 49 of them were peasant farmers, 8 teachers, 3 businessmen and 4 civil servants. A detailed analysis of these respondents is provided in Appendix 1.

Questionnaire schedules were employed whereby, the resultant oral information was recorded on index cards for further analysis. These oral interviews involved the administration of a sample questionnaire (see Appendix 2). Occasionally, relevant questions were posed to guide respondents in answering key issues addressed in the questionnaire. In addition, questions seeking clarification and counter checking were posed to my principal informants Cecilia Vigedi and Daudi Ng'alwa. Thus, appropriate information that the questionnaire could not elicit were given.

In some cases the researcher administered a hidden questionnaire approach. This technique was applied to informants who were either resistant or fearful in providing information before receiving

monetary inducement. Besides conducting field work, the researcher randomly participated in some indigenous practices such as death related ceremonies thus, making chance observations. Such frequent observations were by far the most rewarding in data gathering. In the next chapter, we discuss Logooli moral education.

NOTES

1. B.A. Ogot., ed. Zamani: A Survey of East African History. Nairobi: Longman; 1980, p.187.

cf., W.R.O. Ochieng', " A Traditional History of the Gusii of Western Kenya from c.A.D. 1500-1914". Ph.D. Thesis; University of Nairobi, 1971 for a more detailed account on the History of the Logooli and other Luhya ethnic groups.

2. J.M. Mwenesi, " Positive clannism among the Avalogooli". Historical Association of Kenya- Annual Conference, Nairobi: 1976, p.4ff.

3. Gerard A. Bennaars. Ethics and Development: An Introductory Text for Students in Colleges and Universities. Nairobi: EAEP; 1993, p.13.

4. Peter Baelz. Ethics and Belief. London: Sheldon Press; 1977, pp.2-3.

cf., Gerard A. Bennaars. Op. cit., p.16.

5. Gwinn R.P., ed. et al. The New Encyclopedia Britannica Vol. 4.(15th ed). Chicago: Chicago University Press; 1993, p.24.

cf., Peter Baelz. Op. cit., p.4. and Gerard A. Bennaars. Op cit., p.15.

6. Peter Baelz. Op.cit., p.2.

cf., Gerard A. Bennaars. Op.cit., pp.15-16.

CHAPTER TWO

LOGOOLI MORAL EDUCATION

2.0. INTRODUCTION

Like in many other African ethnic groups, the indigenous Logooli community had senior members of society comprising of elders, leaders, founding fathers and heroes to be emulated. All these people played a significant role in educating the youth. The younger generation was taught that its future and that of the entire community depended on the comprehension of inherited ethnic institutions of laws, language, manual skills and moral values.

Education in the indigenous Logooli society was in three main areas; technical, military and moral. In the technical field, children and youth of both sexes learned to procure food, build houses, basketry, pottery, fishing, hunting and cloth making. For example, boys learned military techniques through sham fights while accompanying their older brothers and adult males to the field to graze animals and in hunting errands.

And, as they grew up, more fighting skills were enhanced during the seclusion period after they had been circumcised. The military knowledge which boys acquired during this period was further practised in

the evenings a short distance from the open fire places or during daytime in the open fields after leaving their seclusion huts. In attendance were adult males who cheered and encouraged them.

Apart from learning technical and military skills, the youth also assimilated their indigenous moral values. Among the indigenous Logooli, acquisition of moral principles could be compared to either the observation of laws or etiquette and was inculcated as habits which could be imposed on a person. This aspect of moral probity called for the use of reason so as to guide an individual in making good decisions.

For example, what a person considered to be right depended largely on considerations of appearance or action. It was the observation of stipulated indigenous Logooli moral principles in form of taboos, oaths, curses, rituals of pacification and reconciliation which led to the preservation of their cultural values.

These ethical principles helped members in the community to judge an action depending on the values which they were required to cherish. The above stated moral values; taboos, oaths and curses among the indigenous Logooli referred to the good, ideal, goal, perfection, norm, what was interesting or significant in a society. Thus, to neglect any one of the above

said moral values resulted into a vice. These moral values were in turn translated into fundamental principles such as gratitude, tolerance, hospitality, self acceptance, service, forgiveness, mercy, compassion, patience or justice, just to mention a few.

Furthermore, it is the observation of these values which enabled persons to act with integrity in their daily life activities. Some of the virtues that were cherished in the indigenous Logooli society included justice, prudence, temperance, fortitude, humility and chastity. The observation of these moral principles depended on the capacity to act properly by following faithfully the teachings of their moral conscience.

In this chapter, we discuss the view that moral education in the indigenous Logooli set up was a life long process which commenced right from infancy and proceeded up to death. Accordingly, we focus below on the various people involved in educating the youth in their ethical principles, such as parents, grandparents, guardians, peer groups and siblings.

2.1. PARENTAL EDUCATION

Children grew up, first in a nuclear family under the immediate care of their parents. In their early stages of development, children of both gender were closely affiliated to the mother through lactation and nursing, let alone comforting in moments of crisis. A mother readily satisfied the needs and wishes of her children and further taught them how to speak, walk properly and identify people. Through lullabies and answering questions, children were taught to state names of their clan, parents, siblings, uncles, and grandparents. In this way, children learned to respect each other, elders and maintained their kinship history and relationships.

Beginning from early age, children were taught by the mother to perform various services by sharing domestic roles. Thus, boys could do household chores without grumbling, especially if they did not have sisters in their family. Equally, girls could also assist in taking animals to the field for grazing if need arose. A mother taught her children to be humble, patient and maintain desirable food eating habits and taboos.

For instance, a girl was expected to eat in the kitchen together with her mother. And, apart from eating gently, children were taught by the mother to

respect a kitchen and all that was kept there. One of my informants the late Agnes Inyangu emphasized that a child who was found stealing from a cooking pot was severely punished by the mother. Such a child was told proverbially:

Vogeli vogeli, vogeli likolove!, do not pretend to act like a cunning clever bird, likolove.¹

The indigenous Logooli considered this bird to be cunning. It destroys property and then flies away in mischief. This is why a mischievous child was compared to this bird. Although, such a child pretended to be clever and avoided being apprehended. It was only a matter of time for such a child to be discovered by the mother.

Upon discovery, a mischievous child could be denied a meal so as to learn the bitter experience of not stealing cooked vegetables. Sometimes, a child who stole cooked vegetables from a cooking pot could be given food without any relish to eat with. Such bitter lessons were effectively used to check on food stealing habits.

Besides, children were taught not only to avoid abusing their siblings, peer groups or elders, but were advised not to wet their bedding. And, in order to underscore this prohibition of wetting their bedding, children were scared by tales of snakes

being tied around their waists, should they disobey. It was this fear which made children to psychologically stop the habit. In addition, parents often encouraged them to wash their bodies thoroughly so as to maintain proper hygiene.

The Logooli children were also taught to be courteous by their parents through the following song which was sung to them:

Ndiegu akazia kusuma, akima omwana, omwana
akazia kusuma, akima ndiegu, ndiegu vava,
ukalilanga qu, tsuni, tsuni umbango kombi,

a woman by the name Ndiegu whose family was starving begged food from a neighbour and denied her daughter a share of the meal. Likewise, the daughter begged food from a neighbour and did not share with her mother. In the end, the mother started crying due to hunger pangs. But, the daughter sarcastically showed her mother a cooking stick that she had used to cook the meal with and requested her to lick it.²

When Bartholomew Jumba was interviewed about the significance of this song, he explained that the song taught the indigenous Logooli family members to observe courtesy and respect for each other, regardless of their age, sex or gender.

Although, in the early stages of a child's development, a mother tied her baby on her back, she continued to perform various household chores. Sometimes, an older sibling could assist the mother in caring for the child. This form of caring for the younger one continued until a child was weaned. In fact, a mother could only wean her child upon being pregnant. Therefore, in preparation for weaning, a mother gradually introduced her child to other foodstuffs to supplement breast feeding..

Weaning which constituted a critical period to the mental and physical development of a child was a traumatic experience which was necessary for the child's social integration. Psychologically, the child was being abandoned by its mother and could no longer enjoy the closer affiliation of its mother. Indeed, it was during weaning that a child was separated from its mother so as to develop differently and thus learn to perform masculine and feminine oriented tasks according to its gender. Although, a child was not overworked, he or she was expected to contribute positively to the family's daily, economic and social life.

Among the Logooli, a girl was viewed as a wealth bringer to a family. This was evident through the payment of bride wealth at the moment of marriage. A girl was also reminded that she was a woman and

should always try to imitate her mother. It was therefore, paramount for a mother to train her daughter to perceive her role and service fully as she matured into adulthood. This is why she assisted her mother in domestic chores such as sweeping the house, nursing babies and carrying water in small pots. A girl learned to balance a pot on her head with a banana fibre ring, engata. And, as she grew up, she carried increasingly larger pots of water. A young girl was also made to realize that any careless handling of pots could lead into breakage. Such a predicament was punishable by her angry mother.

Other chores which a girl learned included, cultivating various crops, grinding millet and eleusine, firewood collection, picking and cooking vegetables. At most times, she was closely supervised by her mother who also advised her to stay around the homestead as compared to the freedom of movement and action that was subjected to a male child. In this way, a girl developed closer affinity to her mother than her father. Furthermore, in times of need, a mother interceded for the requirements of her daughter to the father. A mother also taught her daughter to practice chastity and observe some decent behaviour such as sitting properly with her legs together and her skirt down. Hence, right from an early age, a girl was introduced by her mother to

wearing a banana fibre skirt, kevoya around her waist.

On the other hand, a boy was introduced to behaviour and roles that were in line with his sex. In fact, he was reminded by his father that, it was unacceptable for him to keep following his mother. Normally, a boy who was used to following his mother was beaten by her mother until he stopped such behaviour. Sometimes, he followed his father to the field so as to learn more from him. He was then taught by his father to assist in cutting and carrying home wood planks and rafters which were used in house construction.

In addition, a boy joined his peers in hunting birds and small animals like rabbits. He also learned to care for animals such as goats, sheep and calves. During daytime, boys worked closely with their fathers, uncles or grandfathers; while in the evening, they converged at the open fire place, oluhya where they jointly ate supper with their fathers. And, after the meal, they were instructed in warfare techniques and family relationships by the older males. In this way, the society graduated groups of its younger males who were equipped to carry out a community's aspirations.

As a boy grew older, he cleared the fields, tended cattle, cultivated crops on the farm, built

houses and made clothes. He also learned that he was expected to take care of his parents in old age. More so, during needy times such as in sickness, a boy played a significant role in the family. He was therefore supposed to get married and bring forth offspring who would further assist in protecting the home.

Upon marriage, he was allocated part of the family's land to cultivate. Indeed, boys were a prestige to a Logooli family. This is why a family without boys suffered ridicule and risked losing family land which could be shared out by closer male relatives. Nevertheless, in order to curb this situation in a family which had fewer boys or none at all, additional wives were married by men so as to get more boys who would carry out manly duties. This is why it was rare for a daughter to inherit her father's land. Since, she was expected to get married elsewhere in a different clan or location.

The skills and roles which boys learned, were parallel with adult male roles which focused on cattle herding, food production, house construction and hunting larger animals like antelopes. In character instruction, a boy was taught not to cry when he was beaten or when he hurt himself. His father teased him that only women cry.

In fact, the moral values which boys and girls learned as they matured into adulthood equipped them to fit in their indigenous set up. Thus, parents whose children did not act properly or disrespected adults were blamed, but only to a limited extent.

Since, the task of instilling moral behaviour was a joint responsibility of the whole community, children, siblings and peer groups also played a significant role in educating their younger ones.

2.2. SIBLING AND PEER GROUP EDUCATION

Even though, both parents and grandparents played a significant role in the early and later formative stages of a child's moral development, it was mainly after weaning that the duty of educating children was extended to other family members. Older siblings were compassionate to their younger ones. They cared for them when the mother was busy cooking, digging on the farm, fetching water from the nearby stream, spring, well and when she was unwell. Since the older siblings were intensely involved in socializing their younger ones, they did not only play parental authority, but were also expected to be respected by their younger brothers and sisters.

For example, older siblings inculcated good conduct to their younger ones by being merciful, just

and compassionate to them. However, they could punish any one of them who acted contrary to what was expected of him or her. Later on, the younger siblings were introduced to other children from closely related families. In this way, the younger siblings learned to share their belongings with others, be grateful, tolerant, patient, forgiving and accept each other as they associated themselves with other children of similar gender. This resulted into the formation of closely related peer groups.

Peer group members walked, danced and played together during daytime and exchanged newly learnt values from their older siblings, parents and grandparents. The influence of peer groups played a vital role in moulding the moral behaviour of the youth. They learned to be chaste, thus, controlling their sexual behaviour and social conduct. For example, boys of the same age group met together while hunting, herding animals, in games and dances. On these occasions, boys learned more about their kinship ties and how to observe pertinent discipline. This was facilitated by exchanging freely what they had learned from their parents, elders and older siblings.

Furthermore, boys accepted each other as they got to know their closer relatives and avoided marrying from such families or indulging in

incestuous sexual relationships. In this way, they learned to control their sexual behaviour and maintained good social conduct.

Girls on the other hand interacted freely with each other while fetching water or when collecting firewood. They also learned more about their kinship ties and how to observe proper discipline. Girls exchanged pertinent moral values which enhanced their chastity. They learned such moral virtues mainly from their grandmothers. And, since they got to know each other well, they shared experiences and advised each other on how to maintain appropriate sexual relationships. Nonetheless, if any member from the group was involved in loose sexual relationships with boys, she was reported to old women who reprimanded her accordingly. And, if such a girl did not reform her character, she was avoided by her peer groups to prevent her from influencing them with bad behaviours.

The moral virtues which youths learned from each other helped to mould them into responsible adults. However, not all peer members were well behaved. For instance, an individual member within the peer group who was used to abusing elders and his or her colleagues could be socially ostracized. In the same way, a deviant youth who was a habitual thief was often rebuked until he or she reformed.

Sometimes, peer group members could refuse to talk to or even interact with a peculiar member who was lazy and rejected assisting his or her parents in performing household chores or herding the family's animals. Besides, an aberrant youth who was fond of fighting or beating the younger siblings was never popular among his or her fellow youths. Such a youth was hated, not only by his or her own peers, but, even by the adult folk. It was through such communal norms of judgement that the younger generation and the community at large were tutored into moral aptitude in the indigenous Logooli society.

And, whenever a youth failed to heed to these corrective measures, he or she was reported to his or her respective parents for appropriate punishment. Indeed, indigenous moral education reached its highest degree of consciousness during initiation into adulthood.

2.3. EDUCATION DURING INITIATION INTO ADULTHOOD

First, as an exclusive event, circumcision in the indigenous Logooli set up was accompanied by adequate preparations to underscore its significance. This is why it was the responsibility of all concerned families, especially, male clan elders to agree on specific months and places where

circumcision could take place. It was also the responsibility of adult males to supervise the entire circumcision ritual process. A boy could only be said to be an adult after he had undergone the ritual of circumcision which was and continues to be one of the major rites of passage among the Logooli.

However, before the physical operation commenced, boys were separated from their family members for three days. During this period, candidates spent three cold nights near a stream with adult males where they built a temporary hut, lisali. While staying in this hut, they were taught by adult males to endure pain during circumcision. Boys also learned various songs and boasted of their courage in facing the circumciser.

Even though, it is not known when it was observed first.³ It was upon circumcision, that a boy acquired a symbol of newness in life or of being born again into the community. Boys who feared and evaded this ritual were not allowed to interact or stay among the Logooli. For, they had violated one of the important rituals in life. While only the initiated boys could stay in a special secluded hut upon circumcision, their food was brought to them by small girls. Women and adolescent girls were kept away from these huts.

Second, after undergoing thorough preparations, boys were now ready for circumcision. During the actual operation a boy felt some physical pain, which was normally forgotten in the long term. This exercise which was carried out by a well trained circumciser with dexterity left a permanent scar on a boy's genitals as a reminder of the circumcision ritual throughout his life time. Indeed, the blood which was shed on the ground during this operation created a bond between an initiate and the dead ancestors.

Third, the process of initiating boys into adulthood remained corporate. For, when the boys' fresh wounds stopped bleeding, these initiates were led by the first candidate to be operated upon to their respective seclusion huts, tsitumbi.⁴ In most cases, these huts belonged to old men or women, preferably widowers of good moral character.

They stayed together in seclusion for a period ranging from three to six months whereby they were expected to respect, learn and help each other even after they had left their seclusion huts. It was also while staying in these huts, that boys were taken care of by reputable male guardians, avadili of good moral character who were responsible for formally teaching them technical, military and moral education. The role played by morally upright male

guardians in educating male initiates conformed with the following Logooli proverb which was narrated by Filimona Ombima:

Engo yavona amalaka. a leopard's cub imitates the character of its parent.⁶

Being a corporate act, an adult male could not be socially recognized in this society unless he had been circumcised. On the other hand adolescent girls stayed with either their grandmother or an elderly woman of good reputation. They walked together and assisted their parents in daily household chores.

It was expected that all respective parents whose sons had been circumcised should organize a feast to welcome their sons back home which was celebrated with other family members. Upon arriving in their respective homes, these young men slept in their grandfathers' huts for a while as they planned to put up their own small huts, tsidiisi away from their parents' houses.

Fourth, circumcision of Logooli male children was authoritative. In that circumcised boys were expected to obey what they were taught by specially selected male guardians. Initiated boys were encouraged to respect each other and were warned by their male guardians to avoid fighting among

themselves. They were also cautioned to observe hygiene by keeping their seclusion huts tidy. They were cautioned not to dig the floor with sharp sticks which could emit dust thus, infecting them with cough and fleas. Such flea infestation could infect them with jiggers. Furthermore, wood splinters used in digging the floor could break and further hurt their unhealed wounds.

Initiated boys were also alerted by their male guardians against throwing sodom's apples, at each other. These objects could also accidentally hit their genitals and cause further injuries or reactivate bleeding. And, upon healing, all boys initiated during this period were accorded a definite age set name which was selected by adult males.

Fifth, circumcision of Logooli male children which is instructional in character continues to be observed once after every eight or ten years. Normally, the average age of boys who underwent circumcision in the indigenous set up was eighteen years and above. For, It was expected that at this age, boys were mature enough to not only persevere the ordeal, but, were also ready to learn new skills from selected male guardians pertaining to their future roles in the society. Well behaved male elders from the community were selected to teach the candidates various myths and folklore concerning

their cultural heritage. The candidates who were being prepared for circumcision were expected to emulate the exemplary behaviour of these morally upright persons. More so, boys were taught how to socialize with one another now and, in the future. In this way, boys learned to behave and share in the network of their indigenous beliefs and practices that were held by the community.

On the other hand, adolescent girls had their four lower incisors, ovwuula extracted by an expert female or male dental surgeon. Apart from teeth extraction, girls had their bellies and faces tattooed by an old woman, mukeele we tsisaate / msaati. The indigenous Logooli believed that both teeth extraction and body tattooing not only enhanced the girls' beauty, but also served as identification marks within their ethnic group and made them courageous.⁴

When undergoing teeth extraction and body tattooing, girls were expected to endure pain since they were being watched by boys and other girls who turned up to cheer the brave or jeer the cowardly candidates.⁵ Nevertheless, both teeth extraction and body tattooing were not an all ending exercise. Girls continued to learn progressively from their grandmothers, mothers and aunts as they prepared to get married.

Furthermore, when girls visited their aunts, they augmented their skills in cookery and social conduct. It was also during these visits that girls could meet their future husbands. It is evident that through the processes of teeth extraction, body tattooing and circumcision, the initiates would learn about their oneness, endurance and common origin which they were expected to perpetuate in their life time.

Adolescent youths who had undergone body tattooing and circumcision were further taught their indigenous moral values by grandparents. The grandparents were free to interact with their grandchildren as compared to the initiates' parents.

2.4. GRANDPARENTS ROLE IN YOUTH EDUCATION

Children of both gender tended to spend much time with their grandparents than with their parents. It was these grandparents who took the role of comforting their young grandchildren in times of distress. Moreover, when such children misbehaved and were beaten by their parents, they sought refuge and protection from their grandparents. Therefore, the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren was cordial. For, the two talked to each other freely without much restraint.

In teaching children of both sexes techniques of socialization, grandparents told stories, recited poems, riddles, proverbs and songs. In ensuring that grandchildren understood and appreciated what they were taught, grandparents encouraged them to participate freely in answering questions which focused on the clan's indigenous history and kinship relationships.

Emmah Kageha when interviewed confirmed that female grandchildren who were closely associated with grandmothers were taught kinship relationships.⁸ In addition, they were expected to maintain body decency by wearing a kind of front apron, muliivu and a back apron, kevooya. Furthermore, teachings in sexuality and the need to avoid careless association with boys enabled young women to avoid pre-marital pregnancy, inda simba. They were also cautioned against incest, and the following proverbs underscored the importance of maintaining chastity:

- i. Enq'ombe ye kivasi yakinditsa amavele. a cow which kicks when being milked has the best milk so far.⁹

This proverb meant that a girl who desisted from immoral activities with men became a good woman in future.

ii. Isiongo yadikila hamuliango, a pot that is used by women in fetching water normally breaks at the house's door step as it is lowered from the head by someone who has fetched water in it.¹⁰

This proverb encouraged girls to persevere and be patient in their adolescent lives until they were finally married. Since, it was just a short period left for them to get courted.

iii. Utalola evembe nivinanga na yive uvine dave, do not ape the grass being swayed by the winds and dance to the same tune.¹¹

This proverb encouraged girls to make their own independent decisions rather than depending entirely on their peers.

When Cecilia Vigedi was interviewed, she confirmed that boys from the neighbourhood did not engage in sexual relationships with girls from their vicinity. Although, when they became adolescent girls, they accompanied their brothers and cousins to public dances, but shied away from dancing with them. In this way incestuous sexual intercourse was checked.

It was during their stay in the sleeping hut, ekegono that a grandmother could receive courtship suggestions for girls under her care from various

families whose boys wanted to marry. Indeed, she acted as a matron and an intermediary in courtship and betrothal matters. Thus, all girls under her tutelage normally took her advices seriously; knowing of course, that any adverse behaviour or disrespect, could easily provoke her anger and lead to a curse from her.

On the other hand male grandchildren who were always with their male grandparents were counselled in character formation. In teaching the youth to respect their mothers, Gunduguvi Kevelenge narrated the following proverb which was in common usage by many Logooli male elders:

Utalola n'ya vukana, dada yata vudzwa
tsing'ombe, whoever that never saw her mother in her youthful days will say that my dad just wasted his bride wealth.¹²

Through the teachings of this proverb, the youth were advised to respect their mother regardless of her old age.

Grandfathers enhanced teachings to their male grand children by narrating stories on how they fought and defeated their enemies when they were young men. Such war related stories encouraged young men to act bravely. Adult Logooli men also warned young men not to under estimate the power of their

enemies when they were warring against them. The following proverb was used to illustrate the point at stake:

Enyegangwa nikizia mwijinga. one can only talk about a wild animal which is in the wilderness and has not been seen. ¹³

This proverb encouraged Logooli men to be courageous, and not to underestimate the power of their adversaries whom they have not seen yet they want to wage war against them.

Apart from learning how to act courageously, young men were also introduced by older males to larger societal roles, values, traditions, sexuality and more so, sensitive topics such as husband-wife relationships. The youth were expected to keep secrets in their life time by observing the teachings of the following proverb which was narrated by Isaac Sambaya:

Utavoola linyonyi ku mahiga dave. do not reveal the secret location of a bird's nest you have seen to other people while sitting at the fire place. ¹⁴

The Logooli believed that if anyone revealed the location of a bird's nest to someone, it was possible that such a person could attempt to trap the bird. Upon discovery of the trap, such a bird would abandon

the nest and its eggs therein. This proverb encouraged people to be patient, maintain secrecy and only say what was important at the right time and place. It was these accumulated moral values which youths were expected to learn, that prepared them to live harmoniously in their married lives as we shall discuss below.

2.5. EDUCATION IN WEDDINGS AND MARRIED LIFE

Among the indigenous Logooli, the concept of marriage revolved around the house. Hence, when a man got married he was referred to as having 'acquired' a house, konyola inyumba, while a married girl was said to have 'entered' a house, kudzia mu nyumba. Marriage among the Logooli commenced with selection of partners, kololana. In making such choices most Logooli agreed that a boy should be older than a girl by at least two years or more. The Logooli believed that women age faster than men. For even an old man could marry a young girl to take care of him in old age upon being granted permission by his elder wife.

Some of the main qualities that dictated mate selection were love, beauty, hard work, sound health, mutual understanding, faithfulness, patience, joyfulness and bravery for the boys. Marriage partners therefore came from moral and physically

healthy families devoid of insanity, leprosy, sleeping sickness, epilepsy or witchcraft.

During courtship, a young man's mother and paternal aunts arranged to visit prospective homes where there were daughters who could be given in for marriage. Gifts were given in, as a variety of meetings ensued. And, upon accepting courtship, it was now opportune for male parents and uncles from both families to fix a date for bride wealth discussions, kovolana uvukwi. On the appointed day, not much haggling was expected. For, the two parties were expected to come to terms and settle on the payment of three cows and twelve hoes, tsimbago tsia vanq'aaya which symbolized productivity.

After bride wealth discussions, a special day was set aside to present animals to the bride's family, kwahula. It was the responsibility of a bridegroom and his parents to inform and present bride wealth to the bride's family. Payment of bride wealth in the indigenous Logooli society first, sealed courtship, thus, preparing the concerned families for the marriage ceremony, keselelo. Second, bride wealth served as a token of exchange which provided compensation for transferring a woman's reproductive power and capacity for domestic work from her family to that of her husband. Third, bride wealth sealed the newly created relationships between

two concerned clans, ethnic groups or families and guaranteed the husband's right over the offspring resulting from this union.¹⁵

Although, bride wealth was paid in terms of domestic animals and hoes, this did not imply that a woman's value in society was valued in terms of these items. Fourth, bride wealth stabilized marriages. For, it was not always easy to retrieve the animals presented for bride wealth. Hence, relatives always urged a couple to stay peacefully in their marital life. And, when need arose, they were assisted in solving any differences which could arise in their relationships. Furthermore, the paid-up bride wealth was often re-invested in other forms of engagements such as in payments for a brother's bride wealth. Hence, bride wealth could only be demanded in case a woman was unfaithful, practised witchcraft or murdered her husband.

In preparation for the wedding ceremony and marriage feast, the bride's and bride groom's family members and friends generously donated chicken and food stuffs to make a colourful wedding party for their children. On the appointed day, a bride was first examined by old women to ascertain if she was a virgin?¹⁶ If it was ascertained that a bride was not virgin, she was not anointed at all. However, if she passed the test, she was escorted from her

parents' house into the open front yard, where she stood upright on either a goat's or cow's skin to be blessed and adorned by a ritual leader.

Most ritual leaders among the Logooli who presided over religious and social occasions in their society were elderly men of good character. This is the reason why during the anointing of a bride and brides maids, a male ritual leader was chosen from the bride's clan to anoint them. On this occasion, he was presented with some ghee, maguta on a calabash, kisanda or wooden dish, lubago by the bride's mother. The ritual leader then took a small stick, luvaya which he used to smear the bride with this ghee starting with the head. He did likewise to the bride's maids, avimaali by smearing them with the same ghee. Next, he aspersed the bride's whole body with simsim. And, while performing this ceremony, the ritual leader was expected not to show any signs of sexual arousal.

In concluding this blessing ritual, the bride's mother and paternal aunt counselled and taught the bride using proverbs on how she was expected to take care of herself and her husband. Some of these proverbs included:

- i. Utakina ku liqina, liqina uluuya. someone who has never played on a slippery riverine rock will normally say - "that rock is warm."¹⁷

This proverb which was narrated by Joshua Luvandaale attests the fact that it is only a married couple that could comprehend marital problems. Hence, a newly married bride was cautioned against temptations in her new family relationships through the teachings of the following proverb which was told to the researcher by Lena Kabagi:

ii. Ugwevoolo na madzi qa maganda, a woman who talks very much is like the smelling water which has been drained from cooked beans.

This moral teaching told by Lena Kabagi was geared to teaching women to hold onto secrets related to their families. For, a woman who talked so much was ill mannered.¹⁸

iii. Ovosolo vwa hango na masahi go ku lulimi, family quarrels are comparable to a person who accidentally bites his or her tongue and swallows the blood oozing from the resultant wound.¹⁹

This proverb narrated by Milcah Adagala was used to explain the fact that, when closer relatives quarrelled, they always came to terms. Since, they could not keep their hatred or anger for a longer time.

A bride was taught not only to cultivate cordial

relationships with her in-laws, but was also encouraged to endure problems in her married life as evidenced in the following proverb narrated by Pauline Musimbi:

Mbiuhiukana yahyia umunwa. a person who eats hurriedly risks scalding his or her mouth.²⁰

This Logooli proverb agrees with the following English proverb - "Hurry, hurry has no blessings."

After being adorned with beads, bracelets and anklets, the bride was escorted by bride's maids to her new home, where the entourage was welcomed with much feasting. The wedding ceremony and marriage feast was attended by visitors, friends and relatives from both families. At the end of festivity the bride was escorted in the evening into the bride groom's cottage where she shared a new sleeping mat with the bride groom. Other unmarried boys who used to sleep in this cottage were advised to move from it so as to create room for the newly married couple.

The bride's maids and the bride's paternal aunt who escorted the bride to this hut kept vigil overnight to witness marriage consummation. On the following day, the bride's aunt inspected the mat on which the couple had slept overnight for any blood stains. A blood stained mat affirmed the bride's virginity. Nonetheless, keen measures were taken by old women not to confuse such blood stains with

menstrual flow. This mat was then folded and handed over to the bride's paternal aunt who showed it to the bride's mother. In addition, the bride's paternal aunt was offered a she goat to take to the bride's parents as a token of thanksgiving for maintenance of the bride's virginity. A bride who was proved to have been a virgin was therefore, highly respected by her husband and in-laws as compared to one who was not.

As the bride's paternal aunt departed on the following day, the bride was left at the bride groom's home with her bride's maids who kept her company and assisted in house hold chores for one week. At the end of this period the maids departed for their respective parental homes, leaving the newly married girl under the care of her mother and sister in-law's. Her sisters and maids continued to visit her so as to comfort her in her new marital life. It was also during such visits that some of these girls were also courted for future marriage.

The now newly married couple continued to live in this cottage until the young woman had delivered. It was only after the birth of the first child that a married young man built another bigger house for his family. Meanwhile, the bride freely interacted with her mother in law who continued to teach her personal hygiene and child care. Furthermore, she was also taught to observe various taboos which guided her

moral conduct as will be discussed in chapter three.

Upon marriage, young men and women joined adult males and females in performing communal tasks. A young married woman occasionally joined the company of her co-wives and mother-in-law as they went to fetch water from a nearby stream or as they worked in turns on their fields. On such social circumstances older women not only discussed their marital problems with their colleagues. But, they also counselled and advised the younger ones accordingly. Left alone, the younger women could misguide each other prompting frequent household quarrels. And, some of the proverbs used to enhance pertinent moral values among the newly married included:

- i. Utatuliza chahonyo chicho echova daave. do not expose your nude body.²¹

This narration by Rasoa Imbwaga was used to warn and teach loose tongued women to keep the secrets of their families.

- ii. Avatwa vasekana tsimbala. the injured Nandi persons laughed at each others scars.²²

Such a moral lesson encouraged a couple not to be complacent, but, to assist each other when they encountered problems in their marital lives.

Nonetheless, while in their respective homes,

married young men took an active role in family matters and assisted their father in making certain decisions. These young men were also invited to attend meetings organized by clan elders, so as to learn more from this older group. For example, they could be invited to listen to deliberations of a village council of elders and attend beer parties, where they learned more about their social responsibility and how to tackle civil and criminal cases without passing un biased judgements.

2.6. THE MORAL SIGNIFICANCE OF BEER PARTIES

Communal beer parties in the indigenous society were social gathering opportunities which were vital in maintaining social solidarity or ritual restoration among the indigenous Logooli. Hence, it was rare for anyone to drink alone without inviting friends or relatives. Beer drinking as a form of entertainment was jointly taken by adult men and women. The beer which was brewed by different families in turns was drunk in the open homestead or in a shade provided by banana groves on a clear afternoon after a heavy day's work. On a rainy day, the beer was drunk in doors from the sitting room of the host's house.

On the set beer drinking day, a child or children were sent from the respective home to the neighbourhood to summon various friends and relatives to the party.²³ As invited guests thronged the compound, a host summoned an older male family member and gave him some beer in a calabash. He then sipped it in mouthfuls and poured out libation around the homestead's shrine. And, as he went round the shrine, he called upon names of departed clan members and implored them to join the living members in this party by saying:

Vaquuqa vitu mulilage yaho. Oh! dear ancestors, may you partake of this beer wherever you are.²⁴

The beer was then poured in a pot which was placed at the centre of the seated group. Men sat around this pot in a circular pattern and inserted their drinking straws in it. Since they gathered around and drunk from the same pot, this was a good example of their solidarity. And, as they continued siphoning, the beer level in the pot was kept optimum by the host's wife who dispensed more beer to maintain the alcoholic content and hot water to warm it appropriately upon request.

The beer was diluted with hot water so as to reduce its alcoholic thus enabling the old men to drink in moderation. Cold beer when taken hurriedly could quickly intoxicate the old men. Women and children drank a little beer from the kitchen which was served to them by the host's wife in calabashes. They were expected to drink moderately so as not to get drunk and misbehave when they went to their respective homes.

An invited male guest who arrived late for the party requested permission from the seated group to join their company. He was then welcomed by the host who offered him an extra siphon in case he did not carry his own. Nevertheless, those people who had not been invited, but, happened to pass by were not turned away. Since, beer was drunk in moderation, drunkenness was rarely reported at any given party. However, if a man was intoxicated, he sought permission from the seated members to leave their company. But, if members felt that such a man was unstable to reach his home, he was escorted by other men.

Nonetheless, on some rare occasions, a man could get tipsy and rowdy if he did not drink moderately. Thus, anyone who behaved in such an unbecoming manner due to drunkenness and used abusive language to his colleagues was fined a goat and forced to leave the

company of his friends. He was also temporarily banned from socializing with other men because of his weak and weird character.

As these men drunk the beer, they also shared their daily life experiences. This included some of the places and relatives they had visited and how they were received. They also discussed some of their family or clan problems. This could include cases of indiscipline among children, women or other family members. And, any person who had problems in his household expressed his views for appropriate advice and decisions. From various views expressed by each other, old men learned to be tolerant to their family members and make responsible decisions or mete out good punishment procedures unhurriedly.

Furthermore, on such occasions, a man with unbecoming moral character was admonished accordingly. In fact, if one was suspected and proved to be adulterous this was one of the occasions whereby errant men were reprimanded and warned to desist from their evil deeds and encouraged to practice fidelity. Thus, as we have discussed above, beer drinking did not only provide an occasion for entertainment, but, also an opportunity for learning and acquiring the expected communal norms.

2.7. SUMMARY

Although, this chapter has focused on Logooli moral education, various aspects of technical education were also taught to the youth, especially in seclusion huts after boys had been circumcised. Circumcision therefore acted as a symbol of shared identity which proved that a boy was now a mature and responsible adult male who was capable of raising up his own family. Furthermore, it was the agglomeration of both the technical, military and moral domains of education that moulded an individual into an all round personality. More attention was paid to facts related to different situations and their consequences.

Moral education in the indigenous Logooli society moulded a child into an active and eager participant in the learning situation. He or she acquired knowledge, skills, formulated and modified his or her moral principles accordingly. The youth in general were instructed to listen attentively to adults' commands, and do simple duties, although such duties were normally not abused. They were also expected to learn indigenous Logooli moral principles through formal, informal instructions, imitating parents, older siblings, peer groups, grandparents and guardians. Most teachings took place either in

the homestead or while performing various chores.

Parents taught their children to be of good service to the family and the entire community around them. They were taught to perform various tasks depending on their gender. Children were also taught to be courteous and respect each other and their elders. Mothers and grandmothers taught girls to maintain chastity and become responsible women in future. Girls also learned to be chaste from the other peers of good character.

Meanwhile, older siblings were compassionate and continued to care for their younger ones. They also expressed a feeling of mercy to their younger ones. And, as boys and girls matured into adulthood, they underwent circumcision and body tattooing or teeth extraction respectively. These ordeals taught them the virtue of fortitude. For, they were expected to persevere the tormenting exercise which was witnessed by other older members of the society. Young men who had been circumcised also learned to execute justice during beer parties and as they attended the deliberations of the village council of elders.

Moreover, as men drunk beer, they did so in moderation. They were aware that the excess intake of alcohol would lead to intoxication and unwarranted behaviour. While, temperance was encouraged in the indigenous Logooli society, men were required to

share the little they had with their friends or relatives.

The indigenous Logooli were expected to observe these moral principles in their life time. However, if an individual contravened the set moral obligations, he or she was chastised, ostracised or fined accordingly by a council of elders. Indeed, the proper observations of the above ideals was based on the Logooli taboo system. The adherence to Logooli taboos led to blessings in life, while their negation led to a curse or curses which required ritual cleansing and or pacification. To begin with, we discuss the concept of taboo which forms the backbone of Logooli morals in the next chapter.

NOTES

1. Agnes Inyangu. Deceased peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 80. Interviewed at Mukingi in Lyaduywa sub-location on 28th. December, 1992.
2. Bartholomew Jumba. Retired primary school teacher. Age: Over 80 Interviewed at Majengo in Ikumba sub-location on 6th. October, 1985.
3. For a more detailed account on circumcision among the Logooli cf. Gunter Wagner. The Bantu of Western Kenya. London: OUP; 1949, p.334ff.
4. The name Etumbi is derived from the Logooli word-tumba. A term which means denial of certain foods. This word was used to refer to the food eating prohibitions and excuses from performing strenuous tasks that circumcised boys were expected to observe while in seclusion.
5. Filimona Ombima. A farmer. Age: 56 Age-set: Selula. Interviewed at Githurai in Nairobi on 16th. August, 1994.
6. Rasoa Imbwaga, when interviewed at Vuviya on 10 August, 1991 pointed out that when she underwent teeth extraction, the girls whose teeth were not extracted were jeered by their peer groups and referred to as goats.
7. Cecilia Vigedi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 80. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 14th September, 1991.
8. Emmah Kageha. A peasant farmer. Age: 59. Interviewed at Kiminini in Kiminini sub-location between August to September 1991 and November to December 1992.
9. Ibid.
10. Dinah Miroyo. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Ivona in Kigama sub-location on 18th October, 1985 and on 21st. November, 1992.
11. Francis Tsisaaga. Retired primary school teacher. Approximate age: over 60. Interviewed at Wiligina in Viyalo sub-location on 10th and 14th September, 1991.
12. Cecilia Vigedi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 80. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location between 8th. August to 5th. September, 1991 and 10th. November to 28th. December, 1991.

13. Iddi Aduvaga. A peasant farmer. Age: over 70.
Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 12th September 1991.
14. Isaac Sambaya. A peasant farmer. Age: over 70.
Interviewed at Ondeyo in Lyaduywa sub-location on 9th October, 1992.
15. Hellenta Kegehi. A peasant farmer. Age: over 60.
Interviewed at Manyatta in South Maragoli on 8th September 1991.
16. Elisha Ndanyi. Avaloqooli amang'ana ga kale 1200 - 1985. Nairobi: Jothlwino Publishers; 1988, p.60.
17. Joshua Luvandaale. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 70. Interviewed at Buyonga in Kidundu sub-location on 20th September, 1991.
18. Lena Kabagi. A peasant farmer. Age: over 60.
Interviewed at Ivona in Kigama sub-location on 14th November, 1992.
19. Milcah Adagala. A peasant farmer. Age: over 70.
Interviewed at Madegwa in Chavakali sub-location on 14th September, 1991.
20. Pauline Musimbi. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 60.
Interviewed at Madegwa in Chavakali sub-location on 14th September, 1991.
21. Rasoa Imwaga. A peasant farmer. Age: over 60.
Interviewed at Vuviya in Viyalo sub-location on 10th August, 1991.
22. Safina Kevelenge. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 70.
Interviewed at Chavakali in Chavakali sub-location on 20th September, 1991.
23. Normally, a younger son was sent by his father to kindly request his fellow old man to come with his walking stick. This literally meant to bring a drinking siphon. In appreciation, such a child was rewarded a chicken by the invited guest.
24. Samuel Mwanzi. A retired Assistant chief. Age: 50.
Age set: Nzelolele. Interviewed at Ondeyo in Lyaduywa sub-location on 21st September 1991 and 26th December, 1992.

CHAPTER THREE

LOGOOLI TABOO SYSTEM

3.0. INTRODUCTION

We have discussed in chapter two that morality focuses on the customs of a particular people. This outlook on morality could be social in its origin, sanctions and functions. Hence, morality as an instrument of society, guides individuals in their actions and behaviour.¹ Any deeds that are performed in a society must conform to certain laid down laws, rules and ways of collective acting. The stipulated moral principles are meant to guide the conduct of individuals or groups of people. Such appropriate behaviour generates values, principles, motivations and ideals to be emulated.² For, it is the intention behind performing certain actions which act as a driving force for human action.

In order for people to act in a right way, they are expected to know what is right. Hence, the decision on how to act entails prohibitions, commandments, codes and norms to be adhered to. In discussing indigenous Logooli moral values, we focus on various moral actions and how these people reacted to them. We also analyze the rules which were applied in daily life experiences and the relevant virtues to

be emulated. It is within this framework that we could accordingly investigate the Logooli moral system which comprises of taboo system,⁴ oaths and curses.

We note that, it is the experience of potency in certain things, persons or places occurring at anytime, season or occasion that prompted the observation of taboos in the indigenous Logooli society. These people postulated that life was full of many dangers and critical moments. Furthermore, various modes of interrelationships between man and everything around him or her were embedded with mystical powers and inter connections.

Even in daily life conversations and actions of the Logooli, it was common practice for adults to reprimand the youth, especially when they acted contrary to certain sets of requirements in their society. And, the common explanation used to prohibit members from doing what was immoral was expressed in form of taboos, miqiro. (The word taboo refers to a social prohibition or restriction,³ It is the avoidance of deed or word, backed by awe in the presence of power.)

Taboos in this context outline the special mandate and boundaries for social existence. They point to special instances in which social constraints are referred directly to the religious

manifestation of the social rather than to a secular authority. Taboos control and channel human interaction or collective authority through a system of negative differentiation. They mark out certain persons, objects and occasions by specifying what may be done to who and with whom. Taboos segregate persons, objects or activities that are divine or sacred from those which corrupt or pollute the everyday realm.)

Although, it is not obvious to precisely establish their origin, taboos among the indigenous Logooli were believed to have been practised and perpetuated by ancestors. And, in turn, elders who had contact with these ancestors before they died were responsible for transmitting these moral values from one generation to the next. The indigenous Logooli rarely asked for reasons or further explanations on why they should not do anything which was regarded as taboo. These people also believed that the infringement of a taboo could result into divine or supra-societal sanctions.)

In discussing the concept of taboo in various situations, we shall begin by stating the taboo, the circumstantial evidence surrounding it and reasons for the observation of such a taboo in the indigenous Logooli society. In the following sections, we deliberate on the presence of taboos not only in

rites of passage, but also in the social-economic life of the Logooli. These include among others; house related, agricultural, tools and weaponry taboos.

3.1. PREGNANCY AND CHILD DELIVERY TABOOS

A pregnant mother was highly respected by the indigenous Logooli. Thus, throughout gestation she was expected to observe various taboos. For instance, it was taboo for a woman to walk over the feet of seated persons. It is common sense that an expectant mother should walk carefully especially during the later months of gestation. In case she stumbled, she could fall and cause injury to herself and the developing foetus.⁴

Furthermore, it was taboo for an expectant mother to pass over her husband when they were asleep at night. One of my informants Philip Kabagi narrated that, in an indigenous Logooli house, a man fixed his bed next to the wall in the bedroom.⁵ And, when resting, a woman was expected to sleep adjacent to the wall, while a man slept on the outer side of the bed. But, if a woman wanted to go out at night, she woke up the husband to escort her.

It was a dangerous act if a pregnant woman just woke up at night on her own and secretly went outside their house after passing over her husband who was still asleep. The Logooli believed that if a woman did this purposely, it was an indication that she had conceived out of adultery. And, that is why she intentionally crossed over her husband so that the baby to be born could have its father's semblance. However, it was expected that a man should be more courageous as compared to his wife who could be timid. This is the main reason why a man slept on his bed in a strategic position so that when any danger arose, he could be the first to come out of the bed and save his family from any foreign dangers.

A woman who also went outside unaccompanied by the husband risked being attacked by wild animals. Furthermore, the distinct sleeping positions discussed above inhibited promiscuity in an unfaithful woman who could secretly plan to meet her suitor while the husband was asleep.

An expectant mother also abstained from eating meat from the cow's back carcass or its heart. The Logooli presumed that this part of beef was very nutritious. And, if she ate too much of it, the foetus could grow bigger in size and render parturition difficult.⁶ Indeed, such an explanation is an anomaly, for an expectant mother needs

sufficient protein intake during gestation. so as to sustain her health and that of the foetus. This taboo was meant to ration the food that she was expected to eat.

Besides, a pregnant woman refrained from taking any alcohol. Beer taking was but, a form of entertainment for the indigenous Logooli. These people surmised that the excess intake of liquor by an expectant mother could affect the development of the foetus in a womb. Indeed, if such an intoxicated woman fell down, she could harm herself and the growing foetus. Sometimes, an unfaithful pregnant woman who drunk alcohol could be easily lured to licentiousness, which could result into abortion in case the suitor was infected with a sexually transmittable disease like gonorrhoea. Moreover, abstention from alcohol by an expectant mother could also prevent her from misbehaving or being battered by her husband.

And, during the last three months of gestation, an expectant mother was prohibited from performing strenuous tasks requiring much bending. Such chores which included among others, fetching water and tilling land, if performed could lead to either haemorrhage or abortion. Likewise, an expectant mother refrained from using sharp tools like axes, hoes, knives and pangas that could physically harm

her.

A couple also desisted from sexual intercourse during the terminal months of gestation. Such abstinence protected an expectant mother and the growing foetus from contracting sexually transmitted diseases from an unfaithful husband which could lead to either abortion or physical deformities to the offsprings.

A woman in labour was assisted at child delivery by a midwife who reproached her not to cry. This aspect of brevity had been already taught to them, when as girls they had persevered teeth extraction and physical body scarification. The indigenous Logooli believed that such undesired shriek could lead to the premature death of an infant. Indeed, if a woman in labour cried, she could not have enough breath to push out a baby.

The indigenous Logooli also considered excessive haemorrhage at child delivery as being taboo. This is the main reason why a herbalist was consulted to stop this abnormality. These people also feared that such bleeding could be reflected upon her son during circumcision. Although there is no direct relationship between haemorrhage, child delivery and bleeding during circumcision, excessive haemorrhage could lead to death of the baby's mother. Nowadays, with improved medical care women give birth in

hospitals where they are attended to by qualified medical personnel. Hence, there are fewer reported cases of child and mother mortality.

Furthermore, a woman who had just delivered avoided sharing food or utensils with other family members by eating from special bowls and utensils. It was the fear associated with blood and the state of constantly changing a child's dirty clothes that made the indigenous Logooli associate her with unhygienic conditions. In the contemporary nuclear family oriented society, men or ayas assist lactating women in bathing the baby, washing napkins and even perform other household chores. Although, the state of ritual impurity in the indigenous Logooli society that was accorded a woman who had just delivered was feared, (she was not segregated against for a long time from other family members.) After recovering she was expected to continue performing her daily chores. This exercise is observed by lactating mothers in the contemporary society too. (A breast feeding mother abstained from sexual union with her husband for some time until the child was old enough to walk and speak by itself. Any violation of this sexual taboo could result into unexpected pregnancy and premature weaning of a baby.⁷ This was one way in which the Logooli practised natural family planning, a method which is practised by some persons in the

contemporary society.

People who were still procreating were prohibited from tilling any land belonging to either a eunuch or a barren woman. The indigenous Logooli believed that the condition of barrenness could mysteriously affect other healthy persons. Hence, it was postulated that anyone who violated this taboo could not be able to raise normal children. Such a belief was merely superstitious and cannot stand against reason. Nevertheless, it went a long way to reveal how Logooli people looked down upon those who did not have children. Not only did they hate and avoid them, but even their possessions were at times rejected.) In the contemporary society, farmers who have larger parcels of land hire tractors to till their land and even people to weed their crops without asking for their marital or social affairs. Indeed, apart from observing various prohibitions during pregnancy and child delivery, the Logooli observed taboos that revolved around male circumcision as will be discussed below.

3.2. CIRCUMCISION RELATED TABOOS

Circumcision as an important rite was and continues to be a mandatory adolescent ritual for all Logooli males. During this operation, a circumciser

not only used special forged knives which were very sharp, but, he also performed the operation with great dexterity. This ritual which introduced boys to adult life was enriched with numerous taboos which were aimed at maintaining respect among the initiates, elders, parents and guardians.

Since circumcision was mandatory to all males among the indigenous Logooli, it was improper for a boy to escape his turn of being circumcised. And, any adult Logooli male who had dodged this ritual during his youthful stage was required to be circumcised when he came back home, even if he had been pronounced dead. It was rare for to come across such persons because all boys in each village knew each other well. They played and bathed together at the nearby stream without hiding their private parts. Hence it was easier to detect the uncircumcised boys. Moreover, it was the responsibility of fathers and grandfather to ensure that all boys in their family were circumcised. It was taboo for an adult male to be buried before he was circumcised. The indigenous Logooli believed that such a person had missed one most important ritual in his life. This ritual which persists to date among the Logooli is enhanced by most parents who ensure that their male children are circumcised either by an indigenous circumciser or in hospital by qualified medical personnel.

Furthermore, it was inappropriate for male children to be circumcised before their father who had dodged the ritual. The Logooli believed that if such children were operated on before their father was circumcised, the sons' wounds could bleed excessively. Nevertheless, there is no direct link or rationale behind reversing this order. This was just a show of respect, and an expected physical developmental order to be followed while conducting this ritual. It was also taboo for an adolescent boy or an adult male to be buried before being circumcised. The Logooli deemed that, such a person had skipped one very important stage in male human development.

To facilitate a successful period of conducting the circumcision ritual among the Logooli, parents ensured that boys presented for this ritual were mature and fit to tolerate the painful operation. Moreover, boys who stayed far away from their indigenous ancestral homes travelled back to their ancestral homes from where they were operated.⁸ They were supposed to spill blood at their parents' homes. In this way they were enjoined by a bond of kinship to their departed ancestors. This is why, male children who were born outside wedlock were taken to their respective fathers' homes where they were required to spill their blood. Here, it was expected

that this physical operation and shedding of blood at their land could symbolically join them to other members in the family.

Indeed, it was only after the fulfilment of this ritual that circumcised boys were accorded full membership into their respective families. As we have stated earlier on, most boys who underwent this ritual were mature enough to endure pain during this operation. Furthermore, all candidates were warned in advance that (it was taboo for them to cry, touch or even bite a circumciser's hand while undergoing the operation. Such timid actions were believed to be dangerous both to a circumciser and the candidate.

For example, the sharp knife could wrongfully cut the candidate or circumciser if a struggle ensued by forcefully attempting to circumcise a timid candidate. A cowardly candidate was therefore made to lie down, with his back on the ground where he was held firm and forcefully circumcised. In this way, he could not interfere with the exercise of the circumciser. And, in restraining candidates from the above mentioned cowardly actions, (fathers of apprehensive victims were fined a goat each which was given to a circumciser.

After circumcision, boys were led to respective seclusion huts inhabited by old men where they stayed until they were fully healed. Mean while, back at

their various homes, (their parents were expected to observe sexual abstinence. For, (it was taboo for parents whose male children had been circumcised to indulge in sexual relationships, kumaala avana before their children had healed and left their respective seclusion huts. The indigenous Logooli believed that any indulgence in sex during this period could mysteriously delay the boys' wounds from healing. However, this was an act of respect and form of sympathy and mutual solidarity with regard to the pain experienced by convalescing initiated boys.)

After getting healed, initiated male children were gradually introduced into adulthood and encouraged to perform manly duties. But, it was expected that during their stay in seclusion, male initiates would have learned more about the secrets of procreation and were now fit to marry and raise up a family.

3.3. TABOOS IN MARRIED LIFE

The indigenous Logooli emphasized that marriage ought to be exogamous. Hence, it was taboo for a boy to marry a girl who was closely related to him. These people believed that children born out of such a relationship could be physically impaired. Indeed, this taboo was meant to check on any possible cases

of incest.

During marriage arrangements, all precautions were taken before indulging in bride wealth negotiations. The Logooli deemed it taboo to negotiate or present animals for bride wealth when it was realized that a bride was pregnant. The Logooli asserted that if elders discussed and discharged bride wealth while their daughter was expectant, she could experience haemorrhage, kutaaza during child birth. However, these people did not want to be associated with greed for bride wealth.

In case there was no social obstacle to inhibit a couple from getting married, bride wealth negotiations were entered into. Such bride wealth was settled by disbursing a certain agreed number of domestic animals which were either brown or grey in colour. For, it was taboo to present black or red coloured cows or sheep for bride wealth. Black colour symbolized death while red connoted bloodshed. This is why black or red animals were slaughtered during funeral rites and in ritual cleansing ceremonies. Particular attention was also paid to the health of animals, shape of hooves and horns.

It was taboo to pay bride wealth in terms of animals which had deformed hooves or were hornless. One of my informants Bendeda Imali narrated an incident whereby one family was presented with a

hornless cow among other animals as part payment of bride wealth in Luhulu village. These animals were tethered in a small kitchen next to the main house. But, after a few days, the kitchen was struck at night by lightning and all animals tethered in it were killed.¹⁰ Although, this mishap could have been a natural calamity. *Amurur or Sumpsi work.*

Next, animals presented for bride wealth were driven into the bride's father's compound where they were tethered in one of the house's compartment, ekego to rest for a while. It was expected that animals urinate and then excrete dung in that order.¹¹ Otherwise, it was taboo if the above order was reversed. The indigenous Logooli believed that, such an antithesis could hamper the bride from procreating many offsprings.¹² However, it appears that there was not much significance regarding the upset in this order of occurrence. The above illustration just only portrays an expected normal excretory pattern which could be experienced even by human beings when a call of nature arises.

But, if two sisters got married at different times, it was not conventional for the younger sister's bride wealth to be received before that of her elder sister. The Logooli considered this anomaly as taboo which could affect animals driven into the bride's home. They further believed that such animals

could become emaciated and finally die.¹³ Indeed, this prohibition provided an orderly pattern in marriage arrangements and settlement of bride wealth.

This is why, after formalizing bride wealth discussions and disbursing animals to the bride's parents, a wedding was conducted which was witnessed by members from the bride's and the bride groom's family. It was this customary ceremony which introduced a married man and woman to sexual intercourse. Furthermore, the indigenous Logooli emphasized that sexual relations ought to be done in secrecy inside a house.

Thus, it was taboo to engage in sexual relationships in the bush, while standing or even bestiality. This prohibition was observed because, the indigenous Logooli were nude. They also avoided involving themselves in this secret action in bushy land. Perhaps, they could get hurt by accidentally lying on a snake or they could be pierced by sharp objects. Such a taboo was therefore observed for precautionary purposes. And, any engagement in bestiality was against human conscience and unhealthy for human procreation.

When a couple was asleep, they were expected to sleep facing each other. This is why it was deemed taboo for a couple to sleep with their backs touching each other. This act reflected a state of anger,

sexual denial or absence of love between a couple. A woman also avoided lying on top of her husband during coition. This was a form of power insurbodination, whereby, a man was expected to be above a woman even in social status. A married couple was prohibited from touching or fondling each other's private parts. The indigenous Logooli believed that children born of this couple who violated the above taboo could die. Indeed, this taboo was a form of respect for each other's private parts.

Since the Logooli scorned any act of adultery, it was taboo for an adulterous man to mix freely with other men. Such an unfaithful man was also barred from teaching male initiated novices while they were in seclusion. The indigenous Logooli held that such a man could negatively indoctrinate the initiated boys. This unfaithful man was also forbidden from visiting an ailing person at his or her sick bed.¹⁴ It was strongly asserted that if such an adulterous individual visited the sick, the later would certainly die. This taboo asserted the fear associated to diseases and death by the indigenous Logooli. Indeed, it was wrong for a man who cohabited with other peoples' wives to hold a newly born baby. But, in case this man forgot and touched the baby, the result is that the baby would cry unceasingly. This moral prohibition discouraged unfaithfulness and

encouraged fidelity among the indigenous Logooli.

One of my informants, Benjamin Isigi said that, in contemporary Logooli society, such a situation attested to adultery could be corrected by placing some money in the right hand palm of an infant.¹⁵ However, in essence, the situation of guilt accruing from adultery required ritual cleansing. Thus, the use of currency, a newly introduced mode of exchange and trade to pacify adultery does not sufficiently explain the moral significance attached to it.

In the indigenous Logooli set up, adult men and women wore different skin garments. A man wore a goat's skin apron, limooli and carried a leather bag, limuuya which were both fixed at the waist. The apron covered his private parts as he walked during daytime. However, when a man met another person on his way, he steadily moved his apron to the back so as to camouflage his buttocks. The other person was also expected to do likewise. In case he met two people from both directions, the best alternative was to leave the apron cover his genitals.

A married woman was expected to wear a kind of front and rear apron, muliivu and kevooya respectively. In this way she camouflaged herself and maintained self decency. However, there were some notorious children who stared at this half-dressed adults. It was taboo for a child to jokingly laugh at

the old man's or woman's buttocks. In case such an elderly person realized the unbecoming behaviour, he or she plucked some leaves and asked the younger person to wipe his or her buttocks. Indeed, children were teased that, if they looked at the private parts of these elders, it was believed that they could become blind. Such a form of prohibition checked on the repressive behaviour of children who were fond of creating jokes with their elders.

Married women were expected to respect their husband's belongings. More so, it was taboo for a woman to sit on her husband's traditional stool. Such negligence indicated lack of respect. Moreover, women refrained from sitting on the stool for fear of defiling it when they were in menses, mu vusinga. Besides observing this prohibition, the presence of a traditional stool in the house's sitting room symbolized a man's authority in that house. Thus, if a woman sat on her husband's stool it implied she was usurping the role of her husband.

It was also taboo for children to sit on the family's grinding stone which was used by a mother and her daughters in preparing flour from various cereals. This stone was treated with due respect. Hence, children were warned not to sit on it. They were threatened that if they sat on it, they could get stunted in growth. However, this taboo focused

mainly on personal hygiene and restrained children from making dirty this stone after defecating and neglecting to wipe their buttocks.

A married woman equally observed various taboos associated with cooking food. For example, she learned that it was taboo to start cooking food from her mother in-law's cooking place unless she had been given permission to do so. This taboo taught the bride to respect her mother in law's kitchen and maintain generosity. Further still, a woman in menses abstained from cooking food for her husband. The indigenous Logooli men believed that food cooked or touched by such a ritually impure person was not meant for the public. It may be also added that probably this taboo was a mere precaution taken by males to protect them in case the woman in question had not cleansed herself properly, and would most likely soil the food. Such a practice may not make sense in the contemporary society where sanitary conditions have been tremendously improved.

And, in their marital life a couple was expected to live in harmony, and bring forth healthy offsprings. Hence, the birth of a baby in a family raised the status of this family. A couple was called respectable names such as, " the mother" or " father" of so and so. Although, there was not much secrecy in using ancestral names, such names were not

commonly used. It was deemed lack of respect if for example a husband purposely called aloud his wife by her ancestral surname and vice versa. In addition, children were prohibited from calling their parents names. This was not only bad manners, but, also lack of respect for elders. Likewise, a son in law was restricted from calling his mother in-law or father in-law by their names. Adult males could refer to each other by mock names which they had acquired during their stay in seclusion after circumcision and in social dancing occasions.

Since the Logooli respected each other by not referring to each other by their names frequently, only good people were named. It was taboo to name a baby after someone who had for example committed suicide, a wizard, someone with a hunch back, epilepsy, leprosy or was infected with any other infectious disease. A married couple was required to live in their own separate house, a short distance from their parents residence. However, they were supposed to continue respecting and assisting them in respective chores according to their gender roles. A couple continued to till the communal family's land with their parents until such a time when they had given birth to two or more children. Thereafter, a married couple was expected to be self dependent.

3.4. HOUSE RELATED TABOOS

The Logooli had numerous prohibitions which revolved around a house. Indeed, the decision by a newly married couple to construct a house among the Logooli was undertaken when it was realized that a bride had given birth to some offspring. It was taboo for a woman to deliver from her mother in-law's house where most visitors were entertained. Nevertheless, house construction as a joint venture was undertaken by all family members.

All trees felled for house construction were straight and without showing any rotting symptoms. It was taboo to use crooked trees for house construction. The Logooli believed that such an anomaly could mysteriously affect the lives of the occupants of this house. And, perhaps children born of this family could be born physically deformed. No house constructor could be willing to take over any half work done or started by someone else. This form of order expressed the high degree of respect and perfection required in house construction. Furthermore, a new contractor could mess up with the original structure of the intended house.

It was taboo for the apex tuft, ekeseqese to be fixed on a house while the male owner was away. This tuft marked completion of house construction. If this

procedure was violated, it was said that the male house owner had been shut off from his house. Such a practice is still observed by the contemporary Logooli who often take leave from their places of work and travel up country in order to supervise house construction in their indigenous rural villages. During this period, it is mandatory that a man witnesses the fixing of ridges on his house. Furthermore, it was rare in the indigenous Logooli set-up to find a woman who on her own would decide to build a house while her husband was away.

Although men, women and children assisted in house construction, some people were barred from performing certain tasks according to their social status or gender. For example, thatching a house was mainly a man's duty. Thus, a woman was prohibited from climbing a house's roof top. Like wise, it was taboo for any child or son to climb on top of his father's house or a father to climb on his son's house roof. This prohibition was meant to enhance respect between a couple, parents and their male children.

A completed Logooli house comprised of two entrances, the front and back doors, ekyamuqizi and, ekyandangu respectively. These doorways were always kept open during daytime. Hence, it was taboo for anyone to block or sit in this passage. Such

unbecoming behaviour was deemed as being some form of selfishness.¹⁶ Parents also warned their children that it was taboo to play with a firebrand outside their house at night. This taboo prevented any possible aspect of arson to Logooli houses which were mainly grass thatched. In restraining children from such careless behaviour, they were teased by their parents that they could encounter a wizard.¹⁷

It was also the responsibility of a married woman to regularly check on the grain stored in a house's attic, lilungu. Hence, it was taboo for a man to climb and inspect the contents of food grains in his house's attic. Moreover, it was the woman's responsibility to sweep and plaster her house. A man was prohibited from performing feminine duties either in the presence or absence of his wife. Any man who ignored and performed such unprescribed tasks was considered as either wishing divorce or the death of his wife. Such a man was regarded as not respecting his wife. Nevertheless, this was mere common sense observation which was aimed at balancing gender roles in a house.

Furthermore, only women were supposed to sweep their house. Due caution was also taken not to sweep under a visitor's feet which was not only taboo, but bad manners which could make the visitor reluctant to revisit the family.

It was taboo for a man to occupy his son's house. But, a son whose father had died could inhabit his father's house on condition that he did not sleep on his father's former bed room or bed. A son could also use rafters from his father's house to construct his hut, but not vice versa. The above discussed house related taboos encouraged children to respect their parents and likewise parents were expected to respect each other.

3.5. AGRICULTURAL TABOOS

An old man was expected to subdivide and demarcate his land respectively to his wives and sons. Whereas a married couple was independent to till and administer the proceeds from their land, they had to observe certain laid down procedures in their extended families.

Most agricultural taboos focused on land tilling, crop planting and harvesting. In taking due care about their germinating crop, the indigenous Logooli observed various taboos. For example, any person who trespassed a farm with germinating bean seeds was tabooed and cursed by the owner of the farm who planted bean seeds in the footprints of the victim. The Logooli supposed that as these bean seeds which were planted in the footprints begin to swell

during germination, in the same way, the victim's feet would swell mysteriously. Such a taboo was instilled so as to encourage respect for property by inhibiting people from trespassing through a farm in which planted crops were germinating, especially finger millet and beans thus encouraging respect of other peoples' property.¹⁸

It was taboo to steal pumpkins from someone's farm. The Logooli held that anyone who stole this vegetable could be cursed by the farm owner to have swollen feet.¹⁹ The condition of swollen feet was associated with the growth of a pumpkin which germinates from a small seed and develops into a large vegetable. This taboo emphasizes the respect accorded to other peoples' farms and crops. Although, most indigenous Logooli were hard working, there were rare cases of stealing crops or farm products. And, it was common for people to pluck a few cobs of maize from another person's farm for roasting.

Nevertheless, all due care was given to farm crops until harvest time approached. During this time, it was expected that an appropriate order be followed for harvesting. Thus, it was taboo for a son to start harvesting his crop on the farm before his father had started harvesting, or for a younger wife to start harvesting on her farm before her elder co-wife had done so. This pattern of working encouraged

the observation of respect and hierarchy in performing various tasks in the indigenous set-up. And, in order to maintain this order, an old man regularly inspected all land parcels belonging to his sons and wives before giving orders on when, who and how to harvest. The first grains to be harvested were dried and flour ground from them. A meal was then prepared and eaten by all family members. However, outsiders were forbidden from eating this meal. For, the Logooli postulated that this first crop was embedded with spirits of the departed family members. Hence, visitors to any home were warned in advance in case such food was derived from the first crop harvest. In this case, such a visitor was offered an alternative diet to feed on. Anyone who ignored such a taboo and ate of this meal, vukima vwo musambwa was likely to suffer severe stomachache.

One of my informants the late Cornelius Kalegi narrated that when he was a young boy, he visited a certain home and accidentally ate, ugali made from the first grains thereby suffering abdominal pains.²⁰ It is indeed difficult to ascertain whether this male elder had other abdominal pains which could have psychologically made him experience loose bowels.

Since, it is apparent that the indigenous Logooli paid proper attention to the way they

prepared their land for crop planting. Due care was taken to ensure that such land was prepared by people devoid of certain infirmities. Moreover, the crop which germinated on their farms was well taken care of until it was finally harvested. This is why the indigenous Logooli observed various taboos which safeguarded their farms and crops from careless and lazy individuals. However, inside a Logooli house were various tools and weapons which were used by its occupants in performing different tasks as will be discussed below.

3.6. TOOLS AND WEAPONRY TABOOS

Tools and weapons were safely kept in a house by an adult male who could use nearly all of them with little restriction. Nevertheless, when he died, his weapons were kept adjacent to his death bed until burial was over. After which they were handed over for safe custody to his eldest son. Thus, it was taboo for weapons to be taken away from family members or the clan. This was deemed as looking down upon a family and ignoring to inherit or put to good use the objects used by the deceased male elders.

And, in daily life circumstances, women and children were forbidden from using certain tools and weapons. This explains why there existed taboos

associated with the usage of an axe, knives, pangas and shields. An axe was kept by a man at the eave of his house in the sitting room and could only be used to hew firewood. Under no situation could an axe be used for any other task apart from that prescribed above. For example, it was taboo for anyone to cut down a banana stem or maize stalk using an axe. The cutting of a banana stem terminated its tubers from re-germinating. The Logooli believed that such careless usage of an axe could result into a curse and possibly cause death to certain family members.

One of my key informants, Cecilia Vigedi narrated an account about a certain family which suffered a lot of calamities as a result of the misuse of an axe.²¹ She stated that there was famine in Maragoli during one year when a certain old woman from Masingila clan in Maragoli cut a banana from an old man's banana grove in order to feed her hungry children. Later in the evening on noticing that the banana was missing, the banana grove's owner was annoyed. And, out of anger, he cut this banana stem with an axe. However, after a few weeks, death struck within his family wiping out nearly all his family members. Upon investigation, the cause of these sudden deaths, was discovered to have been caused by the misuse of an axe. A cleansing ritual was therefore performed by clan elders to restore the

estranged condition.

It is logical to use a simpler tool like a panqa or machete for cutting a banana stem or maize stalk. For, the force used by the above tool is less as compared to that of using an axe which could be fatal in case the axe slid out of the user's hands.

Under normal circumstances, land was tilled with hoes. Hence, it was taboo for anyone to dig the ground with an axe. But, an axe could be positively used to curse the occurrence of hail stones. This ^{Trick} ^{aka} explains why, in the event of bad weather a man threw it outside into the open yard together with a cooking stick through the main door.²² This ritual was intended to interrupt and stop the effects of such bad weather. However, the magical efficacy attributed to this tool cannot be easily affirmed in the contemporary society.

In concluding this section about taboos among the Logooli, we discuss the concept of death, burial procedure and the various prohibitions associated with this ritual.

3.7. DEATH RELATED TABOOS

Death as a natural phenomenon was feared by all people. And, when it struck in the indigenous Logooli society, people sought for possible explanations for

its causes and remedy. Thus, the occurrence of death in a family also affected their neighbours daily life activities. The concerned family members wailed to alert neighbours of the impending demise. A drum was sounded by one of the bereaved male elders to notify all villagers who were expected to stop working on their fields and join the bereaved family in mourning. Hence, it was and continues to be taboo for a villager to till land or cultivate crops in a village where the deceased had not yet been buried. The indigenous Logooli believed that, any one who continued to work on his or her farm was said to be happy of the demise or was probably associated with causing death of the deceased.

It was also taboo for any one of the family members to be buried away from the ancestral home. It was expected that a dead member of society should be buried on land owned by the clan so that the deceased's spirit could join other departed ancestors. This notion explains why bodies of dead Logooli people are transported from urban areas for burial on their ancestral land far away in Western Kenya. Upon death, the corpse was removed from the house and placed at the eave for two nights before being buried on the third day.

In essence, corpses in the indigenous Logooli society were buried nude or were partly covered with

a skin. Hence, grand children and in-laws were prohibited from seeing the nude bodies of these elders. This is why it was taboo for grand children to witness the complete burial ceremony of their grand parents or for a son in-law to witness burial of her mother in law or for a daughter in-law to witness burial of her father in-law or vice versa. Grandchildren and the affected in-laws were therefore, kept away from such grave sites until the grave was completely filled with soil.

But, they were called upon to trample on the deceased's grave where they danced and waved twigs in the air while mourning the deceased. Grandchildren and in-laws were scared that if they went nearby the corpse of their grandparent or that of their in-laws their eyesight could be blinded.

Moreover, it was taboo for any person directly linked with causing the deceased's death to attend the deceased's burial ceremony. The Logooli believed that such victims could absolve themselves at the grave site and curse the affected family members. This could be efficacious if for example part of the foodstuffs or money they contributed could be used by the affected family members.²³

It was and continues to be the responsibility of adult males to carefully plan for the grave site which was marked by four pegs shaped from a certain

twig, lisazi which were driven into the ground to designate the size of the grave. Adult male volunteers were then called upon to assist in digging the grave. This exercise begun on the night preceding the burial day. The grave was dug in front of the occupants house facing the north to south direction. This direction was determined by standing in the main door entrance facing eastward where the sun rises from. Upon completion of the exercise, grave diggers were offered a chicken which was roasted by an adult male and was eaten at the grave's site. The purpose of eating this sacrificial fowl was a token of thanks giving for the task undertaken. Moreover, the sacrificial fowl was eaten so as to cleanse the grave diggers from any negative association with the dead person's spirit.

Conventionally, an old man's grave was dug north of the open yard, while that of an old woman was dug to the south. This direction was determined by standing in the main door, while facing the open yard. One of my informants Daudi Ng'alwa stated that a woman being a man's helper is expected to be buried on a man's left hand side. ²⁴ It was and continues to be taboo for women or closer relatives to dig graves of their deceased. This strenuous task could be better performed by men and not women. Moreover, closer relatives were involved in planning for the

burial ceremony and needed to be comforted by neighbours. However, families that did not assist others during bereavement had no alternative, but to bury their own dead.

After making all burial arrangements, a ritual leader led the bereaved family members in the entire burial procession. In case the deceased was an adult male or female, the ritual leader requested all people to be silent and called upon the name of the deceased by saying:

" Niva nu mundu wundi ukwiti yive mwene umuhenze. na niva nu lukuzu lwene vudzwa ogone vulahi utirana hanu kandi mba, if it is someone who has caused your death please deal with him or her accordingly, but if you have just died a natural death, may you let us stay peacefully on this world as you rest in eternal bliss."

The corpse was then lowered to rest in the grave by adult males with the head facing the northern direction. This position was determined by standing in the main door entrance of the deceased's house. The ritual leader took some soil and dropped it near the dead person's head followed by the deceased's closer relatives. Next, the grave was well covered with soil and heaped into a mound. Stones were then heaped on it in order to avoid careless trampling or

cultivating on it.

It was taboo for anyone to carry away any remains of soil from the grave yard. This is why, after burial, all people who assisted in filling the grave washed off traces of soil from their hands and feet. In this way, they cleansed themselves from the state of ritual impurity resulting from the dead person's spirit.

Indeed, a family which had committed murder was forbidden from sharing a well or spring with the wronged family.²⁵ The Logooli presumed that such a violation could anger the dead person's spirit which could haunt the living individual, making the victim sick and finally die. In essence, this taboo forbade affected families from close interaction or sharing food with each other. Thus, arousing memory of the negative incident before they were ritually cleansed.

A widow or widower was proscribed from sharing food with the bereaved family members before he or she had been ritually cleansed. This person was also barred from passing nearby small children during daytime. The Logooli inferred that the dead person's spirit was still embedded in the widow's or widower's shadow.²⁶

It appears that most taboos associated with death point to the importance of this final stage of man's existence in this world. This is why it was

important for a dead person to be accorded due respect and appropriate burial rituals so as to bid him or her a good send off and happy incorporation into the corporate world of the departed ancestors.

3.8. SUMMARY

In this chapter we have deduced the view that, (taboos were cardinal elements upon which indigenous Logooli morality was centred. Taboos controlled human interaction through a system of various negative differentiation measures. The indigenous Logooli rarely asked for reasons or further explanations on why they should not do anything which was regarded as taboo. They believed that the infringement of a taboo could result into divine or supra-societal sanctions.)

It was the strong belief in these moral prohibitions which enabled the indigenous Logooli to avoid undesired behaviour or actions, thus reducing crime and carelessness. Since, taboos in the indigenous Logooli set up were backed by supernatural sanctions. Anything or action which was tabooed had a powerful force behind it. Besides, when an individual violated an established taboo, the wider family group had to account for it.

Taboos were meant to guide the conduct of individuals or groups of people. They generated various values which were emulated in life. For, it was the intention behind performing certain actions which acted as a driving force for human action.

We have noted that pregnancy and child delivery taboos focused on respect and chastity. For, a couple was encouraged to desist from adultery, be abstemious and desist from sexual intercourse during the terminal months of gestation. And, during labour and at delivery, a woman was encouraged to persevere pain in the same manner that she had persevered teeth extraction and body tattooing.

When male children underwent circumcision, they were inspired to be courageous so as not to urinate, defecate, cry, touch or even bite a circumciser's hand. At the same time their parents were expected to practise sexual abstinence a virtue that helped to enhance family planning.

Prohibitions in married life focused on self respect, modesty and chastity while, the payment of bride wealth enhanced hospitality. And, the need to indulge in sexual relationships in privacy augmented humility. Furthermore, the indigenous Logooli maintained chastity by dressing in a modest manner. This responsible mode of dressing has changed over the years. For example, the wearing of sexually

provocative outfits by youths and adults are some indicators for the numerous rape cases in Kenya. The youth should be encouraged to wear appropriate outfits by their teachers and parents.

Furthermore, the indigenous Logooli respected each other in their homes. They observed prohibitions which focused on division of labour according to their gender roles. And, while working on their farms, the Logooli discouraged laziness and theft. They respected each others property, and avoided careless grazing of animals. In the contemporary society, people fence off their land from intruders and anyone trespassing is liable to prosecution.

Prohibitions associated with the usage of tools and weapons ensured that such items were utilized for the intended purpose. Axes are still found and used in the rural areas to hew firewood. Although, the use of paraffin, cooking gas and electricity has changed the mode of preparing and cooking food. Moreover, proscription against the usage of an axe could no longer make sense in the contemporary society. Just as tools and weapons were used with due care, the same could apply in the contemporary society. This is due to the fact that, various atrocities in the contemporary society are associated with the careless usage of fire arms and unlicensed hawkers who sell these lethal weapons.

Moreover, the indigenous Logooli continued to respect their dead members and accorded them a decent burial. Even, when somebody was pronounced dead, the society's members stopped working on the farms until their dead member had been buried. The Logooli also ensured that the dead member was buried on land owned by the bereaved family or clan. This important ritual explains why bodies of dead Logooli people continue to be transported from urban areas for burial on their ancestral land far away in Western Kenya. This sense of solidarity is maintained to date among the Logooli.

Since the dead family members were buried naked, in-laws and children were prohibited from closely witnessing the burial of elderly members in the indigenous society. However, taboos associated with a son or daughter in-law not witnessing burial of the father or mother in-law and vice-versa does not make much sense in the contemporary society. In the current society, the dead are well dressed and laid to rest in a covered coffin before burial. And, taboos that prohibited women from digging graves were related with division of labour according to gender roles.

While prohibitions associated with murder restrained a murderer in the indigenous Logooli society from interacting with the offended family

members, until a time when he offender had renounced the evil committed and accepted to reform. In the contemporary society, such persons are jailed so as to seclude them from other righteous members of the society.

However, once the belief in taboo becomes mere observation without any form of rationalization, it becomes an empty shell and man is left alone. Thus, he or she can not be defiled and no curse could befall him or her. In the next chapter we discuss the part played by curses and oaths in further interiorization of the Logooli ethical norms.

NOTES

1. Bennars, Gerard A. Ethics, Education and Development: An Introductory Text for Students in Colleges and Universities. Nairobi: EAEP, 1993. p.13.
2. Ibid., p.14.
3. Wagner, G. The Bantu of Western Kenya. London: OUP, 1970, p.189.
4. Marita Kavele. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 60. Interviewed at Ivona in Kigama sub-location on 20th September, 1991.
5. Philip Kabagi Ovwivu. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Lusambwa in Mudete sub-location on 20th November, 1992.
6. Gunduguvi Kevelenge. A businessman. Age: over 80. Age-set: Imbalabala. Interviewed at Mukingi in Lyaduywa sub-location on 9th September, 1991.
7. Gladys Mwanzi. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 40. Interviewed at Ondeyo in Lyaduywa sub-location on 21st September, 1991.
8. Cecilia Vigedi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 12th August, 1991.
9. Safina Kevelenge. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 70. Interviewed at Chavakali in Chavakali sub-location on 20th September, 1991 Safina Kevelenge.
10. Bendeda Imali. A peasant farmer. Age: over 50. Interviewed at Bukilagila in Kegoye sub-location on 20th September, 1991.
11. Abdalla Kadangi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 21st December, 1991.
12. Reuben Kagoni. Miruka Nende Visererero Vio Mulogooli. Nairobi: Jothwilnor Publishers; 1988, p.17-18.
13. Marita Kavele. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 60. Interviewed at Ivona in Kigama sub-location on 20th September, 1991.

14. Samuel Mwanzi. A retired Assistant chief. Age: 50. Age set: Nzelolele. Interviewed at Ondeyo in Lyaduywa sub-location on 26th December, 1992.
15. Joseph Omuhandale Egehida. A peasant farmer. Age: 79. Age-set: Lizuridza. Interviewed at Itando in Bukulunya sub-location on 15th Dec. 1992.
16. Cecilia Vigedi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 22nd September, 1991.
17. Emmah Kageha. A peasant farmer. Age: 59. Interviewed at Kiminini in Kiminini sub-location on 5th August 1991.
18. A. Mukulu. Ndayanza Lulimi Lwitu: Amegitsu Ku Vana. Nairobi: EAPH; 1980, p.25-26.
19. Ibid. p.25.
20. Cornelius Kalegi. Deceased peasant farmer. Age-set: Imbalabala 1, interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 4th. December, 1985.
21. Cecilia Vigedi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 22nd August, 1991.
22. Milcah Kamali. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 12th August, 1991.
23. Boaz Mwaliilu. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 60. Interviewed at Wiligina in Viyalo sub-location on 10th and 14th. September, 1991.
24. Daudi Ng'alwa. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 19th. September, 1991.
25. Samuel Mwanzi. A retired Assistant chief. Age: 50. Age set: Nzelolele. Interviewed at Ondeyo in Lyaduywa sub-location on 21st. September, 1991.
26. Gunduguvi Kevelenge. A businessman. Age: over 80. Age-set: Imbalabala. Interviewed at Mukingi in Lyaduywa sub-location on 9th September, 1991.

CHAPTER FOUR

CURSES AND OATHS

4.0. INTRODUCTION

In addition to taboos, curses and oaths also played a significant role in enhancing morality in the indigenous Logooli society. Curses were pronounced as a last resort by the offended person. However, efforts were often made to reconcile the parties involved. Accordingly, curses were not carelessly pronounced by the Logooli. But, in cases where they were used, they could be made efficacious by exposing the negative implications of the curse to the intended victim or victims.

A curse unlike other forms of taboo depended on the social status of the person uttering it. For example, uncles, aunts, parents and grandparents could effectively pronounce a curse to the youth. These senior members of society in the indigenous set up stood in a religious position in relation to others. This is why their words were feared to have some negative repercussions to the offenders.

A curse among the indigenous Logooli comprised harshly articulated words which were accompanied by actions depicting a state of annoyance. And, the victim of the curse could be either a known person or

an unknown offender. Two basic categories of curses were notable in the indigenous Logooli society; direct and indirect curses.¹

Whereas, an oath, muma among the indigenous Logooli was a solemn invocation which called upon God to witness someone asserting honesty, fidelity or making a solemn promise; oaths were observed so as to ensure impartial or unbiased judgement.² In other words, oaths were examples of court procedures aimed at bringing offenders to justice.

Besides the actual execution of a particular oath, both parties involved were warned in advance by clan elders not to cheat. The indigenous Logooli emphasized that any false taking of an oath could lead to a curse which could affect an individual, his family, clan or property in form of mysterious sickness or death. Furthermore, the Logooli feared that if a tormented person could not show clemency to his or her intended victim, the curse's effects could still be felt despite the fact that the utterer had died. This is why curses were held in great fear.

The indigenous Logooli observed two types of oaths; assertory and promissory. Assertory oaths were taken in order to curb theft. Whereas, promissory oaths were used to strengthen affiliations between two friendly or adverse people, clans or ethnic groups.

4.1. DIRECT CURSES

A direct curse, kichieng was addressed to a definite person belonging to one's own clan or closer relatives by an offended elder. Such a curse could be directed to a junior who disobeyed a senior member in the indigenous Logooli society. Direct curses were accompanied by violent actions and utterances in a state of annoyance. It was the effects of the harsh words accompanied by actions of the upset persons that were expected to operate automatically on the intended victim and make the curse efficacious.

The indigenous Logooli believed that consequences or effects of a direct curse pronounced upon an individual could be felt by the concerned victim, family members or clan at large. The negative outcome of a direct curse was experienced by the victim in form of any unusual behaviour.

Among the indigenous Logooli, there were various circumstances which could warrant a direct curse. These included rudeness to parents, battering elders or ignoring to take care of them in their old age and selfishness.³ One of my oral informants, John Mwavichi emphasized that, a parental curse could be pronounced by a mother who was disappointed by the activities of his son or daughter who had been beaten up by her son or daughter. In effecting this curse,

she undressed her skirt, kevooya and exposed her genitals to the victim.⁴

In addition, an irritated mother violently tapped her belly, bent forward and exposed her buttocks to the victim, kufwava. While performing such indecent acts in an angry mood, she uttered the following words:

Niva ni inze wa kwivula dave, nolole amadinyu mu kivala mungo. if it is me who bore you to this life, may you suffer consequently.

An agonized mother could also curse her son or daughter not to have a stable marriage or wished her son or daughter to be beaten likewise by his or her grand children in future.⁵ Like a disappointed mother, an irritated father undressed in front of the victim, held his genitals in his right hand and shook them while facing the victim. He cursed the victim with similar words like those used by an offended mother. Moreover, some troubled parents also cursed their children to remain poor, impotent or barren. Sometimes, distressed parents could even curse disobedient or insolent children from attending their funeral.

But, apart from elders cursing their juniors, one of my informants Emmah Kageha illustrated one notable occasion whereby the juniors cursed their

seniors.⁶ This was during harvesting time when crops had been harvested and grains stored in barns for future usage. At this time, it was obligatory for all people in the neighbourhood to donate a small amount of their grains required for making special beer, amalwa qe inkala.

An elderly man presided over the beer drinking ceremony and implored the departed spirits to bestow blessings on their respective farms. He poured a little beer as libation to the departed ancestors and the remainder was however, drunk by old men.

Usually, un married girls of sound moral character were selected by male clan elders and assigned the task of collecting such grains for brewing this beer. The girls visited all homesteads in the village singing:

Yee yee kalondo. yee kalondo. kalondo
kafunyi yee yee kalondo- Oh! oh! bread
 crumbs, breadcrumbs are smelling.

A family that denied them any cereals for preparing this brew was cursed by these girls. They cursed such selfish persons to be afflicted with bed bugs, rashes or scabies.

In an effort to explain the efficacy of this curse, Emmah Kageha conceded that during her youthful days, she was in a group of other young girls who were sent by male elders to procure grains from

various homesteads in the village for this ritual. But, there was one family which happened to be selfish. This family refused to donate a share of their cereals and were cursed accordingly to be affected by fleas and bed bugs by singing the above song and including additional utterances to effect the curse as follows:

Yee! yee! kalondo, yee kalondo. kalondo
kafunyi, yee yee kalondo, tsisuli ha
mwamba. Oh! oh! bread crumbs, breadcrumbs
 are smelling may you be attacked by fleas.

It seems implausible to associate selfishness with the infestation of fleas or bed bugs. Furthermore, curses were uttered by adult males and females. Thus, it is incredible that youngsters could curse adults. Possibly, this was a coincidence in this family which had not maintained proper hygiene in their house when these children visited their house. But, on the other hand, the unmarried girls had been sent by adult males to collect cereals such as sorghum, maize and millet from various homesteads on their behalf. Thus, it was the mandate given to them by clan elders and more so, the sanctions derived from their ancestors who gave the unmarried girls authority and effectiveness to curse such nonconformists.

Apart from observing direct curses, the indigenous Logooli also regarded indirect curses as being efficacious in their daily lives.

4.2. INDIRECT CURSES

An indirect curse, okulaama among the indigenous Logooli was instituted as a result of unidentified thief, damage to property or careless behaviour in society. Such a curse could be pronounced by an offended person who uttered harsh words accompanied by gestures replicating the wrong deeds of the offender.

An indirect curse could be uttered, if for example, someone discovered that his or her fowl, animal or hoe had been stolen. Nonetheless, before cursing the unidentified thief, the owner went round the entire village enquiring from his relatives and neighbours in case someone could have picked and kept or used it in absence of the owner. In case he or she failed to retrieve the stolen property, an indirect curse was pronounced upon the concerned thief.

In uttering an indirect curse upon someone who had for example stolen a hoe, the offended person borrowed a small drum, indindi from a circumciser. He then dug grooves in the footprints of the offender using another hoe. While doing so, he or she uttered

the following words:

Uvimbe vilenge. may your legs be swollen.

Next, he sounded the small drum at the spot where a suspected thief could have been stolen from.⁷ This was the same drum which was used by a circumciser to curse any malicious persons who could have the intention of bewitching the circumcised boys.

This curse was performed openly so that people in the homestead and the entire neighbourhood could witness or be aware of the actions and consequences being taken by the upset person. The utterances and impending dangers which were declared openly by an offended person were geared to psychologically scaring anyone who could have stolen such property.

In addition, if someone stole somebody's honey barrel, mulinga or harvested honey from it, the barrel's owner took one bee from the honey barrel and cursed the thief accordingly. He cut this bee into two halves and threw back the severed helpless insect into the barrel while uttering the following words as exemplified by G. Wagner:

Yive ulayingange nang'ana enzuki yiyi. may you wander and be insane like this severed bee.⁸

The Logooli presumed that the violent death experienced by the dismembered insect could be echoed to the victim. However, while conducting field

research for this study, the researcher did not come across any person who became insane as a result of such a curse. Such indirect curses pronounced on persons who stole other peoples property encouraged the society's members to respect each other's property.

And, if through carelessness, somebody let lose domesticated animals to roam and trample or eat crops from the neighbour's farm, the herdsman was expected to report the matter to the farm owner. If the incident was not reported the farm owner could curse the careless herdsman indirectly.⁹

G. Wagner notes that, an aggravated farm owner whose crops had been trampled upon or destroyed pronounced an indirect curse by making small cuts in the footprints left by the victim using a knife, olugembe. He or she uttered the following words:

Nguheye amalenge kuvimba. may your legs be swollen.¹⁰

Sometimes, the aggravated person could also plant bean seeds in a trespasser's footprints and utter similar words as already stated above. It was believed that the victim could feel frequent pains in his or her feet as a result of the marks made in the footprints.

However, it was the responsibility of adult males to demarcate their land boundaries with euphorbia, vinazogi and fence it off from possible intruders. In this way germinating crops were guarded from external intrusion by domestic, wild animals or people.

An indirect curse could also be pronounced against anyone who carelessly defecated on someone's farm. But, this curse was only pronounced after the farm owner had enquired from members of his family if anyone had excreted on the farm. It could be very unfortunate for a man to curse his own family member. This could be possible because, there were no well dug out toilets for family members to use. And, whenever a call of nature arose, the only alternative left was to get to the nearby bush and excrete. Thus, after ensuring that no member from the family had defecated on the farm, the offended person went ahead and pronounced an indirect curse to the victim.

The farm owner planted some bean seeds in faeces and said the following words:

Uvimbe inda, may you experience stomachache.¹¹

The indigenous Logooli believed that the offender could experience abdominal pains or swelling of his or her rectum, just as the bean seed swells during germination. The Logooli deemed that the intention of

any person to defecate on someone else's farm was an act of witchcraft aimed at causing poor harvest on that farm.

In general, curses in the indigenous Logooli set up were vital in maintaining moral harmony. For, they enabled members to respect each other and all their property. And, since curses were pronounced in an angry mood, irritated persons were feared or avoided, lest one was cursed by them. Next, we discuss assertory and promissory oaths as other elements of enforcing morality among the indigenous Logooli.

4.3. ASSERTORY OATHS

Assertory oaths among the indigenous Logooli were observed in order to affirm certain truths in their lives. Cecilia Vigedi pointed out that, a boy who impregnated a girl and denied responsibility of the burden of marrying and taking care of her and the offspring was subjected to an assertory oath.¹² The young man and the offended girl were summoned before a council of elders comprising of adult males and females. At this juncture, the girl was requested to stand astride, kutamba vilenge so that the young man could pass between the victim's legs.

The concerned boy was warned that if he lied, his genitals could swell. A young man who denied responsibility of impregnating this girl went ahead and passed through her legs. It is really implausible to associate a mere act of someone passing through ones legs as being adequate proof of pregnancy responsibility. However, this oathing procedure being a shameful act, was a reminder to the young man of the sexual relationship he had with the pregnant girl. Such an act of denial was not sufficient proof to rule out the alleged negation of responsibility. And, any girl subjected to this oathing exercise was one who was morally loose and could not easily identify the boy or man who impregnated her. Indeed, this oath was performed so as to make a boy take responsibility of a girl he had impregnated.

Even after performing this oathing ritual, the girl's parents waited until their daughter had given birth. And, upon delivery old women were sent by the boy's mother to the girl's parents to check on the physical condition of the infant. The Logooli believed that any newly born baby should have the semblance of either its parents, grand parents or any one of its closest relatives.

On arrival at the homestead, a ritual leader held the baby in his hands and pointed it into the family's granary entrance. He did so while saying:

Niiva oleteywi hango hinyu hano. ulie chokulia muchaqi yimu okomele uhindili, if indeed you are a child belonging to this family, may you eat the food from this granary and have good health.¹³

Next, a banana species, sialamule/ likanzavane/ endahulwa was cut from the family's banana grove and suspended above the house's central pole, mwamba overnight, preceding the day of performing the child legitimacy test.¹⁴ Early in the morning on the appointed day, the baby was brought at the central house pole. The apex of a suspended banana was cut by the baby's paternal grand father so that its sap could drip on the baby.

After this ordeal, the baby's mother licked a little porridge made from some fermented millet flour. Thereafter, the suspended banana bunch was cooked and eaten by the mother. While the banana leaves from this banana stem were made into a soft sleeping mat, enyanq'ongo, for the mother and her baby to sleep on. It was expected that all these dramatic actions checked on the state of child legitimacy and incorporated a child into the family. And that, any food eaten in this home could not harm the baby or its mother.

The significance of child legitimacy tests lessened cases of adultery among the Logooli. These people feared that in case a baby had been conceived and born out of an extra marital relationship, it could die soon. Perhaps, even after only a few days.¹⁵ Thus, there were rare cases of illegitimate children being born, whose fathers could not be easily identified in the community. Child legitimacy assertory oaths seemed to play a significant role in the indigenous set up. For, it was the solemnity involved in performing this oath and the strong belief of its efficacy that made the Logooli fear its negative implications.

→ In addition to observing child legitimacy tests, the Logooli also instituted an assertory oath upon a suspected thief in the village or community. Such a suspect was led by a male adult to a nearby erithrina tormentosa (latin) tree, mutembe for oathing. Upon arrival the victim was requested to lick some soil, sip a herbal mixture, strike this tree with a stick and point to the sky denying the alleged action.

Senema Idachi conceded that assertory oaths could also be observed when people encountered a lot of calamities such as inadequate rainfall or a poor harvest in a certain season.¹⁶ Such catastrophes which could be attributed to witchcraft called for

the need to conduct an oathing ceremony, endembe to depict peoples innocence. On this day, male elders chose an appropriate site at a road junction. All adult males and females in the neighbourhood were called upon to cross over the mutembe tree stump. The focus of this oath was on people suspected to be witches or wizards in their society.

But, before the ritual was conducted, male clan elders explained to the assembled group the seriousness of the ritual and the negative implications behind falsely engaging in it. Thus, anyone who excused himself or herself from participating in this oathing ceremony was associated with the negative implications of being a witch or wizard. It was further asserted that, his or her negative actions were responsible for the bad weather and poor harvest in the neighbourhood.

Assertory oaths in the indigenous Logooli society were thus conducted: first, to verify the legitimacy of a baby and establish the biological father. Second, to curb maliciously inclined people from frustrating the well being of the society. Next, we discuss the significance of promissory oaths among this Bantu community.

4.4. PROMISSORY OATHS

The promissory oaths were taken by two parties so as to bind their relationship or to re-unite them. Such oaths were taken by adolescent boys who were preparing to be circumcised and warring or estranged people or parties. Boaz Vodoti confirmed that adolescent boys preparing for circumcision observed a promissory oath at the river valley which was witnessed by their respective fathers and male guardian, mudiri.¹⁷ A pair of boys smeared each other with white riverine clay, ol'longo and promised to assist each other as brothers. In doing so, they chose to maintain a long lasting friendship, vironoo. This promissory oath further bonded the offspring of these boys and prevented them from any sexual relationships or marriage.

A promissory oath was also taken by two people or parties by throwing a spear at the mutembe tree while denying the allegation. The two antagonistic warring groups further agreed to end their feud and inaugurated a peace accord by using a scape goat to make a promissory oath.

On the oathing day, a red mature sheep obtained from the offending group was taken to a neutral boundary by ritual leaders from the offending and offended families. Two male elders from each family

were selected to represent the community or family. One group held the fore legs of the animal, while another held the lower limbs. Then, a neutral arbitrator who had been already summoned to witness the occasion cut the animal into two parts.

Each group took its portion of the animal and skinned it. The meat obtained from this animal was taken to the homes of the affected families where it was roasted and eaten by all family members. Selected elders who oversteered the whole ritual beseeched the offended persons to forgive each other and maintain peace. Nonetheless, if any party rejected to take part in the oathing ceremony, judgement was passed in favour of the accusing party. And, the condition of estrangement continued to be observed until such a time that the two groups were ready to forgive each other. In this way, the indigenous Logooli emphasized the maintenance of peace in their society.

4.5. SUMMARY

In this chapter we have, in addition to taboos discussed curses and oaths as vital forms of enhancing morality in the indigenous Logooli set up. We noted that curses could either be direct or indirect. Direct curses were uttered by irritated persons who had been abused, battered or neglected in

old age by their children. While, indirect curses were addressed to unknown thieves or people who carelessly trespassed other peoples farms or let lose their animals to wander and destroy crops on other peoples farms. The objective of sustaining both direct and indirect curses was to protect the community against unwarranted crimes or carelessness.

However, the negative implications of such curses could be only lifted if an elder or elders were persuaded by fellow elders to forgive the concerned victim by performing an appeasement ceremony. And, in addition to curses, the Logooli had an elaborate oathing system which was enforced by a council of elders. Oath taking was witnessed only by male adults who were expected to keep the secrets pertaining to their society and the intended ordeal.

Two types of oaths were common among the indigenous Logooli; assertory and promissory. Assertory oaths were performed to confirm cases of pregnancy, prove child legitimacy, reduce cases of suspected criminality such as; witchcraft, theft, corruption and false evidence. While, promissory oaths were taken by adolescent boys who were preparing themselves for circumcision and two warring parties which had agreed to reconcile.

After discussing the above moral values among the indigenous Logooli, it is noted that any breaching of a taboo, curse or an oath could negatively affect the health of people in a community. This is why the indigenous Logooli had distinct states of defilement or ritual uncleanness. Such conditions in life were reconciled through an elaborate system of rituals which were performed so as to cleanse a ritually impure person. Consequently, in the next chapter we deliberate on some examples of ritual cleansing and or pacification among the Logooli.

NOTES

1. Gunter Wagner. The Bantu of Western Kenya. London: OUP; 1949, p.102.
2. Jomo Kenyatta. Facing Mount Kenya. London: HEB; 1938, p.223.
3. Ibid. p.103-104.
4. John Kalegi Mwavichi. A peasant farmer and former small scale hawker. Age: 49. Age-set: Ifomu. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location between 14th August and 22nd September, 1991 and 8th November to 29th December, 1991.
5. Wilson Kadioli. Deceased plant operator. Approximate Age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 5th January, 1992.
6. Emmah Kageha. A peasant farmer. Age: 59. Interviewed , at Kiminini in Kiminini sub-location on 12th September, 1991.
7. Gunter Wagner. Op.cit. p.104.
8. Ibid. p.105.
9. Gunter Wagner Op. cit. p.105.
10. Ibid.
11. Cecilia Vigedi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 80. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 8th August, 1991.
12. Ibid.
13. Reuben Kagoni. Miruka Nende Visererero Vio Muloqooli. Nairobi: Jothwilnor Publishers; 1988, p.31.
14. Benjamin Esigi. A small scale hawker. Age: 62. Age-set: Nzelolele. Interviewed at Chavakali in Chavakali sub-location on 11th. September, 1991.
15. Daudi Ng'alwa. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Munoywa in Bukulunya sub-location on 19th September, 1991.
16. Senema Idachi. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 60. Interviewed at Lunyerere market in Viyalo sub-location on 8th August, 1991.

17. Boaz Vodoti. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 70. Interviewed at Walodeya in Chavakali sub-location on 12th. August, 1991.

CHAPTER FIVE

RITUALS OF PACIFICATION AND OR RECONCILIATION

5.0. INTRODUCTION

In all societies, just as people have ways and means of protecting their members and educating them in their intrinsic societal values, they also have methods of reconciling those who contravene the societal moral expectations. If for example, a person breached a taboo in the indigenous African society, negative consequences such as; bad luck, sickness or death of the offending parties, a member of their family or livestock, were believed to follow as an evidence of culpability. Otherwise, a violation of taboo often necessitated a culprit either to be cleansed, or be cast out of the community as a lesson to other potential offenders.

We have observed in this study that taboos were observed to depict that, social boundaries were important and must be maintained. Many cleansing rituals among the Logooli were associated with arson, incest, physical mal-development and diseases, blood contamination, arson and rites of passage as will be discussed below.

5.1. ARSON CLEANSING RITUAL

When constructing an indigenous Logooli hut, various rituals were performed to bless the inhabitants of the house. However, the late Cecilia Vigedi said that, in case a house was burnt, its occupants spent three nights in the cold as if mourning for their house.¹ On the third day, the house's occupants and the arsonist were made to drink a special herbal concoction, manyasi to cleanse them of this state of ritual impurity. The remaining grass from the rabble was scattered in the banana grove. While, the rafters which were pulled down from this house could only be used for firewood. It was not permissible to use poles from this house's rabble to construct another house. The Logooli believed that, if any of the remaining poles were used to construct another house, the new house could be eventually burnt in future. Indeed, this was just a mere misfortune in life which does not make much sense in the contemporary society.

5.2. INCEST TABOO PURIFICATION

The concept of incest taboo is found among many African communities. And, among the indigenous Logooli, incest was often regarded as being up to par

with witchcraft, a practice which also overlooked the accepted moral order and called for ritual cleansing. This taboo forbids sexual intercourse within closely related persons such as brother and sister, father-in-law and daughter-in-law. Indeed, if sexual relationships between these close affines were allowed, it could upset the social order and undermine their social relationships. This is the main purpose why incest taboo was used to prevent marriage between affines or relatives.

Upon discovery of an incestuous act, the culprits were segregated from other family members until they were ritually cleansed. A day was set aside for performing the said cleansing ritual. On this day, the offenders and entire family members assembled at the male culprits' home. A ritual leader then slaughtered a cow which had been donated by the concerned male offender's family. The victims were called upon to repeat the act openly for the invited participants to witness. And, the chyme obtained from this animal was aspersed on their bodies by a ritual leader. This shameful act inhibited people from indulging in incest.

Sometimes, a girl could conceive out of this relationship. Bendeda Imali confirmed that, a child born out of such a relationship was given away to either a neighbouring Luo or Kalenjin family for

nursing.² The Logooli believed that, the presence of such a child in a family could bring bad luck to them.

In fact most female oral informants upon being interviewed unanimously agreed that, in the contemporary Logooli society, such an expectant girl or woman is secluded from her family and is anticipated to deliver from a hospital, where arrangements are made to donate the baby to a destitute home or to a childless couple. However, if incest taboo was left to continue unabated, this could increase the number of destitute children being dumped in our society. It is therefore imperative to shun such immoral activities.

Philip Kabagi further narrated that, if a boy and a girl of distant cousins relationship were involved in incestuous sexual relationships resulting into pregnancy and mandatory marriage, Logooli male elders performed a cleansing ritual after delivery.³ Thus, upon birth of the infant, the involved moral offenders were summoned outside the house of their house by a ritual leader for ritual cleansing. On this day, an elderly man was also chosen to climb on top of the deviant members' house's roof apex, keseqese. He then fixed a potsherd, kijonjo or a sieve used for preparing traditional salt, kekeleko on it and descended from this hut without uttering

any word at all. Philip Kabagi observed that, the potsherd signified the broken family relationships, while, the sieve referred to the bitter experience by the concerned family arising from such unwarranted marriage.

A lamb was provided by the offending boy's family and, then slaughtered by the ritual leader. This animal's meat was roasted and eaten by the affected couple and their respective family members. The chyme obtained from this animal was aspersed on the newly born baby and the aggravated couple.

The indigenous Logooli postulated that, this ritual was sufficient to cleanse the affected parties and induce good health to the baby and its parents respectively.

5.3. PHYSICAL MAL-DEVELOPMENT CLEANSING RITUALS

The indigenous Logooli considered certain forms of physical mal-development such as, a child cutting the upper incisors first as being taboo. Milcah Kamali pointed out that, it was expected that a child begins to grow the lower incisors first.⁴ However, when such an abnormality was noticed, the upper teeth were knocked out and a ritual cleansing ceremony performed. The concerned child's parents provided a sacrificial goat which was slaughtered to rectify and

pacify this abnormality. The chyme obtained from this animal was smeared in the infant's mouth and the animal's meat roasted and eaten by all family members.

The Logooli maintained that, if such an anomaly was not corrected, it could result into a bad omen, causing the parents or sibling's death. Such rare cases of dental mal-development in the contemporary society are not subject to ritual cleansing, for it is considered as a reversal of physical developmental pattern which has no negative influence on the infant's death.

In the indigenous Logooli society, a woman who developed a beard was deemed to be tabooed. Benjamin Isigi stated that, such a woman was prohibited from closely approaching a grave during any dead person's burial ceremony.⁹ The Logooli believed that, the growth of a beard placed her in a state of ritual impurity which was believed, could cause the premature death of her husband or children. And, in order to ensure that her condition of ritual impurity did not affect her immediate family, she stealthily got closer to any grave site where a person was being buried. She then secretly plucked some beards from her chin and dropped them into the partly covered grave. It was believed that in so doing, any misfortunes which could be experienced were

symbolically buried in this grave. However, in the contemporary society, there are many women who have beard and are capable of procreating. This taboo and its related form of ritual cleansing does not make much sense in the contemporary society.

Moreover, the indigenous Logooli feared to interact with people suffering from either epilepsy or leprosy. Such persons were normally segregated from other family members and placed in a small hut, lisali in a banana grove. They had very little interaction with other healthy persons. They stayed in this hut and were fed from there. Upon death, they were buried early in the morning in the banana grove so that their spirits could not haunt the living. Their hut was then left to rot without being pulled down. Safina Kevelenge asserted that, anyone who touched this hut or used any rafters for either firewood or house construction could be afflicted with the same disease.⁶ Furthermore, the indigenous Logooli put their sick members in quarantine so as not to directly infect other healthy persons. The same is applied in the contemporary society, where the epileptics are taken care of in special hospitals. Here, due medical care is paid to them.

5.4. BARRENNESS CLEANSING RITUAL

Upon marriage, a woman was expected to get pregnant and bring forth offspring. However, a woman who did not conceive in the first year of her marital life was deemed to have some physiological complications. It was in this regard that the Logooli performed ritual cleansing on women who were suspected to be barren or impotent men. Cases of barrenness and impotence were however, rarely experienced in the indigenous set up. But, one of the oral informants, Agnes Inyangu argued that, if the state of barrenness was suspected in a newly married woman, the Logooli believed that she could be having some physiological complications such as experiencing frequent pains during her menses, tsinqegeta.⁷

In case such a situation had been established, possible procedures were sought from a diviner to correct the situation. In prescribing the remedy, the diviner collaborated with a herbalist who administered a herbal concoction, lunyasi lwo kwahilwa to thwart the adverse condition and induce pregnancy.

And, as we have already discussed in chapter three, such persons' farms were even feared and deemed tabooed. It was believed that, the inherent power of barrenness could ~~be~~ affect productivity on

other peoples farms and growing up children. Thus, reducing their crop harvest, human and animal fertility. The Logooli also believed that such persons were potentially inherent with malice and could bewitch children. Even upon death such a person, was not mourned with utmost honour, as compared to a person who had some offsprings.

Bartholomew Jumba confirmed that, when such a barren or impotent person had been pronounced dead, a ritual leader was summoned very early in the morning on the burial day to pierce a thorn, lifwa lye kigunzanquva in the victim's rectum.⁶ This thorn which was left stuck intact was buried with the corpse. In doing so, the Logooli believed that such a person's spirit had been exorcised so that no child could be born and experience barrenness within the deceased's family.

Another possible cause for delay in conception in a married woman could be established as having been caused by taboo infringement or vexation of spirits.⁷ However, the blame of not begetting children could also be laid on an impotent husband. If it was suspected that a man was impotent, such a man was advised by male clan elders to collaborate secretly with both his wife and parents so that a prolific brother or close male cousin would be chosen to cohabit with his wife and beget children on his

behalf.¹⁰ However, in the modern society the solution to barrenness is child adoption among childless couples.

In some cases women who conceived without physically experiencing menses, kohelidza ichuumu were considered tabooed. It was believed that, such unexpected pregnancies could cause death of either the husband, child or the affected wife.¹¹ To correct such a situation, some beer was brewed by fermenting and frying soaked ground millet flour. When this beer was ready, men and women were invited to the cleansing ritual. The affected husband and his wife sat outside their hut facing each other, with their stretched legs touching each other's pads. A ritual leader then mixed some water with millet flour ovwanga in a calabash and aspersed it over their feet saying:

Mugase lwivulu lwinyu lomedeke mung. be
blessed and bring forth to numerous
offspring.

The remaining beer was then drunk by invited guests. The indigenous Logooli believed that this ritual could induce the departed spirits to be benevolent to the affected family members. However, with improved medical facilities in the contemporary society the Logooli would seek consult a gynaecologist for medical advice.

5.5. HAEMORRHAGE RITUAL CLEANSING IN WOMEN

The indigenous Logooli valued human procreation and gave special treatment to a pregnant mother or a woman who had just delivered. In chapter three we have enumerated various taboos which were observed during pregnancy and even after child delivery. Such a pregnant mother was not only feared because of her state, but that, she was carrying a mysterious being that could not be easily diagnosed by the indigenous Logooli. Furthermore, upon delivery a mother was secluded from family members. The indigenous Logooli feared the effects of some malicious women who could bewitch the infant and her mother.

At child delivery a woman was expected to bleed moderately. However, many female oral informants conferred that women who bled excessively at child birth, were subjected to ritual cleansing. In stopping such haemorrhage, an appropriate ritual, kuviika lukaya was conducted. This ritual involved selecting and sacrificing a she goat obtained from her husband's father in-law herd. A ritual leader ✓ slaughtered the animal and then cut a thin skin strap which was tied around the woman's neck for some days. The meat was then roasted and eaten by all family members.

The Logooli deemed the performance of this ritual as being vital in imploring benevolent ancestral spirits to stop such haemorrhage. At cessation of haemorrhage, the affected woman was expected to store the now dry skin strap in a special small pot whose mouth was sealed with a calabash or gourd. In some instances, such a woman could take the skin strap to her mother for safe custody. The skin strap could again be tied around a woman's neck if she experienced similar complications during subsequent child delivery occasions. The indigenous Logooli truly believed that if this skin strap is carelessly kept or devoured by rats, it could hamper future conception.

And, when interviewed, the late Hannah Endekwa conceded that the indigenous Logooli believed in the efficacy of this ritual.¹² However, in the contemporary society, it may seem difficult to empirically test the efficacy of this ritual in curbing haemorrhage. What seemed to make this ritual effective in the indigenous Logooli society was the strong belief with which the Logooli regarded their cleansing rituals.

5.6. CIRCUMCISION CLEANSING RITUALS

During male circumcision, various cleansing rituals were observed which were meant to restore the special conditions attributed to initiated boys, circumcisers and their families. For example, during the entire period of circumcision, the circumciser slept, and operated from a special hut where he was expected to observe sexual continence until the period was over. He had to be in a state of ritual impurity and abstain from sharing food or utensils with his family members.

However, at the end of the circumcision season, special beer was brewed and a sacrificial male lamb was offered so as to re-unite the estranged circumciser with his family members. This occasion was presided over by a ritual leader who poured water on the circumciser's hands, and slaughtered a lamb which was roasted and eaten by the circumciser's whole family members. It was only after this cleansing ceremony that a circumciser was free to mix or even share meals with friends and other family members.

On the other hand, initiated boys, mafuoqove stayed in their seclusion huts far away from their parents and siblings for a period ranging from one to six months.¹³ These boys were deemed ritually

impure because they had spilt blood during circumcision, a state which called for cleansing at the end of seclusion, before these young males could rejoin other members of the community.

It was after establishing that all boys were completely healed that, the elders arranged for a graduation ceremony which was witnessed by the initiated young men and their respective family members. On this day, boys selected a well fed bull from one of the herds of cattle belonging to a morally upright male elder. The animal was then driven into an open ground where the initiated young men were waiting. The young men danced tirelessly around this animal until such a time that a ritual leader was summoned to slaughter the bull. He then cut small pieces of meat which were roasted and shared among all initiated young men and their respective male parents. After performing this rejoinder ritual, the young men were now cleansed of the blood contact associated with circumcision. They were brought new garments by their male parents or guardians and were encouraged to live happily with other family members.

5.7. CLEANSING A MURDERER

We have noted earlier on that, a woman shed blood at child delivery, while boys also shed blood during circumcision. These two conditions necessitated ritual cleansing. Likewise, the indigenous Logooli cleansed persons involved in a murder case. Daudi Ng'alwa stated that, any person who had committed murder ~~was said to be~~ in a state of ritual impurity, olovo.¹⁴ This form of undesired act was a disgrace both to the family and closer relatives. This is why, the offending victim was prohibited from entering any house before being ritually cleansed. Let alone sharing food or utensils with other family members. It was strongly believed that, any person who came into contact with this victim could also become ritually impure.

In performing this cleansing ritual, the affected family members assembled at a neutral location. The ritual leader who had been invited to preside over the ritual, by slaughtered the sheep, removed the chyme and mixed it with some medicinal herbs, manyasi. He then summoned the wronged members from both families before a council of elders and aspersed this mixture on their bodies in turns calling upon them to end the feud.

Next, the affected members were given a medicinal herbal mixture, to drink so as to avert the negative situation accruing from their dead relative. It was only after performing this ritual that affected persons could either socialize by sharing food or even greeting one another. The slaughtering of the sacrificial animal symbolized the murdering of the dead person. While, the awful smell of the chyme prevented people from repeating the action. And, the herbal concoction was said to cleanse the affected persons.

On the other hand, warriors, avakali who came into contact with blood and dead bodies in warfare were ritually cleansed too.¹⁵ When the war came to an end, they were expected to return to their respective villages at night. They went close to their homes where each of one them shouted out his successful return from warfare. The warriors were expected to sleep outside their houses in the cold for three days before they could be re-accepted into their families.

On the last day, family members summoned a ritual leader who slaughtered a red male lamb donated by the victim's family. The chyme from the slaughtered animal was aspersed on the victim's chest. And, the lamb's meat was roasted and eaten by all concerned family members as a reconciliatory

meal.

In essence, contact with blood resulting from the death of a person ^{was} feared in the indigenous Logooli community. This is why, it was not only fearful, but taboo for anyone who had been involved in a terrible accident to freely mix with other family members. This form of ritual observance emphasizes the fact that, any member who survives a fatal road accident ought to be ritually cleansed so that he or she could not be disturbed by the spirits of persons who had died during the accident.¹⁴ Indeed, the process of cleansing such a person is similar to that of a soldier or warrior returning from war.

5.8. DEATH CLEANSING RITUALS

Death is feared by the Logooli. This is the reason why, a widow who had just buried her husband was prohibited from visiting other people. As we have already noted in chapter three, the indigenous Logooli believed that the deceased was still spiritually present in the widow's shadow. This is why, a widow or widower was kept at bay from children in addition to observing ritual prohibitions because of his or her previous close association with the deceased. After a man had buried his wife in the

indigenous Logooli society, he was expected to travel far away from his home and indulge in sexual intercourse with an outside woman, kwilavidza before he could remarry or engage in sexual intercourse with his other wives, in case he was polygamous. In doing so, the Logooli believed that such a man had cleansed himself from the close contact with his dead wife. However, this could be a very risky sort of sexual promiscuity in the contemporary society which is dreaded with the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.

In case a couple lost one of their children, as a result of death, the couple was supposed to involve in sexual intercourse, kotema ekelova the same night after burying their dead child. This symbolic ritual was performed to induce immediate pregnancy leading to birth of another baby to replace the dead family member.

Even after burying their dead, the Logooli kept the fire glowing at night in the deceased's homestead, maqeenga for three days. The glowing light in the homestead symbolized that, the dead person was still spiritually present among the living family members and had not been neglected. Moreover, any person who could have perhaps caused the death of the deceased could come and cleanse himself or herself by burning some firewood on the grave so as to destroy the spirit of the dead person.¹⁷ At the end of

three days a hair shaving ritual, oluvego was conducted. Sometimes this ritual was observed after one month or even one year. The hair shaving ceremony was the last official gathering ceremony which ended the mourning process. It was only after this ceremony had been conducted that all relatives could now disperse to their homes and resume farm work.

The hair shaving ceremony was the last official assembly whereby elders discussed how the widow, widower and orphans could be cared for. In addition, the deceased's property which included weapons, animals and land was shared proportionately among children, wife or wives. When conducting the ceremony, relatives assembled at the deceased's home and shaved each other's hair in turns. Men shaved each other, while women did like wise to their colleagues. In doing so, the Logooli believed that the spirit of the dead wife or husband had been challenged to stay far away from the living persons.¹⁰

5.9. SUMMARY

The indigenous Logooli educated their younger members in their moral obligations and also provided to them various ways of protecting and reconciling the errant ones. The youth were taught that the essence of indigenous Logooli family cohesion was based on good relationships. And, in maintaining such a balance, the Logooli observed sanctions which were manifested in ritual prohibitions in form of taboos. Such forms of forbiddance guided morality in this society.

However, when a taboo was infringed, it could lead to a state of ritual impurity. Thus, an affected person could be said to have been cursed. Consequently, he or she required to be restored from this lost state of moral imbalance. There were numerous reconciliation rituals which were associated with various cases of taboo infringements. Taboos have been used in this study to demarcate social boundaries in the indigenous Logooli society.

There were occasions or persons who were estranged from the existing normal relationships with family or clan members. But, since the Logooli were peace lovers, they did not want to maintain this state of agony for a long period. Instead, they were ready to reconcile with the offended persons. It is

in this manner that the Logooli were expected to sacrifice a domestic animal and shed its blood to restore moral purity.

Most cases of ritual cleansing and pacification as we have observed in this work were associated with blood contact. For example, circumcisers and their families observed ritual cleansing due to the circumciser's contact with blood oozing from boys' wounds upon circumcision. The same ritual was applied to initiated boys who had undergone circumcision. While ritual cleansing associated with incest taboo was geared at prohibiting sexual relationships between closely related persons.

In most forms of ritual cleansing an animal was slaughtered. The sharing of a meal acted as a form of reconciliation. But, the animal's chyme which comprised of diverse types of grass and medicinal shrubs was considered to be of high medicinal value. While the awful smell of chyme depicted the state of sorrow or despise associated with the ritual.

Ritual cleansing protected family members from unexpected danger and reconciled those who had contravened the societal moral expectations. The objective of cleansing rituals was to establish harmony between an individual, cosmos and the diverse social structure.

NOTES

1. Cecilia Vigedi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 80. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 16th. September, 1991.
2. Bendeda Imali. A peasant farmer. Age: over 50. Interviewed at Bukilagila in Kegoye sub-location on 20th. September, 1991.
3. Philip Kabagi Ovwivu. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Lusambwa in Mudete sub-location on 20th. November, 1992.
4. Milcah Kamali. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 12th. August, 1991.
5. Benjamin Esigi. A small scale hawker. Age: 62. Age - set: Nzelolele. Interviewed at Chavakali in Chavakali sub-location on 11th. September, 1991.
6. Safina Kevelenge. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 70. Interviewed at Chavakali in Chavakali sub-location on 20th. September, 1991.
7. Agnes Inyangu. Deceased peasant farmer. Approximate age: died at over 80. Interviewed at Mukingi on 23rd December, 1992.
8. Bartholomew Jumba. Retired primary school teacher. Age: Over 70 Interviewed at Majengo in Ikumba sub-location on 6th. October, 1985.
9. Gunter Wagner. The Bantu of Western Kenya. London: OUP, 1970. p.296.
10. Ibid.
11. Delesina Mweleshi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Bukilagila in Kegondi sub-location on 18th. November, 1991.
12. Hannah Endekwa. Deceased. Approximate age at death: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 11th October, 1985.
13. **Mafuogoye** rooted from **kufuogoya**, to be paralysed refers to the inability of initiated boys in performing or participating in certain active family's tasks.

14. Daudi Ng'alwa. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 17th. and 19th. September, 1991.
15. Gunter Wagner. Op.cit., p.249.
16. Arthur Matia. A secondary school head teacher. Age: 52 Age-set: Selula. Interviewed at Itando in Bukulunya sub-location on 16th. September, 1991.
17. Boaz Mwaliilu. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 60. Interviewed at Wiligina in Viyalo sub-location on 10th and 14th. September, 1991.
18. Boaz Vodoti. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 70. Interviewed at Walodeya in Chavakali sub-location on 12th. August, 1991.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0. INTRODUCTION

In this concluding chapter, we make an appraisal of the indigenous form of moral education. Nevertheless, socio-cultural changes in the contemporary society have created obstacles which have hampered the realization of appropriate moral values among the Logooli. An attempt is made to relate this form of education to the contemporary one. An analysis of the indigenous moral values is also discussed, with particular attention to the significance of taboos, oaths and curses in the indigenous society. This will enable us to substantiate how such values could be of help in the contemporary society.

But, even in the indigenous society there were some moral deviants who were reconciled into their society by observing relevant rituals. It is eminent that such rituals which were of great significance in restoring moral equilibrium in the indigenous society could have some positive implications to the members in the contemporary society. However, such rituals need to be evaluated for their relevance in the contemporary society.

Last but not least, some recommendations are made on how indigenous moral values could enhance moral probity in the contemporary Logooli society.

6.1. COMMENTS ON LOGOOLI MORAL EDUCATION

Logooli moral ideals were taught to the youth through a systematic mode of formal and informal education. Moral principles were acquired and passed on from one generation to the next in different stages of an individual's development, starting from childhood and was enhanced during circumcision and in their marital lives. And, among the people who were charged with the task of instructing moral values to the youth in the society were parents, siblings, peer groups and grandparents. Thus, every member had a role to play in enhancing the society's expected moral code.

All children were taught that their survival and that of the entire society was meant to be harmonious; an authentic reason why children of both sexes were expected to be polite and respectful. In addition, children were taught to be generous, courageous and considerate to other members in their community. Therefore, the independent decisions taken by any member to either conform or act contrary to the moral values depended on how a person had been

brought up in the society.

Every member was taught the society's cultural traditions, religious beliefs and socio-economic factors in life. It was therefore, the comprehension of the indigenous Logooli moral values and how people applied them in their daily life that made the indigenous Logooli fit well in their society. Hence, any action taken by an individual was seen to be a reflection of the society's moral values. It was imperative that a member behaved well so as not to tarnish his or her society.

However, Abdalla Maina conceded that, in the contemporary society, children spend most of the day at school.¹ Here, they are introduced to the extended environment and continue to learn more from their teachers and peers. And, when they come back in the evening, they have a lot of home work to do. Furthermore, when schools close for holidays, children have no opportunity of visiting their grandparents upcountry who could teach them their indigenous moral values. Nevertheless, those who manage to visit their grand parents or older uncles and aunts have very little to learn from them. This is manifested in the fact that this older category of people comprises of retired civil servants and teachers who have limited knowledge of their indigenous culture. Such people have stayed away from

their home environment for many years and have little or limited information about indigenous practices.

Besides, the newly developed mass, print and audio-visual media facilities are gradually replacing the indigenous African forms of leisure. Filimona Ombima pointed out that, children in the contemporary society would like to watch their favourite programmes on the television or an interesting video programme.² And, during the weekends, most children join their parents to either visit family friends, or go out to watch films and video shows in town. Although, these forms of media are used to inform people by providing news that people would like to watch and hear; they could also be considered by the community as opportunities for foreign and negative ideologies and influences that may not be of benefit to the younger generations. This is why there is need to censor most programmes which focus mainly detective and violence related comedies before they can be transmitted to the public.

Francis Chakaya noted that, most indigenous Logooli rites of passage have changed in practice, meaning and significance.³ The physical operations of these rituals continue to be observed. For example, during male circumcision, a knife continues to be used as the main object of effecting this ritual by circumcisers. Even, for those parents who

take their children to be circumcised in hospitals, a pair of dissecting knives or scissors are used for the operation. Moreover, most Logooli parents in the contemporary society do not even wait for the age set interval agreed by elders so as to circumcise their male children. In most cases, they decide to have their boys circumcised in urban areas during the August school holidays.

Most of these young male candidates who are circumcised in this manner are aged between four and eight years. Thus, at this tender age they cannot comprehend the meaning or purpose of being circumcised. And, even after being circumcised, such boys continue to sleep in the same house with their parents for just a short period as their wounds heal.

After all, the fathers of such initiated boys do not even bother to teach their sons the expected moral values, because the boys at this level are too young to comprehend the secrets of society. In fact, most adult Logooli males in the contemporary society are ignorant on what they are expected to teach their circumcised male children. Such changes in the rituals of circumcision pattern call for the need to re-examine this practice in the contemporary society.

Furthermore, it was expected that in the indigenous Logooli set up, circumcision prepared boys for marriage. However, in the contemporary society

most youths get married some what prematurely even before understanding their respective gender roles.⁴ Noteworthy is the fact that it is only on the actual day of marriage that a couple is advised to be faithful and assist each other in times of difficulty. It is taken for granted that further teachings in morality could be learned gradually by spouses in their marital lives.

Iddi Aduvaga emphasized that beer parties which were considered by the Logooli community to be occasions of recreation, exchanging and instilling good conduct among the people, have been abused in the contemporary society.⁵ In the indigenous set up, beer was taken in moderation after performing a day's work. However, in the contemporary society, people's drinking habits have changed drastically. Most people consider beer drinking as a time-passing occasion whereby, the youth and parents join each other at social gathering places. They get intoxicated and end up misbehaving in public places thus, neglecting their respective roles in their families. In most cases, they get involved in all sorts of promiscuity in such beer drinking places. Such forms of abuses arising from the misuse of beer has rendered a negative position to beer drinking in contemporary Kenya.

In the indigenous Logooli society, the extended family and the entire clan members were considered significant facets of enhancing morality to their members. It was these extended family relationships which encouraged people to behave well to each other. However, Bartholomew Jumba pointed out that in the contemporary society, the role of educating and instilling moral values to the younger generation has been left all alone to the teachers in schools and pastors in different churches.⁶

Furthermore, Gershom Agoi stated that the time allocated to parental guidance is very minimal in the contemporary society.⁷ In fact for the working class family, the situation is even worse. Children are left under the care and tutelage of a maid during most times of the day. Parents in the contemporary society expect this category of people to inculcate morals ideals to their children, by acting or behaving in an exemplary manner. If, for example the maid is of good character, then children under her care will be brought up well. But, in most cases, such maids are mistreated by their masters or mistresses. Hence, they also tend to pass over their frustrations to the children placed under their care.

Hesbon Moi exclaimed that, the Logooli family has also been torn apart by the impact of rural to urban migration patterns.⁸ If not, rural areas have

been influenced by the tide of the introduction of recreation centres and borrowing of cultures from urban areas. Moreover, the Logooli have also intermarried with other ethnic groups, resulting into a mixture or watering down of their indigenous cultural elements. This makes it difficult to revert to the indigenous Logooli moral values in total. However, there is need to reflect on some of the positive elements that could be of significance in the contemporary Logooli society.

6.2. SOME REMARKS ON LOGOOLI MORAL VALUES

It has been argued in this study that taboos as paramount elements of enforcing morality in the indigenous Logooli society were aimed at instilling good discipline by reducing crime and carelessness. Taboos are said to have been instituted by ancestors and were backed by supernatural powers. They were transmitted from one generation to the next by elders, and were evident in rites of passage, agricultural practices, usage of tools, weapons and in house related activities.

For instance, during gestation, a pregnant mother observed food related taboos and was prohibited from performing various activities so as to maintain her health and that of the foetus in an

optimum condition. Most of these taboos focused on hygiene and nutrition. Meanwhile, those taboos which were aimed at instilling courage among the youth were taught to boys and girls during male circumcision, teeth extraction and body tattooing. Taboos in married life were meant to prohibit adultery, maintain respect between couples, provide order in marriage arrangements and explain the seriousness of presenting clean animals for bride wealth. Those taboos which were identified with death focused on the sacredness of peoples lives. Taboos were therefore of great moral significance among the indigenous Logooli.

Whereas, agricultural taboos focused on situations of land tilling, crop planting and harvesting, they protected the family land from foreign invasion or unwarranted destruction. And, taboos associated with the usage of various tools and weapons ensured that each tool was used appropriately. While, those which focused on division of labour in a family enabled each individual to comprehend what was expected of him or her according to his or her gender in the community.

Taboos associated with sexuality not only regulated the behaviour of men and women in their family by enhancing faithfulness between couples, but were also meant to protect family members from

indecent sexual intercourse and unwarranted pregnancies. House related taboos which focused on building, house care and all activities that took place in any house were aimed at instilling different gender roles in a society. Indeed, the indigenous Logooli taboo system somehow corresponds with a country's law system in the contemporary society. This is characterized by the fact that any one who violates the stipulated law system could be punished by paying either a fine or be subjected to a jail sentence.

However, apart from taboos, the indigenous Logooli had an elaborate system of direct and indirect curses which were manifested in harshly articulated words accompanied by actions depicting a state of annoyance. Direct curses were uttered by senior members to definite junior persons belonging to one's own clan or closer relatives. Such curses could be addressed to a disobedient family member. And, the negative consequence of a direct curse were to be felt by the concerned victim, family members or clan at large. Examples of circumstances which warranted a direct curse included rudeness to parents, battering elders or ignoring to take care of such elders in their old age.

Indirect curses could be instituted by offended persons who in their cursing procedures imitated the wrong actions committed by the offender so as to effect their purpose. Examples of cases empowering indirect curses were; unidentified theft or damage to property. Nonetheless, before cursing a suspected thief, the aggrieved owner went round the village enquiring about his or her lost property. In case such a person failed to retrieve the stolen property, the last resort was to pronounce a curse upon the concerned thief.

Curses were therefore aimed at maintaining justice in the indigenous Logooli society. Thus, all possible efforts were usually made to reconcile with the offending party. A curse's efficacy also depended on the social status of the person uttering it. Uncles, aunts, parents and grandparents could effectively pronounce a curse on the youth.

In addition to curses, the indigenous Logooli held in great fear their oathing institutions. Oath taking among these people was not only an elaborate affair, but, was presided by a council of elders and witnessed by adults who were expected to keep secrets pertaining to this ordeal. Oaths among the indigenous Logooli were experienced in two forms; assertory and promissory. Assertory oaths were taken in order to test child legitimacy, inhibit theft and alleged

forms of witchcraft. In the contemporary society, assertory oaths are taken for example, when someone swears in a court of law to speak the truth during the court proceedings.

Promissory oaths were taken in the indigenous Logooli society by boys preparing for circumcision. Each pair of boys promised to be faithful to each other and maintain long lasting friendship, ovwironqo. In the contemporary society people who are elected into public office swear that they will serve the nation with full dedication. Thus, both in the indigenous and contemporary Logooli society, oaths are observed so as to ensure honesty, impartial, unbiased judgement and control court procedures by bringing offenders to justice.

Just as both the offended and violating parties are expected to take part in the oathing ceremony, the same applies in certain swearing occasions in the contemporary society. The two groups are warned in advance not to cheat. Because, any form of deception could lead to a curse in the indigenous society or to a fine or additional penalty in the contemporary set up.

Last, but not least, the indigenous society conferred that some forms of moral breaching are punishable, while others could even require ritual cleansing so as to restore the state of normality.

Some of these offenses included incest and murder. But, in the contemporary society, christian principles have dominated various forms of individual ritual cleansing which have taken various forms of christian prayer services.

Even with all these observations, it is also common in modern Kenya, for high ranking government officials, politicians and religious organizations to lament about the breakdown of indigenous African institutions. These people claim that the deteriorating outlook on life is due to changes in moral values in Kenya. This uncritical adoption of foreign practices and values has resulted into outmost rejection of the established indigenous Logooli moral code.

We have noted in this study that, expected moral ideals which were prevalent to the indigenous Logooli are not well taught to the younger generation orally, let alone being documented for further reading by the current generation of people who are expected to be guided by these principles. The older group of people who are deemed competent in propagating indigenous moral values to the younger generation are very few. And, a very limited number of these people have the capacity of remembering some of the indigenous moral values.

Omari Juma noted that, although, many of these older folk have been influenced by modernity, they could have some information on these indigenous moral values.⁷ There are also a large number of these older folk who treasure such a deposit of experience as being private. But, are not ready to share their ideas freely with others.

Many of these interviewees are basically old men and women who are expected to relate some of their youthful experiences for public sharing. Interviews with such personalities could last a very short time. Nonetheless, information from such people could be shared at greater depth and in more concrete terms by focusing on what is morally acceptable. Such information could focus on virtues and consequences of good or evil deeds.

A few of these older group of people accept to share their knowledge on indigenous values with the nation, for example, through the 'Wazee hukumbuka' radio programme and 'profile' television programme which are transmitted by the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation in Kenya.

Besides, the increasing state of poverty in the contemporary Logooli society is manifested with various cases of criminal activities. People do not seem to understand the meaning and basic characteristics of a good life which could be

achieved, by telling the truth and acting rightly. People pursue a lot of vices like vain-glory, pleasure, greed for wealth, political, economic and spiritual power for its own sake.

In addition, Solomon Musasia pointed out that, the current system of formal education in Kenya pays very little attention to moral education.¹⁰ Much of the information or ideals that constitute moral education are no more than moral discussions or exhortations which are not adequate in teaching their hearers or observers what they ought to know and do in particular situations. Although, the focus of teaching moral principles is on Religious Education in schools, this academic discipline has been given little attention in the Secondary School Curriculum. Emphasis is laid on teaching technical subjects. However, one other alternative has been to introduce Social Education and Ethics in Kenya's Secondary Schools which is poorly taught by inexperienced teachers.

It is therefore, expected that the teaching of this subject could inculcate positive values to school going children in the contemporary society. While the teaching of this subject could be enhanced in secondary schools, it is lamentable that such a worthy discipline is not compulsory in the school curriculum. In the contemporary Logooli set up, it is

expected that all employees in the private and public sectors should be taught what they ought to do as well as the possible consequences of their actions. Many of these workers lack the sense of self direction and perseverance in their duties. This calls for the proper observation of codes of conduct related with each profession. Which, if fully exploited could benefit all the people concerned.

In addition, Samuel Mwanzi pointed out that changes in contemporary Logooli moral values have emanated from lack of inspiring examples by those in ecclesiastical leadership positions.¹¹ Parents and siblings at home, peer groups, teachers, workmates, professionals, politicians, social clubs, civic, administrative and church leaders do not even know which good living standards could be adopted. Indeed, it is common practice that all these people mentioned above affect the daily lives of the youth who are under their care. They tend to teach wrong or corrupted ideas and give poor examples. In the end, it is expected that people in such responsible positions should be exemplary and righteous. However, most of such people have not been well equipped in their roles.

Samuel Mwanzi further clarified that, in the indigenous Logooli society it was emphasised that before a person assumed a role or status in society

as a herbalist, priest, circumciser, ritual leader or warrior; he or she was confined for some time.¹² Such a person was then educated, not only in the stipulated profession, but also in the moral values of the society in general, and those pertaining to his or her prospective future role. This form of teaching is however lacking in the contemporary Logooli society. People assume a leadership position without being tutored at all. Perhaps, this is one way in which our society's members have failed to impart moral values to the youth.

The general low moral performance among the Logooli is also due to the prevalence of frustrating official policies and the predominant difficult economic and social conditions.¹³ Sometimes people blame the breakdown in their moral fibre on the harsh economic conditions, especially the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP's). The blame is also laid on the exchange rate of the foreign currencies.

However, the poor economic state of certain economic sectors in the Logooli society is due to many cases of misappropriation, monetary diversion, embezzlement, smuggling and fraud of public funds by people who are entrusted to take care of their economy. Irresponsible persons who impoverish the economy of their people are misguided wealth and power-seekers. Indeed, we should not quickly blame

the economic situation for our immoral deeds.

Besides, even those employees who are not well salaried lack the sense of duty, integrity and are partly responsible for the prevailing economic difficulties. These evils in the contemporary Logooli society result in a situation where economic and social conditions do not allow one to procure basic necessities for biological survival. This implies that the common Logooli can neither buy adequate food from one's honest earning, nor meet the family's legitimate needs. Consequently, it is not easy to keep one's moral temperament intact. The blame is put on official policies which propagate such harsh economic conditions.

6.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

Although most indigenous Logooli moral values are necessary, we cannot carry all of them wholesome. The current emphasis is on improving certain desired morals by providing positive solutions. It is the duty of parents to inculcate right habits, interiorize moral values to their children by providing advice and acting in an exemplary manner during the formative years of their children's development. Kennedy Ambetsa stated that, parents should not entirely leave their children under the

care of house maids or teachers.¹⁴ They could instead assist the youth to learn facts that would help them understand real situations in life and manage them sensibly. Once this foundation has been laid in the home by parents, siblings and grandparents, then the move is on.

The current print and audio visual electronic forms of media could also be used for moral inspiration, if they are censored before being transmitted for public consumption.¹⁵ The contemporary Logooli society is also passing through a rapid phase of change in their political, economic and moral system. This calls for the need to develop moral values which have broad goals. Thus, the existing codes of conduct for various professions, manifestos and constitutions should be studied at depth. For example, if we have morally corrupt persons, then the economy is bound to collapse too. This crusade must be seriously taken up by the government, non governmental organizations, political parties, the church and its affiliated organizations.

Although, it has been discussed in this work that most indigenous Logooli values are being swept away by the tide of modernization, some effort should be made by various institutions and individuals to document and preserve them. Efforts should be intensified so as to work out replacements or

modifications for systems, practices and values that are obsolete for effective contextualization. Government research organizations and international agencies should assist in funding individual ethnic studies to highlight more on the Logooli way of life.

Since the youth spend a great deal of their time in school and its related institutions in the modern society, such institutions could take seriously the role of inculcating indigenous Logooli moral values to the students.¹⁶ But, in order to address the issues related with moral changes, our educational planners and policy makers should evolve a viable educational policy and philosophy of life.

The current outcry on family life education is yet one major debate that is far from being effected due to various doctrinal differences accruing from diverse churches. Relevant policies could be emulated to underscore this crucial subject on moral principles expected of school going children. Furthermore, Arthur Matia pointed out that, the teaching of Social Education and Ethics as an academic discipline in schools should be handled by honest and well trained teachers.¹⁷ This subject is vital in complementing the moral values that children receive from their peer groups, parents and sunday services sermons.

Indeed, some of the unwarranted attitudes and behaviour exhibited in the contemporary Logooli society is due to the inadequate understanding of the nature of man, meaning of life and what constitutes a successful moral life. It is the responsibility of moral philosophers, theologians, sociologists, psychologists to take up the challenge of re-defining, preparing simple, clear educational resources for print, radio and television programmes.

The current Logooli elders do not have sufficient knowledge of their indigenous moral values to educate and inform the younger generation wholesome on these values. Nevertheless, one step that has been adopted to enhance Logooli culture and moral values is through the Vihiga cultural festival. This festival is successively observed annually on the 26th December at Mbale town in Vihiga District.¹⁰ On this day all interested Logooli people from major towns and settlement schemes meet in order to revive their knowledge of indigenous culture. It is therefore imperative to invite resource persons who have good knowledge so that they could educate the youth on their cultural values.

We have pointed out in this study that, the indigenous settlement of the Logooli is in Sabatia and Vihiga divisions of Western Kenya. These people trace their lineage mythologically from Mulogooli who

they claim came from Egypt. The Logooli who have greatly multiplied and increased in number over the years have migrated from their indigenous settlement areas and settled in various parts of Kenya.

The indigenous Logooli set up comprised a well knit society. These people were bound by acceptable moral principles which were rooted in their socio-cultural experiences. Such values which were positively applied in the daily lives of the people were meant to define, guide and regulate acceptable behaviour among its members. We have also observed that the neglect of indigenous Logooli moral values has resulted into changes in moral probity among these people, thus, thwarting many development efforts. A detailed analysis of the causes and reasons of the deteriorating moral standards has been made. A case has been established for conscious efforts to tackle the issue of moral development as an end in itself and as a necessary condition for real and total development in the contemporary Logooli society.

We have also noted that in the indigenous society, there existed certain moral values which could be emulated in the contemporary society in addition to assimilating some aspects of western values. This could be efficacious if the Logooli are encouraged to study their mythology, system of moral

education, social relationships and rules of conduct. For, it is this conglomeration of moral and social life principles which form the core of their moral obligations and mutual assistance.

Although, the indigenous Logooli have been used to demonstrating their submission to certain moral principles, a number of concrete and practical steps have been suggested. And, if followed, we are convinced, will enable the Logooli to attain their desired goal of true development in contemporary Kenya. Thus, children could be taught what to do regularly. And, as they grow up, they could be encouraged to tidy up the places where they eat or work from and also take away dishes for washing. This type of training enables children of both gender to perform given tasks and identify those tasks which cannot be done all at once. Children could also learn things which require some time, but are done whenever convenient. Certainly, all forms of laziness ought to be condoned by parents who could encourage their children to be industrious and diligent in performing certain tasks in their lives.

Boys and girls need to be taught how to behave in an obedient manner and accept positive decisions coming from those who hold and express higher authority above them. If such behaviour is encouraged, children may act justly, promptly and

strive to faithfully interpret the will of the expected commands. Thus, training in obedience calls for powers of observation and sensitivity on the part of parents who check on the rebellious and disobedient attitude of their children. Logooli children need to learn how to be flexible, loyal to each other and respect the extended kinship group.

All children need to be encouraged to act in moderation, right from their formative stages of development. For example, they could eat moderately, understand the need to exercise self control and resist outside negative influences. And, as a child matures into adulthood, he or she may learn to eat food and drink beer moderately and use the available resources reasonably for the benefit of others.

In chapter three, we have noted that, the purpose of observing taboos in the indigenous Logooli society was to encourage people respect each other and refrain from harmful actions to other people and their property. This is why, beginning from childhood, children were encouraged to be trustworthy. Furthermore, during adolescence young men and women were encouraged by their parents and grandparents to be faithful to each other in the married lives and not tell lies. These same principles could be emphasized in the contemporary society too.

In chapter four, we have discussed that, any distortions of truth could be corrected or effected by oaths in the indigenous Logooli set up. Oaths were used in the indigenous set up, to underscore the virtue of sincerity. Indeed, sincerity could be guided by charity and prudence.

In our discussion on curses, it is apparent that a curse was pronounced by an older person. However, adolescent girls could curse a selfish family which denied offering cereals for an ancestral libation ritual. This form of curse teaches the current older members of society and the youth to be generous, unselfish, cheerful and conscious of helping others, despite the fact that, it may cost a great effort. Although, there is need to understand the motive behind a person's attitude before doing something for the benefit of others. This may include giving or lending things, forgiving, listening, greeting and inviting people at home. In exercising generosity, the youth could use their will deliberately for something worthwhile, by making a free decision and giving up something they have a right to retain. This does not simply mean to get rid of something, or walk away from it.

In this study, we have also noted that there were taboos in the indigenous Logooli society which were instituted so as to instil fidelity in a couple.

In the same way, youth in the contemporary society could learn to respect each other, avoid promiscuity so that they do not contract the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome killer disease.

Although, bride wealth in the indigenous Logooli society was paid in accordance with the laid down principles. Attention was paid on the wealth that a bride groom had. Such payment which was done in moderation could be extended to members in the contemporary society so that, a bridegroom is not overcharged. One may not give away all what one has, in order to deprive the new family of its basic requirements.

It must be emphasized that, as both boys and girls matured into adulthood in the indigenous Logooli society, they learned to be courageous. As we have already discussed in this study, an expectant mother was expected to withstand pain during child delivery, learn to endure, difficult moments, act positively, overcome obstacles and undertake challenging tasks. While initiated boys learned to be courageous by caring for their animals and protecting their families from foreign invasion. In the same way, youth in the contemporary Logooli society ought to behave in a patriotic manner by respecting the expected norms of their society.

Apart from persevering the ordeals associated with initiation into adulthood in the indigenous Logooli society, the youth also learned to endure hardships in their life time. They were expected to participate in various roles according to their gender. Youths in the contemporary society could learn to do likewise in their daily lives. However, this should not be equated with obstinacy.

Adolescent boys in the indigenous set up learned to be prudent as they herded their livestock and participated in sham fights. And, in their daily life experiences, they not only gathered and assessed vital information which they had emulated from their elders, but, they also acted or refrained from certain negative activities basing on sound advice which they had obtained from such elders. Such ideals are to be emulated in the contemporary society.

The youth ought to learn how to organize their time properly and carry out prescribed activities on their own without having to be constantly reminded. They are expected to keep things at the right place, not to misuse a visitor's property and look after the family's property. And, the taboos that adolescent boys and girls learned in the indigenous Logooli set up encouraged them to be chaste. They recognized the value of their own privacy and that of other people, a value that needs to be underscored in the

contemporary society. In addition, house related taboos which were observed in the indigenous set up that prohibited adolescent boys and girls from entering their parents' bed rooms could be encouraged in the contemporary set up too. These moral ideas could help the youth respect their parent's property and private rooms.

Moreover, the youth could be educated to be flexible through listening, expressing, giving opinions or information and seek points of mutual agreement when need arises. The youth could also be encouraged to attend court proceedings and learn from the judgements meted to culprits, just as the indigenous young Logooli males were introduced into the village council. So that, if a youth encounters various challenging situations in life, he or she could patiently bear with the impinging difficulties calmly. But, in situations where he or she senses some difficulty or some good which is difficult to achieve, he or she could learn to be just and struggle to give others what is their due. In this way, the youth fulfil their duties and exercise their future rights as parents, citizens or administrators by adapting to particular circumstances, without abandoning their own personal principles of behaviour.

And, during the school holidays children could be encouraged to visit their aunts, uncles and siblings who have appropriate moral ideals to be emulated. However, such learning situations are geared to acquiring new positive principles.

Equally, parents and the extended kin group could inculcate into the youth appropriate standards so that they can know what to do, or how to behave in various situations in life. In addition, the youth learn to be humble by recognizing their own inadequate qualities and abilities which they put into practice without attracting attention or expecting the applause of others. In order to be humble, the youth ought to be realistic, learn to relate well with others by focusing on each others qualities and forget retaliating vices. In this way, they could be moulded into sociable beings so as to make good use of, and discover ways of getting together with other people by showing genuine interest in what people say, do, think or feel.

The youth of both gender could be encouraged to welcome and entertain visitors in their respective parents homesteads and in their homes when they get married. Therefore, from the foregoing discussion on indigenous Logooli moral values, it is apparent that there is a deposit of indigenous moral principles which if well utilized could enhance moral decency in

the contemporary society. Although, the place accorded to taboos, oaths and curses in the contemporary society has changed over the years, it is vital to analyze the main principles which are instilled in children as they mature into adulthood. For, it is the observation and continuity of these moral ideals which could be encouraged by all concerned members in the contemporary Logooli society.

NOTES

1. Abdalla Maina. A primary school head teacher. Age: 50. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 21st. December, 1992.
2. Filimona Ombima. A peasant farmer. Age: 56. Age set: Selula. Interviewed at Githurai in Nairobi on 16th. August, 1994.
3. Francis Chakaya. Laboratory technician. Age: 45 Age-set: Ifomu. Interviewed at Ivona in Kigama sub-location on 27th. November, 1992.
4. Abdalla Kadangi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 21st. December, 1991.
5. Iddi Aduvaga. A peasant farmer. Age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 12th. September 1991.
6. Bartholomew Jumba. Retired primary school teacher. Age: Over 80. Interviewed at Majengo in Ikumba sub-location on 6th. October, 1985.
7. Gershom Agoi. Primary school teacher. Approximate age: over 50. Interviewed at Bo-Yusuf Primary School in Bukulunya sub-location on 9th August, 1991.
8. Hesbon Moi. Deceased peasant farmer. Age: 35. Age-set: Hybrid. Interviewed at Mukingi in Lyaduywa sub-location on 20 Dec. 1992.
9. Omari Juma. A peasant farmer. Age: 24. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 7th and 8th August, 1991.
10. Solomon Musasia. Deceased primary school teacher. Age: 38. Age-set: Hybrid. Interviewed at Walodeya in Chavakali sub-location on 12th. August, 1991.
11. Samuel Mwanzi. A retired Assistant Chief. Age: 50. Age set: Nzelolele. Interviewed at Ondeyo in Lyaduywa sub-location on 21st September 1991 and 26th December, 1992.
12. Ibid.
13. William Adogo. A peasant farmer. Age: 50, Age-set: Ifomu. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 26th. December 1992.

14. Kennedy Ambetsa. A secondary school teacher. Age: 35. Interviewed at Igunga High School in Viyalo sub-location on 5th. August, 1991.

15. Ibid.

16. John Muloma. Primary school teacher. Age: Over 45. Interviewed at Munoywa in Bukulunya sub-location on 16th December 1992.

17. Arthur Matia. A secondary school head teacher. Age: 52 Age-set: Selula. Interviewed at Itando in Bukulunya sub-location on 16th. September, 1991.

18. Roselyne Moge. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 70. Interviewed at Vuyiya in Viyalo sub-location on 22nd December 1991.

GLOSSARY

- Amahano - also referred to as migiwo implies taboos.
- Amalwa ge inkala - special beer taken by elders to celebrate the grain harvesting period.
- Avadili- mudiri (sing) reputable males of good moral character who were responsible of instilling moral values to the initiated boys while they were in seclusion.
- Avakali - warriors.
- Chahonyo - nudity.
- Ekyamugizi - front house's door.
- Ekyandagu - rear house's door.
- Ekesege - house's roof top.
- Endahulwa/ sialamule/ likanzavane - a type of banana species which was used by the indigenous Logooli during child legitimacy tests.
- Endembe - oathing ceremony among the indigenous Logooli.
- Enyang'ongo - a soft banana sleeping mat.
- Inda simba- pre marital pregnancy among unmarried girls.
- Indindi - a circumciser's small drum which was sounded by a circumciser upon circumcising a candidate. This small drum could also be used to curse a deviant member in society

or an unidentified thief.

Isiongo- clay pot.

Kalondo - bread /ugali crumbs.

Keselelo - an indigenous Logooli wedding ceremony.

Kevoja - a rear banana fibre skirt that was worn by women around the waist to cover their buttocks.

Kichieno - a direct curse.

Kiragi/ luswa - a state of defilement or situation depicting ritual uncleanness.

Kohelidza ichuumu - conception without physically experiencing menses in women.

Kololana - courtship visits.

Konyola inyumba- to marry or get married.

Kotema ekelova - sexual intercourse between a man and a woman who have just buried their dead child.

Kovolana uvukwi - bride wealth negotiations/ discussions.

Kufwava - to expose one's private parts to other people. For example, an aggrieved mother could curse her child by exposing her buttocks to her child.

Kuholidza - to cleanse a ritually impure person.

Kumaala - to make someone impure by affecting him or her with one's guilty action resulting from either causing death or being related to

- death circumstances.
- Kutamba vilenge - to stand astride.
- Kuva mu vusinga - a woman who is in menses.
- Kuvika lukaya - to put on a special skin strap by the indigenous Logooli so as to hasten haemorrhage among women.
- Kwahula - presenting bride wealth animals to the bride's parents.
- Kwilavidza - a situation where a man who has just buried his wife in the indigenous Logooli society would go out and indulge in sexual intercourse with another woman so as to cleanse himself of the death related situation of his wife.
- Limooli - a goat skin apron worn by adult males.
- Lisali- a temporary hut built at the river side where boys preparing for circumcision slept for three night before they were circumcised.
- Lisazi - a kind of plant which has broad leaves and is used for ritual cleansing.
- Logooli - also referred to as Avaloqooli (pl), Mulogooli (sing) are people who speak Lulogooli and whose indigenous inhabitation area is in Vihiga and Sabatia divisions in the Western Province of Kenya.
- Lukuzu - disease.

- Lulogooli - the language spoken by the Logooli people.
- Lunyasi lwo kwahilwa - herbal concoction.
- Lwivulu - progenity.
- Magenga - a period of three nights where people keep vigil at an open fire in the home of the bereaved person after his or her burial.
- Manyasi - special herbal concoction used for ritual cleansing.
- Masahi - blood.
- Mbihiukana - a glutton.
- Milembe - peace. A formal way of greetings.
- Miruka - customs.
- Mudiri - vadiri (pl) a male guardian who took care of initiated boys while they were in seclusion. He was also charged with the responsibility of educating them their indigenous cultural values.
- Mugiro (pl) Migiro - taboos or moral prohibitions.
- Mukono mukali - right hand.
- Mukono mumosi - left hand.
- Muliivu- a front banana fibre skirt that was worn by women around the waist to cover their private parts.
- Mulinga - bee hive.
- Muma - oath. Kulia imuma is to take an oath.

- Mutembe - Erythrina tormentosa (latin) a kind of tree species that was used for oathing among the indigenous Logooli.
- Mwamba- central house pole.
- Okuholidza - a ritual appeasement/ cleansing ceremony.
- Okulaama - to pronounce a direct curse.
- Ol'longo - white riverine clay which was smeared on the bodies of pairs of initiated boys as a symbol depicting their long lasting relationship - ovwironqo.
- Olovo - a situation of ritual impurity.
- Olugembe - a special hair shaving knife.
- Oluhya - open fire place found in the homestead of every indigenous Logooli home where men and boys met in the evening to discuss family matters. It is also at this place that boys were taught their cultural values.
- Oluvego - a hair shaving ceremony which is conducted by close family relatives after burying a dead person.
- O vwuula - an open gap left in the mouth after extracting the lower incisors. While, the gap left after extracting the upper incisors is Olwasa.
- Omuviidi wo vwanga - Medicine man or Woman.
- Omusaliisi - Sacrificial priest.

- Omukevi - circumciser.
- Omusaati - scarifier.
- Ovosoolo - disputes.
- Ovwanga - millet flour mixed with water which was
 aspersed on persons during ritual
 cleansing.
- Tsidiisi (pl) idiisi (sing) - refers to a hut where
 boys slept in the indigenous Logooli
 society.
- Tsimbala - scars.
- Tsingegeta - abdominal pains experienced by a woman
 who is in menses.
- Tsing'ombe tsye kigumu - hornless animals.
- Tsinzuune - sodom's apples.
- Tsitumbi- seclusion huts where boys who had been
 circumcised stayed for some time while
 convalescing.
- Vaguuga - male grand parents.
- Vilenge - feet.
- Vigiingi/ vichieno/ misambwa - spirits of the
 departed.
- Vinazogi - eurphobia plants used to fence and
 demarcate land boundaries by the indigenous
 Logooli.
- Vukima vwo musamba - food dedicated to ancestors.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

A STUDY OF LOGOOLI MORAL VALUES: WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO TABOOS, CURSES AND OATHS.

My name is ----- . I'm a student from the University of Nairobi. I'm going around this area asking people some questions concerning the indigenous Logooli moral values.

The basic aim of this research is to enable us to evaluate how taboos, oaths, curses and blessings were / are conducted / observed in our society. This research has permission of the Office of the President. I would therefore be very grateful if you could answer the following questions.

Sample Number	Name
Sex	Age grade
Marital status	Number of Wives
Number of children	Boys: Girls:
Denomination	Status in society
Occupation	District
Division	Location
Sub-Location	Village
Date of interview	

1. KINSHIP AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

- a) Where did the Avalogooli come from?
- b) Name the main clans found in Maragoli.
- c) Which clan members are expected to marry or not to marry?

2. RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

- a) Do Avalogooli believe in the existence of God, spirits, life after death? Yes or No. Give reasons why you say so.
- b) Explain briefly the Logooli understanding of God/ Nyasaye, spirits, vigiingi, vichieno, misambwa.
- c) Explain briefly the roles of the following peoples in Logooli society:
 - Omuviidi wo vwanga/ Medicine man or Woman
 - Omusaliisi/Sacrificial priest
 - Omukevi/ circumciser
 - Omusaati/scarifier
- d) State briefly some taboos that were/ are associated with the specialists mentioned above.

3. INDIGENOUS LOGOOLI EDUCATION

- a) A child is taught to participate fully in life. For example: at the fire places by elders, peer

groups, in seclusion huts, at marriage, etc.

State briefly some of teachings that are/ were associated with:

Fire places

Sleeping huts

Peer groups

Seclusion Huts.

Marriage

b) Explain in brief roles played by the following people in Logooli society.

Man

Woman

Children: Boys

Girls

4. BODY CARE

State some of the teachings were/ are associated with the following:

Body washing

Toilet training

Hair and beard shaving

Teeth

Eyes

Hands

Nails

Legs

Sexuality

Buttocks

Mouth

5. PREGNANCY AND CHILD BIRTH

- a) How did/ does a woman/ girl become pregnant?
- b) What are some of the reasons that delay/ delayed conception or are associated with sterility among women and impotence among men?
- c) Describe some of taboos, oaths, curses and blessings that were/ are observed by a pregnant woman and her husband.
- d) Briefly state when, how and where child birth is/ was supposed to take place.
- e) How was/ is the placenta and the umbilical cord cut and disposed?
- f) State in brief some of the observances that are/ were maintained by the family after child birth.
- g) Explain some of the reasons why a baby and its mother are/ were secluded from the public after childbirth.
- h) How was/ is a child presented to the rest of the family members?
- i) Describe in detail how a child is/ was tested for its legitimacy.

- j) Explain briefly giving reasons various rituals that are/ were observed when twins or a multiple birth occurs.
- k) Describe how a child is fed in Logooli society.
- l) When and why is/ was it necessary to bless/ kuviida the baby or children.
- m) How is/ was the ancestral ritual/ Liswakila conducted?
- n) Explain clearly how a child receives/ received its early childhood education. Mention some taboos, oaths, curses and blessings that are taught to it.

6. INITIATION INTO ADULTHOOD

- a) State some preparations that are made or observed by boys/girls/ and the society members in readiness for initiation into adulthood.
- b) Describe how a girl is/ was initiated into adulthood.
- c) How is/ was a boy initiated into adulthood?
- d) What are some of the teachings that boys and girls receive/ received when being initiated into adulthood?
- e) Mention and give reasons why some taboos, oaths, curses and blessings are/ were observed by the male initiates while in seclusion.

f) How do/ did the initiates and the whole society celebrate the coming out feast?

g) How is/ was circumcision practised today among the Logooli?

7. MARRIAGE

a) How are/ were partners chosen for marriage?

b) Explain how bride wealth is/ was negotiated in Logooli society.

c) Describe how the wedding ceremony is/ was conducted and consummated.

d) What are the main reasons that led to polygamy, separation and divorce.

e) How does/ did a married couple behave in their lives?

8. DEATH

a) What are the major causes of death in animals and people?

b) Explain clearly how death and burial is/ was observed?

c) Describe burial ceremonies associated with the following deaths: Infants, circumcised boy, circumciser, ruler, murder, homicide, drowning and disease caused death.

9. LAND TENURE AND USE

- a) How is/ was land owned among the Logooli?
- b) How is land sold?
- c) How is land subdivided?
- d) What are some of the rituals/ practices that are/ were observed during tilling, planting, weeding and harvesting of various crops.

10. CRAFTS AND TOOLS

- a) Describe in detail how a house is/ was constructed among the Logooli.
- b) State in detail the various compartments of that constitutes a Logooli hut or house. Describe in detail various ritual practices associated with them.
- c) Name and describe how various foods are/ were prepared by Logooli women.
- d) State and explain the role played by the following crafts-men and women in Logooli society.

11. RECREATION

- a) Describe some of the boys in door and out door games.
- b) What are some of the games that girls enjoy enjoyed playing in their free time?

- c) Beer drinking was a major form of recreation among Logooli old men and women to a large extent. Describe in detail how this beer is made and drunk.
- d) Explain any other forms of recreation that are found among Avalogooli.

12. RECOMMENDATIONS

- a) Explain in detail how religion, colonization, economy, print and mass media, education has affected the traditional Logooli moral values in Kenya.
- b) What is the future of taboos, oaths, curses and blessings in Kenya?

LIST OF INFORMANTS

(Name, occupation, age, place of interview and date of interview)

- Abdalla Kadangi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 21st. December, 1991.
- Abdalla Maina. A primary school head teacher. Age: 50. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 21st. December, 1992.
- Agnes Inyangu. Deceased peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 80. Interviewed at Mukingi in Lyaduywa sub-location on 28th. December, 1992.
- Arthur Matia. A secondary school head teacher. Age: 52 Age-set: Selula. Interviewed at Itando in Bukulunya sub-location on 16th. September, 1991.
- Bartholomew Jumba. Retired primary school teacher. Age: Over 80. Interviewed at Majengo in Ikumba sub-location on 6th. October, 1985.
- Bendeda Imali. A peasant farmer. Age: over 50. Interviewed at Bukilagila in Kegoye sub-location on 20th. September, 1991.

- Benjamin Esigi. A small scale hawker. Age: 62.
 Age-set: Nzelolele. Interviewed at Chavakali in Chavakali sub-location on 11th. September, 1991.
- Boaz Mwaliilu. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 60. Interviewed at Wiligina in Viyalo sub-location on 10th and 14th. September, 1991.
- Boaz Vodoti. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 70. Interviewed at Walodeya in Chavakali sub-location on 12th. August, 1991.
- Cecilia Vigedi. Deceased peasant farmer. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location between 8th. August to 5th. September, 1991 and 10th. November to 28th. December, 1991.
- Cornelius Kalegi. Deceased peasant farmer. Age-set: Imbalabala 1, interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 4th to 29th. December, 1985.
- Daudi Ng'alwa. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 17th. and 19th. September, 1991.
- David K. Mugami. Deceased civil servant. Age: 49
 Age-set: Ifomu. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 16th, 17th and 23rd December, 1992.

- Delesina Mweleshi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Bukilagila in Kegondi sub-location on 18th. November, 1991.
- Dinah Miroyo. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Ivona in Kigama sub-location on 18th October, 1985 and on 21st. November, 1992.
- Emmah Kageha. A peasant farmer. Age: 59. Interviewed at Kiminini in Kiminini sub-location between August to September 1991 and November to December 1992.
- Erastus Kevogo. Deceased peasant farmer. Age-set: Imbalabala. Interviewed at Ondeyo in Lyaduywa sub-location on 9th. October, 1985.
- Filimona Ombima. A peasant farmer. Age: 56. Age set: Selula. Interviewed at Githurai in Nairobi on 16th. August, 1994.
- Francis Chakaya. Laboratory technician. Age: 45
Age-set: Ifomu. Interviewed at Ivona in Kigama sub-location on 27th. November, 1992.
- Francis Tsisaaga. Retired primary school teacher.
Approximate age: over 60. Interviewed at Wiligina in Viyalo sub-location on 10th and 14th September, 1991.

- Gershom Agoi. Primary school teacher. Approximate age: over 50. Interviewed at Bo-Yusuf Primary School in Bukulunya sub-location on 9th August, 1991.
- Gladys Mwanzi. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 40. Interviewed at Ondeyo in Lyaduywa sub-location on 21st September, 1991.
- Gunduguvi Kevelenge. A businessman. Age: over 80. Age-set: Imbalabala. Interviewed at Mukingi in Lyaduywa sub-location on 9th September, 1991.
- Hannah Endekwa. Deceased peasant farmer. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 11th October, 1985.
- Hellenta Kegehi. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 60. Interviewed at Manyatta in Chango sub-location on 8th September, 1991.
- Hesbon Moi. Deceased peasant farmer. Age: 35. Age-set: Hybrid. Interviewed at Mukingi in Lyaduywa sub-location on 20 Dec. 1992.
- Idachi Senema. A peasant farmer. Age: over 70. Interviewed at Lunyerere in Viyalo sub-location on 8th August, 1991.
- Iddi Aduvaga. A peasant farmer. Age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 12th September 1991.

Iddi Nasibu. A small scale hawker. Age: 49.

Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 12th September 1991.

Isaac Sambaya. A peasant farmer. Age: over 70.

Interviewed at Ondeyo in Lyaduywa sub-location on 9th October, 1992.

John Muloma. Primary school teacher. Age: Over 45.

Interviewed at Munoywa in Bukulunya sub-location on 16th December 1992.

John Kalegi Mwavichi. A peasant farmer and former small scale hawker. Age: 49. Age-set: Ifomu. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location between 14th August and 22nd September, 1991 and 8th November to 29th December, 1991.

Jorum Sibe. A peasant farmer. Age: over 70.

Interviewed at Ondeyo in Lyaduywa sub-location on 31st Dec. 1992.

Joseph Omuhandale Egehidza. A peasant farmer. Age: 79

Age-set: Lizuridza. Interviewed at Itando in Bukulunya sub-location on 15th Dec. 1992.

Joshua Luvandaale. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: Over 70. Interviewed at Buyonga in Kidundu sub-location on 20th September, 1991.

Kedeng'e Anyoso. A peasant farmer. Age: 79. Age-set:
Lizuridza. Interviewed at Ivona in Kigama
sub-location on 20th December, 1992.

Kennedy Ambetsa. A secondary school teacher. Age: 35.
Interviewed at Igunga High School in Viyalo
sub-location on 5th. August, 1991.

Lena Kabagi. A peasant farmer. Age: over 60.
Interviewed at Ivona in Kigama sub-
location on 14th November, 1992.

Marita Kavele. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 60.
Interviewed at Ivona in Kigama sub-location
on 20th September, 1991.

Milcah Adagala. A peasant farmer. Approximate Age:
over 70. Interviewed at Madegwa in
Chavakali sub-location on 14th September,
1991.

Milcah Kamali. A peasant farmer. Approximate age:
over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya
sub-location on 12th August, 1991.

Omari Juma. A peasant farmer. Age: 24. Interviewed
at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 7th
and 8th August, 1991.

Pauline Musimbi. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 60.
Interviewed at Madegwa in Chavakali sub-
location on 14th September, 1991.

- Philip Kabagi Ovwivu. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: over 70. Interviewed at Lusambwa in Mudete sub-location on 20th November, 1992.
- Pius Dingili. A peasant farmer. Approximate age: 76. Age-set: Lizuridza. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya sub-location on 22nd November, 1992.
- Rasoa Imbwaga. A peasant farmer. Age: over 60. Interviewed at Vuviya in Viyalo sub-location on 10th August, 1991.
- Roselyne Moge. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 70. Interviewed at Vuyiya in Viyalo sub-location on 22nd December 1991.
- Safina Kevelenge. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 70. Interviewed at Chavakali in Chavakali sub-location on 20th September, 1991.
- Samuel Mwanzi. A retired Assistant Chief. Age: 50. Age set: Nzelolele. Interviewed at Ondeyo in Lyaduywa sub-location on 21st September 1991 and 26th December, 1992.
- Senema Idachi. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 60. Interviewed at Lunyerere in Viyalo sub-location on 8th August, 1991.
- Solomon Musasia. Deceased primary school teacher. Age: 38. Age-set: Hybrid. Interviewed at Walodeya in Chavakali sub-location on 12th August, 1991.

Thomas Igala. A peasant farmer. Age: Over 60.

Age-set: Nzelolele. Interviewed at Walodeya
in Chavakali sub-location on 8th August
1991.

William Adogo. A peasant farmer. Age: 50, Age-set:

Ifomu. Interviewed at Luhulu in Bukulunya
sub-location on 26th December 1992.

Wilson Kadioli. Deceased plant operator. Approximate
Age: over 70. Interviewed at Luhulu in
Bukulunya sub-location on 5th January,
1992.

Zipporah Vugudza. Deceased peasant farmer.
Approximate Age: over 80. Interviewed at
Lwunza in Lyaduywa sub-location on 8th.
October 1985.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A) PUBLISHED SOURCES

- Abler, R. et. al. Spatial Organization: Geographer's View of the World. London: Prentice Hall, 1977.
- Abuso, Paul A. A Traditional History of the Abakuria C.A.D.1400-1914. Nairobi: KLB, 1980.
- Addis, William E. A Catholic Dictionary. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.
- Adegbola, E.A.A.,ed. Traditional Religion in West Africa. Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1983.
- Ayisi, E.O. An Introduction to the Study of African Culture. London: HEB, 1972.
- Badia, F.B. and Sarno, R.A. Morality: How to Live It Today. New York: Alba House, 1979.
- Baelz, P. Ethics and Belief. London: Sheldon Press, 1977.
- Barker, E.E. A Short History of Nyanza. Nairobi: EALB, 1950.
- Barrett, D.B.,ed. Kenya Churches Handbook. Kisumu: Evangel Publishing House, 1973.
- Barzun, J and Graff, F.F. The Modern Researcher. Orlando- Florida: Harcourt Brace Janovich, 1985.

- Bauer, J.B., ed. Encyclopaedia of Biblical Theology.
London: Sheed and Ward, 1970.
- Beattie, John. Bunyoro: An African Kingdom. London:
Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1960.
- Bennars, Gerard A. Ethics. Education and
Development: An Introductory Text for
Students in Colleges and Universities.
Nairobi: EAEP, 1993.
- Best, John W. and Kahn, J.V. Research in Education.
New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India, 1977.
- Bierstedt, R. The Social Order. New York: MC.Graw
Hill, 1957.
- Bloom, L. and Ottong, J.G. Changing Africa: An
Introduction to Sociology. London:
Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1987.
- Borg, W.R. and Gall, M.D. Educational Research : An
Introduction. New York: David Mc.Kay
Company, 1963/1976.
- Bosanquet, B. The Philosophical Theory of the State.
London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1958.
- Brandon, S.G.F. A Dictionary of Comparative Religion.
London: Veidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970.
- Brown, Radcliffe A.R. Structure and Function in
Primitive Society. London: Cohen and West,
1952/1968.

- Bujo, Benezet. African Christian Morality at the Age of Inculturation. Nairobi: St. Paul Publications, 1990.
- Burgh, der W.G. From Morality to Religion. Washington D.C: Kennikat Press, 1938.
- Byaruhanga-Akiiki, A.B.T. Religion in Bunyoro. Nairobi: KLB., 1982.
- Chitambar, J.B. Introductory Rural Sociology. New Delhi: Wiley Eastern Ltd, 1973.
- Clark, Carolyn Martin. "Kinship Morality in the Interaction of Some Kikuyu Families". Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1975.
- Cotgrove, Stephen. The Science of Society: An Introduction to Sociology. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1967.
- Dewey, J. Ethics. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1936.
- Douglas, M. Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.
- Durkheim, E. Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education. New York: The Free Press, 1961.
- Durkheim, E. The Elementary Forms of Religious life. New York: The Free Press, 1961.
- Emory, C.W. Business Research Methods. Home wood-Illinois: Irwin, 1985.

- Erny, Pierre. The Child and His Environment in Black Africa. Nairobi: OUP, 1981.
- Ford, Clellan S., ed. Cross Cultural Approaches: Readings in Comparative Research. HRAF Press, 1967.
- Forde, Daryll., ed. African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples. London: OUP, 1954.
- Frankena, W.K. Ethics. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1973.
- Frederick, Whitney L. The Elements of Research. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1937.
- Freud, S. Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement Between Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961.
- Gathigira, S.K. Miikarire ya Aqikuyu. Nairobi: Church Missionary Society Bookshop, 1942.
- Goode, W.J. The Family. New Delhi: Prentice Hall, 1982.
- Gray, R.F. and Gulliver, P.H. The Family Estate in Africa: Studies in the Role of Property in Family Structure and Lineage Continuity. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964.
- Gustafson, J.M. Can Ethics be Christian? Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975.

- Hagen, E.E. On the Theory of Social Change. Home Wood-Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1962.
- Harris, N. Teaching Morality and Education. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1976.
- Haselbarth, Hans. Christian Ethics in the African Context. Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1976.
- Hastings, J., ed. Dictionary of the Bible. Edinburgh: T and T. Clark, 1909.
- Hawkins, C. and Sorgi Marco., ed. Research: How to Plan, Speak and Write About It. New Delhi: Narosa Publishing House, 1985/1987.
- Hayek, F.A. Knowledge, Evolution and the Society. London: Adam Smith Institute, 1973.
- Heribert, Jone. Moral Theology. Westminster: New Man Press, 1963.
- Hillman, Eugene. Polygamy Reconsidered. Nairobi: Trans Africa Publishers, 1975.
- Hobley, C.W. Bantu Beliefs and Magic. London: Frank Cass, 1967.
- Hogbin, Ian H. Social Change. London: Watts, 1958.
- Hornby, A.S. Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary. Oxford: OUP, 1974.
- Howels, W. The Heathens: Primitive Man and His Religions. New York: Double Day and Company, 1962.

- Huntington, R., et al. Celebrations of Death.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
1979.
- Idowu, B.E. African Traditional Religions: A
Definition. London: SCM Press, 1973.
- Isaacs, David. Character Building: A Guide for
Parents and Teachers. Dublin: Four Courts
Press, 1976/1984.
- Janheinz, Jahn. Muntu: The New African Culture. New
York: Faber and Faber, 1961.
- Johnson, J.B. and Joslyn, R.A. Political Science
Research Methods. New Delhi: Prentice Hall
of India, 1989.
- Jumba, Simon. Kitabu kya Muloqooli na Vana Veve.
Kisumu: Evangel Press, 1946.
- Kagoni, Reuben. Miruka Nende Visereru vio Muloqooli.
Nairobi: Jothwilnor Publishers, 1988.
- Kayongo, Male and Onyango P. The Sociology of the
African Family. London: Longman, 1984.
- Keeling, Michael. Morals in a Free Society. London:
SCM Press, 1967.
- Kenya National Examinations Council. Kenya
Certificate of Secondary Education
Regulations and Syllabuses 1989-1990.
Nairobi: 1987.
- Kenyatta, Jomo. Facing Mount Kenya. Nairobi: HEB,
1938/ 1984.

- Kiura, J.M. Sexuality and Fertility Awareness: A Book for Boys and Girls. Nairobi: St. Paul Publications- Africa, 1986.
- Knuffel, W.E. The Construction of the Bantu Grass Hut. Akademische Druck, Graz Austria: 1973.
- Kothari, C.R. Research Methods: Methods and Techniques. New Delhi: Willey Eastern Limited, 1985/1989.
- Koul, Lokesh. Methodology of Educational Research. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1984.
- Krammer III, Charles. Ethics and Liberation: An Introduction. New York: Orbis Books-Maryknoll, 1988 (3rd print 1991).
- Kywalyanga, F.X. Traditional Religion, Customs and Christianity in Uganda. Freiburg im Breisgau: 1976.
- Langley, L. and Kiggins, T. A Serving People. Nairobi: OUP, 1974.
- Lessa, W.A., ed. Reader in Comparative Religion. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.
- Lord Eric and Bailey Charles, eds. A Reader in Religious and Moral Education. London: SCM Press, 1973.
- Luvai, Nathan. Miima jo Muloqooli. Nairobi: Henry Chakava Press, 1986.
- Mailu, G. David. Our Kind of Polygamy. Nairobi: HEB., 1988.

- Mair, Lucy. An Introduction to Social Anthropology.
Oxford: OUP, 1965.
- Malinowski, B. Crime and Custom in Savage Society.
London: Kegan Paul, 1926.
- Malinowski, B. Methods of Study of Culture Contact in
Africa. London: OUP, 1938.
- Malusu, J. The Luyia Way of Death. Nairobi: OUP,
1978.
- Mbiti, J.S. African Religions and Philosophy.
Nairobi, HEB, 1969.
- _____. Love and Marriage in Africa. Essex:
Longman, 1973.
- _____. Introduction to African Religion. New York:
Praeger Publications, 1975.
- Metuh, E.I. God and Man in African Religion. London:
Geoffrey Chapman, 1981.
- Middleton, J. The Central Tribes of Northern Eastern
Bantu. London: International African
Institute, 1956.
- Mojola, A.O. Introductory Ethics for College Students
and Teachers. Nairobi: HEB, 1988.
- Muga, E. African Response to Western Christian
Religion. Nairobi: EALB, 1975.
- Mugambi, J.N.K. Philosophy of Religion. Nairobi:
NUP, 1988.
- _____. The Biblical Basis for Evangelization:
Theological Reflections Based on an African

- Experience. Nairobi: OUP, 1989.
- Mugambi, J.N.K. African Heritage and Contemporary Christianity: Nairobi Longman, 1989.
- Revival in the CPK Diocese of Embu 1942-1992. Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 1992.
- _____. From Liberation to Reconstruction. Nairobi: EAEP, 1995.
- _____. , ed. Church Come of Age: Fifty Years of Revival in the CPK Diocese of Embu 1942-1992. Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 1992.
- Mugambi, J.N.K. and Kirima, N. The African Religious Heritage. Nairobi: OUP, 1976.
- Mugambi, J.N.K and Nasimiyu-Wasike A., eds. Moral and Ethical Issues in African Christianity: Exploratory Essays in Moral Theology. Nairobi: Initiatives Publishers, 1992.
- Mukulu, A. Ndayanza Lulimi Lwitu: Amegitsu ku Vana. Nairobi: EAPH, 1980.
- Musharhamina, M.G.C. Traditional African Marriage and Christian Marriage. Kisubi: Editions Saint Paul, Afrique-Zaire, 1981.
- Muthiani, J. Akamba from Within: Egalitarian in Social Relations. New York: Exposition Press, 1973.
- Mutiso, G.C. Kenya: Politics, Policy and Society. Nairobi, EALB, 1975.

- Namwera, L., ed. African Christian Studies, Vol.4. No.1. March, 1988. Nairobi: CHIEA, 1988.
- _____. African Christian Studies, Vol.4 No. 2. June, 1988, Nairobi: CHIEA, 1988.
- _____. African Christian Studies, Vol. 4 No.3. Nov. 1988. Nairobi: CHIEA, 1988.
- Ndanyi, E. Avaloqooli Amanq'ana qa Kale: 1200-1985. Nairobi: Jothwilnor Publishers, 1985.
- Ndeti, Kivuto. Elements of Akamba Life. Nairobi: EAPH, 1972.
- Nida, Eugene A. Customs, Culture and Christianity. London: Tyndale Press, 1954.
- Nyakatura, J. Aspects of Bunyoro Customs and Traditions. Nairobi: EALB, 1970.
- Ochieng, W.R.O." A Traditional History of the Gusii of Western Kenya from c.A.D. 1500-1914". Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1971.
- Ogburn, L.F. and Meinkoff Meyer, F. Sociology. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958.
- Ogot, B.A., ed. Zamani: A Survey of East African History. Nairobi: Longman, 1968.
- Ominde S.H., ed. Population and Development. Nairobi, HEB, 1984.
- _____. " African Names and Christian Names" in African Ecclessial Review Vol.25 No. 2. April, 1983.

- Ongong'a J.J." Life and Death: A Christian Luo Dialogue", in Spear head No. 73. Eldoret, Gaba Publications, 1983.
- Onwuejeogwu, M.A. The Social Anthropology of Africa: An Introduction. London: HEB, 1975.
- Orchardson, Ian G. The Kipsigis. Nairobi: KLB, 1961/1971.
- Orika, H.O. and Masolo D.A., eds. Philosophy and Cultures. Nairobi: Bookwise Publishers, 1983.
- Orika, H.O. Ethics. Nairobi: NUP, 1990.
- Osogo, J.A. A History of the Baluhya. Nairobi: OUP, 1966.
- Painter, L.K. The Hill of Vision. Kaimosi: East African Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1966.
- Parrinder, G. African Traditional Religion. London: Sheldon Press, 1954/1974.
- _____. Africa's Three Religions. London, Sheldon Press, 1969.
- Parsons, T. The Social System. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951.
- _____. Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives. New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1966.
- P Bitek, Okot. Africa's Cultural Revolution. Nairobi: Macmillan Books for Africa, 1973.

- Paul, Kevin., ed. Encyclopedic Dictionary of Religion. Washington D.C.: Corpus Publications, 1969.
- Penwill, D.J. Nandi Customary Law. Nairobi: KLB, 1954.
- Presbyterian Church of East Africa. The Family and Social Change. Nairobi: Uzima Press, 1974.
- Peter, C.B. A Guide to Academic Writing. Eldoret: Zapf Chancery, 1994.
- Prewitt, K. Introductory Research Methodology. Nairobi: Institute for Development Studies, 1974.
- Radcliffe, Brown. A.R. African Systems of Kinship and Marriage. London, OUP, 1950.
- Raymond, Firth. Elements of Social Organization. London: Watts and Company, 1951.
- Richardson, Allan. A Theological Workbook of the Bible. London: SCM Press, 1957.
- Routledge, W.S. With a Pre-historic People. London: Frank Cass and Company, 1968.
- Rouybiezek, P. Ethical Values in the Age of Science. Cambridge: CUP, 1969.
- Sabwa, S.L. Ndayanza Lulimi Lwitu: Liviruka Nende Liiva Iyo Mundu. Nairobi: EAPH, 1980.
- Shelpher, J. Incest: A Bio-Social View. New York: Academic Press, 1983.

- Sifuna, D.N AN J.E. Otiende. An Introductory History of Education. Nairobi: Nairobi University Press, 1992.
- Shorter, A. African Culture and the Christian Church. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1973.
- Smart, N. The Religious Experience of Mankind. New York: Charles Scribners, 1969.
- Smart, W.B. The Concise Dictionary of the Bible. London: John Murray, 1909.
- Snell, G.S. Nandi Customary Law. Nairobi: KLB, 1954/1986.
- Steiner, Franz. Taboo. England: Penguin Books 1967.
- Tempels, P. Bantu Philosophy. Paris: Presence Africaine, 1959.
- The Chicago Manual of Style. New Delhi: Prentice Hall of India, 1989.
- Tiryakian, E.A., ed. Sociological Theory, Values and Socio-Cultural change. London: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.
- Tuma, A.D.T. Building a Ugandan Church: African Participation in Church Growth and Evangelism in Busoga 1891-1940. Nairobi: EALB, 1980.
- Turyahikayo, R.B. Philosophy and Traditional Religion of the Bakiga in South West Uganda. Nairobi: KLB, 1983.

- Van Gennep, A. The Rites of Passage. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Van Pelt, P. Customs in Mainland Tanzania. Tabora: Tanzania Missionary Publications Bookshop Department, 1971.
- Waddington, C.W. Science and Ethics. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1942.
- Wagner, G. The Changing Family Among the Bantu of North Kavirondo. London: OUP, 1939.
- _____. The Bantu of Western Kenya. London: OUP, 1970.
- Wako, D.M. Akabaluyia be Mumbo. Nairobi: EALB, 1965.
- Waliggo, J.M., et.al. Inculturation: Its Meaning and Urgency. Kampala: St. Paul Publications, 1986.
- _____. African Christian Studies. Vol. 3 No.4. Dec. 1987. Nairobi: CH IEA, 1987.
- Wanjala, Chris. For Home and Freedom. Nairobi: KLB, 1980.
- Weber, M. The Sociology of Religion. London: Methuen and Company, 1966.
- _____. A History of the Baluyia of Western Kenya. Nairobi: EAPH, 1967.
- _____. Western Kenya Historical Facts. Nairobi: EALB, 1967.
- Were, G.S. Essays on African Religion in Western Kenya. Nairobi: EALB, 1977.

- William, B.A.O. Morality: An Introduction to Ethics.
Cambridge: CUP, 1972.
- Wilson, M. Religion and the Transformation of
Society: A Study in the Social Change in
Africa. Cambridge: CUP, 1971.
- Yide, S.O. and Groenewogen T. Luke's Gospel and Its
Relevance to Africa Today. Nairobi:
Longman, 1984.
- Yinger, M.J. The Scientific Study of Religion.
London: Macmillan, 1970.
- _____. Religion, Society and the Individual: An
Introduction to the Study of Religion. New
York: Macmillan, 1957.
- Young, R. Analytical Concordance of the Holy Bible.
London: 1897.
- Zastavsky, Claudia. Africa Counts: Number and Pattern
in African Culture. Massachussets, Weber
and Schmidt, 1973.

**B) UNPUBLISHED SOURCES: THESES, DISSERTATIONS AND
ARTICLES**

- Akaranga, S.I. " Birth and Initiation into Adulthood
in Relation to Baptism and Confirmation
Among the Avalogooli of Western Kenya".
M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1986.

- AMECEA Pastoral Institute. " Change in the World and in the Church " in Spear Head No.56 Vol.1. Eldoret: Gaba Publications, 1979.
- Bogonko, S.N." Christian Missionary Education and its Impact on the Abagusii of Western Kenya; 1909-1963", Ph.D. Thesis. University of Nairobi, 1977.
- Browne, D.L. " Kawangware: Urbanization by Absorption, Identity and Social Change in Nairobi ". Ph.D. Thesis, University of Illinois, 1983.
- Chakava, Henry. " Liyavila Mukuzu Kolondekana ni Miima ju Mulogooli". Nairobi: Henry Chakava Press, 1990.
- Ekeya, Bette. " The Emurwon- Diviner/ Prophet in the Religion of Iteso". Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1984.
- Frey, R.G." Rules and Consequences as Grounds for Moral Judgement". Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oxford, 1973.
- Githige, R.M. " The Religious Factor in the Mau Mau Oaths". M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1978/1989.
- Kahindi, Wakanyi Lydia. "The Agikuyu Concept of *Thahu* and its Bearing on the Christian Concept of Sin". M.A. Thesis, Kenyatta University, 1988.

- Kamuyu wa Kang'ethe." The role of the Agikuyu Religion and Culture in the Development of the Karinga Religio-Political Movement-1900-1950: With Particular Reference to the Agikuyu Concept of God and the Rite of Initiation." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1981.
- Kasiera, E.M." Development of Pentecostal Christianity in Western Kenya: With Particular Reference to Maragoli, Nyang'ori and Tiriki 1909-1942". Ph.D. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1981.
- Kinoti, H.W. " Aspects of Gikuyu Traditional Morality". Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1983.
- Mbula, J. " Penetration of Christianity in Akamba Traditional Family". M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1974.
- Mbula, J.. " The Impact of Christianity on the Family Structure and Stability: The Case of the Akamba of Eastern Kenya." Ph.D. Thesis University of Nairobi, 1977.
- Munio, D.K. " A Study of Curses and Blessings Among the Kikuyu". B.A. Dissertation, Department of Religious Studies, University of Nairobi, 1985.

- Mwenesi, J.M." Positive Clannism Among the Avalogooli". Historical Association of Kenya Annual Conference, Nairobi: 1976.
- Njeri, P. " Akurinu Churches: A Study of the History and Some of the Basic Beliefs of the Holy Ghost Church of East Africa 1926-1980". M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1984.
- Ogutu G.E.M." Origin and Growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Kenya: 1895- 1952". Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1983.
- Ongong'a J.J. "The Luo Concept of Death: A Study of the Beliefs and Ceremonies of Death in the Light of Christian Message". Ph.D. Thesis, Rome, 1978.
- Were, G.S." The Changing Concept and Role of Religion in Society: Interaction of African Religion with Christianity in Western Kenya". Wed. Sept.12, 1973.

C) GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

- Government of Kenya. Kenya Education Commission.
Nairobi: Government of Kenya Printer, 1964.
- _____. The Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies.
Nairobi: Government Printer, 1976.

D) ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

KNA,DC/ NN/3/2/12 Maraqoli South

KNA,DC/NN/3/2/13 North Maraqoli

KNA,DC/NN/3/1 Political Record Book of North
Kavirondo District Part 1.