

tribe; he foretells the future, interprets omens and is generally regarded as one possessing supernatural powers. His position is hereditary. Under the *orkoiik* a dual system of councillors was instituted. The *orkoiyot* appointed a *motiot* (pl. *maotik*) in each *pororist*, and the people appointed a *kiruogindet*. The *kiruogik* were responsible to the *orkoiyot* through the *maotik*.

The Nandi have thus had two separate systems of government which have become mingled. But it cannot be said that there is or ever has been any tribal authority which can enforce obedience to its orders. The *orkoiik* have more power than the older *kiruogik* had; it is not, however, the power of constituted authority, but the influence which results from fear. Such control of the country as there is is really in the hands of the 'circumcision age' (*pinda*) in power, the members of which are always the youngest generation of warriors. The *orkoiyot* and his men have no constituted authority over these, but from their position as powerful medicine men, they possess a certain degree of influence.

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## ON THE ORIGIN OF VARIOUS TRIBES OF KENYA AND UGANDA OTHER THAN BANTU.

(A reply to Mr. C. C. Luck's essay on the origin of the Masai,  
*Journal* for August, 1926.)

by C. L. BOLTON.

Mr. Luck has put forward two theories in his essay

(1) That the Masai are the actual descendants of the half tribe of the Manasseh from the west of Jordan, and the Nandi of Moab.

(2) That many proofs exist of the influence of the ancient world civilisation of Egypt-Mesopotamia on central Africa.

Dealing with theory No. 1, the following arguments against it are submitted.

I. Linguistic. Sir C. Eliot had put the case against a semitic origin for the Nilotic languages in his Introduction to Hollis' book "The Nandi". His arguments have not been answered, and the identification of a few place and clan names, which are in some cases open to criticism, e.g., Masai from Manasseh, is not of great weight when balanced against his case. All the Nilotic languages appear to

be of common origin. If the Masai derive from Manasseh, it is probable that a proud and fairly civilised tribe like Manasseh would retain their whole language and not merely a few place and clan names. In that case all the Nilotic languages derive from Manasseh, but Sir C. Eliot's arguments prove that they do not. Alternatively Manasseh adopted the Nilotic language, i.e., that of an uncivilised and primitive savage tribe in preference to their own which is very unlikely.

II. The chosen race argument applies to practically any nation, which, from its prowess in war, considers itself the leading race in a district. The Kshatriya caste in India, ancient Rome, Spain in America in the 16th Century, the Turks, the Germans in 1914, the English and the inhabitants of "Gods own country" all exhibit this very common tribal trait.

III. Physical. Is there any shred of evidence physically of Semitic blood in the Masai-Nandi? A semitic cross tends to fat, not to the slim sinéwy physique of these tribes. Neither hair, features nor coloration are in the least Semitic. Judging by anthropological research in Europe, there has not been sufficient time for the enormous physical change to have taken place from the Manasseh physique to the Masai-Nandi physique from the date given by Mr. Luck to the present day.

IV. The Nandi group are usually regarded as of common blood with the Masai. Mr. Luck suggests Moab as their source, but gives no evidence of a Moabite migration to central Africa. If Chemosit derives from a Moabit God, why does he rank as a devil amongst the Nandi? Presumably because he is of Egyptian and not Moabite origin, having become a devil in Egypt. Also Mr. Luck shows that the form he is given by the Nandi is due to their misunderstanding an Egyptian drawing.

V. Practically all the evidence ingeniously collected by Mr. Luck points direct to Egyptian influence, and it is a priori, more likely, that such influence would have made itself felt from Egypt itself, and not from Canaan or a Canaanitish tribe in Egypt, *e.g.*,

- (1) The identification of Ngai with Ai of Sumer and Hathor of Egypt.
- (2) The good Black and evil Red God.
- (3) The allusion to heres as bulls.
- (4) The pariahdom of the smith caste.
- (5) The Chemosit *vide* paragraph preceding this.
- (6) The Dinet and Didity legends are more reminiscent of Egypt or Mesopotamia than of a hilly country like Palestine.

(7) The circumcision ceremonies.

Further evidence may be submitted

- (a) The habit of spitting for luck and as a greeting is common amongst Mediterranean races to which the early Egyptians belonged.
- (b) The dislike of swine.
- (c) Bewitching by means of anything that has proceeded from the body of a person.
- (d) Dislike of using given names from fear of bewitchment.
- (e) The sun worship of the Nandi.
- (f) May not the word L'Oibon be derived from the Egyptian word for snake and wizard. This suggestion is made on the authority of a work of fiction, the writer not being acquainted with the ancient Egyptian, so it may be merely ridiculous.

#### VI. MOSAIC TRADITIONS.

Sir C. Eliot throws doubt on the authenticity of Merker's researches, but this seems unfair. It will be noted that the tradition of the flood is not confined to the Jews, and that the Masai Ten Commandments are quite different to the Mosaicones. Also the introduction of Chemosit as an angel points to two different legends having been mixed up. When we remember the intense racial pride of the Jew, it is unlikely that Manasseh would have allowed their national traditions to deteriorate into the state in which they are found amongst the Masai, nor would knowledge of them be confined to a few families; they would have been retained and taught as a heritage of which the whole tribe would have been proud. There are three possible explanations of these traditions.

(1) That they originated in Egypt before the Jews left the country and were adopted by the Jews, and that from Egypt they also reached central Africa.

(2) That they were introduced by Mahomedan raiders from Somaliland.

(3) That Jewish traders carried them up the Nile valley and that they reached the Masai together with the Egyptian traditions from that source. This appears the most likely explanation and is borne out by the form in which they exist i.e., that among the Geyu where Musana removed the King's people sounds as if it came from Egypt, as a Jew would not have spoken of the people removed as being the property of the king of Egypt.

It will be seen from the above that all that can legitimately be deduced from the evidence is that the central African tribes, the

**Massai, Nandi, Kikuyu, Wakamba and Kitosh** were subject to influence from the old world civilisation of Egypt, and in the case of a few families to Jewish tradition. There is no proof of actual descent from any Jewish or Canaanitish tribe. The history of the Aryan controversy shews that common language and common religion are not a proof of common blood and a consideration of the spread of the English language and the Christian or Mahomedan religion at the present day will convince anyone of this.

The writer believes that from a consideration of the evidence collected by Mr. Luck and from other sources that an alternative theory can be put forward as to the origin of the Massai, Nandi, and of other E. African tribes.

The country between the Sahara and the Red Sea and Indian Ocean forms the only bridge between South Africa and North Africa and Eurasia open to non-seafaring races. In such an area we may expect to find a mixture of tribes and hybrid tribes of mixed blood from the countries on either side of the bridge.

Difficulties of water and food render mass migrations very unlikely since the present dessication of Africa. This area contains various groups of tribes with which we will deal in order.

(1) The Bantu are evidently of one origin with the Bantu of South Africa.

(2) The Somali-Galla group. According to Herodotus, Somaliland Eritrea and at least part of Abyssinia were inhabited in his day by Macrobian Ethiopians, whilst the Nile valley was inhabited by Ethiopians with a king at Meroe. Between Meroe and Egypt there was constant communication and migration, but the Macrobian were a virile independent race, who were never conquered by Egypt nor Persia. When Cambyses went against them, he had to get guides from Meroe as no Egyptians were capable of guiding him. The Macrobian are described as men of fine physique, living on boiled meat and milk, unacquainted with wheat or bread, regarding physical strength and courage as a criterion of fitness to rule, independent, clever, and from their long isolation and ignorance of the civilised world, contemptuous of foreigners civilised or otherwise. They had no wish for foreign conquest and were quite content to remain isolated, free and ignorant of civilisation. These same traits are retained by the modern Somali. A race of this type capable of retaining independence and not ambitious of conquest would probably retain its country for thousands of years and there is no evidence to prove that the present inhabitants are not the lineal descendants of the Macrobian merely altered by their religion and possibly with a dash of Arab blood. The Galla would be colonists of the same stock who worked their way southwards.

(3) The Nilotic Negroes. The extreme blackness of these people, their primitive organisation, the difficulty of access to their country and the fact that they do not circumcise which according to Herodotus the Meroe Ethiopians did point to their isolation in their present dry hot country for several thousands of years. It is suggested that their language together with that of the Masai-Nandi is borrowed from a common source to be discussed later and that the Madi dialect is their primitive tongue.

(4) The Masai-Nandi. We have seen that tradition connects these people with Egypt. There is also evidence of Bantu influence (a) The spirit worship of ancestors by the Nandi; (b) The idea in their folk tales of the great wiliness of the hare Brer Rabbit; (c) Their marriage customs and the employment of women in agriculture; (d) The reverence paid to the hyaena as a walking family tomb. Neither Elgoyn Kitosh nor Waguishu would skin a hyaena shot in a trap on this farm and all were loath to handle the body except a Mahomedan boy. Each tribe said it would be desecrating their father's grave.

*Language.*—The languages of this group are not those of a very primitive pastoral race. There are many adjectives; the colours are not merely those of cattle; the numerals may not be merely loan-words from Galla; they may derive from an older source from which the Galla have also taken them; medicine is fairly advanced vide the number of parts of the body and diseases; the general vocabulary of verbs and nouns is fairly extensive. There are signs of Bantu influence e.g. the root *Wend* to go for a walk Nandi and *Enda* to go in Bantu; the root *sut* to carry Nandi and *Sut* to catch hold of in Kitosh. The Nandi use *M* before *B*, e.g., *Mbaret* the garden and before *K*, e.g., *Mkonget* the hoe (Elgoyn Masai) and *N* before *G*, e.g., *Ngotiot* the giraffe and before *Y* of which there are numerous examples. It would seem that the Bantu find it easier to use these prefixes and it is extremely probable that a hybrid Bantu race using an alien tongue would do the same, more particularly if Bantu by the female side, as the children would learn their mother's pronunciation.

*Physique.*—These tribes resemble the Bantu as much as, if not more than any other native race. Now that the Lako and Goyne [Is not Hollis wrong in calling them Kony. They call themselves Elgoyn and a Nandi driver of the writer's said the Nandi used to call them Koyne. Hollis never came into actual contact with them so he may have been misled] have abandoned their traditional style of hair-dressing it is difficult to distinguish them from Kitosh or even Waguishu except by their slimness and more wiry build. The writer has a Uasin Guishu Masai on the farm who looks just like a Durban Zulu. His "ndugu" is an undersized ugly man with a Kitosh wife. The Kitosh affirm that the Masai have been in the habit of taking Kitosh

women as wives, but that the Kitosh have never taken Masai women. This shews that the Nandi group are not above marrying Bantu women. The contempt of the Masai for the "Meg" is not incompatible with their being half-breed Bantu as it is notorious that a half-caste is always more contemptuous of the lower race in his ancestry, than a pure blooded man of alien race is. The Kipsigis and Nandi are more liable to malaria than the Bantu, but the Lako and Goyn are not. Either the former have lost their immunity from living on higher plateaux or the latter have attained it by living in more malarious districts.

It is suggested that the evidence given points to the Masai Nandi being of Bantu blood crossed by a race from Egypt. The writer believes that the Automoli of Herodotus are the race in question.

*The Automoli.*—The writer disagrees with Mr. Luck's deductions as to the Automoli. Herodotus states that they went to the King at Meroe, and therefore if we regard the Somalis as descended from the Macrobian, obviously the Automoli never reached Somali country at all. It is far more likely that they reached the upper waters of the Blue Nile and from there westwards to Fashoda.

There is no evidence of their being Canaanites. The half tribe of Manasseh could not possibly furnish 240,000 troops fit for enrollment as mercenaries in a standing army. At the time of David's census, when Israel was most flourishing Israel and Judah could only muster 1,300,000 males capable of service. Of this total half Manasseh would supply not more than 100,000 and of these not more than 40,000 would be of the right age and physique for enrollment as mercenaries. Possibly if there was a Jewish colony at Elephantine there were Jewish sutlers in the commissariat of the Automoli, from whom the Masai traditions reached certain Masai families.

Herodotus expressly states that the Automoli took no women or children with them. The soldier's reply to the king was typical of reckless youth with no regard for home ties and seems to have been meant to bear a literal meaning. Incidentally moving the women and children belonging to 240,000 men into Meroe Ethiopia ahead of the fighting troops would be extremely hazardous and difficult to manage. The king of Egypt appeals to the patriotism and religion of the Automoli in vain, but the fact that he does so, tends to prove that they were thoroughly Egyptianised foreigners, if not of pure Egyptian blood.

It is suggested that the Automoli reached the Fashoda Blue Nile area and found there Bantu tribes whom they drove southward and whose women folk they took and that from the Automoli warriors and the Bantu women the Masai Nandi group had origin. The Bantu

tribes driven south still exist as the Wakamba, Kikuyu and Kitosh. At the same time the Jalua Kavirondo and the Teso and Kumam moved southward from the indirect pressure of the Automoli.

There are two routes open to the Masai Bantu from the source of their origin when the Automoli drove out the Bantu tribes (a) Up the Nile valley; (b) via the Sobat river and Lake Rudolf through Turkana Suk and via Mt. Elgon. On route (a) we find a homogeneous race from the Shilluk southwards who do not resemble the Masai Nandi to any great extent traditionally or physically but whose language does resemble theirs. Along route (b) we find tribes of Masai Nandi blood as far north as Rudolf and tradition points to the Nandi having reached their present area via Mt. Kamalinga and Elgon. It seems probable therefore that route (b) was used by the Masai-Nandi. Subsequent incursions of the Masai-Nandi have been made southward along the plateaux and they have never conquered the lower country where either the lack of raidable cattle or elephant grass and papyrus swamp deterred them from penetrating.

An alternative theory is that the Automoli drove the Nilotic tribes of the Nile valley southward and took Nilotic women as wives and that the hybrid Automoli Nilotic race then swept southward and expelled the Bantu tribes from the plateaux. This theory is borne out by language and to a certain extent by physique, but it is difficult to see why in that case the true Nilotics did not learn circumcision and religion from the Automoli. Instead of this we find that the Masai-Nandi, Kitosh Wakamba, and Kikuyu have all been subject to religious influence of Egyptian origin in which circumcision plays a part, which we can ascribe to direct influence by the Automoli. Again the Masai Nandi are people of the high veldt a proof of Bantu rather than Nile valley ancestry. Physique and geographical distribution also points to Bantu rather than Nilotic ancestry. The language of the Nilotics may have been borrowed from the more civilised Automoli and there may be a small infusion of Automoli blood against the Shilluk who seem to be the most advanced of the group. It is suggested that the Automoli themselves were of mixed origin with a small portion of Mediterranean blood and a large portion of negro blood. Their influence amongst the Masai Nandi is shewn physically by the occasional appearance of Mediterranean features and by the susceptibility to malaria whilst the large share of Bantu blood shews in the other physical attributes of the Masai-Nandi.

*The Bahima.*—This tribe is described in the case of the men as of light complexion with occasional European types of features and in the case of women as of Hamitic negro type. They are generally supposed to be descendants of the Bachwezi who came from Egypt. The writer disagrees with this view. The Bachwezi who were the ruling

race in Bunyoro, Toro and Busoga were evidently of high civilisation as they were deified by the local savages. They were supposed to have reigned for a few generations and then to have left the country, handing the government over to chiefs of some other alien races. They are supposed to have introduced the art of working iron. It will be noted that in Herodotus time the then civilised world knew nothing of the sources of the Nile, but that not long after Ruwenzori and Victoria Nyanza were discovered and news carried back to civilisation. It is possible that the Bachwezi were the discoverers. A clue as to the origin of the Bachwezi exists in the story related in Ch. I of the Handbook of Uganda about Ndachura the last king of the Bachwezi, his mother Nyinamwiru and her father Bukuku which is practically the same as that related by Herodotus of Cyrus of Persia his mother Mandone and her father Astyages. May not Nd-Ahura be a Persian name? Persian troops were stationed at Elephantine in Herodotus' time and Meroe paid tribute of ivory, etc., to Persia.

The occurrence of this Persian folk tale and its application to the Bachwezi point to the Bachwezi being Persian adventurers, probably of noble birth, who carried the legend into Uganda where it was applied to the local Persian chief. If this is so, who were the Bahima? Physically they appear to be Hamitic negroes with a dash of Aryan blood. The following solution is suggested. The Persians employed native troops to a far greater extent than the British do to-day vide the catalogue of troops under Xerxes given by Herodotus. It is probable that Persian adventurers assisted by Hamitic negro subject troops from Meroe Ethiopia invaded Bunyoro and conquered it and that the Persians employed their Ethiopian troops as subordinate officials; that after one or two generations of Persians had ruled, they left the country and that the Ethiopians amongst whom were half castes from the Persians took over the government and form the present day Bahima. This solution based up to a point on the relations of British Indians and Africans in Kenya to-day may seem fantastic, but history repeats itself and in the actions of modern empires, we may find a clue to those of older ones, nor need we deny to the world-conquering Persians the exploring and colonising spirit shown by Europeans to-day.

With regard to the Borneans if Mr. Luck's theory connecting them with the Masai-Nandi is correct, it is possible that they also are a hybrid Mediterranean negro race. The negro element exists in Polynesia and the Mediterranean portion may come from ancient Someria by invasion by sea Engai may be Enki or Ea the Sumerian river god and the Persian Gulf is nearer to Borneo than Edom, and the people from there were more civilised and probably more capable of long sea voyages. Modern discoveries in Somer point to it containing

two different types, one of which was probably Mediterranean. If a Mediterranean tongue was spoken by some of the ancient Sumerians and by the proto-Egyptians from whom it descended to the Automoli, any connection between the languages would be explained and the few Aramaic words in Borneo may be merely loan-words the result of subsequent trading intercourse in Solomon's time.

In conclusion, the writer wishes again to suggest that we must judge the actions of older empires by our own and when we consider how English and Christianity have spread to races with hardly a drop of English blood in their veins, we may expect moon goddess worship and ancient dialects to be found amongst races not connected by blood with the nations from which they learn their religion and language. Also from the old world civilisation, adventurers and traders would have made their way into the unknown even as Europeans have done recently. Here in Kenya and Uganda on the borders of an old time civilisation, we may well expect to find traces of its influence, and when we consider the difficulties of mass migrations owing to desert and drought we need not expect to find any vast influx of alien blood amongst the indigenous savages, but only the vague memories of religious teaching and language, which a few explorers and traders bore southwards from their civilised home. The peculiar physique tradition and language of the Masai-Nandi however point to an actual influx of alien blood and the most likely source of which history tells us is the Automoli of Herodotus, but even they were probably  $\frac{1}{2}$  negro, so that the strain of Mediterranean blood in the Masai-Nandi is only small. Judging by the analogy of the local fauna and flora, we should expect to find the human race in this area essentially African with a few immigrants from Eurasia. Physically this appears to be the case and any theory of racial origins must be based on physical as well as linguistic and traditional evidence.

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*To The Editor, E. A. & U. Nat. Hist. Society.*

Dear Sir,—

I wonder if you will allow me to make a few comments on Mr. Cardale Luck's paper on the "Origin of the Masai" and the authors he quotes; not with the idea of criticising its theme for I cannot pretend to Mr. Luck's patience and erudition, but to try and remove some exaggerated and even erroneous ideas about the Nandi and so-called Lumbwa.

I must give you my excuse for this request, viz.:—that I have lived 16 years almost continually amongst the Kipsigis (Lumbwa) and have been fond of wandering on foot in their Reserve and accepting