

## JANES FORUM

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### Natives and Strangers through the Ages

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George Peter Murdock's map of "Distribution of Races in Africa" (*Africa*, 1959) indicates clearly that there has been a lot of racial movements. The pygmoid and bushmanoid who originally owned half (or possibly more) of Africa from the Atlantic end of the Congo Forest all the way past the Nile to the Horn of Africa and down to the Cape have suffered the first and most destruction, displacement or extinction. First, it was the Negroid who displaced them, then later the Negroid in their turn or the Bushmanoid alone were displaced by the Caucasoid. The Negroid who had covered most of Saharan Africa apart from the mediterranean littoral and the area east of the Nile down to the Congo Forest. One could deduce that at one time they must have occupied Africa upto the mediterranean Sea in the north and Red Sea down to the Horn before they were displaced by the Caucasoid.

"Displacement" includes intrusion, conquest and colonisation, conquest and destruction, or intermarriage of races and cultures.

#### 1. *Zinjanthropus*, the first citizen

With Dr. and Mrs. Leakey's unearthing of the skull of *Zinjanthropus* and member of the Australopithecines in 1959 in Olduvai Gorge, the world's attention was drawn to the lands in and around the Eastern African Rift Valleys for the evolution of mankind. The main school of human evolution holds that from Africa man then spread into Asia and Africa. A minor rival school holds that there could have been other centres for the evolution of the Caucasoid and Mongoloid. (I tend to side with them. For, it is easier to explain a racial mixing than a differentiation, assuming that *Zinjanthropus* was bushmanoid or pygmoid. when the Caucasoid came to Africa they were a distinct and different race.

#### 2. Sangoan man and his stones

Stone Age man (and woman) left for us heaps of stone tools, implements, and debris in his riverain and hill-cave habitations. Whether the air, water or chemicals in the soils in those areas were consciousness enhancing awaits future studies. for our present purpose, what has not been proved is direct descent of any existing African

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#### Note

This paper was read as one of the four invited lectures, generally titled "Nature and Humans in the Nile Valley", during the third annual meeting of the JANES, which was held on the 23rd of April, 1994, at Showa Women's University in Tokyo. Introductory remarks may not be required for the author who is one of the well known pioneers in the East African literature. His recent publications include *Culture is Ruan* (1991) and *The Cows of Shambat* (1992). He stayed in Japan for a year from October 1993 as visiting professor at the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka.

people(s) from "*Zinjanthropus*". Or even a simple thing like the rise of the negroid. It is therefore difficult to point out incontrovertibly the true or original native for an African location who has been in continuous local habitation since early Stone Age.

### 3. San and Pygmies remained put

The descendants of the Sangoan man, so archaeologists tell us, are the pygmies, also called Negirillos, Twa (Batwa), and Twides. These still inhabit the forest (or what is left of it) that had been home to the pygmoid. (Reports about them seem to extend wider than the forests.)

In Eastern Africa, evidence of Bushmanoid occupation is available, characterised by the stillbay culture complex. It is possible therefore that the hunting and gathering peoples who were "short" or "dwarfish" in the living memory of the Kikuyu would have been them or their descendants.

With the Twides to their West, and the Maitha / Maitho a Ciana: the "dwarf-like people" of Kikuyu memory in the East, it then looks as if the short people had roamed and owned the land of Eastern Africa.

As to whether they became bigger due to change of diet - especially milk -, or the bigger and more robust Negroid and Cancasoid races disappeared them is a moot point.

### 4. Gumba: were they Maitha / Maitho a Ciana or the eastern 'Cwezi'?

Kikuyu remembered history seems to have telescoped two peoples / epochs into one: the "hunting dwarfs" and "the iron-working" Gumba. Otherwise we have here the rise direct from hunting - gathering to iron-working and pottery-making and decline and disappearance in one swoop.

This Godfrey Muriuki's report about them

(*A History of the Kikuyu, 1500-1900*, 1974): they were the first group to come into contact with Kikuyu pioneers, are said to have been a race of hunting dwarfs, rather like the pygmies, who lived in roofed-over, dug out caves or tunnels. Estimates of their height ranges from two to four and a half feet, but they are said to have been stocky, clever and rather retiring. Besides hunting with arrows, and gathering, they are also known for their bee-keeping and their skill in iron-working and pottery. The innumerable depressions that exist all over the Kikuyu country are regarded to be the sites of former Gumba homes.

Besides, Muriuki adds that, according to Northcote, the Kikuyu claimed "that they were taught the art of iron-working and smelting by the Gumba". Another group the Kikuyu "pioneers" met with was the Athi who were also "hunters and gathers... (and) neither cultivated nor possessed livestock, but bartered whatever they needed." Except that they were taller than the Gumba and resembled the Kikuyu and Nilotes in height.

Whoever the iron-workers, pottery-makers were, apart from height (or shortness) there were no other obvious or distinctive racial differences between them and the intrusive Kikuyu. For, the Tharaka, the north-eastern section of the Thagicu (a combined name for the Kamba, Mbeere, Embu, Kikuyu, Cuka, Meru and Tharaka) in particular claim to have "found the Galla living in their present land at the time of occupation", and the Meru, the far northern section of Thagicu report that "one of the factors which led to migration was their ill-treatment by the Nguntune, a light-skinned race."

It is clear from the above accounts that whatever advanced bequests the Galla-Oromo or Nguntune had when they came into contact with the Thagicu, the "Gumba" had had established earlier a higher culture possibly all over central and

western Kenya (including possibly the Sirikwa complexes) before the Maasai and related Kalenjin peoples came and wore them down. The "Gumba", "Sirikwa" achievements surprisingly look like the cultural impact the Cwezi had left in their turn in the adjoining lacustrine area. Could there have been a single homogeneous, or a contemporaneous Cwezi-Sirikwa-Gumba cultural and technological complex stretching from the Mountains of the Moon (Ruwenzori) to the Mountain of the owner of Ostrich (Kirinyaga)?

### 5. Twa, Hutu, Hima, and Tutsi in Rwanda

In Rwanda, in summary form the U.S. Government *Area Handbook for Rwanda - 1969* says "The Twa... a pygmoid subgroup of the larger group of Twi pygmies... were the first known inhabitants of East and central Africa" were the owners of the land. Then came the Hutu, "the Rwandan cluster of the Bantu tribes of East and central African lakes region." (This seems to have been the repeated pattern all over the lacustrine region or wherever the Negroid Bantu-speakers went.) That they are strangers is not in doubt. But little is / was known about their origins "other than [that] they came from the northern equatorial region." They were (and still are) mainly an agricultural people, cultivating mainly "beans, peas, sorghum, cassava, and merize (corn), and almost every household has a banana grove." (Now they would also own cattle.)

Aspects of Twa culture, including language, were eaten up by the sedentary, all-pervasive Bantu culture that the Hutu brought along. Then the second external force, the Hima came and subdued both the Bantu Hutu and the Twa. The Hima are reputed to have come from "the east" -- that is east of the original settlement around Lake Albert. (This is a moveable east depending on where the first Kitara kingdom was established, or

of the Lango word *kide* (east) is used, or Acholi and Lango *kidi* (rock or mountain) is used.)

The Hima were followed into Rwanda after the collapse of the Cwezi empire, and supplanted as overlords, and suppressed by the Banyangiya royal house of the Banyaruguni Tutsi. The Tutsi, a "fairly tall, angular, small-boned and relatively light-skinned" people who were pastoralists and warriors became the ruling aristocrats. (History has a way of refusing to be swept under the carpet, or keep to the background. The intruding Hutu, Hima and Tutsi are still deciding the issue of dominance (instead of co-existence and sharing) amongst themselves in Burundi and Rwanda. As usual, the twa is not consulted.)

### 6. Bazigaaba, first Bantu settlers, and cultural tutors of the Tutsi

Like in Kenya where there already existed a thriving advanced culture of the "Gumba" that taught the Kikuyu, so in Rwanda, the Tutsi like the Bahinda before them, came and found a thriving culture of the Bazigaaba in Mubari.

Dr. Benoni Turyahikayo-Rugyema ("The History of the Bakiga in Southwestern Uganda and Northern Rwanda," 1974), writing about Rwanda and Bufumbira in an attempt to explain the migration into and peopling of Kigezi, admits that "the original inhabitants" were the Batwa. And that the Bazigaaba were "the first settlers" after having been expelled from northern Rwanda. But, in Rwanda they must have been "an indigenous clan" residing in Mubari when the "Hamites" -- "Probable the Bahinda at the time of Ruganza" penetrated Rwanda. For, in Mubari, they were called *Basangwabutaka* -- "those who were found in the land." They were not found by the Cwezi Hima merely sitting down and waiting for culture and advancement, but had already a lightly developed political system exercised at the clan level.

(Which was, in any case, the universal and standard negroid extent of political power. Above the clan basis of power you had alliances between clans or clan heads.)

When they came into the house of culture, this is how Turyahikayo-Rugyema describes them:

The Batutsi who first came were nomads without political organization; they found in Mubari a well-developed state. They did not conflict with the Bazigaaba; on the contrary, they formed a friendship with them, having no choice. Moreover, it is said that this kingdom owned a drum called *sera* and that the Bazigaaba there were reknowned iron-workers.

Where there were kingdoms in inter-lacustrine Africa, royal drums contained the clan / chiefdom spirit. The drum, and not the stool, was the more important regal insignia.

That there was was an ancient and vibrant Bantu political culture further inland other than the more famous Bunyoro-Kitara complex is pointed out by Marcel d' Hertefelt (*Les anciens royaumes de la zone interlacustre méridionale*, 1962). He lists the following indigenous states as existing in pre-Nyiginya Tutsi dynasty:

Singa	— original inhabitant
Gesera	
Zigaba	
Banda	
Cyaaba	
Ngera	
Ungura	(no state)

The last-named -- the Bungura -- according to Turyahika-Rugyema, "had inhabited the Congo (Zaire) in Bwito, northwest of Lake Kivu" before migrating to Rwanda. At the collapse of the

Bacwezi power complex they, and the Barengi from Nduga in northwestern Rwanda "were inching their way through [the western] forests [of South Western Uganda?] in western portion of this region."

The thick forest is penetrable region are not only from the east (or north-east), and north. From the west and southwest too there have been movements of peoples, cultures -- especially pottery-making, drum as royal insignia? and iron-work from the southern African centre between Zaire and Zambia.

(In Equatoria region of southern Sudan the main "tribe" is the Azande. their ruling dynasty, extended from Zaire and Congo and Central African Republic is the Avungura. The Bungura who "inched" their way out of the forest would be related to them. They have as northwest neighbors in Central African Republic and strewn through along the way down to Kigezi the "Banda people" or Ba-banda, whose story follows.)

Dr. Turyahiko-Rugyema gives Kyange as the "immediate" point of departure into Kigezi of their major tribe called Babanda. This "immediate" location lies somewhere north or northwest, of in any case, beyond Lake Edward.

Since the Tutsi also claim to have come from the north (I surmise, "directly", and the Banyoro Hima? / Cwezi? rulers, according to "K.W." also "immediately" entered the country from the western end of Lake Albert) (this would have also been the Nkore Hima point of entry), I am more convinced than ever that the Nile-Congo divide seems to have been the major highway for north-south exploration or migration supplemented by the chain of mountains, lakes and rivers all the way from Lake Chad, Darfur, Nuba Mountains to Lake Tanganyika and beyond.

Since the Babanda story epitomises the major ingredients of movements and conquests along

and around the Nile riverain and lacustrine region, I shall quote Turyahiko-Rugyenda extensively:

We are not yet sure why the Babanda left Kyangwe, but it appears that when they arrived in Rwanda sometime after A.D.1500, they already possessed the power of rain-making. According to tradition, they arrived in Rwanda during a time of prolonged drought and scarcity. However, to everyone's amazement, the Babanda arrived with cattle; fortunately for the latter, it immediately began raining as they moved in to make their settlement. In their gratitude assuming the Babanda to be responsible for this miracle, the inhabitants invited Hiihi to become their king but he could accept the throne only after the present [*sic!*] ruling family had been eliminated. The local ruler was then duly assassinated and the *Nyakahoza* drum [of legitimate rule] fell into the hands of the Babanda. Hiihi [their leader] was thereupon proclaimer king.

Rain-making ability is a boon in the drought-stricken savannah, Sahel, or the oasis of the Saharan desert. Only once in seven-years would the lacustrine areas experience extreme drought. But a migrating entourage would need specialists, who expertise would either make their welcome (as in this case), or magicians who would perform instant miracles and scare the natives into believing they have supernatural powers or were some kinds of gods (which seems to have been the case with the Cwezi), or outrageous stage make-up and dramatic intrusion as Mpuga Rukidi did: painted white on one side and black on the other. Of course one needed able warriors to depend upon and do the major damage, especially if one had new weapons, like the Portuguese with their *bunduki*. Above all, one needed ready source of food on hoofs and udders if possible like the pastoralist invaders, if not one should be a good

hunter like some Nilotes or Nigerian hunter-guild. Finally one had to appropriate the royal drum and inherit the widowed queens.

## 7. Buganda: the clan-basis of traditional Bantu polity

It is becoming clear that for the lacustrine area, one would give the Twige (or whatever pygmoid group had resided in each area) the honour of first settlers or owners of the land. Although Dr. M.S.Kiwanuka (*A History of Buganda*, 1971) argues at length against it, it would be more difficult to find out why they --the pygmies -- had avoided Buganda. Mubira forest is reported as one of their original locations. Then came the Negroid Bantu-speakers who became sedentary agriculturists and established (or transplanted?) independent administrative units presided over by clan-heads. Either from the beginning, or at a later date, drum became the representation of the clan spirit and the legitimate ruler had to possess it. The second group of invaders were the foreign identifiably non-Negroid, Caucasoid -featured and -coloured invaders especially in Bunyoro -- from the north or northwest, sometimes east. These did not come in big number but their impact was tremendous. And they are remembered for amalgamating the clans into kingdoms. In Bunyoro the first wave was that of the *Abakama abatembuzi*: a Kinyoro description of them as "the pioneer kings". In other words, either their period was so far back in history that nobody can recall it properly, or initiated the establishment of kingdoms which later wave of arrivals -- from the same direction, with more or less the same features, consolidated and completed. Then came the Abacwezi, that is; the cwezi people who finally established the prominent lacustrine empire centered, originally at the eastern gateway between Lake Albert and Ruwenzori Mountain in Bwera and then fanning out northwards towards to the



Nile and Lake Kyoga, eastwards into Buganda, and southwards into Ankole and beyond.

To return to Buganda, Kiwanuka acknowledges the Kiganda accounts which divides the present clans in Buganda into two broad groups; the indigenous and the immigrants. About the indigenous he has this to say: "The earliest settlers on whom we have information comprise six clans. They are the Lugave, Fumbe, Nnyonyi, Njaza, Mmamba and Ngeye. Unlike other clans these do not claim to have emigrated from anywhere else *though they, too, may have been immigrants who arrived at a much earlier date.*" (Emphasis added.) As to where they could have come from, Kiwanuka is silent. Although he talks about clans, it is likely that clan heads, or early settlement establishers, original migrant band-leaders, may be the basis of the clan. This becomes clearer in the next discussion.

"The second and largest group consists of about thirteen clans which claim to have come with Kintu, and from their own accounts they represent what may be called the eastern or north-eastern stream of immigrants." If Kintu moved into the new territory like Gekoyo of the Kikuyu then he did not need to carry thirteen bulky clans with him: he would either have conquered thirteen clans and re-placed the original clan heads with his own men and let it pass that these are his new clans. Or had his men marry into the thirteen clans and eventually inherited the clanship. Since the clanships, like Nigerian chieftainships, have proper titles, one did not have to rename them upon accession.

"The third group associates its coming to Buganda with Kimera, and it came from the western and possibly north-western direction." This is the origination of the modern Buganda dynasty independent of Bunyoro after the collapse of the Cwezi empire. Kimera, known as Kato Kimera and twin brother of Mpuga Rukidi in the Nyoro tra-

dition, was as crude and new to the Cwezi system and cattle culture as his fellow adventurer brother back in Bunyoro. In other words, Kimera fought and won some clans put his people in charge. (Or if the land was that vacant or sparsely occupied one could stake a claim to a large tract of it and fill it with ones clan.)

"The fourth group comprises those clans which claim to have come from the Ssesse Islands, probably during the sixteenth century." Since Kiwanuka is treating the Ssesse Islands as the preservers of some of the earliest of the African traditions unaffected by all the up and down movements on main-land. (In the islands of Lake Victoria there should be vestiges if not extant examples of pre-Bantu and Cwezi, cultures.

#### 8. Kintu, Kantu ... Kunta Kinte?

Kiwanuka's translation of Sir Apolo Kagwa's origin of Kintu went as follows.

Some people say that Kintu came from heaven and that his father was Ggules the son of God. Once upon a time, god told his grandson Kintu and his wife Nanibi to descend onto earth and beget children. "When going to earth," God warned Kintu, "you must set off very early in the morning so that your brother Walumbe may not know where you have gone. Should you go with him, he will kill your children."

Another account relates that "Kintu landed at a port called Podi, which was in the country of Bunyoro."

Since Walumbe eventually followed Kintu to earth (or Buganda or Bunyoro, or whatever "earth"), the symbolic reference is to an invasion of the settled area by a second wave from the original or related homeland. But the names Kintu and Nambi, like Kikuyu Gekoyo na Mumbi, Bagisn

Mundan na Seta, and Nyoro Kintu and Kati seem to indicate a previous all-pervasive culture with possibly Kintu / Kiku(yu) / Muntu as titles for king / chief / father / man and Nambi / Mumbi / Sela / Kati as titles for queen / chief / mother / woman. If there is anything Sidamo Galla in these names / titles then the case of their origin is established. If not then we need to look up north, northwest perhaps all the way to ancient Mande culture, or we go west and southwest to Guthrie's area of Bantu explosion.

About the second version, in the Shilluk dialect of Luo, *podu* means land, country as in *podu Chollo*: Shilluk land / country. This Nyoro arrival for Kintu is more authentic and believable than the later nationalistically inspired distancing of Buganda heritage from Bunyoro and postulating a direct eastern arrival. Although one cannot base a big claim on one word alone, but if *podu* is the Luo / Nilotic word for land / landing, then the northern Nilotic connection is very ancient.

Nyoro myths of origin describe a first "family", though little is said of a first wife or mother in these accounts. In Fisher's (and Bikunya's) version (*Twilight Tales of the Black Baganda*, 1911; *Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro*, 1927) the head of this family is called Ruhanga, which is the word nowadays commonly used for "God": in Runyoro the word *kuhanga* means "to create".

For Nyakatura the story begins with the arrival from elsewhere of the first inhabitants of Bunyoro, led by their king, Kintu. *Kintu* is the Runyoro word for "thing": the prefix *ki-* sometimes conveys the notion of great size, and the root *ntu*, "being", is the same as that in *muntu* (pl. *bantu*), "person" or "man". Nyakatura says that Kintu arrived with his wife Kati (the word simply means "woman"), but this is all we are told about her.

Fisher and Bikunya describe in detail the creation of the world. Ruhanga, who was accom-

panied by his brother Nkya Mba and the latter's four sons.... was the creator, who after a time abandoned the world he had made. Nkya was... the first man and the progenitor of the human race... The eldest of Nkya's four sons was called Kantu, literally 'little thing'....

Like in other myths of origin, it is now words and their meanings, forces and their functions, that we are dealing with. With the possibility that the Nyoro terms could be translations or paraphrases of related terms in another / other language(s). Comparative and historical linguistics and / or religious studies could provide us clues or explanations. If we stopped regarding Abbe Alexis Kagame's Rwandan religion as *sui generis* perhaps by now we would have discovered their cousins germane through comparative study. (Of course allowances have to be made for local elaborations and flourishes.)

## 9. Cwezi → Mwezi = Moon (worshippers) = Sese?

Who were the Cwezi? Since oral history -- the remembered past -- is the basis for historiography in most of Africa, the early written reports are our best evidences. In Kenya particularly, because of settler land-policy from the 1920's permanent and continuous existence since God bequeathed the land to Gekoyo and Mumbi in the case of Kikuyu or since the date of arrival from Misri in the case of the Abaluhya became the answer. Uganda too, though a protectorate, feared the evil designs of the settlers on her land. This fear has made it difficult for the origins of the Cwezi beyond a vague "north-east." Later on black's anti-racist racism, otherwise called "black pride" (championed by the linguist, Professor Joseph Greenberg for reasons unclear to me, unless he is a Jew) has made it unfashionable for terms like Hamitic, Semitic, half-Hamite to be used. There is

language -- people's language which, if we do not know what to do with them, should be called with their basic names. Then there are the racial groups that inhabit Africa now. If some races or half-races along the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean Sea are called Semites, Hamites, and some people in the lacustrine area look like them aren't we allowed to say they are or look Hamitic or Semitic? If we cannot even say that a spoon looks like a spade then let us forget the pursuit of African history.

John Beattie (*Bunyoro*, 1960) sums up views about the Cwezi:

The Bacwezi, who are believed to have been light-complexioned and to have performed many wonderful feats (as well as constructing the remarkable earthworks at Bigo and elsewhere) are said to have ruled the country for a generation or two and then mysteriously disappeared. Whether they were invaders from the North-from Egypt, Meroe, or Ethiopia, or even, as has been suggested (Nyakatura, p.28) from Europe; whether they were merely a militant offshoot of the already dominant Bahima; ... are still matters for speculation, and are likely to remain so for sometime.

We are not likely to find the truth if we do not, for a start, trace the spoor of the Bahima northwards. The fingers are now well studied, as are the palm. Where did the arm come from?

Nationalistic stances aside, the comparative study of religion in interlacustrine area shows clearly the deep and all pervasive nature of the Cwezi period in Bunyoro, Buganda, Ankole. The impression one gets is that this is a heritage the Cwezi took with them to the lacustrine area and reactivated in each Cwezi settlement. The similarities were first pointed out by Kiwanuka. However, Samwiri Rubaraza Karugire (*A History of the*

*Kingdom of Nkore in Western Uganda to 1896, 1971*) telescoped them:

In Bunyoro (and also in Nkore) traditions Bukulu (the gate-keeper of King Isaza of Kitara) was of the Balanzi clan which is the same as the otter clan of the Sesse islands, where the legends also name one Bukulu. The Kiganda equivalent of Nyinamwiru (the daughter of Bukulu and mother of Ndaura) is Namudu who also abounds in Sesse legends. Isimbwe's son, Mugasha, who was Bukulu's grandson, may be matched with Buganda's Mukasa, who appears as Bukulu's grandson. Mugasha of Nkore, it may be observed, is said to have disappeared in Lake Victoria. In Buganda, Wamala, a descendant of Bukulu, is connected with the making of Lake Wamala and, in the Bacwezi traditions of Wamala, he is said to be responsible for the construction of the same lake. Finally the Bacwezi have been deified, just as the Baganda have deified the descendants of Bukulu, such as Nende, Mukasa, and others.

Bukulu (if it is a proper name) is emerging as an important character, almost like another Ruhangu, and Wamala a powerful engineering hero. But the religious traditions (which are either scanty in Bunyoro or were not fully studied) come out in full bloom in the Sese Islands just as the Cwezi ones in Ankole leading one to conclude that Sese is a version of Cwezi. Indeed, Kanigire's conclusion recreates the old Cwezi "empire"; "the Bacwezi and the descendants of Bukulu were the same people who ruled this region as an entity, and who were then replaced by the subsequent dynasties of Buganda, Bunyoro, and Nkore." That is: Kimera in Buganda, Mpuga Rukidi in Bunyoro, and Ruhinda in Nkore appropriated for themselves portions of the old Cwezi empire.

For me, the key word in the search for



Cwezi origin(s), spread and final extent is their name: *Cwezi*: the Moon (or Moon's people, or worshippers of the Moon).

### 11. Long-haired, black-and-white hunters of kingdoms

As already indicated, it was not only once that that foreigners came to the lacustrine areas. In fact, conscious of other "escapees" from whatever were driving people away from the north, it was an open-door policy in Bunyoro-Kitara to welcome foreigners. Perhaps the Batembuzi were replaced by a more powerful brand of "northerners": the Bacwezi. And the Bacwezi in their turn were turned out by wilder and more ferocious group who look like members of a hunters' guild. The leader, nicknamed Rukidi Mpuga Isingoma, took Bunyoro; the "younger twin" called Kato Kimera proceeded to Buganda, a third brother called Ruhinda (reading Nkore history between the lines) took Nkore, and Busoga (possibly at a later date) fell to Kiiza.

This is Ruth Fisher's unflattering, but all the same graphic and dramatic fiction -- a recreation of the carpetbaggers come to grab a kingdom;

As Mpuga reached the demesne of the Bacwezi the men of Bunyoro drew back, for they considered it sacrilege for a stranger to enter the home of the gods, and the visitor they regarded with contempt, for half of his body was white and the other part was black, and he was dressed in a sheep-skin, while his head was unshaven, his hair reached, in greased and matted twists, to his shoulders.

To further differentiate him from the past, and indeed almost any royal or civilized background, Mrs. Fisher makes him ignorant of the local language, or the local or civilized etiquette of

offering something (in this case tobacco) to the royal priest in order to obtain secret or sacred information; or that one beats the royal drum to indicate that one had "eaten" the kingdom. She gives him old royal women (widows or abandoned queens?) to educate and groom him in readiness for coronation. Obviously this black-and-white and long-haired hunter is no Luo or Nilotic. he is either a mixed-race or a brown race person. As he is reputed to have side-tracked Nyarwa, his more loveable brother and the favorite ruler-to-be, perhaps the Luo entourage were cheated of the main prize at the last moment by this harlequin? The followers might have been Luo, but the description of the leader tells a different story. Furthermore if he was ignorant of cattle culture he is no Nilote. Perhaps he was one of those hunters-and -gatherers displaced by the Kikuyu? Or an "Azande" hunter from the forests nearby?

John Roscoe (*The Bakitara or Bunyoro*, 1923) has these additional sketches; "Mpugu, the first of the present line of kings, came from the eastern side of the Nile and knew nothing of the cow-customs, the use of the royal drums, and other ceremonies". On the other hand, this was his true nature; "Mpugu was a noted hunter, and in this capacity was known under several names, among them being *Lukidi* and *Nyabongo*, and his bow was named *Nyapogo*".

John Beattie says *mpuga* is "a cow with large white patches", and he translated Nyakatura's reference to him as follows: "Rukidi was so named because he had been born in Bukidi, and he was called Mpuga because one of his sides was very white like his Bacwezi father's, the other black like his Bukidi mother's."

For Nyakatura, a native Munyoro, to admit so much is candid and a help to history. But the dynasty was named "Babito" after the *bito* tree, (also called *bito* in Bari). If the names are

Bantuised Luo, then they belong to the Jopalwo / Chohe or Alur dialect of the Luo language; they are not Acholi. Here are the first six Babito rulers: Mpuga Rukidi, Ocaki, Oyo, Winyi, Olimi, Nyabongo. After Mpuga, the first Bito ruler, it looks like power was exercised by Negroid Luo.

## 12. Suppressed chiefs and conquering kings

The Cwezi "empire" seemed not to have been a fully centralized overlords of the already existing clans and clan-system. The clan heads / chiefs then either retained their office with the Cwezi blessings or were replaced by the Cwezi blessings or were replaced by the Cwezi. But the Bantu clan system, the totemic distinctions, and drum as spirit of the land remained in place.

As far as the Nkore tradition can be read between the lines, when Ruhinda, (contemporaneous with Mpuga, Rukidi and Kato Kimera) started carving out a kingdom for himself from the late Cwezi confederation, he too, like the Nyiginta Tutsi in Rwanda, had to reach accommodations with some of the clans. Since his legitimacy was also questioned, maybe he too was a "northern" hunter-warrior searching for a kingdom. In any case, he had to make alliances with some of the clans to receive legitimacy. This seems to be what he did with the Bayangwe clan which became the religious and ritual officiants to the Bahinda Bagabe. They were the masters of ceremonies in the coronations, burials, rain ceremonies, roles that are combined in the royal clan/ house in Bunyoro. Or maybe they were retained as ritual heads because they were the original rulers of the land and therefore Bahinda merely super-imposed himself on them and let them continue as best as they could.

My feeling is that Bahinda himself was not a Muhima. For, how would he leave truly Muhima

rituals to be performed for him if he was a Muhima? The more reason why I think the Bahinda usurped Muhima Bayangwe throne but left the religious and ritual kingship (as opposed to the political kingship) to the Bayangwe. In a similar way for the Igara Kings lower than the Bahinda, the Bateizi, another remnant Cwezi chiefdom, performed the ceremonies.

## Conclusion

There was an earlier "Caucasoid" settlement in colonisation of lacustrine area extending all the way to the Mount Kenya and Central Tanzania. Indeed, the claim for a large Bunyoro-Kitara that the Banyoro make may be to be believed, for there are evidences of former existences of non-pygmy and non-Negroes in these areas. Since for the lacustrine areas proper there was no tradition of circumcision, we rule out Arabic or Islamic heritage. The creator who is powerless against the evil natures of some of his creatures indicate some form of Hebraic myth, and perhaps even Christianity. But there is the ever present and glaring worship of the Moon, and ascension with the help of women. Father seem to have been banished. Instead we hear of grandfathers. Though there is the practice of worshipping or praying to the Sun, it looks as if Sun worship had already been banished, along with it, the importance of the father.

If the worship of the sun (Aten) that Akhnaten had tried to revive in ancient Egypt was supplanted by Moon worship, then maybe we should start studying the Abatembuzi and Abacwezi from Egypt. In any case it is a high time we start studying lacustrine history from the Mediterranean and Red Sea littorals. For I believe that turbulences in the Middle East more than any other factors responsible for human displacements even in the lacustrine region.