

LUO CUSTOMS WITH REGARD TO ANIMALS (WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO CATTLE).

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF STOCK TO THE LUO.

The Luo are both pastoral and agricultural people, and so any discussion involving a group of young and old men with regard to the relative importance of animals and crops usually results in an endless debate. As a rule the view is unanimously held by the elders that animals are more important to them than crops; but the young men will often support crops, because since the advent of Europeans to the country the Government has introduced cash crops which are easily grown and marketed to obtain such articles as clothes, soap, lamps, etc. The elders on the other hand support their argument by saying that during a very bad famine poor people die unless they become the servants of cattle-owners who live comparatively normally during hard times. They urge that children brought up in homes where there is plenty of milk grow up finer and more handsome than those in homes where there is only grain. Again those who stress the importance of animals, go so far as to say that women in poor homes develop scaly backs. Poor homes for the Luo are homes where, no matter how much grain is stored, there are no cattle, and women usually run away from such homes. Strictly speaking, the word "rich," when used by a typical Jaluo, signifies a man with a large number of stock.

The chief animals owned by the Luo are cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. In discussing the importance and uses of these animals to the people of this tribe it would probably be better to take each of them separately.

Cattle produce milk which is a valuable and nourishing food and which has other important uses besides being drunk as such. From it the Luo make butter which is used by women and old men for anointing their bodies. Besides this, butter can be turned into ghee which is the favourite animal product used in cooking. Fresh or whole milk is not drunk by the Luo unless it is mixed with a little sourmilk or buttermilk which has been treated with cow urine. The reason why the milk is not drunk pure is because it is believed that this practice is the cause of human tapeworm infestation. Women and girls who have passed the age of puberty do not drink milk. Stored

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buttermilk is used for making gruel which can be consumed by both sexes. Both buttermilk and fresh milk are used for cooking vegetables and fresh bovine blood for human consumption. The Luo do not slaughter their cattle for beef except for some special reason, for example, on the occasion of a special feast. The ordinary meat eaten is that of animals which have died as a result of disease or accident. If there is an outbreak of a serious disease and many animals die, their meat is made into biltong which can be stored for future consumption. Such biltong forms a very palatable diet when properly cooked with ghee. Girls do not eat the meat of cattle paid for their dowries.

Hides are used as sleeping mats, and for making shields, drums, sandals and special head-dresses on which ostrich feathers are fixed. Those of very young animals are used as clothes.

Cattle can be exchanged for millet or maize at any time, i.e., during famine or in good years; but cattle-owners tend to refuse millet or maize for their cattle after good harvests. This is one of the facts which support the argument of the Luo elders who prefer animals to crops. In exchanging cattle for goats and sheep, a bull is worth three to four goats and a heifer, six to eight goats or sheep. A goat or sheep is worth six to eight fowls.

The young men use young oxen for riding, and they sell heifers to buy buffalo hides for making shields or ostrich feathers for their adornment at funeral dances. Cattle accompany the mourners when attending funerals and, during inter-tribal wars, oxen were the companions of warriors on the battlefield. The horns make valuable trumpets and are used as containers for keeping powdered drugs. Tendons make strong strings for harps and bows. Cattle dung is useful for smearing houses and dry dung is good for the fire. Fresh blood as mentioned above makes a palatable food when mixed with milk and cooked. The scapula of small animals is used as a butter-scoop and for other domestic purposes. Hoofs are used for storing drugs and for running liquid medicines into the noses of both human and animal patients, e.g., an infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi** is given in this way to cattle suffering from east coast fever. The long hair of the tail is used for trapping birds. The scrotum forms a valuable pocket.

Goats' milk is the food of the herd-boys when looking after animals in the pastures. They add the juice of a fruit† to the fresh milk and after a few minutes the milk coagulates and is ready for consumption. Goat skins are worn by both men and women and goat's meat is eaten by both sexes. The goat is the animal usually slaughtered for female visitors such as mothers and sisters-in-law. The chief produce from sheep is mutton

**Dolichos* sp. probably *D. Maitlandii*.

†*Solanum* sp. probably *S. incanum*, Sodom apple.—EDITOR.

which is only eaten by men and young girls. Women despise sheep saying that they are the most foolish of animals and remark that their meat has a horrible odour. Poultry are placed by women in the same category as sheep because they eat dirty things, e.g., excreta and some ugly insects.

There are certain parts of a cow which are usually only eaten by special groups of people, e.g., the kidney and the abomasum are reserved for girls, the brisket and the abdominal muscles which originate from it for young men, the tongue and the hump for old men, and the diaphragm for those who take fresh blood from cattle for human consumption.

Cattle and goats are the chief animals used for the payment of dowries. Sheep are seldom used for this purpose because every girl believes that if a sheep is paid for her dowry it means that she is despised by her sweetheart. Sometimes this is enough to break off the marriage. The number of cattle paid for a dowry is usually between fourteen and twenty-four. More cattle are paid for the daughters of rich people and chiefs because these girls will, during their wedded life, take much property to their husbands: property collected during the frequent visits they pay to their fathers.

In the course of paying a dowry, discussions go on between the father, uncle, full and step-brothers of the girl as to who will receive some of the special animals paid for her dowry. The same applies in the case of the payment of the dowry by the man, for although the father is responsible for paying most of the cattle, he is helped by some of his uncles and brothers.

The first eight to twelve cattle paid, three to five of which are females, are taken by the full brothers of the girl. Sometime after this payment has been made the girl is caught in the morning by relations of her sweetheart who take her to him. From this day the girl is known as *miaha* (the bride) and the husband as *wuon kisera* (the bridegroom). In the afternoon of the day on which she is caught, her sisters follow her and stay with her at the bridegroom's home for a night, after which they return to their own home early in the morning. The bride is left with one of her girl-cousins who stays with her until she is brought back to her home so that payment of special cattle for her different relations may commence. The first eight to twelve cattle which were paid before she met her husband are not special cattle because they can be inherited by any of her full brothers. Sometimes in the morning of the first night that the bride stays with the bridegroom, her sisters-in-law (the wives of her brothers) go to the bridegroom's kraal and choose a bull. This bull is inherited by the bride's eldest brother. About two weeks after the bride and her cousin have been at the bridegroom's home, her father slaughters an ox and the meat is taken to the bridegroom's house, some cooked

and some raw. This meat is carried by her sisters and sisters-in-law. The girls from her home and those at the bridegroom's home together with the bride, join in eating the cooked meat. The uncooked meat is left for the rest of the people at the bridegroom's house. A day or two after this, the bride is taken to her father's home accompanied by women and girls from the bridegroom's. Before they leave the house, the bridegroom presents a goat to the bride's cousin who has been staying with her at his home. The bride's father prepares a great feast for his daughter's companions. After the companions have gone home the girl now stays with her father while the special cattle of the dowry are being paid to her relations. The first one to be paid is usually a heifer which is inherited by one of her uncles. This is followed by a cow and her calf which are inherited by her father or one of her uncles. After this, if the marriage arrangements have been completed, the husband pays a bull known as "the bull for the fetching-girls,"—the sisters of the bride who accompany her when she first goes to the bridegroom. After this the bride with her sisters goes to the bridegroom who prepares a special feast for them. For this feast he slaughters an ox which is eaten by his sisters-in-law and the bride, while presents are being given to her by her brothers-in-law. This occurs in the evening and one gift consists of a goat known as *diend yanyo maro* (the goat of abusing the mother-in-law). This goat is presented to her so that her husband may abuse her at any time during the period they live together. It is called the goat for abusing the mother-in-law because husbands usually abuse their wives comparing their foolishness with that of their mothers. The goat is usually inherited by the mother-in-law's last son.

The last and the most important animal is a cow with her calf known as "the mother-in-law's cow." It belongs to the mother-in-law and is paid at any time she asks for it. This is usually some years after the marriage. As a rule it is inherited by the mother-in-law's eldest son. There are some other special animals paid, but they are of less importance and are paid only when the girl or her relations accept the dowry reluctantly. During payment of the dowry each of the girl's relations is responsible for providing a small feast when his portion is brought, e.g., when a cow with her calf is brought to the girl's father or uncle, he must slaughter a ram or more and make beer for those who bring them. Long ago the relations of a girl did not slaughter so many sheep and goats for their son-in-law's relations, but nowadays some people slaughter so many that if the arrangements for the marriage are broken off, the son-in-law's relations may only have six or nine cattle back out of sixteen they paid. Deductions are made to compensate for the small stock slaughtered for the feasts.

Besides dowry payments the Luo had other means of obtaining cattle before the advent of the Europeans. Two of these ways, which no longer exist, were the capturing of enemies' cattle during inter-tribal wars and robbery during the night. Because there were only few cattle in those days the number of cattle paid for dowries was very limited, not even half of what it is today.

Inheritance and exchange are now the natural means by which the Luo obtain cattle. As mentioned above in discussing dowry the first eight to twelve cattle paid for a dowry, though nominally known as the property of the father of the girl, are in the real sense the inheritance of her full brothers. The father can do anything he likes with them during his life-time, provided he consults the girl's eldest brother. It frequently happens that there is disagreement between the sons and the father, who may try to dispose of these animals without consulting the sons. The other animals belong to certain individuals, e.g., father, uncles and mother. Those of the father if he is a polygamist are inherited by one of his sons who has no sisters. If the father has two or more sisterless sons born of different mothers they inherit equally the special cattle he gets from the dowry of those daughters who have full brothers. These sons also inherit the cattle, goats or sheep that he gets by other means, e.g., those obtained by exchanging millet or maize and those paid to him for the dowries of his nieces. Cattle paid to the mother-in-law by her son-in-law are inherited by her eldest or last son. Usually a father gives more to a son whose mother has died if he is a good son. He calls this son his orphan. If a father loves one of his sons more than the others he may take some of his cattle to one or other of his friends, and tell him that they can only be taken after his death by the loved son.

A man inherits his brother's animals if the brother dies and leaves no son. If a man, having a brother, dies before having children by his wife, and the widow marries someone else of her husband's clan, children born to her by her new husband belong to the brother of her former husband, and so, if they are girls, the brother inherits most of the cattle paid for their dowries. If, however, these girls have a brother, he inherits the cattle.

Some people start to obtain cattle by exchanging their millet or maize for sheep, goats and poultry in the first instance, and when the number of these small stock has increased, they, in turn, are exchanged for cattle. Sometimes a man gives his friend an assurance that if he gives him some goats he will in return give a heifer which can be kept until she calves. After weaning, the calf remains the property of the friend while the cow is returned.

MANAGEMENT OF ANIMALS.

Rich people do not keep all their stock together in their own kraal. Usually they give some of them to their friends or relations to look after. The latter take the milk as a reward for their trouble. Owners of animals when visiting those friends or relations who are responsible for them, take careful notice of the colour of the offspring in order to check any mischief on the part of an untrustworthy friend or relation. Keen cattle-owners rarely give their animals to doubtful friends or to those living in remote places where frequent visits would be difficult. During dry seasons when grazing becomes scanty some owners remove their herds to better pastures and return them only when their own pastures have improved. This is not, however, the usual custom and it is more usual to take the cattle to better pastures early in the morning and return them late in the evening. The former practice is adopted during a general dry season when wide areas of veld become useless for herding. The length of time that the animals are allowed to remain out grazing each day varies with the quality of the pasture. The quality of the grazing around the Kavirondo Gulf depends upon the season of the year. In winter when there is much rain, cattle remain on the pastures for a very short time, roughly about seven hours; whereas in summer, they may remain as long as twelve hours. Sheep and goats remain on the pasture for about five to six hours in winter and in summer for about seven hours a day. These animals are usually herded together with the unweaned calves. Weaned calves go with the main herd of cattle unless owing to climatic conditions or disease they are somewhat debilitated.

During the night cattle are brought in and tied up with ropes inside the kraal. Bulls, oxen and strong cows are tied near the gate while young beasts are tied in the centre. Goats, sheep and young calves are stabled in a stable where a smouldering fire made from dry cow or goat dung is kept every night. At sunrise they are brought out and tied in the sun in front of the stable until herding time.

An intelligent cattle-owner usually castrates all the bulls that he thinks are useless for stud purposes and keeps only one good one for breeding. The effect of this good bull on the herd is often spoilt by casual services from bad bulls belonging to less progressive people in the village who think they will be noticed and honoured when their bulls run after cows. As a rule a bull is not allowed to serve its mother or sisters, although this may happen when there is no unrelated bull in the herd. Expert owners usually castrate bulls before they are allowed to run with their mothers and arrange the services of their female stock so that they calve at the beginning of the long rains. Unfortunately only a few people think of these methods of improving their herds.

When a cow calves about two days are allowed to pass while the calf is suckled before milking commences. The milk obtained from the cow during the first two weeks or until the umbilical cord of the calf drops, is all drunk by young men in the village. This milk is stored in a pot in which a little buttermilk, which has been treated with urine, has been placed. As mentioned before the Luo believe that drinking fresh whole milk is the cause of tapeworm infestation, and the buttermilk is added to the fresh milk so as to eliminate this danger. When the umbilical cord of the calf has dropped the woman who owns the cow is allowed to use the milk for churning butter. The roots of a plant known in Luo as *obuwo* is added to the churning calabash as a preserving agent because fresh milk is stored in the calabash for about twelve to twenty-four hours before churning. During the churning process a little bovine urine, which has been stored for a few days, is added to the milk to accelerate the formation and facilitate the separation of the butter. This urine is also believed to be a good preservative for both the butter and the buttermilk, which will be stored for use in cooking various kinds of food. On the day the first butter is made into ghee, a little of the ghee is fed to the calf and the rest eaten by a group of people in the house. The reason why a sample of the first ghee is given to the calf is not very clear; but some people say that it protects the calf from developing diarrhoea and indigestion when the later butter of the dam is boiled and made into ghee. They believe that otherwise the boiling of the butter during ghee-making would cause diarrhoea in the calf.

Milking is done twice a day, in the morning and evening, by the boys and young men. Girls, women and old men are only allowed to milk in homes where there are no young men. Before commencing milking, the calf is allowed to suck its dam for a minute. It is then tied in front of the dam while she is milked. After some milk has been drawn the calf is allowed to suck for another minute and then re-tied while more milk is taken. Finally, the calf is allowed to suck and stay with the dam for about an hour, after which it is separated from the mother for at least ten hours before the next milking.

If a cow is slow to wean her calf a method used for drying her off is to fix a muzzle (*osembo*) on which strong thorns are fixed around the mouth of the calf so that when it tries to suck, the thorns prick the dam and cause her to kick the calf away. Another device is to smear the teats of the dam with cow dung, the taste of which stops the calf from sucking.

If the calf dies, its hide is dried, folded properly and a little salt solution is sprinkled on it to make it taste pleasant when licked by the dam while being milked. Before milking, the teats are washed or cleaned with warm water to stimulate the milk flow.

Old cows which have stopped producing are usually killed and their meat exchanged for millet or maize which in turn is bartered for new young heifers, bulls, goats or sheep, or if necessary used for consumption. The same applies to oxen although these are usually exchanged directly for other stock. A heifer is usually worth two bulls or young oxen. The special oxen used by their owners as companions when they attend funeral mournings are seldom exchanged, but are slaughtered when they get old, the owners preparing special feasts as a tribute to their past service. A young man who has ridden a special ox at funeral dances does not eat the meat when the ox dies as a result of disease or accident. These "companions" are usually honoured by having bells fixed on special leather straps fastened around their necks. Some he-goats are also so honoured. The ringing of these bells will sometimes stop hyenas from entering the kraal and may help in tracing animals when grazing in bushy country. The ears of the owners are usually sensitive to the sound of the bells of their own oxen.

The Luo do not like polled cattle because some of them believe that such animals are unlucky. They say that if a polled animal is paid as part of a dowry the woman is likely to be sterile. They are very fond of oxen with long horns or those with peculiarly or funnily placed horns. During drinking parties the owners of such oxen "show off" by placing their arms in different positions to demonstrate the directions of the horns of their oxen. This performance is a sign of wealth because the average man does not possess a number of oxen with abnormally-placed horns. Long-horned cows are not of special value. The horns of dangerous animals are cut so as to reduce the risk of people and young animals being horned.

Beautifying animals by branding which is practised by some African tribes is not favoured by the Luo. The only method that is used to increase the natural beauty of cattle, especially bull calves, is to trim the ears. Trimming is, however, also done as a treatment for east coast fever because in this disease the animal appears dull and heavy as if suffering from headache, and the Luo believe that by letting a little blood from the ear the headache is eased.

Luo cattle-owners do not usually go in for special colours, but there are some colours which are considered objectionable. Pure white is not liked because white animals are usually susceptible to skin diseases, accidental skin lesions and to marking by tick-bites which usually remain permanently conspicuous. Another objectionable colour is striped, dark, dull-brown. Animals with these mixed colours are not accepted for dowry because the disagreeable colours may cause disagreement during the arrangement of the marriage or between the wife and her husband. Brown is unanimously favoured because it is considered resistant to skin diseases and accidental injuries.

Black and white or red and white are favoured in oxen used as companions during funeral dances and other ceremonies.

TREATMENT OF ANIMALS.

Although the Luo are ignorant of the use of specific drugs for the treatment of different animal diseases, yet, when an animal is suffering they make keen attempts to cure it. As a result of such trials, cures have been reported in east coast fever, anthrax, blackquarter, mange, etc. Sometimes the treatment of one disease is so complicated that it is impossible to tell what agent may have been effective. It is clear that in some diseases animals may recover after empirical treatment. In the case of east coast fever, the treatment consists of cutting the ear, cauterising the glands and pouring into the nose a liquid infusion of a plant known in Luo as *jandarusi*.* This drug causes a great deal of sneezing and is, therefore, said to free the blocked-up and congested sinuses. It is generally believed that many animals are saved by the use of this drug.

The Luo believe that they cure blackquarter by bleeding and by cauterising the affected quarter or even the whole body. Nowadays, some people who can procure potassium permanganate make large incisions of the affected part and rub in crystals or a saturated solution of the drug. Mange in goats and dogs is cured by washing the animals with tobacco infusion and the urine of cattle which has been stored for a few days. There are several drugs which are believed to be quite effective in expelling retained foetal membranes.

It is quite certain that the Luo have no method of immunising animals against diseases.

*See footnote to page 128.