Conflict as a Leveling Mechanism —Analysis of Cattle Composition and Raiding among the Narim in Southern Sudan—

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The present paper intends to make an analysis on the cattle composition and raiding among the Narim, one of the Surmic peoples, in Southern Sudan, and to introduce a hypothesis that their repeated cattle raiding against their neighboring peoples brings an economic leveling to their soicety. The paper also describes in detail the management of cattle, their folk categories for conflict, the strategy and tactics of their cattle raiding, and their distribution of cattle after raiding.

Key words: cattle raiding, pastoral society, ethnic conflict, leveling mechanism, Narim, Sudan.

1. THE DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF CONFLICT AMONG PASTORALISTS

That conflicts(1) between peoples or groups occur where there is an imbalance in their resources, has been one of the principal explanations for conflict to date.(2) In contrast, the hypothesis put forward herein, is that frequent conflicts between groups may, rather, function as an economic leveling mechanism within a given group. Repeated and frequent conflicts continue at present, not only for the Narim addressed here, but for the Ethiopian Bodi and other pastoralists of northeast Africa. Attacks on other peoples and the suffering of attacks by them, is a matter of course. Most of these conflicts are among pastoralists. The victims generally number from several dozen to over one hundred, though their number will, on occasion, reach one thousand.

Why do they fight? In the course of repeated exposure to their conflict, I was captivated by this simple question. In this work, I will focus on, and attempt the analysis of, the movement of livestock that accompanies conflict among pastoralist groups. I believe that the view that their conflict is simply centered on livestock, is no more than a sidelong approach to one aspect of their conflict. Conflict that may, at times, appear to place the very existence of a people at stake, might be more appropriately approached as comprising other essential elements. Even conflict that appears, on the surface, only to entail the movement of livestock, most likely conceals several complicatedly intertwined and important factors. Thus, with this as a basis, the pressing subject at hand is the individual extraction and analysis of these elements toward a highlighting of the characteristics of pastoralist conflict.(3)

In general, it is said that pastoralists are not socially stratified and that they are a homogeneous people.(4) The Bodi, Narim and other pastoralists I have researched in nor-

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theast Africa, whether chief or commoner in origin, are on equal terms in their daily lives, and, moreover, exhibit strong individualist tendencies. On the other hand, their cultivator neighbors are an evolved class society, with political systems that have developed as far as monarchies. Why then do we find this homogeneity in pastoral society? That is a question I have entertained since 1973, when I first lived with pastoralists in southwest Ethiopia.

Here, I would like to propose two features relevant to this consideration of conflicts among East African pastoral societies. First, conflict is not an occupation; rather, adult males are all fundamentally warriors. Second, everyday adversarial relations among groups stem more from issues around cattle as personal property than from territorial concerns.

2. APPROACHING THE ANALYSIS OF LIVESTOCK RAIDING

It goes without saying that the lives of pastoralists center on livestock. In East Africa, livestock are not only economically essential, but also vital to one's worth and world view. Consequently, when making pastoral society the subject of a study, an interpretation of livestock and the inclusion of its relation to man in one's analysis, are indispensible aspects of the investigative process. However, most pastoralist ethnographies do not give concrete form to the role of livestock, and owing to this, livestock and their relation to humans are not shown in relief. It would seem that the first head by head investigation of livestock, compilation of a family registry, and analysis of a herd, came in 1966, with Umesao (1966).

Not a day goes by without some talk of cattle among pastoralists, and without cattle, it would be impossible to speak of their society. Fundamental to their daily life is the individual identification of, and interaction with, each animal. It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that even more significant than a description of the relations between individuals, is the concrete account and analysis of this relation of a man to his livestock in bringing the character of pastoral society into relief. I believe that above and beyond a look at pastoralist conflict attended by the raiding of livestock, one's research method must also pass through a head by head analysis and interpretation of livestock. But such information is exceedingly scarce.

Papers from an international syposium held at the National Museum of Ethnology have been published in *Warfare among East African Herders* (Fukui & Turton 1979). In one review of this publication, appearing in *African Economic History*, Berntsen (1980: 197) wrote of the raiding of livestock as follows:

> ; we have little detailed information on what actually happened to raided cattle (no doubt an extremely sensitive issue which does not always permit open inquiry) and how individuals used them to form networks of alliances and followers in order to increase their opportunities for wealth, status, and power.

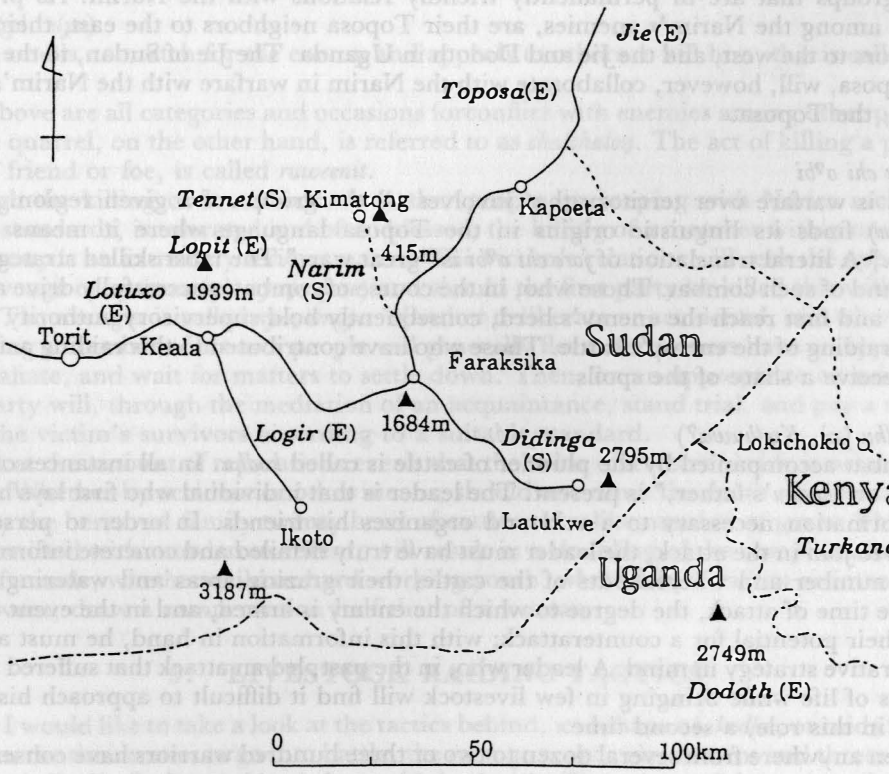
Actually, thus far, almost no investigations have made use of concrete materials in showing transfers in cow registry and, above all, determining the manner in which raided livestock are divided. While I addressed transfers in cow ownership in my research regarding the Bodi of southwest Ethiopia from 1973–76, in this investigation of the Narim, it is a matter to which I have devoted pointed attention.

Of course, resources are limited to subtle talk, but I will endeavor to untangle the material at hand. While taking a look at the general nature of Narim conflict, I will provide an overview of the various means by which cattle are acquired. Then, after illustrating some of the distinctive features of the family registry[5] I compiled for corralled cattle, I will calculate the share that raiding has in the movement of cattle. Finally, looking at the actual organization of a raiding war, at the distribution of raided cattle, and so on, I hope to highlight the properties of livestock-centered conflict.[6]

3. INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS CENTERING ON THE NARIM

The Narim are a people numbering less than 4,000 and living in Eastern Equatoria Province in southeast Sudan. Linguistically they belong to the East Sudanic Surma branch of the Nilo-Saharan family of languages. Their neighbors include the Toposa to the east and the Lotuxo to the west, both of whom speak an Eastern Nilotic branch language, while to the south live the Didinga who share the same Surma language. Across the Ugandan border live the Eastern Nilotic speaking Jie and Dodoth, both predominantly pastoral peoples. Linguistically extremely close to the Turkana across the Kenyan border and to the Toposa, Jie, and Dodoth, the Narim's relation to the Turkana is, however, antagonistic, and the Narim will, on occasion, form a cooperative alliance with one of these other peoples against the Turkana.

A focus on the Narim reveals their collaboration with the Didinga to the south, who share a common language, and alternating conflict and conciliation with the Lotuxo to the west. Fundamentally, the principal that "the enemy of an enemy is a friend," is followed to the letter in this region. Evidence that similarity of language does not form the basis for closeness among peoples is provided not only by poor relations with the Toposa and Turkana, but also by those Jie who live to the north of the Toposa in Sudan. Generally referred to as the Jie of Sudan, they share the Eastern Nilotic language with the Toposa,



Toposa : Ethnic Group
Nilo-saharan:
East-sudanic
(S): Surma Group
(E): Eastern Nilotic Group

Fig. 1. The distribution of major ethnic groups in the vicinity of the Narim.

but are in an adversarial relationship to them. Accordingly, as the Narim are enemies of the Toposa, Jie and Narim are in a relation of potential alliance.(7)

As suggested above, for these peoples, livestock-cattle in particular-are not only of economic and mental value, but are vital to the realization of society and the individual.(8) The cultivation of Indian millet through swidden and other methods also contributes to their livelihood.

4. THE CONCEPT OF CONFLICT AMONG THE NARIM

Here we will look at the various forms which conflict takes in Narim society. The warfare or conflict to be found in Narim society is generally called *kwenit* (pl. *uukoy*). One's enemy is *miroit* (pl. *mirok*) and one's ally is described as a "peace mediator" using the word *ganon* (pl. *ganonit*) or *et chi nach*, meaning "our people." But friendly groups, with whom there has never been a conflict, are spoken of using language originating in the relation of siblings, namely *gatonyet* (pl. *gotonoget*).

Interestingly, the language denoting one's enemy makes use of a distinct and independent vocabulary while one's allies are described in loan words and compounds. Further, the language of enemies differentiates between those with whom the Narim are presently in conflict, *miroit*, and those with whom they enjoy a time of mediated peace, replacing *miroit* with *agaiyoi* (pl. same). However, such *agaiyoi* are clearly and linguistically distinct from those groups that are in permanently friendly relations with the Narim. As previously stated, among the Narim's enemies, are their Toposa neighbors to the east, their Lotuxo neighbors to the west, and the Jie and Dodoth in Uganda. The Jie of Sudan, to the north of the Toposa, will, however, collaborate with the Narim in warfare with the Narim's eternal enemy, the Toposa.

(1) *jore chi o?bi*

This is warfare over territory that involves all the groups of a given region. *Jore* (pl. *joreenina*) finds its linguistic origins in the Toposa language where it means "eternal enemy." A literal translation of *jore chi o?bi* is "great war." The most skilled strategists take command of such combat. Those who, in the course of combat, successfully drive away the enemy and first reach the enemy's herd, consequently hold supervisory authority over the actual raiding of the enemy's cattle. Those who have contributed to this raiding action, will later receive a share of the spoils.

(2) *kodhu* (pl. *Kodhuwa?*)

Combat accompanied by the plunder of cattle is called *kodhu*. In all instances of *kodhu* a leader, or "*kodhu*'s father," is present. The leader is that individual who first lays his hands on information necessary to a raid and organizes his friends. In order to persuade his friends to join in the attack, the leader must have truly detailed and concrete information as to the number and whereabouts of the cattle, their grazing areas and watering holes, a suitable time of attack, the degree to which the enemy is armed, and in the event of an attack, their potential for a counterattack; with this information in hand, he must also have an operative strategy in mind. A leader who, in the past, led an attack that suffered substantial loss of life while bringing in few livestock will find it difficult to approach his companions, in this role, a second time.

When anywhere from several dozen to two or three hundred warriors have consented to a proposed strategy of attack, immediately prior to the said attack the leader will then dispatch a scouting party of two or four men to the place targeted. For the Narim, whose total population at the time of a 1983 census was 3,623 persons, a combat party numbering three hundred would be roughly ten percent of the population. The scouting party is called *torotoit* (pl. *torotok*) and is, without fail, comprised of an even number of people. If the *torotoit* are successful in the *kodhu*, their shares of the livestock taken, will be second only to the leader's. Later, let us consider a concrete example of such an event.

(3) *goriyait* (pl. *goriyak*)

The term *goriyait* approximates the meaning "cow theft," whereby a small group of 1–5 persons steals cattle from the grazing herd of another people, unbeknownst to them. Should the adversary become aware of this action while it is underway, there is a prior understanding among the thieving party that they will flee. Should this thieving party be pursued, there are occasions when they are killed, though usually *goriyait* are not killed. Generally the group is composed of friends from the same age set. The number of head of cattle stolen is small and they are divided equally.

(4) *nyekerep* (pl. *nyekerepnya*)

This is when an adult male, prior to the castration of his own bull, goes out into, and remains in, the bush for a period of three or four days and while there, kills an elephant, lion, leopard, buffalo, giraffe, hyena or other large animal, or someone from among the enemy. Regardless of the bull to be castrated, *nyekerep* is performed. If a Toposa or Lotuxo is killed, upon returning to the village, members of the same age group from the area gather for the castration and dancing.

(5) *agamei* (pl. *agamutek*)

This is when an enemy is captured and a friend assists in the killing of that enemy. The friend who helps is not given cattle, but the personal effects of the dead enemy are shared.

(6) *eela* (pl. *elya*)

When one is no match for the enemy and appeals to others to kill him, this is called *eela*.

The above are all categories and occasions for conflict with enemies among other peoples; a simple quarrel, on the other hand, is referred to as *chalchaloŋ*. The act of killing a person, whether friend or foe, is called *ruweenit*.

Though the killing of a member of another people, in keeping with Narim social and cultural standards, is tolerated and often blessed, the killing of a member within one's own ethnic group is an extremely serious matter. The victim's relations will seek the opportunity for revenge or *nyaŋane* (pl. *nyaŋanjore*) and should the first party be killed this will not be judged. The avenger is called *nyaŋamoye*. Whether deliberate or accidental, one who is guilty of killing a member of his own people will generally flee before others have an opportunity to retaliate, and wait for matters to settle down. Then, on an appropriate occasion, the guilty party will, through the mediation of an acquaintance, stand trial, and pay a reparation to the victim's survivors according to a suitable standard.

A look at the amount of reparation reveals that the value of a woman's life is twice that of a man's. Whether by accident or other means, should one cause the death of a woman, one must pay the bereaved family twenty head of cattle and a like number of goats. The same act, committed with murderous intent, will result in a doubling of the compensation. The killing of a male, whether child or hard working youth, whether by accident or intent, will, in any event, draw a compensation half that of a woman.

5. LIVESTOCK RAIDING TACTICS

Next, I would like to take a look at the tactics behind, and shape of, *kodhu*, or raids for cattle. When the time comes to go into battle, the men go separately, in twos and threes, in the direction the leader has designated as a gathering point. The men pass through settlements, spears and automatic rifles[9] in hand, and small water gourds resting on their shoulders. When going into battle they will generally carry two spears. In one particular case that I observed, the ultimate goal for the raid was the village of Logir,[10] some fifty kilometers distant as a bird flies. The initial destination was set at Faraksika, a small town approximately half the distance to Logir.

When the band had gathered at this first destination, the leader, as stated above, selected the scouting party and sent them on in the direction of the point of attack. The hour of at-

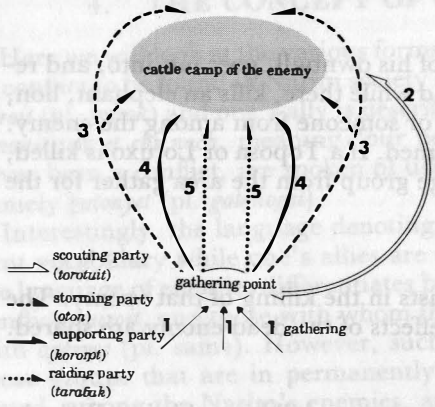


Fig. 2-1.

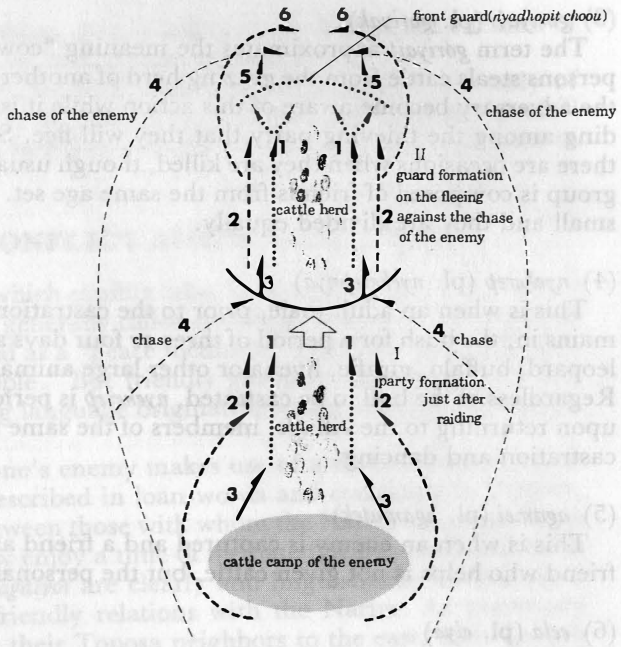


Fig. 2-2.

Fig. 2-1. Basic tactics for livestock raiding.
Fig. 2-2. Basic tactics after livestock raiding.

tack will vary from an early morning or middle of the night raid on livestock in a herding camp or population center, to a midday raid on herding camp cattle that have gathered at a watering hole. At any rate, centering on the leader, and making use of concrete information gathered by the scouting party, arrangements for the attack will be worked over. A description of the fundamentals in the approach to such a raiding effort follows.

Basically three groups are formed. The storming party or *oton* (pl. *otonuwa*) divide into two groups that will attack the enemy from opposite sides. Should the enemy run, they will be pursued to a point. In their absence, the *taraɓak* (pl. *taraɓauwa*), or raiding party, will scatter and rush into the corral. Finally, the *koroŋot* (pl. *koroŋo auwa*), or third unit, will support the first *oton*, or storming party.

Should members of the enemy remain in the vicinity of the corral, the *koroŋot* will enter the fenced in area and engage the enemy there. When the enemy is unyielding, the raiding party may join this effort. In this case, the *oton* forces responsible for the initial attack, will move around behind the enemy and defend against an enemy attack from another direction, though they will not enter the fenced area.

When the livestock are taken quickly, the raiding party will drive the herd of raided animals away, fleeing the area with due speed. The aforementioned storming party, returning from their lookout for the enemy, flank either side of the raiding party, acting as an escort for a rapid retreat. During this time, the support force will continue to engage the enemy group, falling one or two kilometers behind the storming and raiding parties and, while following, confirming that the enemy will not pursue their flight.

Should the enemy circle around in front of the retreat, the *nyadhopit choou* (pl. *nyadhopinnya chik ootinu*), or front guard, will be sent forth from the raiding party to engage the enemy. If the enemy is particularly strong, the *oton*, who had flanked the raiding party, will then strike from behind.

Remaining poised in this manner, the men return to their settlements with thoughts of the inevitability of death. Livestock taken from the enemy in this manner is called *aqanna* (pl. *aqaʔtya*). Witnessed close at hand, in actual raids and instances of being raided, whether

in a small or large number, there are always victims. When fighting is limited and the raid a success, the leader's share becomes larger, but when fighting is fierce and victims many, the leader's share is smaller and the distribution of spoils to the participants larger in turn.

6. A VARIETY OF CATTLE ACQUISITION METHODS

Now let us consider, including the act of plunder from other peoples, the circumstances under which livestock change hands in Narim society. For these pastoralists who naturally rely upon their livestock, a transfer in the ownership of livestock is a matter of primary concern often accompanied by conflict. Even for livestock that will do well to live a dozen years, a transfer of ownership is of no lesser importance than that of the transfer of land for a farmer. For the pastoralist, livestock are not simply of economic import, but, as stated above, they are living objects by which one's identity is shaped and rituals are performed, and are thus inextricably linked to one's worldview. It would be no exaggeration to suggest that, in pastoral society, social relations, and life's purpose, are formed through livestock. Here, using Narim terminology, I would like to clarify the various means by which transfers in the ownership of livestock, especially cattle, occur.

(1) *edhen*

This is the term for "bridewealth." It is well known that, in East African pastoral society, at the time a male marries, he presents the bride's family with a large number of livestock. While, thus far, this act has been interpreted broadly, here I should like to note only the fact that a change of human registry in one direction is accompanied by a change of livestock registry in the other.

In Narim society, when this handing over of cattle in the payment of bridewealth to the bride's family occurs, it is not only witnessed by both families, but also by the inhabitants of the region who gather and watch this transfer of ownership closely. The bridegroom's relatives determine, head by head, which animals to give to which of the bride's relatives, devoting considerable time to this discussion. When this has been concluded, the cattle are pointed out by a representative of the bridegroom's family and driven from the corral, at which time this man strikes his whip on the ground, and calls out the name of the receiving bride's relation in a loud voice. Nearby, married women, finely adorned and dressed, dance incessantly. This ceremony is the picture of earnestness and when it appears that the hoped for cow or cattle will not be obtained, one will often go out into an open area, and after releasing the catch on his automatic rifle, make a speech.

In Narim society, a bridewealth payment may be estimated at 50-60 head of cattle, generally handed over during the course of two rituals. In a ritual requiring one full day, 20 to 30 head of cattle, or half the bridewealth, will pass to the family of the bride.

(2) *aŋaadhadneay*

This is when one's unwed daughter becomes pregnant and one receives cattle from the child's father. Should he be recognized by the daughter's relations and agree to deliver the bridewealth payment (*edhen*) described above, the pregnancy out of wedlock will become a proper marriage. If the marriage were not to occur, the man responsible for the pregnancy would be required to give to the daughter's relations six heifers and one bull or ox. Only with the slaughter of this bull or ox, in a ceremony called *lokachoila*, is the child born out of wedlock recognized by society.

(3) *kelewa*

This is the act of procuring a bull of special coloring or appearance. If an animal of coloring or appearance to one's particular liking should be born elsewhere, one takes a bell and ties it to that animal. Shortly thereafter, having obtained the said bull, he may chant poems to it, attend to the animal with great care, and castrate it. In particular, when the animal is to be used as a stud bull or is given to another as part of a bridewealth payment, the original owner is informed.

The ownership of a head of cattle with special coat-color, and above all an ox of such character, is a cultural apparatus by which one measures one's identity (Fukui 1979). The majority of East Africa's pastoralists find life's meaning in the splendid raising of an ox and boast of it whenever the opportunity arises. In Narim society, women identifies themselves with cows and men with oxen, raising them with great care; should an animal die from an illness, or grow old, until the time of its death or slaughter in a special ritual, the animal is cared for at the owner's own compound. Members of the same age group as the deceased cattle's owner, present him with sorghum and beer, and the occasion evolves into a large dance. The slaughtered cattle's hide is then cut into long strips and used by the family for necklaces and for tying calves. The hide of this cow, vital to its owner's identity, is called *olo* (pl. *olonya*) in Narim society.

(4) *ŋaɓolo*

This term is used for livestock received as compensation when one's animal is ceremonial sacrificed. In many East African pastoral societies, not only does a given ceremony require the sacrifice of a particular type of livestock, but the coloration and appearance of the animal are strictly defined. In the event that the person responsible for a ceremony is not in possession of the kind of animal, or of an animal of color or appearance, suitable for such, they will approach someone with just such an animal and ask for it. Reparations are then paid in kind. On such an occasion a pregnant cow may be presented. Later, if the calf is a heifer or if the mother gives birth to a calf with the coat-color that the original owner is particularly fond of, the mother is returned to its original owner and the calf is kept by its new owner. A calf born in such circumstances is called *agamni*.

(5) *aɓutanane*

When a head of cattle with which one identifies closely, as described above, or a large milk producing cow, dies and friends or acquaintances give this person a cow as solace, this is called *aɓutanane*. By way of contrast, even upon the death of one's father or other relative, a cow is not given as solace.

(6) *oŋana*

This is when one inherits livestock upon the death of one's father.

(7) *aragidhi*

This is when the son of one's father's sister (one's cousin) takes one's father's cattle at the time of his death. One's father's sister's son is called *lochiŋa* (pl. *lochiŋakenya*) and from their perspective, the deceased is their mother's brother. In Narim society, one's mother's brother is called *maama*; one is raised in the home of one's *maama* and this household will also provide a large portion of one's bridewealth. Thus, in keeping with *araghidi*, upon the death of one's father, *lochiŋa* will take the greater part of his cattle, at times leaving very few cattle on hand.

(8) *kaɗay*

This is when one receives a portion of the bridewealth upon the marriage of the daughter of a relative. Also, the term *kaɗay* is used when stolen livestock is received from one's child, younger brother, etc.

(9) *ata?lyai*

When objects of equal value are exchanged, this is called *ata?lyai*. For example, this term is used when one trades one's cattle for another's cattle, or one's goat for another's.

(10) *uutai*

This is when different objects are exchanged, essentially making for the "purchase" of one item with another. In Narim society this might be the exchange of goats for cattle, or of cattle for rifles.

(11) *aamiay*

This is when one attacks and drives away an enemy group, in a raiding action, thereby getting hold of their livestock. This study is concerned with *aamiay*.

(12) *gordhay*

This term is used generally for the theft, but rather than a descriptor of theft on a large scale, it suggests the stealthy taking of a few head of cattle, whether they belong to an adversarial group or an ally.

(13) *ballyoit*

When, without transfering ownership, one temporarily places livestock that one has raided in the custody of a close friend (e.g. in an effort to prevent its discovery by the original owner), this term is used. Thus, the presence of livestock in a corral is not necessarily an indication that it belongs to the corral owner's family or relations.

Here, we have reviewed, in their own terminology, the various means by which cattle may be acquired in Narim society. If we were to investigate the origins of any individual cattle, we could expect that its acquisition would fall within one of these thirteen categories. Before the examination of concrete examples of the above, we will outline the territorial organization and political units of Narim society, then touch upon the most fundamental political unit of Narim society, namely the corral, which takes the form of both the compound or *korok* (pl. *korokjok*) and of the herding camp, or ore.

7. THE CORRAL AS THE SMALLEST POLITICAL UNIT

"Territory," in the Narim language, is called *loch*. With a total of six territories, this is the total area that the Narim must defend. When it appears that one of these territories is in danger of invasion by another people, this is viewed as an attack on the Narim as a whole. Every territory has its "territorial father" or *baate loochu*. For example, along the western flank of the Boya Range (which runs from north to south in southern Sudan) are scattered settlements in which reside nearly two thirds of the total Narim population, or approximately 2,200 persons. This area is called "Amura's Territory," Amura being the name of an elderly man, who at nearly seventy years of age, lives in a settlement just to the north of Kimatong, the base locale for my research. The administrative authority of this "territorial father" Amura is limited to certain rituals. His participation in political activities is limited and his daily life is no different from that of other Narim people. Apparently the oral tradition that Amura's ancestors were the founders of the Narim continues to this day.

It may be said that the division of Narim territories, aside from the function of Narim social organization, is without particular meaning. Competition does not occur among Narim territories and generally a settlement may be established anywhere, and livestock allowed to graze with equal freedom. There is also no need to receive permission from the territorial father for every action. However, in the case of agricultural land, the most recent cultivator of a swidden field is given priority; with that individual's approval, fundamentally anyone can cultivate.

A look at the current organization of the Narim population indicates that the Narim may be divided roughly into four sections for which no particularly relevant term was found in the Narim language. The Boya mountain area may be divided into two groups, with the "Looto Narim" living to the north and the "Zuguro Narim" to the south. At a distance of some twenty kilometers, in mountains on either side of the town of Faraksika, the "*ɗuwale*" and "Kiloŋu" Narim may be found. These four sections have their own distinct histories, and in matters of political activity including conflict they are the next unit below the entirety of Narim society, each with its own administrative leader.

These sections are, in turn, divided into several areas. For example, the Zuguro Narim, in the southern half of the Boya mountains, are divided into three areas-Tataman, Zuguro and Kalli-under one leader. Each of these areas is, in turn, made up of several set-

tlements. Formerly, it was said that each Narim settlement *korojok* was composed of persons who could all be traced back to common ancestors, but now in-laws and outsiders are also present. Settlements are composed of anywhere from two to a dozen corral-sharing compounds or *korok*. The *korok* is the smallest political unit in Narim society. In other words, the sharing of a corral is the most fundamental aspect of Narim political life. In each *korok* several homes–the basic economic unit–may be found; these are round houses called *cheedh*.

8. TWO FORMS OF LIVESTOCK MANAGEMENT: *KOROK* AND *BORE* (*ɓore*)

As stated above, livestock, especially cattle, are the economic and mental mainstay of the pastoralist's existence. How does one raise livestock so that it will grow large, bear numerous offspring, provide ample milk, and not become ill? How too does one protect against the danger of enemy raids? The pastoralist is preoccupied with such matters day and night.

A geographic look at livestock management, reveals its division into two types. The first are the settlement's fundamental social groupings, the *korok* or compounds, where the elderly, women, children, all members of Narim society may be found. Here cows, goats, sheep, and so on, are raised and tended.

The second unit for livestock management is the *ɓore*, a herding camp separate from the *korok* and located in the bush, where a suitable grazing area has been found. The word *ɓore* means "corral for cattle" and here principally it is cattle that are cared for. When one owns more cattle than can be cared for in the fixed settlement's *korok*, some cows will remain there while others are moved into several locations in the bush where they are tended by brothers, children and other close relations.

In some herding camps, cattle owners will create a special herd of different cattle, and leave them in the care of youths. For the young men–for all Narim men–oxen hold a special place in the expression of identity. In order to raise these into splendid animals, they are moved from one grazing area to the next. With the arrival of the dry season, when the grazing lands in the vicinity of the fixed settlement are no longer adequate, several head of milking cows and their calves are left behind in the *korok*, and the other cattle are moved out into the bush to a suitable herding camp. Generally, during the period from January through May, many Narim live in such herding camps.

With the preservation of friendly relations with the Toposa and Lotuxo until the beginning of 1980, the environs of the Kidepo River, an area twenty kilometers west of the fixed settlement, was an ideal grazing area for all. Here, in addition to abundant grasslands, the palm, with its edible fruit and lateral bud, thrives along the river banks. However, since the January 1980 Narim attack on the Toposa, there have been repeated and violent altercations that have also entangled the Lotuxo, and what was once an ideal grazing ground has become a no man's land. Thus far, in times of combat, the vicinity of the Kidepo River has become a buffer zone for several ethnic groups, and comparatively recent fighting, as might be expected, has been with the Toposa, occuring both in the period 1964–1971 and 1955–1958. As the Toposa had been moving their herding camp closer and closer to the Narim herdihng camps, issues of territory were a contributing factor in these conflicts.

Since the 1980 combat, the Narim grazing lands have centered on the town of Faraksika, more than twenty kilometers due south, and spread into the bush as far as the Ugandan border. During periods of conflict, protection against an enemy attack is the most important factor in determining the physical location of a herding camp. Even then, the isolation of herding camps, as compared to fixed settlements, renders them vulnerable to attack; during the time of my stay, the Narim were attacked repeatedly by the Toposa and others, and many cattle were taken.

9. THE INDIVIDUAL AS LIVESTOCK OWNER

Here I would like to take up the herding camp in which I lived, toward a look at *bore* (corral) composition and the relation of cattle ownership. Cutting through the bush, this camp was cleared and set up some four kilometers south of Faraksika. In an area of approximately 70 by 70 meters, four corrals or *bore* were established (Fig. 3). Not only were cattle moved here from a compound (*korok*) in the fixed settlement, but animals from other herding camps were included as well. Nearly all of the cattle that Abraham(11) and his relations had a hand in, were concentrated in this location. However, one of the corrals (Bore C), after remaining for a period of only one month, was moved elsewhere.

In each of the *bore* there was an entrance gate or *alaŋ* and there a smaller corral, or pen, for calves was set up as well. The attendants for Bore A and B, and their cohabitants, set up small homes to the west of these *bore* and, similarly, the attendants for Bore C and D, and their cohabitants, built small households to the east of theirs. Looking at household compositions, there were three parent-child family units (III, IV, V), while the others were sibling or cousin relations in cohabitation. Other close relations resided in the fixed settlement compound *korok* and occasionally visited the herding camp. Those tending Bore C were composed of extremely distant relations of Abraham (Abraham is identified as "P" in Fig. 4), namely his father's sister's daughter's husband's father (his cousin's father-in-law) and that man's other children. Meanwhile, the attendants for Bore D were Narim of neither blood nor close geographical relation to Abraham, Narim who happened only to have established a herding camp nearby.

All of the cattle were clearly owned by individuals and in no case did an animal have more than one owner. This is an important characteristic shared by most pastoral societies. As the circumstances surrounding cattle ownership are deeply connected to the theme of this paper, I would like to give this matter concrete attention next.

A look at the owners of the 114 head of cattle in Bore A revealed 14 individuals as shown in Fig. 5. Through further itemization, I found an emphasis on Abraham's father's relations, and the inclusion of a relative on his mother's side as well, namely Abraham's maternal grandmother's brother's son. As stated above, relatives on the mother's brother (*maama*) of the family represent a close *bore* relationship and in the fixed settlement Abraham's compound is adjacent to his *maama's* compound. Abraham's cows comprised

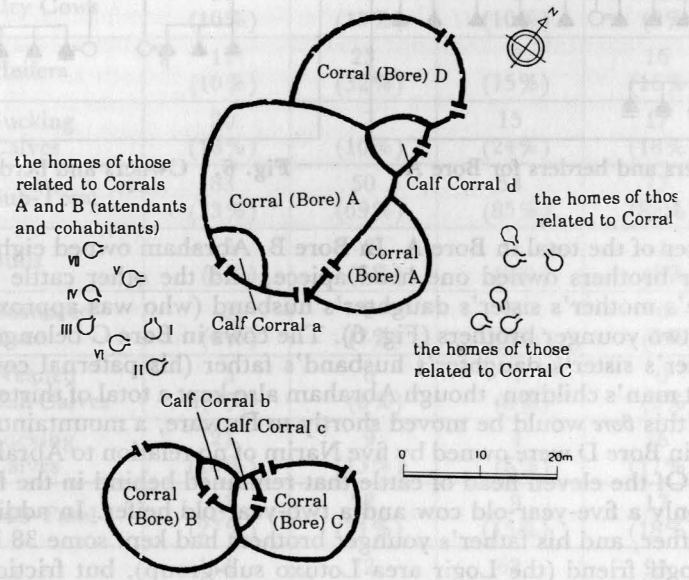


Fig. 3. The organization of a herding camp.

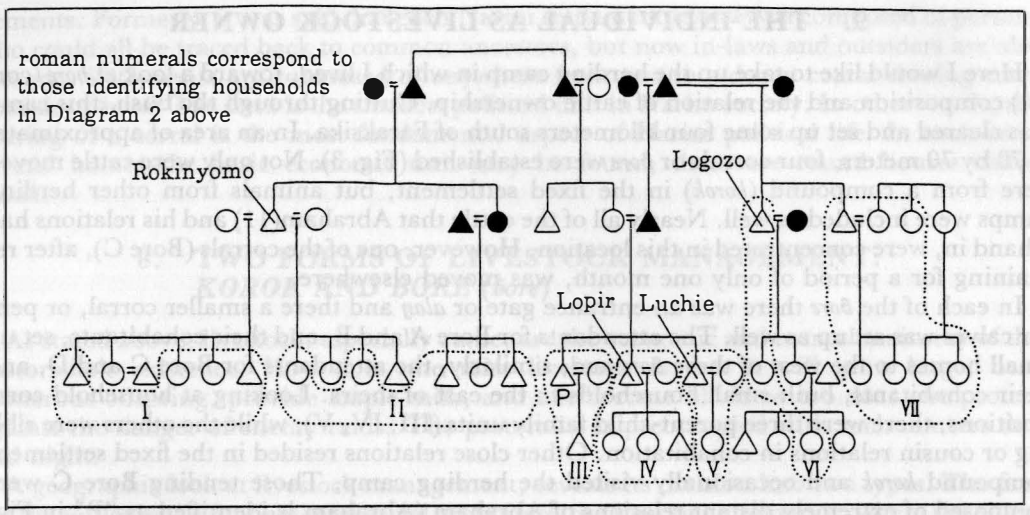


Fig. 4. Corrals (Bore) A and B, their attendants and cohabitants.

△ : male
○ : female
▲● : deceased
= : related by marriage
⌐¬ : half-siblings
▲ : the cow's owner
△ : mature cow herder
△ : calf herder (a child)
P : Abraham

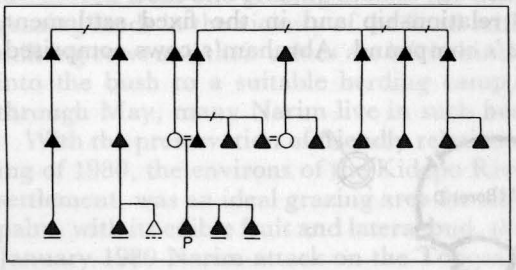


Fig. 5. Owners and herders for Bore A.

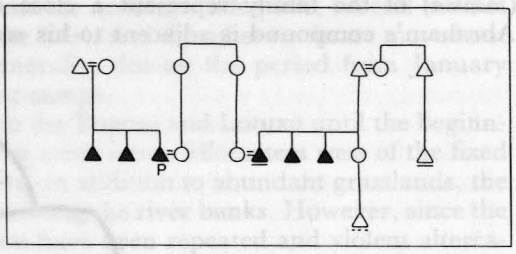


Fig. 6. Owners and herders for Bore B.

about one quarter of the total in Bore A. In Bore B, Abraham owned eight head of cattle, his two younger brothers owned one head apiece, and the other cattle were tended by Abraham's wife's mother's sister's daughter's husband (who was approx. 33 years old), and that man's two younger brothers (Fig. 6). The cows in Bore C belonged principally to Abraham's father's sister's daughter's husband's father (his paternal cousin's father-in-law), and to that man's children, though Abraham also kept a total of thirteen head there as well. However, this *Bore* would be moved shortly to Duware, a mountainous region to the west. The cows in Bore D were owned by five Narim of no relation to Abraham and he kept no cattle there. Of the eleven head of cattle that remained behind in the fixed settlement, Abraham had only a five-year-old cow and a two-year-old heifer. In addition, Abraham, his younger brother, and his father's younger brothers had kept some 38 head of cattle in the care of a Logir friend (the Logir area Lotuxo sub-group), but friction arose around these cattle, finally developing into a violent confrontation between the Logir and Narim.

10. THE COMPOSITION OF THE CATTLE CORRAL OR *BORE*

Here, I would like to take a look at the distribution of cattle, by type, within a given corral or *bore*. For the 114 head of cattle in Bore A and 11 head in the fixed settlement (E), totalling 125 head, every animal was identified individually, and its given name, owner, origins, parents, offspring, lineage, distinctive physical characteristics, and so on, researched. As for the cattle in Bore B, C and D, again the animals were studied head by head toward the documentation of those cows producing milk, milking cows that had become dry, heifers that had been weaned (but had yet to bear offspring), heifers not yet weaned, bulls, castrated oxen, young males not to be castrated, weaned bulls, and male calves not yet weaned. The results of this study are, in part, revealed in the chart presented herewith.

A look at the composition of individual corrals reveals certain distinctive features. First, the number of cattle left behind in the fixed settlement during the dry season was extremely small as compared to the number in any of the herding camp *bore*, in fact, not exceeding 10–16% of their size. Moreover, nearly half of these were milking cows and one male, as yet unweaned. In other words, the reason for leaving these cattle behind in the fixed settlement was nothing more than to provide milk for Abraham's mother and others. The bull which one would expect to be present in every herd, was not there. This was due to the fact that at this time, this corral did not have a cow requiring the presence of a bull. The four-year-old heifer was pregnant and the other heifer was but two years old and seen as very young. This two-year-old heifer was received by Abraham when his mother's brother's (maternal uncle's, *maama*) unwed daughter became pregnant; it is said that as Abraham was especially fond of its coloring and appearance, he had left the animal in the fixed settlement.

Now, it can be said that the composition of cattle in the herding camp's Bore A, C and D

Table 1. The composition of cattle by corral *Bore*

Type		Bore A	B	C	D	E
Females	Milk Cows	34 (30%)	11 (15%)	23 (37%)	36 (38%)	5 (45%)
	Dry Cows	18 (16%)	9 (13%)	6 (10%)	8 (9%)	0 (0%)
	Heifers	11 (10%)	23 (32%)	9 (15%)	16 (16%)	2 (18%)
	Sucking Calves	20 (18%)	7 (10%)	15 (24%)	17 (18%)	3 (27%)
	Sub-Total	83 (73%)	50 (69%)	53 (85%)	77 (82%)	10 (91%)
Males	Bulls	5 (5%)	2 (3%)	1 (2%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)
	Castrated Oxen	0 (0%)	5 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Weaned Bull Calves	5 (5%)	6 (8%)	4 (6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	Sucking Calves	21 (20%)	9 (13%)	4 (6%)	16 (17%)	1 (9%)
	Sub-Tatal	31 (27%)	22 (31%)	9 (15%)	17 (18%)	1 (9%)
Tatal		114 (100%)	72 (100%)	62 (100%)	94 (100%)	11 (100%)

was similar, while the number of cattle in each differed. Milking cows made up more than 30% of the total animals in these corrals, and in none were oxen present. But, in Bore A there were five bulls, and although all shared the ability to inseminate, the seven-year-old herd leader *lomartakori* functioned as the stud bull; in his presence, the other four would not mount a heifer.

There were two special characteristics of the composition of Bore B. As compared with the number of milking cows, there were more heifers, and five oxen were present as well. Three types of *ɓore* or corral may be found in Narim society. A corral with many oxen is called *ɓore chi tomonyanu*, and it was said that Bore B would become a corral especially for oxen in the future. When this occurs, they will not return to the fixed settlement, but move, rather, from one place to the next in the bush. A *ɓore* in which two and three-year-old cattle are raised separately from their mothers is called *ɓore chi malau*. Bore B was in just that condition and when a heifer became pregnant she was moved to the third type of *ɓore*, the *ɓore chi loyou*, predominantly for milking cows. A *ɓore* of this final type is moved back to the fixed settlement during the rainy season.

As previously stated, one caretaker for Bore B was Abraham's wife's sister's husband, approx. 33-years-old, and the cattle in this *ɓore* were all owned by that man's younger brother's, Abraham's younger brother and other young men of about thirty years of age. The people actually caring for the cattle in this *ɓore* were the 33 year old proprieter and his sister's twelve-year-old son, and these two, as stated previously, are exceedingly close siblings on the mother's side, in a *maama* relation. At this herding camp, it was Abraham's wife that cooked for the two men.

11. A CATTLE FAMILY REGISTRY

Pastoralists understand the registry or ownership of livestock in extremely practical terms; an approach to their daily life that passes over such matters would be an investigation of pastoral society without regard to its base. Moreover, it may be said that the registry of livestock is unavoidable when clarifying the characteristics of pastoral society. Here I will simply introduce a portion of the cattle family registry I compiled for Narim society, following which I will address matters relevant to cattle raiding, the principal theme of this work. The name headings that follow are the names with which certain cows have been endowed.

(1) *naitakori* (an eight-year-old cow)

This cow is owned by Abraham. The cow became his when his father died; Abraham then took over a portion of the bridewealth his father had been presented upon the marriage of the daughter of his half-brother. The name *naitakori* was chosen for the reddish spots on the cow's flank. The shape of the cut in this cow's ear is of Toposa origin (ear cut designs are an indicator of the clan to which a cow's original owner belonged). *Naitakori* has, thus far, had 5 calves, the first of which was a male that grew ill and died. The second is now a four-year-old heifer that went toward the payment of Abraham's wife's older brother's bridewealth. The third is a pregnant three-year-old heifer that will soon give birth and is being kept at the herding camp of a friend. The fourth calf Abraham gave to a friend as compensation when that friend's ox was sacrificed by the men of their age group. The fifth calf is an eight-month old male with a yellowish coloring that Abraham's younger brother is particularly fond of and Abraham, therefore, gave it to him. The father of the third, fourth and fifth calves is the herd's current leader *lomartakori*. The first two calves were bred by *naureŋchuma*, once a seed bull.

(2) *merikonyoma* (a five-year-old cow)

While this animal's true owner is Robaru, a friend of Abraham's younger brother, she is being kept by Abraham's younger brother for the time being. She was recently stolen from the Lotuxo and has no calves. As described above, this act of temporarily taking in another's cow is called *allyoit*. As this cow has white spots and walks in a manner exhibiting great pride, Abraham's younger brother's wife calls her *merikonyoma*, meaning proud.

(3) *ŋaoye* (a six-year-old cow)

This animal's owner is Rorokabok, Abraham's paternal grandfather's half brother's son. *ŋaoye* means magic, for this cow is of such origin. At one time another Narim accused Rorokabok of casting a spell that caused him to become ill. That individual filed a complaint and the elders held a court. After placing an iron hatchet and a pebble in water and bringing it to a boil, they required that Rorokabok take hold of the hatchet with his right hand and the pebble with his left. If he was burned that would indicate that Rorokabok had cast a spell, but he was not burned. At that time Rorokabok received *ŋaɓoye* from the Narim man who had made the claim against him, as compensation for the same. The first explanation I heard of the cow's origins differed, suggesting that three years before, in 1980, Rorokabok's sister's son (making their relation *maama*) stole *ɓaoye* from the Dodoth in Uganda and brought her back, then presenting her to his *maama* Rorokabok. When an additional informant was asked for a confirmation of this story, the cow's history was developed as described above. This cow has a four-month-old calf, fathered by *lomartakori*.

(4) *nyemuget* (a six-year-old cow)

Nyemuget is owned by Logozo, Abraham's father's half brother; Abraham's father died long ago. This is one of seven head of cattle that Abraham brought back from a raid on the Toposa in 1980. Abraham presented *nyemuget* to Logozo, gave his younger brother and mother's younger brother (*maama*) one head apiece as well, and now maintains the remaining four himself. *Nyemuget* has four calves.

(5) *lomartakori* (a seven-year-old bull)

As stated repeatedly above, this bull is the leader of Bore A. It is said that he is owned by Abraham. However, during my time there, Logozo, the head of the compound and Abraham's father's half brother, identified most closely with the animal and I often observed him with *lomartakori*, chanting to it in a show of favorite. When Logozo later died, the herd's well-knownleader *lomartakori* was killed, thus joining him in death. Here we have a model example of the correspondence of the leader of the herd to the leader of human society's herd or *korok*.

This bull was named for the white coloring from his eyes down to the base of his neck. Abraham bought this animal with earnings from his work as a chief clerk in the Narim's southern region. At the time, the area was in the middle of a famine and the NCA (Norwegian Church Aid) brought grains that they sold to the Narim or traded for cattle. In this manner a cattle market formed. This bull's coloring and appearance matched the favorite of Abraham's lineage and as his father Logozo, was extremely fond of the animal, Abraham paid 80 Sudan pounds for him.

(6) *naruk* (a six-year-old cow)

Abraham is the owner of this cow that he brought back from a 1980 raid on the Toposa of Morkuwa, near Kapoeta. However, as *Naruk's* ear tag indicates that she was once the property of the *ɓulanech*, a Narim clan, it is said that the Toposa may have originally stolen this animal from the Narim. This cow was named *naruk* for its drooping right horn and its sideways-facing left. *Naruk* gave birth to a male that, fathered by *lomartakori*, died age two, and to another male, now four months old and fathered by the bull *torerem*. As this young bull has good coloring, it is said that, in the future, Abraham wants him to succeed *lomartakori* as the stud bull.

12. THE RATE OF THEFT OF CORRALLED CATTLE

Here, we will consider how, in fact, the cattle to be found in Narim corrals (*ɓore*) were obtained, and how many of these animals are the product of raids on other peoples. Toward that end, we will focus particular attention on two *ɓore* in our analysis. One is the same Bore A addressed above, and found in a herding camp formed in January 1983, and the other is Bore F, established and surveyed two years later, in January 1985, in the bush near the

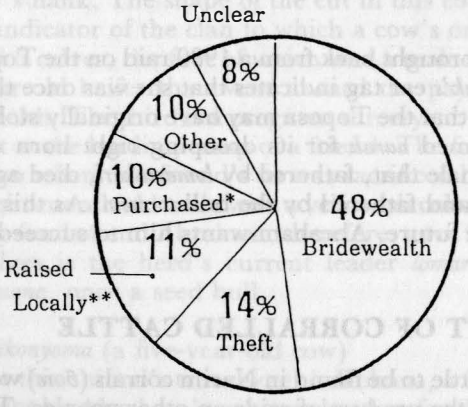
fixed settlement. As both were managed by Abraham and his younger brothers, I would like to determine the nature of the change in the composition of Bore A versus that of Bore F over the two years that separate their establishment, focussing, in particular, on the effects of raiding. As calves within the first year of life nearly always follow their mothers, they were excluded from this consideration.

First, let us consider Bore A, set up in 1983 (Fig. 7). Our attention is immediately drawn to the cattle acquired as part of a relation's bridewealth, a number reaching 48% of the total. Next are those cattle brought in through raiding, numbering 14%. Of the ten stolen cattle, only one was captured directly during a raid and the remaining nine were all the result of later divisions of the spoils. Of the 73 head of mature cattle in Bore A, only eight (or 11%) were born and raised under the care of their current owners. Seven head (10%) of the cattle were purchased, five of these being acquired either through or related to a trade for automatic rifles.

In any case, while it is understood that the cattle acquired through bridewealth payments are the greatest in number and that they were received from other Narim, it is unclear under what circumstances they were obtained prior to that exchange. If many of these animals find their origins in raids on other peoples, the above share of cattle obtained through raiding would grow substantially. Accordingly, I focussed upon the ear markings of these cattle. Ear markings, as stated previously, are observed by many East African pastoralists, and generally reveal the clan membership of the cow's first owner.

Therefore, by tracing the ear marks we can infer the clan of the cow's original owner, and then determine the ethnic group to which that clan belongs. This pursuit of first owner ethnic groups (Fig. 8) revealed that, of 73 head, only 32 (43%) came originally from Narim owners, while 29 animals (40%) originated with other peoples. Among these there are cows like *naruk* (#6 in the above Cattle Family Registry) that, though stolen by Abraham in a 1980 raid upon a Toposa herding camp, has Narim clan ear markings. The remaining 16% of the animals either had no ear mark or had markings that were unclear.

In addition, let us look at the origins of several head of Abraham's cattle that he kept at the herding camp's Bore B and C, and determine whether these bore had qualities in common. As for the origins of the eight mature cattle Abraham kept in Bore B, five were born in his possession, and two were obtained in trades for automatic rifles. Not a single cow in Bore B was obtained through raiding. However, a look at Bore C reveals the opposite. Of the eight mature cows Abraham also kept in this corral, six were raided directly by him. Thus, depending upon the character of the corral, we find striking differences, not only in the composition of the cattle it houses, but in their origins as well. As stated above, Bore C,



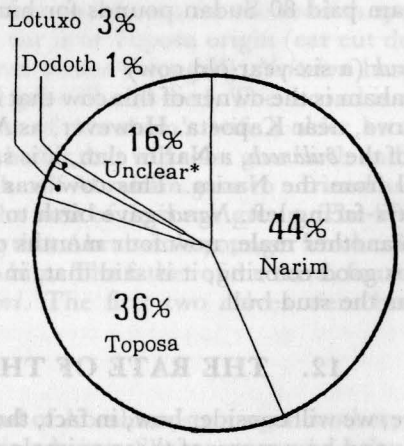


Fig. 7. **Fig. 8.**

Fig. 7. The means by which the 73 head of mature cattle in Bore A were Acquired.
Fig. 8. The origins of the mature cattle in Bore A (as determined from ear markings). * includes cattle that, as yet, have not had their ears marked.

after only one month in this herding camp, was moved again, this time to Duware, a location removed from the center of Narim territory, lying to the southwest.

Conceivably there is a tendency not to care directly for the animals that one has raided, but rather, for a time, to keep such animals in the custody of someone at a physical and familial distance, though in a reliable grazing area. Should the Toposa enemy appeal to the police and come unexpectedly to the Narim fixed settlement to investigate this matter of stolen cattle, and should the Narim have prepared thus, they would have no ground to stand on in making a case. However, there may be another reason for this avoidance of caring for an animal that one has personally and directly raided. It is conceivable that there is a fear of jealousy among the Narim, a matter I will touch upon later.

Finally, two years after the study of Bore A, let us take a look at Bore F, located near the fixed settlement. Major changes over this two year period include the deaths, from illness, of two of Abraham's father's half brothers and of Abraham's next younger brother in a conflict with the Toposa; all three men had owned cattle in Bore A. In addition, Abraham's mother's brother (*maama*), a major owner of cattle in Bore A, became independent and set up a corral adjacent. Furthermore, in a major incident in November 1984, some two months prior to the study of Bore F, the government army attacked the Narim fixed settlement, resulting in a massacre and the settlement's destruction by fire.[12] For this reason, the few cattle formerly kept in the fixed settlement's Bore E were mixed into Bore F.

There are 82 head of mature cattle in Bore F, all under the management of Abraham. The cattle remaining from the time of Bore A are 14 head (17%) of these 82 cattle. In addition, *naitakori*, the cow documented two years previously, and listed above as #1 in the "Cattle Family Registry" section, died, leaving a two-year-old heifer. The familiar faces of two years past still to be found in the new Bore F, including this heifer, number 15, or no more than 18% of the total, with the other 67 head (82%) having changed completely in the interval.

Although there is not room here to look in great detail at changes in *Bore* composition, what can we learn from an origin-specific look at the 82 mature cattle to be found in Bore F in January 1985 (Fig. 9)? As expected, the share of cattle acquired through bridewealth payments was the largest at 32 head or 39% of the animals. The number of cattle obtained through raids on other peoples was more than two times that of two years previous, growing to 31% of the total. Among those were 9 cattle taken in a raid on the Toposa, and 15 head taken from the Lotuxo (when the Logir are included).

Of the 25 raided cattle to be found in Bore F, 19 remained in the possession of the owners who had acquired them, a marked increase over the situation two years before. This was probably due to the fact that the state of emergency in the wake of the sudden government army massacre and conflagration left little room for the movement of raided cattle to another herding camp, and for their care. At any rate, this suggests that during this two year period more cattle than we might have imagined changed hands as a result of inter-ethnic conflicts among the Toposa, Narim and Lotuxo (in particular, the Logir).

13. TRACKING STOLEN CATTLE

How then are the cattle that have been taken from other peoples distributed, and to what extent do they remain the property of the warriors who participated directly in a given raid? While a concrete example was presented in the case of *nyemuget* (#4 in the "Cattle Family Registry" section above), I will add several examples in the search for criteria for the distribution of cattle raided by the Narim.

As stated above, when the Toposa had deeply encroached upon Narim territory grazing lands along the Kidepo River, the Narim, at last, made a general attack on the Toposa's Kidepo River herding camps, moving in from behind and driving the Toposa away. This is an example of methodical warfare centering on territory. The cow *nyemuget*, mentioned above, was among the seven cattle Abraham raided on this occasion.

At that time, Abraham's younger brother Luchie stole seven head of cattle. In the case of such a war, the livestock that remain behind when the enemy has been dispersed from their

herding camps, are then claimed directly by the warriors, on a first-come first-serve basis. With regard to this matter, as stated above, the distribution of spoils is fundamentally different from a case of combat that, from the first, is for the purpose of raiding livestock. In the latter case, namely planned raiding, the leader who organized the raid is responsible for the division of animals among those who participated in the plunder. I will return to such a case later. At any rate, of the seven cattle Luchie stole, he kept two cows and killed an ox to give its meat to the women living in the same herding camp. The remaining four animals he gave to others. To his older brother Abraham, he gave a bull that was then sacrificed by Abraham to entertain his age mates, also members of the *ŋetamo* age group. Luchie immediately gave one cow to another brother just older than he, and that cow remains in good health. The two remaining cows were given, one to the family head (Luchie's deceased father's half brother), and one to his mother's brother (*maama*).

Approximately one month after this conflict, the Narim attacked a Toposa herding camp that they had set up to the north of the Narim fixed settlement. This time Abraham's next younger brother Lopir participated, stealing five cows. Two of these he gave to Abraham, and the remaining three he kept for himself. Again, in September 1980, Lopir attacked a Toposa territory called Rioto, some forty kilometers from the Narim fixed settlement, and captured four cows; he gave one to his older brother and kept three for himself.

Subsequently, in January 1981, when the Narim attacked Morukwa, a Toposa herding camp near the town of Kapoeta, Abraham raided a total of 11 head of cattle, 4 oxen and 7 cows. He gave one cow to his father's half brother, the family's patriarch, and another to his younger brother Lopir, keeping the remaining 9 animals for himself. In September of that year, when a raid was made on the Toposa territory Machi, Abraham was given a cow by the leader of that campaign. Abraham kept this cow, though after it had given birth to two calves, it died.

During the two year period following the Narim attack on the Toposa at Kidepo River in the beginning of 1980, the Toposa attacked the Narim fixed settlement and herding camps a total of four times and the Narim, in turn, raided the Toposa on eight or nine other occasions. Abraham participated in five of these altercations.

Fig. 10 offers a summary of the distribution of the 23 head of cattle obtained by Abraham through these and other raids. Abraham gave 5 head (approx. 22%) to the family patriarch, 11 head (48%) to his brothers and older sister, and 4 head (18%) to persons of in a *maama* relationship, namely his mother's brother's and sister's children. In addition, Abraham gave two cattle to his mother's older sister and her sister's child, and one cow to

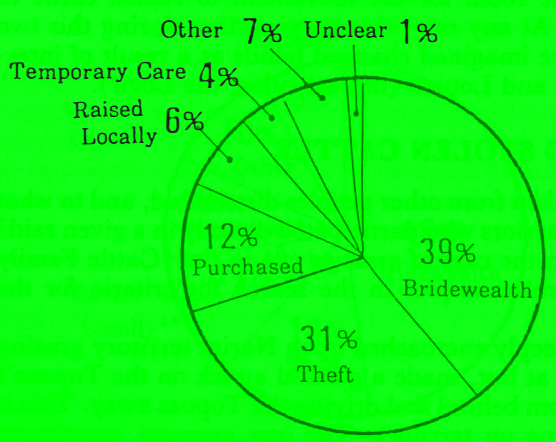


Fig. 9.

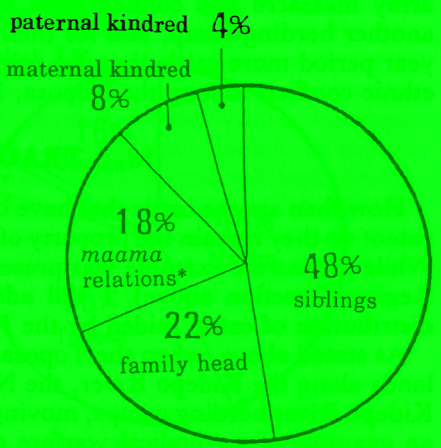


Fig. 10.

Fig. 9. The means by which the 82 head of mature cattle in Bore F were Acquired.
Fig. 10. Raided cattle by destination (23 head). *: mother's brothers.

his paternal grandfather's brother's son's son. From this data, we understand that raided cattle are distributed fundamentally to one's siblings and to the family head, and that one or two animals are presented to each of one's *maama* relations, namely one's mother's -brothers and -sisters' sons.

Next I would like to take a concrete look at the circumstances surrounding, and the distribution of cattle that resulted from, a raid on the Logir that would become a pretense for combat between these groups. This conflict centered on and was organized by Abraham.(13) The raiding of, and consequent combat with, the Logir, as touched upon above, was directly linked to the cattle that Abraham and his relations had placed in the care of a Logir friend.

After they gathered at the settlement Loduwa, where there is a concentration of Narim, Abraham went with 30 warriors to a place along the Kidepo River where his friend was watering his cattle. With the warriors waiting in the bush near the Kidepo River, Abraham and his younger brother Lopir appealed to their Logir friend for the return of their cattle. When the friend rejected this request, the warriors who had waited in the bush, together in one motion, rushed forward. The friend and his Logir herder companions, fled into the bush in their surprise, leaving their cattle untended. Thus, without injury, the Narim returned home with this herd that had been brought to water.

In this herd there were a total of 28 head of cattle, and of these, 7 head that had originally belonged to Abraham. Of the remaining 21 head of cattle, Abraham divided 8 head among those who had assisted, while maintaining possession of the remaining 13 animals. As for a breakdown of these 8 cows, Abraham gave three to his younger brother Lopir who, together with Abraham, had formed the advance party and addressed the Logir. To another and still younger brother, Luchie, who had remained behind and tended the cattle in the herding camp near Faraksika (where I had lived), he gave two cows. He also gave two cows to his father's half sister's son, who participated in the attack, and is in a *maama* relation with regard to livestock. Finally, Abraham gave a cow to the family head's adopted son-in-law who had remained behind in the herding camp caring for the cattle. While this bloodless raid was a success, and the Logir were driven from the Kidepo River, it would lead to a cycle of repeated and violent conflict between the Logir and Narim.

Four months later, in July 1983, the Narim attacked herding camps the Toposa had set up once again along the Kidepo River, and raided many cattle. This campaign was organized by a man from the Narim settlement Kereŋe to the north. Many died in this battle, a number reaching 41 Narim and 11 Toposa. At this time Abraham's younger brother Lopir was killed as well.

As compensation, Abraham received one cow and one young bull from the battle's leader. The bull was used towards Lopir's unpaid bridewealth and the cow was placed in herding camp F. Although, prior to his death in battle Lopir had himself raided three head of cattle in an attack on the Toposa's Machi herding camp to the east, he and his friends had killed and eaten an ox, and the remaining two animals had been used as a portion of his bridewealth payment.

14. RAIDING AS A LEVELING MECHANISM

What meaning does this repeated raiding-centered inter-ethnic conflict then have for these societies and what does this conflict bring about? Clearly, on the surface, it is a means by which to steal from the enemy something vital to their society, cattle that are of great economic, social and mental import and, while emphasizing one's own interests, to provide for one's relations as well.

The men of an East African pastoral society, in order to marry, must pay a truly large bridewealth payment to the bride's relatives. Most of this payment is in the form of livestock, indispensable to this society. There is also the anthropological interpretation (Winter 1978) that conflict among the peoples of East Africa is tied to and ensures the procurement of livestock necessary to this payment of bridewealth.

Certainly, in Narim society, when one thinks of marrying, one must prepare anywhere

from 50 to 60 head of cattle. Among the East African pastoralists this number of cattle required in a bridewealth payment is among the largest. To the bride's father one pays the largest portion of the bridewealth, 21 head of cattle to include an ox that is called *nyakamus*, to be provided upon completion of the receipt of the bridewealth payment, and to be sacrificed for the father's age mates. The bride's mother's brothers (*maama*) are given 10 head of cattle and her father's brothers are given from 6 to 10 head of cattle, and finally, other close relations are given one or two animals respectively. As we found above, in Bore A and F, the origin of 40–50% of the cattle could be traced to the payment of bridewealth. The receipt of cattle when one is related to a bride is significant; a Narim male who cannot assemble several dozen head of cattle will not be able to marry, and will become socially isolated.

Thus, the explanation of their conflict as linked to the payment of bridewealth is a superficial interpretation that, insofar as it is of little use in the explanation of conflict in societies with less marked bridewealth payments, becomes only a special explanation. Is it possible then to draw a new interpretation from the raiding-centered conflicts between the Narim and their neighbors? This is a question I have asked myself repeatedly in reflecting upon their successive conflicts. What does conflict mean to them?

I have arrived at the hypothesis that their conflict is a leveling mechanism for resources within their society. However large the fortune one builds (for the Narim, it is cattle), should one be raided, this will return to nothing. In all probability, a society that tolerates the practice of raiding within its own membership does not exist. However, this differs with regard to interaction with external societies. One also finds societies, like that of the Narim, that not only tolerate but also praise attacks on, and the raiding of, the property of a group regarded as the enemy. What would be the logical consequence of repeated raiding-centered attacks between two adversarial groups? The greater one's resources, the easier it becomes for the enemy to target them, and the fortune one has expressly accumulated can, within one altercation, cross over to the enemy's hands. This is an entirely simple conclusion.

Then, the next problem is how one handles the fortune one has raided. If the raided resources were concentrated in the possession of a specific individual or group rather than divided, with repeated conflict a development of economic classes would occur.

How would it be if young men coming of age were required, as a rule, to become warriors, and all were to have independent status? Including the Narim addressed herein, East African pastoral societies could be thus described. For the Narim, raided livestock belong fundamentally to the combatants, and although they are distributed among relations and to special persons, a large portion also do remain in the raiding individual's possession. While

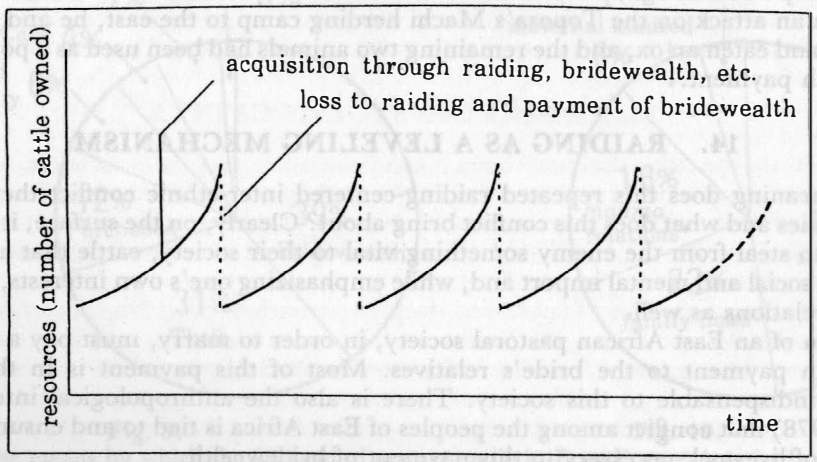


Fig. 11. Conflict in pastoral societies and the leveling of resources (conceptual diagram).

the organizer of a battle is privileged with the receipt of more cattle than other participating warriors, this leadership role is not limited to the same individual, thus a fixed concentration of resources does not occur.

For the Narim, the amassing of resources would necessitate their placement in herding camps that could easily be identified by the enemy and should the enemy attack, a fortune of even several hundred head of cattle could be lost in a moment. Thus we have arrived at the simple formula that resources stockpiled are easily lost, and, therefore, stolen resources are distributed. With repeated raiding between two adversarial societies, it is difficult for economic classes to form within a given society, and without the ability to amass resources, there is a disposition toward leveling.

With this hypothesis in mind, on my third visit with the Narim in December 1984, I tested my interpretation of conflict on several villagers.(14) After thinking for a time they said "to be sure,that is just the way it is," and told stories that served to supplement my supporting data. One such story was that of Namonya, an elder living in a northern Narim settlement who had many daughters, and consequently, many cattle. However, recently most of these animals had been lost to raiders. When a fellow Narim has amassed a large number of cattle, there are those among the Narim—they might be called "spies"—who report this fact to the enemy, and offer raiding guidance.

If one were to steal the cow of another member of the same society, this would be discovered immediately and result in punishment, but if an enemy group were to raid, it would be possible to reduce another's property without ill consequence to oneself. Though perhaps but one aspect, we may thus understand that discord within a given society may be linked to conflict between groups.

The hypothesis put forth herein is based upon livestock-centered inter-ethnic raiding among East African pastoralists. In the future, by comparing the above findings with ethnographic accounts of resource leveling mechanisms within other societies, I would like to develop a more universal explanation of conflict.

NOTES

(1) Making use of the various views of anthropologists on the one hand, and of concrete materials regarding the conflict even now occurring repeatedly among the pastoralists of East Africa on the other, I attempted a definition of conflict that includes war in Fukui (1987b). Here, I am concerned with the raiding of livestock, whereas full-scale methodical conflict that involves territorial resources is often seen as "war." The definitions of "conflict" and "war" do overlap in many respects.

(2) For examples, see Ferguson (1984).

(3) Thus far, I have tested a number of premises with regard to conflict involving the Bodi, pastoralists in southwestern Ethiopia.

(4) See Spooner (1973).

(5) Toward the compilation of a "family registry" of Narim cattle, I conducted a detailed investigation of numerous corraled cattle from February-March 1983 and in January 1985. I would like to make use of another opportunity to present this detailed data, as its volume far exceeds that of the above text.

(6) Accounts of conflict that include the raiding of livestock, a primary concern herein, were published in *Kikan Minzokugaku* on three occasions (Fukui 1984b; 1985; 1988b), all in Japanese. In addition, a discussion of my approach may be found in *Minpaku Tsushin* (Fukui 1986; 1987a), also in Japanese.

(7) Such traditional adversaries and allies also correspond to and reflect adversarial and amicable relations to be found at a national level in civil wars. For example, in the case of the civil war which continued for more than 20 years following Sudanese independence, the Toposa fought on the side of the principally Arab central government. The relation being built between traditional inter-ethnic relationships and conflict that occurs within a national framework, is a vitally important and interesting subject for the anthropologist, one that I would like to discuss in another paper.

(8) For a discussion of special relations between people and cattle, see, for example, Evans-Pritchard (1940) and Fukui (1991).
(9) The advent of automatic rifles in Narim society came around the time of the collapse of the Ugandan government Idi Amin in 1979. Although at that time it was possible to exchange one cow for one rifle at the Ugandan border, at the time of my research (1983–1985), the market price had risen to 4 head of cattle. Single-fire rifles apparently arrived around the beginning of the twentieth century. At 1983–1985 market rates, one bullet was priced at approximately one Sudan Pound equivalent to 100 yen. Bullets come in from the military and other sources through middlemen. As one cow will sell for 10,000 to 20,000 yen, the sale of a cow will bring in at least 100 bullets.
(10) The Logir are a sub-group of the Eastern Nilotic Lotuxo. When attacking the Logir, the Narim joined forces with the Lobela, a group belonging to the same language group as the Lotuxo.
(11) After my arrival in the village in 1982, as a new friend Abraham-here I have made use of a pseudonym-gave me advice and, as an informant, shared much information.
(12) On November 22, 1984, the settlements Rongereiya and Kalli, both the focus of my research, were attacked and burned by the Sudanese government army. With regard to this government army attack on, and massacre of, the Narim, seeFukui (1985).
(13) For the particulars of this conflict,see Fukui (1988b), 104–106.
(14) Fukui (1988b).

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