THE ALAGWA: A NORTHERN INTRUSION IN A TANZANIAN KHOI-SAN CULTURE.

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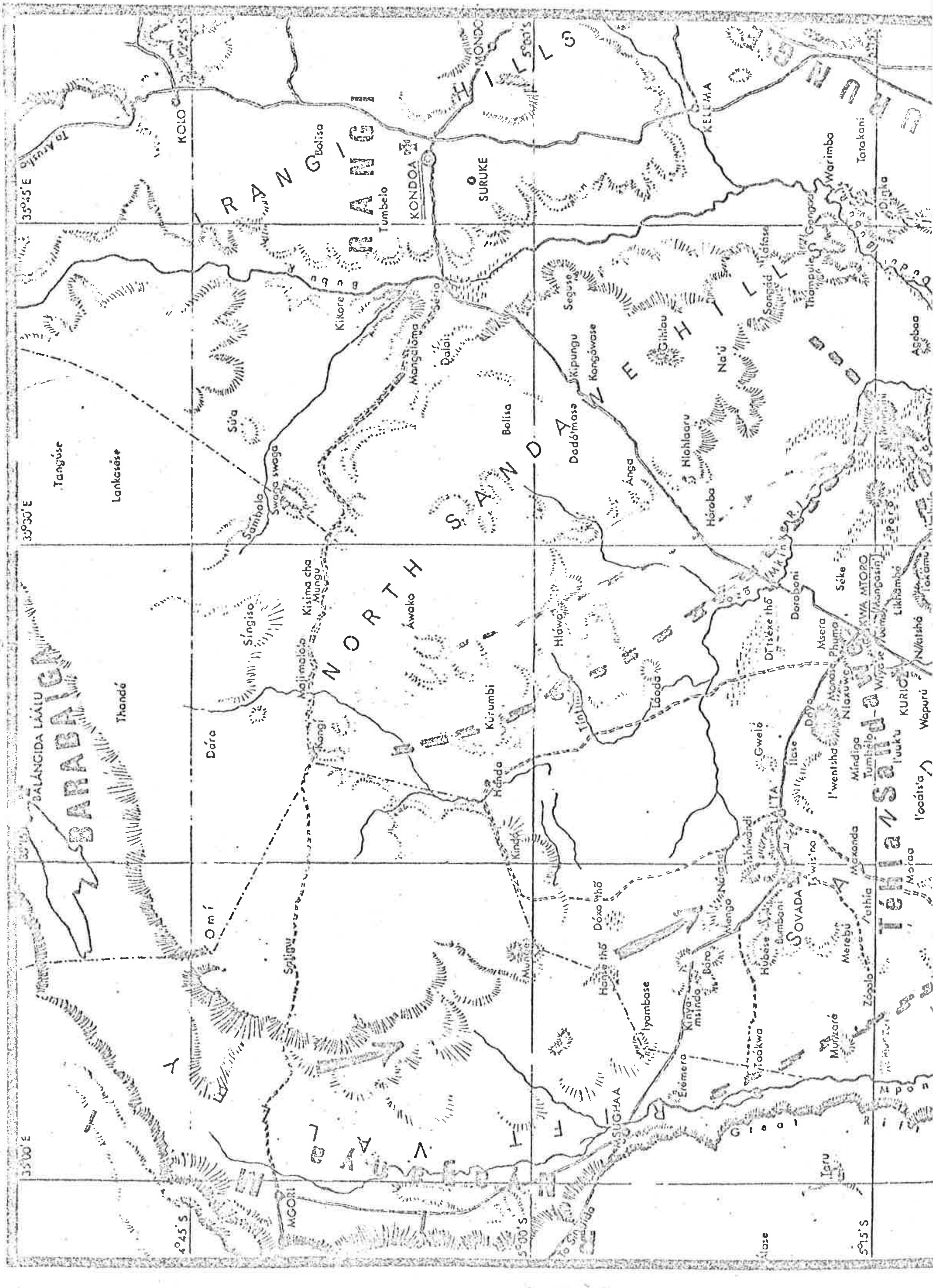
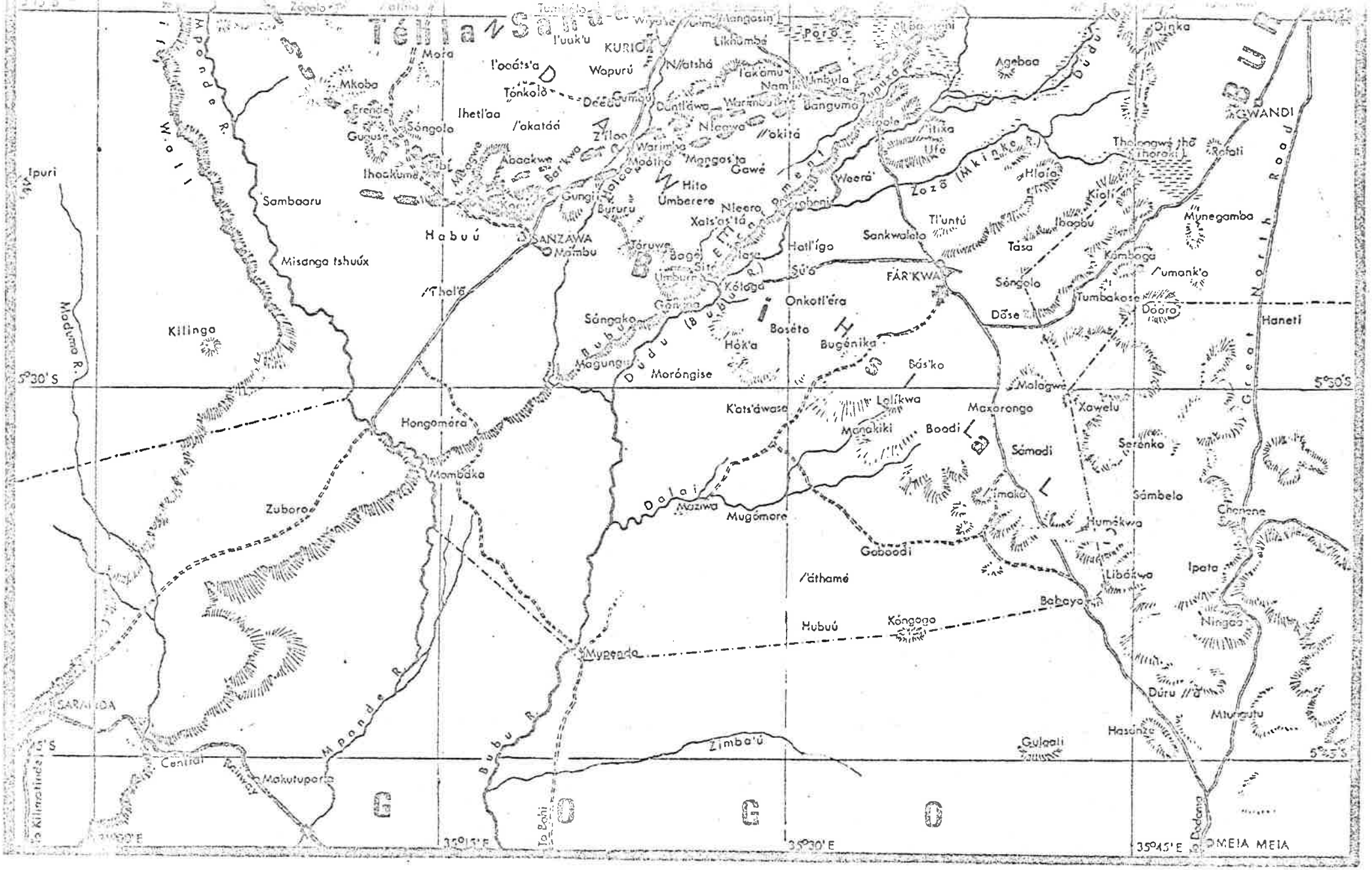

BARABAIG
BALANGIDA LAALU
RANGI
KONDOA
NORTH
SANDAWE
HILLS
RIFT VALLEY
Great Rift
KOLO
To Arusha
MONDO
KELEMA
SURUKE
Bolisa
Tumbelo
Tatakani
Warimba
Kikore
Mangaloma
Dalai
Seguse
Kipungu
Kongowase
Dodómasa
Bolisa
Ánga
Cihlau
Naú
Hlohlaaru
Horoba
Songaa
Lafase
Gongoa
Thampule
Agabaa
Tangùse
Lankasèse
Sùa
Sambala
Swaga swaga
Singiso
Thandé
Dára
Kisima cha Mungu
Maji malolo
Kongi
Áwako
Kurumbi
Handa
Kinda
Hlawa
Tini
Laoda
Mkinke R.
Dorabani
Seka
MTOPO
Likhambo
Msera
Phuma
Monase
Nlaxuwa
Wiyase
KURIO
Dadya
Gwelo
Ilase
LALTA
Tshiwandi
Nzrase
Mengo
Dóxo thõ
SOVADA
Tswis'na
Maxonda
Mindiga
Tumbelo
I'wentsha
I'uuku
Wapuru
I'aaitsa
Moraa
Hubese
Bumbani
Pothia
Merebu
Zopolo
Munzaré
Taakwa
Kinyamsindo
Boro
Iyambase
Hanje thõ
Erémera
SUGHAA
Solùgu
Omí
MGORI
To Singida
Mponde
Iaru
Alase
35°45'E
35°30'E
35°00'E
4°45'S
5°00'S
5°15'S



DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS

TRIBAL HEADQUARTERS

LOCAL COURTS

MISSIONS

Names of surrounding tribes in heavy capitals.

0 5 10 15 20

MILES

SANDAWE COUNTRY AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

Approximate line of division between the two main Sandawe cultural areas

Tribal boundaries

Railways

Roads

Motorable tracks

Seasonal swamps

Note: For the sake of brevity I have deleted in this paper the presentation of the Sandawe originals of the central text and of the "additional information". These will be included in the final version of this paper which is to be published in Germany in 1985.

1. The setting.

The Sandawe are a Khoi-san speaking people who, some ten generations ago, still depended mainly on hunter-gathering and scavenging. Some of them may have had small cultivations, but they had no cattle nor the social structure to successfully defend cattle after they had obtained a few animals as bridewealth payments when they had begun to intermarry with cattle-owning immigrants. The first of these immigrants were the Alagwa who had arrived from the north and belonged to the Iraqw-cluster of Southern Cushites. Some of their relatives settled around Kolo in northern Rangi country (see map), and have retained until today their original Cushitic language. Officially and by the Bantu-speaking WaRangi they are called Wasi or Asi, but they refer to themselves as Ála(g)wa.

The second people in our setting are the Barabaiga who are a Datoga people who, like the Maasai, are now usually considered to be Nilotic - the languages of these peoples belonging to the Chari-Nile superfamily of languages. The Datoga are classified as South Nilotic, but the Maasai as East Nilotic. This classification was originally proposed by Oswin Köhler in 1950 and 1955, and is now widely accepted. The Barabaiga, as well as the other Datoga groupings, are usually called Tatúr or Thathúr by the Sandawe, but the Barabaiga are officially (in KiSwahili) known as Mang'ati, a name which is also used quite often by the Sandawe. For that reason I use the term Mang'ati for the Barabaiga in the translation of the text presented below.

Finally, there are the Bantu-speaking ARimi who are called Tsuéso by the Sandawe, but who are generally known as WaNyaTuru. For this reason I shall use the latter name for them in my translation of the text. The WaNyaTuru brought more cattle with them when they began to settle in Sandawe country, but the fact that their cattle terminology owes much to Datoga suggests that they have had much interaction, war-like or peaceful, with peoples like the Mang'ati. In my paper offered to the A.F.S.A.A.P. Conference last year I argued that the Sandawe have acquired their basic cattle vocabulary from the Cushites, but their terms for distinguishing between various animals from the Nilotes (Barabaiga or Mang'ati). This suggested that the first, basic elements of a cattle culture had been derived from the Cushites, but that cattle-breeding and the building up of considerable herds was introduced by the WaNyaTuru (who in turn may have borrowed this from the Nilotes).

The traditions of the Sandawe Alagwa hold that they originated "from Mang'ati", even saying that their ancestors "were Mang'ati". Yet those same Mang'ati are portrayed consistently as their traditional enemies. The existing literature on the Sandawe has perpetuated this apparent controversy by not questioning the true origins of the Alagwa. The principal aim of this paper is to throw light on this issue by presenting and explaining a Sandawe text, with the help of further information which was also supplied by Sandawe informants.

Before presenting the text I shall now offer a few comments which, I hope, will make it easier to understand many points which are made in it.

2. The Sandawe Alagwa: Rainmaking and Cattle.

The Sandawe Alagwa are widely renowned for their rainmaking prowess. Even from outside Sandawe country people come to the Alagwa with the request to make rain when their own efforts have failed. Also among the non-Alagwa Sandawe their reputation is high. This rainmaking knowledge is something that has been jealously preserved in a few Alagwa lineages. The Alagwa may have been helped, in this respect, by the fact that they have a strong tradition of the importance of the descent group as a named and identifiable group. They take pride in their lineages and they can trace their genealogies back much further than the other Sandawe: in some cases up to ten generations. Many of the "Sandawe of the bush", however, do not remember their ancestors beyond three or so generations. These people are sometimes contemptuously referred to as Bisa by the Téhla Sandawé, that is, the Alagwa and allied clans, whose self-applied name translates as "real" or "proper" or "acculturated" Sandawe.

All Sandawe, including the Alagwa, have sacrificial hills which they climb at least once a year in order to make sacrifices to the spirits at the caves where they are believed to dwell. During these rituals they enjoin their clan spirits (and any other hill spirits who may be there) not to interfere with the rain, so that the country may be fertile and the people and their animals and crops remain healthy. Further sacrifices are made at the graves of the ancestors who are buried by the settlements in graves marked by old, worn-out and up-turned grindstones. The Alagwa follow the same procedures. After their arrival in Sandawe country they became rapidly absorbed by the Sandawe, mainly because they married Sandawe women who brought up their children in the Sandawe language and teaching them Sandawe customs. The text presented below shows clearly that one of the early Alagwa, a man called Khonde, had

become a Sandawe and had to invoke an interpreter's help in order to converse with a newly-arrived NyaTuru (Bantu-speaking) stranger.

The Alagwa, however, have developed a third kind of sacrifice in addition to the clan hill and the ancestral-grave sacrifices of the other Sandawe. This is the rain-making ritual which is performed in a special rain hut and which is secret and contains elements which are absent in the hill and grave rituals; it is also believed to be much more powerful than the latter. No stranger is ever allowed inside the hut, and precise knowledge of the proceedings is confined to the senior Alagwa rainpriests who conduct the rites. One of these priests is a man, and the other is a woman. These rain-hut rituals include the use of:

a) rain rocks, in the shape of the three rocks which constitute the common Sandawe (and generally African) cooking place, between which the fire is lit and on top of which the cooking pot is placed. During the rainmaking a sacrificial meal is cooked on these rain rocks, and eaten. After this the rocks are ritually washed with water, anointed with fat, and finally carefully covered with a hide. The washing of the rock signifies the common association of rock with rain and life-giving water: after the rains one may see, in Sandawe country, people herding their cattle over bare rock expanses. This is done for a very good reason. After the rainwater has sunk into the soil, water remains standing in the pitted holes and crevasses in the rock surface for a considerable time even after the surrounding country has dried up. Rocks are therefore associated with rain and water and fertility and life.

b) kudu or eland horns, adorned with a couple of bells fastened to the open end of the horn. Although this implement looks like an obvious phallic symbol in the shape of a penis and two testicles, it is also the implement which the Sandawe use in their curing and fertility rituals of <u>simbó</u> ('the state of being a lion') in which suspicious sorcery materials and black and rotting witchcraft substances are sniffed out, dug up, and collected by dancers in a state of trance, put into their horns, carried off to the hills and there destroyed.

The healing powers of these horns are part of traditional Sandawe beliefs and such horns have been depicted in rock paintings. Very similar rituals have been recorded from the (also Khoi-san) central Bushmen. The rainmaking horns are kept in the rain-hut and after washing they are placed in an upright position with the bells (= testicles) end pointing up.

c) a cave drum or an old drum-shaped beehive, from which a splinter is knocked off and burnt. Its smoke is considered food for the spirits, and coming from what has probably once been a honey-hive container, it has special significance as a sacrifice of plenty and well-being. The introduction of the Alagwa rain-hut "drum" into the country is described in the text.

d) ritual intercourse which, by analogy, symbolizes the fertilization of the country and its inhabitants.

It should be clear, by now, that the importance of the Alagwa in the wider society of the Sandawe rests at least partly upon their rainmaking techniques. Knowledge of the rituals is passed on to promising youngsters within the chief rainmakers' lineages but, most importantly, the males among these successors are also taught knowledge of the weather and cloud patterns which has been accumulated refined, and preserved in their lineages. They have, therefore, a better judgement of when to conduct rainmaking rituals than most, and they also know when to refuse, so their art may remain effective.

The question now arises, what kind of bearing has all this on the cattle wealth of the Alagwa? Being no fools, they do not make rain for their clients for nought. Not only do their clients have to provide the black sacrificial ox (black is the colour of rain clouds) but they also have to pay the Alagga a fee of one or more heads of cattle. This has helped the Alagwa to replenish their herds after depletion by droughts, pests, or enemy raids. In spite of the continuing relative poverty in cattle of most Sandawe until today, the Alagwa have done better than other Sandawe.

Although the Alagwa have been moderately successful as cattle-keepers, they have, like other Sandawe, suffered serious setbacks. In particular before the Germans began putting a stop to cattle-raiding, very few Sandawe had ever succeeded in becoming cattle-breeders with really sizeable herds. Whenever they did, they usually lost them soon again. Often they lost not only their cattle but also many of their people, the men being slain and the women and children being abducted.

4. The story of The Coming of the Alagwa.

1. The coming of the Alagwa: their country was Umangati, near Tl'eena.

2. In Mang'ati country they stayed for a considerable time, and their diviner was Kináu the Mang'ati, a magical power - diviner, with much magical power.

3. Kináu competed with his fellows in [the art of] magical power [-divining].

4. Now then, while they were living there, a cow in Kináu's homestead calved during the night.

5. When they had slept and it had become light, when they had a look [they found that] it was a human being.

6. When the other diviners heard about it, they said: "Well, Kináu is acting like that, so let us get together and kill him."

7. When Kináu had come to sleep he could not [sleep]; he perceived that conspiracy.

8. And he took the men into his courtyard, and at night they got up and fled.

9. And they untied the cattle and herded them [away], and he who before then had been born from a cow, he died as a premature foetus, and they threw him away and went [on their way].

10. They herded their cattle throughout the day and the night, but the Mang'ati attacked them and took many [of the] cattle and drove them home.

11. While they were herding they went on; their other fellows and their children were going slowly too, and they said (asked): "Why is it that you aren't going quickly so you get there [fast]?

12. And he said (answered): "After munching raspberry fruits we shall arrive."

13. And Kináu also said [later, after they had eaten raspberries]: "What, are you eating raspberries, aren't you [now] the Raspberry People?" (people of the Raspberry clan).

14. From here on began the so-called Raspberry Alagwa clan.

15. When Kináu had herded his cattle and gone on, he entered into Erémera, and there they settled down.

16. While they were living there he brought forth Khonde, and there he [also] grew old and died.

17. When Khonde had grown up, he took [over] the "head"-divinership[1] of his father (i.e., he became as celebrated a diviner as his father), and he divined very much.

18. When they had lived [there] for a long time, a son of the WaNyaTuru met them, a youth who was fully grown [and strong].

19. Khonde took in this child, and he put him in his home.

20. This child's name was Murehe.

21. After they had lived [there] for a long time, Khonde spoke thus to Murehe: "I saw a woman who was coming [towards our home]; as I saw her she was (appeared) grown up, and she was coming with (was carrying) a large object.

22. This large object [of hers] cannot be entered into my house, but there is that shed there in the garden. This woman, when she arrives, will stay there.

23. When I speak [to her] we shall not be able to understand each other. But you are a NyaTuru, and you and she will understand each other.

24. At her place [there is] a large object, and in my house it is too large (it is too big for my house); it cannot fit in with my things.

25. Her place is the rain's [place], and at my homestead there is [now] a drum; they are all troublesome things."

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1) A "head"-diviner is a diviner who knows what bothers his clients without having to ask them first why they have come to consult him. Such diviners enjoy greater prestige than others.

26. And then Murehe built a hut, and there he stayed waiting.

27. When they had stayed [there] a long time, they saw Khonde taking a legged stool; he rubbed it all over with fat, and he gave it to Murehe and said: "Go and put it in the hut. When she comes she will sit down on it."

28. The name of that woman was Khwere.

29. And Murehe put the stool there in the hut, and there he stayed waiting.

30. And he realized that the woman had really gone out.

31. [When she returned] she greeted him in KiNyaTuru, and he too [spoke] in KiNyaTuru, and they understood each other.

32. She asked him as follows: "There is a man called Khonde. I [want to] go to his home. Show me that house."

33. But Murehe said: "It is I who is Khonde, come in. Do not search for Khonde, I <u>am</u> Khonde."

34. She replied: "You I do not recognize."

35. But he said: "Do not refuse, come in."

36. When she had entered he showed her the aforementioned stool and she sat down.

37. She was dumbfounded and she replied: "Who has made this stool like this?"

38. And he said: "Now have I not just now said that I am Khonde?"

39. But while she was interrogating him, he said (admitted): "Really Khonde's house is that one, visible over there, which is giving out smoke. And this stool, too, he told me to take it and bring it here."

40. And she replied: "I must go and greet him."

41. But Murehe said: "Don't go. He actually told me that I should bring this stool here."

42. This woman Khwere, her lineage was the Walamathanga.[2)]

43. She had come from the Handa area and made her way coming [here]; Khonde had drawn her ahead (= by magical force, or witchcraft).

44. While she came she rested at Khwere Dī (= Khwere's Rock); therefore this rock is called until today Khwere's Rock.

45. And now Murehe went to tell Khonde [about her].

46. And he said: "That woman, she has arrived".

47. And Khonde said:
"Bring the old water container-gourd which is broken;
-bring the old drinking vessel;
-bring the porridge pot which is broken;
-bring the relish pot which is broken;
-bring another drinking vessel, so there will be two [of those];
-bring a wooden carrying vessel, and yet another water-drinking vessel, which shall be brought by their women [owners]."[3)]

48. And Murehe, on his part, said:
"Take that, that castrated goat; go and strangle it and skin it.[4)]

49. When it is finished you cleave it in the middle and fill the cooking pot and cook it.

50. Do not give her meat for roasting. Let her eat only what has been cooked."

51. And when they had cooked the meat and when it had become soft, they put on the fire the porridge pot, and they cooked the porridge.

52. When the porridge was cooked they took it off [the fire and put it] into the drinking vessel, and the meat, too, they took it off [the fire and put it] into the other drinking vessel,

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2) Walamathanga = 'Cucumber-eaters'. A Bantu term, probably KiNyaTuru. In KiSwahili it would be Walamatango.

3) Old things are to be used because Khwere is suspected of being a sorceress. Yet she has to be honoured as a guest.

4) No blood must flow for fear of the sorcery-magic polluting the homestead.

53. "Let her (the woman) stay silent [in her hut] until [the food] has cooled well. Murehe, you must eat with her."

54. And really, she ate from the porridge together with Murehe, and when he had finished eating he went away [back to Khonde].

55. And he said: "Father, we have finished eating porridge."

56. And Khonde said: "Had it cooled off nicely?"

57. And he [Murehe] said: "It had cooled off completely, even the juice had congealed."

58. And Khonde countered: "Now it is I who shall go out, so we may go and I shall greet her."

59. When they had gone and entered [into the hut] Khonde said "Haramtsa" (a KiNyaTuru greeting), and she replied "Haió, father" (a KiNyaTuru reply to a greeting).

60. And he sat down and said: "Murehe, come to translate [for me] so we can converse. It is you who knows KiNyaTuru."

61. And really, Murehe translated and they conversed much, and Khonde said: "Mother, now you are my child, and you will live here."

62. When the sun had set, Khonde said: "Now how will that woman sleep alone? Go, Murehe, and sleep together with her."

63. And Murehe, he stayed to sleep with Khwere.

64. When they had been living there for a long time, then all of them moved house, and came to settle at Herende.

65. After they had arrived at Herende, and Khonde had become old, Murehe was still beautiful, and stayed with Khwere.

66. After they had lived there for a long time, the WaNyaTuru came [into the area]. They said: "Now we shall go [into the bush] and you will make us medicines."

67. And Murehe said: "Father, let us go ahead so we may go and make them medicines."

68. They got up a nd went with Khonde. Khwere remained at home, together with Khonde's wives.

69. While they were staying (camping) and were making medicines, they rounded up many goats, a whole flock [of them].[5]

70. When they left, then indeed Murehe's men whispered (= conspired with the WaNyaTuru) without Khonde knowing it.

71. Murehe spoke thus to the WaNyaTuru: "We then, now we shall go; you follow us. Follow us closely. All these many goats, where shall I take them?"

72. While the WaNyaTuru were following they entered the Mokoba area, and Murehe spoke to the WanyaTuru and they attacked the old man and killed him.

73. Well then, while they had been making medicines before then Murehe had been asking little by little, saying: "If, then, I killed this old man, would I get his prominence?"

74. And the WaNyaTuru had said: "That is right."

75. Well then, Murehe had [then] enlightened them (explained his plan) about him (Khonde) and they followed him.

76. Even today Khonde's grave is at Mokoba. The name of this place is Di N!ákhua (Copulation Rocks). The corpse that was Khonde, however, was buried at Herende.

77. Murehe, indeed, had bewitched him very much (had done him a very foul deed); all the dirtyness towards Khonde he carried [with him].

78. Now while Murehe was living there, he brought forth a son, but his name I do not know well. I think Murehe's son was Amas, and Khonde's son was Soono.

79. So in the past, Khonde was bewitched, and Khonde's son Soono divined, and Murehe's son Amas also divined. And all of them lived at Herende.

80. And Amas chased Soono away making him flee, and he moved house.

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5) Apparently other cattle-owners had been raided and killed; many goats had escaped in the melee.

81. Amas then spoke as follows: "Now the rain is there, and they stay with it, now then how shall we summon up the rain?" (i.e., rain had started falling at Soono's home, but not at Amas's).

82. Together with Amas there was no [other] rainmaker (i.e., there was no one equal to Amas in rainmaking).

83. Amas was of the aforementioned Mungé clan, but she who summons up the rain (the rain-priestess) was a Wanahanse clanswoman; her name was Manzoo.

84. These Wanahanse [people] were in the past of Khwere's line, completely NyaTuru, from the Handa area, and they settled close to the lake of Hanse. For that reason [they are called] WanaHanse.

85. And now Amas the son of Murehe took Manzoo into the rain house, her who is a Wanahanse; Amas is the only one who may go in and sleep with her, so the rain may fall.

86. And then, Amas together with Manzoo summoned up the rain, but Soono divined by head, and he was a powerful person having [the power of] calling up things.

87. When they had lived [there] for a long time, Soono said: "Go to Mang'ati country to seize cattle."

88. And the Sandawe collected themselves in great numbers and got up; they went with Soono's magical stick.

89. They killed Mang'ati and collected many cattle.

90. But from that Amas flew into a rage: "Well, that Soono indeed, has he sent people and seized cattle and brought them in, and enriched himself?"

91. And in the middle of the dry season the rains fell heavily.

92. And the rain went on falling a long time, and soaked up all the bow strings, and then there remained nothing to shoot with.

93. And the Mang'ati seized the cattle, and returned them [home].

94. And the people said: "Oh, what is that, Soono? You have sent us and in the middle of the dry season the rain kills us, and the Mang'ati, too, finish off [our] people?"

95. But he said: "Enough, my children; be quiet so we may live."

96. And them Amas said: "Go forward so we may go to seize cattle in Mang'ati country."

97. And the people got up and took [along] Amas's magical stick.

98. And they collected together the cattle of the Mang'ati and drove them [home].

99. When they noticed it, a female rhonoceros came out [of the bush], and she struck the people with her horn and slew many of them completely, and the cattle ambled back [on their own] to Mang'ati and returned [home].

100. And Amas said: "This [fellow Soono] was in the past truly my brother. And when in the past his people went the rain finished them, and now when my people went, a rhino finished them off.

101. And Amas spoke as follows: "Really in the past this Soono was my brother, but he has scattered us about badly. Now then I shall go [and see him]!"

102. And Amas got up and went to Soono's home, bringing a cow, a white cow.

103. And he said: "Friend, brother, don't you think up other plans, let the cattle return and come [home]. Now give me a wooden pole (medicine stick)."

104. And Soono gave him a wooden pole. When this time they went [to Mang'ati] the cattle came (i.e., were brought in).

105. These cattle, when they were brought in, he (Amas) divided them with Soono.

106. And then Soono, too, sent [people] in, and he said: "Among the cattle which you will find there is a bull whose name is kitábás (= bás, a black animal with white sides and/or white forelimbs), and a heifer who is a χolá (= a black animal with a white spine, face, neck and belly, or a black animal with white strips)," - and he mentioned many cattle-names.

107. And he said: "Those which are seized first are mine."

108. When they had brought in all the cattle they selected those which had been named before by Soono, and they took for each other those that remained, according to their hill-clan [affinities].

109. Then, Amas and Soono joined forces [again], and Soono gave part of the booty to Amas.

110. Then, when Soono shared with him, [they agreed that] they would send mutual contributions in this manner.

111. When they had lived [there] for a long time, Soono spoke as follows: "When you are going and seizing cattle, and when you will be killing people, you will see a child; she is lying under a Grewia tree. (χo'á = a tree with edible fruits, somewhat like hazelnuts: Grewia forbesii Harv. ex Mast.).

112. Don't you kill her. Bring her to me, for me."

113. While really they were [busy] taking cattle and were fighting and another (i.e., the Sandawe and the Mang'ati), then they really found a girl.

114. This girl's name was Mwahi. And Soono brought her up until she was big, and [then] he married her.

115. Her children were Mophori and Mungé.

116. And the Maasai killed Soono.

117. Then at Mungé's home there was a child whose name was Dande.

118. And the people said: "Now this woman (Mwahi), what will become of her, because she is still vigorous (not old)?"

119. And she entered Dande's house (= Dande inherited her), and she bore him Emá, and thereupon Mwahi died.

120. Now the clan (descent line) of Emá, the Alagwa there at Kilimba, is very numerous.

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5. Additional information.

The following additional information was given by the informant who also supplied the text, and by some other informants:

1. The male [rainpriest] is of Amas's hand (= side, lineage, or clan).
2. The female [rainpriestess] is of the Wanahanse descent group.
3. In the past the rain belonged to the Wanahanse.
4. Now[adays] this rain-woman is a Wáthŏa.
5. Now they have moved it (i.e., the rain hut) to Wáthŏa. These Wáthŏa [people] are the people of Dĩ Ts'exe (= One Rock). Dĩ Ts'exe is [the name of] a flood plain in Maimba.

Other informants further defined the Wáthŏa as a branch of the Wanahanse which moved to the Tónkolo area and settled there. Maimba and Dĩ Ts'exe are also parts of their settlement area. Although, like most other clans, they have gradually spread out and have no longer a clearly defined clan land, they have jealously maintained their rain hut until today. The marshy part of the flood plain where it stands has also become known as Wanahanse, after the original name of the Wáthŏa Alagwa. While the Wáthŏa prospered, the Erémera Alagwa apparently lost many of their numbers and much of their influence.

6. The /aa Alagwa (= Foliage Alagwa) is one of their clans (i.e., this is also an Alagwa clan), but they have scattered about very much, and they (i.e., the members of other Alagwa clans) told them: "Now these are not a branch, but [loose] foliage."

In respect of this last point, other informants have added that the /aa Alagwa have lost so much of their reputation as a coherent group of clansmen, and even as Alagwa, that they have become identified with the /aa n/omoso ('foliage people') which is the name given to 'bush folk', that is, people whose forebears were not Alagwa and who have never acquired any cattle, or possibly people who have lost all their cattle and reverted

to a hunter-gatherers' existence or who, at best, have retained only some small animals like goats and who may also have some small cultivations and eke out a meagre existence in the bush. Like the Sandawe of the Dudu n!oaa (= Bubu River) area, and of the South-East and the surrounding bushlands, these /aa Alagwa, like the other /aa n/omoso, are also referred to, in a rather derogatory manner, as Bisa. These "bushdwellers" have already been mentioned in part 2 of this paper.

Conclusion.

The text is obviously concerned with the preoccupation of the Alagwa with cattle, even after they had become Sandawe, but it also describes the origins of Alagwa rainmaking and its esoteric nature, involving the secrecy of a rain hut, ritual intercourse (an obvious fertility symbol), and the use of an ancient cave-drum or bee-hive (also a symbol of plenty, and with magical powers attributed to it). The superiority of the Alagwa war-magicians and diviners, in combination with their rainmaking prowess, comes over loud and clear. Yet the Sandawe successes under Amas and Soono's leadership against the Mang'ati remained their only ones. At that time these powerful cattle herders had been seriously weakened by the Maasai, an equally powerful cattle people. They had lost not only many cattle at the hands of Maasai raiders, but also many men. Amas and Soono knew this and as good diviners they collected all the knowledge required for launching successful counter-raids on their traditional enemies. Even so, at least two of their initial successes came to grief, as described in the rains and the rhinoceros episodes.

What is also clear is that, contrary to widely held beliefs, the Alagwa did not owe their prominent position to their riches in cattle, with consequent superior economic strength. At least, this was only partly the case. They did not arrive in Sandawe country as powerful cattlemen, but as impoverished refugees who had managed to save only few cattle after their defeat at the hands of the Mang'ati. A second point is that the Alagwa were not originally Mang'ati themselves. Their previous abode had been invaded and conquered by Mang'ati peoples such as the Barabaiga and other Datoga.

The fact that the Alagwa consider the Mang'ati their traditional enemies now begins to make sense. They were not Mang'ati but Southern Cushites, belonging to the Iraqw cluster of peoples, like their brethren the Álawa and the Iraqw themselves, and also the Gorowa, the Burunge, the Kwa'adzo (also known as Ng'omvia), and the Mbugu of the remote mountains of Usambaa. It seems that the ancestors of all these peoples had been settled in the plains around Mt. Hanang when they were attacked and scattered by the Mang'ati or Datoga, among whom the Barabaiga have become the most prominent group and occupied the country of the Cushites. As Cushites, the Alagwa were not true cattle herders but cattle-keeping cultivators and, in this respect, comparable to the Bantu-speaking WaNyaTuru and other Bantu peoples in the region. They never had the militarily so very effective age-grade system of the Nilotic peoples such as the Mang'ati and the Maasai.

As for those Sandawe who did not absorb many Alagwa and NyaTuru elements, they did not acquire many cattle at all. If they did obtain any cattle at any time, mainly in the form of bride-wealth payments from cattle-owners, they immediately became sitting ducks for cattle-raiders. They had no chiefs nor any kind of organized leadership, nor age-grades and regiments of warriors, nor any sort of non-kinship associations or organized societies which might have been useful in putting up some effective resistance to raiders. Their traditional defence against invaders was hiding in the bush or in the rocky hills of their country.

A final point to make is that many Sandawe Alagwa are genealogically not Alagwa at all, but have been grafted on Alagwa roots. Kinau and his son Khonde were Alagwa, but their line was continued by the NyaTuru Murehe, and the chief rainmakers' lineage of Amas descends from him. The rainpriestesses of the "Alagwa" Wanahanse are descended from Khwere whose husband was the same Murehe. Line 84 of the text acknowledges this where it states that

the Wanahanse are "completely NyaTuru". This genealogical grafting throws an interesting sidelight on the fact that the Sandawe appear to have borrowed their initial, basic cattle vocabulary from the Cushites, but the colour-pattern vocabulary from the Mang'ati through the Bantu-speaking WaNyaTuru (I have shown this in my AFSAAP Conference paper last year). It all fits in: the original introducers of cattle were Cushitic Alagwa who were not powerful cattlemen but impoverished refugees. Only when the later Alagwa with NyaTuru admixture saw their chances clear and built up their herds at the expense of the temporarily weakened Mang'ati, they ceased to be mere cattle-keepers but became cattle-breeders in their own right. It was only then that they began requiring a full colour-pattern vocabulary in order to distinguish between their many animals. In order to do this they used the KiNyaTuru vocabulary with which they were still familiar.

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