contribute to the prestige and possibly to the willingness of the States to increase the powers of the Commission.

Alternatively one might concentrate on subregional organs for the protection of human rights. Ideally this should be on the basis of subregional groupings advocated by the Economic Commission for Africa.[34] Unfortunately, apart from Eastern Africa where a reasonable degree of integration has been achieved within the framework of the East African Community, the level of transaction is too low in the other regions to warrant such an ambitious plan. If the Nigerian plan to create a West African Community which embraces both the French-speaking and English-speaking countries materializes, we might have laid the foundation for such an enterprise in West Africa. The position in Central Africa is difficult to assess at the moment. It may be that with the reduction of dependence on France, some of these countries might begin to discover those factors which could bring them closer together.

CONCLUSION

Africa, perhaps more than any other continent, needs to ensure the protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms. The past experiences of almost total negation of human rights and dignity must certainly create an incentive for the eradication of any obstacle to the fulfilment of the hopes born from independence. Yet because there exists a world order or disorder which maintains one part of the world in poverty and the other in riches, it has proved difficult to achieve even a modest success in the field of protection of human rights in Africa. It is not surprising that in some States the need for economic development is given a premium while human rights may be relegated to the background. We hold that economic development is compatible with the protection of human rights and human rights should only be abrogated where it is intended to achieve a greater protection of those rights. We are, however, aware that in some cases the emphasis on faster economic development may produce undesirable consequences which cannot be justified on the basis that such emphasis is intended to promote, in the long run, greater protection of human rights. The weaknesses inherent in the State structure resulting from underdevelopment, and the need to create Nation States would mean that in any attempt to foster the protection of human rights on a regional level or even subregional basis, that approach which least encroaches on national sovereignty must be adopted. Only an advisory or recommendatory and perhaps an investigatory international body will be acceptable in the present context of Africa. In the meantime the war against illiteracy, disease and want should be relentlessly waged because victory over these represents the backbone to a meaningful protection of human rights both at national and international levels.

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34 At its seventh session in 1965, ECA recommended through its resolution 142 (vii) the early establishment at the subregional level of inter-Governmental machinery responsible for the harmonization of economic and social development in subregions of North, West, Eastern and Central Africa. At the moment the proposition is far from taking a concrete shape. See O. C. Eze, "Legal Status of Foreign Investments in the East African Common Market," forthcoming, p. ix.

The Role of Utani in Eastern Tanzanian Clan Histories

STEPHEN A. LUCAS*

INTRODUCTION

The major theme of this paper is suggested by oral traditions collected from the clans of the Doe, Kwere and Zaramo peoples of Eastern Tanzania.[1] For the history of the areas in which these peoples lived during the nineteenth century is presented in oral tradition as essentially an ensemble of clan histories through which run certain common themes and related cultural and structural concepts. It was during research on the origins of utani in Eastern Tanzania that the role of this rather special social institution in clan history became evident.

According to most of the oral traditions in the area, the origin of the clan (and particularly of its name) was contemporaneous with the origin of utani, which is a system of ritual interaction closely linked to cultural and, to a lesser extent, socio-economic differentiation between the groups and individuals who practise it. The second part of this paper will be devoted to an overview of utani itself, its definition, theories which have been advanced to explain its role in society, and current research efforts.

As will be pointed out below, much of the analysis of utani has been structural-functionalist and hence ahistorical, when not outright anti-historical. The third part of this paper attempts, through examination of some themes common to the clan histories in question, to demonstrate how utani not only serves as an interaction mechanism but also operates conceptually to order and rank local groups (clans and lineages) in terms of their social histories.

The central proposition that this paper is directed to examine is the degree to which utani provides an ideological framework which justifies differential access to resources while affirming social equality of the participants. This fundamental contradiction underscores with no little irony the political aptness of the English translation of utani, *the joking relationship*!

THE MEANING OF UTANI

Utani is a Swahili word which is used to cover a very wide range of social institutions and practices in East Africa. Up to the present day, many writers

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1 As is pointed out by T. O. Beidelman in *The Matrilineal Peoples of Eastern Tanzania* (London: International African Institute, 1967), there is a certain homogeneity which allows (with caution) for generalization about social institutions among the Kwere, Zaramo, Kutu, Luguru, Vidunda, Sagara, Kaguru, Ngulu, and Zigua. Beidelman does not make a separate entry for the Doe.

on the subject of utani have assumed that it was introduced into Tanzania by Arab traders and subsequently Bantuized according to a systematic pattern of linguistic modifications.[2] My research, which was begun in 1969, already indicates, however, that not only were traditional utani institutions being observed by the people of East Africa (and Tanzania in particular), but also that the word itself was being used in various forms which derive most probably from a proto-Bantu root -ta -or -tan-, and this by some peoples with minimal contact with the Arab traders! Certainly the present-day use of the word utani to designate the multitude of customs followed by quite diverse peoples is in part due to what Professor Whiteley has aptly called "the rise of a national language".[3] But it is equally quite clear that the Arabs are not responsible for introducing the customs and ritual practices of utani even if there is some linguistic concordance between the Arabic and Bantu word roots.

What is immediately apparent is that the meaning of utani is complex and that current dictionaries offer but simplistic definitions. Johnson, for example, writes: "*Utani,* n. kinship, clanship, membership in tribe or race, also in a general way, familiar friendship" and "*Tania,* v. be familiar with, treat with familiarity, chaff, treat as though of very near kin, or a very great friend".[4] Sacleux says that utani has the meaning of alliance and confederation, and he refers as well to its, "sometimes excessive" familiarity.[5]

Unfortunately, even most Tanzanians who have written ethnographies of their traditional societies for the East African Literature Bureau have not discussed utani, nor tried to define its meaning for their peoples.[6] A notable exception is the work of R. Mwaruka on the Zaramo, in which utani is defined somewhat indirectly as "*kama ujirani na urafiki wa kuzoeana*"[7] (like neighbourliness and customary friendship).

THE NATURE OF UTANI AS A RESEARCH PROBLEM

Although I have discussed utani in terms of its definition, it is obvious that the answer to understanding utani properly does not lie only in seeking

2 F. Johnson in the *Standard Swahili-English Dictionary* (London: O.U.P., 1939), cites the Arabic *al-watan* as its source of derivation. The process by which it may be transformed can be inferred from the general principles discussed in Krumm, *Works of Oriental Origin in Swahili* (London: Sheldon Press, 1940), and Allen, *Arabic Script for Students of Swahili* (Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Notes and Records, 1945).
3 W. Whiteley, *Swahili; The Rise of a National Language* (London: Methuen and Co., 1969), p. 150.
4 Johnson, *Standard Swahili-English Dictionary,* op. cit., p. 452.
5 C. Sacleux, *Dictionnaire Swahili-Francais* (Paris: Institut D'Ethnologie, 1939), pp. 177-78.
6 See, for example, J. Masuha, *Masimulizi Juu Ya Wasukuma* (Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1963), 71 p.; N. Yongolo, *Maisha na Desturi za Wanyamwezi* (London: MacMillan [E.A.L.B.] 1953), 75 p.; E. Ndunguru, *Historia, Mila, na Desturi za Wamatengo* (Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1972), 117 p.; S. J. Ntiro, *Desturi za Wachagga* (Nairobi: The Eagle Press [E.A.L.B.] 1953), 50 p.; M. Mnyampala, *Historia, Mila, na Desturi za Wagogo* (Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1954), 77 p.; R. Hadumbavhinu, *Waluguru na Desturi za Zao* (Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1968), 65 p.; A. Mochiwa, *Habari za Wazigua* (Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1954), 54 p.
7 R. Mwaruka, "Neighbourhood and Reciprocal Friendship," *Masimulizi Juu Ya Uzaramo* (London: MacMillan, 1965), p. 39.

the linguistic roots from which it is derived. What must be done is to survey the social institutions, beliefs, and customs that surround utani in order to determine its sociological significance. Thus utani must be analysed as it is realized in social practice, as it is enacted by the people themselves. This of course does not mean that one may dispense with linguistic analysis; but it requires careful attention to the semantic field in which utani operates and is conceptualized.

This is no mean task. In Tanzania, people practice utani in burial ceremonies, inter-clan ritual relationships, rites of propitiation to ancestors, relations between grandparents and grandchildren, intertribal alliances, marriages, wars, theft, cross-cousin relationships, problems of witchcraft, and migrations of people from one part of the country to another. Further, it may involve stealing from one another (although this term must be used advisedly since, by definition, when one's mtani takes something this action is not considered to be theft), taking away a shirt if the person wearing it has mistakenly put it on inside out, or confiscating a bunch of bananas or a cut of meat if they are not being properly transported or covered up. And all of these cases may be accompanied by language that a non-Tanzanian would no doubt consider to be abusive and shocking. In fact, the language that accompanies the fore-cited practices (and I do not pretend that the list is in any way complete) is such that it is easily distinguishable from ordinary teasing or banter between friends. There is obviously another level of understanding involved. Tanzanians know when they are speaking in an utani manner, and the social situations in which they do so are quite precisely defined by the customs of each local society.

Of course, modern social change has introduced a number of new situations in which those people who may have had utani relationships in the past now feel that the present-day situation no longer justifies their continuation. There are numerous court cases to testify to the difficult problem created when one person who no longer believes in utani verbal abuse is insulted in a most demeaning way by a former mtani who is simply respecting the traditional behaviour pattern. It was in fact a case exactly like this which first drew the attention of foreign scholars to the utani customs of East Africa.[8]

How then is one to proceed? The diversity of utani coupled with its practice in locally-determined situations appear to present an insurmountable methodological difficulty. For, on the one hand, simply to record the instances of utani would require dozens of researchers with access to all parts of the country. And given the importance of the linguistic element in utani, those researchers must necessarily be able to speak and understand the local languages through which media utani communication takes place (when, of course, Swahili is not being used instead). On the other hand, there are over 130 local societies (usually identified as 'tribes') in Tanzania, and analysis of their specific utani customs would require ethnographic data that has not yet

8 It was A. R. Radcliffe-Brown citing F. Pedler, "Joking Relationships in East Africa," in *Africa* XIII (1940), pp. 170-173, although in fact there were some earlier items about it in various ethnographies, including an article by Scrivnor entitled "Some Notes on Utani, or the Vituperative Alliances Existing among the Clans in Masasi District," *Tanganyika Notes and Records,* 4 (1937), pp. 72-74.

even been collected.[9] This is particularly true of a people like the Kwere, as will be pointed out later with reference to the study by T. S. Y. Sengo.

Fortunately however, there appears to be an underlying unity within utani itself, notwithstanding its considerably different manifestations in East Africa. There is, in other words, a certain inherent logic in its practice and a common denominator at the conceptual level which overrides local particularities. It is the discovery of these fundamental principles of its operation that constitutes the ultimate aim of my research on utani.

Also, the sheer number of different local ethnic groups in Tanzania hides the fact that in many ways these peoples share a deep-rooted cultural tradition which dates from the days when they first migrated into East Africa, speaking languages whose structures are today identified by linguists as being fairly uniform and whose vocabularies of mutually intelligible words and concepts can still be discerned in modern vernaculars.[10] This means that although there are certain obvious differences between peoples living in what is now Tanzania, there is also an abundance of readily recognized social similarities. Utani is one of these.

But in order to study it, a global approach is required, since utani beliefs and practices permeate familial, political, economic, religious, and social institutions. Moreover, in order to explain what utani is, the researcher must be prepared to examine its many socio-linguistic manifestations and abstract from those particulars the general characteristics which define it and the general laws which govern its practice both traditionally and in modern times. This necessarily implies that a historical perspective must at all times be maintained, by which I mean that the evolution and change which occur over time in man's socio-economic practices are accompanied by corresponding reorganization of social and political institutions. These are then reflected in man's philosophy of his place in existence and result in the creation of ideology whose function it is to maintain the order arising therefrom.

THEORIES OF UTANI IN AFRICA

For many years, a single name—that of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown—could be cited if one was interested in scholarly analysis of utani customs in East Africa. And it is his structural-functionalist theory that has completely dominated interpretations of utani's role in society. It was in 1940 that Radcliffe-Brown first defined utani as a "joking relationship" characterized by *institutionalized disrespect*, the main function of which was to allay and dissipate hostility arising from structural strain in group relations.[11] That is to

say that individuals are put under considerable tension due to their conflicting group memberships, and Radcliffe-Brown proposed that utani's role was to solve this problem by requiring that potential conflict be openly and verbally expressed. This, in his view, had the effect of defusing the social time-bomb before any real explosions occurred.

By 1948, research in West Africa on the Dogon people by a French researcher, M. Griaule, led to a confrontation between himself and Radcliffe-Brown. For Griaule disagreed with the latter's analysis, not because of its intrinsic inclination towards description and its ahistoric character, but because methodologically he preferred to explain the social function of utani (which he called a "cathartic alliance") by referring to the cosmological beliefs of the Dogon and showing how they were related to people's participation in such institutionalized ritual customs as utani.[12] This provoked Radcliffe-Brown into an immediate defence of his position,[13] but it was not until 1956 that any significant advance on the question of how utani should be analysed was made.

For it was then that J. C. Mitchell's *Kalela Dance* brought attention to the fact that social relationships between people on the Zambian Copperbelt were such that the traditional 'joking relationship' was just one more element in a complex urban social ranking system.[14] In other words, Mitchell believed that utani practices offer a way to categorize and classify participants in situations where different group norms and values might be in conflict. But although the idea of social ranking was interesting, it can be seen that Mitchell's analysis provided an explanation still quite similar to Radcliffe-Brown's, i.e., that the function of utani was primarily to reduce tension in situations of potential conflict. What Mitchell did do was to shift the attention away from the rural 'tribal' group to urban centres where the joking relationship mechanism appeared to be quite adept at smoothing inter-ethnic group relations.

Mitchell also provoked a heated argument when he remarked that there was in his view strong evidence "that tribal joking relationships came into being mainly *after* the establishment of European laws and government";[15] in other words that utani was created when formerly hostile tribesmen were now forced to work and live together because the white man would no longer permit them to fight. Anthropologists like Monica Wilson quickly joined in. She wrote that ". . . for at least one people—the Nyakyusa of Tanganyika—the modern joking relationship between peoples is the conscious extension of a traditional relationship between cross-cousins".[16] And Gulliver added with respect to the Songea Ngoni, that "These Ngoni are quite clear that there was no utani with other tribes in pre-European days, for 'how could there be when we fought against all other tribes in war and knew no friendship with any of them? All we knew was war' said one informant".[17]

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9   There is some considerable difficulty involved in choosing the proper criteria to define these local societies. See P. Gulliver, "A Tribal Map of Tanganyika," *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 52 (1957), pp. 61-74, and S. A. Lucas and G. Philippson, "Ethnic Characteristics," in *The Population of Tanzania: Volume VI Census Analysis*, B. Egero and R. Henin, Bralup and The Bureau of Statistics, Dar es Salaam, 1973.
10 M. Guthrie. *Classification of the Bantu Languages* (London: International African Institute, 1948) and J. Greenberg, *The Languages of Africa* (Indiana University, 1963).
11 A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "On Joking Relationships," *Africa*, XIII (1940), pp. 195-210.

12 M. Griaule, "L'Alliance Cathartique," *Africa*, XVIII (1948), pp. 242-258.
13 A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "A Further Note on Joking Relationships," *Africa*, XIX (1949), pp. 133-140.
14 J. Mitchell, "The Kalela Dance," Rhodes-Livingstone Paper, No. 27, 1956.
15 Ibid., p. 37.
16 M. Wilson, correspondence on "Joking Relationships in Central Africa." *Man*, 1957, p. 111.
17 P. Guliver, *Man*, 1958, p. 29.

Historians rightly maintained a healthy scepticism on this point. Reynolds riposted immediately,[18] and more recent publication of pre-colonial histories on the peoples of Tanzania seems to confirm that in fact there was extensive movement, migrations, and therefore social interaction of many kinds *before* the Europeans established their 'peace' in East Africa.[19] This, without any doubt, included utani.

Professor Ranger has written about both utani and dance associations (Mitchell's *Kalela Dance* is an example) within the context of the 'enlargement of scale' which resulted from the increased contact between peoples in the interior.[20] Unfortunately, he relies for his information about utani on Leslie's account of it in *A Survey of Dar es Salaam*.[21] And Leslie, although referring to the development of the caravan routes and the social alliances which were formed between the peoples who met thereon, continues to employ the old functionalist theory of Radcliffe-Brown as an explanation. (Even as recently as 1970, utani in Dar es Salaam was still being cast as a functionalist 'mosaic'.[22])

It was not until 1966 that a serious case study of utani in one Tanzanian society was made, and as the author wrote in the introduction, he planned to follow more in the footsteps of Griaule than Radcliffe-Brown: "It is only when we understand the ideology behind such behaviour [utani] that we can grasp the various motives and effects which this behaviour involves".[23] Despite his effort, the article ends on a rather convoluted question of how it is that the Kaguru (and men in general) use confusion and ambiguity to re-establish a moral order endangered by the fact that people "fail to live up to the ideal norms of society".[24] In sum, Beidelman's study *à la Griaule* appears to be no great improvement; it substitutes a kind of cultural functionalism for Radcliffe-Brown's structural functionalism and leads us no further towards a better theoretical understanding of utani.

Also in 1966, a rather extraordinary event took place: a conference on joking relationships was held at the University of Makerere in Kampala and a series of papers was presented by distinguished scholars, many of whom had actual field experience in East Africa. Of the papers presented at the Kampala conference, two (both of which were subsequently published) deserve our special attention. The first was a case study of utani practices among the Gogo of Tanzania by P. Rigby. In it, the author argued that for himself he did not see (nor do I) any great incompatibility between the Radcliffe-Brown and Griaule approaches. Furthermore, he asserted that if we are to arrive at a deeper understanding of utani there should be undertaken "a systematic and detailed analysis and comparison of the cosmological values and conscious models associated with joking behaviour in societies which are culturally closely related".[25] As will be seen further on, this suggestion appears to me to be a good one (given certain modifications) and I have incorporated it into the general research design of this utani study.

The second Makerere paper was published in a much revised version by M. Douglas in *Man*. In this article, she attempts to raise the level of discussion above the case studies themselves. Her analysis produced, in my view, two very interesting ideas for further research: (1) that the psychological role of joking has long been neglected in work on utani relationships, and moreover it should be remembered that a "joke merely affords opportunity for realising that an accepted pattern has no necessity"[26]; and (2) that from an ideological (she calls it cosmological) point of view, a joke "confronts one relevant structure by another less clearly relevant, one well-differentiated view by a less coherent one, a system of control by another independent one to which it does not apply."[27] These points are quite important, for they suggest that utani is a system of relationships that exists as a counter-point to 'normal' social relationships, that somehow utani is anti-structure in comparison with established social structure. Tentatively, I believe it is therein that resides the fundamental ritual nature of utani practices. Proof for this assertion will rest with the evidence collected on utani as current research progresses.

The above will, later in our analysis, lead us to a very serious question indeed: is utani fundamentally revolutionary in nature (insofar as it calls into question a given structure, an accepted pattern of behaviour) or on the contrary, does utani simply *mystify* a given social situation by encouraging ritualistic rebellion and anti-structure, symbolic action, while in fact it serves to re-inforce the established structure?

CURRENT RESEARCH RESULTS AND AREAS OF FURTHER INQUIRY

The data gathered during the first phase of research have been of much more value than simply furnishing additional data on utani in Tanzania.

Underlying Themes

First of all, it is no longer possible to talk of a 'joking relationship' as an adequate English rendition of utani, no matter how ironical its message. Indeed, there is no reason why utani should not be called by its own Swahili name, in the same way that other rather special social institutions have had their own proper names become current usage in the language of social science. But there occurred more than just a shift in terminological delineation. From research it became evident that utani was applicable to a very wide

18 V. Reynolds, *Man*, 1958, p. 52.
19 For example, excellent case studies are included in A. Roberts, ed., *Tanzania Before 1900* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), and I. Kimambo and A. Temu, eds., *A History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969).
20 T. Ranger, "The Movement of Ideas; 1850-1939," in Kimambo and Temu, op. cit., pp. 167-168.
21 J. K. Leslie, *A Survey of Dar es Salaam* (London: O.U.P., 1963).
22 J. Vincent, "The Dar es Salaam Townsmen," *Dar es Salaam—City, Port and Region, Tanzania Notes and Records*, 71 (1970), pp. 149-156.
23 T. O. Beidelman, "Utani: Some Kaguru Notions of Death, Sexuality and Affinity," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 1966, p. 356.
24 Ibid., p. 377.

25 P. Rigby, "Joking Relationships, Kin Categories, and Clanship among the Gogo," *Africa*, XXXVIII (1968), p. 153.
26 M. Douglas, "The Social Control of Cognition: Some Factors in Joke Perception," *Man*, III, 3 (1968), p. 365.
27 Ibid., p. 371.

collection of relationships between both individuals and groups of varying size and nature. But in every case, three principal themes appeared.

The first of these themes was that of equality and inequality. Some utani relationships stressed equality of status, as in the case of the Hehe and the Ngoni who are said to have been unable to defeat one another in war and thus became watani. Another case of this type is the utani practised by some peoples between cross-cousins, i.e., between a person and the sons or daughters of the maternal uncle or the paternal aunt. But this equality (for some people) bypasses ordinary utani relationships in that cross-cousins in these societies are oftentimes taken as preferential marriage partners. As the Makonde put it, "*Mali isiende mbali!*" (Wealth must not go far away).

On the other hand, some utani relationships are not reciprocally enacted in that one participant may verbally abuse or insult another without his or her being able to reply in kind. For the Chagga, this unequal utani often occurs between individuals who have differential social status as, for example, between rich and poor. A similar case can be found among Nyamwezi and Kimbu chiefdoms which have utani relationships. All are equal, as George Orwell's saying goes, but some appear to be more equal than others! Similarly, utani between some Doe clans operates in such a way that the respective groups are clearly ranked in a social hierarchy that usually corresponds to land ownership patterns established when the first Doe immigrants came into Udoe.

A second theme was that of domination and submission. On this point, research is not yet sufficiently advanced to state clearly to what degree this theme is correlated with the above mentioned equality and inequality. Be that as it may, in a very great number of cases utani implies an exercise of power of one person or one group over another in a given situation. Thus, many of the so-called 'funeral relationships' in East Africa are patterned on this theme. For example, the Zaramo and the Sukuma are watani, and so they must bury one another if death occurs while on safari in the mtani's country.

Another example of this pattern is the utani relationship that obtains between those who are obliged to pay a fee or tribute, *hongo* (Johnson also translates it as "blackmail"[28]) in order to pass through country under the control of local inhabitants. The history of East Africa abounds in examples of this, though some of the best known are those of the Zaramo, Gogo, and Nyamwezi. It should be noted that *hongo* is also used to denote the fee paid to seduce a woman, which use at the conceptual level indicates a consciousness on the part of the local peoples that the caravans who passed through their countries were engaged, even if they paid for it, in a kind of commercial rape. Beidelman points to a similar idea when he writes that "Many of the matrilineal peoples of eastern Tanzania use both the terms utani and ugongo . . . [and] . . . the dictionary gives both tani and mgongo as terms that may also refer to 'back' or behind', meanings which may have attributes of subordinance and sexuality".[29]

28 Johnson, *Standard Swahili-English Dictionary*, op. cit., p. 136.
29 Beidelman, "Utani," op. ict., p. 366.

The third theme which appeared in all utani relationships was aggression and cooperation. Again, this theme is obviously intertwined with the examples already given, but the language of utani itself is rich with highly insulting, abusive, aggressive terminology, very much a part of what Radcliffe-Brown called "institutionalized disrespect". Thus, the peoples of the Tanzanian Coast used to twit the Sukuma for not being circumcized, and the latter would respond that the locals (be they Zaramo, Kwere, Doe, etc.) were lazy little wastrels whose women would much prefer a Sukuma penis even if the tip weren't nipped off! Aggression in many cases like this one appears to take the form of an over-emphasized (normally unwarranted) intimacy.

But the aforesaid aggression takes place in social situations that demand a certain level of cooperation from the utani participants. An interesting example of this kind occurs in modern urban centres (as discussed above in the studies of Mitchell and Leslie) and on Tanzanian sisal plantations. Consider the plantations of Tanga Region, where the local Bondei people found themselves with thousands of migrant workers from outside coming to take jobs on the sisal plantations.[30] These migrants were Makonde, Nyamwezi, Ha, etc., all from up-country, *bara*, as opposed to the Bondei of the coast, *pwani*. The Bondei called the workers *manamba*, a Swahili version of the English word 'number' used to refer to the numbered workers, and *wanyika*. The latter is a pejorative term used to underline the fact that the workers *hawana kwao*, i.e., they are runaways from their home country, do not speak good Swahili, and have lost all culture by submitting themselves to the hard life of plantation labour. Yet they must cooperate with one another and live together with a minimum of strife, particularly when the *wanyika* get salaries that permit them to take local Bondei women as wives if, of course, the latter and their families assent.

Areas of Further Inquiry

Certain patterns in the early research indicated at least three more areas of inquiry where further research might prove fruitful.

The first of these was the question of the origins of utani. As yet, researchers have failed to discover the origins of utani as practised, say, between grandparents and their grandchildren (although many said its basic function was elementary education and childcare) or between cross-cousins, and none could explain satisfactorily how diverse utani customs (such as those related to wearing a shirt inside out or improperly covered meat, etc.) originated. Research results are fairly clear however that the origins of intertribal utani, and of inter-clan utani in some parts of Tanzania, have their roots in historical events such as warfare and trade, although also mentioned were theft, migration, geographical contiguity, raiding, and marriage. This is extremely interest-

30 This example is discussed in more detail in my "The Anthropology of Inequality: Some Socio-Linguistic Indices of Domination and Subordination," a paper presented at the 1972 Social Science Council Conference, Nairobi, Kenya.

ing, for it is suggested that although utani is itself a kind of ritual, its para-meters of references are not myth[31] but recent history. This further drives home the point that sociological analysis of utani which ignores history is worse than useless; it is positively destructive of understanding. This point is cogently argued by Professor Van Velsen in his critique of structuralist studies in Africa; his elaboration of "situational analysis"[32] has in fact greatly shaped my own methodological approach to the analysis of utani. Thus it is necessary to gather further information about the growth of utani relationships in correlation with patterns of intertribal warfare, the migration of peoples and the growth of trade routes. The suggestion made by Rigby (whom I have cited above) about the comparison of "culturally closely related" peoples' utani practices should therefore be modified to include various levels of interaction and movement of peoples who may *not* be closely related in cultural terms, but who came to establish utani relationships nevertheless.

A second and more difficult problem is that of the relationship between utani and witchcraft. Some research seems to suggest that these are alternate responses to situations of conflict. Utani renders overt the tension by ritualized 'theft' and aggression which is symbolized verbally and through gestures. *Uchawi* (witchcraft) on the other hand, operates covertly, and draws for its principal source of strength on commonly held beliefs in the existence of a power that is 'super'-natural, beyond the domain of man's complete under-standing and control. Its existence, however, is doubted neither by victim nor practitioner. Is it possible for watani to bewitch one another? The answer, if indeed there is a single answer, is not yet clear. Some researchers argue that utani and uchawi constitute distinct categories and cannot become simultan-eously intermingled as components of a relationship between two individuals. But others say they can. And is this also true of wider groups? Lastly, to what extent are both utani and uchawi linked to social differentiation and to new socio-economic conditions which arise out of social and cultural change? It is rather easier to ask questions on this topic than to provide meaningful answers!

Lastly, it is clear that the problem of 'cousinship' needs further exploration. Many of the Tanzanian peoples have utani practices between cross-cousins, and, as discussed earlier, this appears to be an important regulative principle between related families. Wilson has gone so far as to say, as I quoted her above, that for the Nyakyusa, intertribal utani is a "conscious extension" of cousinship, and it is very interesting to note that in Kinyakyusa a cross-cousin is called *untani* (pl. *abatani*) and cousinship is known as *ubutani*. Among the peoples of the Coast, in many cases the cross-cousin is known as *mtani* as well.

The point here is that when cousinship appears as a kind of principle in

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31 I have studied the relationships between myth, ritual, and social structure and their roles in history and oral traditions in "The Outsider and the Origin of the State in Katanga," a paper presented at the Annual Conference of the African Studies Asso-ciation, Denver, U.S.A., 1971.
32 J. Van Velsen, "The Extended-Case Method and Situational Analysis," *The Craft of Social Anthropology*, A. Epstein, ed. (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967), pp. 129-149.

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some types of utani practices, this may be significant for other, general, social, structural organizations as well. Mitchell found this to be the case for the Yao, where "cross-cousinship is particularly significant when seen in relation to village structure" because "villages, if they are not built around a simple matrilineage, are composed of a dominant matrilineage and one or more lineages linked patrilaterally to it".[33] "The Yao", Mitchell continues, "tend to see the component lineages as wholes, and therefore speak of the relation-ships between members of the dominant lineage and members of the subsidiary lineages in general as 'cross-cousinship' (*cisuwani*)".[34]

Let us turn now to a reading of selected oral traditions in preparation for the final discussion of the role of utani in Eastern Tanzanian clan histories.

DOE, KWERE, AND ZARAMO ORAL TRADITIONS[35]

It should first be pointed out that in the traditions cited below I have retained the waprefix in the clan names, despite the usual ethnographic practice of using the root only. This I do in order to differentiate the clan from the larger ethnic groups (where I write Doe and *not* Wadoe, etc.).

A. A Doe Clan History: The Mwene Kinoo Story

This tradition relates the events which occur at the time of the defence of the Coast peoples (the Doe and the Zaramo) against the Kamba. Appeal is made to a chief (*Mwene*) named Kinoo Cha Njia ("stone in the path") who is said to be living at Kiiwe Banduka, an area which Doe tradition places in Unyamwezi or Ufipa. Mwene Kinoo accepts the offer to fight.

> Mwene Kinoo had four brothers, each born of a different mother, i.e., their father who was called Makunga had five sons. The first-born was Kinoo; his mother was Matatahala, the sister of Pazi Lukali. The second born was Kajeng' anga; his mother came from the Wungu tribe. The third was Sani whose mother was married from the Sukuma tribe. The fourth was Mtavangile and his mother was from the Wungu tribe. Each one of these had his family. When Mwene Kinoo received the call from the coast he called his brothers and his uncle Pazi Lukali and asked for their cooperation. At that meeting it is said he also gave them salt which Luwinga had brought to him at the coast as a present; they tasted it and were very much impressed by its pleasantness. All four of his young brothers as well as his uncle, Pazi Lukali, agreed to accompany Mwene Kinoo to the coast to attack the Kamba. Matatahala, Mwene's mother, also said she would come with her son even though she was already getting aged. Thus the journey was begun. There were the soldiers of Mwene Kinoo, the soldiers of Kajeng'anga

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33 J. Mitchell, *The Yao Village* (Manchester University Press, 1956), p. 200.
34 Ibid., p. 202.
35 Very little has been published on the Doe and the Kwere. I am therefore relying on clan oral traditions collected by A. Mfikirwa and T. S. V. Sengo respectively. Their full reports, entitled "Utani Relationships: the Doe," and "Utani Relationships: the Kwere," appear in "Utani Relationships in Tanzania," S. Lucas, ed., mimeo, Dar es Salaam, 1974. For the Zaramo traditions, I have relied extensively on the clan histories presented in Swahili by R. Mwaruka, *Masimulizi Juu Ya Uzaramo*, op. cit., pp. 1-56.

and Mtavangile, those of Sani and those of Kisagase. Mwene Kinoo and his family were known as "Wenyemwendo", i.e., the owners of the journey (because it was Kinoo who was taking them to the coast). That of Kajeng'anga and Mtavangile were known as Wungu because their mothers were Wungu. Those of Sani were named Sukuma also because Sani's mother was a Sukuma. Kisagase's men were Wavilila. The Wungu were very fond of eating meat and very often they would break off from the main caravan to catch gazelles or antelopes by setting up traps or chasing them.

The journey continued well, but soon Matatahala (Mwene's mother) got sick. Mwene's group (Wenyemwendo) slowed down their marching because they had to take care of Matatahala. Kajeng'anga with his Wungu stayed behind with Mwene in order to help him with the sick woman. While the Wenyemwendo and the Wungu lagged behind, Sani, Kisagase, and Pazi Lukali (Mwene's uncle) continued to march ahead but camping many times in order to wait for those who were caring for the sick woman. It so happened that at a certain point Mwene gave up completely the hope that his mother would die so that they could be able to march at a quicker pace. So Mwene ordered her to be killed. At this, Pazi protested strongly and told his nephew to care for Matatahala until she died naturally; and he argued further that he would proceed with the main body of the army and would face the enemy in case they met them on the way and that they would continue with the practice of making camp to wait for him (Mwene). They set out again; Pazi pushed on with the main body while Mwene followed behind slowly. Before long, Matatahala died. Now came the question of where to bury her. They could not bury her there where they were because they would not be able to trace the grave in such a wilderness, and they could not carry the body with them for they did not know the place where they were going or when they would reach it. At last Mwene ordered Kajeng'anga and his men (Wungu) to eat the body of his mother ". . . so that from now on we the Wenyemwendo and you Wamelo ('eaters of meat') are watani and your stomachs are the grave of our mother Matatahala". So Mwene Kinoo let the Wungu eat the body of Matatahala. any Wangu is picked out because his stomach is the grave of Matatahala any Mungu is picked out because his stomach is the grave of Matatahala. From that day up to this the Wanyamwendo, as the name "Wenyemwendo" became called, and the Wungu became watani. And from that day the Wungu began to be called wamelo, the name Mwene called them or nicknamed them mockingly. 'Wamelo' means those who are fond of eating meat. 'Umelo' is the habit of liking to eat meat. The Swahili word for it is 'Uchu'. Everytime one referred to the Wungu he would say "Wamelo ao" (They, the 'fond eaters of meat'). Gradually the two words merged and became wamilao. And the words Wenyemwendo (owners of the safari) became Wanyamwendo. The two clans became Wanyamwendo and Wamilao and no longer Wenyemwendo and Wungu. And the two are 'watani'.[36]

B. *A Kwere Clan History: the M'hengo Story*

M'hengo in Kwere is strongly believed to be their only God. The Zigua believe in Seuta, but the Kwere believe in M'hengo. His influence has been so big that a large percentage of the Kwere people still believe in him, hence, they neither believe in Islam nor in Christianity. Even some of those who call themselves Moslems or Christians still belong to both practices as they attend some traditional ceremonies in which the M'hengo matters are entrusted.

M'hengo is believed to have come from afar, probably over in Nyamwezi land. He left his village with his sister Bonele. That village is believed to have been

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Kibamanduka. He travelled with his sister into Zigualand. He seemed to be dissatisfied with the life there. He decided to explore some new land. He came as far as Lun'hala/Lukala, a small village at Mindu-Ng'hene, about ten miles west of Bagamoyo. When they arrived at that new place, the whole place seemed to be quiet and lonely. M'hengo left his sister there and went for further exploration. He managed to cover the whole area in which the Kwere are now living. Then he returned to the place to settle.

In a word, therefore, M'hengo as a person is believed to have been the first man to settle in Kwereland. He belonged to the N'hozo clan. Hence, the N'hozo clan can be taken as to have been the basic source of the whole existing tribe now. The fact was that Lun'hala was centrally part of a very big forest and beasts were essentially part and parcel of the occupants therein. M'hengo decided to build his houses on top of tall trees. He built two houses, one for his sister and the other for himself. Their main food was meat as it was easy to catch and kill animals. So they spent their daytime on the ground while at night each of them climbed onto his/her tree house to sleep and hide from the beasts.

One day, there accidentally arrived a man at M'hengo's place. He was a lost man. He was warmly welcomed. He was served food and other necessities. His name was Msagara. At night he was asked to climb up the trees onto the house to sleep. "Kwela ng'hwele ukagone". Msagara climbed up the tree. Before doing so he had managed to talk to Bonele. At midnight, the guest decided to climb down and go up to Bonele. He spent the night there. On the following day, M'hengo asked his sister if she knew anything about the whereabouts of their guest. Bonele said she knew nothing, while she in fact hid the man in her hut. After two days, Msagara left the place for some other land.

After some time, Bonele noted that she was pregnant. Msagara was not around. She could not report the matter to her brother as that would mean an insult. She stayed for quite some time before she saw Msagara again. When he was told about the matter, he was very worried. He could do nothing except to tell M'hengo the whole story. He went to him, made an apology and told him about the whole story as regards his sister's pregnancy. M'hengo became angry. However, he could not solve the problem in any way except to order Msagara to get married to Bonele. That was done and soon the party had a he-baby called Sagala (or Sagara).

M'hengo was exceptionally pleased to see that his sister had a son. He regarded that son as his younger brother. He looked after him until he was a man, old enough to share with him all the affairs regarding their clan. M'hengo and Sagara, as presently regarded as a prophet and his assistant, sat down and planned everything for the Kwere tribe. They were the founders of Kwere beliefs, rules, and regulations; they also founded the ngoma business, the marriage system, death ceremonies, the tambiko rituals and every other factor involved in life. All that is done in Kwere up to this day is done in the name of M'hengo and Sagara. And Lun'hala is up to this day believed to be the centre of Kwere culture. It is believed that in that part of Bagamoyo District more than ninety-five per cent of the people still hold to M'hengoism. They are neither Christians nor Moslems.

All the guests who came to the land no matter of what origin, were in a way forced to follow the way of life as pre-planned by M'hengo and Sagara. At present, there is some confusion which is mainly caused by the Mindu clan. This clan is very big. It is one of the biggest clans in Kwereland. Now, because of the fact that they are very many they tend to think and believe that they are the 'owners' of the Kwereland. This is mere ignorance. The originators of the Kwere tribe is M'hengo of the N'hozo clan.[37]

C. *A Zaramo Clan History: The Story of Pazi and the Kamba War*

I have translated the tradition that appears in this section from the Swahili version given by R. Mwaruka in *Masimulizi Juu Ya Uzaramo*. In some cases I have abridged the original text. According to Zaramo oral tradition, Pazi originated from Kibwemandu in Ukutu (which is situated to the west of Zaramo country). Pazi's maternal clan is Lugoma, and his patrilateral kin group is Kilama (and Lukali); thus his name: Pazi Kilama.

> In the war with the Kamba, Pazi was accompanied by his four nephews (Translator's note: They are Temodimogoke, Hega, Kingalu and Mwene. The latter's mother is Matatahala.) who are brave warriors. The Kamba fought fiercely, but were driven back across the Ruvu River and many died while trying to get over to the other side. Pazi's troops took a rope and tied it between two trees, one on either side of the river, and the soldiers used this means to cross in order to pursue the Kamba. Before Pazi and the remaining troops could use the rope bridge, Mwene (already on the other side) cut the rope thus leaving his uncle stranded with his men.
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> Pazi was furious and he shouted to Mwene, 'You have stranded me here for no reason. This is a bad thing you have done. But never mind, I am going to tell you something: on your trip, you must take your mother Matatahala, put her in a big water jug and cover her up with a shallow cooking pot!' Then Pazi and his soldiers went away.
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> Mwene, on the far bank of the river, was astonished by his uncle's words, and it troubled him that he did not understand what was meant by putting his mother into a big water jug. He became even more troubled when his mother fell sick. He therefore told some Doe who were among his troops to kill his mother. So the Doe took Matatahala, killed her, and ate her. Then Mwene understood the mystery of his uncle Pazi's words. And since that day it is well-known that the Doe eat people.
>
> Mwene then set off with his troops and defeated the Kamba. Pazi, however, was in great difficulty and his anger at Mwene cooled sufficiently to enable him to send word to his nephew Mwene that he urgently needed him to help fight. Mwene then joined up with Pazi's forces and they defeated the remaining Kamba.[38]

There are a number of interesting points which arise out of a comparative analysis of the texts which are presented above. Informed commentary on them is quite difficult, however, because of the lack of good ethnographic data on the Doe, Kwere, and Zaramo peoples. This limitation must be kept in mind when assessing the validity of the assertions which I make about the meaning of these clan histories and the role of utani in them.

ORAL TRADITION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The first general comment to be made is that, when seen in broad perspective, forms of utani practised in Tanzania appear to be closely correlated with the social structures of the societies in which they are observed. Thus, for example, utani in Kimbu[39] and Nyamwezi[40] societies differs from

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utani among the Doe, Kwere, and Zaramo societies in direct measure to the level of social organization studied. If one examines utani at the 'traditional state' or chiefdom level, then the more highly centralized political organization of the former two will be marked differently by utani customs than will the politically decentralized clan system of the latter three. And we can see as well that the oral traditions cited above themselves suggest two or more levels of integration.

The first is that of the Pazi Kilama stories in Doe and Zaramo traditions and that of M'hengo and Sagara in Kwere tradition. Structural analysis of these stories reveals that the primary sociological relationship which dominates the content is that of the maternal uncle (*mjomba* in Swahili) and the uterine nephew (*mpwa*), as depicted in the Pazi-Mwene and M'hengo-Sagara relationships. Perusal of available ethnographic literature on the peoples in question confirms that in fact these matrilineal societies have as a central organizational principle the *mjomba/mpwa* relationship.[41] And it is interesting to note that utani does not enter into the uncle-nephew relationship either in the stories or in social practice when the general, society-wide, level is taken into consideration. It may be that our information is simply too scanty to allow further analysis at this time, for as will be seen below, there are at the lower levels many occasions on which the uncle-nephew relationship is deeply intertwined with utani.

The second level is that of the clans themselves. It is on this point that Sengo differentiates between utani in general and what the Kwere (and the Doe as well, though Mfikirwa's information is less clear on this point) call *ugongo*, which is most clearly a system of ritual interaction at the clan level.[42] In Brain's article we read, for example, that new clan heads are installed by their *wagongo*:

> The new head who has been chosen is shut in a house from early morning, symbolically representing a maiden, and he comes out before the people in the same way, held by a member of another special clan, with which his clan has the relationship known as ugongo (Swahili: utani). He is placed on a three-legged stool by the mgongo (member of the other clan) and is invested with a leather bracelet while the women make the trilling noise common on such occasions. The mgongo then announces that 'Our brother was dead but now he lives again, this is now *n* (name) and it behoves all you nephews to follow him'.[43]

I think that here is a feature which deserves further study, in that land-use patterns, propitiation of the ancestors through *tambiko* rites, and the general exercise of power at the local level all fall under the realm of the clan head's activity. Here the clan histories cited above bring forth an important consideration, for in almost all cases there is reference to the role of the 'stranger' in resolving social problems, even that of why one's group came to be called by

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38 Mwaruka, *Masimulizi Juu Ya Uzaramo*, op. cit., pp. 11-14.
39 A. Shorter, *Chiefship in Western Tanzania* (London: O.U.P., 1972), p. 128 and p. 178.
40 R. Abrahams, *The Political Organization of the Wanyamwezi* (Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 55-56.

41 Beidelman, *The Matrilineal Peoples of Eastern Tanzania*, op. cit.
42 Sengo, "Utani Relationships: the Kwere," op. cit., and Mfikirwa, "Utani Relationships: the Doe," op. cit.
43 J. Brain, "The Kwere of the Eastern Province," *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 58-59 (1962), p. 232.

the name it presently bears.[44] Seen from the perspective of the matrilineal principle of the relationship between maternal uncle and uterine nephew, it may be obvious that without the intervention of a stranger (to the uncle's clan) who marries the uncle's sister, there would never be a uterine nephew! And it is precisely because power and social status reside with the maternal uncle that conflict between him (and his generation) and the uterine nephew (and his generation) will arise. In olden times, the nephew inherited the uncle's power (and his wife as well) upon his death; also, in most of these societies, cross-cousin marriage (between the nephew and his uncle's daughter) was preferential. Sengo mentions in his report that cross-cousin marriage was "established to normalize the situation since cross-cousins can marry each other and bring back the lost or dirtied blood".[45] A more political-economic analysis would suggest that it also stops the outward flow of wealth in the form of bridewealth that is traditionally paid by the groom's clan to the clan of the bride.

There is universal mention of conflict in the clan histories, so much so that it appears to be an essential element of Eastern Tanzanian conceptualization of human interaction. The basic rule of thumb here seems to be that it is differences and not similarities which are the focus of man's relationships. And here we are drawing near to the essence of utani ritual: group boundaries are defined behaviourally with reference to hostility rather than cooperation, even though the groups are actually living and working with each other under the guise of cooperation. I will return to this important point in my concluding remarks.

In passing, I would like to mention a third level, which will not be taken up at length here because it did not figure prominently in the oral traditions presented above, which is that of utani on an individual-to-individual basis. Here it appears to be not so much a question of group (such as clan or tribe) membership as it is the interaction expected between certain roles having differential status, for example, utani between a man and his granddaughter. In this regard, a yet-unanswered question is that of the role of bloodbrotherhood pacts and their relation to categories of watani.[46]

CONCLUSION: HISTORY AND THE INTERPRETATION OF UTANI

Before the final conclusion is reached, a methodological point remains to be discussed. The oral traditions I have cited above contradict one another in various places. This contradiction occurs not only in the emphasis given to the origins of key figures, like Pazi and Mwene, but also in specific relationship-defining events. Take, for example, the Doe version of circumstances surrounding the death of Mwene's mother (Matatahala). This is very different from the

Zaramo tradition which says that Matatahala is eaten by the Doe soldiers after Mwene's uncle, Pazi, mysteriously pronounces her fate. The Doe tradition claims that Matatahala was eaten on Mwene's order, without Pazi's intervention, by people who were not at that time Doe but "strangers" (Wungu) who had come with Mwene from up-country. Mwene justifies this action as ritually necessary for otherwise Matatahala's grave would be lost and no tambiko (propitiation) could be made to her.[47] The answer to this problem is two-fold. Firstly, these oral traditions are used by the peoples who 'speak' them to argue social position by manipulation of interpretations and to present the salient facts of their historical development. The contradictions are therefore not mistakes or errors, and they cannot be 'averaged out' in order to establish some true history. This must be kept in mind when evaluating oral texts. Secondly, these and other clan histories need to be confronted with one another not only in our minds but also on the ground by means of group 'fact-finding' meetings (as Mao Tse-Tung called them in his 1930 pamphlet "Oppose Book Worship") which were so effectively employed by I. Kimambo in the fieldwork for his book, *A Political History of the Pare of Tanzania*.[48] The only difficulty here, however, is that the confrontation of clan *wazee* (elders) might well disclose the levels of conflict and disagreement of the present clans without accurately providing details of the conflicts as they existed at the time of the events themselves. This is, of course, a central problem to historiography and ethnography alike.

In Tanzania, historians who have recently published work on nineteenth century social change have focused their attention on the 'enlargement of scale' which was taking place in the interior of the country as well as between the coast and *bara*, up-country.[49] Roberts notes that this expansion was largely characterized by the growth of economic exchange and the expansion of secular political control over increasingly large territories coupled with the lessening of ritual leadership. He adds, however, that this does not mean that everywhere could be witnessed the emergence of 'states', and he cites the work of I. Kimambo on the Pare and S. Feierman on the Shambaa as evidence that in some parts of Tanzania "smaller but more tightly-knit units were the most appropriate kind of political organization to deal with the enlarged field of political and economic contacts."[50] In examining Doe, Kwere, and Zaramo clan traditions, we see that the case put forward by Roberts does not seem applicable, either in terms of a lessening of ritual leadership or the appropriate-

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44 This role is discussed with reference to cases in Zaire in Lucas.

45 Sengo, "Utani Relationships: the Kwere," op. cit.

46 Some information of blood-brotherhood is available in Beidelman, *The Matrilineal Peoples of Eastern Tanzania*, op. cit.; C. Velten, *Desturi za Wasuaheli* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht 1903), and *Safari za Wasuaheli* (Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht 1901).

47 Mfikirwa, "Utani Relationships: the Does, "op. cit., "Whenever there is to be a *tambiko kwa Mama Mwene* [i.e., an offering to propitiate the Mwene's mother], a Milao is grabbed and is thrown on the ground and made to lie on his back and then if he has a shirt it is removed and his stomach is bare. Then some pombe—local beer—is poured on his stomach and the offering is made."

48 I. Kimambo, *Political History of the Pare in Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969).

49 Kimambo and Temu, *A History of Tanzania*, op. cit.; Roberts, *Tanzania Before 1900*, op. cit.; also there is an interesting chapter on the Nyamwezi case by R. Abrahams in *From Tribe to Nation*, R. Cohen and J. Middleton, eds. (Scranton U.S.A.: Chandler Publishing Co., 1970), where the concept of 'integration' is used to describe the process of creation of ever larger socio-political units.

50 Roberts, op. cit., p. 18.

ness of the local political unit. As regards the first, for example, the M'hengo-Sagara tradition primarily establishes a religio-social system that Sengo has termed "M'hengoism".[51] And in the case of Pazi and Mwene, one can cite the development of a system of religious values which are referred to generally as *Kipazi*.[52] The establishment of these superstructural scaffolds should not detract our attention from the modifications, if any, that were occurring at the same time in the socio-economic base of Eastern Tanzanian societies.

And it leads us to ask, therefore, why utani relationships are formed *selectively*, so that some clans are linked to some others, but never is one linked to *all* others, nor is one clan ever completely isolated, having no utani whatsoever with any other clan. It has been suggested earlier in this paper that the network of these utani relationships constitutes a system of social classification, and I believe that social differentiation is correlated thereto in such a way that the oral traditions of clans largely constitute the ideological reflection of socio-economic relations between the peoples who participate in the system. Unfortunately, the data at our disposal which would provide an insight into the exact nature of political-economic formations in nineteenth century Tanzania are very scanty indeed. Recent work—as yet unpublished—by E. A. Alpers[53] on some of the Eastern Tanzanian matrilineal peoples may fill this gap considerably, thus enabling scholars to undertake in Tanzania the kind of analysis made by C. Meillassoux on the Guro of the Ivory Coast.[54] E. Terray, in his commentary on Meillassoux's work, points out that "a production unit is defined by the form of cooperation on which it is based",[55] and it is for this reason that we may well ask inversely what production unit is being defined by utani 'cooperation'! This leads to the crux of my objection to the structural-functionalist analysis of utani as advanced by Radcliffe-Brown, which was briefly discussed above in the section on theories of utani in Africa. It is not that I disagree with the fact that utani is a form of cooperation, is characterized by mutual verbal abuse, is constituted by vituperative alliances, embodies institutionalized disrespect, etc., but rather that *the 'equality' of the oft-noted reciprocity of utani is a mystification of the degree to which the aforesaid utani cooperation is differentially beneficial to the watani.*[56] And thus we have the response to a question I posed earlier as to whether utani is funda-

mentally revolutionary (insofar as it brings into the open hostility resulting from conflictual situations) or not: the answer is definitely *no*. In fact, there is considerable evidence that utani serves to reinforce the established structure by allowing watani participants to engage in symbolically anti-structure rebellion.[57]

The role of utani in Doe, Kwere and Zaramo clan histories is a case in point. For the explanation of why the origin of the clan, the origin of its name, and the origin of its utani relationships are simultaneously expressed in a single 'traditional time' lies in the relationship between social differentiation and ritual mystification of it. Put bluntly, the Doe may have eaten the Mwene's mother, but the Mwene ate the Doe. The ritual re-enactment of the principle-establishing events cited in the oral traditions serve to reaffirm the Mwene's power while leading socially differentiated peoples under him to believe that were it not for them he would not be. Metaphysically they are right, but in the practical material world he continues to sit on the throne.

May I be permitted, however, to leave the last words to the Hehe, a people who established utani relations with the Ngoni after neither side was able to defeat the other after years of warfare. It is said that at the time of the peace agreement the Hehe stated: *Muwuyage mkegale ovana na yuhwehwe tukegale, sahoma kangi ovisukulu vetu hwehewe inotu vitani!* (Go home and multiply, we will multiply too; let our future generations fight again. Henceforth we establish a joking relationship!)[58] Politics, as Clauswitz said, is war by other means. And this, as history will attest, has provided ample material for joking, even though the subject is no laughing matter.

51 Sengo, "Utani Relationships: the Kwere," op. cit., p. 6.
52 Personal communication from L. Swantz whose Ph.D dissertation (University of DSM), contains information on Pazi religion. Also see M-L Swantz, *Ritual and Symbol in Transitional Zaramo Society* (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1970).
53 E. A. Alpers, "Peasantization and Differentiation in Eastern Tanzania during the Nineteenth Century: An Aspect of Rural Class Formation," mimeo. paper given at a history seminar, University of Dar es Salaam, 2 August 1973. I suggested at the time of the presentation that the economic data he had collected, although not yet completely analysed, fit closely to my own interpretation of change at the ideological level, as reflected in the clan traditions which, among others, have been given in this paper.
54 C. Meillassoux, *Anthropologie Economique des Gauro de Côte d'Ivoire* (Paris: Mouton, 1964).
55 E. Terray, *Marxism and "Primitive" Societies* (NY: Monthly Review Press, 1972), p. 101.
56 Terray puts it thus: "The structuralism of Radcliffe-Brown can be described as empirical precisely because it affirms the integration of the whole without establishing the principle on which this integration takes place," ibid., p. 183.

57 We see here the reason why the linkage between utani and *uchawi* (witchcraft) is important. They both deal with essentially similar phenomena: hostility, aggression, violence, tension and conflict. It may eventually emerge that utani is an even greater reactionary social force than witchcraft, which in some ways constitutes a *real* attack on the society in which it operates. Note that utani often 'uses' *uchawi* as a convenient straw-man, a cover-up for its own ideological role. Beidelman writes that the "Kaguru have ritualized one aspect of their relations with those over whom they have relatively little control, and one detail of such relations provides us with some insight into the nature of witchcraft belief. Each Kaguru clan has certain joking partners (*Mutani*, pl. *Watani*), who may freely abuse their partners. These are persons towards whom the usual social etiquette does not apply. When a *mutani* approaches, a Kaguru may explain in joking but significant insult, 'Here comes a witch'." T. O. Beidelman, "Witchcraft in Ukaguru," in *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa*, J. Middleton and F. Winter, eds. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), pp. 84-85.
58 N. Chalamila, "Utani Relationships: the Hehe," in "Utani Relationships in Tanzania," S. Lucas, ed., op. cit., pp. 1-27.