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Kainabula, the Oimua, might not eat the *garau* or crab, when in their original home, and they believe that they were descended from it.

There remain to be considered certain restrictions on the use of plants as food, and the question whether these plants may also have been totems. I was told of several instances in which plants could not be eaten by the members of certain social groups. Thus, the Nasalia division of the Nadrau people might not eat the *via*, a plant resembling taro, nor could they eat the *soaga* or native banana. Similarly the people called Kaisaladina might not eat the *damuni*, a curved purple yam. Another restriction on the use of plants as food was first given to me as peculiar to the Kainagaladina division of the Nabubucu people. These people were not allowed to eat yams during the two months which begin with the new moon in January under penalty of becoming ill, the two months being called Uluvatu and Nabotoka. The people of Nadrau had the same custom and called the two months Uluvatu and Vunagumu, but they stated that the practice was followed by the whole Fijian people in the old time. The only *tabu* on plants of which I could learn in the Rewa district was in the village of Naluna, the people of which plant *vudivula* or white bananas, which are eaten by the priests, but not by the people themselves. It will have been noted also that one of the *tevoro* of the Rewa district was said to have come from a tree, but in this case I could hear of no restriction associated with the tree.

It seemed quite clear that there was no belief in descent from the plants which were forbidden as food, and it is possible that these restrictions may have had their origin in some source different from that of the restrictions on the use of animal food.

The *tabu* of a tribe or its divisions is not limited to them, but extends also to those who stand to them in the relation of *vasu*. This is the Fijian way of putting the matter, but it has the effect that a man may not use the sacred object of his mother's as well as of his own people.

Finally, it must be pointed out that these restrictions and beliefs belong almost altogether to the past, though I met one or two old men who said they still abstained from the use of animals or plants which were forbidden in the old time. Further, I must point out that the data for this paper were obtained during a very short stay in Fiji; so short that I had no chance of mastering the complicated social organisation of the people; and there are doubtless errors in the names and exact social relations of the various peoples whose practices have been cited as evidence of the existence of totemism.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

Africa, East.

Dundas.

Notes on the Origin and History of the Kikuyu and Dorobo Tribes. By Hon. K. R. Dundas. 76

The earliest inhabitants of the country now occupied by the Kikuyu of whom any reliable information is obtainable were a people who call themselves the Okiek. To the Kikuyu they were known as the Asi,* to the Masai as Il Torobo,† and to the coast people as Wa-Ndorobo, by which name they were also familiarly known to Europeans, though of late the more correct form of Dorobo has taken its place. Curiously enough some writers have recently invented and use a corruption of the Swahili form and style these people Andorobo.

Who the Kikuyu were, and when they first came into the country which they now occupy, are questions not easily answered. The invasion commenced probably about 80 or 100 years ago and has not entirely ceased even now. Undoubtedly many different tribes impelled to migrate by famines, raids, and the pressure from within and without of increasing population, helped in forming the present Kikuyu race. That they represent a fusion of many different tribes is shown by the numerous types to be

* Sing., *Muasi*.

† Sing., *Ol Toroboni*.

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Aikiapiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakamoyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Shuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngembe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngembe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngembe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngembe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endaramuroni clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Aikiapiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Larussa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.||

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from 'N-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeju, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigiraiish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

|| By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Sanya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Wanya.

Supi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Kikuyu an animal called Huko (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Supi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Huko.

Supi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Kikuyu from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Somali or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the name Iregi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Kikuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Barabio, who is still alive and resides in one of Burgo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuri's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primæval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Naivasha, Ravine, Kijabe, on Laikipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Baringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Ravine Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kururuma and Karirau‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Kikuyu to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Kikuyu; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Kikuyu may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Nandi. (In colonies not in touch with Nandi-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Boyo and Mathyoya in Kikuyu

dead, and to have sacrificed to them; the few still surviving are believed to sacrifice every year (or more probably every Mwaka) to their ancestors. They spoke a Nilotic language*; but languages go for nothing in this country, where a whole tribe will with the greatest facility in the course of a single generation change its language. The Dorobo themselves say that they, the Masai and the Kikuyu, are the descendants of a common ancestral tribe called the Endigiri, and that their ancestors came from beyond Mount Kenya. They also maintain that the clans of all three tribes are identical; that, for instance, the Aisakahuno clan is the Mokesen of the Masai; the Anjiro, the Tarosero; the Amboi, the Molelyan; the Akkachiko, the Aisir; and so forth.

Their Masai name of Il Torobo† might, perhaps, imply that they are descended from a tribe of dwarfs; but though there are undoubtedly pigmy tribes of Dorobo, such as the Muisi‡ of the bamboo forests of Mount Kenya, the Dorobo in existence at the present day are of much the same stature as other tribes in East Africa. The dwarfish figures of the Muisi Dorobo may possibly be explained by the life they lead.

Compared with other natives the Dorobo are not deficient in intelligence; in fact, in many respects rather the contrary is the case. Dorobo wisdom and cunning are proverbial amongst the Kikuyu and Masai, who consult them in cases of sickness and accidents.

K. R. DUNDAS.

REVIEWS.

New Guinea.

Van der Sande.

Nova Guinea: Résultats de l'Expédition scientifique Néerlandaise à la Nouvelle-Guinée en 1903, sous les Auspices de Arthur Wichmann, Chef de l'Expédition. Vol. III. Ethnography and Anthropology by G. A. J. van der Sande, Surgeon Dutch Royal Navy. With fifty plates, 216 text figures, and a map. Leyden: Late E. J. Brill, 1907. Pp. 390. 31.5 × 25 cm.

Despite the polyglot character of its title-page this valuable work is printed in English, and for the additional trouble which this must have entailed the sincere thanks of English-speaking peoples are due to the author. Probably the first volume of the series gives an account of the places visited and other details of the expedition, as this one plunges without prologue into an ethnographical description of the natives studied by the author and his colleagues. The subjects dealt with are (1) Food, drink, and delicacies; (2) Clothing and ornament; (3) Habitations and furniture; (4) Hunting and fishing; (5) Agriculture; (6) Navigation; (7) Trade and commerce; (8) Industry; (9) Arms; (10) Customs and government; (11) Art; (12) Religion; (13) Anthropology.

* It is difficult to account for the peculiar fact that they spoke Nandi. There are, it appears to me, reasons for believing that a large number of tribes now living in East Africa migrated from the north *viâ* Mount Kenya, and passed through the Kikuyu country. Many of these, and this may have been the case with the Nandi, Lumbwa, and Sotik, may have settled down in these fertile regions for a period sufficiently lengthy to have impressed their language on the aboriginal inhabitants. It is quite possible that very large areas may have been deforested during, and afforested after, such occupations.

† Dorop, *pl.* doropu, means *short* in Masai.

‡ Endigiri and Muisi are different names for the same people; they are also known to the Kikuyu as Amaithachiana. This name is said by some to have been applied originally to all the Dorobo or Asi. The name Asi itself might possibly mean the rulers, in which case it bears out the theory that the Dorobo were originally the ruling tribe in the country. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that the word Athi, one of East Africa's principal rivers, is possibly the same as Asi, the Kikuyu name for the Dorobo.

According to Mr. MacGregor, of the Church Missionary Society, the name Amaithachiana means *child-stealers*. I think myself, however, that the name means the *fierce little people*, and is derived thus:—Amaitha is the name given by the Kikuyu to a *fierce people*—it is, for instance, their name for the Masai—the word Chiana means *children* or, in a secondary sense, *little people*.