

A HISTORY OF THE POKOMO BY MIKAEL SAMSON.  
—Continued.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

R. G. DARROCH.

INTRODUCTION.

The accompanying "History of the Pokomo" by Mikael Samson, a Pokomo of the Buu tribe, employed as a clerk in the District Commissioner's Office, Kipini, is a continuation of his "History of the Malachini," which has already been published. He gave it to me when I was already under orders for transfer from Kipini. The translation and preparation of notes had, therefore, to be done very hurriedly, and I was able to give far less time than I would have liked to clearing up doubtful points.

"History" is, perhaps, not the best title for his work, but I cannot think of a better, and it is the one he uses himself. It is admittedly scrappy, and makes no real pretence at chronology. Precedence is naturally claimed by several tribes, and no one can say for certain which is the better claim, but Mikael's opinions are on the face of things reasonable, except in the case of the Kalindi claim to land near Kipini. They may have been there before the Arabs came, but were definitely inferior to them, and Arabs held much land in the Ten-Mile Strip, which have been recognised as freehold plots. It is only fair to add that a good many such Pokomo claims were also recognised in the early days of British rule, i.e., the Pokomo were not slaves, though they did pay tribute to the Arabs.

For all that I feel that the spontaneous work of a Pokomo is interesting *per se*, and should be preserved lest old traditions be lost. As it and the notes I have ventured to append show, these traditions are already confused.

A striking feature is that though all Pokomo now speak a Bantu language, none of the Upper Pokomo clans show a Bantu origin, except perhaps some of those admittedly descended from slaves who escaped from the Oromo. All the rest are Hamitic by their own account. The Malachini mostly show a coastal origin, and claim relationship with the Giriama. Curiously enough the Gwano told me that the Malalulu were of Giriama origin, but this is not corroborated, and the Malalulu being the most northerly of the Pokomo and the last to reach the Tana, are the least likely to have a coastal origin. Pokomo is a Bantu language with admittedly many Hamitic words. How then did Sango and Ana understand each other? Possibly Sango under-

stood Oromo since he would probably have been in contact with Oromo or Wata before reaching the river. I asked many elders how long ago they gave up speaking Oromo. The Ndera thought it at least three generations before the oldest men still alive: none of the rest would hazard a guess. Many Pokomo are, of course, bi-lingual (some know Somali also), but that is beside the point.

Another interesting thing in comparing the Malachini and Upper Pokomo is that all admit that till some of the Upper Pokomo moved to Malachini country, the Malachini did not know how to make canoes. Some do not even now. As they live in the area of the greatest floods, they must have had a very poor time in the long rains, and by all accounts the Tana contained far more water in days gone by than it does now.

A word is necessary about the map. Mikael's map was over four feet long, and so unsuitable for reproduction. It was also even more out of scale than I fear the one I have prepared is. In scaling it down I was forced to omit much detail, but hope enough is left to help a reader to follow the story.

I would add that several of the inter-tribal boundary disputes which he mentions are by no means finished. I have not commented because they seem to me to be of purely local interest. I wish this work had been available when I first came to Kipini in 1940, because it does throw light on the background, though in some cases Mikael only tells one side of the story.

I have ventured to add some notes both of my own conclusions, and of things which had come to my notice and not to Mikael's. I hope they may be of interest, and not spoil the effect of what is his work and not mine. He started on this years ago completely of his own accord. When he gave me his "History of the Malachini" I encouraged him to go on and do something on the Upper Pokomo as well. His work in the district involves some travelling, so he has had the opportunity to question elders in every location.

As before I have referred to non-Pokomo tribes by the name by which they call themselves, e.g., Oromo, not Galla, Wata, not Boni, Elwana not Malakote, and Munyo, not Korokoro.

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#### THE STORY OF THE KALINDI.

When I first wrote the story of the Kalindi, I gave the account as told by the Buu elders, but now I tell what the Kalindi say themselves. They believe that originally they came from Arabia. Then they lived near Pate in Lamu district. Thence they ran away westwards to escape from war and dwelt for a long time at Mungini (Mundini). War began again and they crossed the

sea to Lamu under a chief called Hidabo. There is a hill<sup>(1)</sup> south of Lamu, which Hidabo called by his own name to be a remembrance of himself. This hill is called Hidabo to this day.

Then they crossed the sea again to the west and followed the shore till they came to Shaka near Kipini. They found no one at Shaka, and they built a town, and worshipped and prayed to God to bless their town and keep war far from it.

There are two Kalindi clans. The Namboo first moved to Shaka while others stayed at Hidabo. Then the Mangwe (or Gomeni) followed them to Shaka and lived there. Possibly some stayed at Hidabo. The old men do not know if there was then a town on the present site of Lamu or not.

When they had lived for a long time at Shaka some strangers came, whose chief was Liongo Fumo. He asked the Kalindi to let him settle among them as allies. The Kalindi agreed.<sup>(2)</sup> Then he asked for a place beyond Shaka, and the Kalindi gave him land and he built the town of Ozi. Some of his people lived at Ozi, and the Kalindi and Ozi lived together for a long time, and Shaka prospered.

After some time Liongo wanted to buy land.<sup>(3)</sup> The Kalindi refused saying they would live together as friends, but would not sell land. In truth Shaka belongs to the Kalindi; and the Ozo Swahilis, who now mostly live at Kau, are the descendants of Liongo's people who later built Ozi.

The Kalindi also say that their neighbours upstream were the Yunda, and that they marched with them at Mahindini (near Kibusu). When the first European came to Golbanti he asked where the boundary between the Kalindi and the Yunda was, and two men called Chama and Abanyata took him to Mahindini, and he buried a bottle there. Later another European came to Oda and asked where the bottle had been buried. He was taken there, and he dug up the bottle and buried another.

#### THE KALINDI LAND.

After leaving Shaka the Kalindi lived in Chara. At that time Chara was excellent land near the sea, and in the rains fresh water flooded the borders of the river. The soil yielded fine crops for many years. The Kalindi killed hippo and grew rice. Each year they reaped twice, but the land was very wet and mosquitoes increased, so the Kalindi decreased. Even now they are not numerous.

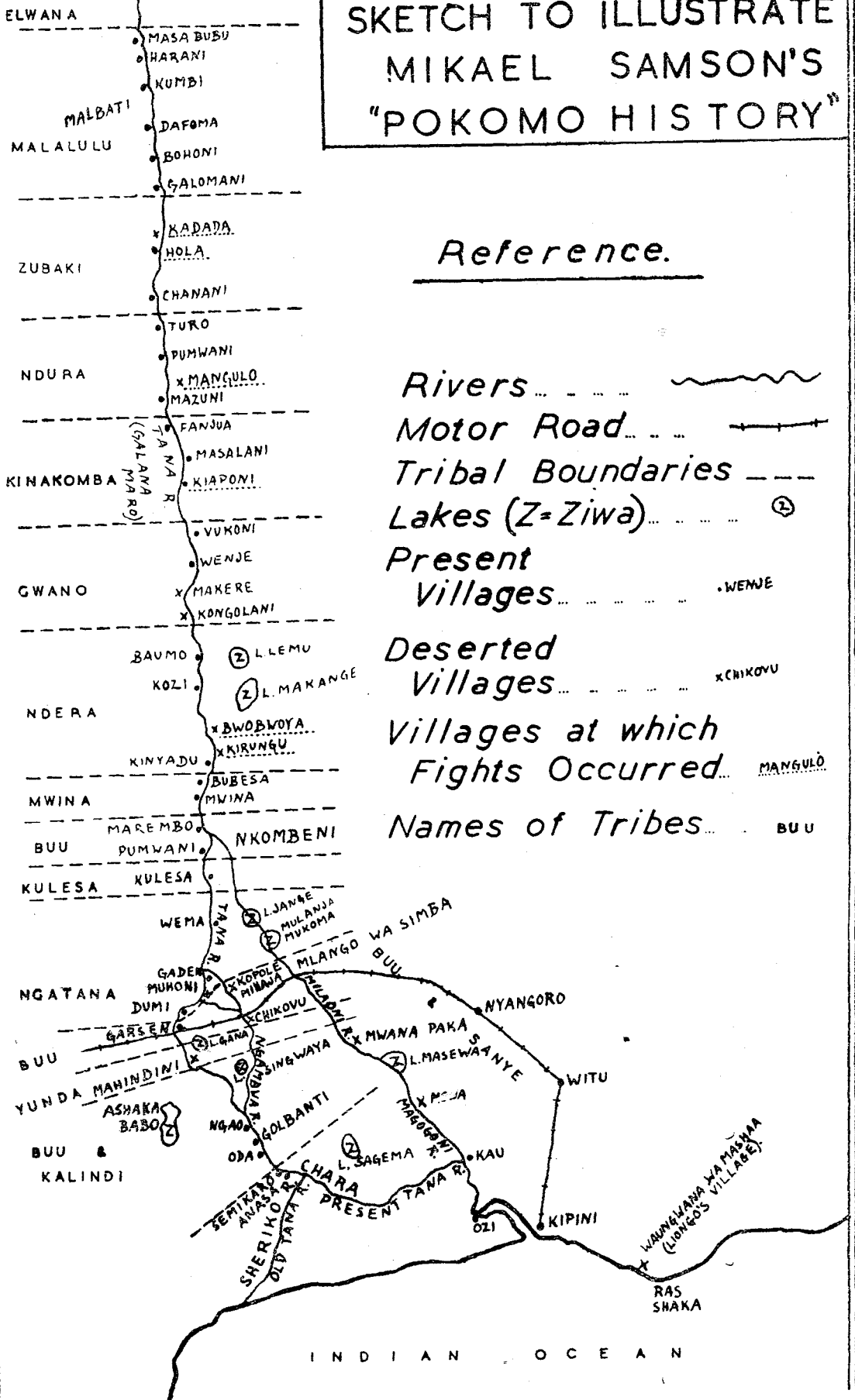
#### BUU AND UPPER POKOMO.

When their river died on them, the Buu came down to the Kalindi country and built the town of Ngao. They spread downstream seeking cultivation; their last town was Kikomo above Anasa.

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(1) The numbers refer to Notes beginning on page 391.

# SKETCH TO ILLUSTRATE MIKAEL SAMSON'S "POKOMO HISTORY"



## Reference.

Rivers . . . . .

Motor Road . . . . .

Tribal Boundaries . . . . .

Lakes (Z=Ziwa) . . . . .

Present Villages . . . . .

Deserted Villages . . . . .

Villages at which Fights Occurred . . . . .

Names of Tribes . . . . .

Later Upper Pokomo ran away from the Somalis, and seeing the Kalindi country to be empty, settled in Chara. Of all the Upper Pokomo tribes the Ndera were the most to come there, and they are in Chara today.

When Government began to appoint Headmen, no Headman's stave was issued in Chara, (\*) because most of its inhabitants were strangers. Most of the Kalindi were in Ngao location with the Buu. The present Headman of Chara, Abdalla Bashora, is the second to be given a stave. The Headman of Chara ought really to be a Kalindi. The Kalindi claim that all land from Shaka to Mahindini is theirs.

#### EXPLANATION OF THE MAP OF MALACHINI COUNTRY.

I decided to make a map to help a reader to understand what I had written about the Malachini. I did not do the map alone. The school-teacher at Garsen, Johana Daji, who knows the country where the old rivers ran, helped me. So did an old man called Luluta, who lives at Garsen. He lived in the old Buu country himself as a boy. Also many elders have corroborated that this map shows how the country used to be.

On the right of the map you will see a line starting from Nkombeni and running to Kau. That is the river to which the Buu came from the east. It is called Milaoni. Following along it you will see circles with Z inside them. These are lakes (Ziwa). All lakes are marked like this. On the extreme right of the map you will see "Buu and Sanye." This is because the Buu say that when they first came to the river there were no other Pokomo there: their neighbours were the Sanye. This is proved by the fact that to this day if a Sanye kills a beast, especially a hippo, if even only one Buu be there, he must get part of the meat. Similarly if the Buu kill a hippo, even if only one Sanye be there he gets part of the meat, because they share the country.

You will see another line starting at Chahadugu or Koloni. It is called the Ngambwa. The Buu say that when the Milaoni dried up the Ngambwa started, and they moved to it.

Where you see Kopole and Mihaja marked there is a big forest, which the Buu and Ngatana disputed in 1941, before Government. It was decided that the forest belonged to the Buu, and their boundary with the Ngatana was fixed above Kopole.

On this river you will see villages marked with a cross. These are the old Buu and Yunda villages. The principal Buu village was Chikovu.

You will see another river starting near the village of Muhoni, which joins the first river at Mbalahini. This is the Mbewee on which the Buu built the villages of Muhoni, Murikicha, Nyangu, and Gawisa. The Buu lived in them till this river dried up, and then moved to Ngao, where they live to this day. When they lived on the Mbewee their boundary with the Ngatana was at Mbewee.

On the extreme left you will see a river running from Mwina to Kipini. That is the river on which all Pokomo live now.

The interrupted lines show the boundaries of the Malachini tribes from of old to today.

The map is intended to help a reader to understand what I have written, and, if this is made into a book, it will show where our ancestors lived on the old rivers.

#### THE UPPER POKOMO: THE NDERA.

The Ndera clans are:—	Oromo Name. <sup>(5)</sup>
Kinamoto or Kinamaziwani.	Karayu.
Kinambare.	Karara.
Kinankaru.	Sukana.
Kinauru.	Gamadho.

*Kinamaziwani.* Three men called Ana Kare, Ana Bake, and Ana Dima,<sup>(6)</sup> reached the Tana from the East at Kimbu, above Baumo. They were Oromo, and when they reached the Ndera country, they found nobody. Ana Bake crossed to the west bank, and is thought to be the ancestor of the Barareta Oromo. Ana Dima stayed on the east bank and became the ancestor of the Kofira Oromo. Ana Kare lived on the river and became the ancestor of the Kinamaziwani clan of the Ndera.

*Kinambare.* A man called Maro Diribo of the Kinaghaiba clan of the Ndura came. He was followed by Buya Bula. They are the ancestors of the Kinambare.

*Kinankaru.* A Malalulu called Dambala Kakea travelled down to Kalindi country. On his way back he stopped in Ndera. He is the ancestor of the Kinankare.

*Kinauru.* A Malalulu whose name is unknown, killed his brother, and moved to Mwina country. He married and had descendants there. When the Swahilis came and overcame the Mwina, half his descendants moved to Ndera. They are the Kinauru. Those who stayed in Mwina country are now called the Kinahabfa.

#### SLAVERY OF THE INHABITANTS OF KINYADU VILLAGE.

One Herbae bought a woman called Rehema and married her to a slave called Magombe. They had many children. One Bawata Tutu bought another woman called Kimtovu, and married her to a slave called Hamadi. They also had many children. These four people are the ancestors of the inhabitants of Kinyadu village. They are all Kinauru.

#### NDERA AND MWINA.

The Mwina are the tribes living next below the Ndera. Their boundary used to be at Lake Makange, opposite Kozi village. They gave that lake to a girl called Wambo. Below that used

to be Mwina country. After some generations the Mwina moved and the part above Bubesa became Ndera country.

#### NDERA AND GWANO.

The Gwano live next above the Ndera. The Ndera say that on the east bank their boundary is Malbe Walu, and on the west Kongolani.

#### NDERA AND OROMO.

From long ago the Oromo were conquerors. They used to go round the villages singing war songs. The Ndera elders used to collect tobacco and all kinds of food to give to them. Then the Oromo would sing songs of victory and go away. Of their own will the Oromo used to give the Ndera a bull or a goat. There was never war between the Ndera and the Oromo.

#### NDERA AND SOMALIS.

When the Somalis first came to Ndera they gave no trouble, but about 50 years ago they attacked Bwobwoya village. The Ndera resisted and many were killed on both sides. The Ndera were troubled because they had their women and children with them, so they broke their stockade and ran away. The Somalis seized the chance to capture many women and children. Since then there was no war, but from time to time the Somalis killed an Ndera, and occasionally a Somali was killed in the days before Government came.

#### NDERA AND ARABS.(?)

When the Arabs had overcome all the Malachini they wanted to enter the country of the Upper Pokomo also. A party of Arabs came to Kirungu in Ndera and demanded to be taken on by "maro." (*Note.*—This was a system by which the inhabitants of each village had to send canoes free to the next village up or down according to the way the Arabs were travelling.—R.G.D.) The Ndera refused and fought the Arabs and beat them. A Gwano called Buya Gafo was living with the Ndera; he killed the Arab leader. After that the Arabs never attacked the Upper Pokomo. They only came peacefully to trade.

#### THE GWANO.

The Gwano clans are:—	<i>Oromo Name.</i>
Kinauru.	Gamado.
Kinadyasi.	Karayu.
Kinakale.	Karara.

*Kinauru.* Three men called Ana Bake, Ana Dima, and Ana Kare came to the Tana from the East.<sup>(6)</sup> They reached it at Takafu near Makere. No one knows what their tribe was. After

a time Ana Dima and Ana Kare crossed the river. Ana Kare taking his cattle out to the west, while Ana Dima stayed on the river to cultivate. Ana Bake stayed on the east side; he is thought to be the ancestor of the Kofira Oromo. Ana Kare, who went to the west, is thought to be the ancestor of the Migo Oromo. It is said that this tribe is lost, having gone to Kamba country to escape from other Oromo who came later. Ana Dima, who stayed to cultivate, is the ancestor of the Kinauru, the principal Gwano clan.

*Kinadyasi.* Their ancestor was Kokane Didha. His mother was a Gwano married to a Zubaki. Her husband died, and she returned to Gwano with her son Kokane.

*Kinakale.* A man called Dulo was a slave of the Oromo. He escaped and reached the Tana near Wenje. He married and had children. To this day a sept of the Kinakale are called Karara Dulo in memory of this man.

#### ANA DIMA'S JOURNEY DOWNSTREAM.

Ana Dima's canoe was taken by the river. He followed downstream to Lake Lemu, where he met Sango Vere,<sup>(8)</sup> the ancestor of the Buu. Sango's fire had gone out, so he left the old Buu country to look for fire. Also he had found the canoe, so he thought there must be people upstream. Sango Vere and Ana Dima greeted each other by the name of Abamogo, which means wayfarer, because they did not know each others' names. Even today Malachini and Upper Pokomo greet each other as Abamogo, because of the meeting of Sango and Ana. Then Sango returned downstream, having arranged for Ana to send him some tobacco. Ana made another journey to the old Buu country on the old river running by Koloni. He met no people on the way through Ndera and Mwina country. When he reached Buu he saw his lost canoe, but out of friendship he allowed Sango to keep it. The Buu and Gwano are very friendly to this day.

#### ANA DIMA'S JOURNEY UPSTREAM.

Ana Dima travelled upstream, but returned without seeing anyone. On a second journey he met the Zubaki.

#### ORIGIN OF THE NDERA.

The Gwano elders say that a man called Ana Abio was the ancestor of the Ndera.<sup>(9)</sup> They do not know his tribe. He came after the Gwano did. He lived near Lake Lemu, and his descendants were thus called Kinamaziwani.

After him came two slaves a man and a woman, who escaped from the Oromo. Ana Abio found them. They married and became numerous. Then Ana freed them and they intermarried with the Kinamaziwani. Their children were called the Kinanato.



They live with the Kinamaziwani to this day. The name of the man was Gashiro, and of the woman Hadiribo. There is a place above Baumo called Hadiribo to this day. It is here they reached the Tana.

The Ndera claim the village of Kimbu to be theirs, but the Gwano were there before them. A Gwano chief was killed by the Oromo there. The shambas at Mtumitu below Kongolani belonged to a Gwano called Koya Gafo. He went to live with the Ndera, but kept his land. That is why Mtumitu is in Ndera country now.

The Gwano also say the Ndera conceal their origin from Gashiro and Hadiribo. In spite of its slave origin the Kinanato clan is held in respect among the Ndera.

Those who know also say that the upper boundary of the Mwina is above Lake Makange at Hombe (or Gagani).

#### GWANO AND KINAKOMBA.

The Gwano say they have no trouble with the Kinakomba about their boundary. If there is any dispute about shamba boundaries the elders of the two tribes settle it easily.

#### THE TREACHEROUS WAR OF JILO BUNE.(<sup>9</sup>)

The Gwano grew very numerous and were warlike. The Oromo tried many times, but could not defeat them. They took counsel as to how to defeat the Gwano. They then put medicine in a bull, so that if the Gwano eat its meat they would lose their wits. They then took the bull to the Gwano chief as a present. He told his people not to touch it, but they refused to obey. They slaughtered the bull, divided the meat, and everyone took his portion except the chief, who did not eat any of it. When they knew the bull had been eaten, the Oromo built a stockade of thorns, which no man could get through. They then went to the Gwano and said, "Oh, a wonderful thing has happened. Many birds have settled on our chief. Come and see." Hearing this the Gwano went to see, men, women and children. The Oromo were waiting for them in their stockade, with spears ready. As each arrived they deprived him of his weapons, saying it was not right to enter the stockade armed. The Gwano did not suspect the craft of the Oromo, and put down their weapons, and entered the stockade quietly, to see the Oromo chief. As they entered the Oromo killed each one. Those who were still outside did not realise what was happening within, because of the medicine they had eaten in the meat of the bull. Thus they were killed without mercy, men, women and children. Even strangers who happened to be passing, hearing that birds had settled on the chief went to see and were killed too.

All the Gwano were killed that day except the chief and his two wives who had not eaten the meat. He was called Dadho

Moroa. Seeing that he alone remained, he moved and built a new village. God gave him children by both his wives. There are two septs of the Kinauru, the Red and the Black, because one of his wives was red, and the other black. That is why the Gwano tribe is very small. They increased later, but their land is not good for cultivation, so they often move to other locations. Those who go do not return, so their tribe is the smallest of the Upper Pokomo.

#### THE KINAKOMBA.

The Kinakomba clans are:—	Oromo Name.
Kinambolo and Mandoyo.	Karara.
Kinamuyani.	Garjeda.
Kinamulunde.	Uta.
Kinambura.	Wayu.

*Kinambolo.* A Boran called Ali Gutu came to the Tana from the east. He had two wives with him and reached the river at Mankombe or Dakacha, below Kiaponi. He was the ancestor of the Mandoyo. They are one-half of the Kinambolo. The other half are not descended from Ali Gutu, but all are called Kinambolo.

*Kinamuyani.* Some of them are descended from a Zubaki of the Kinakaliani clan, called Ware Hamesa. The rest are descended from Gamahara Wachu.

*Kinamulunde.* I could not find out the name of the ancestor of part of this clan, but the rest are descended from the Mandoyo the original clan.

*Kinambura.* One of their ancestors was a Boran called Kokane Ware. The rest are descended from the Malalulu.

Ali Gutu made a journey upstream and met Ndura of the Sindo wa Ndura. He also travelled downstream and met the Gwano at Batani, now called Vukoni.

#### THE NDURA.

The Ndura clans are:—	Oromo Name.
Sindo wa Ndura.	Karayu.
Kinambare.	Uta.
Kinanato.	Karara.
Kinagasere.	Baretu.
Kinajasi.	Hajeji.
Kinambolo.	Karara.
Kinambura.	Wayole.

*Sindo wa Ndura.* Their ancestor was an Oromo called Galole Hirimani. He reached the Tana from the west at Sagari, near Pumwani. He was accompanied by Gababa Kitole.

*Kinambare.* They are descended from an Ndera called Mzuka Wayu.

*Kinanato.* An Ndera called Omara Oda came and found the Sindo wa Ndura hiding from the Oromo and Wata. He fought them and was victorious, so the original Ndura made him their chief. The present chief Dadho Bahola is of this clan, but now the Ndura do not want to be always ruled by this clan.

*Kinagasere.* A Zubaki of the Kinagasere clan, called Humacha Jilo, lived at Hara near Chanani. He had a son called Madawa, who moved to Ndura. Half his descendants returned to Zubaki, and half stayed in Ndura. From old times the Kinagasere have always been under the chief of the Kinanato.

*Kinajasi.* One Ntungulu came from Gwano to his friend Ade Abas in Ndura. Ade was a Kinambare. Ntungulu married and became the ancestor of the Kinajasi.

*Kinambolo.* A Kinakomba called Wario Gobu lived with his uncle Herbae Bahola, of the Kinanato clan. When Wario grew up his uncle got him a wife, and his descendants are the Kinambolo.

*Kinambura.* One Herbae Bwoe came from Kinakomba. He was a guest of the Sindo wa Ndura. He married and his descendants are the Kinambura. They are the last of the Ndura clans. Herbae had only recently died when Government came.

#### NDURA AND SOMALIS.

It is not very long ago since the Somalis first came, when the Ndura were living at Mangulo. They fought the Oromo, who ran away to Mangulo, and advised the Ndura to escape, but the Ndura would not listen, because they were holding an Ngaji feast. Next morning Somalis attacked all their villages on the east bank, and killed or captured many Ndura.

The Ndura built a new village near Mazuni. The Somalis came and offered friendship. They persuaded the Ndura to become Mohammedans. The Ndura agreed, but on the day appointed for their conversion the Somalis attacked them, and killed or captured many of them.

#### BOUNDARIES.

The Ndura say they have never had any trouble with the Zubaki, except small disputes about shamba boundaries, which are easily settled. They have often quarrelled with their Kinakomba neighbours, right up to the present day. The people of the last Kinakomba village, Fanjua, are at enmity with those of the last Ndura village, Mazuni. On one occasion the people of Fanjua beat up those of Mazuni. Hearing of this the Ndura gathered their men, and met the Kinakomba below Mazuni. They fought with fists and clubs, but not with weapons, till the Christian teacher Ibrahim Kitere came and pacified them. The Kinakomba had the worst of it that day.

## THE ZUBAKI.

The Zubaki clans are:—	Oromo Name.
Uta.	Uta.
Ilani.	Ilani.
Karayu.	Karayu.
Jaba.	Jaba.
Kinagasere.	Baretu wa Maji.
Kinakaliani.	Garjeda.
Meta.	Meta.
Kinagaiba.	None?
Karara.	Karara.

*Uta.* Their ancestor was an Oromo called Hiye, who came to the west bank of the Tana at Hola.

*Ilani.* A man called Gavere, tribe unknown, was found by the Uta. They befriended him and he became the ancestor of the Ilani.

*Karayu.* The tribe of their ancestor is not known, but his name was Mtabashi. He may have been a Boran.

*Jaba.* It is thought that their ancestor was a Munyo (Korokoro) from what is now Garissa district. Jaba is an Oromo word, and the Oromo call that tribe Munyo, not Korokoro. (*Note.*—So do the tribe themselves. They do not recognise the name Korokoro. The Oromo use the name Munyo for all river tribes, both Pokomo and non-Pokomo.—R.G.D.)

*Kinagasere.* The name of their ancestor is not known, but the Oromo call this clan Baretu wa Maji.

*Kinakaliani.* There are two septs of this clan. The first sept are descended from Maro Wayu, who had a son called Dulo Maro. The second sept are descended from a Kamba called Machika Mwemwere who was enslaved by the Oromo. He escaped from them and was found by Sarumbe, a descendant of Maro Wayu.

*Meta.* Their ancestor Komora Eba came from Oromo country.

*Kinagaiba.* Their ancestor Wayu Abae came from Oromo country.

*Karara.* Their ancestor was an Ndera called Komora Diribo. He was alive quite recently, because Malim Jilo, one of my Zubaki informants, knew him personally.

### BOUNDARIES.

The Zubaki say they used to have much trouble with the Ndura near Turo, but it has not come up since Government came. They say that long ago they fought the Malalulu, but this was not on account of a boundary dispute.

#### WARS WITH THE OROMO.

After building Hola village the Zubaki circumcised some boys. One of them went to bathe in the river, and some Oromo who were there killed him outside the village. The Zubaki took counsel to repay this and killed all the Oromo who were at Hola, including their chief Gungumi. The Oromo out in the hinterland heard of this and decided that those who were killed had provoked the Zubaki. The Zubaki paid compensation and the matter was settled.

#### WARS WITH THE WATA.

Formerly even the Wata defeated the Pokomo. When Wayu Umuru was chief of the Zubaki he fought the Wata with fists, and prevented them from taking food from Pokomo shambas. The Wata persisted in taking food, but went to the shambas with bows and arrows so that the Zubaki would be afraid of them. Wayu called the Zubaki together, and they made medicine so that the Wata arrows might miss them. They then followed the Wata to some banana shambas and killed almost all of them. The Wata who were left ran away to Malachini, and became guests of the Mwina. They settled at a lake called Jange, near Wema. They became the Ngatana.<sup>(10)</sup>

#### WARS WITH THE SOMALIS.

After defeating the Oromo, the Somalis began capturing women and children. The Zubaki resisted this, and the Somalis came to the village of Kadada when Karayu Wayu was chief of the Zubaki. They fought there, and men were killed on both sides, but more Somalis were killed than Zubaki, because the Somalis had to swim the river and the Zubaki shot them with arrows in the water, till the river was red with blood. The Somalis were unable to cross.

#### WARS WITH THE KAMBA.

After this some Kamba came to the same village of Kadada, and wanted to enter the village. The Zubaki refused and shut the gate of the stockade round the village. Fighting began in the evening and men were killed on both sides. When the sun set the Kamba slept round the village. The Zubaki were unable to get their children out of the village to a safe place. Next day they fought from morning till evening, and the Kamba were unable to enter the village. In the evening the Kamba set fire to the stockade. A Zubaki called Goyoi shouted that the stockade was burning. The women and children rushed to the opposite side of the stockade and broke it to escape. The men tried to keep them back, but they would not obey, so the men had to follow them out where the Kamba were waiting for them.

They fought there face to face and many were killed, but the Zubaki lost the most. The Kamba captured all the women and children who ran out before the men, and took them away. The Zubaki fought very fiercely to try to recover them, but could not.

A very old man called Malim Jilo told me this. He was present himself at the fights with the Somalis and the Kamba. He was not in the fight with the Wata, but had heard of it. He is now old and blind and is the last man of his age left in Zubaki.

Malim Jilo and all the Zubaki say the first of the Upper Pokomo to reach the Tana were the Gwano and Zubaki, and that the Buu were the first of the Malachini. All other tribes came later.

#### THE MALALULU.

The Malalulu clans are:—

Wayu Duko.	}	All Hamitic names.
Wayu Chireti.		
Uta.		
Meta.		
Dulo (Karara).		
Garjeda.		
Ilani.		

*Wayu Duko.* A man called Gatokombo reached the Tana at Malbati below Kumbi. His tribe is not known. Gatokombo was not his real name, but was given to him because he was found eating mud, which is called *tokombo* in the Malalulu dialect. He had three sons, Igu, Ibae and Kimtu. Kimtu committed an offence and his brothers drove him away. He was the ancestor of the Wayu Chireti, and the others of the Wayu Duko.

*Uta.* A man called Bakai Galgalo reached the Tana at Fumboni above Dafoma. His tribe was probably Boran or Oromo, but it is not certain. He had two sons Galgalo and Kofa, ancestors of the Uta.

*Meta.* Their ancestor Kuyo reached the Tana at Bohoni. His tribe is not known. He had two sons Bashora and Didha.

*Dulo or Karara.* A Boran called Dulo reached the Tana at Malbati below Harani. He had two sons Saluba and Guyo.

*Garjeda.* Their ancestor Ganyare came from Boran country and reached the Tana at Haretha opposite Kumbi. He had two sons Babuya and Dae.

*Ilani.* Their ancestors were a man called Malalulu and his brother Bashora who came to the Tana at Galomani on the border of Zubaki country. The Zubaki called them all Malalulu from the name of this man who was nearest to them. Malalulu begat Bauru, and Bashora begat Muda. Their origin is unknown, but they are thought to have been Boran, or Oromo, or Wata.

#### THE MALALULU AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

Above the Malalulu live the Elwana (Malakote).<sup>(11)</sup> The Malalulu say that of old they fought the Elwana many times on account of their boundary, but not since Government came. They also fought the Zubaki once long ago, but not about the boundary. It was for some other reason.

They also say the Somalis never fought them, but did occasionally kill one or two of their people.

#### AUTHOR'S OPINIONS AND EXPLANATIONS.

I am glad to have finished this account of all the Pokomo tribes. When Government officers encouraged me to go on with this history, I took trouble to question many old men, who know what their forefathers told them. Many were glad to help me, but some were afraid it was a trap to make the Pokomo lose their land. Thus it was not easy for me, and I got most of my information from Government Headmen. Without their help I could not have succeeded. It was especially hard to get information from the tribes who have boundary disputes with their neighbours, and those who were the last to come to the river. I had to be very cautious in questioning them. It was also hard to assess what is the truth of different stories, but by comparing them the truth can be ascertained.

Of the Malachini, I did not question the Ngatana<sup>(10)</sup> or the Mwina. The Ngatana know I am a Buu, and the Buu and Ngatana are unfriendly. When they knew that I was writing this the Ngatana reviled me, because almost all Pokomo agree that they were latecomers, and were guests of the Mwina. The Mwina are also no friends of the Buu, so I could not question them, but I questioned elders of all the other tribes. I did not write this by myself.

I will now explain tribe by tribe.

*Kalindi.* They claim that originally they came from Arabia to Pate, and thence to Mungini. This is like the Buu story, as they cite Singwaya and Pate. The Buu also claim to have lived at Mungini after leaving Singwaya. Evidently the Buu and Kalindi are of the same origin. Perhaps on leaving Mungini the Kalindi followed the shore and the Buu took the overland route. I have told how Sango Vere the ancestor of the Buu, came to the Tana and met Liongo at Gana. Then he went to Shaka and saw the Kalindi and found they spoke his language. Also their appearance was like his, so that Sango asked Liongo to let them go to the Tana. These two tribes must be of the same stock.

The Kalindi also say that the Ozi were their guests,<sup>(2)</sup> including Liongo. The Ozi deny this, but it is true because Liongo was a stranger, and even if not their ancestor, he was their chief. If Liongo was their chief, they must have been guests of the Kalindi, because Liongo arrived after the Kalindi.

The Kalindi do not say how they left Shaka and went to the river where they live now. As I have said each tribe is unwilling to say that it was ever the guest or slave of another. If the Kalindi admitted being taken from Shaka by the Buu, it would prove that their present land belongs to the Buu. Even the Ozi who now live at Kau, know that Sango got the Kalindi from Liongo, and took them to the river, where there was empty land. The Buu and Ozi accounts tally exactly. The Kalindi know the story, but do not want to tell it.

The Kalindi also say that when they moved to Chara, they travelled to Mahindini, below Kibusu, and that Mahindini was their boundary with the Yunda. They claim all the land from Mahindini to Shaka. From Shaka to Chara is really theirs, but a man who knows the country could not agree that they marched with the Yunda at Mahindini. At that time there were two lakes from Garsen to Ngao, Matomba (Gana) from below Garsen to near Kibusu, and Ashaka Babo from below Kibusu to Golbanti. The present river cuts between these lakes. At that time the river ran to the East, and both Buu and Kalindi lived on it till it dried up, which was not very long ago. No one could have lived at Kibusu then.

Also if you follow the old river upstream from Ngao, first you meet Buu, then Yunda, then Buu again, and then Ngatana. If the Kalindi marched with the Yunda, it must have been 70 or 80 years ago and not when the tribes first came to the Tana.

I believe that although Liongo was a stranger, he overcame the Kalindi, and can never have asked for anything from them. The Kalindi and the Buu both paid tribute till Government came.

*Buu.* The Buu claim to have come from Singwayu, near Kismayu. Thence they were driven by the Oromo, and came to Mungini. When they left Mungini, they went to the west to Mowa on the Magogoni river, which runs to Kau. They say they lived on that river without any Pokomo neighbours. Their neighbours were the Sanye. On the map, I have marked Mulanja and Mkoma. They say no other Pokomo could kill wild animals at Mulanja. If any did so he was beaten.

Then they moved to the Ngambwa river, and there they marched with the Mwina at Koloni. Then the Ngambwa dried up and they moved to the Mbewee, and there they marched with the Ngatana.

The Buu have been unlucky, because several times their country has been flooded, and the river has changed its course. Thus they have had to abandon their villages and move. In the land of other Pokomo tribes, the river has only changed at bends, not over a whole country. From Ngao to Mbewee is about six hours' journey on foot, but the Buu had to abandon their old villages and move to the new river. They were sorry to move and made many songs lamenting the land they loved and their big village Chikovu. Here is one of these songs:—



*Pokomo.*

Mumaita kadza ndio odu  
Mbuu ni mzuka, endani  
mukayowe kumea mani kubfaa  
miima, azi na mfungu za  
Witu nazo huziona, mudzi  
wehu mudzi wa mbinguni  
hutamisaa huichamba huyawe  
na manya.

*English.*

If an enemy comes the Buu  
have bad news, go and look,  
the grass has grown, it has  
climbed the hills, we have  
seen the portions of Witu, our  
village was of the heavens, we  
are troubled, we did not want  
to be lost out in the bush.

They sing this and other songs to show their regret for their bad fortune at losing their land time after time. They still hope to be able to return to it. Their old men and women tell children about it with tears in their eyes.

The Buu did not like leaving Chikovu, but on one occasion they heard the Somalis were coming. They collected the people from all the smaller villages at Chikovu, and decided to escape. They left at about 4-00 a.m. and went westwards towards Garsen. When they reached the plain of Kokane Gobu, they turned towards Nyangoro. They looked back and saw that the Somalis had burnt their village. They were afraid and swore an oath not to run away because their women and children were with them. They put the women and children in the middle, and became a very large army. After burning the village the Somalis came after the Buu, but when they came up with them they saw a large army and thought all were men of war. So the Somalis were afraid to attack and the Buu army proceeded to Mlango wa Simba in the Nyangoro forest. They hid in the forest at Lake Tamaso. After the danger was over the chief, Buko, led the Buu to Ngao where they still live.

I pass over the other Malachini tribes because the river has not changed in their land. They live where they always lived. I go on to the Upper Pokomo, starting with the Ndera.

*Ndera.* Their chief clan is the Kinamaziwani. They and the Kinanato are together. The Ndera say that three Oromo came to Ndera country, and one of them, Ana Kare, was the ancestor of the Kinamaziwani. But according to the Gwano Ana Kare went to the west side of the river and begat the Migo clan of the Oromo. The Gwano say that the Ndera ancestor was Ana Abio, who begat the Kinamaziwani, and that their relatives the Kinanato are descended from Gashiro and Hadiribo, slaves of the Kinamaziwani. Personally I believe the Gwano, because I think the Ndera are pretending to have come at the same time as the Gwano. All the Pokomo know that the Ndera came later than either Gwano or Mwina. This is shown in the cult of Ngaji, because the ceremonies pass from Gwano to Ndera, which shows that the Ndera were guests of the Gwano, or received their priesthood from the Gwano.

The Gwano also say that when their ancestor went downstream there was nobody in Ndera. Even the Ndera admit that their lowest village used to be Kozi. Below that was originally Mwina. Their only other village, therefore, was Baumo. I am thus satisfied that the Ndera came later than the Gwano, and that Ana Abio was their father. I doubted the truth of what the Ndera said when they said the Kinanato and Kinamaziwani were of the same origin. After hearing the Gwano story I believe the Kinanato are descended from the slave Gashiro, but they conceal it now because this clan is now held in high esteem.

The Ndera also claim that Kimbu was their first village, but the Gwano say Kimbu was a Gwano village, before the arrival of the Ndera, and that their chief was killed by the Oromo at Kimbu. I am not sure which is the truth, because all Pokomo say the Ndera reached the Tana at Kimbu. Possibly this is true, but that the Gwano had lived there earlier.

*Gwano.* They say they arrived before the Ndera, Kinakomba, or Ndura. They say the Buu and Zubaki are contemporary with them. They give the same three names as the Ndera, Ana Dima, Ana Kare, and Ana Bake. I think the Ndera heard these names from the Gwano. These men reached the river in Gwano, not Ndera. Also all Pokomo agree that Ana Dima was the father of the Gwano. The other tribes agree that the Gwano came before either Kinakomba or Ndura, and that the Kinakomba preceded the Ndura.

The Gwano even now get angry very easily, which shows they used to be warlike. They were numerous till many were killed in the treacherous fight of Jilo Bune. The story of that fight is known to all Pokomo.

Also their country is not as good as that of the other Pokomo, so many have left it, and only a few remain in their home. Those who go seldom return. It is said that half the Ndera are of Gwano origin. The Gwano dialect is the easiest of all the Pokomo. Their bodies are strong and like those of the Malachini. The Ndera do not like them. They are always quarrelling about their boundary.

*Kinakomba.* All agree that Ali Gutu, a Boran, is the ancestor of the Mandoyo clan. This clan and the Kinambolo and the Kinamuywani are of the same stock. On the other side are the Kinamulunde, Kinambura, and Kinanguu. Their chief village is Masalani, and that of the Mandoyo is Kiaponi. From old times the lower Kinakomba used to hold the chiefship because they are of the original stock, descended from Ali Gutu. The upper Kinakomba whose main village is Masalani, used not to be chiefs or to have a house of Ngaji, though they are the more numerous.

These two divisions of the Kinakomba are unfriendly. They say they often fought, because the Masalani folk would not admit to being guests of the Mandoyo. I had to leave off questioning them, lest I start a fight. Even though the Masalani folk do not

admit to being strangers, they are not descended from Ali Gutu, and they should not be above those of Kiaponi. There is still trouble in their location on this account.

*Ndura.* Their main clan is the Sindo wa Ndura, descended from the Oromo Galole Hirimani. The other clans are descended from other Upper Pokomo tribes, especially the Ndera. They are not as numerous as the Kinakomba or Ndera, and their country is very small. They are said to have come later than their neighbours, and this is true because many of them are of Ndera origin. It is also said that the Kinakomba and Zubaki used to march in what is now Ndura. When the Ndura came they settled between these two tribes, and were given a portion of land from each.

The Ndura are very skilful cultivators, more so than any other Pokomo, and they have good land. Since long ago they dig the ground deep, and dig in the rubbish. Thus they have always had good crops. When the rains are due, the Ndura cultivate at night, and go back to their villages in the morning. If you go to their shambas you will see they have been planted. They do this to deceive their neighbours, as each man wants to be the first to reap. They do not trust each other, and say there is no rain or flood. Thus every year the Ndura are the first to reap.

The Ndura also say the Somalis came to the river in Ndura before Kinakomba. On the east bank in both these locations, there is much good grazing, and every year the Somalis come to them first.

*Zubaki.* They are mainly descended from Oromo and Kamba. Their minds are hard, unlike other Pokomo. Of old they were warlike and did not submit to their enemies. The place of their biggest fights was Kadada. Their Pokomo neighbours were afraid of them, because they were fierce and many in number. They and the Buu respected each other because the Buu were the strongest of the Malachini, and the Zubaki the strongest of the Upper Pokomo.

The Zubaki also corroborated the story of the Wata who ran away and became the Ngatana.

The true Pokomo name of the Tana is Galana Maro, i.e., Maro's river. I asked all the Pokomo who gave it that name, and the Zubaki said that Maro was one of their ancestors. Possibly he was the Maro who gave his name to the river. The Gwano say that Galana is one of their names, and there are many Gwano called Galana even now. They think the river was named from a Gwano, not a Zubaki. Both these tribes claim Galana Maro to be one of their men. Others say Galana was the old Pokomo name for a river: so Galana Maro means Maro's river. The Oromo call a river Galana; the Giriama call

it Ganala. In truth the name Maro is found among those of the Zubaki ancestors, so perhaps the first Pokomo to see the river was a Zubaki.

*Malalulu.* The name Malalulu was the name of a man, the ancestor of a small clan, but it has been applied to the whole tribe. Their country is poor, and their crops not as good as other Pokomo, but not so bad as the Gwano land. There is not much to choose between them. Most of their cultivation is in swamps and along the edge of the river. It is not like that of other Pokomo, who cultivate where they like on both sides of the river. For this reason some of them have gone to Garissa district, and others to Kau seeking better land. Not a few remain, but if all had stayed they would be as numerous as the Zubaki. They live at the end of Kipini district, and march with the Garissa district. They get angry quickly like the Gwano, and it is surprising that they do not often quarrel with their neighbours.

The Malalulu country is long. It has much forest on both sides of the river, and much of it is uninhabited. There are many wild animals which destroy their crops, which makes it hard for them to reap a crop. They have to guard their shambas day and night from the day they plant or they will not reap anything at all.

#### OTHER FACTS ABOUT THE POKOMO.

It will be seen that the Pokomo are not an aboriginal people but a collection of folk who ran away from various sources and became a tribe as a result of meeting and living together. No one knows the date when the Pokomo began to be a tribe, because there was no one with the education to write when they came, but we can be sure that they first came to their country thousands of years ago. It is surprising that they met no other tribe settled on the banks of the river, so they had no trouble in settling. This shows that they are the first tribe to live in their present land.

The Pokomo are divided into the Malachini who live near the Coast, and the Upper Pokomo. Their languages are also different. The Malachini all talk one language, and the Upper Pokomo have one language also. The Malachini and Upper Pokomo can understand each other. I have no time to explain all their customs, but will set out some briefly.

*Religions.* The Pokomo have two cults, Ngaji and Uganga. The Ngaji is a thing made by their own hands. It is a drum, very like a honey-barrel. When they beat it its sound carries a very long way, further than a drum. Long ago no one knew what it was except the Kijo who made it. When they heard its sound, people wanted to know what it was, and the Kijo agreed to show it to them if they paid for the privilege. The Kijo took what was paid. When the agreed amount had been paid, the Kijo sent word to all Pokomo tribes naming a day. On the day

for showing it they had a day of general rejoicing. Now let us see what benefit the Ngaji brought to the Pokomo.<sup>(12)</sup> We respect the Kijo because they were like the Government of those times. Those were the times of darkness. We realise that they looked after the land. Thanks to the Kijo we found the land in good condition, because no one could cut forest, or a big tree, or damage the land without permission from the Kijo. If anyone disobeyed he was killed, so the Kijo were feared. Or the offender might have to pay a heavy fine or get some other punishment. We thank the Kijo for looking after our land. But for them we would have inherited a land which had been ruined.

The Waganga are a society of wizards who bewitch people and have communication with spirits. Those who want to become Waganga have to pay the chief Waganga. When they have paid enough they can enter the society. All who died were thought to have been killed by the Waganga, and everyone was afraid of witchcraft. Women especially had to have spirits exorcised for all ailments, even if the sickness was not caused by spirits. If the husband refused to have his wife's spirits exorcised, he was killed. On the other hand the Waganga helped people because they knew the cures for many illnesses. If people were ill they called in Waganga, who gave them medicine and cured them. They were the doctors in those days because there were no hospitals.

From old times the Pokomo knew God and worshipped him<sup>(13)</sup> with pleasant words, and prayed to him. They knew that God dislikes sin and poverty. They also knew that those who do evil would be put in a fire after death. They call the heavens Muunguni, because God lives there. It is surprising that they knew that God lives in heaven. The Pokomo could not begin to reap without setting aside a portion called God's portion. The neighbouring elders would come and eat that portion, and pray to God on behalf of the owner of the shamba. If the owner of the shamba had a son, he had to call to his father to come and eat of the produce.

*Missions.* The Missionaries reached Ngao in 1887. Their leader was called Wietts. At that time Buko Doyo was chief at Ngao and Kadiko Herbae was his lieutenant. The Missionaries talked to them and asked leave to build a Mission at Ngao. They had previously got a letter from the Sultan of Witu, so Buko had to agree. This was a German Mission called "The Neukirchen Mission."

Three years earlier the British Methodist Mission had come to Golbanti about an hour's walk from Ngao. They began work among the Oromo.

At about the same time the Swedish Mission came to Kulesa to preach to the Pokomo. Later these two Missions left and only the Neukirchen Mission remained. At first only children came

to the Mission at Ngao, except for one elder called Abadula Gerera. Now there are more than twenty-two churches, and the work increases.

*Islam.* Although the Malachini marched with the Swahilis, they did not become Mohammedans. When the Somalis reached the country of the Upper Pokomo, they killed many of them and troubled them, so that many of the Upper Pokomo moved to Malachini country. They did not get on with the Malachini, so they moved on to Chara where there was good land empty, because the Kalindi were few in number. The Upper Pokomo who settled in Chara did not want to remain savages, so they began to become Mohammedans. When Government restrained the Somalis and the land settled down, many of these Upper Pokomo went back to their country. They took Mohammedanism back with them, and Islam is increasing quicker than Christianity.

*Religious Progress.* As there are two divisions of Pokomo, so they are divided in religion. Most of the Malachini are Christians, and most of the Upper Pokomo Mohammedans. Only a few of them are Christians. The Christians made very slow progress in enlightenment, more so than other tribes in Kenya. This is because for many years the Missionaries did not enlighten them about the world. They only gave religious instruction. Secondly, each time the Missionaries began schools they were interned because they were Germans. Now, however, the Natives and Government have joined to encourage schools, and there are many schools where any children can be taught.

Some of the Mohammedan Pokomo can read Arabic. Some of them have been to the Riatha Mosque in Lamu. The Koran is taught in many Mohammedan villages, but they say it is unlawful to learn English writing.

*The Arrival of Government.* The first D.C. in Pokomo country was Mr. Anderssen. The Pokomo called him Bwana Muchinjani. He came in 1895. It is surprising that at first he lived with the Missionaries at Ngao. This was because Ngao was the first big village with a powerful chief to welcome Government and the Missionaries. The people of Ngao were to some extent familiar with Europeans when those of other Pokomo tribes ran away and hid whenever the D.C. travelled to their country. For this reason the D.C. made many arrangements through the chief of Ngao. Ngao was the key with which the Pokomo country was opened. Later the D.C. moved to Kipini on the Coast, and it is the seat of Government now.

*Present Condition of the Pokomo.* Our fathers were not like the present men. Now they know each other. This is because of all the meetings held now. The Christians hold conferences every year of Christians of all Pokomo tribes. Even the Mohammedans are beginning to hold meetings. Government has started the Local Native Council, and Native Tribunals. Sometimes there

are meetings of Headmen. Thus the Pokomo begin to know, like, and help each other. In 1941, they asked the Governor to appoint one Chief over all the other Pokomo Headmen. The reason for this is because they want to be more united, thinking that if the Superior Chief be a man of intelligence, he can bind the Pokomo together through the Headmen below him.

The number of the Pokomo is increasing. There are now over 14,000 and they used to be less.

There are also Pokomo clergy as well as the European Missionaries. There are many schools, where the teachers are Pokomo, who have been examined by Government and declared fit to be teachers. The Local Native Council are considering opening a primary school and have begun to send teachers to be trained in readiness for such a school.

The Local Native Council also has money in the bank. This is shared with the Oromo. This money makes for unity, and without doubt they will continue on the road of progress like other tribes in Kenya.

#### NOTES BY R. G. DARROCH.

- (1) *Kalindi at Hidabo.* This hill is still called Hidabo. In a very interesting article on the history of Tanaland, Mr. Talbot-Smith refers to a pre-Islam settlement at Mrio, a town at the foot of Hidabo, now buried in sand. He says the inhabitants were called Kina Inti (i.e., clan of the country) and were "of Pokomo affinities," as are some of the inhabitants of Lamu Island still (1921). Lamu he says, got its name from the Banu Lami, followers of Zeid Ali who migrated from Arabia about A.H. 39 (A.D. 661?) so the Kalindi may well have been on Lamu Island before there was a town on the present site of Lamu. In Mikael's *History of the Malachini*, I mentioned that Miss Werner derives the name Kalindi from "Dindi" meaning a hole where fish lie. Both Swahilis and Pokomo have told me that "Dindi" means the belly of a freshwater fish, and not a hole. Possibly Kalindi comes from "Kilindi" meaning deep water, c.f. Kilindini, or I suggest a possible derivation is the name "Kina Inti." The Pokomo have borrowed many Oromo names and corrupted them quite as much as that.
- (2) *Kalindi Claim to Shaka.* The town of Shaka (known as Waungwana wa Mashaa) was founded in the days of Harun al Rashid. Local Arabs say it was in A.H. 121 (*vide* their letter sent with Mikael's *History of the Malachini*); Mr. Talbot-Smith puts it about fifty years later. The name Mashaa is derived from the title of the Shah of Persia. Fumo Liongo did not arrive till much later. Mr. Talbot-Smith suggests, though he does not say so exactly, that his son Liongo flourished when Omar Mohamméd was Sultan of Pate, A.D. 1306-1344. It is true that Liongo was a "stranger" and was chief of Waungwana wa Mashaa, but that does not say that the Ozi were guests of the Kalindi. Both Arab and Buu accounts assign a very lowly place to the Kalindi. Their claim to all land from Shaka to Semikaro is thus hard to justify.
- (3) *Purchase of Land.* The story is unlikely as the Kalindi seem to have been subjects of Liongo and later Sango. It is, however, interesting as bearing on Pokomo land tenure. So far as I can make out cultivated land is regarded as belonging to a family, the individual occupier being merely a tenant for life. Sale is thus impossible. Normally

the sons of a landholder succeed their father. If a landholder dies childless, the claims of his nearest of kin are decided by the head of the "miango." If virgin forest be cleared the land becomes part of the family holding of the man who cleared it.

- (4) *Chara Headmen.* Mikael may be right about the issue of official staves, but Kalindi Headmen were recognised from the first days of British rule. A list compiled in 1900 by Mr. Anderssen, the first District Commissioner, shows two Kalindi, Kiriole at Meli, between Anasa and Semikaro, and Rangi at Bura (Golbanti: Bura is really the Pokomo village, and Golbanti the Oromo name for a place very adjacent, but Golbanti is so much better known that it is better to stick to it). There was also an Ndera Headman called Kombo Mitambo at what is now called Belezoni (Mbelezo is the Pokomo for a canal) where the present Tana leaves the old Tana, or Sheriko, in charge of the Upper Pokomo settled in Chara. There were estimated to be about 1,000 of them, more Ndera than any other tribe, in 1900. The present Headman of Chara, Abdalla Bashors, is also an Ndera.
- (5) *Pokomo Clan Names.* As will be seen most Upper Pokomo clans have both a Bantu and a Hamitic name, except the Malalulu whose clans have only Hamitic names, and the Zubaki, only three of whose clans have Bantu names. The most interesting name is "Karayu" the name of the Boran Royal Clan, to which their big chief Gedu in Ethiopia belonged. Curiously every tribe which has this name says its forefather was an Oromo and not a Boran, except the Zubaki. The Boran and Oromo are, of course, closely related. Mikael's list differs considerably from one compiled by Miss Werner in 1913, but it would be tedious to tabulate them.
- (6) *Gwano and Ndera Ancestors.* The Ndera gave me the same account as the Gwano gave Mikael, i.e., that Ana Dima was the first Pokomo, Ana Bake (some said Ana Duri) stayed on the east side where the Somalis are now, and Ana Kare crossed to the west. The Gwano, however, told me that Ana Bake was the first Pokomo, and Ana Dima went back to the east. It shows how such traditions get confused. Mikael had far more time to give to the subject than I, and questioned more elders, so his final version is likely to be the better. He admitted to me that his informants were not unanimous on such points. The Gwano version is almost certainly the true one: the Ndera have copied it to conceal slave origin. The Gwano also told me that when Ana Dima and Ana Bake separated, they arranged that the Pokomo should clear watering places for Oromo stock, and receive an ox each season for leave to water. Also that when the Oromo lived on both banks, the Pokomo got one or two oxen every time they ferried stock across, but that the Pokomo were not allowed to do the actual slaughtering if an Oromo were there. The Oromo slaughtered the ox, and then the Pokomo cut it up and ate it. This applied also if the Pokomo were given a present of meat at an Oromo village.
- (7) *Fight with Arabs.* Arabs and Swahilis agree that no tribute was ever levied on Upper Pokomo. The Arab leader was called Mwenye Era. The Gwano say that when Europeans came some of the Upper Pokomo wanted to resist, and called on the Gwano to lead them, as the senior tribe. The Gwano said they had taken the lead against Arabs and Somalis [see Note (9)] and it was the turn of someone else now, so there was no opposition.
- (8) *Meeting of Ana and Sango.* The Gwano told me that Ana met not Sango, but his father Vere, and that they met not at Lake Lemu, but at Mitole, which is near where the motor road crosses the river Ngambwa. This is probably the second meeting described by Mikael, i.e., the Buu remember two meetings, and the Gwano only one. Otherwise the story I heard from the Gwano is the same as Mikael's.



- (<sup>9</sup>) *War of Jilo Bune.* Jilo Bune was the Oromo chief. The Gwano told me their chief was called Kokane Didha: Mikael told me his name was Dadho Moroa. His is probably correct, as Kokane Didha appears as ancestor of the Kinadyasi. The story, as I heard it, was the same as Mikael's except that they said one Herbae Gafu went with his brother, and hid and saw the Oromo kill his brother. He then went and told the Gwano chief, who declared war on the Oromo, which continued till the Somalis came and defeated the Oromo, many of whom were killed by Pokomo while escaping across the river. The Oromo then made peace with the Pokomo.
- The Oromo were then defeated again near Kiaponi, and asked the Pokomo to help to recover the cattle taken by the Somalis. A meeting of all Upper Pokomo tribes was called and they agreed to do so. The Gwano and Zubaki formed the vanguard, as the two senior tribes, and the Malalulu were in the rear, as the junior tribe. The Pokomo and Oromo recovered the cattle and took them back to Kiaponi. The Oromo wanted to take the cattle away at once, but the Pokomo refused and feasted that night. Kiaponi village was then on the right bank: it was only moved to its present site a few years ago. In the morning the Somalis attacked, and the Pokomo shot them with arrows, and prevented them from crossing the river to close quarters, till some of the Somalis went up to Masalani and crossed there. Two Pokomo were killed, and the rest seeing themselves in danger of being surrounded, ran for it, but the cattle were by this time in safety. Somali losses are said to have been much heavier than those of the Pokomo. An old man called Chalalu Herbae, who died three years ago, is said to have attended the meeting, as a small boy, but to have been too young to go to the fight.
- (<sup>10</sup>) *Origin of Ngatana and Mwina.* The Mwina are also of Wata origin. The Zubaki story about the Ngatana corroborates the Buu one given by Mikael in his *History of the Malachini*. As I mentioned there, the Ngatana have a tradition of coming from Shungwaya, like the Buu, and Mikael admits that he did not question the Ngatana. The explanation may be that the Ngatana spring from two sources, or that they have invented the story of Kanjala Dima coming about the same time as Sango Vere. The latter is perhaps the more probable since Zubaki and Gwano stories corroborate the Buu account in material particulars. The Gwano told me that when Ana met Vere, they divided the country at Hombe, between Baumo and Kozi, i.e., there cannot have been anyone in Mwina or Ngatana country then. Then came the Mwina, who were given the land from Hombe to Koloni. Last of all came the Ngatana.
- (<sup>11</sup>) *The Elwana.* These people do not recognise the name Malakote which is usually applied to them. They are not Pokomo, though often classed as such. They reached their present habitation after the Malalulu, the junior Pokomo tribe, were settled. Their traditions and customs are different to those of the Pokomo, in fact they use the name Pokomo when speaking of Malalulu, etc., to distinguish them from themselves. For one thing they circumcise women, which none of the Pokomo do. The Malalulu told me that the Elwana arrived in the lifetime of Igu, son of Gatokombo. The Malalulu began to circumcise girls, copying the Elwana, but several died so they abandoned the practice. As a rough guide to chronology the genealogy given me by the present Malalulu chief, Mukaraji Maro, may be of interest: Gatokombo (Maro)—Igu—Maro—Dadho—Maro, father of Mukaraji.
- (<sup>12</sup>) *The Kijo.* It is refreshing to find a Christian Pokomo so obviously out to admire as much as he can of the old customs. Very different is the attitude of many of the younger Mohammedans, who condemn any old custom, simply because it is old. For instance, the Pokomo

have an excellent rule that a man may not send his wife to cultivate during the seventh and subsequent months of pregnancy. This, some Mohammedans say, does not bind them on "religious" grounds. As Mikael says later, they are also trying to prevent the spread of education, on the same pretext.

Admitting the good the Kijo did as guardians of the soil, there is another side to the picture. Not only did they exact heavy initiation fees, but also levied contributions of food and other things from non-Kijo, without payment. They were not only priests, but judiciary, legislature, and executive combined as well. According to Mr. Anderssen, they were extremely corrupt in all these capacities.

Thanks to the spread of Christianity and Islam, the cult has now declined, and to all intents only old men still adhere to it. Kinakomba and Zubaki are its main strongholds today, but many of the older Mohammedans keep Kijo celebrations.

- (13) *Belief in God.* Mr. Anderssen writes: "They worship and sacrifice to God as the Creator (colloquially called 'the old man of the woods') and to the spirits of deceased relatives." Ancestor worship is, I believe, common to almost all Bantu.